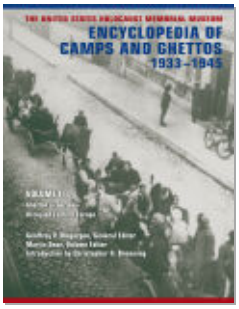


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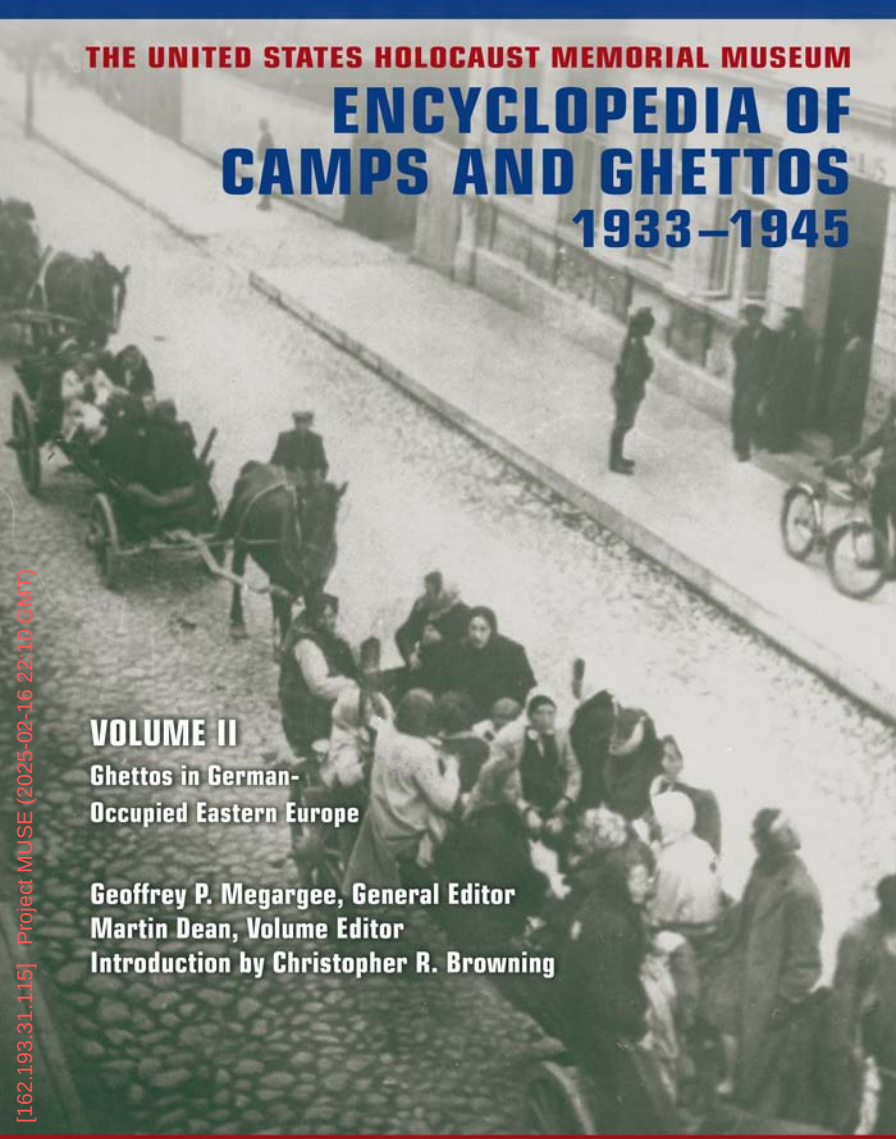
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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS 1933–1945



VOLUME II

Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe

Geoffrey P. Megargee, General Editor
Martin Dean, Volume Editor
Introduction by Christopher R. Browning

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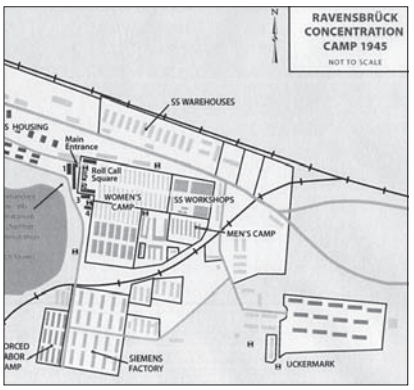
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General Editor Geoffrey P. Megargee

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Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME II

Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe

Part A

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PREFACE

Shortly after the first volume of the Museum's *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* appeared in 2009, a group of the Holocaust survivors who inspire us through their presence as volunteers at the Museum gathered to discuss the volume with its editors. In the course of the discussion, one thing became very clear: the survivors and the editors appreciated the work from very different perspectives. The editors saw the volume primarily as a groundbreaking reference work, a work that would allow laymen and scholars alike to learn about the complex universe of Nazi concentration camps and to carry out further research. The survivors, on the other hand, while recognizing the Encyclopedia's utility, saw the work's deeper value in the fact that it documented all the unknown or barely known places where they and their fellow victims had suffered. Camps such as Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, and Bergen-Belsen are almost household names, but hundreds of other camp sites remain unrecognizable and "nameless" to all but the people whom the Germans and their allies incarcerated there and to a handful of scholars. The survivors were immensely gratified to see those sites, and their victims, lifted out of obscurity at last.

This second volume of the *Encyclopedia* aims to continue in that vein. Many people have heard of the ghetto in Warsaw and perhaps of others in places such as Kaunas and Łódź. Some people may even have heard that there were "hundreds" of ghettos. But how many people would guess that the Germans alone set up more than 1,100? These Holocaust sites of perpetration existed in a great swath of territory from Poland to Russia, from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Approximately 75 percent of all the victims of the Holocaust lived in that area, and about half of that huge number endured a ghetto experience during their ordeal. This volume serves the purpose, first and foremost, of memorializing the ghettos established under direct German authority, of literally preserving their memory and that of the people who lived and died in them. Entries address key questions about the ghettos: when they were created, who "managed" them, how long they existed, what life inside them was like, and their inhabitants' ultimate fate. Finally, as in the first volume, this one includes numerous references to extensive ghetto-related documentation located in the holdings of dozens of repositories worldwide, to provide a basis for further research. No other work provides the same level of detail and supporting material.

Five more volumes of the *Encyclopedia* are still to appear. The next of these will cover sites (including over 220 additional ghettos) set up and run by other states—states such as Slovakia, Hungary, Vichy France, and Romania—that affiliated themselves with Nazi Germany in one way or another. Later volumes will cover prisoner-of-war camps, extermination camps, forced labor camps, prisons, euthanasia centers, as well as other categories. Our goal remains to produce the most comprehensive examination possible of Nazi sites of detention, persecution, and murder. By the time the entire project is finished, it will have involved the labor of hundreds of people, working from locations and institutions in many countries.

The *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* is one of several recent efforts by the Museum and its Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies to open the way for future research and teaching about the Holocaust. In addition to its determination to provide Holocaust survivors with information long denied to them, the Museum played the central role in opening the archives of the International Tracing Service in Bad Arolsen, Germany, with the same purpose in mind. The Center's Jewish Source Study Initiative is focused on understanding the Holocaust through the perspective of the targets of Nazi brutality and has helped produce a series titled *Documenting Life and Destruction* that includes source volumes to present and analyze the responses of Jewish individuals, organizations, and communal authorities to assault. Through these efforts and others, the Museum is fulfilling its commitment to memory and to enhancing the breadth and depth of knowledge about the Holocaust, its perpetrators, and its victims.

Anyone who reads through any significant portion of this volume will find the contents chilling. There is a dismal sameness to each of the stories here: of the Germans' arrival; of increasing persecution, theft, displacement, abuse, and murder; of the formation of a ghetto and the deteriorating conditions within it; of the inhabitants' desperate efforts to live and to resist their oppressors; and in every case, of the ultimate destruction of the entire community, save for a tiny number of traumatized survivors. These stories are central to understanding the Holocaust. Individually and collectively, they highlight the willingness of perpetrators to participate in acts of violence and barbarism that, sadly, are part of the human potential. They also illustrate the confusion, the brutality, the suffering, and the hopelessness that the victims experienced, and their mixed reactions to circumstances beyond their control or understanding. These are stories that give back to the victims a small part of what the Nazis took from them. We hope that their experiences will provide a measure of understanding and wisdom for those who read this work.

Paul A. Shapiro, Director
Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Alvin H. Rosenfeld, Chair
Academic Committee
United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Sara J. Bloomfield, Director
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



A Jewish policeman stands guard while Łódź ghetto residents wait in line to cross one of the pedestrian bridges, n.d.
USHMM WS #48564, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN (MIEDZYRZECKI) MEED

INTRODUCTION

The existence of ghettos in the German-occupied territories of Poland and the Soviet Union was so ubiquitous, on the one hand, and in hindsight so useful to the Nazi goal of total extermination of Polish and Soviet Jewry, on the other, that the temptation to see Nazi ghettoization policy as a uniform, centralized, and calculated preparatory step for the "Final Solution" was irresistible to many historians in the early stages of Holocaust scholarship. For example, one of the most insightful pioneers of Holocaust research, Philip Friedman, wrote that Nazi Jewish policies in Poland from 1939 to 1941 "were not of a spontaneous or accidental nature, but were rather part and parcel of an unfolding plan, which began with the concentration of the Jews" and, furthermore, that "ghettos were designed to serve the Nazis as laboratories for testing methods of slow and 'peaceful' destruction of whole groups of human beings."[1] And Andreas Hillgruber described ghettoization of the Polish Jews as a step parallel to Hitler's conquest of France, securing himself in both cases for the simultaneous war for Lebensraum in the east and the Final Solution, which together constituted the nucleus of his long-held "program."[2]

A younger generation of historians, emphasizing improvised local initiative rather than calculated central planning, has portrayed ghettos as the means by which local authorities pursued a ghetto policy of willful destabilization and then pressed the central government to sanction ever more radical measures. For instance, Ulrich Herbert has written:

> The administration of the General Government therefore endeavored to portray as ostentatiously as possible that the living conditions of the Jews were "untenable." . . . To the reports coming from everywhere over the "untenable circumstances" and urgent inquiries as to what now must be done with the Jews, the Berlin authorities reacted with continual instructions and subsequent sanctioning for ever more radical measures, which once again accelerated the anticipatory actions taken regionally.[3]

In short, in this view local ghettoization policy was an important element in a process of "cumulative radicalization" of Nazi Jewish policy that led to the Final Solution.[4]

Neither interpretation is convincing. The Polish ghettos of 1939–1941 did ultimately serve to concentrate, debilitate, and decimate the Jews, as well as provide an ideal control mechanism and staging area for eventual deportation to the extermination camps, but they were not initially created and managed for that purpose. The ghettos did present an "impossible situation" and "untenable circumstances" for beleaguered local authorities but most sought—albeit with only partial success—to stabilize ghetto conditions out of their own conception of duty and self-interest, not to aggravate such conditions to manipulate and pressure central authorities to sanction a policy of ghetto liquidation and Jewish extermination.

There is no single interpretive framework that encompasses ghettoization in the German-occupied east throughout the war years. Rather, there are two distinct regions and two distinct periods that must be taken into account. For German-occupied Poland in 1939–1941, ghettoization occurred in different places at different times in different forms and for different reasons. Insofar as there was a common thread in this welter of local decision making, it was that, among local ghetto managers, more often than not "productionists" attempting to harness and profit from ghetto labor prevailed over "attritionists" eager to decimate the incarcerated Jews through starvation and disease.[5] Beginning in the summer of 1941, ghettoization was extended to the newly occupied Soviet territories east of the 1939 demarcation line, including the Baltic states and the eastern territories of prewar Poland. In sharp distinction to earlier ghettoization further west, ghettoization was now both simultaneously and inextricably connected with the implementation of the Final Solution. Here indeed ghettos served as holding areas for Jews who could not be killed immediately in mass executions by gunfire, and exploitation of ghetto labor—though not absent—was often peripheral. With the onset of the Final Solution in the territories already occupied during 1939–1941—beginning in the Warthegau Region in December 1941 and in Distrikt Lublin of the Generalgouvernement in March 1942—the ghettos now indeed took on the additional function as staging areas for deportation to the extermination camps as well. It is to the examination of ghettoization in these two distinct phases and two distinct regions that we now must turn.

THE CREATION AND MANAGEMENT OF POLISH GHETTOS, 1939–1941

On September 21, 1939, Reinhard Heydrich met with the division chiefs of his security apparatus, the leaders of the Einsatzgruppen in Poland, and his adviser for Jewish affairs, Adolf Eichmann, to clarify issues of occupation policy in the newly conquered Polish territories. Concerning the fate of the Jews, Heydrich was quite explicit: "The Jews are to be concentrated in ghettos in cities, in order to facilitate a better possibility of control and later expulsion." While the expulsion of the Jews would extend over the next year, it was "urgent" that "the Jew . . . disappears from the countryside." Thus the initial concentration in cities, Heydrich insisted, "must be carried out within the next three to four weeks."[6] Opposition from the military to the negative economic consequences of such an abrupt demographic upheaval, however, forced Heydrich



Portrait of Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Security Police and the SD, and Acting Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, 1942.
USHMM WS #91199, COURTESY OF NARA

to relent, and on September 30 he informed his Einsatzgruppen leaders that the timing of Jewish concentration would depend on not disturbing military interests.[7] Thus Heydrich's initial directive for widespread ghettoization as a short-term measure facilitating Jewish expulsion was not implemented. What remained of his first attempt to set uniform Jewish policy was the instruction to impose Jewish Councils on all Jewish communities and the recognition that "obviously the tasks at hand cannot be laid down in detail from here."

The first Polish ghetto was created in Piotrków Trybunalski, a medium-sized city of about 50,000 inhabitants—some 30 percent of them Jews—located 40 kilometers (25 miles) south-southeast of Łódź, but just beyond the border of the "incorporated territories" annexed to the Third Reich, in Distrikt Radom of the Generalgouvernement. An eager German occupation official, Hans Drechsel, who was first appointed by the army and then confirmed by the subsequent civil administration to be in charge of the city, ordered the usual barrage of anti-Jewish edicts in the last months of 1939. Unlike local German occupation officials elsewhere in Poland, however, he also ordered the formation of an "open" ghetto (that is, not enclosed by walls or fences) restricting Jewish movement and residence on October 8, 1939.[8] However, it was not obscure Piotrków but rather the much larger city of Łódź to the north and just within the incorporated territories annexed to the Third Reich that became the first site for extended debate and experimentation over Nazi policies of ghettoization and the model invoked and studied by others thereafter.

Located in an administrative district designated as the Warthegau, Łódź was the largest city and largest Jewish community in the incorporated territories. The goal of the Nazi regime, articulated in the fall of 1939, was to "Germanize" these territories by expelling the entire "alien" population of 7.5 million Poles and 500,000 Jews and replacing them with repatriated "ethnic Germans" from the territories ceded to Stalin in the Nonaggression Pact. A total demographic revolution on such a staggering scale proved impossible to realize immediately under the exigencies of war. Though some Łódź Jews were indeed expelled and others fled eastward of their own accord, the vast bulk—though targeted for expulsion—remained, and their continued presence constituted a problem in the eyes of local authorities that demanded a solution.

As early as December 1939, Warthegau authorities recognized that an "immediate evacuation" of the Łódź Jews was not possible and proposed sealing them "temporarily" in a "closed ghetto" so that the wealth they had "hoarded colossally" would have to be "given back" in exchange for food. The ghetto was to be only a "transition measure" for extracting wealth; thereafter, the Germans would "burn out this plague boil," and the city would be "cleansed of Jews."[9] Several other constituencies joined in support of ghettoization to pursue their own agendas. Urban planners looked forward to making the city now renamed "Litzmannstadt" a model of German culture and beautification, on which work could begin by removing Jews to the most squalid corner of the city. And German public health officials argued for the "irrefutable necessity" of "hermetically" sealing off the Jews, who were deemed the



Adolf Eichmann listens to the proceedings through a glass booth during his trial in Jerusalem, 1961. Pictured in the foreground are defense attorney Dr. Robert Servatius; prosecutor Gideon Hausner; Hausner's deputy, Gabriel Bach; and (from behind) possibly the prosecution advisor, Jacob Robinson.
USHMM WS #24373, COURTESY OF ELI ROSENBAUM



A group of Jewish men stand outside the entrance to the *mikveh* (ritual bath) in the Piotrków Trybunalski ghetto, May 15, 1942.
USHMM WS #04099, COURTESY OF BEN JACHIMOWICZ JAMES

carriers of epidemics endangering the rest of the population.[10] The ghettoization decree was announced on February 8, and some 162,000 Jews were sealed off on April 30, 1940.

As the expulsion of the ghettoized Łódź Jews was expected by the end of July 1940, and the interim goal was to force the Jews to give up all of their wealth in return for food, the German authorities had little interest in organizing and exploiting Jewish labor. However, when it was clear by the end of summer 1940 that the Łódź Jews could not be expelled in the foreseeable future, that little in the way of "hoarded" wealth was any longer being extracted to purchase food, and death rates in the ghetto were skyrocketing, German authorities had to reassess their policies towards the ghetto. Alexander Palfinger was unconcerned by the evidence of rising death rates and continued to argue that only the "most extreme exigency" would induce the Jews to part with their wealth. And in any case, "the rapid dying out of the Jews is for us a matter of total indifference, if not to say desirable."[11] Palfinger's immediate superior and ghetto manager, Hans Biebow, argued for a different course; he wanted "to facilitate the self-maintenance of the Jews through finding them work." Biebow's position prevailed at a meeting of German officials on October 18, 1940, where "it was established at the outset that the ghetto in Łódź must continue to exist, and everything must be done to make the ghetto self-sustaining."[12] Therefore, the character of the ghetto had to be "fundamentally altered" from that of "a kind of holding or concentration camp" designed for "drawing off the wealth of the ghetto inhabitants" into an "essential element of the total economy, a one-of-its-kind large-scale enterprise."[13]

Łódź was the first major sealed ghetto created and the first whose long-term duration was reluctantly accepted. Here the argument between the attritionists and productionists had first been waged, and the productionists had prevailed. It would also become, therefore, the first site of an experiment in harnassing the labor of ghettoized Jews to make the ghetto self-sustaining. It was destined to be not only a model that other German authorities studied and modified but also "a 'tourist attraction' that never failed to excite the most lively interests of visitors from the Old Reich."[14]

Throughout 1940 and 1941, most but not all of the smaller Jewish communities in the Warthegau were ghettoized as well. Some were open, but many were enclosed. Local authorities cited various reasons, especially the housing shortage, fear of epidemics, and the alleged key role of Jews in the black market.[15] But the real center of ghettoization had shifted to the Generalgouvernement and particularly to the largest Jewish community in all of Nazi-occupied Europe, Warsaw. There, in contrast to Łódź, the move towards ghettoization proceeded in fits and starts, and attritionists initially prevailed over productionists until the head of the Generalgouvernement, Hans Frank, and his economic experts intervened from outside.

In the fall of 1939, an SS initiative for establishing a ghetto in Warsaw was indefinitely postponed by the army.[16] In the following spring of 1940, the head of Distrikt Warschau's Resettlement Division, Waldemar Schön, proposed a ghetto across the Vistula River on the east bank, which was rejected by city officials as economically too disruptive.[17] Schön's next proposal for two suburban ghettos received impetus from a major conference on the use of Jewish labor in the Generalgouvernement, which concluded in early June 1940 that all cities should erect work camps, concentration camps, and ghettos "so that the Jews cannot move about freely."[18] But this impetus was nullified a month later when Frank ordered a sudden halt to all ghetto building in the Generalgouvernement, which was now deemed to be "for all practical purposes illusory" in view of Hitler's recent approval of the Madagascar Plan and the seemingly imminent deportation of all of Europe's Jews to that island in the Indian Ocean.[19]

After many false starts, the final impetus for creating the Warsaw ghetto came from public health officials. The chief public health official in Distrikt Warschau, Dr. Lambert, argued that "with absolute certainty" deadly epidemics would sweep the Distrikt in the coming winter and that ghettoization of Jews was urgent to protect the increasing concentrations of troops there. This position was endorsed by Frank's chief health official, Dr. Jost Walbaum, and on September 12, Frank approved the creation of a sealed ghetto, "above all" due to the

danger to public health posed by Jews "roving about."[20] At the same time, other towns in the Distrikt were also to construct ghettos, and Schön's Resettlement Division was entrusted with the implementation. For the sake of time, his idea of two suburban ghettos was abandoned in favor of locating the ghetto in the most densely Jewish section of the city. There the Warsaw ghetto was sealed on November 30, 1940.

If the warnings of public health officials had tipped the scales in favor of ghettoization, many other justifications were offered in its favor both before and after: removing Jewish political, cultural, and moral influence on life in Poland; ending Jewish black marketeering and price speculation; the aesthetic removal of the "Jewish imprint" from Warsaw; and the ability to control large numbers of Jews with a relatively small claim on German supervisory personnel.[21] In Warsaw as in Łódź, though more gradually, the creation of the ghetto became a consensus policy. Likewise in Warsaw, the subsequent struggle between attritionists and productionists was more prolonged.

With the sealing of the Warsaw ghetto, all economic exchange was to run through the Transfer Station (Transferstelle) established by Waldemar Schön, who pursued the announced goal of extracting all of the ghetto's "hidden" wealth while avoiding "premature impoverishment" before the ghetto inhabitants could be expelled to Madagascar.[22] In reality, Schön constructed a coalition of attritionists, hiring the disgruntled Alexander Palfinger away from Łódź and siding with Karl Naumann, the Distrikt's head of the Division for Food and Agriculture, who deliberately withheld food supplies from the ghetto. As reports of surging starvation in the Warsaw ghetto spread, Frank's economic experts, Walter Emmerich and Rudolf Gater, presented him with a stark alternative: one could view the ghetto either "as a means . . . to liquidate the Jews" or as a source of labor that had to be sufficiently fed to be capable of productive work.[23] Overcoming the mendacious denials of Warsaw officials, Emmerich prevailed: "The starting point for all economic measures has to be the idea of maintaining the capacity of the Jews to live."[24] In May 1941, Schön and Palfinger were given other duties, Heinz Auerswald was appointed commissioner of the Jewish district, and the banker Max Bischof was placed in charge of the Transfer Station. Together they worked for a productionist solution, specifically "improvement in the hygienic situation in the interest of combating epidemics" and "the prevention of an initially feared economic failure" through the "employment of a large number" of Jewish workers.[25]

Ghettoization in the other Distrikts of the Generalgouvernement—Krakau, Radom, and Lublin—followed yet another trajectory and timetable. In April 1940, Hans Frank determined that his capital city of Kraków should become the "most Jew-free city" in the Generalgouvernement, so he and his officials could "breathe German air." Thus the vast bulk of Kraków's 60,000 Jews were to be expelled from the city and dispersed among the smaller towns and villages of the Distrikt, while only 5,000 to 10,000 would be allowed to remain as indispensable skilled workers.[26] Even as expulsion on this scale proved utterly impossible to implement in Kraków, German Distrikt governors in Radom and Lublin—citing above all a shortage of housing—attempted the same policy of reducing the urban Jewish populations of their capital cities as well. In short, dispersal, not concentration as an alleged preparation for deportation to extermination camps, was one initial German goal in these Distrikts. With the massive buildup of German troop levels in the Generalgouvernement in preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union, the housing shortage intensified further, and ghettoization of more Jewish communities in the cities and towns throughout Distrikts Krakau and Radom was ordered in late March and early April 1941. When the ghettos in the larger cities were sealed, they contained far larger numbers of Jews than the German authorities either desired or anticipated—in Kraków and Radom, 40,000 and 25,000, respectively, rather than 10,000; in Lublin, 40,000 rather than 20,000. Needless to say, the larger number of Jews was not accommodated by giving them more housing but rather by crowding them together more densely. Open ghettos were more prevalent in the smaller towns in Distrikts Radom and Krakau. "In Distrikt Lublin," one German official reported nearly a year later, "with one exception, regular and sealed ghettos do not exist. There are many Jewish quarters and special Jewish communities, but these are not specially isolated."[27]

Since detailed arrangements were left to the local authorities, the process of establishing ghettos was extremely decentralized and drawn out over more than two years. In Distrikt Radom, for example, it lasted until the summer of 1942, when the deportations to killing centers began. Both open and closed ghettos were established, with the latter type predominating from the spring of 1941. In the case of some small ghettos, the inhabitants were simply ordered not to leave the limits of their village. In the fall of 1941, concerns to suppress the spread of typhus and black market activities led German officials to intensify restrictions on Jews' freedom of movement and introduce a more systematic ghettoization, which produced more than 100 ghettos in Distrikt Radom. By December 1941, Distrikt governor Kundt had proclaimed the death sentence both for Jews leaving their place of residence and for Poles sheltering or providing assistance to Jews. Signs were to be erected marking the boundaries of the Jewish districts (*Jüdischer Wohnbezirke*) and informing the Jews of the death penalty for leaving them. In response, several Kreishauptmänner declared remaining villages with a Jewish population to be ghettos by early 1942. Subsequently in Kreis Opatow, 17 specified ghettos were to be established by June 1, 1942.[28]

As a general rule, the more hermetically sealed the ghetto and the larger the Jewish population, the greater the task of sustaining that population against the threat of death through starvation and disease. Thus Łódź and Warsaw above all presented the greatest difficulties to both the German productionist ghetto managers and Jewish leaders in harnessing Jewish labor and establishing viable ghetto economies. The respective

ghetto managers, Hans Biebow and Heinz Auerswald, and their respective Jewish counterparts, Chaim Rumkowski and Adam Czerniaków, followed divergent strategies. In Łódź, Biebow's ghetto administration kept a tight and centralized control over workshops set up within the ghetto as well as the inflow of food and raw materials and outflow of goods produced. Private contracting and smuggling were effectively prohibited. Rumkowski in turn assured the assignment and discipline of labor and tolerated no dissent or challenge to his authority. In Warsaw, Auerswald and Bischof allowed for the emergence of a "free enterprise" ghetto economy in which German businessmen were invited to set up shops inside the ghetto, confiscatory controls on currency and accumulated wealth were lifted to encourage Jewish business activity, and a blind eye was turned towards the considerable economic traffic in and out of the ghetto outside the supervision of the Transfer Station. And Czerniakow, in contrast to Rumkowski, permitted pluralistic political as well as economic activity.

Ghetto production rose in both Łódź and Warsaw, the soaring death rates stabilized, and the ghettoized Jews did not simply die out as the attritionists had hoped. Nonetheless, life within the ghettos remained miserable and precarious, and the triumph of the productionist ghetto managers was only partial for several reasons. First, the ghettos were still viewed by German occupation authorities as a "most unwelcome" but "necessary evil" granted no permanent right to exist.[29] As Auerswald noted, "[T]he best solution would apparently still be the removal of the Jews to some other place."[30] Thus even German authorities with a vested interest in the productivity of the ghettos could not resist putting immediate and predatory pillaging of ghetto "profits" ahead of long-term investment in the sustenance of ghetto labor. Most notoriously, Gauleiter Greiser of the Warthegau skimmed off 65 percent of the proceeds from ghetto production for his own coffers, leaving the malnourished ghetto workers to a fate of gradual decline. Greiser's windfall from the Łódź ghetto, combined with his close personal ties to Himmler, saved it from the fate of general liquidation and the transfer of a remnant of survivors to labor camps, the fate that other Polish ghettos suffered in 1942–1943. But the Łódź Jews suffered an agonizing and prolonged process of debilitation and decimation until the final liquidation of the ghetto in the summer of 1944.

Second, the ghettoized Jews were at the bottom of the Nazi racial hierarchy and thus had the last claim on resources. Pleas for more food for the ghetto workers and more resources for the ghetto economies were, in a wartime situation of overall and growing shortages, constantly met with the rejoinder that no one else could be "impaired or disadvantaged even in the slightest for the benefit of the Jews."[31] Thus ghetto managers were free to improve ghetto economies only as long as they worked with marginal resources not previously claimed by others. What they could not do was achieve a reallocation of resources to benefit ghettoized Jews at the expense of anyone else. This meant, moreover, that unrepentant attritionists were generally free to sabotage productionist efforts with impunity. Requests for food and raw materials were met with the standard reply that nothing was available for the Jews. In vain, one frustrated German official noted: "It is thereby completely overlooked that these requests serve much less the interests of the Jews than the appropriate exploitation of Jewish manpower for the good of the Reich."[32]

Under such circumstances productionist ghetto managers gradually changed the terms of their argument. Initially, they had argued that Jews must be put to work to feed the ghettos at no expense to the Reich and thereby avoid the calamitous consequences of widespread starvation and unchecked epidemics. As the ghettos became more productive, they then argued that their Jewish workers must be fed to continue producing for the German war effort. When Berlin opted for mass murder, by their own revised argument they had already abandoned nonworking Jews to their fate.

GHETTOIZATION IN THE SHADOW OF THE FINAL SOLUTION: OCCUPIED SOVIET TERRITORY AFTER JUNE 1941

In preparation for the "war of destruction" that Nazi Germany would wage against the Soviet Union, Hitler called for the removal of the "Jewish Bolshevik intelligentsia." The military guidelines for troop behavior called for "ruthless measures" against "bolshevist agitators, guerrillas, saboteurs, Jews." Economists planned to decimate the urban population through deliberate starvation. And Heydrich specifically ordered his police units to execute "Jews in state and party positions." However ominous the implications were concerning the long-term fate of Soviet Jewry, pre-invasion documents were quite vague about specific measures. Even Alfred Rosenberg, who in his capacity as the designated future Reich Minister for the Eastern Occupied Territories churned out a veritable blizzard of memoranda, mentioned specific ghettoization policies only briefly and inconsistently. On one occasion he specified "forced labor, ghettoization" as a "temporary, transitional solution" to the Jewish question.[33] Just a week later he wrote that a "definitive solution" would be obtained through the "creation of ghettos or work columns. Compulsory labor must be introduced." Crossed out was the additional qualification "as is already being done in practice in Litzmannstadt [Łódź]."[34] Clearly Rosenberg looked to the Polish model and saw the exploitation of Jewish forced labor and ghettoization as two aspects of a single policy.

But the installation of Rosenberg's civil administration, limited to the western portions of the occupied Soviet territory, did not begin until many weeks and months after the invasion. Aside from the initial policies of instigating murderous pogroms, followed by the selective mass murder of Jewish adult males, especially those deemed Jewish leaders or professional elites, carried out by various SS police units, the more mundane policies for controlling the remaining Jewish population were introduced by local military authorities. In addition to marking, forced labor, exclusion from various economic



Defendants Hans Frank and Alfred Rosenberg stand during a recess of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, n.d. Also pictured, from left to right, are Alfred Jodl, Franz von Papen (from the back), and Artur Seyss-Inquart.
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activities, confiscation of property, and the mandated creation of Jewish Councils, these local regulations often included restrictions on movement and relocation to specified areas of residence, both to facilitate control of the Jewish population and to free up housing for the benefit of the local population. The result was that in many regions a decentralized and unsystematic but nonetheless de facto ghettoization process was set in motion.

In midsummer two developments began to occur simultaneously on Soviet-occupied territory: the gradual installation of Rosenberg's civil administration in rear areas and the retargeting by SS killing squads from adult male Jews to now include women, children, and elderly that signaled the onset of the Final Solution. These simultaneous developments set the stage for a conflict between the civil administration and the SS over the viability of extending the Polish model of ghettoization to Soviet territory. The so-called Brown Folder of Rosenberg's ministry proposed "preparatory measures" for a postwar European-wide solution to the Jewish question. Jews were to be expelled from public life, restricted in movement, and separated from the rest of the population through "a transfer into ghettos." Given the priority of economic concerns during the war, however, anti-Jewish measures were not to damage economic interests, and Jews were to be harnessed to "productive" manual labor.[35] In early August 1941, Hinrich Lohse, Rosenberg's appointee as Reichskommissar Ostland, circulated "guidelines" whereby Jews would be cleared from the countryside and concentrated in "hermetically" sealed ghettos in the cities. Private employers would pay the civil administration for the use of Jewish labor, which in turn would fund minimal provisions for the ghettoized Jews.[36] Quite simply, this was a copy of the "practice in Litzmannstadt."

Walter Stahlecker, head of Einsatzgruppe A in the Baltic, objected to the guidelines, which were "not in agreement" with the orders—which could "not be discussed in writing"—that he had been given for the treatment of the Jewish question. In trying to regulate the Jewish question on the model of the Generalgouvernement, Lohse ignored "the radical treatment of the Jewish question now possible for the first time" in the east, namely, "an almost 100 percent immediate cleansing of the entire Ostland of Jews." Moreover, Stahlecker asserted, because of the collapse of the economy, there was no shortage of workers, and therefore, considerations for the use of Jewish labor could be excluded.[37]

The conflict between a Polish model of ghettoization and an "almost 100 percent immediate cleansing" was resolved through compromise. Lohse informed his men that the civil administration could proceed with ghettoization "where and so long as further measures in the sense of a Final Solution to the Jewish question are not possible." Stahlecker informed his men that while they were not in a position to implement their own "difficult" measures at the moment, they had to keep their focus "on a Final Solution to the Jewish question with quite different measures than those envisaged" by Lohse.[38] In short, in Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO), ghettoization would be a temporary measure, carried out by the civil administration and tolerated by the SS only where and as long as elimination of the Jews through mass execution was not possible.

In August, September, and October 1941, a cautious and conditional consensus on ghettoization was being reached by other agencies in other regions of the newly occupied Soviet territories as well. In mid-August the Army High Command articulated its policy, according to which ghettoization could be carried out "*if*" it was "useful and necessary" and "*if*" the means were available to accomplish it without disadvantaging other more urgent priorities (italics added).[39] On September 5, 1941, Erich Koch, Lohse's counterpart in the south, ordered the establishment of ghettos in those regions in which the civil administration was being established in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[40] On September 28, even the SS-Cavalry Brigade operating in the Pripet marshes of Belorussia welcomed ghettoization as an expedient under some conditions: "If a unit is stationed in one place for a long time, Jewish quarters or ghettos are to be set up directly, if they [the Jews] cannot be exterminated immediately."[41] Last on board were the German occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia (Distrikt Galizien), which had been joined to the Generalgouvernement in August 1941. They initially experienced the ban on further ghetto building that was in force throughout the Generalgouvernement "because the hope exists that the Jews

will be deported out of the Generalgouvernement in the near future." Pleading their special case, Distrikt authorities obtained permission in October 1941 to erect ghettos at least in the major cities of Stanisławów, Tarnopol, and Lwów to isolate "the Jews from the rest of the population as quickly and as extensively as possible."[42]

Given the lack of a single, uniform policy, the emerging pattern of ghettoization in the newly occupied Soviet territories was therefore an uneven patchwork that depended on a number of variables, including above all the timing and logistics of the massacre of the local Jewish populations, on the one hand, and the decisions of local authorities balancing the demands for food and housing and need for Jewish labor, on the other. Five general configurations can be identified.

First, in the occupied territories further east and closest to the front, where much of the Jewish population had had a chance to flee and where destruction of urban areas was great and economic activity slight, immediate mass executions were sometimes carried out without any ghettoization at all. The classic example of mass execution without preliminary ghettoization is of course the massacre of more than 33,000 Jews in the ravine at Babi Yar on September 29–30, just days after the German occupation of Kiev. Also among the largest mass killing Aktions that took place without prior ghettoization were those in Dnepropetrovsk (November 15, 1941) and Simferopol (December 9–13, 1941).

Second, and more commonly, very brief, makeshift measures of concentration were carried out prior to mass killings in 1941. The term *ghetto* was used, often to camouflage German intentions and create the illusion of long-term viability among the victims, but liquidation occurred before these ghettos took on many of the institutionalized characteristics of the "Polish model." In Lithuania the Germans began concentrating Jews outside the major cities in improvised camps in mid-July, and more systematic killing began in mid-August.[43] In Latvia, some of the "provincial" Jews were concentrated in mid-sized towns like Jelgava and Litene and held for two to three weeks before their execution, while others were killed directly in their home villages and towns.[44] In central Ukraine, the Jews of Zhytomyr were concentrated on July 9, and successive waves of executions had destroyed the Jewish community there by mid-September. Less incrementally, most of the 15,000 Jews of Berdichev were ghettoized on August 26 and killed in a massive Aktion on September 15–16, 1941. In Vinnitsa the Jews were concentrated in a brick factory and several other buildings shortly before more than 10,000 Jews were killed on September 19, leaving only a remnant of 5,000 alive until the next spring.[45] In southern Ukraine, the Jews of Kherson were ghettoized on September 7 and killed on September 24–25, and the Jews of Mariupol were placed in barracks on the edge of the city on October 18 and killed on October 20–21.

Starting somewhat later than in the Baltic and Ukraine, German occupation authorities liquidated the ghettos of eastern Belorussia, beginning with Mogilev on October 2–3 and 19. In Vitebsk some 15,000 Jews had been concentrated in a ruined factory, and perhaps as many as two thirds had already perished from starvation and epidemics when the rest were killed on October 8–10. Ghetto liquidations followed in Borisov on October 21–22; in Gomel', Bobruisk, and Orsha in November; and Polotsk in early December.[46] In Generalkommissariat (Gk) Wolhynien und Podolien the order for ghettoization was issued in early September 1941,[47] which was implemented only quite slowly in practice. Apparently desirous of a capital city virtually "free of Jews," the local authorities carried out a carefully planned killing Aktion that took the lives of 18,000 to 21,000 Jews in Równe on November 5–6, 1941, which prepared the way for the establishment of a ghetto for the remaining 5,000 Jews there in December. The bulk of the 130 ghettos in Gk Wolhynien und Podolien were established between October 1941 and May 1942, to collect Jews in the Rayon centers, as in almost all locations only partial killing Aktions had been conducted in the summer and fall of 1941. The main wave of ghetto liquidations here occurred in the summer and fall of 1942.[48] In eastern Ukraine, Khar'kov was not occupied until late October. The more than 10,000 remaining Jews were moved to a tractor plant outside of town on December 16 and killed in early January 1942.

A third configuration—prevalent in Distrikt Bialystok and Gk Wolhynien und Podolien—most closely followed the "Polish model." Here the Einsatzgruppen and other German police units carried out massacres of thousands of Jews in the summer of 1941 but then quickly moved eastward, leaving the bulk of the Jewish populations still alive. They were incarcerated in ghettos that were then left relatively undisturbed until their final liquidation many months later. During this period of relative stability, especially in places where both German authorities and Jewish leaders were similarly inclined, Jewish workers were extensively mobilized and significant ghetto economies were created. In the city of Białystok, German Order Police battalions killed thousands of Jews in two Aktions in late June and mid-July 1941. Thereafter, Ephraim Barash pursued an unabashed policy of "survival through labor" and cultivated a network of German authorities willing to profit. The Białystok ghetto became a beehive of factories and workshops producing for both the Germans and the underground economy. Even when the small ghettos of Distrikt Bialystok were liquidated in November 1942 and the larger ghettos of Łomża, Prużana, and Grodno were liquidated in early 1943, the Białystok ghetto—despite a partial deportation of 10,000 of its population in February—continued in existence until its final liquidation in August 1943. In the area across the Bug River that would become Gk Wolhynien und Podolien, the Jewish communities of Brześć and Pińsk were savaged by massacres in early July and early August 1941, respectively, as the German advance passed through, but here, too, stability followed. In Brześć an alliance of SS and civil administration authorities consciously sought to maximize the economic exploitation of Jewish labor, citing the model of Odilo Globocnik's economic ventures in Distrikt Lublin of the Generalgouvernement. Many of the ghettos in Gk Wolhynien und Podolien were cleared during the summer of 1942, and in late August 1942, Koch ordered a "one hundred percent cleansing"

with no exceptions. Despite the explicit protestations of the German authorities in Brześć, after more than a year of relative peace, the ghettos in Brześć and then Pińsk were subjected to sudden and total liquidation in October.[49] Following the murder of 4,000 unskilled workers in Włodzimierz Wołyński in November 1942, only a small remnant ghetto there for about 1,000 Jews existed as the last ghetto in Gk Wolhynien und Podolien until its final liquidation in December 1943.

The fourth and perhaps most prevalent configuration for ghettoization in the newly occupied Soviet territories involved an ongoing interplay between ghettoization and massacre. In these cases, mass killing often preceded initial ghettoization, and thereafter the surviving remnant was subject to the constant threat of renewed selections reducing the ghetto population even further. In some places and on some occasions the depleted ghetto populations would be reinforced by contingents of Jews brought in from the outside. In this ongoing process of periodic selection and ghetto reduction, Jews deemed useful to the war economy were advantaged over those classified as nonworkers, as the Germans attempted to exploit Jewish labor and advance towards completion of their "Final Solution to the Jewish question" simultaneously. This was the pattern of events most evident in the Baltic, western Belorussia (Gk Weissruthenien) and Distrikt Galizien.

In Wilno (Vilnius), some 5,000 Jews were killed in July 1941 and another 14,000 in the first days of September at the infamous execution site of Ponary, before the remaining Jewish population of some 40,000 was forced into two ghettos. After nonworkers had been concentrated in the second ghetto, they were killed in October. Two further selections and killing Aktions in the main ghetto in November and December reduced the Jewish population to 20,000. Only then did a period of stability set in, with the bulk of the ghetto population working in the war economy. Nearly half the Jewish population was dispersed to labor camps before the final liquidation of the ghetto in September 1943. In nearby Kaunas, some 10,000 Jews were killed in the summer of 1941, before the surviving remnant of 30,000 was ghettoized in late August. A series of selections in the fall of 1941 claimed the lives of 12,000 more Jews before a period of stabilization set in. Close to 7,000 Kaunas Jews were dispersed to labor camps in the fall of 1943. Then the ghetto was administratively transformed into a concentration camp and finally liquidated in July 1944.

In pre-war Polish territories of Gk Weissruthenien the Germans killed Jewish leaders and intelligentsia in the major towns of Słonim, Nowogródek, and Baranowicze and some smaller towns in July 1941. In Słonim the Jews were placed in a ghetto with two sections, one for workers and families and the other for nonworkers. On November 14, 1941, the Germans killed 8,000 Jews derisively referred to as "useless eaters" by Gebietskommissar Erren.[50] The ghetto was repopulated with Jews brought in from the surrounding area. Then 8,000 more Słonim Jews were killed on June 29, 1942, and the remnant ghetto was then liquidated the following December. In Nowogródek 5,000 Jews were killed on December 8, 1942, and additional Jews were brought from the surrounding area into a newly established ghetto that was divided into three sections. Two of these sections were liquidated in succession on August 7, 1942, and February 4, 1943, before most of the few remaining Jews escaped through a tunnel on September 26, 1943. In Baranowicze the mass killing started somewhat later but followed the same pattern. After 2,300 Jews were killed on March 2, 1942, some additional skilled workers were brought in from surrounding smaller ghettos. The ghetto was liquidated in two further Aktions, which started on September 22 and December 17, 1942. A few Jews remained alive in various work camps in Baranowicze until the fall of 1943.[51]

An even more complex interaction of massacre and ghettoization occurred in Eastern Galicia. Following the first wave of killing in the summer of 1941, the Distrikt authorities obtained permission to begin ghettoization in three cities: Stanisławów, Tarnopol, and Lwów. In Stanisławów this led directly to the infamous "Bloody Sunday" massacre of 10,000 Jews on October 12, since the space allotted for the closed ghetto that was finally established in December was so small. The open ghetto established in Tarnopol in September was likewise closed in December, but the attempt in Lwów failed. Some 60,000 Jews were uprooted; forced into two narrow passageways through a railway embankment, where a murderous selection of thousands who were deemed unfit took place; and resettled on the site of the prospective ghetto. Before the last 20,000 Jews in Lwów could be moved, however, the Aktion was broken off in early December when epidemics spread through the city.

In March and April 1942 a vast four-pronged attack on the Jews of Distrikt Galizien was set in motion: (1) open ghettos were established in a number of the major towns, often divided into three sections for skilled workers, manual workers, and nonworkers; (2) from there many thousands of Jews deemed least useful for labor were sent either to the gas chambers at the Bełżec extermination center or shot locally; (3) Jews in the outlying areas were concentrated in the urban centers where the Jewish populations had been reduced; and (4) slave labor camps were set up for road construction (the Durchgangsstrasse [highway] IV [DG IV] camps) and outside Lwów (Janowska). This massive uprooting and killing operation gradually subsided after Bełżec was temporarily shut down for enlargement and could take no further transports from Distrikt Galizien. By then the killing campaigns of the summer of 1941, late 1941, and the spring of 1942 had claimed some 7,000, 30,000, and 40,000 Jewish lives, respectively, but over 400,000 Jews still remained alive.

On July 19, 1942, Himmler ordered the liquidation of all Jews in the Generalgouvernement by the end of the year. In an extraordinarily intense killing campaign that lasted from late July into December, the German authorities in Distrikt Galizien claimed another 260,000 victims, most through deportation to the now-enlarged extermination camp at Bełżec. Having decimated the Jewish community of Lwów by nearly half in August, a sealed ghetto was created there in early September after a grotesque public hanging of the Jewish Coun-

cil. The same pattern was followed elsewhere as closed ghettos were created to hold the decimated survivors. Here, the completion of the ghettoization process was not a preparatory step for mass murder but a measure to control the remnant of survivors. At the end of 1942, some 160,000 Jews were in fact still alive in Distrikt Galizien, interned in either labor camps or around 35 permitted "work ghettos" (*Arbeitsghettos*) that were often scarcely distinguishable from labor camps. Despite the Himmler order of the summer before, the deteriorating military situation and the vast roundups of Ukrainian workers sent back to the Third Reich (as well as the limited killing capacity of Bełżec) had made the total liquidation of Jewish labor by the end of the year unobtainable.

Numerous killing Aktions continued in the first four months of 1943, especially another roundup of 10,000 Jews in the Lwów ghetto in January. Thereafter the ghetto was officially reclassified as a *Julag* or "Jew camp." The final sweep of ghetto liquidations occurred in May and June 1943 on Himmler's orders, immediately in the wake of the security panic that resulted from the Warsaw Uprising. The remnant of 21,000 Jews then still alive in labor camps were mostly killed in the liquidation of the DG IV camps in July and the Janowska camp in November 1943.

The fifth and rarest configuration for ghettoization in occupied Soviet territory involved just two cities—Riga and Minsk—which became the sites for ghettos of German-speaking Jews deported from the Third Reich in late 1941 and early 1942. In September 1941 Himmler had obtained permission from Hitler to commence the deportation of Jews from the Third Reich, but as yet no extermination camps had been constructed and the regime was still uncertain in any case as how best to proceed with the potentially more politically sensitive killing of German Jews. Thus the deportees were initially to be sent to eastern ghettos before being sent "yet further to the east next spring."[52] Some 20 transports were sent to Łódź, after which Minsk became the next recipient. To make space for the new arrivals, approximately 18,000 local Jews were killed in two Aktions on November 7 and 20, 1941. German authorities in Minsk protested the arrival of the transports of Central European Jews so vociferously that the influx was stopped after 7 transports. The deportees were interned in a "German ghetto" separated from that of the Belorussian Jews by an internal wire.

In Riga, following early pogroms and numerous killing Aktions in the nearby Bikernieki Forest, German authorities ordered the formation of a ghetto in late July 1941. When finally sealed on October 25, 1941, the ghetto held 29,600 Latvian Jews. On November 30 and December 8, all but 5,000 (confined to a "small ghetto") were killed in two horrific mass shootings at Rumbula. The main ghetto as well as nearby camps at Jungfernhof and Salaspils were filled with some 20,000 Jews from the Third Reich, who arrived on 20 transports between November 30, 1941, and February 10, 1942. Mass executions and high attrition cut the population of newcomers in half within months. A remnant of some 8,000 Jews was transferred to the concentration camp at Kaiserwald and its subcamps before the ghetto was dissolved in November 1943.[53]

LIQUIDATION OF THE POLISH GHETTOS, 1942–1944

When Joseph Goebbels visited Hitler's headquarters on August 19–20, 1941, he referred to Hitler's Reichstag speech of January 1939 prophesying that another world war would result in the "destruction of the Jewish race in Europe." Goebbels then recommended not only the marking of German Jews but also their deportation to the east. Convinced that his prophecy was "being confirmed," Hitler approved the marking decree but made an important distinction in the timetable for the realization of his prophecy. "In the east the Jews are paying the price, in Germany they have already paid in part and will have to pay still more in the future." But this future was not distant. The deportation of German Jews would begin "immediately after the end of the campaign in the East."[54]

The renewed Nazi offensive from early September to early October led in rapid succession to the surrounding of Leningrad in the north, the capture of Kiev in the south, and the double encirclement victory of Vyazma and Bryansk on the Central Front. With victory now seemingly in sight, the Nazi regime also made a cluster of decisions in September and October 1941 that would extend the Final Solution that had sealed the fate of Soviet Jews to the rest of the European Jews within the German sphere, namely, the decisions to begin the deportation of Jews from the Third Reich to the east that Hitler had still shied from in August, to begin construction of a fleet of gas vans and two prototype extermination camps at Chełmno and Bełżec, and to forbid any further emigration of Jews from the German sphere. In short, the previous vision of a solution to the Jewish question through decimating expulsion had been replaced by a new vision of total and systematic mass murder through deportation to camps in the east equipped with gassing facilities.

In turn, Polish ghettos that had previously functioned as temporary holding areas for Jews until they could somehow be expelled now became staging areas for selection and deportation to extermination camps. However, immediate implementation of the new policy was not possible until the new killing centers had been constructed and they as well as the techniques of ghetto liquidation and deportation had been tested. The Nazi regime was venturing into totally uncharted territory, and necessarily there would be a significant "lag time" between the fateful decisions of the fall of 1941 and the extension of the Final Solution from the Soviet territory to the European Jews in practice.

Once again the Łódź ghetto was a key site in the history of Nazi ghettoization, where the course of events was shaped by four distinguishing factors. It was already the first ghetto in which, due to the joint efforts of ghetto manager Hans Biebow and Jewish Council chairman Chaim Rumkowski, an extensive employment of Jewish labor had been harnessed to the German war economy. It was the only Polish ghetto (in addition to Minsk, Kaunas, and Riga further east) to which German,

Austrian, and Czech Jews were deported in the fall of 1941, posing the problem of overcrowding and evoking strong protest from local authorities. It was now the first major ghetto from which Jews were selected and deported to their deaths by poison gassing (in this case in the gas vans of the Chełmno camp), beginning in January 1942. And in the end, as the major Polish ghetto furthest from the reach of the advancing Red Army and the ghetto most profitable to local German authorities, it would be the last to be liquidated.

The dovetailing of Rumkowski's strategy of survival through labor with the needs of the German war economy and the interest of local Nazis in enriching themselves meant that the Łódź ghetto was targeted for the elimination of all nonworking Jews but not total destruction. This also meant that the Łódź ghetto was a major site of one of the most excruciating dilemmas facing some but not all Jewish Councils, namely, participation in the selection of who would live and who would die. Between January and May 1942, Rumkowski's ghetto bureaucracy chose more than 55,000 Jews to be sent to Chełmno, and Jewish ghetto police escorted the unfortunate victims to the waiting trains. However, when the Germans demanded renewed deportations in September 1942 of the sick and unfit as well as all those over 65 and under 10 years of age, they had to enter the ghetto in force to carry out with terrible violence the deportation of an additional 16,000 Jews. While attrition from starvation continued within the ghetto unabated, that was the last deportation until the final liquidation of the Łódź ghetto in the summer of 1944.

Elsewhere in Poland there was no such prolonged pause in the ghetto liquidation process. Within the Generalgouvernement the Lublin ghetto was the site of the crucial "trial run" for mass ghetto-clearing and the operation of the Bełżec extermination camp. Beginning on March 16, squads of SS, Order Police, and East European auxiliaries (euphemistically called Hiwis or "volunteers") struck the ghetto on a daily basis. By April 14, over 30,000 Jews had been sent to Bełżec, thousands had been shot in the course of the violent roundups, some 4,000 were approved for transfer to a makeshift work ghetto, and another 4,000 "illegals" managed to evade the roundups and join the temporarily spared workers. In short, within one brief month over 80 percent of the inhabitants of the Lublin ghetto were murdered, and a remnant of less than 20 percent clung to life under a precarious stay of execution.

One Nazi official immediately perceived the significance of what had happened: "The Jewish resettlement has proved, therefore, that the action can be carried out also on a large scale, that is[,] for the entire Generalgouvernement."[55] And Goebbels recorded in his diary: "Beginning in Lublin, the Jews in the Generalgouvernement are now being evacuated eastward. The procedure is a pretty barbaric one and not to be described here more definitely. Not much will remain of the Jews. On the whole it can be said about 60 percent of them will have to be liquidated[,] whereas only about 40 percent can be used for forced labor."[56] Deportations to Bełżec were extended simultaneously to other parts of Distrikt Lublin and two other Distrikts—Galizien and Krakau—in the spring of 1942. The ghetto clearance Aktions at this time were accompanied by the establishment of a number of short-lived ghettos designed primarily to assemble the Jews for deportation. Very quickly the limited gas chamber and burial capacity of Bełżec was overwhelmed. Operations there were halted in May while larger gas chambers were constructed, but a new camp at Sobibór opened, and construction of a third Generalgouvernement extermination camp at Treblinka began.

In mid-June the ghetto-clearing and deportation Aktions were temporarily halted due to a lack of trains, owing to the demands of the renewed German offensive on the Eastern Front. During the brief pause Himmler pushed for an even more sweeping liquidation of the ghettos than reflected in Goebbels's estimated ratio of 60 percent liquidation/40 percent labor. The existing arrangements for the employment of Jewish labor were voided, and Himmler imposed new, much more stringent conditions for its use. Then on July 19, 1942, directly following a meeting with Hitler and a visit to Auschwitz, Himmler set a deadline for "total purification" of the Generalgouvernement: "I order that the resettlement of the entire Jewish population of the Generalgouvernement be carried out and completed by December 31, 1942. As of December 31, 1942, no person of Jewish origin may reside in the Generalgouvernement except in internment camps. . . . All other labor projects that employ Jewish labor must be completed by then, or if this is not possible, transferred to an internment camp."[57]

Just days later, on July 23, the trains rolled again, and the newly opened extermination camp at Treblinka began receiving massive transports from the Warsaw ghetto and Distrikt Radom. The five months following the setting of Himmler's deadline were undoubtedly the most lethal in the history of the Holocaust, as every ghetto in Poland was devastated, and the vast bulk of Polish Jewry perished in the face of the manic Nazi assault. While the largest ghetto, Warsaw, had to be emptied incrementally, most were liquidated quickly. For instance, from Częstochowa 50,000 ghettoized Jews were sent to Treblinka in a single brutal Aktion lasting two weeks. Other ghettos, like Międzyrzec Podlaski, were virtually emptied, refilled with Jews from the surrounding region, and then emptied again in repeated Aktions. Only by the narrowest margin was Himmler's end-of-the-year deadline not met. From January through September 1943, the "remnant ghettos" were in turn liquidated. Thereafter, Jews in the Generalgouvernement survived either in work camps or illegally in hiding or under false papers.

Alongside Łódź, the other major concentration of Jews in the "incorporated territories" of western Poland was found in Eastern Upper Silesia (Ost-Oberschlesien). Just as Łódź was the site of the first work ghetto, Eastern Upper Silesia was the site of a widespread system of forced labor camps, run by Organisation Schmelt. And just as the Germans found a compliant Jewish leader in Łódź in Chaim Rumkowski, in Eastern Upper Silesia, Moshe Merin of Sosnowiec proved so useful that—contrary to the normal practice of keeping Jewish Councils isolated from one another—he was given author-

ity over all Jewish communities in the region. Perhaps for these reasons, Himmler felt less urgency here. Two massive selections in May–June and August 1942 sent 35,000 nonworking Silesian Jews to Auschwitz, but closed ghettos for those Jews not already in work camps were not created until the spring of 1943, most notably in Sosnowiec, Będzin, and Zawiercie. In stark contrast to the Generalgouvernement, at this point in time the majority of Jews in Eastern Upper Silesia were still alive, though sealed in either ghettos or labor camps. The Warsaw ghetto uprising, however, induced Himmler to change course. Contrary to the fate of Łódź that remained in existence for another year, the Silesian ghettos were liquidated in August 1943.[58]

JEWISH COUNCILS, GHETTOS, AND STRATEGIES OF SURVIVAL

Despite the variation in Nazi ghettoization policy that differed widely according to time and place, once incarcerated the ghettoized Jews had certain common experiences and faced certain common dilemmas. From the start of the camp system in 1933, the Nazis had employed a method of prisoner control—the so-called Kapo system—that involved granting some prisoners the power to control other prisoners in return for special privileges. This cynical method of divide and rule was applied to the Jews of occupied Poland, when Heydrich ordered the creation of Jewish Councils in each community in September 1939, with the collective responsibility for disseminating German orders and implementing German policies. As Heinz Auerswald, the ghetto manager in Warsaw, noted, the imposition of Jewish Councils—a German policy to serve German purposes—had two distinct advantages. The councils proved to be a valuable instrument through which the Germans exercised maximum control with minimum manpower. Moreover, the councils served as lightning rods for the anger and frustration of other Jews. "When deficiencies occur the Jews direct the resentment against the Jewish administration, and not against the German supervision."[59]

For the most part, the Jewish members of the councils, who at least initially were drawn primarily from the cadres of traditional community leaders and activists, thought of themselves not as Nazi puppets but rather as community representatives given the thankless task of trying to protect Jewish interests under the most difficult of circumstances in which they had no choice but to carry out German orders. To mitigate German demands and Jewish suffering, they resorted above all to two strategies of survival: bribery and labor. In the first they sought out corruptible German officials who individually could be given a vested interest in continued Jewish existence and at least minimal well-being. In the latter they pursued the same logic on a broader, systemic level. In the words of Ephraim Barash of Białystok, the Jews had to make "every effort to penetrate the economy" through providing essential labor, so that "we should be missed if we were destroyed."[60] At least initially in Poland, both strategies dovetailed with the interests of productionist ghetto managers and appeared to be successful. What Jewish leaders had trouble imagining was that local German authorities, who wielded the power of life and death over their communities, were just minor functionaries with no power to influence, much less determine, the ultimate goals of Nazi Jewish policy. The policies of mitigation of Jewish Council leaders that worked before the implementation of the Final Solution would prove tragically illusory and counterproductive thereafter.

As Isaiah Trunk noted in his classic study of Jewish Councils, *Judenrat*, ghettoization posed tremendous problems to Jewish leaders, who with few resources all had to deal with hopelessly inadequate food supplies, terribly overcrowded housing, and the constant threat of epidemics.[61] They also needed to help create innovative ghetto economies for self-maintenance. In occupied Poland, there was at least a period in which most councils could deal with these "normal" problems of ghettoization before they were confronted with the excruciating threat of the Final Solution. In occupied Soviet territory, all these problems converged.

By the time the Jewish Councils in occupied Poland faced the supreme challenge, their composition had tended to change in two ways. First, there was a process of "negative selection" as the Germans replaced less compliant with more compliant members. Traditional community leaders played a declining role as the Germans handpicked subservient outsiders more suited to their purposes.[62] Second, collective leadership gave way to the domination of individuals, as the Germans preferred to work with those of more authoritarian temperament who mirrored their own preference for the *Führerprinzip* (leader principle). The culmination of the latter trend, atypical in the extreme it reached, were two men whom Philip Friedman dubbed exemplars of the "messianic complex"—Chaim Rumkowski of Łódź and Moshe Merin of Eastern Upper Silesia.[63] In those ghettos where incremental decimation rather than total liquidation faced Jewish Councils with the "choiceless choice"[64] of participating in the Germans' selection process in the hope of limiting losses and



Judenrat chairman Mordechai Rumkowski (left) poses with Moshe Merin, the chairman for the Jewish councils in Eastern Upper Silesia, during the latter's visit to Łódź, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #29066, COURTESY OF YIVO

buying time, Jewish Councils and ghetto police often tragically complied with the succession of German demands for ever more victims. But Rumkowski and Merin went beyond this. Convinced that they alone were destined to be the saviors of a surviving remnant, they were exceptionally intolerant of opposition to their policies of total compliance. Rumkowski included those he deemed "troublemakers" in the first transports to Chełmno, and Merin denounced his opponents to the Gestapo. At the other end of the spectrum of Jewish Council response to German demands to participate in the selection process were Adam Czerniaków of the Warsaw ghetto, who took poison rather than comply with German demands to round up children, and Artur Rosenzweig of Kraków, who chose to march at the head of the first column of deportees sent to Bełżec rather than sacrifice others to temporarily save himself.

Ultimately, Jewish leaders had no option or choice at their disposal that could save their communities. Whether the Germans ghettoized their victims for varying periods of time or killed them immediately, as in Kiev at Babi Yar, and whether Jews complied to the end, as in Łódź, or turned to a "resistance of the doomed," as in Warsaw, the catastrophic and tragic end result was determined by German intent and power, not by Jewish decisions. The ghettos constitute an essential chapter in how and where the destruction of the European Jews occurred, but they do not explain why.

Christopher R. Browning

NOTES

1. Philip Friedman, "The Jewish Ghettos of the Nazi Era," in Ada J. Friedman, ed., *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust* (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), pp. 61, 69. See also Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 61.

2. Andreas Hillgruber, "Die 'Endlösung' und das deutsche Ostimperium als Kernstück des rassenideologischen Programms des Nationalsozialismus," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 20:2 (1972): 133–153.

3. Ulrich Herbert, "Vernichtungspolitik," in Ulrich Herbert, ed., *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik 1939–1945: Neue Forschungen und Kontroversen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1998), pp. 58–59. See also Götz Aly, *Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1995), pp. 317–324.

4. For the concept of "cumulative radicalization" as a key to understanding National Socialist policymaking, see Hans Mommsen, "National Socialism—Continuity and Change," in Walter Laquer, ed., *Fascism: A Reader's Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 183.

5. The author has examined ghettoization in this region and time period in three publications: "Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland: 1939–41," *Central European History* 19:4 (December 1986): 343–368, subsequently reprinted in Browning, *The Path to Genocide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 28–56; "Before the 'Final Solution': Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland (1940–41)," in *Ghettos 1939–1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival* (symposium presentations printed as an occasional paper of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), pp. 1–13; and *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), pp. 111–168.

6. NARA, T-175/239/272836-40: Report of September 29, 1939, on meeting of division heads and Einsatzgruppen commanders on September 21, 1939. Heydrich's infamous Schnellbrief of September 21, 1939, summarizing the same meeting, included mention of concentrating the Jews in cities with good rail connections as a "short-term goal" but did not use the term *ghetto*.

7. Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Das Heer und Hitler. Armee und nationalsozialistisches Regime 1933–1940* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1969), pp. 671–672 (Doc. No. 47: Heydrich to Einsatzgruppen leaders, September 30, 1939).

8. Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 193–195; Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006), pp. 27, 48, 228, 230, 261. Promoted to Kreishauptmann of Kiecle in 1941, Drechsel was arrested for corruption in 1944.

9. Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord* (hereafter *FGM*) (Berlin [East]: Rütten & Loening, 1960), pp. 78–81 (Rundschreiben of Übelhoer to party and police officials, December 10, 1939); BA-BL, BDC: Greiser Pers. Akten, Besuchs-Vermerk of the staff of the Führer's Deputy, January 11, 1940.

10. For the consensus of German officials on ghettoization, see Gordon J. Horwitz, *Gettostadt: Lodz and the Making of a Nazi City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 34–56.

11. YVA, JM 799/193 (A. Palfinger Aktennotiz, July 16, 1940); and O-53/78/76-82 (A. Palfinger "critical report," November 7, 1940).

12. *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 3, *Getto Łódzkie*, ed. Artur Eisenbach (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół CZWH w Polsce, 1946), pp. 102–104 (conference of October 18, 1940).

13. Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 177–179 (Marder to Übelhoer, July 4, 1941).

14. *Dokumente Occupationis Teutonicae* (Poznań, 1949), vol. 8, pp. 57–58 (undated document of the Reichsjustizamt).

15. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 193–206.

16. Israel Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 49.

17. *FGM*, pp. 108–109 (Schön Report, January 20, 1941).

18. Hans Frank, *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouveneurs in Polen*, ed. Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer (Stuttgart: DVA, 1975), pp. 227–239 (Wirtschaftstagung, June 6–7, 1940).

19. *FGM*, p. 110 (Schön Report, January 20, 1941).

20. YVA, JM 814 (Lambrecht Report, September 3, 1940); International Military Tribunal, ed., *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, vol. 29 (Nuremberg, 1947), p. 406; Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 281 (Abteilungleitersitzung, September 12, 1940).

21. YVA, JM 1112 (Auerswald Report "Zwei Jahre Aufarbeit," September 26, 1941); O-53/48/792-816 (complete Schön Report).

22. Ibid., O-53/48/792-816 (complete Schön Report).

23. Ibid., JM 10016 ("Die Wirtschaftsbilanz des jüdischen Wohnbezirk," March 1941), also published in *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 9, *Bevölkerungsstruktur und Massenmord: Neue Dokumente zur deutschen Politik der Jahre 1938–1945*, ed. Götz Aly and Suzanne Heim (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991).

24. Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, pp. 343–346 (conference of April 3, 1941).

25. YVA, O-53/49/132 (Auerswald's retrospective report on his activities in Warsaw, n.d. but after January 1943).

26. Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 165 (entry of April 12, 1940).

27. YVA, O-53/82/465 (Lublin department of population and welfare to Kraków, February 6, 1942).

28. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 121; Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, p. 247.

29. *Dokumenty i materiały*, vol. 3, pp. 241–242 (Łódź conference of October 24, 1940). In almost identical language Frank termed the Warsaw ghetto a "lesser evil" and temporary wartime measure that was not to be a "permanent burden." Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 361 (conference of April 19, 1941).

30. Auerswald to Medeazza, November 24, 1941, printed in *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*, ed. Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kermisz (New York: Stein and Day, 1969), p. 402.

31. *Dokumenty i materiały*, vol. 3, pp. 241–242 (Łódź conference of October 24, 1940).

32. YVA, JM 798, auditor's report for February 1941. This document has now been published in Aly and Heim, *Bevölkerungsstruktur und Massenmord*, pp. 39–71.

33. IMT, *TMWC*, vol. 26 (Nuremberg, 1947), p. 561 (1024-PS, Rosenberg memo, April 29, 1941).

34. Ibid., vol. 26, p. 571 (1028-PS, Rosenberg memo, May 7, 1941).

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36. Ibid., pp. 38–42 (Lohse to HSSPF Riga, August 2, 1942).

37. Ibid., pp. 42–46 (Stahlecker position paper, August 6, 1941).

38. Ibid., pp. 46–48 (RK Ostland to Generalkommissaren, August 18, 1941).

39. Cited in Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die Deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), p. 525.

40. DAZO, 1151-1-22, RK Ukraine, September 5, 1941, to all Gebietskommissars in Podolien and Volhynien.

41. Cited in Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 529.

42. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), pp. 154–158; Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 155.

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44. Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), pp. 221–230.

45. Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 74–76, 153.

46. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 587–602.

47. DAZO, 1151-1-22, pp. 1–5, Reichskommissar to Generalkommissar and Gebietskommissars, September 5, 1941.

48. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews: 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 106, 111–115.

49. For a case study of Brest, see Christopher R. Browning, "Orders from Above, Initiative from Below, and the Scope of Local Autonomy—the Case of Brest-Litovsk," in his *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 116–142.

50. WCU, D6249 and D6291; CDJC, CXLVa-8, Report of Gerhard Erren, January 25, 1942. GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 179–180, also gives the figure of 8,000 victims.

51. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 609–623.

52. NARA, T-175/54/2568695: Himmler to Greiser, September 18, 1941.

53. For the Riga ghetto, see Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944*; and Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *Die "Endlösung" in Riga: Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006).

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55. YVA, O-53/134/1816 (weekly report of the Propaganda Division, March 28, 1942).

56. Louis Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries* (New York, 1948), pp. 175–176.

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58. Sybille Steinbacher, *"Muerstadt" Auschwitz: Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), pp. 285–304.

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60. Trunk, *Judenrat*, p. 402.

61. Ibid.

62. Aharon Weiss, "Jewish Leadership in Occupied Poland: Postures and Attitudes," *Yad Vashem Studies* 12 (1977): 335–365.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

From the time that work began on this volume in January 2002, unique challenges arose that made the production process different than it was for Volume I. The existing lists of ghettos were by no means complete and were somewhat contradictory. In addition, there was no clear definition of what a ghetto was. Even the wartime German authorities themselves had varying conceptions of a ghetto, using it to mean quite different things according to the time and place. They also made only very sporadic attempts to record where ghettos existed, other than the few major ones. Whereas the concentration camp system was highly organized with a considerable degree of internal documentation, ghettoization was at best a regional—and often, a local—phenomenon. What soon became clear was that there were many more ghettos than recorded on the previous lists and that a great many sites would have to be examined closely to determine whether or not a ghetto existed. In addition, due to the scarcity of German documentation, a considerable amount of reliance would have to be placed on the accounts of survivors and postwar investigations.

Fortunately, the timing of this project was very opportune. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening of most archives in Eastern Europe, a flood of primary documentation became available in the 1990s. A new generation of scholars soon started to mine these sources, writing detailed monographs on the Holocaust for many regions of Eastern Europe, such as the groundbreaking work of Dieter Pohl for Eastern Galicia. Partly inspired by German compensation for forced and slave laborers, the State Archives in Belarus and Ukraine published their own lists of camps and ghettos. For Poland, a similar comprehensive list of camps and ghettos had been prepared at the end of the 1970s, which also included detailed references to back its claims. Most Western lists, which estimated that somewhere between 400 and 800 ghettos may have existed, were based primarily on the list published by the International Tracing Service (ITS) after the war, which unfortunately contained large gaps, especially for the former Soviet Union.[1]

The joint tasks facing the project, then, were clearly linked: to establish a satisfactory definition of a ghetto and to draw up a new list of ghettos that was as comprehensive and accurate as possible.

For much of the duration of the project, the main working definition of a ghetto was primarily the language used to describe it in the contemporary documentation and survivors' accounts. German documentation uses a number of different terms, including *Wohngebiet der Juden* or *Jüdisches Wohnviertel*, as well as *ghetto*, to describe a separate and consolidated Jewish residential district in which non-Jews were not permitted to reside. Polish-language sources refer also to a *dzielnica Żydowska*, or "Jewish quarter," and similar terms can be found in Yiddish and Russian (e.g., *kvartal*).

About halfway through the project, another very important source, the Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation (abbreviated in this volume as VHF), became available for direct access at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). This was of great significance, as VHF's approximately 50,000 survivor interviews had by then been indexed for references to ghettos. Despite a few probably mistaken references, these interviews proved immensely useful, mainly to corroborate other sources on details about the ghettos and, in a few cases, to assist us in identifying ghettos mentioned in few, if any, other sources. The hundreds of recent interviews of local Ukrainians collected by Yahad-In Unum (YIU), led by Father Patrick Desbois, many of which are now accessible at the USHMM, provided an additional useful resource for a number of ghettos in Ukraine.[2]

By the end of the project in 2009–2010, a more coherent definition of a ghetto had crystallized from the many diverse examples documented. In essence, a ghetto is a place where the Germans concentrated the Jews. For this volume, in determining whether or not a ghetto existed, the most important indicator was establishing whether the German authorities ordered the Jews to move into a designated area, where only Jews were permitted to live. Since the Germans established a great many open ghettos, not enclosed by a wall or fence, the existence of such barriers could not be used as part of a definition. Likewise, other simple tests that had been proposed previously to define a ghetto, such as poor and overcrowded housing conditions or the existence of a Jewish self-administration, were equally unhelpful. As Dan Michman has noted, the establishment of Jewish Councils often preceded ghettoization by a considerable period of time, and therefore no causal link between the two can be assumed.[3] Many places had Jewish Councils but no ghetto.

Using the above straightforward definition still leaves the question of what distinguishes ghettos from forced labor camps and other camps used to detain Jews. A number of distinctions offer themselves. First, in most cases ghettos contained larger family units and remained close to the original location of the Jewish community, as opposed to many labor camps based in factories, at other work sites, or at some distance from previous Jewish settlements. Most labor camps differed in a number of other ways from ghettos; for example, often men and women were segregated and most inmates were housed together in barracks. Nevertheless, as a number of entries in this volume demonstrate, many ghettos closely resembled labor camps, and vice versa. Ultimately in most borderline cases, the editors have sided with the favored designation used by the German authorities or by most survivors,

wherever such a distinction can be discerned in the sources. Of course, a number of debatable cases remain, and some—but not all—of these have been included to demonstrate the range of situations that existed. In a few cases, a possible ghetto was not included due to the simple lack of detailed or clear-cut information. A few smaller ghettos or possible ghetto sites are mentioned briefly in the entries for the larger ghettos nearby.

Christopher R. Browning's Introduction to this volume lays out how historians have understood the role of ghettos within the development of the Final Solution, illustrating the complexity of that relationship. The aim of the next several pages is to highlight briefly a few of the regional patterns that have become apparent through our research and to distill out one or two of the most striking insights gained from this uniquely comprehensive view. For more detailed regional analysis, please go to the 19 regional essays, which review the main features of ghettoization in each region.

From the start, there were a number of surprises regarding the patterns of ghettoization, and new discoveries were made in every region. For example, the Germans established several small improvised ghettos in Pruchnik, Sanok, and Leżajsk, all in the Kraków Region (Distrikt Krakau), in late 1939, just after the first documented ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski (Radom Region, Distrikt Radom) in October. These smaller ghettos were formed once initial German expulsion efforts in these towns had failed to drive all Jews across the Soviet border nearby.

Another major surprise was the comprehensiveness of ghettoization efforts in the Lithuania Region (Generalkommissariat Litauen) during the summer of 1941. Ghettoization orders were issued by the German and Lithuanian authorities throughout much of the country, and local evidence confirms that these were implemented in various ways at around 100 locations. Many of these ghettos were short-lived, leading us to use the term *destruction ghettos* for those places that existed for less than two months and served mainly for the concentration of the Jews prior to their murder. Examples of this type were also the ghettos in Khar'kov, Nikolaev, and Kherson in Ukraine, which were directly linked to the destruction process.

Another region that contained more ghettos than expected was on Occupied Russian Territory, where the Germans established some 50 ghettos. Most of these were concentrated in the former Pale of Settlement—in areas already captured by the Germans up to October 1941. Here German genocidal plans were still pursued in stages, of which ghettoization was sometimes a part. A few of these ghettos, such as that in Smolensk, existed for several months into the spring and summer of 1942.

In the Weissruthenien Region (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien) and the Volhynia and Podolia Region (Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien), the Germans set up the most comprehensive networks of ghettos, establishing them in almost all Rayon centers, as well as in a number of other small towns and villages. The period of ghettoization spanned from the summer of 1941 until the summer of 1942, with Jews from many small communities not concentrated in ghettos until the spring or summer of 1942, just prior to the ghetto liquidations. In many places, some Jews were selected for work before or during the liquidations and placed into labor camps or remnant ghettos. Most of these Jews did not remain alive for more than a few weeks, as the Germans intended for the liquidations to be complete. In several ghettos in these regions, the Jews responded with armed uprisings once the ghetto was surrounded, such as in Łachwa and Nieśwież, but the most common response was for Jews to prepare hiding places or attempt to flee.

Whereas the major ghettos in Warsaw and Łódź, which were enclosed behind high walls, have dominated our understanding of what ghetto life was like, hundreds of other ghettos remained unfenced or open. This facilitated vital economic contacts with the surrounding population, despite official German prohibitions. Some ghettos, such as that in Kozienice, initially remained open, but a fence was set up later, as German restrictions intensified. Many open ghettos were marked by signs, warning non-Jews not to enter, as well as prohibiting the Jews from leaving. Some were guarded, but others were not.

A variety of reasons were given by the German authorities for establishing ghettos, such as fear of the spread of disease, the need to free up housing space, or controlling black market activity, as well as the desire to isolate Jews on both ideological and security grounds. In the Warsaw Region (Distrikt Warschau), a number of short-lived, mostly open ghettos were set up to the west and south of the city in the summer and fall of 1940, primarily as concentration points and staging posts for the transfer of the Jews into the Warsaw ghetto by April 1941, as the respective Kreise were to be cleansed of Jews. These clearances were accompanied by the first order to shoot Jews caught outside the ghettos, announced in Kreis Grojec in January 1941.

This shooting order was subsequently extended to the entire Generalgouvernement in October 1941 and clearly had an important impact on ghettoization. Some historians have argued that all places where Jews continued to reside after this time became *de facto* ghettos, as Jews could be shot for leaving. Similar movement restrictions and punishments were applied to the occupied territories of the Soviet Union soon after the German invasion. For the purposes of compiling this volume, however, we have looked where possible for evidence of resettlement of the Jews into a specific part of a town or village, as well as the collection of Jews from surrounding places, as clear evidence of ghettoization. Nonetheless, in the Radom Region, for example, the announcement of the shooting order caused several Kreishauptmänner to declare those places where Jews resided to be ghettos. In some cases, signs were placed around the borders of the settlement, warning the Jews not to leave, without changing patterns of Jewish residency.

In the Lublin Region (Distrikt Lublin), the discussion of ghettos was further complicated by successive waves of deportations and resettlements, which brought in Jews from the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich, from within the

Generalgouvernement, particularly from the city of Kraków (as well as Jews expelled from the city of Lublin), and also from Germany, Austria, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and even Slovakia. Many of these expellees were housed together in temporary accommodations that resembled ghettos in many respects. However, close examination of the sources, especially contemporary reports of the German authorities and the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), revealed that only a few of the destinations of these resettlements were viewed at the time as ghettos. In some places, the aim was rather to disperse the Jews, not concentrate them, and it was not uncommon for mixed patterns of residency to persist with no concentration of the native Jews.

The decisive evidence for a number of places was to be found in answers to a questionnaire distributed to many local branches by the central office of the JSS in Kraków in the spring of 1942. These forms included the question, "Was there a separate Jewish residential district [*dzielnica Żydowska*] in the town?" Rarely used by historians previously, these questionnaires provide contemporary evidence from the Jewish communities themselves, answering yes or no and, in some cases, giving more details. Using these sources, as well as postwar testimonies from yizkor books and many different archives and also a variety of postwar governmental investigations, careful efforts were made to disentangle where ghettos existed and where they were absent.[4]

The term *transit ghetto* has been used only sparingly in this volume, despite its previous use by historians such as Robert Kuwałek, mainly to avoid confusion with a number of transit camps that existed within the area covered by the volume. These transit camps were usually located near railway stations and were used mainly as temporary holding pens for Jews in transit. An example of this would be the camp at Działdowo (Soldau), used to assemble Jews from the Zichenau Region (Regierungsbezirk Zichenau) for transfer into the Generalgouvernement.

Another common ghetto type was the remnant ghetto (*Restghetto*). These ghettos were often formed for a select group of workers, sometimes with their families, who were spared from the main liquidation Aktion against a ghetto or a previously unghettoized Jewish community. Apart from retaining some Jews for work, these ghettos had the additional function of attracting Jews out of hiding, who had managed to evade the Aktions. In October and November 1942, these ghettos achieved an additional significance when the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader) in the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, ordered that Jews were only permitted to reside in a few nominated remnant ghettos or otherwise in enclosed labor camps. In the Eastern Galicia Region (Distrikt Galizien), more than 30 places were named as remnant ghettos, many of them in locations without ghettos previously. These ghettos came at the end of a lengthy process of deportations, murders, and consolidations, lasting from the summer of 1941 until the end of 1942. This had reduced the Jewish population in Eastern Galicia, which numbered some 540,000 people at the time of the German occupation, down to around 160,000, who were then interned either in labor camps or in the remnant ghettos that now closely resembled labor camps. The last ghettos in Eastern Galicia were in turn annihilated over the next six months, in bitter struggles, as German and Ukrainian police rooted out Jews from bunkers and other hiding places, who by then had no illusions as to their fate.

The very brutal nature of the ghetto liquidations and deportation Aktions throughout the broad area of Eastern Europe covered by this volume, documented here in hundreds of individual entries, is itself an important statement regarding the essential character of the Holocaust. Even in the Generalgouvernement, where a majority of the Jews were deported by train to be murdered at only a few killing sites, the liquidation Aktions were usually accompanied by widespread killing of Jews found in hiding or trying to escape. In many locations, those who were elderly or unable to walk were killed locally rather than added to the transports. The searches for Jews in hiding, involving the participation of local auxiliaries and sometimes assisted by denunciations from non-Jewish local inhabitants, went on for weeks and sometimes months after the ghetto liquidations. In short, the still preponderant image of the Holocaust as a mechanized and impersonal process needs correcting, as more information about the hands-on and brutal slaughters in the east, where most Jewish victims lived and died, continues to come to light.

The temporal aspect of the unfolding genocide is also an important theme. For example, the first Jewish communities to be annihilated at the Chełmno extermination camp, such as Koło and Izbica Kujawska, in December 1941 and January 1942, respectively, had very few survivors, as the Jews did not expect that they were being sent to their deaths. By contrast, Jews in those ghettos located close to Treblinka, such as Stoczek Węgrowski, were well informed about events at the extermination camp, both from local Jews who worked there and clandestinely passed back messages and from Jews who had jumped from the trains that passed close by throughout the summer. These warnings enabled many Jews to evade the initial roundup by hiding in bunkers when the Germans liquidated the Stoczek ghetto in late September 1942.

The German authorities were aware of the need to act swiftly once the destruction process was under way. In the Volhynia and Podolia Region the civil authorities blamed acts of resistance on the liquidation of some larger ghettos before those in the surrounding villages, allowing the Jews there to become forewarned. In the Białystok Region (Distrikt Bialystok), the Germans liquidated almost all of the ghettos simultaneously in early November 1942, using five transit camps to concentrate the Jews prior to their subsequent deportation, which was necessarily spread over several weeks due to the limited capacity of the killing centers. In the Zichenau Region, the remaining Jews were consolidated into just a few ghettos prior to their deportation to the Auschwitz concentration camp in November and December 1942.

Despite the more coordinated nature of the destruction process, in which many of the ghetto inmates were transferred

to specific killing centers, concentration camps, or labor camps, in general it is not possible to speak of a ghetto system. The establishment of ghettos was conditioned by a wide variety of local and regional factors. Only once the Final Solution was already in progress were ghettos harnessed more closely to this end.

Nevertheless, a constant to almost all ghettos was the exploitation of part of the population for forced labor. Perhaps more so than historians previously considered, forced labor was a key aspect of how ghettos functioned. From an early stage, young and physically able Jews were selected out from ghettos and transferred to forced labor camps, leaving behind a population predominantly of the elderly, women, and children. Partly for this reason, the survival rates for most ghettos were alarmingly low. Of those who did survive, many were among those transferred into the camp system, which gave them at least the opportunity to survive longer into the war, as Christopher Browning's recent study of the Starachowice labor camp demonstrates.[5] The recently opened ITS archives contain unfortunately relatively little information regarding ghettos. However, for those who were deported to Auschwitz, for example, from ghettos in the Zichenau Region or also on a few transports from the transit camps in the Białystok Region, ITS records confirm their arrival and also provide some information about their subsequent fate.

This volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* has truly been a collaborative work in many different respects. Not only have more than 100 individuals been involved in its preparation, but many essays were written by two or more people, and in some cases, more than one translator was involved in the preparation of an entry. This reflects above all the multilingual nature of the source material used. Often drafts were received in Russian or Polish from historians working with documents from archives in Eastern Europe; then additions were made to the entries from archival sources, yizkor books, or other publications located at USHMM. A number of volunteers played an important role translating and summarizing many oral and visual histories, documents, and publications in languages such as Polish, Hebrew, Russian, Yiddish, and Lithuanian, which were then incorporated into the essays.

It is important to stress that the main aim of the *Encyclopedia* has been to document carefully as many of the ghetto sites as possible. To achieve this, strict word limits were applied to the entries, generally in accordance with the number of Jews confined within the ghetto. However, as considerable published literature exists for most of the larger ghettos, such as Łódź or Warsaw, these entries have been kept relatively short, to provide only essential data concerning these sites. The relevant source sections provide references to key publications, which deal with these main ghettos in much greater detail.

Given the nature of many of the sources, which for some ghettos consist primarily of postwar testimonies and investigative materials, there are inevitably some contradictions and inaccuracies concerning dates and figures. Where possible, attempts have been made to document the sources used, especially concerning the establishment or existence of a ghetto or regarding its liquidation and the fate of the Jewish inmates. However, as many of the secondary sources themselves contain no references, it has not been possible to verify all information. Primary sources have been used by most authors where available, but the scattered nature and wide scope of Holocaust sources meant that often only a sample of all known material could be examined. A further complication is that the vast majority of the sources were not in English, requiring careful translation from languages such as Polish, Russian, German, Yiddish, Hebrew, Lithuanian, Latvian, French, and Ukrainian. In light of this, and given the enormous scope of the project, inevitably a few errors and contradictions will have crept into the manuscript, despite all our best efforts to reflect the events as accurately as possible. The Museum is in the authors' debt for the material they have gathered and contributed; responsibility for any remaining flaws rests with us.

Even more so than for the sites of concentration camps and most other types of camps, the physical sites of most ghettos are not marked and are becoming increasingly difficult to identify. As ghettos existed within urban landscapes, which naturally change their appearance over time, little, if anything, remains of the physical structures that formed the ghettos. The Warsaw ghetto was literally razed to the ground. Cases such as Riga, Terezín, or Mir, where the physical structures still exist, are quite rare. At almost all ghetto sites there are no museums, memorials, or even any sign at all of what occurred there. The danger exists that as the last survivors pass away, so too will any knowledge of the places where they suffered. One aim of this volume was to collect detailed information about the locations of the ghettos to assist in the preservation of that memory.

Where possible, entries include descriptions of the ghetto locations, the type of buildings they contained, and sometimes also their subsequent fate. Unfortunately, even this basic information is unavailable for many of the sites. Nonetheless, we hope that their inclusion here will encourage more scholars and researchers to scour local archives to dig up further details beyond the possible scope of this work.

Martin Dean
July, 2011

NOTES

1. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996); Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: Gosudarstvennyi komitet po arkhivam i deloproizdvodstvu Respubliki Belarus', 2001); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskommitee der Archive der Ukraine, 2000); Martin Weinmann, with Anne

Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (prepared originally by ITS in 1949–1951; reprinted, with new introductory matter, in Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990).

2. On the work of YIU, see Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets* (New York: Palgrave in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008).

3. Dan Michman, "The Jewish Ghettos under the Nazis and Their Allies: The Reasons behind Their Emergence," in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. xxxix.

4. The contemporary ghetto questionnaires can be found in USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (AŻIH, 211 [JSS]). Polish official postwar questionnaires concerning camps and ghettos can be found in USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG). Information about a number of ghettos on occupied Soviet territory can be found in the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK); see USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF, 7021). Other postwar investigations into war crimes can be found, for example, at BA-L and IPN.

5. Christopher R. Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave-Labor Camp* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010).

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READER'S GUIDE

The purpose of this section is to give the reader some tips on how to use this volume and to offer some information on the more technical aspects of the work, such as the use of foreign terms, naming conventions, the source sections, geographical headers, and the indexes.

The *Encyclopedia's* primary purpose is to provide as much basic information as possible on each individual ghetto. To achieve this end and to provide for some consistency among the entries, we asked our many contributors to try to answer the following questions, as best they could, in the limited amount of space available:

- When was the ghetto established, under what authority, and for what purpose? Was there a physical barrier, and at what stage was this constructed?
- Were there any special restrictions applied to the Jewish population or notable aspects about living conditions in that particular ghetto?
- Did ghetto inmates perform forced or paid labor, and what type of labor did they perform?
- What were the methods, motives, and circumstances of killing ghetto inmates? Give details of any large-scale killing Aktions, personnel involved, circumstances, location, and any evidence of resistance.
- What were the demographics of the ghetto population? Give details of any incoming groups and of transfers out to killing sites, labor camps, or other ghettos.
- Who were the local civilian authorities and police commanders in the town? What was their attitude towards people in the ghetto?
- What was the attitude of the local population towards the Jews? Can you offer specific examples of their participation in German persecution or providing help for the Jews?
- Is there information concerning the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the ghetto? What were its functions and who was in charge? How did the ghetto population view the Judenrat and its relationship with the Germans?
- Was there a unit of Jewish Police inside the ghetto? Who were its leaders, and how did it treat the other ghetto inmates?
- What cultural activities were organized by the inmates of this ghetto? Was there some particular aspect of the way ghetto inmates coped with their conditions that are worth mentioning? Did the Jews continue religious observance openly or in secret?
- Were there any key events in the history of the ghetto, such as resistance and/or escapes, organized or otherwise? What was the attitude of the Jewish leadership and the Jewish Police towards resistance activities?
- Was the ghetto guarded? If so, what was the composition of those units?
- When and under what circumstances was the ghetto liquidated or evacuated?
- Did postwar trials of persons involved in guarding or liquidating the ghetto take place? If so, what were the results from those proceedings?
- How many Jews survived from the ghetto?

The *Encyclopedia's* secondary purpose is to encourage additional research on the sites in question, and therefore we also asked each author to include, first, citations to key documents, when available, and second, a list of published and archival sources, both primary and secondary, at the end of each entry. For reasons of space, abbreviations were used for the archives, but since just a few archives are cited in many of the entries, those who are interested will soon become familiar with the relevant abbreviations for these key archives. The comprehensive List of Abbreviations with the archives' full names in their native language and in English is included at the back of the book.

Apart from the 1,142 separate entries dealing with the ghettos located in specific cities, towns, and villages covering more than 1,150 ghetto sites in total (some places had more than one ghetto site, which are covered in a single entry, e.g. Šiauliai), Volume II also includes 19 regional essays that examine the patterns of ghettoization in regions that contain more than one ghetto entry. The regional entries summarize the key events in each region and provide some of the overall historical context that may be missing from the specific entries, which focus on the events in just one place.

The overarching architecture of the volume is geographical, being divided into 21 separate regions that German occupation authorities established and that contained ghettos. These 21 regions have been aggregated into eight separate units of administrative authority, reflecting the geographical structures imposed by the German occupiers. One should note that all of the ghettos in this volume were located on German-occupied territory in Eastern Europe, as no ghettos were established within the pre-1938 German borders (the Alt-Reich) or in Western Europe.

Finding a particular essay should be fairly easy. If you are looking for a specific ghetto and you know the German-administered region in which it was located (e.g., Lublin Region in the General Government), just look in the appropriate

section of the table of contents; the ghettos appear alphabetically within each of the 21 regions. If you are not sure in which German–administered region a ghetto was located, check the Places Index in the end matter; it includes references to alternate names and spellings for the ghetto locations.

For the ghetto entry titles, we have used the names that were in use in those places in 1938, with just a few exceptions, such as Warsaw (instead of Warszawa). A few key alternative names are given after the title in parenthesis, but generally alternate names are covered in the geographical headers, just below the entry title, or otherwise in the body of the entry. In a small number of instances, one essay covers two or more ghetto sites together, which were located in the same city, town, or village. Essentially each place or Jewish community is treated as one entry, covering the various ghettos that were set up in the population center or nearby for that community.

As many of the ghetto sites have changed both their names and their administrative subordination, including the country in which they were located, at least once during the twentieth century, we have included detailed geographical headers at the start of each entry. These give, first, the name of the ghetto site, its region, and the country of location before the German occupation. Next, similar information is listed for the period of German occupation. Finally, we provide the same information according to the most recent renaming or administrative restructuring (e.g., post-1998 for Poland or post-1991 for Ukraine), to allow the reader more easily to find the place today. Where the place name, status, or administrative subordination has not changed from one time period to the next, this information has not been repeated; for example, where a place name was not changed under German occupation, the 1941–1944 section might start simply with the Rayon or the Kreis (e.g., Pre-1939: Kielce, city and center, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Kielce, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland).

Within the geographical headers and also within the entries, we have employed the terms for administrative units and their subdivisions used locally at the time: for example, *województwo* and *powiat* (for Poland pre-1939 and post-1998); *oblast'* and *raion* (for the Soviet Union); *Gebiet* and *Rayon* (for Reich Commissariat Ukraine, 1941–1944); *Distrikt* and *Kreis* (for the General Government, 1939–1945); or *apskritis* and *rajonas* (for the Republic of Lithuania). These were employed rather than English terms such as *region*, *county*, or *district*, because they convey the concepts of size and subordination far more accurately, concepts that are crucial to understanding the different administrative structures before, during, and after World War II. The different German spellings for areas, such as Kreise or Gebiete (e.g., Kreis Opatow), have also been used throughout the entries to help differentiate these entities from the towns (e.g., Opatów), which are usually referred to using their 1938 spellings.

Most of the foreign geographical terms, as well as titles, organizations, and also foreign words commonly used in English, have not been italicized because of their frequent use within the volume. The various terms used for "ghetto" in the sources are examined in the Editor's Introduction, as no comprehensive attempt to examine the ghetto phenomenon has been attempted previously. As in Volume I, no glossary has been included, but a few key terms require some explanation. Among the less familiar terms, for example, a *wójt* is a civil administrator, a *starosta* is a village elder, a *sołtys* is a village head, and a *kehillah* is a Jewish community. A number of terms concerning Jewish holidays and religious practices have been used, not always with an explanation; explanations for most of these can be found on the Internet or in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* or similar reference works and dictionaries.

Regrettably, for reasons of space, it has not been possible to include a description of the Jewish communities in each ghetto location before World War II beyond giving available population figures. While this would have enhanced understanding of the events during the ghetto period, similar information is already published in a number of places, such as in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Yad Vashem's *Pinkas ha-kehilot* series, or *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*. Most entries include references to relevant yizkor books and other sources that also contain information on the pre-war period.

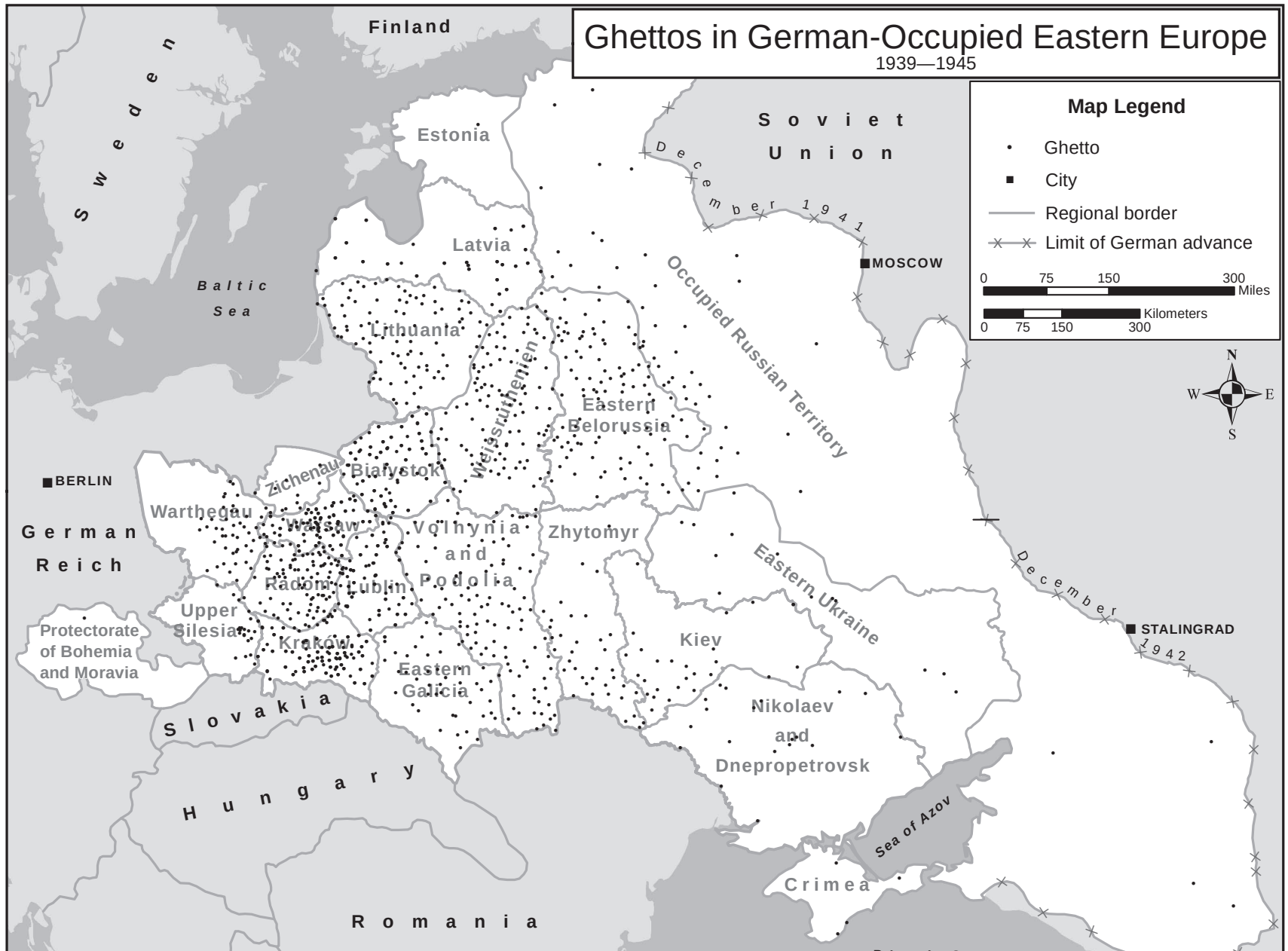
While terms in German, Polish, Lithuanian, and other foreign languages using Latin characters have been rendered as in the original, including diacritics, text from Russian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Ukrainian, Belarusian, and other languages using the Hebrew, Cyrillic, and other alphabets has been transliterated using standardized systems. This applies especially to the titles of books in the source sections and also to the archival abbreviations. Some attempt has been made to standardize the spellings of people's names, occasionally giving alternate spellings that have been encountered among the different sources consulted. However, since much of the information has been translated and transliterated, including from Hebrew sources (where the vowels are not clear), some degree of inconsistency between standard Polish, Russian, German, Hebrew, English, and other spellings is inevitable. Street names have generally been rendered as found in the sources.

The *Encyclopedia* also includes maps covering the locations of all the ghettos in the 19 regions that had more than one ghetto. These are located after the regional entry but before the first ghetto entry for each region. In most cases these maps include the subdivisions of the regions into Kreise, Gebiete, and sometimes Rayons, so that a clear visual impression of the distribution of ghettos in each region can be gained.

The end matter includes three separate indexes: Names Index, Places Index, and Organizations and Enterprises Index. The page numbers for the ghetto entries are marked in bold in the Places Index to distinguish them from references to those places in other entries. Certain very common terms, such as Jewish Council (Judenrat), have not been indexed, as they appear on almost every page.

The *Encyclopedia* has been written primarily as a reference work on the individual ghettos. However, its geographical organization according to German administrative struc-

tures and the inclusion of contextualizing regional entries give it a coherent structure that helps to explain the development of ghettoization and its key role in the Holocaust far more effectively than a simple alphabetical approach would achieve. It serves especially as an important memorial for the victims of the many small and forgotten ghetto sites, literally putting them on the map for scholars of the Holocaust through careful documentation.


Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe
1939—1945
Map Legend
Ghetto
City
Regional border
Limit of German advance
0 75 150 300 Miles
0 75 150 300 Kilometers
N
W
E
S
Finland
Sweden
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Baltic Sea
Soviet Union
December 1941
MOSCOW
Occupied Russian Territory
Weissruthenien
Eastern Belorussia
BERLIN
German Reich
Zichenau
Bialystok
Warthegau
Warsaw
Volhynia and Podolia
Zhytomyr
Radom
Lublin
Upper Silesia
Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia
Krakow
Eastern Galicia
Slovakia
Hungary
Romania
Eastern Ukraine
Kiev
Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk
December
STALINGRAD
1942
Sea of Azov
Crimea

SECTION I

INCORPORATED EASTERN TERRITORIES

In the fall of 1939, shortly after the German defeat of Poland, Adolf Hitler ordered the annexation to the Reich of large swaths of western and northern Poland. These new territories were either added to the existing regions of Provinz Ostpreussen and Provinz Schlesien or became part of two new regions, Reichsgau Wartheland and Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen.

No ghettos were established within the Alt-Reich (pre-1938 German territories); ghettos were only established within the Third Reich in those eastern territories annexed from Poland (eingegliederten Ostgebieten). Of these incorporated territories, no ghettos were established in Reichgsau Danzig-Westpreussen, but a number of ghettos were established in the three regions known as Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Reichsgau Wartheland, and Provinz Oberschlesien.

Regierungsbezirk Zichenau was composed of the area to the north of Warsaw, also known as Northern Mazovia (part of the Warsaw województwo), which was attached to Provinz Ostpreussen in late 1939. The new district was named for the city of Zichenau (Ciechanów in Polish).

To the west of Warsaw, the Germans took parts of the Polish Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Łódź, Płock, and Wielkopolskie województwa to establish a new region, known from January 1, 1940, as Reichsgau Wartheland, which also included the major city of Łódź.

To the south, Provinz Schlesien was expanded to include parts of the Kielce, Kraków, and Śląskie województwa. In 1941, Provinz Schlesien was divided in two to form Niederschlesien, its western half, and Oberschlesien, its eastern half. Ghettos were only established on the eastern fringes of Oberschlesien, usually referred to in German documentation as Ost-Oberschlesien (Eastern Upper Silesia).

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ZICHENAU REGION



Jews from Ciechanów are marched into the fortress, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #50341, COURTESY OF IPN

ZICHENAU REGION (REGIERUNGSBEZIRK ZICHENAU)

Pre-1939: part of the Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: northern part of województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The region designated by the Germans as Regierungsbezirk Zichenau comprised the northern part of the Warsaw województwo (as of the summer of 1939) and is most commonly known as Northern Mazovia. Jews are recorded as having settled in some parts of this region by at least the thirteenth century, and several larger towns had a significant Jewish presence by the mid-sixteenth century. Other places witnessed Jewish settlement only later; in Czerwińsk nad Wisłą Jews were barred until the late eighteenth century, as the Catholic Church owned the land. The Jewish population of the region increased considerably during the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century; Jews comprised a considerable share of the urban population (between 30 and 50 percent or more) in several of Northern Mazovia's larger towns on the eve of World War II. Much of the Jewish population in the region worked as artisans or tradesmen. In the interwar period, the Jews suffered economically due to the worldwide economic slump and commercial boycotts by the Poles.

German military forces occupied the Ciechanów region of Poland in September 1939. During the first days of the war, as German bombs fell on the towns of the region, many Jews fled to Warsaw and other places, away from the advancing German front. The first days and weeks of the German occupation saw the humiliation and murder of Jews and the destruction and plunder of their property. In Nowe Miasto, the Germans killed 8 Jews on September 14 and several more on September 23. Men of the SS-Panzer Division "Kempf" shot 50 Jews in Krasnosielc, and 2 Jews were killed by the Wehrmacht in Różan. German Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei und SD) set fire to the synagogue in Sierpc at the end of September, and the synagogue in Mława was burned in November. Units of Einsatzgrupppe V operated in the region, but other police units, the Wehrmacht, ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), and some Poles also participated in anti-Jewish attacks and looting. The plunder of property and arrests of Jews in some places caused young Jews to flee to those parts of eastern Poland that were occupied by the Soviets after September 17, 1939.[1]

From the start, it was the German intention to cleanse the region of Jews, as it would be annexed directly to the Reich. In the fall of 1939, the Germans undertook some deliberate efforts to drive Jews into the Soviet zone, but much latitude was left to specific local commanders regarding implementation. On September 28, 1939, 40 Jewish youths were arrested in Sierpc, loaded on trucks, and driven to the new German-Soviet border. Mass expulsions of Jews into the Soviet zone took place from Pułtusk, Przasnysz, and some other towns with large Jewish populations.[2] In Ciechanów, a Wehrmacht officer advised the Jews to leave town; he offered transport to the Soviet border, warning them that the impending civil administration would introduce further anti-Jewish laws. In Mława, an attempt to transport all the Jews into Soviet territory was abandoned abruptly after the Jews had been assembled.

On October 26, 1939, the Germans established the Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, which was annexed to Provinz Ostpreussen in the Third Reich, ruled by Gauleiter Erich Koch. The Regierungsbezirk consisted of nine Landkreise: Mackheim, Mielau, Ostenburg, Plönnen, Praschnitz, Schröttersburg, Sichelberg, Scharfenwiese, and Zichenau. Initially, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau had around 850,000 inhabitants, of which some 80,000 were Jews, while probably a similar number might be classified as ethnic Germans.[3] The governor (Regierungspräsident) was Hermann Bethke. In 1940, Paul Dargel succeeded him. SS-Sturmbannführer Hartmut Pulmer, who had been in charge of an Einsatzgruppe during the Polish campaign, was subsequently appointed as head of the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo.

In October 1939, the German authorities expelled a number of Jews from the town of Ciechanów to the Lublin region.[4] This was only one of several further expulsions and deportations carried out in the last three months of 1939. In November, for example, the Germans conducted a mass expulsion of Jews from Sierpc to Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki and Warsaw. In December 1939, at least 3,000 Jews from the towns of Serock and Nasielsk were deported to Biała Podlaska, Międzyrzec, and Łuków in Distrikt Lublin.[5] At the same time, hundreds of Jewish refugees poured into towns such as Mława and Płońsk from Sierpc, Rypin, Dobrzyń nad Drwęcą, and other places. Some Jews who had fled to Warsaw during the fighting, or even thereafter, gradually returned, as they realized conditions might be better in their own home environment. These large population movements, followed on occasion by some people returning illegally, make it very difficult to track the demographic changes in the region.[6]

Historians have identified three main phases to the anti-Jewish policy in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau. The initial period of occupation and brutal repression lasted from September to December 1939, aiming primarily to drive out large numbers of Jews, preferably across the border into the Soviet-occupied zone. The period from January 1940 to the end of 1941 was characterized by further deportations and expulsions of Jews into the Generalgouvernement and was accompanied by the gradual concentration of remaining Jews into a limited number of ghettos. Then from the end of 1941 the application of the terror apparatus against the ghettoized Jews

was intensified to suppress any possible resistance in preparation for the final liquidation of the ghettos, which was completed in the last months of 1942.[7]

Forced labor for Jews was imposed from the first days of the occupation. In most places the Jewish Council (Judenrat) became involved in the assignment of men to forced labor to prevent Jews from simply being seized from the streets. In Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, a number of sources indicate that Jews were paid for forced labor; indeed, Emanuel Ringelblum described conditions there as somewhat better than in Warsaw on this account. He may have been impressed by the fact that some refugees in the Warsaw ghetto received food packages from relatives in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau.[8] In Płońsk, Jewish workers received only half the minimum wage; however, the Judenrat supplemented this by taxing wealthier Jews. In some places, however, survivors indicate that working Jews remained unpaid.

A number of Jewish communities in the region received material assistance from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) during the course of 1940. For example, the Judenrat in Drobin opened a soup kitchen with the help of AJDC funds on February 22, 1940. However, due to restrictions on the AJDC sending funds from Warsaw into the Reich, this support had dried up by the end of 1940.[9]

The German authorities established a total of 12 ghettos in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau. The first ghettos were established in Sierpc and Maków Mazowiecki in the spring of 1940. Initially, these two were open ghettos (unfenced). In the course of 1940, additional ghettos were established in Płock, Płońsk, and Mława. The ghetto in Płock remained open throughout its existence, as did that in Ciechanów, established in December 1940. However, the majority of ghettos in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau were enclosed, at least for the latter part of their existence. Wooden fences surrounded the ghettos in Strzegowo, Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, and Czerwińsk; and that in Drobin was surrounded by barbed wire. By the fall of 1941, the Maków Mazowiecki ghetto was enclosed with a wooden fence, topped with barbed wire.

In 1941, there were further waves of ghetto formation: in March 1941, ghettos were established in Drobin and Wyszogród; and in June 1941, in Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki. Then in November 1941, the last three ghettos were established in Strzegowo, Nowe Miasto, and Czerwińsk. By this time the Jews from almost all the other large towns had been expelled, deported, or moved into one of the nearer ghettos. For example, those Jews still in Zakroczym were sent to the Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki ghetto, and the few remaining in Bielsk were expelled at the end of 1941; the Jews from Bieżuń and some of those from the liquidated ghetto in Sierpc were moved to the Strzegowo ghetto by early January 1942.[10]

The successive concentration of Jews in ghettos was accompanied, however, by further sporadic waves of deportations into the Generalgouvernement. In early December 1940, the German Police conducted a mass deportation from Mława. They selected 3,000 Jews (more than half of the total), who were transported first on trucks to the transit camp at Działdowo; and from there, they were deported into Distrikt Lublin by freight train. There they were split up among several towns, including Międzyrzec, Lubartów, and Łuków.[11] Several hundred of these deportees later managed to return to Mława in 1941, where they were given falsified identification documents by the Judenrat.[12] In response, the German Police conducted a search for Jews residing illegally in the Mława ghetto in the spring of 1941.



Jews from Ciechanów ghetto are assembled in the fortress, 1941–1942. USHMM WS #50343, COURTESY OF IPN

In February and March 1941, some 6,000 Jews were deported from the Płock ghetto, again via Działdowo, to a number of ghettos in Distrikt Radom, including Chmielnik, Stopnica, Bodzentyn, Wierzbnik, and Częstochowa. At this time 600 Jews from Drobin (mainly the sick and elderly) were also deported via Działdowo to the Piotrków Trybunalski ghetto and a similar number from Wyszogród to Nowa Słupia, also in Distrikt Radom. These mass deportations into the Generalgouvernement were halted in March 1941 because of German military preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union.[13]

On July 4, 1941, the Gestapo resettled up to 2,000 Jews from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki to the labor and concentration camp in Pomiechówek, where some 4,000 Jews from the region were collected together, including more than 1,000 from the Płońsk ghetto. Conditions in the Pomiechówek camp were appalling; many people died there from beatings, hunger, and typhus. Sick people were shot on the spot, and those who were healthy were subsequently marched southward into the Generalgouvernement, when the camp was emptied of its Jewish population. There were many further losses before the remnant reached the Warsaw ghetto.[14]

Living conditions in the ghettos of the region were generally better than in the Pomiechówek or Działdowo camps, but there was a gradual deterioration as the ghettos became more overcrowded. Food also became harder to obtain, as the Jews bartered away their last possessions. The rations in the Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki ghetto consisted of only 330 grams (11.6

ounces) of poor bread per day and 120 grams (4.2 ounces) of horseflesh per month, which was not always supplied. These rations were sold at fixed prices, but smuggled goods demanded much higher prices. The Judenrat in the Mława ghetto tried to ease conditions by organizing smuggling rings, using Jews who worked outside the ghetto to bring food back in. In 1942, however, the Germans began to crack down on smuggling, forcing black market prices even higher. Despite the threat of capital punishment, Jews from many ghettos continued to sneak out to buy food. Overcrowding was severe in most ghettos, with up to 15 people sharing a room. Several ghettos were wracked by severe outbreaks of typhus, in some places claiming hundreds of lives. Medical care was limited, and the outbreaks may have led to an intensification of the Jews' isolation from the rest of the population.

In the last months of 1941, the Germans consolidated the Jewish population of the region further, as they also began to enforce the death penalty for Jews caught outside the ghettos without permission. Assisted by massive bribes, the Jewish Council in Strzegowo managed to persuade the Germans to establish a "Jewish quarter" there, which saved the community from the inevitable stresses of transfer to the Warsaw ghetto.[15] In November 1941, the Germans permitted the Judenrat in Mława to expand the ghetto area a little, to absorb the arrival of about 1,000 Jews from Szreńsk, Radzynów, and Zieluń. At this time, the Wyszogród ghetto was liquidated, with about 1,000 Jews being sent to the ghetto in Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki and another 600 to the Czerwińsk ghetto. Approximately 1,000 Jews were moved from Ciechanów to the Nowe Miasto ghetto on December 11, 1941, although the open ghetto in Ciechanów was not liquidated until November 1942.

By mid-January 1942, it is estimated that about 40,000 Jews remained in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, concentrated mainly in the nine remaining ghettos of Ciechanów (7,000), Czerwińsk (700), Maków Mazowiecki (5,500), Mława (6,000), Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki (6,000), Nowe Miasto (2,100), Płońsk (10,000), Sierpc (500), and Strzegowo (about 2,000).[16]

Little information is available on the German administration of the ghettos, although occasional mention is made of particular Germans who were seen by the Jews as having been in charge.[17] The ghettos were guarded internally by a Jewish police force and externally by the German Order Police (Ordnungspolizei), which in some places also contained local ethnic Germans. Isaiah Trunk has commented on the fluctuation in the leadership on several of the Jewish Councils in the region,[18] and there were attempts to bribe German officials to ameliorate conditions, which might produce some temporary relief. Some Jewish Councils were accused of corruption and favoritism, and in one or two ghettos, the Jewish Police earned themselves a bad reputation by their brutality towards other Jews.[19]

One of the more notorious German officials was the chief of the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo, SS-Sturmbannführer Hartmut Pulmer, who organized a number of mass hangings in the region of Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki and Czerwińsk in 1940.[20] The terror intensified during the winter of 1941–1942 as the Gestapo initiated a crackdown in several ghettos. The number of public hangings rose markedly in 1942, as the Germans clearly sought to intimidate the Jews with harsh punishments for only minor infractions. Jews were executed for leaving the ghetto without permission, for smuggling, and for acts of resistance; and in Mława, 50 Jews were shot in June 1942 for misbehaving during a previous hanging. The Gestapo often forced the Jews to hang other Jews in front of the assembled ghetto population, making these events unforgettable for Jewish survivors who were present.

Acts of resistance in the ghettos of the Zichenau region included contacts with other ghettos and with Polish, mainly Communist, resistance organizations. Before their network was broken up, the underground resistance in the Ciechanów ghetto succeeded in moving some Jewish families wanted by the authorities to other ghettos.[21] A few Jews who escaped from the ghettos, including some from Czerwińsk, subsequently joined the People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa, GL), a Communist partisan group that operated around Płock and Płońsk.

A number of able-bodied Jews were sent to work camps within the Zichenau region. These included labor camps at Nosarzewo and Bielsk. As the final liquidation of the ghettos commenced in the fall of 1942, the Jews in nearby labor camps were returned to the ghettos. For example, at the end of October, Jews working outside the Mława ghetto were returned prior to deportations from there in November, and additional Jews were also brought into Mława from the ghettos in Strzegowo and Ciechanów. During the liquidation of the Maków Mazowiecki ghetto in November 1942, at least 50 Jews, mostly the elderly and children, were killed on the spot, and several Polish women, who were driving carts for the Jews, were also killed at this time. According to the records of the Auschwitz concentration camp, analyzed by Danuta Czech, more than 12,000 Jews from Regierungsbezirk Zichenau were deported to Auschwitz in at least eight separate transports between November 14 and December 17, 1942. The transports left from Płońsk, Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, Ciechanów, and Mława and probably included around 30,000 Jews altogether, indicating that the available records are incomplete.[22]

It is unknown how many Jews from the ghettos of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau survived the German occupation, but since at least 5,000 of those sent to Auschwitz were initially selected for work, it appears that several hundred of these managed to make it through the various labor and concentration camps they experienced until the end of the war. Since the Germans systematically hunted down those Jews who evaded the deportations, some of whom were turned in by Poles, only a few survived in hiding or on the Aryan side. The files of the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo include 22 cases of Poles accused of helping Jews, for which the death penalty could have been applied. However, only a few Poles from the region have been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem for the aid they provided.[23]

Very few of the Germans responsible for the murder and persecution of Jews in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau were tried

for these crimes after the war. A court in Giessen sentenced three members of the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo to jail terms of a few years in 1974, but some of these verdicts were overturned on appeal. The Polish courts dealt mainly with low-level perpetrators, including some ethnic Germans and even one member of the Jewish Police.[24]

SOURCES Useful secondary sources concerning the ghettos in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau include the following: Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984); Jan Grabowski, "Polityka antyżydowska na terenie rejencji ciechanowskiej," in Aleksandra Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach wcielonych do Rzeszy* (Warsaw: IPN Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), pp. 59–68; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja, 1979); Jan Grabowski, "The Holocaust in Northern Mazovia (Poland) in the Light of the Archive of the Ciechanów Gestapo," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1:3 (Winter 2004): 460–476; and Janusz Szczepański, *Społeczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX wieku* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2005).

Relevant collections can be found in the following archives: APW; AŻIH (Ring I, 301, and 210); BA-L; IPN; USHMM (RG-15.037M, case files of the Geheime Staatspolizei-Polizeistelle Zichenau; RG-15.039M, case files from the Gestapo in Zichenau; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.019M; and RG-15.084M); VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Alexander B. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), pp. 105–106; Jochen Böhler, ed., *"Grösste Härte . . ." Verbrechen der Wehrmacht in Polen September/Oktober 1939* (Warsaw: German Historical Institute, 2005), p. 119. In Goworowo, Jews were released from a synagogue as it was about to be burned down, due to the intervention of a German officer. On Różan, see Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, pp. 427–429.

2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1031, 1039. See also Szczepański, *Społeczność*, p. 412, who estimates that some 7,500 Jews fled or were expelled from Pułtusk. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland*, p. 108, cites a German source reporting that "large columns of Jews are being pushed across the demarcation line."

3. Grabowski, "The Holocaust in Northern Mazovia," p. 460, estimates that some 10 percent of the population were ethnic Germans.

4. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, p. 389.

5. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 876; and David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), p. 63.

6. Grabowski, "Polityka antyżydowska," pp. 60–61, indicates, however, that 20 Jews attempting to return home to Nowy Dwór from the Generalgouvernement were hanged in January 1940.

7. Ibid., pp. 61–62; Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej*, pp. 43–44, gives a similar chronology if he classifies the forced expulsions to the Warsaw ghetto from the summer of 1941 slightly differently.

8. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, p. 389.

9. On support provided by the AJDC in Poland during the occupation, see Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939–1945* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1981).

10. *Sefer Ha-Zikaron Li-Kedoshe Byez'un* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at 'ale Byez'un be-Yisrael, 1956), p. 54; and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, pp. 147–148, 216–218. Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej*, pp. 45–46, indicates that in the summer of 1940 Jews continued to reside in the following places: Bieżuń, Bodzanów, Chorzele, Radzanów, Szreńsk, Zakroczym, and Zieluń. Research conducted so far has not revealed evidence of ghettos in these places, which had all been cleared of Jews by early 1942.

11. APL, Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (GDL) 891, Heinicke (Department for Population and Welfare, Lublin) to Labor Department Lublin, December 10, 1940; AŻIH, Ring I/674; and Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," p. 136. See also Götz Aly, *"Endlösung": Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1995), p. 183, who dates the deportation in November 1940 based on transport plans.

12. Jacob Shatzky, ed., *Pinkas Mlave* (New York, 1950), p. 403, indicates that around 200 managed to return from Międzyrzec.

13. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (London: William Collins, 1986), pp. 142–143. Aly, *"Endlösung,"* p. 256, indicates that these deportations formed part of the "Third Short-range Plan (3. Nahplan)." Resistance by the civil authorities in the Generalgouvernement also contributed to stopping these deportations. See also Grabowski, "Polityka antyżydowska," pp. 61–62.

14. BA-L, ZStL II 117 AR 1119/68 (investigation of A. Boldin and others), vol. 1, pp. 1–2, Interim Report, Tel Aviv, July 11, 1968; Szczepański, *Społeczność*, pp. 424, 443–444.

15. Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej*, pp. 68–70.

16. Frank Golczewski, "Polen," in Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), p. 451. Golczewski's figures are derived mainly from Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej*. These figures presumably include a number of Jews temporarily assigned to various forced labor camps within the Regierungsbezirk. The Drobin ghetto was probably liquidated on January 6, 1942.

17. Ghetto Commandant Foch in Płońsk, for example, is remembered as having been particularly brutal.

18. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 318–319, 324.

19. Shlomo Tzemakh et al., eds., *Sefer Plonsk V'Hasviva* (Tel Aviv: Lidor, 1962), pp. 437, 451; AŻIH, 313/57, Henoch Klajnman 1948, and SOPŁ 246-49 (trial of Henryk Klajman).

20. Grabowski, "The Holocaust in Northern Mazovia," p. 462; Pulmer was tried in 1976 but never sentenced due to his "poor health."

21. A. Ṿolf Yasni, ed., *Yizker-bukh fun der Ṭshekhanoṿer Yidisher ḳehile/Sefer-yizkor li-ḳehilat Ts'eḥanov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Ts'eḥanov be-Yisrael un di Landsmanshafṭn in Ḥuts-la-Arets, 1962), pp. 323–325.

22. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), pp. 268–294. There is some speculation that Jews may have been sent to the Treblinka extermination camp from this region; but this remains unproven at present.

23. Grabowski, "The Holocaust in Northern Mazovia," p. 461; e.g., Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust—Poland*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 722–723, 876.

24. Verdict of LG-Gies, 7 Ks 1/74 of November 15, 1976; see the files of SOPł and SOMł, especially SOPł 246-49 (Henryk Klajman), who served in the Jewish Police.



Borders as of January 1942

CIECHANÓW

Pre-1939: Ciechanów, town and powiat center, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zichenau, Kreis center and capital, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Ciechanów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Ciechanów is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) north-northwest of Warsaw. The first mention of a Jewish presence in the town dates from 1507. There were approximately 5,000 Jews living in Ciechanów in 1939.

By the time German troops entered Ciechanów on September 3, 1939, the Jewish population had decreased to less than 2,000. A period of persecution followed, with German soldiers attacking and sometimes killing Jews, desecrating or destroying religious items, pillaging Jewish homes and businesses, forcing Jews to perform menial labor, and holding Jews for ransom. Harassment aside, however, Noah Zabludovits (Noach Zabludowicz), a survivor, recalls the first three months of occupation as fairly peaceful, with "everything open and free."[1]

On October 26, 1939, military rule of Ciechanów ended, and the town was annexed to the German Reich. Renamed Zichenau, it became the capital of the newly created Regierungsbezirk Zichenau. A number of Jews were expelled to the Lublin area in October 1939. The ultimate goal of the new administration was to deport all Jews and Poles from the Zichenau Regierungsbezirk to the Generalgouvernement and resettle Zichenau with ethnic Germans. In the meantime, the local population was to be used as either forced or low-wage labor.

An ethnic German, Mathys, was appointed as Ciechanów's Landrat (district administrator). Two names are mentioned as the town's mayor: Rot and Falk. Ethnic Germans were resettled to Ciechanów, thereby forcing Jews and Poles out of work and eventually confiscating their businesses, farms, and houses. Anti-Jewish laws introduced by the new authorities included: prohibition of ritual slaughter, shopping in non-Jewish stores, using the sidewalks, use of public places, and performing certain occupations (e.g., driver). Jews were also ordered to wear a yellow Star of David sewn onto the front and back of their clothing. Schools and synagogues were closed. A sundown curfew was imposed.[2]

The German authorities set up the Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the autumn of 1939. A shoemaker, Ben-Zion Ehrlich, was nominated as its chairman; he performed this duty until the liquidation of the ghetto. Binyamin Kirshenbaum was the Judenrat's treasurer. One of the Judenrat's first tasks was to deliver a list of the names of all Ciechanów's Jews and their property (much of this information was also provided by local ethnic Germans). Very little is known regarding the work of the Judenrat besides its careful fulfillment of German orders and that it consisted of wealthy Jews. According to one survivor, Meyer Hack, the Judenrat was fair and not bribable with respect to conscription for forced labor. Another source indicates that it was only with bribes that one could get a separate apartment in the soon-to-be overcrowded Ciechanów.[3]

In October 1939, the civil authorities assigned Jews and Poles to demolish those parts of the town with mostly wooden buildings and rebuild these sections in the style of Prussian architecture. The Judenrat's employment agency (Arbeitsamt) was charged with delivering work brigades. Jews as young as 14 years old reported each morning outside the town hall, awaiting the mayor and their work assignment. The daily routine included a chorus greeting: "Good morning, Mr. Mayor"; "Good morning, swine," was his reply.

The houses designated to be demolished were mostly occupied by Jews. On average, the occupants were given one hour to evacuate their homes. As the demolitions progressed, the homeless moved into cellars, attics, and farm buildings.[4]

Jews tasked with forced labor worked from 6:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M. and were paid 9 Reichsmark (RM) per day; half of their salary was deducted in tax. Yet these wages were high enough to allow workers to save some money. Only half the day on Sundays was free of labor, as the German guards were given time off. Other survivors recalled that they also had Saturday afternoons off or that some worked on the Sabbath only when forced.[5]

In the spring of 1940, over 100 elderly and crippled Poles and Jews were taken to the Ościłów Forest, where they were all shot and buried in a mass grave. In the course of 1940, a number of Ciechanów Jews was expelled to Warsaw, while another 1,500 or so Jews from other places were resettled to Ciechanów.

An open ghetto was established at the end of 1940 in the center of Ciechanów. Jews were forced to live in a run-down area that was formerly Jewish and was now crammed with people whose houses had already been demolished or confiscated. Although the ghetto was unfenced, its inhabitants were ordered to stay within its limits. On German orders, the Judenrat established a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungs-



Jews are packed onto a number of trucks that are parked in front of the courthouse and city hall in Marek Square in Ciechanów, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #50337, COURTESY OF IPN



Group portrait of members of the Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir Zionist youth movement in Ciechanów, among them future Auschwitz resister Roża Robota (third row, fourth from left), ca. 1937.
USHMM WS #18655, COURTESY OF ELIYAHU MALLENBAUM

dienst) to guard the ghetto's gate from the inside. Written permission was required to leave.

Polish doctors were forbidden to attend the sick, and diseases spread quickly. Only after the Judenrat bribed the town's mayor did he agree to set up a small hospital on Zagumienna Street. Another small hospital was set up in a garage. A Jewish doctor named Baran was brought in.[6]

Although Ciechanów's Jews tried their best to get along in the overcrowded ghetto, there was considerable friction and strife, including cases of suicide. A women's group was organized to serve soup to the needy and sick; the extent of this help is unknown. Kosher slaughtering was performed in secret, as well as prayers on the Sabbath.

As the food rations were very meager, the ghetto's Jews took to smuggling. Those who were caught were initially punished by fines or transfer to a labor camp. Punishment was at first administered by the Landrat, then later by the Sondergericht (special court). From 1942 onward, the punishment for smuggling and other minor offenses was death or transfer to a concentration camp.

In the spring of 1941, Ciechanów's authorities discontinued the expulsion of Jews to the Generalgouvernement and started concentrating them in a number of ghettos, including the ghetto of Ciechanów. With the arrival of about 500 newcomers, the Ciechanów ghetto housed Jews from Dobrzyń, Raciąż, Sierpc, Drobin, Żuromin, and some towns in Danzig-Westpreussen, including Rypin. Jews from the surrounding villages also were sent to Ciechanów.

The transfer of Jews within Regierungsbezirk Zichenau continued. On December 11, 1941, approximately 1,000 to 1,200 Jews were evacuated from Ciechanów to the nearby Nowe Miasto ghetto. Many Jews were murdered in the course of this deportation, including Jewish policeman Abe Blum for helping the elderly to board the train. In Nowe Miasto, the newcomers were almost always deprived of any assistance or shelter, and some risked returning to Ciechanów. As a result, periodic identification checks were conducted in Ciechanów, and "illegals" were usually sent to the Pomiechówek camp. An estimated 7,000 Jews lived in the Ciechanów ghetto at this time.[7]

Terror and periodic public hangings intensified in 1942. The Germans forced the Jews to hang their own. One of the Gestapo officers, Rosenmann, was known for entering the ghetto at night and raping women; he also was allegedly responsible for falsely accusing five Jews of sabotage; they were hanged in 1942. At night, members of the Hitler Youth also broke into Jewish homes, where they intimidated, beat, and tortured the inhabitants. They also reportedly raped women and forced the men to watch; and they even forced siblings to have sexual intercourse with each other.[8]

An underground movement was organized in the ghetto and included the following members: Moishe Kolka; Godl Zilber; Noah Eisenberg; Yosef Eisenberg; Motl Bergson; Yisroel Likhtenstein; Dovid Shmidt; and three brothers, Pinkhas, Noach, and Khanan Zabludowicz. Through Noach Zabludowicz the organization maintained contact with other ghettos in the vicinity. Zabludowicz was employed as an "ethnic German" driver by the German Bernard Kessler, who was aware of his Jewish identity. Zabludowicz was able to transport families wanted by the authorities to other ghettos.

Ciechanów's non-Jewish population was too small to provide anonymity to Jews wanted by the German authorities; therefore, flight to another ghetto was the most common means of escape, as long as there were still other ghettos existing nearby.

The liquidation of the Ciechanów ghetto took place on either November 5 or 6, 1942. The operation was led by Commander Meinert.[9] Ciechanów's Jews were first chased to the market square, where they were ordered to give up their valuables, for which the SS had boxes ready. Three Jews were shot to show the gravity of the demand. A female SS officer randomly searched females, while male SS officers checked the men. All were then led into the courtyard of the medieval castle located outside of the town for a selection.

A group of 1,000 elderly and sick residents was sent to the Mława ghetto (33 kilometers [20.5 miles] northeast of Ciechanów) and from there to the Auschwitz concentration camp in mid-November 1942. A transport of 2,000 stronger Jews was sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Upon their arrival on November 7, 1942, 1,306 people were gassed, while the remainder were selected for work. In the course of the deportation from Ciechanów, a number of elderly Jews were murdered along with 68 patients from the hospital on Zagumienna Street.

In Auschwitz, a member of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir from Ciechanów, Róża Robota, took part in organizing the prisoner's revolt by distributing explosives. She was hanged with three other women on January 6, 1945.

SOURCES Publications on the Ciechanów ghetto include the following: Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984); Janusz Szczepański, *Społeczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX*

wieku (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2005); A. Ṿolf Yasni, ed., *Yizker-bukh fun der Ṭshekhanoṿer Yidisher ḳehile/Sefer-yizkor li-ḳehilat Ts'eḥanov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Ts'eḥanov be-Yisrael un di Landsmanshafṭn in Ḥuts-la-Arets, 1962); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 384–390; and Samuel Althaus, *Where Is God?: Auschwitz-Birkenau to Dachau 1942 to 1945* (United States: S. Althaus, 2000), pp. 42–64.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Ciechanów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AAN; APW (Geheime Staatspolizei—Staatspolizeistelle Zichenau/Schrötersburg in Schrötersburg, zespół nr. 1025, 22 j. a.; Gendermerie Kreis Zichenau, zespół nr. 499, 2, j. a.); AŻIH (Ring I/1034; and 301/646); IPN (GK 1795/88x; Geheime Staatspolizei: Polizeistelle Zichenau; and Staatliche Kriminal Polizei Zichenau); USHMM (RG-15.079, Ring I/1034; RG-15.039M; RG-15.037M; RG-50.030*0166, oral history with Lonia Mosak; RG-15.084M, # 646); VHF (e.g., # 6063, 15269, 25241, and 26035); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 26035, testimony of Noah Zabludovits, 1997.
2. Althaus, *Where Is God?*, pp. 45–46; USHMM, RG-50.030*0166; VHF, # 25241, testimony of Yisrael Fodelovich, 1996.
3. VHF, # 15269, testimony of Meyer Hack, 1996; and # 25241.
4. Ibid., #15269.
5. Ibid., # 26035; # 15269; # 25241.
6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0166.
7. Ibid.
8. Althaus, *Where Is God?*, p. 47.
9. AŻIH, 301/646, testimony of Motek Popiół, 1945.

CZERWIŃSK NAD WISŁĄ

Pre-1939: Czerwińsk nad Wisłą, village, Płock powiat, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Czerwinsk, Kreis Plönnen, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Czerwińsk Nad Wisłą, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Czerwińsk is located on the right bank of the Vistula River, 61 kilometers (38 miles) west-northwest of Warsaw. An estimated 80 Jewish families lived there in 1939. When the Germans invaded Poland, many Jews fled the village, believing they would be safer in larger towns. The Germans occupied Czerwińsk on September 9 or 10, 1939. As Czerwińsk remained relatively undamaged, most Jewish residents soon returned to their homes. In the course of the September Campaign, Czerwińsk attracted many Jewish refugees, especially from Gąbin, Iłów, Leoncin, Rypin, and Warsaw. In October 1939, Czerwińsk was annexed to the Reich as part of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau.

Initially, the Jews of Czerwińsk escaped harassment; however, a curfew was soon imposed. Jews in Czerwińsk were also forced to wear distinguishing patches bearing the emblem of the Star of David. The Germans confiscated most possessions from both Poles and Jews, especially their estates and businesses. All young Jews were conscripted to perform forced labor, mainly in agriculture, for which they were initially paid.[1] Later, the town's Jews worked fixing roads, clearing snow from the streets, and performing various menial jobs in the village. The German authorities also abducted some of the Jews in Czerwińsk, sending them to labor camps in the vicinity. Roundups were conducted at night.

The Germans set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) to help administer labor conscriptions and maintain order in the Jewish community. Aharon Neiberger (Aran Najberger) chaired the Judenrat. Yehezkel Braverman was the commander of the Jewish Police. In addition to these authorities, there was a German Gendarmerie post located in Czerwińsk.[2]

In 1940, the chief of the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo, SS-Sturmbannführer Hartmut Pulmer, organized a number of mass hangings in the region of Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki and Czerwińsk.

Either at the end of October or beginning of November 1941, a ghetto surrounded by a wooden fence was constructed in Czerwińsk. The ghetto was located in the predominantly Jewish part of the village and limited to one street leading to the local Catholic cemetery. It had gated exits at each end of the street. The Poles who lived there had to abandon their property and relocate.[3]

On November 29, 1941, the Germans transferred 600 Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Wyszogród almost 10 kilometers (about 6 miles) away to the ghetto in Czerwińsk. Some of these people were moved into houses deserted by the Poles in Czerwińsk. With their arrival, the Czerwińsk ghetto became extremely overcrowded.[4]

The Germans did not allow any businesses to remain open in the Czerwińsk ghetto. Poles were afraid to help their Jewish neighbors, as large notices were posted throughout the village ordering the death penalty for anyone found providing assistance to Jews. The Judenrat did, however, open a soup kitchen to help the poor and refugees. It also was responsible for providing labor brigades in accordance with German demands. Jewish laborers would leave the ghetto in the morning to work in the fields and come back in the evening. The German authorities rarely entered the ghetto, leaving it up to the Jewish Police to maintain order there. In the spring of 1942, the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo organized a second round of mass hangings, including one conducted inside the Czerwińsk ghetto. The Germans employed these methods to try to break the spirit of the local Jews.

In the first part of 1942, an underground cell of the Communist Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza, PPR) was organized in the Czerwińsk ghetto. A former party member, Lewicki (Levitsky), was its secretary. The cell maintained contact with the underground of the Płońsk ghetto and PPR in the Płońsk region. Some Czerwińsk Jews joined the People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa, GL), a Communist partisan group

commanded by Franciszek Lewandowski that operated around Płock and Płońsk. Among these partisans was Marian Berglan, alias Wańka Woroncow, who fell during fighting with the German Gendarmerie in the village of Janikowo on September 15, 1943.

In the summer of 1942, two truckloads of women, children, and sick people were brought into the Czerwińsk ghetto from Ciechanów. By this time, the ghetto's population had reached 2,000. The unsanitary conditions in the ghetto led to an outbreak of typhus. A small hospital was opened and supervised by Doctor Arthur Bauer, who visited once a week from Płońsk. The rest of the time, a single nurse cared for the sick. At its peak, the epidemic resulted in the death of dozens of Jews each week.

The Czerwińsk ghetto was liquidated on October 28, 1942. About 2,600 of its inhabitants were brought on wagons to the ghetto in Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki. The deportations of Nowy Dwór's ghetto inhabitants to the Auschwitz concentration camp began three weeks later on November 20, 1942. The third and final transport departed from Nowy Dwór on December 12, 1942.[5]

Hartmut Pulmer was tried in 1976 but never sentenced due to his "poor health."

SOURCES There is no single publication on the history of the Jewish community in Czerwińsk nad Wisłą. A short chapter is dedicated to its fate in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989). Some information can also be found in: Janusz Szczepański, *Społeczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX wieku* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2005).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archive: VHF (# 42808 and 30107).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 42808, testimony of Max Lesser, 1998.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., # 30107, testimony of Abraham Szmiga, 1997.
5. VHF, # 42808; # 30107.

DROBIN

Pre-1939: Drobin, town, Płock powiat, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Reichenfeld, Kreis Schröttersburg, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Drobin, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Drobin is located 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) northeast of Płock. The town's first Jewish inhabitants only appeared in Drobin at the end of the seventeenth century, but by 1808, almost all the residents were Jews (1,607 out of a total of 1,717). By 1921, there were 1,096 Jews in Drobin out of a total population of 2,439.



Portrait of the fourth-grade class at the public elementary school in Drobin, attended by both Polish and Jewish children, 1932.
USHMM WS #38516, COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION, GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

The Germans occupied Drobin on September 5, 1939, and immediately began committing acts of thievery and vandalism, as well as harassing and attacking Jews. In October, Drobin was renamed Reichenfeld and annexed to the Reich as part of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau.[1] That same month, many anti-Jewish laws were implemented. Jews were ordered to wear an armband bearing the Star of David. They were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks. Although the Germans allowed some Jewish businesses to continue operating, Jews were otherwise banned from self-employment. The Germans took any valuable item they wanted from Jewish homes. In addition, they imposed a financial contribution of 10,000 złoty on the community; although Drobin's Jews tried their best, they were able to collect only 4,500 złoty, which the Germans accepted only after persistent pleading.[2] At the beginning of 1940, Drobin's synagogue was razed.

Jews were also requisitioned for forced labor. At first, the Germans would round up whomever they found in the street. Some were employed in two hospitals established for Polish POWs in the synagogue and Bet Midrash. Some swept the streets. A number worked in agriculture in the vicinity of Drobin, mainly clearing fields of stones and breaking them up into gravel. The old Jewish cemetery was leveled, and all the tombstones were used to create paths in a park that the Germans designed in Drobin, while others were used to pave roads. Polish engineers supervised the construction of the park, which also used Jewish labor. Bones from the Jewish cemetery were visible all over the town for some time. Jewish craftsmen were employed under Polish supervision in two enterprises for tailors and shoemakers whose workshops had been seized. From 1940 on, Jewish women and children were forced to work along with the men. In the spring of 1940, those Jews employed paving the roads were paid 1.20 Reichsmark (RM) per day.[3]

In the fall of 1939, the Germans established a Judenrat (Jewish Council) to oversee the implementation of German

laws. Its primary task was to organize forced labor detachments and distribute to the workers their small wages, from which it deducted 10 pfennigs for operating costs. The German authorities initially appointed Elimelech Buki as the chairman. The other members of the Judenrat included: Josef Segel, Moshe Aron, and Israel and Isaac Braunschweig.[4] By February 1940, Chaim Przewózman (Pschewusmann) replaced Buki as the chairman. The Judenrat was also charged with organizing social aid, which involved assisting about 100 refugees who had settled in Drobin since the war's onset. Most of them came from the nearby towns of Mława, Sierpc, Raciąż, Rypin, and Lipno.

With the assistance of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), the Judenrat opened a soup kitchen on February 22, 1940. By March, it was distributing 250 meals a day: less than half the demand. From May on, due to financial constraints, the Judenrat charged everyone 5 pfennigs per meal. The economic situation of the Jews worsened day by day. It was at this time that the Germans expelled all of Drobin's refugees, sending most of them to Strzegowo and Płock. A number of them returned to Drobin or went into hiding. In August 1940, 500 poor were registered in Drobin, yet the kitchen was unable to increase the number of meals.[5]

As conditions continued to deteriorate in Drobin, a number of Jews were transferred to the ghetto in Mława. A group of Jews was rounded up one night in July 1940 and was sent to a newly created labor camp for Jews.

The first large deportation from Drobin took place in early March 1941. At that time, Drobin had approximately 1,300 Jewish inhabitants. The Judenrat prepared a list of 600 Jews (mainly the sick and elderly) to be deported by truck to the transfer camp in Działdowo. A week later, on March 14, they were loaded onto trains and transferred to the ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski, where the Germans had already crammed in around 20,000 Jews. Most of the Jews from Drobin were housed together in the synagogue at 20 Jerozolimska Street. A typhus epidemic that broke out in the first months after their arrival killed hundreds of them. With the deportation of the bulk of the Jews from the Piotrków ghetto in mid-October 1942, most of the remaining Jews from Drobin were sent by train to the Treblinka death camp.

The ghetto for 700 Jews that remained in Drobin was set up immediately after the departure of the group of 600 Jews (although one account places it earlier, in 1940). The Jews had to vacate their houses on the market square and move to the poorest section of the town, down by the river, near the new Jewish cemetery. Jews could take some of their belongings with them. After their resettlement in the ghetto, on average about four families were forced to share one room. The ghetto was initially open and was not strictly guarded. Later on, however, it was surrounded by barbed wire. There was only one gate by which inhabitants could enter and leave the ghetto.[6]

The Germans gave the Jews a free hand to establish their own police force (Ordnungsdienst). Once the Judenrat had appointed its members, they were in charge of maintaining order within the ghetto. Its members wore high boots, distinct uniforms with a band at waist level, and special hats. The treatment of individuals depended on the status of the family from which they came. Some members of the force abused their power. They were especially brutal during the Pelzaktion—when the Germans ordered the surrender of all fur items in the fall of 1941. Jews known to be concealing any fur garments were severely beaten. German police controlled the gate and the external perimeter of the ghetto.[7]

Those Jews who were still permitted to run their businesses were allowed to leave the ghetto and employ other Jews. Many smuggled food into the ghetto. Nevertheless, due to overcrowding, bad sanitation, and severe hunger that made people's stomachs swell, cases of typhus and other diseases developed. To make matters worse, there was no hospital in the Drobin ghetto.[8]

According to one testimony, sometime after the ghetto was set up, a number of young men were rounded up and were sent to the Nosarzewo labor camp near Mława.[9]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in Drobin in November 1941 (or, by some accounts, in 1942). Its 700 inhabitants were deported to the fenced ghetto in Nowe Miasto near Płońsk. The laborers who had been sent to the Nosarzewo camp a few months earlier were also transferred there. However, in their place another group of young men was soon rounded up and sent to Nosarzewo. The conditions in Nowe Miasto were much worse than in Drobin. The Judenrat tried to accommodate the newcomers, but many ended up sleeping in the streets. There also was an outbreak of typhus. The Germans never entered the ghetto, as they were afraid of becoming infected. The Jews from Drobin worked in the vicinity of Nowe Miasto, mainly in farming and construction. After about seven to eight months, they were transferred to yet another ghetto in Płońsk.[10]

The Germans announced that they would only be in Płońsk for a short time before everyone would be sent to work in Germany or Switzerland. The Jews from Drobin stayed in Płońsk for periods varying from only a few days up to three months, depending on the date of their deportation to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Most of them were sent on the second transport on November 30, 1942. They were sent on a regular train, with seats and windows. Only about 50 or 60 Jews from Drobin survived the war.[11]

SOURCES There is no single publication describing in detail the fate of the Jews of Drobin. A description of the destruction of the community can be found in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 180–182. Additional brief sections on Drobin can be found in the following publications: Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984), p. 55; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press,

2001), p. 332; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja, 1979), p. 162.

Documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/321); UM-DOHA (Simon Kalmas interview, available at http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/51471); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154, AJDC); VHF (# 2504, 4299, 9954, 13743, 18648, and 51154); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. UM-DOHA, Simon Kalmas interview, 1982.
2. Ibid.; VHF, # 18648-3, testimony of Morris Pfeffer, 1996, and # 2504, testimony of Esther Neimark, 1995.
3. Simon Kalmas interview, 1982; VHF, # 51154, testimony of Cwi Jedwab, 2000; # 2504; # 18648-3.
4. Simon Kalmas interview, 1982; VHF, # 51154; # 18648-3.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/321.
6. VHF, # 13743-2, testimony of Harry Schwartz, 1996.
7. Ibid., # 18648-3.
8. Ibid.; # 51154; Simon Kalmas interview, 1982.
9. VHF, # 51154.
10. Ibid., # 4299-2, testimony of Abraham Feffer, 1995; #13743-2; # 9954-3, testimony of Samuel Sitko, 1995.
11. Ibid., #51154; #9954-3; #18648-3.

MAKÓW MAZOWIECKI

Pre-1939: Maków Mazowiecki, town and powiat center, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Mackheim, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Maków Mazowiecki, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Maków Mazowiecki is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) north of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, approximately 5,000 Jews resided in Maków Mazowiecki (about 55 percent of the total population).[1]

Units of the German 3rd Army entered Maków a few days after the invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, followed immediately by units of Einsatzkommando 2/V, and a reign of terror began.[2] Much of the Jewish population attempted to flee the Germans by heading for the larger cities, especially Warsaw, or into the Soviet-occupied zone.

In October 1939, Maków Mazowiecki was incorporated into the Reich as part of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau. For much of the occupation, the Landrat in Kreis Mackheim was Herbert Seiler, and the mayor (Bürgermeister) was Franz Kasischke.[3]

The first systematic measures against the Jews came in December, when Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David. All private businesses and schools were closed or taken over, and Jewish communities in the area were ordered to pay the German authorities "contributions" amounting to many thousands of złoty.

At the end of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Its tasks included transmitting German orders to the Jewish community, ensuring their implementation, and tending to the needs of impoverished Jews, especially the many refugees from other towns. The council was obligated to provide the Germans with a list of the Jewish inhabitants, together with an inventory of their property. At first, A. Ryzyk and A. Adler were appointed as heads of the Jewish Council; they were soon replaced by Abraham Garfinkel and Ehrlich.

The ghetto in Maków Mazowiecki was established in several stages, starting in the spring of 1940. First, the Jews living in the non-Jewish parts of town were moved into a Jewish "residential area" (open ghetto). Around this time, several hundred Jews apparently arrived in Maków from the surrounding towns and villages, including Różan, Krasnosielc, Chorzele, Rypin, Mława, and Pułtusk, as part of the initial German attempts to concentrate Jews in a few larger towns. Those Jews who only moved within Maków were able to bring most of their belongings, but the refugees from outside towns and villages arrived with only the few possessions they could carry in their arms.[4]

According to a certificate issued by the German mayor of Maków on April 22, 1940, the Jewish community at that time numbered 3,527 people, of whom 517 were refugees; in total, 1,950 Jews were in need of financial assistance.[5]

On December 8, 1940, conditions in the ghetto worsened with the arrival of Jews deported from Chorzele, Mława, and Przasnysz. In December 1940, a report to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) indicated there were 3,800 Jews in Maków, of which some 2,000 were refugees. The total number of Jews fluctuated considerably during the existence of the ghetto, as the periodic influx of more refugees was counterbalanced in part by roundups of Jews for forced labor camps. Close to 12,000 Jews are estimated to have passed through the ghetto during its existence.[6] Due to its small area, the ghetto was terribly overcrowded. Typically, three families lived in a single room. Some people resided in the synagogue; others, in shops, attics, and barns. The ghetto had no hospital or infirmary to treat the sick and injured.

Available accounts differ, but probably at the end of 1940, and certainly by the fall of 1941, the German authorities enclosed the Jewish residential area.[7] The Maków ghetto was located near the Zalew River and included the streets of Franciszkańska, Zielony Rynek, Kanałowa, Brzozowa, Dunaj, and Bużniczna. Jewish refugees were employed to erect a wooden fence 4 meters (13.1 feet) high around the ghetto, which was topped with barbed wire. There were three gates around the ghetto for exit and entry.

There were only three wells inside the ghetto, and this led to long lines and a severe shortage of water. For one hour per day, Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto under guard to obtain water from the river. But sometimes the Germans beat the Jews severely as they returned to the ghetto, and on one occasion, a woman was shot for venturing too far into the river. Units of the Order Police (Schutzpolizei and Gendarmerie) guarded the perimeter of the ghetto. Several witnesses

name a German administrator, Wolfgang Steinmetz, as the ghetto commandant,[8] but officials of the Gestapo organized the most severe repressive measures. Notoriously brutal officials of the Order Police included Max Plötzke.[9]

With the establishment of the ghetto, the Germans also ordered the creation of a Jewish police force of about 20 men. The ghetto police was subordinated to the Jewish Council and was headed by David Orlik. The council had to provide the German authorities with a specific quota of laborers and assist with roundups for deportation to the labor camps, which soon became widely feared due to the terrible conditions there.

The council had a generally favorable reputation in the ghetto, since it organized aid for ghetto residents. These measures included running a Talmud school for children and a social welfare system that took care of more than 1,200 people, including many refugees. The Judenrat also set up a soup kitchen for the needy, especially children. Each month the support committee of the council distributed approximately 3,000 kilograms (6,614 pounds) of bread.[10] The poor living and housing conditions and the chronic malnutrition caused epidemics of disease and a high death rate. By 1942, Jews caught leaving the ghetto faced the death penalty. However, some Jews continued to leave the ghetto, especially at night when the guard was lax, in order to barter their few remaining personal items for food with the local peasants.[11]

The German authorities attempted to exploit the residents for work as much as possible. The Labor Department in Maków organized the employment of the Jews, sending them to work in various places in the town and to seven labor camps in the vicinity. Approximately 150 to 300 Jews worked in the Gąsew, Czerwoniec, Nowa Wieś, and Karniew labor camps. An additional 200 Jews worked at the Różan Castle; 300 ghetto residents went to the Ciechanów labor camp; and some 200 to 400 Jews and Poles worked in another camp established in the town itself, located in the former *mikveh*.[12]

Up until the liquidation of the ghetto in November 1942, German security forces conducted a number of executions in Maków, including at least three public hangings. On July 7, 1942, the Germans hanged 20 Jews following an incident in which 3 escaped Jews attacked a patrol of the Gendarmerie. One of the Jews was wounded and fled back into the ghetto. When it was discovered that the Jewish doctor, Abe Kejtsohn, had treated the escapee without informing the authorities, the Germans arrested him and hanged him a week later.[13]

At the beginning of November 1942, in preparation for the liquidation of the ghetto, the Germans ordered that all the Jews in neighboring work camps be brought back into the Maków ghetto. The Germans started to liquidate the ghetto early in the morning of November 18.[14] During the liquidation Aktion, at least 50 Jews, mostly the elderly and children, were killed on the spot, along with several Polish women who were driving carts for the Jews. All the remaining Jews, about 5,500 people, were herded under severe beatings to Mława, where they were held for a few days. Here, the elderly, children, and others unable to work were selected out and sent either to Treblinka or, more probably, Auschwitz (sources differ).[15] The Germans then deported the Jews held in Mława, including some who arrived on November 24 from Strzegowo, in several separate train transports to Auschwitz. The largest transport of Jews from Mława (including many Jews from Maków)—consisting of approximately 2,500 men, women, and children—arrived in Auschwitz on December 6, 1942. Of this transport, 2,094 were gassed immediately, and 406 men were admitted to the camp as laborers.[16] It is unknown how many Jews from Maków survived the German occupation, but several of the men sent to Auschwitz managed to make it through the selections and privations there and in other camps until the end of the war.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Maków Mazowiecki and the surrounding area during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yitshak Brat, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Makov-Mazovitsk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Makov-Mazovitsk be-Yisrael uve-Artsot-ha-Berit, 1969); Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 264–268; and Janusz Szczepański, *Dzieje Społeczności Żydowskiej w Powiatów Pułtusk i Maków Mazowiecki* (Warsaw: Pułtuskie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne, Towarzystwo Miłośników Makówa Mazowieckiego, 1993). Reference has also been made to the unpublished work by Joann Korniluk, "Maków Mazowiecki: An Oral History; Survivors of World War II in Poland" (Fairfax, VA, August 2004).

Documentation in relation to the ghetto in Maków Mazowiecki can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 210/482; and 301/6526); BA-L (B 162/7876); IPN (e.g., SWW 750-52); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC, 210/482]); VHF (e.g., # 05384, 15815, and 28862); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/7876, p. 309, statement of Abraham Garfinkel, August 17, 1971.
2. Wolfgang Schumann and Ludwig Nestler, eds., *Dokumentenedition. Nacht über Europa: Die faschistische Okkupationspolitik in Polen (1939–1945)* (Cologne, 1989), p. 355.
3. BA-L, B 162/7876, p. 511, Einstellungsverfügung (closing report) in the case against Wolfgang Steinmetz, January 12, 1982.
4. VHF, # 15815, testimony of Sam Itzkowitz; BA-L, B 162/7876, pp. 309–312, statement of Abraham Garfinkel, August 17, 1971.
5. Bürgermeister in Maków, Bescheinigung, April 22, 1940, reproduced in Brat, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 286.
6. BA-L, B 162/7876, p. 277, testimony of Waclaw Wolski, October 20, 1970.
7. See VHF, # 15815; BA-L, B 162/7876, p. 346, statement of Zwi Meir.
8. BA-L, B 162/7876, pp. 309, 313.
9. Ibid., p. 311.

10. VHF, # 15815.
11. Ibid.
12. Szczepański, *Dzieje*, p. 153; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, pp. 428–429.
13. Grynberg, *Żydzi*, p. 57; BA-L, 162/7876, p. 277, testimony of Waclaw Wolski, and pp. 512–515 (Einstellungsverfügung, Wolfgang Steinmetz); and VHF, # 15815.
14. Mair Hersh Ziechanover, "Klep, peynikungen—umkum," in Brat, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 244–245.
15. Survivor testimony (BA-L, 162/7876, p. 312; and VHF, # 15815) points to Treblinka, but Auschwitz is more likely; see Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), pp. 283–284.
16. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, p. 280.



The ruins of the city square in Mława, with a possible roundup taking place at left. The original German caption reads: "The city square of Mława." USHMM WS #49704, COURTESY OF TOM SALMON

MŁAWA

Pre-1939: Mława, town and powiat center, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Mielau, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Mława, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Mława is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) north-northwest of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, there were approximately 6,500 Jews living there. On September 3, 1939, German forces occupied the town. In October, the Germans annexed Mława, renamed Mielau, as part of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau in Provinz Ostpreussen. From May 1940, the Landrat in Mielau was Paul Funk.[1]

In November 1939, the Germans ordered Rabbi Segalowicz to organize a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Mława, and by 1940 the Germans had appointed Lejzor Perelmutter as its head. He built up good relations with the German officials and used these to try to help the Jews in Kreis Mielau. A Jewish police force of 10 to 12 policemen was also appointed, headed initially by Menachem Davidsohn. Perelmutter put an end to the kidnapping of Jews by restructuring the forced labor arrangements. Workers were now paid 1.50 Reichsmark (RM) per day by the Judenrat for their work; the money was raised from wealthier Jews who paid to be exempted. Jews were only allowed to buy food from shops run by the Judenrat. However, because the Germans restricted the food supply, the Judenrat began to sell black market food, paid for by taxing Jews. In 1940, living conditions were still bearable in part because of the black market trade with Łódź and Warsaw.

In November 1939, hundreds of refugees began to arrive from Sierpc, Rypin, Dobrzyń nad Drwęcą, and other places; more arrived in 1940. In the summer of 1940, the Judenrat in Mława wrote to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw for clothing, medicine, and money. However, due to German bureaucratic obstruction and the AJDC's limited means, very little aid arrived.[2]

At the start of December 1940, rumors began to spread of an upcoming expulsion. The Judenrat bribed the Germans with 55,000 RM, but on December 6, German Police selected 3,000 Jews and sent them to the transit camp at Działdowo and from there into Distrikt Lublin.[3] Several hundred managed to return in 1941, when the Judenrat gave them falsified identification documents, and they blended back into the Jewish community.

After those deportations, only 2,450 Jews remained; Funk ordered them to move into a ghetto within 24 hours. The ghetto area comprised the Jewish back streets and Mikveh Square, bordered by Warsaw and Płock Streets. In early 1941 the Jews had to build a wall around the ghetto area.[4]

Due to the desperate overcrowding, a typhus epidemic broke out. The Judenrat organized a sanitation committee to maintain cleanliness in the ghetto and establish a 40-bed hospital. All of the Jews were vaccinated against typhus, which helped to keep down the mortality rate. Clandestine trade with local peasants and other ghettos forestalled starvation.[5]

The Judenrat was given largely a free hand to organize life within the ghetto, but only on the strict condition that nobody came in or out without permission. The Jewish Police guarded the ghetto gate from the inside and ran a prison cell to punish those breaking the regulations. There was also a court within the ghetto to settle disputes among Jews. Schooling was officially banned, but Jewish children received some education in small private groups. A secret radio kept in a cellar brought in some news from the outside world.

In the spring of 1941, the Germans conducted a search for Jews residing illegally in the ghetto. The Judenrat secretly evacuated most of the "illegals" in time, bringing them back in once the search was over. Perelmutter personally risked his life by delivering false documents to those being searched. More than 100 illegals were arrested, but Perelmutter managed to get them released and issued them new, legal documents.

Between 200 and 500 Jews were assigned to forced labor each day, cleaning up debris, constructing roads, building barracks, demolishing houses, loading trains with coal, and working in Polish and German houses and on private farms.

Several hundred Jews were deported to various labor camps in the summer of 1941.

In November 1941, the Germans permitted the Judenrat to expand the ghetto area a little, to cope with the arrival of around 1,000 Jews from Szreńsk, Radzynów, and Zieluń. With these refugees, as well as those who had managed to return from the earlier deportation Aktion, the population was now approximately 5,000 people. As there was not sufficient room in the Mława ghetto, the Germans also permitted the establishment of a ghetto in Strzegewo at this time, after the Jewish community there offered bribes.[6]

Conditions in the ghetto grew worse due to severe overcrowding. Some residents had to live in pigsties, barns, granaries, basements, and attics. The Judenrat worked to make the ghetto tolerable by organizing smuggling rings, using Jews who worked outside the ghetto to bring food back in with them. The Jewish Police helped by turning a blind eye at the ghetto entrances. However, the Germans started to crack down on smuggling in December 1941, when they arrested the head of the Jewish Police, Davidsohn.[7]

On January 23, 1942, the Germans arrested 25 Jews for smuggling. They were sent to concentration camps where all perished, including Iccak Alter, a member of the Judenrat. Perelmutter was also arrested on this day and subsequently murdered in the town's municipal court building. On April 19, following the previous day's hanging of 4 smugglers, the Gestapo arrested most of the Jewish Police and several members of the Judenrat. A new Judenrat was formed, which tried unsuccessfully to bargain with the Germans for the release of those under arrest, including Davidsohn.

On June 4, 1942, the ghetto residents were forced to gather in the town square, where 13 handcuffed Jewish men awaited with nooses around their necks. The condemned were mostly members of the Jewish Police arrested for failing to prevent smuggling. The Germans demanded silence and chose several Jews from the crowd to remove the boxes from beneath the victims' feet. When the crowd began to wail and scream in horror, the Germans fired into the crowd, killing and wounding several people. Then, on June 17, the Germans executed 50 more young Jews by shooting, allegedly as a punishment for the Jews' "misbehavior" during the execution on June 4.[8] After that, most inhabitants became too scared to continue smuggling, and hunger increased dramatically.

In the summer of 1942, the new head of the Judenrat, Paltiel Ceglo, was imprisoned in Ciechanów. Another head was appointed, Mendel Czarko, and a new Jewish police force was established. Gutman, a key player in the black market, was appointed as its head.

The Jews that worked outside the ghetto were transferred back into it at the end of October 1942. The Judenrat was ordered to prepare a list of 2,000 elderly, sick, and single Jews. At this time, reinforced German police units began to patrol the ghetto boundaries.

On November 2, there was an influx of ill and elderly Jews from the ghetto in Strzegowo. On November 6, 1,000 more Jews arrived from Ciechanów. Then on November 10, Mława's elderly and sick Jews were deported; the Jews in Mława believed that they were sent to the Treblinka death camp, but German documentation indicates that they were sent to Auschwitz, where most were gassed on arrival. On November 13 and 17, a selection was performed in the town's flour mill. Those marked for deportation were robbed and then forced to run the gauntlet of the Gendarmes; those who ran too slowly were shot. After this, two more transports left Mława for Auschwitz, containing Jews both from Mława and Ciechanów.

After this third deportation on November 17, only a few hundred Jews remained in the ghetto. However, the population swelled the very next day with the arrival of approximately 5,000 Jews from Maków Mazowiecki. On November 24, 1,000 Jews from Strzegowo arrived. These new residents, along with the remaining Mława Jews, a total of between 6,000 and 7,000 people, were all deported to Auschwitz in three or more transports between November 20 and December 10, 1942.

At least 50 Jews from the Mława ghetto somehow managed to survive their ordeals in the camps, and more than 150 of those who fled into the Soviet Union also survived.

In 1971, Franz Paulikat, a Gendarmerie official who was notorious for his brutality among the inmates of the Mława ghetto, was tried at Arnsberg in Germany and sentenced to life imprisonment.[9]

SOURCES Publications on the Mława ghetto include the following: J. Shatzky, ed., *Pinkas Mlave* (New York, 1950), pp. 401–418; Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984), pp. 57–58; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 280–287; David Shtokfish, *Di Yidishe Mlave: Geshikhte, oyfshtayg, umkum* (Tel Aviv: Yots'e Mlavah be-Yisrael uvi-tefutsot, 1984); Ryszard Juszkiewicz, *Losy Żydów mławskich w okresie II-ej wojny światowej* (Mława: Tow. Przyjaciół Ziemi Mławskiej, 1994); David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003); Jan Grabowski, "The Holocaust in Northern Mazovia (Poland) in the Light of the Archive of the Ciechanów Gestapo," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18:3 (Winter 2004); and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 35 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), Lfd. Nr. 755, pp. 373–384. The yizkor books for Szreńsk and Strzegowo also contain some information on the Mława ghetto. See *Kehilat Szrensk veha-seviva: Sefer zikaron* (Jerusalem, 1960), p. 370; and Feigl Bisberg-Youkelson and Rubin Youkelson, eds., *The Life and Death of a Polish Shtetl* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 75–77, 88.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Mława during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: APL (GDL 891); AŻIH (e.g., Ring I/599 and 865; 210/494); CAHJP (HM/7596); FVA (# 145, 295, and 1533); IPN (GZ); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M, reel 13; RG-50.120, # 143; and Acc.1999.A.0154); VHF (e.g., # 12430 and 27157); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/ 403, 468, 539, 914, 1239, 2509; O-3/2190, 2907, 3361; and TR-10/714).

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NOTES

1. *JuNS-V*, vol. 35, Lfd. Nr. 755, p. 376.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC records), 210/494.
3. APL, Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (GDL) 891, Heinicke (Department for Population and Welfare, Lublin) to Labor Department Lublin, December 10, 1940; AŻIH, Ring I/674.
4. A small sketch map of the ghetto area can be found in Juszkiewicz, *Losy Żydów mławskich*, p. 88.
5. VHF, # 12430, testimony of Leo Beals; USHMM, RG-50.120, # 143, testimony of Elimelech Shklar.
6. *Kehilat Szrensk veha-seviva*, p. 370; and Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej*, pp. 68–70.
7. IPN, archives of the Ciechanów-Płock Gestapo (GZ), 148/265/I, interrogation of Davidsohn, December 10, 1941.
8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 35, Lfd. Nr. 755, p. 377.
9. Ibid., verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 3/70, pp. 373–384.

NOWE MIASTO

Pre-1939: Nowe Miasto, village, Płońsk powiat, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Neustadt, Kreis Plönnen, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Nowe Miasto, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Nowe Miasto is located about 16 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Płońsk. By 1921, the number of Jews in Nowe Miasto stood at 39.6 percent (i.e., 780 out of a total population of 1,969).

The Germans captured the village on September 5, 1939. On September 14, most likely members of Einsatzkommando 2/V (part of Einsatzgrupppe V) killed eight Jews; two of them were shot in their own houses, the remainder near the forest in the "Piaski."[1] On September 23 (Yom Kippur), the town's Jews were gathered in the market square, where they were tormented for hours. One source reports that Wehrmacht soldiers murdered seven unidentified Jews on that day.[2] The Germans tended to pick for torture those Jews who were orthodox in appearance, beating them and shearing off their beards. One Jewish man was reported to have been tied to an automobile and dragged to his death. Soldiers drove a motorcycle and made some of the town's Jewish inhabitants run after it. Finally, Jews were forced to dance and to dress and undress, just to shame them.[3]

Due to these severe persecutions at the beginning of the occupation, only 750 of the 1,500 pre-war Jewish residents remained in Nowe Miasto. Some Jews fled east to the Soviet-occupied sector of Poland after the Red Army invaded the country on September 17, 1939. Soon afterwards the Germans imposed a curfew in Nowe Miasto. The Jews also were forced to walk in the streets and not on the sidewalks. In October of that year, the village's name was changed to Neustadt.[4]

The date of the establishment of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) is not known; however, Szlama Frydman was its chairman, and Chaim Wiatrak served as one of its members.[5] The German authorities demanded various numbers of Jews for forced labor on a daily basis. The conscription and provision of these laborers was the responsibility of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). Each house had to supply a predetermined number of people. As one of the survivors notes, none of the jobs assigned to the Jews were especially productive. These laborers primarily dug ditches and paved roads. The only people exempted were a group of tailors assigned to sew Wehrmacht uniforms. The Judenrat also was charged by the Germans to deliver gold, furs, and other clothing items collected from the Jews.[6]

In February 1940, a self-help committee was organized in Nowe Miasto to assist the town's 50 poorest Jewish families (222 people). The 5-member committee included: Szlama Frydman, Chaim Wiatrak, Gudak Mendel, Jankiel Szyfman, and Anczel Dąbrower. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) provided the community with some money, groceries, and clothing.[7]

Sometime in 1940, the Germans deported a number of Jews from Regierungsbezirk Zichenau to the Generalgouvernement. A number of Jews from Nowe Miasto were sent to various destinations, including Warsaw and Radzymin. On July 5, 1941, about 300 Jews from Nowe Miasto were sent to the Pomiechówek labor camp near Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, where 90 percent of them died.

In the second half of 1941, the Jews of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau were concentrated in a few ghettos in the region, including one established in Nowe Miasto. The fenced ghetto in Nowe Miasto was set up on November 1, 1941. It included the northern and eastern sections of the Market Square, Kościelna, and Senatorska Streets. The Poles had to vacate the designated area, and the Jews moved into their houses. Following the creation of the ghetto, about 1,200 Jews from Ciechanów, 750 from Drobin, and an unknown number from Tomaszów Mazowiecki were resettled there. The latter group of Jews returned to Tomaszów after a few weeks. This influx of deportees increased the number of ghetto inhabitants to 2,700.[8]

As the number of Jews in the ghetto more than tripled, living conditions rapidly deteriorated. Some inhabitants had to build special platforms in order to be able to sleep at night. One survivor estimates that the ghetto was designed to house only 500 to 600 people. A typhus epidemic and hunger killed an estimated 280 Jews; another 30 were murdered. One of the victims was a Jewish man hanged for leaving the ghetto alongside the Nowe Miasto–Szuman road. Despite the threat of capital punishment, the town's Jews sneaked out of the ghetto to buy food through holes excavated in the ground. The local Jews were more fortunate, as they knew the area and the local farmers. Those Jews who still had some reserves could afford to buy food on the black market.[9]

The ghetto inhabitants were not paid for the forced labor they performed. Most of it was performed within the town limits. They mainly dug holes for construction or cleaned and painted houses. Agricultural labor was not too arduous and was preferred by many, as it also provided an opportunity

to obtain something to eat from the surrounding fields.[10] According to one testimony, a number of Jews was sent to the Nosarzewo labor camp in the summer of 1942.[11]

As the news of the liquidation of other ghettos reached Nowe Miasto, the town's Jews attempted to organize an uprising. Contact was made with the local partisan group of the Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army). Weapons and identity cards (*Kennkarten*) were accumulated. However, no uprising took place because the Polish members of the Home Army opposed it, as they thought it would be impossible to hide such a large number of Jews.

The liquidation of the ghetto took place on November 18, 1942. The German authorities ordered local Polish farmers to assist in the deportation Aktion; the farmers arrived at night with their wagons. Then Nowe Miasto's Jews were chased out of their houses to the market square. They were only permitted to take with them one small bag. According to one testimony, about 2,000 Jews had to jump straight into the wagons, as soon as they had passed through the square. Those who could walk did so. Everyone was escorted to the train station under close guard by the Gendarmerie. At the station, chaos broke out as the Gestapo took over and started pushing the Jews into the freight cars. All the Jews were taken to the Płońsk ghetto.[12]

The Germans deported all the Jews from the Płońsk ghetto to the Auschwitz concentration camp in the course of four transports organized between October 28 and December 16, 1942. The Jews of Nowe Miasto were included in the second transport on November 30, 1942.[13]

After the end of the war, in early 1946, there were 31 Jews living in Nowe Miasto.

SOURCES There is no single publication on the history of the Jewish community in Nowe Miasto. Relevant information can be found in Janusz Szczepański, *Społeczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX wieku* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2005); and Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji Ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/514); IPN (ASG, sygn. 44, k. 519); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154, AJDC; and RG-15.019M, reel 13); VHF (e.g., # 2504, 4114, 4299, 9954, and 18300); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 13; Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: województwo Ciechanowskie* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 58–59.
2. *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 59.
3. VHF, # 18300, testimony of Bella Ressler, 1996.
4. Ibid. See also USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
6. VHF, # 18300.
7. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
8. VHF, # 18300.
9. Ibid., # 4114, testimony of George Vine, 1995; # 9954, testimony of Samuel Sitko, 1995; # 2504, testimony of Esther Neimark, 1995; # 18300; *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 59.
10. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC); VHF, # 4114; # 4299, testimony of Abraham Feffer, 1995; # 9954.
11. VHF, # 9954.
12. Ibid., # 4114; # 18300.
13. Ibid., # 18300.

NOWY DWÓR MAZOWIECKI

Pre-1939: Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, town, Warsaw powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Neudorf, Kreis Plönnen, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Nowy Dwór is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, some 10,000 Jews lived in the town. Following the German aerial bombardment that destroyed three quarters of the town and killed dozens of Jews, most Jews fled to Warsaw, leaving only about 1,500 behind. As living conditions in Warsaw deteriorated, with hundreds of Nowy Dwór refugees also falling victim to German bombs there, many Jews returned.[1]

The German army occupied Nowy Dwór at the end of September 1939. One of the first German orders forbade Jews from reopening their stores. Jews were seized on the street for forced labor, which included performing humiliating tasks such as cleaning toilets with their bare hands, as well as clearing rubble and, in the winter, snow from the streets. On October 26, 1939, Nowy Dwór was incorporated into the Reich. In December 1939, the Germans conducted a census, registering 2,800 Jews. At this time, the Germans also burned Jewish books in the marketplace.[2] At the end of December, the leaders of the Jewish community, Nachum Neufeld and Baruch Tick, were informed by the German authorities that the Jews would have to leave town within four days. At the same time, Jewish property, including furniture and even clothing, was confiscated; 20 Jews were arrested at this time, of which 6 died in concentration camps.

In January 1940, owing to brutal treatment and the imposition of a "contribution" of 50,000 złoty on the Jewish community by the Germans, many Jews again fled the town, some reaching the Soviet-occupied regions to the east. Only a few, mostly poor Jews remained. At this time, the Germans introduced identity cards for the Jews.

During the course of 1940, a number of Jews decided to return to Nowy Dwór from Warsaw, owing to hunger and disease in the larger city. The Gestapo, which had its headquarters in the house of Myer Muntlak near the Polish cemetery, arrested some of these returnees for leaving their registered place of residence. These Jews were cruelly tortured, and 41 of those who had returned from Warsaw were sent away and never heard of again. The Germans continued to exploit Jews daily for forced labor, making them

perform physically demanding work and beating them frequently.[3]

In June 1941, the German authorities ordered the creation of a ghetto in Nowy Dwór, giving the Jews until June 17 to move. The ghetto was located in the "Piaski" quarter, from the house of Moshe Bermann up to the synagogue, which lay outside the ghetto. A wooden fence surrounded the ghetto. There were two gates, and German guards watched the external perimeter. Once the ghetto was created, only a few "lucky" Jews continued to go to work outside where they might obtain some food. On the inside, there was terrible overcrowding, and initially no food supplies were provided.[4]

A few days after the establishment of the ghetto, the Germans ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first head of the council was Rotstein, an honorable man who, for this reason, did not stay in office long. He was succeeded by Israel Tischler, who was acquainted with Wendt, the ethnic German mayor of the town. A Jewish police force also was formed, headed by Jakob Baranek. His deputy, Shlomo Soszynski, became particularly notorious in the ghetto. Subsequently a ghetto prison was established and run by the Jewish Police.[5] Another key post was head of the supply office, held by Israel Skrobanek, which he ruthlessly exploited to make money at the expense of the starving Jews. The rations in the ghetto consisted of only 330 grams (11.6 ounces) of poor bread per day and 120 grams (4.2 ounces) of horseflesh per month, which was not always supplied. These rations were at fixed prices, but smuggled goods could be obtained for much higher prices.

The Jewish Police took over internal guard duty at the gates; Chaim Jacek, who was in charge there, obediently carried out German orders. When the German army attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, this initially brought joy to the ghetto, as people expected they would soon be liberated, but these hopes were quickly dashed, as German forces rapidly advanced deep into Russia. At this time, there were about 3,000 Jews living in the ghetto. Soon after the ghetto's establishment, a typhus epidemic broke out due to overcrowding and terrible hygienic conditions there. Almost half of the ghetto became infected, and many people died. In response, the Germans forced all the Jews to take a bath in the river, but many fell sick as a result of this "treatment."[6]

On July 4, 1941, the Gestapo resettled up to 2,000 Jews from Nowy Dwór to the camp in Pomiechówek, where some 4,000 Jews were collected together. The German authorities informed the Jewish Council that only 750 Jews could remain in the ghetto, that is, those who were employed by the Wehrmacht. Living conditions in the Pomiechówek camp were terrible, and many people died there from beatings, hunger, and typhus. Sick people were shot on the spot, and those who were healthy were marched towards Legionowo. Only a few managed to reach the Warsaw ghetto alive.[7]

Some 800 or so Jews remained behind in Nowy Dwór; they were working in various businesses in the town and also in the nearby fortress of Modlin. Periodically, the Germans murdered some of the surviving Jews in the Nowy Dwór ghetto.

At the end of November 1941, the Germans ordered that all the Jews from the surrounding area, including about 1,000 Jews from Wyszogród, be transferred into the ghetto in Nowy Dwór. To accommodate these newcomers, the ghetto area was expanded to the railway lines.[8] Each day, the Jewish Police rounded up 350 Jews to work in Modlin, where they rolled up barbed wire ready for transportation to the Eastern Front. The work was very demanding, and the pay consisted only of a piece of bread.

One day in the spring of 1942, when only 300 people turned up for the work assignment, a group of soldiers entered the ghetto and rounded up 50 more. These men were tortured, and then more than 30 of them were shot for "being late." Jews in the ghetto, especially the families of those who were murdered, blamed the Judenrat for failing to protect them.[9] During the summer of 1942, the Jewish Council was forced to hang 18 Jews who had been caught illegally outside the ghetto, trying to cross the border with the Generalgouvernement or smuggling food.[10]

On October 28, 1942, all 2,600 Jews from Czerwińsk were brought to the Nowy Dwór ghetto, producing terrible overcrowding with five or six families to a room, until the start of the ghetto's liquidation on November 20. First, those unfit for work or unable to pay a bribe were deported. The ghetto was then completely cleared in two additional transports to Auschwitz of 1,000 people on December 9 and finally 1,500 on December 12. The 12 members of the Jewish Council, with their families, were placed in a separate wagon and allowed to go to the Warsaw ghetto. At Auschwitz, those unfit for work were gassed on arrival. Of the 1,500 Jews on the final transport, only 580 were selected as fit for work; the rest were gassed in the crematoria on December 13–14.[11] Some Jews from Nowy Dwór participated in the Warsaw Uprising in 1943. It is estimated that only about 30 Jews from the ghetto in Nowy Dwór survived until the liberation.[12] The few that returned to the town found only desolation and a ruined cemetery.

SOURCES Published accounts of the ghetto in Nowy Dwór can be found in Aryeh Shamri and Dov Berish First, eds., *Pinkas Nowy Dwor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Novi-Devor be-Yisrael, 1965); and in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 298–303.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I, 1172); BA-L (ZStL, II 117 AR 1119/68); IPN (Gestapo Zichenau—see also USHMM, RG-15.039M); and YVA (e.g., B-48/681; M-1/E/2189 and 1879).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 117 AR 1119/68 (investigation of A. Boldin and others), vol. 1, pp. 1–2, Interim Report, Tel Aviv, July 11, 1968.

2. AŻIH, Ring I, 1172; Shamri and First, *Pinkas Nowy Dwor*, p. xv.

3. A. Goldbrach and W. Szlamowicz, "The Pain and Destruction of the Jewish Population," in Shamri and First, *Pinkas Nowy Dwor*, pp. 320–325.

4. Senda Blank, "The Jews of Nowy Dwor under Nazi Rule," in Shamri and First, *Pinkas Nowy Dwor*, pp. 326–336; Leib Kochalski, "The Members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police," in *idem*, pp. 337–339.

5. Kochalski, "The Members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police," pp. 337–339. On the prison inside the ghetto, see also YVA, testimony B-48/681.

6. Blank, "The Jews of Nowy Dwor under Nazi Rule."

7. BA-L, ZStL, II 117 AR 1119/68 (investigation of A. Boldin and others), vol. 1, pp. 1–2, Interim Report, Tel Aviv, July 11, 1968.

8. BA-L, ZStL, II 117 AR 1119/68, vol. 1, p. 87.

9. Kochalski, "The Members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police," pp. 337–339.

10. Mordechai Landsmann, "The Destruction of the Jews in Nowy Dwor," in Shamri and First, *Pinkas Nowy Dwor*, pp. 340–342. On hangings in Nowy Dwór, see also IPN, Gestapo Zichenau, file of Szmerek Goldberg, April 24, 1942.

11. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), pp. 268–294.

12. BA-L, ZStL, II 117 AR 1119/68 (investigation of A. Boldin and others), vol. 1, pp. 1–2, 91–93; Shamri and First, *Pinkas Nowy Dwor*, pp. 340–342.



The Jews of Płock, who have been rounded up for a deportation, stand in a long column that stretches as far as the eye can see along a major street in the town, ca. February 1941.
USHMM WS #33477, COURTESY OF GFH

PŁOCK

Pre-1939: Płock, town and powiat center, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Schröttersburg, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Płock, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Płock is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) west-northwest of Warsaw on the Vistula River. On the eve of World War II, around 10,000 Jews resided in Płock.

Units of the German army occupied Płock on September 8, 1939. In October, the German occupiers renamed the town Schröttersburg and officially incorporated it into the Reich within Provinz Ostpreussen.

On October 30, 1939, the mayor of Płock banned Jews from engaging in any form of business activity and ordered all Jewish businesses to be seized. This was deemed to be a punishment for their alleged involvement in black market activities.[1] The ever-worsening economic situation caused many Jews to flee to the Soviet-occupied part of Poland or to Warsaw. At the end of November 1939, the Jews of Płock were required to wear yellow triangles (later replaced by large circles) on the front and back of their coats.

The Judenrat, with Dr. Bromberger as chairman and Samek Szatan as vice-chairman, and the Jewish police force were formed in mid-December 1939. A Labor Office was also established at this time. The Judenrat was responsible for supplying the Germans daily with several hundred forced laborers between the ages of 16 and 60, including 150 women. The Judenrat complied in the hope that this would stop the Germans from rounding up Jews off the streets. However, random arrests for forced labor continued. The working conditions for the Jewish laborers were appalling. For example, those who worked for the Gendarmerie and the SS were abused and tortured, one group having swastikas carved into their backs. However, these work tasks at least provided an opportunity to obtain some food.[2]

From mid-November 1939, hundreds of Jewish refugees began to arrive in Płock following their expulsion from Dobrzyń nad Drwęcą, Rypin, Sierpc, and other towns. These people arrived with few possessions, and their arrival further overstretched the meager resources of the Jewish community in Płock.[3]

In the summer of 1940, the Judenrat was forced to compile lists of those with tuberculosis and mental or chronic illness. Then, in September 1940, shortly before the establishment of the ghetto, the Gestapo seized 42 Jews from the Old Age Home and sent them to the Działdowo transit camp, where most were killed.

The Germans established the Płock ghetto in September 1940. It was located on Synagogalna Street, Szeroka Street, and part of Bielska Street. The resettlement took some time to complete, as the Jews moved out immediately, but many of the Poles ordered to leave the Jewish quarter took their time, causing Jews to sleep on the streets in the interim. In total, the ghetto held about 10,600 Jews, including around 3,000 refugees. The ghetto was extremely overcrowded, with up to 10 Jews sharing one room. The ghetto was unfenced and not guarded, but Jews could not leave without a special pass. Due to the inhuman conditions and the shortage of medical supplies, diseases soon spread.[4]

Acts of resistance included the smuggling of food into the ghetto, sometimes assisted by local Poles, and continuing educational and cultural activities. There was also an unofficial "aid committee" that provided destitute Jews with food and money. Other examples included the hiding of religious books and Torah scrolls. Those caught by the Nazis attempting to

worship in secret were forced to parade through the streets wearing tefillin and prayer shawls, while the Germans beat them as they passed by.[5]

The Judenrat tried to alleviate conditions in the ghetto. It established a sanitation committee, to improve sanitary conditions, and a public kitchen, to feed the needy. It also set up workers' cooperatives for trades, such as tailors, shoemakers, and barbers, which relieved unemployment.[6] The Judenrat also temporarily housed children whose parents, 39 men and 120 women, were arrested and imprisoned in January 1941. The Gestapo kept these people in prison until the liquidation of the ghetto, then shot the men and deported the women with the rest of the ghetto residents.

In January 1941, the area of the ghetto was reduced, as the Germans opened a bordello in some of the houses. The Jews were even forced to provide furniture for this establishment. Its opening increased the tension, as drunken Germans sometimes stumbled into the ghetto by mistake, which in turn led to German "reprisals" and the arrest of innocent Jews.

Shortly after the January arrests, the Judenrat was required to present a list to the Germans with the names of active Zionists. In an attempt to spare people, the Judenrat included the names of those who had escaped from the ghetto and of some people who were deceased. However, the ruse was soon discovered, and shortly before the first large deportation Aktion on February 21, 1941, the Gestapo arrested about 25 men and shot them in the countryside outside Płock.

The first deportation Aktion in the ghetto started on February 20, 1941, when a group of SS men arrived. The Jewish Police were ordered to report to the local Gestapo headquarters, where they were beaten and whipped. At 4:00 A.M., the SS forced their way into the clinic and ordered the patients, mostly elderly and sick Jews, to vacate the building in five minutes. The SS beat them brutally when they did not obey instantly, killing many on the spot. At the same time, the Germans roused the ghetto residents from their sleep, ordering them to assemble on Szeroka Street at dawn. The Germans went from house to house, driving out the Jews with blows from rifle butts, truncheons, and metal bars. The Judenrat was taken hostage to ensure that all the Jews assembled.

At the assembly point, any possessions were seized, and the Jews were forced to stand in rows until noon. During this period, the Germans mercilessly beat them, killing some, while children and the elderly were trampled in the confusion. When it was time to board the trucks, the SS beat them again, and some were shot. The crowding on the trucks was horrible, and some people suffocated. Each truck was guarded by an armed SS man. Approximately 4,000 Jews were taken away to the Działdowo camp during this first deportation, and many corpses were left on Szeroka Street. The remaining ghetto residents, including the members of the Judenrat, were told to return to their houses.

On February 28, 1941, the Judenrat was arrested, and the next day the final liquidation of the ghetto took place. The brutality of the first deportation was repeated, with the residents being forced to wait on Szeroka Street for almost a full day without food in the bitter cold. Local Poles tried to alleviate their suffering by sneaking some food to them. As the Jews passed through various towns en route to Działdowo, some Poles threw loaves of bread onto the trucks. However, many Jews did not survive this journey.



Płock Jews are loaded onto the back of a truck during a deportation Aktion, ca. February 1941.
USHMM WS #79083, COURTESY OF ŻIH

Descriptions by Płock survivors stress in particular their awful experiences in the Działdowo transit camp. When they arrived, the Germans were waiting for them at the gate with whips and whipped them as they ran the gauntlet into the camp. The prisoners slept on straw in barracks that had at one point been partitioned into horse stalls. The Germans would take out men, especially religious ones, and make them perform difficult frog-jumping gymnastics, beating them brutally at any sign of tiredness. Some older people did not survive. There was little to eat, and some Jews refused the food because it was not kosher. Prisoners were taken out for questioning, where they were beaten and deprived of all money and valuables. Most of the Jews were kept in Działdowo for just over a week before being deported to the Generalgouvernement.[7]

From the Działdowo camp, at least six transports carrying around 6,000 Jews left for a number of ghettos in Distrikt Radom. Among the destinations were the ghettos in Chmielnik, Stopnica, Bodzentyn, Wierzbnik, Żarki, and Drzewica. The Jews arrived in these ghettos completely exhausted and dressed only in rags. A few Płock Jews managed to survive these ghettos and subsequent stints in forced labor camps, including that in Skarżysko Kamienna.

A number of Płock Jews were active members of resistance movements. Simcha Guterman fell during the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. Tova Biatus was an active member of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir in the underground movement near Chmielnik; he died in a clash with the Germans. Płock Jews also were instrumental in the Treblinka and Sobibór uprisings.

SOURCES Published sources on the Płock ghetto include the following: Sol Greenspan, *Yidn in Plotsk* (New York: A&H, 1960); Yoysef Horn, ed., *Plotsk: Bletlekh geshikhte fun Idishn*

lebn in der alter heym (Buenos Aires: Plotsker landsleyt fareyn in Argentine, 1945); Eliyahu Aizenberg, ed., *Plotsk: Toldot kehilah 'atikat-yamin be-Polin* (Tel Aviv: ha-Menorah, 1967); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 358–372; Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984), pp. 61–63; Nicole Lapiere, ed., *Das gerettete Buch von Simcha Guterman* (Munich: Hauser, 1993); and Jan Przedpelski, *Żydzi płoccy: Dzieje i martyrologia, 1939–1945* (Płock: Fraza, 1993).

Information on the Płock ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., Ring I/532-41, 797, 883-886, 889, and 903; 210/556; 301/1502 and 5730); BA-L; IPN (SWW 750); LG-Gie (7 Ks 1/74); USHMM (RG-15.079M, reel 40); VHF (e.g., # 397, 5306, and 20367); and YVA.

Shannon Phillips and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Bekanntmachung, Der Oberbürgermeister, Plock, October 30, 1939, reproduced in Przedpelski, *Żydzi płoccy*, pp. 84–85.
2. VHF, # 20367, testimony of Frank Dobia; and # 5306, testimony of Arthur Grossman.
3. Ibid., # 397, testimony of Helen Anisman.
4. Ibid., # 20367; # 5306.
5. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*: *Poland*, vol. 4, pp. 358–372; and Joseph Kermish, "The Jews of Plotzk under the Nazi Regime," in Aizenberg, *Plotsk*, pp. 70–74.
6. USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 40, Ring I/886.
7. Personal correspondence from survivor Frank Dobia to Shannon Phillips in 2008.

PŁOŃSK

Pre-1939: Płońsk, town and powiat center, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Plönnen, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Płońsk, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Płońsk is located 65 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Warsaw. In 1939, there were 8,200 Jews living in Płońsk.

The Germans occupied Płońsk on September 5, 1939. Although there was no fighting in the town, about 2,000 Jewish residents fled east to Soviet-occupied territories or to other locations in Poland, particularly Warsaw. There is also a report of a number of elderly Jews from Płońsk being expelled into Soviet-occupied Poland.

Refugees and expellees replaced Płońsk's former residents in the course of September and October 1939, increasing the number of Jews again to almost 8,000. The newcomers included Jews from Dobrzyń nad Drwęcą, Dobrzyń nad Wisłą, Rypin, Lipno, and Sierpc.[1] In 1941, a new wave of "illegal" refugees arrived (primarily from the Warsaw ghetto).

In October 1939, Płońsk was renamed Plönnen and annexed to the Reich as part of the Regierungsbezirk Zichenau. The annexation was followed by a massive expulsion of Jews to the Generalgouvernement in 1939–1940; a second relocation took place in February–March 1940.

Persecutions began soon after the Germans arrived. At the start of 1940, Jewish men—including the elderly—were assembled early in the morning outside the local school and forced to perform physical exercises. They were then marched off to do compulsory labor improving roads. The daily exercises continued for several weeks and were accompanied by beatings. A local Jewish man, Henoch Klajnman (Henryk Klajman), was a drill commander.[2] At times, the Germans assembled all Jews in the market square to check their residence papers. Those unable to present them were severely beaten by SS troops and their auxiliaries. The Germans used such occasions to search the town's Jews for valuables, and they shot those who had concealed them.

Following the arrival of many newcomers in Płońsk, the Self-Help Committee for Relief of the Poor was established. Its organizer and president, Abraham Lewi, was able to obtain subsidies from various Jewish aid organizations, including the AJDC (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee),



A Jewish woman pleads with an SS man during a deportation Aktion in Płońsk, n.d.
USHMM WS #18632, COURTESY OF YIVO

CENTOS (Central Organization for Orphan Care), and TOZ (Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland). Representatives from particular towns distributed donated goods and cash among the expellees. The committee's success earned it a good reputation.[3] In addition to welfare services, a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was established on German instructions and charged with maintaining order in the Jewish quarter. It initially consisted of six members, with a refugee known as Lewin as its commander.

In July 1940, the Germans liquidated the committee and created a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to oversee the implementation of German decrees. The committee's chairman, haberdasher A. Jakub (Yakov) Ramek, was nominated as the Judenrat's president. Ramek continued to help Płońsk's Jews, mainly by bribing the Germans as often as possible. He soon earned the title "King of the Jews." Portraits of him were hung on the walls of Jewish offices and hospitals in Płońsk. One survivor described Ramek as honest—although easily influenced by others and ultimately looking out primarily for himself. The other members of the Judenrat included Szloma Bogaty, Jakub Grebman, A. Mundlak, Jakub Kubeł, and the secretary J. Sieradzki (Schiradsky). The Judenrat opened a charity shelter (orphanage) for approximately 40 children between the ages of 2 to 10 that was supervised by a female teacher called Grynberg. The Judenrat also set up a soup kitchen in 1941.[4]

The Judenrat's primary goal was to secure paid employment for the Jews in Płońsk, particularly the deportees and refugees. Tailor and communist Szlomo Fuks was the head of the Employment Office subordinated to the Judenrat. Over 700 men and women were employed by July 1940; however, they were paid only half the minimum wage, while the local government retained the other half. To compensate for these laborers' losses, the Judenrat taxed 500 relatively well-off families. By the end of September 1940, 800 Jews had paying jobs. Jewish labor was assigned to different cleanup projects around the town, as well as working in agriculture, road construction, and cutting peat. The Judenrat provided breakfast for the peat workers.[5]

Its successes aside, Płońsk's Judenrat was also corrupt. Responsible for preparing a daily list of workers for labor assignments, its members took bribes for exemptions and assigned their friends to easy jobs. Comparatively wealthy Jews paid others to perform their labor tasks. Moreover, Płońsk's Judenrat often feasted well at the expense of others. A number of Jewish men who were not exempted were sent to the Nosarzewo labor camp, and some women were sent to Sierpc. Few of these people survived.

By December 1940, the Judenrat estimated that there were 8,000 Jews living in Płońsk.[6]

Available sources differ regarding the date on which the Płońsk ghetto was created. Some sources state that the Germans established the ghetto in September 1940, while others date it to May 1941. Two survivors report that the Germans initially ordered its creation in 1940 but that this was not implemented until May 1941.

The Płońsk ghetto included the following streets: Kozia, Krzywa, Pułtuska, Warszawska, and Wyszogrodzka (comprising about 1 square kilometer, or 247 acres). It was initially open but was later surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire. Jews caught smuggling in food were murdered.[7] Ghetto Commandant Foch frequently visited it accompanied by two assistants, and he always killed at least one Jew during these visits.

The number of Jewish Police was increased to 40 once the ghetto was established. Chanan Ramek, brother of the Judenrat chairman, was Lewin's deputy. Jewish Police guarded the ghetto gate and two jails. Two gallows used for public hangings were set up in the square behind the town synagogue. The council frequently intervened to commute death sentences, as it was able to influence the Gestapo. He also succeeded in eliminating several Jewish collaborators. The Jewish Police brutally abused their power, even killing fellow Jews.[8]

The ghetto was extremely overcrowded, with three or four families often packed into a single room. After a time, newcomers were housed in barns and stables. Catastrophic sanitary and housing conditions resulted in an outbreak of typhus. At its height, approximately 60 Jews were dying daily. Doctor Fenigshtein, who attended the ghetto hospital, died of typhus himself. Chairman Ramek convinced the Germans to bring a German doctor (Dr. Ber) from Warsaw to treat the sick. The epidemic was brought under control only in April 1942.

Another wave of deportations from the region to the Generalgouvernement took place in July and August 1941. At the same time, the Jews of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau were concentrated into a number of ghettos, one of which was in Płońsk. On July 13, 1941, approximately 1,200 nonresident Jews were deported to the Pomiechówek concentration camp, following a check of their identity cards. To assist the deportees, the Judenrat chairman organized the delivery of food to the prisoners in Pomiechówek, who suffered brutal maltreatment there. However, when Ramek discovered that the commander of the Jewish Police in Pomiechówek, Mejłoch Hopenblum, was stealing packages addressed to the Płońskers, he had Hopenblum transferred to Płońsk. The Płońsk Jews "popped out his eyes" and "spat in his face" before killing him. Probably due to intervention of the Jewish Councils in Płońsk, Nowy Dwór, and Zakroczym, the Germans agreed to send those Jews still alive in Pomiechówek to the Generalgouvernement.[9]

According to the testimony of two survivors, there was talk of resistance in the ghetto, but without leadership, meaningful contacts on the outside, or trust in the Poles, the efforts were futile. However, other sources mention the Association of Friends of the USSR, a Jewish underground organization in the ghetto that was affiliated with local Polish Communists. The organization was created in the ghetto in 1941 and consisted of over 100 members organized in cells of 5 people. Its leaders included Fuchs, Izraelewicz (alias "Argentyńczyk"), and "Fiszek."

The first bilateral conference of Poles and Jews took place on December 31, 1941, in Młyńsk, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) outside Płońsk. On June 22, 1942, a conference was organized on the ghetto grounds by Izraelewicz, (Shlomo) Fuchs (the

head of the Employment Office), Feszek Jagoda, "Paul" Przygoda, and others who were elected to the Party Committee. The contact was maintained through the Serawajski Photo Shop, which connected the ghetto with the Aryan side. A few Jews escaped and joined the Communist partisans of the Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, GL) before the ghetto's liquidation. All fell in battle or were murdered by the Gestapo after capture.[10]

The Germans liquidated the Płońsk ghetto between October 28 and December 16, 1942, in a series of transports that deported up to 12,000 Jews. Initially, Chairman Ramek still believed that Jewish youths would be sent to work. The Judenrat agreed to take part in organizing the transports to try to minimize the brutality that would occur if the Germans carried them out on their own. The Judenrat enlisted 2,000 old and sick Jews for the first transport at the end of October and informed them that they were leaving for work. The Jewish Police assembled the selected Jews in the new prayer house. The transport was actually destined for the Auschwitz concentration camp.

On November 18, 1942, the Germans brought to Płońsk approximately 2,000 Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Nowe Miasto. Another large transport of 1,000 Jews left Płońsk on November 30, 1942, arriving at Auschwitz on December 3, 1942. The last transport (probably the fourth) of 2,000 Jews left on December 16, 1942, and included the Judenrat members as well as 340 children from the shelter. The Judenrat's secretary, Sieradzki, took his life during the ghetto's liquidation. The Germans had offered to move Ramek to another still existing ghetto, but he refused. All houses in the vacated ghetto were demolished.

After the war, survivors from the Płońsk ghetto assisted in the arrest of former ghetto commandant Foch by American forces in Marburg, Germany. "He was severely beaten, admitting his role in the ghetto, and begging for mercy. However, he would not divulge where he had hidden the vast amount of valuables that he had plundered from the Jews."[11]

The Żydowski Sąd Społeczny (Jewish Social Court) of the CKŻP (Central Committee of Polish Jews) in Warsaw tried one of the Jewish Police from the ghetto, Henoch Klajnman, who returned to Płońsk after the war. The court found him guilty of brutality before joining the Jewish Police (during organized public drills and while supervising forced labor brigades) and as an official of the Jewish Police (denouncing Jews in hiding to the Germans). The court excluded Klajnman from the Jewish community in June 1948, which was the most severe punishment available to it.[12]

The Jewish Social Court passed Klajnman's case to the Polish Regional Court in Płock, which found him guilty of brutally murdering Jews in the Płońsk ghetto, as well as in the Auschwitz and Stutthof concentration camps, where he was a Kapo. Klajnman, who never admitted his crimes, was sentenced to death in 1949; the penalty was later commuted to life imprisonment.[13]

SOURCES Much information on the life and destruction of the Płońsk Jews can be found in Janusz Szczepański, *Społeczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX wieku* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2005); Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984); and the yizkor book edited by Shlomo Tzemakh et al., *Sefer Plonsk V'Hasviva* (Tel Aviv: Lidor, 1962).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/556, 301/23, 301/273, 301/4508, 301/6744, 302/99, 302/134, 301/2079, 313/49, and 313/57); IPN (SOPł 246-49); USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0223 [CKŻP (AŻIH Sądy Społeczne)] and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF; and YVA (O-3/1605).

Samuel Schalkowsky and Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC); see also AŻIH, 301/6744, testimony of Elja Najman, 1952.
2. AŻIH, 313/57, testimony of Henoch Klajnman, 1948, known also as Chaim, or Henryk Klajnman. In IPN, SOPł 246-49, as Henryk Klajman, or Chaim, or Henoch, or "Chamek-Ganew," or "Chamek-Kapo."
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC)—A.J. (Yakov) Ramek was appointed the chairman of the committee in June 1940; Szczepański, *Społeczność*, p. 422.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. AŻIH, 301/4508, testimony of Jan Ptasiński, n.d.
8. Ibid., 313/57; IPN, SOPł 246-49 (Henryk Klajman).
9. AŻIH, 301/23, testimony of Nachman Józef Kazimierski, 1944.
10. Ibid., 301/4508.
11. David Kalmanovski, in Tzemakh et al., *Sefer Plonsk*, p. 445; see also Itzhak Pshegoda, *Sefer Plonsk*, pp. 462–464.
12. AŻIH, 313/57.
13. IPN, SOPł 246-49.



Members of Einsatzkommando 3/V round up a group of Jewish men in Płońsk, 1939.
USHMM WS #18772, COURTESY OF IPN

SIERPC

Pre-1939: Sierpc (Yiddish: Sherpts), town and powiat center, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sichelberg, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Sierpc, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sierpc is located 117 kilometers (73 miles) northwest of Warsaw. In 1939, the Jewish population of Sierpc was 3,077 (out of a total population of 10,951).

By the second day of the German invasion (September 2, 1939), refugees from neighboring towns and villages were pouring into Sierpc. The bombing of the town, on September 4, left widespread destruction, including damage to the local hospital. The young people of Sierpc, including Jewish youths, were ordered to head eastward towards Drobin and Warsaw ahead of the advancing German army, which occupied the town on September 8. The town officials also fled, and a committee of local leaders, Jewish and Polish, took charge. Due to a shortage of cash following a run on the banks, the committee issued scrip to allow people to continue trading. The oppression of the Jews began with the start of the occupation, as German soldiers joined by local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) and Poles engaged in a spree of looting. A 4:00 P.M. curfew was imposed on the Jews. Jewish men were grabbed on the streets or from their homes for forced labor—young and old, strong and weak, healthy and sick—more to humiliate them than to have them do anything useful. On the day of Yom Kippur, the army pulled the worshipers from the synagogue and forced them to sweep the streets. The soldiers dragged them through town and cut off their beards.

On September 28, 1939, 40 youths between the ages of 16 and 20 were arrested, loaded on trucks, and driven to an unknown destination. It was later learned that they were taken to an area near the new German-Soviet border, where they managed to slip across the lines. Most of them survived the war. At 10:00 P.M. on the evening of September 29, the Gestapo set fire to the synagogue. The Jews were ordered to hurry from their houses to put out the flames but were then prevented from doing so. A young boy who entered the building to save the Torah scrolls was shot. The Germans promptly accused him of starting the fire and, on this pretext, fined the community 50,000 złoty.

An eight-point decree was published, imposing strict rules on the community. The Jews were ordered to: (1) stay off the sidewalks; (2) doff their hats to any German; (3) wear a yellow patch marked "Jude"; (4) provide an inventory of all their valuables; (5) not use electricity in their homes; (6) pay the 50,000 złoty fine; (7) make a personal "contribution" of 200 to 1,000 złoty per family; and (8) provide 80 men each day for forced labor. Prominent members of the community were arrested, interrogated, beaten, and held hostage until the "contributions" were paid. Members of the Volksdeutsche auxiliary police were sent door to door to rob people of their clothes, valuables, and furniture, which were needed for German officials. News of the spoliation of Jews in the nearby towns of Lipno and Drobin deepened the desperation of the Jews in Sierpc.

At dawn on November 8, 1939, SS troops and Volksdeutsche police awakened the Jews of Sierpc and ordered them out of their homes. About 3,000 Jews, mostly elderly, women, and children, were assembled in the old marketplace. They were lined up in rows of 5 and marched off to the train station, with the parade band of the local fire brigade playing music and leading the procession. Some Jews were still in their pajamas, having had no time to dress. Penniless and exposed to the cold, they were "jammed like sardines" into the rail cars for a journey to the unknown. Late in the day, the train stopped at a small station about 7 kilometers (over 4.4 miles) from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, northwest of Warsaw. They were put off the train and told to start walking. Late that night, they arrived in Nowy Dwór. Local Jews took in a few, but most spent the night on the cold streets. The police marched about 1,800 Sierpc refugees from Nowy Dwór to Warsaw, where their fate was linked to that of the Warsaw ghetto.[1]

Sierpc belonged to the Regierungsbezirk (administrative district) of Zichenau, which was created on October 26, 1939, incorporated into Provinz Ostpreussen and annexed to the Third Reich. The Jews expelled from Sierpc were forced into territory outside this district, that is, within the boundaries of the Generalgouvernement.

About 400 Jews remained in Sierpc, individuals and families considered to have essential skills. Despite dire warnings, a few refugees sneaked back into the town and received permission to stay, increasing the number to 500. The returnees found their houses locked and sealed, apparently reserved for use by future occupants. In March or April 1940, the Jews remaining in Sierpc were confined to a separate ghetto under the eye of the German Police. The ghetto, which was located on Browarna, Górna, and Kiliński Streets, remained open and unfenced, but the Jews were largely isolated and forbidden to leave the ghetto. Only 200 people received special permission to leave to go to their places of employment outside the ghetto. A Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Mendel Lyss and Yaakov Pokatsch, was appointed to oversee the work assignments and make sure that no other Jews came into town. There were no Jewish Police. The old Bet Midrash was converted into a prison where both Jews and Poles were held by the German authorities. Jews maintained some contact with the Polish population, providing services in exchange for food. The Jews of Sierpc did not suffer from hunger and even sent food packages to their starving relatives in the Warsaw ghetto.[2]

The ghetto lasted until January 6, 1942, when the Jews were awakened at 5:00 A.M., assembled in the marketplace, robbed of most of their meager possessions, loaded onto trucks, and taken to Strzegowo, a ghetto in Kreis Mielau. A number of Jews were killed during the course of the deportation Aktion. Afterwards, the Germans looted the gravestones and destroyed the Jewish cemetery. The fate of the Jews of Sierpc was the same as that of the Jews in the ghettos to which they were sent. Most died of starvation or disease; others were murdered in death camps, such as Treblinka (via the Warsaw ghetto) and Auschwitz.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by E. Talmi (Wloka), *Kehilat Sierpc: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sierpc in Israel and Abroad, 1959), contains a number of personal accounts about the Jewish community of the town, mainly in Yiddish but also some in Hebrew. In addition, there are two earlier yizkor books published in Yiddish: A. Meirantz and H. Nemlich, eds., *Khurbn Sierpc: 1939–45; zikhroynes fun di ibergeblibene landslayt vos gefinen zikh in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland* (Munich: Committee of the Former Residents of Sierpc in the American Zone in Germany, 1947); and *Zamlbukh fun Sherptser sheyres hakhurbn, 1939–1945* (U.S. Zone, Munich, Germany: Sherpcer Jewish Committee, 1948). There is also a personal memoir by survivor David Sochaczewski: *My Life Story: A Personal Account of the Holocaust* (self-published, 1990).

A brief history of the ghetto in Sierpc can be found in Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej, 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1984), pp. 65–68. There also is an article on the history of the Jewish community in Sierpc and its destruction in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 437–441. The ghetto is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Glowna Komisja, 1979), p. 452.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Sierpc can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I, 902, 1038); IPN (Gestapo Ziechenau; Ankieta Sadow Grodzkich, sygn. 62, k. 235); ITS (Q 53/K 15); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 19); VHF; and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Sochaczewski, *My Life Story*, pp. 47–53.
2. AŻIH, Ring I, 902, 1038.

STRZEGOWO

Pre-1939: Strzegowo, village, Mława powiat, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Striegenau, Kreis Mielau, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Strzegowo, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Strzegowo is located 90 kilometers (56 miles) northwest of Warsaw. The 1921 census recorded 591 Jews living in the village.

On Sunday, September 3, 1939, the village sustained heavy damage from a German bombing raid. Many houses were destroyed, and some of the inhabitants (Poles and Jews alike) sought refuge in the nearby town of Płońsk. The Wehrmacht entered Strzegowo on September 4, 1939. During the first weeks of occupation, the Germans implemented a policy of brutal repression against the local Jews. The Jews were removed from positions of authority, and the new administration seized their real estate and material goods. The Germans took particular pleasure in forcing older, orthodox Jews to work under humiliating conditions and during the Sabbath. In late 1939, local ethnic Germans orchestrated and perpetrated pogroms, during which they abducted several people and shot them in the nearby forests.[1] In January 1940, a group of prominent community members (Baruch Rebek, Yekhiel Nathan Burstein, David Tik, Israel Rosen, Moshe Michel Sapersztejn, Ben-Zion Bogen, and Rabbi Jacob Solomon Simytitsky) met with the German military authorities in an attempt to remove some of the most draconian restrictions.[2] During the summer of 1940, representatives of the Jewish community established contact with the Jewish communities in Mława and Łódź.

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities decided to liquidate the smaller Jewish communities and to concentrate their inhabitants in a few larger ghettos. The Strzegowo Jews were slated for removal to the desperately overcrowded and starving Warsaw ghetto. Faced with this threat, the representatives of the community tried to convince the local German military and civilian authorities to establish a ghetto in Strzegowo. With the aid of massive bribes, the Germans agreed to establish a "Jewish quarter" in Strzegowo. The German medical authorities, also bribed by the representatives of the community, confirmed an outbreak of typhus, which served to derail the planned resettlement of Strzegowo's Jews. The ghetto, which was isolated from the rest of the village by a wooden fence, was finally created on November 1, 1941. The selection of Strzegowo was unusual because the village was 24 kilometers (15 miles) from the nearest railway line. A key prerequisite for the location of a ghetto was often close proximity to a railroad station. On January 6, 1942, the Jews from Bieżuń, Raciąż, Sierpc, and other smaller nearby hamlets were resettled to Strzegowo, increasing the population of the ghetto to about 2,000 to 2,100 people.

The local Judenrat included people involved in the previous negotiations with the Germans (Ben-Zion Bogen, Baruch Rebek, Judel Stawicki, Moshe Michel Sapirsztejn, and Judel Szapiro), as well as several representatives of those Jews recently resettled to Strzegowo from other places. Following a German request, the Judenrat created a Jewish police force recruited mostly from among the Jews from Sierpc.

The living conditions in the ghetto deteriorated very rapidly. The entire Jewish population had to seek shelter in a very small area, with 10 to 17 people to every available room. The drastic food shortage was only offset to a small extent by illegal exchanges with the surrounding Polish population. There was only one 20-man-strong detail that received wages of 1 Reichsmark (RM) each per day. The remaining Jewish workers were forced to perform unpaid labor outside the ghetto. Since leaving the ghetto offered a chance to purchase food, the places in work columns were highly coveted and rotated on a daily basis.

Despite the appalling living conditions and daily threats, Strzegowo was, for some time, perceived as a safe heaven for the members of the more threatened Jewish communities. During the spring of 1942, the ghetto received at least 200 refugees from recently liquidated ghettos in western and northern Poland.[3] Ewa Stuczynska, living on false papers in Strzegowo, brought in at least one secret transport of Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Gąbin. She was later betrayed and arrested while leading a second transport of Jewish refugees. Some of the arrested Jews (Selig and Hinda Rudnik; Moses,

Chaja, and Natek Wand; and Frajda Zolna) were sentenced to death and shot in Strzegowo. Ewa Stuczynska, who convinced the Gestapo of her alleged Russian ethnic origin, survived the war in the Auschwitz concentration camp.[4]

In the spring of 1942, the Nazis intensified their terror against the Jews. The local policemen, recruited from among the ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), perpetrated numerous crimes, torturing and shooting people in the streets. Berendt, Policat, and Heft were among the most feared policemen.

Rebek, the head of the Judenrat, fled the Strzegowo ghetto in the spring of 1942. Intercepted and arrested in Płońsk on July 14, 1942, he was held in prison awaiting transfer to Auschwitz. Shortly after his arrest, Rebek managed to flee the ghetto prison and left Płońsk. The Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo (officers Hartmann and Apitz) took an interest in Rebek's escape and berated the local police for their sloppy work. To force the fugitive to surrender to the authorities, the Strzegowo police arrested Rebek's family. The former head of the Judenrat outlived most other Strzegowo Jews, but not by much. On December 12, 1942, Patzke, the chief of the Gendarmerie in Strzegowo, received "a confidential report" concerning Jews hiding in the area. The report denounced a Polish farmer, Franz Sprada, from Gizyn, Kreis Mielau, for having offered sanctuary to Jews. During a police search, two Jews were found and shot dead "while trying to escape." The victims were later identified as Rebek and his 13-year-old son Majer.[5]

In the meantime, the situation in the ghetto had worsened daily. On August 6, 1942, the Nazis arrested, tried, and sentenced to death by hanging a group of 20 Jews selected randomly. On September 2, after four weeks of incarceration, the victims were brought to a public square and hanged in the presence of their families and German spectators. The bodies of the victims were exhumed after the war, in January 1948. The end of the Strzegowo Jewish community came not long after this large public execution. The ghetto was liquidated in November 1942. The first transport to Mława and from there to the Treblinka extermination camp left on November 2, 1942. On November 24, 1942, the remaining Jews were brought on horse carts to Mława before being sent to Auschwitz by rail. According to witnesses, most of the people from this transport were killed immediately in the gas chambers.[6]

SS-Sturmbannführer Hartmut Pulmer, the notorious chief of the Płock-Ciechanów Gestapo (Strzegowo came under his authority), was tried in 1976 but never sentenced owing to his "poor health." In 1976, the court in Giessen (Germany) sentenced four other Gestapo officials from the same Gestapo office to prison terms ranging from four to six years. Hans Doerhage was sentenced to four years and three months; Hermann Schaper, six years; Franz Hartmann, four years and three months; and Erich Bartels, six years. Several other officials (Friedrich Schulz, Rudolf Renner, Ernest Baumann, Otto Roehr, Ernest Schardt) were excluded from trial or acquitted in the absence "of conclusive evidence of their guilt." Little is known about Heitmann, Schrimm, Apitz, Friedrich, Schrampf, Dallüge, Rossman, or Grimm, to name but a few of those who signed the Gestapo interrogation forms and were responsible for killings in the Strzegowo ghetto. Policat, the notorious Strzegowo policeman, was sentenced to life in prison by the court in Arnsberg in 1971.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Strzegowo, edited by Feigl Bisberg-Youkelson and Rubin Youkelson, *The Life and Death of a Polish Shtetl* (Stshegove yizker-bukh) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), contains several relevant testimonies for the history of the ghetto; there is also a brief article in Abraham Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities*: *Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 442–445.

AŻIH also holds testimonies relating to Strzegowo and the surrounding area. In IPN there are some captured records of the Gestapo office in Zichenau. The German trial records can be found in the relevant local archives (e.g., LG-Gies, 7 Ks 1/74).

Jan Grabowski

NOTES

1. Testimony of Fishl Meirantz, in Bisberg-Youkelson and Youkelson, *The Life and Death of a Polish Shtetl*, p. 82.
2. Ben-Zion Bogen, in ibid., pp. 73–74.
3. AŻIH, 301/310, testimony of Feliks Kisielewski, and 301/303–4, testimonies of Łucja Stuczyńska.
4. IPN, collection Gestapo-Zichenau (see also USHMM, RG-15.039M), file 6123.
5. Ibid., files 5399, 10314.
6. AŻIH, Relacje, Collection 301/303–4, testimonies of Łucja Stuczyńska; and Ben-Zion Bogen, in Bisberg-Youkelson and Youkelson, *The Life and Death of a Polish Shtetl*, p. 80.

WYSZOGRÓD

Pre-1939: Wyszogród (Yiddish: Vishogrod), town, Płock powiat, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Hohenburg, Kreis Schröttersburg, Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, Provinz Ostpreussen, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: Wyszogród, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Wyszogród is located on the right bank of the Vistula River, 61 kilometers (38 miles) west–northwest of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II in 1939, there were about 2,700 Jews living in Wyszogród.

The Germans had occupied the town by September 9, 1939, following days of heavy bombardment, which had caused most of the town's inhabitants to flee. Starting the next day, those Jews who had remained in Wyszogród were forced to work at rubble clearance and construction. This exhausting work caused many Jews to flee to Soviet-occupied eastern Poland. Most of the town's residents returned to Wyszogród from Warsaw after the fall of the capital on September 28.

In October 1939, Wyszogród was renamed Hohenburg and annexed to the Reich as part of Regierungsbezirk Zichenau in Provinz Ostpreussen.[1] An ethnic German was appointed mayor.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up soon after the Germans established themselves in Wyszogród. Its responsibilities included the organization of forced labor, the

communication of new laws to the community, and the provision of social relief. The following were appointed as its members: Josef Diamant (head), Meir Garfinkel, Avraham Israelovitch, Hanoch Cohen, Joseph Lichtenstein, and Meir Shochet. Along with the Judenrat, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was assigned the task of keeping order within the community.[2]

At the beginning of November 1939, a detachment of the Gestapo arrived to loot and seize from Jewish houses, businesses, and shops anything of value or interest. During the search for jewelry and money, women were forced to undress. At this time, the community had to assign from 40 to 50 men daily to forced labor. Those who were assigned but did not want to work could pay another person to take their place.[3] In December, Jews were made to remove their synagogue's furnishings and surrender them to the Germans for firewood. In the first half of 1940, the synagogue, Bet Midrash, and some 50 Jewish houses were razed.

Deprived of its income from business activity, the Jewish community quickly became impoverished. In May 1940, the mayor of Wyszogród reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw that out of 2,427 Jews in the town, 2,300 were in need of social support. The AJDC transferred some cash, clothing, and medicine. There is little information regarding the number of refugees and deportees that came to Wyszogród; however, there is one report of some deportees arriving from nearby Sierpc.[4]

In August 1940, the Judenrat was requested to submit a list of men to be sent to the recently opened labor camp in Bielsk, where about 120 Jews each from Wyszogród, Bodzanów, and Drobin were to work for a period of eight weeks. At first only 40 to 50 male Jews from Wyszogród were sent to Bielsk, but soon 20 more were required to replace those who fell sick. After the Judenrat encountered increasing difficulties preparing successive lists, some of the Judenrat members, including its head Josef Diamant, were deported to the camp as a punishment, along with more of Wyszogród's Jews. Yitzhak Bohla subsequently led the reconstituted Judenrat. By the summer of 1941, the only Jews left in the camp were from Wyszogród.

On March 6, 1941, the Jews in Wyszogród were suddenly ordered to report to the market square within 10 minutes. Accompanied by beatings, all were chased out of their houses. The SS selected about 700 Jews, loaded them on trucks, and drove them to the transit camp in Działdowo. One week later on March 12, the group was deported by train to Kielce and from there onward to Nowa Słupia in Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement, about 196 kilometers (122 miles) south of Wyszogród.[5] Deportees from Płock and Vienna had already overcrowded Nowa Słupia. Most of Wyszogród's Jews were placed en masse in the synagogue. Some were housed with local Jewish families in the town. Famine and typhus claimed many victims. In September or October 1942, along with the other Jews in Nowa Słupia, the Jews of Wyszogród were sent first to Bodzentyn and then to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Immediately following the deportation Aktion from Wyszogród on March 6, 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in the Jewish neighborhood, which was reduced in size. The ghetto included the following streets: Kościelna, Płocka, Krótka, Ogrodowa, and Stary Rynek. Over 1,800 Jews were forced to live within its confines, with about 10 people in each room.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews were removed from the ghetto and held captive for one day and the following night. During this time, the local non-Jewish inhabitants were permitted to plunder any remaining valuable items from the ghetto. Shortly after this, a doctor came from Płock to supervise the mass delousing of the inhabitants of the ghetto. That summer, about 70 Jews worked to strengthen the Vistula's banks; others worked in road construction and agriculture.

About 400 of those who were deported from Wyszogród to Nowa Słupia attempted to return to their hometown soon after their resettlement. Many of these people were returned again to the Generalgouvernement once discovered and sent on to the Warsaw ghetto by way of the Vistula River. Others were taken outside the town, forced to dig graves, and then shot.[6]

On August 9–10, 1941, 120 Jews capable of work were rounded up and sent to the labor camp in Bielsk. At this time, the Germans also enclosed the ghetto in Wyszogród by surrounding it with barbed wire and announced that henceforth any Jew caught outside the ghetto would be shot. Jews continued to pray together in *minyans* inside the ghetto and improvised celebrations of the High Holidays despite the loss of the synagogue, sensing that this might be the last time they would celebrate together as a community.

On November 27, 1941, the remaining Jews were brought back to Wyszogród from Bielsk. The Germans liquidated the Wyszogród ghetto on November 29, 1941. On that day, 600 Jews were sent almost 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) east to Czerwińsk (Czerwińsk nad Wisłą) and 1,200 to the ghetto in Nowy Dwór (Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki), about 63 kilometers (39 miles) east. The latter was chosen by the Germans as a site of concentration for the region's Jews before their deportation to death camps. Several hundred Jews from Wyszogród died there of typhus. On October 28, 1942, about 2,600 Jews from Czerwińsk were transferred to Nowy Dwór. Deportations of the inhabitants of the Nowy Dwór ghetto to the Auschwitz concentration camp began three weeks later on November 20, 1942. The third and final transport departed from Nowy Dwór on December 12, 1942.[7]

An estimated 250 Jews from Wyszogród survived the war.

SOURCES Much information on the life and destruction of Wyszogród's Jews can be found in the yizkor book edited by Hayim Rabin, *Vishogrod: Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Vishogrod shenispu be-sho'at ha-Natsim bi-shenat 1939–1945* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Vishogrod be-Yisrael, 1971); and in a chapter of *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, edited by Abraham Wein (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/736, 301/3313); BA-L (ZStL/II 117 AR 1119/68, vol. 1); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/736; and RG-15.019M); VHF (e.g., # 11851, 18668, 35049, 35353, and 49891); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 49891–3, testimony of Mark Wilson, 1997; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, *vol.* 4, p. 197; VHF, # 35049–40, testimony of Wolf Schladow, 1997; and # 18668–3, testimony of Louis Baum, 1996.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/736.
3. AŻIH, 301/3313, testimony of Ide-Hersz Puterman, 1948.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/736.
5. VHF, # 11851–2, testimony of Marion Lewin, 1996.
6. Ibid.
7. AŻIH, 301/3313; and BA-L, ZStL, II 117 AR 1119/68, vol. 1, p. 87.

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WARTHEGAU REGION



A postcard from Łódź with signs that read, "Residential district of Jews, entry forbidden" (right) and "Closed for pedestrians," (center) ca. 1940–1941.
USHMM WS #07065, COURTESY OF ANTONI MARIANOWICZ

WARTHEGAU REGION (REICHSGAU WARTHELAND)

Pre-1939: parts of the Łódź, Poznań, and Warsaw województwa; 1939–1945: Regierungsbezirke Posen, Hohensalza, and Litzmannstadt (1939–1941, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch), Reichsgau Wartheland, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: parts of kujawsko-pomierskie, łódzkie, wielkopolskie, and mazowieckie województwa

On October 26, 1939, almost two months after the German invasion of Poland, the German authorities established Reichsgau Posen, renaming it Reichsgau Wartheland in January 1940. Amalgamating the Regierungsbezirke of Posen (Poznań), Hohensalza (Inowrocław), and, from November 9, 1939, Kalisch (from 1941, Litzmannstadt [Łódź]), this Gau joined Ost-Oberschlesien, Danzig-Westpreussen, and Regierungsbezirk Zichenau as a newly incorporated Reich territory annexed from Poland. The Reichsstatthalter (governor) and Gauleiter of Wartheland, Arthur Greiser, was formerly the deputy Gauleiter of the Free City of Danzig. A dedicated Nazi, he spearheaded the effort to Germanize the Wartheland, pressing for the immediate removal of Jews and Poles soon after his appointment in the effort to make the Wartheland the "model Gau" (*Mustergau*) in the German East. In 1940, his efforts resulted in multiple approaches to Germanizing the Gau, namely, the admission of many thousands of "ethnic Germans" (*Volksdeutsche*) from Eastern Europe, the deportation of Poles and Jews to the Generalgouvernement, and the ghettoization and ultimately the annihilation of Jews. While the deportation of Poles and Jews proved largely unsuccessful, due to strenuous objections by Hans Frank in charge of the Generalgouvernement, Greiser's anti-Jewish measures contributed to the radicalization of Nazi policy leading up to the "Final Solution."



Portrait of Arthur Greiser, Gauleiter and governor of the Reichsgau Wartheland, taken when he was deputy Gauleiter of Danzig under Albert Forster, 1930s.
USHMM WS #20379, COURTESY OF NARA

Although the Wartheland is best remembered for the Łódź ghetto, there were in total some 57 ghettos established in the territory. Wartheland was a key laboratory for this aspect of the Nazi regime's evolving and radicalizing anti-Jewish policy, because it was the site of some of the first ghettos established, and the ghettos' history in part reflects national and local changes in antisemitic policies, most notably the opportunity (or lack thereof) for deportation to the Generalgouvernement or to Madagascar. Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt held the most ghettos (35, including Łódź), while the remaining 22 were in Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza. The German authorities did not establish any ghettos in Regierungsbezirk Posen.

By county (Kreis), running north to south, the German authorities established the following ghettos. In Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, there were four ghettos in Kreis Hermannsbad (Ciechocinek): Ciechocinek, Piotrków Kujawski, Radziejów, and Służewo; four in Kreis Konin: Grodziec, Konin, Rzgów, and Zagórów; three in Kreis Kutno: Krośniewice, Kutno, and Żychlin; three in Kreis Leslau (Włocławek): Brześć Kujawski, Przedecz, and Włocławek; three in Kreis Walderode (Gostynin): Gąbin, Gostynin, and Sanniki; and five in Kreis Wartbrücken (Koło): Bugaj (and Nowiny Brdowskie), Dąbie, Izbica Kujawska, Koło, and Sompolno. In Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt, there were three ghettos in Kreis Kalisch (Kalisz): Chocz, Kalisz, Koźminek, and six in Kreis Lask: Betchatów, Łask, Lutomiersk, Pabianice, Widawa, and Zelów; five in Kreis Lentschütz (Łęczyca): Grabów, Łęczyca, Ozorków, Piątek, and Poddębice; four in Kreis Litzmannstadt: Brzeziny, Łódź, Stryków and Zgierz; five in Kreis Schieratz (Sieradz): Sieradz, Szadek, Warta, Zduńska Wola, and Złoczew; six in Kreis Turek: Dobra, Kowale Pańskie, Tuliszków, Turek, Uniejów, and Władysławów; and six in Kreis Welungen (Wieluń): Lututów, Osjaków, Pajęczno, Praszka, Wieluń, and Wieruszów. In Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, there were no ghettos in the northwestern counties of Altburgund, Dietfurt, Eichenbrück, Gnesen, and Mogilno. In Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt, ghettos were not established in the southwestern counties of Ostrowo and Kempen. The regional pattern thus reflected existing Jewish settlement patterns and the German authorities' attempt to drive the remaining Jewish communities as close to the borders of the Generalgouvernement as possible. Six sites listed in some secondary sources as ghettos but whose existence have not been confirmed in the primary sources were Aleksandrów Łódzki, Kłodawa, Kobylnica, Osięciny, Sulmierzyce, and Zwierzchów.

As the example of Kłodawa demonstrates, although ghettos were used to concentrate Jews from surrounding villages, as well as refugees from further away, in a few towns Jews continued to live without formal concentration in a ghetto right up to the final liquidation Aktions in the first half of 1942. In Kreis Hermannsbad, the German authorities were anxious to deny the official existence of "ghettos" even in those towns, such as Radziejów, where Jews were resettled into "residential districts" (open ghettos) exclusively for Jews. In such cases, the evidence of Jewish survivors also has been used to assist in determining whether open ghettos, nevertheless, were established.

In 1939, the Wartheland's Jewish population was 435,000, a number, historian Michael Alberti notes, that exceeded Germany's total Jewish population in 1933. As a result of prewar Jewish settlement, especially in the city of Łódź, the vast majority of the Jewish population lived in the eastern portion of the Gau, especially in the cities of Łódź and Kalisz. Anti-Jewish measures followed with the onset of occupation. Immediately following the German advance, Einsatzgruppen tasked with murdering Polish intelligentsia and resisters shot leading Jews in the region, often on the spurious claim of their fomenting resistance, and sometimes publicly exhibited the bodies in triumph. The Einsatzgruppen murdered at least 10,000 Poles and Jews in the Wartheland, but the specific number of Jewish victims is not known.

At the Gau level, the German authorities obligated all Jews to wear a yellow star in December 1939, but this aspect of persecution followed piecemeal local initiatives. The German authorities in Łódź forced Jews to wear white armbands as early as September 10, 1939—nine days after the invasion—while Leslau imposed the wearing of yellow triangles on October 25, and Kalisch similarly ordered the wearing of yellow armbands in November 1939.

An important difference between the implementation of the 1935 Nuremberg Racial Laws in the Wartheland as opposed to the Old Reich was that Jews born in mixed marriages, as well as Jews' "Aryan" spouses, were treated as full Jews in the Wartheland and thus assigned to ghettos and Jewish forced labor camps. This reinterpretation followed Greiser's initiative in October 1940.

From late 1939 through the spring of 1940, Greiser, with the support of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Chief of the Security Police and SD (CSSD) Reinhard Heydrich, pressed for the removal of Jews and Poles from "his" Gau, which resulted in two "short-term plans" (*Nahpläne*). In the Wartheland, the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) for Posen, later Wartheland, SS-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Koppe, oversaw the plans' implementation, undertaken in tandem with the simultaneous resettlement of Volhynian and Baltic Volksdeutsche in the region. The first Nahplan, enacted in December 1939, evacuated among others Regierungsbezirk Posen's small Jewish population—hence the absence of ghettos in the Wartheland's westernmost Regierungsbezirk. Overall the first short-term plan involved 80,000 Poles and Jews. Before deportation, the resettled Jews were confined in transit camps (*Durchgangslager*) under the supervision of the ethnic German Selbstschutz, who stripped them of their possessions. The much more ambitious second short-term plan called for the removal of 220,000 additional Poles and Jews, which had resulted by mid-March 1940 in the deportation of just over 2,000 Jews, mainly from Łódź. Apart from Generalgouverneur Frank's objections, the need for rail transport to execute the invasion of France played a role in further delaying, and ultimately suspending, the second short-term plan, which fell well short (nearly two thirds) of its target of 300,000 deportees.

The forestalling of the second short-term plan stimulated the German authorities' improvised ghettoization of Jewish communities in the Wartheland. The earliest ghetto appeared in October 1939 at Piotrków Kujawski, and plans were already afoot, in part on the initiative of Litzmannstadt Regierungspräsident Friedrich Uebelhoer, for the ghettoization of Łódź in the winter of 1940. In February 1940, the German authorities established ghettos in Koźminek, Łask, Pabianice, and Złoczew, with a cluster of ghettos, most famously the enclosed ghetto at Łódź, the first major ghetto in occupied Poland, formed in April 1940. In the summer of 1940, 9 ghettos were established in the Wartheland and an additional 10 in the fall of 1940. A few ghettos, including Gostynin, were formed in 1941 and 1, Grabów, perhaps as late as early 1942. Owing to material shortages, among other reasons, many of these ghettos (at least 25) were so-called Jewish residential districts, or open ghettos. Notable in the Wartheland were 5 Kreis-level "village" ghettos (*Dorfghettos*). Located in Konin and Warthbrücken in Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, and in Turek in Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt, the Dorfghettos were Jewish communities removed from smaller towns to facilitate working on farms. This experiment in forced agricultural labor proved to be short-lived, as the inmates were among the Wartheland's first mass-murder victims, respectively, in the Kazimierz Biskupi Forest and the Chełmno nad Nerem (Kulmhof) killing center. The fact that the Dorfghettos appeared in three separate Kreise in two Regierungsbezirke, however, shows that the German authorities repeated the experiment in more than one locality.

Information on the precise reasons for setting up specific ghettos is sparse, but beyond the overall intent to concentrate the Jews in preparation for their intended deportation, Alberti has identified several concerns that influenced the authorities. In Piątek, Żychlin, and Pabianice, fears about the spread of disease spurred the German authorities to establish ghettos. In some places, such as the county towns of Turek and Sieradz, the need to house German administrators—or possibly make space for ethnic German settlers—played a role. The ghetto in Koźminek was set up in early 1940, as the authorities in Łódź refused to take the Jews concentrated for deportation from Kreis Kalisch. Subsequently some open ghettos were enclosed, again due to the authorities' medical concerns, to attempt to suppress black market activities, and for other security-related reasons.

Resettlement into the ghettos generally meant the abandonment of much property. For example, in Pabianice, the Jews could bring in with them only what they could carry themselves. The Jews of Konin, who were resettled without warning to three village ghettos in the Kreis, were collected by German Gendarmes who allowed the Jews to take with them only a small bundle.[1] In Łódź, the Jews were given several weeks to complete the transfer but could bring in only one suitcase and a bed; about 200 Jews were shot dead during the resettlement Aktion in the city.

Living conditions varied quite considerably in the ghettos and depended on the available space per person and access to food and gainful employment, which were influenced in turn by whether the ghettos were open or closed and the strictness of its enforcement. Conditions also deteriorated over time, as reserves were used up, charitable assistance from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) was cut off, and able-bodied Jews were sent away, leaving dependents without breadwinners. By 1942, draconian punishments were meted out for leaving the ghettos without permission or trading on the black market.

Among the worst living conditions were those in the Kutno ghetto, where more than 6,000 Jews were crammed into a dilapidated and unheated factory complex surrounded by a wall and barbed wire. Following an outbreak of typhus, from November 1940 it was more or less completely isolated from the town. When the Jews resisted in February 1941 to protest corruption in the Judenrat, German controls became even tighter.[2]

Some insights into living conditions for the Jews of the region during 1940 were provided by the records of the AJDC; however, this correspondence dried up by the end of that year, and as a result, only isolated reports mentioned the ghettos. In Szadek, for example, the head of the self-help committee appealed for assistance, as all contacts with the surrounding villages were cut off from the ghetto, drying up the sources from which the Jews had earned their income and obtained food. The Judenrat had opened a soup kitchen, but it needed financial aid to keep it running.[3] Apart from the Łódź ghetto, where available documentation is massive, records on the activities of the Jewish Councils are sparse, although a detailed report on the structure and the activities of the Judenrat in Pabianice during 1940 has survived, again owing to the AJDC.[4]

Forced labor was imposed on the Jews from the first days of the occupation, and for the first 12 months, much of this remained unpaid. From October 1, 1940, the German authorities issued instructions for Jewish forced laborers to be paid a minimal amount, but onerous taxes were deducted from even these small sums, and sometimes remuneration was in the form of food, often administered via the Jewish Councils. Some German companies paid Jewish workers late or not at all, but Jews were still keen to go to work as they believed their jobs could provide exemption from deportation. Jewish Councils, which administered recruitment for forced labor, in some places permitted those with financial means to pay for substitutes, and this money was used to pay those who did work.

In Ozorków, for example, the Jews in the ghetto, including children as young as 10, were employed cleaning streets, working on fortifications, and producing uniforms for the Wehrmacht. Work outside the ghetto provided an opportunity to obtain a little extra food by bartering or scavenging, but most work details were closely guarded, allowing little or no contact with local non-Jews.[5] Other common forced labor tasks included clearing snow from the streets in winter, demolition and construction work in the towns, irrigation projects, and some agricultural labor. In Żychlin, Amtskommissar Karl Hempel requisitioned 400 Jews for the construction of his villa. In the course of their work he tortured the Jews sadistically, murdering a number of them.[6] Bartering and black market activities were common in almost all ghettos due to the extreme shortages of almost everything. German official correspondence noted that not only Poles but also some German soldiers were trading with Jews on the black market.[7]

In 1941 and 1942, the German authorities conducted extensive roundups of able-bodied Jews for transfer to at least 69 forced labor camps in the Wartheland (and others elsewhere), working on road construction and other tasks, mainly in the area around Poznań.[8] The Jewish Councils and the Jewish Police were sometimes required to assist during these roundups, and as news spread of the terrible conditions in many of the camps, Jews went into hiding to avoid being deported. Families retained contact with some of the deportees initially, with extra food and clothing being sent from some ghettos, but by 1942, most of these links had been broken irrevocably. The survival rate was not high among those sent to the camps, and many of those who got through their first deployments were subsequently sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp and entered the concentration camp system. Nevertheless, of the few survivors from the ghettos of the region other than Łódź, these younger forced laborers comprise a high proportion.

In March 1941, more than 2,000 Jews were deported from the village ghettos of Kreis Konin to Józefów Biłgorajski and other towns in Distrikt Lublin.[9] Larger deportations also took place at this time from Regierungsbezirk Zichenau into the Generalgouvernement. However, this wave of deportations was soon stopped, as Germany geared up for the invasion of the Soviet Union.

In an attempt to provide some supposed security from deportation to forced labor, the Jewish Councils in Łódź and other ghettos, such as Grabów, Zduńska Wola, and Pabianice, established workshops, mostly manufacturing uniforms and other equipment for the Wehrmacht. In the case of Ozorków, those working for the Wehrmacht gained a deferral from deportation for a few months, while in Łódź the strategy of survival through work enabled the productive part of the ghetto to keep going for another two years; however, Mordechai Rumkowski's hopes of saving their lives (at the expense of others), for most, proved illusory.

In spite of the harsh conditions, the Jews in many Wartheland ghettos tried to maintain some cultural life. In Kutno, Jews held meetings to discuss literature, sang songs, and or-

ganized a library.[10] Underground schools were operated in a number of ghettos, including Sompolno, and Jews also made efforts to maintain religious observance and bury their dead. In Zduńska Wola, an agricultural kibbutz operated until the ghetto was liquidated. In Łódź, concerts and other cultural events enabled Jews to forget their isolation, hunger, and despair, at least for a time.

For the German authorities in the summer of 1941, the extraction of the able-bodied Jews from the ghettos to forced labor camps raised the question of what should happen with the remaining unproductive elderly Jews and children. In early October, 3,082 relatives of workers deported to Poznań from Kreis Leslau were accepted in the Łódź ghetto, but thereafter the authorities in Łódź made it clear that no more such transports would be accommodated.[11] Around this time, SS-Sonderkommando Lange organized the first genocidal mass killings of Jews in the Wartheland, commencing with the murder of the remaining 3,000 or so Jews from the village ghettos in Kreis Konin, most of which by then had been concentrated in Zagórów. Then in November 1941, hundreds of Jews from the ghettos in Koźminek and Kalisz were killed using a gas van operated by Sonderkommando Lange.

In December 1941, SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Lange initiated killing operations at the Chełmno extermination camp, murdering first the Jews of Koło and other places nearby. A striking point about these initial complete liquidation Aktions in the Wartheland was that there were almost no survivors, even from communities of 1,000 people or more, as the unsuspecting Jews did as they were told, not expecting they all would be killed. Details of the fate of these communities come mainly from two survivors among the grave-digger detail at Chełmno as well as from the reports of scouts sent out by ghettos not yet affected, who were urgently seeking news of the vanished neighboring communities.[12] These reports were then passed on by courier and coded letter to Warsaw and Łódź so that the Jewish leadership could begin the difficult task of grasping the reality of genocide.[13]



Mid-1930s portrait of Herbert Lange, commander of Sonderkommando Lange and first commandant of the Chełmno killing center.
COURTESY OF BA-B/BDC



Ten Jews are publicly hanged for black marketeering by the German police in the Zduńska Wola ghetto, February 28, 1942. In Reichsgau Wartheland, such mass hangings served as precursors to killing center deportations.
USHMM WS #18853, COURTESY OF IPN

Alongside the initiation of mass murder, the German authorities increased the level of terror in the remaining ghettos. A wave of public hangings was conducted in a number of ghettos, including in Zduńska Wola, Wieluń, Ozorków, and Bełchatów, in which the Jewish Police sometimes were obliged to conduct the executions.[14] In Ozorków, the executions were followed immediately by a selection, with those unfit for work being dispatched to Chełmno. During the spring and summer of 1942, Jews became increasingly alarmed by the silence from those who had been deported and the intensifying rumors of killings on a massive scale.

As 1942 progressed, the ghetto liquidation Aktions became increasingly brutal, and more Jews sought to flee or hide. A common pattern for many such Aktions was for the Jews to be concentrated first in the local church building (an offense also to the Catholic Poles), where they were held for days with little food or water until a selection of those fit for labor was conducted, sometimes in the presence of Hans Biebow and other officials of the German Gettoverwaltung (Ghetto Administration) in Łódź. The *Łódź Ghetto Chronicle* records the arrivals of a number of groups of workers spared from the respective ghettos, but those not deemed fit, including children and the elderly, were deported to be killed, under horrendous conditions, at Chełmno.

By September 1942, all the ghettos in Wartheland, except for Łódź, had been liquidated. A few Jews were left behind, or sent from Łódź, to clear out remaining property from the empty ghettos. Any useful equipment, such as sewing machines, and any remaining net profits were transferred for the use of the German Gettoverwaltung in Łódź. In this way, the Łódź ghetto became the direct beneficiary of other ghetto



Hans Biebow, the Nazi administrator of the Łódź ghetto, sits at his desk, n.d.
USHMM WS #65731, COURTESY OF ROBERT ABRAMS

closings, coming into possession of the small surviving legacy of all the liquidated Jewish communities of the Wartheland. The Łódź ghetto was one of the very last ghettos to be liquidated; most of its remaining population was deported to Auschwitz in August 1944, with the final deportations to the camps from the remnant ghetto leaving in October.

SOURCES The most important secondary sources on ghettos in the Wartheland region are Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006); and Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung,"* trans. Rachel Grunberg Elbaz (Göttingen: Wallstein; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007). On the Einsatzgruppen deployments in Poland, including the Wartheland, the standard account is Alexander Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, Atrocity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003). Useful studies on the 1940 first and second short-term plans in the Wartheland are Phillip T. Rutherford, *Prelude to the Final Solution: The Nazi Program for Deporting Ethnic Poles, 1939–1941* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007); and the older contribution by Götz Aly, *"Final Solution": Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews*, trans. Belinda Cooper and Allison Brown (New York: Arnold, 1999).

Important collections of relevant published sources include: Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004); Sascha Feuchert et al., eds., *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz/Litzmannstadt* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), vol. 2 (covering 1942), also available in an earlier abridged English-language version, Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); and Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod: NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer. Ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941–1943* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1993), originally in Polish as *Dwa etapy. Hitlerowska polityka eksterminacji Żydów w oczach ofiar. Szkic historyczny i dokumenty* (Wrocław, 1986). Material from the trial of Arthur Greiser was published in Poland soon after his trial and execution: *Proces Artura Greisera przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1946).

Primary sources for the Wartheland region may be found in the following archives: APŁ; APP; AŻIH (e.g., 301, 210); BA-BL; BA-L; IPN (ASG); IPN-Ł; NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA. The manuscript of the *Łódź Ghetto Chronicle* is available in USHMM, RG-15.083M (APŁ, Przełożony Starszeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkim). Also useful are the 1940 and 1941 issues of the *Lodscher*, later *Litzmannstädter, Zeitung*, which carried occasional, if tendentious, reports on the formation of ghettos in Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt.

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Night-time view of the members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 guarding the perimeter of the Łódź ghetto, 1940–1941. One image from a photograph album that once belonged to a member of Police Battalion 101.
USHMM WS #47443, COURTESY OF MICHAEL O.

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/841, Lb. 848, Mf. 0827, reel 39.
2. AŻIH, 301/304, 301/314.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/669 (Szadek), p. 2.
4. AŻIH, 210/537 (AJDC Pabianice), Arbeitsbericht des Ältestenrates der Juden in Pabianice, November 1, 1939, to November 1, 1940.
5. VHF, # 20279, 20619.
6. OKŚZpNPŁdz (IPN-Ł), Ds 151/67.
7. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 2, file 5, pp. 12, 34, Gendarmerie Radziejow, December 27, 1940, and February 27, 1941.
8. APP, Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 2124, notes that 39 of the camps were in Regierungsbezirk Posen, as cited by Peter Klein, *Die "Gettoverwaltung Litzmannstadt" 1940–1944: Eine Dienststelle im Spannungsfeld von Kommunalbürokratie und staatlicher Verfolgungspolitik* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2009), p. 456.
9. M. Gelbart, ed., *Kehilat Konin bi-feribatah uve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Konin be-Yisrael, 1968), pp. 529–530, 545–546.
10. Sakowska, *Dwa etapy*, p. 142; AŻIH, 301/306, 301/304.
11. BA-BL, R 49/3074, p. 74, as cited by Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 383.

12. Accounts of "Szlamek" and Michał Podchlebnik published in Pawlicka-Nowak, *Chełmno Witnesses Speak*, pp. 100–120.

13. Manfred Struck, ed., *Chelmno/Kulmhof: Ein vergessener Ort des Holocaust?* (Bonn/Berlin: gegen Vergessen–Für Demokratie e.V., 2001), pp. 91–95.

14. Leib Pudlovsky, "Unter der Nazi Okupatsie," in *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh: Gevidmet dem ondenk fun a farshvundn Yidish shtetl in Poyln* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-Farband fun PoylisheYidn in Argentine tsuzamen mit der Belkhatover Landslayt-Farayn in Argentine, Brazil un Tsofen-Amerike, 1951), pp. 434–445, includes a photograph of one of the hangings. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 1225a, p. 316, implies there was a general order in the Wartheland for a certain number of Jews to be hanged in each community.


Ghettos in the Warthegau Region
1940 - 1942
CIECHOCINEK
Służewo
INOWROCŁAW
East Prussia
POZNAŃ
Radziejów
Piotrków Kujawski
WŁOCŁAWEK
Brześć Kujawski
Regierungsbezirk
Hohensalza
Sompolno
Izbica Kujawska
Regierungsbezirk
Posen
GOSTYNIN
Bugaj
Przedecz
Gąbin
Zagórów
KONIN
Rzgów
Koło
Krośniewice
Sanniki
KUTNO
Chełmno
Żychlin
Grodziec
Tuliszków
Grabów
Chocz
Dąbie
Władysławów
ŁĘCZYCA
Piątek
TUREK
GENERAL
GOVERNMENT
Kowale Pańskie
Dobra
Uniejów
Ozorków
Poddębice
KALISZ
Koźminek
Warta
Stryków
Zgierz
Warta
Lutomiersk
Brzeziny
ŁÓDŹ
Szadek
SIERADZ
Zduńska Wola
Pabianice
ŁASK
Regierungsbezirk
Kalisch/Litzmannstadt
Lower
Silesia
Złoczew
Lututów
Widawa
Zelów
Wieruszów
Bełchatów
Osjaków
WIELUŃ
Pajęczno
Praszka
Upper Silesia
Map Legend
Ghetto
Extermination center
CITY
KREIS CENTER
AND GHETTO
Regional border
Regierungsbezirk border
Kreis border
Rivers
0 5 10 20 Miles
0 5 10 20 Kilometers
N
W
E
S
Borders as of 1942

BEŁCHATÓW

Pre-1939: Bełchatów, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Belchatow, Kreis Lask, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Bełchatów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Bełchatów is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of Łódź. By 1939, the Jewish population stood at about 5,500, comprising about half of the town's population.[1]

The German army entered Bełchatów on September 5, 1939. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans humiliated the Jews on the High Holidays, desecrating holy objects, forcing Jews to eat nonkosher food, and cutting men's beards. Homes were taken from Jews and given to German officials and local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Other restrictions prohibited Jews from using the sidewalks and from trading with non-Jews.[2]

Soon after the Germans took control, they established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Bełchatów. The members of the Judenrat changed over the years as they fell in and out of favor with the German authorities. The main tasks of the Judenrat included assigning Jews to forced labor, distributing food, and providing medical care. One Bełchatów survivor reflected on the role of the Judenrat and its ultimate impotence in the face of German rule: "[T]he head of the Judenrat, [Yitzhak] Bogdanski, was a very good and honest man who tried to help the poor, organized kitchens for the poor. . . . Unfortunately, he was arrested and sent to Radogoszcz with his family," following his failed attempt to escape from the ghetto in 1942.[3]

A report in a German newspaper (*Die Litzmannstädter Zeitung*) in June 1940 noted that, for technical reasons related to the topography of the town, it had not been possible to establish a ghetto for the 6,000 Jews in Bełchatów but that there was no doubt that a solution would be found.[4] On March 1, 1941, the Germans established a Jewish residential area (open ghetto) in Bełchatów.[5] Its boundaries were clearly marked, but it was not physically enclosed. According to several Polish witnesses, the Jews were still permitted to move freely about the town but had to obey a curfew.[6] A report by the Polish Underground noted in January 1942: "An enclosed ghetto has still not been established to this day. . . . Several streets have been designated, in which the Jews are permitted to reside."[7]



Jews stand on Pabianicka Street in the Bełchatów ghetto during a resettlement Aktion, late 1941.
USHMM WS #50319, COURTESY OF IPN



Jewish forced laborers from Bełchatów walk along an unpaved road carrying shovels, 1941.
USHMM WS #50320, COURTESY OF IPN

Until the summer of 1941, the Jews were able to get by despite the numerous restrictions. Many Jews continued to trade illegally, but punishment always loomed over their heads. Those unable to escape arrest were often tortured before being released. Smuggling enabled the Jewish community to survive, and families sold their possessions in order to have something to eat.[8]

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, a glimmer of hope appeared for the Jews of Bełchatów. At first, they believed the Soviets would soon defeat Hitler's army, but the rapid German advance into Russia soon dispelled this notion. Even as their hopes faded, the Bełchatów Jews could not imagine the fate awaiting them. Most believed that the Nazis would need them to help rebuild the country once the war was over and that they would, therefore, keep them alive.[9]

On August 19, 1941, Bełchatów Amtskommissar, Josef Trahner, instructed the Judenrat that all men between the ages of 18 and 45 years not employed in garment-manufacturing workshops must report to the Kluk Company together with the Jewish doctor on the following day.[10] About 2,000 men assembled there and waited in a building all day until 250 of them were selected and sent to the Poznań region for forced labor. Some families were able to obtain the release of a son or a husband by paying bribes.[11]

Henry Haft, a Holocaust survivor who moved to America and became a successful boxer, recalled that his elder brother answered the call that day. After his brother had been gone for several hours, Henry began to ask questions. A group of older men told him, "Haven't you heard? Not one Jew who went to register has come back." Henry managed to save his

brother from being sent to Poznań, but, in the process, he was caught and found himself in his brother's place.[12]

About three weeks later, a second group of around 500 men was sent to work in the Poznań region, but this time there was no call to "register." Instead, German forces raided Jewish homes to round them up. With 700 heads of households taken from their families, the economic situation of those left behind soon deteriorated.[13]

In the fall of 1941, the Jews from a number of neighboring towns and villages, including Szczerców, Grocholice, Kleszczów, Przyrownica, Bełchatówek, and Chabielice, were brought to Bełchatów with most of their belongings, considerably worsening overcrowding in the ghetto.[14] There was inadequate medical care and poor sanitation, which resulted in a deadly outbreak of typhus in early 1942. This epidemic forced Trahner to allow another doctor into the ghetto.[15]

On March 18, 1942, on the orders of the Gestapo, the Gendarmerie, assisted by the Jewish Police, publicly hanged 10 Jews from various social backgrounds in Bełchatów.[16] According to the report by Trahner, the execution set an example of the punishment in store for Jews who repeatedly violated the economic regulations.[17]

At 6:00 A.M. on August 11, 1942, a group of foreign police auxiliaries, German Gendarmerie, and German civilians began a four-day Aktion to render Bełchatów "free of Jews" (*judenrein*). A few Jews attempted to escape the night before in the direction of Piotrków, but most of the escapees were shot. The German forces surrounded the ghetto and drove the Jews to the center of town. Initially, a group of Jews was rounded up almost at random and sent off in trucks in the direction of the Chełmno death camp, where most of Bełchatów's Jews would be killed. Then, assisted by the Jewish Police, the Germans selected most of the elderly and sick and dispatched them in the same direction. On the same day, another 850 able-bodied men were selected and sent to the Łódź ghetto. The remaining population, possibly as many as 4,000 Jews, was driven to the synagogue courtyard. Many were forced into the synagogue where they were held for three days without food or water. They were packed in so tightly that children and elderly people died either from starvation or suffocation.

The Germans selected 200 Jewish men from the synagogue to collect and sort the valuables from the empty Jewish homes. For four days, these men were forced to clean up the Jewish quarter and send any useful manufacturing equipment to the Łódź ghetto. On the night of the third day, the Germans made them sleep in the now-empty synagogue. All the people from inside the synagogue had been deported to Chełmno. Then 79 of these remaining men were sent to the Łódź ghetto after the fourth day of work; the fate of the others is unknown. With their departure, the Jewish community of Bełchatów ceased to exist.[18]

SOURCES Published sources on the ghetto in Bełchatów and the destruction of its inhabitants include the following: *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh: Gevidmet dem ondenk fun a farshvundn Yidish shtetl in Poyln* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-Farband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentine tsuzamen mit der Belkhatover Landslayt-Farayn in Argentine, Brazil un Tsofen-Amerike, 1951); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 70–77; and Alan Scott Haft, *Harry Haft: Auschwitz Survivor, Challenger of Rocky Marciano* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006).

Documentation on the Jewish community of Bełchatów and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AAN (202/II-29); AŻIH (301/84, 1243, and 1413); BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67, Bd. XI, pp. 94–113); IPN; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 70–77. Estimates of the Jewish population of Bełchatów in 1939 vary from about 4,000 up to 10,000, but most sources remain in the range of 5,000 to 6,000.
2. AŻIH, 301/84, testimony of Chiel Maczak; 301/1243, testimony of Monick Kaufman.
3. Ibid., 301/1413, testimony of Monick Kaufman; see also M. Kaufman, "In the Years of the Holocaust," in *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh*, pp. 463–476 (an English translation is available via jewishgen.org); Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 70–77.
4. *Die Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, June 16, 1940.
5. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 93.
6. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 200; BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67, Bd. XI, pp. 94–113.
7. AAN, 202/II-29, p. 6, DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych: Meldunek o sytuacji Żydów poza Warszawą, January 16, 1942.
8. AŻIH, 301/1413.
9. Ibid.
10. Amtskommissar Trahner an den Aeltestenrat der jüdischen Gemeinde Belchatow, August 19, 1941, reproduced in *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh*, p. 439.
11. AŻIH, 301/1413.
12. Haft, *Harry Haft*, pp. 24–33.
13. AŻIH, 301/1413.
14. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 70–77.
15. Haft, *Harry Haft*, pp. 24–33.
16. Leib Pudlovsky, "Unter der Nazi Okupatsie," in *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh*, pp. 434–435, includes a photograph of the hanging, erroneously dated March 19, 1943. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 1225a, p. 316, implies there was a general order at this time in the Wartheland for a certain number of Jews to be hanged in each community according to its size.
17. Amtskommissar der Stadt Belchatow an die Standortkommandantur Lask, March 19, 1942, published in *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh*, pp. 436–437.

18. Pudlovsky, "Unter der Nazi Okupatsie," p. 445; Zohken Lieberman, "Die Sheuderlekhe Teg," in *Belkhatov: Yizkerbukh*, pp. 456–462; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, pp. 70–77.

BRZEŚĆ KUJAWSKI

Pre-1939: Brześć Kujawski (Yiddish: Brisk de Koyavi), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Brest Kujawien, Landkreis Leslau (Włocławek), Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Brześć Kujawski, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Brześć Kujawski is located about 101 kilometers (63 miles) north-northwest of Łódź. On the outbreak of World War II, there were 633 Jews residing there. Jews comprised between 15 and 20 percent of the town's population. At the beginning of 1941, the number of Jews in the town rose slightly, due to the arrival of about 40 refugees.[1]

The German army occupied the town in early September 1939. Immediately afterwards Jews were compelled to perform forced labor, and the Germans began to confiscate their property. Among the early measures of persecution suffered by the Jews was the burning down of the synagogue. In the last weeks of 1939, the Germans sent dozens of Jewish men to the Wittenberg camp for forced labor. By 1940, the Germans had ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to assist them with organizing forced labor and raising "contributions" from the Jewish population.[2]

In October 1940, all Jewish enterprises in the town were expropriated, and the property was given to German trustees. Several sources, including the yizkor book for Włocławek, make specific reference to a "ghetto" in Brześć Kujawski, but almost no details are known.[3] Danuta Dombrowska, on the other hand, maintains that no ghetto existed there.[4] On September 28, 1941, 399 "inmates of the local ghetto" (109 men and 290 women) were deported to the ghetto in Łódź, joining a mass transport of Jews coming from other places in the Włocławek area. Between the end of September and early October 1941, these deportations included 3,082 people in total.[5] On their arrival, it was noted that the Jews from Brześć Kujawski and other nearby towns wore different identity badges than those in Łódź—a yellow triangle in the middle of the back and a large Star of David (25 centimeters or about 10 inches across) on the chest.[6] Most of these individuals died in the Łódź ghetto of disease and hunger. The few Jews remaining in Brześć Kujawski were deported to the Chełmno extermination camp in April or early May 1942, where the Germans killed them using poison gas. Their last personal belongings were sold to the local population. The proceeds—457.02 Reichsmark (RM)—were placed at the disposal of the Gettoverwaltung (Ghetto Administration) in Łódź.[7]



Jews wearing unusually large Jewish stars carry bundles during a resettlement or deportation Aktion in Brześć Kujawski, n.d.
USHMM WS #41039, COURTESY OF YIVO

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Brześć Kujawski during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: K.F. Thursh and M. Korzen, eds., *Votslavek veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron* (Israel: Association of Former Włocławek Jews in Israel and America, 1967), pp. 175–178; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 145–146; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 119.

Documents on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Brześć Kujawski can be found in the following archives: IPN (collection "Ob," sygn. 177); ITS; and USHMM (RG-68.066M, selected records from AJDC, GIV/27-1B, includes a list of survivors from Brześć Kujawski). A list of additional sources can be found in *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 173.

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NOTES

1. Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron*, p. 780; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), 4:230.
2. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 145–146.
3. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945*, p. 119; Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron*, p. 780; Roman Mogilanski, *The Ghetto Anthology: A Comprehensive Chronicle of the Extermination of Jewry in Nazi Death Camps and Ghettos in Poland* (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration Camps, 1985), p. 104.
4. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 4:230.
5. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (1972; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 50; Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron*, p. 780.
6. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 78.
7. Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron*, p. 780; Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), p. 204.

BRZEZINY

Pre-1939: Brzeziny (Yiddish: Brzezin), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Löwenstadt, Kreis Litzmannstadt, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Brzeziny, Łódź województwo, Poland

Brzeziny is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) east-northeast of Łódź. The Jewish population stood at approximately 6,850 on the eve of World War II.

Brzeziny was occupied on September 8–9, 1939. Within a month, a series of anti-Jewish measures went into effect, and the local Jews suffered beatings, forced labor, and looting at the hands of the occupiers and local ethnic Germans.[1]

The German authorities demanded that the remaining members of the Jewish kehillah (community), Yitzhak Dymant, the chairman, and Avraham Szafman, the secretary, supply a daily quota of workers for forced labor. The workers were ordered to pave roads and perform other arduous jobs and were often beaten and tormented by their German taskmasters. When the required number of Jews did not report for work, the German authorities berated the community leaders and beat them. Prominent members of the Jewish community formed a committee with the aim of aiding the Jewish population, who at this time also began to experience hunger and impoverishment. Yitzhak Dymant, Dr. Sh. Warhaft, Yaakov Zagon, and Dr. Ehrlicht collected money from members of the community who wanted to free themselves from forced labor duty and created a community treasury. The committee also raised funds surreptitiously: Zagon assigned a group of workers in the German clothing warehouse to smuggle out suits that had been confiscated from Jewish clothiers, by wearing them in layers. These suits were then sold and the money used for the benefit of the community. The committee aimed to create a public kitchen and to pay forced laborers supplied to the Germans. In time, the Germans treated this committee as a Judenrat.[2]



Pre-war photograph of the Brzeziny town synagogue, which was destroyed by the Nazis during the war.
USHMM WS #12231, COURTESY OF ADELE RAPAPORT

The German persecution of the Jewish community in Brzeziny intensified in November 1939. On November 9, they set fire to the great synagogue and tortured the rabbi. Rabbi Zalman Borensztajn was beaten, his beard was set on fire, and he was forced to sign a statement that he and other Jewish leaders had started the fire. A notice in the German newspaper in Łódź reiterated this fabrication and announced that the "provocateurs" had been arrested. The Germans fined the Jewish community 10,000 złoty and arrested the rabbi and other prominent members of the Jewish community; they were sent away to a jail in Łódź or other towns, where they were imprisoned for several months.[3]

In November and December 1939, the Germans violently evicted Jews living in better apartments, and a rumor spread that Brzeziny—renamed Löwenstadt and annexed to the Reich as part of the Wartheland—was going to be made *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). The Jews were forbidden to remove anything except some clothing from their homes, which were then sealed. Members of the committee petitioned the mayor of Brzeziny and then the district head in Łódź to delay the expulsion and received his approval. The police in Brzeziny accepted a bribe and agreed to consider those Jews who had been expelled from their homes and were now living with relatives in other parts of the city as having "left" (*farlozt*) Brzeziny. Using the time bought (the district head delayed the expulsion until April 1, 1940), the committee proposed that the Germans employ the tailors in service of the German war effort. A small delegation then negotiated with the chamber of commerce in Łódź, and aided by a generous bribe, the plan was approved. The Jewish tailors were employed in the Guenther Schwartz workshops, producing German army apparel.[4]

The German authorities established the Brzeziny ghetto in April 1940 (some sources say May 1940) and ordered all the Jews in Brzeziny to move into the designated area. Roughly 6,000 Jews were imprisoned in the Brzeziny ghetto and were not permitted to leave its boundaries. The ghetto was surrounded by a fence. Occupants of buildings whose windows and doors looked out on to streets not within the ghetto's boundaries had to enter through interior courtyards or through openings in the interior walls.[5] The Gestapo created a Judenrat to replace the kehillah and appointed Fiszke Ikka, who had earlier been named the head of the kehillah, as the chairman of the ghetto. The Judenrat operated several departments focusing on: finance, housing, provisions, post office operations,

clothing manufacturing, a civil court, social welfare, and (security) police. Survivor testimony in the town's yizkor book suggests that Ikka was not well liked; Dr. Warhaft remarked that he "ruled as a dictator."[6] Nevertheless, some members of the previous Jewish committee served on the Judenrat, including Avraham Szafman as secretary and Yitzhak Dymant as head of the housing office. Ikka was a controversial figure: in a trial after the war, he was accused of having been a Gestapo agent who pointed out well-to-do Jews to the police, who would then arrest and extort money from them. Others testified, however, that he had no choice but to obey German orders. When his opponents in the Judenrat attempted to influence the Germans to appoint a different chairman, four of them—Zagon, Grynszpan, Stark, and Sender—were arrested and tortured. Three later returned to the ghetto, but Sender was killed.[7]

Brzeziny was a working ghetto, and people worked 12 hours a day, primarily in large tailoring workshops producing clothing for the German army. Approximately 90 percent of the Jewish population was employed in manufacturing work for the Guenther Schwartz and Forschter und Bunger firms, according to a member of the Judenrat's manufacturing committee. The committee also opened workshops to offer more employment, including a netting shop, which employed 9- and 10-year-old children. Moreover, the manufacturing committee embellished the statistical listing by adding children's names to it, to show a larger number of Jews employed. The Judenrat tried to find work for all employable Jews, to provide them with a means of subsistence and security against deportation. The German authorities continued to demand a daily quota of workers for hard labor after the ghetto was established and also deported young men to forced labor camps. Those who were sent were abused and subjected to terrible work conditions. A group of 150 young men taken to dig peat near Stryków in June 1941, for example, returned to the Brzeziny ghetto severely emaciated two months later. Another challenge the ghetto faced regarding labor was the German inspection teams and Gestapo agents from Łódź, which occasionally visited the tailoring workshops. The Gestapo demanded expensive gifts from the community, which contributed to the impoverishment of the Jewish population.[8]

The living conditions in the Brzeziny ghetto were harsh; Jews suffered in overcrowded and cold apartments and experienced hunger and deprivation. Under these conditions, diseases spread throughout the ghetto. The food allotment was 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of sugar, 200 grams (7 ounces) of flour, 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of margarine, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of honey, and small amounts of vegetables, soap, and coal weekly per person. Jews employed in the ghetto workshops could augment these rations by purchasing additional food with their small wage. They also received a daily bowl of soup and rations from their employers. To further supplement their food allotment, Jews also sold items of clothing made privately in a clandestine cottage industry. Polish neighbors provided food to the ghetto inmates as well—one baker prepared batches of bread especially for the Jewish population, which he had young children bring into the ghetto. Other sympathetic Poles also passed meat and other food products through the ghetto fence, often at no cost.[9]

A riskier illegal activity was smuggling, which was not uncommon in the ghetto. In the early history of the ghetto, it became established custom that when a smuggler was caught, the Jewish Police would confiscate the goods and the smuggler would pay a ransom for his or her release. If the smuggler was caught by the Gestapo, however, the punishment was more severe; one Jew received 50 lashes and was detained in the Gestapo building for 48 hours.[10] Later, smuggling and trading were more severely punished and were greatly curtailed because the fence was guarded more rigorously by German guards. The Jews in the Brzeziny ghetto then began to suffer more severely from malnutrition, which resulted in reduced productivity by the physically weakened workers. The German overseers in the workshops responded with reduced food rations, further exacerbating the situation, and with greater violence.[11]

The German authorities ordered a public hanging of 10 people on Purim in March 1942 as a punishment for smuggling. They ordered the Judenrat to select the victims, build the gallows on the site of the remains of the burned synagogue, and carry out the public execution. Germans posted notices announcing the execution and demanding that the entire Jewish population must witness it. The selected people were imprisoned smugglers and marginalized community members, including people who were mentally ill and homeless. After the hanging, all the Jews were forced to march past the scaffold with their faces towards the bodies.[12]

The work situation in the ghetto also deteriorated in 1942. German orders to the workshops declined and production slowed, then stopped. The Judenrat distributed funds to lessen the impact of the loss of income. The assistance did little to alleviate starvation throughout the ghetto, which was aggravated by the loss of rations from the workshops and food from trade and smuggling activity.[13] In April 1942, the Germans demanded that the Judenrat conduct a census to provide exact numbers for the ghetto population. At that time, a Gestapo agent ordered Dr. Warhaft, the ghetto doctor, to prepare a transport of typhus patients, who would be taken to a "special sanitorium." The medical personnel would be permitted to accompany them. Suspicious, Dr. Warhaft and his staff decided to send home the sick, and only those patients on their deathbeds remained in the 25-bed hospital when a closed van arrived the next morning. According to Dr. Warhaft, the truck's doors were hermetically sealed behind the sick inmates, who were suffocated by gas fumes. Rumors about an impending resettlement spread among the ghetto population at this time.[14]

All Jews were then ordered to appear before a German medical commission, and healthy Jews capable of work were stamped on the chest with an "A," while the elderly and the sick received a "B." The Germans tormented and maltreated the Jews, especially elderly men and women, by sexually harassing and humiliating them.[15]

The liquidation of the ghetto began on May 14–15, 1942, when Hans Biebow, the chief of the German administration of the Łódź ghetto, and members of the Gestapo arrived in the Brzeziny ghetto and ordered all Jews marked with a "B" and mothers with their children up to the age of 10 to assemble in the market square. Some 40 young people from the ghetto who accompanied them to assist the mothers witnessed the Aktion. The mothers and children were forced to wait all day. At 3:00 A.M., the Gestapo arrived, began beating them with whips, and ordered the mothers to hand over their children. A horrible tumult ensued. The Germans tore children away from their mothers, as the mothers cried, pleaded, and fought to save their children. One witness gave testimony that the Germans killed three babies by throwing them against the doors of the train. Their screaming mothers were shot. The children and the people from group "B," about 1,700 in total, were deported to the Chełmno extermination camp.[16]

Three days later, the final stage of the liquidation of the ghetto began on May 18, 1942. The Germans announced that the Jews could bring baggage up to 10 kilograms (22 pounds) and ordered them to assemble in front of their buildings in groups of 5. The Germans made another selection in the market square, and healthy men were sent off to work camps, while most people were deported to the Łódź ghetto via Gałkówek station. Younger Jews walked to Gałkówek, while others traveled by wagon. On the way, the Jews were beaten and a few were shot by the Germans. At the station, the Jews were loaded onto trains without their baggage and sent to the Łódź ghetto. Their baggage was returned to them in Łódź, less any food they brought with them, which was confiscated and sent to the ghetto's storehouses for general distribution. About 4,300 Jews from the Brzeziny ghetto arrived in three transports to the Łódź ghetto on May 18–20. About 300 Jews remained in the Brzeziny ghetto after its liquidation to clear out the ghetto area for the Germans; they were shot dead on August 22, 1942.[17]

In the Łódź ghetto, the new arrivals were immediately quarantined in apartments separate from the rest of the population to avoid a potential typhus epidemic, since there were cases of the disease among the Jews from Brzeziny. Following another selection completed in the Łódź ghetto, over 1,200 men were sent for forced labor to Dąbrowa. To avoid a transport for forced labor, 268 Jews from Brzeziny went into hiding and later reported their presence in the ghetto. The remaining Jews of Brzeziny suffered further despair when a rumor spread that 200 children had arrived on May 19; however, these children were all above age 10.[18] Heartbroken parents affected the mood of the Łódź ghetto, as local Jews began to wonder when their families would be torn apart.

Many of the Jews from Brzeziny who remained in the Łódź ghetto died of hunger and disease in the ghetto. Those still alive in August 1944 were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp during the liquidation of the Łódź ghetto. Only 200 to 300 Jews from Brzeziny survived the war from the pre-war population of about 6,850.[19]



Jews from the Brzeziny ghetto are marched through town en route to the Gałkówek railroad station, during the deportation Aktion of May 18–19, 1942.
USHMM WS #91561, COURTESY OF IPN

SOURCES The Brzeziny memorial book edited by A. Alperin and N. Summer, *Brzezin Yisker-Bukh* (New York and Israel: Brzeziner Book Committee, 1961), contains survivor testimonies on the history and fate of Brzeziny's Jewish community. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984) contains several references to the Brzeziny ghetto, including a report also published in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1946), pp. 223–225. Oskar Rosenfeld wrote about the Brzeziny ghetto in his diary, *In the Beginning Was the Ghetto: Notebooks from Łódź* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2002). The Brzeziny ghetto survivor George Fox's interview conducted in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, on July 12, 2006, was also referenced. There are encyclopedic entries in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 61–66; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), p. 119; Roman Mogilanski, ed., *The Ghetto*

Anthology: A Comprehensive Chronicle of the Extermination of Jewry in Nazi Death Camps and Ghettos in Poland (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration Camps, 1985), pp. 104–105; and Sara Neshamith, Shlomo Netzer, and Danuta Dąbrowska, "Brzeziny," in Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 4:230–231. There is also mention of the Brzeziny ghetto in Isaiah Trunk, *Łódź Ghetto: A History*, ed. Robert Moses Shapiro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); and in Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006).

Documentation on the Brzeziny ghetto can be found among other places in the YIVO Archive's Nachman Zonabend Collection, YIVO, RG 241 (folders 912, 916).

Rachel Iskov

NOTES

1. Dr. S. Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction of Our Shtetl: Recollections of the Ghetto Doctor," pp. 135–139, here 135; and Abraham Blanket-Sulkowicz, "Destruction of Brzezin," pp. 140–143, here 140—both in Alperin and Summer, *Brzezin Yisker-Bukh*.
2. Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," p. 135.
3. Ibid., pp. 135–136; and D. Tuszynski, "There Once Was a Jewish Shtetl Brzezin," in Alperin and Summer, *Brzezin Yisker-Bukh*, pp. 144–146, here 144.
4. Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," pp. 136–137; Tuszynski, "There Once Was," p. 145; and Dora Zagon-Winer, "I Saw the Hurbn," in Alperin and Summer, *Brzezin Yisker-Bukh*, pp. 147–148, here p. 147.
5. Dobroszycki, *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto*, pp. 182–183.
6. Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," p. 138; Tuszynski, "There Once Was," p. 145; Blanket-Sulkowicz, "Destruction of Brzezin," p. 141.
7. Rebecca Hendler-Gocial, "The Brzeziner Jewish Community during the Time of the Ghetto," in Alperin and Summer, *Brzezin Yisker-Bukh*, p. 156; and Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," p. 138.
8. Hendler-Gocial, "The Brzeziner Jewish Community," p. 156; Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," p. 138; Tuszynski, "There Once Was," p. 145.
9. Rosenfeld, *In the Beginning Was the Ghetto*, p. 107; Dobroszycki, *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto*, p. 183.
10. Dobroszycki, *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto*, p. 183; and PARI, interview of G. Fox.
11. Blanket-Sulkowicz, "Destruction of Brzezin," p. 141.
12. Ibid., p. 142; Zagon-Winer, "I Saw the Hurbn," p. 148.
13. Hendler-Gocial, "The Brzeziner Jewish Community," p. 156.
14. Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," pp. 138–139.
15. Ibid., p. 138; Blanket-Sulkowicz, "Destruction of Brzezin," p. 142; Tuszynski, "There Once Was," p. 145.
16. Tuszynski, "There Once Was," pp. 145–146; Rosenfeld, *In the Beginning Was the Ghetto*, p. 107; and interview of G. Fox.
17. Dobroszycki, *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto*, pp. 183–184; Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," p. 139; Blanket-Sulkowicz, "Destruction of Brzezin," p. 143; and interview of G. Fox.
18. Dobroszycki, *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto*, pp. 185, 217.
19. Warhaft, "I Saw the Destruction," p. 139.

BUGAJ (AND NOWINY BRDOWSKIE)

Pre-1939: Bugaj, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bugitten (and Neuhagen), Kreis Wartbrücken (Koło), Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Bugaj, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Bugaj and neighboring Nowiny Brdowskie are two villages in the community of Lubotyń, located 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Łódź. In the fall of 1940 both villages were turned into a *Dorfghetto* (village ghetto), occupying an area of about 300 hectares (741 acres) and containing about 165 houses that formerly had been owned by Polish farmers.[1] The German designation for the ghetto was "Jüdische Kolonie Bugitten und Neuhagen" (Jewish colony Bugitten and Neuhagen).[2] On October 2, 1940, all the Jews, approximately 240 people, from the village of Babiak (German: Waldau) were resettled into the ghetto. Also, part of the Jewish community of Koło (German: Wartbrücken) was assigned to the "Jewish colony" (about 150 to 200 families).[3] This brought the total number of people in the ghetto to about 800 (300 families). The ghetto residents were used for seasonal labor in the neighboring fields, farms, and estates. They fed themselves by selling their remaining possessions to non-Jews living in the area.[4] Archival material at the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO) in New York documents the harsh living conditions of the resettled Jews. In April 1941, the Jewish Council (Judenrat) reported to the "Service for Promotion of Agriculture among Jews," based in the Warsaw ghetto, that the condition of the agricultural buildings was terrible. The available livestock consisted of only seven horses and a score of goats and fowl. The Jewish Council planned to acquire more horses, chickens, and other animals, as well as to grow potatoes, corn, other vegetables, tobacco, and medicinal herbs.[5]

These plans were not realized. The Germans liquidated the ghetto and transported the residents to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they murdered them using gas vans on Tuesday, January 13, 1942. About 15 or 16 able-bodied Jews from Bugaj had been sent to Chełmno by the Gendarmerie a few days before, and some of them were assigned to the grave-digging section there. One of them, Michał Podchlebnik, wept bitterly on returning to the camp cellar on the evening of January 13, as he had been forced to unload the bodies of his wife and two children from the third van that arrived at the grave site.[6]

After the Jews were deported, the Germans ordered that the remaining buildings of the ghetto be demolished, and a forest was planted on the site.[7]

SOURCES The main literature dealing with the Bugaj ghetto includes: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 339, no. 3019; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 201; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (1972; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 113; and Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Die zweite Etappe ist der*

Tod: NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer. Ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941–1943 (Berlin: Hentrich, 1993).

Primary sources regarding the ghetto in the villages of Bugaj and Nowiny Brdowskie can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (AJDC 210/123 [Jüdische Gemeinde in Bugitten und Nowiny Brdowskie an AJDC in Warsaw, January 1941]; and Ring I/152, 255, 382, 394, 665, 972, and 1219); IPN (ASG, sygn. 54, p. 103); ITS; USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 16); YIVO (Wassermann collection, document 48a); and YVA. Further information on archival sources can be found in *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 132, 136, 169. The court testimony of a survivor from the Bugaj ghetto can be found in Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), pp. 119–124.

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NOTES

1. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 339.
2. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 201.
3. Ibid.; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 59; D. Dabrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 169, table 12.
4. AŻIH, Ring I/152, report on the Chełmno extermination camp by "Szlamek," published in Sakowska, *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod*, pp. 159–185, here p. 176; and USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (IPN) ASG, województwo poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 103 and reverse.
5. YIVO, Wassermann collection, document 48a.
6. AŻIH, Ring I/152, report on the Chełmno extermination camp by "Szlamek," and Ring I/665; Pawlicka-Nowak, *Chełmno Witnesses Speak*, pp. 11, 119–124, 204–205. The testimony of Michał Podchlebnik given to the Polish authorities on June 9, 1945, is on pp. 119–124; a photograph of him is reproduced in Władysław Bednarz, ed., *Obóz straceń w Chełmnie nad Nerem* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1946), p. 11, which also includes the original Polish text of his testimony.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (IPN) ASG, województwo poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 103 and reverse.

CHOCZ

Pre-1939: Chocz, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Petershagen (1939–1943), Petersried (1943–1945), Kreis Kalisch, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Chocz, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Chocz is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of Kalisz. There were 99 Jews living in Chocz in 1921, constituting 5.6 percent of the total population.

On November 18, 1939, 44 Jewish residents of the village were deported to Kalisz, where Jews from throughout the Kreis were being concentrated while awaiting deportation into the Generalgouvernement. They were held there behind barbed wire in a temporary transit camp set up in the "Market Hall."

In the first months of 1940, most of the Chocz Jews who were being held in Kalisz were sent to Koźminek to work, around the time of the establishment of the Koźminek ghetto. Among these Jews may have been some who were sent initially to Łódź at the end of January 1940, only then to be returned to Kalisz after they were refused admittance to the city.

There were reportedly 40 Jews still living in Chocz in January 1940. As the German plan to clear the Wartheland of all its Jews during the winter of 1939–1940 encountered various difficulties and had to be postponed, a number of ghettos were established in the region.

A small ghetto was established in Chocz in March 1940. The local German Gendarmerie commander—Piechota—and his subordinates (i.e., Stefan Emanuel, Julian Peda, and Alfred Peda) were put in charge of the ghetto's affairs.

The ghetto had 39 residents, including a Polish woman married to a Jewish convert to Catholicism and their children. There was also one foreigner, a Jewish doctor from Berlin. The ghetto inmates were forced to perform cleaning jobs in the village, sweep streets, chop wood, and carry water for the Germans.

The ghetto consisted of a single house standing on a 100-square-meter (1,076 square feet) piece of land. There is no information on whether the ghetto was fenced off from the rest of the village or concerning living conditions for the Jews residing there. There were no outbreaks of epidemic disease.

The Chocz ghetto was liquidated after 12 months, in March 1941, when all its residents were transferred to the ghetto in Koźminek,[1] which was ultimately liquidated in July 1942.

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Tomasz Kawski and Monika Opioła, *Gminy żydowskie pogranicza Wielkopolski, Mazowsza, Małopolski i Śląska w latach 1918–1942* (Toruń: Wydawn. Adam Marszałek, 2008), pp. 131, 240, 245; A. Pakentreger, "Dzieje Żydów m. Kalisza i powiatu kaliskiego w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej (od 1940 do 9 sierpnia 1942 r.). Martyrologia i zagłada," *BŻIH*, nos. 2–3 (1980): 5; and Janusz Wróbel, *Przemiany ludnościowe spowodowane polityką okupanta hitlerowskiego w tzw. rejencji łódzkiej w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1987), pp. 169–171, 178.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTE

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 59 (Chocz), pp. 1–3.

CIECHOCINEK

Pre-1939: Ciechocinek, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Hermannsbad, Kreis Hermannsbad, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Ciechocinek, powiat Aleksandrowski, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Ciechocinek is located about 28 kilometers (17.5 miles) north-northwest of Włocławek. In 1921, there were 769 Jews out of

a total population of 2,451. A Jewish sanatorium opened in this famous spa resort in the early 1930s.

The first weeks of German occupation were relatively quiet in Ciechocinek. Only with the arrival of Gestapo representatives in the fifth week of the occupation did the situation deteriorate for the Jewish community. Decrees against the Jews were issued, forbidding them to walk on sidewalks, forcing them to pay special taxes, and requiring them to wear a yellow patch on the front and back of their clothes. The entire Jewish community was required to perform forced labor initially for no pay, often to the accompaniment of brutal beatings. Jews were also robbed of their possessions; business property was confiscated, leaving Jews without any means of earning a livelihood. The German authorities confiscated the better Jewish homes, forcing many Jews out onto the streets.[1] Some witnesses claim that this was the reason that a number of Jews were expelled to places in the Generalgouvernement in the fall of 1939, for example, to Wodzisław and towns in the vicinity of Siedlce. In any case, the number of Jews living in Ciechocinek declined considerably within a short time after the German occupation, probably to only about 120 people.

In 1940, the Germans forced the remaining Jews of the town into the former house of Lieb Wuzek. About 100 people were housed in this single building under terrible sanitary conditions. The residents suffered from hunger, overcrowding, and various diseases.[2] German documentation explicitly avoids the use of the term "ghetto" when describing the concentration of Jews onto certain streets or in single houses in this Kreis.[3] However, the Jewish survivors recall their experience in Ciechocinek as being forced into a ghetto for the Jews in the town.[4]

In 1941, all the adolescent Jews (about a dozen) in Ciechocinek were taken for forced labor in Inowrocław. On April 19, 1942, the German police "evacuated" all the remaining Jews from Ciechocinek. The inmates of the Wuzek house were brutally beaten and loaded onto waiting trucks. German police deported them to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were murdered using poison gas. On April 23, 1942, the Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad reported that all the Jews of the Kreis had been "evacuated," including 80 people from Ciechocinek. The deportation Aktion in Ciechocinek was conducted by the Schutzpolizei section stationed there.[5] A subsequent German report dated July 1, 1942, recorded that only a single Jew was living in Ciechocinek at that time.[6]

At the end of the war, only six Jewish survivors from the town returned to Ciechocinek in search of their relatives.[7]



A man and young boy stand outside the Café Gastronomja in Ciechocinek, May 20, 1934. This photograph was discovered at the Majdanek concentration camp following its liberation in July 1944.
USHMM WS #70456, COURTESY OF APMM

SOURCES This report on the Ciechocinek "ghetto" is based on two published sources: K.F. Thursh and M. Korzen, eds., *Wloclawek ve-ha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron* (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Włocławek in Israel and the USA, 1967), p. 186; and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 395–396.

Archival documentation concerning events in the Ciechocinek district (Kreis Hermannsbad) under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/ Bd. XXXVIII Polen, p. 37); IPN (RStiW 120); and USHMM (RG-15.013M).

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NOTES

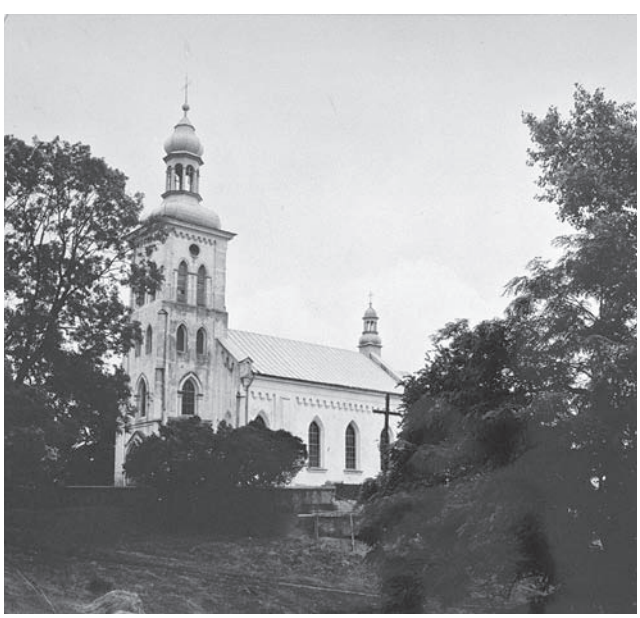
1. Thursh and Korzen, *Wloclawek ve-ha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron*, p. 186.
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, RG-15.013M (records of the Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad), reel 2, files 5 and 6. Several reports for the Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad from the end of 1940 until May 1941 mention the concentration and isolation of the Jews in certain towns but insist that no ghettos had been established.
4. Thursh and Korzen, *Wloclawek ve-ha-sevivah; Sefer zikaron*, p. 186.
5. USHMM, RG-15.013M (records of the Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad), reel 2, file 7, Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad an den Kommandeur der Gendarmerie bei dem Regierungspräsidenten in Hohensalza, April 23, 1942.
6. IPN, RStiW 120, folder 47, Regierungspräsident Hohensalza, "Breakdown of the population according to ethnic origin (Volkstum), as of July 1, 1942."
7. BA-L, B 162, Bd. XXXVIII Polen, p. 37.

DĄBIE NAD NEREM

Pre-1939: Dąbie nad Nerem (Yiddish: Dombie), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Eichstädt, Kreis Wartbrücken, Regierunsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Dąbie, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Dąbie is located on the Ner River about 16 kilometers (10 miles) to the southeast of Koło. There were probably around 1,100 Jews in Dąbie at the outbreak of World War II in September 1939.

German forces occupied Dąbie in mid-September 1939. Soon after their arrival, they insisted on removing Jews from the town's administration and ordered the Jews to present themselves for forced labor. By mid-October, the German authorities had confiscated several Jewish businesses, appointing German trustees in charge. During the first weeks of the occupation, Jews were humiliated, being forced to perform gymnastics on the market square, and were rounded up for forced labor. In December 1939, Jews were ordered to wear yellow Stars of David. At this time Jews were also forbidden to use the sidewalks.[1] The Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the town, chaired by Josef Dyament. Other members included Lejb Strykowski, Pinkas Elbojm, Mosze Gostyński, Gerszon Engel, and Chaim Elie Lewin. Initially, the Germans appointed a local ethnic German, Nelter, as mayor of the town, but within a few weeks he was replaced by another ethnic German named Woltmann. By 1940, a German from the Reich had been appointed mayor of Dąbie.[2]



A church in Dąbie used in the liquidation of the ghetto's Jews at the Chełmno killing center photographed as part of a war-crimes investigation by the Tribunal of Łódź, ca. June 1945. The church was not a place of worship during the war.
USHMM WS #65656, COURTESY OF MUZEUM OKRĘGOWE KONIN

In the spring of 1940, the Jewish community in Dąbie applied for help from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw. However, an initial payment of 4,000 złoty was not received until May 1940, owing to the need to obtain approval from the German Currency Office (Devisenstelle). This money was used to distribute bread, flour, and sugar to more than 75 needy families, but further support from the AJDC was then interrupted due to German objections. The aid committee, also headed by Josef Dyament, raised some money within the Jewish community in order to maintain welfare efforts, and in September 1940 it opened a bakery. Profits from the bakery were used to provide bread to needy families, but in December 1940 the bakery was forced to close, owing to objections by the local ethnic German bakers. A further subvention of 500 Reichsmark (RM) was received from the AJDC in December 1940, which was used to aid 70 needy families, but after this date there is no further correspondence regarding welfare matters.[3]

The German authorities established a ghetto in Dąbie in the summer of 1940 on Kiliński Street.[4] The ghetto contained about 1,100 Jews, and up to 10 people had to share one home. It remained an open ghetto throughout its existence, but Jews were only allowed to leave it with a special pass. The synagogue and the Bet Midrash were converted into storage areas by the Germans. The inhabitants of the ghetto were employed in various craft shops in the town and also cleaned the town's streets and parks.[5] At the end of the summer of 1941, about 200 Jews—150 men and 50 women—were deported to two labor camps in the Poznań region. Most of those who survived these forced labor camps were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp from the fall of 1942.

On hearing news on December 9, 1941, of the deportation of the Jews from the nearby Koło ghetto, the Jewish Council in Dąbie sent a man named Volkevitsh to Koło to try to discover what had happened to the Jews there.[6] The liquidation of the Dąbie ghetto started on December 14, 1941. First the mayor summoned Josef Dyament and informed him that the Jews were being sent out of the town. German police forces then rounded up the remaining Jews on the market square—just less than 1,000 people—and concentrated them in the theater and the church. Here they were beaten, and the rabbi was threatened with a revolver and forced to scream that the war was the fault of the Jews. On the next morning, the Jews were released back to their homes, but soon afterwards the mayor ordered 6 men to report for work, and they were sent to the Chełmno extermination center, where they joined the gravedigger detachment that worked in the forest. On December 17, 1941, the Jews were gathered again in the theater and the church, and after being beaten there and tormented, on December 18–19 they were deported on trucks to Chełmno, where they were murdered by poison gas.[7] After the deportation, the belongings of the Jews were collected and also stored in the church.[8]

A few survivors of the camps returned to Dąbie in 1945, but these people left soon afterwards, and the Jewish community in Dąbie was not reconstituted.



A house where Jewish victims' belongings were kept photographed as part of a war-crimes investigation by the Tribunal of Łódź, ca. June 1945. USHMM WS #51703, COURTESY OF IPN

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Dąbie during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Danuta Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 122–184, pp. 136, 169; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 149, no. 729; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 86.

Primary sources on the Dąbie ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I/394 and I/799; 210/314); IPN (ASG sygn. 54, p. 93); USHMM (RG-15.079M; RG-15.019M, reel 16 [ASG, vol. 54]; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/314); USHMMPA (2005.429.1); VHF (# 7567); and YVA.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 38, Ring I/799; and VHF, # 7567, testimony of Martin Gruenfeld.
2. USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 38, Ring I/799.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/314.
4. Ibid., RG-15.079M, reel 38, Ring I/799. RG-15.019M, reel 16, ASG, vol. 54 (województwo poznańskie), p. 93 (Dąbie), gives the date of July 15, 1941, for the establishment of the ghetto and states that it was on Kiliński and Pilsudski Streets.
5. Ibid., RG-15.079M, reel 38, Ring I/799.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., RG-15.079M, reel 14, Ring I/394, and reel 38, Ring I/799; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 437. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas hakehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 86, claims that there were about 1,000 inhabitants of the ghetto at that time. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 149, put the number at about 920.
8. USHMMPA, WS # 51704 and 51707.

DOBRA

Pre-1939: Dobra, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Doberbühl, Kreis Turek, initially Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Dobra, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

The town of Dobra is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) northwest of Łódź. The 1921 census registered 1,207 Jews living in Dobra.

As soon as the town was occupied, the Wehrmacht shot 10 residents, including both Poles and Jews. Wehrmacht forces and a detachment of the German Gendarmerie were permanently stationed in Dobra. A German named Schweikert was nominated as the Kreis administrator; after the ghetto's establishment, he was placed in charge of its affairs.

Mordka Francuz was the chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Judenrat conscripted Jews for labor that consisted of cleaning for the Wehrmacht and manual gravel extraction for road repair projects. As the Germans decided to redesign the center of the town, its streets were widened, and the rows of tenement houses on the market square and on Kilińskiego Street were demolished.

Some of the better-off Jewish families were driven out of their houses and businesses, which were given in turn to Germans and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). The synagogue and two adjoining houses were razed in December 1939; other sources mention that the synagogue was converted into an officers' mess (*Kasino*).

Restrictions imposed on the community included a 7:00 P.M. to 8:00 A.M. curfew, which was so strictly enforced that several Jews were shot for disobeying it. The number of people allowed to attend Jewish funerals was limited to six. Jews above the age of six were obliged to wear a yellow patch with a Star of David emblem sewn on the front and back of their clothing. The word "Jude" also had to be written inside the star using Hebrew-like letters.[1]

In May 1940, German soldiers stationed in Dobra were sent to fight in France and were replaced by another group that was more hostile to the Jewish population.

In the summer or fall of 1940, as survivor Benjamin Jacobs reported: "the Nazis decided to clear Dobra's slums and create a ghetto there." The ghetto was located in the town's center, around Składkowskie and Tylna Streets. Jewish families who already lived there were allowed to keep only one room for

themselves and had to give up the rest to those moving in from other parts of Dobra. Jacobs estimates that the ghetto held 300 to 400 Jews. Throughout its existence its population had no access to medical assistance. The ghetto remained unfenced, but Jews were ordered not to leave it. Trade with Poles took place in secluded parts of the ghetto.[2]

In May 1941, Schweikert ordered the Judenrat to deliver men aged 15 to 60 for labor. Only one man in each family could remain in Dobra; the selection was left to the family. According to Jacobs, laborers were dispatched by trucks to a labor camp in Steineck, near Poznań.[3]

The Dobra ghetto was liquidated on October 3, 1941, and its Jews were deported to the gmina of Kowale Pańskie, where Jews from other towns in the Kreis (including Turek, Tuliszków, and Uniejów) were also transferred. Jechewet Trzaskała was registered as "deceased" in the course of the deportation from Dobra.

On October 20, 1941, the Kowale gmina and the settlements it encompassed became a so-called rural ghetto under the collective name of Kowale Pańskie. Such rural ghettos were erected for Jews deported from nearby towns, but they were treated by the Germans only as a temporary holding place. In Kowale, Jews were quartered in houses and farm buildings of evicted Polish farmers; some Poles remained there and were forced to house several Jewish families on their farms.[4]

In December 1941, the Judenrat in Kowale was ordered to select 1,100 Jews deemed unfit for labor, who were then deported via Dobra to the newly opened Chełmno extermination camp.[5] The final liquidation of the Kowale ghetto took place at the end of July 1942, when its remaining residents were sent to Chełmno for extermination.

SOURCES Most of the information regarding the Dobra ghetto comes from Benjamin Jacobs, *The Dentist of Auschwitz: A Memoir* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995). The same survivor also has a testimony in VHF (# 17426).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. See the Web site www.dobra.net.pl/dobra/strony/historia.htm; VHF, # 17426, testimony of Benjamin Jacobs, 1996; Jacobs, *The Dentist of Auschwitz*, pp. 20, 22–23, 25, 29.

2. See www.dobra.net.pl/dobra/strony/historia.htm; VHF, # 17426. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 202, 205, dates the formation of the Dobra ghetto in December 1940, citing OKBZHŁ, KO 13/85, p. 50, and describes it, however, as having been enclosed.

3. VHF, # 17426.

4. Czesław Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce i na Ziemi Łódzkiej (Kraj Warty)* (Poznań: Wyd. Lektor, 1993), p. 159; Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961), p. 226; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: województwo konińskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1981), p. 21.

5. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu*, pp. 167–168.

GĄBIN

Pre-1939: Gąbin (Yiddish: Gombin), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Gombin, Kreis Gostynin, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Gąbin, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Gąbin is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Łódź. On the eve of World War II the Jewish population of Gąbin was 2,312.[1] German troops captured Gąbin on September 17, 1939. In the first days of occupation a German military administration was in control of the town. At this time the synagogue was burned down, and the rabbi was arrested and probably murdered. Soon Jewish stores were confiscated, and some Jews were evicted from their homes to make room for ethnic German families. In October 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of six persons, was established. The head of the Judenrat was Mosze Want; his brother served as head of the Jewish Police. The tasks of the Jewish Council included the preparation of identification registers and the collection of items demanded by the German authorities.[2] Forced labor was a key element in the persecution process from the start. Initially, Jews were kidnapped on the streets and were put to work clearing debris left from the bombardment of the city. Subsequently the Judenrat organized the compulsory forced labor imposed by the Germans on all Jewish men aged between 18 and 60.

According to a census conducted by the authorities in Hohensalza in December 1939, the Jewish population of Gąbin consisted of 1,949 Jews and 5,501 non-Jewish inhabitants.[3]

The first signs of a large Aktion against the Jews came on April 20, 1940, when a large number of German policemen arrived from Gostynin and the neighboring villages. During this Aktion the Jews were forced out of their houses and beaten with sticks and whips. Elderly and sick people were killed. Dozens of Jews were locked in the local pub guarded by the SS, where they were beaten with metal chains to force them to pay a large ransom. Such incidents happened repeatedly. Even the young son of the head of the Jewish Councils and a 14-year-old girl named Hanna Klinger were murdered. The following people were particularly brutal towards the Jews: Gustav Kramer, a pre-war resident of Gąbin and an active member of the Hitler Youth during the occupation, and others including Heinz Mass, Braun, Heiniger, and Schumacher.[4]

The Gąbin ghetto was established by August 1941. It was located in the southeast part of town. It was surrounded by Kiliński Street, Poprzeczna Street, Cmentarna Street, and parts of Suchy Pień Street. Poles who lived in houses located in the ghetto area were moved out and received mostly small former Jewish apartments.[5] The mayor, Rode, was responsible for the maintenance of the ghetto. The following people occupied this position during the occupation: Ferdinand Schneider, Rode, Erich Ratzlaff, and Richard Hacke.[6] At first the ghetto was "open." That is, Jews could still contact the non-Jewish section of the population relatively easily. Subsequently,

the ghetto was surrounded by a fence and strictly guarded. The guards were ordered to shoot anybody who came close to the ghetto fence or who attempted to escape from the ghetto. In spite of the harsh conditions, such as the confined space and the prevalence of disease, especially typhus, school education continued within the enclosed ghetto under the supervision of Pola Pindek and Hinda Brzezinska.[7] A.L. Gips managed financial resources received from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). The money donated by people in the ghetto helped to establish a communal kitchen for the poor and the distribution of clothes and medicine. However, conditions in the ghetto became so harsh that the Jewish Council requested help in an official letter. In the middle of 1941, the German authorities started to deport Jewish men from Gąbin to forced labor camps around Poznań. The Jewish Council was forced to prepare the lists of the men to be transferred. When news arrived about the terrible living conditions in these labor camps, the Jews were no longer prepared to report as requested. The German police and the Jewish ghetto police then conducted raids in the ghetto, dragging the men from their apartments.

In 1942, a total of 2,150 people were registered in the Gąbin ghetto. Among them were 250 Jews who had been driven into the ghetto from the surrounding area.[8] In March 1942, a group of about 500 men was deported from the ghetto to the labor camp of Konin-Czarków (Gemeinschaftslager der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, no. 23 Konin). Before the deportation Aktion took place, the head of the local labor department personally shot the following people: Albert Eichelt, a printer; Majer Kielbert, a trader; and Moszke Geista, the night guard on the local estate. According to the available death records from just one of the labor camps, at least 23 Jews from Gąbin died there between 1942 and 1943.[9] Sick and elderly people who were not able to work were transferred to the extermination camp at Chełmno and killed. The liquidation of the ghetto was carried out between April 12 and April 14, 1942. The Jews were told that they had to pay a fee of 8 Reichsmark (RM) per person in order to be sent to other ghettos in the "Wartheland." However, they were sent to Chełmno to be gassed.[10] The following units participated in this Aktion: Schutzpolizei, Auxiliary Police (Selbstschutz), the SS, and the local Gendarmerie (Gendarmerieposten Gombin). Some local German residents also took part in the Aktion. At first, the Jews were herded to the Strażacki Square, where many of the victims were beaten, and some of the sick Jews, such as Rafal Mejdat with his wife Hanna and the tailor Żolna, were shot by the SS. The Jews were kept on the square for two to three days before facing a selection among the men, women, and children. The local Polish inhabitants were strictly forbidden to approach the Jews or give them food. However, some local residents managed to bring bread and water to the captives. The only provisions the Jews received from the German authorities for almost three days was a barrel of unclean water from the local pond. After a couple of days, the square became too small for all the gathered Jews. The first transport of 1,900 people was sent to Chełmno.[11]

One week after the liquidation of the Gąbin ghetto, the remaining Jewish property was auctioned off to the local population. The German authorities took the most valuable items, while any worthless remaining Jewish property was simply burned. In May 1942, the Germans settled Poles into the former Jewish residences in the ghetto area. In exchange, the former Polish houses were given to ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) resettled from Romania to Gąbin. Between August and September 1942 the Jewish cemetery was destroyed.[12] Of the 2,312 prewar Jews residing in Gąbin, only 212 survived. Of these, just 32 survived the forced labor and concentration camps, were hidden by non-Jews, or lived on the Aryan side; the remainder had escaped to the interior of the Soviet Union.[13]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Gąbin can be found in the following publications: Jack Zicklin et al., eds., *Gombin: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Town in Poland* (New York: Gombiner Landsmanshaft in Amerike, 1969); Janusz Szczepański, *Dzieje Gąbina do roku 1945* (Warsaw, 1984); Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: PWN, 1997), vol. 1; Danuta Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955); and Janusz Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach gostynińskim i kutnowskim," in *W 45 rocznicę zagłady skupisk żydowskich w Kraju Warty* (Zduńska Wola, 1987).

Documentation regarding the Gąbin ghetto can be found in the following archives: APŁ (sygn. 29698, Ghettoverwaltung); APP (sygn. 594, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland); AŻIH (sygn. Ring I/108); OKŚZpNPŁdz; USCK (Death books of the concentration camp Konin-Czarków); USHMM (2002.199.1); VHF; and YVA.

Anna Ziółkowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Szczepański, *Dzieje Gąbina*, p. 52; M. Chudzyński, ed., *Dzieje Gostynina i ziemi gostynińskiej* (Warsaw, 1990), p. 229; Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich," p. 168, table 11.
2. H. Krzewińska, "Zagłada Żydów gąbińskich," part II, in *Notatki Płockie* (Płock, 2000), no. 4/185, p. 18.
3. APP, sygn. 594, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland, p. 17.
4. J. Borysiak, "W 50 rocznicę likwidacji getta. Prześladowanie i zagłada ludności żydowskiej Gąbina," in *Notatki Płockie* (Płock, 1992) no. 4/153, p. 37; Krzewińska, "Zagłada Żydów gąbińskich," part II, p. 19.
5. OKŚZpNPŁdz, sygn. OKŁ Ko 11/83, against Z. Tancer, J. Oziemski, J. Sobieski, and J. Matuszewski; OKŚZpNPŁdz, sygn. OKŁ Ko 27/83, against Z. Pytl; IPN, sygn. Zh III/31/35/68, getta, woj. warszawskie.
6. J. Borysiak, "Kalendarium wojny i okupacji w Gąbinie 1939–1945" (unpublished manuscript) p. 2; O. Budrewicz, "Ostatni polski mennonita," *Perspektywy*, no. 38 (1976).
7. Krzewińska, "Zagłada Żydów gąbińskich," part II, p. 19. Before the German occupation, both women had worked as teachers in Polish schools.

8. Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich," p. 168, table 11.

9. APŁ, Gettoverwaltung, sygn. 29698, pp. 110–117, 63–65; USCK, Death books of the labor camp Konin-Czarków; Jack Frankel, "Gombin Children in the Camps," in Zicklin, *Gombin: The Life and Destruction*, pp. 79–82.

10. Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, 1:65–70.

11. Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach gostynińskim i kutnowskim," p. 14.

12. Szczepański, *Dzieje Gąbina*, p. 282.

13. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), 7:235; APŁ, Akta Gąbina, sygn. 763, p. 125—report from the town council to the elder of the region in Gostynin on February 4, 1946, which states that 16 Jews were saved; Krzewińska, "Zagłada Żydów gąbińskich," part II, p. 24. Elisabeth Bates from Gąbin survived on the "Aryan" side on false papers; see USHMM, 2002.199.1.



Jewish men wearing triangular badges walk along a street in the Gostynin ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS # 33442, COURTESY OF GFH

GOSTYNIN

Pre-1939: Gostynin, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Gasten (renamed Walderode from September 12, 1943), Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Gostynin, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Gostynin is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) north of Łódź. On the eve of war in August 1939, 2,269 Jews were living in the town.[1]

German troops occupied Gostynin on September 16, 1939. Despoliation, humiliation, beatings, and killings followed in the months after.

At the end of December 1939, 2,051 Jews were still residing in Gostynin, which had a total population of 9,744.[2] The German occupation authorities ordered the demolition of the Bet Midrash and used the wood from the ruins as heating material. After German forces had burned down the synagogue in November 1939, they levied a contribution of 10,000 złoty on the Jewish community, to be paid on the following day. This was the first of a series of financial demands made by the German authorities, including one for 25,000 Reichsmark (RM) in December 1939 and another for 5,000 RM in February 1940. This last demand produced only 3,300 RM. As a result, SS forces were sent to check every Jewish household, collecting the remaining amount by violent means.[3]

Sources disagree about the date on which the ghetto was established, but it was probably on March 15, 1941.[4] It encompassed the right side of Zamkowa Street from the market square to Bagnista Street. It also included one house on Bagnista Street and one house on Piłsudski Street. On the left-hand side, the ghetto area extended from Olszowa Street and from Piłsudski Street to the Skrwa River. The area of the ghetto was 1.5 hectares (3.7 acres).[5] Initially the ghetto was open, but later it was strictly isolated from the outside world. It was surrounded by barbed wire and a wooden fence. At first the residents of the ghetto maintained frequent contact with the Polish population, who were always willing to exchange groceries for craft products. But this period of relatively easy contact between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds was brief. During this period, Itsak (Antek) Cukierman came to the ghetto several times in his capacity as leader of the Hechaluts-Dror organization. Among the Germans, the following individuals acted in a particularly hostile manner towards the Jews: Jacob Pohl (the owner of a store selling metal products), Buder, Gustav Baum Arendt (partner of the company Arendt & Wilhelm, Hoch- und Tiefbau), Gustav Ilichmann, Weiland (the head of the labor office), and Hein (a shoemaker).[6]

On the orders of the German authorities a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, and among others, individuals named Zając and Burak became members. A Jewish police force was also established, among whose tasks was to control—from inside the boundaries—entry into and exit from the ghetto. Outside the ghetto, the German Order Police (Gendarmerie and Schutzpolizei) were in charge and were assisted by the local auxiliary police. In accordance with the German authorities' orders, a number of Jews worked for companies outside the ghetto area in tailor workshops, in laundry shops, or in the fields. They were also used for construction projects, including the destruction of churches in Gostynin.[7]

The food ration for the Jews consisted of 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per day, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of fat per week, 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of sugar per month, and a quarter of a liter (half a pint) of milk daily. The Jews who worked outside the ghetto received an additional 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread.[8] In the spring of 1941, a fire decreased the ghetto to only half of its size, with only the western section of the ghetto remaining. According to German sources, their troops accidentally set the buildings on fire on their way to the east. However, the majority of the local population of Gostynin, Jews and Poles, believed that the Germans intentionally set the ghetto on fire.[9] After this incident, living conditions deteriorated considerably inside the ghetto. Two or more families had to live crammed together in one small apartment. There were also

10 Jewish families from Gdynia and Pomorze in the ghetto. These people had fled from the Generalgouvernement and became trapped in the Gostynin ghetto. One Jewish woman from Palestine was in the ghetto as well.

In June 1941, the first cases of typhus were recorded in the ghetto. Two Jewish medics from the Koło ghetto were sent to Gostynin to care for the patients. The Jews living in the ghetto received help from the Polish population, especially deliveries of food. There were some cases in which Polish families hid Jews. The Piechowicz family on Trakt Gąbin Street hid Moszek Dancyger throughout the occupation; the Sadowski family hid Berl Lejwin and his wife and daughter.[10]

In the spring of 1941, the Germans started to deport Jewish young men and women to labor camps in the Poznań region, including the Chodzież camp, called Kolmar in German. In March 1942, a number of Jewish men were transferred to labor camp number 23 in Konin-Czarków (Gemeinschaftslager der Deutschen Arbeitsfront). One German company, Otto Trebitz, Tiefbau, employed 71 Gostynin Jews from this camp on the construction of a railway line. Altogether 850 people from Kreis Gasten were deported to this camp. On February 14, 1942, a poll tax of 8 RM per person was levied on the residents of the ghetto. In the ghettos of Reichsgau Wartheland this tax was a signal of the impending deportation to the extermination camp in Chełmno.

The liquidation of the ghetto took place on April 16–17, 1942. Women with children and also the sick and the elderly—altogether about 350 families—were sent to Chełmno. In total, some 2,000 Jews from Gostynin were murdered in the Chełmno camp. Only about 30 Gostynin Jews survived the war in Poland under German occupation.[11]

Jewish patients in Gostynin's ward for the mentally ill were exterminated within the framework of the T4 euthanasia program. In early 1940, the authorities ordered that Jewish patients be separated from Polish patients. The extermination of the Jewish patients began on February 27, 1940, when Gestapo men from Płock took away 3 men and 3 women and shot them in the forest near Łąck on Górskie Lake. Those who remained met a similar fate in subsequent transports.[12] In each of these cases, the Gestapo demanded that the patients be released to them on the basis of an order in their possession. It was established that before the war all of these patients had received medical treatment at the expense of the places from which they came. On October 22, 1940, 15 men and 7 women were deported to the institution in Kobierzyn near Kraków. During the first days of June 1941, the German authorities conducted a selection among those who were sick and unable to work. All of the sick Jews were selected. On June 9, 1941, 12 men and 10 women were taken to an institution for the poor in Śrem, close to Poznań. These were the last of the mentally ill Jews from the Gostynin hospital. Between June 10 and June 12, 1941, they were taken from Śrem to a forest in the vicinity of Mosina near Poznań, and there they were murdered, poisoned with fumes in a gas truck. This Aktion was conducted by a special SS unit, called Sonderkommando Lange (named after its head, SS-Obersturmführer/Kriminalkommissar Herbert Lange) made up of Gestapo officers.[13]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Gostynin and the ghetto can be found in the following publications: Y.M. Biderman, ed., *Pinkes Gostynin: Yizkor Bukh* (New York: Gostynin Yizkor Book Committee, 1960); Marian Chudzynski, ed., *Dzieje Gostynina i ziemi gostynińskiej* (Warsaw, 1990); Danuta Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955); Janusz Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach gostynińskiej i kutnowskim," in *W 45 rocznicę zagłady skupisk żydowskich w Kraju Warty* (Zduńska Wola, 1987); and Marian Kaczmarek, "Eutanazja," *Kraju Warty*, *Kronika wielkopolski* (Poznań), no. 1 (36) (1985).

Documents on the Gostynin ghetto can be found in the following archives: APP (Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland, sygn. 594 and 2111); and AŻIH (Ring I, no. 952).

Anna Ziółkowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Claire Rosenson

NOTES

1. Chudzyński, *Dzieje Gostynina*, pp. 229, 311; Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich," p. 168, table 11.
2. APP, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland (Reichsstatthalter), sygn. 594, p. 17.
3. R. Sakowska, "Relacje Daniela Fligelmana czfonka 'Oneg Szabat'," *BŻIH*, no. 1-2/137-138, pp. 188–189.
4. B. Konarska-Pabiniak, *Gostynin. Szkice z przeszłości* (Gostynin, 2004), p. 40, gives the date of March 15, 1941, for the establishment of the ghetto in Gostynin; see also Sakowska, "Relacje Daniela Fligelmana," p. 189; Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach," p. 3; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 186.
5. Konarska-Pabiniak, *Gostynin*, p. 40; Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach," p. 5.
6. APPł, Akta Miasta Płocka, Zarząd Miejski w Gostyninie. Referat Administracyjny. Rejestracja Zbrodni Niemieckich 1945, sygn. 123.
7. Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach," p. 7.
8. Konarska-Pabiniak, *Gostynin*, p. 40.
9. Chudzyński, *Dzieje Gostynina*, p. 540.
10. APP, Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 2111, pp. 262–264; Chudzynski, *Dzieje Gostynina*, pp. 540–542.
11. R. Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy* (Warsaw, PWN, 1997), 1:25, 27; AŻIH, Ring I/57, letter of M. Habergryc on February 17, 1942, to his family in the Warsaw ghetto regarding the impending liquidation Aktion; Chudzyński, *Dzieje Gostynina*, p. 542.
12. E. Wilczkowski, "Los chorych psychicznie w szpitalu dla psychicznie i nerwowo chorych w Gostyninie w latach okupacji niemieckiej," *Rocznik Psychiatryczny* (Warsaw) 37:1 (1945): 104–112.
13. Ibid.; Kaczmarek, "Eutanazja," p. 78; Z. Jaroszewski, ed., *Zagłada chorych psychicznie w Polsce 1939–1945* (Warsaw, 1993), p. 138; OKŚZpNPPoz, sygn. OKP. I.S. 24/67.

GRABÓW

Pre-1939: Grabów, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Grabow, Landgemeinde in Kreis Lentschütz (Łęczyca), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Grabów, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Grabów is located 52 kilometers (32.5 miles) north of Łódź and 17 kilometers (11 miles) northeast of Łęczyca. The 1921 official census recorded 915 Jews out of a total population of 1,658—or 55.2 percent.

German forces occupied Grabów about a week after the start of the invasion on September 1. Soon after their arrival, German forces temporarily rounded up all men aged between 16 and 30. In the fall of 1939, Jewish males, including young boys, were captured and sent to perform forced labor.[1] At this time, Jews who had escaped from other regions of the German occupation settled in Grabów. For January 1, 1940, it is reported that 142 of the 967 Jews living in Grabów were refugees.[2] By December 1940, the number of refugees had declined somewhat to 60 people out of a total population of 960. The refugees came from Pomerania, Poznań, Kalisz, and Łódź.[3] Not much is known about antisemitic events in Grabów following the German occupation. Michael Alberti states that the Jewish population lived widely spread among the Germans and other non-Jews, and therefore it was impossible to impose restrictions on them, regulating the areas where they were allowed to live, or their access to certain areas of the town.[4]

Up until October 1940, there were 120 Jews employed by the authorities on local estates, receiving 50 Reichpfennigs per day. Initially the community was able to look after the refugees and impoverished Jews from its own funds, but by the end of 1940, 70 percent of the Jews were in need of help and local resources had been exhausted. Therefore, the Jewish aid committee in Grabów appealed urgently to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw for financial aid in December 1940, as scores of Jewish families were starving and freezing due to a lack of food and heating material.[5]

In 1941, the Germans began to concentrate the Jews in Landkreis Lentschütz. One of the designated concentration points was Grabów. Already in the first quarter of 1941, most likely in January, about 400 Jews arrived from nearby Łęczyca.[6] According to *Obozy hitlerowskie*, in February 1942 there was a ghetto in Grabów, and the Jews from Łęczyca were moved into this ghetto. The ghetto probably held about 1,200 people.

Jewish survivor Harry Jacuby also mentions a ghetto, noting it was formed by the time Jews were brought in from other towns. The Jews were all confined within the ghetto and not permitted to leave. Additional people were moved into the houses of those Jews who lived there previously. By this time most Jewish stores had been closed down or taken over by local ethnic Germans. As shortages increased, Jews sold their remaining property to buy bread.[7]

In the course of 1941, the Germans began to make use of the Jewish labor force by establishing, as in many other ghettos, a number of "workshops," mainly sewing workshops. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, a significant number of Jews was employed in these sites. The legal income provided here offered them a meager means of survival, as did smuggling and illicit commerce with the surrounding Polish population[8]—both indicators of the harsh living conditions in the ghetto.

During the summer of 1941, there were a series of roundups of younger Jews, who were sent away to forced labor camps, including a camp known as Dornfeld, near Poznań. For a time their parents who remained behind in the Grabów ghetto were able to send them packages with food and extra clothing, but afterwards this contact was broken off. Some of the youths who survived these forced labor camps were subsequently sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp and, if they survived the selections and other ordeals there, on to other camps.[9]

Grabów was located not far from the extermination camp in Chełmno, so it is not surprising that the Jews of Grabów were among the first to learn about the events taking place there, once the Germans had commenced the mass murder of the Jews in Warthegau during the winter of 1941–1942. By January of 1942, the rabbi of Grabów sent a letter describing the Chełmno extermination camp to the Jewish Council in the Łódź ghetto, but the letter did not arrive there until the summer. An eyewitness who had escaped from Chełmno and arrived in Grabów in the second half of January 1942 provided details about the extermination of the Jews.[10] Similar postcards with coded references to the fate of the Jews of the region around Grabów were also sent by the rabbi and other inhabitants of the town to relatives in the Warsaw ghetto.[11] As a result of this knowledge, some Jews tried to escape from the town and to reach the Generalgouvernement. Others tried to get back to Łęczyca, where they had come from originally. But not many succeeded, and the majority of the Grabów Jews had no place to escape to. In April 1942, the Jews in Grabów, around 1,240 people, were taken to the extermination camp at Chełmno and killed.[12]

SOURCES A detailed description of the Jewish community of Grabów can be found in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 84–85. One of the earliest mentions of the Grabów ghetto can be found in *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 137, 161. The fate of the Jewish population of Grabów is also documented in Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 201–202. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), mentions Grabów on p. 190.

Archival sources on the fate of the Jewish community of Grabów during the Holocaust include the following: AŻIH (Ring I/549 and 210/351); IPN (kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC 210/351]); VHF (# 9788); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 9788, testimony of Harry Jacuby.
2. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 84.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/351, Jüdische Hilfskomiteet an AJDC Warsaw, December 18, 1940.
4. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 201.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/351, Jüdische Hilfskomiteet an AJDC Warsaw, December 18, 1940.
6. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 84; Yitzhak Frenkel, ed., *Sefer Linshitz* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Leczyca in Israel, 1953), pp. 182–83.
7. VHF, # 9788.
8. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 85.
9. VHF, # 9788.
10. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. xx–xxi.
11. Manfred Struck, ed., *Chelmno/Kulmhof: Ein vergessener Ort des Holocaust?* (Bonn/Berlin: gegen Vergessen—Für Demokratie e.V., 2001), pp. 91–95.
12. Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), p. 84.

GRODZIEC

Pre-1939: Grodziec (Yiddish: Gruyets), village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Grossdorf, Kreis Konin, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Grodziec, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

The village of Grodziec is located 8 kilometers (5 miles) southwest of Rychwał. The 1921 census registered 107 Jewish residents.

In November or December 1939, the German authorities expelled approximately 300 Jews from Rychwał to Grodziec. Each of the newcomers was permitted to take with them up to 13 to 14 kilograms (30 pounds) of belongings. According to one of the expellees, survivor Lena Obar, each Grodziec family had to take in up to three families from Rychwał. She recalls life in Grodziec as very depressing, particularly due to the housing situation, as people were forced to sleep on the floor. As regards labor, Obar stated that the Jews did not have to work "too much." She also described Grodziec "as a little ghetto" on her arrival.[1]

Most sources date the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1940, when the remaining Jews of Kreis Konin were deported to a network of so-called hamlet ghettos (*Dorfghettos*) in the southern part of the Kreis; one of them was Grodziec and its adjoining settlements.

According to Ryszard Głoszkowski, the Germans planned to build a military training ground in the southern part of the Kreis and so wanted to depopulate the area of all its inhabitants; however, on July 14, 1940, the plan was postponed "until the end of the war," and "for this reason the deportations from the area were delayed." The temporary abandonment of the construction of the training ground likely influenced the decision to concentrate the Jews of the Kreis in this area.

With the final expulsion of the Jews from Konin in mid-July 1940, some of its residents were resettled to the Grodziec ghetto. An account from the Ringelblum Archive, by an anonymous Jew from Konin, describes the deportation to the hamlet ghettos: "On July 17, the Gendarmes burst into all Jewish apartments, allowing everyone to take a small bundle and then driving them out, not even excluding the sick and paralyzed . . . to an assembly point. From there, after a nightlong march, everyone was brought to three villages: Grodziec, Zagórów, and Rzgów (around this time the remainder of the [Jewish] population of the Konin Kreis was [also] resettled there)."[2]

The same author adds:

> One has to admit, that the [Christian] inhabitants of those villages took on a more warm-hearted attitude towards us. Before the war, there were boards with inscriptions like "Jews out!" or "Beat the Jew!" Now the deportees were offered bread and potatoes, [the locals] refusing to accept payment for them. There was a priest from Grodziec who told [his parishioners] to bring out bread and milk for the deportees, and then called from the pulpit "to help out our brother Jews." He was later imprisoned in the concentration camp in Dachau.[3]

A Judenrat was organized in the ghetto; its composition is unknown. On their arrival, the Kreis Landrat had declared that the Jews in hamlet ghettos would have to "muddle through on their own," denying them any special help, although other accounts credit him with having arranged at least some transport for the deportees. At that time, the Jews concentrated in Grodziec apparently were restricted in their movement. The Ringelblum account mentioned above notes that two days after their resettlement, five Konin Jews were required to obtain a special permit in order to return to Konin. Other accounts indicate that at least one Jew was severely beaten and died from his wounds when caught attempting to return home to salvage part of his property, as such trips were forbidden on pain of death. In the meantime, resettled ethnic Germans had moved into many of the vacated Jewish properties in Konin.[4]

Around this period (July 17–18, 1940), the Jewish community of nearby Skulsk (Jewish population of 210 in 1939) was expelled, with some of its inhabitants being relocated to the Grodziec ghetto. In addition, K. Gorczyca and Z. Lorek have established that the Jews from Kramsk and Wilczyn and a number of Jews from Ślesin were also relocated to the Grodziec ghetto that same summer,[5] raising the number of inhabitants to 2,000.

According to Isaiah Trunk, residents of such hamlet ghettos in the Warthegau were supposed to draw their livelihood from farming. Secondary sources state that the majority of such ghettos were unfenced, unguarded, and only occasionally patrolled by the Germans. They disagree on whether Poles

living in the Grodziec hamlet ghettos were evicted from their households to accommodate the ghetto residents; it appears, however, that some at least took in the Jews on their farms, using them as unpaid labor in return for food and shelter. Jews generally describe conditions here as tolerable, although work hours were long. Some Jews subsequently were sent back from Grodziec to Konin and other towns for periods of forced labor, with most returning to Grodziec by February 1941.[6]

At the beginning of March 1941, it appears that all of the Jews were deported from the hamlet ghetto in Grodziec and its surrounding villages as part of the further removal of non-Germans from the region, but also in connection with the resumption of plans to establish a military training ground south of Konin. The Jews in Grodziec were loaded onto about 300 wagons and divided between their deportation destinations only during the journey to the Konin railway station. Some of the Jews were sent to the nearby Zagórów ghetto, and the others were destined for the town of Józefów Biłgorajski (Distrikt Lublin). According to one account, some people decided to go with the group destined for Józefów, as they wanted to see their hometown of Konin for one last time.[7] This latter group was sent by rail first to Łódź, where they were forced to hand over jewelry and other valuables. Then they were dispatched to Distrikt Lublin by train a couple of days later. It appears that some of these deportees were instead sent to other destinations in Distrikt Lublin, including Izbica and Krasnystaw, while of those who reached Józefów Biłgorajski, some of them were sent on after a few weeks to other destinations, such as Dęblin, Szczebrzeszyn, and Zamość, due to overcrowding in Józefów. More than 2,000 Jews were deported from Kreis Konin at this time, of which just under half were probably from the Grodziec ghetto.[8]

Of the group of about 1,000 Jews sent from Grodziec to Łódź, some 180 able-bodied men were selected out from the deportations to Distrikt Lublin and kept initially for about six weeks in the Łódź ghetto for various work tasks. After that they were sent to a labor camp near Gdańsk to work on road construction. Subsequently some of the survivors of this group were deported to labor camps in the Baltic states.[9]

One account in the yizkor book mentions that some of the elderly and sick were selected out in Łódź and killed by lethal injections, but this report remains unconfirmed.[10] Other sources indicate that there may have been a subsequent deportation from Grodziec to Distrikt Lublin, but most date the evacuation of the Jews from Grodziec and the surrounding villages in early March 1941, which effectively meant the liquidation of this hamlet ghetto.

It should be noted, however, that there were Jews and Poles working in a labor camp established in Grodziec at the turn of 1942–1943, but the origin of these Jews and their subsequent fate are unknown.

The fate of the Jews sent to the Zagórów ghetto is difficult to reconstruct, as there were probably no survivors. Available sources indicate that the Zagórów ghetto was liquidated in the fall of 1941, probably between September 24 and October 3 but possibly a few weeks later. Its inhabitants were murdered between Niesłusz and Rudzica, in the "Długa Łąka" Forest or, according to other sources, in the Kazimierz Biskupi Forest. The executioners were members of an SS-Sonderkommando, led by SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Lange of the Gestapo in Poznań. According to a Polish witness, Dr. Mieczysław Sękiewicz, who was taken to the grave site to sort out the clothing during the massacre and fill in the graves, some of the Jews were more or less boiled alive in one mass grave when water was poured onto quick lime already in the trench, and other victims were brought to the site as corpses by a gas van. Presumably the Germans were experimenting with various forms of mass murder, as this was at the very onset of the killings in the Warthegau.[11] Buried in mass graves, the victims' bodies were exhumed and burned in 1944.[12]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the Grodziec ghetto: D. Sierpacka, "Postawy Polaków wobec ludności żydowskiej w Kraju Warty," in A. Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach wcielonych do Rzeszy* (Warsaw: IPN, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), pp. 201–202; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 196; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 192; Ryszard Głoszkowski, "Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ludności polskiej w powiecie konińskim w latach 1939–1945," in *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Wyniki badań ośrodków terenowych* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, GKBZHwP, 1979), pp. 77, 81–82; J. Gulczyński, "Konińska relacja z Archiwum Ringelbluma," *Rocznik Koniński*, no. 14 (2003): 198–199; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 113; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 165 (Skulsk) and p. 262 (Rychwal); Janina Kiełboń, "Deportacje Żydów do dystryktu lubelskiego (1939–1943)," in D. Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2004), pp. 163–164; and M. Gelbart, ed., *Kehilat Konin bi-feribatah uve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Konin be-Yisrael, 1968).

Relevant archival documentation includes the following: OKŚZpNPPoz (III Ds. 19/68); USHMM (RG-15.079M, Ring I/841); and VHF (# 31143).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 31143, testimony of Lena Obar, 1997.
2. Julius Ancer, www.chgs.umn.edu/histories/minnesotans/andHolocaust/ancer/index.html; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/841, Lb. 848, Mf. 0827, reel 39.
3. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/841; see also Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 526–527, who notes that the priest soon died in the camp.
4. Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 527, 559.
5. "We Remember the Extermination Pits!" at www.zchor.org/extermination/pits.htm.

6. Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 536, 541.
7. Ibid., p. 536.
8. VHF, # 31143—Obar believes she was deported to Józefów in 1939 or 1940; Ancer, www.chgs.umn.edu/histories/minnesotans/andHolocaust/ancer/index.html. See also Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 529–530, 545–546, which estimates that about 800 Jews from Grodziec were sent to Józefów.
9. Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 545–546; but see also USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/841, for a diverging account.
10. Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 528–529.
11. OKŚZpNPPoz, III Ds. 19/68, testimony of Dr. Mieczysław Sękiewicz; Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 595–601; see also Isaiah Trunk, *Łódż Ghetto: A History*, trans. and ed. Robert Moses Shapiro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2006), pp. 229–230.
12. "We Remember the Extermination Pits!"

IZBICA KUJAWSKA

Pre-1939: Izbica Kujawska, town, Poznań województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Mühlenthal, Landgemeinde, Kreis Wartbrücken (Koło), Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Izbica Kujawska, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Izbica Kujawska is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) northwest of Łódź. Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 1,400 Jews living in Izbica Kujawska.

In the first days of the war, a number of Jews fled to areas further to the east, but some of these people returned within a few days, only to find their homes destroyed and the contents robbed. According to the account of Sarah Mancha, local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), who were mostly wealthy farmers, were among those who participated in plundering the Jews. Among the ethnic Germans who showed particular cruelty to their Jewish neighbors during the occupation were men named Schmalz, Hubert, Lizka, Karger, Wiesenthal, and Otto Parizka.[1]

In early 1940, the German authorities established a ghetto in Izbica Kujawska in which about 1,000 people resided, possibly including Jews from nearby villages. In the ghetto, severe overcrowding, hunger, and disease caused a number of deaths.[2]

In the records of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), one letter has survived and states that by the end of 1940 the Jews of Izbica Kujawska were starving and in desperate need of support. On December 4, 1940, the Reichsvereinigung der Juden (Reich Union of Jews) in Germany sent 500 Reichsmark (RM) via the AJDC to support the Jews in Izbica Kujawska. The Jewish Council (Judenrat) then asked for additional support, due to the onset of winter and the large number of Jews in need of help. In particular, the council asked for bread, potatoes, and other groceries.[3]

Another witness, Jehuda Czarnoczapska, claims that on June 24, 1941, all the men of the Izbica Kujawska ghetto—according to his statement, 255 men—were arrested and taken to labor camps in the Poznań region. They had no time to say goodbye to their families.[4] Among the various camps to which men from Izbica Kujawska were sent were those in Mogilno, Dąbrówka, Inowrocław, and Poznań. In the camps they suffered from hunger and exhaustion, and most probably did not subsequently return to the ghetto.[5]

The ghetto remained in existence only until January 1942. On January 12, 1942, the seven Gendarmes based in Izbica Kujawska ordered the Jewish Council to assemble a group of men for work. About 40 men reported and were told to come back the next day with shovels and bread rations for two days. Then on January 13, since only 15 men from Izbica reported for work, another 14 were taken from a work site in nearby Bugaj, and these 29 men were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp by truck. The Izbica Jews each carried a rucksack with spare clothes. As they departed, some of the younger Poles mocked them, but the elderly Poles wept to see them go.[6]

Then on January 15, 1942, the Germans ordered the Jewish Council in Izbica to gather all the Jews of the ghetto on the following day for the collection of a poll tax. Fearing that a deportation Aktion was likely, it seems that the Judenrat probably advised the Jews to hide or flee. At 5:00 A.M. on January 16, large units of German police, assisted by local ethnic Germans, searched the ghetto house by house and gathered the Jews in the local church. During the manhunt, several Jews were shot, including the head of the Jewish Council, Eliyahu Izbicki. Only a handful managed to escape and find refuge in other nearby Jewish communities that were still intact. The Jews in the church were closely guarded overnight and then sent to Chełmno the next day, where they were all murdered by asphyxiation.[7]

The male Jews from Izbica Kujawska and Bugaj sent to Chełmno a few days before were among the grave-digger detail; they had to bury the corpses of the Izbica Jews, once they were unloaded from the gas vans, in mass graves in the forest, not far from the Chełmno camp. Szlamek and Michał Podchlebnik said Kaddish (prayers for the dead) together briefly as they helped to cover the grave—a grave that held their relatives.[8] By January 19, 1942, word had reached the ghetto in Grabów that the Jews of Izbica Kujawska had all been murdered either by shooting or by poison gas.[9]

SOURCES Information on the Izbica Kujawska ghetto and its liquidation is available in the following publications: Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 38–39; Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), pp. 101, 120; and Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod: NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer. Ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941–1943* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1993), pp. 177–178. The ghetto is also mentioned in: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 200, no. 1441; and *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 169. On the operation

of the gas vans at Chełmno, see, for example, Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 427–432.

Several primary sources exist regarding the fate of the Jews of Izbica Kujawska during the Holocaust, including the following: AŻIH (210/386A, 301/786, and Ring I/412); IPN ("Ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (RG-15.084M [AŻIH—Relacje], 301/786 [testimony of Czarnoczapska] and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC], 210/368A); and YVA (O-3/2228).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/2228, testimony of Sarah Mancha, as cited by Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof*, p. 38. Schmalz later served in the Gendarmerie.
2. Ibid., gives the date of early 1940 and indicates that the Jews of Babiak and other places were moved in. Other sources, however, indicate that the Jews of Babiak were sent to the "village ghetto" of Bugaj. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 200, no. 1441, dates the establishment of the Izbica Kujawska ghetto in 1941.
3. Jewish Community of Izbica Kujawska to AJDC Kraków, December 23, 1940. See USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/368A.
4. USHMM, RG-15.084M, 301/786.
5. YVA, O-3/2228, as cited by Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof*, p. 38.
6. Accounts of Szlamek and Michał Podchlebnik published in Pawlicka-Nowak, *Chełmno Witnesses Speak*, pp. 101, 120.
7. YVA, O-3/2228, as cited by Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof*, p. 38.
8. Sakowska, *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod*, pp. 177–178, testimony of Szlamek. This source, however, dates the murder of the Izbica Jews a couple of days earlier, on January 13–14, 1942. See also AŻIH, Ring I/412.
9. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. xxi.

KALISZ

Pre-1939: Kalisz, city, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kalisch, center, Kreis Kalisch and Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Kalisz, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Kalisz is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) west of Łódź. On the eve of war in August 1939, there were between 24,000 and 28,000 Jews living in the city.

Around the time of the German invasion on September 1, 1939, thousands of Jews fled, and about three quarters of the population abandoned the city. German armed forces occupied the city on September 6, 1939.[1] Almost immediately the Germans began a typical program of murder, abuse, and robbery.

On October 10, 1939, the Germans ordered the establishment of a "Council of Elders of the Jewish Community" (Judenrat). Since none of the former community leaders remained, the German governor of Kalisz summoned the cantor of the New Synagogue, Gustav Hahn, and ordered him to establish the council with 25 members to represent the Jews to the German authorities and ensure their obedience to all German orders and regulations. The Judenrat recruited a large staff of officials to carry out its tasks and prepared a detailed register of the Jewish population, with precise details about their professions and property. A series of German restrictions and orders soon followed, including demands for war compensation to be paid in money and valuables.[2]

Every day the German authorities requisitioned about 150 young men, sometimes more, for forced labor. The Jews were summoned for work two or three days per week, but the more wealthy Jews were permitted to buy replacements, which also supplemented the income of the Judenrat. The Jews were required to empty Jewish shops, clear away ruins, sweep the streets, repair damaged buildings, and clean barracks and police stations. The Jewish workers were brutally beaten, and Jewish women were forced to take off their clothing and use it to wash floors and clean toilets. Sometimes Jewish forced laborers were required to bury those sentenced to death and shot in the Jewish cemetery; some of these workers were also shot. The Germans did not pay any wages but provided food at some workplaces.[3]

In early November a rumor spread that a ghetto was to be established in a very small area. This required a number of Jews to move into the indicated quarter, away from the city center and major streets. Certain areas of the city began to be cleared systematically to make room for ethnic Germans resettled from the Baltic states. On November 15, Jews living on specific streets were given only a few minutes to pack and were led under guard to the monastery. Anxiety in the Jewish community grew, especially when the Jews were ordered to wear an identifying yellow badge.[4]

On November 20, 1939, several hundred German Gendarmes went into action, clearing entire streets of their Jewish population. The inhabitants were quickly removed from their homes, taking only a few of their belongings, and were escorted to the "Market Hall," where the hundreds of Jews previously held at the monastery had now been taken. Here the Jews were robbed of any remaining valuables and held in overcrowded conditions under close guard until the next day, when the first group was packed like herrings into trains destined for Warsaw, Rzeszów, and other towns to the east. Many other Jews decided it was impossible to remain in Kalisz and left voluntarily by train. By the end of December 1939, several large transports had left Kalisz, taking almost 20,000 Jews, destined for various towns in the Generalgouvernement, including Lublin, Sandomierz, Kałuszyn, Łuków, Łochów, and Rembertów near Warsaw. The property of the expelled Jews was gathered in large warehouses. The best items were taken by German officials for themselves or sent to Germany, and less valuable items were sold cheaply to the Polish population.[5]

In mid-February 1940, 1,912 Jews held behind barbed wire at the "Market Hall" were receiving rations from the Jewish

hospital. On February 23, 1940, these Jews were transferred to the "open ghetto," which was established for them and other Jews of the region in the small town of Koźminek about 20 kilometers (12 miles) to the northeast.[6]

After this deportation, only a few hundred Jews remained in Kalisz, mostly as patients or workers at the Jewish hospital, the Jewish old people's home, or the Jewish orphanage, as well as a few unskilled laborers. These people were gradually augmented by a number of Jews who returned to Kalisz or emerged from hiding. For example, in the spring of 1940, some Polish-Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) returned to the city after being released by the Germans.

In June 1940, the residents of the old people's home in the Talmud Torah were forced to move to a former lace factory at POW Street no. 13 (formerly Nowa Street). This location became the center of the Jewish labor camp or "ghetto," which also comprised the Jewish hospital at Szopena 4, and two houses for the roughly 120 Jewish workers at POW Street nos. 16 and 18. Jews were not permitted to go out into the city without a special permit, but contacts with Poles continued, nonetheless. The reorganized Judenrat, still led by Hahn, organized craft workshops at POW Street no. 13 for tailors, shoemakers, furriers, and hatmakers, using machinery brought from workshops in the city that had closed down.[7]

The Jewish hospital, which from November 20, 1939, was directed by Dr. Devorah Gross-Shinagel, served as an important resource for the Jews of the Kalisz region for more than a year. About 1,000 patients passed through it, including some sick Jews brought from the ghettos and camps in the vicinity. Dr. Gross-Shinagel also organized inoculations against typhus for the Jews of the region.[8]

According to the Kalisz yizkor book, on October 26, 1940, the former mayor, Walter Grabowski, now in charge of the health department, selected more than 250 Jews as "unfit for work," half of them chronic patients from the Jewish hospital. These Jews were loaded into "gas vans" and driven to a nearby forest, where the corpses were unloaded and subsequently burned. The Germans had previously stated that they were being sent for convalescence.[9]

On January 3, 1941, 439 people were registered in the ghetto. In spite of the difficulties, a number of Jews observed Passover in 1941, obtaining matzot from the Koźminek ghetto. In the fall of 1941, about 100 men from the Kalisz ghetto were sent to the Poznań region for forced labor in agriculture, leaving about 350 Jews in Kalisz. In mid-November 1941, the Gestapo conducted another selection, sending 127 Jews, mostly the sick and elderly, including 15 children, to their deaths. These Jews were murdered using a gas van (probably by forces of Sonderkommando Lange). At this time the remnant of the hospital on Szopen Street no. 4 was also closed down. Another 100 Jews, including the remaining youngsters, were sent to their deaths two weeks later on December 1, 1941. Even though the Jewish Council knew of this Aktion in advance, it did nothing to warn those affected.[10]

In 1942, the remaining Jews continued to work refurbishing army uniforms for a German industrialist named Sannwald. At the end of May, about 40 more Jews capable of work were sent to the labor camps in Poznań. Then on July 6–8, 1942, the last remaining Jews in the Kalisz ghetto (about 120) were transferred to the Łódź ghetto, and the Jewish community of Kalisz ceased to exist.[11]

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by I.M. Lask, *The Kalish Book* (Tel Aviv: Societies of Former Residents of Kalish and the Vicinity in Israel and the USA, 1968), contains several personal accounts of the fate of the Jews under the German occupation. Mention of the "ghetto" in Kalisz can be found in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 214–215. Published memoirs concerning the initial German occupation of Kalisz in 1939 include: Henry Skorr, *Through Blood and Tears: Surviving Hitler and Stalin* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006); and Michael Kaplan, *Autobiography of Michael Kaplan* (Miami, FL: Michael Kaplan, 1990).

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kalisz during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/4490; and Ring I/469); IPN (ASG sygn. 54, k. 62; and 202/II-29, p. 12); USHMM (RG-15.015M, reel 4); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. "From the Ringelblum Archives," pp. 281–287, here p. 282; and Wolf Lassman, "Kalish, Kozminek and the Camps," pp. 275–281, here p. 275—both in Lask, *The Kalish Book*.

2. "From the Ringelblum Archives," p. 285; Dr. Moshe Gross (Henryk Zelikowski), "The End of the Community," in Lask, *The Kalish Book*, pp. 251–274, here p. 251.

3. "From the Ringelblum Archives," pp. 285–286; Gross, "The End of the Community," pp. 251–252; Skorr, *Through Blood and Tears*, pp. 95–96; and Kaplan, *Autobiography*, pp. 11–12.

4. Gross, "The End of the Community," p. 252; "From the Ringelblum Archives," p. 287.

5. Gross, "The End of the Community," pp. 252–253; Lassman, "Kalish, Kozminek and the Camps," pp. 275–276.

6. S. Glicksman, "Some Figures (from the Ringelblum Archives and Elsewhere)," in Lask, *The Kalish Book*, pp. 287–288; "From the Ringelblum Archives," p. 285.

7. Gross, "The End of the Community," pp. 256–257. The term *ghetto* is used occasionally in the yizkor book, for example, on pp. 263, 272.

8. Ibid., pp. 253–256.

9. Ibid., pp. 258–259; Glicksman, "Some Figures," p. 288.

10. Gross, "The End of the Community," pp. 263–266; see also IPN, CA MSW 775/24, p. 4, Schupokommando Kalisch an Gestapo, Kripo, Gerndarmeriekreis und städt. Wirtschaftsamt Kalisch, November 24, 1941.

11. Glicksman, "Some Figures," p. 288; Gross, "The End of the Community," pp. 268–271; see also Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 220–222, 233–234.

KOŁO

Pre-1939: Koło, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wartbrücken, center, Kreis Wartbrücken, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Koło, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Koło is located about 73 kilometers (45.5 miles) northwest of Łódź. In September 1939, there were 4,560 Jews among a total of 13,000 residents in Koło.[1]

Forces of the Wehrmacht arrived in Koło on September 19, 1939. From the next day on, the Jews of Koło were subjected to forced labor, looting, abuse, and murder.

In December 1940, a ghetto was established in Koło.[2] It was located primarily in the area of the central market square, and one of its borders was the Warta River. The administration of the Jewish residential area was under the supervision of the mayor of the town, Willi Schönert, whose "energetic" actions against the Jewish population were highly rewarded by the regional government in Hohensalza.[3] On the orders of the German authorities a Jewish Council was established. Pinkus Brenner served as the head of this institution. The Jewish Council created a labor department under the supervision of Wron, Neuman, Borkowski, Borensztajn, Lissek, and Frenkiel. The main task of this department was to organize daily the number of Jewish workers demanded by the German authorities.[4] The ghetto area was supervised and guarded by various police units, including the Gendarmerie, the Security Police, and local ethnic Germans. The nearest main headquarters of the Gestapo was located in Konin. The internal Jewish ghetto police consisted of 15 people. The Jews still had the possibility to contact and trade with the surrounding Polish population, which eased living conditions in the ghetto somewhat.

On October 2, 1940, a total of 150 families were transferred to Bugaj and Nowiny Brdowskie (Kreis Wartbrücken, Gemeinde Lubotyń). An unknown number of Jews managed to escape the town, mostly in the direction of Żychlin.[5] At the end of 1940, out of a total population of 11,228 in Koło, there were still 2,640 Jews.[6] In June 1941, about 300 Jews were transferred to forced labor camps in the surrounding area. First, those collected were herded into the synagogue, where they had to wait for three days without any food or water. Dr. Franz Sieburg, a representative from the health department of the city of Poznań, was responsible for the selection of Jews fit for work. In addition, engineer Fritz Neumann and the head of the construction department in Poznań were also present.[7] During their transport to the camps, the Jews were not given any food or water, and the guards beat them. In August 1941, about 100 Jewish girls were transferred to a forced labor camp near Breslau (Wrocław).

From the beginning of 1941, the Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the area of the Koło ghetto. The Jewish Council sent a delegation to the mayor of the town and to the head of the town district, attempting to revoke this order. The result of the negotiation was a ransom demand by the German authorities, officially called a poll tax, of 4 Reichsmark (RM) for every person in the ghetto. The German authorities stated that they required this money to pay for the transfer of the Jews to nearby ghettos in the Generalgouvernement.[8]

On December 8, 1941, the liquidation of the Koło ghetto started. The Jews were deported to the extermination camp in Chełmno. The liquidation Aktion lasted three days until December 10. Before their departure, the victims were gathered in the building of the Jewish Council and in a church. They were allowed to take with them only one piece of hand luggage. During this Aktion, the town was surrounded by armed SS, police, and Gendarmerie units. The Jews were loaded into trucks. During this procedure, one SS member per truck listed the name of every person on their truck (one of the SS men was Hauptsturmführer Böhm). The German authorities tried to make the Jews believe that they were being transferred to labor camps in the east, where they would work on farms and build railroad lines. The sick people were transported in cars and were even given a chauffeur for their "security." During the organization of this transport the former owner of the sawmill in Koło, named Goldberg, held negotiations with the head of the Jewish Council about his possible succession to the position of "Jewish elder" after the deportation of the ghetto's inhabitants. He even sent his application for this position to the German authorities.[9] During the liquidation of the Koło ghetto, many people were shot during the deportation roundup, including Lajzer Feldman, Josef Brandt, Estera Brandt, Chaja Piotrowska, Dawid Zilber, Ela Zilber, and Reisze Zilberberg.[10]



German police search an elderly, religious Jew at gunpoint in Koło, ca. 1941. USHMM WS #51047, COURTESY OF IPN

The extermination camp in Chełmno was located only 14 kilometers (9 miles) from Koło. On the first day of the liquidation of the ghetto, about 800 Jews were transferred to this camp in groups of several dozen by truck. During this Aktion, between 2,000 and 2,300 Jews from Koło were killed in Chełmno. The Jews of Koło were the first victims of this extermination camp. However, many of the Koło Jews who had been deported earlier to Bugaj and Nowiny Brdowskie were also transported to Chełmno later on January 13, 1942.[11] Efforts were made by the Jews in nearby ghettos to discover the fate of Koło's Jews. For example, the Jewish Council in the Dąbie ghetto sent two separate missions to Koło to gather information about the fate of the deported Jews on December 9 and December 11, 1941.[12]

After the war a total of 27 Jews returned to Koło.[13] The saddler Michał Podchlebnik managed to escape from the Chełmno camp. He was born in Koło, and he gave a statement on June 9, 1948, for the Polish Commission for the Investigation of the German Crimes against the Polish Nation and testified about the liquidation of the Koło ghetto and the killings in Chełmno.[14]

At his trial after the war in Poznań, Fritz Neumann was accused of herding the victims to the transfer point and being responsible for their deaths; he was convicted and sentenced to death on November 18, 1948. He was executed on May 13, 1949.

SOURCES Publications with information regarding the Koło ghetto include the following: Mordekhai Halter, ed., *Sefer Kolo: Finfhundert Yor Yidish Kolo* (Israel: Irgune Kolo be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1958); Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Dwa etapy. Hitlerowska polityka eksterminacji Żydów w oczach ofiar. Szkic historyczny i dokumenty* (Wrocław, 1986), p. 136; M. Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941–1943. Dokumenty Biura Propagandy i Informacji KG AK w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego," *BŻIH*, nos. 2–3 (1992): 47; W. Bednarz, *Obóz stracón w Chełmnie nad Nerem* (Warsaw, 1946); and J. Burszta, ed., *Sześćset lat miasta Koła* (Poznań, 1963).

Documents on the history of the Jewish community of Koło and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: APP (sygn. 594 and 1407); AŻIH (301/29; Ring I/825, I/844, II/303); IPN (SOP 62); MMŻ (SPK, Zg 33/47, 164/47, 122/47, and 12/48); and YVA.

Anna Ziółkowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Danuta Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 169, table 12.
2. IPN, Kolekcja "Ob.," sygn. 177.
3. APP, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland, sygn. 1407, files 62–63.
4. AŻIH, Ring II/300, p. 2.
5. Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk," p. 169, table 12.
6. APP, Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 594, file 26.
7. IPN, SOP 62, case against Fritz Neumann, pp. 66–67, statement of Szymon Frajdlewicz; p. 68, statement of Abram Harap; p. 91, statement of Jakob Szulc; p. 176, statement of Cham Majer; pp. 176 and verso, statement of Józef Fuchs. See also Halter, *Sefer Kolo*, pp. 252–253.
8. Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów," p. 47.
9. Bednarz, *Obóz straceń*, p. 40.
10. MMŻ, SPK, Zg 33/47; Zg 164/47; Zg 122/47; Zg 12/48.
11. IPN, ASG, sygn. 54, file 103.
12. Sakowska, *Dwa etapy*, p. 136.
13. S. Szklarski, "Polityka Niemiec wobec Żydów na przykładzie Ziemi Konińskiej," *Głos Kolski* (Koło), no. 22 (1992): 6.
14. Bednarz, *Obóz straceń*, pp. 39–45.

KONIN

Pre-1939: Konin, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Landkreis Konin, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Konin is about 100 kilometers (62 miles) north-northwest of Łódź. There were 2,300 Jews living in the Konin kehilla in 1936, which apart from Konin included the following gminas with small Jewish populations: Rzgów (Dąbie settlement), Brzeźno (Brzeźno, Krzymów, and Paprotnia settlements), and Gosławice (Czarków settlement). For example, in 1936, there were 11 Jewish families living in Brzeźno and 8 in Gosławice. By 1937, the number of Jewish residents was 2,386 and was estimated at approximately 2,500 in 1939. On the outbreak of World War II, the Jewish population constituted about 20 percent of the total population of Konin.

After the roundup of between 1,080 and 1,200 Jews on November 30, 1939, the first deportation of Jews from Konin took place on December 3, 1939. These Jews were sent to Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski in Distrikt Radom within the Generalgouvernement.[1] People were given only minutes to prepare for this trip and could take with them only necessities. Some of these deportees were reportedly then sent to Gorzków and



Wehrmacht troops prepare to shoot a Pole and a Jew on the Wolność Square in Konin. The Polish victim was Aleksander Kurowski and the Jewish victim was Slodki.
USHMM WS #50294, COURTESY OF IPN

Turobin, both near Krasnystaw in Distrikt Lublin. Witnessing the hostility and brutality of the deportation process, many Konin Jews evaded the roundup to avoid expulsion.

From the fall of 1939, the German authorities ploughed in Konin's Jewish cemetery and began to demolish parts of the main Jewish residential area. In addition, ethnic Germans, who had been resettled from parts of the Soviet Union, were brought into the town. Jews were evicted from the more desirable residences in Konin, and their apartments were handed over to German officials and the newly arrived ethnic Germans.

An open ghetto was established for those Jews that remained, with the Jews being transferred into the designated area as early as December 1939. It was located in a neighborhood that had been predominantly Jewish before the war between the following streets: Słowacki, Obrońców Westerplatte, Zamkowa, Niecała, Mickiewicz, Kiliński, and Plac Zamkowy. The precise number of Jews residing in this ghetto is unknown, but it was probably around 1,000 people.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized and included Józef Aberman, Ajzyk Kelmer, Abraham Helman, Icchak Zajfer, Noach Helmer, and a man named Rozenberg. Twenty-eight-year-old Józef Aberman was the commander of the Jewish Police in addition to being a member of the Judenrat.[2]

Throughout the spring and summer of 1940, the ghetto residents were transferred to a single street (Grodzka). Most of the remaining Jews in Konin were deported that summer to a network of hamlet ghettos (*Dorfghettos*) organized around several villages in Kreis Konin: that is, Grodziec, Zagórów, and Rzgów. An account from an anonymous Konin Jew in the Ringelblum Archive describes the deportation from Konin and the Jews' arrival in the hamlet ghettos: "On July 17, the Gendarmes burst into all the Jewish apartments, allowing everyone to take a small bundle and then driving them out—not even excluding the sick and paralyzed . . . —to an assembly point. After a nightlong march, everyone was brought from there to three villages: Grodziec, Zagórów, and Rzgów (later the remainder of the [Jewish] population of the Konin Kreis was also resettled there)."[3]

Shortly after their resettlement to the hamlet ghettos, some Konin Jews attempted to return to Konin to salvage some of their property. A few Jews obtained special permits for this, but among those who traveled illegally was at least one Jew who was caught and so severely beaten that he died from his wounds. The authorities had forbidden such trips on pain of death. In the meantime, resettled ethnic Germans had moved into many of the vacated Jewish properties in Konin.[4]

A few Jews may have remained in Konin after this main expulsion in July 1940, and others were subsequently sent back to Konin from the hamlet ghettos for periods of forced labor in the fall of 1940, after the harvest had been brought in. Most of the latter had returned to the hamlet ghettos by February 1941. While in Konin, these Jews slept in a building that had belonged to the Jewish community and worked as painters or in construction.[5]

The three hamlet ghettos were liquidated between March and November 1941. First in March, more than 2,000 Jews were deported from Kreis Konin via Łódź to Józefów Biłgorajski, Izbica Lubelska, Krasnystaw, and other destinations in Distrikt Lublin.[6] Of this group about 180 were selected out for assignment to road construction work near Gdańsk while passing through the Łódź ghetto. The Jews that remained in the Kreis were mostly concentrated around the village of Zagórów and murdered in the surrounding forests in the fall of 1941.

By 1942, a labor camp was organized in Konin; however, none of its laborers were Konin Jews.

SOURCES Several of the main publications on the fate of Konin's Jews, including the most extensive by Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), and also the yizkor book, M. Gelbart, ed., *Kehilat Konin bi-ferihatah uvehurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Konin be-Yisrael, 1968), do not mention the existence of a ghetto in Konin and assume that all of Konin's Jewish residents were resettled to hamlet ghettos in the summer of 1940. Nor is the ghetto mentioned by Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 235–238.

The ghetto in Konin is listed as such by Piotr Rybczyński in his article "Likwidacja skupisk ludności żydowskiej w powiecie konińskim," published in J. Kapustka, ed., *Ośrodek zagłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem i jego rola w hitlerowskiej polityce eksterminacyjnej* (Konin: Muzeum Okręgowe, 1995), pp. 109–116, an article that discusses the extermination of the Jewish residents of Konin county. It is also mentioned by Ryszard Głoszkowski, "Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ludności polskiej w powiecie konińskim w latach 1939–1945," in *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Wyniki badań ośrodków terenowych* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, GKBZHwP, 1979), pp. 81–82, 86; and in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 240. Most of the information regarding the ghetto is derived from Tomasz Kawski and Monika Opioła, *Gminy żydowskie pogranicza Wielkopolski, Mazowsza, Małopolski i Śląska w latach 1918–1942* (Toruń: Wydawn. Adam Marszałek, 2008).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I/841, 1089); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.079M); VHF (# 5609, 31143); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 5609, testimony of Felice Nitzky, 1995; Mike Jacob, *Holocaust Survivor: Mike Jacobs' Triumph over Tragedy—A Memoir* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 2001), pp. 38–41.
2. USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 45, Ring I/1089 (1408) (no. 1571), Mf. (ŻIH) 833.
3. Ibid., reel 39, Ring I/841, Lb. 848, Mf. 0827.
4. Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 527, 559.
5. Ibid., pp. 536, 541, 545.
6. VHF, # 31143—Obar believes she was deported to Józefów in 1939 or 1940; Julius Ancer, www.chgs.umn.edu/histories/minnesotans/andHolocaust/ancer/index.html. See also Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 529–530, 545–546.

KOWALE PAŃSKIE (AKA CZACHULEC NOWY)

Pre-1939: Kowale Pańskie, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Heidemühle, Landgemeinde, Kreis Turek, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Kowale Pańskie, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Kowale Pańskie is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) north-northwest of Łódź. The community consisted of 16 hamlets centered on the village of Kowale Pańskie. The Jewish ghetto that was established here during World War II is sometimes also referred to as Czachulec Nowy, the name of one of the main villages in the area.

Until September 1939, only a few Jewish families lived in this mostly agricultural area. On October 20, 1941, about 3,700 Jews from Kreis Turek were deported to the rural subdistricts (Amtsbezirke) of Kowale Pańskie and Malanów. These Jews mainly came from the communities of Turek, Dobra, Władysławów, Pęczniew, Tuliszków, Uniejów, and Brudzew.[1] The Germans instructed the Jews in Turek to pack everything they had, including the bugs. As many families were without their men, members of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) and Jewish Police assisted women to pack up their things. From Turek and Dobra, long columns of Jews, four abreast, followed by wagons carrying their work tools, set off under SS guard to the new "Kolonie." The SS men of the Resettlement Office reassured the Jews that they would be able to live and work there in peace until the end of the war. Some Jews, however, were skeptical, especially when the displaced Polish farmers reported that they had been told that they would soon be able to return.[2] The Jews were scattered among the various farms and neighboring buildings in the area, from which the local Poles had recently been evicted to make room for them. The Jews lived under terrible conditions, some being accommodated in barns, and many of them remaining without any shelter, just living in the fields. The relocated Jews were employed on a number of agricultural work tasks and in the construction and maintenance of regional roads. The available bread supplies were rationed out among the Jewish settlements by the Judenrat.[3]

In late October 1941, the chairman of the Jewish Council, Hershel Zimnawoda, was ordered by the German Landrat in Turek to prepare lists of all ghetto inhabitants incapable of work, including all children under the age of 13 and all elderly persons over 65 years of age. Although the plans to exterminate the Jews were not yet known, the Judenrat was reluctant to obey this order. Zimnawoda asked four rabbis who were among the deportees for their opinion. After two days of deliberation and a day of fasting for the inhabitants of the ghetto, where people prayed, recited psalms, and blew the shofar (horn), the rabbis decided that, according to religious law, a decree of the government was obligatory and had to be obeyed.[4] However, after the chairman had prepared the lists, everyone was given a chance to check them and see how they had been marked. Also, the chairman decided to change the birthdates of children and the elderly so that the former would appear older and the latter younger. A few of the Jews classified as unfit fled to the nearby ghetto of Warta or sought refuge with non-Jews in the area.[5]

On Monday, December 8, 1941, German SS and police forces, Nazi officials, and members of the German Labor Front (DAF) drove the Jews from their houses in the Kowale Pańskie ghetto and assembled them in the village of Bielawki for a selection. To the surprise of the gathered Jews, the Germans did not rely on the lists provided, but selected about 1,100 Jews according to their physical appearance. Some members of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), including Mordechai Strykowski, were able to save a number of children during the selection.[6] The selected Jews were taken to the village of Dobra, where they were held for a few days under terrible conditions in an overcrowded church without food or water. Some of the Jews died or were shot by the German Gendarmes in Dobra, but a number were also rescued. Then on December 13–14, 1941, the remaining 700 or so were deported to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were gassed. A few weeks afterwards, the remaining Jews in the ghetto learned from local Christians that the deportees had all been murdered.[7]

By the end of 1941, Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto without permission on pain of death. To obtain food, people traded remaining possessions with local peasants at night. In the spring or summer of 1942, the Germans arrested 10 Jews and hanged them in public, allegedly for evading work, and the Judenrat was also forced to pay a fine.[8] On the Shavuot holiday (May 21–23, 1942), a group of about 200 men from the ghetto were deported to a forced labor camp near Poznań. They were followed by another group of about 100 women on June 20, 1942. About one month later, the Germans finally liquidated the ghetto. All inmates deemed unfit for deportation were murdered in the vicinity of Kowale Pańskie. Several Jewish policemen were also executed at this time. The Germans selected 89 skilled workers and sent them to the Łódź ghetto. The remaining 1,660 Jews from the Kowale Pańskie ghetto were deported at the end of July 1942 to the Chełmno extermination camp to be killed.[9] The Germans confiscated the remaining physical property of the deportees, and after the liquidation of the ghetto, the Polish farmers returned to their land.

SOURCES A short description of the Kowale Pańskie ghetto can be found in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 221. Immediately after the war the journal *Fun letstn khurbn* published two articles regarding the Kowale Pańskie ghetto: Y. Waldman, "Di Chelmner Tragedie," *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 1 (1946); and Sh. Glube, "Di-din toyre," *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 6 (1947): 44–47. More detailed accounts of events in the

ghetto can be found in the yizkor book *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek veli-kedosheha* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turek be-Yisrael, 1982); and Czesław Kazimierz Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek District during the Time of Nazi Occupation," part of his M.A. thesis, "Nazi Occupation in the Turek District during the Years 1939–1945" (Gdansk University, 1972). The ghetto is also mentioned in Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (1972; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 113, 429.

Several primary sources describe the fate of the Jews in the Kowale Pańskie area, including the following: AŻIH (records of JUS, file no. 32; 301/2243 and 2516; and Ring I/255 and 1160); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 432 and reverse; and RG-50.488*0223); and YVA (M-1/E/758 and 759, M-1/E/1946).

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2516, testimony of Nachum Zajf. *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 350–351, gives the figure of 3,700 residents. And AŻIH, 301/2243, testimony of Dawid Jakubowicz, dates the establishment of the ghetto on October 20, 1940, stating there were about 4,250 residents. Other sources, e.g., USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 432 and verso, clearly date the establishment in 1941.

2. Shmuel Glubah, "Yidn in Turek in der Tseyt fun der Nazisher Okupatsie," in *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 350–351; Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek District," p. 12.

3. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 203; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 221; *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, p. 351.

4. Trunk, *Judenrat*, p. 113, based upon Sh. Glube, "Di-din toyre," pp. 44–47. See also *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 351–352.

5. *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 315–319, reports that the Judenrat and the rabbis also pleaded with the Germans and paid a large bribe to keep the lists as small as possible.

6. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 221; *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 353–354.

7. *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 353–355.

8. Ibid., pp. 355–356; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 432 and verso; AŻIH, 301/2243 and 2516; USHMM, RG-50.488*0223, oral history with Stanisław Piekarski; Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek," p. 13.

9. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, pp. 446–447. *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 360–362, notes that about 1,800 Jews were registered in the ghetto about one month before its liquidation. This source reports that 120 Jews were sent to the Łódź ghetto. AŻIH, 301/2243; the author of this testimony, Dawid Jakubowicz, was among those sent to the Łódź ghetto. Also see USHMM, RG-50.488*0223.

KOŹMINEK

Pre-1939: Koźminek, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bornhagen, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Koźminek, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Koźminek is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) west of Łódź. In 1921, the Jewish population was 729.

Forces of the German army occupied the village about a week after the start of the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. At the time of the invasion, some Jews fled to the east ahead of the advancing German forces. During the first two months of the occupation, the Jews of Koźminek were subjected to a series of economic restrictions, including the confiscation of property and the imposition of forced labor. At the end of October 1939, the area was incorporated into the Third Reich. Koźminek, which the Germans renamed Bornhagen, became part of Regierungsbezirk Kalisch, in Reichsgau Wartheland. One of the first decrees issued by the governor (Regierungspräsident) of Regierungsbezirk Kalisch, Friedrich Übelhör, on November 14, 1939, was to impose a regulation requiring Jews to wear yellow armbands. Infractions against this regulation were punishable by death.[1] Shortly after this decree, the German authorities forcibly resettled most of the remaining Jews of Koźminek across the border into the Generalgouvernement.

In February 1940, about 1,300 Jews of Landkreis Kalisch were sent to Koźminek. This was seen as a temporary measure made necessary because the authorities in Łódź refused to accommodate them at this time. Most of the Jews were sent from the "Market Hall" in Kalisz, where they were held behind barbed wire, following the cessation of deportations from Kalisz at the start of 1940. However, several hundred Jews were sent to Koźminek from the town of Stawiszyn and a few from the village of Ostrów Kaliski. The arrival of these Jews marked the effective establishment of an "open ghetto" in Koźminek.[2]

The ghetto comprised a number of primitive single-story houses along a single street. The ghetto area also included a square, where the synagogue was located. Due to the small size of the ghetto, there was considerable overcrowding. The Jews worked mainly as craftsmen, in agriculture in the surrounding area, or on road construction.[3] Several hundred Jews from the Koźminek ghetto were sent to the civilian labor camp at Opatówek, 11 kilometers (7 miles) away, where they worked 12 hours a day unloading coal, clearing ditches, building roads, or laboring in nearby factories.[4]

The first commandant of the ghetto was an ethnic German named Büchler. According to one survivor account: "[H]e often burst into the ghetto in a drunken state and beat anyone he met with a stick. If anyone was found with an egg or a pat of butter, he was fined. If word came that the 'Greener' was on his way, they all hid like mice in their holes."[5] The ghetto was administered internally by the Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by a man named Landau, who received in-

structions directly from Büchler. There was also a Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), which supervised the agricultural work. In charge of the Jewish Labor Office in the ghetto was a man called Haftke, who became notorious for his cruelty to his fellow Jews.[6]

From the summer of 1940, workshops were opened in the Koźminek ghetto. However, many women, children, and elderly people were unable to work. Sanitary conditions in the ghetto were very poor. The only physician was Dr. Shalit, who sent many patients to the Jewish hospital that continued to function in Kalisz. The Koźminek ghetto also received medical supplies, allotted food rations, and post from the Jewish camp or "ghetto" in Kalisz.[7]

German control over the Koźminek ghetto was not as strict as in the larger towns. The German presence consisted mainly of three Gendarmes. Illicit trading with the local population took place in spite of the severe penalties threatened. Jews did not starve as they could buy extra food in the villages. The Jews in the ghetto celebrated Passover in 1941 with dry potatoes and coarse matzot for the Seder.[8]

From the spring of 1941, Ferdinand Göhler, an official in the economic department of the regional government, was placed in charge of the Koźminek ghetto. Following his appointment, conditions in the ghetto deteriorated. The food rations were insufficient and of a poor quality; cases of typhus increased; Jews were forced to perform heavy, often useless, labor. Göhler also organized the collection of any remaining valuables, especially jewelry, from the Jewish inmates of the ghetto.[9] In May 1941, 300 men from the Opatówek labor camp were sent to the Poznań region for forced labor in agriculture.[10]

In the fall of 1941, there were probably still some 1,500 Jews in Koźminek. On November 26, 1941, German police forces surrounded the ghetto. Then, the Gestapo and the SS burst in and drove the Jews into the courtyard of the synagogue. They took mainly the weak, the ill, children, and the elderly. However, with the aid of a bribe, it was possible to be released. The Jews were particularly outraged by the role of Haftke in assisting the Germans to select those who would be sent away.

The Aktion lasted several days, and some 600 Jews, about 75 at a time, were loaded into black trucks (similar to furniture vans). Some mothers chose to be deported with their children. Inside the trucks, it is presumed that the Jews were murdered using poison gas. Subsequently, the trucks were emptied out and the bodies buried in a forest near the village of Jedlec (Kreis Goluchow). The Aktion was possibly conducted by men of Sonderkommando Lange, which also was tasked, at this time, with establishing the Chełmno extermination camp, where killing operations started on December 8, 1941.[11]

During 1942, the German authorities conducted further deportations from the Koźminek ghetto. Some sources indicate that several hundred (or even up to 1,000) Jews were sent from the Koźminek ghetto to the extermination camp in Chełmno between December 1941 and March 1942. However, this interpretation may also be the result of some confusion with the November 1941 "gas van" deportations. Other Jews, mostly men fit for work, were sent to perform manual labor in the Inowrocław area in the first months of 1942. The last 400 hundred or so Jews left in the Koźminek ghetto were sent to the Łódź ghetto together with just over 100 Jews from the Kalisz ghetto. This transport arrived at the Radogoszcz station in Łódź on July 8, 1942.[12]

SOURCES The Kalisz yizkor book, edited by I.M. Lask, *The Kalish Book* (Tel Aviv: Societies of Former Residents of Kalish and the Vicinity in Israel and the USA, 1968), contains some information on the Koźminek ghetto. There is also a short article on the Jewish community of Koźminek in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 221–222. The deportation Aktion using gas vans in November–December 1941 was the subject of a trial in Stuttgart (Ks 31/49). The verdict and subsequent revisions are published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 7 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 231, pp. 187–267. The court's findings are largely supported by other sources cited by Michael Albertini, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 415–416.

Mention of the ghetto can be found in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 248; *BŻIH*, nos. 111 and 114–115 (1979–1980); and Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (prepared originally by ITS in 1949–1951; repr., with new introduction, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 680.

Documentation on the Koźminek ghetto can be found in the following archives: IPN (ASG, sygn. 54, p. 65); USHMM (RG-15.015M, reel 4); VHF; and YVA (M-21/287).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Lodzer Zeitung*, November 16, 1939, published in Isaiah Trunk, *Łódźer Ghetto: A History*, trans. and ed. Robert Moses Shapiro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2006), p. 18.
2. S. Glicksman, "Some Figures (from the Ringelblum Archives and Elsewhere)," pp. 287–288; "From the Ringelblum Archives," p. 285—both in Lask, *The Kalish Book*. Some sources do not date the formal establishment of a "ghetto" until the summer of 1940; see YVA, M-21/287, p. 35.
3. *JuNS-V*, vol. 7, Lfd. Nr. 231, pp. 187–267, here verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 31/49, August 15, 1950, p. 200.
4. Wolf Lassman, "Kalish, Koźminek and the Camps," in Lask, *The Kalish Book*, pp. 275–281, here p. 277.
5. Dr. Moshe Gross (Henryk Zelikowski), "The End of the Community," in Lask, *The Kalish Book*, pp. 251–274, here p. 262.
6. Lassman, "Kalish, Koźminek and the Camps," p. 277; *JuNS-V*, vol. 7, Lfd. Nr. 231, p. 200.
7. Gross, "The End of the Community," p. 261.
8. Ibid., pp. 261–262.
9. *JuNS-V*, vol. 7, Lfd. Nr. 231, pp. 189–190, 211–212.
10. Lassman, "Kalish, Koźminek and the Camps," p. 278.

11. Ibid., pp. 277–278. This source (probably erroneously) dates the "gas van Aktion" as occurring in March 1941. Also see *JuNS-V*, vol. 7, Lfd. Nr. 231, pp. 187–267.

12. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 220–222, 233–234.

KROŚNIEWICE

Pre-1939: Krośniewice, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Krosniewice, Kreis Kutno, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Krośniewice, Łódź województwo, Poland

Krośniewice is located about 58 kilometers (36 miles) north-northeast of Łódź.

German troops occupied Krośniewice on September 16, 1939. During the first days of the occupation, Jews were made to perform forced labor, their property was confiscated, and many were expelled from their places of residence. Of the 4,476 inhabitants of the town, there were 1,238 Jews at the end of December 1939.[1] This number included not only local Jews from Krośniewice but also Jews from the surrounding area. An unknown number of local Jews managed to get to Warsaw, largely using the help of Polish guides.[2]

On May 10, 1940, the German authorities established a ghetto in Krośniewice. It consisted of parts of Kutnowska Street, which ran through the town in the direction of Kutno. The total area of the ghetto was 10,000 square meters (almost 12,000 square yards). The ghetto was under the authority of the mayor and also the head of the local civil administrator (Amtskommissar), Georg Becker.[3] There were a number of houses inside the ghetto area. Initially the ghetto was not enclosed and sealed off, so the Jews were able to continue interacting with local Poles. Trade between them continued, with the Jews making handicrafts for the Poles who paid them with food. Poles also consulted Jewish physicians residing in the ghetto. After a while, the ghetto was sealed with a barbed-wire fence and separated from the rest of the town.[4] On the orders of the German authorities, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the ghetto. Its head was a man named Zilbe; Grabowski was the head of the ghetto Jewish Police.[5]

Right from the start of the German occupation, the Jewish population was forced to conduct physically demanding work of all kinds. The Jewish community had to meet a quota of 66 laborers per day, although some people who could not work paid 5 złoty per day for a replacement. Jews were employed as laborers on nearby farms, now belonging to newly resettled Germans. In April 1941, about 100 residents of the ghetto were deported to the Hardt labor camp in Wąsowo, close to Poznań.[6] They worked on the construction of the highway between Frankfurt am Oder and Poznań. Starting in September 1941, other ghetto residents, both men and women, were sent to other labor camps in the Poznań area. Those deported wrote letters to their relatives in the ghetto, describing the terrible conditions in the camps. Hunger and beatings were the order of the day. In spite of the difficult conditions in the ghetto, many residents responded to the requests of those who had been deported and helped them, sending packages with foodstuffs.[7]

On February 19, 1942, the German authorities demanded that a poll tax of 8 Reichsmark (RM) be paid for every resident of the ghetto. This was the signal for the beginning of the liquidation of the ghetto.[8] On March 1, 1942, at the time of the Purim holiday, the remaining ghetto residents, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were informed that they were going to be resettled to Bessarabia the next day.[9] The liquidation of the ghetto took place on March 2–3, 1942. For this Aktion, some market halls where cattle were usually slaughtered were used as a transit camp for the Jews. In this temporary camp the people were virtually starved. Twice a day the inmates received one liter (2 pints) of soup and a piece of bread. Most Jews were unable to eat this food because they did not have spoons or bowls. Some Jews were transferred from the ghetto to the temporary camp, and from there the Germans deported them directly to the Chełmno extermination camp. During the liquidation Aktion, a member of the Jewish medical services named Kopel Geisler and a Polish physician distributed medicine to the victims. Geisler, who was a member of the Krośniewice Zionist movement, became mentally unstable watching the brutal way the Germans forced the Jews into the trucks for deportation.[10] Altogether about 800 Jews from Krośniewice were killed in Chełmno.[11]

A report of the Amtskommissar in Krośniewice to the mayor of Kutno on April 10, 1942, described this liquidation Aktion as the "evacuation of those Jews unable to work." After the deportation of the residents of the ghetto, the value of the movable property they were forced to leave behind, such as furniture, dishes, and watches, was estimated at about 25,000 RM, and this property was transferred to the German authorities.[12] After the property had been removed, the ghetto area was disinfected. It is possible that false identification cards were made in Krośniewice in January 1942 and that these helped three deported Jews to escape from the extermination camp in Chełmno. In any case, the German police were searching for these individuals.[13]

SOURCES Two articles published in the *BŻIH* contain information on the Krośniewice ghetto: Danuta Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955); and M. Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941–1943. Dokumenty Biura Propagandy i Informacji KG AK w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego," *BŻIH*, nos. 2–3 (1992). Published survivor testimonies relevant to the Krośniewice ghetto include the following: Abram Korn, *Abe's Story: A Holocaust Memoir* (Atlanta, GA: Longstreet, 1995); and Dorothea Kusch and Helmut Winter, eds., *Pädagogische Handreichung und Materialien zur Ausstellung "Der Alltag jüdischer Kinder während des Holocausts* (Germany: Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1999), p. 122.

Documentation on the Krośniewice ghetto and its liquidation can be found in the following archives: APŁ (Gettover-

waltung, 30021); APP (Reichsstatthalter, 594); AŻIH (301/4490 and Ring I/469 and I/573); IPN (ASG 50, p. 38; and Zh III/31/35/68); OKŚZpNPŁdz (OKL.Ko 27/83 and 11/84); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Anna Ziółkowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

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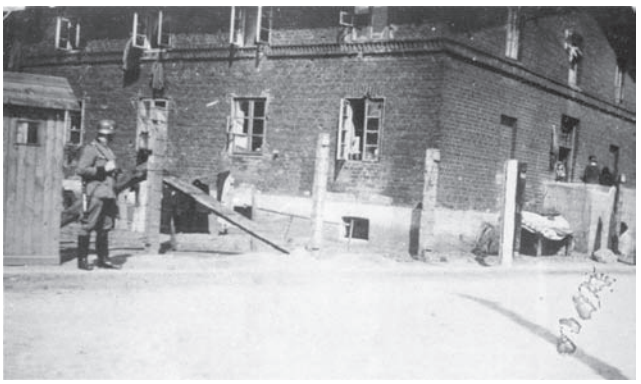
1. APP, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland, sygn. 594, p. 22.
2. AŻIH, Ring I/573, postcard of February 18, 1942, from Róża Kapłan to her husband in the Warsaw ghetto.
3. IPN, ASG, sygn. 50, p. 38; also Zh III/31/35/68, ghettos in Łódź province; OKŚZpNPŁdz, sygn. Ds. 45/67, zeznania Cz. Trzaskalskiej i R. Bednarka; Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk," p. 172, table 14. In December 1939, 9 Jews from Pawlikowice and 11 from Bardzinek were resettled to Krośniewice.
4. OKŚZpNPŁ dz, sygn. Ds. 45/67, zeznania Z. Dopierały, H. Lubranieckiego, Cz. Trzaskalskiej i R. Bednarka.
5. J. Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach: gostynińskim i kutnowskim," in *W 45, rocznicę zagłady skupisk żydowskich w Kraju Warty* (Zduńska Wola, 1987), p. 7.
6. MMŻ, Wykaz imienny więźniów osadzonych w obozach pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Wielkopolsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej; see also Korn, *Abe's Story*, pp. 32–37.
7. AŻIH, 301/4490, Abraham Radziecki; AŻIH, Ring I/573.
8. AŻIH, Ring I/573(13), postcard sent on February 20, 1942, by Róża Kapłan to her husband in the Warsaw ghetto; also Ring I/573(8), postcard sent on January 24, 1942, by Róża Kapłan to the Warsaw ghetto.
9. R. Sakowska, *Dwa etapy. Hitlerowska polityka eksterminacji Żydów w oczach ofiar. Szkic historyczny i dokumenty* (Wrocław, 1986), p. 154, report in Oneg Szabat written by members of the Warsaw Ghetto Archives, E. Ringelblum, H. Wasser, and E. Gutkowski, for the representatives of the Polish government in London in April 1942.
10. AŻIH, 301/4490.
11. Ibid., also Ring I/469; Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów," p. 55, doc. no. 18.
12. APŁ, Gettoverwaltung, sygn. 30021, p. 53.
13. R. Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, vol. 1, *Listy o Zagładzie* (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 35–36, 43, 113.

KUTNO

Pre-1939: Kutno, city, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: center, Kreis Kutno, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Kutno is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north of Łódź. In December 1939, there were 7,709 Jews in Kutno out of a total population of 27,761.[1]

German troops arrived in Kutno on September 16, 1939, and the Germans established a civil administration in the city on October 26.[2] Arbitrary arrests, forced labor, expropriations, and various kinds of abuse became the norm. The head of the Kutno Gestapo, Michel Stumpler, and his deputy, Hoffmann, were especially active in the measures taken against the Jews.[3]



A German policeman guards the entrance to the Kutno ghetto on Mickiewicz Street, n.d.
USHMM WS #91570, COURTESY OF IPN

On November 3, 1939, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Kutno. Among those on the council were Bernard Holcman (head of the council), Moses Fluger (deputy head), Sender Falc (head of the financial department), Paweł Goldszejder, I. Kubic, Sz. Opoczyński, Lauzer Praszkier, and Maks Zandel.[4] A Jewish police force was founded, which was commanded by the Frankenstein brothers and subordinated to the Jewish Council. The German authorities tasked the Judenrat with registering the Jews, including details of property ownership, in order to assist them with its subsequent expropriation. For example, a currency protection squad (Devisenschutzkommando Płock) organized the looting of Jewish property, seizing items such as jewelry, money, and valuable household goods in December 1939.[5] The Jewish Council regularly bribed the German police and civil administration in an effort to appease them. Hoffmann received furniture for his house, valued at approximately 15,000 Reichsmark (RM).

On June 16, 1940, the mayor, Wilfried Schürmann, ordered the establishment of a ghetto. The ghetto was located on the property of a former sugar factory named "Konstancja" and included five buildings already occupied by Jews. Some documents do not refer to this enclosed Jewish area as a ghetto but call it rather a Jewish camp (*Judenlager*). The resettlement of the Jews into the ghetto provided a renewed opportunity for expropriation. The German authorities not only confiscated money; they also took any remaining items of value. The Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto area within one day. During the process, the police forces involved, including the local Criminal Police (Gemeindekriminalpolizei), the Order Police (Schutzpolizei and Gendarmerie), and the SS (SS-Sturmbann III/114), abused the Jews. Josef Schneider and Wilhelm Sauer attracted particular attention for their brutality.[6] The Jews were only permitted to bring a small part of their movable property into the ghetto. Due to very limited transportation, most Jews had to carry everything in by hand.[7]



Jews transfer their belongings into the Kutno ghetto, July 1940.
USHMM WS #06214, COURTESY OF RAPHAEL ARONSON

The ghetto territory covered only 2 hectares (about 5 acres) and was isolated from the rest of the city by a brick wall with barbed wire on top. About 7,000 Jews lived in the ghetto initially, including more than 1,000 refugees from many different places, as well as some Jews who had been resettled into the ghetto from the surrounding villages. For example, 150 Jews were brought in from Dąbrowicki.[8] Jews were forced to find a home anywhere they could, for example, in former pubs, horse and cow stalls, and even primitive shelters made of wood and mud. By October 1940, the first cases of typhus were reported.

Of the five buildings in the ghetto area, one housed the ghetto guards, and the Jewish Council and their families occupied two others. In one of these buildings, little more than a primitive shack, a hospital (Krankenabteilung) was set up. It consisted of one room for the physician and four rooms for the patients. On the first floor was the ghetto post office.[9] The local police guarded the ghetto. The ghetto guards received the title of "Police Guards, Jewish Camp" (Polizeiwache, Judenlager). Their headquarters was located on Posen Street. Among others, 50 members of Police Battalion 132—and after November 26, 1941, 38 members of Police Battalion 41—guarded the Kutno ghetto. They were under the command of Oberleutnant Kurt Weissenborn, who was notorious for his corruption.[10] He took large monetary bribes to allow goods to be smuggled into the ghetto. However, the food situation soon became desperate. The Jewish Council opened a soup kitchen for the poorest ghetto inmates and succeeded in organizing deliveries from farms in Chruścinek in the Gemeinde Strzelce and from a dairy farm in Kutno. Despite these efforts, food supplies remained insufficient. Food was distributed three times a day—breakfast, lunch, and dinner—in the Jewish Council's building. The shortages induced a high level of smuggling. There were also occasional aid deliveries from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).[11]

The corruption of some ghetto guards helped a little, as they permitted some Jews to leave the ghetto to exchange valuables with the non-Jewish population for food. It seems that the Jewish Council played a significant role in bribing the guards, but survivor testimonies remain ambiguous regarding the behavior of the Judenrat. Some survivors accuse members of the council of granting privileges to themselves and their families, especially better apartments and larger food rations. The ghetto population referred to the buildings occupied by the Jewish Council as "the House of Lords."[12]

In February 1941, some ghetto inmates organized a riot against the Jewish Council. The insurgents demanded that the head of the financial department, Sender Falc, give a detailed account of all expenditures by the ghetto administration. The protest turned violent, and some of the rioters assaulted Falc. The German police intervened to halt further unrest.[13] As a result of this incident, various smuggling operations involving the ghetto were uncovered, and several people were arrested in May 1941. Among those arrested were a Pole named Zenon Rzymowski and a Jew named Leon Stuczynski from the ghetto. All of the prisoners were sentenced to death and hanged in Włocławek.[14] After this incident, several members of the Criminal Police and also the ghetto guards were replaced. The result was a considerable tightening of security around the ghetto, leading to the complete isolation of the Jews. The only remaining route to exit and enter the ghetto was a dried-out canal hidden underground, which, however, was soon blocked by the German police.

In 1941, an unknown number of Jews from Kutno were transferred to forced labor camps in the area around Poznań, where they worked building sections of the highway connecting that city (renamed Posen by the Germans) with Frankfurt an der Oder, a road that led through original German territory (the Altreich).[15]

There were several escapes by Jews from the Kutno ghetto to other ghettos such as Ozorków (in Wartheland) and Warsaw. In July 1941, the registered ghetto population was 6,015.

The health situation in the Kutno ghetto deteriorated, and the death rate from disease and starvation was very high. On March 21, 1942, the head of the civil administration in Inowrocław sent a letter to the head of the Health Department for Reichsgau Wartheland, stating that 1,369 persons were infected with typhus and 313 had already died in the Kutno ghetto.[16] The Jewish Council managed to bring in two physicians from other ghettos, Juliusz Winsaft and Dr. Aperstein, to provide some medical treatment.[17] Also, some Polish physicians tried to help: Józef Malinowski, Juliusz Perkowicz, and B. Jędraszko obtained permission to enter the ghetto to conduct research into epidemic diseases. However, the German authorities did not permit the delivery of typhus serum to Kutno's Jews. In addition, there were many cases of abscesses and edemas caused by malnutrition, mainly affecting children. In total, more than 660 Jews died of starvation and disease in the Kutno ghetto, comprising about 10 percent of the average ghetto population.[18]

These were not the only causes of death, of course; other inmates were killed, for example, for leaving the ghetto ille-

gally. The German police taunted the Jews when food deliveries reached the ghetto.[19] They threw the groceries into the gathered crowd to provoke a fight and shot at the desperate people grasping for food. The ghetto of Kutno became renowned as one of the worst ghettos, some Germans calling it the "camp of dying off" (*Krepierlager*).

In spite of the harsh conditions, the Jews in the Kutno ghetto, especially the younger ones, tried to maintain some cultural life. They held meetings to discuss literature, sang songs, and organized a library. Attempts were made to found a school in the ghetto, but the intended building was given to the ghetto hospital, which had a higher priority. Nevertheless, an underground education system was established in the ghetto.[20]

German forces initiated the liquidation of the Kutno ghetto on March 19, 1942. The underground newspaper of the Warsaw ghetto, *Undzer Weg*, reported on May 1, 1942, that the Kutno ghetto had been liquidated on March 23, 1942. A report prepared in April 1942 in the Warsaw ghetto for the Polish government in exile stated that on March 26, 1942, the Jews of the Kutno ghetto were assembled in alphabetical order and loaded onto trucks.[21] The victims were transported on the narrow gauge train to Koło, and from there they were sent immediately to the extermination camp at Chełmno. This mass Aktion lasted until April 1942, resulting in the death of some 6,000 Jews from the Kutno ghetto.[22] The older residents of the ghetto were killed in Kutno. Following the liquidation Aktion, the members of the Jewish Police were shot just outside the ghetto area. Contemporary documentation indicates that Habus Sgiem, a former resident of the Kutno ghetto (born on February 7, 1918), managed to escape from the extermination camp in Chełmno and was wanted for arrest by the German authorities.[23] After the liquidation of the Kutno ghetto, 30 Jews from the Łódź ghetto were sent to Kutno as a so-called Aufräumungstrupp (cleanup detachment) and had to clear out the ghetto and sort the possessions left behind by the Jews. They too were mistreated and suffered from starvation and disease, including cases of typhus.[24]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Kutno during the Holocaust include the following: David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Kutnah veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kutnah veha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-huts-la-arets, 1968); Janusz Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach: gostynińskim i kutnowskim" (paper presented at the conference on the 45 Anniversary of the Destruction of the Jewish Communities of the "Wartheland," Zduńska Wola, October 23, 1987); and J. Wróbel, "Żydzi w Kutnie 1939–1942," *Rocznik Łódzki* 39 (1989) 279–288. Among the published survivor testimonies relevant to the Kutno ghetto is Abraham Korn, *Abe's Story: A Holocaust Memoir* (Atlanta, GA: Longstreet, 1995).

Documentation on the ghetto and the fate of the Jewish population of Kutno during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AIZP (IZ. Dok. I-744); APŁ (sygn. 30021); APP (sygn. 594, 21111, and 2430); AŻIH (Ring I/469, 683, 839, and 1157; 301/301-15); IPN (ASG, sygn. 50, pp. 41–46); MMŻ; OKŚZpNPŁdz (OKŁ, Ds 50/67); USHMM (RG-02.191); and YVA.

Anna Ziółkowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. APP, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland, sygn. 594, p. 23.
2. R. Buzak, "Wojna obronna Polski 1939 i lata okupacji hitlerowskiej," in R. Rosin, ed., *Kutno. Dzieje Miasta* (Warsaw-Łódź, 1984), pp. 240–241.
3. AŻIH, 301/303, p. 1, testimony of Łucja Stuczyńska.
4. APP, Treuhandstelle Posen, sygn. 2430.
5. AŻIH, 301/313, testimony of Mieczysław Kisielewski; 301/311, testimony of Kazimierz Śpiewankiewicz.
6. Ibid., 301/303, testimony of M. Kisielewski; 301/309, testimony of Tadeusz Białecki.
7. Ibid., 301/303, p. 2, testimony of Ł. Stuczyńska; 301/315, testimony of Luzer Jakubowicz; OKŚZpNPŁdz, sygn. Ds 50/67, testimonies of A. Wojtczak, Z. Koszański, and L. Cieślak. See also Shtokfish, *Sefer Kutnah*, p. 327. Some sources date the establishment of the ghetto earlier, in March or April 1940.
8. D. Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 172, table 14; *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, September 22, 1940.
9. APP, Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 2111, p. 1; see also APP (zespół nr. 4045), an 8mm film made by unknown Germans, which probably includes scenes from the Kutno ghetto.
10. Ibid., Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 2111, p. 112; AIZP, sygn. Dok. I-734, p. 7; *Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der Reichspostdirektion Posen (1942)*, p. 90.
11. AŻIH, 301/303, testimony of Ł. Stuczyńska.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 301/304, testimony of Ł. Stuczyńska; 301/314, testimony of Stanisław Wojtysiak; J. Wróbel, "Getta w powiatach: gostynińskim i kutnowskim," in *W 45 rocznicę zagłady skupisk żydowskich w Kraju Warty* (Zduńska Wola, 1987).
14. AŻIH, 301/303, testimony of Mieczysław Kisielewski; 301/303, testimony of Ł. Stuczyńska.
15. MMŻ, Wykaz imienny więźniów osadzonych w obozach pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Wielkopolsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej.
16. APP, Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 2111, pp. 6–8, 11–13, 111–112, 157–158, 170–171. Shtokfish, *Sefer Kutnah*, p. 329, gives figures of 1,000 typhus cases and 500 deaths.
17. AŻIH, MSS of cities, no. 44, as cited by Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), p. 158.
18. Trunk, *Judenrat*, p. 154.
19. APP, sygn. 2111, p. 157.
20. R. Sakowska, *Dwa etapy. Hitlerowska polityka eksterminacji Żydów w oczach ofiar. Szkic historyczny i dokumenty* (Wrocław, 1986), p. 142; AŻIH, 301/306, testimony of B. Jędraszko; 301/304, testimony of Ł. Stuczyńska; Korn, *Abe's Story*, p. 21.
21. R. Sakowska et al., eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy* (Warsaw: PWN, 1997), 1:18.
22. AŻIH, 301/311, testimony of Kazimierz Śpiewankiewicz.

23. APP, Gendarmerie Kreis Ostrowo [Ostrów Wielkopolski], sygn. 1, p. 42.

24. APP, Reichsstatthalter, sygn. 2111, p. 202; AŻIH, 301/311, testimony of Kazimierz Śpiewankiewicz.

ŁASK

Pre-1939: Łask, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lask, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łask, Łódź województwo, Poland

Łask is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Łódź. At the outbreak of World War II, the population of Łask numbered about 5,000 people, of which 3,864 were Jews.

A few days after occupying the town in early September 1939, a group of Germans came to the synagogue and shot the beadle. Subsequently the synagogue was converted into a slaughterhouse for horses.

The Germans issued an order forbidding Jews from praying in public, so on Rosh Hashanah (September 14, 1939) all Jews had to pray at home. Some Jews were driven onto the streets in their prayer shawls and forced to pluck geese. On the holiday of Sukkot, the Germans threw Rabbi Leib Eisenberg, wearing his prayer shawl, into a garbage bin.

The Germans pillaged the Jews systematically. They demanded that the chairman of the local Jewish bank pay them 40,000 złoty within 24 hours. The Jewish charity fund was also required to pay a heavy "contribution."



Postcard of the marketplace in Łask during the German occupation.
COURTESY OF MUZEUM HISTORII LASKU

After hearing from some Jewish informers that Rabbi Eisenberg had hidden a horde of valuables, including silver artifacts from the synagogue, the Germans summoned him and demanded he reveal the hiding place. The rabbi was beaten cruelly, but he only gave away the location of the valuables after the Germans brought his wife to the cemetery and tortured her.

The German sanitary commissioner, who was a degenerate sadist, abused Jewish women, commanding them to wash naked with a brush at the water pump in the marketplace. On other occasions, he ordered women to wash in the *mikveh* (ritual Jewish bath) or in the municipal baths and return to him with a written confirmation. He also arranged orgies in his home, forcing Jewish women to participate. He left Łask in 1941.[1]

The chairman of the Jewish community was Salman Kochman. When the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), they nominated Kochman as its chairman. Among the other members of the Judenrat were Avraham Burakovski, who ran the economics department; Aaron Pinchas Brzezinski, Yekel Levkovitz, and Motle Friedman from Łódź, who ran the labor department; Dov Mandel, who ran the post office; and Wolf Reichert, who ran the secretarial department.

The Judenrat chairman established a court of justice, with the judges Yitshak Kantorowitz and Mordechay Feibel Kochman. He also established the Jewish Police and nominated Hersch Lein as its chief.

The Judenrat tried its best to make life tolerable for the Jews. With some financial assistance received from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), the Jewish Council established a kosher public kitchen, which served a half a liter (1 pint) of soup and a slice of bread to those in need every day.

Despite acknowledgment by some of Kochman's efforts for the community, there were complaints against the Judenrat, mainly concerning how people were selected for labor camps and the brutality of the Jewish Police.[2]

The Germans started seizing Jews for work off the streets, almost immediately after they arrived. At first Jews were taken to repair two bridges on the Zduńska Wola road, which were blown up in the fighting. Others had to work for local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Subsequently work tasks included removing and breaking up tombstones from the Jewish cemetery to pave the streets of the town.[3]

Deporting Jews to work camps, mainly in the Poznań region, had started by the summer of 1941. As time went on, the Germans made repeated demands for workers. The lists of people to be sent away were hung up in public places. When those people named did not report, the Jewish Police, and sometimes also the German Schutzpolizei, rounded them up. This caused a public outcry and even attacks on representatives of the Judenrat and its labor department.

In the years 1939–1940, food supplies were reasonable. Jewish bakeries continued to function until March 1940, as did Yankl Schmuelewitz's butcher shop, which sold horseflesh supplied by the German slaughterhouse in the synagogue. But in March 1940, all the Jewish bakeries were closed, and the Jews had to buy their bread rations only from "Aryan"

bakeries, using official coupons. In time all food was rationed. Only Jews employed as workers by the Germans received a supplementary food ration.

On February 22, 1940, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto (*Judenviertel*) in Łask.[4] At first many Jews were ordered to move to the vicinity of Garbarska and Tylna Streets. Then, on November 18, 1940, all Jews in town were driven into the ghetto area, being beaten on the way.

The area of the ghetto was too small for the number of Jews crammed into it, and several families had to share a single dwelling. In October 1940, the number of Jews in the Łask ghetto was 3,467, of which 630 were refugees from other places, including Kalisz and Turek.[5]

In the first year of the ghetto, it was not fenced, apparently due to a shortage of fencing material,[6] and Jews could come and go as they pleased within the town. They were not, however, permitted to leave the town limits, which had a serious economic effect as many Jews earned their living as peddlers. Only in late 1941 were Jews prohibited from leaving the ghetto. Traffic was allowed between 6:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. for those going out to work. Poles were allowed to enter the ghetto until 6:00 P.M. and Germans until 9:00 P.M. Jews caught outside the ghetto illegally now faced the death penalty. This development dramatically worsened living conditions. Famine and disease became widespread, and the death rate rose steeply. Occasionally the Schutzpolizei broke into the ghetto, searching for valuables and beating and killing Jews arbitrarily.

Nevertheless, Jews continued to sneak out of the ghetto at night to buy food.[7] The suppliers were non-Jews, and the prices were very high. Jews also slaughtered animals without an official permit. When caught, Jews faced severe punishments, and many of them perished.

The Judenrat undertook various efforts to make life tolerable. In August 1940, the Jewish Council established a hospital on the insistence of the German authorities, following an outbreak of typhus. The hospital was located on Tylna Street and was managed by doctors Bal and Singer. The number of fatalities remained small, despite a large number of sick. The hospital also took in Jews from the surrounding communities, including from Lutomiersk and Zelów.[8] Religious rites were also observed in spite of the prohibition by the German authorities.

In early 1942, news about the liquidation of other Jewish communities and the extermination of Jews in the Chełmno extermination camp started to reach the Łask ghetto. Responses were varied: some believed, or wanted to believe, that the Jews of Łask would be spared. Others began to look for places to hide themselves or at least their children. There were also some who simply accepted the fact that they were doomed.

At some date in 1942, two brothers, aged 16 and 18, from Kalisz were publicly executed by the Schutzpolizei for stealing coal. Through the intervention of the Judenrat, 10 others were reprieved.[9]

The liquidation of the Łask ghetto started on August 24, 1942, when a special German SS unit arrived from Łódź. The German head of the local Savings Bank (Sparkasse), Oskar Wolfinger, witnessed the roundup:

> The houses were searched individually and the Jews driven onto the street. Some Jews were shot as the houses were searched. The SS-men occasionally shot into the houses, when the Jews did not emerge immediately. In one case, two Jews who had hidden did not come out of the house, but after shots were fired into the doorway, they were driven up onto the roof. Then the SS shot them down from the roof. All the Jews were then driven through the town and herded into the Catholic Church. Here they were held under catastrophic conditions.[10]

The Jews were kept in the church for three days, suffering from starvation. In the end, Hans Biebow, head of the German Ghetto Administration (Gettoverwaltung, GV) in Łódź, and Günther Fuchs, of the Gestapo in Łódź, selected 760 people, mostly artisans and men capable of work, and sent them to Łódź.[11] The rest of the Jews, about 2,700 people in all, were sent to the Chełmno death camp, where they perished. At the same time the Germans put the Judenrat chairman Kochman with 20 other people on a truck and drove them away, never to be seen again.

After the Germans were driven out of Łask by the Red Army, 1 Jewish survivor emerged from hiding with local peasants, and about 20 Łask Jews returned from the camps.[12]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Łask and the persecution and destruction of its inmates can be found in the following publications: *Łask Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Va'adat ha-ma'arekhet shel ha-sefer shele-yad Irgun yots'e Łask be-Yisrael, 1968); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 134–139; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006); Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 92–93; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979).

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Łask during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: APŁ (278/994, pp. 166–167); AŻIH (e.g., 210/446 [AJDC]; 301/1874); BA-L (Pol. Ordn. 358, p. 833); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (e.g., # 17565 and 22839); and YVA (M-1/E/1683 and M-1/Q/511).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Łask Memorial Book*, pp. 91–92.
2. AŻIH, 301/1874, testimony of Dr. Singer.
3. Ibid.; *Łask Memorial Book*, pp. 74–75.
4. AŻIH, 301/1874; 210/446, report of the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde in Łask to AJDC in Krakau, July 21, 1941—stated that the Judenviertel had been created 15 months earlier.

5. *Łask Memorial Book*, p. 91; AŻIH, 210/446, report of the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde in Łask to the AJDC in Warsaw, December 18, 1940.

6. *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, April 28, 1940, as cited by Albertini, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 195.

7. VHF, # 22839, testimony of Mordechi Friedel.

8. AŻIH, 210/446, report of the Jüdische Kultusgemeinde in Łask to the AJDC in Kraków, July 21, 1941.

9. *Łask Memorial Book*, pp. 78–80.

10. Report of events by Oskar Wolfinger, trans. from the extract cited by Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof*, p. 92.

11. APŁ, 278/994, pp. 166–167; VHF, # 17565, testimony of Toby Rais.

12. AŻIH, 301/1874.

ŁĘCZYCA

Pre-1939: Łęczyca, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lentschütz, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łęczyca, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Łęczyca is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northwest of Łódź. In 1939, there were around 4,200 Jews residing in the town.

German forces first captured Łęczyca on September 7, 1939. They promptly ordered all Jewish men into the synagogue and all Polish men into the church and the movie theater, where they were held overnight. The Poles were sent home the next day, but the Jews were sent to dig trenches on the outskirts of town.[1] Polish forces briefly recaptured Łęczyca, and the Germans pulled back, but they returned on September 13. Jews were seized for forced labor marked by cruel beatings, hunger, and no pay. On September 22, all males, Jewish and non-Jewish, aged 16 to 70 were ordered to assemble in the town square. The German commander announced that a high-ranking officer had been murdered by a treacherous citizen of Łęczyca. Therefore, 50 Jews (leading members of the community) and 100 Poles (mostly common criminals) would be held hostage to assure the safety of German personnel. After three weeks the non-Jewish hostages and most of the Jews, with the exception of the rabbi and a few Jewish leaders, were released. The Germans imposed a fine of 1 million złoty on the Jewish community, due by a certain date. They established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by Herzke Muchnik, who then selected the other members of the council. They set to work assessing and collecting the money (and ordering the Jewish Police to arrest recalcitrants). The fine was paid on time.[2]



View of the Łęczyca ghetto's gate and barbed wire fence, n.d.
USHMM WS #91661, COURTESY OF IPN

In December 1939, Jews living on certain of the "better" streets were ordered out of their homes for relocation to another area—the first step towards a ghetto, which was eventually to be enclosed. Jews were forbidden to appear on certain streets even if they lived there. They had to enter their houses from a side street or alleyway. The Germans ordered that all Jews living on Ozorków, Kalisz, and Piątków Streets, on the city square, and on other major streets must leave their houses and be concentrated on other streets.[3] Over the following months, all the Jews were concentrated into a closely confined area that served as an open ghetto. It included the Street of the Jews, Kowalska and Ogrodowa Streets, and the entire area from there up to the jailhouse.[4]

Each day the Judenrat was ordered to provide a certain number of people for forced labor. They were put to work on the most humiliating and backbreaking tasks—one of which was the dismantling of the Jewish cemetery. The gravestones were used as paving stones.[5] People with money could buy their way out of forced labor, but only a few could afford to do so. Those who had lost their livelihoods sold whatever they had to avoid starvation. In February 1940, the Germans placed buckets of tar and incendiary materials in the large synagogue and burned it down. Then they accused the Jews of arson and forced the Judenrat to sign a statement to that effect. They also imposed a heavy fine.[6]

In late 1940, the systematic expulsions began. The first transport was to Częstochowa in December 1940.[7] The next expulsion, to Poddębice, was ordered in January 1941. People were told to assemble in the town square within two hours, bringing only household utensils and bedding. Their goods were loaded onto horse-drawn wagons, which also transported children and the elderly. The procession of 500 or 600 people was photographed as they began the forced march to Poddębice.[8] They were met by the Jewish Police, which put them into horse stables until they could find housing for them. Four families were crowded into a single room. Jews from the surrounding area were brought into Łęczyca, from which in early 1941 there were three additional deportations—to Poddębice, to Grabów, and possibly to Parczęczew, another concentration point within the Kreis.[9] The inflow of refugees from the countryside and the expulsions to other ghettos kept the population of Łęczyca at a rough equilibrium. On January 1,

1940, the number was around 3,000. On January 1, 1941, the total was 2,987. In April 1942, it was approximately 1,750.

At some time between December 1940 and February 1941 (just following the expulsions), the establishment of the Łęczyca ghetto was completed when it was enclosed with barbed wire.[10] No one was permitted to leave the area. Within the ghetto there was freedom of movement from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., after which a strict curfew was enforced. At first Jews wore a yellow patch with a Star of David on their sleeves. Afterwards, they were forced to wear it on the front and back of their clothing. Jewish converts to Christianity—still regarded as Jews by the Germans—had to wear an extra-large patch. Judenrat members had their own distinctive patches. Within the ghetto all communal life was suppressed—no prayer services, no cultural programs, no schools, no social interaction, and no trade or business activity were permitted. The ghetto cooperative, which provided meager rations and other basic services, was the only organization allowed to function. Due to famine and lack of fuel, diseases were prevalent, including cases of typhus. Funeral processions to the cemetery were forbidden; only a few close relatives were allowed to inter the deceased.[11]

After the expulsions, the only Jews left in Łęczyca were the relatively well-to-do, who held on to the delusion that money could shield them from their ultimate fate. Around this time the Germans ordered the Jews to salvage the bricks of the burned synagogue and clean them for further use. This difficult and heartbreaking task was accomplished in three nonstop shifts. Each day the inhabitants of the ghetto were lined up for a head count. In March 1942, 10 men who were under arrest allegedly for smuggling were publicly hanged. After five hours their bodies were buried in a common grave.[12]

On April 11–12, 1942, the remaining 1,750 Jews were sent to the extermination camp at Chełmno.[13] During the month of April, all the Jews of Łęczyca who had been expelled to the nearby towns of Poddębice and Grabów were also transported to Chełmno and murdered.[14] In June 1942, the Gestapo in Łódź reported that about 9,000 Jews had been evacuated recently from Kreis Lentschütz, which was free of Jews (*judenfrei*) with the exception of the ghetto in Ozorków.[15] During July 1942, a group of Jews was brought to the Central Prison in Łódź from the prison in Łęczyca.[16] At the end of the occupation, local Poles were occupying the houses in the former ghetto area.[17]

SOURCES Published sources on the Łęczyca ghetto include the following: Yitzhak Frenkel, ed., *Sefer Linshitz* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Leczyca in Israel, 1953); Avraham Tsigler, *Hazak ve-halash: Sipuro nitsol Sho'ah* (Israel: A. Tsigler, 1987); and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 151–155.

Information on the Łęczyca ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I/1047 and 1172); BA-L (ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67); IPN (ASG, vol. 50, p. 83); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 15; and RG-50.488*0153); VHF (# 5802, 20465, 21749, and 23061); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman

NOTES

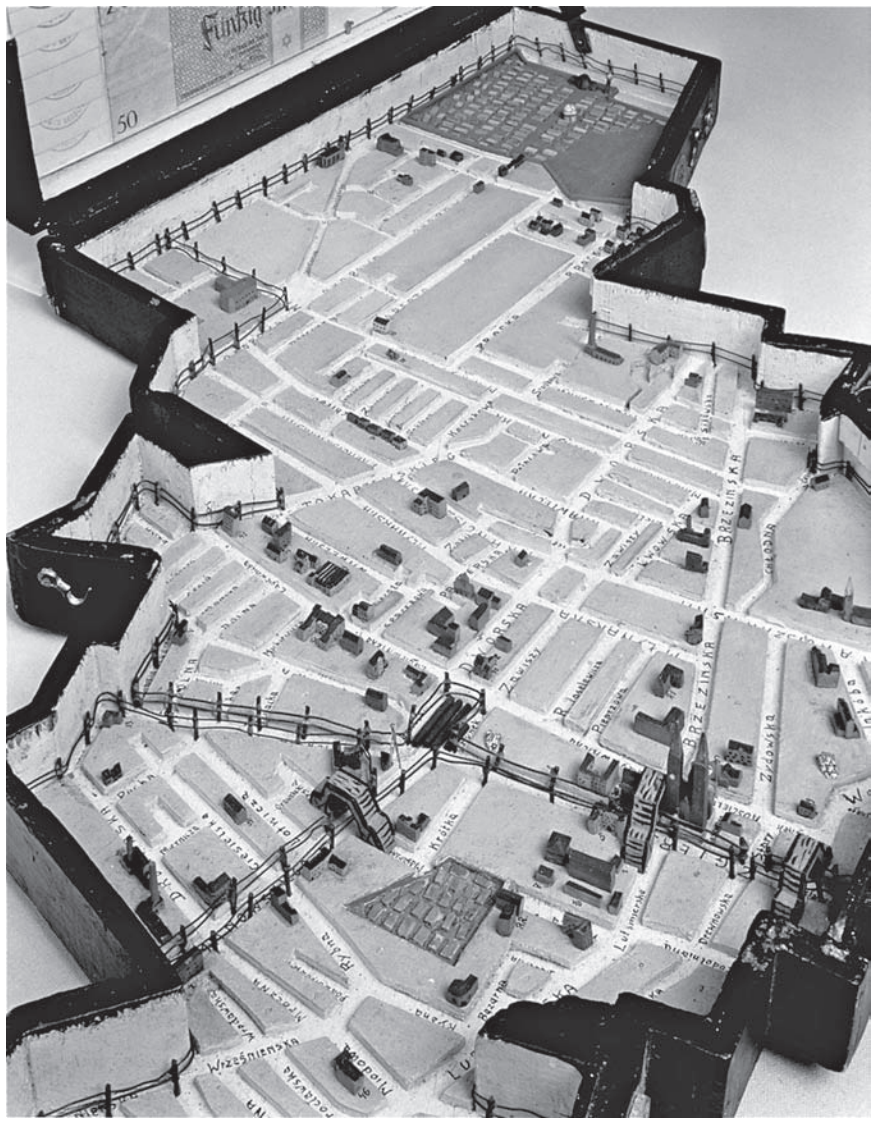
1. Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, p. 179.
2. Ibid., pp. 180–181; a photograph of Herzke Muchnik can be found in Tsigler, *Hazak ve-halash*, on the final page.
3. Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, p. 181.
4. Ibid., p. 183.
5. Ibid., p. 186; and VHF, # 5802, testimony of Abraham Lipschitz.
6. Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, p. 181.
7. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 155.
8. See Tsigler, *Hazak ve-halash*, final page.
9. Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, pp. 182–183; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 202.
10. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15 (IPN, ASG 50), p. 83, dates the establishment of the ghetto in February 1941. BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67, vol. 7, p. 181, witness statement of Gerhard J., August 6, 1971, however, dates it only at the end of 1941.
11. Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, pp. 183–185; AŻIH, Ring I/1172.
12. Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 686; Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, p. 185.
13. "Leczyca," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 12 (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), pp. 594–595.
14. Frenkel, *Sefer Linshitz*, p. 186; and Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), pp. 205–207.
15. Lagebericht der Gestapo in Lodsch, June 9, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 285–286.
16. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 236.
17. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15 (IPN, ASG 50), p. 83.

ŁÓDŹ

Pre-1939: Łódź (Yiddish: Lodzh), city, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Litzmannstadt (April 1940), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łódź, Łódź województwo, Poland

Łódź lies 137 kilometers (85 miles) southwest of Warsaw. Its textile industry was the largest in interwar Poland. In 1931, its 604,629 residents included among others 356,987 Poles, 191,720 Jews, and 53,562 Germans. On the eve of World War II, its Jewish community, numbering around 235,000 members, was the second largest in Europe.

Upon occupying Łódź on September 8, 1939, the Germans unleashed three months of sustained anti-Jewish violence, including seizing Jews for forced labor, plundering and confiscating Jewish property, and executing or deporting to



A model of the Łódź ghetto created by ghetto resident Leon Jacobson in 1940. The ghetto's footbridges are visible in the foreground.
USHMM WS #N00051, COURTESY OF LEON JACOBSON

concentration camps hundreds of the city's Jewish political, business, and cultural elite.

Arthur Greiser, Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter of Warthegau, officially lobbied for Łódź's incorporation into Warthegau on November 9, 1939, and because he was anxious to Germanize the city by resettling Reich and ethnic Germans there, authorities initially planned to expel the Jews, rather than to ghettoize them. From December 11, 1939, German police, security officials, and local ethnic Germans organized in a Selbstschutz (Auxiliary Police) unit, and German civilians, including youth brought from the Reich, began deporting Jews (and Poles) into the Generalgouvernement. Plans called for the expulsion of 30,000 Jews (and 30,000 Poles) from Łódź, but protests from Hans Frank, head of the Generalgouvernement, suspended the deportations on December 16, after the transfer of 25,374 people. Jews likely were overrepresented among the expellees because German youth had targeted them for eviction.[1] Ongoing antisemitic terror and rumors of a total expulsion prompted another 60,000 to 75,000 Jews to leave Łódź on their own.

On December 10, 1939, Friedrich Übelhör, Regierungspräsident in Kalisch, secretly ordered authorities to plan a "transitional" measure: a closed ghetto to imprison the Jews until their expulsion to the Generalgouvernement.[2] On February 8, 1940, SS-Brigadeführer Johannes Schäfer, the city's Polizeipräsident, publicly announced the establishment of a ghetto in northern Łódź, ultimately on 4.13 square kilometers (almost 1.6 square miles) in the Bałuty, Stare Miasto (Old Town), and Marysin neighborhoods. Ethnic Germans and Poles had until April 30 to vacate residences there. Given until April 19 to move into the ghetto, Jews could bring one suitcase of clothing, linens, photographs, and a bed. Chaim Mordechai Rum-

kowski, whom German authorities appointed head of the Jewish Council (officially, Der Älteste der Juden) on October 13–14, 1939, established a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) to transfer the Jews into the ghetto.

Starting on March 1, 1940, the SS and police, impatient with the transfer rate, arrested Poles still living in the ghetto and drove Jews into it. The Germans released some 600 Poles, designating them for residency in a Polish neighborhood established in southern Łódź, and filled their places with Jewish expellees. About 200 Jews were shot dead during the evacuations, mostly on March 7–8 ("Bloody Thursday"). Some 160 from among those arrested were executed in the Lućmierz Forest, near Zgierz. Another 400 to 500 Jewish prisoners were expelled to the Generalgouvernement.

In March and April 1940, the Germans encircled the ghetto with a barbed-wire and wooden fence. On April 30, the gates closed on its 163,777 residents (including 6,741 refugees). On May 10, the Schutzpolizei (Schupo) and its auxiliaries, posted at 50- to 100-meter intervals (about 55- to 109-yard intervals) along the outside of the 11-kilometer (6.8-mile) ghetto perimeter, received orders to shoot Jews approaching the fence without warning. About 180 Jews were killed for being too close to the fence and for other offenses related to securing the ghetto's perimeter.

In April 1940, the Germans changed Łódź's name to Litzmannstadt. Therefore, the Łódź ghetto is also known as the Litzmannstadt ghetto. Karl Marder and Werner Ventzky, respectively, the city's Oberbürgermeister and Bürgermeister, were the chief administrative and economic officers of the ghetto. They initially charged the Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftsamt Hauptstelle (Food Supplies and Economy Department) with day-to-day responsibility for the ghetto. The department in turn created a Ghetto division, officially the Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftstelle Getto (EWG), led from May 1940 by Hans Biebow, a coffee merchant from Bremen. The Schupo, Kripo, and Gestapo exercised police authority over the ghetto. In January 1942, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Otto Bradfisch replaced the first commander of the Litzmannstadt Gestapo, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Robert Schefe. In August 1942, Bradfisch also assumed Ventzky's position. Through 1943, SS-Obersturmführer Günter Fuchs headed the Gestapo's section for Jewish Matters (Judenangelegenheiten).

Conditions in the ghetto were poor. Because Jewish authorities had designated the housing in Marysin, a more rural, middle-class neighborhood, mainly for schools, old-age homes, and an orphanage, almost all the Jews were squeezed into about 2,300 homes located in a 2.31 square kilometer (0.9 square mile) residential area in Bałuty and Old Town. The two neighborhoods were notorious slums, whose mostly 100-year-old wooden houses lacked central plumbing. The exclusion from the ghetto of Nowomiejska-Zgierz and Limanowski Streets, throughways left open to non-Jewish traffic, made movement within the ghetto difficult. Initially, the Jews crossed the streets at specific gates, only at designated times.

From the fall of 1941, Jews from beyond Łódź were consolidated in the ghetto: 2,900 from the Kujawy region (including Włocławek, Brześć Kujawski, Chodecz, Kowal, and Lubraniec); 19,954 from Prague, Vienna, Luxembourg, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Emden, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, and Cologne; and 18,000 to 18,500 from localities near Łódź. From November 5–9, 5,007 Roma arrived from Burgenland, Austria. Additionally, some 2,306 children were born in the ghetto. The total number of people who lived there amounted to around 210,000.

City administrators further exacerbated conditions in the ghetto. Initially, they moved haltingly on Rumkowski's requests, in March and April 1940, to establish factories to enable the Jews to work to pay for their provisioning and instead decided to finance the ghetto by extracting movable wealth from the Jews. The EWG debited Rumkowski's account for requests he made to ease living conditions, including for the medical equipment and furnishings in a modern pre-war public health clinic and for three wooden pedestrian bridges (60,000 Reichsmark [RM]) constructed in July over the roads excluded from the ghetto. To resolve the ghetto's growing indebtedness, the EWG ordered the Jews in June 1940 to exchange their convertible currency at a ghetto bank for vouchers. (The Jews called the ghetto currency Chaimki or Rumki, because they carried Rumkowski's name.) A special Kripo unit, the Kriminalpolizei Sonderkommissariat Getto, commanded by Bruno Obersteiner and Wilhelm Neumann, established offices in the ghetto in May to facilitate searches for items the EWG and the Jewish administration ordered the Jews to surrender. In July, Rumkowski, on Gestapo and EWG orders, created a special division of the Jewish Police, the Sonderabteilung, to assist in Kripo searches. From August, a second ghetto bank assessed and purchased for ghetto currency Jewish-owned valuables, including paintings, jewelry, leather goods, clothing, and linens.[3]

These policies rapidly pauperized the ghetto because they forced almost all the Jews, save perhaps for the approximately 7,000 employed on June 25, 1940, to sell possessions to survive. By August, just 52.2 percent of ghetto residents could afford to buy food. On August 10–11 and 25, Rumkowski called on German forces to dispel food riots and distributed 70,000 kilograms (154,324 pounds) of potatoes to the most impoverished. On September 19, he declared his administration financially incapable of feeding the impoverished and requested a 2 million RM loan. Officials caused looting by suspending food deliveries into the ghetto for two weeks to extract additional valuables.

Since Hans Frank refused to resettle the Łódź Jews in the Generalgouvernement, on October 18, 1940, the municipal authorities acknowledged that the ghetto would continue to exist. They approved a 3 million RM loan to provision the ghetto and to develop workshops there. To cut costs, they ordered that the Jews receive prison rations, from the worst of the available food supply, and insisted that only the most productive workers be awarded supplemental rations. Biebow's office became an autonomous division, the Gettoverwaltung (Ghetto Administration, GV), which reported directly to the mayor. Biebow elevated the ghetto Kripo, giving it identical



Children work in a wood workshop in the Łódź ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #89491, COURTESY OF MOSHE ZILBAR

access as the Gestapo to his meetings with Jewish administrators. Police authorities insisted the ghetto be surrounded with an elaborate "fire break," or a no-man's land. Some neighborhoods were razed beginning in late 1940. Guard booths and electric lights were installed in the vacant expanse. However, plans to install searchlights and to build watchtowers were never implemented, in part because the subsequent success of industrial expansion eased concerns about security by the spring of 1941 and may also have diminished retributive police terror.

By July 1942, the GV oversaw 74 ghetto workshops, officially called *Arbeitsressorte* (work sections) but popularly known as *ressorts*. Some 90 percent of all production was for the Wehrmacht. German department stores placed most of the remaining orders. A small pre-war railway depot, the Radogoszcz station, located in the ghetto, was expanded to deliver machinery and raw materials and to send out finished products, including clothing, shoes, carpets, furniture, telephone equipment, toys, and paper bags.

Ressort workers labored 10 to 14 hours a day in poorly ventilated, overcrowded workshops, earning wages on a piecework basis. The wages were held low, because Gau authorities took 35 percent off the top, the GV another 30 percent, and the Jewish administration another 10 percent. The most skilled worker received at best 4 ghetto marks daily. Nonskilled labor received 1 mark. Workers rapidly produced large quantities of finished goods, including in a week's time almost 5,000 complete sets of Wehrmacht uniforms. Such output fueled industrial expansion but never allowed for full employment. By March 1942, the ressorts employed 53,000 workers.

Rumkowski built a vast bureaucracy, numbering more than 13,000 people in August 1942, to oversee factories, housing, food supply, health care, and sanitation. In August 1940, he opened soup kitchens for the poor. In October, he implemented a promised welfare system, sending monthly stipends of 7 to 10 marks to 82,000 children and adults. However, the Jewish administration struggled over how to apportion the limited food the Germans sent into the ghetto, which likely amounted in most food categories to half a prisoner's ration. A 15 percent surcharge for food purchased on credit and a 15 percent fee to transfer food into the ghetto added costs to the few provisions the ghetto received.

Rumkowski responded to the food shortages by demanding the Jews work harder to pay for their maintenance and by instituting increasingly authoritarian measures. In December 1940, he ordered the Jewish administration to take over private soup kitchens and restaurants and to ration food. In the spring of 1941, he liquidated the pioneer training camps of young Zionists and seized their farms in Marysin. To snuff out speculation, he ordered periodic crackdowns and arrests of smugglers and black marketeers.

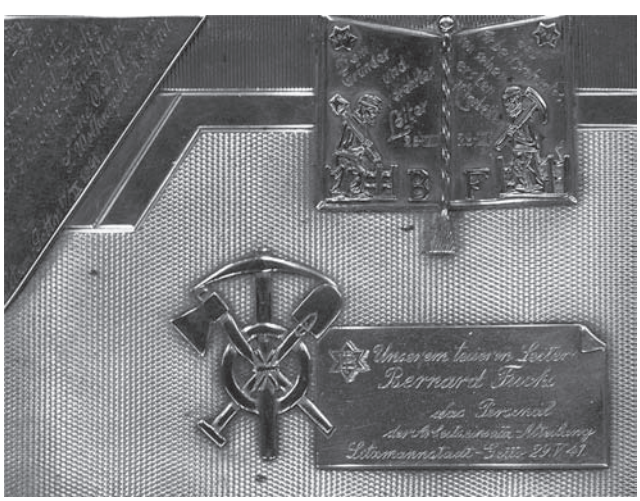
Within the ghetto, the shrinking economy exposed cleavages in the Jewish community. In January 1941, Rumkowski announced a more equitable distribution of bread rations by discontinuing a 600-grams (21-ounces) daily supplemental ration for manual workers to increase the general population's ration from 300 to 400 grams (10.6 to 14.1 ounces). In February, underground political groups protested the decision with the carpenters' strike. Most strikers returned to work after Rumkowski offered 580 grams (20.5 ounces) of meat and 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of potatoes to ressort workers. The Jewish Police put down the remaining opposition. In March, 700 welfare recipients demanded increases in relief payments and decreases in the prices of food. The West European Jews, in particular, found adjusting to the ghetto's economic realities difficult. About half never found jobs.

Material conditions for the Jews continued to decline, just as the daily food rations diminished—about 1,800 calories in the first months of the ghetto's existence decreased to 600 calories by mid-1942. Most Jews subsisted on a daily bowl of watery cabbage or potato soup, a piece of bread, and a small evening snack of radish greens or potato peels. Paltry heating rations and restrictions on electricity use in residences forced almost everyone to eat collectively in soup kitchens, to curtail the laundering of clothing and linens in hot water, and to eat unheated evening meals—factors that contributed to outbreaks of typhus and dysentery. In 1942, the annual death toll peaked at 18,000. (Officially, 2,811 deaths were attributed to starvation.) The West European Jews, many of them older, also were overrepresented among the victims. From October 1941 to May 1942, 3,318 died in the ghetto (about 50 percent of the total number of deaths in this period). Overall, 45,327 people died from "natural causes" in the ghetto.

Because Rumkowski had centralized so much authority for day-to-day ghetto operations in his hands, portrayed himself as the ghetto's supreme ruler, and boasted of Jewish autonomy in the ghetto, many blamed him for their plight. Some maintained he had established a system of patronage and privilege in which the ghetto leadership and elite, who were entitled to "enormous" supplemental rations, "[were] gorging, unafraid of death from exhaustion or tuberculosis . . . while the rest [were] swelling up and dying of hunger."[4] Others privately bemoaned Rumkowski's incompetence in economic affairs and castigated him for silencing opponents by ordering them conscripted for forced labor outside the ghetto, among the approximately



Nachman Zonabend (center) and Mendel Grosman (right) examine a framed portrait of the Łódź Judenrat chairman, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, 1941.
USHMM WS #02685, COURTESY OF NACHMAN ZONABEND



A silver cigarette case with gold decorations presented to Bernard Fuchs, head of the Łódź ghetto Labor Department, on the occasion of his birthday by his staff. From top left, the inscriptions, which have different signatories and dates, read: "Our beloved director Bernard Fuchs on his birthday – His OD [Ordnungsdienst, Order Service] staff, L. Wolkowyski [and] D. Pyttel, Litzm[annstadt] ghetto, 19 September 1941." Top right: "To the founder and honored director of the Labor Department from his first assistants, 28 June [1941] to 28 June [1942] B[enard] F[uchs]." Bottom right: "Our dear director Bernard Fuchs, the personnel of the labor deployment section, Litzmannstadt ghetto 29 May 1941."
USHMM WS #01367, COURTESY OF BERT AND IRENE FLEMING



A 10-Pfennig stamp from the Łódź ghetto, bearing the likeness of the Judenrat chairman, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, n.d.
USHMM WS #N00359



The Łódź ghetto police at roll call, 1941.
USHMM WS #05653, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

13,000 people sent to 160 forced labor camps, established mainly near Poznań, to construct the Autobahn to Frankfurt an der Oder.

Despite the grim living conditions, the ghetto sustained a variety of cultural activities. Until September 1942, religious observance continued in 27 Batei Midrash. Poets, writers, and musicians presented works in soup kitchens and at a cultural hall, opened in March 1941 by the Jewish administration. Between June 1940 and October 1941, 14,798 children attended 45 primary and 2 secondary schools. The cultural events enabled individuals to forget their isolation, hunger, and despair for a time. The schools served one subsidized meal daily, providing students important nutritional sustenance. A Department of Archives, established in November 1940, wrote a chronicle of events in the ghetto. Though rarely critical of Rumkowski, it remains an important source for understanding daily life in the ghetto.

Starting in the fall of 1941, German authorities debated the Łódź ghetto's fate. Local and regional officials, including Biebow, Übelhör (until his removal in mid-December 1941), and Greiser, had made money from the ghetto and argued for its continued existence based on its contributions to war production. They found powerful allies in those responsible for war production, most notably Albert Speer, and managed to ratchet down demands, from Adolf Eichmann, Reinhard Heydrich, and Heinrich Himmler, to liquidate the ghetto.

They agreed to shield the ghetto's productive capacities, which netted official profits from March 1942, by targeting first for "resettlement" "non-productive" Jews. Biebow had adopted such a policy from early in 1942, while participating in the liquidation of the provincial ghettos, by retaining 18,000 to 18,500 mostly male craftsmen and laborers for work in the Łódź ghetto.[5]

In March 1942, Rumkowski informed the Łódź Jews: "A new rule has been introduced . . . only working people can stay in the ghetto," and in April he trumpeted employment as a "guarantee of peace."[6] The Jewish administration attempted to insulate the Jews from German violence by organizing the deportations. Rumkowski appointed a commission of five to draw up deportation lists; the commission in turn sent notices to those slated for "resettlement"; teachers and others from the Jewish administration filled out documentation at assembly points. Those who failed to report were brought to assembly points by the Jewish Police. From April 1942, German authorities intervened, ordering the nonworking population over the age of 10 to report for cursory medical exams, conducted by a commission of a few German doctors, members of the Gestapo, and Jewish physicians, to determine which of the unemployed were fit for labor and which were to be "resettled." The warnings and examinations likely played some role in the Jewish administration's decision in the spring of 1942 to expand factory employment to include tens of thousands of youths aged 8 to 14 in apprenticeship programs.

In Łódź, the first deportation Aktion, totaling 57,064 people, took place from December 21, 1941, to May 15, 1942. The Roma were the first to be transported to the extermination center in Chełmno nad Nerem between December 20, 1941, and January 10, 1942. The Jews, also transferred to Chełmno, left the Radogoszcz station in 55 trains in three deportation waves (January 16–29, February 22–April 22, and May 2–15, 1942). Among the deportees were a third of the Kujawy Jews (January); 10,943 unemployed West European expellees (May); native welfare recipients; and all those convicted of crimes and their families (January).

The second deportation Aktion, on September 1–2 and 5–12, 1942, first targeted the sick at the ghetto's hospitals. On September 4, Rumkowski appealed to the Jews to hand over their children and elderly relatives to save themselves. The German authorities imposed an *allgemeine Gehsperre* (general curfew), forbidding ghetto residents from leaving their homes for five days to make it easier for the Jewish Police and firemen to locate the victims. On September 7, the SS and Kripo stepped in to oversee the searches. Some 164 to 570 people were killed on the spot; 15,682 children, elderly, and infirm Jews were sent to their deaths at Chełmno.

The SS likely ordered the ghetto's children and elderly surrendered.[7] But because Rumkowski knew at least from the summer of 1942 that the Germans were gassing the Jews at Chełmno, most survivors consider his actions during the Gehsperre unforgiveable.[8] A few survivors maintain the Germans determined the scope and timing of the deportations and believe Rumkowski acted realistically, according to the context and morality of the time, by attempting to make the Jewish labor force indispensible to the Germans, while capitulating to their demands for population reductions in a desperate effort to save a part of the Jewish population. They attribute him with formulating a policy that enabled the Łódź ghetto to survive beyond any other ghetto in German-occupied Poland and as a result increasting the survival chances for many thousands of Jews. All scholars acknowledge the important role economics played in the German decision to maintain the ghetto but tend to attribute its longevity to local, regional, and national German authorities with vested financial or military interests in its retention.



A child who has been selected for deportation during the Gehsperre Aktion bids farewell to his family through a fence of the central prison in the Łódź ghetto, September 1942.
USHMM WS #89772, COURTESY OF MOSHE ZILBAR

After the deportations, the ghetto resembled more of a labor camp. Some 73,782 Jews, about 85 percent of the surviving population, were employed at 101 ressorts, which were monitored directly by Biebow and Germans from the GV. The orphanages, old-age homes, and hospitals were closed. Biebow ordered all Yiddish and Hebrew signs replaced with German signs and suspended the rabbinate. Biebow also diminished Rumkowski's authority by reducing the size of the Jewish ghetto administration and transferring responsibility for factory production and food supply to 2 Jews with close ties to the Gestapo and Kripo.

Some welfare schemes were reestablished, though at times they were transformed to accommodate the new realities. Malnourished workers received eight weeks of bakery employment to provide them extra bread rations. Rest homes provided weeklong vacations, with larger rations, to 11,706 workers before Biebow closed them on August 25, 1943. Rumkowski successfully appealed to ghetto residents to adopt 2,000 children orphaned by the evacuations. He also served as a chaplain at marriages, which the authorities required be civil ceremonies.

In mid-February 1944, Greiser accepted Himmler's demands for a gradual liquidation of the ghetto, ordering in

March the Chełmno extermination center rebuilt and about 1,600 Jews deported to forced labor camps in Częstochowa and Skarżysko-Kamienna. German military defeats in April and May ended whatever hesitation he may have had to liquidate the ghetto. On June 15, Fuchs, recalled to Łódź to oversee the deportations, and Bradfisch demanded 3,000 Jews be evacuated weekly, ostensibly to clear war damage in the Reich. Between June 23 and July 14, 10 transports carried 7,196 Jews to their deaths at Chełmno. Fears that the Red Army would capture the extermination center temporarily suspended the deportations. They began anew between August 1 and 29, this time under the pretense that the ghetto was to be relocated to the Reich. Instead, more than 65,000 Jews, including Rumkowski, were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Approximately 1,000 to 1,500 people, including 30 to 270 who had evaded the deportations, remained behind in the ghetto to clear and sort the possessions there and to disassemble some of its workshops. On October 21, 1944, 500 inmates were sent to the Ravensbrück and Königs Wusterhausen concentration camps. In January 1945, as the Red Army approached Łódź, the Germans ordered a brigade of ghetto inmates to dig mass graves at the Jewish cemetery, but on January 17, the Jews hid, rather than assemble for evacuation. Some 877 Jews were still hiding in the ghetto when the Red Army liberated Łódź on January 19, 1945.

Another 5,000 to 15,000 Łódź Jews survived the concentration camps.

SOURCES Contemporary press coverage, important official German documentation, and excerpts of important memoirs are in Alan Adelson and Robert Lapides, *Łódź Getto: Inside a Community under Siege* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1989), though the translations have been questioned by Robert Moses Shapiro, "Diaries and Memoirs from the Lodz Ghetto in Yiddish and Hebrew," in Shapiro, ed., *Holocaust Chronicles: Individualizing the Holocaust through Diaries and Other Contemporaneous Personal Accounts* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1999), pp. 95–115. Shapiro also is the translator of Isaiah Trunk, *Łódź Ghetto* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2006), an important secondary source, which contains translations of about 140 documents. Of the English-language materials, particularly important are the memoir excerpts by Jakub Hiller and Leon Hurwitz, neither of which has appeared elsewhere in English, and by Shlomo Frank and Jakub Szulman, because they are still available only in Yiddish and Hebrew.

Available in Polish, with transcriptions of the original German-language documentation, are: *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 3, *Getto Łódzkie*, ed. Artur Eisenbach (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół CZWH w Polsce, 1946); and the relevant sections in vol. 1, *Obozy*, ed. N. Blumenthal (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Centralnej Komisji Historycznej, 1946), with the first book particularly important, because it established much of the framework for the initial postwar scholarly understanding and subsequent analysis of the Łódź ghetto.

In addition to Trunk, scholarly works include: Łódź ghetto survivor Icchak Rubin, *Żydzi w Łodzi pod niemiecką okupacją 1939–1945* (London: Kontra, 1988); more recently, Michal Unger, *Lodz': Aharon ha-geta'ot be-Polin* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006); Andrea Löw, *Juden im Getto Litzmannstadt: Lebensbedingungen, Selbstwahrnehmung, Verhalten* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006); and Peter Klein, *Die "Gettoverwaltung Litzmannstadt" 1940–1944: Eine Dienststelle im Spannungsfeld von Kommunalbürokratie und staatlicher Verfolgungspolitik* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2009). All contain important bibliographies.

Julian Baranowski, an APŁ archivist and for decades the primary specialist of the repository's documentation for the Łódź ghetto, has published a smaller, more accessible bilingual history, *The Łódź Ghetto 1940–1944. Łódzkie Getto 1940–1944. Vademecum*, 3rd ed. (Łódź: APŁ and Biblio, 2005). Gordon Horwitz, *Ghettostadt: Łódź and the Making of a Nazi City* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2008), also an accessible account, devotes several chapters to the ghetto but leaves much unsaid about its main subject.

Diaries, memoirs, notebooks, journalistic accounts, and periodicals left by those who perished in the Holocaust include: *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak*, trans. Kamil Turowski (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Hanno Loewy and Andrzej Bodek, eds., "*Les Vrais Riches*," *Notizen am Rand: Ein Tagebuch aus dem Ghetto Łódź (Mai bis August 1944)* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1997); "Yomano shel Menahem Oppenheim mi-geto lodzh," ed. and trans. Mordecai Zer-Kavod, *Sinai* 14: 5–6 (1951): 241–278; a handwritten Hebrew-language periodical published in the ghetto, *Min ha-metsar*, which appeared in *Dapim le-heker ha shoa ve-ha-mered* 2 (February 1952): 149–153; Y. Szulman, "Der Aelteste der Juden," *Yediot Bet Lohamei ha-Geta'ot Yediot* (April 1958): 69–81; "Papiery oświęcimskie," in Janusz Gumkowski and Adam Rutkowski, eds., *Szukajcie w popiołach: Papiery znalezione w Oświęcimiu*, trans. Szymon Datner (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1965), pp. 41–121, found buried at Auschwitz; Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., "Polska Anna Frank nazywała się? Fragment pamiętnika dziewczynki z getta łódzkiego," *Mówią wieki*, no. 7 (1958): 4–11; and more recently, the diary of Jehuda "Lolek" Lubiński, recovered in Bałuty in 2003, available as "Getto Litzmannstadt 1941: Pamiętnik," *Przegląd Powszechny*, no. 11 (2003): 268–281, with excerpts of the last translated into English at the Web sites of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Łódź Ghetto Museum.

The works of a number of individuals employed by the Department of Archives, who perished in the Holocaust, include: Josef Zelkowicz, *In Those Terrible Days. Notes from the Łódź Ghetto*, ed. Michal Unger, trans. Naftali Greenwood (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002); Oskar Rosenfeld, *In the Beginning Was the Ghetto. Notebooks from Łódź*, ed. Hanno Loewy, trans. Brigette M. Goldstein (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2002); and Oskar Singer, "*Im Eilschritt durch den Gettotag": Reportagen und Essays aus dem Getto Lodz, 1942–1944* (Berlin: Philo, 2002).

Memoirs by survivors include: Riva Chirung, *Bridge of Sorrow, Bridge of Hope*, ed. Rebecca Camhi Fromer, trans. Arlene and Jerry Aviram (Berkeley, CA: Judah L. Magnes Museum, 1994); Jakub Poznański, *Dziennik z łódzkiego getta* (Łódź: Bellon and ŻIH, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 2002); Lucille Eichengreen, with Harriet Hyman Chamberlain, *From Ashes to Life: My Memories of the Holocaust* (San Francisco: Mercury House,

1994); Rebecca Camhi Fromer and Lucille Eichengreen, *Rumkowski and the Orphans of Łódź* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 2002); and Edward Reicher, *W ostrym świetle dnia: dziennik żydowskiego lekarza 1939–1945* (London: Libra Books, 1989), for particularly devastating portraits of Rumkowski. Shlomo Frank, *Toghukh fun Lodzsher geto* (Tel Aviv: Menorah, 1958), from a former policeman, also is important, although it has been criticized for being more of a memoir than a diary. Among memoirists pleading to rethink Rumkowski's reputation are Arnold Mostowicz, *With a Yellow Star and a Red Cross: A Doctor in the Łódź Ghetto*, trans. Henia Reinhartz and Nochem Reinhartz (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003); and Abraham Cykiert, "The Uniqueness of the Łódź Ghetto," in Paweł Samuś and Wiesław Puś, eds., *Fenomen getta łódzkiego, 1940–1944* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2006), with the latter appearing in a multilingual work in which contributors discuss, among other topics, youth groups, sports organizations, theater, and religious life in the ghetto and which contains a large bibliography, mostly of Polish-, German-, and English-language works.

A vast visual iconography exists for the Łódź ghetto, with selected photographs of the ghetto appearing in publication, including from Jewish ghetto photographers: Mendel Grossman, *With a Camera in the Ghetto*, ed. Zvi Szner and Alexander Sened (New York: Schocken Books, 1972); and Henryk Ross, *Lodz Ghetto Album. Photographs by Henryk Ross* (London: Chris Boot, 2004). *Fotoamator* (The photographer), a 1998 documentary film by Dariusz Jabłoński, juxtaposes the color slides taken of the ghetto by the amateur photographer Walter Genewein, a non-Jewish Viennese accountant employed by the GV, and his writings about the ghetto with Mostowicz's recollections of the ghetto. A rich collection of visual iconography documenting the Łódź ghetto also can be found at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum photo archives.

Also not to be overlooked is the award-winning fictional work written by survivor Chava Rosenfarb, *The Tree of Life: A Trilogy of Life in the Lodz Ghetto*, 3 vols., trans. Goldie Morgentaler (repr., Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004–2006); and Gila Flam, *Singing for Survival: Songs of the Łódź Ghetto* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992). The songs are available as a CD, *Brave Old World / Song of the Lodz Ghetto* (Winter & Winter, 2005).

Published transcripts are available for several postwar trials, including the updated *Proces Hansa Biebowa: Zagłada getta łódzkiego. Akta i stenogramy sądowe*, ed. Jerzy Lewiński (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1987); and *Proces Artura Greisera przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym* (Warsaw: GKBZNwP, 1946), for Biebow and Greiser, respectively, both convicted and executed for war crimes in Poland; with summaries of the trials and convictions in Hanover, West Germany, of Bradfisch and Fuchs in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978–), Lfd. Nr. 557; and East German trials of former Schupo members in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 14 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), Lfd. Nr. 2074.

A much larger popular bibliography, with many more works about cultural life, additional memoirs, yizkor books, and published name lists, is available at the Lodz ShtetLinks pages at www.jewishgen.org.

A vast body of sources documents Jewish life in the Łódź ghetto. Archival documentation is located in the following repositories: AAN; APŁ; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; FVA; IPN; IPN-Ł; NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

A part of the archival documentation has appeared in publication, including in English, for example, Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto*, trans. Richard Lourie et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), which offers a broad sampling of the *Chronicle* and a valuable introduction with a history of the ghetto. Unabridged translations of the *Chronicle* are available in Hebrew and in German.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Ludwik Landau, *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: PWN, 1962–1963), 1:133, 137.
2. *Dokumenty*, 3:26–31; and "temporarily" used in the English translation in Trunk, *Łódź*, pp. 19–21.
3. USHMM, RG-05.008M (Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt), EWG Bericht, September 3, 1940.
4. Sierakowiak, *The Diary*, pp. 174, 176, 196.
5. *Proces Hansa Biebowa*, pp. 111–113, 145–146, 155–156, 159, 170, 172–174, 183–184; IPN, SOŁ Biebow, vol. 13, pp. 328, 332–334, 336–339.
6. *Chronicle*, March 1942; also April 18–20, 1942.
7. AŻIH, 301/4006, testimony of Alicja Puterman.
8. *Dokumenty*, 1:233.

LUTOMIERSK

Pre-1939: Lutomiersk, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Lutomiersk (renamed Nertal in 1943), Kreis Lask, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Lutomiersk, Łódź województwo, Poland

Lutomiersk is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) west of Łódź. By 1921, there were 775 Jews living there, constituting 35 percent of the village's population.

At the beginning of the German occupation, Jews were conscripted for the restoration of a bridge destroyed in the course of the September Campaign, widening roads, and agricultural work at large German and ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) estates.

The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) including Moritz Curkowicz, Ch. Wartecki, Z. Kępiński, M. Żydkowitz, and Josek Kartovsky. Survivor Frank Burstin (Bursztynowicz) describes one of its members as being "very bad" to Jews.[1]

An open ghetto was set up in Lutomiersk in August 1940. Many houses in which Jews were forced to live were pre-war summer bungalows rented to visitors of the Hasidic court in neighboring Aleksandrów Łódzki. These dwellings were not built for year-round occupancy. Many suffered from the cold during the ghetto's first winter. The termination of public works, due to the winter's onset, was another burden, as Jews were previously paid meager wages of 5 Reichsmark (RM) a week

(or 1.20 RM daily) for public works they performed. Jewish craftsmen suffered from a lack of material for production.[2]

The Judenrat estimated there were 720 Jews living in the ghetto in December 1940, including 35 refugees.[3] Nearly 300 people required some sort of financial support. The Judenrat provided cash handouts from its monthly budget of 950 RM, as it was unable to open a soup kitchen due to lack of space and money. The community received some additional financial assistance from Mojżesz Merin, the chairman of the Central Office of the Jewish Council of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia in Sosnowiec. Burstin recalls that there was no difficulty obtaining sustenance, as Jews were free to leave the ghetto; however, rations for Jews did not include any fat or meat. Smuggled horsemeat was the most commonly consumed form of protein.[4]

The ghetto remained unfenced but was pronounced closed in the summer of 1941. From that time on, Lutomiersk's Jews were required to obtain passes to leave it. Conscripted for labor, they were regularly led out of the ghetto in work gangs, which were guarded by five or six members of the Jewish Police. According to Burstin, some "were just as bad as the Germans." Jews feared most of all Szarpański. There were no German forces stationed in the village.

The first deportation to labor camps was a group of 40 males aged 16 to 40, which took place in September or October 1941. Burstin's brother-in-law, Kartovsky, who refused to enlist Jews for this deportation, was severely beaten and included in the transport. Laborers were held for two days in the Łódź prison and then dispatched to a labor camp near Poznań. A number of sick people were sent to the Łódź ghetto.[5] In December 1941, 83 laborers were sent to Frankfurt an der Oder.

By the end of 1941, the newly appointed German Amtskommissar in Lutomiersk improved the situation of the Jews by opening a tailors' shop, as well as furrier and tinsmith workshops. The income was divided between the Amtskommissar (50 percent) and the Judenrat (50 percent). The Judenrat paid the workers half of its share. A Polish teacher was the manager of the tailors' workshop.

The Lutomiersk ghetto was liquidated and the Jews were murdered, most likely on July 29, 1942, in the Chełmno extermination camp. A number of Jews were selected for labor and sent to the Łódź ghetto.

SOURCES The following publications include references to the Lutomiersk ghetto: Maria Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941–1943. Dokumenty Biura Informacji i Propagandy Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej ze zbiorów oddziału rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego," *BŻIH*, nos. 2–3 (1992): 40–43; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 279; *Encyclopaedia Judaica, 2nd ed.* (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 13:272–273; Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), p. 88; Aleksandra Namysło, "Wpływ kierownictwa Centrali Żydowskich Rad Starszych Wschodniego Górnego Śląska na postawy i zachowania Żydów wobec rzeczywistości okupacyjnej," in A. Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach wcielonych do Rzeszy* (Warsaw: IPN. Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), p. 180; and Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), p. 206.

The following archival sources were used in this entry: AŻIH (210/462 [AJDC]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 37151).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/462 (Lutomiersk), p. 1; VHF, # 37151, testimony of Frank Burstin, 1997.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/462, pp. 2–4.
3. Ibid., p. 4. F. Burstin, who stayed in the ghetto until September or October 1941, estimates 700 to 750 residents, all of them local Jews. Some sources give much higher figures, but these could not be substantiated.
4. VHF, # 37151; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/462, pp. 4–5.
5. VHF, # 37151.

LUTUTÓW

Pre-1939: Lututów, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Landstett, Kreis Welungen (Wieluń), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Lututów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Lututów is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Łódź. On the eve of World War II, about 1,100 Jews lived in the town, which had approximately 3,000 inhabitants in total.

With the outbreak of war in September 1939, the number of Jews in the town increased considerably as many people fled to Lututów from other towns closer to the border. Being completely without means and having no chance to make a living, these refugees placed a considerable strain on the Jewish community. Out of 1,375 Jews living in Lututów shortly after the start of the war, 247 were impoverished refugees in need of assistance.[1]

At the start of the occupation in the first days of the war, the Germans arrested young Jews and sent them to Germany, where they were paraded as criminals, who supposedly had been shooting at German soldiers.[2] In the first months of the occupation, the German authorities imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews. Jewish property, especially commercial wares and businesses, was confiscated; Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings; and Jews were made to perform forced labor. By 1940, the Germans had established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by a wealthy man named Noah Erlich, and Jewish Police, which received its orders from the Germans. The Jewish Council raised taxes among the Jewish community to provide bedclothes and other support to the needy, and it agreed to supply a number of Jews for forced labor each day. Erlich died of the cold during the occupation,

when he went out on a mission to try to save a Jewish youth who had escaped from a camp.[3]

At some time before the end of 1941 (available sources conflict on this), either during 1940[4] or in the spring of 1941,[5] the authorities established a ghetto in Lututów. In addition to the Jews of Lututów, Jews from the small neighboring communities of Łagiewniki, Wydryniwa, and Kobiele Wielkie were also brought into the ghetto in 1942.[6] In total, the ghetto held somewhere between 1,200 and 1,600 Jews.[7] It was located in a group of separated houses on Wieruszowska Street but was not enclosed by a fence. Many Jews were already living in this area prior to the ghetto's establishment; the few Poles who lived on this street were resettled. As a result of the influx of Jews, there was overcrowding in the ghetto, with several families sharing a single house. Members of the SA and German Gendarmes guarded the ghetto and frequently beat the ghetto inmates. However, at times they were also susceptible to bribes. The Jews of the ghetto were employed to clean streets and public places and to collect trash. Available sources indicate that living conditions in the ghetto were harsh.[8] In February 1940 or 1941, one Jew, Józef Gelcman, was hanged in public inside the ghetto. Apparently he had refused to give the Germans his secret recipe for tanning leather, which brought him into conflict with the powerful new ethnic German director of the leather company in Lututów, Walter Dittberner.[9] Six Jews were accused of membership in a resistance movement, and one of Communist agitation. All of them were shot and buried at the Jewish cemetery in Młynek near Lututów. It is not known how many Jews died or were killed in the ghetto in total.[10]

Over time, most of the able-bodied Jews were sent away to forced labor camps; mainly women, children, and the elderly remained. Labor in the camps included digging up potatoes and working on water regulation projects.[11] Further deportations to forced labor camps in the area around Poznań took place in 1942.

On August 11, 1942, a detachment of the Gestapo from Wieluń arrived in Lututów and organized the liquidation of the ghetto. The Jewish families were driven to the local Catholic Church; then, men of the Gestapo and Gendarmes searched the ghetto and shot everyone they found in hiding. The Aktion continued until the evening.[12] Witnesses mention the following Gendarmes as perpetrators during the liquidation of the ghetto: Georg Streicher, N. Lipa, Link, and Katholnik.

During the liquidation of the ghetto, German forces shot at least 12 inhabitants of the ghetto.[13] Their corpses were put on horse-drawn carriages and were taken to the local Jewish cemetery, where they were buried. After being held for three days in the local church, where they were kept under terrible sanitary conditions without food, the remaining Jews were loaded onto trucks, which had been provided by the Schutzpolizei in Łódź. The 10 Jews who were too weak or too sick to be transported were shot on the spot. Jews capable of work were taken to the Łódź ghetto; all the others were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp via the Wieluń ghetto. On August 21, 1942, the Amstkommissar in Lututów reported having purchased all the furniture and household goods of the "deported" Jews, for which the sum of 5,000 RM was paid to the Ghetto Administration (GV) in Łódź, as legal heir to this property.[14] Some of the few Jewish survivors from Lututów were also prisoners in the Auschwitz II-Birkenau extermination camp after working in the Łódź ghetto.[15]

Investigations into Nazi crimes committed in Lututów were conducted by the Austrian and German authorities in the 1970s, but these did not result in any prosecutions, owing to a lack of credible evidence against specific perpetrators.[16]

SOURCES The most important secondary sources on the Lututów ghetto include the following: Maria Paduszyńska, "Zagłada Żydów lututowskich w latach 1939–1942," *Biuletyn Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi*, IPN 3 (1994): 74–80; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 280; *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 137, 164; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 146–148.

Information regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Lututów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Jüdische Gemeinde in Landstett an AJDC 210/106, pp. 10, 50, 52; AJDC 210/126, p. 10; AJDC 210/335, p. 2; and AJDC 210/352, p. 33); BA-L (ZStL, 203 AR-Z 361/77, investigation of the Stapostelle Wieluń and the Gendarmerie post in Lututów); IPN (ASG, sygn. 22, p. 578); USHMM (RG-15.042M [Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie], reels 32 and 35); VHF (# 3762, 21971, 27524, 38454, 46852); and YVA. See also OKŚZpNPŁdz (formerly OKBZHŁ): Akta gminy Lututów, sygn. 12, Ds 30/67, and zeznania obywateli polskich z 1945 roku, Ds 374/67; these records also contain the names of many of the perpetrators and names of a few of the victims.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. See Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 208.

2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 768.

3. VHF, # 21971, testimony of Abram Erlich; Noah Erlich was his father.

4. BA-L, ZStL/203 AR-Z 361/77, statement of Stanisław Magiera, p. 30.

5. Paduszyńska, "Zagłada Żydów," p. 77.

6. In 1921, the Jewish populations of these three hamlets was only about 50 people.

7. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 280, gives the number of 1,200 ghetto inmates; USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 32, gives the number as 1,600.

8. USHMM, RG-15.042M; see especially the witness statement of Bronisław Kucharski; and VHF, # 3762, testimony of Mayer Goldbart.

9. BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 361/77, pp. 30–37, statements of Władysław Stułczewski and Stanisław Magiera.
10. USHMM, RG-15.042M, witness Bronisław Kucharski.
11. VHF, # 21971.
12. BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 361/77, pp. 27 ff., statement of Stefan Lesiewicz; and Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), p. 207.
13. See USHMM, RG-15.042M.
14. Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 400.
15. VHF, # 46852, testimony of Leon Nyss.
16. See Sta. Wien, 15 St 49.632/71 and ZSSta-D 45 Js 33/75.

OSJAKÓW

Pre-1939: Osjaków, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ostwerder, Kreis Welungen (Wieluń), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Osjaków, Łódź województwo, Poland

The town of Osjaków is located about 62 kilometers (39 miles) north-northwest of Częstochowa. In 1921, out of 1,544 inhabitants, 759 were Jewish. By 1939, their number had slightly declined to around 700.[1]



Deportation of Jews from Osjaków, n.d.
USHMM WS #91674, COURTESY OF IPN

When the Nazis occupied Osjaków in early September 1939, about 100 Jews fled the town. A few days later, the Germans arrested the rabbi of Osjaków in Piotrków Trybunalski and imprisoned him with other Jews.[2] The prisoners were tortured and then sent to an unknown destination, most likely to be killed.

Within the first weeks of the occupation, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the town. In 1940, the Jews were gradually evicted from their homes and were concentrated together in a specific area that became the ghetto.[3] The ghetto area was quite small, with more than one Jewish family sharing a house, and according to one witness, it was not enclosed. At first it was not strictly guarded, and Jews were able to leave to supplement their meager rations by exchanging property for food such as potatoes, bread, or chicken with the local peasants. Living conditions were very harsh, and no schools existed for the children.[4]

While some of the Jews in the ghetto were employed locally as forced laborers cleaning and maintaining local roads and buildings, others were rounded up and sent off to labor camps. Over time the roundups by the German police to obtain forced laborers in accordance with name lists became more intensive, and few able-bodied Jews remained. Among the destinations were various forced labor camps for Jews, including that in Bełchatów and one based in a church building in Wieluń, which entailed work on road construction. Subsequently young able-bodied Jews from the Osjaków ghetto were sent further away to labor camps in the Poznań region.[5]

To a limited extent, Jews in Osjaków were still able to communicate with other ghettos by post. In late October 1941, one resident of the Osjaków ghetto wrote to the Jewish Council in the Łódź ghetto to inquire about the health of certain relatives living there, as no news had been received for some time.[6]

In July 1942, in preparation for the final extermination of the Jews in Kreis Welungen, about 500 Jews from the neighboring town of Kiełczygłów were brought into the Osjaków ghetto.[7] The liquidation of the Osjaków ghetto took place around August 15, 1942. The ghetto inhabitants were sent to Wieluń, where a number of those capable of work were selected out and sent to the Łódź ghetto; all the others were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were killed. The Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) in Wieluń reported to the head of the Gestapo in Łódź that by August 22, 1942, "Kreis Welungen was free of Jews [*judenrein*]."[8] Only a few Jews from Osjaków managed to survive the rigors of the ghetto and successive labor and concentration camps until the end of the war.

SOURCES The most important published sources on the Jewish community of Osjaków and the ghetto there include the following: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 52–53; Tadeusz Olejnik, "Zagłada ludności żydowskiej w powiecie wieluńskim w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Rocznik Łódzki* 29 (1980): 249–265; and Y. Goldberg and A. Wien, "The

Book of the Community of Działoszyn," *Pages of History* 16 (1966): 159, 161–162, 170–171.

There are only a few primary sources available on the history of the ghetto in Osjaków: APŁ (Piotrkowski Urząd Włościański 106); AŻIH (301/1904); VHF (# 22539); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 52.
2. Ibid.
3. AŻIH, 301/1904, testimony of Meir Przemysławski, dates the establishment of the ghetto in 1940.
4. VHF, # 22539, testimony of Esther Sendrowicz.
5. Ibid.; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 52.
6. A facsimilie of this postcard has been reproduced on the Web at www.edwardvictor.com.
7. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 53; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2001), p. 622.
8. Excerpt from a situation report by the Grenzpolizeikommissariat in Welungen to the Head of the Gestapo in Lodsch, August 31, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 311.

OZORKÓW

Pre-1939: Ozorków, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ozorkow, Kreis Lentschütz (Łęczyca), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Ozorków, Łódź województwo, Poland

Ozorków is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of Łódź. At the outbreak of World War II, the town had about 15,000 inhabitants including just over 5,000 Jews; the others being about equal numbers of Germans and Poles.[1] After the German occupation in September 1939, the Polish and German populations turned openly against the Jews.

Jews from other towns—among them Kalisz and Zgierz—arrived in Ozorków soon after the occupation began. In the fall of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by the lawyer Szymon Barczyński.[2] The members of the Judenrat had been the members of the former Jewish relief committee in the town of which Barczyński had also been the head.[3] A Jewish police force commanded by a man named Wartski was established in the winter of 1940–1941.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw distributed some 5,000 Reichsmark (RM) of aid to Ozorków. By this time, the Jewish population in Ozorków numbered about 4,700 people, of whom 200 were refugees.[4]

In the spring of 1941, several hundred young Jews (especially those aged between 17 and 21) were rounded up and sent to forced labor camps near Gdańsk and Poznań.[5]

In the summer of 1941, an open ghetto was established, which contained about half of the Jews in Ozorków, while the others continued to live elsewhere in the town. Although the concentration of the Jews from the surrounding area had already started at this time, initially only male Jews from various locations in the area, including Piątek and Parczew, were resettled to Ozorków. By mid-October 1941, the situation of the Jews in Ozorków had deteriorated so badly that the Amtskommissar considered it "untenable" and a "public danger for the rest of the population."[6]

There are contradictory statements as to when the Ozorków ghetto finally became the only area in town in which Jews could live. Some sources put the date as November or early in December 1941.[7] Other sources claim that the ghetto was only finally established—and enclosed—in the spring of 1942 after all Jews incapable of work had been selected and sent to be exterminated.[8] According to statistics regarding the liquidation of the ghetto, there were likely around 5,000 Jews living there in early 1942, among them probably some German Jews.[9] The ghetto was located in the Wiatraki suburb of Ozorków along what are now known as Partyzantów, Polna, and Krasicki Streets.

The ghetto's Jews, including children as young as 10, were employed cleaning streets, working on fortifications along the Bzura River, and producing uniforms for the Wehrmacht. Work outside the ghetto provided an opportunity to obtain a little extra food by bartering or scavenging, but most work details were closely guarded, allowing little or no contact with local non-Jews.[10]

Living and sanitary conditions in the ghetto were harsh; food and space were both in short supply. The Judenrat established a soup kitchen that distributed 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread and one cup of soup per person per day. Local Poles helped the Jews by providing groceries, especially bread and potatoes.[11] Only limited medical assistance was available, and according to one source, about 150 people died, most of them from typhus.[12] Some sources note that typhus cases were transferred to a hospital, which had two doctors.[13]

The employee of the Ozorków town administration in charge of the ghetto (Ghettokommandant) was a man named Lenz. He was very much liked by the Jews, and after the war, they made statements in his favor to the investigating authorities.[14]

On April 25, 1942, the Germans ordered that 8 or 10 Jews be hanged publicly on the market square, forcing the Jewish Police to participate in the executions. Immediately after the hangings, all Jews were taken to the "white school," where they were surrounded by armed Gendarmes or SS men and were sorted into two categories, A and B.[15] All "B" Jews had to remain in the school, among them mostly young children and adolescents, comprising about half of the ghetto population. From here they were deported by truck to be murdered in the Chełmno extermination camp. One source claims that the commander of the German police demanded 2,000 RM per person to release some of them, but the Judenrat could only ransom 93 women, without their children, claiming that they

were specialist workers. Within the ghetto, only two children remained, in hiding.[16] According to a witness statement quoted by Isaiah Trunk, the secretary of the Jewish Council, Mania Rzepkowicz, that day rejected an offer by the German official in charge of the ghetto to be excluded from this "resettlement" and instead, together with her child, joined the group that was taken to Chełmno.[17] A report from June 1942, preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, indicates that by then some 2,700 Jews from Ozorków had been exterminated.[18]

A few weeks after the hangings and deportation Aktion, in the first half of May 1942, Biebow (head of the German Ghetto Administration, GV) and Rumkowski (head of the Judenrat) in the Łódź ghetto arrived in Ozorków to claim workers for their enterprises. They selected 1,387 Jews as laborers, who were transferred by tram into the Łódź ghetto on May 21–22, 1942. In June 1942, the Gestapo in Łódź reported that about 9,000 Jews had been evacuated recently from Kreis Lentschütz, which was free of Jews (*judenfrei*) with the exception of 1,000 in the Ozorków ghetto, who were urgently needed to complete production orders for the Wehrmacht.[19]

After this large transfer of Jews to Łódź in May, all Jews remaining in the Ozorków ghetto had to perform forced labor in the factories and workshops, making uniforms and boots for the German army.[20] The workers received monetary payment, which was sufficient to buy a little food at inflated prices.[21] The final German selection took place in August 1942. More workers were selected for the Łódź ghetto, and all the others were killed. A handful of Jews remained in the ghetto for a few more days to clean it up and prepare the Jewish property for shipping to Germany.[22]

The names of some of the perpetrators active in the Ozorków ghetto are known: Max-Karl Heidenreich, the NSDAP-Kreisstellenhauptleiter and deputy Landrat of Landkreis Lenschütz, frequently visited the ghetto. On these occasions he insulted and beat Jews, searched apartments and took food from Jews, forced the ghetto inhabitants to perform "gymnastic exercises," and destroyed Jewish property. He was tried in Poland and executed on May 17, 1949.[23] A certain Freund was accused of having murdered children in the ghetto; however, his fate after the war remains unknown. August Binneweis was a Gendarme in Ozorków who participated in the execution of at least eight Jews in April 1942, as well as in the liquidation of the ghetto.[24] Witnesses also name several officials of the German Criminal Police (Kripo), including Werner Hermann, Bruno Uhle, Eduard Zimmermann, and Stanisław Przybyłek; the commander of the Gendarmes, Zalewski; and Gendarmes Kar, Schmidt, Land, and Arenz—all perpetrators who beat Jews—including children—and participated in deportation Aktions.[25]

SOURCES Published sources relevant to the Ozorków ghetto include the following: *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 161; Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); and Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006). Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein & Day, 1979), contains an eyewitness statement on Ozorków on pp. 95–97, recorded in a DP camp in 1946. Trunk also mentions the Ozorków ghetto in his book *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Stein & Day, 1977). Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), lists the ghetto on p. 377.

Quite a number of primary sources exist describing the Ozorków ghetto, including several located in Polish archives. In IPN: Regierungspräsident Posen, Abt. III, an OB Posen und Landräte des Bezirkes, September 17, 1941 (Zbiór "OB" 267, p. 5); ASG sygn. 50, pp. 85, 133; Bd. 505/Rep. 162/50, as well as Ankieta GKBZHwP, getta, województwo łódzkie. APŁ holds the following collections: Judenrat Ozorków an "Ältesten der Juden in Litzmannstadt," July 18, 1940 (ÄdJ 161, n.p.); and Urząd G-po w Łódzi 1093/1, pp. 4, 11. AAN has further sources regarding the establishment of the ghetto and the internment of Jews from the surrounding villages: see Zespół Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, sygn. 202/III, t. 28, p. 64; sygn. 202/III, p. 110; sygn. 202/XV, t. 2, p. 258 (report on the liquidation of the ghetto); sygn. 202/II, t. 30, p. 18; and Zespo'ł Ikonografia Nr. filmu A.5872 (nr. oryg. 2466—images of Ozorków taken during the execution in April 1942). At AŻIH, see Ring I/472, 557/2, 569, 573/6, and 962; and 301/2920 and 3331-33.

At USHMM, a valuable collection is RG-15.042M (Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie), reels 28 and 51, which contains many witness statements and other information collected from various sources, including a map of the ghetto. Further information on the Ozorków ghetto can be found in RG-15.019M (ASG copied from IPN) and RG-50.002*69, Oral History Interview with survivor Henry Yungst. VHF has 43 testimonies of relevance to the Ozorków ghetto. YVA also holds several testimonies: e.g., testimony R-102/1665, questionnaire No. 462, and testimony W-123/2261. Investigations of the ZStL can be accessed at BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67, Bd. VII).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.002*69 Ozorków, Oral History with Henry Yungst.
2. Ibid., RG-15.042M, reel 28, Postanowienie, 1979.
3. Trunk, *Judenrat*, p. 15, based on YVA testimony R-102/1665.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC), 210/535, correspondence from March to December 1940.
5. See ibid., RG-15.042M, reel 28, statements of Szmul Drajhorn and Tauba Gelbartowicz; and RG-50.002*69 Ozorków, Oral History with H. Yungst, who erroneously dates this on April 1, 1940.
6. Alberti, *Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 380.
7. See USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28, statement Tauba Gelbartowicz.
8. Alberti, *Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 205.
9. For German Jews in the Ozorków ghetto, see USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28.
10. VHF, # 20619, testimony of Irvin Kalski; and # 20279, testimony of Marty Storch.

11. USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28, Odpis.
12. See witness statements in ibid., RG-15.042M, reel 28, Postanowienie, 1979.
13. Ibid., among others, see witness Masza Julkiewicz; and RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, sygn. 50, p. 85.
14. See, for example, witness statement Eugenie St., in BA-L, 203 AR-Z 161/67, Bd. VII, p. 40.
15. USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28.
16. Ibid., Dzieje getta w Ozorkowie.
17. Trunk, *Judenrat*, p. 443, quoted after YVA, questionnaire No. 462, testimony W-123/2261; see also VHF, # 20279, testimony of M. Storch.
18. AŻIH, Ring I/144, "Die Hölle der polnischen Juden unter der Hitler-Okkupation," Rapport von Oneg Szabat [ausgearbeitet von Emanuel Ringelblum, Hersz Wasser und Eliahu Gutkowski], June 1942, Warsaw Ghetto, published in Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod: NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer. Ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941–1943* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1993), pp. 200–223, here p. 213.
19. Lagebericht der Gestapo in Lodsch, June 9, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 285–286.
20. USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28.
21. VHF, # 20279, testimony of M. Storch.
22. Alberti, *Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, pp. 446–447; Trunk, *Jewish Responses*, p. 96—unfortunately this survivor account is not reliable concerning specific dates.
23. USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28, OKL/S.-47/74. The court case reference is SOŁdz 329 and 329a.
24. IPN, Ankieta AGKBZHwP, Bd. 505/Rep. 162/50. See also USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28, witness statement of Edzia Schesinger, collected in 1948 by the Ojsforszungsapteil der D.P. Police, Jidiszer center Landsberg, in preparation for a trial against Binneweis.
25. APŁ, Urząd G-po w Łodzi 1093/1, pp. 4, 11; and USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 28. See the latter source for more names of perpetrators.

PABIANICE

Pre-1939: Pabianice, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Lask, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Pabianice is located 13 kilometers (8 miles) southwest of Łódź. On the eve of World War II, there were approximately 9,000 Jews living in Pabianice. Units of the German army had occupied Pabianice by September 8, 1939. On their arrival in the town, German soldiers shot several Jews, and other Jews were made to collect the corpses and bury them. Shortly thereafter, on German orders, local inhabitants destroyed the interior of the synagogue.

In the fall of 1939, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. Jewish factories were confiscated, and several Jews were ordered flogged by other Jews for alleged disrespect to the Nazi flag. On October 21, 1939, the Landrat of Kreis Lask appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Pabianice, which consisted of the leading figures in the community. However, their tenure was short-lived. In November 1939, the German authorities forcibly expelled Jews from the wealthier sections of town to make room for Germans. Members of the Judenrat tried to intercede, but they were arrested and sent to concentration camps, never to be heard from again. A series of Jewish Councils were appointed and then in turn replaced in quick succession. In December 1939, the Judenrat was ordered to organize 1,000 Jews who were to be expelled from Pabianice. The Judenrat supplied these expelled people with food, clothing, and some money for the journey to Kałuszyn in Distrikt Warschau within the Generalgouvernement. On arrival the local Jewish leadership there helped to find them housing. After a few months, several hundred of these Jews returned illegally to Pabianice.



A deportation Aktion in Pabianice. The Hebrew annotation reads: "Deportation of Pabianice Jews by the Nazis, 1–2 Sivan [May 17–18] (1942)." USHMM WS #07264, COURTESY OF REGINA FRANT STAWSKI

In February 1940, the Germans established a ghetto in Pabianice, which was one of the first to be set up in occupied Poland. Its establishment appears to have been linked to an outbreak of typhus among the Jews, which was defeated with the aid of inoculations given to 3,500 Jews during 1940. The ghetto, which consisted of 109 houses, was located in the old town section of Pabianice. The Jews were required to move into the ghetto by February 21, and according to the *Lodscher Zeitung*, they could bring in with them only what they could carry themselves. The ghetto was not fenced (an open ghetto), but on the border there was a large sign with a yellow Star of David on a light blue background. The ghetto was divided into two sections by a main road, and the Jews were only permitted to cross the road during certain hours of the day. Some Jews risked leaving the ghetto illegally in search of food. Accommodation in the ghetto was allocated by the housing office (Wohnungsamt) of the Judenrat. There was overcrowding, an average of about one room per family.[1]

On March 1, 1940, a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungdienst) was established, which by the end of 1940 employed 34 people. Among its main tasks were securing the

ghetto internally and arresting Jews who did not turn up for compulsory labor or committed other offenses. Such persons could be incarcerated in a separate prison established within the ghetto. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a hospital in the ghetto in April, to isolate those suffering from typhus. In May 1940, responsibility for overseeing the ghetto (*Judenviertel*) was transferred from the office of the Landrat of Kreis Lask to the Polizeiamt (Office of Police) in Pabianice under the command of Hans-Georg Mayer. On the establishment of the ghetto, Jewish communal property, which lay outside its borders, was no longer to be administered by the Jewish Council.[2]

Many of the Jews in the Pabianice ghetto worked in factories and enterprises taken over by Germans. The Jewish Council was keen to make the Jews productive, such that in November 1940 more than 900 Jews were employed as tailors in various workshops, including more than 600 as new trainees. Two of the main employers were the companies of Kelle and Günther u. Schwarz, which both produced uniforms for the Wehrmacht and competed with each other. Both companies were often late in paying the Jews, but the Jews were still content to go to work, as it gave them the opportunity of bartering items for food and receiving news from the outside world.[3] In addition, Jews had to perform forced labor organized by the Judenrat, which included work to assist the resettlement of ethnic Germans into the region in the winter of 1939–1940. Initially this work was unpaid, but from October 1, 1940, German offices began to make payments for this forced labor. Additional sums to pay the laborers were also raised from Jews who paid a levy to be excused from this work.[4]

The Judenrat was responsible for the distribution of food rations, as well as extra support given to the needy. One of the main sources of income for the Judenrat was a 10 percent tax on the income of those Jews who were employed. At the end of 1940, the Judenrat itself employed 130 people and was composed of 10 separate departments: Central Office, General Administration, Finances, Social Welfare, Health, Contracts, Economy, Labor, Court, and Audit Office. Among the Jews that ultimately ended up in the Łódź ghetto, most reported that they had received enough to eat in the Pabianice ghetto, but those Jews who had returned to the ghetto illegally after their initial flight were not registered and received no rations. In addition, there were complaints that some food rations ended up on the black market at high prices and that the Judenrat lived comfortably.[5]

Children were educated in small groups and in a school that was established in the ghetto. After a few months, the Germans closed down the school, but schooling continued clandestinely.[6] The Jews in Pabianice were forbidden to speak Polish, as German and Yiddish were the only permitted languages. In December 1940, the Jewish Council in Pabianice reported that there were 9,000 Jews in the town, including 320 refugees and 420 returnees.[7]

On May 22, 1941, German police aided by the Jewish Police arrested 231 young men and sent them to the Łódź ghetto; from there they were transferred to forced labor camps in the area around Poznań. Of this group, about 40 people survived to the end of the war. Similar manhunts for forced laborers continued into 1942; both men and women were sent to forced labor camps. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans collected winter clothing in the ghetto, and they also confiscated any hidden food stores.

Living on the margin caused some Jews to complain to the Germans that the Judenrat was responsible for the poor conditions. As a result, the Gestapo arrested the Judenrat members in June 1941 and publicly executed them. It is not known who succeeded the murdered members of the Judenrat, which included Rubinstein, Landsman, and Goldblum.

By late 1941, the Germans began to make preparations for the subsequent deportation of the Jews of Pabianice. The Judenrat was ordered to submit lists of all ghetto inhabitants, with the mentally ill, disabled, and children under age 6 all listed separately. In February 1942, the Gestapo conducted a health examination of everyone in the ghetto. All those under age 60 were tattooed with the letter "A," the rest with a "B."[8] By 1942, restrictions on the movement of Jews were also intensified. At least two Jews were hanged on the orders of the Germans for being caught outside the ghetto without permission.[9]

On May 16, 1942, all the ghetto residents were ordered to appear in front of their houses at 4:00 P.M. The ghetto was surrounded by German police, and all the Jews were ordered to a sports field of the company Krusche und Ender in the center of town, allegedly for a new registration. The German police searched the houses, and anyone found attempting to hide was shot on the spot. The assembled Jews had to stay all night on the sports field. The next day, in the pouring rain, the A group was separated from the B group, with many families being rent asunder. Some members of the B group were killed on the spot, as were 150 sick and disabled Jews in the hospital. The remainder of group B, probably about 3,200 people, was then loaded into cattle trains and transported to the death camp in Chełmno.[10]

On May 17–18, 1942, at least 3,648 Jews (those from group A) from Pabianice arrived in the Łódź ghetto by tram with almost no possessions.[11] Soon after their arrival, some of them were sent to forced labor camps in surrounding towns. A few of the Pabianice Jews tried to escape, but most were caught with the assistance of the Jewish Police of the Łódź ghetto. Two of the Pabianice escapees, Joseph Greenboim, age 16, and Shimon Makowsky, age 45, were caught and hanged in public in the Łódź ghetto. A smaller group of Jews remained in Pabianice for a time after the ghetto liquidation, to clean up remaining property there.

After the war, 148 surviving Jews returned to Pabianice in 1945. They established a community kitchen and restored the cemetery, but over the following years, all the Jews left the town.

After the war, the U.S. forces extradited Hans-Georg Mayer to Poland, where initially he was sentenced to death by the regional court in Łódź for crimes in Pabianice. In 1948, his appeal saw the sentence reduced to five years' imprisonment for membership in the SS and preventing escape attempts from

the Pabianice ghetto. He was released and returned to West Germany in February 1951.[12]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Pabianice during the Holocaust include the following: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 172–180; Andrzej Kardas, "Z problematyki organizacji i działności policji hitlerowskiej w Pabianicach," *Biuletyn Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi* 1 (1989); Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 83–84; and Wolf A. Jasny, *Sefer Pabyanits: Yizker-bukh fun der farpaynikter kehileh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Pabyanits be-Yisrael, 1956). Further information on conditions in the Pabianice ghetto can be found in Sascha Feuchert et al., eds., *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz/Litzmannstadt* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), vol. 2 (1942).

Documentation on the Pabianice ghetto can be found in the following archives: APŁ (PSZ 19); AŻIH (e.g., 210/537 [AJDC]; 301/2764, 2820, 2928, 3584, and 4405); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67, Bd. VII); IPN; NARA; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.030*0002); VHF (e.g., # 18433, 30355, and 40076); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Lodscher Zeitung*, February 18, 1940; VHF, # 18433, testimony of Jack Adler; # 30355, testimony of Sarah Brett; USHMM, RG-50.030*0002, oral testimony of Rita Kerner Hilton, 1994; AŻIH, 301/2764; BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67, Bd. VII, p. 214.
2. AŻIH, 210/537 (AJDC Pabianice), pp. 2, 6, 22, 27, Arbeitsbericht des Ältestenrates der Juden in Pabianice, November 1, 1939, to November 1, 1940.
3. Feuchert et al., *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz*, 2:206, 209, 228; VHF, # 30355.
4. AŻIH, 210/537 (AJDC Pabianice), pp. 30–31, Arbeitsbericht des Ältestenrates der Juden in Pabianice, November 1, 1939, to November 1, 1940.
5. Feuchert et al., *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz*, 2:206–207, 228; AŻIH, 210/537 (AJDC Pabianice), p. 54; USHMM, RG-50.030*0002.
6. VHF, # 30355.
7. AŻIH, 210/537 (AJDC Pabianice), p. 54.
8. Ibid., 301/2928.
9. Ibid., 301/2764.
10. Feuchert et al., *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz*, 2:207–208; AŻIH, 301/2764; see also Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 285–286.
11. Feuchert et al., *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz*, 2:201, 203; VHF, # 18433; AŻIH, 301/2928. Regarding the exact numbers, see APŁ, PSZ 19, p. 234.
12. AŻIH, 301/2928; and Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, ed., *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946–50* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 1991), 2:160.

PAJĘCZNO

Pre-1939: Pajęczno, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Pfeilstett, Landkreis Welungen (Wieluń), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Pajęczno, Łódź województwo, Poland

Pajęczno is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northwest of Częstochowa. In the 1930s its Jewish population stood at about 450.

German forces occupied the town in early September 1939; vandalism, plunder, and killings followed.

In September or October 1939, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The chairman was Yaakov Lieberman, a member of the pre-war Jewish community council. Around the same time a Jewish police force was appointed, consisting of four policemen and a commander—David Kwart. One of the first problems the Judenrat had to deal with was the influx of more than 1,000 Jewish refugees from the neighboring town of Działoszyn, which had been almost completely destroyed by German bombing during the first days of the war. In Pajęczno, the refugees from Działoszyn, many of whom had nothing, initially received support, thanks to financial aid from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).

The Jews of Pajęczno were all required to perform forced labor once or twice a week. The assignments were organized by the Judenrat on instructions from the German authorities. Initially, 100 Jews per day had to work in the quarries or on agricultural estates supervised by local ethnic Germans. Women cleaned. According to one source, many of the refugees, like the local poor, took the places of wealthy Jews who paid to be exempted from forced labor.

The ghetto in Pajęczno appears to have been established in two stages. Jewish survivors report that an "open ghetto" was created in the first months of 1940.[1] Certainly a number of Jews were evicted from their houses at this time to make way for Poles, and overcrowding among the Jews increased.[2]

The establishment of an enclosed ghetto followed at the end of 1941, possibly as a consequence of a visit by the mayor of nearby Praszka, where an enclosed ghetto already existed. On the day of his visit, all the Jews were ordered into the market square, where the elderly were chased and beaten with clubs. Three days later, the German authorities ordered the Jews to move within one day into the poorest quarter in the heart of the town.[3] The ghetto area stretched along Kanał, Zapłocie, and Starodziałoszyńska Streets.[4] The Jews were permitted to bring in their belongings, but much was left behind because of the short notice. The German authorities ordered the Judenrat to surround the ghetto with a fence of barbed wire, erected by Jewish laborers. There were two or three gates in the fence, only one of which was for the use of Jews with permits. The Jewish guards ignored illegal movement and transactions with the outside population, which continued up until just prior to the liquidation of the ghetto. Despite the overcrowding—two

families to a room—conditions remained reasonable, mainly thanks to the smuggling, which supplied sufficient food. Official rations supplied by the authorities were distributed within the ghetto. About 30 Jewish craftsmen received permits to continue working, and they also sold some products on the side to private German and Polish customers.

Sholem Weiss, a member of the Jewish Council and the head of the council's labor department, maintained regular contacts with the Polish underground movement. In this way, he was able to help Jewish refugees to cross the border into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Among these refugees, there may also have been some Jews from the Pajęczno ghetto. Weiss, despite his senior position, was not safe either. He managed to operate relatively freely for a while, but ultimately he was compelled to seek refuge in the Częstochowa ghetto.

From the summer of 1941, the Germans rounded up groups of Jews in Kreis Welungen and sent them to camps in the Poznań region for forced labor, including also a number of Jews from Pajęczno. The Jews feared the terrible conditions in these camps, and many tried to evade the roundups. The remaining Jews in Pajęczno organized a "Bread Committee for the men in Poznań" and sent them food, despite an official ban.[5]

Jews from the ghetto were employed at the quarry on Mickiewicz Street and by a German firm, Borne und Guetter. According to one source, in January 1942 there were approximately 2,000 Jews in the Pajęczno ghetto.[6] Just before Passover (on April 20 in 1942), the Germans terrorized the Jews and looted their property. Just after this, the remaining Jews from Brzeżnica were brought into the Pajęczno ghetto.[7]

There is no information on how many Jews died in the Pajęczno ghetto, but some witness statements claim that several dozen Jews were killed during its existence.[8] For example, in June 1942, shortly before the ghetto's liquidation, officials of the German Gendarmerie and the SS shot Yaakov Lieberman, the head of the Pajęczno Judenrat, and 11 other Jews. Their bodies were buried in the Jewish cemetery.[9]

The ghetto was liquidated in August 1942. On August 19, 1,800 Jews from the ghetto were herded into the Pajęczno church, where they remained for three or four days without food or water. During this period, about 50 of the younger Jews were formed into a squad to help clear out the ghetto. From the church the rest were transported to Wieluń. Following the selection of some Jews for forced labor in the Łódź ghetto, the remainder of the Jews were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp to be killed.[10] The German Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) in Wieluń reported to the head of the Gestapo in Łódź that by August 22, 1942, "the Kreis Welungen was free of Jews [*judenrein*]."[11]

During the Aktion against the ghetto, at least 3 people—but most probably 5 people (3 men and 2 women)—were killed because they had attempted to escape. A number of other Jews were also shot around the time of the liquidation.[12] On September 7, 1942, 9 Jews from Pajęczno were among 18 Jews hanged on that day in the Łódź ghetto, apparently for attempting to escape deportation or leaving the ghetto illegally.[13] Only a few Jews from Pajęczno managed to survive until the end of the war, either in the camps or in hiding.

SOURCES There is a short article on the Jewish community of Pajęczno in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 181–184. The Pajęczno ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja, 1979), p. 378; and in Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Stein & Day, 1977), p. 464.

There are only a few archival sources describing the ghetto and also the collection center that existed in Pajęczno. These include: BA-L (B 162/V 203 AR-Z 109/71); IPN (ASG, sygn. 151, p. 186; and Ankieta GKBZHwP, getta, woj. Łódzkie); OKBZN-R (sygn. 109, k. 55; and kolekcja "ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (RG-15.042M [Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie]); VHF (# 45083 and 51731); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1913; O-3/2023 and 2329).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 45083, interview with Avraham Weiss: "In 1940, they took us out of our house and forced us into a ghetto. It wasn't a closed ghetto." Also # 51731, interview with Hayim Yehezkel Shvarts: "We escaped to the ghetto in Pajęczno. . . . We got there in March, 1940."

2. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 182.

3. Ibid.; see also Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 378.

4. USHMM, RG-15.042M, witness statement of Milewski.

5. VHF, # 51731, interview with H. Shvarts.

6. Frank Golczewski, "Polen," in Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 411–497, here p. 450.

7. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 962. In 1921, there were 406 Jews living in Brzeżnica; see *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), Poland, p. 121.

8. USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 4.

9. Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Główna Komisja Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: województwo częstochowskie* (Warsaw, 1986), p. 68. On this incident, see also VHF, # 45083, interview with Avraham Weiss; his name was on a list prepared by the Gestapo with 11 others, but with the help of a Polish overseer, he managed to escape to Radomsko in time.

10. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 183; and VHF, # 51731, interview with H. Shvarts.

11. Excerpt from a situation report by the Grenzpolizeikommissariat in Welungen to the Head of the Gestapo in Lodsch, August 31, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et

al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 311.

12. USHMM, RG-15.042M, reel 4, witness statement of Milewski. Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów*, p. 68, reports that 14 Jews were shot by the Gestapo at the Jewish cemetery in August 1942. VHF, # 45083, Weiss heard from others that some Jews had been killed in Pajęczno at the time of the deportations.

13. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 267.

PIĄTEK

Pre-1939: Piątek, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Piontek, Kreis Lentschütz, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Piątek, Łódź województwo, Poland



Postcard of a Jewish family carrying goods in Piątek, used as antisemitic propaganda, and bearing the German caption: "The Jews are the first to return to the completely destroyed town of Biatek [*sic*], where they descend like vultures upon the empty shops," September 1939.
USHMM WS #68731, COURTESY OF MUZEUM WOJSKA POLSKIEGO

Piątek is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) north of Łódź. Before the war, about 1,300 Jews were living in the town.

Shortly after German soldiers entered Piątek on September 9, 1939, they shot 50 people, including 7 Jews. The men had been taken for forced labor and were murdered after finishing repair work on a bridge. In the fall of 1939, a number of Jews fled Piątek; the Jewish population thus declined by roughly one third. On January 1, 1940, the Jewish population numbered 838, including 18 refugees.

According to Michael Alberti, a ghetto was erected in Piątek not later than April 1940, but there is no information as to whether the ghetto was enclosed by a fence. Apparently, the German administration established the ghetto for one main reason: they were convinced that concentrating the Jews in a certain area of the town would prevent the spread of contagious diseases.[1]

Very little information is available regarding conditions in the ghetto. On January 1, 1941, there were 862 Jews residing there. In March 1942, German police murdered one Jew, and in April another two were publicly hanged.[2] On April 22, 1942, some of the ghetto inhabitants were selected for liquidation in the Chełmno death camp. The ghetto was completely dissolved in July 1942.[3]

Published in Poliakov and Wulf is a clearing bill reporting income of 5,442.63 Reichsmark (RM) received from the sale of Jewish property by the German administration after the liquidation (*Auflösung*) of the ghetto. These funds were transferred to the German Ghetto Administration (Gettoverwaltung, GV) in Łódź. Among the items listed were 167 RM received for a "damaged piano" and 120 RM for movable household items.[4] Painstakingly, the administration also listed the expenses it had incurred between April and the end of June 1942: 480.50 RM for "cleaning Jewish laundry," 68 RM for disinfection, 323.40 RM for "disinfection (to kill bugs)," and 17.50 RM for the storage of machinery, in total expenses of 889.40 RM. The same day that the Treasury (Kasse) of Amtsbezirk Piontek prepared this bill, the Amtskommissar in Piontek charged the Nazi People's Welfare (NSV)–Kreisverwaltung Lentschütz for deliveries of former-Jewish goods in June and July 1942 including: 255 down comforters at 1.50 RM, 455 pillows at 0.50 RM, and four big baskets of "used clothes from Jewish property" for 10 RM. In total, the Amtskommissar asked the NSV-Kreisverwaltung to transfer between 550 and 650 RM to his account—resulting in more profit from the liquidated Jewish ghetto in Piątek.[5]

SOURCES The ghetto is documented in a few books, including: Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 194, 197; Léon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden* (Frankfurt/Main: Ullstein-Verlag, 1983), pp. 70, 72; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 201–202; and Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), p. 87. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie*

na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), lists the ghetto on p. 382, nr. 3408.

There are not many archival documents available regarding the existence and liquidation of the Piątek ghetto, and the USHMM Survivors' Registry lists only two survivors.

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NOTES

1. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 197.
2. Isaiah Trunk, *Łódź Ghetto: A History*, trans. and ed. Robert Moses Shapiro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2006), p. 447 n.114.
3. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 382, claims that the ghetto was liquidated in August, but documents quoted by Poliakov and Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich*, confirm that the ghetto had been liquidated (or at least partially liquidated) by early July 1942.
4. "Abrechung über die Auflösung des Juden-Ghettos in Piontek," dated July 9, 1942, quoted in Poliakov and Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich*, p. 70, document III.
5. Ibid., p. 72, dated July 9, 1942, document V.

PIOTRKÓW KUJAWSKI

Pre-1939: Piotrków Kujawski, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Petrikau, Kreis Nessau (Nieszawa) (from 1940, Kreis Hermannsbad), Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Piotrków Kujawski, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Piotrków Kujawski is located about 36 kilometers (22 miles) west-southwest of Włocławek. In 1921, the Jewish population was 742, constituting 82 percent of the total. On September 1, 1939, the Jewish population was 915.

German forces occupied Piotrków on September 9, 1939. Soon after the Germans' arrival, Jewish homes and stores were plundered. In the fall of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the town. In mid-October 1939, Jews were moved into the area of Ogrodowa and Kościuszko Streets, which were separated from the rest of the town by barbed wire. The Jewish community was required to pay a war reparations fine of 30,000 złoty. In late 1939, a number of Jews and Poles were deported from the town into the Generalgouvernement. Some of these people subsequently returned with special holiday permits around the turn of 1939–1940. The German authorities were concerned that they were visiting relatives and encouraging them to resettle on their own initiative, which might enable them to take all their valuable items with them without any official control.[1]

On October 26, 1939, Piotrków was officially incorporated into the Reich as part of Landkreis Nessau (later Hermannsbad) within Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza. The administrative center of Landkreis Nessau was Aleksandrów Kujawski, which on January 14, 1940, was policed by a force of 45 Gendarmes assisted by 60 auxiliary policemen (Hilfspolizisten), who were probably local ethnic Germans.[2]

In 1940, with the support of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), Jewish welfare services in Piotrków were provided to 106 needy Jews. Gendarmerie reports in April and July 1940 noted that the Jews were dissatisfied, as they were still being used for forced labor without any pay to clean the streets in the town and also to perform agricultural work on the estates of "Petrikau, Swiecz, and Kischkowitz." In the winter of 1940–1941, there were 615 Jews living in Piotrków, including more than 80 refugees, presumably resettled there from elsewhere in Kreis Hermannsbad, as Piotrków was reportedly the only location where Jews still resided. The Gendarmerie reports indicate that no formal ghetto was established, but as far as conditions permitted, the Jews were concentrated together in the "Sack-und Wiesenstrasse," separated from the non-Jewish population (i.e., in a Jewish residential area), away from the main streets. Jews were only permitted to use the Adolf-Hitler Street for urgent reasons and generally were not permitted to enter other parts of the town. Those over the age of 10 were required to wear Stars of David 15 centimeters (6 inches) in diameter. Male Jews were subjected to unpaid forced labor until December 1940, when an hourly payment of 15 pfennigs was introduced. About 40 Jews were working for the Wehrmacht, preparing a military firing range. Others were engaged in clearing snow, cleaning the streets, and doing road construction. The curfew for the Jews and the prohibition on their using the sidewalks were observed in sullen silence.[3] One secondary source indicates that in the spring of 1940, all of the Jews were ordered to move to the outskirts of the town to Piotrków Poduchowy. Each Jew could take with them only up to 150 kilograms (331 pounds) of luggage.[4]

Of the 631 Jews then registered in Piotrków, 80 men capable of work were sent on June 24, 1941, to Mogilno on a labor deployment (*Arbeitseinsatz*). The remaining Jews were mostly living still concentrated together and separated from the non-Jewish population. Most of the men still there and the 60 Jewish girls and women were employed in agriculture. A subsequent transport of men to labor camps near Hohensalza had been implemented by September 1941. Some Jewish artisans were still employed in Piotrków, as they could not be replaced.[5]

Around the middle of April 1942, the remaining Jews in Piotrków were ordered to assemble on the school square and were then deported to the Chełmno extermination center to be gassed. On April 23, 1942, the Gendarmerie in Kreis Hermannsbad reported that all the Jews of the Kreis had been "evacuated," including 544 people from Piotrków. The deportation Aktion in Piotrków was conducted by the available Gendarmerie forces of the Kreis. The Jews were deported using trucks belonging to Einsatzkommando Wartbrücken.[6] The Gendarmerie section in Piotrków confirmed in September 1942 that no Jews remained within its area of jurisdiction.[7]

SOURCES Published sources on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Piotrków Kujawski under German occupation include: Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 347–348. Additional information

can also be found on the Web site of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews at www.sztetl.org.pl. The existence of a "ghetto" in Piotrków Kujawski is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 994.

Much of the information for this entry has been extracted from the Gendarmerie reports for Kreis Hermannsbad held at IPN (fond 71) and USHMM (RG-15.013M).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. "Piotrków Kujawski," at www.sztetl.org.pl; USHMM, RG-15.013M (records of the Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad), reel 1, file 4, p. 19, Gendarmerie Kreis Alexandrow report, January 14, 1940.
2. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 1, file 4, p. 19, Gend. Kreis Alexandrow, January 14, 1940.
3. Ibid., p. 41, Gend. Kreis Alexandrow, April 23, 1940; reel 2, file 5, p. 20, Gend.-Abteilung Petrikau report, December 27, 1940; reel 2, file 7, Gend. Kreis Hermannsbad, May 30, 1941.
4. "Piotrków Kujawski."
5. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 1, file 6, p. 41, Gend.-Abt. Petrikau, June 24, 1941.
6. Ibid., reel 2, file 7, Gend. Kreis Hermannsbad, April 23, 1942.
7. Ibid., reel 2, file 6, p. 104, Gend.-Abt. Petrikau, April 23, 1942.



Exterior view of a church in Poddębice photographed after liberation by a war-crimes investigation team in June 1945. This church is the likely place where the ghetto's Jews were held in April 1942, prior to their deportation to the Chełmno killing center.
USHMM WS #51706, COURTESY OF IPN

PODDĘBICE

Pre-1939: Poddębice, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Poddembice (in 1943 renamed Wandalenbrück), Kreis Lentschütz (Łęczyca), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (from 1941, Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Poddębice, Łódź województwo, Poland

Poddębice is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) west-northwest of Łódź. In 1921, there were 1,333 Jews living in the town. In September 1939, the Germans, on occupying the town, requested a list of all the Jews living in the town along with their dates of birth and addresses. They appointed Jankiel Sosnowski as chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).[1]

The German authorities established an open ghetto in Poddębice on November 12, 1940. From the beginning, the town's Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. However, this official restriction on movement was initially not fully enforced, as both *Pinkas ha-kehilot* and survivors note that, at first, Poles could come in and Jews go out with impunity. The ghetto was never physically enclosed.

The ghetto was located in a poor, northern part of the town surrounded by fields. It included Sienkiewicz, Kiliński, and Kamienna Streets, from which Polish residents had been evicted. The ghetto had water and power. In December 1940, the Judenrat reported 1,503 Jews (350 families) living there, including 163 refugees (31 families).[2]

German police guarded the ghetto's boundaries. Internal policing was left to the Jewish Police. Regarding the Jewish policemen, Mayer Zyger noted that "some were good, some bad."[3] There was also a Jewish post office run by David Adler, who survived the Shoah. Its employees had the status of Judenrat members, whom the Germans promised to exempt from resettlement.[4]

The Judenrat and the self-help committee for poor Jews opened a soup kitchen in the ghetto on December 8, 1940. It served 120 meals daily at 10 pfennigs each. By January 1941, the number of meals served had almost doubled. At this time there were no medical facilities in the ghetto, and the seriously ill were treated in Łęczyca.

In December 1940, the self-help committee determined that almost all the Jewish craftsmen had lost their income, and those who still ran their workshops were instructed to give part of their earnings to the committee to pay for their exemption from forced labor. Their money was used to support those who were conscripted.

That same month, unemployed Jews organized a demonstration in front of the Judenrat office, shouting, "Give us bread and fuel!" Most of the work came to an end with the onset of winter; up until then, 75 laborers were paid 50 pfennigs daily. The outcome of this demonstration is unknown.[5]

In January 1941, 500 or 600 Jews were resettled from Łęczyca to the Poddębice ghetto. They were allowed to take with them kitchen utensils and bedding. Due to the lack of space in the Poddębice ghetto, Jewish policemen temporarily quartered them en masse in a stable.[6]

Survivor Hershel Menche noted that there were no problems obtaining food, as Jews and Poles used the black market. Despite the ban on practicing religion and the flight of their rabbis (including Y.Y. Rothfeld [Rotfeld]), ghetto residents continued with their religious services and ritual slaughter. Menche's family was apprehended when praying at home. The Germans confiscated all their religious artifacts. However, they were returned to the family on the orders of the Poddębice authorities the next day.[7]

The German who governed Poddębice from 1941 (identified by Michael Alberti as Franz Heinrich Bock) kept a secret diary, which he published in Germany after the war under the pseudonym Alexander Hohenstein. Historian Isaiah Trunk wrote of Bock: "He made sharply critical remarks about the inhuman acts of German officials of all ranks towards the Polish, and particularly the Jewish population . . . and tried to help as much as he could. He befriended the local council chairman (a dentist who treated him in secret) and his wife."[8]

In October 1941, two Germans, members of a crew that came from Poznań to show a film in a German club, attempted to rape two Jewish women. They selected them from a group that the Judenrat had provided on their orders, apparently for a work assignment in Germany. Tried by a special court in Łódź, one was rebuked and the other sentenced to a year and a half in prison, presumably for racial dishonor (*Rassenschande*).

On March 10 or 16, 1942, the Gestapo arranged the public hanging of five Jews in Poddębice. All the Jews of the ghetto were assembled to witness the event. The Judenrat and Jewish Police were ordered to assist. Three of the victims were brought from the Gendarmerie jail and the remaining two arrived from the direction of Łęczyca. The victims were: Abba Grinbaum, Avraham Scheibe, Avraham Koplowicz (Jankiel Kopel), Schmuel Schija, and Wolf Stettländer. Mayor Bock, who defied the order of the Landrat by refusing to deliver an additional Jew for this execution, was severely reproached, and after he was dismissed from his office, he was subsequently sent to the front.

There were at least two roundups of male Jews for labor camps. The first transport was most likely to Liebenau bei Schwiebus, near Frankfurt an der Oder; survivors are unable to date this deportation precisely.[9] The second transport of 90 men took place on March 21–27, 1942, after the public hanging. The impact of the hanging may have encouraged some Poddębice Jews to volunteer to go to the labor camp in Konin.[10]

In mid-April 1942, German police forces conducted the liquidation of the Poddębice ghetto, while Mayor Bock was on leave in Germany. Bock learned about it from one of his aides, who described it as "a mass murder organized by the State."[11]

The Aktion began when a large force of German police and Gestapo men from Łódź and Łęczyca surrounded the ghetto. Then the 1,800 Jews were assembled on the courtyard in front of the palace before being forced into a local church. The Jews were held in the church under horrendous conditions for 10 days without blankets, cutlery, or other necessities, and at least 10 people died. Rations were provided only after the Judenrat paid a large bribe.

It appears that the elderly and sick were selected and killed on the spot a few days after being locked in the church, while skilled workers were dispatched for work, probably to the Łódź ghetto. The remaining Jews were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were murdered on arrival on April 23, 1942.

SOURCES The following publications refer to the Poddębice ghetto: Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 21, 67, 201–202, 437; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 184–186; Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), p. 207; Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 76, 81–82; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo sieradzkie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), p. 40; and Franz Bock (alias Alexander Hohenstein), *Wartheländisches Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1941/42* (Stuttgart, 1961).

The following archival sources contain information regarding the ghetto in Poddębice: AŻIH (210/558 [AJDC]); BA-L (V 203 AR-Z 161/67); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 170, 949, 5416, 3657-4, 5416, 10873, 17989).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 10873, testimony of Mayer Zyger, 1996; and # 949, testimony of David Adler, 1995.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/558 (Poddębice), p. 1; VHF, # 5416, testimony of Hershel Menche, 1995; # 10873; and # 949.
3. VHF, # 10873.
4. Ibid., # 949.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/558, pp. 1–5.
6. Yitzhak Frenkel, ed., *Sefer Linshitz* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Łęczyca in Israel, 1953), pp. 182–183; Avram Tsigler, *Hazak ve-halash: Sipuro shel nitsol Sho'ah* (Israel: A. Tsigler, 1987), final page.
7. VHF, # 949; and # 5416.
8. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 185, 307–308, 483.
9. VHF, # 70, testimony of Chaim Gliksman, 1994; # 3657-4, testimony of Morris Jacobs, 1996; and # 949.
10. Ibid., # 17989, testimony of Irving Mandelbaum; and # 5416.
11. As cited by Trunk, *Judenrat*, p. 314.

PRASZKA

Pre-1939: Praszka, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Praschkau, Landkreis Welungen (Wieluń), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Praszka, Łódź województwo, Poland

Praszka is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) west-northwest of Częstochowa. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 1,663. Before World War II, the town was located close to the German-Polish border, separated from Germany only by the Prosna River.

German troops occupied Praszka on the first day of the war, September 1, 1939.[1] All Jews were gathered in the synagogue and told that they should continue their business as usual. However, the next day, the German occupying forces went into Jewish stores and took whatever they wanted without paying for it. During the initial months, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which assisted in recruiting Jews for forced labor. By the start of winter (1939–1940), Jewish forced labor was organized on a regular basis for cleaning the roads and shoveling snow. At the end of 1939, the German security forces began to arrest Jews in the town. The Jews were put on trucks and taken to an unknown destination. None of these arrested Jews ever returned.

According to one source, the ghetto in Praszka was established in the fall of 1940, after the holiday of Sukkot (October 24). Other sources, however, date its establishment and enclosure somewhat later.[2] The ghetto covered an area of 20,000 square meters (approximately 5 acres), comprising two streets. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence. At first, the ghetto was not completely isolated, and Jews were able to obtain some additional food from their Polish neighbors. Over time, the area of the ghetto was reduced, and the main streets of Praszka were declared to be officially "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*). In December 1940, the Jewish population was 961, comprising 840 local Jews and 121 refugees.[3]



Public humiliation of Jews in Praszka, ca. 1939–1940. The policemen, trim the beards of Jewish men. The one on the left, Kulman, was tried after the war. Two Volksdeutsche women from Praszka are also pictured.
USHMM WS #50434, COURTESY OF IPN

The names of some of the perpetrators responsible for establishing and overseeing the Praszka ghetto are known. The German mayor of the town was Georg Baumgart; in charge of the ghetto was a German employee of the town administration, Cebula. The local police post was under the command of Georg Weisenberg (or Waisenberg). Witnesses also give the names of several of the Gendarmes in Praszka who were notorious for their cruelty: Fuchler, Lochner, Krause, and Kulman.

At the beginning of 1941, about 500 Jews were taken from the Praszka ghetto to labor camps in the vicinity, where they lived and worked under primitive conditions. For instance, Jews from Praszka were forced to live and work in labor camps in the villages of Przedmość, Sołtysy, and other places, where they were employed breaking rocks and paving roads.[4] These camps were closed by the summer of 1942, and most of the Jews were transferred to forced labor camps in the Poznań region. At some time before August 1942, probably following the removal of Jews to the labor camps, about 700 Jews were brought into the Praszka ghetto from the larger neighboring ghetto in Wieluń.

The Jews remaining in the ghetto were employed by the Germans cleaning the town, repairing roads, and demolishing houses. Food supplies in the ghetto were severely inadequate. The Jews suffered from terrible hunger, and many died from starvation and disease. Although two or three Jewish families already shared a single room in the ghetto, the area of the ghetto was reduced again in early 1942, to make room for ethnic Germans resettled into the town.[5] By now, the ghetto only consisted of two barns on the outskirts of Praszka.[6] At this time, the German police began to conduct arbitrary arrests and shootings of Jews in the ghetto. The Jewish Police assisted them with some of the arrests in the vain hope of saving themselves.

On August 12, 1942, the German authorities liquidated the Praszka ghetto.[7] At that time, it still held several hundred inmates. The ghetto was liquidated by the Gestapo, assisted by local Gendarmes and employees of the German civilian administration in Praszka. Those Jews who were deemed to be too weak, too sick, or too old to be deported were put into a vehicle and taken to the Jewish cemetery, where they were shot by an execution squad of three German policemen (either Gestapo or Gendarmes). In total, 27 Jews were shot and buried at the Jewish cemetery.[8]

While a small number of workers (mostly craftsmen) was sent to the Łódź ghetto, the majority was sent to the Chełmno extermination camp (probably via Wieluń) and gassed on arrival. By the end of the war, the remnants of the ghetto had been completely demolished. Only about 10 Jews from the Praszka ghetto who had survived the Holocaust were living in the area in September 1945. Several of the survivors from Praszka also passed through the Auschwitz concentration camp.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Praszka ghetto include the following: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds.,

Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 204–205; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 403; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 202–203; and *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 137, 165.

The history of the Praszka ghetto is documented in the following archival sources: BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67 and V 203 AR-Z 66/75, Bd. II); IPN (ASG, sygn. 51, p. 246; OKL/Ds 32/67 [Przedmość Camp, January–July 1942]; OKL/Ds 33/67 [Sołtysy Camp, January–August 1942]; and OKL/Ds 42/67 [Forced Labor of the Ghetto Inmates]); USHMM (RG-15.042M [Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie]; and Acc.1995.A.531 [Esther Salamonovich Fortgang memoirs]); and YVA.

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. For details, see USHMM, Acc.1995.A.531, memoirs of Esther Salamonovich Fortgang.
2. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 205; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, Ankieta Obozy Ghetta 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 246 and reverse, however, gives the date of February 1941. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 202, citing the *Litzmannstadter Zeitung*, November 21, 1941, gives the date of August or September 1941.
3. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 205.
4. Ibid., USHMM, RG-15.042M (Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie).
5. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 202.
6. Regarding the resettlement to the barns, see the witness statements of Władysław G., Piotr Paweł N., and Stanisław Mi., in BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67, vol. 6, pp. 26, 59, 63.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 246 and reverse.
8. Ibid.; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 205.
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 247–255, includes a list of 605 names of Jewish inmates of the ghetto. As of September 1945, only 8 were known to be living in Praszka and 1 in Rudniki. The fate of most others is listed as unknown. On the wartime locations of survivors, see *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors 2000*, vol. 4 (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000).

PRZEDECZ

Pre-1939: Przedecz (Yiddish: Psheytsh), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Moosburg, Landgemeinde in Kreis Leslau, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Przedecz, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Przedecz is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Łódź. In 1921, the town had 840 Jewish inhabitants, which constituted about a quarter of the total population of Przedecz.

The German army occupied Przedecz in mid-September 1939. Almost immediately, the Germans requisitioned Jews for forced labor, such as chopping wood and cleaning the streets, and seized Jewish property. On the first day of the Sukkot holiday the German military commandant demanded a contribution of 20,000 złoty, issuing threats if this demand was not met. The Jews paid the contribution, but on the next day, the Germans set fire to the synagogue, and the commandant then blamed the arson on the Jews. Shortly after this, at the end of October 1939, German soldiers rounded up a number of male Jews and took them to a swampy area on the edge of town, where they beat them and forced them to roll in the mud, before sending them home drenched and besmirched.[1]

On October 26, 1939, Przedecz was officially incorporated into the Reich as part of Kreis Leslau within Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza. Soon after this date, a squad of Gendarmerie replaced the military in control of the town, and a civil administrator (Amtskommissar) was appointed for Przedecz. Shortly after the arrival of the Amtskommissar, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed, headed by Ziklinsky. Together with a number of assistants, Ziklinsky was made responsible for ensuring that the Jews obeyed all the new German regulations. From this time, Jewish forced laborers were assigned by the Judenrat, which brought to an end the seizure of Jews from their houses. In addition, it was now possible for those Jews who had gainful employment to pay for a replacement to perform their forced labor duties. Jews continued to perform forced labor under close guard by armed ethnic Germans, who beat them frequently.

In the fall of 1939, the German authorities and local ethnic Germans started evicting Jews from their houses, giving them only a few hours to leave and ordering them to leave behind their furniture and bedclothes—so these could be taken over by the Germans who moved in. The new Amtskommissar soon imposed a further "contribution" of 40,000 złoty on the Jewish community, which it was unable to meet in full. In response, Jewish shops and businesses in the town were plundered, such that they were effectively forced to close down. Among new regulations imposed was the wearing of yellow patches by Jews and a prohibition on their using the sidewalks.[2]

According to survivor Milton Daniels, those Jews who were evicted were forced to move in with other Jewish families; eventually several families were sharing each apartment. As the Jews generally lived together in the same part of town, these evictions effectively created what could be described as an open ghetto.[3] While the entries in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* and the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life* use the term *ghetto* to describe living conditions for Jews in Przedecz, the detailed Holocaust account of Ley Shveytser in the yizkor book does not refer specifically to a ghetto in the town.

Due to the mounting persecution, a number of young Jews escaped eastward to the eastern part of Poland that was then under Soviet rule. A few other Jews returned from prisoner-of-war (POW) camps, so in 1940 there were 769 Jews living in

Przedecz. The German authorities ordered the destruction of the Jewish cemetery, which had existed for 600 years. Despite the forced conversion of prayer houses to other uses and the exclusion of Jews from schools, Jews continued to pray in groups in their houses and educate their children at home. Jewish craftsmen had their tools and machinery seized. Then they were forced to work for very low wages for ethnic Germans who took over their workshops. To survive, Jews had to sell their last possessions to buy food on the black market.[4]

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the German authorities started to send away those Jews capable of work to forced labor camps. On the first day of the holiday of Sukkot (in early October) in 1941, unmarried Jewish girls and married women without children were deported to a labor camp near Inowrocław. Several days later the Germans went from house to house and rounded up most of the remaining able-bodied men, who were sent to forced labor camps in the region of Poznań. The majority of these people did not survive the war, as conditions in the camps were very harsh.

German police forces liquidated the Jewish community of Przedecz in April 1942. First the remaining 600 or so Jews of Przedecz were assembled and confined within a local church under SS guard. Many of the Jews had brought with them packages with clothing, food, and some valuables, but these were all taken away brutally by the German police.[5] A number of those held in the church suffocated due to the intense overcrowding. On April 24, 1942, the remaining Jews of Przedecz were deported on trucks to the death camp at Chełmno.[6]

SOURCES Published sources on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Przedecz under German occupation include: Mosheh Bilavski, ed., *Sefer yizkor li-kedoshe 'ir Pashyatsh: Korbanot ha-sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e ir Pshedets ba-Arets uva-tefutsot, 1974); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 379–380; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1032. In addition, some information on the Jews of Przedecz can be found on the Web site of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw: www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/210.html.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APŁ; and VHF (# 17657).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ley Shveytser, "Meyne zkhrunus fun iene tseytn," in Bilavski, *Sefer yizkor*, pp. 79–88.
2. Ibid.
3. VHF, # 17657, testimony of Milton Daniels (born 1908).
4. Ibid.; Shveytser, "Meyne zkhrunus fun iene tseytn," pp. 79–88.
5. "Di lezte Shehn," in Bilavski, *Sefer yizkor*, pp. 73–75.
6. APŁ, Gettoverwaltung 1744, Amtskommissar Moosburg an Gettoverwaltung Litzmannstadt, betr. Einziehung eines Sparbuchs bei der heutigen Judenaktion, April 24, 1942, as cited by Peter Klein, *Die "Gettoverwaltung Litzmannstadt" 1940–1944: Eine Dienststelle im Spannungsfeld von Kommunalbürokratie und staatlicher Verfolgungspolitik* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2009), p. 461.

RADZIEJÓW

Pre-1939: Radziejów, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Rädichau, Kreis Hermannsbad, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Radziejów, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Radziejów is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) west of Włocławek. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 599 out of a total population of 3,164.

German forces occupied the town in the first half of September 1939. Much of the population fled in fear on the outbreak of the war, but most people returned once the Germans had quickly overrun the region. Many Jews came back to find their homes plundered. The German authorities introduced a number of restrictions on the Jews in the fall of 1939. Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks, and their schools were closed. The Germans burned down the synagogues and attempted to put the blame on the Jews. In November 1939, all Jewish businesses were ordered closed, and Jewish businessmen had to sell personal possessions to buy food. In addition, Jews were required to perform forced labor for the town authorities, such as sweeping the streets, initially without any payment.[1]

In April 1940, the Jewish community in Radziejów prepared an official list of 630 Jewish inhabitants, which was confirmed by the mayor of the town. In June 1940, a group of Jewish workers was sent away to work in a village 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) away, and they were rotated with other workers at the end of every week.[2] Survivor accounts indicate that men were sent away to labor camps from early in 1940; hard labor and poor food there caused some to fall ill from malnutrition and abuse. Those who returned were literally just "skin and bones." A group of women was sent to work in Inowrocław and demolished buildings and cleaned the bricks for reuse. Here some of the women were coerced to have sexual relations with an ethnic German foreman, as those who submitted were able to receive increased rations.[3]

By the summer of 1940, survivors report that all the Jews of the town had been moved into a "ghetto" on one street, "Yiddisha-gahs," where many Jews had lived before the war. Polish families living in this area were also forced to move out. Altogether more than 200 Jewish families were crowded into the designated area. Up to 4 families (more than 20 people) had to share a typical house. According to Joyce Wagner, "[T]he overcrowding was unbelievable. We all had to share the kitchen, which was also the bedroom for one of the families." The ghetto remained unfenced and unguarded, but there was a 5:00 P.M. curfew.[4]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up in Radziejów, which acted as an intermediary with the German authorities

and attempted to ameliorate conditions for the Jews. As the roundups for the forced labor camps intensified, Jews went into hiding to avoid being caught.

In the winter of 1940–1941, the Gendarmerie reported that all male Jews were either working for the Wehrmacht or for the local mayor. Some were sent out to clear snow from the streets. At the same time, Jews were active on the black market, trading with Poles and some German soldiers.[5] Wagner notes that due to limited supplies of food, Jews would remove their yellow Stars of David and leave the ghetto to find food. "After living in the ghetto for a few months we felt like animals locked up in a cage. Food was scant. People were on edge and on each other's nerves, health deteriorated."[6]

In April 1941, there were reportedly 1,376 Jews in the towns of Radziejów and Osięciny combined. The bulk of them probably were registered in Radziejów, as in 1940 there had been only 384 Jews registered in Osięciny.[7] According to a Gendarmerie report of May 1941, no formal ghetto had been established in Radziejów, but all the Jews there had been concentrated on certain streets and in general were forbidden to enter the other quarters of the town.[8]

By July 1941, the Gendarmerie reported that the Labor Office in Piotrków had assigned those Jews capable of work to road and railway construction projects away from their home. Only the elderly, those unfit for work, and many women of the ghetto's population remained in Radziejów. However, in October 1941, many of those who had been sent away to work returned home. In November there were reportedly 622 Jews residing in Radziejów. A Gendarmerie report from December 1941 indicated menacingly that it was expected that soon "all of the Jews would be deported."[9]

On January 26, 1942, the Jews were ordered to assemble and were searched for money and gold. In the meantime, their homes were ransacked. As people expected soon to be deported, a number of Jews escaped to Częstochowa and Kłobuck, by paying bribes to obtain travel permits.[10]

In mid-April 1942, the remaining Jews in Radziejów were deported to the Chełmno extermination camp to be gassed. Fragmentary information about the roundup is available from Wagner, who was fortunate to survive in hiding. First the Jews were driven out of their houses by German Gendarmes shouting, "Juden raus!"—"Jews get out!" Huddled in an attic, Wagner heard shouts, screams, dogs barking, and shots being fired on the streets down below. People were calling the names of loved ones, and some who tried to flee were caught and shot. The bulk of the Jews were gathered on the market square and then placed in a local church overnight, before being sent to their deaths. Wagner's hiding place would have been discovered, but an ethnic German policeman who recognized another girl hiding with her then decided to turn a blind eye.[11]

On April 23, the Gendarmerie in Kreis Hermannsbad reported that all the Jews of the Kreis had been "evacuated," including 230 people from Radziejów, who were deported using trucks belonging to Einsatzkommando Wartbrücken.[12]

Some of the Jews from Radziejów were in a labor camp at Łojewo at the time of the roundup and remained at this camp, or at other camps nearby, for more than six months before subsequently being deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau extermination camp.[13]

SOURCES Published sources on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Radziejów under German occupation include: Joyce Wagner, *A Promise Kept to Bear Witness* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2007); and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 418–419. Additional information can also be found on the Web site of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews at www.sztetl.org.pl.

Relevant documentation includes: AŻIH (210/587, 301/372); IPN (fond 71); USHMM (RG-15.013M and Acc.1999.A.0154); and VHF (# 4593, 12512, 14744, 15884, 17941, 24501).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/587, AJDC Radziejów, p. 14, Jüdische Gemeinde Radziejów to AJDC Warsaw, June 5, 1940; Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, pp. 22–25; AŻIH, 301/372, testimony of Ludwik Zajf.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/587, AJDC Radziejów, pp. 2–9, 17–19.
3. Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, p. 25; VHF, # 17941, testimony of Ann Goldman, also mentions cases of rape.
4. Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, p. 29; VHF, # 24501, testimony of Jack Marcus; # 4593, testimony of George Grojnowski; # 17941; # 12512, testimony of Sally Klingbaum; AŻIH, 301/372.
5. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 2, file 5, pp. 12, 34, Gendarmerie Radziejow, December 27, 1940, and February 27, 1941.
6. Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, pp. 31–33.
7. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 2, file 5, p. 12, Gend. Radziejow, April 26, 1941.
8. Ibid., file 7, p. 43, Gend. Kreis Hermannsbad, May 30, 1941.
9. Ibid., file 6, pp. 45, 90–91, 117, Gend. Radziejow, July 26, November 22, and December 26, 1941.
10. AŻIH, 301/372; Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, pp. 33–36.
11. Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, pp. 36–39.
12. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 2, file 7, Gend. Kreis Hermannsbad, April 23, 1942.
13. Wagner, *A Promise Kept*, pp. 45–61, dates her arrival in Auschwitz in 1943.

RZGÓW

Pre-1939: Rzgów, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Roggen, Kreis Konin, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post–1998: two separate villages, Rzgów Pierwszy and Rzgów Drugi, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Rzgów is located 17 kilometers (10.5 miles) southwest of Konin. In 1921, the Jewish population of Rzgów was 111, out of a total population of 1,808. On the eve of World War II, there were probably slightly less than 100 Jews in Rzgów.

An open ghetto was set up in Rzgów in the summer of 1940, when the remaining Jews of Kreis Konin were deported

to a network of "hamlet ghettos" in the southern part of the Kreis; one of them was established in Rzgów and its 14 adjoining settlements. On July 17–18, 1940, 1,000 Jews from nearby Słupca were resettled to the Rzgów ghetto. Also a number of Jews from Konin, Kleczew, and Skulsk (Jewish population of 210 in 1939) were deported there.[1]

An account from the Ringelblum Archive from an anonymous Konin Jew describes the deportation from Konin: "On July 17, the Gendarmes burst into all Jewish apartments, allowing everyone to take a small bundle and then driving them out, not even excluding the sick and paralyzed . . . to an assembly point. From there, after a nightlong march, everyone was brought to three villages: Grodziec, Zagórów, and Rzgów (later the remainder of the [Jewish] population of Kreis Konin was resettled there)." The same author adds, "One has to admit, that the inhabitants of those villages took on a more warm-hearted attitude towards us. Before the war, there were boards with inscriptions like 'Jews out!' or 'Beat the Jew!' Now the deportees were offered bread and potatoes, [the locals] refusing to accept payment for them."[2]

According to Isaiah Trunk, residents of such hamlet ghettos in the Warthegau were supposed to draw their livelihood from farming. Secondary sources state that the majority of such ghettos were unfenced, unguarded, and only occasionally patrolled by the Germans. As such ghettos remained unfenced, historians suggest that it was easier for their residents to buy food and maintain contact with the outside world, as compared to the Jews in enclosed ghettos.

Very little is known about living conditions in the Rzgów hamlet ghetto, but the Jews were probably quartered with non-Jewish farmers, for whom they performed agricultural labor in return for food. In total, there were probably around 1,000 Jews quartered in Rzgów and its 14 surrounding settlements. After the harvest season, it is likely that some Jews were sent back from Rzgów to Konin and other towns for periods of forced labor, with most returning to Rzgów by February 1941.

In early March 1941, partial deportations from the rural ghettos in Kreis Konin began. These deportations occurred as part of the ongoing removal of non-Germans from the region in conjunction with the resumption of plans for the creation of a military training ground south of Konin. In March 1941, a number of Rzgów ghetto residents were sent to Krasnystaw, Izbica Lubelska, and Józefów Biłgorajski in Distrikt Lublin via the railway station in Konin and then to the Łódź ghetto. Some of the Jews from Rzgów arrived in Izbica Lubelska on March 10, 1941, as recalled by Thomas Toivi Blatt.[3] A few of the able-bodied men probably were retained in Łódź to work and then sent on after about six weeks to a labor camp near Gdańsk to work on road construction.

The exact numbers of those deported from Rzgów are unknown. Those Jews who were not sent away were resettled to the nearby ghetto in Zagórów, either in March 1941 or just prior to that ghetto's liquidation between September 24 and October 3, 1941. At that time all the remaining Jews in Kreis Konin were concentrated in Zagórów (up to 3,000 people) and then taken away to be killed between Niesłusz and Rudzica in the "Długa Łąka" Forest—or according to other sources, in the Kazimierz Biskupi Forest. The killings were conducted by an SS-Sonderkommando, led by SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Lange of the Gestapo in Poznań. Buried in mass graves, the victims' bodies were exhumed and burned in 1944.[4]

SOURCES The following publications contain references to the Rzgów ghetto: D. Sierpacka, "Postawy Polaków wobec ludności żydowskiej w Kraju Warty," in A. Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach wcielonych do Rzeszy* (Warsaw: IPN Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), pp. 201–202; Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 196; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 443; Ryszard Głoszkowski,"Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na ludności polskiej w powiecie konińskim w latach 1939–1945," in *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Wyniki badań ośrodków terenowych* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, GKBZHwP, 1979), pp. 77, 81–82; J. Gulczyński, "Konińska relacja z Archiwum Ringelbluma," *Rocznik Koniński*, no. 14 (2003): 198–199; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 113; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 165 (Skulsk), pp. 235–238 (Konin); and Janina Kiełboń, "Deportacje Żydow do dystryktu lubelskiego (1939–1943)," in D. Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2004), pp. 163–164.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. "We Remember the Extermination Pits!"—available at www.zchor.org/extermination/pits.htm.
2. USHMM, Ring I/841, Lb. 848, Mf. 0827, reel 39.
3. Thomas Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1997), p. 19.
4. "We Remember the Extermination Pits!"

SANNIKI

Pre-1939: Sanniki, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Gasten (later Walderode), Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sanniki is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) north-northeast of Łódź. In 1921, the Jewish population was 315, out of a total of 1,447 inhabitants of the village.

At the time of the German invasion in September 1939, the Luftwaffe bombed Sanniki, setting many houses on fire. Some local Jews fled towards Warsaw, but other refugees ar-

rived in the village. German forces captured Sanniki during the third week of September. In the first months of the occupation, the Jews were made to perform forced labor, and the German authorities confiscated much of their property. After the establishment of the German civil administration on October 26, 1939, the village was incorporated into the Third Reich as part of Kreis Gasten, in Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland.

In December 1939, Sanniki had 5,382 inhabitants, of which 311 were Jewish. Before the ghetto was established, Jews from the neighboring villages of Słubice and Osmolin were resettled to Sanniki, raising the Jewish population to 351.[1] The ghetto, which was established in September 1940, was under the authority of the local representative of the civilian administration (Amtskommissar). Many Jews were forced to leave their apartments and move into a small ghetto that included just a few streets. The local Gendarmerie post in Sanniki was in charge of guarding the ghetto area.[2] Jews were able to leave the ghetto to get food in exchange for money or their remaining possessions. In the spring of 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to demolish the local church. They took photographs of this and used the incident to foment antisemitism.

In early March 1942 (at the time of Purim), refugees who had escaped roundups brought news of the liquidation of neighboring communities to Sanniki. The liquidation of the Sanniki ghetto began shortly afterwards. In March 1942, the Germans deported a number of able-bodied men to the labor camp at Konin-Czarków (Gemeinschaftslager der Deutschen Arbeitsfront Nr. 23—Konin). Among them was Rabbi Yehoshua Moshe Aaronson, who wrote a detailed wartime diary while in the camp.[3] Then on April 17, 1942, the remaining ghetto inmates, about 250 individuals, were all deported to the extermination camp in Chełmno, where they were killed using poison gas.[4] Before the deportation Aktion, the Jews were forced to surrender all their valuable items, such as watches, gold, silver, and money. After the Aktion was completed, the German Amtskommissar in Sanniki took over remaining Jewish property, including sewing machines, hand luggage, and gold items, and sent them to the German Ghetto Administration (Gettoverwaltung, GV) in Łódź. On July 3, 1942, the Amtskommissar reported that the cleanup of the ghetto had been completed.[5] There were very few survivors from the Jewish community in Sanniki.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish community of Sanniki during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Warsaw, 1946), pp. 126–127; and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 305–306.

The ghetto in Sanniki is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 444; Martin Weinmann, ed., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 706; and Nachman Blumental, ed., *Słowa niewinne* (Kraków: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1947), p. 36.

Documents on the fate of the Jewish community of Sanniki during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: APŁ; APP (sygn. 594, p. 17); BLH; IPN (sygn. Zh III/31/35/68); MMŻ; and YVA.

Anna Ziółkowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. APP, Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland, sygn. 594, p. 17; D. Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 168, table 11.
2. IPN, Ankieta GKBZHwP, getta województwo warszawskie.
3. See J. Aaronson, *Alei Merorot* (Bnei Brak [Tel Aviv], 1996); the original manuscript is in BLH. Also see MMŻ, Wykaz imienny więźniów obozu w Koninie-Czarkowie. See also Esther Farbstein, "The Diary and Memoir of a Rabbi at the 'Konin House of Bondage,'" *Yad Vashem Studies* 26 (1998): 87–128.
4. IPN, sygn. Zh III/31/35/68, getta województwo warszawskie; Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk," p. 168, table 11; APŁ, Gettoverwaltung, sygn. 29698, pp. 63–65, 110–117; Amtskommissar Sanniki an den Oberbürgermeister der Stadt Litzmannstadt, Ghettoverwaltung, July 3, 1942, published in Blumental, *Słowa niewinne*, p. 36.
5. Kermisz, *Dokumenty i materiały*, 2:126–127; Blumental, *Słowa niewinne*, p. 36.

SIERADZ

Pre-1939: Sieradz, city, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Schieratz, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Sieradz, Łódź województwo, Poland

Sieradz lies 56 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Łódź. It was a garrison town located on the Warta River, about 50 miles east of the border with Germany in 1939.

On the eve of World War II, Jews comprised more than 3,000 of the roughly 10,000 inhabitants of the city.[1] In the fall of 1938, Sieradz was one of the main destinations for the thousands of stateless Jews expelled from Germany to Poland following the assassination by Herschel Grynszpan of Ernst vom Rath, the Third Secretary at the German Consulate in Paris. The Jewish community in Sieradz provided food and shelter for many of these expelled Jews.

German forces captured the city after some fierce Polish resistance in early September 1939. Many Jews fled before the German advance, and when they returned over the following days, some found that the Germans had plundered their homes and shops. Soon, the Germans began to round up Jews off the streets for compulsory labor. Subjected to threats and physical abuse, they were employed to clean streets, to unload railway

cars, and to perform other physically exhausting work.[2] On September 16, 1939 (Shabbat Tishuvah), the Germans arrested and tortured a number of Jews, accusing them of having shot at German soldiers. In total, they murdered 33 Jews during this Aktion. On November 11, 1939, German soldiers killed two Jewish medical professionals, probably as part of measures taken against the intelligentsia at this time.[3] The Germans also vandalized the synagogue and destroyed the Torah scrolls. Subsequently, the synagogue was used as a barn by the German army.[4] In December 1939, the German authorities expelled hundreds of Jews from Sieradz, forcing them into the newly formed Generalgouvernement to the east. According to the yizkor book for Sandomierz, about 1,200 Jews arrived there from Sieradz and Kalisz at this time.[5]

In the spring of 1940, a Jewish residential quarter (open ghetto) was established in Sieradz, comprising the area between Wodna, Graniczna, Żydowska, Szewska, and Sukiennicza Streets. The ghetto was in the poorest part of town, and there was terrible overcrowding, with 10 or more people having to share a room.[6] Prior to this, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) were established to supervise the Jewish population and to provide a Jewish labor force for the Germans. To establish the ghetto, extensive resettlements were necessary within the town: non-Jewish inhabitants had to leave the planned ghetto area, while Jews from all over the city and its surrounding villages were forcibly moved into the ghetto.

On average, the Sieradz ghetto held about 2,500 people. Ghetto residents worked in various craft workshops (including one for tailors) and were forced to clean streets and public places.[7] Later, Jews also were used as laborers outside Sieradz and were kept in camps near the work sites. Only a few Jewish women were subjected to forced labor. The Sieradz ghetto was not fenced in, but all the streets leading out of the ghetto were guarded by members of the Jewish Police on the ghetto side and the German Schutzpolizei outside. Most Jews were forbidden from pursuing their former trades, and they received only meager rations of bread and a little molasses, so hunger and eventually starvation were prevalent throughout the ghetto. Some Jews continued to trade with local peasants despite the risks, exchanging their remaining clothes and other possessions for a little extra food.[8]

Some members of the Schutzpolizei were ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) who also spoke Polish and now found an opportunity to vent their antisemitism. The town mayor of Sieradz was an ethnic German named Alfred (or Adolf) Dressler; in charge of economic affairs was a man named Fuchs; in charge of the ghetto was E. Garnies from Berlin; and the head of the local Gestapo was a man named Abramowski.[9]

At some point in 1941, about 1,000 Jews were expelled from Sieradz and transferred to the ghetto in Zduńska Wola.[10] In the summer of 1941, about 200 able-bodied men from Sieradz were sent to labor camps near Poznań (and more were sent from the region in the spring of 1942).[11] Following these departures, the number of Jews remaining in the ghetto was probably reduced to about 1,300.[12] By the spring of 1942, however, the Germans had enforced a very rigid regime within the ghetto. Twice daily all inhabitants had to participate in a roll call. If someone was missing, the Jewish Police—on orders of the German Schutzpolizei—beat the residents until such time as the missing person was found.[13]

On August 24–27, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. The ghetto residents were ordered to gather at 8:00 A.M. at the site of a school within the ghetto area. From there, they were taken to the Sieradz monastery, where they were crowded into a small space in a church building and left without food or water. About 20 women and children were killed during the evacuation and were buried at the Jewish cemetery in nearby Dzigorzew.[14] The next day, about 184 skilled craftsmen and women were selected and taken to the Łódź ghetto.[15] The Germans deported all remaining ghetto residents to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were murdered with poison gas. The Gestapo in Sieradz reported at the end of August 1942 that all the Jews had been "evacuated" from Kreis Schieratz during that month without any particular difficulties being encountered and that the Kreis was now "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*).[16] Soon the ghetto area was repopulated by Polish inhabitants of the city.[17]

SOURCES Published sources on the Sieradz ghetto include the following: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 263–265; *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 162; Danuta Dabrowska and Lucjan Dobroszycki, eds., *Kronika getta łódzkiego* (Łódź: Wydawn. Łódzkie, 1966), 2:226, 229, 237; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 451. Arek Hersh, a survivor of the Sieradz ghetto, has published his memoirs under the title *A Detail of History* (Newark, NJ: Quill Press, 2002); and the story of Mayer Hersh, another survivor of the Sieradz ghetto, has been told by Colin Rushton in the book *Beyond the Gates of Hell* (Leeds: Mediaworld PR, 2003), which also contains several rare photographs taken in the Sieradz ghetto.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Sieradz can be found in the following archives: BA-L (203 AR 420/74, pp. 8–40); IPN (ASG, sygn. 51, p. 217; Zh III/31/35/68, getta, woj. Łódzkie); USHMM (RG-50.106*0023 [Oral History with Benjamin Hildesheim]; RG-15.019M [Court Inquiries]; RG-15.015M [Records of Chef der Sipo and UWZ]; RG-15.042M [Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie], reel 38; and RG-15.083M [Jewish Council of the Łódź ghetto], reel 316); VHF; and YVA.

Evelyn Zegenhagen and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.106-0023, Hildesheim interview. Hirsh, *A Detail of History*, p. 1, gives a Jewish population of about 5,000, but this is probably too high.

2. Hersh, *A Detail of History*, pp. 38–39; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 264.

3. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 264.

4. Rushton, *Beyond the Gates of Hell*, p. 24.

5. Evah Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, ed., *Et ezkerah: Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir (Sandomiyez)* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Tsoizmir be-Yisrael: Moreshet, bet'edut "a. Sh. Mordekhai Anilevits," 1993), pp. 562–565; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 264.

6. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. Łódzkie, vol. 50, pp. 217 and reverse. Rushton, *Beyond the Gates of Hell*, p. 30, dates the establishment of the Sieradz ghetto in or around January 1940. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 264–265, date the establishment of the ghetto in March 1940.

7. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 451.

8. Rushton, *Beyond the Gates of Hell*, pp. 34–35; Hersh, *A Detail of History*, pp. 71–72.

9. USHMM, RG-15.042M (Sprawozdanie).

10. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 114–116.

11. Ibid., p. 264, notes that there were several such transports starting from June 1941. However, Hersh, *A Detail of History*, p. 49, puts this event in the context of the early days of occupation.

12. Some sources, however, put the number of ghetto inmates in the ghetto at that time as well over 2,000; see USHMM, RG-15.042M, statements of Stanisław Jasiewicz and Stanisław Jańczak.

13. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 212. Rushton, *Beyond the Gates of Hell*, p. 37, also mentions the twice daily roll call.

14. USHMM, RG-15.042M, witness statement of Stanisław Jasiewicz.

15. Ibid., RG-15.083M (Jewish Council of the Łódź ghetto), reel 316, list of the names of 184 Jewish craftsmen and women transferred from Sieradz to the Łódź ghetto on August 25, 1942.

16. Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 313, extract from a situation report by the Gestapo in Sieradz, August 31, 1942.

17. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. Łódzkie, vol. 50, pp. 217 and reverse.

SŁUŻEWO

Pre-1939: Służewo, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Sluzewo, Landgemeinde, Kreis Hermannsbad, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Służewo, powiat Aleksandrowski, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Służewo is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) northwest of Włocławek. In 1921, 259 Jews were living in Służewo. In 1939, there were probably about 450 Jews living in the Służewo gmina.[1]

German forces occupied Służewo in mid-September 1939. On October 26, 1939, Służewo was officially incorporated into the Reich as part of Landkreis Nessau (later Hermannsbad) within Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza. The administrative center of Landkreis Nessau was Aleksandrów Kujawski, which on January 14, 1940, was policed by a force of 45 Gendarmes assisted by 60 auxiliary policemen (Hilfspolizisten), who were probably local ethnic Germans.[2] During the first months of the occupation, Jews were required to perform unpaid forced labor, and the wearing of distinctive markings by the Jews was introduced. On January 12, 1940, 25 Jewish families were deported from Służewo to Wodzisław in Distrikt Radom in the Generalgouvernement.[3]

There are conflicting reports regarding the existence of a separate "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) in Służewo. Whereas German Gendarmerie reports for Kreis Hermannsbad repeatedly state that no formal ghettos had been established in the Kreis,[4] some secondary sources, including Czesław Pilichowski et al. (*Obozy hitlerowskie*), *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, and Kawski and Opioła, report the existence of an open ghetto in Służewo, which was established in 1940. This probably reflected the eviction of Jews from certain parts of the village, which forced them to move in with other Jewish families, resulting in overcrowded conditions.

At the end of February 1941, there were more than 100 Jews living in Służewo. These Jews were being used by the local administration for demolishing buildings and cleaning streets. Some of the Jews were also employed as artisans. The Jews had to pay half of their wages to the local administration.[5]

In March 1941, or around that time, 22 Jewish youths were deported from Służewo to a labor camp in Janików.[6] A Gendarmerie report from the end of May 1941 noted that there had been around 100 Jews residing in Służewo, but with the exception of the female Jews, those men incapable of work, and the still-needed artisans, the rest recently had been sent away for forced labor (*Arbeitseinsatz*). The female Jews were being used for cleaning and clearing up work locally. By October the number of Jews in Służewo reportedly had been reduced to only 25 or 30 people, composed of women and old men not able to work, as well as a few craftsmen.[7] The men and women capable of work had been sent to a labor camp in Mogilno to work on road construction. The Jews were wearing the Star of David and obeying official regulations.[8]

In the first months of 1942, it appears that some of those Jews sent on work deployments may have returned to Służewo. On April 16, 1942, all the remaining Jewish inhabitants of Służewo, 78 people, were rounded up with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and held in an empty church building for several days. From here they were then deported by truck to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were all killed by asphyxiation.[9]

Only one Jew, Jozef Gut, is known to have returned to Służewo after the war.[10]

SOURCES The existence of an open ghetto in Służewo is mentioned in the following secondary sources: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 458; Tomasz Kawski and Monika Opioła, *Gminy żydowskie pogranicza*

Wielkopolski, Mazowsza, Małopolski i Śląska w latach 1918–1942 (Toruń: Wydawn. Adam Marszałek, 2008), pp. 254–255; Danuta Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955):167; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), p. 333; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1203.

Primary sources regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Służewo include: BA-L (Polen Ordner 358, p. 38); IPN (kolekcja "ob," sygn. 177, and library, sygn. 6582); and USHMM (RG-15.013M).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, Polen Ordner 358, p. 38.
2. USHMM, RG-15.013M (Records of the Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad), reel 1, file 4, p. 19, Gend. Kreis Alexandrow, January 14, 1940.
3. BA-L, Polen Ordner 358, p. 38; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1115 (Wodzisław), p. 1, and 211/1117, p. 7.
4. See, e.g., USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 2, file 6, p. 11, Gendarmeriekreis Hermannsbad report, January 5, 1941, and pp. 95–96, Gend.-Abt. Alexandrow report, November 24, 1941.
5. Ibid., reel 2, file 5, p. 42, Gend.-Abt. Alexandrow report, February 28, 1941.
6. BA-L, Polen Ordner 358, p. 38.
7. USHMM, RG-15.013M, reel 2, file 6, pp. 18, 81, Gend.-Abt. Alexandrow reports, May 28 and October 23, 1941.
8. Ibid., reel 2, file 6, pp. 95–96, Gend.-Abt. Alexandrow report, November 24, 1941.
9. Ibid., reel 2, file 7, Gendarmerie Kreis Hermannsbad an den Kommandeur der Gendarmerie bei dem Regierungspräsidenten in Hohensalza, April 23, 1942; and APŁ, Gettoverwaltung 1746, as cited by Dąbrowska, "Zagłada skupisk," p. 167.
10. BA-L, Polen Ordner 358, p. 38.

SOMPOLNO

Pre-1939: Sompolno, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Deutschen Ecke, Kreis Wartbrücken, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Sompolno, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Sompolno is located about 27 kilometers (14.5 miles) northeast of Konin. On September 1, 1939, it is estimated that probably around 1,500 Jews were living in the town.

One week after the outbreak of war on September 1, German troops entered Sompolno. The persecution of the Jews began immediately, with random beatings at the hands of German soldiers and local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). On the first day of the occupation, Jews over the age of 15 were ordered to assemble in the town square. A Gestapo officer proclaimed: "Accursed Jews, your days of glory are over!" He warned that the punishment for disobedience of any German order would be death. The officer told the Jews to run home, which gave the soldiers an excuse to beat them for "trying to escape." Each day brought new decrees. The synagogue and prayer halls were turned into warehouses. Children were forbidden to go to school. Within a short time, most Jewish shops were looted and shut down. Germans and local criminals entered private homes and stole whatever they liked. Life came to a standstill as the Jews huddled in their apartments.[1]

After recovering from the initial shock, many Jews hid whatever was left of their goods and valuables within their homes. The Germans conducted periodic searches, sometimes tearing out the walls to find hidden articles. The "criminals" who concealed them were sent to Gestapo headquarters, where they were lashed 20 to 100 times on their bare backs.[2]

The Germans appointed a three-man committee (Judenrat) to convey their orders and decrees to the Jewish population. From time to time a collective "fine" was imposed on the community, which the Judenrat was forced to extort from the Jews. Everyone was required to wear the yellow patch with a Jewish Star on the chest and back. Jews were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks and were confined to their homes after 8:00 P.M. The Judenrat had to provide a daily quota of 50 people for harsh and filthy forced labor. Some were sent to work in the



Jewish men in Sompolno wearing identification tags await removal from the town, July 1941.
USHMM WS #77547, COURTESY OF LEE BERENDT, YAFFA ELIACH COLLECTION MJH/CHS

homes of ethnic Germans or to sweep courtyards, clean toilets, or chop wood—always with the intent of abusing the Jews and amusing the local population. Sometimes Jews were ordered to bring Jewish books to the town square and burn them. On one occasion the Germans organized a "party" at which Jews were forced to spread Torah scrolls on the ground and dance on them.

Sometimes Gestapo men from other places came to organize a local pogrom. On one such occasion, remembered as "Black Wednesday," there was a full day of incitement, cruelty, and abuse. People were dragged out of their apartments to "entertain" the local populace. One man was forced to run a gauntlet by turning somersaults through the mud. Another was caught hiding three eggs in his house; they were thrown in his face and spattered on his body. Still another was forced to lean out of a window and bark like a dog for over an hour. The local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), who seemingly had good relations with Jews before the war, were among the chief instigators of this abuse.[3]

The Germans may have intended to make life so unbearable that Jews would break down and take their own lives. Nevertheless, there was not a single instance of suicide during the occupation. The death rate among the elderly rose significantly, but the desire to live persisted, and the hopes for a miracle never ceased. There were occasional reports of German military defeats, but at this time most proved unfortunately to be false. The Jewish community in Sompolno had almost no contacts with neighboring towns.

Personal possessions large and small were sold to local ethnic Germans to get money to buy food from farmers—potatoes, dairy products, and grain to grind for bread. Jews who engaged in such transactions did so at the risk of severe punishment. Tailors, shoemakers, and other artisans were allowed to make and sell their products.[4]

A sealed-off area of settlement did not exist in Sompolno. But in 1940 most of the Jews were ordered to leave their apartments and crowd together, with two to three other families per apartment, on specific streets on the edge of town. The Judenrat oversaw these arrangements, and their decisions could not be appealed. As noted above, the movement of the Jews was limited to certain hours of the day. These oppressive living conditions have been viewed by some historians as establishing a form of open ghetto.[5]

The children suffered a harsh fate, their lives disrupted by malnutrition, overcrowding, and closed schools. It was dangerous even to take a child for a walk. During the 2.5 years under occupation, there were no reports of births among the Jews of Sompolno. For over 18 months, an underground school operated for children aged 7 to 11. Three groups of 10 slipped into a private home three times a week for instruction. The classes continued until just before the expulsion in February 1942. Only one child (the teacher's daughter) survived the war.[6]

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Germans demanded a population count of the Jewish community, which then numbered about 1,200. There were, in addition, a few refugee families who arrived from the vicinity of Poznań. Five young people are known to have slipped across the border to the Soviet zone of occupation. In 1941, on three occasions, the Germans demanded young men and women for transport to labor camps in Germany. About 150 men and 50 women were sent away. After considering these figures and the high mortality rate, probably about 1,000 people remained in Sompolno at the time of the expulsion.

There were no partial evacuations from Sompolno to ghettos in the large cities. Despite the deteriorating conditions, families were able to stay together and maintain a semblance of community. There were occasionally secret Saturday morning Sabbath services. Some people found solace in the quiet study of traditional Jewish texts. For months on end, people slept in their clothes with a small bundle at their side, based on the assumption that they could be removed from the town at a moment's notice. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, there was a flickering spark of optimism that this might mean a turn for the better, but the dispiriting news of the rapid German advance soon extinguished these hopes.[7]

The liquidation of the Jews in the Koło region stretched out over two months, in which the Jews of Sompolno awaited their fate with dread and uncertainty. According to one account, the Sompolno Jewish community sent out spies to find out what had happened to the Jews of neighboring towns, which were deported successively from the middle of December 1941.[8] There was almost no place to hide in the area around the town, but a few Jews managed to find their way to other towns, usually by paying a Pole who was willing to risk taking them in a hay wagon for an overnight journey across dark roads.[9]

On February 1, 1942, the town was suddenly swarming with German police. Shortly after midnight, in the early hours of February 2, the Gestapo and policemen broke into Jewish dwellings. They ordered the inhabitants to dress quickly and hurried them onto trucks, which took them to a large wooden garage next to the train station. Over 1,000 people were pushed into the unheated building. A few slipped through the dragnet and found shelter with Polish neighbors, but only a handful survived the war.[10]

The people at the train station were sent to the extermination camp in Chełmno. Those Jews who were used to clean out the property from the area where the Jews had been living were transferred to the Łódź ghetto in June 1942.[11]

SOURCES Published sources on the fate of the Jews of Sompolno under German occupation include the following: Yitzhak Kominkovski, ed., *Dapei ed shel sarid ha-ayarah Sompolno* (Tel Aviv: 1981); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 161–162; and Tomasz Kawski and Monika Opioła, *Gminy żydowskie pogranicza Wielkopolski, Mazowsza, Małopolski i Śląska w latach 1918–1942* (Toruń: Wydawn. Adam Marszałek, 2008), pp. 254–255.

Relevant documentation includes: AŻIH (Ring I/473).

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NOTES

1. Kominkovski, *Dapei ed shel sarid ha-ayarah Sompolno*, pp. 28–29.
2. Ibid., p. 29.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
4. Ibid., pp. 32–33.
5. Ibid.; Kawski and Opioła, *Gminy żydowskie pogranicza*, pp. 254–255; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 161–162.
6. Kominkovski, *Dapei ed shel sarid ha-ayarah Sompolno*, p. 32.
7. Ibid., pp. 32–34.
8. Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod: NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer. Ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941–1943* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1993), p. 186.
9. Kominkovski, *Dapei ed shel sarid ha-ayarah Sompolno*, pp. 36–37.
10. Ibid., pp. 39–41.
11. Kawski and Opioła, *Gminy żydowskie pogranicza*, p. 258.

STRYKÓW

Pre-1939: Stryków, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Strykow, Kreis Brzeziny, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Stryków, Łódź województwo, Poland

Stryków is located about 26 kilometers (16 miles) north-northeast of Łódź.

Just prior to World War II, about 2,000 Jews were living in the town. In September 1939, the German army entered Stryków, and 2 Jews were killed. On December 29, 1939, about 1,600 Jews from Stryków were resettled to Głowno. Initially, the authorities in Głowno did not want to accept them and tried to send them back to Stryków, but the mayor denied them entry so they remained in Głowno. In Stryków itself, only 378 Jews remained, composed of laborers employed in the leather factory and some indispensable craftsmen, together with family members who were permitted to stay with them.[1]



The rabbi of Stryków, wrapped in a tallit, is forced to ride on a wooden cart carrying a sign that reads, "We wanted war." The cart also has a sign, bearing the antisemitic slogan, "The Jews are our misfortune."
USHMM WS #24374, COURTESY OF ŻIH

The Stryków ghetto was established in the spring of 1940. It was located along Kościuszko Street (37-61) and on Browarowa Street. In the north, the ghetto bordered on the Moszczenica River; its entrance was on the south side, on what is now Kościuszko Street. There was also a synagogue in the area of the ghetto. In the fall of 1940, the Germans enclosed the ghetto, surrounding it with wire mesh topped with barbed wire.[2]

Five to seven policemen (Gendarmes) were in charge of guarding the ghetto. They were recruited from among local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) and were under the command of the ethnic German Oskar Knappe (or Knapczyński), who was a local from Głowno and is described by ghetto survivors as a brutal sadist. He frequently entered the ghetto and stole items or beat people. In charge of the civil administration in Stryków was Amtskommissar Steineck, who also was responsible for establishing and equipping the police. Internally, the ghetto was run by a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which consisted of a small number of officials under the Jewish elder Moses Blusztein. Among the Jewish Police were people named Chmieński and Żużko.[3]

The ghetto initially held fewer than 400 Jews from Stryków; but the number rose to around 650 due to the arrival of refugees, including some from Zgierz and Łódź. Living conditions in the ghetto were very primitive, and extreme hunger could only be alleviated a little by black market trading with the surrounding Polish population. The ghetto consisted of 12 to 14 wooden or brick single-story buildings. Living and sanitary conditions were horrendous. People were extremely poor, and up to 8 people had to share one room. There was no sewage system in the ghetto; the only water supply was groundwater taken from flat ditches crossing the ghetto area. Due to the poor sanitation and overcrowding, outbreaks of typhus were a common occurrence; one building in the ghetto was reserved for the isolation of inmates suffering from typhus. A Polish physician, Boguchwał Panaś, treated patients in the ghetto. According to his personal recollection, many ghetto residents suffered from typhus, but none of them died.[4] Witnesses state that a number of people died from starvation, especially children and the elderly. At least 1 Jew, David Majzels, died a violent death: he was shot in December 1941.

Inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to perform various work tasks inside and outside the ghetto. Once the leather factory was closed down, men over the age of 15 were taken out daily by Knappe to dig fish ponds in and around Stryków for 10 hours a day. Knappe would pick on educated Jews by selecting them for manual labor, and he often beat Jews at work until they were bloody. Other inmates worked repairing streets or tearing down old wooden houses to reduce the risk of fire in the town. Twice daily, ghetto residents had to participate in a roll call to ensure that nobody had escaped. One Jew who escaped and was recaptured was shot by Knappe in front of the others as an example.[5]

In April or May 1942, the Germans liquidated the Stryków ghetto. The roughly 300 remaining residents were ordered to gather at a collection point. They were only allowed to take with them what they could carry in their hands. The Germans marched the Jews from Stryków to Brzeziny, killing a number of the weaker Jews on the way. In Brzeziny, they shared the fate of the Jews of that ghetto, which was liquidated on May 19–21, 1942. Most were deported to the Chełmno extermination camp, while those capable of work were transferred to the Łódź ghetto.[6] Presumably, the ghetto area in Stryków existed until 1943, then the buildings were torn down.

SOURCES Secondary sources include: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), which lists the Stryków ghetto on p. 474; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 163–164.

The Stryków ghetto is documented in the following archival sources: BA-L (B 162/7774); IPN (collection "Bd," sygn. 1175, k. 20–11; collection "Ob," sygn. 177; and Zh. III/31/35/68, getta, województwo Łódzkie); USHMM (RG-15.042M [Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie]); VHF; and YVA. Additional primary sources are cited in *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 158.

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NOTES

1. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 164.
2. See a number of witness statements in USHMM, RG-15.042M; and also BA-L, B 162/7774 (Investigation of Oskar Knappe).
3. USHMM, RG-15.042M; and BA-L 162/7774.
4. Witness statement of Panaś Boguchwał, USHMM, RG-15.042M.
5. BA-L, B 162/7774 (Investigation of Oskar Knappe), pp. 50–53, statement of Moses Blusztein, July 17, 1949.
6. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 119; and Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 189, 191, 236.

SZADEK

Pre-1939: Szadek, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Schadek, Landkreis Schieratz, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Szadek, Łódź województwo, Poland

The town of Szadek is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) west–southwest of Łódź. There were 523 Jews living there in 1921.

Following Szadek's occupation in September 1939, the Germans set up a Judenrat and a Jewish police force. According to survivor Abraham Pick, the Germans dismissed the pre-war Jewish Council and constituted a new one with "tough guys," who obeyed their orders.

At the end of 1939, the Germans gave permission for Szadek's Jews to remain in the town conditional on the payment of a massive contribution that had to be delivered within three weeks. This sum was so great that many Jews were preparing for their deportation, and some even left before the deadline. In the end, however, the ransom was paid, and those who had left were instructed to return to Szadek.

From the very beginning of the occupation, Jews were forbidden to engage in commerce. The Judenrat conscripted Jews for forced labor, which consisted of cleaning for various German units and offices, manual gravel production for road repairs, and work in agriculture. Some young Jews were also sent to labor camps; name lists were prepared by the Judenrat.[1]

In May or June 1940, the German authorities established a ghetto in Szadek for the 410 Jews still living in the town.

Szadek's mayor, Otto Briese of Berlin, was in charge of ghetto affairs. The ghetto was located on two streets (including Wilanów) in the town center. It encompassed approximately 4,000 square meters (almost 1 acre). Poles living on those streets were evicted from their houses.[2]

The community was given two to three hours to relocate and allowed to take only portable items. Most Jews took straw mattresses and kitchen equipment. According to Pick, the ghetto was initially open and then sealed in the summer of 1940. Survivor Joel Opatut states that the ghetto was fenced and gated.[3]

Chaim Most chaired a self-help committee established in the ghetto. In July 1940, he issued an urgent appeal to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw for assistance, as the establishment of the ghetto had cut off all contacts with the surrounding villages, from which previously the Jews had earned their income and obtained food. There were 110 Jewish families living in the ghetto, many of which had no further means of subsistence. The Judenrat operated a soup kitchen but needed financial aid to keep it running.[4]

Despite the absence of medical assistance and terrible hygienic conditions, there were no reports of deaths due to contagious diseases. All forced labor was performed outside of the ghetto.[5]

At some time, probably in the summer of 1941, the Judenrat was ordered to deliver 50 young Jews, who were then sent to a labor camp at Rawicz.[6]

In January 1942, Ewa Smietanska managed to escape from the enclosed ghetto and entreated Małgorzata Podeszwa, who knew her parents, to take her in and give her shelter and food. As she could not obtain Aryan papers, Smietanska remained hidden in Podeszwa's house for no remuneration for the remainder of the occupation. Małgorzata was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations.

The Szadek ghetto was liquidated on August 14, 1942. All the inhabitants were deported to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were gassed on arrival.[7]

SOURCES The ghetto in Szadek is mentioned by Aleksander Pakentreger, "Polityka władz niemieckich tzw. Kraju Warty

wobec Żydów," *BŻIH*, no. 4 (1977): 39; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 482–483; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1274; and Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 2:623.

Archival information on the Szadek ghetto includes: AŻIH (210/669 [AJDC]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 8829, 23970, 32394).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 32394, testimony of Max Blum, 1997; and # 23970, testimony of Abraham Pick, 1996.
2. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 218 (Kwestionariusz o obozach, Szadek).
3. VHF, # 8829, testimony of Joel Opatut, 1996; # 32394; and # 23970.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/669 (Szadek), p. 2. A list of 53 heads of families inhabiting the Szadek ghetto is available in RG-15.019M (ASG), file 218.
5. VHF, # 23970; USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 218.
6. VHF, # 32394; # 23970.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 218.

TULISZKÓW

Pre-1939: Tuliszków, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Liebstädt, Kreis Turek, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Tuliszków, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Tuliszków is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Łódź. In 1921, the Jewish population numbered 260 out of a total population of 2,358, comprised mostly of Poles and Germans.

Within two weeks after the outbreak of the war on September 1, 1939, the German army had occupied Tuliszków. On the first day of the occupation, the Germans forced the Jews to stand in the marketplace with their hands in the air, while they searched the houses for weapons. Some Jews were abused and had their beards torn out. A number of people decided to flee the town, but most returned shortly afterwards. Poles offering resistance shot a group of 35 Germans from the Poznań region, and Jews from Tuliszków were forced to bury the bodies. However, thanks to the intervention of the ethnic German mayor Wilhelm Ants, no reprisals were taken against the Jews.[1]

Soon Jews over the age of 10 were rounded up for forced labor, repairing the roads and pulling out grass by hand. The Jews had to endure abuse, forced contributions, the plunder of their property, and restrictions regarding their freedom of movement and religious life. By the end of November 1939, a German decree ordered them to wear an armband with a yellow star. The Germans ordered that records concerning members of the Jewish community be surrendered. Then at the end of December 1939, or in early January 1940, all the Jews of Tuliszków were forced to move out of the main streets and into the back alleys formerly occupied mainly by non-Jews, establishing a Jewish quarter or open ghetto. The Jews were given less than an hour to move into their new quarter and were unable to take with them more valuable items, including most of their furniture. The non-Jews who moved out of the area were resettled into the vacated Jewish houses. The Tuliszków ghetto was one of the first to be established in Reichsgau Wartheland.[2]

The living conditions in the ghetto were harsh. The German administration cut off the electricity supply, and the Jewish families were crowded into a very small area. Shortly after the resettlement into the ghetto, a small Judenrat consisting of Aliezer Hertshik, Jakob Kopolski, and two members of the Jewish Police was established. Personal property such as furniture, furs, and new clothes had to be handed over to the Germans, who distributed these items among the local non-Jewish population.[3]

In the spring of 1940, a group of more than 50 men was sent without guards to perform forced labor in Rawicz. The men received 900 grams (32 ounces) of bread per week with some sugar and jam. Only once did they receive a small daily payment of 1.5 złoty directly.[4]

The Tuliszków ghetto was in existence for less than 22 months. Around the time of Yom Kippur (October 1, 1941), the majority of the Jews of the Turek Landkreis—including the Jews of Brudzew, Dobra, Turek, Uniejów, Władysławów, and Tuliszków—were resettled into the rural ghetto of Kowale Pańskie (aka Czachulec Nowy).[5] In total, around 4,000 Jews were moved into this rural ghetto. Only very few skilled workers were excluded from the resettlement and remained in the town of Turek. Subsequently, some Jewish women with their children fled from Kowale Pańskie back to Tuliszków, following the registration of all Jews unfit for work in the fall of 1941. Here they went into hiding with local non-Jewish acquaintances, but most did not survive the war.[6]

The majority of Jews in the Kowale Pańskie ghetto were deported in two transports in December 1941 and July 1942 to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were gassed on arrival. About 200 of those able to work were sent to forced labor camps in the Poznań area in May 1942, and another 112 skilled workers were sent to the Łódź ghetto at the time of the liquidation of the Kowale Pańskie ghetto at the end of July 1942.[7] Only one survivor from Tuliszków has been registered by the Survivors' Registry of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. As he was also in the Łódź ghetto, he was probably among the skilled workers transferred from Kowale Pańskie. After World War II, only the remnants of the Jewish cemetery in Tuliszków served as a sorry reminder of former Jewish life in the town.

SOURCES A brief outline history of the Jewish community of Tuliszków can be found in: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communi-*

ties: Poland, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 123. The transfer of the Jews from Tuliszków to the Kowale Pańskie ghetto is mentioned in *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek veli-kedosheha* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turek be-Yisrael, 1982), pp. 350–351.

Among very few archival records with information relevant to the Tuliszków ghetto, see AŻIH (301/2516; and Ring I/585).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2516, testimony of Nachum Zajf.
2. Ibid.; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 123.
3. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 123.
4. AŻIH, 301/2516.
5. Ibid.; and *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek*, pp. 350–351—both give the date as Yom Kippur 1940. AŻIH, 301/2243, testimony of Dawid Jakubowicz, dates the establishment of the ghetto on October 20, 1940, stating there were about 4,250 residents. Most other sources—e.g., USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, woj. poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 432 and reverse; and Czesław Kazimierz Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek District during the Time of Nazi Occupation," part of his master's thesis titled "Nazi Occupation in the Turek District during the Years 1939–1945" (Gdansk University, 1972)—date the establishment in August to October 1941.
6. AŻIH, 301/2516.
7. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 233. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 446, gives the figure of 89 Jews sent to the Łódź ghetto from Kowale Pańskie.

TUREK

Pre-1939: Turek, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: center of Kreis Turek, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Turek is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) west-northwest of Łódź. The Jewish population of Turek was 2,678 people in 1921, comprising more than 25 percent of the town's total population, which then exceeded 8,000 people. By the outbreak of World War II, there were about 2,700 Jews living in Turek.

Immediately after German occupation, the maltreatment of Jews began: the Germans confiscated Jewish property, and they seized Jews off the streets for forced labor, especially to clean the streets, to clear rubble, and to repair wartime damage to roads and bridges. Sometimes the Jews were beaten and humiliated during this work. In the first months of the occupation, the synagogue was set on fire and partially destroyed. Probably in October 1939, German security forces shot 15 Jewish men for unknown reasons.[1] In November 1939, about 600 men from Turek were gathered in the synagogue and then forcibly deported to Bochnia near Kraków. In January or February 1940, the first local resettlement of the Jews took place when most were concentrated in one of their traditional areas, along the "Breite Gas" and "Schmaler Gas." Because of the worsening situation, a number of Jews left Turek, seeking shelter in Warsaw, and some even went to the Soviet-occupied zone in eastern Poland. In 1940, there were only about 1,750 Jews remaining in Turek.[2]

According to Michael Alberti, the process of creating a ghetto in Turek stretched over several months, beginning in the spring of 1940. One of the main problems was a lack of sufficient space. Many buildings had become uninhabitable due to the war, and initially there was nowhere for the authorities to relocate about 150 Polish families who still lived in the designated ghetto area. As a result, not all the Jews could be moved into the ghetto at once, and therefore the Germans considered even resettling the remaining Jews into the countryside. As Turek was the seat of the Landratsamt and other regional authorities, all available living space in the town was taken up by the demands of newly arriving German administrative personnel.[3] One solution to the shortage of space was the resettlement of Jews and Poles, but this proceeded only very slowly. The establishment of the Turek ghetto, according to Alberti, was completed only in the fall of 1940 (October). But according to other sources the ghetto may have been fenced in with barbed wire earlier. Despite the enclosure of the ghetto, inmates were still able to enter and leave it, enabling them to sell property in exchange for food.[4] Alberti, however, states that the ghetto was never completely sealed and that the Schutzpolizei only patrolled around the perimeter of the ghetto. There was insufficient personnel to guard the ghetto continually. Alberti also states that the German administration in Reichsgau Wartheland never issued a clear order to shoot Jews found outside the ghetto. Nevertheless, the standard "response" in such cases generally was to shoot any Jews who attempted to leave the ghetto.[5]

Jews leaving the ghetto were not the only problem the German authorities faced. One of their main concerns was those Jews in the ghetto who were incapable of work. Constantly, able-bodied Jews were rounded up and taken to forced labor camps, with the result that increasingly only elderly and sick Jews remained behind in the Turek ghetto. The German authorities became concerned that they would have to support these Jews using public funds—something they wanted to avoid if at all possible.[6]

Living conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded and unsanitary, with only limited supplies of food. Most probably, the head of the Gestapo post (Aussendienststelle) for the Turek Kreis, Kurt Dörfel, and an unnamed employee of the local German labor office were in charge of the ghetto.[7] According to official records collected by the Polish Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, the ghetto held about 5,000 people from the town of Turek and the neighboring villages,[8] but probably the actual number of ghetto inmates was less. Many Jews suffered from malnutrition, and therefore the

Judenrat, headed by Herszel Żymanowoda and his assistants Abram Bikowski and Haim Leib Eliasz, set up a soup kitchen and other institutions of self-help. The Germans also initiated the creation of a Jewish police force, under the command of Mordechai Strykowski.[9]

The situation deteriorated in the summer and fall of 1941, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union. More and more men were rounded up during raids on the ghetto and sent to forced labor camps in the Poznań area. By the end of September or in early October 1941, the Jews of the Turek ghetto were resettled into the rural ghetto in the Kowale Pańskie (Czachulec Nowy) region, just south of Turek. About 4,000 Jews from towns and villages in the Turek region—Brudzew, Dobra, Turek, Tuliszków, Uniejów, and Władysławów—were concentrated here in about 16 hamlets in the countryside. In Turek itself, there remained only a few skilled workers needed by the German authorities. Most probably, these Jews were finally deported to Łódź in the summer of 1942, when the Turek ghetto ceased to exist.

A few Jews from Turek managed to survive in the labor and concentration camps, in the Łódź ghetto, or in hiding. One official estimate put the figure at only 26 for the entire Turek powiat. This estimate is probably too low, but the number of survivors was probably still less than 1 percent in total.[10]

SOURCES The Turek ghetto is mentioned in a number of publications, including the following: *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 163; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 531; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 130–131. Key information on the establishment of the ghetto can be found in Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 195–197. More information on Turek, its Jewish community, and the ghetto can be found in Eliezer Esterin, ed., *Turek Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Turek ve-li-kedosheha* (Tel Aviv: The Turek Organization in Israel, 1982), especially the articles by J. Seiffe, "The History of Turek," Shmuel Glubah, "Yidn in Turek in der Tseyt fun der Nazisher Okupatsie," and Eliezer Orbach and Iccak Orbach, "In Those Dreadful Days"; see also Sz. Gilboa, "Di Din Torah," *Fun Letstn Hurbn* 6 (1947). Additional information can be found in: Czesław Kazimierz Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek District during the Time of Nazi Occupation," part of his master's thesis titled "Nazi Occupation in the Turek District during the Years 1939–1945" (Gdansk University, 1972).

Information on the Turek ghetto is located in the following archives: BA-BL (N 2323/19); CAHJP (HM 7526, HM 8120, and HM 8200); CZA (S.5-1707, S.5-1796, and S.5-1801); IPN (70/710 [SDHAK], file 36; kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; Zh III/31/35/68, getta, woj. poznańskie; and OKŁ, Ds 438/67, p. 13); USHMM (RG-15.019M, RG-15.015M, and RG-15.040M); VHF (# 7067, 9518, 19603, 21725, 23903); and YVA (M-1/E/759 and O-3/3507).

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NOTES

1. Orbach and Orbach, "In Those Dreadful Days," p. 316; Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek," p. 10.
2. Glubah, "Yidn in Turek," pp. 343–344; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, pp. 130–131.
3. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, pp. 195–197. The author cites a situation report by the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Kalisch, dated May 1940, located in IPN, 70/710 (Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS, SD-Abschnitt Litzmannstadt, Hauptaussenstelle Kalisch [SDHAK]), file 36, pp. 107–125, here p. 109. Glubah, "Yidn in Turek," p. 344, notes that shortly after Pesach 1940, German Gendarmes marked the word "Jew" with chalk on those Jewish houses outside the ghetto.
4. Orbach and Orbach, "In Those Dreadful Days," p. 318. Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek," p. 10, dates the establishment of the ghetto as late as December 1940. VHF, # 21725, testimony of Jacob Fogel, and # 7067, testimony of Bronai Roslawowski, both mention the existence of a barbed-wire fence. Roslawowski also describes leaving the ghetto to barter for food.
5. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 209.
6. Ibid., p. 380, quoting Landrat Turek to Reichsstatthalter Posen, Übersicht über die Struktur des Kreises, dated September 9, 1941, in BA-BL, N 2323/19, pp. 73–113, here pp. 111–112.
7. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 211. Glubah, "Yidn in Turek," p. 348, notes that Dörfel used to check the accounts of the Jewish Council.
8. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 531.
9. Glubah, "Yidn in Turek," p. 342.
10. Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek," p. 15.

UNIEJÓW

Pre-1939: Uniejów, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Uniejow, Kreis Turek, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Uniejów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Uniejów was an agricultural center not far from Turek, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) west-northwest of Łódź, situated on the Warta River. In 1921 there were 1,100 Jews living there, out of a total population of 3,657.

Following an aerial bombardment by the Luftwaffe at the time of the German invasion on September 1, 1939, German forces captured Uniejów about one week later. In the first days of the occupation, German forces shot a number of Poles in the town.[1] The temporary German military administration soon introduced discriminatory decrees against the Jewish population. Jews were kidnapped off the streets for forced labor, which involved road construction and repairing bridges. As they performed this physically demanding labor, they were also cruelly beaten. Jewish shops were robbed, and many Jewish families were thrown out of their apartments in order to make way for German soldiers and local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). In December 1939, the Jews were ordered to wear a yellow patch. Around this time the German authorities

established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to act as an intermediary for them with the Jewish population.[2]

In 1940, the Jewish community was forcibly moved into a single neighborhood on a side street in the old part of town. The Jews were able to take most of their property with them, but they had to live in very cramped and squalid conditions.[3] Although this remained an open ghetto until June 1941,[4] there was a strict curfew, and Jews were forbidden to leave the area after a certain hour. After this date, the area of the ghetto was reduced, enclosed by a fence, and guarded by ethnic Germans.[5] The Germans crammed 491 Jews into four buildings under very poor sanitary conditions.[6] The ghetto inmates suffered from hunger and disease, and there was no school for the children. After the initial establishment of the open ghetto in 1940, able-bodied Jewish men and youths were rounded up and sent to labor camps in the area of Poznań, leaving mainly women, children, and the elderly behind in Uniejów. At first the families were able to send food parcels to the men in the labor camps, but soon all contact with them became impossible. Some of the forced laborers were subsequently transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp.[7]

The Uniejów ghetto existed only for a few months. On October 10, 1941, all the Jews of the Uniejów ghetto—together with Jews from other towns in Kreis Turek—were resettled into the rural ghetto of Kowale Pańskie (Czachulec Nowy). The Jews from Uniejów were mostly housed in the village of Dzierzbotki, which was 1 of 16 hamlets in the rural ghetto. Only six cottages were allotted to them, which provided shelter for only a few families. Most of the others had to camp out in the open fields. Among the 10 Jews who were hanged in the Kowale Pańskie ghetto on June 23, 1942, were 2 men from Uniejów.[8]

At the time of the liquidation of the Kowale Pańskie ghetto on July 20, 1942, a few Jews from Uniejów were among approximately 100 skilled workers selected to be sent to the Łódź ghetto.[9] The majority of Jews from Uniejów were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp in December 1941 or July 1942, where they were gassed on arrival. During the liquidation Aktion in July, one man from Uniejów, Lenczicki, was forced to dig his own grave and was then shot along with his child. Another man from Uniejów, Yaakov Waldman, managed to flee. He escaped into the forest and joined the partisans. On September 1, 1945, he was killed in the Turek Forest by men in the Polish underground.[10]

SOURCES The Uniejów ghetto is mentioned in *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 1631; A. Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska Polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw, 1961), p. 226; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 535. For further information, see also Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 202–203, 205, 210; Zbigniew Piechota, "Likwidacja skupisk Żydowskich w byłych powiatach tureckim i kolskim" (a MSS prepared for the conference "W 45 rocznicę zagłady skupisk żydowskich w Kraju Warty," Zduńska Wola, October 23, 1987), p. 9; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 45–47; and Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 113, 429.

There are only a few archival records available concerning the Uniejów ghetto. These include: AŻIH (210/700; Ring I/585); IPN (kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); VHF (# 9416 and 32551); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo konińskie* (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 59–61.
2. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 45–47.
3. VHF, # 32551, testimony of Rachelle Nelkin; and # 9416, testimony of Josef Kiersz.
4. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 202.
5. Ibid., pp. 205, 210.
6. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 535.
7. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 45–47; VHF, # 32551; and # 9416.
8. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 45–47; VHF, # 32551; and Czesław Kazimierz Łuczak, "Extermination of Population of Turek District during the Time of Nazi Occupation," part of his master's thesis titled "Nazi Occupation in the Turek District during the Years 1939–1945" (Gdansk University, 1972), p. 11.
9. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 233, gives the figure of 112 Jews sent to the Łódź ghetto from Kowale Pańskie. Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung*, p. 446, gives only 89 as the number.
10. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 45–47.

WARTA

Pre-1939: Warta (Yiddish: Dvart), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Sieradz, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Warta is located about 57 kilometers (35.5 miles) west of Łódź. In 1921, Jews numbered 2,025 out of 4,108 inhabitants of Warta, comprising almost 50 percent of the town's population.

When the war broke out in 1939, many Jews fled from the town, which is only 60 kilometers (37 miles) from the German border. The fighting destroyed much of the town, including the synagogue and much of the rest of the Jewish quarter. Upon

returning, many Jews found their property in ruins. Moreover, the Germans soon began the typical pattern of abuse, forced labor, and expropriation, with the coerced cooperation of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).

In November or December 1939, plans were announced to evacuate all of Warta's Jews to the Lublin area. Warta was to be annexed to the Reich, and therefore the new German authorities intended to make it *judenfrei* (free of Jews). After a few days of preparation, all the Jews were taken to the train station, but they were released the next day. The initial deportation plans were not implemented.

A ghetto was established in February 1940 in the traditional Jewish area of the town. A number of Jews had to relocate into this mostly poor area, and they were unable to bring all of their possessions, especially furniture, with them. The ghetto covered four streets, in an area approximately 250 meters by 200 meters (273 yards by 219 yards). Among the ghetto inhabitants there was also a small group of Jews from Germany, about 20 people.[1] Some sources say the ghetto was enclosed; others, that it was open, with some Polish families living within its boundaries. Jewish Police guarded the ghetto internally, but entering and leaving the ghetto remained relatively easy for both Poles and Jews. This was important, since the Judenrat had negotiated with the German authorities for Jewish workshops to be set up to produce things for the Germans. Tailors, shoemakers, and furriers began to work for the Germans, probably about 250 people in total, and part of their income was used to rebuild the town of Warta. For the Jews, these workshops meant not only a small source of income, but increasingly they became a means of survival. Additional income came from Poles and their private orders, for which the Jews received payment in cash or in kind, enabling them to buy groceries.

A letter from the Warta Jewish committee addressed to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw, written at the end of December 1940, stated that there were about 1,750 Jews in the town, among them Jews who had fled or been evicted from neighboring towns, as well as some German families. (All told, as many as 2,400 Jews may have passed through the ghetto.) There was no soup kitchen or hospital to take care of Jews in need. As the Warta Jewish committee wrote, so far the Jewish owners of smaller shops had been able to make a meager living. But by January 1, 1941, the Germans planned to take away their business licenses, which would cause the economic situation of the Jewish community to deteriorate further.[2] The ghetto was overcrowded and had terrible hygienic conditions. As there was no pharmacy inside the ghetto, Minia Jay, who worked outside the ghetto looking after the two-year-old child of the Gendarmerie Meister, used to buy drugs regularly outside the ghetto and bring them back to the ghetto.[3]

Early on, the mayor of Warta employed Jewish youths from the ghetto on farms in and around Warta, where they experienced reasonable working conditions. But increasingly the young workers were sent to forced labor camps in the Poznań area. A first transport of prisoners left the town in January 1941. Due to these drafts for forced labor, the ghetto population declined significantly.

In the fall of 1941, a few Jews classified as unfit for work in the nearby rural ghetto of Kowale Pańskie fled to the Warta ghetto, where the local Jews welcomed them. However, many returned shortly afterwards, as the deportation from Kowale Pańskie to the extermination camp in Chełmno of those deemed unfit did not take place until December.[4]

During 1941, the Warta Jews had learned about the terrible conditions in the Poznań forced labor camps and tried to provide aid by sending food packages and clothing to their relatives there. It was forbidden by the Germans to send any bread, and on April 14, 1942, 10 or 11 Jews were hanged publicly by the Germans, apparently for breaking this rule. Among those executed were London, the chairman of the Judenrat, the Warta rabbi, Eliahu Laskowsky, and other members of the Judenrat. Members of the Jewish Police were forced to build the scaffold and carry out the hangings. All Jews had to attend the execution. During another incident (time and circumstances are unknown) 9 women from the Warta ghetto were taken to Włyń and shot there.[5]

In mid-August 1942, the Central Armament Office of the Wehrmacht wrote to the Statthalter of the Wartheland, Arthur Greiser, urging him to postpone the planned "resettlement" of Jewish laborers from the C. Klose ammunition factory in Warta until substitutes had been found. Nevertheless, the German authorities proceeded with the liquidation of the ghetto on August 22–25, 1942.

First the inhabitants of the ghetto were ordered to gather at the sports field, and from there they were taken to a monastery and a church close to the ghetto, where they were held for three days with nothing to eat and very little to drink. At least 16 elderly and sick people who could not be moved were shot on the spot during the deportation Aktion and buried in a mass grave at the local cemetery. Some people also died while confined in the church. On the third day, police and SS men arrived and started to deport the Jews by truck. About 1,000 of the ghetto's inhabitants were sent to the Chełmno extermination camp, and 447 of the younger and stronger Jews were selected and sent to the Łódź ghetto, where they continued to work for the Germans. (Another source in the same collection of records states that the number of Jews taken to the Łódź ghetto was much smaller: 97 men and 60 women on August 24, 1942; and 76 men on August 25, 1942.)[6]

The Warta ghetto was dismantled after the inhabitants had been deported. Most of the furniture was given to the local population, and all other property was taken over by the Łódź Gestapo. The names of only two possible perpetrators are mentioned in the sources examined: Herbert Kühne, who was a factory manager, and Heinrich Schmieding. Their fate is unknown.

SOURCES The most comprehensive published source on Jewish life in Warta is Eliezer Astrin, ed., *Sefer d'vart* (Tel Aviv: Artzi Press, D'Vart Society, 1974). The Warta ghetto is described briefly in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein,

eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 89–92. Other publications mentioning the Warta ghetto include: Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 193, 207; Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 91–92; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 556–557; and *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 131, 162.

Documentation on the Warta ghetto can be found in the following archives: APŁ (Ds. 22/67, 1205, p. 1, I 43); BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67, SB V/I); IPN (e.g., ZH III/31/35/68 [collection Łódź województwo]; ASG, sygn. 51, vol. 2, p. 222; ASG, kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; and ASG, vol. 3, pp. 489–490); OKŚZpNPŁdz (Ds. 439/67); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC], 210/704; and RG-15.042M [Akta zakończonych śledztw w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie]); VHF (e.g., # 23350, 37820); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.042M; and VHF, # 23350, testimony of Minia Jay.
2. USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154, 210/704: letter of the Warta Jewish Committee to AJDC Warsaw (most likely around December 20, 1940).
3. VHF, # 23350.
4. *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek veli-kedosheha* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turek be-Yisrael, 1982), p. 353.
5. Astrin, *Sefer d'vart*, pp. 375–376; and VHF, # 23350. On Eliahu Laskowsky, see Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbat")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 423.
6. This is according to USHMM, RG-15.042 M, referring to IPN, ASG, vol. 2, p. 222. The second source is APŁ, Ds. 22/67, 1205, p. 1, I 43.

WIDAWA

Pre-1939: Widawa, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Lask, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Widawa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Łódź near Bełchatów. In 1921, Jews numbered 773 out of a total population of 2,209, comprising 35 percent of Widawa's population.

On the eve of war in 1939, the number of Jews living in Widawa was similar to that in 1921. To escape from the German occupation, many Jews fled Widawa, moving to other towns like Bełchatów or Zduńska Wola nearby or fleeing further to the east. At the same time, a number of Jewish refugees from other towns sought refuge in Widawa. One of the first victims of the war was the last rabbi of Widawa, Rabbi Abraham Mordechaj Maroko, who in September 1939 was killed because he refused to burn the Torah scrolls of the synagogue.[1] In August 1940, the Jewish Council (Judenrat) of Widawa approached the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw for help. At that time, 90 Jewish families (430 Jews) lived in Widawa, and due to the effects of Nazi policies, they had lost almost all of their property. The scant documentation does not indicate whether any support was in fact received from the AJDC in Warsaw.[2] It is likely that at some time before the summer of 1942 the Germans rounded up able-bodied Jews from Widawa and sent them to the Poznań region for forced labor.

According to a report by the Office of Information and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Polish Underground Army (Armia Krajowa) dated December 1941, an open ghetto had been established in Widawa by the fall of 1941, which contained about 100 Jewish families. The same report indicates that on November 14, 1941, about 25 families were transferred to the ghetto in Bełchatów.[3] The article in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* also mentions the existence of an open ghetto in Widawa.[4]

In the absence of survivor testimony, it is difficult to ascertain the precise fate of the remaining Jews of Widawa. As no records have been located concerning the deportation of Jews directly from Widawa to the Chełmno extermination camp, it seems likely that the Jews were transferred first to the nearby ghettos of Łask, Zelów, or Bełchatów, where some may have been selected to work in the Łódź ghetto before the majority were sent on to Chełmno in August 1942 to be murdered by asphyxiation.[5] In early September 1942, the Gestapo in Łódź reported that Kreis Lask had been cleared of Jews.[6]

SOURCES A brief article on the Jewish community of Widawa can be found in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 94. A brief mention of the ghetto can also be found in: Maria Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941–1943. Dokumenty Biura Propagandy i Informacji KG AK w zbiorach biblioteki uniwersytetu warszawskiego, część 1," *BŻIH*, nos. 2–3 (1992): 35–61.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Widawa during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/711 and Ring I/120); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC] 210/711; Ring I/120); and YVA.

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1. See AŻIH, Ring I/120.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/711 (Widawa), letter of the Jewish community of Widawa to AJDC Warsaw, August 8, 1940.
3. Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja żydów w latach 1941–1943," p. 44.
4. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 94.
5. Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), p. 207.

6. Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), p. 96.

WIELUŃ

Pre-1939: Wieluń, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Welungen, center of Kreis Welungen, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Wieluń, Łódź województwo, Poland

Wieluń is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Częstochowa in southern Poland, close to the historic border with Silesia. Around the time of Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, there were about 4,200 Jews residing in Wieluń.

Wieluń was among the first Polish towns attacked in the predawn hours of September 1, 1939. The concentrated German aerial bombardment and artillery attack destroyed three quarters of the town, including a synagogue. Thousands were injured and killed; most of the houses were burned down; and masses of people fled, including virtually all the Jews. About half of the Jewish population eventually returned to the town, settling in the rubble of their former homes or on the outskirts of town. Remaining Jewish businesses were taken over by German-appointed trustees (*Treuhänder*), who managed them until their eventual sale to non-Jews. Wieluń was soon annexed to the German Reich. Many Polish citizens were expelled, and ethnic Germans from the Baltic countries were brought in.

From the start of the German occupation, Jewish men were subject to kidnapping for forced labor. They were put to work salvaging the remains of bombed-out houses. The laborers received only a token wage for their work. In the first years of the occupation, hunger was not a factor, since food could be purchased, legally or otherwise, by cash or barter from the local farmers. In December 1940, there were 4,053 Jews living in Wieluń, including 450 refugees from other places. In March 1941, the authorities in Wieluń established a Jewish residential area (open ghetto) for the Jews around the marketplace, where the Jews lived mainly in derelict old houses and wooden shacks.[1] The area was commonly referred to as the ghetto, but it was not fenced in. Jews were still permitted to move about the entire town with the exception of market days—on Tuesdays, on Fridays, and later, on Sundays as well.[2] On August 9, 1941, the Germans rounded up a group of Jews in Wieluń and sent them to the Poznań region for forced labor.[3] According to one source, several hundred Jews from Wieluń were transferred to the nearby ghetto in the town of Praszka.



Group portrait of the male members of the Jakubowicz family wearing yellow stars in the Wieluń ghetto. Pictured are Mr. Jakubowicz (second from right) with his three sons (left to right) Jakub, Moisze (the photo's donor, now Morris Jacobs), and Henry. All four survived the war.
USHMM WS #14296, COURTESY OF MORRIS JACOBS

In early 1942 (probably on January 12), the German authorities publicly hanged 10 Jews, including 1 woman, allegedly for the illegal slaughter of cattle. This was a traumatic experience that made a deep impression on the Jewish population. Survivor accounts of the incident describe it as a collective punishment, imposed on the entire community. One survivor, Moshe Prager (who dates the event on the holiday of Purim), states that he was among the 10 Jews selected for hanging by lot. He was spared, however, when an elder of the community offered to take his place. This saved Prager's life, but the manner of his survival also caused him lasting anguish and guilt.[4] Among the victims of German terror during the first half of 1942 was the chairman of the Judenrat, named Lipszyc, and his deputy, who were punished for their refusal to carry out German orders. One source indicates that Lipszyc was among the people hanged, but another report indicates that he was murdered in June 1942 in the office of the Gestapo.

Further forced labor deportations to the area around Poznań took place in the spring of 1942; about 2,000 Jews were sent away. The liquidation of the Wieluń ghetto took place on August 16–22, 1942.[5] German SS and police forces surrounded the ghetto and drove all the Jews out onto the streets.[6] A number of Jews were also brought to Wieluń from nearby towns, including Bolesławiec.[7] About 5,000 Jews were confined together under horrendous conditions in the church building without food or water. A number of Jews, especially the elderly and sick, died of exhaustion in the church or were murdered by the SS in Wieluń. After a week, representatives of the Gestapo and the German Ghetto Administration (Gettoverwaltung, GV) in Łódź selected about 900 people (of which about 250 were from Wieluń) for physical labor in the Łódź ghetto. Among them was Szmuel Hecht, who worked in the Łódź ghetto archive prior to his death in 1943. The rest were escorted away by members of the SS-Sonderkommando Kulmhof (Chełmno), assisted by local detachments of the Order Police, and were transported in trucks to the extermination camp in Chełmno, where they were killed using poison gas.[8]

The German Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat) in Wieluń reported to the head of the Gestapo in Łódź: "[A]t the beginning of August an Aktion against the Jews of Welungen Kreis was started suddenly with the aim of resettling

all of them. Due to the suddenness of the operation, the Jews were rounded up almost without exception, and only a few Jews were able to flee. On completion of the Aktion on August 22, 1942, Kreis Welungen was free of Jews [*judenfrei*]."[9] Following the deportation Aktion, the German police continued to search for Jews in hiding in Wieluń and the surrounding area. Those who were captured were brought back to Wieluń and murdered there.[10] Income from the sale of remaining Jewish property in Kreis Welungen was collected by local officials and paid to the GV in Łódź.[11] Subsequently the GV paid for the repair of window panes in the Wieluń church that were damaged during the deportation Aktion.[12]

A few Jewish survivors returned to Wieluń after the war, but most left following the murder of the son of a former Jewish landowner in the nearby village of Wolków, who had tried to claim his inheritance.

SOURCES In preparing this article, reference was made to Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 94–98; and also to the yizkor book edited by Moshe Mendelevitz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Wieluń* (Tel Aviv: Wielun Organization in Israel and the Memorial Book Committee in USA, 1971). Several key German documents are published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds, *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961). The ghetto in Wieluń is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 561.

Documents and survivor testimonies on the fate of the Jews of Wieluń can be found in the following archives: APŁ; BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67, vol. 11); FVA (# 1400); IPN (ASG, sygn. 22, p. 593); USHMM (RG-02.064*01; and RG-50.002*0011); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, 203 AR-Z 161/67, vol. 11, p. 3, statement of Franz Eb., June 28, 1971.
2. Mendelevitz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Wieluń*, p. 341.
3. USHMM, RG-50.002*0011, Oral History Interview with David Kempinski, March 9, 1987.
4. See Fritz Bauer Institut Archive, "Das Ghetto in Brzeziny" (8mm film copied from Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, which includes scenes of the execution of 10 ghetto inhabitants in Wieluń on January 12, 1942); Mendelevitz, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Wieluń*, p. 352.
5. Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and District Museum in Konin, 2004), p. 207.
6. Mendelevitz, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Wieluń*, p. 345.
7. USHMM, RG-02.064*01, Louis Brandsdorfer, "The Bleeding Sky—My Mother's Journey through the Fire," chap. 3.
8. Mendelevitz, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Wieluń*, pp. 345–346.
9. Excerpt from a situation report by the Grenzpolizeikommissariat in Welungen to the Head of the Gestapo in Lodsch, August 31, 1942, published in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, p. 311.
10. USHMM, RG-02.064*01, Brandsdorfer, "The Bleeding Sky," chap. 3.
11. Ibid.; Amstkommissar Landstett, Kreis Welungen, report dated August 21, 1942, published in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, p. 400.
12. APŁ, GV, 139/29445, p. 419, GV Litzmannstadt, gez. Biebow, an Luchterhand im Hause, October 20, 1942, as cited by Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 437.

WIERUSZÓW

Pre-1939: Wieruszów, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Weruschau, Kreis Welungen (Wieluń), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Wieruszów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Wieruszów lies on the Prosna River, 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Częstochowa, on the east-west road from Wrocław to Łódź. On the eve of World War II, approximately 2,400 Jews lived in Wieruszów.

In the predawn hours of September 1, 1939, the citizens of Wieruszów were woken by the thunderous sound of bombing and artillery fire that hit nearby Wieluń.[1] Wieruszów also came under heavy fire. Shortly afterwards the bridge over the Prosna River was blown up, and the townspeople were ordered to leave. Many Jews fled, passing through Zduńska Wola (where local Poles denied them entry to the public bomb shelter) and heading towards Łódź and points east. The German army arrived in Wieruszów on September 2 and began their assault on the town, which was set on fire, and on the Jews who remained. Some 24 Jews, whose only mistake was being out on the streets, were shot dead. Shopkeepers were ordered to open their stores, which were plundered by the occupiers as well as by local Poles and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Other Jews were rounded up and taken to the railway station. There they witnessed a bonfire of Jewish religious items—prayer shawls, tefillin, and holy books. Then 19 men were taken away to bury the victims of the street murders.[2] Another 82 men, all dressed in religious garb, were loaded onto trucks and photographed with a sign: "These are the Jews who shot our soldiers." The Germans held them and others for two months before releasing them.[3]

The German army ordered all refugees to return to their hometowns. The Jewish population of Wieruszów grew to about 1,700 by the end of 1939. As the refugees trickled back into town, they were appalled by the scene. Most of their homes had been destroyed, and the remaining population was huddled in the ruins. The persecution of the Jews grew increasingly oppressive. They were permitted to be on the streets only between 6:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. On Sundays they were restricted to the morning hours. They were forbidden to walk



View of a street in the Wieruszów ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #33539, COURTESY OF GFH



Two sisters, Hinda and Leah Szilit, pose with Leah's daughter in the Wieruszów ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #33540, COURTESY OF GFH

on the sidewalks. They were ordered to doff their hats and bow to any German they encountered, even a child. Their possessions were the objects of looting and confiscation.[4] Jews were forbidden to engage in any form of commerce, and their shops were handed over to local Poles and *Volksdeutsche*. From November 1939, the Regierungspräsident in Kalisz, Friedrich Übelhör, ordered Jews to wear distinguishing yellow patches. Later they had to wear a yellow Star of David on their chests and backs.[5]

The Germans sought to impose an orderly and strict regime on the Jews by creating a Judenrat. They offered the chairmanship to Mordechai Shmuel Zelikovitch, head of the Jewish Community Council, but he refused to serve. For this insubordination he was sent to a prison camp in Łódź. The position was given to Yossel Yedwab.[6] The other members included Icha Pankovsky and Chaim Schwarzbart (who survived and contributed a memoir to the yizkor book). The Judenrat's first "assignment" was to register the Jews. As in Germany after August 1938, the name "Israel" was attached to every male and "Sara" to every female on the list. Then the Judenrat was given only 24 hours to collect and deliver a "fine" of 25,000 Reichsmark (RM) to German headquarters. After feverish efforts, the committee of three (Yedwab, Pankovsky, and Schwarzbart) delivered the money. The commander accepted it and then, "with a satanic grin," ordered the Judenrat to collect another 25,000 RM within 48 hours. The effort failed. With heavy hearts the committee delivered only 15,000 RM, not knowing if they would return alive from German headquarters. The commander gave them a beating.[7] During the entire occupation there was a relentless search for valuables (money, jewelry, furs, and watches) that the Jews might have hidden away—as was indeed the case.

In September or October 1941, the senior German official (Amtskommissar) in Wieruszów established an overcrowded ghetto in the poorest part of town. It was surrounded by barbed wire, and the Jews were forbidden to leave. The Jewish Police enforced the ban. The Jews were ordered to evacuate the former Jewish quarter, and their homes were turned over to Poles. A possible reason for the establishment of the ghetto was the expected arrival of a number of ethnic Germans from Bukovina a few weeks later.

All Jews between 6 and 60—men, women, and children—were ordered to report daily at 6:00 A.M. for forced labor. Some worked for army units stationed in the area, carrying water, shining shoes, and sweeping streets. Others were assigned the task of cleaning up the rubble of destroyed buildings. The salvaged bricks were carefully cleaned, sorted, and packed for shipping to Germany.[8] The workers were supposed to receive 50 pfennigs a day, but the wages were usually paid by the Judenrat. Yedwab personally oversaw the work assignments to minimize the random kidnappings that had been used to press people into forced labor. The Germans ordered the Jews to destroy Christian religious statues in the town, probably with the intention of further inciting antisemitic sentiment among the local population.

At the beginning of 1941, as the cleanup of the ruins came to an end, the Germans began to send able-bodied men and women to work camps in the region of Poznań. These Jews worked in factories, in agriculture, and also on construction of the main highway from Berlin to Łódź.[9] Yedwab reportedly warned young people of impending roundups, urging them to hide or flee. The Judenrat sent food parcels (through Polish intermediaries) to the people in the work camps. By the end of 1941 the Jews left in Wieruszów were primarily the sick, the elderly, or the very young. Only a few workers whose skills were deemed essential by the local authorities remained.[10]

The liquidation of the ghetto took place between August 11 and August 23, 1942. Military trucks escorted by SS men arrived at the ghetto, which was surrounded by armed troops. The officer in charge was named Schwind. The Jews were marched some 200 meters (219 yards) to the grounds of a local monastery, accompanied by beatings and harassments to hurry them along. A committee of young people was sent back to the ghetto to bring bread and other food. A kitchen was set up in the courtyard of the monastery to prepare and dispense the meals. On the first evening a squad of Germans entered the ghetto and murdered 80 old and sick people who could not make it to the monastery. Over the next two days 104 men were "selected" from the assembly at the monastery and sent for forced labor in the Łódź ghetto. The remaining 800 to 900 people were taken by train to the extermination camp at Chełmno.[11]

A work crew of Jews from Łódź was sent to collect whatever possessions were left in the Wieruszów ghetto and deliver them to the Germans. The income received from the sale of these items in Kreis Welungen was subsequently credited to the Ghetto Administration (Gettoverwaltung) in Łódź.[12] Then the Germans ordered local Poles to turn over their own apartments and move into the empty Jewish houses.

At the end of the war a few survivors, including some of those sent to Łódź or who had fled to the Soviet Union, returned to Wieruszów. As word reached them about the murder of Jewish returnees by bands of Polish partisans, they left for larger cities or quit Poland altogether.

SOURCES Important for the history of the Jewish community in Wieruszów is the article in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 98–102; additional information can be found in the personal accounts in the yizkor book, edited by Yehoshua Aybeshits, Avraham Kloshiner, and Yosef Zelkovits, *Wieruszow: Sefer Yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Wieruszow Book Committee, 1970). The ghetto in Wieruszów is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 561.

Documentation and testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews of Wieruszów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1317); BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67); IPN (ASG, sygn. 51, p. 263); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Aybeshits, Kloshiner, and Zelkovits, *Wieruszow: Sefer Yizkor*, p. 298.
2. Ibid., pp. 279–280.
3. Ibid., pp. 281–283; AŻIH, 301/1317, testimony of Lejb Bornsztajn.
4. Aybeshits, Kloshiner, and Zelkovits, *Wieruszow: Sefer Yizkor*, p. 298.
5. Ibid., p. 335; *Lodzer Zeitung*, November 16, 1939, published in Isaiah Trunk, *Łódźer Ghetto: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2006), p. 18.
6. Aybeshits, Kloshiner, and Zelkovits, *Wieruszow: Sefer Yizkor*, p. 335.
7. Ibid., p. 315.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 335.
10. Ibid., pp. 302, 315.
11. Ibid., pp. 309–311.
12. Amstkommissar Landstett, Kreis Welungen, report dated August 21, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 400.

WŁADYSŁAWÓW

Pre-1939: Władysławów, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Rosterschütz, Kreis Turek, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Władysławów, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Władysławów is located about 82 kilometers (51 miles) west-northwest of Łódź. In 1921, there were 293 Jews living in the village (out of 960 inhabitants in total). Since many Jews from the village tried to move to larger towns or abroad, by 1939 the number of Jews in Władysławów had declined to 115.

Władysławów was occupied by German forces in the first half of September 1939. German soldiers were assisted and supported by the local population in their Aktions against the

Jews: Jewish property was plundered, and Jews were taken for forced labor in the village. Orthodox Jews were assaulted and had their beards forcibly shaven. By the end of 1939, Jews were forced to wear yellow armbands identifying them as Jews, and they were no longer permitted to leave the village.

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, a ghetto was established in Władysławów in 1940. Food was scarce, so the ghetto inhabitants were forced to leave the ghetto illegally at night to obtain food in nearby villages. On October 20, 1941, on the eve of Yom Kippur, the Jews of Władysławów were deported to the "rural ghetto" (*Dorfghetto*) in the vicinity of Kowale Pańskie. In total, about 4,000 Jews from the Turek area were assembled there.[1]

SOURCES Only a few sources exist describing the fate of the Jews of Władysławów. A brief history of the community is available in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 103. Other sources mentioning the fate of the Jewish community in Władysławów include: Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat. The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Stein & Day, 1977), pp. 113, 429; and Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945 (*Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 203.

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NOTE

1. AŻIH, 301/2516, testimony of Nachum Zajf; *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Turek veli-kedosheha* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turek be-Yisrael, 1982), pp. 315–319, 350–351; and USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, (ASG) 1939–1945, województwo poznańskie, vol. 54, pp. 432 and verso.

WŁOCŁAWEK

Pre-1939: Włocławek, city, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Leslau, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Włocławek, województwo kujawsko-pomorskie, Poland

Włocławek is located about 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) north-northwest of Łódź. The Jewish population just before World War II numbered between 10,000 and 14,000 people. Altogether there were some 56,000 residents in Włocławek; therefore, Jews comprised about 20 percent of the total population. The town lies on both banks of the Vistula River, with the majority of Jews residing on the western side where the town center was located.

On September 14, 1939, the German army occupied the town. SA-Sturmbannführer Hans Kramer was appointed as the mayor, and Elliot Hessemayer was his deputy. The ethnic German Max Dunkhorst became "adviser for Jewish affairs," having been a sports teacher at the Jewish High School and at the Jewish Sports Club in Włocławek before the war. These three men were those most responsible for all the Aktions carried out against the Jewish population of the town.[1]



A group of four Jews, wearing triangles on their backs, walk along a street in Włocławek, ca. November 1939.
USHMM WS #50402, COURTESY OF IPN

The first anti-Jewish measures were introduced shortly after the occupation of the town. On September 24, the Germans burned down both synagogues and arrested 10 Jews who lived nearby as suspected arsonists. At the same time, Jews who had illegally gathered for prayer were shot by the SS. (Among the perpetrators were SS-Standartenführer Paul Nostitz and other members of the 2nd SS-Totenkopfstandarte. The case was tried at Nürnberg after the war.) More than 800 Jews were taken as hostages and were first jailed in the town but were later imprisoned in a local barracks, where they had to perform various work tasks. On September 29, mayor (Stadtkommissar) Kramer published an order that the Jewish community had to pay a ransom of 100,000 złoty for the release of the hostages.[2] Shortly afterwards, he demanded 200,000 and then an additional 250,000 złoty, which the Jewish community was unable to raise. After eight weeks the hostages were released, but they still had to report daily for forced labor.

On October 25, 1939, the German town administration ordered all Jews to wear a triangle made of yellow cloth on the back of their clothes.[3] At the end of 1939, the Germans started an initial wave of roundups and deportations. First, in November on the instructions of Dunkhorst, Jewish teachers and intellectuals were arrested. This was followed by the deportation of poor Jews who were receiving social assistance. On December 1, 1939, the first group of about 400 impoverished Jews was sent to Ożarów in Distrikt Radom; a second group was sent on December 15, 1939, to Włoszów-Zamość in Distrikt Lublin; and then, on February 15, 1940, a third group to Tarnów in Distrikt Krakau. These Jews were given up by the Jewish authorities in the vain hope that this would relieve the pressure on the rest of the community. All of the deportations

took place at night, and those affected could only take a small amount of luggage with them.[4]

By 1940, the Germans had appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by Yitzhak Kowalsky. In the summer of 1940, there were some 4,000 Jews remaining in the town, who were concentrated on the Łęgska, Kowalska, Królewicka, and Targowa Streets, as well as the vegetable market. At the end of October or the beginning of November 1940, the Germans established a ghetto in an impoverished section of town near the Jewish cemetery, where the streets were unpaved and there was no electricity. The Jews were housed in old, dilapidated wooden houses, and several families were forced to live in a single room. The German authorities instructed the Jews to maintain a watch at night to ensure that no fires broke out in the ghetto.[5] Around 1,000 Poles, who originally lived in this part of town, were evacuated and resettled into former Jewish apartments in the town. On November 9, 1940, Kramer, Hessemeyer, and Dunkhorst organized a pogrom against those Jews that had not yet moved into the ghetto and declared Leslau (the new German name for Włocławek) to have been cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*). The resettlement operations against the Jews were probably connected to the need for housing to accommodate ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutche*) arriving from Volhynia, whose resettlement was about to be completed.

A police sergeant (Polizeimeister) Irme was installed as commandant of the ghetto, where he spread fear and terror among the Jews with his draconian orders and trained dogs. On November 9, 1940, the ghetto was enclosed with barbed wire. The external guarding of the ghetto was carried out by German police, and the internal guarding by Jewish Police under the notorious commander Ignacy Fenster.[6] Initially, the Poles and Germans were still permitted to enter the ghetto, and this enabled the Jews to trade clothes and household items for food in order to stave off starvation. Following the enclosure of the ghetto with barbed wire, this source of food almost completely dried up, and soon only the few craftsmen who worked—for example, as cobblers or tailors for German companies—outside the ghetto were able to bring in some food. On their initiative, a soup kitchen was established for the poorest residents, which received some meager financial support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).[7] In the ghetto, cultural activities continued to take place at the ritual purification house near the Jewish cemetery. Here, the members of various political groups (Zionists, the Bund, and Communists who had already shaped political life in the town before the war) came together. The cemetery became the cultural center of the ghetto, where friends met, and social, cultural, and political events were organized. These activities did not remain concealed from the Germans; in the winter of 1941, they destroyed the Jewish cemetery in response.[8]

From the summer of 1941, conditions in the ghetto deteriorated considerably. Increasingly, Jews were sent to perform forced labor outside the ghetto, such as the excavation of ditches 10 meters (approximately 33 feet) deep. On September 26, 1941, police inspector Ott conducted a further selection



Jews are displaced from the Włocławek ghetto, in the vicinity of Wolność Street, n.d.
USHMM WS #50336, COURTESY OF IPN

in the ghetto. A number of girls and young women were sent to a camp near Poznań, known as Antonienhof; others were deported to the Łódź ghetto and subsequently from there to the extermination camp in Chełmno.[9] After this selection, the area of the ghetto was drastically reduced, and the hygienic conditions deteriorated considerably. On the pretext of a typhus epidemic, the Germans completely isolated the ghetto on November 16, 1941. Those Jews caught trying to leave the ghetto were shot immediately. In addition, a number of Jews were hanged inside the ghetto.

The final liquidation of the Włocławek ghetto took place in April 1942. On April 24, 400 men between the ages of 14 and 50 were deported for forced labor at, for example, the camps at Września and others near Poznań or to other camps in Ojsz, Gutenbrunn, and Nekla. Many of these laborers died in the camps of exhaustion and malnutrition, and the others were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp in 1943. Following these deportations from Włocławek, fewer than 1,000 Jews remained in the ghetto. On April 27, 1942, the remaining Jews were loaded onto trucks and taken to Chełmno, where they were murdered using poison gas. The liquidation of the ghetto lasted three days, after which a special squad of SS men, under the command of the local Gestapo, burned it to the ground.[10]

Elliot Hessemayer was tried and executed by hanging in Włocławek after the war for crimes committed in the town during the German occupation.

SOURCES The ghetto is also mentioned in several academic publications, including: *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955); 135, 173; A. Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów* (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 226, 287; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 565.

Several survivors have published their memoirs. Among the more significant is that by Zenek (Selig) Mayor, *Von Auschwitz nach Haifa. Erinnerungen eines polnischen Jude*n (Bremen:



The German authorities raze the Włocławek ghetto to the ground, following the deportation of its inhabitants, April or May 1942.
USHMM WS #61359A, COURTESY OF YIVO

Donat-Verlag, 1993), which contains numerous photographs concerning Jewish life in Włocławek before and during the ghetto period. Worthy of mention are also the memoirs of Peninah Cypkewicz-Rosin, *Flight to Survival. Włocławek—Warszawa—Częstochowa . . . Eretz Yisrael, 1939–1945* (League City, TX: Jewishgen, 2006); and the yizkor book by K.F. Thursh and M. Korzen, eds., *Votslavek veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron* (Israel: Association of Former Włocławek Jews in Israel and America, 1967), which includes much information on the ghetto.

The history of the Włocławek ghetto is documented in the following archival sources: AŻIH (e.g., 301/374); IPN (Kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); MKW (Zb.fk., nr. 1739); SOTW (sygn. 119, pp. 17, 18, 33, 49, 53, and 58); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.004M); and YVA.

Evelyn Zegenhagen and Samuel Fishman
trans. Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Cypkewicz-Rosin, *Flight to Survival*, p. 44; Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 833.
2. This proclamation is published (in English translation) in Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 152.
3. For photographs of this and other elements of Jewish life in Włocławek, see Mayor, *Von Auschwitz nach Haifa*; see also Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 835.
4. Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 836.
5. For more details, see the memoir of Mayor, *Von Auschwitz nach Haifa*, pp. 38 ff.
6. For the notorious Jewish Police, see Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 146; and Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 215. According to sources mentioned here, Fenster was probably killed by former inmates of the ghetto.
7. Cypkewicz-Rosin, *Flight to Survival*, p. 168; Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 836.
8. Cypkewicz-Rosin, *Flight to Survival*, p. 168; Mayor, *Von Auschwitz nach Haifa*, p. 35; Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 840.
9. Thursh and Korzen, *Votslavek veha-sevivah*, p. 841.
10. Ibid., p. 842.

ZAGÓRÓW

Pre-1939: Zagórów, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Hinterberg, Kreis Konin, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Zagórów, województwo wielkopolskie, Poland

Zagórów is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-southeast of Poznań and 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of Konin.

On September 1, 1939, about 630 Jews were living in Zagórów. Forces of the German army occupied the town on September 6, 1939, and anti-Jewish measures were immediately instituted. Jews were made to perform forced labor, their property was confiscated, and by the end of 1939 all Jewish inhabitants of Zagórów were forced to wear white armbands. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans humiliated the Jews by forcing them to remove the grass from between the cobblestones on the market square.

The Germans established an open ghetto in Zagórów in the spring or summer of 1940, probably by mid-July. It covered an area of about 8 to 10 square kilometers (3 or 4 square miles).[1] Around July 15, many of the Jewish inhabitants of Kreis Konin—from the towns of Kleczew, Golina, Wilczyn, and other places—were resettled to the Zagórów ghetto.[2] The Jewish committee of Zagórów took care of the new arrivals and did as much as it could to provide them with food, accommodation, and health care. An aid committee was established, which later was renamed by the Gendarmerie-Kreisführer of Konin as the Jewish Council of Elders (Jüdischer Ältestenrat or Judenrat) for the area.[3]

Due to the resettlement, there were now 2,170 Jews living in the Zagórów ghetto, of which 1,582 (almost three quarters) were refugees who had no spare clothes, no accommodation, and no means of living.[4] The Jews had been told by the German authorities that from Zagórów they would be sent to work in the Łódź factories, but this did not occur. Accordingly, in August 1940, the Jewish Council sent a letter to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw in which it described the situation in the ghetto. The living conditions were terrible, with 10 or 15 people forced to live in one room, others had to live in a school building, and many families had no source of income. At the beginning, they had no doctor, no hospital, and no health care. The Jewish Council provided 300 lunches per day, but this was insufficient to feed all the people in need.[5]

On October 24, 1940, the Jewish Council reported to the AJDC that a soup kitchen had been established, which provided meals for 500 people daily, but that they would not be able to continue this activity, as all their financial means for food, health care, and sanitary services were exhausted. "In view of the approaching winter," the Judenrat reported, "we are completely at a loss as to what to do."[6] In December 1940, the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Union of Jews in Germany) paid 500 Reichsmark (RM) in aid to ease the situation in the Zagórów ghetto, but this money was still not nearly enough.[7] The Jews of Zagórów were com-

pletely ruined and unable to contribute to the needs of the ghetto. Furthermore, the Jewish Council also had to pay for the 120 Zagórów Jews who had been taken to a forced labor camp in Konin and needed new wooden shoes. According to one survivor, Jews sent to Konin were used to clear remaining furniture from former Jewish houses there.[8]

As the ghetto remained open, some Jews sneaked out past the few German patrols to beg or buy food from farmers in the surrounding villages. Jews also continued to pray in the ghetto, giving those who died at least a proper Jewish burial. Due to the overcrowding, poor sanitation, cold, and hunger, some Jews fell sick, and an outbreak of typhus occurred. Those who remained healthy feared roundups for forced labor, as they believed that if they were sent away, they would not see their families again. Some Jews hid to avoid the roundups, but the Germans adopted brutal methods of coercion, searching houses with Alsatian dogs.[9]

On March 8, 1941, the Jews from the Grodziec ghetto, including many Jews from the town of Konin, were deported. Some of them were sent back to Konin and from there deported to the town of Józefów in Distrikt Lublin of the Generalgouvernement; the remainder were sent to the nearby ghetto in Zagórów.[10]

At the end of the summer of 1941, about 450 men from the ghetto were taken for forced labor to the salt mines of Inowrocław, but most of the Zagórów Jews either had no work at all—which meant no income and almost no food—or were employed in building and maintaining roads and railways. In late September 1941, the remaining inhabitants of the ghetto were taken to the nearby forest of Kazimierz Biskupi in trucks and murdered there.[11]

Information about the liquidation of the Zagórów ghetto derives mainly from a letter written by Yitshak Laski, the chairman of the Jewish Council in Zagórów, to the Jews in Kłodawa. On the eve of the "Days of Awe" (late September 1941), instructions were issued that a poll tax of 4 RM would be imposed on the entire Jewish population and that an expulsion was being prepared. Reportedly, the Jews would be sent by truck to Koło and from there by train to Łódź; from Łódź they would go on a trip of several days in an unknown direction. The expulsion occurred in this manner: the population was loaded 50 people at a time onto trucks; they were allowed to take with them only 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of hand luggage each. They were promised that their remaining baggage would be sent on afterwards by train. Each round-trip on the trucks lasted two hours. The Jews, seriously alarmed, arranged that each group that left should mark in red chalk the name of the place where they disembarked. When the truck returned, it turned out that the destination was the Kazimierz Biskupi Forest, not far from Zagórów. No further news was received about the fate of the Zagórów Jews, although the Jews in Kłodawa sent out messengers, Polish and German, in all directions. Only a few families succeeded in fleeing to Koło, but the vast majority perished.[12]

SOURCES Some information on the Jewish community of Zagórów and the ghetto can be found in the following secondary works: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 103; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Stein & Day, 1977), pp. 113, 129, 417; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 580; and *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 135, 170–171.

Primary sources on the Zagórów ghetto include the following: AAN (202/II-29, p. 87); AŻIH (210/738 and Ring I/394); IPN (kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; and GK, Zh III/31/35/68 [getta, woj. poznańskie]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH], 210/738; and RG-15.079M, Ring I/394); VHF (e.g., # 4469, 9257, 24854); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 9257, testimony of Abraham Landau, states that it was roughly 2.4 to 3.2 kilometers (1.5 or 2 miles) in width and length.
2. Ibid., # 4469, testimony of Leon Jedwab; and # 24854, testimony of Bert Gembicki.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/738, Ältestenrat Hinterberg to AJDC, December 12, 1940.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., Ältestenrat Hinterberg to AJDC, August 27, 1940.
6. Ibid., Ältestenrat Hinterberg to AJDC, October 24, 1940.
7. Ibid., Ältestenrat Hinterberg to AJDC, December 12, 1940.
8. VHF, # 24854.
9. Ibid., # 4469; # 24854; and # 9257.
10. M. Gelbart, ed., *Kehilat Konin bi-ferihatah uve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Konin be-Yisrael, 1968), p. 559.
11. VHF, # 4469, Leon Jedwab, dates the Aktion on the second day of Rosh Hashanah (September 23, 1941). USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/394, dates it as the "Days of Awe" (the 10 days between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur). See also Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), p. 83; and Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, p. 559.
12. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/394, "After January 1942"—protocol about the events in the Koło region.

ZDUŃSKA WOLA

Pre-1939: Zduńska Wola, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zdunska Wola, Kreis Schieratz, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Zduńska Wola, powiat center, Łódź województwo, Poland

Zduńska Wola is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-southwest of Łódź.

In August 1939, immediately before the beginning of World War II, Zduńska Wola had about 27,000 inhabitants, including 13,190 Poles (48.9 percent), 9,330 Jews (34.6 percent), and 4,480 Germans (16.6 percent). The town was captured by



Public humiliation of Jews in the Zduńska Wola ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #18858, COURTESY OF IPN

the German army on September 6–7, 1939, and the persecution of the Jews began immediately, as ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) and local Poles looted Jewish stores and houses. The synagogue was destroyed, and a few Jews were shot by the Germans. In December 1939, the Germans ordered the Jewish community to prepare for expulsion and demanded a list of 400 families that were to be driven out of town. Apparently, by paying a fee of 50,000 złoty, the Jewish Council was able to prevent this. Instead, about 100 Jewish families that lived outside the main Jewish residential area were resettled into the Jewish area, and their property was confiscated. Some sources claim that at this time the Jews had to pay an additional fee of 250,000 złoty.

A separate Jewish area of settlement had been in existence in Zduńska Wola before the start of World War II. In early 1940, it was converted into an "open ghetto." Pillars at the corner of one street marked with a yellow Star of David indicated the borders of the ghetto. Most Jews were only allowed to leave the ghetto between 10:00 A.M. and noon, but those employed by the Germans could do so freely during the day. Thus Jews were still able to obtain food relatively freely, although they had to pay exorbitant prices for goods obtained on the black market.

In the course of 1940, the ghetto area was fenced in with barbed wire and separated from the non-Jewish part of town. At this time, the ghetto held about 7,500 local Jews and about 800 refugees or deportees from other locations, mostly in the vicinity of Zduńska Wola.[1] In the period up to 1942, between 1,000 and 3,000 Jews from neighboring towns, including Sieradz, Pabianice, Kalisz, Poddębice, Szadek, Widawa, Burzenin, Klonowa, and Majaczewice, were resettled to Zduńska Wola. Thus the ghetto population rose to a total of between 10,000 and 12,000 people, becoming the second largest ghetto in Reichsgau Wartheland after Łódź.[2]

The ghetto bordered onto the following streets: 32-2 west and south of Plac Wolności, along Juliusstrasse and Bahnhofstrasse, to the intersection of Schadeckerstrasse, and Feischerstrasse. From there it stretched west along a small channel until Altstadtstrasse and through the original Jewish ghetto. In the south it reached Grundweg and from there back to Adolf-Hitler Strasse.[3] The five entrance gates were guarded by Jewish Police from the inside and German Order Police (Schutzpolizei or Schupos) from the outside.

A Judenrat had already been established by German decree at the end of November 1939.[4] Its head was the physician Dr. Jaakov Lemberg, who spoke German fluently and was very familiar with German habits. Early in December 1939, Dr. Lemberg obtained certificates for himself and his family to travel to Palestine, but at the request of the Jewish community, they remained in Zduńska Wola. Lemberg was very well respected and appreciated by the ghetto inmates. As survivor Isaac Neumann describes it, Lemberg possessed a rare gift, "the courage to make difficult decisions in an immoral universe, and the ability to be just under almost impossible circumstances."[5] Other members of the Zduńska Wola Judenrat were Leib Brykman, Meir Wieruszowski, Tuvia Najdat, Aharon Pyk, Shlomo Walfisz, Berish Lipszic, Yankel Bulka, Landsberg, Avraham Grynbard, Okladek, Fiszel Lewi, M.F. Krys, and David Nuskowicz.

A Jewish police force was established and subordinated to the Judenrat. Over time, it expanded to employ 3 inspectors and 17 paid policemen. About 15 more men worked for the police without pay for three to four hours a day. The main tasks of the police were to keep order, to inspect sanitary conditions, and to arrest Jews who did not pay their taxes or refused to participate in forced labor.[6] The commandant of the Jewish Police was Aharon Pyk, and his deputy was Wajsberg. Additionally, in September 1941, the German authorities established an office of the Criminal Police (Kriminalpolizei or Kripo) in Zduńska Wola. The Kripo frequently plundered Jewish homes in the ghetto under the pretext of looking for illegal or smuggled goods. Severe punishments were applied in the event that any illegal articles were discovered.[7]

As can be seen from the reports of the Judenrat to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw, the situation of Zduńska Wola's Jews in 1940 was dire. As early as the spring of 1940, 813 Jewish families, about 40 percent of the inhabitants of the ghetto, were considered to be in need of help.[8] In the first half of that year, the Jewish community distributed almost 40,000 lunch meals at 5 Reichspfennig each to poor ghetto inhabitants. During that time, 870 Jewish families were resettled into the ghetto, and as a result approximately 6 to 7 people had to share each room. Up to June 1940, about 100 to 150 Jews worked for the German authorities daily without being paid, and after July, at least 250 more Jews were employed by the Germans. Most of them now received a salary of 0.10 Reichsmark (RM) per hour, with experienced workers (*Fachmänner*) getting 0.20 RM per hour.

Sanitary measures were indispensable in the overcrowded ghetto. In September 1940, a Jewish hospital with 16 beds was established, and the Jewish Police were put in charge of checking hygienic conditions in the ghetto. Everyone was allowed to use the public bath for 0.05 RM, and people without a private bathroom were obliged to do so. Nevertheless, eight cases of typhus were registered. In the second half of 1940,

250 more families arrived in the ghetto, and it became increasingly difficult to accommodate them.

The head of the German Ghetto Administration was an ethnic German from Zduńska Wola, Oskar Fercho. He was replaced in mid-1941 by Wilhelm Bittel. The Stadtkommissar was Alois Versen. The deputy chief of the Schupo in Zduńska Wola, Eichard Helmrich, was responsible for maintaining order in the ghetto. Exploitation of Jewish labor had already started in September 1939, but it was intensified considerably in 1941. In factories and workshops within the ghetto, Jews worked for the German army. About 2,000 inhabitants worked for the largest of these companies, Striegel & Wagner, whose representative within the ghetto was Herr Neubauer. The company specialized in fur clothing and knitting, as well as weaving. There were also workshops for dressmaking, hosiery, and the manufacture of gloves, boots, and straw shoes. Jews were also put to forced labor in the city, on fields and farms around Zduńska Wola, and in Krobanów, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Zduńska Wola, where they built homes for ethnic Germans resettled from Volhynia and Romania. Additionally, in the summer of 1941, about 1,000 able-bodied men were sent to labor camps in the Poznań region, especially in Lenzingen and Loebau.[9]

On Ogrodowa Street within the ghetto, in the spring of 1940, the Judenrat established an agricultural farm, which produced milk and vegetables for the inhabitants of the ghetto.[10] The farm covered an area of about 112,000 square meters (133,951 square yards), and there were 28 goats, which provided milk for the ghetto's children. Some 30 men and 20 women aged between 17 and 21, all members of Zionist youth groups, worked there and acquired experience in agriculture. They also learned Hebrew, studied Jewish and Zionist history, and conducted drill exercises. The training kibbutz was in existence until the ghetto was liquidated; then most of the youth were sent to the Łódź ghetto.



Four of 10 Jewish men publicly hanged for alleged black marketeering by the German police in the Zduńska Wola ghetto.
USHMM WS #05950, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

In the course of 1942, conditions in the ghetto continued to deteriorate. In March, between 80 and 90 Jews died in the ghetto—as many as had died in Zduńska Wola each year before the war. On March 3 and May 21, the German authorities conducted two public executions. In each case, 10 Jews accused of smuggling food were hanged, and Eichard Helmrich, the deputy chief of the Schupo, was in charge of both events.[11]

Either in June or early July of 1942, the Jews in the ghetto were selected and separated into two groups: "A" and "B." Probably as a result of this selection, by the end of June 1942, 397 Jews were transferred to the Łódź ghetto. The actual liquidation of the ghetto began in the early hours of August 24, 1942. Large numbers of SS and police were mobilized to support the local forces. Hans Biebow, the German administrator in charge of the Łódź ghetto, came to Zduńska Wola to select Jews for his ghetto. He also participated in shooting Jews on their way to the selection site. As a first measure, children, the elderly, sick, and invalid Jews, among them the 40 patients from the hospital, were separated from the others and either shot or put on trucks and taken to the Chełmno extermination camp. In a later selection, which took place at the cemetery and lasted two to three days, about 1,000 to 1,200 Jews were deemed fit for labor in the Łódź ghetto and were sent there. During the 10-hour train ride, 27 people suffocated in the overcrowded cattle cars. Neubauer, the manager in charge of the business of the Striegel & Wagner Company in the ghetto, had tried to negotiate with Hans Biebow to have his workers exempted from the deportation. But Biebow was entitled to choose the forced laborers for the Łódź ghetto, as well as to take over all the property of the Jews and the workshops within the ghetto, so Neubauer's intervention remained futile.

During the selection the Jews were kept at the cemetery, without food or water. About 550 Jews were killed on the spot.[12] Of these, 119 were uncovered during the clearing out of the ghetto. On the third day, between 6,000 and 9,000 Jews were sent to the extermination camp in Chełmno. One of these transports may have been sent to the Chiszczica Forest near Warta, where the prisoners were shot and their bodies burned.

Dr. Lemberg, the head of the Judenrat, was also killed during the selection. Lemberg had been chosen to go to the Łódź ghetto, but he was shot instead by Biebow. In the fall of 1940, Lemberg had been invited to visit the Łódź ghetto and to meet with its Jewish leader, Rumkowski. He returned completely depressed, disagreeing with Rumkowski's close cooperation with the Germans and being shocked by Biebow's methods of managing the ghetto.[13] He refused to cooperate with either of them. On a subsequent occasion, Lemberg had denied a demand by Biebow to select 10 Zduńska Wola Jews

for hanging in March 1942 and had offered his own family instead. Now Biebow took his revenge on him.

Some Jews succeeded in escaping from the transport to the Łódź ghetto. All the others shared the fate of the inhabitants of the Łódź ghetto. Some of them were sent to labor camps in the Poznań area, and the rest were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp in the successive deportations from the Łódź ghetto. About 60 Jews from Zduńska Wola are known to have survived.

Hans Biebow was tried in Łódź and sentenced to death in 1947, for various crimes, including his participation in the liquidation of the Zduńska Wola ghetto.

SOURCES A number of secondary sources exist describing the Jewish community and the ghetto in Zduńska Wola. Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 111–116, provide an extensive description. Additional information can be found in the yizkor book edited by Elhanan Erlikh, *Zdunskah-Volah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Zdunskah-Volah be-Yisrael va-'Amerikah, 1968). Another important source is Antoni Galiński, "Getto w Zduńskiej Woli," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytut Pamięci Narodowej* 35 (1993): 142–156. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), mentions the Zoluńska Wola ghetto on pp. 84, 185, 285, 439, and 483. One survivor of the Zduńska Wola ghetto is Isaac Neumann, whose memoirs under the title *The Narrow Bridge: Beyond the Holocaust* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000) are published with Michael Palencia-Roth. For an extensive report on the liquidation of the Zduńska Wola ghetto, see Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007). Jaakov Lemberg's work as the chairman of the Judenrat and his death are described in Henokh Kazminski, "The Late Dr. Jacob Lemberg," *Landsberger-tsaytung*, no. 40, September 25, 1946.

There are a number of primary sources concerning the Zduńska Wola ghetto. A good summary can be found in the Galiński article. Important archival and survivor testimony collections include the following: APŁ; AŻIH (e.g., Ring I/220, 571, 1047, 1052, and Ring II/311; 210/747; and 301/947); FVA (# 1501); IPN (OKBZH-Ł, e.g., Ds 82/76, Ds 438/67, Ds 442/67); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC, 1939–1941], 210/747); VHF; and YVA (M-1/E/644/538, 778/646, 980/849, 1136/1102, 1611/1492; M-1/Q/1817/371; and O-3/1256, 1260, and 1262).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, Jewish Aid Commitee Zduńska Wola to AJDC in Warsaw, December 26, 1940.
2. Neumann, *Narrow Bridge*, p. 55.
3. For more details, see Galiński, "Getto w Zduńskiej Woli," p. 145.
4. Neumann, *Narrow Bridge*, p. 96.
5. Ibid., p. 99.
6. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, Jewish Aid Committee Zduńska Wola to AJDC, December 26, 1940.
7. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 111–116.
8. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC, 1939–1941), 210/747, activity report of the Jewish Aid Committee in Zduńska Wola for the period January 1 to June 30, 1940.
9. Neumann, *Narrow Bridge*, p. 69.
10. Galiński, "Getto w Zduńskiej Woli," p. 145.
11. Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 421–423, 686.
12. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo sieradzkie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Zbrodni Badania Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1983), p. 59, reports 190 Jews killed during the resettlement on August 24, 1942.
13. Neumann, *Narrow Bridge*, p. 99.

ZELÓW

Pre-1939: Zelów, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zelow, Kreis Lask, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Zelów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Zelów is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) south-southwest of Łódź. In 1921, the Jewish population of Zelów was 1,816 out of a total population of 5,326 people. German troops entered the town on September 6, 1939, and three days later they started confiscating Jewish workshops and goods. Jewish artisans were forbidden to work in their workshops. Jewish shops remained open until December 1939, but the Germans looted them repeatedly.

A Judenrat was established in the first weeks of the occupation. Naftali Mayer, a Zionist activist, was nominated as its chairman, with Mandel as his deputy. Some of the Judenrat members had formerly been members of the pre-war kehillah. Yosl (or Willek) Frenkiel from Bielsko was nominated as chief of the Jewish Police. The Jews were required to perform forced labor, which initially included cleaning the streets and collecting scrap metal. They also had to wear yellow patches in



Portrait of the Klein family in the Zelów ghetto.
USHMM WS #07263, COURTESY OF REGINA FRANT STAWSKI

the shape of the Star of David on their chests and backs and were forbidden to use the sidewalks. There was a curfew in the evening, and Jews had to doff their hats on encountering a German. Failure to obey these orders could mean the death penalty but usually resulted in a severe beating.[1]

Some Jews managed to leave town in the fall of 1939, but many others arrived from other places, such as Wieluń, Widawa, Warta, and Dąbrowa Rusiecka, as well as Szczerców, which was destroyed completely.[2] Some of the newcomers were injured, and most of them arrived with almost nothing, so the Judenrat had to arrange for their accommodation and opened a public kitchen for them. Some of the arrivals found accommodation with local families who put them up in their homes. The continued influx raised the number of Jews in the town first to around 4,500 (including 2,300 refugees) in December 1940, increasing to some 6,000 or 7,000 by March 1941.

From 1940, the Judenrat was ordered to assist in the transport of hundreds of men to work camps in the Poznań region. From this time on, Jews able to work were kidnapped on the streets and from their homes and sent away. The kidnappers were German policemen assisted by the Jewish Police. Able-bodied Jews hid to avoid being caught. For some time the Jews in Zelów were able to send food packages to their relatives in the labor camps. Groups of Jews were also forced to work paving roads in the vicinity.[3]

Despite these oppressive measures, life for the Jews in Zelów was not as bad as in some other occupied towns. For example, the Jewish population received official food rations, which were supplied by the German wholesale company Karl Leib. At one point this company was sued for "breach of confidence" for having supplied overly generous rations to the Jews.

Moreover, two Jewish youngsters were included in the football team of the Zelów Hitler Youth organization, which in the summer of 1940 played a match against the Bełchatów Hitler Youth. In August 1940, the mayor of Bełchatów wrote an angry letter about this to Amtskommissar Berger in Zelów.[4]

Information about the establishment of a ghetto in Zelów is somewhat contradictory. Some witnesses, such as Noma Futerman, maintain that no ghetto was established in the town, while others like Pinchas-Menachem Feivlovicz date the existence of a Jewish residential quarter (or ghetto) from early in the occupation.[5] According to Michael Alberti, citing a report in the *Litzmannstädter Zeitung* dated June 1940, a ghetto had not yet been established in Zelów due to the topography of the town, making it difficult to separate out the Jews, as was the case also in Bełchatów.[6]

Some sources indicate the establishment of an open (unfenced) ghetto by the second half of 1941, by which time strict punishments had been introduced for any Jew caught outside the town limits without permission. The account compiled by Andrzej Selerowicz states that the ghetto was situated in the center of the town, surrounded by the Rynek, Św. Anna, Zeromski, and Kiliński Streets. Zeev Lisner states that no fenced ghetto was created but that the Jews were prohibited from entering many streets, including the market square.[7]

Relations between Jews and non-Jews were mixed during the occupation. Several accounts mention the brutality of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), who beat Jews at the slightest provocation. However, some Poles, and especially local Czechs, were more sympathetic, bringing food to the Jews. Some clandestine schooling in Hebrew was provided to Jewish children in Zelów.[8]

In spite of being prohibited from work by the German authorities, Jewish tailors and cobblers continued to work for local non-Jews. At the same time, the Germans established workshops in which Jewish artisans worked for German institutions. Food, even meat and poultry, remained available and reasonably priced. Many Jews made a living by smuggling goods, mostly textiles, from Reichsgau Wartheland into the Generalgouvernement. Smuggling was carried out mainly from Zelów to the town of Piotrków Trybunalski. A few Poles and Czechs also participated in the smuggling. When caught, the smugglers were sent to court and usually sentenced to a few years in prison, but for the many Jews among them, this effectively meant a death sentence, as they were handed over to the Gestapo and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp or the Blechhammer (Blachownia Śląska) camp, where they perished. A number of Jews escaped across the border to the Piotrków ghetto, as reportedly conditions there were somewhat better.

In the spring of 1942, as in many other towns in the region, all of the ghetto residents were summoned to witness the public hanging of 10 Jews, who were possibly punished for illegal trade or other offenses. By order of the authorities, the bodies were left on the gallows for some time, to intimidate the population.[9]

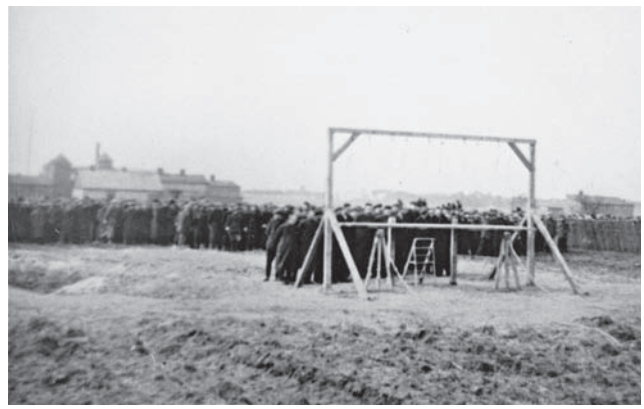
The total annihilation of the Jewish population was carried out in several steps. First in June, a number of Jews were deported from Zelów to the Chełmno extermination camp, and 96 were selected for the Łódź ghetto. Of these, most were sent on the next day to labor camps in the Poznań region.[10]

The final Aktion took place probably on August 12, 1942. A detachment of German police rounded up the Jews and concentrated them in the "Lewe" factory and in a local church, where they were held for several days. Some Jews were murdered on the spot, and 149 were selected and deported to the Łódź ghetto. The remainder was deported to the Chełmno extermination camp. A handful of Jews managed to hide in the homes of non-Jews in the vicinity, but in most cases neighbors informed the police, and they were caught and murdered too.[11]

Pinchas-Menachem Feivlovicz, who was in a labor camp, received a last postcard from his father in Zelów at the end of 1942, which stated that "the Germans were murdering step by step the Jewish residents of Zelów, with the effective assistance of Polish collaborators."[12] It is likely that some Jews remained behind in Zelów until December, working for the Germans to clear out the ghetto after the liquidation



German police and administrators attend the public hanging of ten Jews in Zelów, March 1942.
USHMM WS #18859, COURTESY OF IPN



The hanging of ten Jews in the Zelów ghetto, March 1942.
USHMM WS #18860, COURTESY OF IPN

Aktion. In early January 1943, Friedrich Wilhelm Ribbe, the deputy to Hans Biebow, head of the Gettoverwaltung (Ghetto Administration) in Łódź, wrote to Amtskommissar Berger confirming the receipt on December 21, 1942, of the textiles, sewing machines, and other items recovered from the Zelów ghetto. He thanked Berger especially for his support in the resettlement of the Zelów Jews and for the diligence shown in recovering hidden valuables, which had surpassed that in many of the other ghettos that had been cleared.[13]

By 1946, about 40 Jewish survivors had returned to Zelów[14] only to discover that the old wooden synagogue had been destroyed and that the new synagogue had only survived because the Nazis had used it as a storage space. Most of the survivors immigrated subsequently to Israel, the United States, and other places.

SOURCES Published sources on the fate of the Jews in Zelów during the German occupation include the following: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 119–121; Sławomir Papuga and Andrzej Gramsz, *Zelów, wspólnota nacji, wyznań, kultur* (Łódź: Grako, 2003); Avraham Klushiner, ed., *Sefer-zikaron li-kehilat Zelov* (New York: New York Public Library, 2003); and "Zelów," a report by Andrzej Selerowicz, February 2004, available on the Web at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Zelow/zelow-history.htm.

A relevant survivor memoir is Pinchas-Menachem Feivlovicz, *Through Seven Death-Camps: Reminiscences from the Nazi-Hell* (Haifa, 1972). The Zelów ghetto is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 589; and Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), pp. 95–96.

Documentation on the Jewish community of Zelów and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: APŁ (278/994, pp. 166–167); AŻIH (301/3085); BA-L (203 AR-Z 161/67, vol. 7; and Pol. Ordn. 358); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF (# 5117, 13139, 37880, 50211); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3178).

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NOTES

1. Klushiner, *Sefer-zikaron li-kehilat Zelov*, pp. 196–197; AŻIH, 301/3085, testimony of Noma Futerman; Feivlovicz, *Through Seven Death-Camps*, pp. 24–25; VHF, # 37880, testimony of Zeev Lisner.

2. BA-L, Pol. Ordn. 358, p. 833, Local Commission in Pabianice, report of January 1, 1946, states that of about 2,000 Jewish inhabitants of Szczerców almost all had fled by the end of 1939.

3. Klushiner, *Sefer-zikaron li-kehilat Zelov*, pp. 197–200.

4. *Belkhatov: Yizker-bukh: Gevidmet dem ondenk fun a farshvundn Yidish shtetl in Poyln* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-Farband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentine tsuzamen mit der Belkhatover Landslayt-Farayn in Argentine, Brazil un Tsofen-Amerike, 1951), p. 477.

5. AŻIH, 301/3085; Feivlovicz, *Through Seven Death-Camps*, p. 24.

6. *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, June 20, 1940, p. 7, "Die Siedlung Zelow—hochinteressant," as cited by Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 201.

7. VHF, # 37880.

8. AŻIH, 301/3085; VHF, # 37880 and 13139, testimony of Rachel Einhorn.

9. VHF, # 37880 (this witness dates the event in 1941); # 13139.

10. Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 205–206.

11. Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof*, pp. 95–96, citing BA-L, 203 AR-Z 161/67, vol. 7; APŁ, 278/994, pp. 166–167; and VHF, # 13139.

12. Feivlovicz, *Through Seven Death-Camps*, p. 24.

13. Ribbe to Herrn Berger, Amtskommissar, January 5, 1942 [*sic* 1943], published in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf,

eds., *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani, 1955), p. 73.

14. BA-L, Pol. Ordn. 358, p. 833, Local Commission in Pabianice, report of January 1, 1946.

ZGIERZ

Pre-1939: Zgierz, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Leslau (Włocławek), Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Regierungsbezirk Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Słupsk powiat, Łódź województwo, Poland

Zgierz is located 19 kilometers (about 12 miles) north-northwest of Łódź. In 1931, out of the 20,232 inhabitants, 4,547 were Jews. By 1939, this number had risen to about 4,800.

The German army conquered the town on September 7, 1939. According to witnesses, on the same evening several hundred male Jews were imprisoned in a local church where they were kept for two days. Within a few days, the Germans started to organize forced labor for the Jews, which included cleaning the streets and collecting trash. The Germans also began to plunder Jewish property. Jews had to pay enormous "contributions" and "penalty fees." An ethnic German named Strobach was appointed mayor by the Germans and was responsible for many anti-Jewish measures.[1] In November 1939, the synagogue and the Bet Midrash were set on fire, and the Germans made the Jewish community pay the cost of extinguishing the fires.[2] Also in November 1939, Jews were ordered to wear a yellow armband on the sleeves of their coats and jackets. In December, this order was changed: as in other places in the Warthegau, Jews were forced now to wear a yellow Star of David on the breast and back shoulder of their outer garments.[3] Many Jews tried to flee the town, mainly to Łódź or to Głowno and other places in the Generalgouvernement, especially to Warsaw, but only a few succeeded.[4] Some sources estimate that almost half of the Jewish population of Zgierz tried to flee.[5]

On December 26 or 27, 1939, the German authorities ordered the Jewish population to assemble in the early morning. They were allowed to bring over 22 kilograms (about 50 pounds) of luggage and 50 złoty with them but were deprived of these possessions immediately at the assembly point. More than 2,500 Jews were then taken to Głowno, a nearby town just across the new border in the Generalgouvernement, and resettled there. The Jewish community of Zgierz practically ceased to exist.



Expulsion of the Jewish population from Zgierz, n.d.
USHMM WS #91572, COURTESY OF IPN

Only a few Jews remained in Zgierz. They were craftsmen, shoemakers, and tailors with their families, who were considered to be useful to the Germans and, according to one source, had to live in the villages around Zgierz.[6] By September 1941, this group consisted of 22 men, 30 women, 22 children, and 7 old people. In mid-January 1942, these Jews were transferred to the Łódź ghetto—despite the resistance of the Łódź authorities, who did not want to accept any more Jews in the town. But since the group of Jews from Zgierz was so small, the Zgierz authorities finally succeeded in getting rid of their remaining Jews on January 12, 1942. That day the group—now numbering 84 or 85 people—was sent to the ghetto in Łódź, and they were even allowed to take all of their remaining belongings with them.[7]

Available sources disagree on whether conditions for these last 80 or so Jews living in or around Zgierz should be viewed as a ghetto or not. Several secondary sources refer to a ghetto in Zgierz, which was allegedly liquidated in January 1942 with the transfer of the Jews to the Łódź ghetto, but they supply no additional details.[8] Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, however, wrote in the Zgierz yizkor book that no ghetto was created in Zgierz.[9] A Polish Underground report on conditions in German-occupied Poland, dated January 16, 1942, refers specifically to the liquidation of the "Zgierz ghetto" at that time, without being able to specify the destination to which its inhabitants had been sent. As with the other sources, it makes no mention of residential restrictions or living conditions for these Jews prior to this date.[10]

About 350 Jews from Zgierz survived the war; almost all of them had left the town at the end of 1939.

SOURCES The main sources on the history of the Jewish community of Zgierz include: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 106–111; and the *Memorial Book Zgierz* (translation of D. Shtockfish, Sh. Kanc, and Z. Fisher, eds., *Sefer Zgierz: Mazkeret netsal le-kehila yehudit be-Polin* [Tel Aviv, 1975–1986]), available on the Web at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Zgierz/Zgierz.html. Danuta Dabrowska is also the author of one of the earliest descriptions of the Holocaust in Zgierz, in her article "Zagłada skupisk żydowskich 'Kraju Warty' w okresie okupacji," *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955): 135, 158. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), lists Zgierz as a ghetto on p. 590, referring to the Polish Underground report from AAN. Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), mentions the Zgierz Jews on p. 382 in the context of their transfer to the Łódź ghetto.

The following archives contain information regarding the fate of the Jewish community of Zgierz under the German occupation: AAN (202/III/148, p. 41); APŁ (GV 172, p. 8, and ÄdJ 863, pp. 86–87); AŻIH (e.g., Ring I, 108/1, the unpublished essay of Rabbi Shimon Huberbrand titled "Der khurbn fun shiln, bote-midroshim, un beys-hakhaims," which contains some information regarding Zgierz); CAHJP; USHMM (RG-15.050M [AAN], reel 3); and VHF (# 48980).

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NOTES

1. Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, "Jews of Zgierz under the German Occupation of Terror," in *Memorial Book Zgierz*.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. W.F., "In One Day (Wednesday, December 27, 1939)," in *Memorial Book Zgierz*.
5. Dabrowska and Wein, "Jews of Zgierz," p. 548.
6. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol.1, p. 109.
7. Dabrowska and Wein, "Jews of Zgierz," p. 548.
8. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, lists Zgierz as a ghetto on p. 590; and Roman Mogilanski, *The Ghetto Anthology: A Comprehensive Chronicle of the Extermination of Jewry in Nazi Death Camps and Ghettos in Poland* (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration Camps, 1985), p. 342. VHF, # 48980, testimony of Emil Hecht, mentions being sent to work in Zgierz from Stryków, but this probably refers to a labor camp, which has been indexed, however, as a reference to the Zgierz ghetto by VHF.
9. Shtockfish, Kanc, and Fisher, *Sefer Zgierz*, p. 547.
10. USHMM, RG-15.050M (Records of the Delegacy of a Government for a Country [Poland], Department of Information and Press, Western Section, 1940–1944 [AAN]), reel 3, 202/III/148, p. 41, Litzmanstädter Zeitung, January 16, 1942.

ZŁOCZEW

Pre-1939: Złoczew, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Slotschew, Kreis Schieratz, Regierungsbezirk Kalisch (later Litzmannstadt), Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Złoczew, Łódź województwo, Poland

Złoczew is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) southwest of Łódź. In 1921, there were 1,959 Jews living in the town out of a total population of 4,904. On the eve of war in 1939, approximately 2,000 Jews were living in Złoczew.

Following the German occupation in September 1939, Jews were mistreated and used for forced public labor. At the end of 1939, the Jews of Złoczew were ordered to leave the town "voluntarily." They were told that they could take their goods and possessions with them—but no valuables, such as gold or silver, and money was not to exceed 100 złoty. The valuables and any money exceeding this amount had to be deposited with the German police. Attempts by the Jewish community to postpone the orders due to the harsh winter were in vain. Jews were only allowed to go in three directions: either to Lublin in eastern Poland, to Radom, or to the capital of Poland, Warsaw.[1] Among those Jews who decided to leave, most made their way to Lublin or Warsaw.

Not all Jewish families followed these directions and left the town. Some people decided to stay, while others tried to escape to the east, towards the new Soviet border, but most did not succeed and returned to Złoczew. Probably in February 1940, all remaining Jews were ordered to move into a separate area of the town, to Yetke Alley. This was an area where Jews had lived previously, but now their living quarters were reduced to one side of the street, while the other side was burned down—with the exception of one dwelling that had to house several Jewish families.[2] After a short time, the Jewish ghetto was fenced with barbed wire, 3 meters (9.8 feet) high, and all contact with the non-Jewish population was forbidden. German Gendarmes under the orders of the ethnic German Makowski guarded the ghetto. Not only Jews from Złoczew had to live there but also some Jews from the surrounding area, about 250 to 280 people in total. Accommodations were cramped, with every family receiving just one room for living space. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, and two people were nominated for the position of Jewish elder—Haya Faiwlowicz and Godel Gad.[3]

A few Jews worked outside the ghetto, cleaning the town, and as porters, stable hands, and workers performing other menial labor tasks. These people could sometimes smuggle food, wood, or coal into the ghetto to improve their situation. All other Jews had to remain inside the fences and endured a very strict regime. There was a curfew between 5:00 P.M. and 7:00 A.M.; searches of property took place regularly; and food, heating material, and other supplies were scarce.

In January 1942, 50 male ghetto inhabitants were sent to Zuchinia, a forced labor camp near Poznań, where they had to work on the railway line between Warsaw and Poznań. These men never returned to the ghetto. In March 1942, another group of 40 men was selected in the ghetto, among them young boys aged 15 and older. This group was sent to Otoschno, another forced labor camp near Poznań.[4]

The ghetto was finally liquidated, probably in May or June of 1942. As there were no survivors of the deportations, only fragmentary accounts are available, picked up from local non-Jews. It appears that all the Jews were ordered by the Gestapo to assemble on the main square and then driven into a church, where they were held for several days with very little food or water. Many collapsed under these terrible circumstances. A rumor was deliberately spread that they would be sent to a new Jewish colony near Pińsk or in Galicia, to facilitate the deportation. Then they were forcibly loaded onto trucks and driven to the Chełmno extermination camp, where they were gassed.[5]

SOURCES The most extensive source on the Złoczew ghetto is a collection of memoirs of former Jews from Złoczew in *Sefer Złoczew* (Tel Aviv: Committee of Former Residents of Złoczew, 1971). For survivor reports, see especially pp. 19–21 and 288–305 (the following articles: Eisik Faiwlowicz, "Origins of Złoczew's Jews"; Mordechai Majerowicz, "My City Złoczew"; Raphael Lechman [Kojuch], "During the Shoah

Destruction. From Złoczew to Auschwitz"; L. Wanda, "Between the Jaws of Destiny" and "In the Hands of Brutal Destiny"; and Hawa Bresler [Breslauer], "The First So-called Resettlement of the Jews of Złoczew"). Other sources on the history of the ghetto are scarce. The Złoczew ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 593; and in Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 193. *BŻIH*, nos. 13–14 (1955), lists the Złoczew ghetto on p. 162. Regarding the liquidation of the ghetto, see Shmuel Krakowski, *Das Todeslager Chełmno/Kulmhof: Der Beginn der "Endlösung"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007), p. 87. There is also a brief article on the Jewish community of Złoczew in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 121–122.

Primary sources on the history of the Złoczew ghetto can mainly be found in Poland, especially at IPN (Zh III/31/35/68, getta, woj. Łódzkie); and in OKBZH-Ł (Ds. 438/67).

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NOTES

1. For a number of survivor statements on this first "resettlement," see Wanda, "Between the Jaws of Destiny" and "In the Hands of Brutal Destiny"; and Bresler (Breslauer), "The First So-called Resettlement of the Jews of Złoczew."
2. Lechman (Kojuch), "During the Shoa Destruction. From Złoczew to Auschwitz."
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. "In seyer letstn veg," in *Sefer Złoczew*, pp. 409–410.

ŻYCHLIN

Pre-1939: Żychlin, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zychlin, Kreis Kutno, Regierungsbezirk Hohensalza, Reichsgau Wartheland; post-1998: Żychlin, Łódź województwo, Poland

The town of Żychlin is located 90 kilometers (56 miles) west of Warsaw. By 1921, there were 2,702 Jews living there, in a total population of 7,098.

German forces occupied Żychlin in the early hours of September 17, 1939. Soon after their arrival, they assembled groups of young Jews and took them to a nearby village, where they held them hostage for three days. Searches of Jewish homes as well as beatings and harassment followed the release of the hostages. The Germans registered the Jews and conscripted them for forced labor, which initially consisted of cleaning the streets of the town and also German quarters. By November 1939, Jews were obliged to wear a yellow star on the front and back of their clothes, and each Jewish house had to be marked with a sign bearing the word "Jew" (*Jude*). The ritual slaughter of animals was forbidden, and the Germans imposed a curfew on the Jews between 5:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. All radios had to be surrendered.



A German soldier guards a group of Jews waiting outside in the Żychlin ghetto, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #21727, COURTESY OF RUTH ELDAR

Many ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) arrived in the Żychlin area during the first months of the occupation. Soon the German authorities confiscated Jewish businesses and real estate, handing them over together with Polish farms mainly to the ethnic Germans. In January 1940, Żychlin became a concentration point for Jews from the surrounding area. Of 3,000 Jews registered in the town, 600 were refugees from nearby towns such as Kutno, Sanniki, and Włocławek.

In April 1940, following several acts of random violence, arrests, and roundups, the Germans arrested members of the Polish and Jewish intelligentsia in Żychlin, particularly teachers, and sent them to concentration camps inside the Reich.[1]

In June 1940, the Amtskommissar in Żychlin, Karl Hempel, announced that the Jewish residents of the town would be moved into a designated area. The prime object of the resettlement for the German authorities was to prevent the spread of disease. The main ghetto, into which nearly 1,800 people were crammed, was established in Żychlin between the streets of Budzyń and Buszkowska. A smaller ghetto, in which 300 people were quartered, was also established in a brick factory in the nearby rural settlement of Pabianów. The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Żychlin Judenrat was headed by Alter Rozenberg; and under its jurisdiction there was a Jewish police force, headed by A. Oberman, as well as an employment office (Arbeitsamt), in charge of organizing the daily forced labor details for the Germans. The residents of both ghettos were initially able to leave their ghetto areas if they possessed a valid work permit. Later on, however, they were permitted to leave the ghetto only under exceptional circumstances. The punishment for those who tried to leave was initially imprisonment; subsequently, the Germans imposed more draconian punishments, threatening Jews caught outside the ghetto with the death penalty. Only the Judenrat and members of the Jewish Police could move freely outside the ghetto (an open ghetto), which was not surrounded by a wall or fence.[2]

Living conditions in the ghetto were extremely hard. Contact with the surrounding villages was limited to those who

ventured out, desperately hoping to buy or barter some food from the peasants. Often both Polish residents and ethnic Germans entered the ghetto to do business with the few craftsmen who were still able to work. The poorest Jews sold their last belongings for food in an empty lot next to the Judenrat building. The overcrowded housing (two or more families sharing a single apartment), poor sanitation, and malnutrition among the Jewish population contributed to an outbreak of typhus in the ghetto. Although the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was unable to organize a public kitchen, the Judenrat, aided by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), established a substitute soup kitchen that fed the needy in both ghettos.[3]

Amtskommissar Hempel recruited 400 Jews for the construction of his villa. In the course of their work, he tortured the people sadistically, murdering a number of them. For example, he would force Jews to dive into a lake and shot at them if they did not dive deeply enough. If they survived the shots the Jews had to continue working in their wet clothes, which in the winter was also equivalent to a death sentence.[4]

From August 1941 until the end of that year, several transports of hundreds of Jewish workers were sent to various labor camps in the Poznań area from Żychlin. In early 1942, the Germans started to kill Jews inside the ghetto indiscriminately. Some Jews tried to escape or hide with the help of Polish acquaintances. The Judenrat and Jewish Police appear to have participated in robbing Jewish homes to meet German demands and also assisted the German "manhunts" to round up Jews capable of work for the forced labor camps.

By the last week of February 1942, the Jews in Żychlin knew that their "days were numbered."[5] The Germans sealed the ghetto, and then they summoned the Judenrat and Jewish Police to the main square and publicly executed them there. Their families were taken to the Jewish cemetery to be killed. The Germans murdered children, the sick, and the elderly; around 200 people perished in the Aktion.[6]

On March 3, 1942, during the Purim holiday, all the Jews, almost 3,200 people, were rounded up in the marketplace. German police savagely beat and robbed the Jews and then loaded them onto horse-drawn wagons to take them to the extermination camp in Chełmno. The German authorities then declared the town of Żychlin to be cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).

Only a few Jews from Żychlin survived the war. More than half of them were in Nazi forced labor and concentration camps; the others were in hiding, acquired fake Aryan documents, or returned after having found refuge in the Soviet interior.[7]

SOURCES Publications on the Jewish community of Żychlin and its fate during the Holocaust include the following: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 116–119; A. Shamir, ed., *Sefer Z'ihlin* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Z'ihlin be-Yisrael uva-Amerikah, 1974); H. Bodek, *Jak tropione zwierzęta Wspomnienia* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1993); and Heinrich Bielawski, *Der Hoelle entronnen: Aufzeichnungen* (London: The World of Books, 1989).



The abandoned property of Jews deported from Żychlin to Chełmno killing center is piled in an open field, March 1942. The piles were later burned.
USHMM WS #18865, COURTESY OF IPN

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Żychlin during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/313, 315, and 3352); IPN; OKŚZpNPŁdz (Ds 151/67); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154); VHF; and YVA (JM 1290/1, 9PH/10-4-10, M-1/E/2529, M-1/Q/533, and PH/8-3-1).

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. Shamir, *Sefer Z'ihlin*, p. 129; Bodek, *Jak Tropione Zwierzęta*, pp. 13, 15, 16, 19–20.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC), 210/321, p. 5, Jüdischer Ältestenrat Żychlin to AJDC Warsaw, June 27, 1940; Shamir, *Sefer Z'ihlin*, p. 130; and Bodek, *Jak tropione zwierzęta*, pp. 32, 44, 47–49.
3. Shamir, *Sefer Z'ihlin*, p. 131.
4. OKŚZpNPŁdz, Ds 151/67.
5. Letter from the Żychlin ghetto, February 24, 1942, published in Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), pp. 334–335.
6. Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod: NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer. Ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941–1943* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1993), p. 218.
7. Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak, ed., *Chełmno Witnesses Speak* (Konin: Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom in Warsaw and the District Museum in Konin, 2004), pp. 99–208; AŻIH, 301/315, testimony of L. Jakubowicz. According to Bodek, *Jak tropione zwierzęta*, p. 65, during its final days the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire.

EASTERN UPPER SILESIA REGION



German police round up Jews on Francuska Street in the Dąbrowa Górnicza ghetto, April 4, 1942.
USHMM WS #23977, COURTESY OF SIDNEY SCHLESINGER

EASTERN UPPER SILESIA REGION (OST-OBERSCHLESIEN)

Pre-1939: parts of the Kielce, Kraków, and Śląskie województwa, Poland; 1939–1945: Ost-Oberschlesien, parts of Regierungsbezirke Kattowitz and Oppeln, (1939–1941: Provinz Schlesien) from 1941, Provinz Oberschlesien, Deutsches Reich; post-1998: parts of województwa śląskie, małopolskie, and opolskie

As a result of the Third Reich's invasion of Poland in September 1939, territories to the east of Provinz Schlesien were annexed and incorporated into the Third Reich. Regierungsbezirk Oppeln saw the addition of three new counties: Zawiercie, Blachownia, and Lubliniec. Furthermore, on October 8, 1939, Adolf Hitler issued a decree establishing a new administrative unit—Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz—composed of parts of the Kielce, Kraków (counties Biała and Żywiec and parts of the counties of Chrzanów and Wadowice), and Śląskie województwa. Also reassigned to Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz were the existing German counties of Zabrze, Bytom, and Gliwice. Walter Springorum became the Regierungspräsident in Kattowitz. Regierungsbezirke Kattowitz and Oppeln initially became part of Provinz Schlesien. Provinz Schlesien was dissolved on January 4, 1941, to be replaced by two separate provinces: Provinz Oberschlesien (Regierungsbezirke Kattowitz and Oppeln) and Provinz Schlesien (Regierungsbezirke Liegnitz and Breslau). Fritz Bracht became the governor of Oberschlesien. Albrecht Schmelt was appointed in May 1941 as the Regierungspräsident in Oppeln.[1]

The Jews inhabiting those parts of Provinz Oberschlesien that had belonged to the Third Reich before the war (i.e., Bytom, Zabrze, and Gliwice) were treated differently from those in the former Polish territories, often referred to as Ost-Oberschlesien (or also as the Oststreifen), where the vast majority of the Jewish population of the Provinz was concentrated systematically in 1940 and 1941.

In the pre-war German (Altreich) territories of Oberschlesien, the antisemitic policies launched in 1933 were continued after the war started. Remaining Jewish property was confiscated, and Jews were forced to emigrate. In December 1940, Regierungsbezirk Oppeln was inhabited by only 3,070 Jews; in March 1941, by 3,020. A few months later in September 1941, Hitler initiated the mass deportation of Jews from the



Portrait of Albrecht Schmelt, head of the Organisation Schmelt, taken when he was a Reichstag member for the Nazi Party, 1936.
USHMM/PHOTOGRAPHED FROM ERNST KIENAST (ED.), DER DEUTSCHE REICHSTAG 1936: III. WAHLPERIODE NACH DEM 30. JANUAR 1933; MIT ZUSTIMMUNG DES HERRN REICHSTAGSPRÄSIDENTEN (BERLIN: R. V. DECKER'S VERLAG, G. SCHENCK, 1936), P. 427.



Portrait of SS-Gruppenführer Bruno Streckenbach, former commander of Einsatzgruppe Wien, n.d.
USHMM WS #26621, COURTESY OF BA-B/BDC

Altreich and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Deportations of Jews from Provinz Oberschlesien to the death camps took place in the years 1942–1944. Full details of these transports are not known, but several transports were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp and the Theresienstadt ghetto.[2]

In the Alt-Reich territories of Provinz Oberschlesien, the pre-war Jewish communities (e.g., Bytom, Zabrze, and Gliwice) were subordinated to the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland. Their regional agency was based in Gliwice. Ghettos were not established in this area.

In total, around 18 ghettos or Jewish residential districts were established in Ost-Oberschlesien. When the German army conquered this region, German forces were accompanied by Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the SD. Units active in Ost-Oberschlesien included Einsatzgruppe Wien, commanded by SS-Brigadeführer Bruno von Streckenbach, and Einsatzgruppe zbV, commanded by SS-Obergruppenführer Udo von Woyrsch. These units committed numerous atrocities against the Jewish population, including killings (e.g., on the pretext of concealing foodstuffs or raising prices), forcing Orthodox Jews to shave their beards, and seizing Jewish property. On September 4, 1939, in Żarki, near Zawiercie, Wehrmacht soldiers slaughtered 102 residents, including 90 Jews. In Sławków, German soldiers shot nearly 100 Jewish refugees from Będzin and Sosnowiec on September 5–7. On September 8, the synagogue on the Old Market Square in Będzin was razed, and a number of Jews were shot in the vicinity. In September, the Germans also burned down synagogues in Katowice, Jaworzno, Sosnowiec, and other towns in the region.[3]

From the start, one of the main German goals was to deport or drive out the Jewish population from those areas to be incorporated into the Reich. At the beginning of October 1939, Adolf Eichmann received instructions to prepare the deportation of 70,000 to 80,000 Jews from around Katowice. On October 20, about 1,000 Jews from Katowice, Chorzów, Bielsko-Biała, Lipiny, and Świętochłowice were assembled and designated for deportation by the communities' leadership. They were then transported to Nisko nad Sanem, where most were forced into Soviet-occupied territory. A second group of Jews, also around 1,000 people, was assembled on October 27–28 and sent to Nisko. An additional transport of approximately 1,500 people gathered in Sosnowiec, however, was aborted at the last moment.[4]

Reinhard Heydrich issued guidelines to the Einsatzgruppen on September 21, 1939, regarding the Jewish question in the occupied territories. He ordered as a preliminary measure the rapid concentration of the Jewish population in larger towns (specifically, communities numbering less than 500 were to be dissolved) and the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenräte). As far as possible, the Jews were to be removed from territories to be annexed (including Ost-Oberschlesien) and resettled into the Generalgouvernement; but in the meantime Jews were to be concentrated in just a few towns.[5] This plan, however, was implemented only partially. In 1940, many of the Jews in Ost-Oberschlesien were displaced from its western regions to towns closer to the Generalgouvernement. In May and June, expulsions were conducted, for example, from Bielsko, Katowice, Chorzów, and Cieszyn, as 4,500 Jews were resettled in the Kreise of Chrzanów, Olkusz, and Zawiercie.[6]

From the end of 1939 up until June 1940, the Germans established Judenräte in the remaining Jewish communities. The head of the department for Jewish matters in the Kattowitz Gestapo, Hans Dreier, entrusted the organization of Jewish life in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz to Mojżesz Merin of Sosnowiec. By January 1940, he had become the head of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (the Central Office). The Central Office supervised all Jewish communities in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, as well as part of Regierungsbezirk Oppeln.[7]

In October 1940, 96,283 Jews, concentrated in 34 communities and their branches, were subordinated to the Central Office. This number remained largely unchanged over the following year: there were 97,925 in March 1941; and only 500 people less in July. The communities were divided among eight Kreis Inspectorates, with their own heads answerable to Merin. In October 1940, 11,976 Jews living in 20 localities were under the control of the Kreis Chrzanów Inspectorate. The other Inspectorates were, respectively: Dąbrowa Górnicza (8,883 persons), Bielsko (8,842), Zawiercie (7,494), Olkusz (6,159), Blachownia (3,280), Żywiec (560), and Cieszyn (446). Independence was granted only to the larger communities of Będzin (25,264) and Sosnowiec (23,319). The liquidated communities in Katowice, Rybnik, Chorzów, and Pszczyna were treated separately, referred to in publications of the Central Office as Alt-Oberschlesien.[8]

The German military and civil authorities issued a series of decrees in the first months of the occupation aimed at excluding the Jews from economic life and isolating them from the non-Jewish population. First, the property of displaced people (Jews and Poles) was confiscated; Jewish bank accounts were blocked; shops were marked; and Jewish warehouses and stores were subjected to requisitions and closely regulated. Trustees, supervised by the Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (HTO), were assigned to take over Jewish businesses.[9]

The German authorities systematically restricted the Jews' freedom of movement in many towns, excluding them from specific streets. By November 1939, the obligation to wear a white armband with the Star of David was enforced. Other restrictions excluded Jews from markets and divided trams into two sections, one for Jews and the other for non-Jews. A curfew was enforced in most towns, generally from dusk until dawn.[10]

As of October 1940, those Jews living in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz came under the jurisdiction of Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt. This organization was responsible for the deportation of Jews to labor camps and their assignment to factories and workshops. At least 93 forced labor camps for Jews existed in Regierungsbezirke Kattowitz and Oppeln between 1940 and 1944. Approximately 50,000 Jews were conscripted to work in them. Initially, the Jews from Ost-Oberschlesien were sent there. From 1941, some Jewish



Jewish men and women work in a sewing workshop in the Olkusz ghetto, ca. 1940.
USHMM WS #15930, COURTESY OF ROSE GRINBAUM FUTTER

laborers from the Generalgouvernement were deployed to these camps, followed from mid-1942 by Western European Jews selected from transports sent to Auschwitz.[11] Employment in workshops in the region, especially producing materials for the Wehrmacht, offered protection from deportation for some time.

German repressive measures intensified in 1941. From May 9, Jews were obliged to add the middle names "Israel" or "Sara" to identify themselves as Jews. Then on September 1, 1941, Jews over the age of six had to wear a patch bearing the Star of David on the left breast. Jews were also forbidden to wear honorary badges or military decorations. Police permission was required for Jews to leave their place of residence. From September 30, Jews were obliged to carry identity cards (*Lichtbildausweise*). Jews were also banned from using public transport.[12]

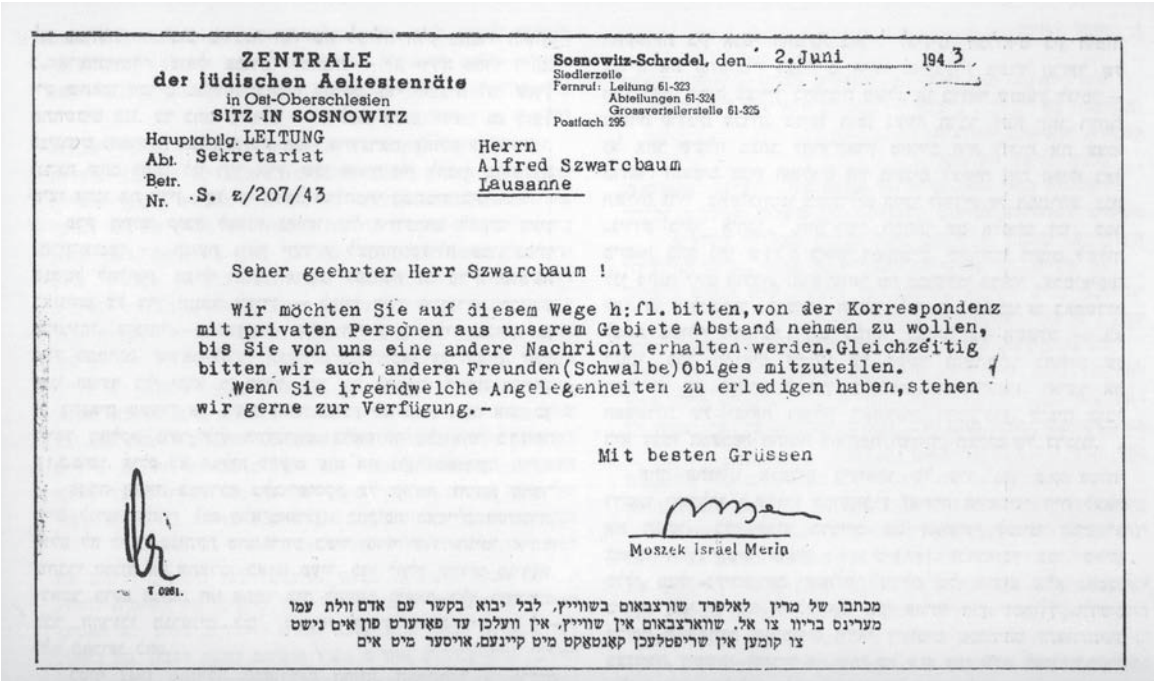
From early in the occupation, the German authorities evicted Jews from the main streets of several cities and towns, to make space for German officials. In Będzin, the Germans started to remove the Jews from the center early in 1940; by May 1942, a Jewish quarter (*Judenviertel*) had been demarcated. In Sosnowiec, the Jewish population was displaced from the town's three main streets at the end of 1939. In Czeladź a quarter designated for the Jews was demarcated in June 1941. By July 1940, the Germans had created a Jewish quarter in Zawiercie. At first, a wooden fence surrounded the quarter. It is likely that by 1941 this area was partly separated with wire, mortar, and a wooden fence; Jewish Police patrolled the ghetto. There was no permanent police station in the ghetto, but the Gestapo and Orpo conducted searches there. Over time, the ghetto was reduced in size. Space became severely restricted in Zawiercie, as Jews from surrounding communities were transferred there in 1942. The ghetto was enclosed with barbed wire in the winter of 1942–1943.

From November 1940, a ghetto was established in stages in Dąbrowa Górnicza. In February 1942, the Jewish quarter in Dąbrowa was still open—that is, unfenced. Residents of the ghetto, however, were forbidden to leave without permission. The non-Jewish population could still enter the ghetto. The Dąbrowa ghetto was enclosed at the beginning of 1943. The Jews of Bielsko were deported from the town center to the nearby village of Lipniki in August 1941, where a ghetto comprising a few houses was established. In Andrychów, a ghetto partially surrounded by a fence was established in September 1941. At this time, an open ghetto was also set up in Olkusz. At the end of 1941, a Jewish quarter was demarcated in Chrzanów. It was not enclosed but was guarded by the Jewish Police. By the spring of 1942, small ghettos had been set up also in Szczakowa and Strzemieszyce.

As this survey demonstrates, many ghettos in Ost-Oberschlesien remained open (unfenced) until their liquidation, and the process of ghettoization in some places was spread over many months. In August 1942, 400 Jewish families still were living outside the Dąbrowa ghetto, and for some towns, such as Jaworzno, there is contradictory evidence as to whether or not an open ghetto existed. Nonetheless, the arrival of waves of Jewish refugees from other towns in 1940 and 1941 created overcrowding, even in places where no formal ghetto existed. In Oświęcim, for example, in 1940 Jews were evicted from the main street, Jagiellońskiej, and other movement restrictions were enforced. In March 1941, Jews were moved from the suburb of Zasole into the town, but preparations for the establishment of a Jewish quarter there were soon overtaken by the expulsion of all the Jews from Oświęcim in April 1941.[13] Some



Jewish expellees from Oświęcim arrive in Będzin, April 1941.
USHMM WS #08128, COURTESY OF YVA



ZENTRALE
der jüdischen Aeltestenräte
in Ost-Oberschlesien
SITZ IN SOSNOWITZ

Sosnowitz-Schrodel, den 2. Juni 1943
Siedlerzeile
Fernruf: Leitung 61-323
Abteilungen 61-324
Grossverteilerstelle 61-325
Postfach 295

Hauptabtlg. LEITUNG
Abt. Sekretariat
Betr.
Nr. S. z/207/43

Herrn
Alfred Szwarcbaum
Lausanne

Seher geehrter Herr Szwarcbaum !

Wir möchten Sie auf diesem Wege h:fl. bitten, von der Korrespondenz mit privaten Personen aus unserem Gebiete Abstand nehmen zu wollen, bis Sie von uns eine andere Nachricnt erhalten werden. Gleichzeitig bitten wir auch anderen Freunden (Schwalbe) Obiges mitzuteilen.
Wenn Sie irgendwelche Angelegenheiten zu erledigen haben, stehen wir gerne zur Verfügung.-

Mit besten Grüssen

Moszek Israel Merin

T 0181.

מכתבו של מרין לאלפרד שורצבאום בשווייץ, לבל יבוא בקשר עם אדם זולת עמו
מעריגס בריוו צו אל. שוואַרצבאום אין שווייץ, אין וועלכן עד פאַדערט פון אים נישט
צו קומען אין שריפטלעכן קאָנטאַקט מיט קיינעם, אויסער מיט אים

Letter written by the chairman of the Sosnowiec Judenrat, and chief of the Zentrale der jüdischen Aeltestenräte, Mojżesz (Moszek) Merin, to Alfred Szwarcbaum, June 2, 1943. The text reads: "Dear Mr. Szwarcbaum!
We would politely ask you to refrain from correspondence with private persons from our area, until you receive another message from us. At the same time we also ask other friends (Schwalbe) to be informed of the abovementioned.
If you have any concerns to be handled, we gladly stand at your disposal.
With best greetings,
Moszek Israel Merin."
USHMM WS #20737, COURTESY OF ARNOLD SHAY (ABRAM SZYJEWICZ)

ghettos, such as in Sucha, in many respects resembled labor camps, being rather remnant ghettos established only once most of the nonworkers had been deported.

The role of Mojżesz Merin remains controversial. His dynamic and autocratic leadership helped to alleviate conditions for Jews in the region, as he developed a strategy of survival through work. Food rations and living conditions for Jews in Ost-Oberschlesien generally were better than in the Generalgouvernement, and tens of thousands of Jews in the larger ghettos were not deported until the summer of 1943. However, Merin's subservient compliance with German demands for forced laborers and ultimately for the sacrifice of Jewish lives earned him the bitter hostility of many Jews. The Central Office and the Jewish Police organized some of the deportations, "in order to prevent the Germans from carrying it out with their customary brutality." In June 1943, the Germans arrested Merin himself, leaving it, as he had predicted, up to history to judge his actions.[14]

Several hundred Jews were sent to Auschwitz from towns in the region at the beginning of 1942. On May 12, 1942, a mass deportation Aktion was carried out that included 3,600 Jews from Sosnowiec, 3,200 from Będzin, and 2,000 from Zawiercie. The June deportations also affected the Jews in Sosnowiec and Będzin, especially the poor and sick in the Jewish hospital (i.e., approximately 2,000 people). By July 1942, many of the small centers in the region had been liquidated, namely: Olkusz, Zator, Kłobuck, Jaworzno, Ząbkowice, Grodziec, Trzebinia, and Blachownia. Approximately 15,000 Jews from communities subordinated to the Central Office were deported between May and July 1942. On August 8, 1942, the Kattowitz Gestapo and Organisation Schmelt posted announcements in several towns, ordering all Jews (employed and unemployed) to report with their families to designated places on August 12, to have their photo identity cards stamped and their employment documents verified. Some of the movement restrictions on Jews in these towns were lifted briefly for the duration of the operation. The chairmen of the Jewish Councils signed the announcements. From among the 50,000 Jews gathered in Będzin, Sosnowiec, Dąbrowa Górnicza, and Czeladź, approximately 19,000 were sent to Auschwitz within a few days.[15]

Efforts to fully isolate the Jews in the two largest Jewish population centers—Będzin and Sosnowiec—began in October 1942. The plan of confining the Jews to ghettos outside the town centers was developed by the Sosnowiec Polizeipräsident Alexander von Woedtke. He first proposed this to Regierungspräsident Walter Springorum in February 1942. By creating an isolated ghetto, von Woedtke intended to clamp down on smuggling and black marketeering. At that time, Springorum feared that the Jews' isolation might deprive the economy of vitally needed Jewish forced labor. In the course of numerous

meetings involving the Central Office and the Gestapo, the borders of the new Jewish quarters were established, as well as the dates for their closure. For the Jews of Sosnowiec, a quarter outside the city center was designated in the Polish working-class neighborhoods of Old Sosnowiec and Środula. The plan was to resettle Będzin's Jews to neighborhoods bordering Kamionka and Mała Środula. During the resettlement, the problem arose of resettling Polish workers into the former Jewish apartments in the city centers. These issues were resolved with the participation of the Central Office, and particularly of the Resettlement Office, as well as by the Sosnowiec municipal authority. Gradually, various administrative offices, the hospital, and all institutions subordinated to the Central Office were moved to Środula.

The resettlement process progressed very slowly (e.g., several dozen families per day) until the end of 1942; starting in January 1943, the rate of transfer speeded up dramatically. The residents' placement depended on their "ability to work." Young, able-bodied Jews qualified for hard labor were settled in Kamionka (category "C") or Środula (category "A"). Those unable to work (likely to be deported first) received categories "D" and "B" and were quartered in Mała Środula or Old Sosnowiec.

The resettlements were completed in March 1943. The ghetto in Sosnowiec, numbering approximately 20,000 residents, was sealed on May 1, 1943. At this time, the ghettos in Będzin (in Kamionka and Mała Środula) were also sealed. The remaining Jews from the liquidated Jewish quarter in Dąbrowa Górnicza were resettled there at the end of June. In May 1943, the Gestapo deported the Jews of Czeladź and Modrzejów, as well as approximately 1,000 people (mainly children) from Środula to Auschwitz.

By May 1943, more than 30,000 Jews were living in the Środula and Kamionka ghettos. On May 19, the Jews from the Sosnowiec Południowy neighborhood were resettled to the Będzin ghetto. On June 19, 1943, the Germans sent eight officials of the Central Office, including Mojżesz Merin, his brother Chaim, and Fany Czarna, to Auschwitz. Three days later, on June 22, a mass deportation from the Będzin ghetto was conducted. On that day, the Kamionka ghetto was surrounded early in the morning. All its residents were gathered on the main square. The deportations lasted for three days. Over 12,000 Jews went through the selection process; approximately 6,000 to 7,000 were deported to Auschwitz. From the Środula ghetto, approximately 2,000 Jews were deported, including the sick from the Jewish hospital. Starting in July 1943, several thousand Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Dąbrowa Górnicza were transferred systematically to Będzin.[16]

The liquidations of the Będzin and Sosnowiec ghettos commenced on the night of July 31, 1943, with the participation of police units from Sosnowiec, Maczki, Katowice, Bytom, and Gliwice, as well as training, factory, and reserve police. By August 7, approximately 30,000 Jews had been deported to Auschwitz, of which 6,000 then were sent to forced labor camps. At the end of August, the Gestapo left a group of several hundred Jews to salvage Jewish property, adding also those discovered in hiding. At the beginning of January 1944, the last few hundred Jews were deported into the camp system, apart from about 50 Jews that remained. These last Jews worked as furriers and tailors. In July 1944, they were sent to the Annaberg camp, then to Auschwitz in October.



Group portrait of members of the Ha-Noar Ha-Zioni Zionist youth movement in Sosnowiec, May 1939. All were active in the Zionist underground in Sosnowiec during the German occupation. Among those photographed is Józef Kożuch (second from left).
USHMM WS #06389, COURTESY OF HADASSAH BIMKO ROSENSAFT

The liquidation of the last ghettos took longer than the German authorities anticipated, as members of the Jewish Fighting Organization in the Kamionka and Środula ghettos offered armed resistance. They fought from three bunkers they had prepared in advance. The following fighters of the Będzin ghetto died in the first days of August: Frumka Płotnicka (member of the Dror organization and a courier between the Będzin and Warsaw ghettos), Józef Kożuch, and Cwi Brandes.

The Jewish community in Zawiercie, numbering approximately 2,500 people sewing soldiers' uniforms in a local factory, was liquidated as the last on August 26. As a result of the August Aktion, only 350 to 400 people remained employed at the Towarzystwo Akcyjne Zawiercia (TAZ) factory. This group was deported to Auschwitz on October 17, 1943.

SOURCES The monograph of Sybille Steinbacher, *"Musterstadt" Auschwitz: Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1999), provides the most comprehensive overview of the fate of the Jews of Ost-Oberschlesien during the Holocaust. Questions regarding living conditions for the Jewish population, their economic exploitation, isolation, and extermination are examined also in several publications by Aleksandra Namysło, e.g., "Postawy mieszkańców rejencji katowickiej wobec ludności żydowskiej," in A. Żbikowski, ed., *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945: Studia i materiały* (Warsaw: IPN, 2006), pp. 763–826; or in A. Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów zagłębiowskich* (Będzin: IPN, 2004). There are also several articles on the fate of the Jews in Provinz Oberschlesien in A. Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach wcielonych do Rzeszy* (Warsaw: IPN, 2008). In addition, the yizkor books of the communities of Eastern Upper Silesia (e.g., Natan Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca* [Katowice, 1946]) also contain much useful information on the ghettos of the region.

A critical assessment of the role played by Mojżesz Merin can be found in Philip Friedman, "Two 'Saviors' Who Failed: Moses Merin of Sosnowiec and Jacob Gens of Vilna," which has been republished in Michael Marrus, ed., *The Nazi Holocaust: Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*, vol. 6, *The Victims of the Holocaust* (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1989), pp. 488–492.

A concise overview of the fate of the Jews in Ost-Oberschlesien can be found in Fredka Mazya and Avihu Ronen, "Silesia, Eastern Upper," in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 4:1351–1355; K. Jonca, "Zagłada niemieckich Żydów na Górnym Śląsku (1933–1945)," in *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 2 (1991): 219, deals with the fate of German Jews in Oberschlesien.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; APKat (e.g., RSGŻDG, Polizeipräsident Sosnowiec, M Sosn); AŻIH (301); BA-BL; BA-L; IPN; IPN-Kat; NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Aleksandra Namysło and Martin Dean
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

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2. Jonca, "Zagłada," p. 219; and Alfred Konieczny, "Transporty Żydów z Górnego Śląska do obozu w Teresinie (1942–1944)," *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* (Wrocław) 24 (2001): 443.
3. Namysło, "Postawy mieszkańców," pp. 768–769; Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, "Prześladowania ludności żydowskiej w okresie hitlerowskiej administracji wojskowej na okupowanych ziemiach polskich (1 IX–25 X 1939)," *BŻIH*, no. 39 (1963): 76–77.
4. Götz Aly, "*Endlösung*": *Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1995), pp. 63–64.
5. N-Doc. 3363-PS, Heydrich Schnellbrief, September 21, 1939.
6. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 21; Peter Maser and Adelheid Weiser, *Juden in Oberschlesien: Historischer Überblick, Jüdische Gemeinden* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1992), 1:60.
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9. R. Kaczmarek, "Sytuacja ludności żydowskiej na obszarach zachodnich i południowych Europy wcielonych do Rzeszy Niemieckiej a polityka antyżydowska na polskich terenach wcielonych—próba porównania," in Namysło, *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach*, pp. 16–21.
10. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 17.
11. A. Konieczny, "Rola Organizacji Schmelt w eksploatacji żydowskiej siły roboczej na Śląsku," in Namysło, *Zagłada Żydów zagłębiowskich*, pp. 32–37.
12. Kaczmarek, "Sytuacja ludności," pp. 16–21.
13. AŻIH, 301/289, 2442, 2489, 2490, 3489.
14. Friedman, "Two 'Saviors,'" pp. 490–492.
15. Avihu Ronen, "The Jews of Będzin," in Kersten Brandt, Hanno Loewy, and Krystyna Oleksy, eds., *Before They Perished* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2001), pp. 22–23.
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Ghettos in the Eastern Upper Silesia Region
1941 - 1943
Kłobuck
CZĘSTOCHOWA
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
Zawiercie
Upper Silesia
Będzin
Dąbrowa Górnicza
Strzemieszyce
Czeladź
Sosnowiec
Sławków
Olkusz
KATOWICE
Modrzejów
Szczakowa
Jaworzno
Trzebinia
Chrzanów
1939 Polish border
Eastern Upper Silesia
KRAKÓW
OŚWIĘCIM
(AUSCHWITZ)
Vistula
Wadowice
Andrychów
Bielsko-Biała
Sucha
Map Legend
Ghetto
CITY
Regional border
Rivers
0 2.5 5 10
Miles
Kilometers
0 2.5 5 10
N
W
E
S
Borders as of 1942

ANDRYCHÓW

Pre-1939: Andrychów (Yiddish: Yandrichov), town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Andrichau, Kreis Bielitz, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Andrychów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Andrychów is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Kraków. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 409 out of a total population of 4,171.[1]

When the war broke out, many Jews from Andrychów fled eastward. On the occupation of the town on September 3, 1939, German soldiers and some local Poles broke into and robbed Jewish shops and apartments. After a few weeks, Jewish enterprises, factories, and stores were confiscated and turned over to local ethnic German "trustees." Many who fled but did not make it to the Soviet-occupied zone gradually returned to Andrychów. At first the Germans denied them residence status, but Jewish leaders interceded with the town mayor, Wyceni, who agreed to register the returnees and issue them ration cards.[2]

On November 25, 1939, the Germans set the synagogue on fire and prevented the Jews from extinguishing it.[3] As the harsh winter of 1939–1940 led to increased hardship, the Jewish inhabitants of Andrychów joined together to provide mutual assistance. Jewish doctors offered medical services. A single community shop was opened to coordinate the acquisition and distribution of food. From the start of the occupation, the Jews were required to provide groups of men for forced labor, which necessitated a survey of people fit for work. Initially Jewish youths and men were sent away to help regulate the flow of water in the river near Kęty; girls and women had to scrub the floors in German offices.[4] To deflect the intermittent labor assignments away from the town, which were marked by endless beatings, poor conditions, and humiliation, Jewish leaders strove to find employment close to home. Permanent work appeared to offer more security.[5]

A seven-person Judenrat, including one woman (Ella Landau), was established at the end of 1939. The first chairman was Aharon (Arnold) Weinsaft. From the beginning of 1940, the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (the Central Office), headquartered in Sosnowiec, sought to impose its authority over the Judenrat in Andrychów. The refusal to respond to the orders of Mojżesz Merin, chairman of the Central Office, led to increased tension. In January 1940, Merin demanded that the Judenrat submit a roster of the Jews in Andrychów. After he was ignored, he showed up in the company of a Gestapo squad from Katowice. Weinsaft had no choice but to obey instructions from the Central Office and submit to its authority.[6]

In the spring of 1940, Weinsaft was arrested for allegedly abetting the slaughter of animals for kosher meat, which was forbidden by the Germans. He was freed after two months but deposed as chairman of the Judenrat. He was replaced by Dr. Lowicz (an attorney), but Lowicz held the position for only a short time. The next chairman was Isadore Kromholz, who was appointed on the initiative of Merin. Andrychów also had a Jewish police unit.

In October 1940, the Jewish population of Andrychów was 490 people. In late 1940, the Judenrat received a demand for the transfer of 60 men to a work camp. Kromholz sought to counter the order by arguing that the men were employed in work vital to the German war effort and received the support of local officials. Special representatives of the Central Office were sent to enforce the order, but the Judenrat chairman and the commander of the Jewish Police persisted in their refusal, advising the young men to go into hiding. Merin's representatives returned empty-handed, but in their place came an SS squad headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Heinrich Lindner, of the Foreign Labor Office known as Organisation Schmelt, which picked up 60 men for the forced labor camp in Sosnowiec. The community sent the men packages of food and clothing until 1942.[7]

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Andrychów. The Jews were put into empty Polish houses on Szewska, Brzegi, and Kośvitz Streets in a neglected neighborhood on the eastern edge of the town. The displaced Poles took over the vacated Jewish apartments. The Jews called the ghetto *na brzegach*, after one of its three streets.[8] One former survivor describes it as being more of a Jewish quarter (*Judenviertel*) or open ghetto, rather than an enclosed ghetto. Two or three families were forced to share each house. Jews were permitted to leave the quarter to go shopping only with a pass.[9]

When Polish shopkeepers refused to sell food to the Jews, they received permission to open their own grocery store to meet the needs of the population. To help stock the store, they received a start-up loan from the Central Office, which was eventually forgiven. The Judenrat was also able to arrange for two Polish doctors to enter the ghetto to attend the sick. A small pharmacy was opened, supplied by a sympathetic friend in Bielsko. From the start of the war until July 1942, there were eight deaths in Andrychów. In each case the Jews were permitted to bury the deceased in the Jewish cemetery.[10]

Despite the crowding and isolation, the ghetto inhabitants organized a range of educational and cultural activities. There were Friday evening Sabbath celebrations and programs for the Jewish holidays. Young people continued their studies in clandestine locations, with the older students instructing the younger ones. There was also a day-care program for the children of mothers who worked outside the ghetto. To ease the oppressive conditions, the Judenrat sought and received permission to buy heating coal. A public kitchen was opened, and laborers working under strenuous conditions received extra food.[11]

The main deportation Aktion against Andrychów's Jews took place on July 2, 1942. German police surrounded the ghetto, and the inhabitants were forced into the courtyard of the "Czechowicha" factory. The initial order was to clear the town of Jews and send them to the transit camp in Sosnowiec—and from there, most of them to their deaths. However, after the Jews were assembled, there was a "selection." A group of

100 people unfit for work was sent to Wadowice and added to a trainload of Jews destined, most likely, for the Bełżec extermination camp. Another 40 were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Over 100 others were shipped to work camps via Sosnowiec, and about 60 people, including members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, were transferred to the Wadowice ghetto. During the selection 20 Jewish policemen from the Central Office, headed by a woman named Czarna, were present. They insisted that German orders be obeyed precisely. Two families were left at the end of the selection, and they too soon had to go to Wadowice. However, after a few weeks, everyone sent to Wadowice was brought back to Andrychów. Their return occurred because the managers of the work sites in Andrychów, in need of trained workers, asked for their return. A labor camp was established for the returnees and other Jews from the area. The Jews of Andrychów again displayed great initiative and resolve as they strove to ease the oppressive conditions. The public kitchen was reopened to provide for the prisoners.[12]

In May 1943, the camp was taken over by the SS and renamed "The Jewish Camp of the Water Management Office in Kattowitz, Branch in Bielsk, construction in Andrychów," and conditions took a turn for the worse. Men and women were separated, and the food ration was cut off. In July all the men were shipped to other labor camps, leaving only women at the Andrychów camp. In November 1943, the remaining women were deported to Auschwitz.[13]

The men sent to the labor camps were moved from one camp to another, and most of them perished. By the end of the war there were only 25 survivors from Andrychów, mostly from the labor camps. The Jewish presence in Andrychów was not reestablished, and the survivors left Poland for Israel or other destinations.[14]

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jewish community of Andrychów during the Holocaust include: David Jakubowicz, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, *Andrychow*, *Kalwaria*, *Myslenice*, *Sucha* (Ramat Gan: Former Residents of Wadowice, 1967); and Avraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 55–58. Additional information on the ghetto can be found on the Web site of the Museum of the History of the Polish Jews: www.sztetl.org.pl.

Relevant documentation includes the following: AŻIH (301/2633); IPN (ASG, sygn. 48, p. 20); and VHF (# 8894, 8966).

Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 55–56.
2. Ibid., pp. 56–57.
3. AŻIH, 301/2633, testimony of Artur Markowicz.
4. VHF, # 8894, testimony of Leo Mittler; # 8966, testimony of Ruth Kamaiko.
5. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 57.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/2633.
8. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, *Andrychow*, pp. 283–285; VHF, # 8894. AŻIH, 301/2633, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1940.
9. VHF, # 8966.
10. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, *Andrychow*, pp. 283–285.
11. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 57.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/2633.
14. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 58.

BĘDZIN

Pre-1939: Będzin (Yiddish: Bendin), city, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bendsburg, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Będzin, województwo śląskie, Poland

Będzin is located about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) northeast of Katowice. The Jewish population of the city was 21,625 in 1931, comprising 45.4 percent of the total population.

The German army entered Będzin on September 4, 1939. Almost immediately the Germans instituted a reign of terror over the city's Jews. They burned Jewish homes and the synagogue, took hostages (some of whom they shot), drafted forced laborers, plundered Jewish property, and cut the Jews off from the city's economic life and from its non-Jewish citizens.

Klaus Udo was named Landrat of Będzin in 1940 and formally served in that position until 1945. After February 1941, his deputy Hieronymus Wolff oversaw operations. From the end of 1942, Hans Feldman, the mayor of Czeladź, served in that capacity.[1]



The ruins of the Great Synagogue in Będzin, destroyed by the German police and Einsatzgruppe von Woyrsch during the opening days of war, 1939–1940.
USHMM WS #00427, COURTESY OF YIVO

In late September 1939, a Jewish Aid Committee (Jüdische Hilfskomitee) was set up to replace the pre-war Jewish communal welfare organization. Several weeks later, a Jewish representative body or Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by an engineer, Gustaw Weinzieher, and Lazar Rubinlicht, was established. The Aid Committee opened public kitchens and provided medical care and social assistance for impoverished Jews. On German instructions, a labor center for Jews was established in a local barracks.[2]

In November 1939, Mojżesz Merin, who was appointed head of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia by Hans Dreier, the head of the department of Jewish affairs of the Kattowitz Gestapo, ordered the Jewish Council in Będzin to submit to his authority. The Będzin Judenrat refused, causing Merin to travel to Będzin accompanied by three Gestapo officers. The Judenrat, under duress, submitted to Merin, who demanded a heavy "contribution" from the Jews of Będzin. He also restructured the Jewish Council. Jakub Erlich, who had been on the old committee, became the new head.[3] Chaim Merin, the brother of Mojżesz, served as administrator.

In August 1941, the Judenrat was reorganized again. Chaim Merin became the president (general affairs); the vice presidents were M. Laskier (economic affairs) and M. Manela (financial affairs). Other members were M. Gartner, N. Londner, B. Graubart, Chaim Mołczadzki, M. Lewin, Paradistal, L. Rottner, H. Sztrochlic, Wygodzki, H. Henenberg, Dr. J. Zylberszac, and Ch.M. Szpicberg.[4] The last chairman of the Będzin Jewish Council was Chaim Mołczadzki.[5]

The Judenrat was divided into several departments, including social services, health, food supply (provisioning), economic, finance and budget, labor, forced labor, housing, and archival-statistical. A department of transport and a postal service also functioned in Będzin. The Judenrat maintained a communal kitchen (at 19 Sienkiewicz Street), a children's home, and a home for the elderly. The latter was directed by Dr. Weinzieher, who had been a representative in the Polish Sejm. In 1942, an infirmary was established in the home for the elderly on Podzamcze Street. There was also a steam bath with a disinfection room. The Jewish Council issued free passes for haircuts to the poor. The health department exercised strict control over sanitation.[6]

The Będzin Judenrat was subordinated to the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia. It constituted a separate unit—Stadtkreis Będzin, which in October 1940 numbered 25,264 people. Beniamin Graubart served as the Kreis Inspector answerable to the Central Office.[7]

On September 10, 1940, a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was set up by the Jewish Council, consisting at first of 15 officers. The first commandant was named Kaufman. He was succeeded by Julek Fersztenfeld and then Romek Goldminc. On August 14, 1941, Chaim Mołczadzki took command.[8] In September 1942, Wolf Izrael Buchweitz took over.[9] The last commandant of the Jewish Police was Henryk Barenblatt.

In March 1941, there were 25,171 Jews living in Będzin. On April 5, 1941, a first group of Jews was resettled from Oświęcim (Auschwitz) to Będzin. Initially they were housed in a Jewish orphanage. Four days later, a second transport arrived; altogether more than 1,000 people. Eventually they were dispersed to private apartments.[10] Thus in July 1941, 27,001 Jews were living in Będzin.[11]

Jews from Będzin, like all Jews of Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, were placed at the disposal of the Organisation Schmelt; Albrecht Schmelt was appointed as its head in October 1940 and entrusted with sending Jews to forced labor camps and organizing their work deployment in the towns of the region.

From November 1940, the deportation of Jews to forced labor camps started. All men between the ages of 17 and 50, and women from 16 to 45, who were not working in local workshops (shops) or for the Jewish Council, had to appear before a medical commission. Following the selections, many were sent to forced labor camps. This same process took place repeatedly until May 1943.[12]

In Będzin, Jews worked in several factories and workshops. Towards the end of 1940, Rossner established his tailoring shop, which produced clothing for the Wehrmacht. In October 1941, another firm was established—called "Galanterie und Lederwaren E. Nawrat Bendsburg"—a fancy goods and leather goods factory. In January 1942, there were 20 Jews working there; one year later, there were 400.[13]

In late 1941, on Kołłątaj Street, the Michatz shop was founded in a building that was the shirt-making factory of the brothers Faldberg before the war. Some 1,000 people worked there producing shirts, underclothes, and (later) military uniforms. Women worked in the Loytsche shop, which produced ropes and cords. In June 1942, the general textile and iron firm of Rudolf Braun was established in the area. Its first shop was opened in Dąbrowa; then others opened in Będzin and Sosnowiec. The firm produced and repaired shoes.

Several hundred Jews worked in the shop headed by Scherley, a resettled ethnic German from Romania. At several workshops in Będzin, the firm produced women's purses from oilcloth, bags and suitcases, and parts for bicycles. Scherley took over the pre-war Jewish firms of Rosmarin (suitcase factory), Rottenberg (saddles and seats), and Warsz (bags and purses). There were also smaller businesses in which Jews worked. These included factories on Kołłątaj Street and at 22 Małachowski Street, which both made washing machines; the Gruengrass factory, which produced metal goods;[14] and the shop on Modrzejów Street, which employed 700 to 800 Jews, making uniforms, military overcoats, and other clothing.

From the beginning of 1940, Jews were systematically removed from houses in the center of the city, namely, from Sączewski and Piłsudski Streets. The Jews were moved into apartments on Modrzejów Street, Stary Rynek Street, Podzamcze Street, and Czeladzka Street.[15]

A resettlement bureau (Umsiedlungsstab) was established in the town hall to expel Jews from certain streets and house in their place Germans from Bessarabia and Bukovina. Over time the area in which the Jews were allowed to reside or circulate was limited. In the spring of 1941, the Landrat in Będzin issued a *Judenbann* (ban of Jews), which also excluded Jews from

parks and recreational areas. The Jews were only permitted to live on Modrzejów Street, in Zawale, and near Górka and in neighboring areas. The only route of passage was Modrzejów Street.[16]

In May 1942, a Jewish residential quarter (open ghetto) was established. It encompassed Modrzejowska Street, Stary Rynek and the smaller streets around it, and the beginning of Kołłątaj, Czeladzka, and Podgórna Streets. Jews were not allowed to live or walk along Małachowski Street, but some lived in annexes of buildings on that street. Therefore, a passage had to be dug through the basements so they could exit onto Modrzejów Street.[17]

The process of resettling the Jews of Będzin from the center of the city to the quarters of Kamionka and Mała Środula, where Polish workers resided, began in October 1942. It was completed in the middle of March 1943. The ghetto was not surrounded by barbed wire and was guarded by Jewish Police. It was thus easy to enter and leave, as much of the ghetto bordered the Aryan section. The living conditions in the ghetto were very harsh, with filthy, cramped homes and lack of plumbing.[18] A Jewish post office was organized in the ghetto. The Judenrat's construction department built or renovated homes. Several barracks, with plumbing and electricity, were constructed for the workers in Rossner's shop.[19]

Ha-Noar Ha-Zioni, a Zionist organization, remained active in Będzin during the entire occupation, even in the ghetto. The leaders of the organization in the Zagłębie Dąbrowskie region were: Józef and Bolesław Kożuchowie, Jan Cymerman, Samuel Majtlis, Israel Diamand, Lola Pomerancenblum, Karola Bojm, and Henryk Lustiger.[20] Also active was the underground organization Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, led by Cwi Brandes, Chajka Klinger, Dawid Kozłowski and his sisters Idzia and Irena, Lee Peisachsohn, and Hala Katzenholz. In the spring of 1943, a Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir kibbutz was established within the ghetto on Hüttenstrasse. Its leaders were Cwi Brandes and Chajka Klinger. Some 20 people belonged to the kibbutz. They participated in various forms of organized resistance against the occupier. Gordonia, led in Będzin by Szłom Lerner and Hanka Borensztejn, was also active.[21]

During the second half of 1942, a Jewish cell connected with the Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers' Party) was formed. Its members were Józef Lubling, Mojżesz Szejnberg, Josef Płotek, and Samuel Waldman. After the Gestapo made some arrests among leftist youth in March 1943, the group's activities came to an end.[22]

The first mass deportation Aktion in Będzin was on May 12, 1942; about 3,200 Jews were deported to Auschwitz.

On August 12, 1942, the Jews of Będzin were ordered to gather at two separate points in the city—the "Hakoach" sports field on Kościuszko Street and the "Sarmacja" sports field on Małobądz—to have their papers stamped. Merin urged everyone to attend, and the Judenbann was even temporarily set aside to facilitate the operation. Some 23,000 Jews reported to these two selection points. Soon, the German Order Police surrounded the people and were joined by officials of the Security Police. The ensuing selection went on for three days. When they realized their fate, some Jews fled in panic and were shot; others committed suicide. The youth movements smuggled some children away to safety. In total around 5,000 Jews were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp, including the Jewish populations of the nearby towns of Grodziec, Wojkowice, Dobieszowice, Rogoźnik, Bobrowniki, Sączów, and Niezdary, who were brought to Będzin for deportation. Others were selected for the forced labor camps.[23]

On May 19, 1943, part of the Będzin ghetto was surrounded by the German police and Gestapo. Several thousand people were rounded up and sent to Auschwitz. On June 22, 1943, at around 3:00 A.M., German police again surrounded the ghetto in Kamionka, and around 13,000 people were gathered in the town square. Of the assembled Jews, several thousand were selected under the supervision of a German officer named Dreir, who disregarded the labor permits of some, and sent them to Auschwitz, where most were gassed shortly after arrival.[24]

Among those deported was a large group made up exclusively of workers in the Rossner shop and those who worked in the institutions of the Jewish Council. Then shortly afterwards, in July 1943, several thousand Jews from the liquidated ghetto of Dąbrowa Górnicza were resettled into the Będzin ghetto.

On August 1, 1943, the final liquidation of the ghetto took place. Several transports were sent each day for the next three or four days. Armed resistance was put up for several days by the young people in the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization), which was founded in the fall of 1942 following a visit by Mordechaj Anielewicz to the region.[25] During the first few days of the Aktion, several hundred Jews were shot, including the resistance fighters Frumka Płotnicka, Józef Kożuch, and Cwi Brandes.

As a result of the liquidation, around 12,000 people were deported from Będzin. From the crowds gathered for deportation, the head of Rossner's shop selected 600 to 700 Jews and, with the Gestapo's permission, kept them behind. At the end of August, only 230 to 280 Jewish prisoners remained in



A Jewish policeman informs a crowd of people about the order to vacate the Zederman house on Zawodzie Street, 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #20743, COURTESY OF ARNOLD SHAY (ABRAM SZYJEWICZ)

Będzin. At the start of January 1944, 200 more Jews were expelled from Będzin, leaving only about 50 people. They worked in the tailor and furrier shops. In July 1944, they were sent to the camp at Góra Św. Anny and from there in October 1944 to Auschwitz.[26]

More than 200 Jewish prisoners survived the liquidation of the ghetto by hiding in bunkers and other hiding places. They were discovered by the police and Gestapo, then used for cleaning up the ghetto. They survived in this manner in Kamionka until April 1944, when they were sent to Auschwitz.[27] Several hundred Jews from Będzin survived the Holocaust, including a number who made it through the further selections in Auschwitz and other camps.

After the war, several German officials of Organisation Schmelt were prosecuted. The officials were held responsible for, among other things, the deportations of the Jewish population from Będzin in May and August 1942. Friedrich Karl Kuczynski was sentenced to death by the local district court in Sosnowiec (SOSn) on September 23, 1948. Another official of Organisation Schmelt, Heinrich Lindner, was arrested by American forces. He committed suicide in January 1949.

On February 7, 1950, an appellate court (Sąd Apelacyjny) sentenced Karol Jenzen to nine years in prison. Jenzen had been head of the Będzin branch of the Treuhandstelle and was involved in the deportation of the Jewish population of the city.

SOURCES Helpful in reconstructing the history of the Jews of Będzin are: J.Sh. Stein, *Pinkes Bendin* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Bendin be-Yisrael, 1959); J. Rapoport, *Pinkas Zaglembie* (Tel Aviv, 1972); and D. Liwer, *Ir Hametim* (Tel Aviv: N. Tverski, 1945–1946).

Among a number of published memoirs related to the Będzin ghetto are: Arnold Shay, *From Bendzin to Auschwitz: A Journey to Hell* (Hanover, MA: Christopher Publishing House, 1996); Jochanan Ranz, *In Nazi Claws: Bendzin 1939–1944* (New York, 1976); and Mirian Kipper, *My Memories: Holocaust Memoirs 1939–1945* (Tel Aviv: Kavim, 2006). The diary of a 14-year-old girl, written in the Będzin ghetto, was published in 2007: Rutka Laskier, *Rutka's Notebook: January–April 1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007). Among several illustrated books containing photographs of the Jews of Będzin is: Kersten Brandt, Hanno Loewy, and Krystyna Oleksy, eds, *Before They Perished* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (e.g., Polizeipräsident Sosnowitz, 316; Regierung Kattowitz, 2785; RSGŻDG, sygn. 30); AŻIH (e.g., 301/602, 1225, 2449, 2451, 2622, 2711, 2728–2729, 3479–3480, 3536, 4302, 4283, 4295, 4308); BA-BL; BA-L; IfZ; IPN; IPN-Kat; NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Aleksandra Namysło
trans. Steven Seegel and Claire Rosenson

NOTES

1. R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów. Elity i instancje władzy w rejencji katowickiej w latach 1939–1945* (Katowice: Wydawn Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1998), pp. 73–74.
2. AŻIH, 301/1225, testimony of J. Sender; 301/2449, testimony of Samuel Półtorak.
3. Ibid., 301/1225.
4. Ibid., Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych Wschodniego Górnego Śląska, 212/1, p. 29, Okólnik no. 88, August 13, 1941.
5. Ibid., 301/2449.
6. Ibid., 301/2451, testimony of Abram Szeftel.
7. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, July 20, 1942, p. 169.
8. AŻIH, Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych Wschodniego Górnego Śląska, 212/1, Okólnik no. 90, August 14, 1941.
9. Ibid., 212/4, p. 44.
10. Ibid., 301/1225.
11. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, July 20, 1942, p. 169.
12. AŻIH, 301/1225.
13. Ibid., 301/4302, testimony of S. Póttorak; 301/2449.
14. Ibid., 301/4303.
15. Ibid., 301/2729, testimony of Nacha Krakowska.
16. Ibid., 301/602, testimony of Sali Kanner; see also APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2785, as cited by Sybille Steinbacher, *"Musterstadt" Auschwitz: Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1999), pp. 267–268.
17. AŻIH, 301/2449.
18. Ibid., 301/4308, testimony of Anna Lerhenfeld.
19. Ibid., 301/2449; 301/4308.
20. Ibid., 301/3536, testimony of Jadzia Szpigelman.
21. Ibid., 301/3480, testimony of Fela Katz.
22. Ibid., 301/3479, testimony of Samuel Waldman.
23. Ibid., 301/2622, testimony of Mojżesz Szwarc; 301/2711, testimony of Jakob Freiberger; APKat, Polizeipräsident Sosnowitz, 316, p. 228.
24. AŻIH, 301/1225.
25. Ibid., 301/2728, testimony of N. Krakowska.
26. Ibid., 301/4283, testimony of Chiel Gerlic.
27. Ibid., 301/4295, testimony of Hanka Szajer.

BIELSKO-BIAŁA

Pre-1939: Bielsko-Biała, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bielitz, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Bielsko-Biała, województwo śląskie, Poland

Bielsko-Biała is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of Katowice. According to the 1931 census, there were 4,430 Jewish residents in Bielsko. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, there were 12,000 Jews living in the town and its vicinity; in Bielsko proper, there were approximately 4,700 Jews. According to a census conducted in December 1939, there were 7,854 Jews in Kreis Bielitz.[1]

German forces entered Bielsko on September 2, 1939. The town's German residents immediately began looting apartments, shops, and workshops that had been deserted by the Jews. It was at this time that the first brutal antisemitic incidents occurred. On September 5, the Germans selected 15 able-bodied Jews and took them to Gestapo headquarters, where they were tortured.



Wartime passport of Bielsko-Biała resident and Holocaust survivor, Herta Frohlich, 1941.
USHMM WS #24092, COURTESY OF HERTA FROHLICH BRANN

> They beat their victims over the head with iron chains, and when they fell down unconscious they would pour buckets of water on them, then forcing the victims to get up. Afterwards they hanged them up by their legs, while 15 Hitler Youth members danced around them singing Nazi songs. Next, they were brought down, and taken to a pit, where they were buried up to their necks. Five of them did not survive the beatings and torture—which lasted for three days. The remaining 10—half dead—were released.[2]

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans set on fire all of the synagogues in the town. Subsequently the Jews were also obliged to pay a large fine to cover the costs of clearing the rubble of these buildings.[3]

On October 19, 1939, approximately 500 of Bielsko's Jews (aged 18–50) were transported to Nisko near the San River. There, under the threat of death by firing squad, the Germans chased them across the new border with the Soviet Union. On October 28, a second group of 240 men (aged 16–60) was gathered and given the same treatment.[4]

After the chaos of the first days of occupation, the German authorities began to restrict their rights and isolate them from the non-Jewish population. Jews were required to perform forced labor, initially cleaning the barracks where the German army was garrisoned. By the end of 1940, the German authorities had introduced a series of harsh economic measures, which first restricted and eventually excluded Jews almost entirely from the sphere of commerce. Based on decrees issued by the military and civil authorities, the property of displaced people (Jews and Poles) was confiscated; Jewish bank accounts and deposits were blocked; cash withdrawals were restricted; shops were marked; and the contents of warehouses were requisitioned. Jewish businesses were placed under the control of trustees, which was tantamount to their confiscation. In November 1939, Jews were ordered to wear white armbands, which were replaced in September 1941 by yellow patches with a Star of David emblem on the left breast.

In May 1940, approximately 1,000 Bielsko Jews were deported to the surrounding towns of Wadowice, Kęty, Oświęcim, and Andrychów. By mid-September 1940, there were only 399 Jews living in Bielsko.[5]

Siegfried Schmidt was appointed as the Landrat of Kreis Bielitz from 1940 to 1942; Bernhard Nienaber replaced him and held this post until the end of the occupation. Rolf Wiesner was the Bürgermeister of the town of Bielsko-Biała. The commander of the Bielitz Freikorps, Ernest Lanz, was nominated as the local head of the Nazi Party in the Kreis. Rudolf Christ was the commander of the Bielsko SA. Kriminalsekretär Güzschel was the first Gestapo chief; this post was filled subsequently by a local Nazi, Kurt Müller.[6]

At the end of 1939, a Judenrat, chaired by Józef Rotter, was established in Bielsko. The Judenrat was supervised by the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia, with Mojżesz Merin as its head. The Kreis Inspectorate subordinated to the Central Office—which supervised several Jewish communities—was also located in Bielsko. In October 1940, the Jewish population of the entire Kreis Bielitz Inspectorate numbered 8,718 Jews and included the following communities: Bielsko (399 people), Dziedzice (89), Kęty (325), Wadowice (1,400), Andrychów (490), Zator (415), and Oświęcim (5,600). In March 1941, there were 351 Jews living in Bielsko, with 9,186 throughout the territory of the Inspectorate. After the expulsion of the Jewish community of Oświęcim in April 1941, the number of Jews in Bielsko did not change, yet the number of Jews in the Kreis declined to 3,028.[7]

In January 1940, the Judenrat opened a soup kitchen, which according to the statistics of the Central Office was used by only six people in March 1941. An infirmary was established in June 1940. According to Arnon Rubin, survivor testimonies indicate some dissatisfaction with the Judenrat, as it remained largely submissive to the Germans and did not achieve much to alleviate living conditions for the Jews.[8]

As of October 1940, the Jews of Bielsko, like all the Jews in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, came under the jurisdiction of Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt, which was responsible for the deportation of Jews to labor camps and their assignment to factories and workshops. Bielsko's Jewish youth were employed in an armaments factory in Frysztat, and some of its Jewish women worked in clothing workshops in Wadowice. According to the statistics of the Central Office, on



Wartime photograph of Gerda Weissmann, who was held in the Bielsko-Biała ghetto.
USHMM WS #ID4323, COURTESY OF GERDA WEISSMANN KLEIN

August 1, 1942, 60 Bielsko Jews were registered as workers in labor camps.[9]

According to survivor testimonies given shortly after the war, in August 1941, Bielsko's Jews were resettled from the center of Bielsko to the village of Lipniki, near Biała, where a ghetto was established. It consisted of a few houses on Zipsera Street, Lerchenfeld Street, and Listopad Street.[10]

The memoir of Gerda Weissmann Klein, however, dates her resettlement to the ghetto on April 19, 1942. The ghetto consisted of a number of buildings clustered together. All the Jews now remaining lived in those few houses and in a huge armory-like building with primitive plumbing, about 10 minutes' walk from the Kultusgemeinde. "More and more frequently the dreaded word *Aussiedlung* [deportation] crept into conversations. Young people, we heard, were sent to labor camps. The old ones were sent to Auschwitz. Even then we knew what kind of camp it was. Somehow we never believed what happened to Jews in other towns would happen to us."[11]

The Central Office recorded 461 Jews registered in Bielsko-Biała on May 1, 1942.[12] At this time conditions for the remaining Jews deteriorated, as many of those capable of work, including heads of families, were sent away to labor camps. Thus mainly, women, children, and the elderly remained, who suffered from disease and the lack of food.

On June 29, 1942, all the town's Jewish residents were ordered to report to several designated locations, where selections were conducted.[13] Of those who reported, 40 persons were sent to a labor camp, and the remaining 400 or so Jews were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. The 15 people who remained in the town, including the chairman of the Judenrat, were left to sort Jewish belongings. They were deported to Wadowice on July 15, 1942. In October 1943, there were 35 Jews and 44 *Mischlinge* (Jews born in mixed marriages) in Bielsko. At this time, approximately 15 men were sent to work in France, only to be sent back after four months. These Jewish men were sent to Thuringia in October 1944, while 44 women continued to work in a local ammunition factory. Of Bielsko's pre-war Jewish residents, between 200 and 350 returned after the war.[14]

SOURCES Some information regarding the history of the Jews of Bielsko-Biała can be found in the works of Jacek Proszek, *Cmentarz żydowski w Bielsku-Białej* (Bielsko-Biała, 2002); T. Falęcki, "Okupacja hitlerowska," in *Bielsko-Biała. Zarys rozwoju miasta i powiatu* (Katowice, 1971); and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 128–129. There is also a yizkor book for the Jewish community, edited by Elijahu Miron, *Bilits-Biala; pirke 'avar* (Israel, 1973). The memoir of Gerda Weissmann Klein, *All But My Life* (New York: Noonday, 1957), mentions the ghetto in Bielsko-Biała.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 3 and 30; Regierung Kattowitz, 2779); AŻIH (301/3966, 3968, 3970); USHMM; and YVA (O-3/1251).

Aleksandra Namysło and Martin Dean
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Falęcki, "Okupacja hitlerowska," p. 232.
2. AŻIH, 301/3966, collective testimony of Róża Reichel, Markus Szajer, Eugeniusz Reich, Rudolf Walaszek, and Adolf Rychter.
3. Ibid., 301/3970, testimony of the Jewish Committee in Bielsko.
4. Ibid.
5. APKat, RSGŻDG, 3, Bulletin no. 1, September 15, 1940, pp. 1–2.
6. Falęcki, "Okupacja hitlerowska," p. 321.
7. APKat, RSŻGDG, 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, July 20, 1941, p. 128; and Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, March 12, 1941, p. 209.
8. Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, 3:129.
9. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, Statistische Angaben über den Stand der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, August 24, 1942, p. 3.
10. AŻIH, 301/3968, testimony of Franciszek Rychter. Rubin (*The Rise and Fall*, vol. 3) and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 3:689, however, both date the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1940.
11. Klein, *All But My Life*, pp. 72–79.
12. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, Statistiche Angaben, p. 3.
13. According to AŻIH, 301/3966, testimony of Róża Reichel, Markus Szajer, Eugeniusz Reich, Rudolf Walaszek, and Adolf Rychter: "On June 29, all ghetto residents were taken with their luggage to Dziedzice." Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 3, dates this Aktion as taking place on June 20, 1942.

14. AŻIH, 301/3966; J. Proszek, *Cmentarz żydowski w Bielsku-Białej* (Bielsko-Biała, 2002), p. 82.

CHRZANÓW

Pre-1939: Chrzanów (Yiddish: Khzhanev), town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Krenau, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Chrzanów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Chrzanów is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Katowice. In 1931, there were 7,023 Jews residing in Chrzanów, comprising 39 percent of the total population.

German troops entered Chrzanów on September 4, 1939. The occupying forces immediately began to abuse, plunder, and kill members of the Jewish population. The Germans instituted measures that isolated the Jews from the local population and excluded them from the economy.

In May 1940, a total of 6,807 Jews were residing in Chrzanów. On May 14 and 15, 1940, about 1,200 Jews from Rybnik, Pszczyna, Mikołów, Chorzów, Katowice, and Mysłowice were deported to Chrzanów and the neighboring town of Trzebinia.[1] In March 1941, 7,884 Jews were registered as living in Chrzanów.[2] By June, the number had risen to 8,423,[3] as in April 1941 a number of Jews arrived in Chrzanów who had been expelled from Oświęcim.



Three young women from the Chrzanów ghetto, Fella Tag, Sala Rauchwerger, and Cesia Rabinowicz, pose in armbands, n.d.
USHMM WS #49316, COURTESY OF HELEN SENDYK

From September 7, 1939, the county official (Landrat) of the Krakau district, Dr. Zilch, was in charge of Chrzanów. A man named Nolke became the mayor of the town. Two days later Eugen Höbert took over as the commander of the military administration. At the end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940, Theo Schulz was the Landrat in Chrzanów. On May 1, 1941, Dr. Walter Cantner was officially named as the Landrat, after having been the acting Landrat from February 23, 1940. When Cantner was sent to the front in 1943, a man named Groll, the Landrat in Olkusz, assumed responsibility for Chrzanów. First Lieutenant Paul Schindler became the head of the local Security Police. In May 1941, Chrzanów became one of the four police districts (Ortspolizeibezirke) under the supervision of the mayor, J. Gründler (der Bürgermeister der Ortspolizeibehörde-Kriminalpolizei). Otto Westpohl served as the head of the local Criminal Police (Kripo).[4]

The first Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established at the end of 1939. It consisted of the following individuals: Józef Umlauf (a locksmith and chairman of the organization of Jewish War Veterans), Fasek Weber, David Wachsberg, Levi Krauskopf, and Józef Shmuel Shonhertz.[5] In January 1940, the administration of the Jewish community was reorganized by Mojżesz Merin, the head of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (Central Office).[6] His brother, Chaim Merin, who held formal authority over the local Jews, implemented the reorganization.[7] In March 1940, the Jewish Council was reconstituted; in addition to Weber and Wachsberg, the following people joined the Judenrat: Bezalel Cuckier, Mojżesz Nagoschyner, Kalmen Teichler, Zelig Grajower, Schmuel Yosef Weiss, and Mendel Nussbaum.[8] Cuckier (the leader of the local Mizrachi Party) became the head of the Chrzanów Jewish Council in October 1940. Some members of the Judenrat had a fairly good reputation among the Jewish population. The Gestapo deported three of them, Cuckier, Nussbaum, and Teichler, to the Auschwitz concentration camp on February 19, 1942, for alleged sabotage. The last leader of the Chrzanów Jewish Council was Dr. Władysław Boehm, sent by Merin of the Central Office to act in accordance with his strategy of cooperation with the Germans.[9] Boehm held this position until the liquidation of the ghetto in February 1943. Chrzanów also became one of the eight district centers that were subordinated to the Central Office. In June 1941, the Jewish population of Kreis Krenau numbered 12,708. That figure included the Jewish inhabitants of neighboring villages and communities, such as Jaworzno (2,161 people), Szczakowa (530 people), and Trzebinia (1,242 people).[10]

The Jewish community also had its own police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) under the command of Weber, a particularly cynical and brutal plunderer. The unit consisted of 20 officers.[11] The Jewish community maintained two public kitchens for the poor (established in February and June 1940) and an orphanage (opened in December 1940). In March 1941, 35 percent of the Jews in Chrzanów were receiving public

welfare.[12] Until 1942, Jewish children attended school; the instruction in all of the subjects was in Polish. In the 1939–1940 school year, 900 Jewish children were registered at four elementary schools in Chrzanów.[13]

The Jews of Chrzanów, like all Jews of Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, were placed at the disposal of the Organisation Schmelt; Albrecht Schmelt was appointed as its head in October 1940 and entrusted with sending Jews to forced labor camps and organizing their work deployment in the towns of the region. Jews from Chrzanów were sent to work on highway construction, at other forced labor camps at quarries, and on railway lines or were deployed locally to work in a factory producing rubber products or in a branch of Albert Rossner's clothing plant. Deportations of Jews to the forced labor camps were carried out by the Germans with the assistance of Merin and Jewish Police sent from Sosnowiec by the Central Office.

In 1940, the Germans started removing the Jews from certain streets and resettling them in predominantly Jewish areas. Then by the end of 1941, a Jewish "residential area" or open ghetto was established in Chrzanów. It was situated between the following streets: Kadłubek, Krzyska, Kraków, Garncarska, Luszowska, Balińska, and Berek Joselewicz. It was not surrounded by a wall or fence, and the Jewish Police was in charge of security inside the ghetto.[14] In addition to the ghetto, some Jews also resided on Kraków Street, but exclusively in courtyard buildings (away from the street). It was forbidden for them to walk on Kraków Street.[15] In March and April 1942, approximately 1,000 Jews from neighboring towns, such as Ciężkowice, Chełmek, Kwaczał, Szczakowa, Alwernia, and Łuszowice, were moved to the Chrzanów ghetto.[16] In May 1942, a total of 8,631 Jews were residing in Chrzanów.[17]

At the end of May 1942, the German authorities conducted a large-scale deportation Aktion in the Chrzanów ghetto. The selections for these deportations lasted six days and were carried out with the participation of representatives of Merin's Central Office based on Krzyska Street. The selection was based on the Jews' ability to work. During this period, approximately 3,000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz or to labor camps.

Helen Sendyk wrote of the deportation Aktions:

> House raids against the Jews came with ever more frequency and malice. Families were torn apart, with mothers being taken away from small children. Fathers, sons, and daughters were shipped away to forced labor camps. The old and the feeble dared not go out in the streets. Starvation, disease, and death found them in their hiding places. Food was ever more difficult for the dwindling Jewish population to obtain.[18]

Jews had to appear to register in order to obtain food stamps, but this exposed them to possible deportation.

On July 8, 1942, Paul Schindler of the Gestapo issued an order calling for all of the Chrzanów Jews, with the exception of those transferred from Trzebinia and Szczakowa, to appear at the square on Kupska Street. About 2,500 people complied with the order. The German authorities selected 1,500 people and led them under police escort to the local elementary school. The next day these people were deported to Auschwitz. From this day on, such Aktions were conducted almost every week, under Westpohl's command.[19] The transports consisted of between 30 and 150 people. In August 1942, a total of 6,551 Jews remained in Chrzanów.[20]

The workers who remained in Chrzanów by the fall of 1942 were mainly employed in a branch of the Oberschlesischen Gummiwerke GmbH or in a clothing factory making uniforms for the Wehrmacht.

The final Aktion to liquidate the Chrzanów ghetto came on February 18, 1943. The selection of the assembled victims was carried out by an official of Organisation Schmelt, Heinrich Lindner. The residents of the ghetto were divided into two groups. One was sent to Auschwitz, the other to the labor camps in Muszowice. The members of the Jewish Council were sent to Sosnowiec and from there to Auschwitz. Few Chrzanów Jews survived the Holocaust. In May 1945, only 60 Jews were living in Chrzanów.[21]

SOURCES General information on the history of Chrzanów and its Jewish community can be found in: *Chrzanów: Studia z dziejów miasta*, 2 vols. (Chrzanów, 1998–1999), which also includes articles on the German occupation. Information on the history of the Jews of Chrzanów and their fate in the Holocaust can be found in Mordecai Bochner, *Chrzanów: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Shtetl* (Roslyn Harbor, NY: Solomon Gros, 1989), originally published as *Sefer Khzhanev* (Munich-Regensburg, 1949); and in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 152–153. A survivor memoir was published by Helen Sendyk, *The End of Days* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

Relevant documentation and the testimonies of surviving Jews from Chrzanów can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 3 and 30; Regierung Kattowitz, 2779); AŻIH (301/2718, 2720, 3016, 4915); IPN-Kat; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.002*0072 and Acc.1997.A.0235); VHF; and YVA.

Aleksandra Namysło
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Claire Rosenson

NOTES

1. APKat, Łagiewniki township, 260, Circular no. 3 Gestapo in Katowice, May 8, 1940, p. 10.
2. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, List of Councils of Elders of Jewish communities in Ost-Oberschlesien, March 12, 1941, p. 211.
3. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, census of the Jewish population, June 20, 1941, p. 173.
4. T. Falęcki, and I. Sroka, "Chrzanów w latach okupacji 1939-1945," in *Chrzanów: Studia*,:15–24; R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów. Elity i instancje władzy w rejencji katowickiej w latach 1939–1945* (Katowice: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1998), p. 74.
5. Bochner, *Chrzanów*.
6. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, Bulletin no. 1, September 15, 1940, p. 2.
7. AŻIH, 301/3016.

8. Bochner, *Chrzanów*.
9. *Sefer Khzhanev*, pp. 283–285, as cited by Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), p. 331.
10. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, census of the Jewish population as of June 20, 1941, p. 173.
11. AŻIH, 301/2720.
12. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30 (Jewish Welfare in Eastern Upper Silesia), March 25, 1941, p. 242.
13. Falęcki and Sroka, "Chrzanów w latach okupacji," p. 37.
14. IPN-Kat, p. 1/188, investigation of the extermination of the Jews in Wadowice 1942–1943 and in other ghettos in the territories of Zagłębie, Dąbrowska, and Chrzanów, minutes of the interrogation of Stanisław P., April 20, 1989, p. 128. This source dates the ghetto's establishment at the end of 1941. AŻIH, 301/4915, testimony of Samuel Feiler, however, dates it in February 1941, but the chronology in this account appears unreliable.
15. AŻIH, 301/2720.
16. Ibid., 301/2718.
17. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, official data on the Jewish population, August 24, 1942, p. 4.
18. Sendyk, *The End of Days*, p. 129.
19. AŻIH, 301/2720.
20. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, official data on the Jewish population, August 24, 1942, p. 4.
21. AŻIH, CKŻP, Wydział Kultury i Propagandy, sygn. 129–130, Biuletyn no. 34/35, May 29, 1945.

CZELADŹ

Pre-1939: Czeladź, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Czeladz, Kreis Bendsburg, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Czeladź, województwo śląskie, Poland

Czeladź is located about 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) north-northeast of Katowice. At the time of the German invasion in 1939, the Jewish population stood at more than 1,000 people; Jews comprised about 5 percent of the town's total population.

The Germans occupied Czeladź on September 5, 1939. On this day 20 Jews from Czeladź were taken as hostages to Będzin; after eight days of beatings and torture they were permitted to return home. When the chaos of the first days of occupation came to an end, the German authorities began removing the Jewish community from economic life in Czeladź, depriving it of certain basic rights, and isolating it from the non-Jews of the town. The Jews in Czeladź were subjected to the same restrictive measures as other Jewish communities in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, which first became part of Provinz Schlesien in 1939, then the new Provinz Oberschlesien in 1941. Among the measures introduced from the fall of 1939 were forced labor and the confiscation of Jewish property. The Jews also were forced to pay a contribution in money or gold of 10 Reichsmark (RM) per head.[1]

Meanwhile, the German administration established itself in the town. Hans Felden was appointed as mayor of Czeladź. At the end of September 1939, a detachment of Order Police, subordinated to the Schutzpolizei post in Sosnowiec, was established in Czeladź. From October 1940, it was subordinated to the newly created Polizeipräsidium in Sosnowiec, under the command of Alexander von Woedtke.



Studio portrait of the Urman family, ca. 1940. The Urmans were confined to the Czeladź ghetto and murdered at Auschwitz in 1943.
USHMM WS #08806, COURTESY OF SALOMON URMAN

In June 1940, the Gestapo organized an anti-Jewish massacre in revenge for the murder of a German by an unknown person. The Jews and Poles were summoned to appear on the main square, where they were beaten and tortured by German police officers and Gestapo officials, who "jumping and dancing on the bodies, especially the Jews, beat them with sticks and iron tools. The blood flowed in streams and the victims were not even allowed to moan. The wild revel lasted until late at night, and when the Nazis finally had enough, they ordered their victims to return back to their homes."[2] Some 20 Jews were detained, then transported to Będzin. They never returned.

In January 1940, a Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia was established in Sosnowiec under the leadership of Mojżesz Merin. All the Jewish inhabitants of Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz and some communities from Regierungsbezirk Oppeln were subordinated to the new Central Office. In the second half of January 1940, according to the instructions of the head of the Kattowitz Gestapo section dealing with Jewish matters (Department J), and with the personal involvement of Merin, the religious community in Czeladź was recognized. It was represented by a Jewish Council of Elders (Ältestenrat der Juden, or Judenrat),[3] with Pinkus Koppel initially as its head. In September 1940, the Czeladź Jewish community numbered 1,120 people. It was directly subordinated to the Kreis Inspectorate in Dąbrowa Górnicza and thus to the Central Office.[4] In March 1941, Szyja Goldberg was the chairman of the Judenrat in Czeladź.[5] In August 1942, Abram Pozmantir occupied this post. The community maintained a soup kitchen (set up on October 1, 1940) and a fire department. In March 1941, 1,204 Jews were residing in Czeladź, and of these about 15 percent were receiving social welfare benefits of some kind.[6]

A separate Jewish residential district (open ghetto) was established in Czeladź in June 1941. The Jewish district covered 2,400 square meters (0.6 acre) and encompassed the following streets: Żytnia, Żwirki i Wigury, Kamienna, and Spokojna.[7] The Jewish youth in Czeladź cooperated with the resistance movement of young people, formed mainly by members of the Zionist group Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, based in Będzin and Sosnowiec.

From June 1940, the Jewish inhabitants of Czeladź, like all Jews living in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, were placed under the authority of Organisation Schmelt for the purposes of forced labor deployment. Albrecht Schmelt was the Special Representative of the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police for Employing Foreign Nationalities in Upper Silesia and was directly subordinated to Heinrich Himmler. The office of Organisation Schmelt in Czeladź, commonly called the Dienststelle (Office), had all Jewish workers at its disposal, which meant that it was responsible for deciding whether Jews would be allocated to work within the town (in the so-called shops) or whether they would be transported to other forced labor camps. In Czeladź, the Jews worked in the pottery factory "Józefów" (about 50 people), and quite a large group was also employed in Rossner's shop in Będzin, to which they were transported daily by tram. At the same time, contingents of Jews were periodically sent to labor camps. The first transport of this kind was dispatched in October 1940, when 200 people were sent away.[8]

The Germans carried out the first mass deportation Aktion in Czeladź on May 17, 1942. It lasted from 10:00 A.M. until dusk and then on the next day from 8:00 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. The Jews from Czeladź were gathered in collection camps in Będzin and Dąbrowa, from where some were subsequently sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp.[9] More than 200 people were deported on this occasion. On August 12, 1942, all Jewish inhabitants of Czeladź were summoned to appear near the barracks on Paul-Keller-Strasse 27 at 7:00 P.M., in accordance with instructions issued by the Gestapo and Stapo (State Police) in Katowice and by Organisation Schmelt. The purpose of the operation was to stamp the identity cards (the so-called *Lichtbildausweise*) of the Jews. Unlike in Sosnowiec, Będzin, and Dąbrowa Górnicza, where the gathering of the towns' Jewish inhabitants ended with their selection and the transportation of some to the Auschwitz concentration camp, in Czeladź the representatives of the Dienststelle and the Gestapo only checked and stamped the documents, and then those assembled were permitted to go home.[10]

By the second half of August 1942, about 1,000 Jews remained in Czeladź, following the previous deportations to labor camps.[11]

The ghetto was enclosed in the autumn of 1942. From the beginning of 1943, German Aktions selecting Jews for transportation to the work camps increased. On May 20, 1943, the Germans liquidated the ghetto in Czeladź.[12] Only 50 Jews employed in Rossner's shop in Będzin and the 37 still working in Czeladź were exempted from the deportations. These Jews were transferred to the ghetto in Będzin, and then after this ghetto was closed in turn on August 1, 1943, they were sent to Auschwitz.[13]

About 40 Jews from the town are known to have survived until the end of World War II.[14]

SOURCES No detailed publication on the fate of the Jews in Czeladź during the Holocaust has been published. A short article by A. Rejdak, "The Jews in Czeladź," is available in *Czeladź Bulletin*, no. 3 (1996). Some information on the Jewish community can be found in Wiesława Konopelska, *Szalom: Pamięci czeladzkich Żydów* (Czeladź: Urząd Miasta, 2008).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (e.g., RSGŻDG, 3 and 30; Polizeipräsident Sosnowiec, 314, 334; and M Sosn, 6368); AŻIH (301/2567); IPN; USHMM (RG-15.033M); VHF; and YVA.

Aleksandra Namysło

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2567, testimony of A. Gelbard, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Rejdak, "The Jews in Czeladź," p. 77.
4. APKat, RSGŻDG, 3, Bulletin no. 1 of October 15, 1940, p. 2.
5. Ibid., RSGŻDG, 30, Aufstellung der dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultus-Gemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterstehenden Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden (geordnet nach Kreisinspektoraten), March 12, 1941, p. 214.
6. Ibid., 30, Jüdische Fürsorge in Ost-Oberschlesien, March 25, 1941, p. 245.
7. Rejdak, "The Jews in Czeladź," pp. 77–79.
8. AŻIH, 301/2567, testimony of A. Gelbard, p. 6.
9. APKat, Polizeipräsident Sosnowiec, 316, letter from the Kommando der Schutzpolizei, May 16, 1942, p. 204.
10. AŻIH, 301/2567, testimony of A. Gelbard, p. 8.
11. APKat, M Sosn, 6368, statistical statement concerning the conditions of the Jewish population, information of the Sosnowiec Police Department, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
12. Ibid., Polizeipräsident Sosnowitz, 334, situational report of the commandant of the 4th police precinct in Czeladź to the commandant of the 1st section of the Schutzpolizei in Sosnowiec, June 3, 1943, p. 66.
13. AŻIH, 301/2567, testimony of A. Gelbard, p. 9.
14. Ibid., p. 10.

DĄBROWA GÓRNICZA

Pre-1939: Dąbrowa Górnicza (Yiddish: Dombrowa), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Dombrowa, Kreis Bendsburg, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Dąbrowa Górnicza, województwo śląskie, Poland

Dąbrowa Górnicza is located about 14 kilometers (9 miles) northeast of Katowice. In 1931 there were 5,100 Jews living in Dąbrowa Górnicza (14 percent of the population). In 1939, there were 5,500 members of the religious community altogether in Dąbrowa and the neighboring town of Strzemieszyce.

The German army entered the town on September 4, 1939; they set the synagogue on fire, partially destroying it



Jewish children and adults pose on the streets of Dąbrowa Górnicza, ca. 1939–1940.
USHMM WS #16571, COURTESY OF ZEV AND YEHUDIT MALACH

(later it was converted into a storehouse). On November 9, 1939, 15 local Jews were arrested and sent away to a prison in Katowice. Several weeks later (probably in May 1940), about 650 Jewish refugees from Austria, Germany, and Cieszyn in Silesia arrived in Dąbrowa Górnicza. At the same time, about 800 young Jews left for the Soviet Union.[1] In September 1940, there were 5,300 Jews living in Dąbrowa Górnicza (14.32 percent of the town's population).[2]

At the beginning of November 1939, the Germans initiated the first systematic anti-Jewish measures, including confiscations, business closings, a curfew, and the wearing of distinguishing markings (by way of forcing Jews to wear distinctive symbols on their clothes).

In February 1940, Bruno Maier became mayor of the town (prior to this, a Pole, Teofil Trzęsimiech, had performed this function). He was in office for just a few months and was dismissed for misappropriation of property confiscated from Poles and Jews. His successor, Gollasch, was also dismissed for similar misdemeanors. In the middle of 1940, a man named Hein was appointed to this position, and he remained in the post until the end of the occupation.



An elderly Jew wearing a yellow star walks along a street in Dąbrowa Górnicza, 1939–1941.
USHMM WS #05942, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

Up to the end of 1940, Dąbrowa Górnicza was patrolled by the Third Section of the Schutzpolizei Abschnittskommando (SAk) based in Sosnowiec. After a reorganization of the police structure, Section Headquarters VI of the SAk was established in the town. Police stations in Dąbrowa Górnicza, Zagórze (with a branch in Klimontów), Kazimierz (branch in Porąbka), Niwka (branch in Dańdówka), Strzemieszyce, and Niemce were all subordinated to it. It was in turn subordinated to the Polizeipräsidium in Sosnowiec, under the command of Alexander von Woedtke.

The first police chief in Dąbrowa Górnicza was Gronostaj, and after him (until the end of the war) Paul Baumgart. The head of the local Kripo (Criminal Police) was SA-Führer Friedrich Reese (from January 1940).

In the middle of November 1939, on the orders of the Kattowitz Gestapo (head of the department for Jewish matters, Kriminalkommissar Hans Dreier), the existing community was reorganized, and a Jewish Council (Juderat) was established. It was composed of the following departments: administration, housing, business, budget, social welfare, health, and forced labor. At first Dr. Samuel Mittelman (sent to the camp in Annaberg but returned in July 1942) was the head of the Jewish Council; from 1941, Icek Borenstein was the chairman. The Jewish Council in Dąbrowa was subordinated to the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia in Sosnowiec, which was a higher-level body for the Jewish communities in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz and for some communities in Regierungsbezirk Oppeln. Icek Borenstein also performed the function of Kreis Inspector, representing the Central Office. Apart from Dąbrowa Górnicza, he also was responsible for neighboring Jewish communities and their subordinate branches in: Gołonóg (140 Jews), Zagórze (160), Czeladź (1,220), Grodziec (180), Wojkowice Komorne (75), Bobrowniki (30), Dańdówka (180), Łagisza (30), Ożarowice (50), Modrzejów (1,120), and Niwka (375). In total, he was responsible for 8,865 Jews.[3]

The seat of the Judenrat was located at 11 Sienkiewicz Street.[4] A Jewish Order Police (Strassenordner) functioned within the community, headed by Abram Braunstein.[5] The community established soup kitchens on December 10, 1939, and an orphanage on December 16, 1940, in which there were 59 children. In March 1941, 5,564 Jews were living in Dąbrowa Górnicza, and about one quarter of them were receiving social welfare benefits.[6] On November 19, 1941, Jews from Zagórze were resettled to Dąbrowa Górnicza, and in the spring of 1942, the Jews from Gołonóg arrived.[7] On May 18, 1942, Jews from Ząbkowice (about 340 people) were brought to Dąbrowa Górnicza. They were locked in the synagogue and kept there for several days. At the same time, Jews from Strzemieszyce also arrived. As a result, by the beginning of May 1942, there were 5,802 Jews living in Dąbrowa.[8]

The Jews of Dąbrowa Górnicza, like all Jews in this region, were placed at the disposal of the Organisation Schmelt, appointed in October 1940, whose responsibilities included the



Group portrait of Jewish youth in the Dąbrowa Górnicza ghetto, ca. 1941. Top row, left to right, are Bronka Rubinsztajn, Abram Zarnowiecki, Lena Zak (Koenigstein), and Edzia Wajnsztok. Bottom row, left to right, are Sabina Szeps, Majer Rotmencz, Symka Spokojna, and Balcia Krysztal.
USHMM WS #07131, COURTESY OF MORRIS ROSEN

allocation of Jews to work in forced labor camps or their employment locally near their place of residence. The first transport of Jews from Dąbrowa Górnicza to forced labor camps took place in October 1940. About 400 young Jews, aged 18 to 25, were sent to the Klein-Mangersdorf camp to work on the Reichs-Autobahn.[9] Other groups were eventually sent to other labor camps or worked in town at the firms of Albert Rossner (clothing manufacture) and Rudolf Braun (shoe manufacture and repair). Braun's positive attitude towards his workers was widely known in the Jewish community, especially his efforts to prevent their deportation to labor camps. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1942, about 100 men from Braun's shop were deported.[10]

In November 1940, the German authorities established a Jewish quarter, and the Jews were removed from the center of town. The quarter covered the area of Chopin, Łukasiński, Starobędzinska, Hieronimska Dolna, Hieronimska Górna, Jaworowa, and Mirecki Streets.[11] The area of the ghetto consisted of 11,400 square meters (2.8 acres). In February 1942, the Jewish quarter in Dąbrowa was still open; that is, the Germans had not yet enclosed it with barbed wire or a fence. However, the inhabitants of the ghetto were not permitted to leave the ghetto without a pass. Non-Jews continued to have free access to the ghetto.[12] There were 400 Jewish families living outside the ghetto (i.e., 1,524 people).[13] The ghetto was enclosed at the beginning of 1943.[14] It was framed within Chopin, Miejska, and Polna Streets, a part of Łukasiński, and a part of Okrzeja Street.[15] There were five gates to the ghetto, which were guarded by the Jewish Police.[16]

In May 1942, the Germans deported 630 Jews from Dąbrowa Górnicza to the Auschwitz concentration camp.[17] On August 12, 1942, all the inhabitants of Dąbrowa were summoned to appear on Kreuzstrasse at 7:00 A.M., on the basis of orders issued by the Gestapo and the Stapo (State Police) from Katowice and Organisation Schmelt. The aim was to stamp their identity cards (the so-called *Lichtbildausweise*). There were between 2,500 and 3,500 Jews gathered in the yard. A witness of these events, Karol Herszkowicz, reported: "At about 10:00 A.M., Germans arrived with arms and the police with guns. There were eight of them; groups of three went to the roofs of the houses and were standing there with guns ready for use in a shooting position, while Jewish Police [Ordners] stood around the people with whips in hands."[18] A commission divided the people gathered there into three groups: one group was to remain in the town to work in the workshops, the second was to remain only temporarily in Dąbrowa, and the third was to be transported to Auschwitz. As a result of the selection, about 1,500 people were deported. At first they were taken to the orphanage in Będzin, then on to Auschwitz. Friedrich Karl Kuczynski, an official of Organisation Schmelt based in Sosnowiec who was in charge of the Aktion, was assisted by Dreier, the military police, and the Jewish Police. After this deportation, according to German figures, 3,783 Jews remained in Dąbrowa; according to Jewish sources, however, the number remaining was only about 1,000 to 2,000 people.[19]

From March 1943, the remaining Jews were systematically resettled into the ghettos in Będzin and Sosnowiec, such that in July, the ghetto was finally liquidated. Most of the Jews from Dąbrowa were then transported to the Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp at the beginning of August 1943, as these ghettos were liquidated in turn. Only about 300 Jews survived the deportations and liquidation of the ghetto in Dąbrowa (at least one on Aryan documents working in the Bankowa Steelworks, 14 in hiding, the others eventually returning from the concentration camps). After the war, 30 to 40 Jews had returned to Dąbrowa by 1946.[20]

Only a few perpetrators were tried in the courts. The District Court in Sosnowiec (SOSn) convicted Friedrich Reese and sentenced him to death on February 3, 1948. The same sentence was given to Friedrich Kuczynski, who supervised the deportations of Jews from Dąbrowa Górnicza, working for Organisation Schmelt. The SOSn sentenced him to death on September 23, 1948.

SOURCES Relevant publications on the history of the Jews during the German occupation of Dąbrowie Górnicza include the following: Władysław Starościak, *Żydzi w Dąbrowa Górniczej* (Dąbrowa Górnicza: Kawiarnia Literacka, 1995); and M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer Kehilat Yehude Dombrovah Gurnitsheh ve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dombrovah Gurnitsheh be-Yisrael, 1971). Some additional information can be found in the Zaglembie yizkor book: J. Rapaport, ed., *Pinkas Zaglembie* (Tel Aviv: Zaglembie Society in Melbourne, 1972).

The main sources for the history of the Jewish population in Dąbrowa Górnicza under the Nazi occupation are the documents of the Jewish Council of Elders in Dąbrowa Górnicza (1939–1943) located in APKat (RSGŻDG). The deportations and the liquidation of the ghetto are described in the testimonies of witnesses collected in AŻIH (e.g., 301/2577, 2631, and 2705). Other key information can be found in the testimonies of witnesses located in the court files of the case against Friedrich Kuczynski (SOSn 3 and 4).

Aleksandra Namysło

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2577, testimony of Samuel Mittelman and Manek Szpigielman, pp. 1–2; 301/1548, testimony of Genia Lewkowicz.
2. APKat, RSGŻDG, 3, Bulletin no. 1, October 15, 1940, p. 1.
3. Ibid., pp. 2–3. There were eight such Kreis Inspectors answering to the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia.
4. AŻIH, 301/2577, pp. 1–2.
5. APKat, RSGŻDG, 21, list of officials of the Judenrat, pp. 1–2.
6. Ibid., 30, p. 130, population in the communities subordinated to the Central Office on June 20, 1940; and Jewish Welfare, March 25, 1941, p. 245.
7. APKat, Polizeipräsident Sosnowitz, 316, letter of Polizeipräsident in Sosnowiec to Schupo headquarters in Sosnowiec concerning the deportation of the Jews, p. 78; AŻIH, 301/2577, p. 5.
8. AŻIH, 301/2705, testimony of Lili Better, p. 2; APKat, M Sosn, 6368, statistical list concerning the Jewish community; report of Sosnowiec Police, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
9. AŻIH, 301/2712, testimony of Józef Stawski.
10. Ibid., 301/2577; and 301/2712.
11. Ibid., 301/2631, testimony of Samuel Mittelman.
12. AAN, Delegate Office of the Government of the Country, files no. 202/II-29 (mf 2225/6).
13. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, report on streets outside the Jewish quarter, on which Jewish people lived, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
14. Isser Slomnicki, "The 1st of September 1939, the Worst Day in My Life," in Gelbart, *Sefer Kehilat Yehude Dombrovah Gurnitsheh ve-hurbanah*; AŻIH, 301/1548, testimony of Genia Lewkowicz.
15. AŻIH, 301/2631.
16. Ibid., 301/3476, testimony of Karol Herszkowicz.
17. Ibid., 301/154, testimony of Izrael Rosen.
18. Ibid., 301/3476.
19. Ibid., 301/2577, p. 2; APKat, M Sosn, 6368, statistical list concerning the Jewish community; report by Police in Sosnowiec on August 24, 1942, p. 2.
20. AŻIH, 301/2577.

JAWORZNO

Pre-1939: Jaworzno, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Krenau, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Jaworzno is located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) east-southeast of Katowice. The Jewish population of the town was 1,346 in 1921.

German forces captured Jaworzno on September 4, 1939. Soon after entering the town, the Germans arrested and executed 8 Jews, after alleging that they had shot at German troops from their windows. Subsequently the German authorities demanded a large contribution from the Jewish community and took 25 hostages to ensure its payment. The Germans also burned down the synagogue and humiliated Orthodox Jews during the first months of the occupation.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Jaworzno, which in January 1940 became subordinated to the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (the Central Office), headed by Mojżesz Merin. The head of the Jaworzno Judenrat was H. Silberschatz. There was also a Jewish police force in the town.[1] According to statistics of the Central Office, 1,878 Jews were residing in Jaworzno in May 1940.[2]

Information regarding the existence of a ghetto in Jaworzno is contradictory. From early on in the occupation, Jews were forbidden to use the two main streets of the town, Jagiellońska and Mickiewicza. The Germans confiscated the best Jewish apartments and forced the Jews to move out to poorer living quarters. Most secondary sources do not mention a ghetto, but several survivor accounts do use this term. According to Ida Ferson, the ghetto was established approximately one year after the start of the occupation. In the ghetto, her family had two rooms and a bathroom, which was more space than most families received. The ghetto was unfenced, but there was a curfew, which was enforced by the Germans and the Jewish Police. The Jews received ration cards for the distribution of food.[3]

According to Bernhard Bart, who was deported from Chorzów to Jaworzno in 1940, "Jaworzno already had a ghetto, which was not enclosed by a fence; the Jews were restricted to certain shops and streets." The Jaworzno Jews had to take in the refugees and provide them with some assistance. Bart had some conflicts with his hosts who were Orthodox and kept kosher. They did not permit him to cook his meat in the house, as he obtained it from the town slaughterhouse where he worked, and it was not kosher.[4]

Bronia Brandman, who does not mention the ghetto specifically, states that the food rations consisted mainly of bread and potatoes with a little margarine and saccharine to replace sugar. Kosher chickens were available but expensive. Religious life continued in secret.[5]

The Jews in Jaworzno were subjected to forced labor from the start of the occupation. In the course of 1940, a number of Jews were moved to Jaworzno from several nearby towns, including Siemianowice and Chorzów, which increased overcrowding among the Jews. The Judenrat set up a public kitchen to assist the refugees, which served 330 hot meals per day. From the fall of 1940, the Jews were also subjected to a series of roundups for the forced labor camps. Jewish policemen sent from Sonowiec by the Central Office also participated in the roundups, which netted hundreds of Jewish men and women. In June 1941, there were reportedly 2,161 Jews in Jaworzno.[6]

On May 30, 1942, the Germans conducted the first deportation Aktion. German SS men surrounded the town and then dragged the Jews out of their apartments in order to assemble them. The German authorities conducted a selection, dividing the Jews into three groups. The elderly, the sick, and children (around 1,000 people) were gathered in the synagogue and held there for several days, before being deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp via Chrzanów. Another group was selected

to go to the forced labor camps, and the rest were to remain in Jaworzno, including the members of the Judenrat.[7]

Several hundred Jews remained in Jaworzno after the May Aktion. The Germans left them there only for another two months. In July, the head of the Gestapo in Katowice, Hans Dreier, demanded 500,000 Reichsmark (RM) and offered to establish a ghetto in Jaworzno (as opposed to deportation) in return for this bribe. Half of this sum was raised, but then Dreier ordered all the Jews to assemble at 8:00 A.M., on July 9, 1942. As the Jews suspected they would be deported, most did not appear. The Gestapo then dragged them from their houses, and all the Jews, including the members of the Judenrat, were deported to Auschwitz.[8]

The German authorities then declared Jaworzno to have been cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*). They subsequently set up a forced labor camp in the town in 1943, but this did not contain any of the local Jews.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Jaworzno include: Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 193–194.

Documentary sources can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 30; HTO 1397); AŻIH (e.g., 301/575, 2648); USHMM; VHF (# 1661, 4577, 40794); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/575, testimony of Eli Greenbaum.
2. APKat, HTO 1397, pp. 66 ff.
3. VHF, # 4577, testimony of Ida Ferson.
4. Ibid., # 1661, testimony of Bernhard Bart.
5. Ibid., # 40794, testimony of Bronia Brandman.
6. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, census of the Jewish population as of June 20, 1941, p. 173.
7. AŻIH, 301/575, testimony of Eli Greenbaum; 301/2648, testimony of Jakub Neufeld.
8. Ibid., 301/575; 301/2648.

KŁOBUCK

Pre-1939: Kłobuck, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kłobuzk, Kreis Blachownia (from May 1941, Blachstädt), Regierungsbezirk Oppeln, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Kłobuck, województwo śląskie, Poland

Kłobuck is located about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northwest of Częstochowa. In 1921, there were 1,647 Jews living in Kłobuck. Between 1923 and 1939, many young Jews left for larger cities or immigrated to Palestine and other countries.

German forces captured Kłobuck on September 2, 1939, following a battle that lasted only a few hours. Many Jews



Jewish refugees and a German officer in the vicinity of Kłobuck, September 1939.
USHMM WS #50346, COURTESY OF IPN

abandoned their homes on foot. Quickly overrun by the German army, most soon returned to discover that other local inhabitants had looted Jewish stores and the Germans had set the town on fire. The Jews were assembled in the church and sent to help put out the fires. Subsequently they were assigned daily to perform various forced labor tasks. Jewish men were used as horses to move loaded wagons (10 to a wagon). Initially the Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing a yellow Star of David with "Jude" written in black in its center. The armbands were replaced eventually by yellow stars worn on the front and back of their clothes by all Jews aged 8 and older. Communal prayer was forbidden, and the ruins of the synagogue were converted into a stable for the Germans' horses. Jewish businesses were confiscated, and Jews were excluded from many professions.[1]

A few months after the start of the occupation, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) were established and made responsible for the full implementation of German regulations and demands. In 1940, the Kłobuck Judenrat was subordinated to the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia, headed by Mojżesz Merin. The Central Office appointed its own "inspectors," Borek Yasne, Wiener, and Shimon Merin, to oversee the activities of the Kłobuck Judenrat. Members of the Judenrat included Benzion Shvertzevski, Yakov Bode (a pre-war Zionist activist), Israel Lefkowitz, Moishe Weissfelner, Yechiel (Fogel) Rosenthal, Abraham Diamont, Yitzchak Buchweiss, and Zisser Lapides.[2]

Mojżesz Merin, chairman of the Central Office, came to Kłobuck, accompanied by Yasne, to reorganize the local Judenrat there, with Yasne becoming its chairman. Baruch Sperling, the previous leader of the Kłobuck Jewish community, had refused to work with the Central Office. Soon, however, Merin became dissatisfied with Yasne's performance, and he took over direct control of many of the activities of the Kłobuck Judenrat himself. In June 1940, the German authorities ordered the Judenrat to provide 140 men aged between 18 and 30 for work in Germany. They threatened that if this demand was not met, then all of the Kłobuck Jews would be deported to ghettos in the Generalgouvernement. The men from Kłobuck and other nearby towns were sent to various labor camps inside the Reich.[3]

As Kłobuck was right on the border with the Generalgouvernement, the Jews were able to smuggle goods across the border and trade with Poles to acquire food. Some Jews from nearby Częstochowa in the Generalgouvernement, who had family in Kłobuck, smuggled themselves into Kłobuck. They were considered "foreigners" and were ordered by the Judenrat, under threat of deportation, to appear for registration. Those with the financial means to pay the high registration fees were allowed to stay in Kłobuck. The others were turned over to the Germans for deportation. In 1941, the wives of three of the deported men received letters signed by officials of the SS informing them that their husbands had died in a camp. In charge of the police in Kłobuck was commandant Datchek, who did his best to make life for the Jews harder and more painful.[4]

Just outside of Kłobuck, there was a forced labor camp, which was occupied by young Jewish men used in construction by the Wehrmacht. This camp remained in existence until 1943, but the Jews there had little contact with the Jews of the town.[5]

After a few months of the occupation, the Jews were forced to vacate the central streets of town, and by late 1941 the German authorities had established a Jewish residential area (open ghetto) in Kłobuck.[6] All the Jews had to move into the designated ghetto area, exchanging their houses with non-Jews who lived there. As Abraham Besser described it, the ghetto had "no fencing, no guards, just a curfew, but Jews had to live in a certain section of town."[7] Living conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, with two or three families forced to share each house. One survivor described the ghetto area as "the worst slum in town" with no running water.[8] Loss of income led to hunger and disease in the town, and a typhus epidemic claimed many lives.[9]

According to one estimate, there were around 60 or 65 Jewish families living in the ghetto, or probably 300 to 500 people.[10] In order to get by, many Jews sneaked out of the ghetto illegally, taking off their yellow stars to scavenge for food in gardens and orchards or to trade on the black market. After a time, Jews were required to cut a hole in the clothes under the patches, so they could not remove them without showing the hole. In Kłobuck, the Jews continued to conduct schooling and to celebrate Jewish holidays at home clandestinely.[11]

The German Kreiskommissar arrived in Kłobuck on June 21, 1942, accompanied by Gestapo men and their dogs, as well as Jewish Police from Sosnowiec. They assembled all the Jews in the fire station. The Jewish Police from Sosnowiec reassured the Jews that they were only being sent to work camps. But the Germans shot some old men and set their dogs on old men and children. The Jews were then taken by wagon, under heavy guard, to the Kuźnica Synagogue, a few kilometers outside Kłobuck, which became a concentration point for Jews being deported from the area. Here Mojżesz Merin participated in a selection. Most of those capable of work were sent to labor camps inside the Reich, and those unfit were deported to their deaths.

The fate of one group selected for work is known in more detail. About 25 young females and one young male were given a medical examination in the Sosnowiec transit camp and then were sent to the Grünberg labor camp. After one year, the camp was liquidated, and its inmates sent to a camp in Neusaltz. In December 1944, they were evacuated with other prisoners as the Red Army approached. They arrived at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp after three days in sealed railroad cars without food. The survivors of this group were liberated by the British army on April 15, 1945.[12]

After the liquidation of the main ghetto in June 1942, a small ghetto, consisting of two houses opposite the synagogue, remained, which contained several craftsmen (including a painter and two goldsmiths) and their families. The men worked for the German authorities. In June 1943, all the Jews were rounded up and held in the police station for several days, before being deported by passenger train to the Blechhammer labor camp.[13]

Among the few Jewish survivors from Kłobuck was one of the members of the Judenrat.

SOURCES A key source on the Jewish community of Kłobuck under German occupation is the yizkor book edited by A. Wolf Yasni, *Sefer Klobuck* (Tel Aviv: Former Klobuck Residents in Israel, France, and Australia, 1960). The ghetto in Kłobuck is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 234.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: IPN (ASG, sygn. 47, p. 17); USHMM; VHF (# 19710, 19988, 32681); and YVA.

Samuel Schalkowsky and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Yasni, *Sefer Klobuck*, pp. 76–78, 209–218; VHF, # 32681, testimony of Rubin Sztajer.
2. Yasni, *Sefer Klobuck*, pp. 217–224.
3. Ibid., p. 220.
4. Ibid., pp. 223–225.
5. VHF, # 19710, testimony of Ann Cyncnatus; # 19988, testimony of Abraham Besser.
6. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 234, dates the ghetto's establishment on October 8, 1941.
7. VHF, # 19988; # 19710; Yasni, *Sefer Klobuck*, p. 219. VHF, # 32681, Rubin Sztajer, dates the establishment of the ghetto somewhat earlier, probably in 1940.
8. VHF, # 32681.
9. Yasni, *Sefer Klobuck*, pp. 76–78.
10. VHF, # 19988.
11. Ibid., # 32681; # 19988.
12. Yasni, *Sefer Klobuck*, pp. 240–244.
13. VHF, # 19710; # 19988.



Portrait of a young Jewish woman, Dorka Moncznik (now Doris Gross), wearing the yellow star in the Modrzejów ghetto, 1940.
USHMM WS #13535, COURTESY OF DORIS MONCZNIK GROSS

MODRZEJÓW

Pre-1939: Modrzejów, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Modrzejow, Kreis Sosnowitz, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Modrzejów, województwo śląskie, Poland

Modrzejów is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) east-southeast of Katowice. In May 1939, there were 1,670 Jews living in Modrzejów. Incorporated into the Jewish community of Modrzejów during the first months of the occupation were the Jews of Modrzejów, Niwka, Dańdówka, and Klimontów. The last rabbi of Modrzejów, Szaja Englard, was deported to his death at the Auschwitz concentration camp from Sosnowiec in May 1942.[1]

On September 4, 1939, forces of the Wehrmacht occupied Modrzejów. German soldiers plundered Jewish shops and businesses and physically humiliated some Jews. In the first days of the occupation, the Germans also vandalized the synagogues and prayer houses. One synagogue was converted into a warehouse and later into a blacksmith's forge. The Germans took 20 Jewish hostages and interned them for several days until a large ransom was paid.[2] At the time of the German invasion, many Jews fled Modrzejów in the direction of Sławków, Olkusz, and Wolbrom, but most returned after a few days.[3] In November 1939, groups of Jews who had been deported from Austria and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia arrived in Modrzejów. These Jews were deported in connection with the "Nisko Plan," which intended to set up a reservation for Jews on the eastern border of the Generalgouvernement.[4]

From the fall of 1939, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in the region. A wide variety of Jewish and Polish properties were confiscated. The Germans took control of Jewish retail and manufacturing businesses, blocked Jewish bank accounts, restricted payments, marked Jewish stores, and closed Jewish wholesale trade. They also established a supervisory organ (the Haupttreuhandstelle Ost) to oversee Jewish and other confiscated businesses and sell off these assets. Two Jewish bakeries in Modrzejów were designated for the Jewish population, as non-Jewish stores were not permitted to sell them food.[5] At the end of 1939, all Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. From September 1941, Jews had to wear yellow patches in the shape of a star on their left breast.

As Modrzejów was a suburb of Sosnowiec, during the German occupation the Jews of Modrzejów came under the rule of the mayor (Oberbürgermeister) of Sosnowiec, M. Schönwalder.[6] In November 1939, a Judenrat was formed, with Jakub

Hochcajt at its head. It was assisted by a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). In February 1940, the Judenrat was reorganized and brought under the firm control of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia, headed by Mojżesz Merin. The Judenrat in Modrzejów was placed under the jurisdiction of the regional inspectorate of Jewish Councils in Dąbrowa, headed by Icek Borenstein.[7]

In February 1940, a public kitchen was set up, which regularly served meals to 58 percent of the Jewish population. In December 1940, an orphanage was created, which housed 70 children. In addition, the community financially and materially assisted the resettled Jews and those who were impoverished in the town. Nearly 30 percent of the Judenrat's budget was assigned directly to welfare assistance.[8]

In 1940, all the Jews in Modrzejów were resettled onto one street (Henryk), establishing a Jewish residential area or open ghetto. The ghetto remained unfenced, but a curfew was enforced at night. The Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, and many of them had lost their previous employment. The Jews suffered from shortages of food, and some people attempted to alleviate conditions by cultivating home gardens.[9] In October 1940, there were 1,126 Jews living in Modrzejów.[10]

The Jews of Modrzejów, like all the Jews in the Katowice region, from October 1940 came under the jurisdiction of Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt, which was responsible for the deportation of Jews to labor camps and their assignment to factories and workshops. The first transport of 140 Jews from Modrzejów to the labor camps took place in October 1940. In March 1941, 120 additional Jews were sent to various labor camps in Upper Silesia. These roundups were conducted with the participation of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police.[11] Jews from Modrzejów also worked in several shops in Sosnowiec. In addition, a small group of young Jews was sent to work in the Niwka mine. According to statistics from August 1942, there were 230 Jewish residents of Modrzejów working in the labor camps.[12]

The deportations to camps were also interspersed with the arrival of Jews from other places; the Jewish population in Modrzejów fluctuated during the occupation. By March 1941, including the surrounding settlements, there were 1,968 Jews living in and around Modrzejów.[13] In April 1941, up to 400 Jews arrived from the town of Oświęcim (Auschwitz), which was cleared of Jews at this time. This further aggravated housing conditions in Modrzejów. Some Jews also moved to Sosnowiec and Będzin, to try to avoid roundups to the camps and arrests conducted by the Gestapo.[14]

In December 1941, the Jews were ordered to surrender all their furs and other items of winter clothing. On May 8, 1942, about 300 Jews were persuaded by representatives of the Central Office to report for resettlement with only 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of luggage. Some of these people were sent to Auschwitz to be killed, while others were sent to labor camps.[15] In May 1942, the number of Jews in Modrzejów was 1,491. In July 1942, all residents of the ghetto had to assemble at a designated point and get their photo identity cards (*Lichtbildausweise*) stamped. After the documents were verified, the people returned to their houses. After a selection, another deportation took place in August 1942, which left 1,236 Jews in Modrzejów at the end of August.[16]

Witnesses recall a German official, Mates, who always patrolled with his dog. He frequently identified Jews by their armbands and set his dog on them. As one of the witnesses recounted: "One day the dog attacked several Jews. The Jews tried to protect themselves, but then Mates pulled out his revolver. He shot three of them, and two were seriously wounded."[17]

As Jews came to expect further roundups for labor camps and deportations, some created concealed hiding places in the area of the ghetto. However, the German authorities and Jewish Police knew who was missing and searched for those in hiding, calling for them to come out.[18]

On February 27, 1943, the German police surrounded the Jewish ghetto quarter. Those selected for labor were sent to the Dulag, a transit camp in Sosnowiec, from where they were distributed to other camps in the Reich. A few hundred elderly persons then remained in Modrzejów. A small remnant ghetto was established for them on Henryk Street.

On May 19, 1943, most of the remaining Jews in Modrzejów were sent to Sosnowiec and from there deported by train to Auschwitz. Some 15 Jews remained in Modrzejów, hidden by Polish families. The Germans captured and shot 5 of them.[19]

Only about 60 to 80 people survived the various deportations to labor, concentration, and extermination camps.[20]

SOURCES The only publication specifically concerned with the fate of the Jews of Modrzejów during the Holocaust is Krzysztof Urbański, *Powstanie, rozwój i zagłada gminy żydowskiej w Modrzejowie* (Kielce, 1998). Some information on the history of the Jews of Modrzejów can also be found in Me'ir Shymon Gashury (Brukner), ed., *Sefer Sosnowiec v'hasviva b'Zagłębie*, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv, 1973).

Relevant documentation includes the following: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 3 and 30; M Sosn, sygn. 6368; and Regierung Kattowitz, 2779); AŻIH (301/1543); VHF (# 1760, 47836); and YVA (M-49/E/1543).

Aleksandra Namysło
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Urbański, *Powstanie, rozwój i zagłada*, pp. 8–9.
2. YVA, M-49/E/1543 (AŻIH, 301/1543), testimony of Lejzor Herman and Alter Biber.
3. Urbański, *Powstanie, rozwój i zagłada*, pp. 52–53.
4. YVA, M-49/E/1543.
5. Urbański, *Powstanie, rozwój i zagłada*, pp. 52–53.
6. R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej* (Katowice, 2006), p. 119.
7. APKat, RSGŻDG, Bulletin no. 1, September 15, 1940, p. 1. Lejzor Herman testified that the Central Office was not satisfied with Hochcajt and entrusted the supervision of the community to Schmidt (no first name), who ruled over it with an "iron hand." This, however, is not corroborated in the documents of the Central Office. Hochcajt was still officially in charge of the Modrzejów Judenrat in March 1941.

8. Ibid., RSGŻDG, Jüdische Fürsorge in Ost-Oberschlesien, March 25, 1941, p. 245.
9. VHF, # 1760, testimony of Marysia Gordon (née Węgier); Urbański, *Powstanie, rozwój i zagłada*, p. 73.
10. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, Aufstellung der dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterstehenden Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden, October 1, 1940, pp. 109–122.
11. YVA, M-49/E/1543.
12. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, Statistische Angaben über den Stand der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, August 24, 1942, p. 4.
13. Ibid., RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterstehenden Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden (geordnet nach Kreisinspektoraten), March 12, 1941, p. 214.
14. YVA, M-49/E/1543; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), p. 267.
15. YVA, M-49/E/1543; VHF, # 47836, testimony of Regina Brecher (née Rosner).
16. See APKat, Akta Miasta Sosnowiec (M Sosn), sygn. 6368, for a statistical comparison of the Jewish community; also information from the police of Sosnowiec, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
17. YVA, M-49/E/1543.
18. VHF, # 1760.
19. YVA, M-49/E/1543.
20. Urbański, *Powstanie, rozwój i zagłada*, pp. 56–58.

OLKUSZ

Pre-1939: Olkusz, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ilkenau, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Olkusz, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Olkusz is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Katowice. In 1921, there were 2,703 Jews living in Olkusz (40.6 percent of the total population). In 1939, there were approximately 3,000 Jews living in the town.[1]

The German army occupied Olkusz on September 5, 1939.[2] From the first days of the occupation, the Jews were required to perform forced labor. The Germans took as hostages the 15 most influential Jews of the town and tortured them for several weeks.[3] The German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the confiscation of businesses, the blocking of Jewish bank accounts, and the marking of Jewish stores. The Haupttreuhandstelle Ost was established to oversee Jewish and other confiscated businesses and sell off their assets. At the end of 1939, all Jews were required to wear white armbands, and as of September 1941, they had to wear yellow patches on their left breast pockets.[4] Jews had to surrender all gold and silver items.[5]

A German policeman was murdered by an unknown assailant on July 16, 1940. In reprisal 20 Jews were publicly executed. On July 31, 1940, "Bloody Wednesday," Jews were forced to lie on the ground for hours and were beaten. One



SD and police officers check the papers of Jews assembled on the Czarna Góra green during the "Bloody Wednesday" reprisal Aktion in Olkusz, July 31, 1940. Other hostages can be seen lying in the foreground and in the distance at left.
USHMM WS #21441, COURTESY OF ROSE GRINBAUM FUTTER

Jew who could not stand the torture was shot trying to escape. Among the victims in July was a Jew named Majer, who was a U.S. citizen.[6]

In May and June 1940, several hundred Jews from Bielsko-Biała, Dziedzice, and Chorzów were forcibly resettled in Olkusz.[7] The number of Jews in Olkusz in June 1941 was 2,932.[8]

Heinrich Groll was the Kreiskommissar in Olkusz until May 1944. An officer named Flechner was the head of the Security Police in Olkusz from 1940 to 1943. He was replaced in 1943 by Kurt Eichert.[9]

In the middle of December 1939, a Jewish community authority (gmina) was established in Olkusz.[10] The dentist Azryl Flaszenberg initially became its head, and the positions on the advisory council were filled by the two brothers Czarniecki and a German-Jewish woman.[11] She was appointed on the recommendation of Mojżesz Merin, the head of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (the Central Office). In January 1940, Merin named Dionizy Sobol as the head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Olkusz.

Olkusz was 1 of 10 Kreis Inspectorates established by the Central Office. In October 1940, 6,156 Jews were counted in the entire Olkusz district (Kreis Ilkenau), and in March 1941, there were 5,940 Jews. Sobol was also head of the Kreis Inspectorate. At first, the Central Office recognized separate local branches in the towns of Olkusz (2,940 Jews), Ogrodzieniec (43), Sławków (843), Strzemieszyce (1,440), and Ząbkowice (335).[12] In July 1941, the Central Office reorganized the Kreis structure. Ogrodzieniec and Sławków were both incorporated into the Olkusz branch, bringing the total number of Jews there to 3,825.[13] The Inspectorate also employed 100 Jewish artisans, including 39 in Olkusz.[14]

A Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordungsdienst) was also organized. In Olkusz, a public kitchen was established in November 1939, which accommodated the needs of observant Jews. It served around 300 meals per day. A kindergarten was established in December 1940, providing care for 300 children up to age seven.[15]

In October 1940, Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt assumed responsibility for the labor deployment of the Jews of the region. At that time, about 140 Jews were sent on the first transport, to work on the construction of a highway in Silesia (Reichsautobahn-Lager). In January 1941, a second transport of 130 people was organized, and a third transport consisting of 300 women was dispatched in August 1941. From the spring of 1942, the frequency of transports to forced labor camps increased. On March 12, 1942, 117 Jewish women aged 13 to 28 were deported from Olkusz. On April 20, 1942, 140 men were sent away. One month later, on May 21–23, 1942, around 1,000 Jews were deported.[16] Those Jews with some financial means could avoid the transports with bribes. By August 1942, there were 525 Jewish residents of Olkusz working at various forced labor camps.[17]

In Olkusz itself, Jews worked making suitcases in a workshop of the Albert Rossner Company based in Będzin.[18] Around 50 people also worked in the metalworking factory of the Josef Skopek Company based in Sosnowiec.[19]

In September 1941, the Jews were resettled from the center of Olkusz to the northern outskirts of the town, around Parcz, Sikorki, and Słowików Streets. The resettlement was coordinated by a special commission consisting of Germans from Sosnowiec and Będzin. The Jews received a summons in their homes, indicating that they also had to pay for the costs of the resettlement. The operation was headed by an official of the Central Office, Kuba Wulkan, and by Bezalet Zucker, the chief representative of the Kreis Krenau Inspectorate. Also participating in the resettlement efforts were 15 to 20 members of the Jewish Police from Będzin and Sosnowiec, commanded by Lerhaft. Poles moved into the vacated Jewish residences in the center of town. The resettlement took 10 days to complete. The new Jewish residential area (open ghetto) in Olkusz was not surrounded by a fence or wall, but the Jewish and German police patrolled its borders, and the Jews were forbidden to leave.[20]

The Jews suffered from overcrowded conditions, with several families sharing the same living space. Those Jews who worked in a factory to produce Wehrmacht uniforms were issued passes to leave the ghetto each day. The Jews received only meager rations and had to stand in line for soup and bread. Coal and wood for heating were also in short supply.[21]

On March 2, 1942,[22] 3 Jews—Jakub Mordka Glejtman, Herze Moszka Macner, and Chaim Pinkus—were hanged publicly in Olkusz for engaging in illegal trade.[23] The executions took place in the presence of 200 Jews, who had been brought from the Jewish quarter to witness the execution.[24]

The liquidation of the Olkusz ghetto was carried out on June 10, 1942. The Jews of Olkusz were gathered in the square of the local *gymnazium* (high school). Initially they were led into the building of the former gymnazium for boys, which had become a kitchen area for the Jews. The gymnazium was located next to the Jewish hospital, the place where the first group and some other Jews were brought the next day. In total, 3,400 Jews were assembled. There, under the supervision of SS-Obersturmbannführer Friedrich Karl Kuczynski of the Organisation Schmelt and Mojżesz Merin, accompanied by other officials of the Central Council, a selection was conducted. About 200 able-bodied Jews were sent at first to Sosnowiec; from there they were distributed among the labor and concentration camps in Annaberg, Blechhammer, Gross-Rosen, and Buchenwald. About 200 to 300 Jews remained in Olkusz. These, probably, were the workers from the shop of Albert Rossner, along with officials of the Judenrat, the Jewish Police, and medical personnel. The bulk of the Jews were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp in two transports on June 13 and 15, 1942. Jews from nearby communities and patients from the Jewish hospital were deported along with the Jews from Olkusz. The Jewish Police assisted with the organization of the deportation.[25]

Efraim Parasol described the events:

> On June 9, 1942, while the entire community was still asleep, the ghetto was surrounded by several hundred Gestapo officers and SS men. They fired incessantly



Jewish forced laborers sew military uniforms for the Wehrmacht at a factory in the Olkusz ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #10032, COURTESY OF BELLA ROTNER

> and drove the entire Jewish population into the former gymnazium building. From then until June 11, it was a horrible scene. Old people, sick people, women, and children were simply crammed together, and suffocated from the heat and lack of oxygen. It was impossible to get even a drop of water, the shooting never stopped, people dropped like flies. The wagons took away around 2,000 Jews, mostly elderly people and children. The dead bodies were thrown together with the living ones into the sealed wagons, which headed off to Auschwitz, directly to the crematorium.[26]

According to German statistics, in August 1942, there were 555 Jews remaining in Olkusz.[27] The last Jews likely were engaged in salvaging remaining Jewish property. In March 1944, the mayor of Olkusz transferred a net sum (after deductions for unpaid taxes and personnel costs) from the liquidation of Jewish property of 114,374 Reichsmark (RM) to the Treuhandstelle Kattowitz.[28]

It is estimated that around 150 Jews from Olkusz survived to the end of the war, mainly in various forced labor and concentration camps.[29]

In 1948, a Jewish Court of Honor in Munich condemned as a traitor to the Jewish people a former policeman from the Olkusz ghetto who reportedly rounded up Jews for labor, requisitioned Jewish furniture for the Germans, and exposed the bunkers where Jews were in hiding during the "resettlement."[30]

SOURCES The history of the Jews of Olkusz and their fate during the Holocaust are described in two books by Krzysztof Kocjan, *Olkuscy Żydzi. Szkic historyczny* (Olkusz, 1997) and *Zagłada olkuskich Żydów* (Olkusz, 2002). Sources regarding the history of the occupation, including memoirs and unique photographs, can be found in the yizkor book: Tsevi Yashiv, ed., *Olkush: Sefer zikaron li-kehilah she-hukhadah ba-Sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Olkush be-Yisrael, 1972). Also of relevance is Ireneusz Cieślik, Olgerd Dziechciarz, and Krzysztof Kocjan, eds., *Olkusz: Zagłada i pamięć: Dyskusja o ofiarach wojny i świadectwa ocalałych Żydów* (Olkusz, 2007), which includes three testimonies by Olkusz survivors.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, 23, and 30; and Regierung Kattowitz, 2779 and 3117); AŻIH (301/957, 1550-1, 2830, 3321, and 3475); VHF (e.g., # 7651, 15897, 18894); and YVA.

Aleksandra Namysło and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kocjan, *Olkuscy Żydzi*, p. 30.
2. Kocjan, *Zagłada*, p. 7.
3. AŻIH, 301/1551, testimony of Efraim Parasol.
4. Kocjan, *Zagłada*, p. 14.
5. AŻIH, 301/1550, testimony of Marian Auerhahn.
6. Kocjan, *Zagłada*, pp. 9–11. See also Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), pp. 5–7.

7. APKat, Gmina Łagiewniki 260, Okólnik nr. 3, betr.: Umsiedlung der Juden aus dem altschlesischen Raum des Bezirks, May 10, 1940, p. 10; AŻIH, 301/1551, testimony of Efraim Parasol; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 257.

8. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl am 20. Juli in den dem Leiter der Ältestenräte in Ost-Oberschlesien unterliegenden Kultusgemeinden, p. 131.

9. R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów. Elity i instancje władzy w rejencji katowickiej w latach 1939–1945* (Katowice, 1998), p. 74; I. Sroka, *Policja hitlerowska w rejencji katowickiej w latach 1939–1945* (Opole, 1997), pp. 150, 152.

10. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, Bulletin no. 3, September 15, 1940, p. 1.

11. AŻIH, 301/3321, testimony of Marian Auerhahn. Efraim Parasol testifies, however, that in October 1939 the Judenrat was established by the German authorities, with a man named Szwarcberg as its head; see also 301/1551.

12. Ibid., 301/1551.

13. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterstehenden Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden, March 12, 1941, p. 215.

14. Ibid., RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl am 20 Juli 1941 in den dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterliegenden Gemeinden, p. 172.

15. Ibid., RSGŻDG, sygn. 23, p. 2.

16. Ibid., RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Jüdische Fürsorge in Ost-Oberschlesien, Sosnowitz, March 25, 1941, p. 246; AŻIH, 301/3475, testimony of Maria Adlerflieger.

17. Kocjan, *Zagłada*, pp. 11–12, 16–17.

18. AŻIH, 301/3475.

19. Ibid., 301/2726, testimony of Sara Klein.

20. Ibid., 301/3475; 301/2830, testimony of Eliasz Lemberg.

21. VHF, # 18894, testimony of Sam Blumenfeld; # 7651, testimony of Helen Bronner (née Kolin); # 15897, testimony of Lola Zigelman.

22. In the testimonies of the witnesses, there are conflicting dates for the events. Information for the hanging of three Jews by the Gestapo in Olkusz, March 2, 1942, is given in: IPN, Katowice Branch, sygn. S.9/79.

23. Kocjan, *Olkuscy Żydzi*, pp. 30–31.

24. AŻIH, 301/3475; 301/2830; 301/1551.

25. Ibid., 301/3475; 301/2830; 301/1551; 301/3321.

26. Ibid., 301/1551. Cieślik, Dziechciarz, and Kocjan, *Olkusz: Zagłada i pamięć*, pp. 26–27, mention a list with the names of 735 Jews who were sent to Auschwitz from the Olkusz ghetto.

27. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, Staatliche Angaben über den Stand der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Sosnowitz, August 24, 1942, p. 4. Kocjan, *Olkuscy Żydzi*, pp. 30–31, however, indicates there were only 78 Jews there on August 1, 1942.

28. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 3117, p. 205.

29. AŻIH, 301/1551.

30. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 556–557.

SŁAWKÓW

Pre-1939: Sławków, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Slawkow, Kreis Ilkenau, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Sławków, województwo śląskie, Poland

Sławków is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) east-northeast of Katowice. According to the 1921 census, there were 610 Jews living in Sławków, comprising 16 percent of the town's population. In 1939, on the eve of war, there were probably around 900 Jews residing in Sławków.

The Wehrmacht entered Sławków on September 4, 1939. The first reaction of the Jewish population was a mass flight towards the eastern regions of Poland. But after a few days, the majority of them returned to the town. Shortly after capturing Sławków, German soldiers shot several dozen Jews, mainly Jewish refugees from Będzin and Sosnowiec, as they tried to cross bridges in Sławków on their way back from the east. At the same time, in nearby Koźle, the Germans murdered several dozen Jews and threw their corpses into an old mining shaft. As Sara Klein recalled this event: "The Germans shot around 70 Jews in Koźle. The Aktion lasted a few days. The Germans stood on the bridge and shot every Jew who tried to cross. When the Jews turned back, they were thrown alive off the bridge, and drowned. Other SS-men drove a transport wagon around and shot those Jews they encountered."[1] After a few days, the German authorities called in Makowski, the chairman of the Jewish community, and made him sign a document reporting that the Jews had perished as a result of bombing raids.[2]

German soldiers also desecrated the synagogue in Sławków.[3] Following the chaos of the initial days of occupation, the German authorities set about removing the Jews from their social and economic positions in the town and limiting their civil liberties. The German military and then the civil administra-



Jewish forced laborers wearing armbands are forced to shovel snow in Sławków, 1941. Chaim Szlojme Imerglik is at the far left.
USHMM WS #99631, COURTESY OF DAVID AND MARIA BEITNER

tion implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Various forms of Jewish (and Polish) property were subject to confiscation. The Germans took control of Jewish retail and manufacturing shops, blocked Jewish bank accounts, restricted payments, marked Jewish stores, and closed Jewish wholesale trade. They also established a supervisory organ (the Haupttreuhandstelle Ost) to oversee Jewish and other confiscated businesses and sell off their assets.

In November 1939, all Jews had to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. In September 1941, these were exchanged for yellow patches in the shape of the Star of David on their left breasts.[4] Jewish-owned real estate was confiscated by the German Grundstücksgesellschaft.[5]

Kreis Ilkenau was controlled until May 1944 by Kreiskommissar Heinrich Groll. Georg Willing served as the Amtskommissar in Sławków.[6] In November 1939, local police forces were organized; Sublieutenant Strauss was in charge of patrols in the town. He was later replaced by Mischock. The police force in Sławków had 14 officers, who served under the Schutzpolizei section in Mikołów. Based in Sławków was also a Gendarmerie precinct, directed by Dahl.[7]

In November 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, with Isidor Laks as its president.[8] The secretary was Mendel Makowski, and the vice president was Nachman Testiler. There was also a small Jewish police force. The Judenrat was soon subordinated to Mojżesz Merin, who in January 1940 became the head of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (the Central Office), which oversaw the large concentration of Jews in Regierungsbezirke Kattowitz and Oppeln. The Jewish community of Sławków was also supervised by the Kreis Inspectorate in Olkusz, whose head was Dionizy Sobol. In October 1940, the Sławków Judenrat was in charge of 896 Jews, and by March 1941, after the first transport of Jews to the labor camps, 843 Jews remained.

In January 1940, the Judenrat established a public kitchen for the Jews. About half of the Jews of the town ate there. The community also had a medical office in which one doctor and two nurses worked. In 1941, the Judenrat organized locksmith courses for professionalization purposes, and 20 pupils attended.[9]

The Jews of Sławków, like all the Jews in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, in October 1940 came under the jurisdiction of Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt, which was entrusted with sending Jews to labor camps and regulating the available Jewish labor force in the towns.

From the first months of the occupation, the Jewish community had to supply around 300 Jews for forced labor. The labor tasks included cleaning administrative buildings and institutions, clearing snow from the streets, performing street sanitation, and maintaining the railroad tracks. The Jews returned also to the businesses that they had owned before the war, but now German commissars ran the businesses and the Jews were relegated to low-paid employees. Among the seized businesses was the wire factory of the Schein brothers, in which several dozen Jews worked.[10] In the town synagogue, the authorities set up a branch of the tin-making workshop of Josef Skopek, where watering cans and toys for children were made. Altogether there were around 50 Jews working in these specialty shops.[11]

On October 28, 1940, 50 people aged 18 to 50 were deported to the labor camp in Geppersdorf. The day before the transport, Merin arrived in Sławków and persuaded some of the Jews to report for the transport. A series of further roundups of young Jews to be sent to labor camps in the Reich were conducted over the ensuing two years.[12] Official German statistics indicate that by August 1942, 122 Jews had been sent from Sławków to labor camps in the Reich.[13]

In the second half of 1941, the Germans began to create a separate Jewish residential quarter (open ghetto) in Sławków. The ghetto was established on Kiliński, Kościuszko, Kwartowska, and Podwalna Streets. The Poles residing in this area were forced to move out. According to Sara Klein, there was severe overcrowding, with several families sharing each house. These streets were among the poorest and dirtiest in the town, consisting only of one-story houses with no sidewalks. The resettlement into the ghetto was completed by March 1942.[14]

The borders of the ghetto were not enclosed by a fence but were guarded by German police with dogs. There was a curfew enforced in the ghetto from 8:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. Due to the overcrowding, sometimes four or five people had to share one bed. Food rations were small, so initially the Jews bartered items for extra food. Once the ghetto was set up, Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto area, and this made bartering more difficult. There was no electricity in the ghetto, and people had to obtain coal or wood for cooking and heating in winter.[15]

According to German statistics, on May 1, 1942, there were 924 Jews living in Sławków.[16] On June 10, 1942, one day after the deportation Aktion in Olkusz, the resettlement of Jews from Sławków commenced. The Jewish population was driven into the square on Kiliński Street, where men armed with machine guns surrounded them. From here, the Jews were marched to the town's brewery, where Lindner, an official of Organisation Schmelt, conducted a selection. The young and physically able Jews were sent to various labor camps, including Blechhammer, while some others were transferred to the Strzemieszyce ghetto. The elderly and infirm were deported to their deaths by train from the Bukowno Station most probably to the Auschwitz concentration camp on June 12.[17]

By the second half of August 1942, only 122 Jews remained in the town.[18] These people included members of the Judenrat and some skilled workers, who were used to salvage Jewish property. After a few months, they were then sent, along with the Jews of Strzemieszyce and Dąbrowa, to the ghetto in Sosnowiec.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Sławków during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Feliks Kiryk, ed., *Dzieje Sławkowa* (Kraków,

2001); Leszek Hońdo and Dariusz Rozmus, eds., *Cmentarze żydowskie w Sławkowie i Dąbrowie Górniczej* (Kraków, 2004); Ireneusz Cieślik, Olgerd Dziechciarz, and Krzysztof Kocjan, eds., *Olkusz: Zagłada i pamięć: Dyskusja o ofiarach wojny i świadectwa ocalałych Żydow* (Olkusz, 2007).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 30; M Sosn, sygn. 6368); AŻIH (301/2726); USHMM (Acc.1998.115); VHF (e.g., # 2601, 3381, 18732); and YVA (O-3/673).

Aleksandra Namysło and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2726, testimony of Sara Klein.
2. Datner, *55 dni Wehrmachtu w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1967), p. 276.
3. AŻIH, 301/2726.
4. Kocjan, *Zagłada olkuskich Żydów* (Olkusz, 2002), p. 14.
5. Orłowski, "W czasie drugiej wojny światowej," in Kiryk, *Dzieje Sławkowa*, pp. 412–413.
6. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej* (Katowice, 2006), p. 114.
7. Orłowski, "W czasie drugiej wojny światowej," p. 407.
8. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultus-Gemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterstehenden Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden (geordnet nach Kreisinspektoraten), March 12, 1941, p. 214.
9. Ibid., RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Jüdische Fürsorge in Ost-Oberschlesien, March 25, 1941, p. 245.
10. YVA, O-3/673, testimony of Cyrli Rakocz.
11. AŻIH, 301/2726.
12. Orłowski, "W czasie drugiej wojny światowej," p. 413.
13. APKat, Akta Miasta Sosnowiec (M Sosn), sygn. 6368, for a statistical breakdown of the Jewish community; also information from the police of Sosnowiec, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
14. AŻIH, 301/2726.
15. VHF, # 3381, testimony of Eva Jakub; # 18732, testimony of Joe Gleitman.
16. APKat, M Sosn, sygn. 6368, for a statistical breakdown of the Jewish community; also information from the police of Sosnowiec, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
17. AŻIH, 301/2726; YVA, O-3/673; VHF, # 2601, testimony of Jack Mandelbaum; # 3381.
18. APKat, M Sosn, sygn. 6368, for a statistical breakdown of the Jewish community; also information from the police of Sosnowiec, August 24, 1942, p. 2.

SOSNOWIEC

Pre-1939: Sosnowiec, city, województwo śląskie, Poland; 1939–1945: Sosnowitz, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Sosnowiec, województwo śląskie, Poland

Sosnowiec is located about 6 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Katowice. The Jewish community of Sosnowiec also represented the Jews in the neighboring towns of Modrzejów, Niwka, and Zagórze. In 1939, the Jewish population was around 28,000 (21.5 percent of the total).



Members of the German Order Police publicly humiliate a group of Jews in Sosnowiec by forcing them to do kneeling exercises, 1939–1940. USHMM WS #74401, COURTESY OF EVA BETTER-HEITNER SAK

German troops entered Sosnowiec on Monday, September 4, 1939, and immediately began random shootings, abductions, abuse, and destruction of property.[1] On September 9, Einsatzgruppe von Woyrsch burned down the synagogue on Dekert Street.[2]

After the chaos of the first days of the occupation, the German authorities began to eliminate the Jewish population from economic life, limiting their rights and isolating them from the Aryan population. By the end of 1940, the process was complete, with significant participation by the acting mayor (Schneider, the mayor of Wałbrzych). Only the "Jewish Food Distribution Office" (Jüdische Grossverteilerstelle für Lebensmittel und Gartenbauerzeugnisse für die jüdische Bevölkerung in Ost-Oberschlesien) was permitted to buy food for the Jewish population from non-Jewish wholesale shops—and

then only with official authorization. Permitted Jewish stores, bakeries, and artisans' workshops were marked with a Star of David and a sign reading: "Verkäufstelle nur für Juden" or "Werkstätte nur für Juden" (only for Jews).

Toward the end of October 1939, the Germans sent a transport of 300 Jews from Sosnowiec to Nisko nad Sanem, where they forced the Jews to cross over into Soviet-occupied territory. Several days later (October 27–28), the Jewish communal organization summoned more than 1,000 people for the purpose of deporting them, but then suddenly the transport was canceled. Towards the end of the autumn of 1939, the Germans brought to Sosnowiec a transport of several hundred men from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. These men were housed in the Schön factory and put to work on various projects around the city. In July 1940, these Jews were sent to forced labor camps.[3]

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Sosnowiec on September 6, 1939, on the orders of the German authorities.[4] Mojżesz Merin became its head. In Sosnowiec, the Gestapo appointed the local teacher, Jerzy Olszewski, as the head administrator of the city, with Milke (an ethnic German) as his deputy. After Merin was appointed as the head of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (the Central Office) in January 1940, Władysław Boehm took over as head of the Sosnowiec Judenrat. He ran the community together with David Lewartowski, Motek Birman, and David Kon. Boehm was dismissed—probably in May 1942—and was replaced by Merin's brother, Chaim.[5]

The Judenrat was made up of a number of departments, including those for social welfare, health, food supply, economic, financial, labor, forced labor, housing, and archival-statistical. In addition, in Sosnowiec there was a department of transportation and a postal service. The Jewish community operated two public kitchens for the poor (established November 27, 1939, at Sudetenstrasse 9 and October 10, 1940, at Schirkerstrasse 9), a day nursery for children (established February 17, 1940), a home for the elderly, an orphanage, and a hostel (established September 20, 1939). The community also ran a hospital, which was directed by a Dr. Libermann.[6]

The Judenrat was assisted by Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), a force established in September 1940. Its first chief, Langer, was followed by Kronenberg, then by Henryk Barenblatt.[7] A fire brigade was also established and placed under the authority of the Judenrat.[8] The offices of the Judenrat were located at the corner of Modrzejów and Targowska Streets.

The Sosnowiec Judenrat was directly subordinated to the Central Office. It constituted an independent unit—Stadtkreis Sosnowitz—counting 23,319 people in October 1940 and 24,149 people in March 1941. In April 1941, some 2,000 Jews from the town of Oświęcim arrived in Sosnowiec; in June 1941, the community numbered 27,420.[9]

During the period of civil government, Schneider (the mayor of Wałbrzych) initially set up the administration. Franz Josef Schönwalder, formerly the mayor of Wrocław, subsequently served as mayor of Sosnowiec.[10]

The Jews of Sosnowiec, like all others living in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, from October 1940 came under the jurisdiction of Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt, which was responsible for the deportation of Jews to labor camps and their assignment to factories and workshops. In practice, all work was directed by Oberinspektor Hentschel, whose subordinates were SS-Obersturmbannführer Heinrich Lindner, Bruno Ludwig, and Friedrich Karl Kuczynski. The Organisation Schmelt Sosnowiec headquarters were located at 6 Pieracki Street.

Hans Held of Berlin established the first workshop for Jews in the city in February 1941. The three branches of the workshop produced underclothing, military uniforms, and corsets and other items of women's clothing. Altogether, 4,000 people were employed in the workshop. In the Schwedler leather workshop at 28 Modrzejów Street, 1,200 people worked in the production of backpacks for the military, suitcases, and leather handbags. Rudolf Braun's shoemakers' workshop at 16 Modrzejów Street employed 1,400 people in the production of boots for the military. In the Dietl workshops on Żeromski Street, 3,000 people produced overcoats and fur coats. Wilhelm Goretzki's workshop at 2 Biała Street employed 2,000 Jews producing brushes, baskets, and bags from leather scraps. There were two carpentry workshops: Landa employed about 200 workers, and Skopko employed 400 Jews. In addition to these large workshops, smaller workplaces operated within the city. In all, more than 13,000 people worked in these workshops.[11]

In the period from October 1940 to August 1942, there were periodic transports of Jews from Sosnowiec to various labor camps. Between August 1942 and March 1943, there were three major "roundups" in Sosnowiec. More than 2,000 people were rounded up and sent to labor camps as a result. According to German records, 3,033 Jews from Sosnowiec were in forced labor camps in August 1942.[12]

Towards the end of 1939, the Germans removed Jews from apartments on the city's main streets: Pieracki and Małachowski Streets and part of May Third Street. Eventually, Jews were prohibited from using those streets. In mid-1940, the exclusion of Jews was extended to Breslauerstrasse, Hauptstrasse, and Rathausstrasse, as well as all parks, sports venues, and green spaces.[13]

The process of completely isolating the Jews of Sosnowiec began in October 1942. In numerous meetings, the leadership of the Central Office and Gestapo representatives marked out the boundaries of the new Jewish residential area and set the deadline for closing the ghetto. Sections of the city outside of the center, in the working-class districts of Stary Sosnowiec and Środula, were designated for the Jews of Sosnowiec. In the course of the ongoing resettlement actions, a problem arose with the relocation of Polish workers from that area to apartments in the town center that had been vacated by Jews. The solution required effective action on the part of the Central Office, and particularly of the Resettlement Office that had been established alongside it



The resettlement of Jews into the Środula ghetto in Sosnowiec, 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #18824, COURTESY OF IPN

for this purpose, as well as by the Sosnowiec municipal authority.

The resettlement action was completed in March 1943. The Sosnowiec ghetto, which held some 20,000 people, was sealed on May 1, 1943. Initially, there were two separate ghettos: the one in Środula was for young and healthy people (closed on March 10, 1943), and the one in Stary Sosnowiec was for the elderly, the sick, and the handicapped. Towards the end of April, the residents of the Stary Sosnowiec ghetto were moved into the Środula ghetto, as were Jews from the liquidated ghetto in Dąbrowa Górnicza.[14]

On May 10, 1943, the Polizeipräsident in Sosnowiec issued a proclamation concerning the ghetto that precisely defined its boundaries. The decree prohibited Jews from leaving the ghetto and forbade members of the Aryan population from entering it. The Central Office was to enforce the observance of these rules; it was required to post signs in two languages barring entry to non-Jews and prohibiting Jews from leaving the ghetto. In addition, the Central Office was to acquaint Jews with the sanctions for violations of these regulations and particularly for maintaining contact with Poles.[15]



View of an apartment block in the Środula district in Sosnowiec, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #28593, COURTESY OF RINA ZYLBERSZAC NADEL

According to the records of the community, 27,456 Jews were living in Sosnowiec in May 1942. In April 1942, on the order of the Gestapo, the Judenrat prepared lists of people (more than 5,000 altogether) for transport (the elderly, homeless, unemployed, women, children, and refugees). Very few people showed up at the appointed time, so the Gestapo, together with the Jewish Police accompanied by Merin, supplemented the transport (up to a total of 1,500 people) with Jews living at 14 Dekert Street, 2 and 11 Targowa Street, and 23 Modrzejowska Street. On May 12 this transport was sent to the concentration camp in Auschwitz.[16]

In the second half of June 1942, the Gestapo organized a second transport, this time of about 2,000 residents of Pańska and Ostrogórska Streets (the poor, handicapped, children from the orphanage, and hospital patients).

The third and largest deportation took place on August 12, 1942. The Germans used the pretext that they needed to inspect and stamp identity papers. The so-called Stadium Aktion lasted two days. Jews were assigned to one of four groups. Families that included no children and whose members worked were released after their papers were stamped. Young people who were unemployed and who did not have a special exemption due to their family were designated for transfer to labor camps. Families in which some members worked and others were unemployed, or in which there were children, were assigned to group 3—their fate was uncertain and was to be considered again later. Elderly people and those who were unemployed or held invalid exemptions (*Sonder*s) were assigned to group 4. This group was destined for transport. Of the 25,000 people gathered at the Unia Stadium, some 8,000 were selected and deported over the course of three days to Auschwitz. During this Aktion, several hundred people were shot, died from stress and exhaustion, or committed suicide.[17] On August 20, 1942, there were 20,936 Jews in Sosnowiec.[18]

In May 1943, in order to supplement a transport to Auschwitz of Jews from the liquidated Modrzejów and Czeladź ghettos, the Gestapo added about 1,000 people (mainly children) from Sosnowiec.[19] A second Aktion of this type took place in June 1943, in which 2,000 people, among them patients from the Jewish hospital, were sent to Auschwitz.[20]

The final liquidation of the Sosnowiec ghetto began on the night of August 1, 1943. Police companies from Sosnowiec, Maczki, Katowice, Bytom, and Gliwice arrived for the Aktion, as were training, factory, and reserve police detachments, for a total force of 22 officers and 775 men, armed with machine guns and grenades. Lieutenant-Colonel Schadow, the chief of the Sosnowiec police, directed the Aktion in which about 10,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz, and some 400 people were shot when they resisted or tried to escape. On August 2, a group of 300 people—mainly officials of the Judenrat, the Central Office, and the Jewish Police—was sent to the camp at Góra Świętej Anny. The Aktion lasted until August 15.

Jewish youth movements continued to operate through the entire occupation period—even in the ghetto—especially Ha-Noar Ha-Zioni, headed by Józef and Bolesław Kożuch,[21] and Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, which had 200 members and was directed first by Kalman Tencer and then by Cwi (Tzvi) Duński. Other youth organizations active in the region included Gordonia, Poalei Zion, and Hitachdut. In January 1943, Frumka Sultanik established a group connected to the Communist movement.[22]

In June 1942, Mordechai Anielewicz traveled illegally to the Zagłębie region. As a result, a branch of the ŻOB (Jewish Fighting Organization) was established in Sosnowiec. Eliezer Geller, a representative of Gordonia, also visited Sosnowiec. Young people distributed flyers and attempted to acquire weapons. With the help of couriers Ina Gelbardt and Hela Szancer, they made contact with the ghettos in Warsaw, Będzin, and Chrzanów and obtained false documents that might prevent young Jews from being sent to labor camps. Duński organized an assassination attempt on Mojżesz Merin that ultimately failed. In February 1943, with the assistance of Merin, who relentlessly opposed the Jewish underground resistance in the region, the Germans arrested Duński and Lipek Minc, another resistance member. Both men were executed in April 1943.[23] Members of the resistance built hidden bunkers in and around the ghetto. During the ghetto's liquidation in August 1943, some members of youth movements and a few adults offered armed resistance, while many people sought to hide. As a result, the deportation Aktion lasted two weeks, instead of the two days planned by the SS. Several hundred members of the youth organizations managed to escape across the border into Slovakia and Hungary, where many of them survived the war.

During the August 1943 deportations, the Gestapo kept back several hundred Jews, including members of the Jewish Police, who were employed sorting Jewish property left behind. The Gestapo systematically added to this group Jews found in bunkers or other hiding places. Altogether more than 1,000 Jews remained in Sosnowiec. They were accommodated in a few houses of the Środula ghetto, in the so-called Liquidation Camp. In mid-December 1943, some 800 people were deported to Auschwitz, and another 600 were sent there in January 1944.[24]

In 1946, 2,300 Jews were living in Sosnowiec, including 400 pre-war residents, but most emigrated in the following years.[25] After the war, several officials of the Organisation Schmelt were brought to trial for, among other things, the expulsion of the Jewish population of Będzin in May and August 1942. The District Court in Sosnowiec (SOSn) sentenced Friedrich Karl Kuczynski to death on September 23, 1948. Heinrich Lindner was arrested by the U.S. authorities and committed suicide in January 1949.

Oskar Bruno Tschammler, an official of the Organisation Schmelt who was active in roundups, selections for labor camps, and the liquidation of the ghetto, was sentenced to death by SOSn on November 5, 1948, and was hanged on April 28, 1949. Konrad Schiefele, an appraiser of property left by the Jews, was sentenced by SOSn to a life sentence on July 13, 1948.

SOURCES The main publication devoted to the fate of the Jewish residents of Sosnowiec during the occupation is Natan Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca* (Katowice, 1946). Also helpful in establishing the history of the Sosnowiec Jews are the following works: Geshuri Meir Shimon, *Sefer Sosnowiec* (Book of Sosnowiec and the surrounding region in Zaglembia), vols. 1–2 (Tel Aviv, 1973–1974); J. Rapoport, *Pinkas Zaglembie (Memorial Book)* (Tel Aviv, 1972); D. Liwer, *Ir Hametim* (City of the dead: Extermination of the Jews in the Zaglembie region) (Tel Aviv, 1945–1946).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, Polizeipräsident Sosnowiec, M Sosn); AŻIH (e.g., 301/704, 3404, 3480, 3536); BA-BL; IPN; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Aleksandra Namysło
trans. Claire Rosenson

NOTES

1. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 10; S. Datner, *55 dni Wehrmachtu w Polsce (1.IX–25. X.1939)* (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 215, 251; M. Łyszczarz, *Sosnowiec w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej (4 IX 1939–27 I 1945)* (Sosnowiec, 1970).
2. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 11.
3. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Kurzer Überblick über die Organisierung und Tätigkeit der Kultusgemeinden und der Zentrale der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden, p. 22; Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 21.
4. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, Bulletin no. 1, September 15, 1940, p. 1.
5. AŻIH, 301/4304, testimony of Grzegorz Arbeszyc.
6. APKat, RSGŻDG, Jüdische Fürsorge in Ost-Oberschlesien, March 25, 1941, p. 241.
7. AŻIH, 301/4304; also Sądy Społeczne, sygn. 313/83, p. 4.
8. Ibid., 301/704, testimony of Jan Rosencwajg.
9. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, July 20, 1942, p. 126.
10. R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów. Elity i instancje władzy w rejencji katowickiej w latach 1939–1945* (Katowice: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1998), p. 73.
11. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, pp. 28–29.
12. APKat, Akta Miasta Sosnowca (M Sosn), sygn. 2779.
13. APKat, Polizeipräsident Sosnowiec, sygn. 363, letter dated June 11, 1940, p. 1.
14. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 50.
15. APKat, M Sosn, sygn. 6370, Pismo prezydenta policji w Sosnowcu do Centralnej Rady Starszych Wschodniego Górnego Śląska, May 10, 1943, pp. 201–202.
16. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 34.
17. Ibid., pp. 37–39.
18. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz 2779, Statistische Angaben über den Stand der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, August 24, 1942, p. 4.
19. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 51.
20. Ibid., p. 53.
21. AŻIH, 301/3536, testimony of Jadzia Szpigelman.
22. Ibid., 301/3480, testimony of Fela Katz.
23. J.Sh. Stein, *Pinkes Bendin* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Bendin be-Yisrael, 1959), pp. 355–357.

24. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), p. 705; Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, pp. 56–57.

25. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, p. 57.

STRZEMIESZYCE

Pre-1939: Strzemieszyce, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Schümenschutz, Kreis Bendsburg, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Strzemieszyce, województwo śląskie, Poland

Strzemieszyce is located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) northeast of Katowice. Before the war, there were around 2,000 Jews living in Strzemieszyce.

German forces entered Strzemieszyce on September 5, 1939. They plundered Jewish shops and businesses, physically humiliated the Jewish residents of the town, and immediately demanded monetary contributions. Jews were also ordered to perform heavy physical labor. On the first day of occupation, one Jew was shot on the street.

In early November 1939, more systematic persecution of the Jews began, as a German civil administration had taken over from the military in the region. Various forms of Jewish and Polish property were confiscated. The Germans took control of Jewish retail and manufacturing businesses, blocked Jewish bank accounts, restricted payments, marked Jewish stores, and closed Jewish wholesale trade. They also established a trustee organization, the Haupttreuhandstelle Ost, to confiscate, administer, and sell Jewish and Polish businesses and their assets. In 1940, Jewish real estate was confiscated by the state-owned Grundstücksgesellschaft, and the best Jewish apartments were taken over by Germans.

From the end of 1939, Strzemieszyce was incorporated into Kreis Bendsburg in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz. A man named Zur was appointed as the Amtskommissar in Strzemieszyce in 1941.[1]

In November 1939, a Judenrat was appointed, with a man named Horowitz at its head.[2] In January 1940, on the recommendation of Mojżesz Merin of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (Central Office), the Judenrat was reorganized, and Azryel Flaszenberg was appointed as its new head. The community in Strzemieszyce served under the Kreis Inspectorate in Dąbrowa Górnicza, whose head was Icek Borenstein. Also subordinated to the Judenrat in Strzemieszyce were Jews from the surrounding villages, including Grabocin, Niemce, Porąbiec, Maczki, and Kazimierz. In May 1940, around 400 Jews were resettled in Strzemieszyce, arriving from Cieszyn in the territory of the pre-1939 German Provinz Schlesien.[3] In October 1940, there were 1,782 Jews living in Strzemieszyce, including those who had been resettled.[4]

The Jews in Strzemieszyce, like all the Jews in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, from October 1940 came under the jurisdiction of Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt, which was responsible for the deportation of Jews to labor camps and their assignment to factories and workshops.

The first transport to the labor camps from Strzemieszyce took place in October 1940, when 65 Jewish men were sent to work at road construction camps (Reichsautobahn-Lager) in Silesia.[5] In 1941 and 1942, other groups of young Jews were also sent to these camps. According to German statistics from August 1942, there were 192 Jews from Strzemieszyce working in various forced labor camps within the Reich.[6]

In Strzemieszyce, the Jews worked in two workshops: in a branch of Albert Rossner's tailoring shop and in a branch of the tin-making shop of Josef Skopek.[7] According to a report in the *Gazeta Żydowska*, the Judenrat obtained permission from the Bürgermeister (mayor) of Strzemieszyce to start a farm plot on 18 hectares (44.5 acres).[8]

Available information regarding the ghetto in Strzemieszyce is somewhat contradictory. According to the recollections of Rose Chrustowski, the ghetto was set up in 1941 in a suburb of the town where previously no Jews were living. About 20 blocks were designated and surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews had to leave most of their possessions behind on moving in, taking only their clothes and a little food. German and ethnic German policemen guarded the ghetto externally, and Jewish Police guarded it internally. The Jews were permitted to leave at certain times to go to the post office or obtain food. Bread and soap were in short supply in Strzemieszyce, as Jews were only allowed the amount on their ration cards. Henry Feigenblatt also recalls having to exchange his apartment for a house in the ghetto.[9]

Jerichem Frajman, however, who remained in Strzemieszyce longer than the above two inmates, who had been deported to labor camps by the spring of 1942, uses the term *ghetto* only with respect to the last months of the community's existence in 1943. He mentions that by then the Jews were not permitted to show their faces on other streets, although the concentration of the Jews on Długa Street appears to have taken place earlier.[10]

By June 1942, there were 1,598 Jews left in Strzemieszyce. On June 23, 1942, the Germans unexpectedly cordoned off Długa Street. The Jews were ordered to assemble, and 400 elderly and infirm people, or those deemed unfit for labor, were selected. These people were permitted to collect 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of luggage and then were transferred to Dąbrowa Górnicza. From there they were sent by train to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Among those deported were also Jews brought to Strzemieszyce from Czarne Morze and other places nearby. During the transfer from Czarne Morze about 50 Jews managed to flee from the escorting Jewish policemen before the German police was summoned to restore order.[11]

At the end of July 1942, all Jewish residents of Strzemieszyce had to assemble at a designated point and get their identity cards (*Lichtbildausweise*) stamped. After the verification of their documents, the approximately 1,000 remaining Jews were permitted to return to their houses.

According to Frajman, by March 1943, all of the Jews of Strzemieszyce had been concentrated on Długa Street, where

they "vegetated in the ghetto" until June 1943, when the Germans liquidated the ghetto. German police forces surrounded the ghetto on June 15, 1943, and deported most of the remaining Jews to Auschwitz. The Germans murdered 43 people in Strzemieszyce during the Aktion, including a number of children. A group of employees of the Judenrat remained in the town for a few more weeks to salvage remaining Jewish property in the ghetto. They were later resettled to the ghetto in Będzin.[12] In March 1944, the Amtskommissar in Strzemieszyce transferred to the Treuhandstelle Kattowitz the sum of 51,150 Reichsmark (RM) arising from the liquidation of Jewish property.[13]

Only around 70 Jews from Strzemieszyce are estimated to have survived the German occupation.[14]

SOURCES To date, there is no specific publication concerning the fate of the Jews of Strzemieszyce during the Holocaust. The existence of a ghetto in Strzemieszyce Wielkie is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 151.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat (e.g., RSGŻDG, 3; M Sosn, 6368; Regierung Kattowitz, 3117); AŻIH (e.g., 301/919, 1553, 2444); VHF (# 7985 and 11030); and YVA (e.g., M-49/E/1547 and O-3/3391).

Aleksandra Namysło and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej* (Katowice, 2006), p. 106.
2. AŻIH, 301/1553, testimony of Jerichem Frajman.
3. Ibid.
4. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, Aufstellung der dem Leiter der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden in Ost-Oberschlesien unterstehenden Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden, October 1, 1940, pp. 109–122.
5. Sybille Steinbacher, *"Musterstadt" Auschwitz: Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1999), p. 146. Local witnesses, however—e.g., YVA, M-49/E/1547, testimony of Samuel Zborowski; O-3/3391, testimony of Ester Malka Zajdman—give higher numbers.
6. APKat, M Sosn, 6368, for a statistical breakdown of the Jewish community; also information from the police of Sosnowiec, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
7. AŻIH, 301/1553.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 22, March 18, 1941, p. 5.
9. VHF, # 7985, testimony of Rose Chrustowski (née Cygler); # 11030, testimony of Henry Feigenblatt. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 151, date the establishment of the ghetto in January 1941.
10. AŻIH, 301/1553.
11. Ibid., 301/2444, testimony of Roza Felczer; YVA, O-3/3391; M. Guterman, "Holocaust Strzemieszyckich Żydów," *Ekspress*, *Magazyn Zagłębiowski*, no. 3 (1997): 29–31.
12. AŻIH, 301/1553.
13. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 3117, p. 205.
14. AŻIH, 301/1553.

SUCHA

Pre-1939: Sucha, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Saybusch (Żywiec), Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Sucha Beskidzka, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Sucha is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) south-southwest of Kraków.

Units of the Wehrmacht arrived on September 4, 1939. In November, the Germans incorporated the town into Provinz Schlesien and annexed it to the Third Reich.

The Germans chose Sucha as the place to concentrate the Jewish population of the Żywiec region. In the fall of 1939, many were expelled into the Generalgouvernement. During 1940–1941, the remaining Jews were brought to Sucha from Żywiec-Zabłocie, Rajcza, Milówka, and smaller villages. By March 1941, the number of Jews in Sucha had reached 480. Subsequently this figure may have grown to 600.

By the end of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been established in Sucha. In 1940 it was subordinated to the authority of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (Central Office), based in Sosnowiec. The first chairman of the Sucha Judenrat was Buchbaum, but his German was very poor. Erwin Klapholz, from a German-Jewish family in Rajcza, took over. The Judenrat members included Dr. Josef Kornhauser (labor coordinator), Klar (food supply), and Egon Wolkan (secretary), all fluent in German. The Judenrat enjoyed the confidence of most Jews. There was also a three- or four-man Jewish police unit. Most of the younger Jews, about 200 men, worked full-time on various jobs, primarily flood control on the Skawa River. Others were put to work on road repairs, tree cutting, street cleaning, and unloading coal. Women were assigned to gardening.[1]

The Poles of Sucha were very resentful of the German occupiers, who sought to populate the new German land with ethnic Germans from Bukovina and Transylvania. They forced Poles out of their homes to make room for the newcomers. The embittered Poles saw little reason to join in the German persecution of the Jews.[2]

The Judenrat opened a bakery and a food center to provide for the community. In 1941 a public kitchen was opened to serve 200 lunches per day. Sick people initially were attended to by Dr. Rauk from Bielsko-Biała. In 1941 a clinic was opened, at which Dr. Kornhauser (a dentist) provided general medical care. There was no charge for medical assistance. Difficult cases were transferred to the Jewish hospital in Sosnowiec. The doctor made monthly visits to Jewish homes to check on sanitary conditions.

The transfers of Jews to labor camps began in 1941, when a group of 50 young men were sent to a camp near Breslau. In March 1942, Jewish policemen from the Central Office took 30 people to a transit camp in Sosnowiec. Every day 70 young women traveled from Sucha to a workshop in Wadowice.

Some sources mention the existence of an open ghetto in Sucha in the period 1940–1942. Leon Kornhäuser maintained

that in the ghetto "there was no public kitchen, so food had to be bought in a small store. The ghetto was unfenced. We could leave it without any problem (up until May 1941), but we were afraid of the people outside. We had to wear our armbands when we went out and the policemen were the masters over life and death, who could decide to punish us for any reason."[3]

At the end of June 1942, 40 SS men headed by two German officials—Heinrich Lindner and Friedrich Karl Kuczynski—arrived from Sosnowiec. They were joined by Mojżesz Merin, the chairman of the Central Office of Jewish Councils. Local German police surrounded the town, and the Gestapo pulled Jews out of their houses according to a list that had been prepared in Sosnowiec. The Jews of Sucha had anticipated an Aktion, but only a few attempted to hide. All the Jews, with the exception of the Judenrat members, their clerks, and the Jewish Police, were concentrated in the school building. In the courtyard a selection took place in the presence of Merin. The sick, the aged (even those holding down jobs), and entire families were taken to the train station and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. It is claimed that the original number marked for transport was 270 but that Merin's intercession brought the total down to 220; 50 men were supposed to be sent to the transit camp in Sosnowiec. Altogether, about half of the 600 Jews were deported from Sucha.[4]

Thanks to the intervention of representatives of the German waterworks firm in Bielsko, which employed many Sosnowiec Jews for flood control, their 50 workers remained in Sucha, along with the others deemed "fit for labor" and the families of the Judenrat members. The Sucha Jews who worked in Wadowice also were brought back to Sucha. Only 40 of the Jews from Wadowice and Zator remained in Sucha.

After the June deportation Aktion, the German authorities officially proclaimed Sucha to have been cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*), but in fact around 300 Jews remained. All of these Jews were moved into the old beer brewery, which became a remnant ghetto or labor camp, under the direction of the Water Management Office in Bielsko. The camp was known as the "Browar," the Polish word for brewery. It was surrounded by a 1.5-meter-high (5-feet-high) fence. The large groups of workers assigned to labor tasks in the area were the only ones permitted to leave the premises. The Judenrat chair, Erwin Klapholz, was put in charge of maintaining order. The camp was linked to the Central Office in Sosnowiec, and everyone had to pay a poll tax. Among the 300 Jews in the Browar were 20 children aged 3 to 10. About 200 of the inhabitants were employed in flood control along the Skawa River at Sucha and in the neighboring village of Skawce, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) away.[5]

Opinions diverge on whether this facility was in fact a ghetto or a labor camp. Some Jewish survivors, including the author of the relevant entry in the yizkor book, consistently refer to the Browar as a ghetto,[6] as do some secondary sources, including Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie*, citing a postwar report signed by the mayor of Sucha, which also refers to the "ghetto."[7] The entry in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, however, maintains that it was a labor camp. The concentration of Jews from other places in Sucha, the presence of children, and the continuity of the Judenrat's authority all might argue in favor of the status of a ghetto.

In contrast to many other sites, the labor conditions for the prisoners in the Browar seemed more tolerable. Those who worked on the river were issued high rubber boots. They worked a six-day week, from 7:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., and the last workday ended at noon. Those who worked in Skawce were taken to the work site and brought back on a train. Laborers were paid 3 to 4 Reichsmark (RM) per day. About 15 men from the camp worked in the office of the mayor of Sucha.

Some of the inhabitants of the Browar lived with their families in separate rooms. Unmarried men and women were housed in segregated areas and shared a common dining room. The children remained at home, cared for by a kindergarten teacher sent from Sosnowiec.[8]

The flood-control workers received food coupons from the firm, which they used at the Browar food shop. Some foodstuffs were sent to the communal kitchen. In the morning people received coffee and sugar (no limit). At lunch they received servings of two dishes. Meat was available three to four times a week. Many sent food packages to their relatives in Sosnowiec and Chrzanów. On Sabbaths and festivals there were worship services in the dining room. One survivor also mentions a theater and dancing. These favorable conditions lasted about a year.[9]

The managers of the waterworks firm assured the Browar prisoners that they could continue working for them until the end of the war. They received the news with joy, but their hopes were not fulfilled. On or around May 8, 1943,[10] in the early morning, the Browar was surrounded by local German police and Gestapo men, headed by Heinrich Lindner. The selection removed mothers and their children, the aged, and the infirm, 120 in all, and sent them to Auschwitz. Another 120 people deemed "fit for labor" were sent by train to a transit camp in Sosnowiec and then dispersed among other camps.

The survivors did not forget the sympathetic treatment they received from the German mayor of Sucha, Volk, as well as their positive relationships with the local population. The city engineer, Tiszkowski, and his wife paid with their lives for helping the Jews. They also perished at Auschwitz.

SOURCES Much of this entry is based on Avraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 274–276. Other information concerning the fate of the Jewish community of Sucha during the Holocaust can be found in David Jakubowicz, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice, Andrychow, Kalwaria, Myslenice, Sucha* (Ramat Gan: Former Residents of Wadowice, 1967). Reference to the existence of a ghetto in Sucha can be found in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 478.

Relevant documentation includes the following: IPN (ASG, sygn. 48b, pp. 254–255); USHMM (RG-15.019M); and VHF (# 18757, 25061, 36485).

Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot*, p. 441; VHF, # 36485, testimony of Saul Rubenfeld.
2. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot*, p. 442.
3. PAIH, Testimony of Leon Kornhäuser, September 5, 1996.
4. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot*, p. 442.
5. IPN, ASG, sygn. 48b, pp. 254–255.
6. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot*, p. 442. VHF, # 25061, testimony of Erna Fishman, uses the term *ghetto*; # 18757, Mina Lustiger, however, says that it was more a labor camp than a ghetto, as single able-bodied Jews were sent there to work. VHF, # 36485, however, referring to the period before the brewery, states that the whole town was a ghetto, due to the overcrowding of Jews brought in from Rajcza and elsewhere.
7. IPN, ASG, sygn. 48b, p. 255.
8. VHF, # 25061.
9. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot*, p. 443; VHF, # 36485.
10. IPN, ASG, sygn. 48b, p. 254.

SZCZAKOWA

Pre-1939: Szczakowa, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Schakowa, Kreis Krenau, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Szczakowa, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Szczakowa is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) east-southeast of Katowice. The Jewish population of the town was 405 in 1921.

After the chaos of the first days of occupation, the German authorities began to restrict the Jews' rights and isolate them from the non-Jewish population. According to decrees issued by the military and civil authorities, the property of displaced people (Jews and Poles) could be confiscated; Jewish bank accounts were blocked; cash withdrawals were restricted; shops were marked; and warehouse stocks were requisitioned. Jewish businesses and workshops were taken over by commissars, which effectively meant their confiscation. In Szczakowa, the last Jewish businesses were closed or placed under trusteeship in December 1940. At the end of 1939, Jews were ordered to wear a white armband, which was replaced in September 1941 by a yellow patch on the left breast. Collective and individual contributions were imposed on the Jews by the German authorities. For example, in April 1940, Szczakowa's Jews were forced to pay the sum of 2,000 Reichsmark (RM). At the beginning of 1940, the authorities prohibited Jews from running pubs; in March, the mayor decreed that Jewish craft shops had to be open on Saturdays. In November, the mayor in Chrzanów forbade Jews from using public parks.[1]

In Szczakowa, power was initially in the hands of the Amtskommissar, named Zollna, who subsequently became mayor of the town.[2]

In January 1940, the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (Central Office) was established, with Mojżesz Merin as its chairman. The Central Office supervised all the Jewish communities in the territory of Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, as well as some others in Regierungsbezirk Oppeln. On its authority, a Judenrat was established in Szczakowa in mid-January 1940. Joel Wajs was the Judenrat's first chairman; in April 1940, Chaim Włoszczowski replaced him; and from December 1941, Abram Selinger was the chairman. Szczakowa was included within Kreis Krenau Inspectorate of the Central Office, which was headed by Chaim Merin.[3] A soup kitchen was opened in February 1940, which served approximately 36 percent of Szczakowa's Jews.

Approximately 200 Jews from Katowice, Chorzów, Świętochłowice, and Siemianowice were deported to Kreis Krenau, including Jaworzno and Szczakowa, at the end of May and in early June 1940.[4] There were 480 Jews living in Szczakowa in September 1940; 506 in March 1941; and 503 in July 1941.[5]

At the beginning of the occupation, the German authorities conscripted Jews for forced labor, initially for cleaning jobs. More physically demanding labor was imposed following a registration conducted on January 18–19, 1940. From October 1940, Albrecht Schmelt's Organisation Schmelt assumed responsibility for the labor deployment of Jews in the region. Approximately 250 Jewish men and 70 women from Jaworzno and Szczakowa worked in quarries in Czatkowice near Krzeszowice, at a rubber plant in Trzebinia, in Chrzanów's factories, and in mines in Jaworzno. Approximately 100 people worked for the municipal authority.[6] Roundups of Szczakowa's Jews, and those from its vicinity, to be sent to labor camps started in the fall of 1940. In April 1941, about 60 Jews were sent to camps and more were sent away at the end of the year. According to German statistics, there were 143 Szczakowa Jews in various labor camps in August 1942.[7]

It is difficult to establish the exact date when the ghetto was established in Szczakowa; it most likely took place in the early spring of 1942. At this time, Polish residents of the "Pasternik" (i.e., the area between the foot of the Góra Piasku Mountain and the Kozi Bród River) were ordered to leave. In March 1942, the first Jewish families were resettled into this area. In the following months, more families were moved in, totaling more than 280 people. They lived in dreadful housing conditions, as the authorities allotted only 44 rooms for them.

The area's natural features favored the isolation of the population residing there. To the south, the area was cut off by a high railway bank, which was convenient for German observation. The river running on the other side was another natural obstacle, preventing escape.[8]

The ghetto's liquidation took place on June 8, 1942. According to German statistics, out of Szczakowa's 470 Jews, 286 were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, and approximately 200 were resettled in the Chrzanów ghetto.[9]

Only about 15 Jews from Szczakowa survived to the end of the war, including 3 who had fled to the Soviet Union.

SOURCES There is no specific publication on the history of the Jewish community of Szczakowa, but its fate is mentioned in the studies dedicated to Jaworzno's Jews (in 1956, Szczakowa



Group portrait of students and teachers at a school in the Szczakowa ghetto, March 1941. The children are dressed in costume for Purim. All were murdered following a selection in June 1942. At the far left, with his face partly cut off by the camera, is Chaim Włoszczowski, the head of the Judenrat.
USHMM WS #99560, COURTESY OF LENA BARBER MANDELBAUM

lost its status as a town and became a suburb of Jaworzno). Relevant information can be found in a two-part article by Barbara Legutko, "Żydzi w Jaworznie," published in *Zeszyty Historyczne Miasta Jaworzna* no. 10 (2006); and in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 297–298.

Documentary sources can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 30; and Regierung Kattowitz, 2779); AŻIH (301/2635); and YVA (e.g., O-41/108).

Aleksandra Namysło
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. J. Zawistowski, "Wojna i okupacja," in J. Zawistowski, ed., *Jaworzno. Zarys dziejów w latach 1939–1990* (Kraków, 1996), p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Wykaz gmin podlegających Centrali Żydowskich Rad Starszych, October 1, 1940, p. 114; Adolf Tatarczuch, "Monografia Szczakowej," *Zeszyty Historyczne Miasta Jaworzna*, no. 9 (2005): 39.
4. AŻIH, 301/2635, testimony of Matylda Goldberger.
5. APKat, RSGŻDG, Bulletin no. 1, September 15, 1940, p. 2; RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, July 20, 1942, p. 169.
6. Legutko, "Żydzi w Jaworznie (cz. II)," *Zeszyty Historyczne Miasta Jaworzna*, no. 10 (2006): 14–15.
7. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, Aufstellung der Bevölkerungszahl, July 20, 1942, p. 169.
8. Legutko, "Żydzi w Jaworznie (cz. II)," pp. 17–18.
9. APKat, Regierung Kattowitz, 2779, Statistische Angaben zu den Stand der jüdischen Bevölkerung, August 24, 1942, p. 4.

TRZEBINIA

Pre-1939: Trzebinia (Yiddish: Tshebin), town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Krenau, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Trzebinia is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) west-northwest of Kraków. Before 1939, Trzebinia had about 5,000 inhabitants, including about 300 Jewish families or around 1,200 people.[1]

German troops occupied the town on September 5, 1939. Many Jewish inhabitants, as well as many Poles, fled the town during the German aerial bombardments in the first days of the war. Most, however, returned a few days later. Immediately on the first day of the occupation, 87 Jews from Chrzanów and Jaworzno were shot in Trzebinia.[2] Only three days later, when Isucher Mandelbaum returned to the town, 40 Jews were hastily collected on the marketplace, some without their shoes. They were escorted out of town and forced to dig graves in

the vicinity of a monastery, before being shot and buried there. The Jewish communities of Trzebinia and Chrzanów exhumed the bodies in December 1939 and January 1940.[3]

In the days following September 8, 1939, there were a series of further raids and killings in which about 40 more Jews were shot. On September 23, 1939 (Yom Kippur), 30 to 40 Jews were herded together at the "Sokół" sports field, where they were shot by members of the Wehrmacht and buried in a mass grave. These corpses were also exhumed so that the victims from Trzebinia, Jaworzno, and Chrzanów could be identified and transferred to their respective Jewish cemeteries.[4]

From the end of 1939, the Jews were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. In September 1941, these armbands were replaced with yellow stars bearing the word "Jew" (*Jude*). At the start of 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. In the same year, a Jewish police force, consisting of just two people, was set up.[5]

In May 1940, more than 1,000 Jews from Rybnik, Pszczyna, Mikołów, Żory, Chorzów, Katowice, and Mysłowice were deported to Chrzanów and Trzebinia.[6] Initially the mayor was reluctant to accept them, arguing that the town already had enough Jews, but he was forced to submit to the Gestapo.[7] Statistics of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia record 1,064 Jews in Trzebinia in May 1940, but these figures probably do not include the resettled Jews.[8]

Some sources maintain that there was no ghetto in Trzebinia.[9] However, up until the day on which Trzebinia was declared to be "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*), on June 10, 1942,[10] there was an open ghetto in the town. The process of ghettoization started in 1940, when the Jews were forbidden to live on or use the main streets of the town. Jews living on Kościuszko, Długa, or Stanisławów Street had to move out. In 1941, this ban was extended to Narutowicz and Kraków Streets, as well as to the market square (Rynek), so that it is possible to speak of de facto ghettoization. Jews could not cross these streets without a special permit. Those Jews forced to resettle could take with them their furniture and clothes, but any particularly desirable furniture was confiscated and given to German officials and their families, who had moved to Trzebinia. The Jews were concentrated on two streets: Piłsudski (Bergstrasse) and Ochronkowa (Kinderheimstrasse), close to the synagogue.[11] According to Tauba Friedlich, after the Jews were rounded up and concentrated on one street, her entire family of eight people had to live in one room with a kitchen.[12] There was a curfew at 6:00 or 7:00 P.M.; it was hard to make a living and get food.[13]

In October 1939, the Germans began to round up Jews in Trzebinia for forced labor. In order to prevent the random seizure of Jews off the streets, the Jews of Trzebinia established a committee, which assigned Jews to forced labor. Wealthy Jews were able to buy exemptions, and this money was used to pay replacements.[14]

In the fall of 1939, a public kitchen was opened, which distributed about 30 lunches and bread daily to the poorest members of the community. Each day, about 40 Jews were sent to perform forced labor. Hana Kotlicki of Trzebinia recalled: "After Yom Kippur (in 1939) we started immediately with the work—we received the coupons."[15] The first deportation from Trzebinia for work deployment in the Old (pre-1939) Reich took place in the spring of 1941. One year earlier, the community was able to save its members from deportation for forced labor by bribing the commander of the police to accept a statement by the local doctor that there was a typhus epidemic in the town.[16]

In June 1941, the Jewish population of Trzebinia was 1,242.[17] The Jews of Trzebinia worked in the "Zbyszek" coal mine (40 people) and cleaned the streets and performed construction work for the town administration (50 men and 20 women); from June 1941, at least 150 young women and 20 men worked in the rubber-clothing factory (Oberschlesische Gummiwerke GmbH Trzebinia).[18] Some Jewish women were engaged in cleaning work, for the police and other German institutions.[19] Jews who worked regularly received a special status, which protected them from the roundups of people sent to forced labor camps.

On May 30, 1942, German police surrounded the Trzebinia ghetto and organized its liquidation. In the market square, the Germans conducted a selection, and the Jews were separated into three groups. The first group was destined for deportation to the Auschwitz concentration camp; they were held in a municipal building without food or water for several days before their deportation by train. The second group was told it would remain in Trzebinia, and these Jews were permitted to return home. The third group was sent to the labor camps via the transit camp in Sosnowiec. As a result, about 1,000 Jews were deported from the town. Only a few days later, however, on June 7 or 8, 1942, the 300 Jews that remained in Trzebinia were transferred to Chrzanów, where the rubber-clothing factory was then based.[20] This "replenished" the Chrzanów ghetto just after a deportation Aktion there. On June 10, Trzebinia was declared to have been cleared of Jews. At that time there were about 6,000 Jews in Chrzanów, to which were now added the 300 people from Trzebinia.[21]

Several labor camps existed in Trzebinia in the period from 1942 to 1944, including a subcamp of the Auschwitz concentration camp from August 1944 to January 1945, which also held a number of Jewish prisoners.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Trzebinia include: Pinhas Goldwasser et al., eds., *Kehilat Tshebin* (Israel: Committee of Trzebinians in Israel, 1969); and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise* and *Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 324–327.

Documentary sources can be found in the following archives: APKat (RSGŻDG, sygn. 30; Łagiewniki township, 260); AŻIH (301/2718); USHMM (Acc.2007.226); VHF (e.g., # 3108, 35575, 37652); and YVA (e.g., O-3/9265, O-41/882).

Imke Hansen, Margerethe Mróz, and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2718. Jacek Chrobaczyński, "Wrzesień 1939. Klęska. Początek okupacji," in Feliks Kiryk, ed., *Trzebinia.*

Zarys dziejów miasta i regionu (Kraków, 1994), pp. 425–502, gives the figure of 600 to 700 Jews in Trzebinia, but this probably refers to the number of adult members of the community.

2. Chrobaczyński, "Wrzesień," p. 484.
3. AŻIH, 301/2718, testimony of Isucher Mandelbaum, p. 3; Chrobaczyński, "Wrzesień," p. 484.
4. AŻIH, 301/2718.
5. Ibid., pp. 4–5.
6. APKat, Łagiewniki township, 260, Circular no. 3, Gestapo in Katowice, May 8, 1940, p. 10.
7. AŻIH, 301/2718.
8. APKat, HTO 1397, pp. 66 ff.
9. Chrobaczyński, "Wrzesień," p. 484.
10. AŻIH, 301/2718, p. 9.
11. Ibid., pp. 5–6; VHF, # 3108, testimony of Leopold Popowsky.
12. VHF, # 35575, testimony of Tauba Friedlich (née Langer).
13. Ibid., # 37652, testimony of Miriam Rozenbaum (née Oppenheim).
14. AŻIH, 301/2718, p. 4.
15. YVA, O-3/9265, p. 10, testimony from 1995.
16. Ibid.
17. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 30, census of the Jewish population as of June 20, 1941, p. 173.
18. AŻIH, 301/2718, p. 7; 301/2637, p. 3; and YVA, O-3/9265, p. 11. German documentation cites much larger numbers of Jews working at the rubber-clothing factory; see Sybille Steinbacher, *"Musterstadt" Auschwitz: Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1999), p. 151, but this refers to the period after June 1942, when the shop had been transferred to Chrzanów.
19. AŻIH, 301/2637, pp. 1, 3; VHF, # 37652.
20. AŻIH, 301/2637, pp. 1, 3; VHF, # 3108.
21. AŻIH, 301/2720, p. 7.

WADOWICE

Pre-1939: Wadowice, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wadowitz, Kreis Bielitz, Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Wadowice, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Wadowice is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Katowice. The Jewish population of the town was 1,437 in 1921, out of a total population of 6,862.

When the Germans occupied Wadowice on September 4, 1939, there were about 1,400 Jews living there. In October, the Zagłębie region, including Wadowice, was annexed to the Third Reich.

In November, the Germans established a four-man Judenrat. The first chairman, Reuven Scharfer, was a past chairman of the community council. He sought to address the needs of the local community and resisted the hegemony of the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (Central Office). The chairman of the Central Office, Mojżesz Merin, demanded unswerving obedience to German orders. Scharfer refused to cooperate and resigned; Berisch Wolf took over. The representative of the Central Office and enforcer on the Wadowice Judenrat was Baruch Majerczyk, who by July 1942 had become the dominant figure in the town's leadership. The Jews of Wadowice called him the "Commissar." A small Jewish police force was also established.[1]

The Germans required that the Judenrat meet their daily demands for forced labor. Jewish women were put to work cleaning the police station, the military camps, and German private apartments. The men were sent to repair roads and bridges and to work on flood control along the Skawa River. The Judenrat also collected funds to meet the German demands for "contributions." As the economic situation of the Jews steadily worsened, the Judenrat organized support for people in need: food, clothing, footwear, and monthly monetary aid. A public clinic was opened to provide free medical treatment.

The Jewish leadership made efforts to create local jobs deemed critical to the German war effort, to curtail the commandeering of Jews for forced labor camps. In 1940, the Judenrat opened vocational courses for young Jewish men and set up a sewing and cutting course for 50 young women.

In 1940, about 300 Jewish families who had been expelled from other towns in the area were brought to Wadowice. They came from Cieszyn, Katowice, Żywiec, Bielsko-Biała, Czechowice, and Dziedzice. The local community made every effort to ease their plight. They were housed in community buildings, empty shops, storehouses, and private apartments. The Wadowice Jews opened a community kitchen to provide warm meals for the refugees, as well as for the local needy.

Despite a German ban, secret school groups were organized. Adults and older youths taught the younger ones.[2]

In the fall of 1940, a group of 100 men was shipped to a labor camp in Ottmut, where they were put to work paving roads and in a shoe factory. At the beginning of 1941, the kidnappings and deportations to labor camps increased. In April, more than 50 men were sent to a labor camp in Gogolin.[3] The prisoners worked on road repairs and in the agricultural fields around the camp. Following a "selection," those deemed unfit for labor were sent from the camp to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

To deter further deportations, the Judenrat stepped up its efforts to find work in or near the town. Jews in the workshops made army uniforms, raincoats, belts, and shirts. People who wanted such work had to bring their own sewing machines and work tools. By early 1942, more than 1,000 Jews from Wadowice and neighboring towns were employed in the shops. Other Jews were still working on the river irrigation projects. But these "essential" jobs did not stop the Germans from deporting people to labor camps. The local Jewish Police were supposed to participate in the roundups, but they did not always obey German orders. To meet the quotas, the Central Office in Sosnowiec had to send in their own police.

Several sources refer to an open ghetto being set up in Wadowice in 1941, but very few details are available.[4] Sabina Winter mentions that it was in the poorest part of town,

about a 20-minute walk from her former home, and that her family was given one room for five to six people to share. Zygmunt Litwok was sent to the Wadowice ghetto from a nearby town, but he took off his star and returned home on one occasion to forage for food.[5]

In June 1942, Jews from nearby towns—Kęty, Sucha, and Zator—were expelled and sent to Wadowice. It soon became evident that they were brought in to join the first mass deportation, which occurred on July 2. On that day Gestapo and SS men arrived from Sosnowiec. They ordered the Jews to leave their apartments and assemble at the army barracks on Zatorska Road. The apartments were locked and sealed. The Jews at various work sites were all brought to the assembly point for the "selection." They were divided into two groups according to their place of employment. Those from the shops who were "fit for work" would remain in Wadowice. Those who worked on river irrigation would be sent to labor camps in Sakrau and Gross-Rosen. Women with children, the elderly, the lame, and the sick were kept to one side, soon to be deported. When the Germans realized that the number for deportation was short of their goal (probably at least 1,000 people), they added another several dozen from among the shop workers for the train "to the east," that is, according to the yiskor book and other sources, to the Bełżec extermination camp even though Auschwitz was only 30 kilometers (19 miles) away.[6]

On the following day, July 3, 1942, an enclosed ghetto was established in Wadowice. The remnants of the community, that is, those whose forced labor was considered "essential," were moved into the ghetto. Some Jews left over from the deportations in nearby towns, including Andrychów, were also sent to the ghetto. The streets in the ghetto area included Mydlarska, Kerent, Piaskowa, and the left side of Zatorska. Aside from the buildings on Zatorska, the ghetto encompassed the poorest part of town. The Poles who were living there rushed to take over vacated Jewish apartments.

During July, people who had hidden during the Aktions tried to slip back into the ghetto. Many were caught and shot by the Gestapo. Conditions in the ghetto were horrendous. Over 1,400 people lived there, with 20 or more sharing one room. They were so crowded that they had to take turns sleeping on the floor. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto. The only gate was guarded by the Jewish Police.[7] Overcrowding, malnutrition, and disease claimed many victims. The Judenrat set up a small grocery and opened a public kitchen to feed the people. A medical crew headed by Dr. Bitter cared for the sick with great dedication. Strict sanitary standards were maintained to prevent the spread of disease.

The ghetto inhabitants opened a kindergarten. They also organized a school program for the children.[8] Orphans were provided with food and clothing. In April 1943, the ghetto leaders mustered the resources to prepare a Passover seder for the ghetto inhabitants, led by a refugee from Zator.[9]

On May 10, 1943, 100 young women were sent from the Wadowice ghetto to work camps in Germany. They passed through many different camps, and most survived the war.[10]

On August 10, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. By then it was one of the last ghettos left in the region. At the last minute a number of ghetto inhabitants tried to escape across the border into Slovakia. The route was very perilous, and many were caught and shot.[11]

All the inhabitants were assembled in the town square. Sick people were carried by their families or friends. The Jews were ordered to turn in any jewelry and valuables. Many were killed during the Aktion. The rest were put into freight cars and transported to the Auschwitz extermination camp. On August 11, 1943, the *Oberschlesische Zeitung* proclaimed that the days when "dirty-greasy Kaftan Jews" walked the streets of Wadowice had now passed, and it was now a stronghold of the Germans (*ein Hort des Deutschtums*).

After the ghetto's liquidation, the Germans searched for people in hiding. Most were captured and killed. About 10 people remained hidden until the town was liberated. Altogether about 170 Jews from Wadowice survived the war, mostly people who were in the labor camps, as well as some of those who had escaped into the Soviet Union in 1939.

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry comes from Avraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 124–129, also available in English as Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 338–341. Reference has also been made to the yizkor book edited by David Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, *Andrychow*, *Kalwaria*, *Myslenice*, *Sucha* (Ramat Gan: Former Residents of Wadowice, Andrychow, Kalwaria, Myslenice, Sucha, 1967). The Wadowice ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 536.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APKat; AŻIH (301/761, 4986); and VHF (# 15968, 20985, 31931).

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, pp. 186–187; VHF, # 20985, testimony of Marian Jurkowski; AŻIH, 301/761, testimony of Sala Luftglas.
2. VHF, # 31931, testimony of Sabina Winter.
3. AŻIH, 301/761.
4. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 536. AŻIH, 301/761, mentions that the ghetto was reduced in size following the deportation Aktion on July 2–3, 1942.
5. VHF, # 31931; and # 15968, testimony of Zygmunt Litwok.
6. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, p. 192; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, 3:128; AŻIH, 301/761; and 301/4986, testimony of Henryk Klausner.
7. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, 3:128; Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, pp. 192, 199; AŻIH, 301/761 and 4986.
8. Jakubowicz, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Wadowice*, p. 199.

9. Ibid., p. 202.
10. Ibid., pp. 203–204; AŻIH, 301/761.
11. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, 3:128–129, and Pilichowski *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 536, give the date of August 10, 1943; AŻIH, 301/4986, dates it on July 9, 1943.

ZAWIERCIE

Pre-1939: Zawiercie, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Warthenau, Kreis center, Regierungsbezirk Oppeln, Provinz Oberschlesien; post-1998: Zawiercie, województwo śląskie, Poland

Zawiercie is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south-southeast of Częstochowa. From 1919 the Jewish communities in Kromołów, Kroczyce, Mrzygłód, Myszków, Poraj, Łazy, Wysoka, Chruszczobród, Pradła, Ogrodzieniec, Rokitno Szlacheckie, Siewierz, and Koziegłowy all belonged to the district of Zawiercie. Just before the outbreak of World War II, Zawiercie had about 40,000 inhabitants, of which 5,676 were Jews.

The German army entered Zawiercie on September 3, 1939. After the chaos of the first days of occupation, the Germans began to eliminate the Jews from economic life, seizing their property, imposing restrictions on their freedom, and isolating them from the non-Jewish inhabitants.

Dr. Wilhelm Frick, who was also the head of the regional section of the Nazi Party, became mayor of Zawiercie. In 1940, an office of the Grenzpolizei (Border Police), which was subordinated to the Staatspolizei (State Police), was established in the town. At first the head of this office was Kriminalsekretär Georg Folta, and then (from the second half of 1942) Kriminalsekretär Hans Heinz Rother. His deputy was Rudolf Schneider. The Grenzpolizei office in Zawiercie was subordinated to the main office in Lubliniec. The Gestapo in Zawiercie was subordinated to the State Police in Opole. There was also an office of the Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police) and a Military Police unit in Zawiercie, the head of which was Wilhelm Fuchs.[1]



A German policeman publicly humiliates a Jew in the Zawiercie ghetto by shaving his beard, n.d.
USHMM WS #07267, COURTESY OF SCHWARTZBAUM

In December 1939, on the order of Dr. Frick, the Jewish religious community in Zawiercie was reorganized, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed. Its first chairman was the sculptor Ignacy Buchner, who was sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp in 1941, with his family, for refusing to organize a transport of Jews to a forced labor camp. The next chairman of the community was a merchant, Mojżesz Windmann from Sosnowiec. The members of the Judenrat included: Dr. Zygmunt (Selig) Lewkowicz, clerk Stanisław Szloma Lewkowicz, Aleks Turner, Wolf Percis, barrister Bornstein, Justmann, merchant Perelmutter, Srul Schwarzbaum, and the owner of a sawmill, Potok.[2] The Jewish community in Zawiercie was subordinated to the Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia (Central Office) in Sosnowiec, which was the supervising body for the Jewish communities in Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz and also for some in Regierungsbezirk Oppeln. In this way, Zawiercie became the seat of one of eight Kreis Inspectorates subordinated to the Central Office, and Mojżesz Windmann performed the function of Kreis Inspector. In September 1940, there were 7,555 Jews registered in Jewish communities in the Kreis: Zawiercie (5,340), Kromołów (160), Łazy (395), Siewierz (235), Porębma (140), Poraj (75) Masłońskie-Natalin (7), Myszków (930), Mrzygłód (30), Koziegłowy (230), and Kamienica Polska (13).[3] In May 1940, about 500 Jews from Lubliniec, Tarnowskie Góry, Cieszyn, Karwin, and Bogumin were resettled to Zawiercie.[4]

The Jewish community ran a soup kitchen (set up on January 9, 1940), serving about 40 percent of the community in 1941, and an orphanage (set up on December 22, 1940), where there were 55 children at that time. A hospital was established on Poręba Street. The hospital was located in the house of Rabbi Kromołowski and was run by Zelik Lewkowicz. Probably at the end of 1940 or at the beginning of 1941, a Jewish police force was organized; its first commandant was Jakub Banker (he was probably shot), and then he was succeeded by Wolf Percis.

In July 1940, a Jewish quarter (ghetto) was established. It consisted of Hoża (Wasserwerk), Jasna (Helle Gasse), Apteczna (Apotheker Strasse), Poręba, Marszałkowska (Alte Markt Strasse), and Ciemna (Dunkel Gasse) Streets, as well as the Old Market (Alter Ring) and New Market (Neuer Ring).[5] At first, it was surrounded by a wooden fence. Later, probably in 1941, the area was partially surrounded with barbed wire, a wall, and a fence; Jewish Police guarded the perimeter. There was no German guard post, but regular inspections of the ghetto were carried out by the Military Police, the Gestapo, and the Order Police.

The ghetto was reduced in size as time went on. The already overcrowded conditions deteriorated further in 1942, when Jews from the surrounding communities were brought into the ghetto from Kromołów, Mrzygłod, Łazy, Poręba, Ogrodzieniec, and Siewierz.

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans enclosed the ghetto with a barbed-wire fence. From October 1940, the Jews of Zawiercie, like all Jews in this region, were placed at the disposal of the forced labor authority in Silesia, Organisation Schmelt,



A street in the Zawiercie ghetto, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #05945, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

which decided on the allocation of Jews to forced labor camps or their employment in factories or workshops. One of the largest companies in Zawiercie that employed Jews produced uniforms for the Luftwaffe. It was established in the autumn of 1941 or the spring of 1942 in the former textile factory of Towarzystwo Akcyjne Zawiercia (TAZ), employing about 4,000 Jews, managed by Willy Garbrecht and a man named Teicher. Some Jews were assigned to work at the iron foundry, "Erbe," while others were forced to work cleaning the streets.

At the end of 1941 an underground anti-Nazi resistance movement of young people connected to the Zionist group Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir emerged, headed by Berl Szwartz. It organized the production of forged documents and helped people to escape from the ghetto. This group tried to get in contact with the Polish underground. In the middle of 1942, Mordechaj Anielewicz, one of the founders of the Warsaw Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB) came to Zawiercie. He urged young Jewish people from the area to organize a resistance movement and form combat organizations. There was a Jewish committee in the ghetto, composed of David Grunwald, Zygmunt Grunwald, and Joel Grünkraut, which cooperated with Polish partisans from the Bataliony Chłopskie (BCh). Their tasks included the distribution of food supplied by the BCh group under the command of Antoni Jastrząb, as well as false documents prepared by the partisans, who also delivered weapons and ammunition into the ghetto. Jastrząb was to warn the Jews about the planned liquidation of the ghetto and to help those who survived the Aktion to escape.



German police round up Jews in the Zawiercie ghetto, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #07269, COURTESY OF SCHWARTZBAUM

The first transport of Jews (200 people) assigned for forced labor in the Reich left in November 1940.[6] On March 26, 1941, a second transport of 250 people followed. Heinrich Lindner, of Organisation Schmelt, was in charge of this operation. The Jews called that day "bloody Wednesday," because many Jews were robbed and beaten and some women were raped as the German police broke into Jewish apartments to drag Jews to the selection.[7] Another transport to labor camps left at the beginning of May 1941. The Gestapo also arrested a number of Jews as suspected Communists in June 1941, at the time of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In November 1941, 270 people were sent to labor camps. In February 1942, 100 young women aged 15 to 25 were taken away. On March 12, 1942, about 200 people were sent to a transit camp in Sosnowiec (Dulag), as they had special work cards. This Aktion was commanded by the head of the Criminal Police in Zawiercie—Nertens. The last Aktion of this type took place in the winter of 1941–1942. The Jewish Police detained young Jewish females, who reported to the Jewish community on their orders. Due to active resistance by these young girls, who threw stones at the policemen and broke windows in the offices of the Jewish community, the police only managed to capture about 30 of them.[8]

The first mass deportation Aktion took place on June 16 and 17, 1942.[9] Reportedly some 5,408 Jews were living in the Zawiercie ghetto at that time.[10] The selection, supervised by Kriminalkommissar and head of the Jewish section of the Kattowitz Gestapo, Hans Dreier, and by an employee of Organisation Schmelt in Sosnowiec, Friedrich Karl Kuczynski, took place on Nowy Rynek (New Market Square). Some 5,000 people were gathered there. Jews from the surrounding communities of Kromołów, Siewierz, Poręba, and Myszków were also brought there (about 2,000 people). During the selection, the Jews were divided into three groups: the young and strong were assigned for labor camps; a part was kept for work in the ghetto or workshops; and the third group, deemed unfit for work, was to be transported to the Auschwitz concentration camp. About 1,650 to 1,800 people were deported at this time. Many Jews hid in bunkers and cellars on that day. If they were found, they were shot on the spot or on Nowy Rynek (about 200 people).[11]

The second mass deportation of the Jews from Zawiercie took place in May 1943. The old and unfit for work (about 400 people) went to Auschwitz; the physically strong (about 200 people) went to labor camps.[12] First, a German-organized manhunt (Gestapo, Schupo, and Military Police from Katowice, Opole, Sosnowiec, and Lubliniec) aimed at finding escapees from the Warsaw ghetto. The Jews were assembled in the yard at the TAZ factory; and at that time the Jewish living quarters were searched, property was taken, and about 20 people were shot.

The last deportation Aktion combined with the liquidation of the ghetto took place on August 25–26, 1943. The resettlement

was supervised by the Gestapo from Opole; Schupo from Opole, Katowice, Sosnowiec, and Zawiercie; plus the Gestapo and Military Police from Zawiercie. Several dozen Jews were murdered during the selection. One transport was sent at about 2:00 P.M., the other one at about 9:00 P.M. According to the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, around 1,500 Jews from the Zawiercie ghetto arrived there on August 26 and another 1,500 on August 27. Of these arrivals, 1,200 were gassed immediately, and the others, slightly more women than men, were registered in the camp. The Jewish hospital in Zawiercie was also liquidated during the Aktion. Patients who were able to walk were transferred to the ghetto, and the remainder were given morphine injections. Schneider, who supervised the liquidation of the hospital, personally administered lethal drugs to patients. Around 20 ill and elderly Jews were murdered.

After the August Aktion, only 350 to 400 people employed in the TAZ factory remained in Zawiercie. This group was deported to Auschwitz on October 17, 1943.[13] The main factory master managed to hide 7 people, who worked in a workshop making uniforms for the Luftwaffe until January 1945. They were: Zygmunt Sobelman, Ignacy Rotmensz, Chaim Cukier, Bencjan Brokman, Henryk Landau, Iser Cukrowski, and Joel Grünkraut. They were among the few Jews of the town who survived the war, as were two young boys who escaped from Auschwitz.

During the entire period of the ghetto's existence, apart from the mass deportations, there were 58 documented individual or group murders of Jews. In total, about 100 Jews survived the war and returned to Zawiercie.

SS-Oberscharführer Rudolf Emanuel Schneider, born on March 26, 1910, in Sosnowiec, who was the deputy head of the Gestapo in Zawiercie during the occupation, was tried by the District Court in Częstochowa and sentenced to death on April 7, 1948.[14]

SOURCES The history of the Jews of Zawiercie and their fate is mentioned only briefly in the more general historical publications about the town such as: Z. Jagodziński, ed., *Zawiercie* (Zawiercie, 2003); or J. Abramski, *Zawiercie* (Zawiercie, 1994). A description of living conditions for the Jews in German-occupied Zawiercie can be found in the memoir of Inka Wajsbort, *Był świat* (Warsaw, 1996). See also the German-language edition Inka Weisbort, *Im Angesicht des Todes: Von Chorzów über Zawiercie, Tarnowitz, Tschenstochau durch Auschwitz nach Malchow und Oschatz: Jüdische Schicksale in Oberschlesien 1939–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2000). The yizkor book, edited by Sh. Spivak, *Sefer zikaron, kedoshei Zawiercie ve-haseviva* (Tel Aviv, 1948), also contains useful information on the ghetto; as does "Zawiercie," in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 192–196.

Jan Pietrzykowski writes about the extermination of the Jews of Zawiercie in his book *Oskarżałem kata Zawiercia. Proces Rudolfa Emanuela Schneidera* (Katowice, 1987). The author based his work to a large extent on the court files of the trial that are kept in the archives of IPN. The evidence gathered by the Katowice Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (now in IPN-Kat) during its work on cases concerning Gestapo crimes in Zawiercie and the deportation of the Jews from Zawiercie is also of considerable importance. Relevant German court material is in BA-L (e.g., B 162/14682). Personal testimonies of Jewish survivors from Zawiercie can be found in AŻIH (e.g., 301/628, 2625, 3552). Additional documentation concerning the German occupation is located in APKat (e.g., RSGŻDG, sygn. 3; Gmina Łagisza, sygn. 260; Landrat of Zawiercie, sygn. 7).

Aleksandra Namysło

NOTES

1. IPN-Kat, case concerning crimes committed by the Gestapo in Zawiercie, Ds. 19/69, report on the state of the investigation against Hans Heinz Rother and others, January 15, 1969, pp. 1–3.
2. Ibid., pp. 4–5.
3. APKat, RSGŻDG, sygn. 3, Bulletin no. 1, October 15, 1940, p. 1.
4. Ibid., Gmina Łagisza, sygn. 260, Circular letter no. 3 issued by the Gestapo in Katowice, May 8, 1940, p. 11.
5. IPN-Kat, Ds. 19/69, p. 6.
6. AŻIH, 301/2625, testimony of Joel Grünkraut.
7. Ibid.; 301/3965, testimony of Szlama Lewkowicz.
8. Ibid., 301/2625, testimony of Joel Grünkraut; 301/3965, testimony of Szlama Lewkowicz.
9. Wajsbort, *Był świat*, p. 63; see also BA-L, B 162/14682, verdict of LG-Hamb (89) 2/83 Ks 2200 Js 2/80, July 29, 1985, p. 108.
10. APKat, Landrat of Zawiercie (1939–1945), sygn. 7, letter of mayor of Warthenau to Landrat, April 2, 1942, p. 56.
11. IPN-Kat, Ds. 19/69, report on the state of the investigation, January 15, 1969, p. 8.
12. Ibid., p. 9.
13. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990) p. 508, however, registers the arrival of about 1,000 Jews from a labor camp in Zawiercie on October 18.
14. The case against Schneider is in IPN, SOCz 345–348.

SECTION II

PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA (PROTEKTORAT BÖHMEN UND MÄHREN)

The Munich Agreement of September 29–30, 1938, which permitted Germany under Adolf Hitler's direction to annex the Sudetenland, was soon followed by the destruction of the interwar independent and democratic state of Czechoslovakia. Further annexations of Czechoslovakian borderlands in November 1938 by Hungary and Poland, with German and Italian backing, were succeeded in March by the secession of Slovakia, which became a Nazi satellite state. Then on March 15, 1939, German troops occupied the rump Czech lands, which Hitler declared to be a protectorate of the German Reich. The new state consisted of two provinces, Böhmen und Mähren (Bohemia and Moravia), which in most respects were treated as part of the German Reich. Much of the Czech administration was left intact but placed under the close supervision of German officials in charge of the various departments.

The first Reichsprotektor was Konstantin von Neurath. He was effectively replaced by Reinhard Heydrich on September 27, 1941, although Neurath retained the title of Reichsprotektor until his formal resignation in August 1943. After the assassination of Heydrich in May 1942, he was succeeded first by Kurt Daluege (head of the Order Police), then by Wilhelm Frick, who served as Reichsprotektor from August 20, 1943, until the end of the occupation in May 1945.

There was only one ghetto established in the Protectorate in November 1941—the fortress town of Terezín (Theresienstadt), 70 kilometers (44 miles) north-northwest of Prague. The Jews of the Protectorate were concentrated there before most were deported to the east. Additionally, tens of thousands of mostly elderly Reich Jews were sent to Terezín after January 1942, when it was officially designated a "ghetto for the aged" (*Altersghetto*). Some Jews from the Netherlands, Denmark, Slovakia, and Hungary also were sent to Terezín.

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TEREZÍN



A large group of Dutch Jews who have just arrived in Terezín are herded into one of the ghetto's entrances, January 20, 1944. This photograph by Ivan Fric was taken in preparation for the Nazi propaganda film, *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*).

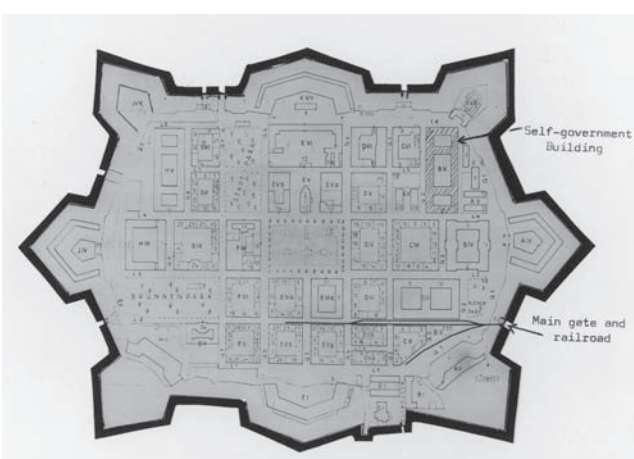
USHMM WS #20255, COURTESY OF IVAN VOJTECH FRIC

TEREZÍN

Pre-1939: Terezín, town, Litoměřice district, Čechy province, Republic of Czechoslovakia; 1939–1945: Theresienstadt, Leitmeritz district, Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren; post-1992: Terezín, Litoměřice district, Usti nad Labem region, Czech Republic

Terezín is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) north-northwest of Prague. Built in the 1780s, Terezín's existence as a fortress town dominated its history. Terezín's "Small Fortress" was a notorious Habsburg-era detention site that became the Gestapo police prison for Prague in June 1940. On November 24, 1941, after approximately a month's administrative preparation, the German authorities established a ghetto in part of the town. Originally intended for Jews from the Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren, Terezín later held Jews from Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, Slovakia, and Hungary. By May 8, 1945, approximately 155,000 men, women, and children had passed through Terezín. Some 35,000 of them died in the ghetto; another 83,000 perished after deportation to killing centers, ghettos, and labor camps in the east.

The ghetto functioned as a reception and transit camp, which has led some witnesses and scholars to classify it as a concentration camp. The designation originated during World War II and can be found, for example, in International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) files.[1] Terezín was never subordinate to the SS Business Administration Main Office (SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, WVHA), however, meaning that it was not a concentration camp in the strictest sense, and the forced removal, by June 1942, of the town's non-Jewish inhabitants strongly suggested that Terezín was a ghetto. As early as the 1950s, scholar H.G. Adler subdivided its World War II history into four phases, an indication of its repurposing or "morphing" over time: "closed camp" (November 1941 to July 1942); "ghetto" (July 1942 to the summer of 1943); "Jewish settlement area" (the summer of 1943 to September 1944); and decline and dissolution (September 1944 to May 1945).



Map of Terezín that was cut out of an original document and mounted on black paper in an album assembled by a survivor, n.d.
USHMM WS #42024, COURTESY OF HENRY KAHN

On November 24, 1941, a construction kommando of 342 young Jewish men from Prague arrived at Terezín´s Sudeten barracks. Its task was to prepare other town structures for the reception of deportees beginning on November 30. Having been stripped of most property during the deportation, except for 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of luggage, the deportees arrived at the Bohušovice railway station, some 2.4 kilometers (1.5 miles) away. The new arrivals had to walk from the railway station to the ghetto; many old and ill people did not survive the journey.

The ghetto's commandants were SS-Obersturmführer, later Hauptsturmführer, Dr. Siegfried Seidl; SS-Obersturmführer Anton Burger; and SS-Obersturmführer Karl Rahm. These officers mistreated inmates both indirectly, through a system of orders and prohibitions, and directly, in the bunkers beneath the command post, where inmates were interrogated and tortured. The three commandants were Austrian Nazis with administrative ties to SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann, who headed the Jewish Affairs desk (Office IV-B-4) in the SS-Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA). Indeed, Eichmann nominated Seidl as ghetto commandant in late October 1941.

The SS transmitted orders to the ghetto's inhabitants through the Jewish self-administration (Jüdische Selbstverwaltung). The self-administration consisted of a Jewish elder (Judenältester), deputy, Council of Elders (Ältestenrat), and Central Secretariat with initially five, later nine, main departments. In succession, the Jewish elders were Jakob Edelstein (December 1941 to December 1943), Dr. Paul Eppstein (December 1943 to September 27, 1944), and Dr. Benjamin Murmelstein (December 1944 to May 1945). According to an organizational table published by the Jewish self-administration on August 10, 1944, the main departments were the Directorate (Leitung), Labor Central Office (Arbeitszentrale), Department for Internal Administration (Abteilung für innere Verwaltung), Economic Department (Wirtschaftsabteilung), Technical Department (Technische Abteilung), Financial Department (Finanzabteilung), Health Matters and Welfare (Gesundheitswesen und Fürsorge), Youth Welfare (Jugendfürsorge), and Leisure Time Organization (Freizeitgestaltung).[2] While some of these departments and their attendant agencies served Nazi propaganda functions, others somewhat attenuated the inhabitants' suffering. For example, the child welfare division established children and youth homes, where caretakers, officially forbidden to provide schooling, utilized games and songs in the attempt to prepare their charges for life after the ghetto.

Cultural activities, which originally emerged as spontaneous "friendship evenings" that some of the young men among the first arrivals held, soon came under the auspices of the Leisure Time Organization. Although for propaganda purposes the SS later exploited the ghetto's dramatic performances, lectures, and concerts, such activities signified important coping mechanisms, giving inhabitants a temporary escape, a sense of continuity with pre-war lives, and the opportunity to imagine a postwar future. Some inhabitants, such as administrator



Still photograph from the Nazi propaganda film, *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*), showing members of the Terezín Jewish Council, 1944. Standing are Otto Zucker, Jewish Elder Paul Eppstein, and Eppstein's successor, Benjamin Murmelstein.
USHMM WS #59545, COURTESY OF IVAN VOJTECH FRIC

Philipp Manes, maintained diaries, while others produced works of art. Manes's diary conveyed a sense of the scope of Terezín's cultural activities; he recounted lectures, parenthetically recording the languages other than German in which they were delivered. For the day of August 8, 1944, the host of topics included lectures on Flemish art by Alice Bloemendahl (in French); Jewish mysticism by Dr. Josef Pollak; Joseph in Egypt (in Hebrew); Jewish artists, including Marc Chagall, by Dr. Karl Fleischmann; and the division of labor by Ing. H. Haber (in Czech).[3] Among Terezín artists whose work extensively chronicles the ghetto were Leo Haas and Alfred Kantor. Still other inhabitants found other means of escapism. Wilhelmina (Minna) Paechter maintained a small cookbook with recipes in German and Czech. Whether these recipes, which included tortes, strudel, and macaroni, were made in the ghetto is unclear.[4]

The January 9, 1942, order of the day announcing the transport to Riga dashed whatever illusions remained that Terezín might be a place to live and work until war's end.[5] Indeed, this order explicitly stated: "It is to be reckoned, as far as can now be said, with further transports from Theresienstadt to the East."[6] The Riga deportation was the first of 63 transports totaling more than 87,000 people from Terezín. Aside from Riga, the deportees were sent to ghettos including Białystok, Łódź, Minsk, Piaski Luterskie, and Warsaw and to concentration camps and extermination centers at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Lublin-Majdanek, and Treblinka. Approximately 3,800 of them survived the war.

At the Wannsee conference on January 20, 1942, Terezín officially became the "ghetto for the aged" (*Altersghetto*) for Jews from Germany and Austria, a policy that followed its provisional designation by the RSHA in October 1941.[7] People over 65 years of age and famous or privileged people, especially with foreign ties (in Nazi terms, the *Prominente*), were deported to Terezín. This policy's ultimate purpose was to deflect international criticism of Nazi anti-Jewish policy. The ghetto's new role called for a marked increase in accommodations. Until then, the inmates were crowded in 11 guarded barracks in town. Now, the entire town became a large ghetto. Chief of the Security Police and SD (Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und SD, CSSD) Reinhard Heydrich issued a decree in February 1942 abolishing the Terezín community; the non-Jewish Czech population was removed by the end of June. Elderly and "prominent" Jews poured into the town, first from Germany and Austria, then, beginning in 1943, from the German-occupied Netherlands and Denmark. The ghetto reached peak accommodation capacity in September 1942 with 58,491 inmates, as compared to 12,968 people the previous April. While its population quadrupled between April and September, the mortality rate increased more than 15-fold. Deportations to killing centers continued apace as overcrowding worsened.

Beginning in late 1942, German military reverses affected the implementation of the "Final Solution." The German authorities thereupon sought to exploit the Terezín ghetto for propaganda, launching a "beautification" (*Verschönerung*) campaign in the spring of 1943. On a grand scale, this campaign elaborated on early Nazi camp practices in which foreign visitors, including the ICRC's Carl Burckhardt, were given "Potemkin village" tours of camps in the early 1930s. Growing requests by international organizations, primarily the ICRC, for permission to visit the actual destinations of Jewish deportations culminated in the first half of 1944. The beautification campaign paid particular attention to the cosmetic improvement of houses and green space. Such measures included the planting of flowerbeds, the building of a musical pavilion for concerts on the square, and erecting a children's pavilion and nearby playground. A former gym was turned into a "community center" (*Gemeinschaftshaus*) with halls for cultural programs, a prayer room, a library, and a restaurant on a terrace. As described by Dr. Ludwig Hift, an employee of the ghetto's "bank," another institution devised for propaganda purposes, such measures were "eye-wash."[8]

Headed by delegate Dr. Maurice Rossel, the ICRC visit took place on June 23, 1944. Rossel's report met the German authorities' most optimistic expectations. Uncritically accepting SS efforts at subterfuge, Rossel described Terezín as a "final camp" (*Endlager*) from which Jews were no longer deported and quoted Eppstein as announcing, "You are visiting a normal provincial town."[9] In a comment redolent of the Nazi association of Jews and Bolshevism, the ICRC delegate observed, "The ghetto of Theresienstadt is a communist society, led by a 'Little Stalin' of high value: EPPSTEIN."[10] In actuality, tens of thousands of Terezín inmates had already perished in killing centers, while death awaited many others, most immediately the inmates of the Czech "family camp" at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, murdered on July 22, 1944, almost one month after Rossel's visit. Historian Otto Dov Kulka connects the timing of the second Czech family camp's destruction to SS satisfaction with the outcome of Rossel's visit: there were to be no more inquiries into the Terezín deportees' fate.

In yet another propaganda tactic, the SS produced a film about Terezín in August and September 1944. The film, best known after the war as *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*), used as backdrop the freshly renovated town, thereby creating the false impression of contentment within the "Jewish settlement area."[11] One week after finishing, the SS announced that, due to Terezín's inadequate production capacity, more inhabitants had to be deported to facilitate war production. One day before this transport began, September 27, 1944, Terezín's second Jewish elder, Dr. Paul Eppstein, was shot in the Small Fortress. Almost all the members of the Council of Elders, other Jewish officials, and their families were deported, beginning with the September 28, 1944, transport.

Between September 28 and October 28, 1944, a total of 18,400 Terezín Jews were sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Approximately 11,000 people, mostly elderly, remained after the last wave of transports. Such a dramatic population drop put greater reliance on women's and children's labor. The Jewish self-administration found it difficult to regain its strength and fully resumed its activities only in December. Dr. Benjamin Murmelstein became Jewish elder, and Dr. Leo Baeck headed the Council of Elders.

Beginning in December 1944, new groups started to arrive at Terezín. Four transports holding 1,400 Slovakian Jews were sent from the forced labor camp at Sered. These people were originally sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, but after the local extermination facilities ceased operation, they were rerouted to Terezín. The Slovak Jews brought news about the Auschwitz killing center's actual function. In mid-January 1945, the RSHA ruled that members of mixed marriages from Germany, Austria, and the Protectorate should be sent to Terezín for supervised labor, while persons of mixed "race" (*Mischlinge*) from the Protectorate were also consigned to Terezín. The first such transports arrived from Prague on January 31, 1945. By the end of April, the above-mentioned groups numbered 5,736. Other new arrivals included a group of 1,150 Hungarian Jews, originally deployed for fortification work around Vienna, who were dispatched in March 1945.

Germany's imminent defeat engendered growing anxiety among the SS. On the one hand, the SS prepared once more to use Terezín in its attempted cover-up of the "Final Solution"; on the other, preparations got under way for the possible massacre of Terezín's population before the arrival of Allied forces. By this time, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler planned to exploit Jews as his most valuable asset in secret negotiations with the Allies. After his talks on January 15, 1945, with former chairman of the Swiss Federal Council Jean Marie Musy, some 1,200 Terezín inmates departed for Switzerland on February 5. On April 6, 1945, Dr. Otto Lehner and Paul Dunant of the ICRC and Swiss diplomat Buchmüller arrived at Terezín. After the visit, Lehner depicted the ghetto as the "little Jewish state," another depiction welcomed by the SS.[12]

The war's approaching end brought little relief for Terezín. On April 15, 1945, as part of Aktion Bernadotte, the humanitarian operation mounted by Swedish rescuer Count Folke Bernadotte, Danish Jews departed Terezín for Sweden. They rode aboard a convoy of buses supplied by the Swedish Red Cross. In April and May 1945, evacuation transports from WVHA camps arrived in Terezín by train or on foot. The influx of 15,500 people nearly doubled the ghetto's population, which prior to the evacuations stood at 17,500. The prisoners originated from at least 22 subcamps of Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, and Sachsenhausen and from the Bergen-Belsen main camp. Terezín was the destination for evacuations because of its position in what remained of German-controlled territory, its proximity to rail connections, and the neighboring Flossenbürg subcamp at Leitmeritz, which functioned as a transit camp in the same period. In many cases, the SS dispatched Jewish prisoners from the transports to Terezín, leaving the remainder at Leitmeritz. The new arrivals were terribly emaciated. Many were dying, while dead bodies lay on the trains. The arriving transports were rife with contagious diseases, particularly louse-borne epidemic typhus. Typhus exacted a terrible death toll among ghetto inhabitants before and after liberation.

Most of the SS fled on May 4, followed shortly thereafter by Terezín's last commandant, Rahm. The first Red Army units advancing to Prague passed through Terezín only in the late afternoon of May 8, 1945.

The fight against epidemics continued unabated in the days and weeks that followed. A group of doctors and nurses, named Czech Action for Help (České pomocné akce), arrived at Terezín on May 4, 1945. Its services were all the more urgently needed because typhus fever victims from the Small Fortress were brought into the ghetto. Soon afterwards, the Red Army medical service furnished invaluable assistance. But the burden of combating epidemics still fell to Jewish medical personnel. More than 1,500 inmates died from disease during the last days of war and immediately thereafter. The death toll included 43 victims among the Jewish medical staff. Four medics from Czech Action for Help also died, as did some Soviet medical personnel.

In October 1946, the Volksgericht Wien condemned Siegfried Seidl to death in part for 16 counts of homicide arising from his command at Terezín. He was executed on February 4, 1947.[13] The Litoměřice state court pronounced a death sentence on Karl Rahm, and he was executed on April 30, 1947.[14] The same court condemned to death in absentia Terezín's second commandant, Anton Burger, who lived in the Federal Republic of Germany under the alias of Wilhelm Bauer until his death on December 25, 1991. Volksgericht Wien also conducted separate investigations of Burger and Rahm.

SOURCES The first major study of the Terezín ghetto, and still a standard source, was H.G. Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft; Geschichte, Soziologie, Psychologie*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1960). A thoughtful critique of the question of whether Terezín should be categorized as a ghetto or a concentration camp may be found in Peter Klein, "Theresienstadt: Ghetto oder Konzentrationslager?" *TSD*, no. 12 (2005): 111–123. Other secondary sources include George E. Berkley, *Hitler's Gift: The Story of*

Theresienstadt (Boston: Branden Books, 2002); Vojtěch Blodig, Ludmila Chládková, and Miroslava Langhanerová, *Terezin Litoměřice: Places of Suffering and Braveness*, trans. Peter Kurfürst (Prague: Jitka Kejřová, V RAJI Pub., 2003); Ludmila Chládková, *Terezínské ghetto* (Prague: Památnik Terezin, 2005); Miroslav Kárný, ed., *Terezínská pamětní kniha: Židovské oběti nacistických deportací z Čech a Moravy 1941–1945* (Prague: Terezínská iniciativa; Melantrich, 1995), available in English as *Terezín Memorial Book: Jewish Victims of Nazi Deportations from Bohemia and Moravia 1941–1945: A Guide to the Czech Original with a Glossary of Czech Terms Used in the Lists* (Prague: Terezín Initiative; Melantrich, 1996); M. Kárný, V. Blodig, and Margita Karna, eds., *Theresienstadt in der "Endlösung der Judenfrage"* (Prague: Panorama, 1992); Zdeněk Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt*, trans. K. Weisskopf (New York, 1983). Other useful studies relating to Terezín include Otto Dov Kulka, "Ghetto in an Annihilation Camp: Jewish Social History in the Holocaust Period and Its Ultimate Limits," in Israel Gutman and Avital Saf, eds., *The Nazi Concentration Camps: Proceedings of the Fourth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 315–330; and Jan Björn Potthast, *Das jüdische Zentralmuseum der SS in Prag: Gegnerforschung und Völkermord im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002). Terezín's rich cultural history has inspired numerous studies, including: Anne D. Dutlinger, ed., *Art, Music and Education as Strategies for Survival: Theresienstadt 1941–45* (New York: Herodias, 2001); Gerald Green, *The Artists of Terezín* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969); Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín, 1941–1945* (New York: Beaufort Books, 1985); Elena Makarova, *From Bauhaus to Terezín: Friedl Dicker-Brandeis and Her Pupils* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990); Massachusetts College of Art, *Seeing through "Paradise": Artists and the Terezín Concentration Camp* (Boston, MA: The College, 1991); and Terezín Memorial, ed., *Kultura proti smrti: Stálé expozice Památníku Terezín v bývalých Magdeburských kasárnách* (Prague: Helena Osvaldová, 2002). Studies of Terezín's perpetrators include Tomaš Federovič, "Der Theresienstädter Lagerkommandant Siegfried Seidl," *TSD* (2003): 162–209; T. Federovič, "Neue Erkenntnisse über die SS-Angehörigen im Ghetto Theresienstadt," *TSD* (2006): 234–250; and Karla Müller-Tupath, *Verschollen in Deutschland: Das heimliche Leben des Anton Burger, Lagerkommandant von Theresienstadt*, foreword by Simon Wiesenthal (Hamburg: Konkret, 1994). Two biographies of leading inmates in Terezín are Ruth Bondy, *"Elder of the Jews": Jakob Edelstein of Theresienstadt* (New York: Grove Press, 1989); and Albert H. Friedlander, *Leo Baeck: Teacher of Theresienstadt* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968). Studies on youth in the ghetto include Thelma Gruenbaum, *Nešarim: Child Survivors of Terezín* (London, 2004); and Anna Hájková, "Die fabelhaften Jungs aus Theresienstadt: Junge tschechische Männer als dominante soziale Elite im Theresienstädter Ghetto," in Christoph Dieckmann and Babette Quinkart, eds., *Im Ghetto 1939–1945: Neue Forschungen zu Alltag und Umfeld* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), pp. 116–135.

The first published primary source collection on Terezín was H.G. Adler, ed., *Die Verheimlichte Wahrheit: Theresienstädter Dokumente* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1958). This source contains extracts from official documents from the Reich, Jewish self-administration, and the ICRC, but the provenance of many sources is not indicated. Other published primary sources and collections include Anita Franková, Ludmila Kybalová, and Hana Povolná, eds., *Dětske na zastávcek smrti, Terezín 1942–44* (Prague, 1993); *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt; The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*, DVD, directed by Kurt Gerron (1944; Waltham, MA: National Center for Jewish Film, 2005); ICRC, *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities during the Second World War (September 1, 1939–June 30, 1947)*, 4 vols. (Geneva: ICRC, 1948); Miroslav Kárný, ed., "Der Bericht des Roten Kreuzes über seinen Besuch in Theresienstadt," *TSD*, no. 3 (1996): 276–320; Marie Rút Križková et al., eds., *Je mojí vlastí hradba ghett?: Básně, próza a kresby terezínských dětí* (Prague: Aventinum, 1995); Markéta Petrášová and Arno Pařik, eds., *Terezín in the Drawings of the Prisoners, 1941–1945*, trans. Olga Berntová (Prague: State Jewish Museum in Prague, 1983); Státní židovskě Museum, ed., *Children's Drawings from the Concentration Camp of Terezín* (Olomuoc: Moravské tiskaiské závody, 1978); and Hana Volavkova, ed., *I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezín Concentration Camp, 1942–1944*, trans. Jean Nemcova (New York: Schocken Books, 1993). Terezín's memoir literature is too extensive for comprehensive enumeration, but the following testimonies give a broad sampling, including one testimony by a Danish survivor and another by a survivor of Terezín's end phase: Ruth Elias, *Die Hoffnung erhielt mich am Leben: Mein Weg von Theresienstadt und Auschwitz nach Israel* (Munich: Piper, 1988). The anthology by František Ehrmann, Otta Heitlinger, and Rudolf Iltis, eds., *Terezin; Terezín* (Prague, 1965), contains a number of excellent testimonies, including Ludwig Hift, "The Bank of the Jewish Self-Government Administration in Terezín," pp. 164–168; and Hans Hofer, "The Film about Terezín: A Belated Reportage," pp. 180–184. Also see Jana Renee Friesova, *Pevnost mého mládi* (Prague: Nakl. Jaroslava Poberová, 2005); Hana Greenfield, *Fragments of Memory: From Kolin to Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Gefen, 1990); Alfred Kantor, *The Book of Alfred Kantor* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971); Philipp Manes, *Als ob's ein Leben wär: Tatsachenbericht; Theresienstadt 1942–1944*, ed. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist (Berlin: Ullstein, 2005); Vera Meisels, *Terezin's Firefly*, trans. Riva Rubin (Prague: GplusG, 2001); Mélanie Oppenhejm, *Menneskefaelden: Om livet i KZ-lejren Theresienstadt* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel, 1981); Vera Schiff, *Theresienstadt: The Town the Nazis Gave to the Jews* (Toronto: Lugus, 1996); Gerty Spies, *My Years in Theresienstadt: How One Woman Survived the Holocaust* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1997); and Norbert Troller, *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*, ed. Joel Shatzky with Richard Ives and Doris Rauch, trans. Susan E. Cernyak-Spatz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Archival sources on Terezín may be found in A-ICRC; AMv; APT; BLHA-(P); BStU; DÖW; ITS; LBI; NA(P); USHMM; VHAP; WL; YVA; and ŽmP. At APT, the Terezín ghetto documents constitute a modest part of the collection because the archives only began collecting at the end of the 1960s. APT's collection consists mostly of contributions from former inmates, especially from Czech Jews and their relatives. An important part of the documents was the gift of the Jewish religious community in Prague. Presently there are more than 3,500 inventory numbers registering Terezín ghetto documents. Important groups represent personal documents (identity cards and labor cards), correspondence, diaries, children's

magazines (for instance, the well-known magazine *Vedem*), survivors' accounts, and money vouchers. There are also several reports on the Jewish self-administration's activities, orders of the day, and daily lists of deceased prisoners. Unfortunately these collections are fragmentary. The very important collection of transport lists to the ghetto from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia is nearly complete. There are also complete lists of names of Protectorate Jews compiled in the autumn of 1941. Jewish self-administration documents are written in German, and some other materials (for instance, most of the memoirs, magazines, and some diaries) in Czech. USHMM holds a number of Terezín ration books and ghetto scrip, a cookbook compiled by Wilhelmina Paechter (David Stern collection, Acc.1996.109), and a small collection of artwork by survivor Leo Haas. USHMM also has copies of the Seidl trial and investigations against Karl Rahm and Anton Burger, copied from DÖW as RG-17.003M (Acc.2004.118). In addition, USHMM holds an extensive collection of ICRC documentation on Terezín, under RG-19.045M (Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews = Israélites, 1939–1961), reels 2 and 6; RG-58.002M (Special Relief Division, 1940–1963); and RG-58.004M (Selected Records of the ICRC). The International Tracing Service (ITS) contains 119 inventory collections for Terezín, making it by far the best-documented ghetto in ITS holdings. These collections include original Gestapo transport lists, postwar lists of survivors, and compilations of burial records.

Vojtěch Blodig and
Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. P. Kuhne, "Note sur l'activité la Comité international de la Croix-Rouge au camp de Theresienstadt," June 1945, USHMM, RG-19.045M, ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians, Jews = Israélites, 1939–1961, file G59/3/Th-63, reel 6, frame 0528.

2. Gliederungsplan, August 10, 1944, as reproduced in Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft*, pp. 224–240.

3. Manes, *Als ob's ein Leben wär*, pp. 358–359.

4. Wilhelmina Paechter, "Kochbuch," 1942–1944, USHMM, Acc.1996.109, David Stern collection.

5. The January 9, 1942, order is reproduced in Adler, *Die Verheimlichte Wahrheit*, p. 97.

6. Ibid.

7. Quotation in Wannsee conference minutes, January 20, 1942, NG-2586-G, *TMWC*, vol. 13, p. 213.

8. Hift, "The Bank of the Jewish Self-Government Administration in Terezín," p. 168.

9. Quotations from Maurice Rossel, "Besuch im Ghetto," trans. Gisela Harras, in Miroslav Kárný, ed., "Der Bericht des Roten Kreuzes über seinen Besuch in Theresienstadt," *TSD*, no. 3 (1996): 286–287.

10. Ibid., p. 297.

11. Quoted from the still photograph from the September 1942 film of Terezín, held by WFDIF and reproduced as cover photo by *TSD* (1998).

12. As quoted in Adler, *Die Verheimlichte Wahrheit*, p. 356.

13. Urteil gegen Dr. Siegfried Seidl, Case no. LG-Wien Vg 1b Vr770/46, DÖW Sign. V37/1-20, USHMM, RG-17.003M, Acc.2004.118, Wiener Prozesse gegen NS-Verbrechern, microfilm no. 1014.

14. On Rahm's extradition to Litoměřice, "Der letzte Leiter von Theresienstadt verhaftet," *Aufbau*, February 7, 1946, filed in USHMM, RG-19.045M, file 659/3/Th-63, reel 6, frame 0575.

SECTION III

GENERAL GOVERNMENT (GENERALGOUVERNEMENT)

Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler ordered the creation of the Generalgouvernement, which was established officially on October 26, 1939. He appointed Hans Frank as Generalgouverneur. Frank soon took up residence in the Wawel Castle in the Generalgouvernement's capital city of Kraków. Initially, the Generalgouvernement consisted of four Distrikte: Krakau, Lublin, Radom, and Warschau. On August 1, 1941, a fifth Distrikt, Galizien, was added, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union; at that point about 10 percent of the roughly 18 million inhabitants of the Generalgouvernement were Jews.

The Generalgouvernement was made up entirely of territory that had belonged to Poland at the start of 1939. Distrikt Krakau consisted of parts of the Kraków, Kielce, and Lwów województwa. Distrikt Lublin was formed of parts of the Lublin, Lwów, and Warsaw województwa. Distrikt Radom contained parts of the Kielce and Łódź województwa. Distrikt Warschau had parts of the Warsaw, Lublin, and Łódź województwa. And Distrikt Galizien included the Stanisławów, Tarnopol, and most of the Lwów województwa.

Other than his personal subordination to Hitler, Generalgouverneur Frank administered the Generalgouvernement as an independent neighboring territory of the Reich (*Reichsnebenland*). The Generalgouvernement had its own currency and exercised sovereignty regarding customs and taxes. A central bureaucracy, based in Kraków, issued instructions to the regional administrations in each of the Distrikte, which were headed by their own respective Distrikt Gouverneur. The SS and police forces based in the Generalgouvernement, headed by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, however, owed loyalty both to Frank as Generalgouverneur and to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler as head of the German police.

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RADOM REGION



Clandestine photograph of the deportation of Jews from Pińczów to the Treblinka extermination center, October 1942.
USHMM WS #77726, COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION: GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

RADOM REGION (DISTRIKT RADOM)

Pre-1939: parts of the Kielce and Łódź województwa, Poland; 1941–1945: Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: parts of the Łódź, Mazowieckie, Sląskie, and Świętokrzyskie województwa, Poland

Distrikt Radom was established on October 26, 1939, as one of the four initial Distrikte of the Generalgouvernement, which were all made up of parts of occupied Poland. Encompassing 24,500 square kilometers (9,460 square miles), it included much of the pre-war Kielce województwo, as well as stretches of the Łódź województwo, to the west. In Distrikt Radom, the German authorities created 10 Kreise (counties) that were governed by Kreishauptmänner, with centers in Busko-Zdrój, Jędrzejów, Kielce, Końskie, Opatów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Radom, Radomsko, Starachowice (until 1942, Iłża), and Tomaszów Mazowiecki. Stadthauptmänner governed the three independent municipalities (Stadtkreise) in the Distrikt: Radom, Częstochowa, and Kielce.

The Distrikt's territory, according to the March 1940 (German) census, was populated by over 2.7 million people, including more than 282,000 Jews. These statistics, however, are considered low, as possibly as many as 3 million people lived in the Distrikt. The number of Jewish residents in 1940–1942 is estimated at 360,000 to 400,000. This number takes into consideration the influx of approximately 70,000 Jewish refugees and deportees, as well as those who fled from the Distrikt. The first wave of deportees reached the Distrikt in late 1939 and included thousands of Jews from the Polish territories incorporated into Germany, especially from Reichsgau Wartheland.

The chief German civil authority in the Distrikt was governor Karl Lasch (October 1939–August 1941), who was succeeded by Ernst Kundt (September 1941–January 1945). The SS and Police Leader (SSPF) was the senior police official in the Distrikt, subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement. The position of SSPF in Distrikt Radom was held in the following succession: Fritz Katzmann (1939–1941), Karl Oberg (1941–1942), and Herbert Böttcher (1942–1945). The SSPF oversaw the forces of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) in the Distrikt, comprising the Gestapo, Kripo, and SD and also those of the Ordnungspolizei (Orpo), which included the Municipal Police (Schupo) and Gendarmerie posts in the rural areas. The relevant local civil administrators were generally in charge of ghetto affairs. Surveillance and order were in the hands of the German Sipo and Orpo forces, with Polish and Jewish Police performing auxiliary duties under the Germans. The Jewish Police maintained order in the ghettos and guarded their internal borders, whereas Orpo forces and Polish (Blue) Police patrolled the external boundaries.



German troops round up a group of Jewish men on Strażacka Street in Częstochowa, early September 1939.
USHMM WS #26822, COURTESY OF B. ASHLEY GRIMES II

Taking over authority from the military on October 26, 1939, the German civil administration exacerbated the situation of the Jews, as previously spontaneous anti-Jewish measures were replaced by the systematic enforcement of antisemitic laws, which deprived the Jews of their economic, cultural, and social rights and introduced forced labor. The Germans ordered the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenräte) in November 1939, holding the members responsible for the implementation of the authorities' orders, which included the organization of forced labor, the collection of taxes and "contributions," registration, the enforcement of sanitary regulations, and the organization of welfare and medical services. In some cases, pre-war community leaders were included in the Judenrat's composition, for example, in Przedbórz, Szczekociny, and Opatów. As of November 23, 1939, all Jews were obliged to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

The first ghettos in the Distrikt were established in Piotrków Trybunalski (October 8, 1939) and Radomsko (December 1939). Their creation was largely due to the pressure of large ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) communities, which demanded the acquisition of Jewish property. Air raids and the influx of refugees led to considerable shortages of housing, which further increased the pressure for the construction of ghettos. In Piotrków, where the Germans razed the Jewish neighborhood, the community was given three weeks to relocate. In Radomsko, the ghetto's establishment was conducted without warning. Two thirds of Radomsko's Jews (over 4,000 people)—who lived outside the ghetto's delineated borders—were given only 20 minutes to relocate.

The September 21, 1939, express order, issued by Reinhard Heydrich regarding the Jewish question in occupied territory, stipulated the concentration of Jews in only a few towns, close

to railway connections with a view to their subsequent evacuation.[1] As Christopher R. Browning notes, however, "the first stage—the process of creating ghettos in the first place—stretched over many months for one reason: there was no centrally ordered, uniform policy of ghettoization."[2] Since detailed arrangements were left to the local authorities, the process of establishing ghettos was extremely decentralized and drawn out over more than two years. It lasted in Distrikt Radom until the summer of 1942, when the deportations to killing centers began (e.g., on July 17, 1942, the Jews of Wierzbica, Kreis Radom-Land, were informed that an enclosed ghetto would be established in the village on August 1, 1942).

One ghetto might be very different to another nearby, as there were few clear directives on how to organize them. Some of the ghettos were established only as open ghettos, whereas others were closed, with the latter type predominating from the spring of 1941 onward. Whereas some were physically enclosed with walls and fences and guarded, others remained unfenced, with only signs designating their borders. In the case of many small ghettos, the inhabitants were simply ordered not to leave the limits of their settlement. Alternatively, a ghetto could be fenced but considered by the Germans as open, simply designated as an area for the Jews to live in, with no or few restrictions on their movement—as, for example, was the case in Lipsko. In Jędrzejów, Jews were ghettoized, possibly as early as February 1940. Guards were posted at the ghetto's exits, but the residents initially were still able to come and go freely.

The same lack of rules applies to the process of ghetto creation; in some cases, it took months or was only announced shortly before the ghetto's destruction. Most often, the Jews were already the predominant inhabitants of the area selected for the ghetto; otherwise, the authorities would typically seek to relocate them into any run-down or razed part of town.

Krzysztof Urbański points out the sole common denominator in creating ghettos: the area allocated for a ghetto was always much too small for the Jews assigned to live there. Urbański estimates that there were more than 120 ghettos established in Distrikt Radom, but the detailed research undertaken in preparing this volume identified clearly only around 100 such sites, as for some places insufficient evidence exists to make a determination. Most ghettos established throughout the Distrikt were relatively small, holding from only a few hundred up to around 4,000 people.

A number of additional ghettos were established in Distrikt Radom in 1940; among them were Przedbórz (March 1940), Wodzisław (June 1940), and Włoszczowa (July 10, 1940). A temporary halt to ghetto building was called by Generalgouverneur Hans Frank in the summer of 1940, in view of the Madagascar Plan, but then several more ghettos (e.g., Opoczno) were established in the second half of 1940.

In the spring of 1941, German preparations for attacking the Soviet Union were accompanied by ghettoization plans affecting a number of communities within the Distrikt. At a meeting of the Kreis- und Stadthauptmänner, called by Distrikt governor Lasch at the end of March, he ordered the establishment of Jewish residential areas in larger towns and cities (Stadtkreise) by April 5, 1941. At this time, large ghettos were established in Kielce (April 5), Radom (April 3), and Częstochowa (April 9), which together in 1941 held approximately 100,000 people. Shortly afterwards, all three were sealed off, and thereafter the Jews living there needed special permission to leave them safely.



Jewish expellees from the town of Płock in the Wartheland are resettled in Chmielnik, February–March 1941. The Jews wear armbands and circular badges on their coats.
USHMM WS #96916, COURTESY OF VARDA KLEINHANDLER COHEN

This wave of ghetto establishment in the Distrikt in April 1941 was preceded by a second wave of deportations into Distrikt Radom. In February and March of 1941, 10,000 Jews arrived from Płock and another 4,000 from Vienna. This influx may have accelerated the establishment of some ghettos. From the beginning, conditions for the deportees were much worse than for the local Jews. Prior to their arrival, the Płock deportees were held for several days in a transit camp in Działdowo, and they arrived in the Kreis centers with small bundles, only to be sent away to small villages a few days or weeks later. One of the Płock transports, with 1,000 people, arrived in Końskie on March 6, 1941, in the midst of the ghetto's construction. Three days later, via Opoczno, these deportees were distributed among six smaller localities (e.g., 200 arrived in Drzewica on March 9, 1941). Most of the Viennese Jews were assimilated elderly professionals for whom life in the shtetl ghettos was especially harsh. They often migrated illegally to larger ghettos. Wherever there were large numbers of refugees, contagious diseases spread inevitably, as most were forced to live in sheds, shops, and synagogues and sometimes even in the streets.

There were also displacements conducted within the Distrikt; for instance, all 3,500 Jews were deported from Przytyk in March 1941, as this area, north of Radom, was designated to become a military training ground.[3] In some ghettos, the newcomers outnumbered the local Jews by a factor of two or more: in 1939, there were 500 Jews living in Koluszki, and by

May 1941 the Jewish population had more than doubled, rising to 1,177 residents of the recently established ghetto of which 873 were newcomers. At the end of 1941, more resettlements were carried out, and Jews from Kreis centers, again most of them deportees and refugees, were relocated to smaller localities due to the risk of spreading disease or simply to "beautify" the town. In Tomaszów, the Kreishauptmann used this opportunity to liquidate two of the three ghettos established there.

The administration of welfare was transferred from the Jewish Councils to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization (established in Kraków in May 1940) to help newcomers and the local poor. Its branches opened soup kitchens, distributed food and clothing, and sought to provide for children and the elderly. The level of assistance, due to insufficient funds, was disproportionately small in comparison to the need. In instances where the JSS members were also on the Jewish Council, tensions arose and consumed the energy of both sides, largely because the councils were unwilling to give up control of welfare. Consequently, the work of both institutions was hindered by accusations of corruption, embezzlement of public funds, favoritism, and political infighting. Jewish Councils were also criticized for their treatment of newcomers and members' comparatively lavish lifestyles; for enlisting the poor and refugees first for deportations, labor conscription, and transfer to the labor camps; and for being overly acquiescent towards the German authorities.



Entrance to the Radom Judenrat building at 8 Grodzka Street, ca. 1940. The sign to the left of the door, in German and Polish, reads, "Head of the Council of Elders of the Jewish population of the Radom District in Radom City."
COURTESY OF MUZEUM OKRĘGOWE W RADOMIU, WS #08305

The Judenrat's most common and effective means of dealing with the incessant German demands was to respond with bribery. In April 1942, Judenrat leaders from surrounding ghettos attended a joint conference in Sandomierz. One of the questions discussed was the possibility of organizing means of self-defense. Participants decided to look for resources to defend themselves by bribing the Germans, to "ward off disaster."[4]

In July 1941, Generalgouverneur Frank responded to requests from the Kreishauptmänner to ghettoize Jews, stating that he did not want any more ghettos created, as the Führer had declared on June 19 that soon the Jews would be removed from the Generalgouvernement.[5] Nonetheless, individual ghettos continued to be set up at this time, for example, in Odrzywół. However, by the fall of 1941, especially concerns about the spread of typhus among the Jews living in Distrikt Radom, as well as a desire to control black market activities, led German officials to intensify restrictions on Jews' freedom of movement and introduce a more systematic ghettoization throughout the Distrikt.

Until the autumn of 1941, Jews were punished with fines or imprisonment for leaving ghettos without special permission (e.g., in Przedbórz, until October 1941, Jews caught outside were fined between 5 and 50 złoty); yet in practice harsher measures were sometimes implemented. On October 25, 1941, backdated to October 15, Generalgouverneur Frank decreed that henceforth Jews leaving ghettos without permission were subject to the death penalty.[6] Initially these punishments were to be implemented by the Sondergerichte.

Then, on December 11, 1941, Distrikt governor Kundt announced again the death sentence for Jews leaving their places of residence, while further making the death sentence applicable to Poles sheltering or providing any form of assistance to Jews.[7] In his accompanying letter to the Kreis- und Stadthauptmänner, Kundt ordered them to put up signs marking the boundaries of designated Jewish districts (Jüdischer Wohnbezirke) and informing the Jews of the death penalty for leaving them.[8] In response to these instructions, a flurry of ghettoization measures followed, directed on the regional level by the Kreishauptmänner. For instance, the Końskie Kreishauptmann, Kurt Driessen, declared all settlements and villages with a Jewish population in his Kreis to be ghettos as of December 10, 1941. In Iłża, the Kreishauptmann announced on December 6, 1941, that such villages where ghettos had not yet been established would henceforth serve as a form of ghetto.[9]

As a result of these decrees, a number of new ghettos were created over the ensuing months, and many existing ones were now pronounced closed. Still, in many cases, "closed" did not mean physical enclosure. Many village ghettos with scattered houses were often impossible to physically divide,

for example, Wolanów or Gniewoszów. The closure of ghettos further devastated Jewish communities. Jews now had to risk their lives by sneaking in and out to barter for or buy food from villagers.

The process of concentrating all the Jews of Distrikt Radom began in early 1942 and lasted until the fall of 1942. Until May, Jews were allowed to live in 150 towns and settlements in Kreis Opatow. Only after an order dated May 13, 1942, from Kreishauptmann Ritter, were all Jews restricted to 5 towns and 12 settlements in the Kreis that were recognized as ghettos. June 1, 1942, was the deadline for resettlement. This late example of ghettoization was conducted as a part of preparations for Aktion Reinhard, the plan to exterminate the Jews living in the Generalgouvernement.

The next stage of concentration in Distrikt Radom aimed at transferring the Jewish communities to ghettos with railway access, that is, to a few selected ghettos in each Kreis. At this stage, the Kreis borders did not matter; for example, the Busko-Zdrój ghetto had no railway connection, so the Jews of Busko were transferred to Jędrzejów. Many such transfers occurred just weeks or days before the collection ghetto's liquidation, and they were always conducted with utter ruthlessness accompanied by murder.

Historians have recognized a number of harbingers of the mass deportations to come. Apart from the death penalty for leaving the ghetto and helping Jews, Adam Rutkowski refers to the February 1942 reduction of food talons (from 337,000 to 200,000) with which Distrikt Jews bought their rations. In addition, ration amounts were reduced by 50 percent. Also, between February and the end of April 1942, the Germans seized and killed prominent Jewish cultural, social, and especially political activists in many ghettos.[10] The goal was to terrorize Jews and forestall any attempts at self-defense. At the same time, the Germans were rounding up young Jews for work in labor camps in the Distrikt, many of which were producing munitions—for example, the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna.

From the spring of 1942, the JSS led a campaign to find employment for as many Jews as possible. It popularized the employment of Jews, including women, in agriculture. It also pushed for local JSS branches to organize vocational training courses and to set up workshops. As news of deportations and intensifying rumors about the killing centers reached the ghettos, there was a growing conviction that only those whom the Germans considered useful would be spared deportation. There are reports that some Jewish youths were volunteering for labor camps or even bribing their way in. Due to Judenrat efforts, tailoring workshops producing German army uniforms were set up in Staszów in August 1942, which temporarily secured the lives of 550 laborers upon the ghetto's liquidation in October 1942. In most ghettos, however, the Germans simply processed permissions to open workshops with the aim of preventing unrest. The limited possibilities for procuring work, whatever they were, were reserved mostly for men, with few openings for women and children.

The preparation of the deportations was in the hands of SSPF Herbert Böttcher and his staff, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Wilhelm Blum, who had been transferred in August 1942 from the personal staff of the Lublin SSPF, Odilo Globocnik, the commander of Aktion Reinhard. Execution of their orders was left to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) for Distrikt Radom, SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Wilhelm Liphardt, who established Sonderkommando Feucht, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Adolf Feucht, to plan and direct the individual deportation Aktions. The ghetto liquidations were implemented with the support of a number of Trawniki-trained auxiliaries (mostly from Ukraine or the Baltic states) and German Order Police units (battalions and stationary units of the Schutzpolizei and Gendarmerie). In some places, units of the Polish (Blue) Police, fire brigades, ethnic German Sonderdienst, and Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) also assisted them.

In many ghettos, prior to the liquidation Aktions, a new round of registrations was conducted and new identification cards issued, to separate so-called productive Jews from the remainder of the population. The number of Jews to be spared for labor camps in the Distrikt was set at approximately 30,000.

Rutkowski estimates that at the onset of Aktion Reinhard (in early August 1942), some 300,000 Jews were living in Distrikt Radom isolated in ghettos. According to Heinrich Himmler's order of July 19, 1942, all Jews were to be deported from the Generalgouvernement by December 31, 1942.[11] The process of ghetto liquidation was much more uniform than the process of their establishment and was conducted in an almost identical manner in both small and large ghettos. The destruction of the ghettos is much better researched and understood by scholars than the events leading up to it.

Some organizers of the Warsaw Uprising were in contact with several ghettos in Distrikt Radom, including those in Kielce, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, and Żarki. They distributed underground press materials and supplied funding for other resistance activities. Communist youth in the Ostrowiec ghetto had planned to set the town ablaze to facilitate escape in case of the ghetto's liquidation, but this plan was not realized. A number of Jews managed to escape from the ghettos and join partisan units; and sometimes they established their own, as was the case in Sandomierz, Częstochowa, Jędrzejów, Szydłowiec, and Ostrowiec.

The liquidations began with the seat of the Distrikt governor, Radom, on August 4–5, 1942, and were conducted Kreis by Kreis. Due to the large numbers of escapees during the course of the deportations, on September 21, 1942, Kundt announced once again his order that Poles face the death sentence for even the smallest assistance provided to Jews. As punishment for aiding Jewish escapees, often entire families were gunned down and their households razed. News of such punitive actions terrified the Polish population.

The last of the ghettos, located in Kreis Konskie, was liquidated at the beginning of November 1942. The complete liquidation of the ghettos in Distrikt Radom took only a little over three months. All but one of the transports went to the Treblinka extermination camp. Those Jews concentrated in Sandomierz were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. In many of the ghettos, a few Jews were retained to sort Jewish belongings or perform other labor tasks, in so-called small ghettos. In larger localities, such as Częstochowa, thousands of Jews initially were spared.

A number of Polish (Blue) Police actively participated in the manhunts that followed the liquidations. The plunder of Jewish property was the main motive for the majority of murders and denunciations of Jews in hiding, as committed by villagers, common criminals, and roving bands of people, who acted under the false cover of "partisan activity." Some right-wing resistance groups also engaged in such activities, and part of their motivation was ideological.

On November 10, 1942, the HSSPF of the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, issued an order creating four remnant ghettos in Distrikt Radom. They were established in Radomsko, Sandomierz, Szydłowiec, and Ujazd.[12] Their purpose was to lure out of hiding those who had evaded the deportations, by promising them safety and work. Approximately 17,000 Jews eventually were sent to these ghettos. Some people were transferred there from the small ghettos on their liquidation, while others emerged from the forests and bunkers, generally from sheer desperation. All these remnant ghettos were liquidated quickly within a few days on January 5–13, 1943. Although the Germans claimed that at this time the Distrikt was free of Jews (*judenfrei*), some Jews continued to live in small ghettos and other labor camps that the Germans had established, for example, in Częstochowa, Kielce, Ostrowiec, and Radom. Nevertheless, upon the completion of Aktion Reinhard, those Jews permitted to remain in Distrikt Radom were allowed to live legally only in labor camps.

SOURCES Secondary works including regional coverage of the history of Jews in the Distrikt Radom ghettos include Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 75–182; Kazimierz Jaroszek and Sebastian Piątkowski, *Martyrologia Żydów w więzieniu radomskim 1939–1944: Wykaz zamordowanych, zmarłych, deportowanych do obozów koncentracyjnych i obozów zagłady* (Radom: Archiwum Państwowe, 1997); Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997); Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007); Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998); Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Organizacja i realizacja 'akcji Reinhardt' w dystrykcie radomskim," in Dariusz Libionka et al., eds., *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN-Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2004), pp. 182–202; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); Alina Skibińska and Jakub Petelewicz, "Udział Polaków w zbrodniach na Żydach na prowincji regionu świętokrzyskiego," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 1:1 (2005): 114–148, also in English translation, by Jerzy Michałowicz, as "The Participation of Poles in Crimes against Jews in the Swietokrzyskie Region," *Yad Vashem Studies*, no. 35 (2007): 1–44; Stanisław Meducki, "Ekonomiczne aspekty eksterminacji Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim," *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 33 (1998); Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Żydzi dystryktu radomskiego w okresie II wojny światowej: Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej odbytej w Radomiu 27 września 1997 roku* (Radom: Radomskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1998); Sebastian Piątkowski, "Deportacje Żydów z dystryktu radomskiego do obozów pracy przymusowej na Lubelszczyźnie w 1940 roku," *Almanach Historyczny* 1 (1999): 185–198; Sebastian Piątkowski, "Organizacja i działalność Naczelnej Rady Starszych Ludności Żydowskiej Dystryktu Radomskiego (1939–1942)," *BŻIH*, no. 3 (2000): 342–355; Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom, 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006); *Ghettos 1939–1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival: Symposium Presentations* (Washington, DC: CAHS, USHMM, 2005); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1980); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo radomskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1980); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo częstochowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1986); and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo piotrkowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; APC; APK; APR; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; IPN; NARA; USHMM; VHF; WL; YIVO; and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

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2. Christopher R. Browning, "Before the 'Final Solution': Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland (1940–1941)," in *Ghettos 1939–1945*, p. 4.

3. AŻIH, JSS, 211/430; A. Rotkowski [*sic*], "The War and the Destruction of the Jewish Population in the Radom Region" (trans. Jerrold Landau), in *Przytyk Memorial Book* (transition of David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Przytyk* [Tel Aviv: Przytyk Societies in Israel, France and the USA, 1973]), p. 257.

4. AŻIH, 301/47.

5. Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, eds., *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1975), p. 386.

6. *Verodnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs*, 1941, p. 595.

7. IPN, NTN (Bühler Trial), vol. 335, pp. 96 ff.; and APR, Zbiór afiszów, plakatów i druków ulotnych 1939–1945, p. 481, both as cited by Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, p. 247.

8. BA-BL, R 52II/254, Rundschreiben Oswalds, Leiter der Abteilung Innere Verwaltung im Distrikt Radom, December 11, 1942, as cited by Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 121.

9. AŻIH, NMO, Fot. dok. Niem. nos. 55 and 56.

10. BA-L, B 162/14521, Verdict of LG-Darm, December 7, 1972, pp. 31–32.

11. BA-BL, NS 19/1757.

12. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.



Borders as of 1942

BĘDKÓW

Pre-1939: Będków, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bedkow, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Będków, Łódź województwo, Poland

Będków is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) east-southeast of Łódź. On the eve of World War II, there were 228 Jews (32.8 percent of all residents) living in Będków.

German armed forces occupied the village in September 1939. According to one source, many Jews left Będków at the time of the occupation, probably in an attempt to escape from the fighting as the front passed through. However, it appears that most returned to their homes shortly afterwards. Within days of their arrival, German forces introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were stripped of their property, registered and marked with the Star of David, forced to remain within the town limits, and coerced to perform various kinds of heavy physical labor.

It is not clear when a ghetto was established in Będków. *Pinkas ha-kehilot* states that a ghetto was established in April or May of 1942. Robert Seidel claims that in the second half of July 1942 the Jews from Będków were deported to Biała Rawska, according to a decree issued by the official dealing with Jewish affairs in the Office of Internal Administration (Judensachbearbeiter im Amt Innere Verwaltung) of Kreis Tomaschow, Karl Frees, and in order to concentrate the Jews in a number of selected ghettos.[1] Other sources claim that August 1942 was the date of this resettlement.[2]

The resettlement to Biała Rawska took place with harsh brutality. Administrative personnel of the village had to report the numbers and names of Jews according to two categories: Jews who had come to Będków before November 1, 1941, were considered to have "moved illegally" and had to pay a fee; Jews who had moved to Będków after November 1, 1941, were accused of having illegally left the location assigned to them—a crime that was subject to the death penalty. All Jews were forcibly moved to Biała Rawska; their houses were searched and their property confiscated. The Jewish Council was forced to pay for the resettlement, and in case there was insufficient money, remaining Jewish property was to be sold to pay for these expenses.[3]

Most likely, after this resettlement a labor camp (or perhaps rather a "Sammelghetto") was erected in Będków for a few weeks. Established on September 20, 1942, it was located on the property of Wojciech Pachniewicz, a local farmer, and measured 24 by 50 meters (79 by 164 feet).[4] About 300 to 350 Jews were kept here, including several dozen Jewish refugees from Tuszyn and Rzgów, in western Poland. The inmates were taken to work in local fields as well as at a construction site along the road connecting Będków and Praszki. According to witness statements, several inmates died in the camp, and about 10 inmates were taken to Koluszki, where they were presumably executed. The camp was dissolved at the beginning of November 1942.[5] Most likely, the inmates were sent via Tomaszów Mazowiecki to the Treblinka killing center.[6]

SOURCES There are not many sources available on the Będków ghetto. The Jewish community of Będków and its destruction are described in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 77; and a short mention of the ghetto can be found in Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006), p. 298. The ghetto is also listed in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 95. The Będków ghetto is also mentioned in Cezary Jabłoński, "Eksterminacja Żydów i cyganów w zachodnich powiatach dystryktu radomskiego w latach 1939–45," in GKBZHwP, *Międzynarodowa sekcja naukowa nt. hitlerowskie ludobójstwo w Polce i Europie 1939–1945*, Warsaw, April 14–17, 1983, pp. 1–10.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Będków can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/254); BA-L (ZStL, 206 AR-Z 12/63); IPN; and YVA. Relevant collections at the USHMM include RG-15.019M (IPN—ASG) and Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH—AJDC, 210/254).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, 206-AR-Z 12/63, pp. 447–448, closing report of April 14, 1964.
2. Jabłoński, "Eksterminacja Żydów," p. 3.
3. Anordnung Kreishauptmann Tomaschow/Innere Verwaltung, July 16, 1942, in BA-L, B 162/26091 (206 AR-Z 12/63, Sonderband I), pp. 139–140. See also final report of ZStL, April 14, 1964, in BA-L, B 162/26092 (206 AR-Z 12/63, vol. 3), pp. 447–450.
4. USHMM, RG-15.019M.
5. Ibid.
6. According to the data of ŻIH, Warsaw, the date for the liquidation of the camp (ghetto) is given here as September 1942.

BIAŁACZÓW

Pre-1939: Białaczów, town, Opoczno powiat, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Bialatschew, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Białaczów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Białaczów is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) east-southeast of Łódź, a few kilometers due south of Opoczno. In 1921, 166 out of the 1,290 inhabitants of the town were Jews.

In September 1939, the German army took over the Białaczów area. From the start of the occupation, living conditions for the Jewish community steadily deteriorated. Jews lost their property and their jobs, and the Jewish community soon was pressed hard to cover its expenditures. Probably in 1941, a local office of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was opened in

Białaczów. It was under the supervision of the JSS office in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, run by Henryk Szczęśliwy. The records of the JSS provide valuable insight into the fate of Białaczów's Jews. The local Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by M. Połaczyński, worked hard to provide food and shelter for the members of the community. On June 12, 1941, the Białaczów Judenrat reported to the JSS head office in Kraków that the situation was desperate: a lack of medicine and medical care had resulted in several deaths. A soup kitchen was in existence, which provided 240 lunches per day. However, the prices for groceries were high, the funds of the Jewish Council almost exhausted, and requests for help sent to the Kreishauptmann and the Jewish Council in Tomaszów went unanswered. The situation deteriorated following the arrival of Jews from other towns. On July 9, 1941, about 20 Jewish families (about 205 people) arrived who had been deported from Płock via the Działdowo transit camp in March 1941. Among them were many children, sick, and elderly people. Some 40 more Jews also arrived from Mława. The refugees were impoverished, and there was no work available for them. About 20 families of resettled Jews were in need of immediate help. Many of the refugees were not able to pay for their food, and the Jewish Council was concerned that due to hunger and overcrowding, outbreaks of epidemics, such as typhus and dysentery, might soon develop.[1]

The JSS tried to help as much as possible, for example, with repeated distributions of money or groceries. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the small local Jewish community consisted of only about 18 families. Most of them were craftsmen or small merchants who had lost their sources of income and therefore were incapable of providing support for the 50 or so families of refugees.[2] Out of about 350 Jews in the community altogether, there were some 240 deportees in need, but only about 150 could receive a daily meal from the JSS. The general conditions also deteriorated. According to an eyewitness, two Gestapo men shot a group of Jews in the summer of 1941. The incident happened around noon at the market square: the Gestapo men were drunk and began to fire into a group of Jews. About 30 people were killed or wounded.[3]

On July 8, 1941, the Jewish Council had to close the soup kitchen due to a lack of funding, but it was instructed by the JSS that they had to reopen it—or otherwise, they would not receive further deliveries of groceries.[4] In early August 1941, the soup kitchen was reopened, but the Jewish Council reported: "the conditions here are horrible beyond description."[5] With the approach of winter, the outlook was bleak. In October 1941, about 25 Jews had to be taken to the Opoczno hospital, as they were suffering from various infections. The Jewish community was not capable of paying the high expenses needed for their hospital stay and funerals, and again they requested help from the JSS. The same applied to expenses of 3,000 złoty needed for a disinfection and delousing chamber, which the German authorities had ordered the Jewish community to build.[6]

There is only limited information on the fate of the Jews in the spring and summer of 1942, as reports from the JSS for that period are not available. By this time, Jews faced the death penalty if caught outside the town limits without permission, as was the case in the Kreis center of Tomaszów Mazowiecki, where 10 Jews were shot in April 1942 for leaving the ghetto to trade on the black market.[7] Felix Brand, a Jewish survivor who passed through Białaczów around this time, noted that "the town was a ghetto. . . . Jews were not supposed to leave the perimeter of the town and would be killed if they left without permission." Despite the dangers, he decided himself to flee once he heard rumors that they were closing up the ghettos, as he feared he might become trapped there.[8]

The number of Jews began to decline—either because people tried to escape or because they were sent to German forced labor camps.[9] On October 2, 1942, about 250 Jews were sent to Opoczno, and only 27 remained in Białaczów. One source states that 9 Jews were killed around that time and were buried in a nearby forest, but it is unclear if these Jews had tried to escape; were killed during the roundup for expulsion to Opoczno; or were killed at a later date when they were uncovered in hiding. Another source states that about 30 Jews were killed when the inhabitants of the Białaczów ghetto were taken to Opoczno.[10]

The concentration of Jews in larger towns prior to their deportation to concentration camps and extermination sites was a common German practice. Usually, only a few Jews were left behind to clear out the empty ghetto. Most likely, the same practice was used in Białaczów, and the 27 remaining Jews were kept behind to sort the Jewish belongings and to clean out the empty Jewish houses. On October 27, 1942, these remaining Jews were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp, as were the Białaczów Jews who had been sent to Opoczno and the Jews from Paradyż and Skrzynno who had all been gathered in Opoczno. The deportation transport to Treblinka consisted of about 3,000 people.[11]

SOURCES The Jewish community of Białaczów and its fate during World War II are described in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 68; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2007), pp. 165–166, 203, 272; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 96. The Białaczów ghetto is also mentioned in *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 91, 153, 177.

Archival sources concerning the Jewish community of Białaczów during World War II include the following: AŻIH; USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC, 1939–1941], 210/258; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH—JSS, 1939–1944], 211/142); VHF (# 2642); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/142, Jewish Council Białaczów to chair of JSS in Kraków, June 12, 1941.
2. Ibid., letter October 19, 1941.

3. According to the recollections of Krystyna Debowska in Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), p. 128.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/142, letters of Judenrat to JSS, July 27, 1941, and JSS to Judenrat, July 24, 1941.

5. Ibid., Judenrat to JSS, August 8, 1941.

6. Ibid., M. Plaszynski, Obmann des Judenrates to AJDC Kraków, October 10, 1941. On November 13, 1941, the Judenrat reported that the Jewish hospital in Opoczno charged 15 złoty per person per day and the Polish hospital only 6.

7. BA-L, B 162/14521, Verdict of LG-Darm, 2 Ks 1/69, December 7, 1972, p. 24.

8. VHF, # 2642, testimony of Felix Brand.

9. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 68.

10. Ibid.; and Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 96.

11. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 68; and Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 272.

BIAŁA RAWSKA

Pre-1939: Biała Rawska, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Biała Rawska is located about 70 kilometers (43 miles) east of Łódź. In 1921, there were 1,429 Jews out of a total population of 2,323. In 1939, it is estimated that about 1,250 Jews were residing in Biała Rawska.[1]

Units of the German army entered the town on September 9, 1939. When the German forces arrived, they assembled many Jews and Poles in the market square and ordered them to clap their hands and cheer the German troops. These scenes were photographed for propaganda purposes. According to one account in the yizkor book, shortly after their arrival German forces arrested hundreds of Jews in the town, both refugees and local Jews, and then shot every tenth person. On the streets in and around Biała Rawska there lay the bodies of many Jews who had been killed either in the bombardment of the town or having been shot by the Germans.[2]

At the end of October 1939, Biała Rawska became a town in Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, in the Generalgouvernement. The new German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, which effectively placed Jews outside the law. The Jews were forced to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. Germans assisted by local Poles stole Jewish property from their houses with impunity. Among the restrictions the Germans imposed was a prohibition on Jews working in their professions; Jews were also forbidden to engage in trade.[3] The Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and also a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst).

Since Biała Rawska had not been incorporated into the Reich, it did not suffer from the mass evacuation of much of the Jewish population that affected many other towns in the area around Łódź at the end of 1939. However, during the first year of the occupation, there was a steady influx of many refugees, mainly from the towns near Łódź. In May 1941, among the 2,328 Jews counted in Biała Rawska, there were 928 refugees; and by July 1941, the Jewish population had increased to about 4,700. Some local Jews, however, also left the town during the period up to July 1941. The Jews that remained in Biała Rawska did their best to assist the refugees.[4] The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization provided aid to 2,000 people, and a public kitchen was organized that served 250 hot meals per day.[5]



A sampling of the more than 300 identification card photos of local Jewish residents found on the floor of the Biała Rawska Gestapo headquarters, January 1945. They were discovered by Leon Sztubert, a Jewish survivor from the town, who spent the war in hiding in a nearby forest. Pictured (from top row left and across each row) are Boleslaw Zajz; Yehuda Mayer Kurtzbojm; Dvora Filosoff; Reva [illegible]; "sister of Hinda" (d. 1941); Mendel Weber; Rywka Marchew; Chana Tauba Hauberg; and "Zelcer."
USHMM WS #30125, COURTESY OF LILKA ELBAUM

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Biała Rawska in the western part of town, which occupied about one third of the town's area.[6] The Jews were forced to live under terribly overcrowded conditions, with six or seven families sharing a room.[7] As a result, various epidemic diseases, especially typhus, spread among the ghetto population, raising the mortality rate to 10 persons per day. To combat this, a hospital was set up within the ghetto.



A Jewish policeman salutes six other officers standing at attention in the Biała Rawska ghetto, n.d. The policemen's clothing and footwear varied, but most wear armlets, caps with badges, badges and lanyards on their tunics, and belts.
USHMM WS #30203, COURTESY OF LILKA ELBAUM

Jews performed forced labor outside the ghetto on road construction, in agriculture, and cleaning the streets of the town.[8] Otherwise Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, but many Jews continued to sneak out and trade with the local peasants in the villages. They exchanged their clothes for flour, potatoes, bread, and other food products. If they were caught outside the ghetto, they could be shot on the spot. At some time before the liquidation of the ghetto, probably in late April 1942, the Gestapo arrested nine young Jews and shot them in the Jewish cemetery.[9]

Between April and July 1942, a number of Jews capable of work were sent from the Biała Rawska ghetto to perform forced labor at the munitions factory camp (Hugo Schneider AG, HASAG) in Skarżysko-Kamienna. In the second half of July 1942, the overcrowding in the ghetto became more intense when Jews from Będków and Ujazd were rounded up and brought into the Biała Rawska ghetto.[10] This concentration of the Jews, together with rumors of the liquidation of other ghettos, meant that in the summer and fall of 1942 the Jews of Biała Rawska became increasingly nervous that soon their turn would be next. A few people decided to take desperate measures to save what they could. Elke Gviazda gave birth to a son in the ghetto in August 1942, but after much heart searching, she and her husband Antshl gave the child to the family of a Polish cobbler who lived in a nearby village, who agreed to hide the child in return for a sizable payment. The Polish family hid him for much of the time in a small space under a bed before subsequently moving to Warsaw. Their efforts succeeded in saving the life of Mendele Gviazda, who had been circumcised and was only three months old when he was given away just prior to the liquidation of the ghetto.[11]

On October 26, 1942, the ghetto inmates (about 4,000 people) were forcibly resettled into the ghetto of Rawa Mazowiecka, where they had to sleep on the streets on arrival. At dawn on October 27, the Jews found the ghetto surrounded by German and Polish (Blue) Police, and over the following days, together with the Jews of Rawa Mazowiecka, the Germans deported the Jews of Biała Rawska by train to the extermination camp of Treblinka. The Jews were crammed into the enclosed railcars so tightly that many people suffocated on the journey. On arrival at Treblinka, all of the remaining Jews were murdered in the gas chambers.[12]

Following the evacuation of the Jews from Biała Rawska, some of the houses in the ghetto were demolished, and the rest were occupied by the local population. After the war, among the very few remaining traces of the Jewish community of Biała Rawska were the ruined walls of the synagogue, which had been built at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[13]

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jewish community of Biała Rawska and its destruction during the Holocaust include: Eliyahu Freudenreich and Arye Yaakobovits, eds., *Sefer yizkor le-kedoshai Biala Rawska* (Tel Aviv: Biala Rawska Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1972); and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 68–69.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Biała Rawska can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/210); BA-L (B 162/6090-92); IPN (ASG, sygn. 51, p. 188); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 16; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 14); VHF (# 24254); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 14, 211/210, p. 3. "Aytsug fun 'Mgilah Pulin' vegn Biala-Ravska," zugeshikt fun Velvl Goldberg, in Freudenreich and Yaakobovits, *Sefer yizkor le-kedoshai Biala Rawska*, p. 175, gives the figure of 1,200 Jews prior to World War II.
2. "Aytsug fun 'Mgilah Pulin' vegn Biala-Ravska," p. 175.
3. Ishrael-Hersh Bielski, "Umkum fun der bialer yidisher kehilah," in Freudenreich and Yaakobovits, *Sefer yizkor le-kedoshai Biala Rawska*, p. 148.
4. Ibid.; A. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 153.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 14, 211/210, pp. 3 and 10, reports of June and July 1941.
6. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 69; Bielski, "Umkum fun der bialer yidisher kehilah," pp. 148–149; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, ASG sygn. 51 (Łódź województwo), pp. 188 and reverse side; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 153.
7. Bielski, "Umkum fun der bialer yidisher kehilah," p. 149.
8. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, ASG 51 (Łódź województwo), pp. 188 and verso.
9. VHF, # 24254, testimony of Sara Knecht. In April 1942 the Security Police in the Generalgouvernement conducted a widespread Aktion against suspected Communists that resulted in hundreds of Jews being shot.
10. BA-L, B 162/6092, pp. 447 ff., 206 AR-Z 12/63, Abschlussbericht, April 14, 1964; Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besat-*

zungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom, 1939–1945 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 298–299, 307–308.

11. Velvl Goldberg, "Geratevet a yidish kind," pp. 194–196; Ziml Kupershmidt, "Der gurl fun a Mentsh," pp. 202–203—both in Freudenreich and Yaakobovits, *Sefer yizkor le-kedoshai Biala Rawska.* Mendele Gviazda was subsequently identified as a hidden Jewish child by the Jewish Committee in Warsaw in 1946.

12. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 69, 259–260; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, ASG, sygn. 51 (Łódź województwo), pp. 188 and verso.

13. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, ASG, sygn. 51 (Łódź województwo), pp. 188 and verso.

BIAŁOBRZEGI

Pre-1939: Białobrzegi (Yiddish: Byalobz'ig), village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bialobrzegi, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Białobrzegi, town and county seat, Białobrzegi powiat, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Białobrzegi lies on the Pilica River, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the north of Radom, on the main road leading to Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, 1,814 Jews lived in Białobrzegi, constituting 60 percent of the village's inhabitants.[1]

The Germans occupied Białobrzegi on September 9, 1939. In the fall of 1939, the German authorities ordered members of the Jewish Council of Elders to collect a "contribution" of 40,000 złoty, an enormous sum, considering local conditions. Białobrzegi Jews were also subjected to various antisemitic measures decreed by the German authorities, including the inclusion of markings on their clothing and confiscations.

In October 1939, the town became part of Kreis Radom-Land, governed by Kreishauptmann Dr. Friedrich Egen, but it lay directly on the border with Kreis Grojec in Distrikt Warschau. There was an outpost of the Gendarmerie on Piłsudski Street but no permanent Gestapo presence.

A Judenrat was established to represent the local Jewish community to the German authorities. Abram Goldberg, a local merchant, became its chairman. The Judenrat created a 20-man Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), which was commanded by Nusyn Minkowski.[2] In the winter of 1939–1940, the Germans ordered the Jews to perform forced labor, which consisted of removing snow from the roads leading to the village. Subsequent forced labor tasks included bridge construction, work on various surrounding estates, and work for the ZEORK (Zakłady Energetyczne Okręgu Radomsko-Kieleckiego) electrical company, as well as for the Gendarmerie.

From the spring of 1940 until October 1942, living conditions for Białobrzegi's Jews declined steadily, due to the arrival of successive waves of Jewish refugees from other places. For example, in the spring of 1941, the Germans resettled 53 Jewish families from Przytyk in Białobrzegi.[3] Jews also came from other places nearby, including Stromiec and Wyśmierzyce, and in July or August 1942, from Jedlińsk, as well as from towns in Distrikt Warschau, such as from Warka, Grójec, Nowe Miasto, Mogielnica, and Warsaw.[4] This migration was fostered in part by the widespread belief that one could still secure some kind of livelihood in Białobrzegi, for instance, from trade, as the enforcement of German regulations was initially less stringent than in larger towns. In April and May 1941, scores of Jewish escapees from Warsaw and its environs arrived daily in Białobrzegi. The majority of them were completely impoverished.[5]

The Germans established a Jewish residential area (open ghetto) in Białobrzegi in April or May 1941. The ghetto covered the western part of the village. Its border cut in half Krakowska Street, a main road in Białobrzegi. From there, it stretched to the buildings neighboring the river. Not all Polish families were expelled initially from the ghetto's terrain. Some were permitted to continue living there. In August 1941, official statistics claimed that 2,865 Jews lived in the ghetto, including 135 petty merchants and traders, nearly 200 tradesman, and 180 physical laborers.[6]

Following Kreishauptmann Dr. Egen's order of December 22, 1941, on the establishment of ghettos in the Kreis, the ghetto in Białobrzegi was sealed in January 1942, as more Jews from the surrounding villages were required to move there.[7] Despite the prohibition on leaving the ghetto, now enforced with the death penalty, many people attempted to leave in search of provisions, and some of these attempts ended tragically. The Gendarmerie maintained a powerful presence. They patrolled Białobrzegi and the surrounding area, shooting on the spot any Jew found outside the ghetto without a valid permit (some Jews were permitted to move back and forth to labor sites outside the town). The Gendarmes frequently entered the ghetto; on occasion, they murdered individual Jews caught not wearing their armband or known to have been outside the ghetto illegally. The commander of the Gendarmerie post was an official of the Schutzpolizei named Wiechern; among the most notorious of his subordinates was a man named Josef Pfalzgraf, who shot Jews on numerous occasions.[8]

Tight control over the ghetto created severe impoverishment and hunger on a massive scale. The official daily food ration was only 80 grams (2.8 ounces) of bread per person. Białobrzegi's Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee, directed by the physician Dr. Rafał Bułka, tried to assist the most impoverished by establishing a community kitchen to offer reduced-cost meals. In the first months of the ghetto's existence, the committee could afford only to distribute 600 meals daily: one third of the demand.[9] The absence of financial resources forced the kitchen to close after a while. The JSS and the Judenrat worked together to create an isolation hospital for those with infectious diseases; however, it had room for only 15 patients.[10]

In the summer of 1942, the poverty and starvation that reigned in the Białobrzegi ghetto reached their peak. Survivor Shlomo Kligerman recalled: "The Nazis massed all the Jews from the surrounding villages in Byalabgige [Białobrzegi], and the overcrowding was appalling. People were dying on the

street from hunger, and from time to time the Nazis would seize people from the streets for labor."[11] In July or August 1942, some of the remaining Jews from the Jedlińsk ghetto and also the Jews of Wyśmierzyce were brought to Białobrzegi.[12] In September 1942, there were several recorded incidents of Jews being shot by the Gendarmerie for leaving the ghetto in search of food.[13]

On October 1 (or possibly September 1), 1942, German-led forces liquidated the ghetto.[14] First, members of the Jewish Police went from house to house, telling the Jews to gather at the market square.[15] At this time, a deep cordon of police had already surrounded the ghetto. German Gendarmes, Polish (Blue) Police, officials of the Security Police, and their Ukrainian auxiliaries—many of them drunk—entered the ghetto. The patients of the isolation hospital were murdered on the spot. The Germans also shot many old and sick Jews, as well as children, inside the town. Eyewitnesses indicate that around 200 people were murdered and buried at the Jewish cemetery in Białobrzegi on this day.[16] (A Polish exhumation report indicates that at least 125 people were buried at the Jewish cemetery and that around 500 people [including some non-Jews] altogether were murdered by the German occupiers in and around Białobrzegi during the occupation.)[17] On the market square the Germans selected around 100 Jews who were young and healthy for work tasks. Then about 3,500 Jews were formed into a marching column and escorted through Stromiec to the train station in the town of Dobieszyn. During this march, the police escorts beat or shot many Jews who were unable to keep up with the column. The train, composed of cattle wagons, which was waiting in Dobieszyn, left after a few hours in the direction of the Treblinka extermination camp, where the Jews were murdered on arrival.

About 200 Jewish men and 10 women, who had either been selected on the market square during the liquidation Aktion or returned to Białobrzegi from nearby work camps shortly thereafter, were confined within three adjacent houses next to the market square. Some of these Jews had to work cleaning out the ghetto, while others worked for the ZEORK company or for the Order Police. Most of these Jews were deported by truck to the munitions factory at Skarżysko-Kamienna in December 1942. From here some were sent to Częstochowa, Auschwitz, and other concentration camps. A few Jews from Białobrzegi survived the labor camps in Sucha, Pionki, and other places.[18]

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jewish community of Białobrzegi and its fate during the Holocaust include Regina Renz, ed., *Białobrzegi. Studia i szkice z dziejów miasta* (Białobrzegi, 1996); and the yizkor book edited by David Avraham Mandelboim, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Byalobz'ig* (Tel Aviv, 1991), which includes short biographical sketches of a number of survivors.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR (AgB 188); AŻIH (211/213-214 [ŻSS Białobrzegi]); BA-L (B 162/6305-06); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.2004.625 [Samuel Heider memoir]); VHF (e.g., # 1969, 39802); and YVA.

Sebastian Piątkowski and Martin Dean
trans. Laura Crago

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 211/213-214 (ŻSS Białobrzegi).
2. APR, AgB 188.
3. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1037, dates the resettlement in April 1941; VHF, # 39802, dates it in July 1941; other Jews were moved from Przytyk to Skaryszew and Szydłowiec at this time.
4. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 98; and Sebastian Piątkowski, "Białobrzegi i okolice w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1945)," in Renz, *Białobrzegi*, pp. 161–162.
5. AŻIH, 211/213-214 (ŻSS Białobrzegi). See also BA-L, B 162/6305, p. 209, statement of Josef Friedmann, March 6, 1964, and p. 235, statement of Arie Leib Berkowicz, March 12, 1964.
6. AŻIH, 211/213-214 (ŻSS Białobrzegi).
7. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), p. 122. Most Jewish survivors date the ghetto's establishment in January 1942; see BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 191, 196, 230, 233–234.
8. Piątkowski, "Białobrzegi," pp. 163–164; and Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw, 1983), pp. 262–263. See BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 247–249, arrest order for Josef Pfalzgraf, May 19, 1965. VHF, # 1969, testimony of Abram Piasek, mentions that a boy was shot for going only a few yards outside the ghetto.
9. AŻIH, 211/213-214 (ŻSS Białobrzegi).
10. Ibid.
11. Mandelboim, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Byalobz'ig*, p. 345 (Shlomo Kligerman).
12. BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 200–203, 237–240, 241–243, statements by surviving Jews from the Jedlińsk ghetto; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 578.
13. See, for example, BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 207, 223–225, 235.
14. October 1, 1942, is given by most Jewish survivors; see BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 191, 196, 205, 209, 223, 226, 234. Others, however, date it on September 1; see pp. 213, 217.
15. Ibid., p. 210.
16. Ibid., p. 193.
17. Ibid., pp. 288–289.
18. Ibid., pp. 185, 189, 193–194, 196–197.

BLIŻYN

Pre-1939: Bliżyn, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Blizyn, Kreis Kielce-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Bliżyn, village, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Bliżyn is located about 43 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Radom. The Jewish population in the village was rather small; the 1921 census registered only 47 Jews in Bliżyn. A few hundred more Jews resided in the surrounding villages. In February 1941, the number of Jews in Bliżyn and the adjacent villages linked to the Bliżyn kehillah was estimated at about 375.[1]

After the German occupation, the situation of the Jews in Bliżyn steadily deteriorated. According to the correspondence of the Bliżyn Jewish Council (Judenrat) with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), the 45 families of Bliżyn's Jewish community were already in urgent need of material support in 1940. From the summer of 1940, the AJDC began to deliver food to Bliżyn's Jews. In July 1940, Bliżyn received 45 kilograms (99.2 pounds) of grits, 11 kilograms (24.3 pounds) of sugar, 42 kilograms (92.6 pounds) of flour, 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of lard, and 15 cans of condensed milk.[2] In total, two deliveries of food were made in 1940. Another indicator of the poor living conditions of the local Jews was the fact that in the spring of 1940 a sanitary commission was established, which consisted of 10 people.[3] But there is no indication that a ghetto had been created at this time.

In February 1941, there were already about 100 Jewish refugees from Łódź in Bliżyn, who had arrived at some time after September 1939.[4] Then in March 1941, the situation was exacerbated by the arrival of more than 200 Jews who had been deported from Płock via the Działdowo transit camp. These Jews arrived completely exhausted and dressed only in rags. About 700 Jews from Płock also arrived in the nearby town of Suchedniów.[5]

With the meager means available to the Bliżyn Jewish community, there was not much it could do to help the new arrivals. The soup kitchen of the Jewish community delivered 250 lunch meals per day, but supplies were scarce. The Jewish population, especially the new arrivals, was in a pitiable condition. In April 1941, the AJDC sent 500 złoty to the Jewish community, but this did not improve the situation very much. In May 1941, Chaim Razenki, chairman of the Jewish Council, reported that Bliżyn was now home to 211 former inhabitants of Płock, of whom about 75 were living in mass quarters, while the others were staying with local families. An outpatient hospital (Ambulatorium) and a quarantine station had been established, where people suspected of infectious diseases could be treated. However, funds were running short, and Razenki pointed out that the soup kitchen could only operate on a limited basis, as the food supply was not guaranteed.[6] On May 20, the AJDC responded by transferring 750 złoty from its own funds and 500 złoty from the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS).[7] The regional branch of JSS had been founded on November 20, 1940, headed by Dr. Eliezer Polak.[8]

In the first months of 1942, the German authorities began a larger resettlement within Distrikt Radom. The civil administration began to concentrate the Jews in a few locations, especially bringing Jews from the countryside and villages into towns closer to railroad stations. This was intended to facilitate their subsequent deportation to labor and extermination camps. Due to its proximity to a major railroad line, Bliżyn was selected as one of the locations where Jews were concentrated, serving as a temporary transit ghetto.[9] Almost no records concerning Bliżyn have survived from this period. Later in that year, probably in August 1942, the Bliżyn Jews, about 600 people altogether, were brought to the collection ghetto in Suchedniów. During this deportation Aktion, about 30 Jews were killed.[10] From there, the remainder were sent with about 3,500 other Jews to the extermination camp in Treblinka on September 22, 1942.[11] It is probable that some of the Bliżyn Jews were among the 570 able-bodied Jews selected for work and sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) munitions factory camp at Skarżysko-Kamienna in the course of two transports in August and September 1942.[12]

On March 8, 1943, a forced labor camp for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*) was established in Bliżyn. The camp eventually held about 5,000 to 6,000 prisoners, both male and female, becoming a subcamp of the Majdanek concentration camp in February 1944. The remaining prisoners were evacuated in cattle wagons to the Auschwitz concentration camp in July 1944.

On March 17, 1943, the synagogue of the "former Jewish community in Bliżyn" was confiscated by the Generalgouvernement, as it was deemed to be ownerless (*herrenlos*).[13]

SOURCES Not many sources mention the history of Bliżyn before the village became the site of a forced labor camp for Jews. Brief mentions of the Jewish community of Bliżyn in the period from 1939 to 1942 can be found in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, no. 15 (1955): 75–180. Edited by Czesław Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979) lists the Bliżyn "ghetto" and other camps there on pp. 108–109.

Primary sources regarding the Bliżyn ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/264); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/264; and RG-15.031M [Stadt- und Kreishauptmann, Kielce], file 129); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A0154, correspondence with AJDC in Kraków, Bliżyn Judenrat to AJDC, February 12, 1941.
2. Ibid., district inspector of the AJDC in Radom to the Bliżyn Judenrat, July 12, 1940.
3. Ibid., Bliżyn Judenrat to AJDC Kraków, February 19, 1941.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., Bliżyn Judenrat to AJDC Kraków, March 10, 1941; this letter mentions around 300 Jews arriving from Płock. See also Joseph Kermish, "The Jews of Plotzk under the Nazi Regime," in Eliyahu Aizenberg, ed., *Plotsk: Toldot kehilah 'atikat-yamin be-Polin* (Tel Aviv: ha-Menorah, 1967), pp. 70–74. In total, some 6,000 Jews from Płock were deported to various towns in Distrikt Radom in March 1941.
6. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, Chaim Razenki (Bliżyn Judenrat) to AJDC Kraków, May 7, 1941.
7. Ibid., AJDC to the Bliżyn Judenrat, May 20, 1941.
8. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 203.

9. Ibid., pp. 252, 270, describes Bliżyn as a collection point (*Sammelort*); see also Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 99–100. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 108–109, list Bliżyn as a ghetto.

10. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 108–109; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 325–326, note an influx of Jews into the Suchedniów ghetto from Bliżyn and other towns in August 1942. Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw, 1980), p. 21, reports that in 1941 the Gendarmerie shot 23 Jews in Bliżyn.

11. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 270; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 171; and Aizenberg, *Plotsk: Toldot kehilah*, p. 73.

12. Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), p. 36.

13. USHMM, RG-15.031M, file 129, Stadt- und Kreishauptmann, Kielce, Einziehungsverfügung, Kreishauptmann Kielce, March 17, 1943.

BODZENTYN

Pre-1939: Bodzentyn, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Kielce-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Bodzentyn is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Kielce. There were approximately 1,000 Jews living in Bodzentyn on the eve of World War II.[1]

The German authorities in Bodzentyn set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) on February 15, 1940. It included Froim Szachter (chairman), Lejzor Grojsman (deputy), Chil Rozenberg, Szmul Wajntraub (chairman from 1942 onward), and Mejlich Zylbersztajn.[2] A Jewish police force was also organized, but the date of its establishment and its strength are not known. A Polish (Blue) Police force also was stationed in Bodzentyn. The German Gendarmerie post that was responsible for Bodzentyn was located in nearby Bieliny.[3]

Between 150 and 300 refugees and deportees (estimates vary), mostly from Łódź and around Kielce, arrived in Bodzentyn soon after the start of the war.

On March 3, 1941, 600 deportees from the town of Płock, which had been incorporated into the Reich in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, were transferred to Bodzentyn. By March 10, 1941, approximately 1,500 Jews had arrived in a total of three transports. Most of the deportees had spent up to a week in the transit camp at Działdowo, and they arrived via Kielce sick, exhausted, and with no luggage. All were housed in the synagogue. About 1,200 were relocated to local Jewish families within two weeks, but many families had to be split up among the extremely overcrowded households.

The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee established a soup kitchen for the deportees. It was located in a wooden barracks next to the synagogue on Wesoła Street. According to one of the Płock survivors, Michael Zelon, the situation of the Płock Jews was not too bad at the beginning but soon started "going down" for those who had no money or work.[4]

The Płock deportees in Bodzentyn organized a Committee of Płock Compatriots to assist their own. The committee included Dr. J. Bluman (chairman), J. Ajzyk, H. Cytryn, J. Askanas, J. Horowitz, and J. Rubin. By May 1941, both the Płock committee and the JSS office in Kielce were concerned whether the Płock Jews were really getting the help various organizations were supposed to provide them. The committee also described the cooperation with the Judenrat as "loose." Additionally, the Ringelblum Archives contain correspondence addressed to the committee by individuals citing various forms of discrimination by the Judenrat.[5]

Historians have described the attitude of the Bodzentyn Judenrat towards the Płock deportees as "misguided" (Krzysztof Urbański) and "reprehensible" (Adam Rutkowski). All sources emphasize the extreme hardship faced by the Płock Jews but underline the warmth with which the local Jewish population received them upon arrival. Michael Zelon recalls the largest number of Płock Jews dying in 1942, by which time they were "totally neglected, swollen from hunger, unfriendly, and ready to fight."[6]

Following the typhus epidemic that broke out in mid-April 1941, the sick were treated in a hospital in Kielce (which admitted a total of 105 patients). On May 20, 1941, the German authorities ordered the Judenrat to set up an epidemic hospital for 25 patients. Although the hospital opened two days later in the synagogue, it lacked basic equipment such as beds, blankets, and medicine. Nevertheless, it treated on average 40 patients who were released as soon as their temperatures dropped. The highest death rate was among the Płock deportees and the elderly.[7]

By the end of June 1941, there were 3,700 Jews registered in Bodzentyn. Out of this number, 72 were registered as working in labor camps outside the gmina. None are registered as working in Bodzentyn. At the time, 102 Jewish businesses were still operating, of which 42 were craftsmen, predominantly tailors and cobblers.[8]

By August 1941, 124 patients of the epidemic hospital in Bodzentyn had recovered. Dr. J. Bluman was the hospital's manager and the only doctor in town. At the time, disinfections, delousing, and vaccination against dysentery were mandatory for all Jews.[9] The typhus epidemic did not die out but intensified at the end of September 1941, claiming, however, fewer lives than hunger and—with the winter coming—cold.

In October 1941, a second "general hospital for deportees suffering from cold, swelling, and exhaustion" was set up in the synagogue.[10] A shelter organized at the time solely for refugee and deportee orphans (3 to 12 years old) housed 50 children by January 1942; another 100 were waiting to be admitted. By the end of April 1942, 85 orphans and half-orphans were housed in three rooms. Another 30 were placed with local families to be fed. By February 1942, 5 to 6 Jews were dying daily.[11]

By mid-March 1942 (or possibly earlier), an open ghetto had been established in the predominantly Jewish neighborhood of Bodzentyn. Jews living in Krajno, Jeziorko, Wzdół Rządowy, Ryczywół, and other settlements in the vicinity were forced to move into the extremely overcrowded Jewish quarter. Poles within the designated area, however, were allowed to stay where they lived.

It appears that the ghetto dwellers were still allowed to move freely within Bodzentyn's limits. Going any further was punishable by death. The same punishment applied to Poles caught sheltering Jewish escapees from the ghettos. Special permission was required for Jews to travel outside of Bodzentyn. Trespassers were transferred to the Bieliny Gendarmerie station or were shot outside of the village; there were cases, however, in which only a fine was applied.

The ghetto residents were tormented with day and night searches conducted by the Gendarmes, sometimes assisted by Polish and Jewish policemen. Jews were beaten, arrested, fined, and sometimes killed for offenses that included smuggling, possession of various materials or commodities, profiteering, and theft. Jews in many cases were able to get away with a bribe and confiscation of the discovered commodity.[12]

By May 1942, roundups of Jews for the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp had commenced, for example, on May 6 and 8, 1942. In response, many Jewish men went into hiding. As the set quota was not fulfilled, the Jewish Police were ordered to deliver men to make up the deficit. In Skarżysko, the Bodzentyn laborers were put to work building railroad trucks and cutting trees. Those diagnosed by a doctor as unfit or who could afford a bribe were sent back to Bodzentyn and exchanged for healthy Jews. Such replacements took place on May 12 and 21 and June 1 and 4, 1942. Trucks carrying the sick were unloaded only after an equal number of new laborers were submitted, for instance, 60 men on June 4, 1942. The Judenrat was charged with the delivery of food—collected from their families—to the laborers.[13]

On the night of July 3–4, 1942, the synagogue that housed both hospitals and several dozen deportees burned down.[14]

The Bodzentyn ghetto was liquidated in September 1942. The Gendarmerie and Polish and Jewish policemen chased approximately 3,000 ghetto dwellers down to the Lower Market. Family members carried children and the elderly on their backs. All were marched to nearby Suchedniów (18 kilometers [11 miles] away) via Wzdół Rządowy and Michniów; a number of Jews from Słupia Nowa were also added to the transport. The Jewish Police that remained after the ghetto's liquidation were charged with cleaning and sorting the abandoned Jewish property. There is no information as to their fate.[15]

SOURCES The Bodzentyn ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 111; Dawid Rubinowicz, *Pamiętnik Dawida Rubinowicza* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1987); and E. Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: LSW, 1983).

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (210/271 [AJDC], 211/242-245 [JSS], Ring I/165, Ring I/794); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 16 [Bodzentyn]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC Bodzentyn]; RG-15.079M [Ring I]); and VHF (# 4272, 31161, 36287, and 47180).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Krzysztof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach: FPHU "XYZ," 2007); and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/243 (Bodzentyn), p. 46.
2. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 11, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/242 (Bodzentyn), pp. 1, 3, 20, 28.
3. Rubinowicz, *Pamiętnik*, pp. 36, 88–89.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/242, pp. 34, 39, 51–52. In its January 1942 report for 1941, Bodzentyn's JSS reported 1,700 Płock refugees; see Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/245 (Bodzentyn), p. 8. Also see VHF, # 4272, testimony of Tema Lichtenstein, 1995; # 31161, testimony of Lena Michalowicz, 1997; # 36287, testimony of Nathan Smiga, 1997; # 47180, testimony of Michael Zelon, 1998; and Fąfara, *Gehenna*, p. 427.
5. USHMM, RG-15.079M (Ring I/165, Ring I/794).
6. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 99; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), p. 102; and VHF, # 47180.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/243, pp. 5–6, 24–25, 38–39.
8. Ibid., pp. 47–48.
9. Ibid., 211/244 (Bodzentyn), p. 1; *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 13 and 29, 1941.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/244, pp. 29–30, 37, 41.
11. Ibid., 211/245, pp. 8–9, 12, 19–20, 26, 45.
12. Rubinowicz, *Pamiętnik*, pp. 10, 65–71, 74, 77, 93, 104, 106, 111. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 116, states that the ghetto was set up in 1941. Also see VHF, # 47180; and Fąfara, *Gehenna*, p. 425.
13. Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), pp. 31–32; Rubinowicz, *Pamiętnik*, pp. 88–98, 104, 107, 109; and VHF, # 47180.
14. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/245, p. 59.
15. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," table 8, p. 149; Fąfara, *Gehenna*, p. 430; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 111.

BOGORIA

Pre-1939: Bogoria, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The village of Bogoria is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) southeast of Kielce. In September 1939, Bogoria had 403 Jewish residents.[1]

As the result of a Luftwaffe bombardment in the first week of the September campaign, the village was almost entirely razed. This destruction, together with a fear of the approaching German troops, caused many local Jews to flee eastward. They were soon replaced by a flow of refugees who had left from places already occupied by the Germans.[2]

From the beginning of the occupation, Bogoria's Jews had to collect "contributions" for the Germans in the form of money, silver, gold, or other valuable items. Further monetary payments were imposed on the community in 1940 and 1941, yet some inhabitants still managed to hide some valuables.

The Germans also demanded a daily quota of Jews for forced labor. They would often make them clean horses, trucks, and streets; young men were sometimes dragged out of their homes. The workday started at 6:00 A.M. and, with a short lunch break, ended in the evening. Laborers were given paltry rations, which they received only infrequently.

As work was largely unpaid, the labor pool dried up when Bogoria's young Jews opted to go into hiding. Eventually, the older men were conscripted for forced labor, with the Germans ridiculing their long beards. There is one report of a dozen being humiliated in the market square, where their beards were cut off. Older laborers were often severely beaten by the SS guards who supervised them, as they were unable to work as fast as the young. A special committee was set up to organize the daily labor details and ensure that the quota was met. Before long, the elderly complained to the committee, arguing that it was shameful of the young men to force indirectly their elders to be subjected to such treatment. The committee started sending about 40 young people to meet the labor quota, alternating their workdays. During the winter, labor conscripts were required to shovel the snow off the roads. The winter of 1940 was especially severe; sometimes these young men had to clear up to five feet of snow without proper equipment.[3]

The date of the establishment of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Bogoria is not known; however, Lejb Zymerfogiel is identified as its president in August 1940. At the end of that year, many Jewish businesses were placed under a German, ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*), or Polish commissioner. In addition to 400 local Jews, there were about 60 Jewish refugees living in Bogoria by January 1941.[4]

On March 27, 1941, a transport of 1,000 Viennese Jews arrived in Kreis Opatow. They came fully equipped with luggage, food, and clothing. Approximately 70 percent were over 60 years old and in ailing health. From that particular transport, 34 people were sent to Bogoria. According to Judenrat records, there were 527 Jews living in Bogoria in April 1941. Of these, 10 were merchants, 17 were craftsmen, and 409 were common laborers. Of those identified as craftsmen, only 12 were licensed to continue their businesses: 4 bakers, 5 tailors, 2 leather stichers, and a watchmaker.[5]

To assist Bogoria's refugees and deportees in their plight, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), based in Kraków, was created, with a Kreis committee set up in Opatów on December 16, 1940.[6] Bogoria established an unofficial branch in March 1941 but initially did not receive any funds for its deportee population. Rabbi Berek Szwarc chaired the official Bogoria JSS committee, appointed in June 1941. Hersz Gutman was the chairman's deputy; its third member was Lejb Zymerfogiel.

The JSS in Opatów agreed to subsidize a soup kitchen and an outpatients' medical service in Bogoria, once the local branch fulfilled their preconditions in May 1941, taking on debt to do so. The soup kitchen located in the rabbi's private apartment distributed from 100 to 140 meals per day. In May 1941, teenage volunteers set up a youth organization to provide child care for roughly 60 orphaned or poor children. There was no building to house its activities; but the JSS believed that, considering the time of the year, staying outside all day was better for the children's health. Volunteers looked after the children between breakfast and dinner, then bathed them and checked their hygiene. From August 1941 onward, half of the children received additional food rations. This level of social assistance was maintained in Bogoria until March 1942. At that time, 70 percent of the Jews in Bogoria used JSS services.[7]

In April 1942, a ghetto was established, requiring a special permit for Jews seeking to leave it.[8] Until May 1942, Jews were allowed to live in 150 towns and settlements in Kreis Opatow. Then on May 13, 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter ordered that all Jews would be restricted to five towns and 12 settlements in the Kreis, including Bogoria. Each center was automatically recognized as a ghetto. Jews were given two weeks to move. Those who resettled before May 28, 1942, could take all their belongings with them; after that, they could take only as much as they could carry in two hands. June 1, 1942, was the deadline for resettlement.[9]

Before the arrival of the newest expellees, there were approximately 550 Jews living in the Bogoria ghetto, of which 150 were from elsewhere.[10] Due to the resettlement order, an additional 78 Jews from neighboring villages were transferred to the Bogoria ghetto by June 1. A housing commission was set up to distribute them among private apartments.[11]

In July 1942, the employment office in Opatów registered 100 Jews from Bogoria to work in agriculture. More than half of them were assigned to work on four estates: Kiełczyna (25 laborers), Łaziska (12), Grzybów (11), and Rogoźno (8). Workers departed from the ghetto in the morning equipped with a group travel permit to leave and return to Bogoria in the evening. On the Kiełczyna estate, laborers worked from 7:00 A.M. until noon, then again from 1:30 P.M. to 7:30 P.M. They were paid with food and money based on their performance. On average, a worker would take home half a kilogram (1.1 pound) of wheat and 2.40 złoty per day. Laborers on other estates worked under similar conditions.

At the same time, the JSS in Bogoria tried, with the help of the Kraków headquarters, to obtain permission to set up a tailoring workshop and a straw-shoe workshop. They also tried to find companies who would place orders for these goods. At the end of September 1942, these negotiations were still in progress.

As Jews in Bogoria learned during the summer of 1942 about other towns being cleared of Jews, many expected that they would soon be taken away as well. A number of Jews went

to hide in the forests. Large posters all over the village warned Poles that their houses would be burned down for helping Jews.[12] The liquidation of the Bogoria ghetto took place at the end of October 1942, when around 600 ghetto inhabitants were deported to the extermination camp in Treblinka.[13]

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jewish community of Bogoria can be found in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 80–81; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 164–165. References to the destruction of the community can be found in the following publications: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); and Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004). Some information can be found in the German wartime propaganda newspaper for the Jews, *Gazeta Żydowska*.

Most of the archival information in this article is derived from the following sources: USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 16); and VHF (# 42977).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16.
2. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 88, 163 (table 13), 181–182.
3. VHF, # 42977-4, testimony of Harry Gula, 1998.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16.
5. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 140; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN 1979), p. 112; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 93–94; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16.
6. Marek Jóźwik, "Akta Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dystryktu radomskiego," *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 23:1 (1988): 45–46.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 7, 1941; June 10, 1941; March 29, 1942; and May 1, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16. According to Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 112, the ghetto was set up in the summer of 1942.
9. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 85–86; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 116, 152–153.
10. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 1, 1942.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16.
12. VHF, # 42977-4.
13. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 80–81; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 181. According to Spector and Wigoder's *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, pp. 164–165, the Jews from Bogoria were deported to "one of the death camps"; according to Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 112, 600 Bogoria Jews were shot during the ghetto liquidation.

BUSKO-ZDRÓJ (BUSKO)

Pre-1939: Busko-Zdrój, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: capital, Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The town of Busko-Zdrój is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) south of Kielce. There were 1,300 Jews living in Busko on the eve of World War II.[1]

Following the German occupation of the town in September 1939, Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer was appointed as Busko's Kreishauptmann. Sources mention the following German offices operating in Busko: the Kripo (Criminal Police); the Gestapo, located on Mickiewicz Street and commanded by Emil Fischer; and the Gendarmerie under Captain Koenig's command, located in the villa "Wersal" on Mickiewicz Street. There was also a unit of Polish (Blue) Police.

By the spring of 1940, German authorities had set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Of its members, the following names are known: Szaja Gertner (chairman), Dawid Promer, Wolf Szpigelman, and Ajzyk Blugrind.

In March 1940, there were 1,700 Jews living in Busko, including 140 refugees. By mid-August 1940, a number of Busko's able-bodied Jewish men were sent to work in forced labor camps around Biała Podlaska. The Judenrat allocated some of its funds to help these laborers. By December 1940, the number of refugees increased to 250, yet the Jewish population remained at 1,700.

By January 1941, a Kreis self-help committee had been established at 16 Piłsudski Street. Its assistance was limited to the distribution of small benefits and food to the needy in Busko and throughout Kreis Busko. The committee included J. Nadler as chairman, Dr. Aniela Goldschmied (Żwan-Goldshmied, a Pole who through marriage had converted to Judaism), Chaim Rozencwajg (a tailor), Lejb Prajs (a tradesman), and Gerszon Rakowski (a house painter). A few months later, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee was established, to provide welfare for the Jews of Busko and the Kreis; it was located at 9 Stopnica Street (now Partyzantów Street).[2]

Between December 1940 and February 1941, the Busko Kreis was flooded with Jews deported from larger towns. In December, 1,500 Jews arrived from Radom. On February 24, 1941, a transport of another 966 Jews arrived from the town of Płock, which had been incorporated into the Reich. Both transports were distributed among various localities in the Kreis, causing great overcrowding.[3]

The Kreishauptmann, Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer, ordered the establishment of several ghettos in the Kreis by April 15, 1941. Around this time, an open ghetto was created in Busko.[4] According to the postwar testimony of Daniel Fischgarten, the ghetto was unfenced; however, Jews were strictly forbidden to leave it. Fischgarten also testified that the ghetto consisted of two streets. Other sources name three: that is, Stopnica on the northern side of the market square, where the JSS office and the synagogue were located, together with

two parallel streets southwest of the market square—Kościuszko and Kiliński. It is worth noting, of course, that to physically connect these streets at least one more had to be accessible to Jews. It is possible that the area of the ghetto was reduced over time. There is no information as to whether the ghetto was guarded or if a Jewish police force was organized.[5]

The number of Jews remained stable following the ghetto's establishment, and JSS statistics from the summer of 1941 report 1,723 Jews, including 243 newcomers. With only 16.3 percent of all newcomers, Busko had the lowest number of deportees of any town within the Kreis. This was the result of a deliberate decision by the Kreishauptmann to declare his Kreis capital to be as free of Jews as possible.

At this time, there were 235 children under the age of 10 living in the ghetto. Additional food rations were issued for 89 of them by the soup kitchen set up in the synagogue by July 1941 to serve the impoverished. The ghetto also had an epidemic hospital, an isolation ward, and a sanitation committee supervised by two doctors, Aniela Goldschmied (particularly responsible for children in the ghetto) and L. Zarecki. The sanitation committee checked Jewish dwellings for cleanliness; at least 60 Jews had to be bathed daily. By October 1941, out of the ghetto's 1,728 inhabitants, 560 were seeking JSS assistance; 190 Jewish businesses were still open, 70 of which consisted of tailors.[6]

By September 1941, the Judenrat consisted of the following: Gertner (chairman), Binenstock, Szpigelman, Kaziemirski (secretary), and Alter Grojs.[7]

On December 7, 1941, first- and second-grade classes were organized for children by the JSS. Segregated according to their age and level of education, the children spent most of the daytime under the care of tutors who helped improve their behavior and cleanliness. The JSS also began serving soup kitchen meals to nonresident Jews held in Busko's prison.[8]

The registration of 670 able-bodied men aged 12 to 60 took place in the summer of 1942. The workers were to perform drainage works in the vicinity and improve the Busko-Wiślica road. At this time, the JSS sought permission to open workshops producing straw-made items.[9]

According to Fischgarten, the Judenrat was ordered in the summer of 1942 to select 250 families who were then to be resettled to a choice of one of several specific locations. If this transfer actually took place, it would have greatly diminished the number of Jews in the ghetto—possibly by almost half of its population. Other sources, however, do not confirm this account. Historian Adam Rutkowski claims that the number of ghetto residents rose to approximately 2,000 just prior to the deportation, most likely due to the German practice of bringing into the nearest ghetto those Jews living in surrounding settlements, shortly before the deportation of the Jews from a given area.[10]

Furthermore, Irena Budzyńska, a local Pole involved in saving the lives of many Jews, testified that in September 1942 Busko's Jews had to relocate and were all forced to live in remarkably overcrowded dwellings. Windows facing streets were bricked up, depriving many people of daylight. This account suggests that the ghetto's size was probably reduced. Budzyńska, however, dates these events as the ghetto's creation, which would suggest that until then the ghetto had remained more or less open. There are no surviving records of Jews being killed for leaving the ghetto; however, a Polish man, Józef Chudy, was shot for supplying food to Jews in the Busko ghetto.

The deportation Aktion took place on October 1 or 2, 1942.[11] One day prior to the deportation, the Germans ordered local Poles to bring some 300 wagons to Busko. This caused great alarm among the ghetto's residents, as the ghetto was also surrounded by Gendarmerie forces commanded by Captain Koenig and Polish (Blue) Police.[12]

The next day, Busko's Jews were ordered to leave their dwellings within five minutes and to form up in lines of 10. Commands were given by loudspeaker. In the course of the evacuation, the Germans shot Josef Topiol, the last Judenrat chairman. Children were being killed on the spot; held by the legs, their heads were smashed against walls and poles. The elderly were shot. The German Gendarmerie searched the dwellings for Jews in hiding; those found were shot immediately.

The remaining column of residents was to be marched to Jędrzejów 38 kilometers (24 miles) away, a town with a railroad, from which the Jews of Busko and other ghettos in the Kreis were to be sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. The column was escorted by SS men, spread out every 50 meters (164 feet) on each side; many marchers were shot along the way. On the way to Jędrzejów, Busko's Jews were stopped in Pińczów, where some were selected for work at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition-factory labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. The remainder, together with the Jews from the then-liquidated ghetto in Pińczów, were taken to Jędrzejów on October 4, 1942. A number of Busko's Jews managed to escape while crossing the Nida River outside of Pińczów. Upon reaching Jędrzejów, all were loaded on trains destined for Treblinka.[13]

SOURCES The Busko ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); E. Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warszaw: LSW, 1983); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 122.

The following archives were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/640 [AJDC], 211/271-272 [JSS], 301/254, 301/5697, and 301/5698 [Relacje]); BA-BL (R 52III/30); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS Busko-Zdrój], reel 17; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC Busko-Zdrój]); and YVA (e.g., M-49/E/254, M-49/E/5698, O-3/3500, O-3/3553).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 17, 211/272 (Busko-Zdrój), p. 11.

2. Ibid., 211/271 (Busko-Zdrój), p. 4; 211/272, p. 13; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/640, p. 42; and AŻIH, 301/5697, testimony of Irena Budzyńska, 1960.

3. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 91; and BA-BL, R 52III/30, pp. 1–3.

4. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 83.

5. AŻIH, 301/254, testimony of Daniel Fischgarten, 1945; and Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności*, p. 185.

6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 6, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/272, reel 17, p. 11; 211/271, reel 17, pp. 13–14, 26, 58, 76–77. Apart from Pacanów, which had a ratio of 18.9 percent newcomers, the other six towns in the Kreis had from 35.3 up to 51 percent deportees.

7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/271, pp. 26–28, 32.

8. Ibid., 211/272, pp. 55–56, 64–65.

9. Ibid., 211/272, reel 17, p. 71; and *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 12, 1942.

10. AŻIH, 301/254; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 147 (table 7).

11. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 146–147; AŻIH, 301/5697; and Wacław Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1987), p. 19.

12. AŻIH, 301/5698, testimony of Zofia Peretiatkowicz (Zophia Peretiankowicz), 1960; 301/5697; and Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 100, 108.

13. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 147 (table 7); YVA, M-49/E/254; Ø-3/3500, testimony of Reisl Lemska, p. 2; M-49/E/5698, testimony of Zophia Peretiankowicz; and Ø-3/3553, testimony of Yosef Rosenberg, pp. 2–3. AŻIH, 301/254, dates the deportation from Busko in September 1942.

CHĘCINY

Pre-1939: Chęciny, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Checiny, Kreis Kielce-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Chęciny, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Chęciny is located 15 kilometers (9 miles) southwest of Kielce. In 1939, Chęciny had 7,459 residents, including 3,120 Jews.

Following the September 1939 invasion, German troops were quartered in Chęciny's Franciscan monastery.[1] By the end of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) charged with organizing Jewish labor had been established with J.W. Rajz as its chairman. The local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) statistics for 1940 indicate 145 Jews laboring in Chęciny and 195 in camps outside the town. On June 24, 1940, 250 Jewish youths were sent to a labor camp in Cieszanów (Distrikt Lublin).[2]

In February 1940, all Jewish property that had not been registered with the new administration was subjected to confiscation as "ownerless." Subsequently, non-Jewish trustees took over Jewish businesses, and although Jews remained officially the owners, they received only a fraction of any profits. This caused many to sell their stores and turn to black marketeering. In 1940, of 235 businesses in Chęciny, 209 belonged to Jews and 26 to Poles. By 1941, Jewish-owned businesses numbered only 100.



Group portrait of the Chęciny ghetto's Judenrat, ca. 1941–1942. USHMM WS #77501, COURTESY OF YVA

In the spring of 1940, several dozen Jews from Chęciny were murdered in the forest near Zamkowa Góra. By June 1940, the number of local Jews was 2,800, but about 1,000 refugees had arrived in the town. In January 1941, only 630 refugees were reportedly living in Chęciny.

On March 11, 1941, a local branch of the JSS was set up in Chęciny to take over the job of providing welfare from the Judenrat. Chaired by Jakub-Ber Laks, it opened a soup kitchen on May 15, 1941, that served 440 Jews, each receiving one meal every other day.[3]

The economic situation of the Jews worsened significantly in April 1941, following the establishment of an enclosed ghetto in Kielce. As the JSS put it, Kielce was "the only source of income" for Chęciny's tradesmen. This also coincided with a ban on Chęciny Jews leaving the town due to a typhus epidemic and several weeks of Jewish conscription for forced labor in nearby quarries. About 150 Jews worked in Chęciny in 1941, and the same number worked in nearby labor camps.[4]

Planning for the establishment of a ghetto in Chęciny began in January 1941, as part of an envisaged population exchange of 5,000 Jews from Kielce to Chęciny and 2,500 Poles in the other direction. In May, however, the German authorities reported that its implementation had been delayed due to the typhus epidemic, as there had been further new cases in April.[5]

The order for the establishment of the ghetto was issued on July 5, 1941, and the resettlement had been largely completed by July 22. Key streets entering and exiting the ghetto were blocked by gates that could be opened (*Schlagbäume*), and others were blocked off completely. Signs were also put up around the ghetto warning: "Jewish Residential District—Entrance without a Pass Forbidden." However, the enclosure of the ghetto with a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) wooden fence initially was delayed, due to a shortage of suitable materials. Established within the ghetto were a separate Jewish post office and a 14-man Jewish police force, commanded by Henryk Gotlib and subordinated to the Judenrat and the Gendarmerie.[6]

A letter dated July 17, 1941, from the JSS to the Kraków central office, notes that the establishment of the ghetto had "left over 1,000 Jews on the streets with no roof above their heads and without a warm meal for five days." It had also affected all local Jews, who sustained themselves by bartering with residents in nearby villages.[7]

The ghetto, measuring just over 7 hectares (17.3 acres), was located in the eastern part of Chęciny and composed of 113 mostly single-story houses. Its borders were Kielce, Łokietek, Plac 2 Czerwca, Radkowska, and Szkolna Streets. The synagogue, inhabited by refugees, was the ghetto's central point. Most Jews were already living within the ghetto limits, but some had to relocate there, leaving most of their belongings behind. Poles were forced to evacuate the area, and some complained about the loss of barns required for their livestock.

Initially, the ghetto had a total of around 3,600 residents. As the number of reported newcomers actually declined from 630 in January to only 547 in August 1941, it appears that plans to transfer a large number of Jews from Kielce to Chęciny were probably abandoned, following warnings of overcrowding in the Chęciny ghetto and the difficulties faced in expanding its area.[8]

Despite a wooden fence surrounding the ghetto and gates that closed its entrances, its Jews were able to leave at first by obtaining a municipality permit for 5 złoty authorizing travel as far as Kielce. Poles also continued to enter the Chęciny ghetto, despite the signs. There is no information regarding the forces that guarded the entrances, but only Polish and Jewish Police were stationed in Chęciny. The task of the Jewish Police was to enforce German orders. Gotlib reportedly abused fellow Jews with frequency. Following the ghetto's complete closure in February 1942, the German Gendarmerie—which then reportedly guarded the ghetto externally—shot Jews without warning. There were few fatalities, but several dozen Jews were wounded on attempting to leave the ghetto.

Ghetto residents performed forced labor tasks that included road construction, cleaning, and quarry work near Chęciny. Those who could afford to do so paid the poor to assume their conscript duties. By October 1941, there were only 24 Jewish businesses still operating.[9]

A second typhus epidemic broke out in October 1941. In February 1942, when the overcrowded Kielce hospital denied admission to any more Jews from Chęciny, the German authorities declared the ghetto to be quarantined. On the Kreis doctor's order, two isolation houses were set up for 150 family members of the 30 sick Jews. The JSS reports indicate that the quarantine hit traders the hardest, who until then had still been able to sneak out of the ghetto for business purposes. In total, there were 62 cases of typhus in 1940–1941 and 78 in 1941–1942.[10]

In April 1942, the Judenrat was ordered to select 500 Jews for a labor deportation. Those selected were the poorest. They were sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. Another source reports an additional 105 men being sent to the same camp in June 1942. But the August issue of *Gazeta Żydowska* reported only a total of 500 Chęciny Jews laboring in Skarżysko, in nearby quarries (Miedzianka, Rykoszyn, Siedlce, Sitkówka), and in Chęciny itself.

By September 1942, the number of ghetto inmates exceeded 4,000 due to the arrival of 919 Jews from Łopuszno. Jews living in Korzecko, Piekoszów, and Zajączków were also transferred to Chęciny, at some time in 1942 before September.[11]

Under the command of Kielce's Gendarmerie chief, Gerulf Mayer, the Chęciny ghetto was liquidated on September 12, 1942. Chęciny's Jews were chased out onto the market square, formed into marching columns, and escorted 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) to the Wolica train station. Several dozen were shot along the way. From Wolica they were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

The Germans left behind 40 Jews unfit for travel; all were shot on September 14, 1942, and buried in a nearby field. A separate group of approximately 30 Jews (policemen, Judenrat members, and young laborers) was left in the ghetto to search for valuables and other property, which was collected in the synagogue. A few from this group managed to escape. Kielce Gendarmes then shot the remaining Jews in December 1942. Following the final liquidation of the remnant ghetto, the German authorities auctioned off some of the possessions collected. They had already confiscated the synagogue and three prayer houses at the end of November as "ownerless property."[12]

SOURCES The ghetto in Chęciny is described in E. Kosik and S. Meducki, "Martyrologia Żydów chęcińskich w latach 1939–1942," *BŻIH*, nos. 1–2 (1986): 87–95; and Agnieszka Sabor, *Sztetl: Śladami żydowskich miasteczek: Działoszyce-Pińczów-Chmielnik-Szydłów-Chęciny: Przewodnik* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2005), pp. 152–153.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/294 [AJDC] and 211/296–298 [JSS]); IPN; USHMM (RG-15.031M, reels 2 and 13; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 18); and YVA (M-1/Q/64 and 65).

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NOTES

1. Marian Paulewicz, "Osadnictwo żydowskie w Chęcinach," *BŻIH*, no. 2 (1975): 25–28; Sabor, *Sztetl*, pp. 152–153; Kosik and Meducki, "Martyrologia Żydów," pp. 87–88.

2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/294, pp. 2–3; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 18, 211/296, p. 29; *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 28, 1942; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), 4:585.

3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/294, p. 7; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 18, 211/296, pp. 1, 8, 15, 20; Kosik and Meducki, "Martyrologia Żydów," pp. 88–89; *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 8, 1942.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 18, 211/296, pp. 12, 16, 29.

5. Ibid., RG-15.031M (IPN, Stadt- und Kreishauptmann Kielce), reel 13, file 129, letters dated January 23 and May 5, 1941.

6. Ibid., correspondence July 5, 22, and 27, 1941.

7. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 18, 211/296, pp. 51–55; 211/298, p. 32; Sabor, *Sztetl*, p. 153.

8. USHMM, RG-15.031M, reel 13, file 129, Stadtverwaltung Chęciny to Kreishauptmann, August 8, 1941. This letter warns that at most 500 to 600 Jews (in exchange for 300 Poles) could be accommodated but advises against it.

9. Kosik and Meducki, "Martyrologia Żydów," pp. 90–91; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 18; 211/296, pp. 22, 29; and 211/297, pp. 16, 39.

10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 18, 211/298, pp. 8, 21–22, 32.

11. Kosik and Meducki, "Martyrologia Żydów," pp. 90–92; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 4:586; *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 28, 1942.

12. Kosik and Meducki, "Martyrologia Żydów," pp. 94–95; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1980), p. 43; and USHMM, RG-15.031M, reel 2, file 4a, p. 11.

CHMIELNIK

Pre-1939: Chmielnik, city, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Chmielnik is located about 25 kilometers (16 miles) south of Kielce, on the crossroads between Sandomierz, which lies to the east, and Silesia to the west. On the eve of World War II, there were about 6,000 Jews in the city.

On September 5, 1939, a German military unit entered Chmielnik. Soon a wave of killings began that lasted for three days and took approximately 70 lives.[1] The abuse of Jews, their arrest for forced labor, and widespread plunder characterized the new regime from the start.

During the first week of the occupation, the German commander selected Avraham Langvald and ordered him to set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat). It consisted of 18 Jews in addition to Langvald.[2]

The Judenrat set up a labor division, led by David Zaltsman and Efrayim Zaltsburg. The Judenrat was obligated to provide the Germans with the requested number of workers, as well as paying their wages. As the work was very hard, and accompanied by denigration and abuse, the Judenrat had difficulty in meeting the required quota of workers each day.

According to the administrative organization of the Generalgouvernement, Chmielnik was in Kreis Busko, within Distrikt Radom. After the occupation of the city, a small unit of the Gendarmerie was stationed there that was subordinated to the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Kielce, Ernst Thomas. Werner Munde was head of the local Gendarmerie. The handful of Gendarmes who served in the city could be bribed easily.[3]

In the summer of 1940, the Germans transferred about 1,150 Jews from various places, including Glinica and Łódź, to Chmielnik, in addition to many refugees who had been driven out of the western areas of Poland that the Germans had annexed to the Reich. The number of Jews in the city increased to about 7,000.

Hundreds of Jews were sent to work in Pacanów, Busko-Zdrój, and Radawiec (near Lublin); a large group was sent to Biała Podlaska, not far from the Soviet border. Due to reports about the harsh conditions, everyone tried to avoid these work details, and the Judenrat did not succeed in enlisting the required number of laborers. At that time, the second half of 1940, a Jewish police force was established, in part to enlist Jewish workers. Moshe Pasternak was appointed head of the Jewish Police; his deputy was Levi Guntsherovski.[4]

In April 1941, a ghetto was set up in Chmielnik, as in most of the towns in Distrikt Radom, and the Jews had to leave their homes and move in there. The ghetto remained open; however, Jews were forbidden to leave it from the beginning, unless they were laborers reporting for work under the supervision of the Jewish Police. Hundreds of refugees arrived; at the end of 1941, the number of Jews concentrated in the city had reached 8,000. The overcrowding was severe, and living conditions continued to deteriorate.

Since most of the refugees arrived lacking all material possessions, the Judenrat, now led by Shmuel Zaltsman, organized an aid council for the refugees. The organization known as Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), which was based in Kraków, transferred funds to the Chmielnik Jewish Council, and a public kitchen was opened in the city to provide food to the hungry on a daily basis. The council also took care of an orphanage in which there were 300 children.

Because of the overcrowding and poverty caused by the relocation into the ghetto, a typhus epidemic broke out, and over 100 Jews died within a few months. With the help of the organization known as the Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland, or Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce (TOZ), the Judenrat opened a hospital and a sanitorium with 400 beds, employing doctors and nurses who also cared for Jews living in the vicinity. The sustenance of the city's Jews was based primarily on trade with the surrounding villages; as time went on, many Jews left the ghetto to sell personal and household items in exchange for food.[5]

In the summer of 1941, workshops were opened in the ghetto for tailors, carpenters, cobblers, upholsterers, and leather workers. The authorities encouraged the Judenrat to open small businesses whose products could aid the Reich's war effort, and the Judenrat convinced the Jews that it was better to work in factories in the city than to be sent to work outside.

At the end of August 1942, news came to Chmielnik about the liquidation of the Jewish community in Kielce; in addition, rumors spread about the extermination camps in the Lublin region and the deportation of the Jews of Warsaw to the Treblinka death camp. In September, when reliable reports replaced the rumors, many Jews began seeking hiding places with Poles in the surrounding area, and hundreds of Jews left the city.[6]

On October 1, 1942, 1,200 women and young men were sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna, and 40 Jews were sent to the HASAG Granat camp in Kielce. On October 3, 1,270 Jews who had been deported from the surrounding settlements were transferred to

Chmielnik, and it seemed that the deportation of the Jews of Chmielnik was imminent.[7]

The main deportation of Jews from Chmielnik began on October 5, 1942, when units of SS arrived in the city with an auxiliary force of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Latvians, commanded by Hans Gaier, head of the Schupo in Kielce. The units that arrived in the city to conduct the deportation Aktion were part of Sonderkommando Feucht, which was established in June 1942 in Radom with the task of carrying out the liquidation of the Jews in Distrikt Radom. The next day, October 6, around 5:00 A.M., gunshots were heard, and Germans armed with rifles and clubs, and accompanied by dogs, swarmed through the streets of the city. With the help of the Jewish Police, the Jews were summoned to present themselves at the livestock market (*Targowica*), located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city, near the forest on the road to Szydłów, by 8:00 A.M. The Germans threatened to shoot anyone who delayed, hid, or disobeyed the order, and masses of Jews began leaving their houses for the streets. At the same time, the Germans began carrying out searches in the Jewish houses and shooting the elderly, the sick, and anyone who was found hiding.[8]

At precisely 8:00 A.M., the thousands of Jews who had gathered at the assembly point were ordered to arrange themselves in straight lines. Parents with small children were forced to carry their children in their arms. The Germans walked around with baskets in their hands and ordered the Jews to hand over whatever money, gold, and jewelry they had in their possession. The plundering continued for several hours. There were Jews who were forced to strip so their bodies could be searched. Many were shot, and a number of women who could not bear the situation took their own lives. At 2:00 P.M., the Germans began carrying out a selection, and the head of the Gendarmerie in Chmielnik passed among the Jews with a list of craftsmen. Masses of people threw themselves at him at once to request their inclusion on the list, and because of the chaos that had broken out, the Germans began beating the Jews to restore order. The commander of the Gendarmerie in Chmielnik decided that craftsmen with children and families would not be allowed to remain. Out of thousands of Jews, the Germans selected 72 men and women and instructed them to stand to one side.[9]

From the afternoon to the small hours of the morning, groups of between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews were brought on foot from the assembly point in Chmielnik to the town of Chęciny, about 45 kilometers (28 miles) away, accompanied by guards from the evacuation force. During the course of the day, the Germans and their auxiliaries murdered about 500 Jews, among them Shmuel Zaltsman, head of the Judenrat. There were also some people who collapsed on the way to Chęciny—those who could not keep up with the required pace were shot. Hundreds of corpses were left strewn by the roadside. Those who arrived in Chęciny were brought to a halt near the train station, and when the train arrived, the Germans squeezed between 120 and 130 people into each car and sent them to the Treblinka extermination camp.[10]

The local Gendarmerie moved the 72 Jews who had been left in the livestock market back to Chmielnik. They were brought to the former Jewish community building and confined there under guard for the whole night. On the next day, October 7, the women in the group were sent to clean the offices of the Gendarmerie, and the men were sent into the ghetto area and to the livestock market to gather the dead and bury them in the Jewish cemetery in Chmielnik. Not long afterwards several hundred of the Jews of the town who had hidden outside the city before and during the deportation returned to Chmielnik. Despite their fear that they would all be shot, the Germans managed to gather all of them in Pasternak's house on Furmańska Street, where the Jewish Police had previously been located. There, a sort of small ghetto was formed in which there were close to 700 Jews. A communal kitchen was opened, and Leon Koralnik was appointed head of the Judenrat. Scores of Jews went daily to work in places far from the city. They were primarily employed digging ditches and carrying loads. They returned broken and demoralized in the evenings. Those who remained in the ghetto worked emptying the remaining contents of the Jewish houses. Some of them managed to sell various objects to the peasants who came from the surrounding area.[11]

A month later, on November 5, 1942, a second deportation Aktion was carried out. With the exception of 75 Jews whom the Germans left in the city, hundreds of Jews were put on wagons hitched to horses; the caravan traveled to Stopnica, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from Chmielnik. They were supposed to then be transported to Treblinka. Many Jews escaped on the way to Stopnica. About 200 returned to Chmielnik, and others found refuge with Poles or in the forests. Some of the Jews who remained in the city were sent to forced labor in the HASAG Granat camp in Kielce. At the beginning of December 1942, the last Jews were deported from Chmielnik to Sandomierz. The few Jews who remained in Chmielnik after the third deportation lived together and worked performing various services in the local station of the Gendarmerie.[12]

Among the hundreds of Jews in Chmielnik who sought refuge with Poles living in the surrounding towns and villages, many fell into traps that the Poles laid for them. Some were handed over to the Germans, and others went from one Pole to another, trying to convince someone to hide them. Despite the danger that threatened the lives of those who gave food or refuge to Jews, there were a number of acts of rescue in the vicinity of Chmielnik that saved the lives of scores of Jews. One particularly notable act of rescue was performed by Stanisław Kaszuba, his wife, and their children Ryszard, Stefan, and Daniela. In the course of eight months—until the liberation of the city in January 1945—they hid eight Jews from the Shor and Kozlovski families in their house.[13]

SOURCES Information specifically on the Chmielnik ghetto and the destruction of the Jews of Chmielnik can be found in the following three publications: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7 *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999); Suzan E. Hagstrom, *Sara's*

Children: The Destruction of Chmielnik (Spotsylvania, VA: Sergean Kirkland's Press, 2001); and Adam Neuman-Nowicki, *Struggle for Life during the Nazi Occupation of Poland*, trans. Sharon Stambovsky Strosberg (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998). There is also the important published source: Ephraim Shedletski, ed., *Pinkes Khmyelnik: Yizker-bukh nokh der horev-gevorener Yidisher kehile* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Hmyelnik be-Yisrael, 1960).

The following primary sources from the Yad Vashem Archives (YVA) were used in preparing this entry—TR-17/83; M-1/E/2364; M-1/Q/69; M-1/E/902/763; as well as file A.520 from the Moreshet Archives (MA), Giv'at Haviva.

Sara Bender
trans. Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Menashe Montzash, "In di yorn fun der Hitler okupatsye," p. 727; Yehoshuah Shteinfeld, p. 741—both in Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelnik*. Also see YVA, TR-17/83, p. 31.
2. Montzash, in Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelnik*, p. 728.
3. Israel Feingold, p. 706; Montzash, p. 731—both in Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelik*. Also see Hagstrom, *Sara's Children*, p. 58.
4. Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelnik*, p. 730.
5. Neuman-Nowicki, *Struggle for Life*, pp. 34–35.
6. Mapeh, in Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelnik*, p. 715; MA, A.272, testimony of Tovah Mali, p. 2.
7. YVA, M-1/E/2364, Kleinhendler testimony, p. 2. Also see "Kach Nikhrevah Ayarati," p. 698; Ya'akov Lemberg, "Fun aktsyeh tsu aktsyeh," p. 751—both in Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelnik*.
8. Artur Kleinhendler, "Di 72 nokh der aktsyeh," p. 747; Shteinfeld, p. 745; Mapeh, p. 715—all in Shedletski, *Pinkes Khmyelnik*.
9. Shteinfeld, p. 746; Kleinhendler, p. 748–both in ibid.
10. Shteinfeld, p. 746; Lemberg, p. 752; Kleinhendler, p. 749; "Kach Nikhrevah Ayarati," p. 700—all in ibid.
11. "Kach Nikhrevah Ayarati," p. 702; Rivkeh Sametband-Mal, "In kamf farn lebn," p. 762; Feingold, p. 710; Mapeh, p. 716; Lemberg, p. 745—all in ibid.
12. Z. Lederman, "Pruvn fun vidershtand," in ibid., p. 743.
13. Klaynhert, pp. 813–818; Alteh Shor, "In gerangl farn lebn fun mayn mishpokhe," pp. 824–827—both in ibid. Also see YVA, M-31/5826.

CIEPIELÓW

Pre-1939: Ciepielów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ciepielow, Kreis Ilza (later Kreis Starachowice), Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ciepielów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Ciepielów is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Radom. When Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, Ciepielów had 450 Jewish residents (85 families).[1]

In mid-September, a number of Jews from Lipsk and Zwoleń, whose houses had been burned down during the invasion, settled in Ciepielów; they were followed by deportees from the city of Łódź. By April 1940, there were 580 Jews in Ciepielów, 130 of them newcomers. Despite the influx of new arrivals during the first years of the occupation, Ciepielów's Jews continued to live under tolerable conditions without excessive persecution by the German authorities.[2]

The Germans set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to implement their new laws and instructions. The members of the Judenrat included: Lejzor Zylbiergield (chairman), Fiszel Bluma, M. Korman, Icek Cukier, and Moszek Kirszenbaum. The latter was also a chairman of the town's short-lived self-help committee. Its closure in April 1940 was purportedly connected to allegations against Kirszenblum of pocketing profits made by selling goods intended for distribution among the poor free of charge. Complaints reached the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw and Radom's Judenrat, resulting in an inspection. Afterwards, the Judenrat's social section was again in charge of Jewish welfare in Ciepielów.[3]

From the onset of the occupation, Ciepielów's Jews were conscripted for forced labor. In April 1940, approximately 160 men (aged 12 to 60) were alternately conscripted three days a week for a full day of unpaid work. This action quickly drained the community's savings, as the men were barely able to feed themselves.

Until June 1940, the Judenrat provided the Łódź deportees with limited financial support, until it was unable to continue doing so. It then assigned them instead to local families that were still well situated and were able to provide them with sustenance. These deportees were housed in private apartments, one room per family. The Judenrat also endeavored to find work for them. In January 1941, those employed received 3.20 złoty per day.

Apart from the deportees, the Judenrat also took care of Jewish refugees, as approximately 20 people were reported as passing through Ciepielów on any particular day. The Judenrat directed those in need to wealthier families for soup or other limited assistance. With Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) support, two separate apartments for male and female refugees were provided.

At the beginning of 1941, the number of Jews in Ciepielów declined slightly to 531; however, none of them had been sent to labor camps or to work assignments outside the Kreis. The Judenrat assessed 397 women, children, and elderly as unable to work. Only 25 Jews—mostly cobblers and tailors—were still permitted to keep their workshops open, employing a total of 37 Jews.

In fear of an epidemic, the German authorities ordered the community to construct a delousing facility that the poor could use free of charge. Most of Ciepielów's Jews were also vaccinated for typhoid and dysentery. Yet despite the precautions, cases of illnesses emerged in 1941. A local doctor treated the town's Jews, charging the Judenrat half price for his services.[4]

A JSS was established to assume from the Judenrat the provision of aid to poor Jews. The Starachowice Kreis committee set up its branch in Ciepielów on June 7, 1941, with Icek Goldbard as the chairman, Berek Sendkowicz as his deputy, and

Mechel Cukier as the committee's third member. They opened a soup kitchen in November 1941.[5]

On the orders of Kreishauptmann Zettelmeyer, an open ghetto was established in Ciepielów on December 6, 1941.[6] Ghetto residents were permitted to leave it for work and to obtain food in the daylight hours.[7] By February 1942, 531 Jews inhabited the ghetto.

The ghetto in Ciepielów was liquidated on October 24, 1942.[8] SS officers ordered all of Ciepielów's Jews to gather in the market square, where approximately 50 men and women were selected and sent to the Dęblin-Stava labor camp. The remaining 550 to 600 Jews were sent to the ghetto in the village of Tarłów, where thousands of Jews from nearby towns were being assembled.[9]

The Tarłów ghetto was liquidated on October 29, 1942: all its inhabitants were taken on carts to the Jasice train station and from there to the Treblinka extermination camp.[10]

A punitive expedition composed of approximately 30 German soldiers commanded by Birner arrived in Ciepielów following the ghetto's liquidation. It took up quarters in the Ciepielów Stary manor (known as Ciepielów Górka) and conducted roundups of partisans and ghetto escapees. On December 6, 1942, this expedition murdered 21 Poles and two Jews in Ciepielów Stary. The families of Kosior, Kowalski, and Obuchowicz (Obuchiewicz) were burned alive in their houses for helping escaped Jews. The names of the two murdered Jews are unknown. All the victims were buried in the same grave, in a field near the razed houses. That same day, the expedition burned another 10 Poles in neighboring Rękówka. Relatives and coincidental visitors of the Kosiors in Ciepielów Stary were also burned to death for helping Jews. This did not deter Stanisława Lewandowska, a neighbor of the Kowalski and Obuchowicz families, from protecting Dawid Semkowicz, who later migrated to Israel.

Following the executions, the Germans warned that the death penalty for helping Jews will apply not only to a family hiding them but also to the village elder. In the course of the December 1942 and January 1943 roundups, more Jews—and the Poles suspected of sheltering them—were captured. The Germans brought the victims to their quarters in Ciepielów Górka to torture, execute, and bury them on the estate's grounds. They also murdered all Roma hiding in the vicinity, including a Polish man named Kupczyk who had given them shelter. In retaliation, Polish partisans killed some German Gendarmes and a local ethnic German, Antoni Potrząsaj, who had betrayed some Jews in hiding.[11]

SOURCES The Ciepielów ghetto is mentioned briefly in Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja, 1979), p. 138.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AOKBZH w Kielcach, Sygn, Ds 85/69; AŻIH (210/303 [AJDC], 211/276 [ŻSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 17; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Adam Pekalla, "Zespół synagogalny w Ciepielowie," *BŻIH*, nos. 1–2 (1988): 115–120; Krzysztof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach: FPHU, "XYZ," 2007), pp. 31–32; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 161 (table 12), 180–181; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).

2. Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 418; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 17; and Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC). Kirszenbaum was presumably excluded from the Judenrat, as his name does not appear in later documents.

4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 17; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).

5. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 108; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 17.

6. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 85; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 116, 150; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 261; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 138.

7. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 418.

8. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, pp. 161–162 (table 12), 180–181.

9. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 261; and Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 138. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 418, mention the "Demblin-Stava" labor camp, which presumably was located in or around the nearby town of Dęblin.

10. Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), pp. 136–137; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 161–162 (table 12), 180–181.

11. The sources differ as to the type of forces (Schupo, SS, or Gendarmerie—it was probably the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Bataillon) and the number murdered on December 6, 1942 (33 to 35): Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom, 1939–1945* (Kraków: Znak, 1969), pp. 862–865; Wacław Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity* (Washington, DC: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), entries 107–110, and 418, pp. 138–139, and 213; A. Jankowski, L. Kaczanowski, and S. Meducki, "Terror hitlerowski na wsi kieleckiej: Wybór dokumentów źródłowych z AOKBZH w Kielcach," *Rocznik Świętokrzyski* 15 (1988): 73–75; A. Jankowski, "Pacyfikacje i terror na wsi na Kielecczyznie 1939–1945," Rocznik Świętokrzyski (1988): 24; Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo radomskie* (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 34–36, 156; and Barbara Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych* (Warsaw: ABC, 1997), pp. 233–234.

ĆMIELÓW

Pre-1939: Ćmielów (Chmielów), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Chmielow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ćmielów województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Ćmielów is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Lublin and northeast of the town of Opatów. In the fall of 1939, on the outbreak of World War II, about 500 to 600 Jews were living in Ćmielów.

Beginning in September 1939, the German occupation imposed the same restrictions on Ćmielów's Jews as in other parts of Distrikt Radom. The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was forced to pay monetary "contributions" to the Germans, and the community was brought to the brink of its economic existence. The situation worsened when refugees from other towns started to arrive in Ćmielów in December 1939. On May 1, 1940, the Ćmielów Jewish Council reported to the office of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw that about 1,000 Jews were living in the town, among them a group of 128 Jews from Konin, Golin, and Warta. These Jews were assigned to live with local families, and this resulted in considerable overcrowding, with entire families having to live in one room. None of the Jews had a chance to make a living, and the situation was especially grim for the refugees, who had arrived hungry and without a penny in their pockets. German authorities had requested that public baths be built, and the Jewish community had no funds to pay the estimated 4,500 złoty needed for this construction. The Jewish community also had to provide bed linen, towels, and other textiles for the opening of a hospital for infectious diseases. These expenses were a severe burden on the community.[1]



A Jewish youth, Toivia Grunbaum (Teddy Greenbaum), peers out the window of a soup kitchen in Ćmielów, 1941. The small, faded sign in Polish above Toivia's head reads, "Kitchen."
USHMM WS #78932, COURTESY OF TEDDY GREENBAUM

At that time, Abraham Gutman was the chairman of the Jewish Council, and Icek Brykam was his deputy. Other members of the Judenrat were Izrael Malcman, Lejnus Frydental, Jankiel Frydman, Icek Erlichzon, Szmul Kohn, and Chil Goldman. H. Wajgenszperg, who inspected the Ćmielów Jewish community in June 1940, reported that the chairman Gutman was not well liked within the community and that the other members of the council did not trust him.[2] Even without these problems, the Jewish community faced harsh conditions: 268 people aged between 16 and 60 had to report for forced labor, and each day about 130 were actually sent out to work. Their tasks involved mainly cleaning the streets and public areas of Ćmielów, road construction, work in the porcelain factory, and hard labor in a quarry.[3] For the work in the quarry, which took place from the summer of 1940 to the summer of 1942 and was part of the "Otto" program, dedicated to improving the roads and railway traffic, the Jews were paid 20 złoty per week and a few kilograms of bread.[4] According to research by Robert Seidel, in February 1941, a labor camp was established to employ Jews in building dikes under the supervision of the Water Regulation Administration (Wasserwirtschaftsverwaltung) of Distrikt Radom. The camp in Ćmielów was the second of its kind in the Distrikt,[5] but it is not clear whether local Jews also were exploited in this camp.

Especially harsh was the situation of the deportees who had arrived in Ćmielów from other towns. In July 1940, they sent a report stating that they had not received any help from the local Jews except for housing and that they had to substitute for the Ćmielów Jews who were assigned to forced labor. They accused Gutman of withholding money and deliveries of food sent for their support. According to their statement, they had refused to go to work unless they were paid by the Jewish Council and were eventually paid for a few days, but the payment was soon discontinued.[6]

No doubt the situation of the Jewish community was critical, and food deliveries did not ease the situation very much. Organizations like the AJDC and Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) tried to help by sending money for the soup kitchen and food. For instance, in July 1940, the Jewish Council received 52 kilograms (115 pounds) of grits, 9 kilograms (20 pounds) of sugar, 46 kilograms (101 pounds) of flour, 6 kilograms (13 pounds) of lard, and 13 cans of condensed milk from the AJDC's Kreis Radom Inspectorate.[7] Still, the impoverishment of the Jews increased rapidly. In February 1941, the Ćmielów soup kitchen had to provide food for 106 people,

most of them refugees. In March it provided meals for 171 refugees.[8] Especially grim was the situation of a group of Jewish deportees from Vienna. Although the Viennese Jewish Community tried to send money and food for their support, the German authorities did not permit its transmission.[9] The survival of the refugees depended completely on the Ćmielów Jews, whose funds were exhausted.[10] To supplement meager food supplies, some Jewish youths would remove their Jewish Stars and sneak out into the fields to steal vegetables.[11]

A ghetto was erected in Ćmielów on June 1, 1942, following an order issued in mid-May by Nazi Kreishauptmann Ritter.[12] The Ćmielów ghetto was enclosed, and about 900 to 1,500 people had to live there under very overcrowded conditions. A typhus epidemic broke out and claimed many lives. The Ćmielów ghetto was liquidated in the second half of October 1942.[13] In the months prior to its liquidation, or possibly at the time of the deportation Aktion, a number of male and female Jewish youths were selected for labor, with some being sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) forced labor camp at Skarżysko Kamienna. A few of the small number of survivors from the Ćmielów ghetto passed through this camp.[14]

According to one source, 24 people were killed during the liquidation Aktion and were buried at the Jewish cemetery. The remaining Jews were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp by train, and the ghetto itself was destroyed.

Afterwards, in January 1943, a camp was set up in Ćmielów, which served as a remnant ghetto for Jews who had escaped the liquidation Aktion in October and were caught or who had tried to survive in hiding. It is not known when this camp was dissolved and what happened to its inmates.[15]

SOURCES The most important sources on the Jewish community and the ghetto in Ćmielów include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 420–421; Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006); and Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007). The Ćmielów ghetto is listed in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 149.

Archival sources on the fate of the Jews of Ćmielów during the Holocaust include the following: USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC], 210/312; and RG-10.369 and 376); and VHF (e.g., # 7759, 19286, and 44455).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, letter of Jewish Council to AJDC, May 1, 1940; and VHF, # 19286, testimony of Esther Tabatchnik, a Jewish refugee from Konin, who arrived in Ćmielów in December 1939.

2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, report of inspection of the Jewish Council in Ćmielów by the secretary of the Jewish Council in Ostrów, June 11, 1940.

3. Ibid.; and VHF, # 7759, testimony of Teddy Greenbaum.

4. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 154.

5. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, p. 206, based on Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1988), pp. 37–38.

6. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH—AJDC), 210/312, report of deportees from Konin and Golin, July 23, 1940.

7. Ibid., AJDC, Distrikt Radom Inspectorate, to Jewish Council in Ćmielów, July 12, 1940.

8. Ibid., activity report, February and March 1941.

9. Ibid., AJDC to Komitee der Wiener Juden in Ćmielów, June 18, 1941, and Dr. Josef Israel Löwenherz, Amts-Direktion der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde in Wien, to JSS in Ćmielów, August 26, 1941.

10. Ibid., JSS Ćmielów to AJDC Kraków, September 3, 1941.

11. VHF, # 19286.

12. According to Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 420–421. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 149, date the ghetto's establishment in early 1942.

13. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 149, give the date of October 16; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 420–421, the end of October 1942.

14. VHF, # 44455, testimony of Arie Greenbaum; and # 19286.

15. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 420–421.

CZĘSTOCHOWA

Pre-1939: Częstochowa (Yiddish: Tshenstokhov), city, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1940–1944: Tschenstochau, Kreisfreie Stadt, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Częstochowa, województwo śląskie, Poland

Częstochowa is located about 200 kilometers (124 miles) southwest of Warsaw. In 1939, there were 28,486 Jews living in Częstochowa out of a total population of 130,000.[1]

German motorized units entered Częstochowa on September 3, 1939. On the next day, later referred to as "Bloody Monday," a three-day assault was unleashed on the Jewish population. The attacks were marked by the murder of 300 Jews and widespread looting. Jewish economic life was paralyzed, and the community's cultural, social, and political life was totally disrupted. A series of repressive measures were put in place, including an 8:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. curfew, kidnapping for forced labor, seizure of personal and business property, collective fines ("contributions"), evictions from the better apartments, and compulsory wearing of the Jewish badges ("the marks of shame").[2]

On September 19, 1939, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a 15-member Judenrat, headed by Leon Kopinski. As it sought to cope with German demands, the Judenrat constantly expanded. By December 1940, it had 21 departments with a staff of senior and junior officials that to-



View of Kozia Street, situated in the center of the former "small ghetto" at Częstochowa, ca. 1944.
USHMM WS #08791, COURTESY OF BIBLIOTEKA PUBLICZNA W CZĘSTOCHOWIE

taled 676 people. The Judenrat's enforcement of German decrees—confiscation of Jewish possessions, recruitment for forced labor, arbitrary investigations and arrests, and transfers to labor camps—led to a thoroughly negative attitude toward it on the part of the Jewish population.[3]

Alongside the Judenrat, a Jewish police force was established, originally tasked as "Inspectors of Street Traffic." The policemen worked without pay. They guarded the Judenrat offices and warehouses, maintained order in the streets, and enforced the evening curfew. They initially numbered 50 men, but by December 1940 their number had increased to 80. Later an enlarged and tougher police force was created. Armed with rubber truncheons to enforce German orders, the Jewish Police fulfilled their duties with coercion, house searches, arrests, and beatings. They received a salary for their efforts and were said to include only the most unscrupulous people.

In August 1940, about 1,000 men aged 18 to 25 were sent to a forced labor camp in Cieszanów, Distrikt Lublin, where conditions were very harsh. Many others were sent subsequently to the camps run by Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG), the privately owned armaments manufacturer that operated in Częstochowa and elsewhere.[4]

Ghettoization in Częstochowa proceeded in stages. As soon as the Germans entered the city, they evicted Jews from the better and more comfortable residences and forced them to move together into a Jewish quarter. Jews were still permitted to do business with non-Jews, move about the city, and use the trains. The conversion of the Jewish quarter into a ghetto took place in April 1941. An order issued by Stadthauptmann SS-Brigadeführer Richard Wendler, established a ghetto on April 9, 1941, in the eastern, older part of the city. The ghetto consisted of 28 streets. All Poles were required to move out of the designated area by April 17; like the Jews who moved in, they were permitted to take with them only up to 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of luggage per person. The Jewish Council had to assign living space to the Jews moving into the ghetto. By April 23 the resettlement was completed, and the ghetto was clearly delineated. Jews were now forbidden to leave the ghetto's confines without an official pass. Initially the penalty for disobeying this order was a fine of 10,000 złoty or imprisonment.[5] Subsequently the death penalty was applied to those caught outside the ghetto illegally.

Business ties with the Polish population were forbidden. The Jews were completely isolated from all commercial, social, political, and cultural life. The numerous demands for forced contributions and repeated confiscations left them impoverished. Conditions of cold and hunger led to the spread of epidemic diseases.[6]

The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, and certain designated streets still connected with the surrounding non-Jewish sectors of the city. The "Aryan" population was permitted to pass through these ghetto streets, but interaction with the Jews was illegal. Within the ghetto precincts, small shops and street venders offered a limited supply of goods—clothing, buttons, a few food products, sweets, tea, and soap. Polish passersby would purchase small items, always on the lookout for policemen who would chase them off and, sometimes, seize the merchandise. Jewish individuals with specific skills—for example, fine tailors and shoemakers—were given monthly passes that allowed them to work on the Aryan side. Some



Metal badge of a Jewish policeman in the Częstochowa ghetto, 1942. In German and Polish, the abbreviation in the center of the badge reads, "Council of Elders, Częstochowa."
USHMM WS #08796, COURTESY OF BIBLIOTEKA PUBLICZNA W CZĘSTOCHOWIE

Jewish entrepreneurs formed silent partnerships with non-Jewish colleagues to continue their businesses outside the ghetto.[7] Male Jews in the city were registered for forced labor by the Judenrat. The daily average of those taken rose steadily from 2,624 in 1940 to 7,597 in 1942. The Jewish Police escorted the forced laborers to and from various work sites outside the ghetto each day, especially the armaments factories on Krótka Street.[8] The Judenrat also operated a workshop for carpenters to fill German orders.

The first ghetto, which subsequently came to be known as the "Large Ghetto," existed up until the mass expulsions that took place between September 22 and October 8, 1942. During the course of its existence, about 20,000 Jews from other cities (e.g., Łódź, Płock, and Kraków) and towns (e.g., Łęczyca) were sent to the Częstochowa ghetto, which eventually held over 48,000 people. The refugees arrived with few if any personal belongings and in a state of exhaustion. They were housed in mass lodgings with no facilities for washing or cooking and were the first victims of typhus and other diseases. Hunger and hardship forced everyone onto the street to sell their remaining possessions for a bit of food. Life was a constant battle against starvation and cold, a struggle to survive until the longed-for defeat of the foe.[9]

One of the distinctive institutions of the ghetto was the Workers' Council, a spontaneous movement of forced laborers. More well-to-do ghetto inhabitants avoided forced labor by paying the Judenrat a bribe, leaving the poorer strata to suffer the hardship of working as forced laborers. On May 12, 1940, the leaders of the Workers' Council occupied the offices of the Judenrat and demanded relief from their burdens and suffering. The Judenrat partly acceded to their demands for a public kitchen and the distribution of bread. The Workers' Council also instituted political, cultural, and professional activity through the establishment of a sickness fund, public kitchens, a mutual-aid society, a disabled workers fund, children's homes, schools, evening courses, drama groups, and choirs. They also published *Rasta*, an illegal newspaper that was hostile to the Judenrat.[10]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews were required to surrender all fur coats to the Germans for the benefit of the German army. Many Jews died of disease, hunger, and cold in this harsh winter. In May 1942, anticipating the mass deportations to come, the Germans seized and killed prominent Jewish cultural, social, and political activists.

The large-scale deportation Aktions from Częstochowa began on September 21–22, 1942. The SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Radom, Dr. Herbert Böttcher, entrusted command of the Aktions to Hauptmann Paul Degenhardt, the commander of the Schupo in Częstochowa. In the night, SS and Ukrainian forces from Trawniki surrounded the ghetto and installed large searchlights. During the ensuing Aktions, these forces were supported by members of the local Schupo, Reservepolizeikompanie Köln, and more than 200 Polish (Blue) Police. In the morning of September 22, the Jews were forced out of their dwellings for a selection. About 7,000 were marched to the railway ramp at Zawodzie and were taken to the Treblinka extermination camp. About 200 were shot during the roundup and another 300 selected for forced labor. The next Aktions took place on September 25–26 and September 29–30. The Jews assembled voluntarily, having received assurances that they would be going to the work camps, where the first group was happily settled. Another deportation on October 4 swept up almost all the members and families of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police. The last transport, on October 7, stopped in the small town of Koniecpol, where another 1,500 Jews were added to the train. Altogether between 33,000 and 40,000 Jews from Częstochowa were sent to Treblinka, and up to 2,000 were killed in the city during the roundups.[11] Several Jews from Częstochowa were retained as workers in Treblinka and subsequently participated in the Treblinka uprising.

After the deportations, the northeastern remnant of the ghetto, called the "Small Ghetto," held about 5,000 able-bodied Jews. The Small Ghetto was located along Nadrzeczna, Kozia, Mostowa, Spadek, and Garncarska Streets. It was surrounded by barbed wire and had only one gate. Some of the workers sorted out the remaining Jewish property. Others worked in the HASAG factories and workshops. Those selected to remain as laborers were soon joined by many others, who came out of hiding in the days following the deportations. The Germans even permitted the Judenrat to operate a day-care center for 120 children, to further reassure the Jews and lure more from hiding.

The first selection in the Small Ghetto took place on January 4, 1943. Some 350 women and children were deported to Treblinka, and 200 others were executed on Kawia Street. In March 1943, another 130 were shot in the Jewish cemetery. On June 25, 1943, a group was sent to labor camps. The final selection took place in July with the execution of the last chair of the Judenrat and others deemed unfit for work.[12]

During the time that the Small Ghetto existed, some of the young activists from the Workers' Council banded together to form a Jewish Fighting Organization (JFO, using the same name as the resistance unit in Warsaw). Former party and ideological differences were set aside. It consisted of around 300 members in five cells and was commanded by Moshe Zylberberg. During its existence the JFO carried out a significant number of armed actions. In the days of the liquidation of the Small Ghetto, some members of the Jewish underground escaped to the forests, and others died offering armed resistance against the Germans.[13]

The total number of Jews in the Częstochowa Large Ghetto, Small Ghetto, and the various forced labor camps has been estimated at around 58,000. Some 50,000 were killed, and more than 5,000 were liberated by the Allied armies. Of these, however, probably only around 1,500 were originally from Częstochowa itself.

In 1949, Dr. Herbert Böttcher was sentenced to death and executed by the Polish authorities. Paul Degenhardt was tried by a West German court in Lüneburg in 1966 and sentenced to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jewish community in Częstochowa during World War II include the following: M. Schutzman, ed., *Sefer Tshenstokhov*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora, 1967–1968); Raphael Mahler, ed., *Tshenstokhover Yidn* (New York: United Czestochower Relief Committee and Ladies Auxiliary, 1947); S.D. Singer, ed., *Tshenstokhov; nayer tsugob-material tsum bukh "Tshenstokhover yidn"* (New York: United Relief Committee in New York, 1958); Shelomoh Vaga, ed., *Hurbn Tshenstokhov* (Buenos Aires: Tsentralfarband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentina, 1949); Harry Klein, *Czenstochov, Our Legacy* (Montreal, 1993); W.M. Glicksman, "Daily Record Sheet of the Jewish Police (District I) in the Częstochowa Ghetto (1941–1942)," *Yad Vashem Studies* 6 (1967): 331–358; L. Brener, "Ruch podziemny w częstochowskim getcie," *BŻIH*, nos. 45–46 (1963): 159–163; F.J. Pietrzykowski, *Hitlerowcy w Częstochowie w latach 1939–1945* (Poznań, 1959); "Czestochowa," in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 422–461; "Czestochowa," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), 5:1212–1214; and "Czestochowa," in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 336. Relevant Web sites consulted include the following: HolocaustResearchProject.org and jewishgen.org.

Documentation concerning the fate of the Jews in Częstochowa during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AAN; AŻIH (e.g., collections 301 and 211); BA-L (e.g., B 162/5074, 6920, 14205); IPN (ASG); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.153; RG-15.061M [Jewish Council in Częstochowa]; Acc.2008.258.1); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/8412).

Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. Mahler, *Tshenstokhover Yidn*, pp. x–xi, 9, 16.
2. Singer, *Tshenstokhov*, p. 39.
3. Ibid., pp. 39–40.
4. Ibid., p. 40; and HolocaustResearchProject.org.
5. USHMM, RG-15.061M (Records of the Jewish Council in Częstochowa), 213/16.
6. Singer, *Tshenstokhov*, p. 40.
7. Vaga, *Hurbn Tshenstokhov*, pp. 107, 114 (cited from the translation at jewishgen.org).
8. USHMM, RG-15.061M, 213/15.
9. Singer, *Tshenstokhov*, p. 42.
10. Ibid., p. 43. See also Yoram Lubling, *Twice-Dead: Moshe Y. Lubling, the Ethics of Memory, and the Treblinka Revolt* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 80.
11. BA-L, B 162/5074, p. 282; Pietrzykowski, *Hitlerowcy w Częstochowie*, p. 186.
12. HolocaustResearchProject.org.
13. Singer, *Tshenstokhov*, p. 44.

DENKÓW

Pre-1939: Denków, village, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski powiat, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Denkow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Denków, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Denków is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Lublin. In 1939, the Jewish population was 386.[1]

The German army occupied Denków in September 1939. Soon after their arrival the German military authorities demanded extortionate "contributions" from the Jewish community. On October 26, 1939, the Germans established the Generalgouvernement, and authority was handed over to a civil administration. Denków was located in Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom. The Kreishauptmann in Opatów was Dr. Heinz Ritter. On January 18, 1940, the German authorities ordered Jews in the region to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David on their right arm. Failure to comply was threatened with the death penalty.[2]

From 1939 to 1941, the German authorities in Denków implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. They seized the Jews' businesses and possessions and obliged them to register with the authorities. They required them to perform various kinds of heavy physical labor. From December 1940, there was a Jewish self-help committee for Kreis Opatow, which also had a branch in Denków. The self-help committee sought to aid the poor by the provision of food and other assistance.

The detachment of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Ostrowiec organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Kreis Opatow, including in Denków. The German Gendarmerie and the Polish auxiliary police also participated in these Aktions. From October 1941, Jews were not permitted to leave their residential areas on pain of death. According to a postwar German investigation, in the winter of 1941–1942 the German Order Police in Ostrowiec reported the shooting of two Jews on the meadow near Denków. The bodies were collected by two members of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) from Ostrowiec.[3]

On May 13, 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter issued an order for the establishment of 17 ghettos in his Kreis, including one in Denków, beginning on June 1.[4] In July 1941, 503 Jews were living in the village, including about 150 Jewish refugees. These Jews had been resettled into the Generalgouvernement mainly from parts of Poland annexed by Germany or from Vienna.[5] The Denków ghetto was liquidated on October 13, 1942. German police forces deported most of the remaining 500 or so Jews, together with the Jews of Ostrowiec, to the Treblinka extermination camp.[6]

On the liquidation of the ghetto the German authorities separated from the rest a number of Jews capable of work and sent them to the newly established forced labor camp in nearby Bodzechów. Among those sent to the Bodzechów camp were the brothers Chaim and Moshe Frimel. The two brothers managed to escape on the liquidation of the camp in April 1943 and returned to Denków. Here they were assisted by the family of Jan and Marianna Adamczyk, who hid them in their house at great risk until the Germans were driven from the area in January 1945.[7]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Denków and its destruction during the German occupation can be

found in: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 143–145. The ghetto in Denków is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 355.

Documents concerning the fate of the Jews of Denków during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: ITS; and YVA (e.g., O-3/3722, O-21/6, 16, 17, and 19).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludnosci zydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," BŻIH, nos. 15–16 (1955), table 13.
2. Leybush Milshtein Zeyl, "Di Likvidazie fun Ostrowzer geto," in M. Sh. Geshuri and Gershon Zilberberg, eds., *Sefer Ostrovtseh: Le-zikaron ule-ed* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrovtseh be-Yisrael, 1971), pp. 277–293, here p. 277.
3. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 592, pp. 722–723.
4. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 85–86; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 152–153.
5. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," table 13. According to Zeyl, "Di Likvidazie fun Ostowzer geto," pp. 278–279, in March 1940 a transport of mostly elderly Jews from Vienna arrived in Ostrowiec, and most were distributed to the surrounding villages, probably including Denków. Some of the refugees had arrived earlier from Konin at the end of 1939.
6. P. Matusak, *Ruch Oporu na Ziemi Optatowsko-Sandomierzkiej w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw, 1976), pp. 55, 57.
7. Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 53; the entire Adamczyk family was recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in two separate ceremonies on October 7, 1975, and January 6, 1997. On the Bodzechów camp, see also YVA, O-3/3722.

DRZEWICA

Pre-1939: Drzewica, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Drzewica is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) west-northwest of Radom. By 1939 there were 750 Jews living in Drzewica.[1]

Some time after their arrival, the Germans established a seven-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) that included three pre-war community leaders (Hersz Ajzenman, chairman; Dawid Szyszler; and Herszel Cytrynowicz); two Jews from Łódź (including manufacturer Rubin); and bookkeeper Aron Siwak from Płock. Archival sources also name A. Szejer, P. Rozenbaum, and Josef Wald as members.

The German forces stationed in Drzewica departed at the onset of the German-Soviet war in the summer of 1941. Thereafter, German Gendarmes based in Nowe Miasto supervised the Jews in Drzewica. Gendarmes Hofman, Servin, and Makowski are mentioned by name. Survivor J. Szyszler described Makowski as especially cruel.[2]

Deportees arrived between October 1940 and March 1941 from Mława (100), Tomaszów Mazowiecki (500), Skierniewice, Grójec, and Płock (200). After their arrival, the Judenrat reported 2,100 Jews in Drzewica, of whom 800 were deportees.

The Judenrat established an affiliated self-help committee, which opened a soup kitchen. It estimated that 450 newcomers were in need of aid. The committee included: A. Rubin, A. Dąb, Aron Wald, H. Cytrynowicz, Abram Szejer, D. Balsam, and M. Łomaniec.

The Płock Jews were in the worst situation, as there was little housing available on their arrival. The majority of them were quartered en masse in the synagogue on bunk beds and straw mattresses.[3]

The Płock Jews organized their own committee and, in May 1941, accused the local committee and the Judenrat of appropriating help sent for them "for other purposes." Their two representatives who initially were added to the local committee were not invited to its meetings and so were unable to see how outside help was distributed. Some 130 Płock Jews used the soup kitchen—located in the same room where they slept—on a daily basis.

The Kreis office of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Tomaszów reported to the Kraków headquarters that the Płock Jews lived in "completely abnormal conditions, caused by the behavior of the Judenrat and its Self-Help Committee." Ghetto survivor Celina Widawski recalls that some Płock deportees were covered with lice, hungry, and dying of disease. At the end of September 1941, there were 2,226 Jews in Drzewica. It was in that month that an epidemic broke out; 66 people were sick with typhus and 31 with typhoid.[4]

Secondary sources report that the ghetto was established in the spring of 1941; however, primary sources indicate that it was established in the autumn of 1941. The August 1941 self-help committee report shows 690 złoty were spent "in connection with the ghetto's establishment." On October 29, 1941, the *Gazeta Żydowska* reported changes implemented with the "recent" establishment of the ghetto.

The ghetto was located on Berek Joselewicze Street and included a stretch of Piłsudski Street, where the Judenrat offices were now based. A post office was established in the ghetto. A Jewish arbitration court affiliated with the Judenrat functioned to resolve disputes among the inhabitants.

Although the ghetto was never fenced and guarded only by the Jewish Police, the residents were forbidden to leave it as of December 1941. No one in the ghetto had the Germans' permission to leave, not even members of Jewish institutions. Now and then, the Nowe Miasto Gendarmerie would enter the ghetto unexpectedly and shoot people randomly. There were occasions when the Germans took bribes for the release of those caught outside the ghetto.

Nevertheless, according to Szyszler, the Jews still traveled into the countryside to obtain and smuggle in food. Aron-Aba

Kubart remembers beggars swollen from hunger who, on seeing smoke from a chimney, would knock on the door to ask for leftover water from boiled potatoes. Kubart used to smuggle himself out of the ghetto through the window of his house, which overlooked the Aryan side.

The nine-man Jewish police force commanded by Szmul Moszkowicz included his two brothers and Jankiel Perelmutter. In September 1941, its members were equipped with special hats and batons, for which the community paid 546 złoty. Their wages that month were 812 złoty out of a total monthly budget of 22,000 złoty. In October 1941, 100 Jews from the ghetto worked on the Opoczno-Przysucha road.[5]

Despite the fact that 8 to 10 people shared a room, the Germans regularly reduced the ghetto's parameters. Lajbke Kuczyński, who "strayed three meters [9.8 feet] to the toilet" into an area the Germans had excluded from the ghetto, was shot and wounded. Smuggled back to the ghetto by his Polish friends, Kuczyński later died of his wounds.[6]

In November 1941, an official branch of the JSS was established in Drzewica, with local landowner Josef Zameczkowski as its chairman. Two Judenrat members, the above-noted bookkeeper from Płock, Aron Siwak, and tradesman Josef Wald were also included. In January 1942, Zameczkowski reported to Kraków that some members of the Judenrat, including Wald and Siwak, were pocketing income from the arbitration court, the post office, and the Sanitation Committee. Taxes imposed by the Judenrat on the ghetto inhabitants for the purpose of welfare, as well as the income from the sale of small portions of Jewish rations—again deducted by the Judenrat for the same purpose—were also misused. "The chairman of the Judenrat, a craftsman skilled in making shoe uppers and illiterate, allows this system to operate," wrote Zameczkowski. He also insisted on separating JSS bookkeeping from the Judenrat's, so as "not to allow them to hide the real income under a blanket of expenses for the soup kitchen." At the end of the year, the number of meals supplied by the kitchen had declined to 135, at which point the Judenrat closed down the kitchen. It was reopened by the JSS in January 1942.[7]

By mid-January 1942, 63 people had died of contagious diseases in the ghetto. Although the epidemic was losing force, Zameczkowski reported, "There is hardly any house without a sick person, and the epidemic spreads mostly amongst the Płock deportees, who live in deplorable conditions. On average there are 3 to 4 deaths per day." The only pharmacy was outside the ghetto. A Polish doctor, Malinowski, and an elderly Jewish hospital attendant treated the sick. Some were sent to the Opoczno hospital.

With time the conflict between Zameczkowski, other members of the JSS, and the Judenrat only intensified. In March 1942, Zameczkowski wrote to the Kraków JSS that Ajzenman "threatened me that his son will perforate my lungs with a shoemaker's knife." In July 1942, the Kreis branch of the JSS in Tomaszów Mazowiecki assured Kraków that Zameczkowski was "the only conscientious and solid worker of the Committee" and released Siwak of his duties.[8]

According to Szyszler, in July 1942, a partisan unit attacked the Judenrat office, stole money, and cut its telephone line. The Gestapo, with the help of the Jewish Police, searched for the Judenrat members to investigate the matter. All were found "guilty of a partisan attack" and shot. Szyszler added, "After the shooting of the Judenrat the [Jewish] Police took care of Jewish affairs."

In July 1942, a number of ghetto inmates were taken to the Skarżysko Kamienna labor camp.[9]

On October 22, 1942, approximately 500 Jews from the recently liquidated ghetto in Klwów were brought into the Drzewica ghetto and left out on the streets. The ghetto inhabitants were ordered to be ready for resettlement to a labor camp the next morning and to report to the market square. That night, the ghetto was surrounded by the Germans, and fires were lit around it to prevent escape.

On October 23, 1942, the Gendarmerie marched all the Jews to nearby Opoczno. Those who could not keep up with the column were shot; among them was Zameczkowski.

Approximately 50 Jews (including some policemen) were left behind to sort out Jewish possessions. Shortly afterwards, the Germans announced that those who had evaded the deportation were safe to come out. Consequently, 30 Jews came out of hiding. During daily roll calls, the Jewish Police kept assuring the Jews that they would be unharmed—as the Germans instructed them—but some Jews escaped this remnant ghetto. The remainder were most likely sent to the Ujazd ghetto, established in December 1942 as the only legal place for the Jews to stay in the Kreis. The Ujazd remnant ghetto was liquidated at the beginning of January 1943, when its inhabitants were deported to the Treblinka killing center.[10]

SOURCES References to the Drzewica ghetto can be found in Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 102, 133, 185–189; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 84, 99, 153, 177–178.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (301/3132); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/322; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], 211/365-367, 211/1035-1038; RG-15.019M [ASG]); and VHF (# 20106, 20871, 33497).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/366 (Drzewica), p. 21.

2. AŻIH, 301/3132, testimony of Josel Szyszler; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/365 (Drzewica), p. 22; 211/366, p. 25; VHF, # 33497, testimony of Aron-Aba Kubart, 1997.

3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 29, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/322 (Drzewica), pp. 1, 7, 15, 18, 21; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1035 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), p. 25.

4. VHF, # 20871, testimony of Celina Widawski, 1996; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/365, pp. 6–8; 211/366, p. 21; 211/367 (Drzewica), p. 30; 211/1032 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), pp. 11, 23.

5. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG Drzewica), file 120, reel 16; *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 29, 1941; AŻIH, 301/3132; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/366, p. 29; 211/367, pp. 1, 5; VHF, # 20106, testimony of Ruth Scheuer, 1996; # 20871; and # 33497.

6. VHF, # 33497; AŻIH, 301/3132.

7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1036 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), p. 66; 211/366, p. 32; 211/367, pp. 7–10, 48.

8. Ibid., 211/366, p. 6; 211/367, pp. 14, 20, 30, 41–43; 211/1038 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), p. 17.

9. AŻIH, 301/3132; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/367, pp. 65–66.

10. Celina Widawski, *The Sun Will Shine Tomorrow* (Hawthorn, Victoria, Australia: Essien, 1993), pp. 41–51; AŻIH, 301/3132; VHF, # 20871; # 20106.

FIRLEJ

Pre-1939: Firlej, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

In 1921, there were 53 Jews living in the village of Firlej, just north of Radom. In March 1940, the Judenrat reported 200 Jews residing in the village, including 15 refugees. Under German occupation, a few individuals were able to earn over a dozen złoty per week, but most Jews had no source of income. Approximately 40 men were assigned daily for—presumably—unpaid forced labor. Motek Szpajzman was one of the Judenrat members.[1]

In April 1940, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw informed the Judenrat in Firlej that it could collect 200 kilograms (441 pounds) of matzot for free distribution to the poorest members of the community, especially refugees. The matzot had been imported from abroad with the permission of the German authorities, and it was for consumption during the upcoming Passover holiday.[2]

By 1941, the number of Jews in the village had increased to 230. In March 1941, a handful of Jews from the recently depopulated village of Przytyk were transferred to Firlej.

As part of a larger process of ghettoization for the Jews still living in the villages of Kreis Radom, Firlej was designated as one of the rural Jewish communities that the Germans intended to liquidate by transferring them to a larger ghetto, at the end of 1941. However, according to the Radom office of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS): "Thanks to efforts of the Main Senior Council of the Jewish Community of Distrikt Radom," the Germans allowed several rural communities to remain in place by creating Jewish quarters for them.

An order to establish a ghetto in Firlej was issued by Radom's Kreishauptmann and implemented by early January 1942. Jews from smaller settlements were ordered to move into the ghetto, thereby raising the number of residents to approximately 250. Firlej's Jews were further ordered to set up an epidemic hospital and a soup kitchen.[3]

No information is available concerning living conditions in the ghetto. Seamstress Fajga Zeleg (39 years old) was registered as having been arrested for leaving the Firlej ghetto on July 20, 1942. Zeleg was transferred to the Radom ghetto and then "deported" to a camp on August 18, 1942.[4]

The Firlej ghetto was liquidated in July 1942 when approximately 200 Jews were sent to the Radom ghetto.

SOURCES Figures for the Firlej ghetto population are cited from Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 156, 179.

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (210/330 [AJDC], 211/854 [JSS]) and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/330 (Firlej), p. 1. Note that the majority of the information in this file refers to another Firlej, located near Lubartów, województwo podkarpackie.

2. Ibid., 210/330, p. 2, AJDC Warsaw to Judenrat in Firlej, April 15, 1940.

3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211//854 (Radom), pp. 5, 7.

4. Kazimierz Jaroszek and Sebastian Piątkowski, *Martyrologia Żydów w więzieniu radomskim 1939–1944: Wykaz zamordowanych, zmarłych, deportowanych do obozów koncentracyjnych i obozów zagłady* (Radom: Archiwum Państwowe, 1997), p. 80.

GARBATKA-LETNISKO

Pre-1939: Garbatka-Letnisko, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Garbatka-Letnisko is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Radom. When the war broke out, approximately 300 Jews were residing in Garbatka, comprising 8.5 percent of the total population. Soon after the Germans' arrival, the Jews of Garbatka became subjected to the anti-Jewish regulations enforced in the Generalgouvernement. A Judenrat was established to represent the local Jewish community, which was chaired by J. Perelsztajn.[1] The number of Jews in Garbatka rose rapidly. By 1940 there were 571 Jews, of which the Judenrat registered 100 as being impoverished.[2] By October 1941, there were 1,300 Jewish men, women, and children in Garbatka-Letnisko.[3] This large influx resulted from the conviction that Garbatka was a relatively "safe place," off the beaten track, and rarely visited by the Germans. The imposition of forced labor by the occupiers (Jewish labor details worked in forestry, road repairs, and clearing snow off the roads around Garbatka), and increasingly harsh living conditions, brought on mass pauperization among the Jews. At the beginning of 1942, it was ascertained that 90 percent of the Jews in Garbatka were living in poverty.[4]

Garbatka is mentioned as one of the places where Jews were to be concentrated in the order issued by the Kreishauptmann,

Dr. Egen, in late December 1941, regarding the establishment of ghettos in Kreis Radom-Land.[5] Therefore, in the first days of January 1942, as recalled by Jewish survivor Simon Brajtman, a ghetto was established in Garbatka.[6] It included 22 houses along with some farm buildings on Kochanowski Street, from which all Poles were expelled. Brajtman maintains that the ghetto was unfenced and unguarded, but other sources offer conflicting evidence on this point.[7] By this time, the Jewish population had become infected with typhus, and the Germans demanded that the Judenrat open an epidemic hospital, a public bath, and a delousing facility, to prevent the spread of the disease. The establishment of the hospital was probably delayed due to a lack of funds, but a Polish postwar report indicates that a small hospital with eight beds was set up inside the ghetto.[8]

On July 12, 1942, the German police conducted an antipartisan reprisal Aktion in Garbatka, following an attack on a German supply train by forces of the Polish resistance in the vicinity. In and around Garbatka, approximately 300 people were arrested, and countless Poles were murdered. In the course of the Aktion, German units also entered the ghetto and killed approximately 30 Jews. A large group, numbering around 60 people, was driven into a nearby forest and shot in a mass execution.[9] Afterwards, Jews from the ghetto were forced to bury the bodies of those who had been murdered. Of those arrested, 143 Poles and 74 Jews were selected and sent via a special transport to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Within a few weeks, almost all the prisoners on this transport had been killed in the camp, and their relatives in Garbatka were notified.[10]

Following the pacification Aktion, approximately 1,000 Jews remained in Garbatka. Of the few Jews from the ghetto who survived the war, several report that they were transferred to Pionki, shortly after the pacification Aktion in Garbatka.[11] According to Brajtman, all the Jews of Garbatka were taken to Pionki, where the local ghetto became so crowded that Jews had to sleep in the streets. Here some Jews from Garbatka were among those selected for work in the Pionki labor camp. Then on August 20, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Pionki ghetto and, according to Brajtman, forcemarched all the Jews to the ghetto in Zwoleń, including those who had recently arrived from Garbatka. Brajtman was fortunate to survive, as he returned to Pionki to work in the labor camp in early September, shortly before the liquidation of the Zwoleń ghetto.[12] The arrival of the Garbatka Jews in Zwoleń is confirmed by a Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) report, dated September 18, 1942.[13] From Zwoleń, the Garbatka Jews were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp, ironically via the train station near Garbatka, at the end of September or in early October 1942.

SOURCES Published sources regarding the ghetto in Garbatka-Letnisko include Sebastian Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna i działalność charytatywna w gettach dystryktu radomskiego (1939–1942)," in Marek Przeniosło, ed., *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX, XX i na początku XXI wieku* (Kielce, 2008), pp. 172–177; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 124–127; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 170, 208.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR; AŻIH (211/430, 1164 [ŻSS]; NMO, nos. 60 and 63); IPN (ASG, sygn. 47, p. 98); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG]); and VHF (e.g., # 16065, 21336, 44958).

Sebastian Piątkowski and Martin Dean
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. AŻIH, ŻSS, 211/430.
2. Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna," p. 173.
3. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 156.
4. AŻIH, ŻSS, 211/430.
5. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122, citing AŻIH, NMO, nos. 60 and 63 from late December 1942.
6. VHF, # 44958, testimony of Simon Brajtman; AŻIH, ŻSS, 211/430; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 170, 208.
7. VHF, # 44958. See also Maria Dziedzicka, "Holocaust w Garbatce," *Dziennik Radomski*, no.208 (1996): p. 10; and IPN, ASG, sygn. 47, p. 98; however, both indicate there was a fence.
8. AŻIH, ŻSS, 211/430; IPN, ASG, sygn. 47, p. 98.
9. Ryszard Śmietanka, *Szkice z dziejów Garbatki* (Garbatka-Letnisko, 1992), p. 36; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo radomskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1980), p. 54.
10. Franciszek Piper and Irena Strzelecka, eds., *Księga Pamięci: Transporty Polaków do KL Auschwitz z Radomia i innych miejscowości Kielecczyzny 1940–1944* (Warsaw, 2006), 2: 733–760; VHF, # 16065; # 44958.
11. VHF, # 16065; # 21336; # 44958.
12. Ibid., # 44958.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), 211/1164, pp. 61, 67.

GIELNIÓW

Pre-1939: Gielniów, village, Opoczno powiat, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Gielniow, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Gielniów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Gielniów is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) east-southeast of Łódź. On September 1, 1939, 190 Jews were registered in Gielniów.[1]

German troops occupied Gielniów on September 9, 1939. Two days later the synagogue was burned down. At that time, about 56 Jewish families, approximately 250 people, were living in the village.[2] Over the next three years, due to the arrival of refugees and deportees, the number of Jews increased to about 450. In March 1941, about 100 Jewish deportees arrived from

Płock. Other Jews were resettled there from Radom, Skierniewice, Żyrardów, Mogielnica, and Grójec. On January 1, 1942, Jews from the neighboring village of Kuniczki and in February 1942 about 100 more from other villages were brought into Gielniów, as it became one of the collection points in Distrikt Radom, used to concentrate Jews in preparation for their ultimate deportation.[3]

At some time during the first months of the occupation, a Jewish Council of Elders (Jüdischer Ältestenrat) was established. Its head was Icek Cygielfarb, and its members included Zelman Zalctrejger, Alter Chomontowski, and Wulf and Lejbus Fajfer. Apart from organizing forced labor details, its main task was to try to alleviate the harsh living conditions for the town's Jews. On April 1, 1940, the Jewish Council reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) that many buildings in town had been destroyed and many Jews had lost their homes. At that time, 10 Jewish families had been taken in as refugees from other villages and were living in conditions of extreme poverty. As the local community had no funds to assist the refugees, it asked for financial and material support to open a soup kitchen.[4] In response, on July 12, 1940, the AJDC organized the delivery of 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of grits, 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) of sugar, 42 kilograms (92.6 pounds) of flour, 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of lard, and 22 cans of condensed milk.[5] Further help came subsequently from the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), which had been established in Tomaszów Mazowiecki by 1941 and opened a branch office in Gielniów.[6]

During 1941, living conditions deteriorated further as Cygielfarb, the head of the Jewish Council, reported to the AJDC in Kraków. The AJDC delivered more groceries in May—grits, flour, lard, and condensed milk—and 600 złoty in the summer, to support the soup kitchen that supplied daily meals to 93 people. Most of them were Jews who had been forcibly resettled to Gielniów. Due to lack of funds, the soup kitchen had to be closed in the summer of 1941. Dysentery was raging in the community, one person had died already, and there was no physician or hospital to take care of the sick. Cygielfarb made an urgent request for medical assistance.[7]

According to various sources, Gielniów's Jews were also conscripted for forced labor. As Jacek Młynarczyk reports, Jews worked under the supervision of the Water Regulation Authority (Wasserwirtschaftsverwattung), repairing dams, building ponds, and regulating rivers and creeks. This source indicates that the Water Authority also established a Jewish forced labor camp (*Julag*) in Gielniów in 1940, holding probably between 200 and 400 Jews.[8] Jews from Gielniów also performed construction work on the road between Przysucha and Opoczno.

Information about the establishment of a ghetto in Gielniów remains sparse. Following the concentration of Jews there from neighboring villages in January and February 1942, the ability of Jews to leave the village became severely restricted by the spring of 1942 with the enforcement of the "Shooting Order" (*Schiessbefehl*) within Kreis Tomaschow, which instructed German police officials to shoot all Jews found outside their residential areas without permission.[9] Survivor Sylvia Kasten mentions the existence at some time in 1942 of a ghetto in Gielniów, which consisted of one street from which the Polish inhabitants were removed.[10]

The only detailed account of the ghetto was given shortly after the war by Zelman Zalctrejger. He recalled that just before Yom Kippur (September 21) in 1942, one Jew working on road construction was arrested by the Polish (Blue) Police and subsequently murdered for fleeing his workplace. When the Gielniów Jews heard this news, they panicked and hid in their houses. Seven more Jews were then arrested and shot. The German Gendarmerie then ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the town, which was not enclosed by a fence and not guarded. It was located on Bielińskaja Street and consisted of nine wooden houses. Each house had two or three rooms, which meant that 450 Jews were crammed together into about 18 to 22 rooms, with more than 20 people on average sharing a room. Due to the overcrowding, some people initially slept outside. Sanitary conditions soon deteriorated, and at least 10 people died from typhus.[11]

Only six weeks after the ghetto was established, the Germans liquidated it. On October 22, 1942, three German policemen came from Opoczno and ordered the Polish (Blue) Police to prepare 20 horses and carts to take the Jews to the Opoczno railway station. That night, about 60 Jews were able to escape to the woods before the Polish (Blue) Police cordoned off the town. On October 23, 1942, German police forces assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries liquidated the ghetto. All the Jews had to gather and form a column, with children and the elderly at the head of the line. From the ghetto they were escorted to the market square, where horse-drawn wagons waited for them. There, Ukrainians searched them and took their watches, jewelry, and other valuables. According to one source, 19 Jews were killed during the Aktion.[12] The Jews were taken to Opoczno, where at least 4,000 Jews from the surrounding area were gathered. The same day or shortly afterwards, all of them were put into freight cars and deported to the Treblinka killing center.[13]

The group of 60 Jews who escaped the liquidation of the ghetto survived in the woods for three days. Hunted by Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians, they split up and went in different directions. Hidden in primitive dugouts in the woods, they awaited the arrival of the Red Army. In this manner, Zalctrejger, one of the members of the Jewish Council, survived until the end of the occupation.[14] Two Jewish girls survived with the assistance of Wiktoria Nowosielska, who took them in on the night before the ghetto's liquidation. She helped them obtain "Aryan papers," and subsequently the girls were sent to Germany as foreign laborers.[15]

SOURCES The history of the Jewish community in Gielniów is briefly described in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 81. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 175, contains a brief summary on the ghetto with source citations.

Primary sources on Gielniów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/338 and 301/2533); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC], 210/338; and RG-15.084M [AŻIH—Relacje], 301/2533); and VHF (# 2080 and 23418).

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 81.
2. USHMM, RG-15.084M, 301/2533, statement of Zelman Zalctrejger.
3. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 81; USHMM, RG-15.084M, 301/2533; and Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 252.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/338, Aeltestenrat der Juden in Gielniów to AJDC Kraków, April 1, 1940.
5. Ibid.
6. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, pp. 203–204.
7. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/338, Icek Cygielfarb to AJDC Kraków, August 31, 1941.
8. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, pp. 152–153.
9. BA-L, B 162/14521, Verdict of LG-Darm, 2 Ks 1/69, December 7, 1972, pp. 20–30.
10. VHF, # 23418, testimony of Sylvia Kasten.
11. USHMM, RG-15.084M, 301/2533.
12. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 175, no. 1051.
13. USHMM, RG-15.084M, 301/2533.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 301/2533, appendix, report of Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, July 1947.

GŁOWACZÓW

Pre-1939: Głowaczów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Głowaczow, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Głowaczów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Głowaczów is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southeast of Warsaw. In 1921, the village had 1,411 Jewish residents. By the end of the 1930s, Jews constituted 57 percent of its residents. A large part of Głowaczów was destroyed in the fighting during the September Campaign of 1939. Following the village's occupation, young Jews were rounded up and sent to labor camps in Radom. They were released by the year's end. Others, coordinated by the Judenrat, performed forced labor in the area around Głowaczów, mostly in the lumber industry.

The Judenrat included the following members: Lajbusz Cukerman (chairman), Mosze Kozłowski, Nachman Chanciński, Lajzer Strowjeszczik, and Awisz Zilberman.

Apart from forced labor and a housing shortage, initially the Jews of Głowaczów were able to live their lives much as before the war.[1]

In 1940, in preparation for the establishment of a large military training ground north of Radom—along the Radomka River—the Germans evacuated all residents (including Poles) who inhabited the western part of the village.[2] Since a ghetto was set up in Głowaczów that same year, it is possible that this evacuation was part of the process that led to its establishment. Archival sources indicate that in the second half of 1940, two groups of Jewish residents were deported from Głowaczów on the orders of the Kreishauptmann, for the "purposes of the Reich."



Jews perform forced labor at a lumber mill under German supervision near the Głowaczów ghetto, 1940. The original German caption reads, "Glowuscow [*sic*], 1940 . . . In the prisoners' camp!"
USHMM WS #65620

A total of 364 Jews (88 families) were transferred between June and December 1940 to nearby Magnuszew. A list naming the heads of 78 of the deported families (324 persons) can be found in the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) files; however, the names of the 10 families who were not registered by the Magnuszew authorities remain unknown. Because 30 percent of those deported were homeless in the wake of the 1939 invasion, they left for Magnuszew with no resources. A second group of approximately 40 people was deported to Skaryszew in November 1940.

According to the testimony of one survivor, Hanka Grynberg, the Głowaczów ghetto was set up by "deporting all Jews from one part of the town to the other." A ditch demarcated the ghetto's borders, and Jews were forbidden to cross it. Poles were barred from entering the ghetto. Nevertheless, they managed to order products from ghetto craftsmen, as Jews living there were free to practice their occupations. The ghetto was guarded by the Jewish Police and rarely visited by Germans.[3]

In 1941 (most likely in the fall), the Germans completed the depopulation of Głowaczów. Historian Adam Rutkowski cites a letter by the mayor of nearby Luta addressed to the Radom Kreishauptmann that reported the deportation of 160 Jewish families from Głowaczów and its vicinity to the gminas of Mariampol, Magnuszew, and Skaryszew on September 20, 1941. From the survivors' testimony, it is clear that the majority of the ghetto residents were resettled to the closest locality, this being fallow lands 4 to 5 kilometers (2.5 to 3 miles) northwest of Głowaczów within the same gmina of Mariampol.

According to the survivor Abraham Kaspi, "the ghetto of Głowaczów's Jews was situated between Mariampol (known by locals as 'Marianki') and Jasieniec; its border was demarcated by a small lake." Owners of Jewish houses in Głowaczów were allowed to pull them down and move them to the new location. Most of Głowaczów's Poles were resettled to the village of Jasieniec and fallow lands near Mariampol village. Now deserted, Głowaczów was used as a training site for German artillery.[4]

Housing and sanitation in the new ghetto—referred to as Mariampol—were deplorable. Many Jews lived in overcrowded conditions in primitive huts, which resulted in malnutrition and deaths from various illnesses. The ghetto had one bakery, but the Germans provided insufficient flour to satisfy even a fraction of the community's needs. There was not a single shop. Kaspi believes that "if it had not been for the help of Polish neighbors, all of the Jews would have died of hunger," as restrictions regarding movement remained the same in the new location. Despite the ghetto's poverty, Gendarmes from Kozienice and Grabów demanded the delivery of various goods from the Judenrat, beating its chairman as a warning.

During the winter of 1941 and in April 1942, all men aged 50 and younger were rounded up by the Gestapo and SS and were taken to the nearby Kruszyna labor camp.[5]

In the summer of 1942, the ghetto was enclosed by a fence, yet its inhabitants still used to sneak out at night to forage for food.[6]

The Mariampol ghetto was liquidated in the second half of August 1942, when all of its residents were transferred to the Kozienice ghetto, which was located approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) away, where the residents of other small ghettos were also gathered. The Kozienice ghetto was liquidated on September 27, 1942, when almost all of its Jews were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.[7]

SOURCES A short description of the Głowaczów ghetto can be found in Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), p. 137.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/480 and 210/630 [AJDC]; and 301/2296 [Relacje]); USHMM (RG-15.084M [Holocaust Survivor Testimonies]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 20410 and 23383).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 23383, testimony of Sol Rozenzweig, 1996; # 20410, testimony of Abraham Kaspi, 1996; www.zchor.org/glowaczow/glowaczow.htm.

2. A. Kutkowski and I. Boratyn, "Zapłaćcie za wojnę!" *Słowo Ludu*, *Magazyn Obok Nas*, September 10, 2004, available at www.slowoludu.com.pl/gazeta/codzienna/2004/IX/10/8.pdf; Euzebiusz Małaśnicki, "Moje wspomnienia," www.glowaczow.republika.pl/chor.html.

3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/480 (Magnuszew), pp. 19–26; and 210/630 (Skaryszew), pp. 24–25, 29–32; AŻIH, 301/2296, testimony of Hanka Grynberg; VHF, # 20410.

4. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 156–157 (table 11), 178–179; Małaśnicki, "Moje wspomnienia"; and Kutkowski and Boratyn, "Zapłaćcie za wojnę!" VHF, # 20410, or possibly a pond, as no lake is visible currently using Google maps. Note also that there is a village by the name of Marianki located approximately 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west of Głowaczów.

5. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 137; VHF, # 20410; # 23383.

6. AŻIH, 301/2296.

7. Ibid.; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 156–157 (table 11), 178–179; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 315. Rutkowski and Pilichowski et al. in referring to the Mariampol ghetto give its population, respectively, as 1,500 and 2,200 residents at the time of its liquidation. Both numbers seem to be too high, at least for the Jews originally brought there from Głowaczów—unless additional Jews were brought in from other localities.

GNIEWOSZÓW

Pre-1939: Gniewoszów (Yiddish: Gnivoshov), village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Gniewoszow, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Gniewoszów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Gniewoszów is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) east of Radom, on the Vistula River. On the outbreak of World War II, 1,580 Jews were residing in Gniewoszów.

Gniewoszów was bombed by the Luftwaffe on September 1, 1939. About two weeks later the German army captured the village, and immediately the Germans started arresting Jews. Gniewoszów was not large enough to have a permanent German garrison, but soldiers often came to Gniewoszów to round up Jews for forced labor and have "sadistic fun," as Charles Feldman recalled. Jews were required to wear the Star of David on their left arms, and Jewish children no longer went to school.[1] Jacob Goldstein remembers that the Germans stole fabrics and other goods from his father's textile business. Luckily, his father had hidden some leather goods with Polish acquaintances.[2]

The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to represent the local Jewish community. In the winter of 1939–1940, Jews had to perform forced labor tasks such as shoveling snow from the roads. The Judenrat decreed that anyone who did not want to work would have to pay a fee and another man would be sent in his place. A curfew was imposed on the Jews, they were given strict rations, and they were not permitted to leave the village. The Germans housed their horses in the local synagogue and desecrated religious objects.[3]

The number of Jews in Gniewoszów began to increase sharply in 1940 for a number of reasons. The most important cause was the location of the village on the Vistula River, at a point where it was possible to cross. As a result, many refugees and deportees came to the area in order to cross the border

between Distrikt Lublin and Distrikt Radom. Other Jews decided to settle there, as living conditions appeared to be more favorable in the village of Gniewoszów than in the larger towns or cities. This caused many Jews from Kazimierz, Puławy, and Ryki to move to Gniewoszów, as well as refugees from Warsaw and deportees from Łódź and Kraków. Many of these new arrivals had almost no remaining financial reserves. In the spring of 1940, there were 2,750 Jews in Gniewoszów, of which 1,142 were receiving food assistance from the Judenrat because of their poverty.[4]

In March 1941, the Jewish community in Gniewoszów numbered 2,300 people. By October of that year the Jewish population had increased to approximately 3,000, partly due to a further influx from Distrikt Warschau, as Jews there were being concentrated in the Warsaw ghetto. Hunger and the confined space led to the emergence of a typhus epidemic, which the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) strived to control by opening—"with great effort"—an epidemic hospital in November of that year. The hospital could help only a small number of the sick.[5] Local activists tried to provide additional nourishment to Jewish children. According to the yizkor book, a Christian doctor named Kelczinski continued to treat the Jews until the establishment of the ghetto, after which this was forbidden.[6]

Jewish survivors from Gniewoszów give two separate dates for the establishment of the ghetto there. Some date it in 1940, reflecting the influx of refugees, the imposition of a curfew, and other restrictions on the Jews. Feldman notes that they made a ghetto, which segregated the Jews from the Polish population. The Jews were forced into one part of the village (Granica), where they lived in overcrowded conditions, with two or three families sharing each house. At this time a Jewish police force of about six people was created, which was forced to do the dirty work—such as selecting Jews for forced labor.[7] Goldstein recalled that the fronts of the houses facing the street were boarded up—the Jews could only use the back entrance.[8]

In the period from 1940 to 1942, able-bodied Jews in Gniewoszów were rounded up periodically and sent away to forced labor camps in Radom and elsewhere. Gniewoszów is mentioned as one of the places where Jews were to be concentrated in Kreishauptmann Dr. Egen's order of December 22, 1941, which confirmed its status as a ghetto. As a result, in early 1942, some Jews from the surrounding villages were required to move there.[9] Bernard Kerschenbaum recalls this date, in early 1942, as the establishment of the ghetto. The ghetto was an open ghetto without any demarcation—no walls and no barbed wire.[10] Due to the lax guarding, some Jews took off their Jewish stars and left the ghetto to buy food from the Polish population. The Germans announced to the Polish population that they would be rewarded with goods, such as sugar, salami, or vodka, if they captured Jews found outside the ghetto and brought them to the Gestapo. Jews who were caught faced the death penalty. However, this did not deter some Jews from sneaking out when they were hungry, and while many Poles were hostile, others continued to give or sell them food.[11] According to the yizkor book, a number of Jews lost their lives when they were caught outside the ghetto.[12]

During the first half of 1942, the food supply and sanitation in the ghetto steadily worsened. At this time "the Germans ordered all Jews to shave their heads. Religious Jews . . . suffered miserably. Those who disobeyed had half their beard shaved and were forbidden to do anything about it, such as covering their faces with kerchiefs."[13] Leo Kuperman recalls that his father decided to shave his beard, to avoid being picked on and humiliated by the Germans. He mentions also that on one occasion they singled out the rabbi, mocked him, spat at him, shaved his beard, and then killed him.[14]

In early August 1942, conditions deteriorated sharply again, when the Germans selected Gniewoszów as a concentration place for the residents of smaller ghettos in the region. Among others, the Jews from the ghettos in Ryczywół and Sieciechów were transferred to Gniewoszów, more than doubling the number of Jews there, raising it to 6,580.[15] Most of these newcomers had no sources of income, and due to the lack of accommodation, many of them were forced to find shelter in barns or sheds or simply live in the streets. The same month the Germans resettled approximately 600 men and women to the Dęblin-Irena ghetto in Distrikt Lublin, and on August 19–20 they sent approximately 5,000 Gniewoszów ghetto residents to the Zwoleń ghetto. The approximately 1,000 people who remained in the village were sent directly to the Treblinka extermination camp on November 15, 1942.[16]

SOURCES Published sources regarding the Gniewoszów ghetto include the following: David Sztokfisz, ed., *Sefer Gnivoshov* (Tel Aviv: Irgune Gnivoshov be-Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1971); Sebastian Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna i działalność charytatywna w gettach dystryktu radomskiego (1939–1942)," in Marek Przeniosło, ed., *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX, XX i na początku XXI wieku* (Kielce, 2008), pp. 172–177; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 181.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR; AŻIH (301/8; 211/405, 430 [JSS]; NMO, nos. 60 and 63); ITS; and VHF (# 4071, 18628, 33250, 42916, 26536).

Sebastian Piątkowski and Martin Dean
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 4071, testimony of Charles Feldman.
2. Ibid., # 18628, testimony of Jacob Goldstein.
3. Ibid., # 33250, testimony of Bernard Kerschenbaum.
4. Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna," p. 174.
5. AŻIH, JSS, 211/430.
6. Sztokfisz, *Sefer Gnivoshov*, p. 406 (Yiddish).
7. VHF, # 4071.
8. Ibid., # 18628.
9. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 122, citing AŻIH, NMO, nos. 60 and 63 from late December 1941.

10. VHF, # 33250. VHF, # 42916, testimony of Leo Kuperman, also dates the ghetto's establishment in 1942.
11. Ibid., # 4071; # 26536, testimony of Frederick Weinstein.
12. Sztokfisz, *Sefer Gnivoshov*, p. 406 (Yiddish).
13. Ibid., p. 16 (English).
14. VHF, # 42916.
15. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 181, 208; Sztokfisz, *Sefer Gnivoshov*, p. 9 (English).
16. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 181; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej dystryktu radomskiego podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 156, 179; Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 274; VHF, # 4071; Sztokfisz, *Sefer Gnivoshov*, pp. 9 (English) and 407 (Yiddish).

IŁŻA

Pre-1939: Iłża, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ilza, town, initially the center of Kreis Ilza (later Kreis Starachowice), Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Iłża, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Iłża is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) south of Radom on the Iłżanka River. There were some 1,900 Jews living in Iłża in 1939, comprising about 37 percent of the entire population.[1]

The Wehrmacht conquered Iłża early in September 1939, and on September 11, Jews were already gathered in the street and forced to work for the occupiers, cleaning up the ravages of war. By the end of October, the Nazis had established a civil administration in Poland, and Iłża became the seat of the Kreishauptmannschaft Ilza, which was located in Distrikt Radom of the Generalgouvernement. Kreishauptmann Hans Zettelmeyer took his seat in the town, until he moved his office to Starachowice, which then gave its name to the Kreis on January 12, 1942.[2] Up to this time, some German SS and Police forces were based in Iłża; later only a Gendarmerie post under the command of Polizeimeister Hofmann remained.[3]

Antisemitic measures followed soon after the conquest of Iłża. On October 22, 1939, Zettelmeyer requested a list of Jewish entrepreneurs in industry and trade; their businesses were gradually expropriated over the following months. In combination with the prohibition on selling timber to Jews, harsh economic measures impoverished the community.[4] Additionally, from November 29, 1939, all Jews had to wear an armband bearing the Star of David, so that everyone could recognize them as the Nazi's racial enemies.[5]

Zettelmeyer ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) with 20 members in November 1939; its leader was Baruch Kaminski. The council had to register all the Jews of Iłża and try to convince as many of them as possible to migrate to the Soviet Union. All those leaving voluntarily could take their more easily transportable possessions with them, whereas Jews grabbed without identification papers were deported to the Soviet territories at gunpoint; the Polish (Blue) Police were charged with implementing these measures.[6] Moreover, in the autumn of 1939, the Judenrat was forced to deliver two large "contributions" of gold to the German authorities, and while collecting these funds, several Jews were shot in the streets.[7]

In April 1940, a quarrel broke out between Jews and Poles due to disagreements over the use of a well. In consequence, with the aid of German occupation personnel, Jews were beaten and dragged through the streets.[8] In the summer of 1940, the Nazis rounded up a number of male Jews and sent them to various camps in Distrikt Lublin near the border with the Soviet Union to construct fortifications. The conditions for these laborers were very bad. Most of those sent to Distrikt Lublin returned by 1941, but the raids to round up forced laborers continued.[9]

The Judenrat was responsible for the social and welfare issues of the Jews in Iłża. This was accomplished in cooperation with the newly founded Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee, which was based first in Iłża and later in Starachowice.[10] Thus, the Judenrat was able to receive some funding from Kraków, totaling 4,500 złoty in February 1941 alone, which together with 16,000 złoty collected locally helped to sustain basic food distribution to needy community members.[11]

An open, but nevertheless closely guarded, ghetto was established in Iłża by an order of Zettelmeyer issued on December 6, 1941.[12] The number of Jews in the town had steadily increased from 1,837 in May 1941 to more than 2,000 in July, as a result of the influx of refugees and deportees. In February 1942, there were 2,067 inmates of the Iłża ghetto, who lived in cramped conditions on a few streets east of the marketplace.[13] As the available space seemed too sparse even to the Nazis, they initially intended to distribute one third of the Jewish population among surrounding rural villages. But since this plan clearly would have run counter to the aim of concentrating the Jews, it was soon abandoned and not implemented.[14] Due to hunger in the ghetto, some Jews risked leaving it illegally to scavenge for potatoes, but the penalty for leaving the ghetto area was death.[15]

In June 1942, 210 Jews from Iłża were working for German industry.[16] However, this contribution towards the German war effort did not protect the ghetto from liquidation. In the months prior to its liquidation, and possibly also during the deportation Aktion, a number of male and female Jewish youths were selected for labor, with some being sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) forced labor camp at Skarżysko-Kamienna. A few of the small number of survivors from the Iłża ghetto passed through this camp.[17] On Thursday, October 22, 1942, German SS and Police units, with the assistance of local Polish (Blue) Police, surrounded the ghetto, marched some 2,000 Jews to the nearby railway station, and then deported them to the Treblinka extermination camp. Only a few inmates were able to escape. The Germans and their collaborators searched the ghetto for Jews in hiding, killing on the spot those they found.[18]

During the deportation Aktion, one group of Jews was selected and kept behind to clear out Jewish property from the ghetto. To these Jews were added some others who were captured subsequently, bringing the total up to about 100. When

their work was completed the remaining Jews were marched about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the Starachowice forced labor camp.[19]

SOURCES A brief account of the fate of the Iłża Jewish community during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 75–76. Further information is contained in the town almanac by Jerzy Karol Madejski, *Iłża zapamiętana* (Radom, 2004), pp. 51–55.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR (Gouverneur des Distrikts Radom/39 and 100); AŻIH (NMO 55; JSS 211; 301/4339); IPN (Ob/177); VHF (# 8028 and 14497); and YVA (O-3/6764; M-1/E/1837; and JM/3489).

Stephan Lehnstaedt

NOTES

1. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 75–182, here p. 161.
2. Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom, 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 49.
3. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), p. 82.
4. APR, Gouverneur des Distrikts Radom/39. Tagesbefehle Ilza, October 21 and 22, 1939.
5. Seidel, *Besatzungspolitik*, p. 228; and VHF, # 14497, testimony of Rose Wegman, who never risked removing her armband.
6. APR, Gouverneur des Distrikts Radom/39. Decrees of November 16 and 28, 1939.
7. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 76.
8. Ibid.
9. VHF, # 14497; Wegman's brothers were taken to perform forced labor in Distrikt Lublin.
10. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 203.
11. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 76.
12. AŻIH, NMO 55, decree of Kreishauptmann Zettelmeyer, December 6, 1941. Also see VHF, # 14497; Wegman confirmed that at least until her transfer to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp in the summer of 1942, the ghetto remained unfenced.
13. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 161.
14. APR, Gouverneur des Distrikts Radom/100. Report of JSS Radom-Land for January 1942, March 17, 1942.
15. VHF, # 14497; while Wegman did not risk leaving the ghetto herself, she mentioned that others did.
16. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 156.
17. VHF, # 14497.
18. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 85, 161; Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 275; and VHF, # 8028, testimony of Abrahem Bleeman.
19. VHF, # 8028.

INOWŁÓDZ

Pre-1939: Inowłódz, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Inowlodz, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Inowłódz, Łódź województwo, Poland

The village of Inowłódz is located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) east of Tomaszów Mazowiecki. Archival sources report 519 Jews living in the village in 1939 and 490 in September 1939.

In the course of the September Campaign in 1939, the village was partially burned, and many of the Jewish homes and shops were razed. On December 10, 1939, the Jews were deported from Inowłódz. It is not clear as to where the estimated 120 Jewish families were displaced at that time, but many returned after January 7, 1940, when the Germans permitted them to do so.[1]

The German authorities organized a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by the 38-year-old tradesman Hilel Kociński, which included Szmul Desau and Berek Cymerman, among other members.

By March 1940, a Jewish self-help committee had been organized in the village with the intention of procuring some aid for the impoverished community. The committee included the above-mentioned Judenrat members (with Desau as chairman) as well as Dawid Indner, Fajwel Szajnfarber, and Josek Cymerman (treasurer). A two-member review commission controlling the distribution of welfare was composed of Jankiel Donner and Szmul Telerman. The committee managed to open a soup kitchen, but due to lack of funds, it was closed on October 30, 1940.[2]

Despite the difficult housing conditions, 20 Jewish deportee families from the Łódź area and Distrikt Warschau settled in Inowłódz sometime in 1940. Throughout 1940, 26 Jews worked in a labor camp outside the village.

By May 1941, there were 450 Jews living in Inowłódz, of which 206 applied for social assistance and were registered as "without occupation." Six cobblers (financially supporting 20 family members) and two tradesmen (supporting 11 family members) were still permitted to keep their businesses open. At this time, 52 Jews were registered as forced laborers in Inowłódz. Their assignments included fixing roads and village sanitation.[3]

A ghetto in Inowłódz was most likely established initially as an open ghetto, but shortly afterwards—that is, by November 8, 1941—it was designated as sealed, imprisoning 600 Jews within it. On that day, Tomaszów's Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch reported on the situation in Inowłódz to JSS headquarters in Kraków: "The recent decree forbidding Jews to leave the Jewish quarter has deepened the misery of those few Jews who still traveled around the villages and earned their living by crafts or trade."[4]

The ghetto was located in the center of Inowłódz, encompassing terrain between the market square and the Pilica River, where the synagogue was located. This was a predominantly Jewish neighborhood before the war. The ghetto was

unguarded, but the Jews were forbidden to leave it. The German Gendarmerie from Tomaszów paid visits to Inowłódz.[5]

By April 1942, the ghetto's 545 inhabitants—including 172 refugees—were housed in 28 houses, which provided 78 rooms. The JSS estimated that at least 6.5 persons shared each room. The ghetto had no sewage system, and its residents drew water from wells.

After the ghetto was sealed in November 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out, lasting until March 1942. There was no hospital in the ghetto, but the Judenrat tried to provide free medical assistance and reopened the soup kitchen.[6]

An official branch of the JSS was organized in Inowłódz that same month. It included the Judenrat chairman Kociński, the 33-year-old bookkeeper Chaim Hersz Doner, and the 39-year-old tradesman Szmul Telerman. This composition of the JSS was soon criticized by a number of Jews in Inowłódz, who complained to the Kraków office in December 1941: "The Judenrat, which includes two poor cobblers, one poor tailor, and one tradesman does not fulfill the requirements of any JSS branch or Judenrat. They do not increase the income of our institution from local sources and they do not guarantee the proper use of our subventions." The Tomaszów JSS office investigated the matter but nonetheless supported their initial nominees.[7]

Secondary sources, including *Pinkas ha-kehilot* and the historians Krzysztof Urbański and Czesław Pilichowski, report that the Inowłódz ghetto was liquidated in August 1942, when its residents were transferred to the Tomaszów ghetto.

However, primary sources indicate that the ghetto lasted much longer, for example, possibly until October 1942. Around that time the Inowłódz JSS petitioned the Kreishauptmann for permission to open workshops there. Also, the Inowłódz JSS branch in its initial composition appears on a list of Kreis JSS branches in a letter dated October 12, 1942, addressed to the Tomaszów Kreishauptmannschaft Abt. Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (BuF). Branches of the JSS in such small ghettos were typically dissolved on the ghetto's liquidation.

The October 1942 liquidation is also supported by another primary source: Ankieta Sądów Grodzkich, (ASG—Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos), which states that the Inowłódz Jews were deported at that time to Tomaszów's train station and from there to another unknown destination. The Gendarmes in the course of the liquidation shot two elderly Jewish women, who were unable to walk, and a child.

Accordingly, it is possible that the Inowłódz ghetto was liquidated in the second half of October 1942. Its residents would have been then transferred to Tomaszów, where Jews from the Kreis were concentrated.

The Germans conducted a large-scale deportation Aktion against the Jews assembled in Tomaszów from October 31 until November 2, 1942, in the course of which thousands of Jews were deported to the Treblinka extermination center; such a deportation would have included Inowłódz's remaining Jewish population.[8]

SOURCES The following publications mention the Inowłódz ghetto: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 129, 134, 185; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 199; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 54.

The following archival sources include reference to the Inowłódz ghetto: AŻIH (210/365 [AJDC]; 211/449, 211/1035-1036, 211/1039 [JSS]); IPN (ASG); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and RG-15.019M [ASG]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/365 (Inowłódz), pp. 2, 10–11; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/3035 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), p. 22; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/449 (Inowłódz), pp. 1, 3.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/365, pp. 6–7, 10.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/449, pp. 1, 3, 11.
4. Ibid., 211/1035, p. 22.
5. Ibid., RG-15.019M (ASG Inowłódz), p. 194.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1035, p. 22; and 211/449, p. 3.
7. Ibid., 211/1036 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), pp. 30, 60, 66–67; and 211/1035, p. 22.
8. Ibid., 211/1039 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), pp. 48–49, 69. Also see RG-15.019M (ASG Inowłódz), p. 194; this source mistakenly dates the liquidation in October 1943.

IWANISKA

Pre-1939: Iwaniska, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The village of Iwaniska is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) southeast of Kielce. Immediately before the outbreak of World War II, 1,663 Jews were living in Iwaniska.[1]

After the Germans entered Iwaniska on September 7, 1939, the village and its inhabitants initially remained unharmed. A small Wehrmacht unit was stationed in the village. The Polish local authorities—including the Polish (Blue) Police—remained in their posts, and the Germans did not interfere much in Jewish affairs. The leader of the Jewish community was Israel Hirsh Teperman. The German authorities later replaced Teperman with Szamszon Feder, who became chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was established to transmit German instructions to the Jewish community. Until mid-1941, when the Germans imposed heavy taxes on the community, Iwaniska's Jews were generally able to protect themselves from deportations to labor camps through bribes.[2]

Orthodox and liberal Jews continued political infighting to such an extent that both groups assisted the Germans by

preparing lists of their opponents, whom they claimed were not complying with German orders. A number of these individuals were arrested and later transferred to labor camps.[3]

There were extensive interactions—both positive and negative—between young Jewish resisters and units of the Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army, AK).[4]

On March 27, 1941, a transport of 1,000 Viennese Jews arrived in Kreis Opatow. They came fully equipped with luggage, food, and clothing. Around 70 percent of them were more than 60 years old and in poor health. From this transport, 75 people were transferred to Iwaniska.[5]

In May 1941, the Judenrat—led by its president, Szamszon Feder—constituted an unofficial Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee (based in Kraków; the Kreis committee in Opatów was established in December 1940) and opened a soup kitchen. It distributed free meals to all the deportees from Vienna and to a small part of the local poor. Apart from the Austrian Jews, there were also about 200 refugees from Łódź, Konin, Aleksandrów, and Kraków in Iwaniska, but the JSS did not provide a soup kitchen for them. By June 1941, there was a total of 1,574 Jews living in Iwaniska.

The official Iwaniska JSS committee (chairman: Feder) was established in June 1941. In February 1942, Feder was dismissed, and Szlama Goldwasser was nominated as the chairman. The JSS continued feeding deportees from Vienna and a smaller number of impoverished, local Jews. It also provided 40 poor children with additional food rations.[6]

Until May 1942, Jews were permitted to live in 150 towns and settlements in Kreis Opatow. On May 13, 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter ordered that Jews were to be restricted to five towns and 12 villages in the Kreis—including Iwaniska. The Kreis's Jews were given only two weeks to move; after that, the 17 centers were all recognized as ghettos. Following this concentration, the number of Jews in Iwaniska's ghetto was 1,900.[7]

Although the ghetto was formally established in June 1942, the Jews were banned from leaving the (then) Jewish quarter sometime earlier. By the beginning of May, they were already obliged to obtain a paid permit to leave it. Due to this restriction, trade with local farmers declined to a minimum. The consequences were severe, and the material situation of the Jews in Iwaniska became "critical."[8]

At the end of 1941, the German construction company Organisation Todt (OT) came to Iwaniska to conscript young Jews for forced labor. On the advice of Rabbi Rabinovitz and Zionist leaders, the young men hid in the nearby forest.[9]

In 1942, as the news arrived of other ghettos in the area being cleared out, Iwaniska's Jews, regardless of political orientation, came together and attempted to reach a consensus on their situation. The Hasidim were strongly opposed to the activities of the Jewish underground and chose instead to comply with German orders. The Jewish youths decided to avoid deportation by dividing into small groups and hiding in bunkers in the forest. According to survivor Yitzćhak Goldstein, the resisters purchased guns and ammunition from former Polish soldiers and policemen and prepared additional bunkers and food supplies.[10]

According to Goldstein, immediately after the Sukkot holiday in 1942, a German Gendarme informed the Jewish underground that the Jews of nearby Raków would be deported the next day. The Jews in Iwaniska were convinced that their town would be next, and soon approximately 300 men, women, and children began fleeing to their forest bunkers, while some sought protection with Polish acquaintances.[11]

The liquidation of the Iwaniska ghetto took place on October 15, 1942. Gestapo officers and Ukrainian auxiliaries first surrounded the town.[12] A Polish witness reports that the Germans arrived in Iwaniska in the morning. Shouting and yelling, they began pushing and beating Jews with their gun barrels, driving them terrorized from their houses to the marketplace. Parents fought to hold babies in their arms, while some people managed to snatch small bundles. A witness also saw Germans shooting Jews during this roundup.[13] According to Goldstein, about 100 Jews were shot on the day of the deportation.[14]

In total, the Germans drove approximately 1,600 Jews into the market square.[15] The houses were then searched; those found hiding were shot on the spot. Iwaniska's Jews were marched in a column for about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to Ćmielów. From there, together with the Jews from the Ćmielów ghetto, they were taken to Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, where they were loaded on to cattle trains and sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Only 1 Jew from Iwaniska, Israel Seltzer, is known to have survived the camp, by escaping from it.[16]

According to Goldstein, out of the 300 Jews who hid in the woods, he was the only survivor. These Jews divided themselves into small, leaderless groups that fought back only in self-defense against hostile patrols. In his 1979 article, Goldstein stated that the youth of the Polish underground, including his former Communist Party friends, assisted in capturing those Jews who fled from the ghetto. All those caught were turned over to the Germans. In his Yad Vashem testimony, Goldstein states that both the Germans and local Polish peasants were engaged in capturing Iwaniska's remaining Jews. Initially, Poles were rewarded with a bag of sugar and a liter of vodka for their help; subsequently, taking the clothes of the unfortunate Jews became their only reward.[17]

SOURCES Most of the information in this article is based on the following two sources: YVA, O-3/1252, testimony of Yitz'chak Goldstein; and Goldstein's published account "The Funeral," *Letzte Neiyes*, April 24, 1979 (English versions of both can be found in *The Ivansk Project e-Newsletter*, no. 3 [March–April 2004]). Although by the same author, there are several discrepancies between the two reports. The entry's third main source is Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 70–72, which is based mainly on Goldstein's accounts. References to the fate of Iwaniska's Jews can be found also in Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and in an article by Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955).

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jewish community of Iwaniska can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/366 [AJDC], 211/452 [ŻSS]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS], reel 25; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (# 20037); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 70–72; Jerzy Tomaszewski and Andrzej Żbikowski, eds., *Żydzi w Polsce: Dzieje i kultura: Leksykon* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Cyklady, 2001), p. 189; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 163 (table 13), 181–182. According to YVA, O-3/1252, testimony of Yitz'chak Goldstein, Iwaniska's pre-war population was approximately 6,000, of which 60 percent were Jews.

2. YVA, O-3/1252; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 25; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 70–72.

3. YVA, O-3/1252; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 71.

4. See Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 225; and YVA, O-3/1252.

5. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 140; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 25; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 93–93. According to Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 71, the Viennese Jews arrived without basic necessities.

6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 25. According to Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), p. 339, two Judenrat members were representatives in the JSS branch, one of them the chairman.

7. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 200; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 116, 152–153; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 163 (table 13), 181–182.

8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 25.

9. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 70–72.

10. Ibid.; YVA, O-3/1252.

11. YVA, O-3/1252; Goldstein, "The Funeral." The mass escape is also briefly mentioned in Dariusz Libionka, *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), p. 285; Trunk, *Judenrat*, pp. 466–467; and Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 129.

12. Paweł P. Reszka, "Pyta wojewoda świętokrzyski, pyta wójt gminy Iwaniska: Jacy kolaboranci?" *Gazeta Wyborcza*, August 31, 2007. In Goldstein, "The Funeral," Goldstein, who was already in the forests, claims that the town was surrounded a day earlier, on October 14, 1942, by other units: namely, German Gendarmes and Polish firefighters.

13. Andrzej Martykin, "Widziałem zagładę Żydów w Iwaniskach," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October, 10, 2007.

14. Goldstein, "The Funeral."

15. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 200; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 163 (table 13), 181–182; Tomaszewski and Żbikowski, *Żydzi w Polsce*, p. 189; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 179; and VHF, # 20037–2, testimony of David Gutman, 1996.

16. YVA, O-3/1252. According to Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 420–421, the ghetto in Ćmielów was liquidated at the end of October 1942. In "The Funeral," Goldstein reports Jews being sent straight to Ćmielów and from there to Treblinka. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001) p. 552, Iwaniska's Jews went to the ghetto in Ćmielów and from there to Treblinka.

17. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 70–72; YVA, O-3/1252; Goldstein, "The Funeral."

JANOWIEC NAD WISŁĄ

Pre-1939: Janowiec nad Wisłą, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Janowiec is located on the Wisła (Vistula) River, approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) east of Radom. On the eve of World War II, approximately 300 Jews resided in Janowiec, comprising about 25 percent of the total population.[1]

The town was occupied by units of the German armed forces on or around September 9, 1939. Owing to a lack of sources, it is impossible to determine the nature of the initial repressive measures taken against the Jewish community in the first weeks of the German occupation. However, in the area that became part of the Generalgouvernement by the end of October 1939, the Jewish population was the target of antisemitic attacks shortly after the start of the occupation. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which served as the representative of the local Jewish community. During the winter of 1939–1940, Jews were obliged to perform heavy, manual labor: for example, they had to shovel the snow off the main roads that led into town. In the early spring of 1940, the situation of the Janowiec Jews worsened dramatically. In part, this was due to the closure of the bridge across the Vistula River that had hitherto been open to the public. As a result, the isolation of the residents increased. Still, the town attracted a large number of refugees and other individuals who arrived from other parts of German-occupied Poland. Many of them, particularly the Jews fleeing Warsaw, hoped to stay in Janowiec for a longer period, as the chances of survival there were better than in the rural areas.[2] This situation severely hampered the activities of the Jewish Council, as each individual who arrived in the town sought at least some modest financial support. In addition, each person who remained in Janowiec needed housing and regular subventions.[3]

In the spring of 1940, a total of 800 Jews were residing in Janowiec. The living conditions for the Jewish population were already severe, and they continued to deteriorate. Jews faced widespread hunger, starvation, a lack of clothing and shoes, terribly overcrowded housing, and the spread of disease. The poor and those in need received some support from the People's Committee for Refugees and People in Need, a welfare insti-

tution under the leadership of a man named Grosman. This organization was subordinated to the Jewish Council. In May 1941, a total of 184 of the Jews in most need of support (65 locals and 119 refugees) were registered in their files. However, these numbers increased steadily. Despite a lack of financial resources, the People's Committee maintained a public kitchen that was able to deliver 17 meals (a thin soup and a slice of bread) per day. In July 1941, the People's Committee founded a branch office of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), with Dawid Hilf as its leader.[4]

In October 1940, the Nazis set the synagogue ablaze, burning sacred books and documents. The Bet Midrash, which was next to the synagogue, survived the fire, only to be destroyed later in 1942. The Jewish cemetery was razed, and the tombstones were used to pave roads and for other construction projects. The only building that survived the war was the *mikveh* (ritual Jewish bath).[5]

The precise date of the establishment of the ghetto in Janowiec is not known. The large influx of refugees by 1940 led to considerable overcrowding and ghettolike conditions, but at this time the rigid separation of Poles from Jews had not yet been implemented. According to historian Jacek Młynarczyk, Kreishauptmann Dr. Friedrich Egen in Radom ordered in December 1941 the concentration of the Jews from the villages in a number of specified places, including in Janowiec, which were to be designated as *Judenwohnbezirke* (Jewish residential areas, or ghettos).[6] As a result, the occupation authorities declared the entire town of Janowiec to be a Jewish residential area, and every person that left this area without permission faced arrest and even the death penalty.

The influx of large numbers of refugees from Distrikt Lublin via the Vistula River and the resettlement of the Jews from the environs of Janowiec into the town caused the size of the Jewish population in Janowiec to rise to around 1,200 people by June 1942, a number about four times greater than in the years prior to the German occupation. Acute poverty characterized the life of Jews now crowded into the small town of Janowiec.

Since Janowiec was located quite far from a major railroad, the German authorities decided to relocate the Jews on foot or in horse carriages to Zwoleń, in preparation for their deportation to the extermination camps as part of Aktion Reinhard. It is also likely that some of the Jews of Janowiec were selected as forced laborers to be sent to the labor camps in Skarżysko-Kamienna, Dęblin, and Kurów. On August 3, 1942, 1,200 Jews from the Janowiec nad Wisłą ghetto arrived in the Zwoleń ghetto.[7] Here they shared the same fate as its other residents. On September 29, 1942, almost all the Jews in Zwoleń were deported in a single transport to the extermination camp in Treblinka to be gassed on arrival.[8] It is not known how many Jews from Janowiec returned to their hometown after the war, but very few survived.

SOURCES Information regarding the Janowiec ghetto can be found in the following publications: Sebastian Piątkowski, "Żydzi Janowca, Kazimierza i Puław w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1945)," in Filip Jaroszyński, ed., *Historia i kultura Żydów Janowca nad Wisłą, Kazimierza Dolnego i Puław. Fenomen miasteczka—sztetl* (Janowiec nad Wisłą: Tow. Przyjaciół Janowiec nad Wisłą, 2003), pp. 205–206; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955). The figures given by Rutkowski for the number of Jews in Janowiec ("Janowice," 2,000) and also for the number deported from the Zwoleń ghetto are probably too high. Additional information on the fate of the Jewish community in Janowiec can be found on the Web at www.sztetl.org.pl.

The following archival sources contain information on the Jewish community of Janowiec during the German occupation: AŻIH (211/456 and 1164 [ŻSS]; 210/369 [AJDC]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS]; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

Sebastian Piątkowski and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 158. It should be noted that the name of the gmina was Oblasy, a neighboring village, but the county administration was located in Janowiec. Janowice is a tiny hamlet directly adjacent to Janowiec.
2. AŻIH, JSS, 211/456; Piątkowski, "Żydzi Janowca, Kazimierza i Puław," pp. 205–206.
3. AŻIH, AJDC, 210/369.
4. Ibid., JSS, 211/456.
5. F. Jaroszyński, "Bóżnica murowana w Janowcu nad Wisłą," in Jaroszyński, *Historia i kultura*, p. 226.
6. AŻIH, NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63, Anordnung (decree) and Zustazanordnung (amendment) of the Kreishauptmann, December 22 and 30, 1941, as cited in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122.
7. AŻIH, JSS, 211/1164 (Zwoleń), pp. 61, 67; on transfers to Skarżysko-Kamienna from Zwoleń, see Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), p. 36.
8. Piątkowski, "Żydzi Janowca, Kazimierza i Puław," pp. 212–213.

JEDLIŃSK

Pre-1939: Jedlińsk, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jedlinsk, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jedlińsk, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Jedlińsk is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Radom. The 1921 census registered 762 Jewish residents, constituting 51.1 percent of the total population.

German persecution of the Jews in Jedlińsk was comparatively moderate until 1941. Their forced labor was limited to 10 days a month in agriculture or various services for the

Germans. With their remaining time, Jedlińsk's Jews worked to make a living. By the end of 1940, most of their businesses had been confiscated.

The Judenrat set up by the Germans included Joseph Diamante (chairman), Leslau, Ajger, Geiger, and Wiener. It later organized a soup kitchen for the poor. A Jewish police unit was also set up.

The German Gendarmerie in Białobrzegi and some Schupo members detached to that unit paid visits to the village. There was also a small Polish (Blue) Police force in Jedlińsk.[1]

In March or April 1941, 30 Jewish families from nearby Przytyk were transferred to Jedlińsk, as this village was cleared of its Jewish residents.[2] One of those transferred, Henry Aizenman (at the time 10 years old), believes his family was moved into the Jedlińsk ghetto. This period—the spring of 1941—is considered by several sources to be the time of the Jedlińsk ghetto's establishment.[3] This also coincides with an order issued by Karl Lasch, the governor of Distrikt Radom, to his Kreis- and Stadthauptmänner to establish ghettos by April 1941.[4]

Other sources date the ghetto's establishment at the beginning of 1942, when restrictions on leaving the ghetto were intensified, including the application of the death penalty for those caught outside it without permission.[5] For example, Idesa Bajtel and Frajda Bryner were arrested on February 28, 1942, transferred to the Radom prison, and sentenced to death for leaving the Jedlińsk ghetto. Bajtel was executed on July 7, 1942; Bryner, on August 1, 1942. In Jedlińsk, Schupo members Pflazgraf and Klos reportedly shot other Jews in February and April 1942 for the same reason.[6]

Following the introduction of the death penalty, food became scarce, which in turn forced Jews again to risk leaving the ghetto to buy rations illegally from Poles. With a local priest's knowledge, some Jews used a church passageway that bordered onto the ghetto as a smuggling point.[7]

The unfenced ghetto was located in the center of the village. Survivor Cwi Lenemann places it "on the left side of the country road leading to Radom, across from the commissariat" of the Polish (Blue) Police. All Jews living outside the ghetto's designated borders were forced to relocate. Poles were allowed to remain in their households on the ghetto's terrain. Signs warning Jews of the death penalty for leaving the ghetto were posted at its exits. They could leave it only for forced labor and with a German escort. Those exiting unescorted had to present a special ID with a photo. There is no information as to who guarded the ghetto. All Jews had to wear armbands with a Star of David emblem.[8] With the transfer into the ghetto of the Jews from the village of Błotnica, the number of Jews living there exceeded 1,000.[9]

The ghetto was liquidated in July or August 1942, when its Jews were transferred to the Białobrzegi ghetto. A number were selected, while others volunteered for labor in the nearby Kruszyna and Wsoła camps. Reportedly 68 old and sick Jews were murdered during the liquidation Aktion.[10]

On October 1 (or possibly September 1), 1942, German-led forces liquidated the Białobrzegi ghetto by deporting its Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp.[11]

Following the Jedlińsk ghetto's liquidation, by December 1942, a labor camp for Poles and Jews had been established on the site of a camp used previously for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). It is possible that some of the Jews from Jedlińsk were prisoners there.[12]

SOURCES The Jedlińsk ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 254–255; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 208.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (302/290, Memoirs of Jews); BA-L (B 162/6305); USHMM (RG-02.208M [Memoirs of Jews]); and VHF (# 2192, 2194, 16345, 21670, and 39189).

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NOTES

1. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 254–255; BA-L, B 162/6305 (testimony of Genia Weisberg), pp. 200–203. There are contradictory testimonies regarding the German presence in Jedlińsk. Survivor Jack Waksal claims that Jews were able to leave the ghetto for work only under German escort; see VHF, #2192, testimony of Jack Waksal, 1995. In addition, a camp for Soviet POWs was established in Jedlińsk, presumably after the German-Soviet war started in June 1941.

2. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 94–95.

3. VHF, # 16345, testimony of Henry Aizenman, 1996; BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 200–203; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 254–255; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 570. It should be noted, however, that precise dating is not possible on the basis of these sources.

4. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 82–83.

5. BA-L, B 162/6305 (testimony of Cwi [Herszek] Lenemann), pp. 241–243; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 84.

6. Kazimierz Jaroszek and Sebastian Piątkowski, *Martyrologia Żydów w więzieniu ęadomskim 1939–1944: Wykaz zamordowanych, zmarłych, deportowanych do obozów koncentracyjnych i obozów zagłady* (Radom: Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu, 1997), pp. 13–14; BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 200–203, 241–243, 247–249 (arrest order for Josef Pfalzgraf, May 19, 1965); Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 254–255.

7. USHMM, RG-02.208M (Memoirs of Jews), 302/290 (Icek Heider), 1946.

8. BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 241–243; VHF, # 2192.

9. The number of ghetto inmates reported by Pilichowski et al.'s *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 208, seems most probable, taking into account the 1921 census results and information on the Jews transferred to Jedlińsk by the German authorities. Another historian, Rutkowski, maintains that there were 2,400 inmates prior to the ghetto's liquidation, which he dates on August 15,

1942 (1,400 persons) and August 25, 1942 (1,000); see "Martyrologia," p. 156 (table 11). None of the other sources, however, report two separate phases to the deportation.

10. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 254–255; BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 200–203, 241–243; VHF, # 2194, testimony of Sabina Waksal, 1995; # 16345; # 2192.

11. October 1, 1942, is given by most Jewish survivors. See BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 191, 196, 205, 209, 223, 226, 234. Others, however, date it on September 1; see pp. 213, 217.

12. To learn more on the Jedlińsk labor camp, see also Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 208; VHF, # 21670, testimony of Esther Birnbaum, 1996; and # 39189, testimony of Samuel Dresner, 1998.

JEDLNIA KOŚCIELNA (AKA JEDLNIA, POŚWIĘTNE, AND JEDLNIA-POŚWIĘTNE)

Pre-1939: Jedlnia Kościelna, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jedlnia-Koscielne, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jedlnia Kościelna, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Jedlnia Kościelna is located northeast of Radom, 7 kilometers (4.5 miles) west of Pionki. During the 1930s, it was 1 of 19 settlements under the name of Jedlnia spread across an approximately 7-square-kilometer (2.7-square-mile) clearing within Kozienice Landscape Park. The two main sections of Jedlnia—Poświętne and Kościelna—are approximately 0.5 kilometer (0.3 mile) apart within this clearing.

The exact number of Jews living in Jedlnia after the German occupation is unknown. Wehrmacht forces were quartered in a local school, and according to survivor Chaya Luksenberg, the local Jewish men were forced to clean the German quarters.[1] Archival sources show that by August 1940 a Judenrat had been established in the village, which was chaired by Mendel Flumenbaum, with Nachman Kaplan as the secretary.[2]

As a part of a larger process of ghettoization of the Jews still living in the villages of Kreis Radom-Land at the end of 1941, Jedlnia was one of the smaller rural communities the Germans intended to liquidate by transferring its Jewish residents to a larger ghetto. However, according to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch in Radom: "thanks to the efforts of the Main Council of Elders of the Jewish Community of Distrikt Radom," the Germans allowed several rural communities to remain in place by creating official Jewish living quarters for them. For the Jedlnia Jews, the area of Kościelna was chosen as the location for a ghetto.[3]

The Kreishauptmann's decree of December 22, 1941, and his verbal instructions of January 9, 1942, served as the basis for establishing "the Jewish residential district (*Judenwohnbezirk*) in Jedlnia-Kościelna." The ghetto borders were delineated by another order issued and enforced on April 23, 1942, which established the borders as follows: "In the west, by the eastern construction limits of the Kozienice-Radom road. In the south, by the wooden fence of the Zcaban Maria property and adjoining 1.30 meters [4.3 feet] further in a straight-line extension. In the north, by the property of the church community. . . . Insofar as a fence does not yet mark the border of the Jewish residential district, the fencing will be completed. In addition, the border will be marked with signs. In cases of doubt, the actual fencing, in combination with the signs listing prohibitions, will be definitive [in marking the border]." The order excluded from the ghetto an "Aryan bakery of Józef Szlachcic," already surrounded by a wooden fence.[4]

At this time the Jedlnia Jews were forced to comply with German requirements to be ghettoized in their current place of residence. On February 13, 1942, the Judenrat reported to the JSS headquarters in Kraków that "it was ordered to construct delousing and disinfecting facilities, as well as to construct several houses—all of this under the threat of the deportation of the Jewish population." At the time, there were 23 Jewish families in Jedlnia Kościelna; however, according to the Judenrat, each day more families arrived from settlements where ghettos had not been established. Most of the newcomers were forced laborers without a source of income.[5]

In April 1942, according to the JSS in Radom, there were only 80 Jews living in Jedlnia Kościelna.[6] The German authorities pressured for the opening of the requested facilities, at a cost estimated by the Judenrat of 10,500 złoty. On April 27, 1942, the Jedlnia Judenrat sent to the JSS in Kraków another plea for assistance, informing them of the new "ultimate deadline"—May 15, 1942. By that time, the Judenrat had managed to collect 3,700 złoty, of which 1,700 had already been spent on housing. There was no chance to collect more money, as many of the local Jews performed forced labor in the nearby Siczki labor camp. On May 21, 1942, Kraków sent 600 złoty to help meet the German demands.[7]

A survivor of the ghetto, Jokhewed Norman, recalls that there were only three long houses included within the ghetto, which was surrounded by a wooden fence. Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, and there were many conflicts. Every day Norman's father and two siblings were taken by truck to work in a gunpowder factory in Pionki; four members of the Luksenberg family also performed forced labor in Pionki. The Luksenbergs had not been resettled, as presumably they were already living within the designated ghetto borders. However, they were required to take in other Jewish families. Although Chaya Luksenberg does not directly mention explicitly the existence of a ghetto, she refers to the restrictions on Jews' mobility: "we could not go out to buy food." In the Norman family, most of the smuggling was done by the children. At one point, everyone in the Norman family contracted typhus.[8]

In the summer of 1942, the Germans informed those working in Pionki that they had to stay in Pionki, while the elderly, the women, and the children would be transferred to a different labor camp.[9] Secondary sources confirm that 100 Jews were permanently transferred to Pionki in August 1942. That same day, the remaining residents of the Jedlnia ghetto were sent to Zwoleń. The Zwoleń ghetto was liquidated at the end of September or the beginning of October 1942.

SOURCES The following publications make reference to the fate of the Jewish community in Jedlnia during the Holocaust: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), p. 165; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 132, 155 (table 10), 156–160 (table 11), 177–180.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/382, 211/478, 211/854-855); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 38958 and 42273).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 42273, testimony of Chaya Luksenberg, 1998.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/382 (Jedlnia-Poświętne), p. 2; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/478 (Jedlnia-Kościelna), p. 1.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/854 (Radom), p. 5.
4. Ibid., 211/478, p. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 2.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/855 (Radom), p. 12.
7. Ibid., 211/478, pp. 4–6.
8. VHF, # 38958, testimony of Jokhewed Norman, 1997; and 42273.
9. VHF, # 38958, and # 42273.

JĘDRZEJÓW

Pre-1939: Jędrzejów, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jedrzejow, Kreis center, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jędrzejów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Jędrzejów is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southwest of Kielce. An estimated 4,000 Jews lived in Jędrzejów in 1939. The Jędrzejów Kreishauptmann was initially Dr. Karl Glehn (September 1939–October 1940); he was succeeded first by Dr. Fritz von Balluseck (November 1940–April 1942) and then by Bernhard Höfer (April 1942–January 1945).



A column of Jews who have been rounded up for deportation march out of Jędrzejów, n.d.
USHMM WS #33450 COURTESY OF GFH

An open ghetto in Jędrzejów was set up as one of the first in the Generalgouvernement in the spring of 1940, possibly as early as February. Located in the eastern part of the town, it included Kiliński, Pińczów, 3 Maja, Duch-Imbora, and Łysakowska Streets. Most Jews living outside the designated ghetto area had to relocate, although more than 20 families were allowed to live outside for some time. Guards watched the ghetto exits, but initially the Jews could come and go.

By this time Jędrzejów already had received 500 refugees, and more were coming. The newcomers were mostly from Zagłębie Dąbrowskie, in Silesia, and the towns of Zgierz, Łódź, Pińczów, and Szczekociny.[1]

Dr. Hirsz Beer of Głogów organized the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee and opened a soup kitchen. On August 16, 1940, he was appointed a member of the Jewish Relief Committee for Kreis Jedrzejow (Żydowski Komitet Opiekuńczy Powiatowy, ŻKOP), which the Kreishauptmann established to take over the provision of welfare from the Judenrat. A number of Judenrat members, especially Pinkus Teitelbaum, tried to undermine Beer's activities.[2] Thus began a struggle for power that continued throughout most of the ghetto's existence.

The 14-member Judenrat and their families lived in the largest house in Jędrzejów, while the balance of nearly 4,200 Jews were squeezed into rooms that three or four families shared. Many accused the Judenrat of corruption.[3]

A Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) of fewer than 10 men was set up to keep order in the ghetto and to assist the sanitation committee responsible for the ghetto's cleanliness. It is not clear if they were also charged at that time with guarding the exit posts from the ghetto. Their commander was one of the Judenrat members, Jakób Mermelsztajn. According to survivor Renya Kukielko: "[T]here were very few men in the militia [Jewish Police] who had any humanity in them. Most of them behaved like beasts of prey, some even worse than the Germans."[4]

On January 15 and 16, 1941, the Germans deported 600 Jews (105 families) from Jędrzejów to several other locations within the Kreis. The poor housing conditions caused many to return secretly to Jędrzejów over the following weeks. This operation decreased the number of Jews in the ghetto to 3,600. According to historian Adam Rutkowski, the Judenrat initiated the resettlement to avoid having to provide social services to these Jews; most of those deported were either poor refugees or other impoverished members of the community.[5]

In January 1941, 400 to 600 Jews, including women, cleared snow daily. By February, 100 were tasked with clearing snow, while many also worked loading wood. Later on, 220 young men were sent for forced labor in the vicinity of Lwów. A few of these men survived by escaping from the labor camp and returning to Jędrzejów.

By June 1941, the Judenrat had opened a hospital with 25 beds to serve all the localities in the Kreis (apart from Włoszczowa), under Dr. Beer's supervision. The hospital later treated Poles and Jews, although the latter bore most of the costs of its or-

ganization. The Judenrat also organized its own postal service at this time, as the local post office was forbidden to dispatch Jewish mail.

On the Kreishauptmann's order, the number of Jewish Police grew to 18 in June 1941. The following duties were added: guarding the ghetto, together with the Wehrmacht; enforcing the curfew; and combating smuggling and begging. In the summer of 1941, the Jewish Police conducted a series of roundups of beggars, who were ordered to relocate immediately away from Jędrzejów.

By October 1941, the so-called Six, comprising the "most energetic" officials of the Jewish Police, were assigned solely to rounding up and escorting Jewish laborers, as well as checking the state of the ghetto's sanitation. In December 1941, the Jewish Police post was moved to 12 Pińczów Street, and its members received instructions to tighten their guard at the ghetto exits, as from October Jews could be shot for leaving the ghetto without a permit.[6]

A few members of the Judenrat were murdered in August 1941. Their names remain unknown. Shootings of Jews in the ghetto without pretext were frequent.

By April 1942, the ghetto leadership had been informed unofficially of the approaching evacuation of the Jews within the Kreis, but it believed the Aktion might be limited to the resettlement to the larger towns of Jews living in the villages.[7]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the ghetto was enclosed in March 1942, when it was surrounded with a barbed-wire fence. Contact with non-Jews from then on was prohibited.[8] In May 1942, 21 Jewish families previously holding official permission from the Germans to live outside the ghetto's limits were forced to relocate within it.[9]

By June 1942, Georg Wall had become the commander of the Jewish Police in Jędrzejów, now 20 strong. The ghetto had 3,807 inhabitants.[10]

Between August 17 and 24, 1942, the labor office (having been transferred to the ghetto) conducted the registration of Jewish women aged between 15 and 50. In June 1942, the Kraków JSS encouraged Jędrzejów's Jewish population to organize workshops; however, only shoemakers were interested in the project, as other craftsmen believed they could earn more working independently. At the time, there were 150 craftsmen and the same number of apprentices in the ghetto.[11]

On August 28, 1942, Jews from the following localities were resettled to Jędrzejów: Sobków (800 persons), Małogoszcz (830), Brzegi (48), Węgleszyn, Oksa, Nagłowice (152), Prząsław (136), Mierzwin (120), Nawarzyce (193), and Raków. By September 4, 1942, 2,200 newcomers were concentrated in Jędrzejów,[12] bringing the total number of ghetto inmates to approximately 6,000.

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on September 16, 1942.[13] That morning, all Jędrzejów's Jews were gathered in the market square. The selection was conducted following the arrival of Gestapo officer Ernst Thomas. Approximately 240 Jews were sent back to the ghetto; this included the Judenrat, Jewish Police, and their families. Fewer than 200 able-bodied Jews were selected for work at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. An additional number of men were selected for labor at the Sędziszów railway depot. The remainder was herded to the train station and from there sent to the Treblinka killing center.

By the beginning of October 1942, the ghetto was reduced to three buildings. All the Jews—including women—were engaged in cleaning out the former ghetto and the train depot. They were able to keep their possessions; the authorities confiscated the possessions of the evacuated Jews.

There were rumors that by the end of the year all Jews would be evacuated from Jędrzejów. Although the soup kitchen was relocated there, there was nothing to cook because the Germans assigned only very small rations to the ghetto inmates. Beer doubted that the ŻKOP could continue its existence with less than 1,000 Jews remaining in the Kreis and no help available. He and Abram Solowicz (Szolowicz) were the only remaining staff. Beer, however, transferred some of the hospital furnishings into the ghetto and set up a seven-bed hospital, which he ran with his wife Regina and one helper.[14]

On November 4, 1942, Beer reported the following remnant ghettos existing in the Kreis: Jędrzejów (240 persons), Wodzisław (90), Szczekociny (40), Włoszczowa (250), and several dozens Jews in Sędziszów; another 500 or so Jews were in labor camps.[15]

The final liquidation of the Jędrzejów ghetto took place between February 22 and 24, 1942. Approximately 200 Jews were transferred to the HASAG camp in Skarżysko. Thirty-five were shot on the spot.[16]

SOURCES The Jędrzejów ghetto is described in the following publications: Renya Kukielko, *Escape from the Pit* (New York: Sharon Books, 1947); Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 81, 96, 101, 145; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 259–261. Additional information can be found in Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom, 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006); and Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004).

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/386; 211/483-494); and USHMM (RG-15.019M [court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 17; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M (Jędrzejów); Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/483 (Jędrzejów), pp. 1–2, 6, 9, 15; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/386 (Jędrzejów), p. 1. Also see *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 13, 1940, and May 6, 1942.

2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/483, pp. 15–17.

3. For names, see ibid., pp. 15–16, 27; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/386 (Jędrzejów), p. 2.

4. Kukielko, *Escape from the Pit*, p. 10; *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 8 and December 31, 1940, and August 27, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/483, pp. 15–17.

5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/484, pp. 25, 28–30; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 96.

6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 3, August 27, and October 26, 1941, and January 9, 1942; and Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 84.

7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/492, p. 30.

8. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 261; see also Kukielko, *Escape from the Pit*, p. 8.

9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 6, 1942.

10. Ibid., June 28 and July 12, 1942; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 145 (table 6).

11. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 23 and 26, 1942. Also see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489, p. 16; and 211/494, p. 24.

12. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 101, 145–146 (table 6); USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489 (Jędrzejów), p. 38.

13. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 145 (table 6).

14. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 175; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489, pp. 41–43, 45, 48–49, 51–53, 54–55.

15. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489, pp. 55–56.

16. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 145 (table 6), 172. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 262, date the final liquidation Aktion on September 2, 1943.

KAMIEŃSK

Pre-1939: Kamieńsk, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kamiensk, Kreis Petrikau, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kamieńsk, town, Łódź województwo, Poland

Kamieńsk is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) south of Łódź. According to the Judenrat, there were 834 Jewish residents in the village in 1939. In June 1940, Załma Opoczyński was the Judenrat chairman, and Abram Kimelman was the Judenrat secretary.

The Judenrat estimated that 90 percent of the town's Jewish houses were razed in fires caused by air raids in the initial days of the war. As a result, many Jews moved to nearby Gorzkowice and Gomunice. Fearing the spread of diseases in deplorable housing conditions, the Judenrat organized a sanitation committee and a public bath "for delousing purposes" in August 1940. Doctor Leopold Betler (Better) was the Judenrat person responsible for sanitation issues. Until the ghetto's liquidation, there was no outbreak of contagious disease.[1]

In September 1940, on the German Kreishauptmann's order, the Judenrat's composition changed. Herszel Szajnfarber was appointed as the new chairman, while Załma Opoczyński was degraded to his deputy. The 16-member Judenrat also included Pinkus Dłużnowski as treasurer, A. Kimelman as secretary, Herszel Opoczyński, and Nachman Żelichowski. Lejbusz Goldberg and Kasryel Mokrzański were responsible for provisions, Alter Szlamkowicz and Moszek Lichtensztajn managed finances, and Chaskiel Gliklich was in charge of Jewish labor. One refugee from Vienna, Otto Natowicz, was "the secretary in German language." The Judenrat headquarters were located on 6 Zjednoczenia Street.[2]

There were 517 Jews living in Kamieńsk in January 1941. By February 1941, there were reportedly 76 newcomers. Most of the Jews lived around the Market Square and on one of the main streets leading north of it (Piotrków), as well as nearby Głowacki, Konopnicka, and Zjednoczenia Streets.[3]

On February 23, 1941, the Judenrat opened a soup kitchen distributing 100 to 150 meals daily. The soup kitchen was closed on July 18, 1941, from then on working only intermittently. Ichok Wajnman, Abram Sucher Gliklich, and Chaim Szmul Rozencwajg organized social assistance provided by the Judenrat. Kasryel Mokrzański replaced Rozencwajg in January 1941. At the beginning of 1942, an official branch of the Jewish Social-Self Help (JSS) was established in Kamieńsk under Brygiel Lipman, Hilel Faktor, and Jakub J. Opoczyński.[4]

The number of refugees rose to 95 after more settled in Kamieńsk in May and June 1941. In August 1941, there were 558 Jews, of which 73 still held private sector jobs. In July 1941, 25 Jews were performing forced labor, and by August their number had risen to 65. In October 1941, the number of Jews still able to support themselves had dropped to 26, as had the number of forced laborers (to 20). The Jewish population stood at the time at 570.[5] Daytime child care managed by Gutermanówna was organized in the fall of 1941 for 34 children.

The German authorities established a ghetto in Kamieńsk by the beginning of February 1942. In a letter of February 1, 1942, the local JSS branch expressed their "astonishment" on receiving less-than-usual financial help from its Kraków headquarters, "when the living conditions of all our residents have greatly deteriorated due to restrictions on all Jews' movement." The JSS expected that more than half of the Kamieńsk Jews would be forced to apply for assistance in the near future. In May 1942, the JSS reported on the deteriorating situation of the ghettoized Jews "of whom the larger part made their living from going village to village—the route that was now closed."[6]

The ghetto's borders were delineated. The Jews were most likely allowed to stay in their destroyed neighborhood or a section of it. In February 1942, the JSS engaged in organizing agricultural training for 30 volunteers. It planned to use "three strips of land within the [Jewish] Quarter that are owned by the Judenrat" but was also interested in Jewish-owned land outside the ghetto. The farmers themselves offered the JSS to cultivate their fields, but the Kamieńsk JSS branch feared the possible consequences and asked Kraków for advice: "Can we cultivate that land? Will not any harm come of it?"[7]

In May 1942, the community reported that it had received "Jewish land for our disposal" and had planted it with potatoes, beans, and millet. In July 1942, the Arbeitsamt refused to per-

mit the employment of Jewish laborers on nearby farms. It also made "the Judenrat responsible for immediate release of those who were already working in agriculture."[8]

The Kamieńsk ghetto was liquidated in October 1942. Its residents, approximately 500 prisoners, were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 141 (table 4), 169, lists population numbers during the war.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/395, 211/519-521) and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

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Members of the Kielce ghetto administration pose around a desk in the Judenrat office. This photograph was part of an album prepared by the Jewish Welfare Committee in Kielce for presentation to the Judenrat chairman, Hermann Levi, January 1942.
USHMM WS #03282, COURTESY OF RAFAL IMBRO

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/395 (Kamieńsk), pp. 6, 11, 17, 26, 29; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/519 (Kamieńsk), p. 27; and 211/520 (Kamieńsk), pp. 19, 24–25.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/395, pp. 19–20; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/520, pp. 5–6.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/395, pp. 26, 29–30, 35–50; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/518 (Kamieńsk), p. 22.
4. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/395, pp. 29–30, 33; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/519, p. 17; 211/520, pp. 5–6, 24, 37; and 211/521 (Kamieńsk), p. 11.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/520, pp. 5–6, 19, 33, 40–41.
6. Ibid., 211/521, pp. 4, 19.
7. Ibid., pp. 4, 6.
8. Ibid., pp. 23–24, 39.

KIELCE

Pre-1939: Kielce, city and center, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Kielce-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The city of Kielce is located about 175 kilometers (109 miles) south of Warsaw on the Silnica River. By 1939, almost 20,000 Jews lived in Kielce, out of a general population of 60,000.

The Germans conquered Kielce on September 5, 1939. A curfew was imposed on the city, and every contact between the German military administration and the Jews was marked by violence, persecution, and humiliation. Within a short time Jews were being kidnapped on the street for forced labor, evicted from their homes by force, and ordered to clean public buildings and toilets, clear rubble, fill ditches, and repair roads. Kielce, which was in the area of the Generalgouvernement, became the center of 1 of the 10 administrative units (Kreise) in Distrikt Radom. On October 26, 1939, the administration of the city passed from the military to civilian authorities.[1] In November 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established under the leadership of Dr. Moshe Pelc, a surgeon who had close connections to Polish circles and was fluent in German.[2] In accord with a regulation that everyone had to work, Jews were taken on a daily basis to sites for various sorts of forced labor, such as digging ditches, clearing rubble, repairing train tracks, cleaning, and hard labor in the quarries. In the summer of 1940, Jewish youth from Kielce were sent on forced labor assignments to the area of Bełżec, in Distrikt Lublin, where they were put to work along the Soviet border, digging trenches, building fortifications, felling trees, and performing other tasks such as diverting rivers, drying swamps, and paving roads.

In 1941, thousands of Jewish refugees from German territories that were to be cleansed of Jews arrived in Kielce. Among them were Polish Jews and over a thousand Jews from Vienna. By February 1941, the Jewish population of Kielce had grown to 27,000. The Judenrat initiated the creation of a number of jobs, especially for members of the free professions and Jews from the intellectual class, who could not perform hard labor. However, only a small proportion of the city's Jews found regular employment. The refugees struggled to earn a living, but debilitating hunger led to illness, and the number fit for labor continually declined. Pelc was occupied primarily with matters related to health and welfare. He struggled to communicate with the occupation authorities and finally concluded that he was not suited for the task. In the summer of 1940, as the impoverishment of the Jews reached its peak, Pelc decided, with the agreement of the Germans, to resign. His deputy, Hermann Levi, took his place, a well-to-do industrialist who owned property in Kielce and elsewhere and a man with connections and influence. Levi reorganized the Judenrat and tried to improve the living conditions of the Jewish population.[3] But before he could show any results, the decree to establish the ghetto was issued.

On March 31, 1941, the town's German Kommissar, A. Drechsel, issued a signed document ordering the establishment of a "Jewish quarter" (*Jüdisches Wohnbezirk*)—a ghetto. Attached to the order was a list of 500 to 600 buildings, on 26 streets, which had been selected for the ghetto area and could hold at most about 15,000 people. The area of the ghetto was

15 percent of the general area of the city, and most of the houses were one-story high, with no running water or sewers. After five days (on April 5) the ghetto area was declared to be a closed zone infected with contagious diseases; it was surrounded by a fence made partly of stone and partly of wood and topped with barbed wire. Signs were posted along the fence in German, Yiddish, Polish, and Hebrew: "Sealed Area—Entrance Forbidden."[4]

With the transition to a ghetto, authority over the Jews passed from the civilian administration to the German police and the SS. Six weeks after it was closed, the ghetto was opened for passage by Jews with work permits issued by the Protection Police (Schutzpolizei, Schupo) and signed by Hans Gaier, the Schupo commander in Kielce and the dominant figure during the ghetto's existence. Movement into and out of the ghetto was through two gates, guarded by German, Polish, and Jewish policemen. Along with the establishment of the ghetto, a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) of several dozen men was recruited. Most were refugees who had arrived from Austria and the areas annexed to the Reich. Bruno Schindler, a German Jew, was appointed as the police chief, and his deputy was Gustav Spiegel from Austria. The Jewish Police were subordinated to the Judenrat. However, in the case of Kielce, they received orders directly from the Schupo and felt protected by their authority. Most Jewish policemen regarded the native Jews of Kielce as *Ostjuden*—miserable Polish Jews. They did more than what was demanded of them, and the head of the Judenrat was unable to prevail over them. Within the ghetto they were regarded as corrupt opportunists who blackmailed money from the Jews. They lived a life of luxury, and the entire Jewish community feared them.[5]

During the first months in the ghetto, everyone tried to adjust. The schools were shut down. An epidemic of typhus was one of the severe problems threatening the lives of the inhabitants, and the Judenrat established a special section for sanitation. Affluent Jews continued their charitable giving, and Hermann Levi faithfully fulfilled German orders. Everyone working in the Judenrat sought to find a place in its large administration for his own family members to work. By the beginning of 1942, the number of Judenrat employees had reached 4,000. They did not conceal the benefits they received from the other ghetto inhabitants. The entire ghetto knew that the Judenrat and the Jewish Police were not lacking for anything, even as many were dying from starvation and disease. In the summer of 1941, the Gestapo uncovered a Polish underground cell in Kielce, which included a number of Jewish doctors, including Dr. Moshe Pelc. In July 1941, they were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp where, within a few days, while working in a punishment brigade inside the camp, Pelc was murdered by an SS guard who stomped on his neck and strangled him to death.

Inside the ghetto there was no employment for the masses, and the work on the outside was so arduous that only a few heeded the call. This created a severe economic problem, which the Judenrat was unable to overcome. Beginning in February 1942, all Jews in Distrikt Radom, including in Kielce, received on average one quarter of the previous food ration. One could not survive on the monthly ration coupons. A black market developed, and the prices for food shot up. The ghetto inhabitants sold their last articles of clothing for a piece of bread, and children scoured the garbage for food. The task of finding food outside the closed ghetto fell on little children, who overcame fear and sneaked like petty thieves to the "Aryan" side to steal a few potatoes to smuggle into the ghetto. All the written testimonies, without exception, recall the terrible hunger that prevailed in the ghetto, the smuggling, and the difficulties in finding food.[6]

The winter of 1941–1942 was harsh and especially cold. There was no electricity in the ghetto, and it was impossible to put on furs for fear they would be confiscated. In most of the dwellings, they burned whatever they could, including cloth, furniture, floorboards, and doorposts. To provide some relief from the cold the Judenrat opened three coffee centers in the ghetto, at which about 1,200 liters (317 gallons) of coffee were served on a daily basis without charge, enough for at least 5,000 people. In addition to the soup kitchen opened in November 1941, the Judenrat opened another soup kitchen at the beginning of 1942, which served about 3,000 lunches a day. There was also a shop with food to purchase, subsidized by the Judenrat, and a local committee of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), which provided weekly food portions to Jews in the local prison, to Jews discharged from the hospital, and starting in May 1942, to about 1,000 impoverished Jews.[7]

The collection of taxes in the ghetto, on which the Judenrat's revenue and budget were based, was one of the greatest difficulties facing the Judenrat. By the beginning of 1942, most of those on the tax rolls could not meet their obligations. The burden fell on the well-to-do, who were not always impressed by the threats of the Judenrat, which resorted to force to collect the taxes. During the entire period of occupation, the Germans carried out acts of punishment, special Aktions



Portrait of ghetto administrators and Viennese Jews standing in front of a home for the elderly in the Kielce ghetto. This photograph was part of an album prepared by the Jewish Welfare Committee in Kielce for presentation to the Judenrat chairman, Hermann Levi, January 1942.
USHMM WS #03276, COURTESY OF RAFAL IMBRO

against the Jews, planned in advance for all of Distrikt Radom. Ernst Thomas, the head of the Gestapo in Kielce, commanded these Aktions. Among these Aktions were the "Communist Aktion" (summer 1941), the fur confiscation Aktion (December 1941–January 1942), the "intelligentsia Aktion" (April 1942), and others. There was no system of education or cultural activity in the Kielce ghetto, nor any religious life or organized programs for underground youth groups. Everyone was occupied with searching for a way to make it to the following day. In August 1942, 17 months after the ghetto was established, the expulsion of the Kielce Jews began as a total surprise, as part of the general liquidation of the Jews in Distrikt Radom.

It may be assumed that in August 1942 there were a few more than 24,000 Jews in the ghetto. On August 19, during the evening hours, a train with 50 closed freight cars arrived at the platform of the railroad station. The floors of the cars were covered with lime and chlorine. That night the ghetto was surrounded by scores of police of Sonderkommando Feucht, which arrived from Radom to carry out the expulsion. Among them were Ukrainian auxiliaries, and they were assisted by members of the Kielce Schupo. In three Aktions between August 20 and 24, 20,000 Jews were sent to the extermination camp at Treblinka in three transports, averaging 6,000 to 7,000 people in each transport, with about 120 people in each freight car. The expulsion was directed by Gaier and Thomas, who were also responsible for the "selections" that were carried out. The evacuation was especially cruel. Since it was obvious to the Germans that the number of freight cars could not hold all of the evacuees, about 2,500 children, women, elderly, and sick people were murdered on the spot. They were torn to pieces by dogs or shot in the back, and the streets of the ghetto were strewn with corpses. More than 10 percent of the Jews being evacuated were shot to death immediately in the course of the expulsion.[8]

At the end of the five days, about 1,700 Jews were left at the site where the selection was carried out, next to the great synagogue, with about 150 women and 60 children among them. The men were people with work permits, doctors and Jewish policemen with their families, and some members of the Judenrat, including Hermann Levi and his family. All of them were taken to a number of streets in the ghetto, which was turned into the "small ghetto."

There was no Judenrat in the small ghetto. Since Bruno Schindler, the commander of the Jewish Police, had been shot to death in the third Aktion, his deputy, Gustav Spiegel, a Jew from Vienna and a bloodthirsty informer and collaborator, was put in charge of the Jews in the small ghetto, which was essentially turned into a work camp. Most of the Jews remaining in the small ghetto worked at cleaning and sorting all the property and contents of the large ghetto; the others were taken to work at essential installations in the city and at the Kadzielnia quarry. From time to time several dozen Jews were sent to forced labor camps in the area. Many tried to acquire "Aryan" documents from Poles, and there were actually attempts, which failed, to establish an underground in cooperation with the Armia Krajowa (AK), the underground Polish Home Army.[9]

In January 1943, Gaier and some Gestapo men took Hermann Levi, his wife, sons, and daughters-in-law to the Jewish cemetery in Kielce, where they murdered them. In March 1943, about 40 Jews, mostly doctors and their families, were taken to the cemetery and murdered on the spot.[10] On May 29, the small ghetto was surrounded, and the Jews were ordered to assemble at the site of the mass expulsion of August 1942. Then 50 children were torn from their parents (except for 3 who went into hiding) and were shot to death on the same day in the Jewish cemetery.[11] About 500 Jews were sent to the work camp at Pionki, and about 200 were sent to the Bliżyn camp. The remaining 800 were scattered among the Kielce work camps at Henryków, Ludwików, and HASAG (Hugo Schneider AG) Granat, where they were housed in shacks. Ludwików was a steel mill where they made frames for horse-drawn wagons. At Henryków, a carpentry plant, they made wooden parts for the wagons. HASAG Granat was a munitions factory. Conditions at these three camps were tolerable relative to other work camps in the area. Even here, however, several dozen Jews were executed by hanging, mostly men who tried to escape and were caught.[12] As the Soviet front drew closer, the Germans were forced to evacuate the camps in Kielce. During the first days of August 1944, Henryków and Ludwików were evacuated, and the Jewish prisoners were sent on transports to Auschwitz. The Jewish inmates at HASAG Granat were evacuated in stages between June and August and sent to various places, including Przedbórz, Skarżysko-Kamienna, Częstochowa, Buchenwald, and Leipzig.[13] With a few isolated exceptions, there is no evidence of acts of rescue in Kielce, and there were no Jews in hiding at the time of liberation.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Kielce during the Holocaust include the following: Sara Bender, "The Extermination of the Kielce Ghetto—New Study and Aspects Based on Survivors' Testimonies," *Jewish History Quarterly*, no. 2 (218) (2006); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); Adam Massalski and Stanisław Meducki, *Kielcew latach okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945* (Łódź: Ossolineum, 1986); Jacek Młynarczyk, "Bestialstwo z urzędu. Organizacja hitlerowskich akcji deportacyjnych w ramach Operacji Reinhard na przykładzie likwidacji kieleckiego getta," *Jewish History Quarterly*, no. 2 (203) (2002): 354–379. There is also the yizkor book, edited by Pinhas Tsitron, *Sefer Kielce: Toldot kehilat Kyelts mi-yom hivasdah ve-ad hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun ole Kyelts be-Yisrael, 1957); and the M.A. thesis by Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Der Holocaust in Kielce/Distrikt Radom" (Universität Essen, 2000).

Accounts by survivors in book form include the following: Mildred (Mania) Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed* (U.S., 1979); Daniel Wiener, *Daniel's Story: February 19, 1916–April 3, 2001* (Canada: Bill Wiener, 2001); and Alice Birnhak, *Next Year God Willing* (New York: Shengold, 1992).

Relevant documents and testimonies can be found in the following archives: APK; AŻIH (301/66, 254, 1309, 1705, and

3012); BA-L; BA-MA; IPN; USHMM (e.g., RG-15.031, Stadt und Kreishauptmann Kielce); and YVA (e.g., O-2/516; O-3/2985, 7433, 8911, 9147, 10792, and 11630; O-4/405; 58/2083; TR-10/673 and TR-10/911; M-49/E/1309 and 1704; M-1/Q/174).

Sara Bender
trans. Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. APK, 2652; and YVA, M-49/E/1705.
2. Birnhak, *Next Year God Willing*, pp. 6–11.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska* (German newspaper in Polish that served as the propaganda instrument of the German authorities in the Generalgouvernement) (1940) no. 32.
4. *Anordnungsblatt für die Stadt Kielce Nr. 7/1941*, pp. 2–5; USHMM, RG-15.091M, reel 14.
5. Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed*, p. 21; and YVA, TR-10/911, pp. 26–76.
6. *Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement* (1941), p. 595; *Anordnungsblatt für die Stadt und Kreishauptmannschaft Kielce* (January 1, 1942), APK; YVA, O-3/2640, p. 1; YVA, O-3/6782, 8911, 12285, 11630, 9147; also O-33/6442.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska* (1941) nos. 42, 45, 51, 78, 87; (1942) nos. 78, 83, 94.
8. YVA, TR-10/911, pp. 31, 79, 80–81; M-49/E/1309; M-49/E/1704; O-3/2985; O-3/7433; 58/2083; and O-2/516. Also see Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed*, p. 34.
9. YVA, TR-10/911, pp. 34–38; TR-10/673, p. 42; O-3/2985, 8911, 9147, 10792, 11630; O-4/405; 58/2083; M-49/E/1705; M-1/Q/174; Birnhak, *Next Year God Willing*, pp. 219–234; Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed*, p. 51.
10. Wiener, *Daniel's Story*, p. 34.
11. Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed*, p. 51; Birnhak, *Next Year God Willing*, pp. 225, 249–250; Wiener, *Daniel's Story*, p. 34; YVA, O-4/405; M-1/E/75; TR-10/911, p. 38.
12. Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed*, pp. 54–55; Tsila Liberman, *Tselinkah: Yaldah she-sardah et Oshvits* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), pp. 39–44; "Di letzte 45 kinderlekh in Kelz," *Fun letstn hurbn* (Munich), no. 3 (October–November 1946): 34–35.
13. Feferman-Washoff, *The Processed*, pp. 55–62; Birnhak, *Next Year God Willing*, pp. 225, 279–281, 312–316.

KLIMONTÓW

Pre-1939: Klimontów, town, Sandomierz powiat, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Klimontow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Klimontów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Klimontów is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) southwest of Lublin on the Koprzywianka River. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, about 3,100 Jews resided in the town.[1]

The first German patrol entered Klimontów during the second week of September 1939. Soon after their arrival, German forces assembled all the men, Jews and Poles, on the market square. They warned the local population not to offer any resistance and later released the detainees, shooting three people (two of them Jews) as the crowd dispersed. Over the following days, German troops passed through the town, plundering Jewish stores and houses and beating Jews in the process.[2]

At the beginning of October 1939, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of eight members. The men were nominated by the Polish wójt (civil administrator), Stanisław Losata, and initially Chaim Himmelfarb became the chairman. However, he was replaced after a short time by E. Tepperman, who was better suited to this position. At the end of October 1939, the German authorities demanded a large "contribution" from the Judenrat, and 10 hostages were taken until the sum was paid.[3]

In November 1939, when the Generalgouvernement was established, Klimontów was incorporated into Kreis Opatow, within Distrikt Radom. Deportation Aktions against the Jewish population in Kreis Opatow, including Klimontów, were organized and carried out by the Security Police detachment (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski. The German Gendarmerie and Polish auxiliary police also participated in these operations.

In March 1940, the Germans ordered the reconstitution of the Jewish Council, now headed by Motl Shuldman. A Jewish police force was also formed to assist the Judenrat. In the period 1939–1941, the German authorities implemented a series of discriminatory policies against the Jewish population in Klimontów. The occupying forces confiscated Jewish property, ordered all Jews to register and wear distinguishing patches, and prohibited them from moving outside designated areas. The Jews were also forced to perform various kinds of heavy physical labor. Some 100 men had to be provided every day by the Judenrat. The most grueling labor was in a stone quarry at Międzygórz, 18 kilometers (11 miles) to the northeast of Klimontów. About 60 Jewish workers were escorted there each week under close guard from April 1941. The overseers beat the workers if they failed to meet their work quotas. There was some criticism of the Judenrat and Jewish Police, as they and their families were generally exempted from the most onerous forced labor tasks. It was also possible for the more wealthy Jews to pay for substitutes to avoid forced labor, which produced an income for the welfare measures organized by the Judenrat.[4]

In January 1941, the Jewish population was 3,746, and by April 1941 it had risen to 3,872.[5] Despite transfers for forced labor, the Jewish population increased due to the arrival of refugees from other places and the resettlement of Jews from the surrounding villages. There were also movement restrictions within the town: Jews were no longer permitted to use the market square, and those who lived on the square could only enter their houses from the rear.[6] From mid-October 1941, German announcements threatened the death penalty for Jews caught outside the town without permission. In December 1941, the Germans demanded that Jews surrender all fur items and winter clothing for the use of the German army. Failure to comply with this order could mean the death penalty.

On May 13, 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Opatów issued orders for the creation of 15 ghettos in the Kreis by June 1,

1942. Among those created was the ghetto of Klimontów.[7] The ghetto was located on the market square and the adjoining streets. It remained an open ghetto, with no fence surrounding it. At each exit from the town large signs warned: "No Jews permitted past this point." German patrols with dogs caught at least 3 Jews outside the town and shot them.[8] The ghetto contained about 3,900 Jews, including a few hundred Jewish displaced persons (some of whom had been deported from Vienna).[9] In the summer of 1942, about 300 Jews were sent to the forced labor camp at Skarżysko-Kamienna. When one of them illegally returned home, in August 1942 the German police shot all of his 14 relatives and another 22 Jews in a punitive reprisal.[10]

On October 30, 1942, the ghetto in Klimontów was liquidated. At 5:00 A.M. German police and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the town and ordered all the Jews to gather in the market square. The German authorities selected 150 of them for the purpose of specialized labor and sent them to a labor camp. Another 65 people, including members of the Judenrat and Jewish Police, initially remained in Klimontów to collect and sort out Jewish property. The bulk of the Jewish population—about 3,700 people—was escorted to the train station at Nadbrzezie near Sandomierz, where they were loaded onto freight cars (120 people in each) destined for the extermination camp at Treblinka. As the Jews were marched to the railway station, the German police shot about 80 elderly and sick people who could not keep up. After the liquidation of the ghetto in the village, the remaining 300 or so Jews, including a number who emerged from hiding, were taken to the ghetto in Sandomierz on November 15, 1942. Polish (Blue) Police and firefighters searched the former Jewish houses for Jews in hiding or any remaining property for weeks afterwards.[11] Only a few Jews from the town survived the German occupation in the forced labor camps, in the forests, or in hiding.

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Klimontów can be found in L. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov Dertzeilt* (Warsaw, 1947); Mordechai Pentshiner, "Churban Klimontov," *YIVO Bleter* (New York) 30: 1 (1947): 147–152; and in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 505–508. An annotated English translation prepared by Alex P. Korn of the article in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* has been published electronically by JewishGen (October 7, 2005).

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Klimontów can be found in the following archives: IPN; USHMM (RG-15.019M; RG-03.020; and Acc.1995.A.1187); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-16/379; O-21/15, 16, 17, and 19; M-1/E/1115; M-1/Q/36 and 196).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 505–506.

2. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov*, pp. 11–12; USHMM, Acc.1995.A.1187, Mordechai Penczyner, "The Destruction of Klimontow," testimony to the Historical Committee in Stuttgart (English translation). This is probably another version of his published testimony; see Pentshiner, "Churban Klimontov," pp. 147–152.

3. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov*, p. 14; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 507.

4. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.1187.

5. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955), table 13.

6. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov*, p. 31.

7. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 85–86; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 152–153.

8. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.1187.

9. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 14 (IPN, ASG, sygn. 47, p. 180).

10. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov*, pp. 36–39. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.1187, gives slightly different details regarding this event.

11. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov*, pp. 42–50; USHMM, Acc.1995.A.1187; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 507–508.

KLWÓW

Pre-1939: Klwów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Klwow, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Klwów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Klwów is located 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) northwest of Radom. The 1921 census registered 297 Jewish residents, constituting 30.7 percent of the total population.

According to survivor Mosheh Goldblat, soon after occupying the village in September 1939, the German Gestapo ordered all Jews aged 17 to 80 to dismantle their wooden synagogue, saw the wood into small pieces, and load it onto buses. Under severe beatings, Goldblat was forced to destroy the synagogue's Ten Commandments.

Next, forced labor was introduced for the Jews of Klwów. Dragged from their homes, they were assigned to carry water and coal, as well as chop wood for the German forces quartered in a local school.[1]

At the time 50 local Jewish families were living in the village. The Germans organized a Judenrat chaired by J. Poznański.

Many of the refugees who soon settled in Klwów were from the town of Mława, which was incorporated into the Reich at the end of 1939. By the end of 1940, they had organized their own refugee committee—Komitet Ziomkostwa Mławskiego.

By February 1941, the small, local Jewish community was supporting a total of 120 refugees from Tomaszów Mazowiecki and Mława. The Judenrat spent at least 1,200 złoty to maintain a soup kitchen serving the poor and refugees. On

February 28, 1941, 28 refugee families arrived in Klwów from Mogielnica and Jeżów, located in Distrikt Warschau. At the time, Poznański, who was actively trying to procure assistance from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), reported that there were already a few cases of death from starvation.[2] In May 1941, there were 546 Jews living in Klwów.

The date the ghetto was established in Klwów is unknown, but the first executions of those attempting to leave the ghetto were reported in 1942. Ten Jews (names unknown) were shot in a nearby forest for an escape attempt sometime in 1942 and possibly all at once.[3] In addition, Estera Kac, née Rapaport, is registered as having been arrested in Radom on May 1, 1942, on charges of smuggling and leaving the Klwów ghetto without permission. She was incarcerated in Radom and executed on July 17, 1942.[4]

As for the ghetto's organization, it is not known whether the Jews were resettled to a specific area—and if so, whether it was physically enclosed. It is possible that they remained in their own homes, but they were forbidden to leave the village limits. An estimated 500 Jews lived in the Klwów ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on October 22, 1942, when its residents were deported to the nearby Drzewica ghetto (23 kilometers [14 miles] southwest of Klwów). From there, with all other Jews gathered in Drzewica, they were deported by train to the Treblinka extermination camp either on the same or on the next day, that is, October 23, 1942.

SOURCES Information regarding the Klwów ghetto is scarce. Published sources of relevance include Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 234; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 131, 134; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 153–154 (table 10), 177.

The following archival sources include information on the fate of the Jewish community in Klwów: AŻIH (210/406 [AJDC]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 24765).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 24765, testimony of Mosheh Goldblat, 1996.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/406 (Klwów), pp. 1–2.
3. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo radomskie* (Warsaw: Glówna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1980), p. 83.
4. Kazimierz Jaroszek and Sebastian Piątkowski, *Martyrologia Żydów w więzieniu radomskim 1939–1944: Wykaz zamordowanych, zmarłych, deportowanych do obozów koncentracyjnych i obozów zagłady* (Radom: Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu, 1997), p. 18.

KOLUSZKI

Pre-1939: Koluszki, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: town, Łódź województwo, Poland

Koluszki is located 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) east of Łódź. In 1939, 475 Jews lived there. On September 9, 1939, Wehrmacht troops entered Koluszki.

The first months of the occupation were marked by daily roundups of local Jews for forced labor to clear rubble from the town, fix the railroads, and also drain swamps in the vicinity of Koluszki.

German authorities soon established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to organize the conscription of forced labor. Sz. Tyrangiel was appointed as its chairman, and Zalman Frydlender from Łódź became the secretary.[1]

When the western parts of Poland were incorporated into the Reich in October 1939, Koluszki remained just to the east of the new border and exposed to a stream of refugees and expellees, either settling in the town or passing through it. In August 1940, the Judenrat registered 1,017 Jews, 636 of them newcomers (171 families) mainly from Łódź and Brzeziny (located approximately 4 miles [2.5 miles] from Koluszki), both of which had been incorporated into the Reich. The Judenrat concluded that the proportion of Koluszki's original Jewish inhabitants to newcomers was now approaching 40 to 60, respectively.

Given this situation, the efforts of the four-member self–help committee—created by the Judenrat on August 4, 1940—provided little relief. The committee included Srul Moszkowicz, Simcha Binem Wolberg, Jakob Szymkiewicz, and Mordka Lajbusz Tyrangiel. The committee kept pushing to be officially recognized by the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Kraków, as this could lead to more sustainable financial assistance. In the meantime, the minimal financial support received amounted to little more than a drop in the bucket.[2]

Koluszki's ghetto was set up on April 10, 1941.[3] The Jews were forced to move to the other side of the village. At the beginning, the ghetto was not overcrowded, and the residents were able to smuggle food in fairly easily, usually during the night; even cows were smuggled in for ritual slaughter. Available information regarding the enclosure of the ghetto is contradictory; however, the residents were not permitted to leave its borders on pain of death.[4] With time, killings of Jews for leaving the ghetto limits became frequent, and an estimated 40 inhabitants were murdered as a result. Many of the victims were buried next to the railroad tracks in Felicjanów Stary, near Koluszki. It is known that 11 of them were buried at the Jewish cemetery in Felicjanów, where members of the Gendarmerie executed them.[5]

A five-man unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) commanded by Riwen Berliner from Tomaszów Mazowiecki was organized to maintain order in the ghetto. According to one testimony, Berliner always beat his fellow Jews during his daily rounds of the ghetto.[6]

The creation of the ghetto coincided with the arrival of dozens of families from Warsaw and its environs.[7] By May 1941, the ghetto had 1,177 residents, 873 of them newcomers. This resulted in a rapid deterioration of living conditions. On June 1, 1941, the self-help committee resigned and ceased all activity. Some ghetto residents found themselves living in the streets or in wooden huts, barns, and attics. Others had to share a single room with more than 10 people. In the summer of 1941, almost 300 ghetto inhabitants were children under 18 years old, for whom no social assistance was provided. Disease spread quickly; 182 Jews were treated for typhus in 1941.[8]

A new, but still unrecognized, self-help committee was set up in July 1941. Aside from reporting to Kraków on the situation in the ghetto, the committee was powerless. By this time, Koluszki's Jews were left with few sources of income, and begging became widespread. All Jewish enterprises had been closed. Only 25 artisans were able to run their workshops.

In September 1941, 140 Jews were registered as performing forced labor "in the Kreis," most probably in Słotwiny, located approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Koluszki. According to one testimony, approximately 200 men from the ghetto performed forced labor six days a week. They were paid low wages and were given some soup at lunchtime. The work was not too hard. A Jewish man registered all workers; however, they were supervised by German and Polish managers, who treated them well. The laborers left the ghetto at 6:00 A.M., walking approximately 0.8 kilometer (0.5 mile) to the train station where they would unload railroad cars. (While working, they often witnessed cattle trains filled with Jews passing through, as they could hear voices in Yiddish; sometimes they found letters or notes scattered on the tracks.) Then the laborers would walk to Słotwiny to work in agriculture. In the summer of 1942, about 250 Jewish forced laborers worked in Słotwiny in two shifts. Koluszki's Jews were ordered to provide their sustenance and set up a soup kitchen.

By the end of September 1941, about 3,000 Jews were squeezed into the ghetto. An official JSS branch was established in November 1941 and included the following officials: Binem Wolberg, Mordka Einfeld (Ajnfeld), and Jakub Szymkiewicz. It was subordinated to the Kreis branch in Tomaszów.[9]

In November 1941, the German authorities ordered resettlement to the Koluszki ghetto of approximately 200 refugees living in nearby settlements.[10] In late November 1941, close to 600 Jews from the Tomaszów Mazowiecki ghetto (all refugees from other towns) were transferred to Koluszki. The catastrophic housing conditions worsened, as the deportees' arrival coincided with the ghetto being reduced in size; one quarter of the apartments was lost.

Most of the 500 evicted Jews (80 families) were left to wander around the ghetto; only at night were they allowed to stand (literally) in the single-room premises of the Judenrat. Through great efforts, the JSS provided some relief, but far less than was required.

Many of the Tomaszów deportees returned to the ghetto there after a few weeks. According to witnesses, 33 were caught, imprisoned, and shot in the spring of 1942, in Tomaszów's forest, near some barracks located there.[11]

The stream of expelled Jews coming to Koluszki was constant. In December 1941, when the Łódź ghetto authorities determined that there were too many Jews in the ghetto, they began simply to put them on trains to Koluszki. Likewise, in December 1941, a group of 30 Jews from nearby Żakowice was transferred to Koluszki.[12]

At the beginning of 1942, typhus was again on the rise, with 92 Jews infected in January and 75 in February. The hospital was equipped with only 30 beds. Two deportee doctors attended the sick; even minor operations were impossible, and hygienic conditions were catastrophic. Although the number of dead is unknown, it had to be significant. By June 1942, an orphanage for about 120 children was set up.

During the last months of the Koluszki ghetto's existence, the German authorities deluded its residents that they might be spared through employment in workshops and in agriculture.

The Germans liquidated the ghetto, with its 3,000 Jews, in October 1942.[13] According to one testimony, the Gendarmerie, Gestapo, (ethnic German) Selbstschutz, and Polish (Blue) Police and firefighters surrounded the ghetto by 5:00 A.M. Approximately 50 Jews still managed to escape.[14] Another source relates that 500 people were killed before the train departed for the Treblinka killing center, including a woman who was killed at the platform after giving birth to a child during the Aktion. A small group from Koluszki was reportedly transferred to the remnant ghetto in Ujazd, which was liquidated on January 6, 1943, with its residents also sent to Treblinka.

Four Poles from Koluszki were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp for helping Jews. Two of them, Szymon Bormański and his daughter, Danuta Opuchlik, were murdered there on December 24, 1942. On December 19, 1985, a three-person Koluszki family—the Krzyżanowskis—was recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations for hiding six members of the Buki family. The Bukis had escaped from the Rawa Mazowiecka ghetto and hid with the Krzyżanowskis from October 1942 until January 1945.

A German Gendarmerie official, Harry Szuman, was sentenced to death by the Regional Court in Piotrków Trybunalski for persecuting and killing several dozen Jews and Poles in the Kreis, including residents of the Koluszki ghetto. Szuman was executed on September 9, 1947.[15]

SOURCES Information regarding the destruction of the Jewish community of Koluszki can be found in the following publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AAN; AŻIH (210/412, 211/547, 211/548, 211/549, 211/550, 301/3079, 301/4071, Ring I/560); SOPi (sygn. 40); USHMM (RG-15.079M [Ring I], reel 22; RG-15.084M

[Relacje]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 29; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (e.g., # 13377, 15847, and 23787); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 210/412. There are two documents identifying Ch. Kuper as the Judenrat's chairman, dated February 20 and July 17, 1941. Later correspondence is signed again by the chairman Sz. Tyrangiel. According to AŻIH, 301/3079, Frydlender was the chairman.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/547.
3. Ibid., 211/548, L. dz. no. 1/VII-1941.
4. Ibid., 211/548, December 11, 1941; VHF, # 13377, testimony of Simon Ell, 1996; # 15847, testimony of Mirosława Scherer-Abramczyk, 1996; # 23787, testimony of Mina Fuks, 1996.
5. USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 22, Ring I/560.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/412.
8. Ibid., RG-15.079M, reel 22, Ring I/560; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29.
9. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/548, no. 7/41-S.P and 211/549, Sprawozdanie.
10. Ibid., 211/548, no. 7/41-S.P and no. 12059/41-I/2, T/S.
11. Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), pp. 120–121; and AŻIH, 301/4071, testimony of Samuel Talman, 1948.
12. Dawid Sierakowiak, *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak: Five Notebooks from the Łódź Ghetto*, ed. and with an introduction by Alan Adelson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 70–72; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29.
13. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 154 (table 10), 177–178; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 233.
14. AŻIH, 301/3079.
15. SOPi 11.

KONIECPOL

Pre-1939: Koniecpol, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radomsko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo śląskie, Poland

Koniecpol is located 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) southeast of Radomsko. When World War II broke out, 955 Jews populated the town.[1]

On September 3 or 4, 1939, all the town's residents were expelled to the surrounding villages. When the occupying German forces allowed civilians to return, they found that their houses had been looted. Jews who before the war had made their living in various trades were now put to forced labor six days per week on the railroad and in gravel extraction. From the fall of 1939, a number of Jews were assigned to irrigation and canalization work on the riverbank, while being held at a labor camp in Zarębice near Przyrów.[2]

Abram Kornberg was the Judenrat chairman. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the Judenrat did not take advantage of Koniecpol's Jews. Its two main tasks were conscripting Jews for labor and collecting punitive fines. Three such fines were imposed between September 1939 and January 1940. The community's rabbi and seven other Jews were taken hostage to ensure their payment.[3]

By June 1940, many Jews were sick with typhus. Christian doctors were forbidden to treat them. Later on, the community found a Jewish doctor, Marian Braun, who also headed the Sanitation Column affiliated with the Judenrat. At this time, there were approximately 700 deportees in Koniecpol—as the Judenrat put it—"wandering about town" and "with no roof above their heads."[4]

Information on the ghetto in Koniecpol remains sparse and somewhat contradictory. Those sources referring to a "ghetto" do not give the date on which it was established but note that it served as a point of concentration for Jews from the surrounding area just prior to their deportation.[5] However, some sources (e.g., *Pinkas ha-kehilot*) claim that no ghetto was set up. As Jews were able to move within the town limits, they were free to trade with local Poles and ward off hunger.

By January 1941, a soup kitchen had been established, serving 200 meals daily. The Judenrat reported 700 children living in Koniecpol. In the course of a fur requisition operation, Hayim Neufeld was reported to the German police and shot after a fur garment was found in his house. A Jewish youth and his entire family were also killed during the ghetto's existence.[6]

In March 1941, a number of Jews from a transport of 1,000 Płock deportees destined for Radomsko were transferred to Koniecpol; all were later resettled to Częstochowa. By this time, there were 1,182 Jews living in Koniecpol, including 512 deportees.

In June 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was organized to take over the provision of welfare from the Judenrat. Its three members were: Henryk Citron (chairman), Abram Kornberg (deputy), and Szmul A. Goldstein.[7]

By the summer of 1942, rumors of mass murders in the region and the likely evacuation of the ghetto were spreading in Koniecpol. Frightened Jews tried to get work at the local copper factory or in agriculture, as a possible protection against deportation.

In mid-September, the Germans set a deadline—September 28, 1942—for the Jews of Olsztyn (200 persons), Przyrów (ca. 770), Złoty Potok, Dąbrowa Zielona, Małuszyn, Sekursk, and Cielętnik to resettle into the Koniecpol ghetto.

German and Ukrainian guards surrounded Koniecpol in preparation for the ghetto's liquidation on October 6, 1942. A son of the Judenrat chairman was sent door to door to instruct Jews to report to the market square at 6:00 A.M. the next morning. Remnants of the Jews living in the vicinity were brought into the ghetto that day. Some, however, were shot in their places of residence—for example, 25 Jews living in Koniecpol Mały village. On October 7, 1942, 1,600 Jews were convoyed to the train station, loaded into wagons, and attached to a transport of Jews from the liquidated Częstochowa ghetto, destined for the Treblinka extermination camp.[8]

Jewish partisan forces commanded by men with the pseudonyms "Kuba" and "Bolek" reportedly operated in the area of Złoty Potok, Chrząstów, and Koniecpol after the completion of "Aktion Reinhard."[9]

SOURCES The Koniecpol ghetto is mentioned briefly in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 239–240; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 101.

The following archival sources were used to write this entry: AŻIH (210/418, 211/556); and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 29).

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NOTES

1. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 144 (table 5).
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/418 (Koniecpol), p. 3.
3. Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 233–235.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/556 (Koniecpol), p. 18; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/418, pp. 1, 3.
5. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), pp. 252, 269, refers to the "collection ghetto" (*Sammelghetto*) in Koniecpol.
6. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 239–240; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 233–235; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 101; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/556, p. 1.
7. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 91–92, 144 (table 5); USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/556, p. 4.
8. Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), pp. 117–118, 197; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 233–235; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 101.
9. Fąfara, *Gehenna*, p. 509.

KOŃSKIE

Pre-1939: Końskie, town and powiat center, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Konskie, Kreis Konskie, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Końskie województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Końskie is located 63 kilometers (39 miles) southwest of Radom. There were 5,333 Jews living there in 1939.

After the occupation of the town in September 1939, the German authorities established two prisons, one of which was under the authority of the German police and Gendarmerie. A Gendarmerie unit was permanently stationed in Końskie.[1]

On October 15, 1939, the Końskie Kreishauptmann Albrecht created the so-called Kolonia Żydowska (Jewish Settlement). It consisted of several streets, already densely populated by Jews, and to which other Jews had to relocate. Most of these streets were included subsequently in the ghetto. As a result, the Germans quickly took over the better Jewish houses and businesses. The Kolonia management was authorized to summon Jews for forced labor three days a week with "a shovel, a pickaxe, or a hammer." It is likely that the organization of forced labor was supervised by the Judenrat, which was set up by the Kreishauptmann on the same day—October 15.



German troops order a group of Jews into a park in Końskie, where they were forced to bury German dead found in the area, September 12, 1939.
USHMM WS #50414, COURTESY OF IPN

A former municipal official, Josef Rosen ("The Landrat" as Końskie's Jews called him), chaired the Judenrat. Its staff also included Ezryl Weintraub, Simon Wajntraub, Wolf Frydman, Alter Stark, Nusyn Neufeld, Moszek Goldszer, Chaim Albert, Leon Rozenberg, Samuel Piżyc, and Dr. Hipolit Kon. Its offices were located at no. 50, 3 Maja Street.[2]

On October 20, 1939, on instructions from the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (Nazi People's Welfare, NSV), a self-help committee affiliated with the Judenrat was set up. The Kreishauptmann selected the pre-war leader of the community, Josek (Josef) Kinderlerer, as its president. The other staff consisted of Wigdor Chmielnicki, Szabsia Edelist, Iser Chabański, Izak Wajntraub, Jakub Dawid Ehrenberg, and Dawid Rozenblatt. Located at first in the Judenrat offices, it was moved in November 1940 to 1a Kazanów Street due to deteriorating relations with the Judenrat, which tried to control the committee.

By December 1939, the 2,000 refugees and expellees who had arrived from Łódź and other places nearby had set up their own Committee for Assistance to Refugees and Deportees. The "popular kitchen" that Kinderlerer's committee opened in January 1940 served 400 meals daily, 80 percent of which went to local Jews.[3]

On August 16, 1940, 450 Jews from Końskie and its environs were sent to camps in Distrikt Lublin. At first they labored in the Wereszyn camp on the 20-kilometer-long (12.4-mile-long) Mircze-Uhrynów road, which was part of the "Otto Program." By November, a number of these workers had been released,

but the remainder labored in the Oszczów-Warężż camp on an extension of the same road from Chełm to Sokal. The Oszczów camp was a punitive camp with harsh conditions. Although promised, the laborers received no help from the Końskie committee while in the camp or on their return. Kinderlerer visited the camp twice at the cost of laborers' parents but only achieved the release of his brother-in-law and nephew with a bribe.[4]

Most of the sources maintain that the Końskie ghetto was set up in the spring of 1941, but in fact the Kreishauptmann's order was issued on February 28, 1941. The relocation was completed within seven days. A special housing commission of the Judenrat assigned Jews to their new accommodations.[5]

The ghetto consisted of two parts connected by a narrow tunnel along 3 Maja Street and included the following streets: Kiliński, Piłsudski, Pocztowa, Bóżniczna, Jatkowa, Berek Joselewicz, Nowy Świat, Przechodnia, Kazanów, Krakow, a section of the market square (Rynek), and 3 Maja.

The 30 members of the Jewish police squad set up in March 1941 were commanded by a deportee from Essen, Lejbusiewicz, and included two of his brothers. Among the local policemen were Symcha Szwarcfutter, Moszek Złotogórski, and Uszer Sztajner. A Jewish post office was also set up, and a Jewish arbitration court judged on conflicts between Jews related to housing, personal issues, and money.

The ghetto remained open until the end of 1941, but some movement restrictions may have existed earlier. According to one source, a wooden fence surrounded the ghetto, while another reports barbed wire. The windows of buildings facing out from the ghetto were boarded up. The Jewish Police guarded the ghetto gates and the crossing between its parts. On the ghetto's closure, communication between its two parts was limited to a few hours a day. Poles were then strictly forbidden to enter the ghetto; however, many smuggled themselves in to exchange food for the work of Jewish tailors. The Jewish Police was authorized to solicit identification from Poles found in the ghetto.[6]

At the time of the ghetto's establishment, the percentage of Jews to Poles within the Kreis was 44 percent. In Końskie, however, it was 56 percent.

Just after the ghetto's establishment, German authorities deported 1,042 Jews from Płock to Końskie. They arrived on March 6, 1941, and were housed in a local *gymnazium* (high school). As the Końskie committee reported to Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków, the newcomers were "in a horrible state, all have broken arms and legs." On the morning of March 9, 1941, all the deportees were suddenly taken to the train station and sent to nearby Opoczno; from there they were distributed among six nearby localities. Although the Płock Jews only spent a few days in Końskie, many sources report their arrival without noting their subsequent distribution to other towns, which has added to the confusion about the total number of victims of the Końskie ghetto.[7]

The Końskie JSS committee was criticized by various parties for being run as "a private enterprise for profit." A first investigation by the JSS headquarters in Kraków in November 1940 criticized the Końskie committee for nepotism and its failure to represent the interests of the 2,000 deportees from Łódź. The Łódź committee was the only institution providing help to the newcomers. While almost all locals were able to use the soup kitchen free of charge, newcomers had to pay. Thanks to Kinderlerer's pleading, however, the committee was not dismissed.[8]

A further investigation resulted in a decision in May 1941 to dismiss Ehrenberg, Wajntraub, Chabański, and Chmielnicki, to be replaced by Józef Millner (Milner) and a Łódź refugee. These changes were, however, blocked by an adviser to the chief of Distrikt Radom, Józef Diament, who took Kinderlerer's side. Finally, the committee was transformed into an official branch of the JSS in Końskie on May 22, 1941. Its staff members were Kinderlerer, Edelist, Wajntraub, Chabański, and Millner. Końskie's Jews reported that "the [JSS members] threaten us all with deportation for any complaints [to higher authorities]."[9]

By May 1941, the ghetto was populated by 7,400 Jews, of which 2,000 were dependent on social assistance. Up until the establishment of the ghetto, Końskie's Jews were still running 77 shops and 27 workshops. However, these numbers soon diminished, as businesses outside the ghetto were liquidated. The ghetto's sick initially were treated in the Kreis hospital in Końskie; the Judenrat paid for those unable to afford health services. A Jewish hospital was opened in June 1942.

In June 1941, 41 Końskie Jews were working in a nearby labor camp in Zagacie; 27 unfit workers had by then been released. Laborers performed drainage work under Sonderdienst guard. The camp was disbanded on July 9, 1941.[10]

On December 10, 1941, Kreishauptmann Kurt Driessen issued a decree imposing the death penalty for leaving the ghetto. The same decree also recognized as ghettos all other localities in the Kreis still inhabited by Jews.[11]

By June 1942, the kosher kitchen reportedly served up to 2,400 meals a day; however, this service was sometimes interrupted. Deportees and refugees were forced to open their own "self-sufficient kitchen" in December 1941. Used also by the local "intelligentsia," it served 300 meals daily.

In the summer of 1942, 500 Jews were being conscripted for forced labor three days per week. All those enlisted had to report in front of the Judeneinsatz (Jewish workforce) office (Rynek 3; later Kazanów 1a) by 6:00 A.M. Checking in after 7:00 A.M. was punishable. Those willing to work six days a week could get additional rations from the Kreishauptmann. On May 22, 1942, 50 Jews were sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition plant in Skarżysko-Kamienna. By August 1942, the German administration had permitted workshops to open at 4 Piłsudski Street.[12]

As Końskie's Jews came to realize that the ghetto's liquidation was inevitable, all able-bodied inhabitants tried to procure work for themselves. Agricultural labor outside the ghetto was considered the best protection from deportation. All posts, including various committees and work brigades, were reserved for men. With a bribe, the Gestapo gave unpaid jobs to approximately 30 girls from rich families in a Hitler-Youth

School, to which Jewish Police escorted them. The Germans, however, suddenly liquidated this post in September 1942.[13]

Some sources mention that 1,500 Jews "from smaller nearby towns" were brought into the Końskie ghetto in summer 1942; but according to historian Adam Rutkowski (who also notes the same increase in the ghetto's population), most Jews from smaller localities in the Kreis were transferred in the spring and summer to Radoszyce, although it lacked a rail connection.[14]

Kreis Konskie was the last to be cleared in Distrikt Radom. On November 3, 1942, the ghetto's Jews, surrounded by a cordon of Germans and Lithuanians, were gathered at the marketplace. Approximately 60 were shot in the course of the liquidation Aktion; another 70 were sent to Skarżysko. Approximately 6,000 ghetto inmates were taken to the train station and deported to the Treblinka killing center.

There are reports that 4,000 Jews from the liquidated Radoszyce ghetto were added to the Końskie transport, as well as reports of "a second deportation" of "3,000 Końskie Jews," dated November 7 or 11, 1942. This second deportation was most likely of Jews from Radoszyce. About 600 people were murdered in the course of the deportation Aktion.

Around November 15, 1942, the Germans announced that those Jews who had avoided deportations could work in Końskie. Those who left their hiding places were housed in a ruined barracks. On the night of January 6, 1943, all 300 Jews gathered there were deported to the Szydłowiec ghetto. Szydłowiec, announced as one of the places where Jews could live legally, was liquidated later that month.[15]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the Końskie ghetto: Halina Zawadzka, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side* (Bowie, MD: Eagle, 2004); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955).

The following archival sources were used in preparation of this entry: AŻIH (210/420 [AJDC]; 211/560-65 [JSS—Końskie]; 220/1 (Rady Żydowskie); 301/4824 [Relacje]); and USHMM (RG-15.084M [Holocaust Survivors Testimonies]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.073M [Jewish Councils]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/565, p. 3; Czesław Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 241.
2. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 81, 135; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 6, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/560, p. 16; and 211/563, p. 31.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/420, pp. 15–17, 33; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/560, pp. 2, 5–6; 211/562, pp. 6–7; and *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 5, 1942.
4. Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), pp. 62, 67, 75; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/560, pp. 36–39.
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 6, 1942.
6. USHMM, RG-15.073M (Jewish Councils), 220/1 (Końskie), pp. 1–331; AŻIH, 301/4824, testimony of Helena Rodczycka (Rodżycka), n.d.; Zawadzka, *Living in Fear*, pp. 3, 7, 10–11; *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 24 and November 23, 1941; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 99, 135.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29, 211/562, pp. 4, 6, 10, 13–15, 21.
8. Ibid., 211/560, pp. 8, 13–18, 31; 211/563, pp. 28–29.
9. Ibid., 211/561, pp. 11–13; 211/562, pp. 9, 23, 53; 211/563, pp. 1, 7; 211/564, pp. 21–23.
10. Ibid., 211/564, p. 36; 211/565, pp. 3, 13; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 6, 1942.
11. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 85.
12. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 17, June 5, June 28, July 8, and August 23, 1942.
13. Zawadzka, *Living in Fear*, pp. 113–119.
14. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 12:288; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 151–152 (table 9).
15. Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), p. 36; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 178; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 108–109, 151–152 (table 9), 159 (table 11); Zawadzka, *Living in Fear*, pp. 3–12; AŻIH, 301/4824; and Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 273.

KOPRZYWNICA

Pre-1939: Koprzywnica (Yiddish: Pokshivnitsa), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: village, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Koprzywnica lies about 17 kilometers (11 miles) southwest of Sandomierz. On the eve of World War II in August 1939, there were about 800 Jews living in the town.

Koprzywnica was captured by the Germans about a week after the start of the invasion. Within a few days the Germans imposed restrictions on the Jewish population. Jews were forced to wear the Star of David, they were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks, and they were not allowed to have contacts with non-Jews. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established at the end of October 1939 and ordered to provide forced laborers. The Judenrat also had to meet demands for large "contributions." One such demand was for the delivery of "80 pairs of boots of the finest leather" within 24 hours. Fully aware of the consequences of failure, all the men of the town fled into the forest to wait for the anger of the SS to subside.[1]

On October 26, 1939, the Germans established the Generalgouvernement, and authority was handed over to a civil administration. Koprzywnica became a town in Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom. The Kreishauptmann was Dr. Heinz Ritter.

Conditions during the first few months of 1940 were relatively stable. One family, which fled from Warsaw to Koprzywnica in March 1940, was amazed at the freedom of movement enjoyed by the Jews in the small town. Religious life seemed to continue as usual, and everyone had enough to eat. There seemed to be scarcely any German presence in the town. All this changed when a 40-man SS unit came into the area and established its headquarters about 6 kilometers (4 miles) from the town. From time to time the SS would show their presence, arresting groups of Jews and taking them away for execution.[2]

In the course of 1941, Jews from other communities were brought to Koprzywnica. In January 1941, 420 poor Jews expelled from Radom arrived, and in March a group of at least 24 Jews came from Vienna.[3] Their arrival exacerbated the overcrowding and hunger, as the Jewish population rose to 1,500 by June 1941.[4]

The flood of refugees was a heavy burden for the local community. The number of Jewish refugees eventually exceeded the number of Jews in the original population. Some financial assistance came from the Kraków office of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS). The soup kitchen provided 100 hot meals a day, at no charge, to the refugees. The overcrowded conditions led to sanitation problems and the spread of infectious diseases. The small community of Koprzywnica worked valiantly to provide the refugees urgently needed assistance.[5]

On August 27, 1941, the Germans demanded an exceptionally large "contribution," an amount far beyond the means of the impoverished community. When the Judenrat failed to come up with the money, a German police unit from Sandomierz, joined by local German and Polish police, murdered the members of the Judenrat.[6]

In December 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto. At that time the Germans confiscated the fur garments of the ghetto inhabitants. During this period younger Jewish men were sent out of town to work camps. They worked along the Vistula River preparing fields for agriculture and at a munitions factory in Starachowice.[7]

By the summer of 1942, rumors circulated about the deportation of entire Jewish communities to places unknown. The Jews of Koprzywnica felt the noose tightening around their necks with no way out. The Judenrat received an order to provide 50 young men to work at the munitions factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna for an indefinite period. When the head of the German Labor Office, Heinrich, and his aides arrived, many Jews with local work permits went into hiding. Others paraded as instructed, assuming they would not be taken, because their local work was essential to the Germans. But this proved to be wrong. They were loaded onto trucks and taken to Skarżysko. None of their families were permitted to see them off, and the workers never saw them again.[8]

In May 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter ordered that Koprzywnica was among 12 settlements and five towns that were to serve as concentration points for all Jews in the region (Kreishauptmannschaft). The resettlement into these ghettos was due to be completed by June 1. According to one account, the area of the ghetto was reduced at the end of August 1942, and on German orders, the Jewish Police closely guarded the new boundaries. Even before this, Jews were forbidden to move freely in the town on pain of death. During the last two months of the ghetto's existence the Jews were compressed together in a small space under terrible hygienic conditions.[9]

By the end of September 1942, the concentration of the Jews from the smaller neighboring communities in the Koprzywnica ghetto had been completed, raising the number of its occupants to 2,140. On September 30,[10] the ghetto was encircled by SS men and Ukrainian police, and the inhabitants were ordered to the market square. During the course of the roundup, the elderly, disabled, and sick were shot and killed. Many tried to flee or to find hiding places (although their prospects for finding shelter among a hostile population were slim). Some managed to get Aryan papers. Others escaped to the forest. About 1,600 people were escorted to the railway station in Sandomierz; from there they were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Immediately after the expulsion, Polish police swarmed over the Jewish houses, stealing whatever goods were left behind and murdering any Jews they discovered. They tore down the houses and sold the rubble for building materials.[11]

The chances for survival in the forest were also very poor. Polish partisan units killed Jews who fell into their hands. Some members of the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK) in the region also revealed the whereabouts of Jews in hiding. Very few members of the Jewish community of Koprzywnica survived the war.[12]

SOURCES In preparing this article, reference was made to Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 475–477. The yizkor book, edited by Elchanan Ehrlich, *Sefer Pokshivnitsa* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Koprzywnica in Israel, 1971), contains several articles on the Holocaust period, including material from the Yad Vashem Archives. The ghetto in Koprzywnica is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 242.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Koprzywnica can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2425 and 210/422); IPN; USHMM (Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF; and YVA (M-1/E/31 and 443; O-16/9).

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NOTES

1. Ehrlich, *Sefer Pokshivnitsa*, pp. 205–206.
2. Ibid., pp. 204–205.
3. AŻIH, 210/422, letter appealing for help signed by 24 Viennese Jews in Koprzywnica addressed to the AJDC in Kraków, May 9, 1941. On February 19, 1941, the Nazi authorities deported 1,010 Jews from Vienna to Kielce; see Florian Freund and Hans Safrian, "Die Verfolgung der österreichischen Juden 1938–1945: Vertreibung und Deportation," in Emmerich Talos et al., eds., *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich: Ein Handbuch*, (Vienna: öbv & hpt, 2001), pp. 767–794, here p. 793.

4. Ehrlich, *Sefer Pokshivnitsa*, p. 245.
5. Ibid., pp. 207–208.
6. This incident is mentioned several times in the yizkor book. One account names a sadistic German Wachtmeister, Lescher, as being responsible. Another account dates the incident in 1942; see ibid., pp. 235, 239–240, 244.
7. Henryk Sharf, "Geto-Tseyt in Pokshevnitse," in Ehrlich, *Sefer Pokshivnitsa*, pp. 234–238, here p. 234.
8. Ehrlich, *Sefer Pokshivnitsa*, pp. 208–209. See also Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: OPA, 1996), pp. 34–37, on the various deportations to Skarżysko-Kamienna from August to October 1942 from the Opatów region.
9. Sharf, "Geto-Tseyt," p. 236.
10. Ibid., pp. 236–238; this source gives the date of September 30, 1942, but a footnote corrects this to October 30. However, this latter date is more likely the date of the deportation to Treblinka from the Sandomierz ghetto. Another source, Dovid Schniffer, "My Town Plontch" (first published in Hebrew in Elhanan Erlikh, ed., *Sefer Stashov* [Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Sṭashov be-Yiśrael, 1962]), indicates that the Aktion in Koprzywnica must have taken place before mid-October 1942; see www.plontch.net/ybta.htm.
11. Ehrlich, *Sefer Pokshivnitsa*, pp. 236–237, 245.
12. AŻIH, 301/2425, testimony of Zelman Baum (Wacław Kozieniec); *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors 2000* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000), 4:353.

KOZIENICE

Pre-1939: Kozienice, town and powiat center, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Kozienice lies about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Warsaw, on the Zagożdżonka River. In 1939, the town had slightly less than 9,000 inhabitants, of whom roughly half were Jews.

German forces occupied the town on September 9, 1939. The Germans appointed Marian Trug as mayor and an ethnic German from Wólka Tyrzyńska named Miller as his deputy. The main German police presence in the town was a squad of Gendarmerie under the command of Leutnant Hennig. From September 1939 until June 1941, there was a strong Wehrmacht garrison in Kozienice. The Selbstchutz (Auxiliary Police, subsequently renamed the Sonderdienst) and the Baudienst (Construction Service) were recruited mainly from local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutschen*).[1]

In October 1939, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 12 members, with A.H. Perle as chair. The Judenrat had to implement all German orders concerning the Jewish community. Other members of the Judenrat included Shmuel Weinberg, Abraham Shabason, Pinkas Freilich, Zygmunt Halputer, and Josef Lichtenstein. On German orders, a complete list of Jewish residents in Kozienice was prepared. It lists 4,248 individuals, including their first and last names, addresses, age, and occupation.[2] The surviving reports of the Judenrat to the Security Police in Radom contain detailed information on the changes in the Jewish population throughout the occupation until the summer of 1942. While the number of births remained unchanged from 1939 to 1941, the number of deaths climbed steadily, from 42 in 1939 to 210 in 1941, then 255 in the seven months to the end of July 1942.[3]

A number of Jewish charitable institutions operated during the occupation, including the Committee for Aid to the Poor (Komitet Pomocy Biednym), the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), and the "Drop of Milk" Society (Towarzystwo "Kropla Mleka") to feed poor infants.[4] At the end of October 1941, a hospital was opened under the management of Dr. Joel Wajnber to deal with serious epidemics. In 1942, the Society for Improvement of Sanitation was established. When a severe epidemic of typhus broke out in the spring of 1942, the Department of Sanitation took measures to prevent its spread, including extensive programs of delousing and vaccination.

The Jewish Council mediated all contacts between the Jewish community and the outside world, serving as a post office, a tax office, and also a communal bank. It had to collect money from the Jews to pay the levy demanded by the Germans for the benefit of "needy Germans" (the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt, NSV). The levy was 18,500 złoty in 1939, and further demands followed.[5]

In principle the Jews were not allowed to work independently. Only a few of them managed to find some gainful private employment or to continue their previous commercial activity. Many Jews and some Poles were recruited for forced labor, digging canals in the area between Kozienice and Gniewoszów. From the first days of the occupation, the Jewish Council had to provide a quota of about 500 laborers per day. These people worked mainly on road construction and maintenance, in forestry and agriculture, and on the railroads. Other assignments included digging peat, working in the gunpowder factory in Pionki, and performing cleaning duties at various Wehrmacht and Gendarmerie posts, as well as at the Town Hall. Other groups were detailed to sweep the streets and clear snow in the winter. Some Jews were also employed by private enterprises such as the construction firms of Heinrich Koehler, Paul Gatz of Jedlnia, and the Kozienice-based companies of Czarnota-Bojarski and Eng. Gorczycki (on drainage works). The workers were paid very low wages. In order to survive, Jews had to stretch out their last reserves of food and money and sell off any remaining property; they also obtained some aid from the JSS and continued to make and trade items (illegally). Smuggling and begging were widespread.

There was very little in the way of cultural life, but Jews continued to pray in the synagogue. Religious observance and Jewish responses to adversity in Kozienice were undoubtedly influenced by the community's strongly Hasidic character. A small school continued operating for about 70 pupils, taught by Rochama Frajlich.

Until December 1941, Jews were relatively free to move about within the town and even to visit the surrounding villages.

At the end of December, in response to orders issued by the German civil authorities for Distrikt Radom, the Jewish Council began to establish a Jewish residential quarter (*Judenwohnbezirk*) in Kozienice. All Jews living outside the designated quarter had to move into it, and any Poles living there had to move out. The streets within the Jewish quarter were 11 Listopada, Piłsudski, 3 Maja, Lublin, Krótka, Magietowa, Pieracki, Targowa, Drzewna, Browarna, Pusta, Czwartek, Szpitalna, Młyńska, Nowy Świat, Polskiej Organizacji Wojskowej, and Harmenicka. The ghetto remained open for several months and was guarded only by the Jewish Police internally and the Gendarmerie externally. It was enclosed with a barbed-wire fence in May 1942.[6] Anyone leaving the ghetto faced the death penalty.

After July 1942, Jews from surrounding towns and villages were systematically relocated into the Kozienice ghetto. By August 1942, a few weeks before its liquidation, around 13,000 Jews had been assembled in the Kozienice ghetto, which became immensely overcrowded.

The German police conducted the liquidation of the Kozienice ghetto on September 27, 1942. First SS forces, Gendarmerie, and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto early in the morning. The Jews were forced to leave their houses and gather on Targowa and Kościelna Streets. The people were only allowed to take 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of luggage with them. The older people were loaded onto trucks; the sick and anyone attempting to resist, as well as the Jews in the hospital, were shot in the town. In total, at least 100 people were shot in Kozienice on this day. Columns of Jews escorted by Germans marched to the railroad station at around 9:00 A.M., watched by local inhabitants. On reaching the station, they were searched thoroughly and deprived of any valuables.[7] The first train to the Treblinka killing center left in the afternoon, and the next, a short time later; there were 60 railroad cars altogether with approximately 150 people in each car. Railroad documents confirm the exact date on which these special trains (*Sonderzüge*) from Kozienice arrived at Treblinka.

The Germans retained in Kozienice a group of several dozen male Jews, the "Sonderkommando," in order to clear out remaining property from the ghetto area. This task lasted until December 1942. Less valuable belongings and everyday household equipment (e.g., bedclothes, underwear, clothing, shoes, furniture, and kitchen utensils) were sold to the Poles at auctions or plundered. The more valuable items were locked up and guarded in the offices of the Gestapo. In the spring of 1943, most of the former Jewish houses were destroyed. In the summer, Jewish tombstones were taken to pave the square in front of the Gendarmerie headquarters (the former vicarage) and other places, and the cemetery was eventually leveled.

The largest group of survivors was composed of those who made it through the harsh conditions in the labor and concentration camps until liberation; a smaller number managed to survive in hiding, usually with the aid of several Polish helpers. Moshe Grynberg and his wife, for example, were rescued by the Gawełek family from the neighboring village of Sieciechów, who were honored with the title of the "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.

There were at least two trials in postwar Poland concerning crimes committed against the Jews of Kozienice. In one, Bronisław Salomon was accused of robbing Jewish property and was sentenced to death.[8] In another, Stanisław Sotr was convicted of denouncing four Jews to the Gendarmerie (he received sugar and a coat as a reward). He was also sentenced to death but managed to avoid execution by escaping from the Radom prison, where he was being held.[9]

SOURCES Published sources regarding the Jewish community of Kozienice and its fate during the Holocaust include the following: Barukh Kaplinsky, ed., *The Book of Kozienice: On the 27th Anniversary of the Savage Destruction of Our Former Home* (New York: Kozienice Organization, 1985); Anka Grupińska, "Skrawki opowieści," *Karta: Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 47 (2005): 46–63; Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Kozienice, monografia miasta* (Kozienice, 2004); E. Jaworski, ed., *Kozienice: Wędrówka przez stulecia* (Kozienice, 2002); Alina Skibińska, "Połowa miasteczka," *Karta: Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 47 (2005): 40–45; Ryszard Kucharski, *Życie codzienne w przedwojennych Kozienicach* (Kozienice, 2001); Alina Skibińska, "Życie codzienne Żydów w Kozienicach pod okupacją niemiecką," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i Materiały*, no. 3 (2007): 64–86; Marcin Urynowicz, *Żydzi w samorządzie miasta Kozienice w okresie międzywojennym 1919–1939* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2003); and E. Stąpór, J. Kuśmierczyk, and L. Wiśniewski, eds., *Ziemia Kozienicka: Periodyk kulturalno-historyczny* (Kozienice), no. 14 (2006). See also J.A. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen. Der District Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt, 2007). Published memoirs and diaries include Gerry Sorkin, with David Bayer, *The Remarkable Odyssey of David Bayer* (Daytona Beach, FL: Marshfire, 2000); Stefan Janeczek, *Z przeszłości Kozienic* (Kozienice, 1981); and Kazimierz Mróz, "Kozienice 1939–1944 (fragment dziennkia)," *Wieś Radomska*, no. 4 (1993).

Other sources used by the author include several articles published in the wartime *Gazeta Żydowska* and personal interviews conducted by the author with local inhabitants of Kozienice and Jewish survivors now resident in the United States and Belgium. The large collection of glass negatives from the photographic studio of Chaim Izrael Berman is now located in the "Shalom" Foundation, as well as in the KARTA Center in Warsaw. The exhibition "The Portrait of Kozienice," which presented several hundred photos from this collection of around 4,500 images in total, was organized by the Foundation "Dialogue Forum among the Nations" and presented for the first time at the Festival of Jewish Culture in Kraków in 2006. The exhibit includes many portrait photographs of Jews, Poles, and Germans taken in the Berman studio during the war.

Available documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kozienice under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I/452, 846, 1220/19; Ring II/210 and 460; 210/429; 301/1172, 2296, 3001, 3003, and 3525; and 303/V/582); IPN (SSKl 56 and 105); USHMM (Acc.2003.406.1 [Records of the Jewish Council in Kozienice, 1940–1942]; RG-50.030*0324; RG-50.488*0123-24); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/886, 1347, 1542, and 1892; O-3/2523; O-39/105).

Alina Skibińska

NOTES

1. Based on photos from the collection of Chaim Israel Berman located in the "Shalom" Foundation as well as in the KARTA Center in Warsaw.
2. See USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1 (Lista mieszkańców).
3. Ibid., Aeltesten-Rat der jüd. Bevölkerung Kozienice, reports to the Security Police, 1940–1942.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 29, April 11, 1941; and no. 47, June 13, 1941. See also USHMMPA, # 14325.
5. The post of Kreishauptmann was initially occupied by Dr. Friedrich Egen; he was later replaced by Dr. Justus Rubehn.
6. USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1, Aeltesten-Rat der jüd. Bevölkerung Kozienice, reports to the Security Police, December 31, 1941, and May 15, 1942.
7. Ibid., RG-50.488*0124; and RG-50.488*0123—video interviews with H. Siczek and Władysław Krawczyk.
8. IPN, SSKl 105.
9. Ibid., SSKl 56.

KUNÓW

Pre-1939: Kunów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kunow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kunów, town, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Kunów is located 52 kilometers (32 miles) east of Kielce. In 1939, approximately 495 Jews lived there.

The first Wehrmacht units entered Kunów on September 8, 1939. Abuse, plunder, and forced labor began immediately. After the Red Army invaded eastern Poland on September 17, 1939, many young Jews fled eastward into the Soviet-occupied zone. The number of Jews in the village did not, however, change much, as Jews from western Poland replaced the missing locals.

Kunów's Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on German orders in March 1940. Jankiel Brykman was appointed as chairman. The other members of the Judenrat included A. Szpiro, E. Różany, J. Adler, R. Hilf, M. Wajnsztok, and A. Modrzewiecki; Lejbuś Zygman was the secretary. The Judenrat had to organize forced labor and was also the sole source of social relief. With the assistance of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC, based in Kraków), Kunów's Jews received a little help, starting in the spring of 1940.[1]

In early December 1940, a group of 50 Jewish deportees was resettled in Kunów.[2] Another group of 100 deportees arrived from Vienna on March 13, 1941, followed by a smaller group on March 27. Most of the newcomers were over 60 years old and penniless. Many were in poor health; some were disabled. Half of the Viennese Jews were quartered in the local synagogue, while the remainder wandered from one overcrowded place to another. There was still no soup kitchen, no hospital, nor even a Jewish doctor.

The number of Jews in Kunów reached its peak in March 1941, when, according to the Judenrat, there were 600 Jews there, 100 of them new arrivals. By August 1941, the number of Viennese Jews had decreased from 100 to 76.[3] Many of these Austrian Jews found life especially hard in the small shtetls, devoid of the basic comforts they were used to, and a number resettled to larger towns.

Although in December 1940, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established to deal with refugee and deportee matters in Kreis Opatow, a branch was not set up initially in Kunów. The JSS committee in Opatów only sporadically transferred funds to Kunów for the purchase of food and its distribution to the needy. Unfortunately, this help was rather ineffective, as the Judenrat in Kunów had to pay black market prices. A lack of local initiative did not help, as, for example, the JSS could only subsidize a soup kitchen in Kunów once the village had established one using its own resources.[4]

The JSS committee in Kunów was established on June 10, 1941. The then-secretary of the Judenrat, Zygman, became its chairman, with the president of the Judenrat, Brykman, as his deputy. Within a month, a soup kitchen was opened, feeding initially 100 and, by August 1941, up to 170 people daily. At that time, the JSS registered 250 Jews seeking assistance.[5]

At some time in 1940, or possibly in 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in Kunów. Large signs were put up on the streets exiting the ghetto, informing Jews that they were forbidden to leave. Later on, the ghetto was enclosed by a fence.[6]

In the summer of 1941, only 10 of Kunów's Jews were working in labor camps, all in the vicinity of Kunów. In the village itself, 20 craftsmen were still permitted to run their businesses, most of them shoemakers.[7] There was also a number of Jews working in road construction, forestry, and care of the horses for the German Gendarmes stationed in Kunów. According to one of the Viennese deportees, there were no problems in Kunów; he described it as a "nice little ghetto."[8]

On the order of Kreishauptmann Ritter in Opatów, effective June 1, 1942, Jews in Kreis Opatow were to be limited to only 17 points of concentration. Kunów was selected as one of the permitted locations. Noncompliance with orders to move to the ghetto was punishable by death. These designated locations automatically became ghettos.[9] At this time, many of Kunów's Jews were moved to the ghetto in nearby Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, where the Germans forced approximately 5,000 Jews to live in houses on only two streets.[10] In the summer of 1942, 15 Jewish youths from Kunów were sent to the labor camp in Bodzechów near Ostrowiec. There they worked in a quarry under harsh conditions.[11]

At this time, rumors reached Kunów that the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries were going from town to town, killing and deporting the Jews. These rumors were initially not believed; however, one day in September 1942, men in black uniforms were spotted approaching the town. Panic broke out, and everybody started running for cover. Many shots were fired. The intruders searched for Jews in hiding and killed a few of them. No deportation was conducted, but this incident shook Kunów's Jews out of their false sense of security.[12]

Another raid on the ghetto took place immediately after Yom Kippur (September 21). Kunów's Jews were ordered to assemble at the market square or they would be shot. On this

occasion, the Germans amused themselves by shooting five Jews selected at random. The others were released after witnessing the execution.[13] A handful of Jews in the ghetto tried to save themselves by volunteering to work at the Bodzechów labor camp, where they worked for a German company installing electric power lines.[14]

At the end of October 1942, SS forces and Ukrainian auxiliaries cordoned off the ghetto. They removed the elderly and the sick from their homes, took them outside the village, and shot them. According to one witness, the market square, where all the Jews were assembled, was an "indescribable shambles." The SS tore the babies from their mothers' arms and flung them against the wall or crushed their skulls under their heels. A woman was seen choking her own child before the Germans could get to her. These scenes drove many people mad, and some tore at their clothes. It apparently took several days to complete the deportation of the Jews from the Kunów ghetto.[15]

Approximately 500 remaining Jews were sent to the Treblinka killing center.[16] Only two of them, Velvel Hupert and his son Yehoshua, succeded in jumping off the train. The son was shot, but his father made it to the Bodzechów labor camp. The 15 youths from Kunów sent to Bodzechów in the summer had escaped into the forest and dug a bunker to conceal themselves. At first, a partisan farmer brought them food and news, but this connection was broken when, after the ghetto liquidation, the Germans initiated a round-the-clock search for Jews in hiding. In view of the increased threat, the young fugitives returned to the Bodzechów camp. From there, they were transferred to the labor camp in Starachowice, where they worked in a munitions plant. Subsequently they were sent to the labor camp in Bliżyn; only 1 person from this group is known to have survived.[17]

SOURCES The main published source on the fate of the Jewish community in Kunów is the article in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 468–470. See also Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004).

Documentary sources include the following: AŻIH (210/441 [AJDC]; 211/629 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 32; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]). Relevant survivor testimonies can be found in DCRO (D/DLI 7/404/12) and VHF (# 1867 and 22708).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32; and Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/441.

2. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32.

3. Ibid., Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BZIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955), p. 164 (table 13).

4. Marek Jóźwik, "Akta Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dystryktu radomskiego," *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 23:1 (1988): 45–46; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 107; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32; and Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/441.

5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 18, 1942; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32.

6. VHF, # 22708-13, testimony of Szmuel Nudelman, 1996, states that the ghetto was established in 1940, but this is not corroborated by other sources. Similar signs were erected in the Kreis capital, Opatów, in October 1941; see Zvi Yasheev, ed., *Apt: (Opatov); sefer zikaron le-ir ve-em be-Yisrael asher hayetah ve-enenah 'od. Yizker-bukh tsum ondenk fun undzer geburtsshtot in Poyln velkhe iz mer nishto* (Tel Aviv: Yotse Apt be-Yisrael, Ar. Ha-B., Canada, Brazil, 1966), pp. 223, 226.

7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32.

8. VHF, # 1867, testimony of Herbert Kaufmann, 1995; transcript of statement given by Janette Kaufman in Belsen concentration camp, April 21, 1945, D/DLI # 7/404/12, on the Web of the Durham County Record Office (DCRO) (www.durham.gov.uk); VHF, # 22708-13.

9. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 262; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 116, 152–153; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 85–86; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 470.

10. Marian Tadeusz "Bończa" Mazur, *Szumiały nam świętokrzyskie jodły* (Katowice: Zakłady Graficzne, ca. 1986 to 1999), p. 14.

11. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 470.

12. VHF, # 1867.

13. Transcript of statement given by Janette Kaufmann in Belsen concentration camp, April 21, 1945.

14. VHF, # 1867.

15. Transcript of statement given by J. Kaufmann in Belsen concentration camp, April 21, 1945 Kaufmann was at that time part of the labor detachment sent from Bodzechów to install a conveyor in the immediate proximity of Kunów; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 470.

16. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 690; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p 147; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 262; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 470; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 164 (table 13).

17. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 470.

ŁAGÓW

Pre-1939: Łagów (Yiddish: Lagov), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lagow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łagów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Łagów is located 113 kilometers (70 miles) northeast of Kraków, not far from the larger town of Opatów. In 1939, at the time of

the Nazi invasion, the Jewish population of Łagów was approximately 1,400 people.

German forces occupied Łagów shortly after the start of the invasion, in early September 1939. At this time some (mainly young) Jews fled to the east, to that part of Poland that was soon to come under Soviet control. As the Germans entered the town, they accused a local Jew of shooting at German troops with a pistol. In reprisal, the Germans pulled Jews out of several houses close to the incident and shot 32 people on the street. They also burned down the houses in this part of town near the market.[1] Within a few days of their arrival, the Germans started using Jews for forced labor. In the fall of 1939, the German authorities in Łagów established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which had to transmit German regulations to the Jewish community and meet German demands for forced laborers. Among the restrictions imposed on Jews was the wearing of a yellow Star of David and a prohibition on eating meat.[2] The German authorities also demanded large "contributions" from the Judenrat. However, despite dire threats, their exorbitant demands could not be met in full, on account of the impoverishment of the Jewish population in Łagów. Nevertheless, the Germans murdered hostages, searched Jewish homes, and stole what meager possessions they could find.

On March 12, 1941, a deportation train left the Aspang Station in Vienna with 997 men, women, and children on board bound for Opatów. Only 11 of these Austrian Jews survived the war.[3] Most of the transport was resettled in Kreis Opatow, with about 100 of them being sent to Łagów. In July 1941, they were joined by a large group of refugees expelled from the city of Radom, who arrived empty-handed, barefoot, famished, and sick. They were housed in the Bet Midrash (study center) and the small synagogue. As a result of the overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions, a typhus epidemic claimed many lives.[4]

At some date before March 1942, with the assistance of the Judenrat, all the Jews in Łagów were resettled into an area around the market square, which became the Jewish residential quarter. This probably took place around the same time as the establishment of a similar open ghetto in Opatów in early April 1941. At first the Jews were permitted to move about with relative freedom. Unfortunately, only scant information on living and working conditions in the Łagów ghetto is available.

Surviving records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization indicate that by May 31, 1941, 1,694 Jews were residing in Łagów; three months later, by August 31, the Jewish population had increased to 1,805. Of these, 73 were merchants and traders, and 89 were craftsmen; most of the latter were tailors and shoemakers. In addition, there were 32 general workers and laborers, 5 professionals, and 157 unemployed. Over 500 Jews were seeking assistance from the JSS and the Judenrat. The assistance was given in the form of food, clothing, fuel, money, housing, and medical services.[5]

In March 1942, the Jewish quarter in Łagów was enclosed with barbed wire with only one small gate and sealed off as a ghetto. Leaving the ghetto was forbidden on pain of death. At this time the number of ration cards for Jewish laborers was reduced to one sixth of the previous total, and starvation in the ghetto greatly increased. In May 1942, the Jews from the villages around Łagów were brought into the Łagów ghetto, further increasing the overcrowding there.[6]

In July 1942, the Germans, working from a list prepared in advance, took 460 young men from the ghetto to an unknown destination. It is probable that they were sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory in Skarżysko Kamienna, as were many Jews from Opatów at this time, but this cannot be confirmed from available sources.

In August 1942, a rumor spread in the Łagów ghetto that the Germans were sending Jews from neighboring ghettos to extermination camps. Many began searching for hiding places. Some sought help from farmers in the vicinity, but only a few farmers were willing to risk giving aid to Jews. Furthermore, on December 15, 1942, the German governor of Distrikt Radom, Dr. Ernst Kundt, published a decree stating that anyone offering help to Jews would be executed. Nevertheless, there were a few individuals who hid Jews and shared their bread with them.[7] One such person, Ignacy Bazorski, was betrayed to the Germans and tortured to death in prison.

On October 27, 1942, SS forces, assisted by Ukrainian police auxiliaries and local Polish (Blue) Police, arrived in Łagów. Several days earlier, on October 20–22, 1942, the Germans had liquidated the Jewish ghetto in neighboring Opatów, sending more than 6,000 Jews to the extermination camp in Treblinka.[8] In Łagów, the Germans broke into Jewish homes and forced all the inhabitants into the square next to the Judenrat building. The ill and the aged were murdered in their beds. Many children were also shot and killed in the town. On the square in front of the Judenrat, the Jews were grouped by family and lined up in rows. From there they were marched to the train station. Along the way more were murdered.

About 2,000 people were crammed into freight cars dusted with chlorine disinfectant and sent to Kielce, and from there they were sent to Treblinka. The Germans retained a few dozen Jews in Łagów, including members of the Judenrat, and put them to work sorting abandoned Jewish possessions, burying the bodies left on the street, and cleaning up the ghetto area. After a time these Jews were transferred to the Opatów ghetto, and from there most were sent to the ghetto in Sandomierz.[9]

SOURCES Additional information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Łagów can be found in the following publications: Zvi Yasheev, ed., *Apt: (Opatov); sefer zikaron le-ir ve-em be-Yisrael asher hayetah ve-enenah 'od. Yizker-bukh tsum ondenk fun undzer geburts-shtot in Poyln velkhe iz mer nishto* (Tel Aviv: Yotse Apt be-Yisrael, Ar. Ha-B., Kanadah, Brazil, 1966); and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 267–269. The ghetto in Łagów is also mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 700.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Łagów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/667); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 33); VHF (# 532); and YVA (O-3/2973).

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NOTES

1. Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludnosci zydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), p. 21; Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach Polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw, 1980), p. 140; see also VHF, # 532, testimony of Leon Silberberg.
2. VHF, # 532.
3. See www.doew.at/projekte/holocaust/shoahengl/opatow.html.
4. VHF, # 532.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 33, Correspondence of Praesidium of the JSS with the delegation in Łagów (1941).
6. Alina Skibińska and Jakub Petelewicz, "The Participation of Poles in Crimes against Jews in the Świętokrzyskie Region," originally published in Polish as "Udział Polaków w zbrodniach na Żydach na prowincji regionu świętokrzyskiego," *Zagłada Żydów* 1 (2005): 114–148.
7. See, for example, YVA, O-3/2973, testimony of Maria Guterman.
8. Yasheev, *Apt: (Opatov);* pp. 234–235 and p. 18 (English); AZIH, 301/3328; and Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 63–64.
9. VHF, # 532.

LIPSKO

Pre-1939: Lipsko, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Ilza (later Starachowice) Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Lipsko is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Radom on the Vistula River. On the eve of war in the summer of 1939, there were about 1,600 Jews living in the town, comprising more than half of its total population.

Units of the German 29th Motorized Infantry Division captured Lipsko on September 8, 1939. On September 9, German soldiers assembled all the men on the market square and shot several Jews, including the local rabbi, named Kronenblatt.[1] From the late afternoon through the next morning, the 3rd Battalion of Infantry Regiment 71 (part of the 29th Motorized Infantry Division) staged a pogrom in which between 60 and 80 Jews were murdered, most of them dying in the flames of the burning synagogue.[2] A few weeks into the occupation, the Germans established a civil administration, and Lipsko initially became part of Kreis Ilza (from January 12, 1942, it was renamed Kreis Starachowice) in Distrikt Radom of the Generalgouvernement. The Kreishauptmann in Iłża was Hans Zettelmeyer. In Lipsko there was a Gendarmerie post, comprising only a few Gendarmes commanded by Leutnant Lucheneder.

As in other towns, Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and had to perform forced labor for the Germans. In 1940, a work camp with 130 inmates was set up; from here, the forced laborers were sent to various sites in the vicinity. On December 6, 1941, Zettelmeyer ordered the establishment of a ghetto, but this order was implemented only in the spring of 1942.[3] The ghetto inmates also had to work for the Germans; the Jewish Police escorted them to their workplaces outside the ghetto.[4] The ghetto comprised only two smaller streets in the town center, covering an area of approximately 500 by 150 meters (1,640 by 492 feet).[5] No direct evidence has been uncovered concerning the Judenrat, but it is assumed there must have been one, as a Jewish police force was definitely in existence.[6]

In Kreis Ilza a Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee was founded, which had a branch in Lipsko. It was able to distribute food parcels to the men in the forced labor camps, which it had received from the head office of the JSS in Kraków. Living conditions in the ghetto were quite harsh, with the diet mainly consisting of potatoes and rough bread prepared from flour and baked at home. There was also a shortage of soap, which ghetto inmates had to make themselves. Although most prayer houses had been closed down, observant Jews continued to pray at home and celebrate the High Holidays as best they could.[7]

Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought into the Lipsko ghetto, which due to its location on a railroad line was well suited for the Nazi purpose of collecting and then deporting the Jews. Especially in the spring of 1942, when the Germans began to set up collection ghettos (*Sammelghettos*) in order to concentrate Jews from the smaller towns, Lipsko took on a certain regional importance. In the first months of the occupation, the Jewish population was boosted by refugees from western parts of Poland and especially by many Jews deported from the Łódź region.[8] Thus, the Jewish population of Lipsko increased from the pre-war figure of about 1,600 to some 2,100 in April 1940. Subsequently, despite certain depletions due to deaths and relocations to labor camps, it was 1,852 in May 1941, and then finally, following the influx from nearby villages, such as Chotcza, it had risen to some 3,600 by October 1942.

In Lipsko, the ghetto was open and not enclosed by walls or barbed wire; Jews were more or less free to come and go as they pleased, which allowed some of them to escape prior to the ghetto's liquidation. However, a strict curfew was enforced at night. The German Gendarmes would occasionally enter the ghetto to round up Jews for forced labor or to carry out other Aktions, more or less at random. Jewish victims shot by the Gendarmerie included an elderly person named Goldfarb in the spring of 1942 and Helena Rozencwajg in the summer of 1942.[9] Some Jews hid to avoid the roundups. Among the last Aktions before the liquidation of the ghetto was a de-

portation by truck of younger able-bodied Jews (up to the age of 30) to the forced labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna.[10]

On October 17, 1942, German police forces comprising about 150 German policemen brought from Radom, together with Ukrainian auxiliary guards and local Gendarmes under the command of Lucheneder of the Gendarmerie post in Lipsko, surrounded the ghetto.[11] The Jewish population was ordered out of their houses into the town square. A few managed to escape and hide with Polish acquaintances or were able to join partisan groups in the forests. The German police transported the rest, more than 3,000 people, to the Tarłów ghetto some 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south of Lipsko, which served as an assembly point for Jews in the area. From there they were transported to the Treblinka extermination camp and were murdered there a few days later. After the deportation of the ghetto's inhabitants, local Poles moved into the houses vacated in the former ghetto area.[12] In December 1942, the Germans murdered three members of a Polish family in Lipsko who had hidden Jews in their house.

SOURCES There is not much literature regarding the Jewish community in Lipsko and especially regarding the ghetto there. A brief account of the fate of the Jewish community during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 285. The Lipsko ghetto is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 271.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Lipsko can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/82; 210/451; and 211/640-641); IPN (ASG, sygn. 47, p. 39); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 15); VHF (# 4822); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. *rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo radomskie* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1980), p. 96; VHF, # 4822, testimony of Eva Young.
2. The massacre is mentioned in AŻIH, 301/82, testimony of Michał Birenbaum, p. 1.
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, "Kwestionariusz o obozach" (Lipsko), October 1, 1945. Here the exact date given is March 1, 1942, but this could not be verified.
4. AŻIH, 301/82, p. 1.
5. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, "Kwestionariusz o obozach" (Lipsko), October 1, 1945; and AŻIH, 301/82, p. 1.
6. AŻIH, 301/82, p. 1.
7. VHF, # 4822.
8. AŻIH, 301/82, p. 1.
9. *rejestr miejsc i faktów: Województwo radomskie*, pp. 96–97.
10. VHF, # 4822.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, "Kwestionariusz o obozach" (Lipsko), October 1, 1945.
12. Ibid.

MAGNUSZEW

Pre-1939: Magnuszew, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Magnuszew is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula River. On the eve of World War II, about 700 Jews resided in Magnuszew, numbering about 45 percent of the total population of 1,500.

Magnuszew was invaded by the Wehrmacht in early September 1939. Once a civil administration was established in the newly formed Generalgouvernement, Magnuszew was incorporated into Kreis Radom-Land, a part of Distrikt Radom. Head of the civil administration was a Kreishauptmann; the post was filled by Dr. Friedrich Egen (December 16, 1939, to July 1942; and September 1943 to January 1945) and Dr. Justus Rubehn (July 1942 to September 1943). As Magnuszew was only a small place, no special German outpost was established there, and no German Order Police units (subordinated to Leutnant Wichern in the Kreishauptmannschaft) were located there.

Just as in the entire Generalgouvernement, the Jews of Magnuszew were soon no longer allowed to slaughter animals according to Jewish religious law. Yet two Jews in the village did so, disregarding German orders, and while one was executed, the other succeeded in escaping and went into hiding.[1] Jews were required to wear distinctive markings and perform forced labor, but generally, as no German units were permanently there, the Jews of Magnuszew were able to live in relative quiet during the first two years of the occupation.

This comparatively normal life ended with the establishment of an open ghetto, which was ordered by Kreishauptmann Egen, together with the creation of ghettos in several other towns in the Kreis, on December 22, 1941. The Jews of Kreis Radom-Land had to leave smaller villages and gather in the larger ones.[2] Thus, the Jewish population of Magnuszew increased, and surviving documentation shows that it rose from 730 in April 1940 to 1,106 in 1941 and finally to 1,200 by August 1942. The formation of the ghetto coincided with an outbreak of typhus in Magnuszew, where no medical services were available. The ghetto itself was rather cramped, comprising only a very small part of the former shtetl near a lake. Living conditions were squalid. In some houses as many as five or six housewives had to share one kitchen, and many Jews were forced to reside together in a large barn that had no facilities whatsoever. Initially the Jews were permitted to leave to buy food during certain hours of the day. Subsequently the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, although it was not closely guarded. At least some Poles were willing to help the Jews by selling them food or trading it in exchange for labor.[3] Unfortunately, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee

of Kreis Radom-Land, which was founded on August 20, 1940, had no branch in Magnuszew, so that assistance from other Jewish communities was quite rare.

On August 17, 1942, Kreishauptmann Rubehn ordered that all the Jews of the Kreis, including those remaining in the Magnuszew ghetto, be brought into the Kozienice ghetto between August 19 and August 21, 1942.[4] In the process of assembling the Jews for resettlement, the German police forces murdered 120 of them. Of the survivors, 200 were transported to Ćmielów, where they became slave laborers digging irrigation channels.[5] The main group had to march about 15 kilometers (9 miles) to the nearby town of Kozienice, taking with them only what meager possessions they could carry in their arms. In total, some 4,000 additional Jews were brought into Kozienice at this time.[6] Just over one month later, the Germans deported most of these along with many of the Jews from Kozienice (about 13,000 people in total) to the Treblinka killing center on September 27, 1942.

SOURCES A brief history of the Jewish community including its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 293. The ghetto in Magnuszew is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 302.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Magnuszew can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3915; Niemieckie materiały okupacyjne, no. 60); BA-L (206 AR-Z 56/72); USHMM (Acc.1988.A.0204; Acc.2003.406.1); VHF (# 9288, 29091, 39189, 43358, and 46716); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1988.A.0204 (Alec Ward, My Story), p. 2.
2. AŻIH, Niemieckie materiały okupacyjne, no. 60. Order of Kreishauptmann Egen, December 22, 1941; see also VHF, # 39189, Samuel Dresner, who dates the establishment of the ghetto in either December 1941 or early 1942.
3. USHMM, Acc.1988.A.0204 (Alec Ward, My Story), p. 2; VHF, # 39189; and # 9288, Freda Landau.
4. USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1 (Kozienice ghetto papers, 1939–1942), report of the Obmann des jüdischen Ältesten-Rates in Kozienice, August 31, 1942.
5. AŻIH, 301/3915, testimony of Szymon Szwarcberg, May 29, 1948, p. 1.
6. USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1 (Kozienice ghetto papers, 1939–1942), report of the Obmann des jüdischen Ältesten-Rates in Kozienice on the mood of the Jewish population, August 31, 1942; Acc.1988.A.0204 (Alec Ward, My Story), p. 2.

MAŁOGOSZCZ

Pre-1939: Małogoszcz, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Malogoszcz, Kreis Jedrzejow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Małogoszcz, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Małogoszcz is located about 25 kilometers (16 miles) west-southwest of Kielce. The number of Jews in Małogoszcz stood at 760 on the eve of World War II, when they comprised about 20 percent of the total population.

A few weeks after the Wehrmacht conquered the village in early September 1939, the Nazis established a civil administration. Małogoszcz became part of Kreis Jedrzejow, in Distrikt Radom of the Generalgouvernement. The Kreishauptmann, based in Jędrzejów, which is situated about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) south of Małogoszcz, was initially Dr. Karl Glehn (from September 1939 to October 1940); he was succeeded first by Dr. Fritz von Balluseck (November 1940 to April 1942), then Bernhard Höfer (April 1942 to January 1945).[1] As no German offices were stationed directly in Małogoszcz, the Kreishauptmann was the decisive executive figure for the Nazis' anti-Jewish measures in the village. There was not even a detachment of German police based in Małogoszcz; the nearest police post was the Gendarmerie office in Jędrzejów, where Leutnant Wagner was in charge.[2]

The temporary military administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) before the end of 1939. Soon the Nazis started to exploit Jewish labor, forcing Jews to work in a nearby quarry.[3]

According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, early in 1941, the German authorities ordered the relocation of Małogoszcz's Jews into a ghetto, which in combination with the robbery and expropriation of Jewish possessions led to a drastic deterioration in economic, sanitary, and physical conditions. In the spring of 1941, the ghetto was closed, and anyone leaving it without permission was subject to the death penalty.[4]

Unfortunately, no primary sources could be found to corroborate the details given in this account. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee for Kreis Jedrzejow, which was founded on August 16, 1940, under the leadership of Pinkus Tajtelbaum, set up a branch office in Małogoszcz at the end of 1941.[5] However, since the funding was very meager, it was unable to provide much assistance. A questionnaire answered by the JSS branch in Małogoszcz on April 1, 1942, reported that no Jewish quarter (*dzielnica żydowska*) had been established in the village. The same report also recorded that in 1940 a number of displaced Jews had arrived in the village from Łódź, Bielsko, and Kielce.[6]

In the town of Jędrzejów, Jews were informed that they would be shot for leaving the ghetto without a permit from October 1941 onward.[7] Presumably, similar restrictions applied to Jews caught outside the limits of Małogoszcz by 1942, rendering the whole village a de facto ghetto.

The number of Jews in Małogoszcz, which had been 760 in September 1939, fluctuated during the occupation but had apparently increased to more than 800 by August 1942, with some sources putting the total at 1,130.[8]

In the same month, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On August 28, 1942, 830 Jews were deported to the Jędrzejów ghetto, at the same time as the Jews from a number of other villages in the vicinity.[9] On September 16, 1942, all but around 250 Jews, who were selected for work, were deported from the

collection ghetto in Jędrzejów to the Treblinka extermination camp, including most of the Jews recently arrived from Małogoszcz.[10] It is possible that a few of the Małogoszcz Jews were among the group of 200 or so Jews transferred to the forced labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna from Jędrzejów.[11]

SOURCES Published information on the Jewish community of Małogoszcz during the Holocaust includes Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 312–313. The existence of a ghetto in Małogoszcz is mentioned also in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 789; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 451–452; and on the ŻIH (jewishinstitute.org) Web site. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), and the sztetl.org Web site, however, make no mention of a ghetto in Małogoszcz.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Małogoszcz can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (JSS 211/483, 489, 684; and 301/765); BA-L (B 162/6203); IPN (159/2); and YVA (O-3/8150).

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NOTES

1. Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom, 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 49.
2. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), p. 82.
3. Ibid., p. 154.
4. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 312–313.
5. AŻIH, JSS 211/483 and 489, Judenrat Jędrzejów to JSS head office in Kraków, August 19, 1940; JSS Jędrzejów to Kreishauptmann Höfer, July 30, 1942.
6. Ibid., JSS, 211/684, p. 1.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 3, August 27, and October 26, 1941, and January 9, 1942.
8. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 75–182, here pp. 145, 172.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489 (Jędrzejów), p. 38.
10. BA-L, B 162/6203, p. 569, Report, July 6, 1972. See also Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 145; and Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 262.
11. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 312–313.

MARIAMPOL (AKA MARJAMPOL)

Pre-1939: Mariampol, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Mariampol is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Kozienice. Information regarding the ghetto in Mariampol is scarce. Czesław Pilichowski, dates its establishment in 1942 and reports that it had 2,200 inhabitants at the time of its liquidation. Adam Rutkowski indicates, however, that there were 1,500 Jews in 1939 and that the same number of residents was transferred to nearby Kozienice in September 1942, when the Mariampol ghetto was liquidated. Neither offers further details.[1]

Since the 1921 census does not seem to register any Jews living in Mariampol, this raises the question of the origin of the inhabitants of the Mariampol ghetto, as the reported ghetto population is too large to have been native to this very small village. Available sources indicate that the inhabitants of the so-called Mariampol ghetto were in fact Jews transferred there from the Głowaczów ghetto.

In the autumn of 1941, German authorities completed the gradual evacuation of all the residents of Głowaczów, including the Jews residing in the ghetto there. This decision resulted from the requisition of this area for German aviation purposes, combined with the establishment of other military installations north of Radom, along the Radomka River.[2] Rutkowski cites a letter by the mayor of nearby Luta, addressed to the Radom Kreishauptmann, which reported the deportation of 160 Jewish families from Głowaczów and its vicinity to the gminas of Mariampol, Magnuszew, and Skaryszew on September 20, 1941.[3]

The Radom-Land Kreishauptmann, Dr. Friedrich Egen, formally ordered the establishment of the Mariampol ghetto in an order dated December 22, 1941, in which he instructed that the Jewish inhabitants of 40 rural communities be resettled into Jewish quarters—one of them being Mariampol.[4]

From survivors' testimony, it is clear that the majority of Głowaczów ghetto residents were resettled to the closest locality, this being a piece of fallow land 4 to 5 kilometers (ca. 3 miles) northwest of Głowaczów.

According to survivor Abraham Kaspi, "the ghetto for Głowaczów's Jews"—as he refers to it—"was situated between Mariampol (known to locals as 'Marianki') and Jasieniec, and its border was demarcated by a small lake." Owners of Jewish houses in Głowaczów were allowed to pull them down and move them to the new location. Most of Głowaczów's Poles were resettled to the village of Jasieniec and some other fallow lands near the village of Mariampol. Now deserted, Głowaczów was used as a training site for German artillery.

The name Mariampol (or Marianki) was applied to this ghetto most probably due to its close proximity to the larger of the two villages (Mariampol) and the fact that it remained within the same pre-war administrative gmina of Mariampol (of which Głowaczów was the administrative seat). The gmina comprised a total of 18 settlements.[5]

Housing and sanitation in the new ghetto were deplorable. Many Jews lived in primitive huts made of pieces of plywood, cardboard, and metal. A number of Jews died of various illnesses and suffered from malnutrition. The ghetto had one bakery, but the Germans provided too little flour to satisfy

even a fraction of the community's needs. There was not a single shop. Kaspi believes that "if it had not been for the help of Polish neighbors, all the Jews would have died of hunger," as the latter were forbidden to leave the ghetto. Despite the ghetto's poverty, Gendarmes from Kozienice and Grabów demanded the delivery of various goods from the Judenrat, beating its chairman as a warning.

During the winter of 1941–1942 and in April 1942, all men aged 50 and under were rounded up by the Gestapo and the SS and were taken to the nearby Kruszyna labor camp.[6]

According to Hanka Grynberg, in the summer of 1942, the ghetto, which she refers to as Marianki, was enclosed by a fence, yet its inhabitants continued to sneak out at night to forage for food.[7]

The Mariampol ghetto was liquidated in the second half of August 1942. According to instructions issued on August 17 by the Kreishauptmann in Radom, Dr. Justus Rubehn, all the Jews of Mariampol, Magnuszew, Mniszew, and Sieciechów were to be transferred to the Kozienice ghetto by the end of the month. A report prepared on August 31 by the Judenrat in Kozienice confirms that the arrival of about 4,000 Jews from these places, composed of men, women, and children, including some elderly and sick, had provoked a mood of heavy mass fear (*heftige Massenangst*) among the Kozienice Jews. "The arrival of the transferees with their meager possessions, and the cases of sickness and death that had transpired during the transfer, deeply shattered morale, and the various rumors and unconfirmed gossip about the forthcoming removal of the transferees, increased the panic to the utmost."[8]

On the arrival of the Jews from Mariampol, the Jews in the Kozienice ghetto were already suffering from severe shortages of food and hunger. The new arrivals increased overcrowding to a catastrophic degree, such that now about 15 to 20 people were forced to share some rooms, and numerous people were compelled to live in closets, outhouses, and other improvised accommodations.[9]

The Kozienice ghetto was liquidated on September 27, 1942, when almost all of its Jews were sent to the Treblinka killing center by rail.[10]

The number of victims of the Mariampol ghetto—of whom Głowaczów Jews appear to have been the vast majority—requires further research. Given that around 4,000 Jews arrived in Kozienice in late August from four separate ghettos, it is likely that between 1,000 and 1,500 of these people came from the Mariampol ghetto.

SOURCES The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (301/2296 [Relacje]); USHMM (RG-15.084M [Holocaust Survivors Testimonies]; and Acc.2003.406.1 [documents of the Judenrat in Kozienice]); and VHF (# 20410 and 23283).

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NOTES

1. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 156–157 (table 11), 178–179. Contemporary documentation, however, indicates that the transfer to the Kozienice ghetto took place in late August 1942; see USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1, Kozienice Judenrat report, August 31, 1942. Also see Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 315.

2. Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), p. 137.

3. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 156–157 (table 11), 178–179.

4. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), pp. 122–123.

5. A. Kutkowski and I. Boratyn, "Zapłaćcie za wojnę!" *Słowo Ludu*, *Magazyn Obok Nas*, September 10, 2004, available at www.slowoludu.com.pl/gazeta/codzienna/2004/IX/10/8.pdf; Euzebiusz Małaśnicki, "Moje wspomnienia," available at www.glowaczow.republika.pl/chor.html; AŻIH, 301/2296, testimony of Hanka Grynberg; VHF, # 20410, testimony of Abraham Kaspi, 1996. The border was possibly a pond, as no lake is visible on current Google maps. Note also that there is a village by the name of Marianki located approximately 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west of Głowaczów.

6. VHF, # 23283, testimony of Sol Rozenzweig, 1996; and # 20410; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 137. This is mentioned also in the report of the Judenrat in Kozienice, dated August 31, 1942; see USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1.

7. AŻIH, 301/2296.

8. USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1, Aeltesten-Rat der jüd. Bevölkerung Kozienice, report (to the Security Police) on the mood of the Jewish population, August 31, 1942.

9. Ibid.

10. AŻIH, 301/2296; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 156–157 (table 11), 178–179; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 315.

MNISZEW

Pre-1939: Mniszew, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Mniszew is located about 47 kilometers (29 miles) southeast of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 265 Jews living in Mniszew. Following the village's occupation in September 1939, the Germans established a Judenrat chaired by Ajzyk Zysman.

In a letter from the Judenrat addressed to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Kraków, it was reported that by March 1941 the number of Jews in Mniszew had tripled due to the arrival of refugees from nearby small towns, reaching a total of more than 1,000 residents. Two months later in May 1941, the Judenrat reported over 600 Jewish families living in Mniszew, most of which were from Warsaw or other locations in Distrikt Warschau. As refugees continued to stream into the village, a desperate Judenrat pleaded with the AJDC for help. The above figures, however, are inconsistent with the findings of historian Adam Rutkowski, who

recorded 317 Jews living in the village in 1941 (including 131 refugees) and approximately 300 by August 1942. As the AJDC's Mniszew file ends with the May 1941 report, it is possible that those refugees were transferred to another location or that the Judenrat overestimated their numbers in an effort to receive more substantial assistance.

The precise date of the ghetto's establishment is unknown. Mniszew ghetto survivor Henry Brait dates its creation in 1939 or 1940, which, in comparison with other similarly ghettoized communities in Kreis Radom, is probably too early. According to historian Jacek Młynarczyk, Kreishauptmann Dr. Friedrich Egen in Radom ordered in December 1941 the concentration of the Jews from the villages in a number of specified places in the Kreis, including in Mniszew, which were to be designated as *Judenbezirke* (Jewish ghettos).[1] This was presumably implemented in the beginning of 1942 as part of the overall ghettoization process. According to Brait, relocation to the ghetto was sudden and unannounced. Jews moving in had to leave behind their possessions. The Mniszew ghetto was made up of two streets, from which the Jews were forbidden to exit.

The ghetto was liquidated in August 1942. On August 17, the Kreishauptmann in Radom, Dr. Justus Rubehn (who had replaced Dr. Egen), ordered that all the Jews of Mariampol, Magnuszew, Mniszew, and Sieciechów were to be transferred to the Kozienice ghetto by the end of the month. Around 350 Jews from Mniszew were transferred to the Kozienice ghetto, where about 4,000 Jews from the vicinity were being concentrated. The Judenrat in Kozienice reported at the end of the month that the new arrivals, composed of men, women, and children, including some elderly and sick people, had provoked a "heavy mood of fear" among the Kozienice Jews, as they feared that it presaged a major deportation Aktion.[2]

Accordingly, the Kozienice ghetto was liquidated the following month, in late September 1942, when its residents were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES For demographic information on the Jewish community of Mniszew, see Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 158, 186.

Relevant documentation concerning the Jews of Mniszew during the Holocaust can be found, for example, in the following archives: AŻIH (210/496 and NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/496 [Mniszew], pp. 1, 4, 9, 11; and Acc.2003.406.1 [Judenrat in Kozienice]); and VHF (# 14490, testimony of Henry Brait, 1996).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63, Anordnung (decree) and Zustazordnung (amendment) of the Kreishauptmann, December 22 and 30, 1941, as cited in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122.

2. USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1, Aeltesten-Rat der jüd. Bevölkerung Kozienice, report (to the Security Police) on the mood of the Jewish population, August 31, 1942.

MSTÓW

Pre-1939: Mstów (Yiddish: Emstow), village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Mstow, Kreis Radomsko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Mstów, województwo śląskie, Poland

Mstów is located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) east of Częstochowa. According to the 1921 census, there were 740 Jews living in Mstów, constituting 37.6 percent of the total population.

An estimated 532 Jews lived in Mstów on the eve of the German occupation in 1939. Upon entering the village, the German forces turned the synagogue, local school, and the offices of the former cloister into military warehouses. The synagogue was later razed on the orders of the German mayor, Klubsch.[1] The village was supervised by the Gendarmerie post in Chorzenice, located 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Mstów.

Abram Wolfowicz, a survivor of the Mstów ghetto, describes its establishment: "In the first months of 1940, the mayor evicted the Jews from their apartments and established an open ghetto on Kiliński Street. Those who paid a fee were allowed to return to their apartments."[2] It is not clear if the ghetto was later closed or how long exceptions permitting some Jews to live outside its borders lasted.

Wolfowicz also testified that the Germans murdered the first chairman of the Judenrat, Jankiel Joskowicz, and his two sons. He also named other victims including local butchers Janas Federman, Idel Naparty, Icek Hauptman, Salom Unglik, Jankiel Biber, and Abram Samsonowicz; grave digger Icek Pelta; and baker Jankiel Szydłowski. All were accused of offenses against the German commercial ordinances. The Jewish cemetery on Kiliński Street was often used as a killing site.

In November 1940, the Judenrat opened a soup kitchen that was able to provide 100 meals daily until January 1941. Sometime before January 1941, Izrael Woźnica was appointed as the Judenrat chairman. At that time there were 670 people (about 150 families) living in the ghetto, including a number of deportees. In March 1941, 35 Jews from Płock were resettled into the Mstów ghetto. The kitchen reopened that month, serving 200 meals daily.[3]

In June 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social-Self Help (JSS) was organized in Mstów. It was named Mstów-Wancerzów, as it also served the neighboring Wancerzów village. The JSS committee included the following members: Szmul Mitelman (chairman, 42 years old), Izrael Woźnica (43), and Icek-Mojzesz Kohn (42). Zisla Mitelman (18) was the Judenrat secretary; Szymon-Dawid Kohn (15) worked as a courier. As of August 1941, the Jews living in the Rędziny community were excluded from the Aurelów JSS and were added to the responsibilities of the Mstów JSS. An estimated 60 Jews from that community were in need of social assistance.[4]

In January 1942, the ghetto had 650 residents, of which, according to JSS estimates, there were 150 children aged 3 to 15. Approximately two thirds of those children were receiving a bowl of soup and a piece of bread daily. The JSS tried to raise more funds for this purpose by organizing a Purim play that year.

In February 1942, the JSS reported that there were still 25 carpentry workshops operating and employing 1 to 3 Jewish workers each. They specialized in the production of ash and oak wood furniture. In mid-March 1942, a Jewish man by the name of Gudsztadt from Radom opened a furniture factory in Mstów. The factory employed 28 carpenters and 10 assistants. It was most likely producing chairs for the Wehrmacht. The JSS also sought employment for 20 local tailors and 15 cobblers.[5]

The ghetto in Mstów was liquidated in August 1942. Approximately 600 Jews gathered there were escorted by the Gendarmerie to Radomsko. The ghetto in Radomsko was liquidated on October 9–12, 1942, and its residents were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES References to the Mstów ghetto can be found in Jan Pietrzykowski, *Hitlerowcy w powiecie częstochowskim, 1939–1945* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo "Śląsk," 1972), pp. 62, 71, 106, 116, 125; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 144 (table 5).

The following archival sources were used to write this entry: AŻIH (210/503; 211/707-708); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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1. See "Dzieje Mstowa" at www.mstow.pl/?id=Historia.
2. As cited by Pietrzykowski, *Hitlerowcy w powiecie częstochowskim, 1939–1945*, p. 116.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/503 (Mstów), p. 1; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/707 (Mstów), pp. 1–2, 8–9.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 12, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/707, pp. 14, 30. The JSS erroneously refers to "Wancerzów" as "Kancerzów."
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/708, pp. 15, 19, 26, 29.

NOWE MIASTO NAD PILICĄ

Pre-1939: Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Nowe Miasto, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The town of Nowe Miasto is located some 70 kilometers (44 miles) south of Warsaw and roughly the same distance east of Łódź on the Pilica River. In 1939, more than 1,300 Jews lived in the town, comprising just under half of the town's population.

Units of the Wehrmacht captured Nowe Miasto in early September 1939. When the Nazis established the Generalgouvernement in the fall of 1939, the town became part of Kreis Tomaschow within Distrikt Radom. The first Kreishauptmann was Dr. Fritz von Balluseck (until November 1940); he was succeeded until the town's liberation in January 1945 by Dr. Karl Glehn. Most of the German administration, including several police offices, was located in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, but in Nowe Miasto there was an outpost of the Gendarmerie (Order Police) commanded by Leutnant Kottlinski.

The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Mottel Cilikh, a former restaurant owner. A Jewish police unit was also established. The Germans ordered the dismantling of the synagogue and imposed several large "contributions" on the Jewish community, including one for 10,000 złoty, which was accompanied by the taking of hostages. Among the tasks performed by the Judenrat was the recruitment of forced laborers to meet German quotas, in order to stop Jews from simply being picked off the street.

In the second half of 1940, the German Water Administration Office (Wasserwirtschaftsamt) established a labor camp for Jews (*Julag*) in Nowe Miasto. Between 200 and 400 inmates had to work on land reclamation and draining the countryside. In addition, the Jewish Council in Nowe Miasto was concerned with sending aid to about 50 Jews who had been deported in 1940 to forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin. By February 1941, however, the Jewish population of the town had roughly doubled, numbering 2,603, of which 1,593 were refugees and deportees, most of whom had arrived almost completely without means and with no suitable clothing.[1] This population increase was due to the Nazis' transfer of Jews from surrounding towns, including Mogielnica, Będków, Grójec, and Tarczyn, to Nowe Miasto.

An impression of living conditions for the Jews in Nowe Miasto can be gained from the report of the Judenrat to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), dated February 1, 1941. The report noted that material conditions had deteriorated considerably due to recent confiscations by the Germans and due to the large number of indigent Jews among both the refugees and those native to Nowe Miasto. A welfare kitchen was distributing 350 to 400 lunches every day, but this support was still completely inadequate. A recent clothing distribution received from the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) office in Radom had scarcely covered 5 percent of actual needs. The report concluded with an appeal to the AJDC in Kraków to send an emissary to Nowe Miasto to assess the catastrophic situation there.[2]

According to the same report of February 1, 1941, an enclosed ghetto (*geschlossenen jüd. Wohnviertel*) had recently been established in Nowe Miasto.[3] The ghetto was located in the center of town and covered an area of about 4,000 square meters (4,784 square yards). As there was a shortage of labor, many Jews were forced to work outside the ghetto, where they performed road maintenance, cut lumber in the forest, and did agricultural work on surrounding estates.[4] The number of Jews in the ghetto increased over the following months, rising to 3,375 in May after the arrival of about 600 Jews from Vienna, then to 3,700 by November 1941, but the mortality rate

also climbed during the winter of 1941–1942. There were outbreaks of typhus and tuberculosis; so a special quarantine room was set up in the hospital. Official rations were set at 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of potatoes and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread for Jews in the first month of the occupation, but even these small rations were subsequently reduced considerably, leading to severe food shortages.[5] Thus, the Jews depended heavily on work outside the ghetto, which permitted them to acquire some additional food. Limited assistance continued to be provided by the JSS committee of the Kreis, whose head, Henryk Szczęśliwy, established a branch in Nowe Miasto, enabling the ghetto inmates to receive parcels with food and clothing. Nevertheless, during the existence of the ghetto, about 300 Jews died solely from malnutrition, insufficient health care, and the exhausting working conditions.

The Germans sporadically shot Jews, both inside and outside the ghetto. Those murdered inside included some suspected of concealing items during searches and also several members of the Judenrat; these people were buried in the Jewish cemetery. By 1942, those caught outside the ghetto, including children caught trying to smuggle food, were usually shot and buried on the spot, in accordance with orders applied by the Order Police throughout Kreis Tomaschow. About 150 Jews from the Nowe Miasto ghetto were shot in total.[6] Due to these shootings, the high mortality rate due to illness and starvation, and the transfer of Jews to other camps, the number of ghetto inmates had declined to less than 3,000 by February 1942. However, on August 20, 1942, a train carrying 400 Jews arrived from Odrzywół, which increased the number of Jews in the ghetto to about 3,400 by the end of the month.

The ghetto in Nowe Miasto was liquidated by the Nazis on October 22, 1942. German units surrounded the ghetto and gathered the Jews for deportation. More than 3,000 Jews were transported by train to the Treblinka extermination camp. Only a few Jews managed to escape and flee into the nearby woods.

About 20 to 25 people were held back to clean up the Nowe Miasto ghetto and collect the abandoned property. When this task was completed, the remaining Jews were sent to the reconstituted ghetto in Tomaszów Mazowiecki.

The Jewish community in Nowe Miasto was not reconstituted after the war.

SOURCES A brief account of the fate of the Jewish community during the Holocaust can be found in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 156–158. See also Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955); Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom*, *1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006); and Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007).

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Nowe Miasto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/515); IfZ (Gd 01-60); IPN (ASG/22 and 51); Sta. Darmstadt (2 Js 461/64, proceedings against former Kreishauptmann Karl Glehn); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 16; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC], 210/515); and YVA (O-3/5238).

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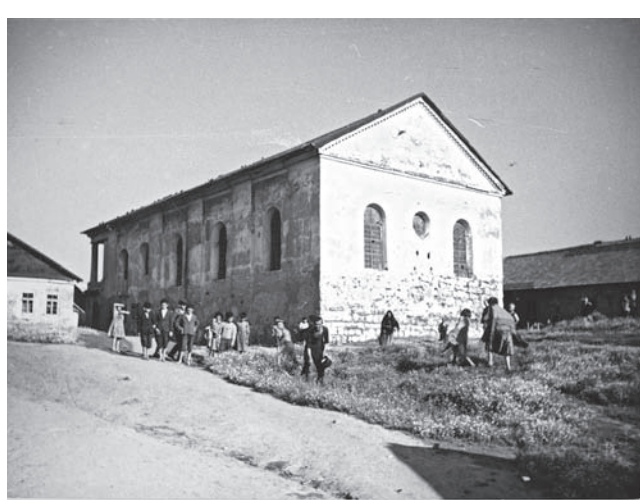
NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH—AJDC), 210/515, pp. 5–7, report of the Vorstand des Jüd. Aeltestenrates to the AJDC, February 1, 1941; and Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, p. 157. For further details on the Distrikt Lublin camps, see David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 87–127.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH—AJDC), 210/515, pp. 5–7, report of the Vorstand des Jüd. Aeltestenrates to the AJDC in Kraków, February 1, 1941.
3. Ibid. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 119, and Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 154, both date the establishment of the ghetto in the spring of 1941. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, fr. 198, gives the date of November 1940.
4. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 16, fr. 198, Kwestionariusz o obozach (Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą), November 26, 1945.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. On the "shooting order" in Kreis Tomaschow, see BA-L, B 162/14521, verdict of LG-Darm, 2 Ks 1/69, pp. 20–30.

NOWY KORCZYN

Pre-1939: Nowy Korczyn, *village*, *Kielce województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Busko*, *Distrikt Radom*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie*, *Poland*

The village of Nowy Korczyn is located some 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Kraków and 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of Kielce at the confluence of the Nida River and the Vistula River.



Jewish children and adults pose outside the Nowy Korczyn synagogue, ca. 1936.
USHMM WS # 77740, COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION: GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

The Wehrmacht occupied Nowy Korczyn on September 20, 1939. The Nazi authorities established the Generalgouvernement on October 26, 1939. Nowy Korczyn was located in Kreis Busko, within Distrikt Radom; Nowy Korczyn lay close to the border with Distrikt Krakau. The Kreishauptmann and head of the local administration during the entire occupation was Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer, who together with the SS and police forces in charge of the Kreis was based in Busko. In Nowy Korczyn, there was only a branch of the German Gendarmerie (the rural Order Police) under Leutnant Schwab, which took over a local school as its headquarters. At that time, the Jews of the town numbered 2,462, about two thirds of the entire population.

Upon entry into the town, the occupiers began persecuting Jews there, snatching people from the streets for forced labor, humiliating some of them, and shaving the beards off Jewish men. The Germans also burned the Torah scrolls from the synagogue.[1] After a few weeks the Germans ordered the Jews to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was made responsible for the collection of a 20,000 złoty "contribution" from the community. After a short while the Germans demanded an additional contribution of twice that amount. Other German regulations prohibited Jewish children from going to school, and adult Jews had to wear a Jewish Star. Subsequently a Jewish police force was established, which also helped the Germans to enforce a nightly curfew.[2]

It is not clear exactly when the Jewish quarter or open ghetto in Nowy Korczyn was established, but by the summer of 1942 Jews faced the death penalty for leaving the area of the town without permission. In one case, a Jewish woman named Hammer was shot in the summer of 1942 for leaving the ghetto. Despite this risk, some Jews continued to trade remaining property with local peasants up to the ghetto's liquidation.[3] The concentration of Jews in the town, however, started much earlier. In the first months of 1941, the Germans had transported Jews from Warsaw, Łódź, Kielce, and Radom to the town, increasing the number of Jewish inhabitants to 3,599 in May 1941. This figure rose to 3,717 in January 1942; then 3,834 in April; and finally about 4,200 in October 1942. As a result of this rising Jewish population, living conditions for the Jews deteriorated steadily, although some of the Jews arriving from larger ghettos noted that conditions were much less oppressive than in Warsaw or Łódź. It remained an open ghetto until its liquidation, but the inmates were forced to live in very overcrowded conditions, with up to 12 people in one room. To obtain some money and food, the Judenrat organized work groups, which were employed in workshops and in service units at the regional military base in Busko-Zdrój. Within Nowy Korczyn, several "workshops" were established for sewing, shoemaking, and carpentry. Some Jews also worked directly for the Gendarmerie or on irrigation projects in the surrounding countryside.

In 1941, the Judenrat set up a public kitchen, which provided 200 meals a day to people in need. In addition, there was a clinic for people affected by the typhus epidemic, which broke out in the ghetto. Further assistance was provided by the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee of the Kreis, which was founded on December 29, 1940, and which, under the leadership of Josek Topioł and Izaak Nadler, soon opened a branch in Nowy Korczyn.[4] Nevertheless, all these efforts could not prevent the spread of typhus in the ghetto. Kreishauptmann Dr. Schäfer reported at the end of February 1941 that a dangerous typhus epidemic in Nowy Korczyn had resulted in several deaths and that the ghetto was so overcrowded it could no longer accommodate further deportees.[5] But as the abovementioned statistics show, his appeal had no effect in slowing the influx of successive waves of Jewish deportees.

The German Security Police planned for the liquidation of the Nowy Korczyn ghetto at the beginning of October 1942. Units from the local Gendarmerie post and Ukrainian auxiliaries from Radom surrounded the ghetto at dawn on October 2 and assembled about 4,000 Jews on the main square. As there was no railroad connection in Kreis Busko, the deportees had to march or be transported on carts to the neighboring Kreise of Jedrzejow or Opatow. From there, they could be transported by train to the Treblinka death camp.[6] This was also the fate of the Jews of Nowy Korczyn. First, they were forced to march to the village of Słupia Nowa, 16 kilometers (10 miles) away. Along the way the Nazi guards shot women, children, and elderly people who had difficulty keeping up. On the next day, along with Jewish inhabitants of Słupia and surrounding villages, the Jews were taken to the train station in Szczucin, packed into freight cars and sent to Treblinka.

About 50 to 100 Jews were allowed to stay behind in Nowy Korczyn. These people consisted of members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, as well as laborers assigned to collect and sort the abandoned Jewish property. According to survivors from this group, they were placed in a few houses that were isolated from the rest of the town, forming a small remnant ghetto. Another 200 or more people who had managed to escape the roundup returned to the remnant ghetto over the following weeks. In one or more transfer Aktions, either at the end of 1942 or in the first half of 1943, the remaining Jews in Nowy Korczyn were loaded onto trucks and taken to labor camps—(especially the Hugo Schneider AG [HASAG] camp) in the area of Kielce.[7]

SOURCES A brief account of the fate of the Jewish community during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 317–319. Further information is contained in the town's chronicle by Teresa Ginalska, *Nowy Korczyn. Gmina u zbiegu Wisły i Nidy* (Krasno, 1999), pp. 46–53. The memoir of the child survivor Mark Bernard Kupfer, *From Darkness to Sunshine: A Young Boy's Odyssey* (Pittsburgh, PA: Dorance, 2002), includes brief details about the remnant ghetto.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211 [JSS]); BA-BL (R 52 II/30); BA-L (206 AR-Z 29/63); IPN (Ob/177); StA-Münc (Sta. München I, 1a Js 311/60); Sta. Stuttgart (18 Js 597/67); VHF (e.g., # 2256, 9367, 11648, 34033, 37476, and 41643); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/581).

Stephan Lehnstaedt

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34033, testimony of Morris Pisarz.
2. Ibid., # 41643, testimony of Rita Nussbaum; and # 37476, testimony of Ted Beckard.
3. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1985), p. 181.
4. AŻIH, JSS/211, pp. 266–267, JSS Busko to JSS Kraków, January 24, 1941; membership list of JSS branches in the Kreis, March 22, 1941.
5. BA-BL, R 52 II /30, pp. 1–3, report of Kreishauptmann Dr. Schäfer to the Generalgouverneur, February 28, 1941.
6. BA-L, 206 AR-Z 29/63, vol. 2, pp. 202 ff., interrogation of Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer, February 15, 1965; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów*, p. 181.
7. See Felicija Karay, "Heaven or Hell?: The Two Faces of the HASAG-Kielce Camp," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 32 (2004): 269–321, here pp. 278–280. See also VHF, # 37476; # 2256, testimony of Allen Kupfer; and # 9367, testimony of Mary Hoppe.

ODRZYWÓŁ

Pre-1939: Odrzywół, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Odrzywol, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Odrzywół, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Odrzywół is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Opoczno. In 1921, its 389 Jewish residents made up 29.1 percent of the village's population. There were between 250 and 320 Jews living there in 1939.

Following the German occupation of the region in September 1939, no permanent German authorities were based in the village, but officials of the Gendarmerie from Nowe Miasto supervised its affairs.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by N.D. Kozłowski, was organized to represent Jewish interests to the Germans. M. Dessau served as the Judenrat's secretary.

In the autumn of 1940, the Judenrat set up a self-help committee chaired by Alter Weksler. A number of deportees from Mława were resettled to Odrzywół in December 1940. They "arrived literally with no shoes, clothing or bedding," reported the Judenrat. A number of refugees from Tomaszów Mazowiecki also settled in the village.[1] In January 1941, Weksler sent a letter to the Mława Hometown Association in the Warsaw ghetto, requesting aid for the Mława Jews living in Odrzywół.[2]

In March 1941, 200 Jews deported from Jeżów, Skierniewice, Mogielnica, Przytyk, and other localities settled in Odrzywół.[3] The local community, comprising 250 Jews, was unable to provide help to the 392 newcomers. A soup kitchen that had been opened for some time was closed in April 1941. That same month, the Judenrat requested assistance from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in financing housing rentals for refugees.[4]

In September 1941, the Judenrat reported that "after a thorough requisition of property from the local Jews, a Jewish quarter was established, where 716 Jews were placed." The Judenrat also noted that some Jews left Odrzywół after the ghetto's establishment. The community was resettled to the Praga neighborhood, inhabited by only five Jewish families before the war. At the time of the ghetto's establishment, none of the houses there were Jewish-owned. There were 23 buildings in the ghetto on approximately 2 hectares (5 acres). The ghetto was never enclosed by a fence. In March 1942, the overcrowding was especially severe; the Judenrat reported an occupancy rate of 12 to 30 people to a room.[5]

The Jews in the ghetto reportedly worked raising chickens for their eggs and in agriculture.

The German authorities announced that the ghetto would be closed on January 1, 1942; Jews would no longer be permitted to leave, except for labor assignments. In April 1942, the Judenrat reported that much of its spending that year included "1,000 złoty for saving from death each of the poor Jews who were caught outside of the Jewish quarter." In three months (January 1–April 1, 1942), 172 Jews were infected with typhus. Out of that number, 55 were hospitalized in Opoczno and Nowe Miasto. Out of 82 people that died during that period, 44 had to be transported to the Jewish cemetery in Klwów and buried there at the Judenrat's expense. The Judenrat struggled to pay for the burials as well as hospital bills.

In March 1942, nearby villages were cleared of Jewish farmers who were forced to resettle to the Odrzywół ghetto; some inhabited barns and cowsheds.

By April 1942, some form of welfare had been provided to more than one third of the ghetto's Jews. Out of its total of 632 inhabitants, 281 were locals, while the remaining 351 were newcomers.[6]

On May 23, 1942, 25 Jews were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp. Of them, 21 had returned by July 31, 1942, having been released as "unable to work" due to "bodily injuries." The 4 laborers who remained in Skarżysko were Lajb Abram, Azriel Huberman, Zelig Frydman, and Mendel Brajnenberg.[7]

Most secondary sources maintain that the ghetto was liquidated on August 20, 1942, at which time its 400 residents were deported to the nearby ghetto in Nowe Miasto. The Nowe Miasto ghetto was liquidated on October 22, 1942. Its residents were shipped from there to the Treblinka killing center.

SOURCES The following publications include references to the Odrzywół ghetto: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 78, 84, 154 (table 10); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), p. 41; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 345. Note that Pilichowski gives an unlikely date for the ghetto's liquidation—the winter of 1943—as at that time there were only a few remnant ghettos

existing in Distrikt Radom. For example, Ujazd was the only ghetto in Kreis Tomaschow, and it had been liquidated by mid-January 1943.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/520 [AJDC]; 211/749 [JSS]; 301/2987 [Relacje]); and USHMM (RG-15.079M [Ring I]; RG-15.084M [Relacje]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.084M (AŻIH), 301/2987 (Relacje), testimony of Tadeusz Kalski, 1947; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/520 (Odrzywół); Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/749 (Odrzywół), p. 22.
2. Ibid., RG-15.079M (Ring I/599/11), reel 24.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/520, p. 5.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/749, pp. 9–11, 13.
5. AŻIH, 301/2987; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/749, pp. 27–29.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/749, pp. 28–29.
7. Ibid., p. 30.

OPATÓW

Pre-1939: Opatów (Yiddish: Apt), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Opatow, Kreis center, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Opatów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The town of Opatów is located in southeast Poland, 29 kilometers (18 miles) northwest of Sandomierz. In 1921, there were 5,462 Jews in Opatów (62 percent of the total); on the eve of war in 1939, there were around 5,200.[1]

The German army occupied Opatów on September 7, 1939. Upon entering the town the Germans set fire to three quarters of the Jewish homes in the market square (*Rynek*). The following day the Germans rounded up and held captive more than 1,000 young Poles and Jews in the local theater. The Jews were separated from the group and subjected to torture, allegedly for concealing weapons, before being released. Schools were closed, and the teachers, Polish and Jewish, as well as the local intelligentsia were sent to concentration camps. Before long, the occupying authorities announced new regulations. Jews could not go outside after sunset and could not leave the town without a special permit. Furthermore, Jews were not allowed to buy food or other products from non-Jews.

Soon the German administration started to conscript Jews for forced labor and impose large "contributions" on the Jewish community. Forced labor in Opatów was of two kinds: Jews performed work for the town council and the German army and civil authorities; in addition, 220 men had to be supplied daily for work at the "Oemler" firm, engaged in road construction. Jews aged 18 to 45 performed seven days of forced labor every two weeks.[2]

In October 1939, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Dr. Heinz Ritter was appointed Kreishauptmann in Opatów. The German civil administration introduced many restrictive measures for Jews including the wearing of white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. At the end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940, a number of Jews arrived in the Opatów region from Kalisz, Turek, Konin, and other cities. The Jews organized a Judenrat, headed by Mordechai Wejsblum, composed of former members of the pre-war Jewish Council. Its main tasks were to provide forced laborers for the Germans and coordinate the various organizations and committees established to assist the Jewish population of Opatów, including the refugees. A Jewish police force assisted the Judenrat in enforcing German demands. Responsible for Kreis Opatow was the outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in the nearby town of Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, headed from 1941 until 1944 by SS-Untersturmführer Hans Soltau. Based in Opatów were units of the Gendarmerie and auxiliary Polish (Blue) Police.[3]

From the beginning of the occupation, Jewish shops, houses, and apartments had to be surrendered to German officials and local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Soon, however, it became



Majer Sztajnman poses on a cobblestone street in the Opatów ghetto, while holding his baby daughter, Mania, ca. 1942. Note the armband on Sztajnman's sleeve.
USHMM WS #27173, COURTESY OF MARION WEINZWEIG

unacceptable for the German occupants that Jews and Germans should share the same space. In the summer of 1940, the Germans sent several hundred younger Jewish men to labor camps in the Lublin area. On August 31, 1940, there were 5,500 Jewish residents in Opatów, including 700 refugees. The constant influx of refugees led to a marked deterioration in living conditions for the Jews in Opatów. In September 1940, Kreishauptmann Ritter reported that plans were being made for the establishment of a ghetto and that as a first step the Jews were being forced to move out of the houses around the market square. This gave further impetus to the confiscation of Jewish businesses for the benefit of Germans.[4]

A further strain was imposed on the community in March 1941 following the arrival of a transport of 995 Jews from Vienna destined for Opatów and Łagów. Most of this transport consisted of women and children, as well as sick people and the elderly. Some initially had to be accommodated in stables in Opatów.

On April 6, 1941, the Kreishauptmann established an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) in Opatów. It was not sealed off from the surrounding area, as the Jews were still able to move around most of the town (except during the night curfew). The Jews were forced onto Berek Joselewicz Street and the adjoining alleys; more than 6,000 people were crammed into only about one fifth of the area of the town.[5] From October 1941, signs were posted at the ghetto entrance warning that illegal crossing of the boundary would be punished with death.[6] Survivor testimonies, however, maintain that some communication with the outside continued, particularly with peasants in the surrounding villages, as Jews sneaked out to barter or buy food.

During 1941, the overcrowding in the ghetto and worsening sanitary conditions led to an outbreak of typhus. The Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland (TOZ) promptly established a hospital, which despite lack of means was able to provide medical support to the impoverished population. Further waves of refugees arrived from neighboring towns, Łódź, and eastern Poland.[7] Despite the hardships, on June 24, 1941, a six-grade Jewish school was opened in the ghetto. Of the 320 children enrolled, 160 received free meals at school. Almost 1,500 people benefited from the public kitchen, which distributed 550 lunches per day. The TOZ provided medical care and supplies. The employment office (Arbeitsamt) provided work for many unemployed people in jobs within and outside the town.[8]

By December 1941, the Jewish population had increased by 900 since the start of the year, and conditions for the Jews continued to deteriorate. The German police conducted a number of shootings and killings in the ghetto. They commandeered many Jews for work in forced labor camps. In the summer of 1942, about 800 young Jews, mostly men, were sent to work at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory in Skarżysko Kamienna.[9]

By the fall of 1942, rumors of the horrors of the extermination of the Jews started to spread. The Jewish population was trying to obtain any kind of employment locally, in order to avoid being sent away for forced labor. By September 1942, the Jewish population of Opatów had reached 7,000 people, including 1,800 refugees from other towns. On October 19, 1942, the Germans announced that all the Jews had to assemble the next day in a nearby field. Members of the SS, Ukrainian auxiliaries, and the Gendarmerie kept the Jews under close guard during the Aktion. More than 6,000 people were marched to the train station at Janice, near Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, 28 kilometers (17 miles) from Opatów. Another group capable of work was selected and sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp. Those who could not walk, especially the sick and the elderly, almost 300 people, were killed on the march. On arrival at the train station, the SS and the Ukrainians loaded the Jews into cattle cars destined for the Treblinka killing center. Around 100 Jews, mostly members of the Judenrat and Jewish Police, remained in Opatów to collect all remaining Jewish possessions and sort them out for the Germans. Once their assignment was carried out, they were taken to the Jewish cemetery and murdered. By October 21, 1942, the ghetto in Opatów had been completely liquidated.[10]

Around 300 Jews from Opatów survived the Holocaust, mostly in the forced labor camps. The bulk of them immigrated to Israel, the United States, and Canada after the war.

SOURCES Additional information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Opatów can be found in the following publications: Zvi Yasheev, ed., *Apt: (Opatov); sefer zikaron le-ir ve-em be-Yi'sra'el asher hayetah ve-enenah 'od. Yizker-bukh tsum ondenk fun undzer geburts-shtot in Poyln velkhe iz mer nishto* (Tel Aviv: Yotse Apt be-Yisrael, Ar. Ha-B., Kanadah, Brazil, 1966); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 58–64.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Opatów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1134, 2350, 3328, and 4951); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, II 206 AR-Z 23/64); IPN; USHMM (RG-50.120*0204; Acc.1997.A.0302; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS], reel 37); VHF; and YVA.

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. USHMM, 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 37.
2. Yasheev, *Apt: (Opatov); sefer zikaron*, pp. 204, 217, 233–234; *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 6, 1940.
3. BA-L, B 162/14485, verdict of LG-Hamb, 147 Ks 3/71, December 22, 1972, p. 11.
4. Bericht des Kreishauptmanns in Opatów für den Monat August 1940, September 7, 1940, in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 95.
5. VHF, # 6919, testimony of B. Fogel; Juli-Bericht des Kreishauptmanns in Opatów, August 1, 1941, in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, p. 127.
6. Yasheev, *Apt: (Opatov); sefer zikaron*, pp. 223, 226.
7. Ibid., pp. 225, 233–234; AŻIH, 301/3328, testimony of H. Hershberg; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 16, 1941; USHMM,

RG-50.120*0204, oral history of S. Willenberg; Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 37.

8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 16, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 37; VHF, # 1966, video testimony of B. Schreibman.

9. AŻIH, 301/4951, testimony of B. Rotlewi; VHF, # 1966; USHMM, RG-50.120*0204, S. Willenberg.

10. Yasheev, *Apt: (Opatov); sefer zikaron*, pp. 234–235; AŻIH, 310/3328; VHF, # 3118, testimony of D. Blumenfeld Clenman.

OPOCZNO

Pre-1939: Opoczno (Yiddish: Opots'nab), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

The town of Opoczno is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Łódź. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish community numbered 3,376 (46.7 percent of the total population). At the outbreak of World War II, approximately 2,900 Jews (40 percent of the total population) lived in Opoczno.

The town was occupied by German troops on September 7, 1939.[1] A regime defined by plunder and abuse was installed immediately.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up in November 1939 and headed by Abram Frydlewski. It served as the Jewish representation to the German authorities. Mordecai Rosenbaum, the chairman's deputy, became a German informant, according to historian Isaiah Trunk. He later interceded on behalf of arrested relatives but kept for himself a share of the bribes intended for the Germans.

The Judenrat assigned up to 400 men daily (each conscript worked once or twice a week) for forced labor that included digging peat, paving roads, working in nearby lime pits, and clearing snow. To avoid work, one could send a substitute or pay 5 złoty for a day's exemption. The Judenrat vainly intervened on behalf of those badly beaten by the ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) and German guards. The only effective arguments were bribes. After a time, the Judenrat imposed a monthly tax on the community to pay the wages of those working for the Jewish community, including members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), as well as welfare expenses.

The number of refugees—most of them coming from Łódź—rose quickly, reaching a total of 500 people. The large group of newcomers caused increasing difficulties in maintaining hygiene, leading to an outbreak of typhus in the spring of 1940. The sick were treated by two Jewish doctors.[2]

In November 1940, the Germans established a ghetto in Opoczno, announcing it one morning and forcing the Jews to settle into it by noon, leaving their belongings behind. Approximately 50 Gendarmes conducted the resettlement. Those Jews who moved slowly, or attempted to flee, were shot. According to a Polish witness, approximately 200 people were killed. The bodies were piled up on the bank of the Wąglanka River and were buried that evening in the Jewish cemetery.

The ghetto consisted of 115 houses and encompassed a compact area bordering on the Wąglanka River, including Błotna, Rzeźnicza, and Joselewicz Streets. One of the streets, since it was a key thoroughfare, could not be fenced, so the Poles remained on one side, while Jews occupied the other. It was a prime location for food smuggling until it was excluded from the ghetto.

As for ghetto housing, close to 40 people were crammed into single-family homes. Almost 1,000 people lived in temporary accommodations in the synagogue, in huts, and in barns or simply on the streets. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire.

With the ghetto's creation, the Judenrat ordered the formation of a Jewish police force to keep its inhabitants inside.[3] The son-in-law of Chairman Frydlewski, known as Profos or Protas, was the police commander. The police supervised a jail in one of the synagogue's chambers.

Inhabitants needed a permit from the German authorities or the Judenrat to leave the ghetto. Sources differ regarding smuggling activity. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, it was easy and common as the German guards were readily bribed; some of the transactions were conducted during funerals at the Jewish cemetery located outside of the ghetto. Within the ghetto, illegal producion of (for example) soap and bread took place. Alter Szymszynowicz's testimony states, however, that smuggling was conducted only by Jewish and Polish policemen charging extremely high prices. Jews caught smuggling were shot. Although the labor performed outside the ghetto was poorly paid, including for numerous German enterprises, the difficulty in obtaining food caused some people to enlist voluntarily.[4]

From June 1940, the Judenrat-affiliated self-help committee (chaired by J. Chmielnicki) assisted impoverished Jews. Thanks to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) subsidies, it could open a soup kitchen, which provided 700 meals daily in early 1941. This, however, fell far short of demand. Based on these activities, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was formed in July 1941, chaired by Lejb Rabinowicz. Due to a lack of funds, the JSS was only able to develop meager support services.[5]

An epidemic hospital "Esterka," equipped with 40 beds, was set up at the end of 1941. The sick from Żarnów, Drzewica, Białaczów, and Gielniów were to be treated there as well. A public bath and disinfection center were opened at the same time.[6]

By May 1941, there were approximately 4,000 people in the ghetto, about one quarter of them refugees from Mogielnica, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Łódź, and Płock. Further waves followed, although some also left. In April 1942, there were 4,230 residents in the ghetto, including 1,400 newcomers.[7]

The Opoczno ghetto was the scene of mass executions that were carried out at the Jewish cemetery, on the banks of the Wąglanka River, near the mill, and in the streets. More than

one source refers to two mass killings. Some 100 imprisoned Jews were dragged out from their cells and machine-gunned by the Gendarmerie; the date of their murder is unknown. On April 27, 1942, 30 (or 40, according to another source) Zionists and Communists were rounded up and executed at the Wąglanka River. The victims were arrested based on a list prepared by the Judenrat. This so-called April Aktion was a part of a large-scale operation to eliminate ghetto activists in the region before the deportations to the extermination camps. Entire families were also frequently executed.

The most brutal of the local Gendarmes were Heinrich Moritz, Johann Schmiedke, and Ryszard (or Walter) Kuntz.[8] A Luftwaffe unit, which had an observation point in Opoczno, also took part in the massacres.[9]

In June 1942, 20 escapees from forced labor assignments were seized by the ghetto police and held in the synagogue jail. The German informant, Deputy Rosenbaum, warned them that they were to be shot. Overpowering the Jewish guards, these men broke out of the jail. Rosenbaum refused to help in the pursuit and "disappeared," although the degree to which his execution was linked to the escape remains unclear.

In July 1942, approximately 400 ghetto inhabitants were taken to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp, where they worked in the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory.[10]

In October 1942, a number of nearby Jewish communities were resettled into the Opoczno ghetto, including the Jews from Paradyż (250 people), Białaczów (250), Skrzynno (400), and Żarnów (more than 2,000).

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in Opoczno on October 27, 1942. The community was ordered to gather at the horse market. The sick, elderly, and those discovered in hiding were shot in the town. The deportation was conducted by a Gendermerie unit from outside of Opoczno, local Gendarmes, and Polish and Jewish Police. The transport was directed to the Treblinka extermination camp. Only after the train's departure did the Germans realize that the sick in the hospital had been left behind. According to one testimony, Moritz machine-gunned the 100 patients and about 20 hospital personnel. Most scholarly sources report 3,000 people deported; however, this number seems to be too low and may have been closer to 4,000.

A group of 120 to 180 Jews—including the Judenrat, the Jewish Police, and a number of rich families—was left in Opoczno to clean up the ghetto and sort through remaining possessions. Soon after, the Germans announced that those who had families in Palestine could register to be exchanged for German prisoners of war (POWs) held by the Allies. Approximately 500 Jews gathered in the ghetto to register, often by forging a connection to Palestinian kin. All were sent to Treblinka by January 6, 1943.

A group of several dozen refugees from the Przysucha, Drzewica, and Opoczno ghettos joined the Communist Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, GL) "Wilk" partisan unit. They soon split off and set up a separate Jewish unit named GL "Lwy" commanded by Izrael Ajzenman (aka Julian Kaniewski). The squad conducted several operations, including the destruction of official documents of the Nieznanowiec and Petrykozy gmina, as well as the disarmament of the Polish police precincts in Gowarczów and Rusinów. Post-1989 publications suggest that the unit murdered seven members of the Polish far-right-wing underground in Drzewica on January 22, 1943. Kaniewski and his group allegedly committed a number of other killings and robberies in the vicinity.

SOURCES Most of the information in this entry can be found in the following publications: Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydow polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 207–216 (Alter Szymszynowicz's diary); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 47–52 (translation by Shalom Bronstein available on the Web at the Remember Jewish Opoczno! Web site, www.zchor.org/opocz.htm); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 348–349. There is also some additional information in the yizkor book: Aaron Meirovitch, ed., *Sefer Opoczno* (Tel Aviv: Association of Emigrants from Opoczno and Vicinity, 1989). See also Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

Archival sources relating to the fate of the Jewish community of Opoczno can be found in APR (SORd 1907); AŻIH (210/526 [AJDC]; 211/761 [JSS]; 302/5 [Pamiętniki]); IPN (KG MO, sygn. 35/875, k. 114); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS Opoczno]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC Opoczno]; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC Opoczno), 210/526.
2. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS Opoczno), 211/761; Acc. 1999.A.0154, 210/526; Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 209.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 21, 1941.
4. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 47–52; Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 209.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/761; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 9, 1941.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 23, 1941.
7. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 100, 154 (table 10), 177–178; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/526, p. 23; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2004), pp. 130–131.
8. According to Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), pp. 200–201, and Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, pp. 209–211, the Gendarmerie also included Albert Schultze (commander), Herman Baumgarten, Richard Leufer, Paul Elsner, Paul Kuntze, Jerzy Chądzyński, Mueller, Makowski, and Gutknecht.

Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 47–52.

9. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 132.

10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/761; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 348.

OSIEK

Pre-1939: Osiek, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Osiek is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) southeast of Kielce. There were 520 Jews living in Osiek in 1939.[1] On September 11, 1939, 164 houses owned by both Poles and Jews burned down due to heavy German bombardments, leaving 252 Jews (52 families) in the village without a roof over their heads. Some inhabitants escaped to neighboring settlements, but the German occupiers soon forced them to return.

In the fall of 1939, many Jews were mobilized into forced labor to clear the rubble from the bombings, and all Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings. The Jews also had to make large monetary payments to the Germans, and to assist with the implementation of their instructions the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). In June 1940, the chairman of the Judenrat was Majer Sznajer, and Eliasz Rajter was one of its members. By this time the community's numbers had declined to 395. Out of that total, 68 Jews lived outside the village limits, and another 12 were refugees.[2] Harsh living conditions in Osiek caused an outbreak of disease in the summer of 1940: 35 Jews became sick with typhus and 15 with dysentery. Among these cases of illness, 5 people died.[3]

In August 1940, the Germans rounded up Jews from the neighboring towns and sent them to labor camps. The chairman of the Osiek Judenrat warned the men of the approaching raids and advised them to go into hiding to avoid deportation for forced labor.

Despite the critical housing situation, Kreis Opatow sent 25 Jewish deportees from Vienna to Osiek in March 1941. In total, there were 481 Jews in Osiek in August 1941, including 100 deportees and refugees, many from Kraków.[4]

The situation improved slightly with the establishment of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee based in Kraków. Responsibility for Osiek fell to a branch organized in Opatów in December 1940. A separate committee in Osiek opened a soup kitchen in August 1941, feeding about 80 people daily. In addition to these beneficiaries, 30 children were provided with breakfast. Szmul Klajner was the chairman of the committee, with Rabbi Josef Boruch Goldberg as his deputy. The kitchen operated intermittently; for example, it was closed temporarily in February 1942 due to financial constraints.[5] According to JSS records, out of the 491 Jews registered in Osiek in May 1942, there were only 35 refugees and deportees.[6]

On the orders of Kreishauptmann Ritter in Opatów, the presence of Jews in Kreis Opatow was to be limited to 17 sites of concentration (as opposed to a previous total of 150 Jewish settlements), effective from June 1, 1942. These 17 places were automatically recognized as ghettos from that date. Osiek was selected as one of the locations. Noncompliance with the orders for the Jews to move into the ghettos was punishable by death.

In June and July 1942, the Gestapo and Gendarmes shot 277 Poles and Jews from prisons in Sandomierz and Opatów in nearby Czarny Las on Czerwona Góra (or Czerwony Krzyż) Mountain. Among the victims were residents of Osiek and the following settlements located between Staszów and Osiek: Osieczek, Pliskowola, Strzegom, Strzegomek, Łęg near Połaniec, and Dzięk; their names are unknown. The bodies were partially buried in Czarny Las, in the fields near Strzegom, in the cemetery at Osiek, and in Wiązownica.

On October 17 or 18, 1942, an unknown number of Jews from Osiek were transferred to Staszów together with some 2,000 Jews from Połaniec, following the liquidation of the Połaniec ghetto on October 18. At first, all were held on the market square in Staszów, but later they were released into the Staszów ghetto on condition that they would not return to Osiek or Połaniec.[7]

Two secondary sources report that the Osiek ghetto was liquidated on October 25, 1942, when approximately 500 of its residents were sent to the Treblinka killing center. *Pinkas hakehilot*, however, reports that the ghetto was liquidated on October 15, which corresponds better with the transfer of some or all the Jews to Staszów, prior to their deportation to Treblinka. During the course of the ghetto's liquidation, German forces entered Jewish homes and forcibly removed anyone who tried to evade the roundup. The sick and elderly were taken from their beds and murdered on the spot. For example, all three members of Ela Groshauz's family were shot at this time. Krzysztof Urbański notes that local Catholic priests helped the Jews of Osiek.

SOURCES The main published source concerning the Jewish community in Osiek is Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 68–70. The following publications also have some information on the fate of Osiek's Jews during the Holocaust: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo tarnobrzeskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1984).

The main archival sources are AŻIH (210/529; 211/576; 211/763); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 37.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 37.
4. Ibid.
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 26, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 37; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 37.
7. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, pp. 179–180; according to Joseph Goldstein, "Extracts from a Ghetto Diary," in Elhanan Erlikh, ed., *Sefer Stashov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ṣtashov be-Yisrael, 1962), p. 27, they arrived on October 17, 1942.

OSTROWIEC ŚWIĘTOKRZYSKI

Pre-1939: Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski (Yiddish: Ostrevtseh), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ostrowiec, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The town of Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski is located in southeastern Poland, 67 kilometers (42 miles) south of the city of Radom. Just before the outbreak of World War II, there were around 10,000 Jews living in Ostrowiec. In the early stages of the war, a number of Jews fled from the town with the retreating Polish army. After the defeat of the Polish forces, some of these Jews remained in the area that came under Soviet occupation.

The German army entered Ostrowiec on September 7, 1939. The violence against the Jewish population began during the first days of the occupation. Jewish stores and homes were plundered, a "contribution" of 200,000 złoty was imposed on the community, and requisitions of property and valuables began to be carried out regularly.[1] Almost immediately after the invasion, the Germans started to eliminate the local intelligentsia. During the first three days of the occupation, 10 Jews were killed in the marketplace (*Rynek*) by members of the SS and soldiers of the Wehrmacht.[2] Soon kidnappings and conscription to forced labor became daily events in the streets of Ostrowiec.



Jews from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski stand at the site of a mass grave for about 2,000 Jews shot in late 1942 and early 1943. Behind them is a portion of the vandalized Jewish cemetery, October 1945.
USHMM WS #21084, COURTESY OF RUBIN KATZ

At the end of September 1939, the German occupiers ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Initially the council was headed by an attorney named Seisel, who was, however, to the chagrin of the local Jews, soon replaced by I. Rubinstein. The Judenrat's main tasks were to provide forced laborers for the Germans and ensure the fulfillment of German demands and regulations. In addition, it was also in charge of most welfare services, such as the establishment and management of a public kitchen and a hospital.[3]

Already by the beginning of October 1939, the German authorities started confiscating Jewish businesses, placing them into "trusteeships" under the direction of Poles, many of whom came from the Poznań area.[4] In January 1940, the Germans introduced further restrictions against the Jewish population of Ostrowiec; these included mandatory registration, compulsory wearing of a white armband with a blue Star of David, and the imposition of a curfew.[5]

In the summer of 1940, Jewish men were forced to assemble in the square where the Judenrat building was located, under the false pretense of listening to a German communiqué. Soon, however, members of the Gestapo, the Gendarmerie, and the Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the group and selected 150 Jewish young men, who were then sent to forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, including those near the Bełżec extermination camp. Some of those who were deported survived the harsh conditions there and subsequently were able to return home at the end of 1940.[6]

Between December 1939 and January 1941, Ostrowiec absorbed about 1,000 refugees from the towns of Konin, Golin, and Sokołów,[7] some 1,200 refugees from Vienna, and a number of refugees coming from Łódź and towns of the Poznań area incorporated into the Third Reich. As a result, the Jewish population of Ostrowiec rose to almost 16,000.[8] The Jews from Konin, who arrived at the end of 1939, remarked that they were well received by the Ostrowiec community, which provided them with meals from the public kitchen, and some refugees also were invited into local family homes on Saturdays for dinner.[9]

In April 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish quarter (or open ghetto) in Ostrowiec. The Jews were given two days to move in and were allowed to bring most of their possessions with them. Poles living in the area were forced to move out. When the quarter was established, an auxiliary Jewish Police consisting of 50 members was formed; its commander was Blumenfeld. It is estimated that more than 16,000 Jews entered the unfenced Jewish quarter.[10] The left side of the quarter bordered on Młynska and Pieracki Streets, while its right side was delimited by Denkowska Street. Its total surface area was 4 square kilometers (1.5 square miles).[11]

As a result of its lack of fencing, the quarter's limits were patrolled by the Schupo and the Polish (Blue) Police; a member of the Jewish Police was stationed at each street exit. The Jewish residents were free to circulate only within the quarter and had to respect a 9:00 P.M. curfew. By 1942, the penalty for

being caught outside the ghetto was death.[12] Occasionally, however, some Jews sneaked out of the ghetto and reached the surrounding villages in order to smuggle in provisions. Other Jews were escorted out of the ghetto by the police on a daily basis, to get to their places of work, mainly in the factories and workshops of the town or as orderlies working for the Germans.[13] Other Jews worked for German construction firms in and around Ostrowiec, such as Haumer, Loscher, A. Oemler, Hruse, R. Mende, and Travers.[14] The living conditions in the Jewish quarter were extremely harsh; the Jews lived in terrible poverty. The overcrowding and the poor hygienic conditions led, in May 1941, to an outbreak of typhus.[15] According to one estimate, during its entire existence about 10 percent of the inhabitants of the ghetto died from hunger and disease.[16]

There were also periodic roundups in the ghetto of younger Jews to be sent to various forced labor camps. On April 18, 1941, 150 Jews were sent to the armaments factories in Starachowice. Others were sent to the nearby labor camp in Bodzechów. By the fall of 1942, hundreds more Jews had been sent to work at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) factory camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna.[17]

On the night of April 27–28, 1942, members of the Gestapo and the Schupo (including Ernst Thoms, Brunner, and Weiler) entered the Jewish quarter and arrested 68 people according to a list provided by the Judenrat, which was supposed to represent the members of the local leftist parties. Although the Aktion was dubbed a "Kommunistenaktion," among those arrested were also members of the town's intelligentsia, who had not been targeted at the start of the occupation. Some 36 of the arrested Jews were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp; and 32 were shot on the spot.[18] From that day on, the killings and the repression of the Jews in Ostrowiec intensified.

On October 10, 1942, the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Radom, Dr. Herbert Böttcher, initiated the first mass deportation Aktion from Ostrowiec. First members of the Security Police, the SS, the Order Police, Ukrainian and Lithuanian auxiliaries, and Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the ghetto. The Jewish Police was instructed to visit all Jewish homes and announce that the Jews were to assemble the next morning in separate locations according to their work status and that they were only allowed to take a few possessions with them.[19] On the first night of the Aktion, the Judenrat was eliminated, and all its remaining members were absorbed into the Jewish Police, which became responsible for life and death in the quarter.[20]

The next morning, many old people and children were murdered right away during the roundup. All the unemployed Jews were forced to assemble in the marketplace, whereas those in possession of *Arbeitskarten* (work cards) were to gather on Florian Square facing the Labor Office. The unemployed Jews were left standing on the marketplace the whole day, witnessing the cruel murders of their kin. Later they were taken to the courtyard of the Polish elementary school on Sienkiewicz Street, where they remained without food or water, as they waited to be sent to the train station in three separate large transports spread over several days. At the train station, the Jews were boarded onto cattle cars, 100 people per wagon. The Jewish Police spread the rumor among the Jews that they were being sent to forced labor in Ukraine.[21] The truth, however, was that they were being sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Those who could demonstrate some form of employment, probably at least 2,000 people, were taken by Ukrainian auxiliaries to another building, and on the following day they went back to work.[22]

The Germans soon realized, however, that a large number of Jews had gone into hiding or fled the ghetto during the early phases of the Aktion. With the help of I. Rubinstein, the former head of the Judenrat, and also members of the Jewish Police, hundreds of Jews were assembled in the market square, after they had been lured out of hiding, on the false pretense that they would be sent to work in the Starachowice factory camp. Most of this group was sent to Treblinka.[23] In the course of the October deportation Aktion, hundreds of Jews were shot in Ostrowiec by members of the SS, the Gestapo, the Order Police, and Ukrainian and Lithuanian auxiliary forces. The bodies were subsequently burned and their remains buried in the Jewish cemetery in mass graves.[24] Overall, during the Aktion between 10,000 and 12,000 Jews were deported from Ostrowiec to the extermination camp in Treblinka.[25]

As the deportation Aktion was being conducted, a small ghetto was established on a single street for the selected workers. As Mike Jacobs, who was selected, recalled: "We were taken to a small ghetto that had been made that day. I always wondered how they could build a wall so quickly around that small ghetto. A wooden fence, built in only one day, surrounded the entire ghetto. We were put in small rooms with bunks."[26] Including others who emerged from hiding and sneaked in, probably around 3,000 people were living in the small ghetto by the end of 1942. Some of the Jews continued to work in German factories and offices, and others were engaged in clearing out remaining Jewish property from the area of the former ghetto.

On January 10, 1943, a second deportation Aktion was carried out, this time against the small ghetto. Members of the SS, the Polish (Blue) Police, the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian auxiliary forces surrounded the Jewish quarter and gathered 2,000 people, mostly Jews who were unable to pay the bribes necessary to be added to the registered list of workers at the factories; all were then sent to Treblinka. The Jewish Police assisted the Gestapo in finding those Jews who had gone into hiding.[27] On that day some 300 Jews were shot by members of the SS and the Schupo. Their corpses were burned and the remains buried in the Jewish cemetery in mass graves.[28]

Following the second deportation Aktion, only about 1,000 Jews were left in Ostrowiec; 300 of them worked at the Jaeger factory, 600 in the main Ostrowiec armaments factory, and the other 100 consisted of members of the Jewish Police and their families and other Jews whose job was to gather for the Germans all the possessions left behind by the deportees. Following the second Aktion, preparations were made for the establishment of a forced labor camp in Ostrowiec, which was to consist of a barracks compound to hold the Jewish factory workers.[29]

During the last phase of the ghetto's existence, a number of young Jews succeeded in escaping and tried to join up with Polish partisan groups that were active in the area. However, in one reported instance, a dozen Jews were betrayed or murdered by members of the Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army, AK), and the wounded survivors fled back to the ghetto. Others were simply turned away by AK detachments. The Jewish population became increasingly nervous following the closure of the nearby forced labor camp in Bodzechów, in early March 1943, where some Jews originally from Ostrowiec had been working. A few Jews also fled to the Aryan side, including Roza Rosenman and Cyrla Rakocz, who were both given assistance by Ewelina Lipko-Lipzynska once they had escaped from the ghetto.[30]

At the end of March 1943, there was a further deportation Aktion to Treblinka, which marked the final liquidation of the small ghetto.[31] The remaining Jews after this were all in the forced labor camp. In April 1943, 110 Jewish craftsmen from Ostrowiec were selected and transferred to the forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) in Bliżyn, which at that time was subordinated to SSPF Böttcher.[32] Subsequently other Jews were brought into the Ostrowiec labor camp from Piotrków Trybunalski, Starachowice, and the Płaszów concentration camp. The labor camp in Ostrowiec remained in existence until the evacuation of the remaining laborers in early August 1944.

SOURCES Further information on the history and the fate of the Jewish population of Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 55–58; J. Rosenberg, *Nazywam się Józef Nowak* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2004); M.Sh. Geshuri, ed., *Sefer Ostrovtseh: Le-zikaron ule-edut* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrovtseh be-Yisrael, 1971); and M. Jacobs, *Holocaust Survivor: Mike Jacobs' Triumph over Tragedy, a Memoir*, ed. G. Jacobs (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 2001).

Documentation regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Ostrowiec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/146, 301/2545, 301/2774, 301/2913, 301/3053, and 301/3056); BA-L (B 162/14485); IPN (ASG); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reels 2 and 14; RG-03.012*01; Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 37); and VHF.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3056, testimony of J. Libman; Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, p. 48.
2. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 2, pp. 402–415.
3. AŻIH 301/3053, testimony of F. Klajnman; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 37, 211/764; and Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 55.
4. AŻIH, 301/2545, testimony of S. Gutwilen.
5. Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, p. 49; and VHF, # 11984, testimony of Y. Baum.
6. Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, pp. 51–52.
7. Ibid., p. 48.
8. Ibid., pp. 51–52.
9. M. Gelbart, ed., *Kehilat Konin bi-ferihatah uve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Konin be-Yisrael, 1968), p. 488.
10. Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, p. 53; AŻIH, 301/146, testimony of S. Scherman; 301/2913, testimony of B. Judkiewicz.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14 (IPN, ASG, sygn. 47), pp. 116–117.
12. Rosenberg, *Nazywam się Józef Nowak*, p. 23; and Jacobs, *Holocaust Survivor*, p. 42.
13. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 56.
14. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, sygn. 47, pp. 116–117.
15. AŻIH, 301/2913; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 37, 211/765; and VHF, # 12270, testimony of J. Ancer.
16. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, pp. 116–117.
17. Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, p. 54; Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow. Skarżysko-Kamienna Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996), p. 36; Gelbart, *ehilat Ḳonin*, p. 488.
18. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 2, p. 403; and BA-L, B 162/14485, Verdict of LG-Hamb, 147 Ks 3/71, against Ernst Hugo Thoms, December 22, 1972, p. 9. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), p. 161, reports that 606 prisoners sent by the Sipo and SD in Radom were registered in Auschwitz on April 30.
19. AŻIH, 301/3056.
20. Ibid., 301/2913.
21. Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, pp. 64–65; AŻIH, 301/3056.
22. AŻIH, 301/146; and 301/3056.
23. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 57.
24. BA-L, B 162/14485, Verdict against Thoms, December 22, 1972, p. 17. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 2, pp. 402–415, gives a much higher figure than the German court estimate. See also AŻIH, 301/146; and 301/3056.
25. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, pp. 116–117; and BA-L, B 162/14485, Verdict against Thoms, December 22, 1972, p. 17.
26. Jacobs, *Holocaust Survivor*, p. 52.
27. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 57–58; AŻIH, 301/146.
28. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 2, pp. 402–415.
29. Geshuri, *Sefer Ostrovtseh*, pp. 76–77.
30. Ibid., pp. 77–78; AŻIH, 301/4953; Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 1:458.
31. AŻIH, 301/2913.
32. Ibid., 301/146.

OŻARÓW

Pre-1939: Ożarów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ozarow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ożarów, town, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Ożarów is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) east of Kielce. There were about 3,200 Jews living in Ożarów at the outbreak of World War II, on September 1, 1939.[1]

The Germans started a program of plunder, forced labor, and abuse during the first week of the occupation. The Germans nominated a Pole, Bidziński, as the mayor of Ożarów and the commander of the Polish (Blue) Police, which was subordinated to the German authorities. The Germans allowed the pre-war members of the Jewish community to retain their posts, but in early October they reconstituted this group under their own authority as a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Members of the Judenrat included Lajpcie Halpern (chairman), Szmulek Rozencwajg, Pincie Halpern, Szachne Frid, and Mojsze Szerman. The Judenrat selected the members of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), appointing a local lawyer as its commander. One of the Judenrat's first tasks was to provide the Germans with a daily quota of 40 to 50 men for compulsory labor.[2]

The men were conscripted for forced labor five days a week. They were taken in trucks 10 kilometers (6 miles) outside of Ożarów, where they had to dig up large rocks and break them into slag for road construction. The laborers were supervised by Ukrainians or German-speaking guards armed with rubber truncheons. While working, they were often kicked, beaten, and called names. No food was provided. They were paid a minimum wage distributed by the Judenrat, which deducted from this amount its own administration costs. By paying a weekly tax to the Judenrat, better-off Jews could exempt themselves from forced labor. Compared to the rest, families of members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police were relatively privileged.

The German authorities frequently demanded large monetary contributions. In early 1940, all Jewish businesses and goods were confiscated. Later that year, all the town's Jews were ordered to vacate their homes and move to a designated area. They were also ordered to put signs on their doors marked *Jude* (Jew).

From the beginning of the war, the Jewish population of the village was augmented by many refugees, of which about 200 settled in Ożarów, mostly from Łódź, Warsaw, and Kraków. At the end of 1939, the Germans ordered a number of Jewish farmers from neighboring villages to move to Ożarów. On December 4, 1939, a transport of 400 deportees from Włocławek arrived, and the number of Jews in Ożarów rose to 3,941, of which 706 were refugees. The Judenrat coordinated the distribution of accommodations. Every local family was forced to admit at least one newly arrived family. Later on, the newcomers were also quartered in the prayer house. On December 3, 1940, 100 impoverished Jews from Radom were transferred to Ożarów. At the end of March 1941, 100 Jews from Vienna and a number from Kraków arrived, bringing the number of newcomers to 892 out of a total of 4,133 Jews in Ożarów.[3] Around August 1941, about 400 deportees (80 families) from Łódź arrived.[4]

Fearing an epidemic in the overcrowded Jewish quarter, the Judenrat established a sanitation committee led by Andzel Bromberg. By 1940, Ożarów's Jews had been vaccinated for typhus. From March 1940, Jewish houses were inspected for cleanliness. Personal inspections and compulsory baths were also enforced. Dr. Teodor Drach checked the men, and Dr. Anna Bobowa, the women. Thanks in large part to their efforts, between January and May 1941, only 22 Jews and 40 Poles died, with no deaths from infectious disease. Statistics for 1941, however, reveal 150 patients being quarantined in the local synagogue, 8 of whom died. The records also show that 44 Jews were born in that year. In December 1940, a soup kitchen was established on the premises of the Jewish primary school, serving 500 meals daily to the poor and deportees. The kitchen operated intermittently; for example, in November 1941, the number of daily meals served was restricted to 110.[5]

The organization of social help was transferred from the Judenrat to a newly created Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee regional office in Opatów in December 1940. A separate branch in Ożarów was set up in June 1941. The Judenrat's president, L. Halpern, chaired the committee. A local pharmacist, Maurycy Rosenberg, served as his deputy after Dr. Drach turned down the post. Poverty and hunger forced many Jews to beg for food and money in the surrounding villages disguised as Poles. Some were hired by farmers for transitory work in agriculture. The deportees from Łódź set up a separate self-help committee in August 1941, which opened another soup kitchen in February 1942.[6]

The ghetto in Ożarów was established on January 1, 1942, in the section of the village already occupied by the Jews. The Germans confiscated all goods in the ghetto, including items of little value. The ghetto was not enclosed, but large signs were posted warning that any Jews proceeding more than 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the village would be shot. Poles could enter and leave the ghetto freely. In April 1942, the ghetto had 4,471 residents, including 1,349 deportees. In March 1942, Aaron Bodko was shot by German Gendarmes in front of the Judenrat for smuggling food into the ghetto. In the spring of 1942, there were rumors of a Polish-Jewish gang robbing ghetto homes at night. The victims did not report these assaults for fear of reprisals.

On April 16, 1942, the Judenrat chairman, L. Halpern, took part in a conference in Sandomierz attended by the heads of the Jewish Councils from nearby ghettos. One of the questions discussed was the possibility of organizing self-defense. Participants decided to keep close ties with the Judenrat in Radom and to collect money, in order to defend themselves by bribing the Germans. According to Henryk Fąfara, as a result of these efforts, the deportations from these ghettos, including Ożarów, were conducted later than in other places. Those Jews working for the Germans hoped to avoid deportation through hard work, making themselves indispensable.

In May 1942, the Judenrat registered 100 young men to be sent to labor camps. The going rate to pay for a substitute was 1,000 złoty, which only a few more wealthy Jews could afford. Those Jews remaining worked mainly for the Stuttgart-based company, Oemler, repairing the Opatów-Ożarów road. A few Jews worked in agriculture near the village.[7]

On the orders of Kreishauptmann Ritter in Opatów, effective June 1, 1942, Jews in Kreis Opatow were to be confined to only 17 points of concentration (as opposed to a previous total

of 150 settlements). Ożarów was selected as one of the permitted locations. Noncompliance was punishable by death. After the arrival of the Jews from neighboring settlements (including Lasocin), there were 4,648 Jews in the Ożarów ghetto.

On the morning of September 3, 1942, the Germans drove 3,000 Jews to the market square. The Jewish Police guarded the group while some Jews were selected for work in labor camps. About 700 young Jews were selected for the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. The column left for the Jasice train station, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Ożarów. Before reaching the station, the Jews were asked by the Germans if they wanted to work. Those who said they wanted to stay in Ożarów were ordered to strip naked and return to the ghetto. At the station, two nephews of a Judenrat member were removed from a cattle car before its departure. Other testimonies report that the Germans sought volunteers for HASAG by promising good treatment, decent wages, and permission to visit their families in Ożarów every two weeks. None of these promises were kept.[8]

In Ożarów itself, the Agraria Company (Lublin) set up a workshop producing straw baskets for ammunition storage in July 1942. By mid-October it employed 80 women and 126 men, with the aim of employing 400 Jews altogether. The laborers were not paid because Agraria was forced to pay the SS in Radom 5 złoty per day for each Jewish laborer. In return, Kreishauptmann Ritter, who had visited the workshop, assured the laborers that they would remain in Ożarów.[9]

The Germans liquidated the Ożarów ghetto at the end of October 1942. Most of the remaining 4,500 ghetto inhabitants were composed of the elderly, women, and children. Some were taken by wagon, and some walked to the Jasice train station. From there they were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. A significant number of Jews managed to run away en route to the station and went into hiding, either in the woods or with Poles. A group of 25 Jews was left in Ożarów to clean out the ghetto and sort Jewish possessions. Upon completion of their work, Ukrainian policemen shot them on the road to Sandomierz.

SOURCES The main source of information on the Jewish community in Ożarów is the book by Hillel Adler, *Memories of Ozarow* (Montreal: Ozarow Press, 1996). The chapter on the Holocaust is only brief. There is also an essay on the fate of Ożarów's Jews in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 39–42. The Ożarów ghetto is also mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 958–959; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 377–378.

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/536 and 211/775-76); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 38; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (# 05426, 31503, 32812); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38, 211/775-76.
2. VHF, # 31503-4, testimony of Helen Klaiman, 1997.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/536; VHF, # 32812, testimony of Pola Klepacz-Spigelman, 1997; see also # 05426-3, testimony of Jack Fleischer, 1995.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 22, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC); Adler, *Memories*, p. 203.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 22, 1942.
7. Adler, *Memories*, p. 194; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
8. See VHF,#32812;and #05426-3. Both contain inconsistencies.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38; VHF, # 31503-4.

PACANÓW

Pre-1939: Pacanów, village, Busko-Zdrój powiat, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Pacanow, Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Pacanów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Pacanów is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Busko-Zdrój. There were 1,850 Jews living in the town in 1939.

The Germans occupied Pacanów on September 7, 1939. As the situation in Pacanów was relatively stable at the start of the occupation, many refugees fled there. The nearest Gendarmerie post was in Busko, the Kreis center; however, the Gendarmes drove through Pacanów daily, visiting another post in nearby Słupia Nowa. They would often stop in Pacanów and harass Jews by beating them or cutting off their beards in the street.

In October or November 1939, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Moshe Aron as chairman. The Judenrat had the task of passing on and enforcing German orders and regulations. The Judenrat asked the Jews to surrender their valuables—gold, bronze, furs, and feather beds—to bribe the Germans and meet their demands for "contributions."

Starting in November 1939, all Jews between the ages of 16 and 60 were subject to forced labor for up to 10 hours per day. The Judenrat was responsible for providing the requested quota of workers. A number of conscripts from Pacanów had to report to Chmielnik, and from there they were dispatched to various forced labor camps. The Pacanów Jews worked mostly in agriculture. In the summer of 1940, when assigned to picking strawberries, Jews were able to take home a small portion of their pickings as a form of payment.[1]

In May 1940, there were approximately 2,200 Jews living in Pacanów, 250 of which were refugees. About 100 families lacked the basic means to support themselves. Almost all Jewish shops and businesses were now closed. Up until then, the Judenrat had been able to provide help for the refugees by

distributing potatoes, wood, and coal for heating. It also asked the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) based in Kraków for subsidies to open a soup kitchen, claiming that it was the best way to prevent outbreaks of disease in the village. The AJDC approved, and the soup kitchen was opened. In settlements where no kitchen was organized, groceries were distributed. The soup kitchen only functioned intermittently, because there was never enough money to keep it open for more than two or three weeks each month.[2]

To cope with the refugees and a large number of impoverished Jewish expellees arriving in the region, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), also based in Kraków, was established. The Kreis committee in Busko was established on November 4, 1940, with Josek Topioł as its chairman. The branch in Pacanów was set up shortly afterwards. Icek Frydman was the president; the other two members were Joel Feldman and Boruch Nudel.[3]

In December 1940, some of the 2,000 Jews expelled from the Distrikt capital in Radom were transferred to Pacanów. The group consisted of Radom's poorest Jews, as well as deportees from other cities who had been in Radom for only a short time. There were also expellees from Łódź, Kraków, Warsaw, Płock, and Głowno. In May 1941, the number of Jews in Pacanów reached 2,645, including 785 refugees.[4] The majority was still lodged in mass quarters, mainly in sheds or summer huts. The housing situation did not improve much with time; the last three families were only moved out of the sheds in December 1941.[5]

The date of the establishment of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) in Pacanów is not known, but it was probably in the second half of 1940, as in neighboring Chmielnik. The German authorities created it to maintain order in the Jewish quarter. Its post was located in the southeast corner of the marketplace. Shortly before Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, Wehrmacht units were stationed in Pacanów. The terror, beatings, and arrests increased at this time, and more Jews were sent to labor camps.[6]

On May 5, 1941, after an outbreak of typhus, a hospital was set up in the village. The Sanitary Commission inspected Jewish houses and courtyards for cleanliness twice a week and disinfected the dirtiest flats with sulfur. The Judenrat provided food for the patients and paid for their treatment. In June 1941, the hospital requested a list of 98 medicines, but it received only 25 items in insufficient quantities one month later—for example, only 20 ampules of calcium and 100 aspirin pills. With so little medication, it was almost impossible to combat the epidemic. From August onward, daily checks were carried out on the cleanliness of Jews' homes. As a result, in October 1941, the epidemic died out, and the hospital was closed, only to be reopened two months later, when new typhus cases emerged. Dr. Adolf Haas was in charge of the hospital. In March 1942, three typhus patients and one with typhoid were hospitalized.[7]

An open ghetto was set up in April 1942.[8] It consisted of 220 rooms in 125 houses located in the center of the village. Approximately 2,828 Jews, including 903 refugees, were squeezed into this small area. On average, there were 12 or 13 people living in one room. The marketplace was to be free of Jews, so they were forced to move out. They were also forbidden to enter it to buy food. Local peasants would smuggle items into the ghetto, selling food such as fish, eggs, or potatoes; all the same, there was hunger in the ghetto. Sometime in 1942, Jews from nearby settlements were relocated into the Pacanów ghetto.[9]

In July 1942, close to 10 percent of Pacanów Jews worked in agriculture, primarily at the Wójcza Manor and in nearby Słupia. In September 1942, there were 2,785 Jews in the Pacanów ghetto. Out of this number, 147 were craftsmen and 752 laborers. About 260 Jews worked in labor camps outside Pacanów.[10] A number of them worked on irrigation projects along the Strumień River, a tributory of the Vistula running through Słupia.

At the start of October 1942, a group of Germans came to Pacanów and ordered the youths in the ghetto to come out onto the street. They announced that if 2 healthy Jews from each family volunteered for labor camps, the elderly could remain in the village undisturbed. Everyone volunteered to go, but during the selection on the market square, only about 240 Jews were picked. They were marched for about 10 kilometers (6 miles) at night to Stopnica, where trucks were waiting for them. All were taken to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna.[11]

The liquidation of the Pacanów ghetto probably took place in early October 1942.[12] Before 5:00 A.M., the Germans gathered almost 3,000 Jews at the marketplace. According to one source, about 300 of Nowy Korczyn's Jews, who had remained to clean up the ghetto there after its liquidation, were added to the transport. From the marketplace they were marched to the train station in Szczucin; the guards beat them brutally along the way. Those who were unable to keep up with the column were shot. All were sent to the Treblinka killing center. On the day of the ghetto's liquidation, about 60 Jews were murdered. Their bodies were buried at the Jewish cemetery in Pacanów.[13] Some members of the small Jewish cleanup commando that was left in Pacanów were later taken to one of the labor camps in Kielce.[14]

SOURCES The Pacanów ghetto is mentioned briefly in Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Jerzy Tomaszewski and Andrzej Żbikowski, eds., *Żydzi w Polsce: Dzieje i kultura: Leksykon* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Cyklady, 2001), p. 377.

Documentation on the Jews of Pacanów and their fate in the ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/538; 211/777; and Ring I/897); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6094); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 38; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], reel 18; and RG-15.079M [Ring I], reel 47); VHF (# 12287 and 36818); and YVA.

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1. VHF, # 12287-4, testimony of Rose Herskowitz, 1996; Menashe Montzash, "In di yorn fun der Hitler okupatsye," in Efrayim Shedletski, ed., *Pinkes Khmyelnik: Yizker-bukh nokh der horev-gevorener Yidisher kehile* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Hmyelnik be-Yisrael, 1960), pp. 729–730.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), reel 18; Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
4. Ibid., RG-15.079M (Ring I), reel 47.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
6. "*Droga*," by Stanisław Pytko, in Miesięcznik Samorządowy, *Z Życia Gminy*, (Styczeń, 2006), p. 12.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
8. Ibid.; other accounts vary on the date.
9. VHF, # 12287-4; # 36818-55, testimony of Helen Masasch, 1997; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38.
11. VHF, # 12287-4; # 36818-55.
12. According to Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 148 (table 7), 173–174, and Tomaszewski and Żbikowski, *Żydzi w Polsce*, p. 377, the deportation took place in early October 1942. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 178, and Pytko, "*Droga*", p. 12, date it in early November 1942.
13. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1980), p. 195.
14. Joseph Goldstein, "Extracts from a Ghetto Diary," in Elhanan Erlikh, ed., *Sefer Stashov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ṣtashov be-Yisrael, 1962), p. 29.

PARADYŻ

Pre-1939: Paradyż, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Paradyz, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Paradyż, Łódź województwo, Poland

Paradyż is located 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) southeast of Łódź. The 1921 census registered 117 Jews in the village. When the war broke out in 1939, there were 100 Jews (15 families) living there.

The German occupying authorities established a Judenrat chaired by I. Kinigel. Herszel Dębowski served as the Judenrat's secretary, and in March 1941, he became also the chairman of the self-help committee then established in the village. The committee was to assist 78 deportees from Płock, who arrived in Paradyż on March 12, 1941, as well as several refugee families from Łódź and Głowno, who had settled there during the winter of 1940–1941.

There was already a significant housing shortage in the village because, as Dębowski reported, "the head of the borough removes Jews from their own small houses and replaces them with Poles." The only synagogue was also inaccessible to deportees, as a Polish school had been set up there. In the end, the newcomers were placed with local Jews, who already lived in cramped, one-room houses, thereby increasing overcrowding to 13 to 15 people per room. The Judenrat opened a soup kitchen on March 23 that fed up to 50 people daily, but it was closed on May 8, 1941. By June 1941, there were 260 Jews living in Paradyż.[1]

The following month, the Judenrat reported that many of the Jews in Paradyż, especially those from Płock, were suffering from swellings and leg boils. One of the self-help committee members, the elderly hospital attendant E. Moszkowicz, was charged with providing medical care to the Jews of Paradyż.[2]

A Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch was set up in the village in November 1941. It included Dębowski as chairman, as well as Azryel Bursztyn and Jankiel Gedalia. It reopened the soup kitchen on December 1, 1941; however, the 50 meals served daily covered only part of the community's needs.[3]

The Jews of Paradyż were ghettoized in January 1942, when Jews from surrounding settlements were transferred there. Dębowski described the situation in February 1942: "The Jewish population is impoverished due to restrictions on its place of residence. The number of people seeking assistance has risen significantly, because in January 70 paupers from surrounding villages were crammed into Paradyż." No one in the ghetto had permission to leave it. "Our work [of the JSS] is extremely hampered due to the lack of identity cards and permits [to leave the ghetto]," and "today, almost none of the [Paradyż] Jews can earn a living," he emphasized.[4]

After the establishment of the ghetto, the JSS tried—unsuccessfully—to procure work for some of the tailors and shoemakers from Łódź, by soliciting orders for them via the headquarters of the JSS in Kraków. Approximately 60 of the newcomers were able to find employment working in agriculture with local farmers in the summer of 1941. "Currently [February 1942], this is impossible, as a Jew must not leave Paradyż under penalty of death," reported the local JSS. Yet it hoped that 40 to 50 men and women could be employed on the surrounding estates including Wielka Wola, Dalszewice, and Stawiczki, all located 1 to 5 kilometers (0.6 to 3 miles) from Paradyż, provided that the authorities issued permission for them to leave the ghetto for work purposes. "Unfortunately we do not have special permits [to leave the ghetto] to speak with the owners or commissars of those estates," reported Dębowski.[5]

By July 1942, 18 ghetto residents were employed in road construction for the Strassenbauamt Radom (Nebenstelle Opoczno), for which they were paid a small amount. Another 20 laborers received no compensation, including 10 workers at the grain warehouse, workers for the local authorities in Wielka Wola, and those at the post office.[6]

In September 1942, there were 262 Jews living in the Paradyż ghetto, of which approximately 50 were working for the Germans.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on October 12, 1942. Its residents were transferred to the Opoczno ghetto, which the Germans liquidated on October 27, 1942, sending the Jews gathered there to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES The following publications make reference to the fate of the Jewish community in Paradyż during World War

II: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955), pp. 153 (table 10), 177–178; and Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), p. 185.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (211/779; 211/1039 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

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1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/779 (Paradyż), pp. 1–2, 8, 32.
2. Ibid., pp. 15, 30, 35, 54.
3. Ibid., p. 44; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1039 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), p. 62.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/779, pp. 52–53.
5. Ibid., pp. 56–57, 74, 77–78.
6. Ibid., p. 80.
7. Ibid., pp. 84–85.

PIŃCZÓW

Pre-1939: Pińczów, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Pinczow, Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Pińczów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Pińczów is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) south-southwest of Kielce. By 1939, the Jewish population numbered 3,500.

The Wehrmacht captured Pińczów on September 5, 1939. First, the town's Jews were rounded up; then women and children were separated from the men, upon which German machine guns were trained. All were held in a local church and its yard for over 24 hours while the Germans set fire to the town. An estimated 77 percent of the town's structures (of which 90 percent were Jewish-owned) were burned to the ground. Homeless Jews were housed initially in a public school that was soon taken over by the Wehrmacht and turned into a warehouse. The housing situation caused a large number of Jews to move to neighboring towns; many youths fled into Soviet-controlled territory, while the remainder tried to repair their homes.



Exterior view of a synagogue in Pińczów, 1936.
USHMM WS #77725, COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION: GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

Due to the fire, most of the town's authorities had to be moved to neighboring towns; for example, the nearest Gendarmerie post was in Busko, located 16 kilometers (10 miles) away, from where its officers oversaw Pińczów's affairs. At times, German soldiers came into Pińczów from Kielce to remove certain Jews and kill them; Gendarmes from Busko also conducted such raids.

The local rabbi, Szapsia Rapoport, was ordered by an SD officer (Sicherheitsdienst) to select 12 people for nomination to the Jewish Council (Judenrat) and submit a list naming all of the town's Jewish inhabitants. Both orders were to be carried out by the next day. A chairman and his secretary were appointed on the spot. The initial composition of the Judenrat (apart from one member, Lejb Gold) is unknown. Gold's son testified that his father and the others were forced to accept their nominations and were threatened with being killed if they did "not do a good job." By March 1940, the Judenrat included I. Górski (chairman) and Mojżesz Kozłowski; it is possible that both were members from the outset.[1]

Only detachments of the Polish (Blue) Police and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) were permanently stationed in Pińczów. A man named Wilczyński commanded the Polish (Blue) Police. Szmul Fainer, whom the town's Jews reportedly feared, headed the Jewish Police. According to Stanisław Jaklewicz, its members dutifully collected the contributions imposed by the Germans, often using batons to do so.

Despite occasional German visits, life was comparatively safe and quiet in Pińczów. Jews were able to pray in private. Some reopened their businesses. Despite German-appointed Polish and ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) "commissars," commerce carried on, albeit in secret. According to Gold, there was no hunger, as fields and farms surrounded the town. The situation worsened, however, when Jews were confined to a ghetto, and Jewish tradesmen were no longer able to travel.

Pińczów's Jews were employed in peat cutting for which they were paid with rations of flour. They would leave Pińczów at 5:00 A.M., walking up to 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) into the forest. Additionally, they repaired roads on the orders of the German army.

Despite the initial outflow of residents, the overcrowding was so severe in Pińczów that by August 1940 there were cases of contagious diseases. There were also 197 refugees in the town by November 1940, many of them likely relatives of Jewish residents of Pińczów. The number of refugees then stabilized, rising only to 218 by January 1941.[2]

Sources disagree regarding the date on which an open ghetto was created in Pińczów; dates range from November 1940 to April 1942 or later. These discrepancies probably indicate that the ghetto's establishment was never formally announced, but rather that Pińczów's Jews were forbidden to

leave the town's limits on penalty of death. Travel outside of Pińczów required a permit. There is an additional report that Jews were forbidden to use the town's main streets.

On February 15, 1941, a group of Jews was sent to the labor camp in Sosnowiec. There were reportedly 3,000 Jews (including 218 refugees) living in Pińczów in May 1941. The number of deportees then doubled to 434 by September 1941, while the total number of Jews decreased to 2,991, due to deaths caused by typhus and more roundups of people sent to labor camps. Pińczów was severely overcrowded, with an average of 20 people per room.[3]

By March 10, 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was set up in Pińczów to take over the provision of welfare from the Judenrat. The committee was chaired by Josek Fajnsztat and was assisted by Rabbi Rapoport. Its soup kitchen was launched on August 10, 1941, feeding approximately 800 impoverished Jews daily.

By April 1942, there were 3,377 Jews in the ghetto, including 400 refugees; its population increased to 3,554 by June 1942. More conscripts were sent to factories in Częstochowa and Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski in the summer of 1942. At this time, the kitchen fed 1,000 Jews daily. The JSS Women's Committee distributed additional rations to children 3 to 12 years old.[4]



Dudek Gold stands in front of a wooden fence inside the Pińczów ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #97088, COURTESY OF DAVID GOLD

According to survivor Leon Gross, the youth in the Pińczów ghetto set up a self-defense group about one year before the ghetto's liquidation. The group was in contact with Poles of Communist and Socialist orientation in the vicinity. For four to five weeks, the group hid an escapee from Treblinka who explained its role as a death camp. The Judenrat resented the group for disseminating this information, as it preferred to maintain the status quo and keep things calm in Pińczów. In the event of a deportation Aktion, the group planned to set Pińczów on fire; however, in the end, the group did not resist.[5]

On October 3, 1942, the Jews were instructed to report to the square in front of the brewery on Jędrzejów Street the following morning. The same day, Jews from the Wiślica and Busko-Zdrój ghettos were brought on wagons to Pińczów. They were held on the market square. The ghetto was liquidated on Sunday, October 4, 1942, when Jews from neighboring villages were also brought to Pińczów. The liquidation Aktion was carried out by the SS and Gendarmes, assisted by the Jewish Police.

About 3,000 Pińczów Jews gathered at the designated spot. Those who were discovered in hiding were not included in the transport but instantly shot. Polish firemen immediately boarded up emptied houses. The Jewish Police accompanied the Gendarmes. Approximately 150 elderly, women, and children were killed in the course of the liquidation Aktion. A number were killed or died of exhaustion on the way to Jędrzejów; the names of only two of these victims are known: Brania Josek Moszek and Splinen Brama. Upon reaching Jędrzejów, all the Jews were loaded onto trains and sent to the Treblinka killing center.[6]

Upon the column's departure from Pińczów, the corpses of dead Jews were loaded onto wagons by Polish farmers, firefighters, and the Jewish Police that the Germans had left behind following the deportation. The Jewish policemen, under supervision by the Gendarmes, buried these victims. The next day, Germans searched the empty houses for escapees and goods, again assisted by the Jewish Police. Several Jews, including a saddler and his son, were discovered and killed on the spot. Some local Poles who looted Jewish households were caught, beaten, and forced to return the goods. The hunt for hidden Jews in Pińczów lasted two days, after which the Germans departed.

In the course of the liquidation Aktion, Rabbi Rapoport presented the Gendarmes with Paraguay passports for his family. According to the postwar testimony of a relative of the rabbi, the Germans pretended to respect the passports but nevertheless attached the family to the transport to Jędrzejów; from there they went to Germany, where the family died in 1945. However, according to a pre-war neighbor, S. Jaklewicz, the rabbi was in touch with his family after the war—at first living in Switzerland, then in France, and later in Argentina.

Some of Pińczów's Jews escaped the deportation by joining two Jewish partisan units operating in the vicinity: the

"Zygmunt" detachment commanded by Zalman Fajnsztat and another commanded by Michał Majtek. Both units joined the Polish Communist Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, GL) and were active until February 1944, when they incurred heavy losses.

Poles in the vicinity saved a number of Pińczów's Jews. Some had their houses torched and were killed together with the Jews they had been sheltering when this was discovered (e.g., the Haberman family was arrested on May 1, 1943, with the Niechciał family who had hidden them; both families were executed two days later following their arrest in Busko). There are also accounts of Jews being betrayed by Poles or captured and handed over to the German authorities, who ultimately killed them.

SOURCES The ghetto in Pińczów is mentioned in the following publications: M. Shener, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Pintshev; in Pintshev togt shoyn nisht* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Pinczow in Israel and in the Diaspora, 1970); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 395; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 86; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 991; and Jarosław Tambor, ed., *Społeczeństwo żydowskie w Pińczowie* (Pińczów: Samorząd Miasta i Muzeum Regionalne w Pińczowie, 1998), p. 2.

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (210/547 [AJDC]; 211/271 [JSS]; and 301/2627 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 16; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (e.g., # 1981, 13170, 43645).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC Pińczów), 210/547, p. 1; VHF, # 1981, testimony of David Gold, 1995.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/547, pp. 21–22, 38–39, 43–44.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 16, 211/271 (Busko-Zdrój), p. 14.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 24, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/547, p. 58.
5. VHF, # 13170, testimony of Leon Gross, 1996.
6. Ibid., # 43645, testimony of Cela Miller, 1998.

PIONKI

Pre-1939: Pionki, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Pionki is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) east-northeast of Radom. In 1939, there were 168 Jewish residents out of a total population of approximately 7,700 people. This number increased to 327 in 1940 with the arrival of refugees, many of whom were members of residents' extended families.

Survivor Melvin (Mendel) Gelblat named Kocki as the first chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). By January 1940, its membership had increased to include S. Kirszenbaum, H. Libhaber, and Hendel.[1]

Aside from the provision of social assistance (including welfare support received from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee [AJDC]), the Judenrat conscripted Jews for labor assigned by the new German administrators of Pionki. Forced labor consisted of various maintenance jobs, including the dismantling of bombed-out houses and cleaning bricks, trucks, and horses; many Jews also worked as tailors. Another group helped to enlarge a train depot and unloaded shipments for the gunpowder factory in the town. The Wehrmacht managed to reopen this badly damaged factory and a nearby power plant in 1940, also forcing its pre-war Polish laborers to work there and later conscripting Pionki's Jews. Survivors mention an SS presence in the factory, which in fact was run by the Wehrmacht and was subordinated to the Armaments Inspectorate. Operations were under the command of Hauptmann Brandt.

Although survivor testimonies—on which this entry is mainly based—give various dates as to the ghetto's establishment, it was most likely set up in the autumn of 1941 or at the beginning of 1942. The Germans ordered all of Pionki's Jews to move to one of the longest streets in the northern part of Pionki—Leśna Street. The street was built up on only one side, as it faced a forest.

Similar confusion among survivors also applies to the ghetto's physical closure: some claim it was never fenced, whereas Sam Klaiman vividly recollects escaping from the ghetto through barbed wire. Nevertheless, from the very beginning of the ghetto's existence, Jews were forbidden to leave it. Poles, who had previously been the predominant inhabitants on Leśna Street, were evicted and forbidden to enter the ghetto, which reportedly had a small gate.

German forces and Polish (Blue) Police guarded the ghetto, the latter reportedly looking the other way when Jews were seen escaping. A Jewish police force was set up to maintain order inside the ghetto, resolve minor disputes, and report escapees. A Jewish policeman named Mendel arrested Sam Klaiman's mother for sneaking out for firewood. Mendel held her in a shed until his wife, whom Klaiman's father begged, freed her. This was followed by a public confrontation between Klaiman and Mendel, during which a bystander saved the former by intervening when Mendel attempted to kill him with a pick.[2] Two Jewish women were imprisoned in Radom for leaving the ghetto on June 24, 1942. Rywka Wajsman (née Szykman) is registered as having been "deported" on August 18, 1942. Rojza (Rosa) Gelblat (55 years old) was "executed" on August 15, 1942. The latter, presumably the mother of Melvin Gelblat, fled from the ghetto with one of her sons, who was shot while escaping on foot.[3]

Soon after the ghetto's establishment, Jews from nearby villages were forced into the ghetto during the winter of

1941–1942, including some from Sokoły and Klwatka. Inhabitants of the latter place were informed of the resettlement and tried to sell their belongings for food, as they knew they would not be allowed to leave the ghetto. By August 1942, the ghetto reportedly had only 682 residents.[4]

Ghetto inmates continued to labor at the gunpowder factory, to which they were escorted daily by Jewish policemen. Shifts lasted 8 to 10 hours, with Pionki's Jews working every other day. Some volunteered for unpaid labor in order to be fed. Poles administered the works canteen and distributed the same meals of vegetables and meat to Germans and Jews. At the time, Poles were the predominant factory laborers, and from them, Pionki's Jews were able to obtain news and additional food. Yetta Rosenberg added that food rations were distributed once a week among the Jewish laborers. At some point before the ghetto's liquidation, a number of Pionki's Jews were held permanently in a barrack on the factory grounds, while the majority continued to return to the ghetto for the night.

Until the ghetto's liquidation, there were no deportations of Pionki's Jews to other localities, nor were there attempts to organize a Jewish underground movement in the ghetto or to sabotage the factory.[5]

Survivors Manny Weizman and Sam Fireman name Nachman and Baer Kaplan as the "Jewish administrators of Pionki [factory]." Reportedly, the Kaplans befriended Hauptmann Brandt and inquired whether more Jews from the ghetto could work in the factory, as they knew that the Germans wanted to replace Poles engaged in sabotage and underground activities. Shortly afterwards, the Germans liquidated the Pionki ghetto without any warning. In the final stage of the ghetto's existence, due to overcrowding, some refugees had to camp out in the street.[6]

The majority of the deportees arrived just weeks or days before the Pionki ghetto's liquidation in August 1942. Most were likely assigned to work in the gunpowder factory, including refugees from Garbatka-Letnisko, Jedlnia Letnisko (ca. 300), and Jedlnia-Poświętne (ca. 100).

The liquidation of the Pionki ghetto took place on August 20, 1942. One day before, while working in the factory, Pionki's Jewish laborers were suddenly rounded up and informed that from now on they would live on its grounds. Most of these laborers were escorted back to the ghetto to pick up clothing and bedding and were able to say brief good-byes to their families. Some of the current workers that the Germans recognized as being too old or too young were sent back to the ghetto, while others were selected for work on the spot.

In the course of the liquidation, 488 Jews unfit for labor were taken to the nearby Zwoleń ghetto (20 kilometers [12.5 miles] southeast of Pionki), which was liquidated at the end of September 1942.

Approximately 200 laborers (men and women) from the liquidated Pionki ghetto were quartered in the factory's barracks, where a labor camp was set up that same month. Pionki survivors claim that they were the first and original Jewish laborers of the camp, which existed until 1944 and grew much larger; by January 1943, it had 850 Jewish and 3,220 Polish laborers.[7]

SOURCES The pre-war figure for the Jewish population in Pionki is from Adam Penkalla, *Akta dotyczące Żydów w radomskim Archiwum Państwowym, 1815–1950* (Jerusalem: Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People; Warsaw: ŻIH, 1998), p. 19. For changes in Pionki's Jewish population, Penkalla cites "Akta gminy Pionki (1931–1944)," vols. 13–14, 19–20; for information regarding the Pionki ghetto and the transfer of its population to Zwoleń, see "Starostwo Powiatowe w Kozienicach (1945–1950)," vols. 46–48, held in APR. Direct access to these collections was not possible for the author at the time of writing.

Figures for the population of the Pionki ghetto and for the deportees from other localities are as cited by Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955), pp. 158 (table 11), 160, 178–179. For more information on the Pionki labor camp, see Piotr Matusak, *Ruch oporu w przemyśle wojennym okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Wydawn. MON, 1983), pp. 45, 202, 277–289.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR; AŻIH (210/549); USHMM (RG-2.002*18, 23, and 26; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 3041, 4331, 8996, 16678, 33774, 33775, 41649, 44958, and 45313).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/549 (Pionki), p. 1; VHF, # 16678, testimony of Melvin Gelblat, 1996.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/549, pp. 1–4; VHF, # 3041, testimony of Sam Klaiman, 1995; # 44958, testimony of Simon Braitman, 1998.
3. Kazimierz Jaroszek and Sebastian Piątkowski, *Martyrologia Żydów w więzieniu radomskim 1939–1944: Wykaz zamordowanych, zmarłych, deportowanych do obozów koncentracyjnych i obozów zagłady* (Radom: Archiwum Państwowe, 1997), pp. 17, 77; and VHF, # 16678.
4. VHF, # 33774, testimony of Bella Malc, 1997; # 44958; # 33775, testimony of Michael Maltz, 1997.
5. Ibid., # 8996, testimony of Yetta Rosenberg, 1995; # 16678; # 33775.
6. Ibid., # 4331-1, testimony of Sam Fireman, 1995; # 41649, testimony of Manny Weizman, 1998; # 44958.
7. Ibid., # 45313-3, testimony of Tema Gutwaks, 1998; # 44958; # 3041; # 8996; and # 41649.

PIOTRKÓW TRYBUNALSKI

Pre-1939: Piotrków Trybunalski, city, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Petrikau, Kreis center, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Piotrków Trybunalski, Łódź województwo, Poland

Piotrków Trybunalski is located about 43 kilometers (27 miles) south-southeast of Łódź. The pre-war population of Piotrków consisted of 50,000 people, including about 15,000 Jews.



Survivors visit the Jewish cemetery in Piotrków Trybunalski, 1945. Among those pictured is the photograph's donor, Rose Guterman (at far right). USHMM WS #06950, COURTESY OF ROSE GUTERMAN ZAR

On September 5, 1939, the Germans entered Piotrków. Killings of Jews began immediately, and the next day the Germans set fire to the Jewish quarter. What did not burn was looted. Jews, especially older religious people, were kidnapped and sent to forced labor camps where they were tortured and beaten. Other people were taken as hostages and only released after the community paid "contributions."

In early October, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed. It was headed by a Bundist leader, Zalman Tenenberg. Included were also representatives of various Zionist groups, religious factions, and members of the Artisans Union. Szymon Warszawski represented all the nonaffiliated Jews. In all the various departments, together with the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), about 500 people worked in the community services controlled by the Judenrat.

The Jewish Police was headed by the lawyer Stanisław Zilberstein and was responsible for matters of public order, supplies, and health. Its function was also to enforce cooperation on those unwilling to work, as requested by the Germans. It was composed of 45 men divided into three groups. The policemen received special hats and armbands.

On October 8, 1939, Oberbürgermeister (Lord Mayor) Hans Drechsel ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski, which was the first ghetto in Nazi-occupied Europe. The Jews were given until October 31 to move into the designated ghetto area, which was located in an old and impoverished part of town. The borders of the ghetto were marked by signposts bearing the word *Ghetto* (in gothic script) above a white skull and cross bones on a blue background. It was not enclosed by a fence.[1]

On December 1, 1939, the Stadtkommissar (Oberbürgermeister Drechsel) ordered that 1,000 Jews had to report for forced labor every day and that Jews had to wear a yellow armband. He also imposed a curfew inside the ghetto from 3:00 P.M. to 8:00 A.M.[2] In 1940, all the Jews of Piotrków over the age of 10 were required to wear a white armband on their sleeves with a blue Star of David. Those who failed to comply were severely punished. Some people still disobeyed the order, despite the danger.

Men born between 1914 and 1923 were registered for forced labor by the Judenrat in March 1940.[3] Then in August, almost 1,000 men and boys, some only 16 years old, were sent to labor camps in the Lublin area to fortify the German-Soviet border. David Perach was among 150 initially sent to the camp at Cieszanów. The conditions were terrible: hard labor from dawn to dusk, whippings, and shootings. The most meager rations and primitive living conditions made those places a living hell. The gallant man who organized the repatriation of the laborers by negotiations and bribes was Salomon Gomberg. The young men were released in January 1941.[4]

The people of the ghetto tried their best to endure their cruel fate with dignity. The most shining example was the clandestine education organization. The teachers eager to practice their noble profession and the youngsters thirsty for knowledge formed a "bridge to humanity" by studying and organizing cultural activities such as symposia, plays, discussion groups, and musical events.[5]

The German official Ronig took over the administration of expropriated Jewish houses outside the ghetto. The Germans also appointed commissars to administer Jewish firms and stores. Forced labor involved backbreaking work. Street cleaning, repairing the roads, and serving the various German offices became a nightmare for the people. Very often the oppressors captured men, forcing them to perform harsh meaningless work just for torment. The Judenrat regularly supplied scores of Jewish workers via the Arbeitsamt (labor office). They worked, for example, draining swampy fields near the villages of Milejów and Witów, digging canals and trenches, removing tons of earth, and working up to their knees in water all day long.

Due to the resettlement of Jews by the German authorities, the ghetto population increased substantially as refugees arrived, for example, from Gniezno, Tuszyn, Łódź, Pabianice, and the regions of Poznań and Płock. The ghetto contained 182 run-down buildings in poor condition with 4,178 rooms. With nearly 20,000 Jews forced into the ghetto, there were roughly 5 people living in each room.[6]

As the population of the ghetto increased and the overcrowding intensified, outbreaks of disease reached epidemic proportions. In 1941, a typhus epidemic claimed over 1,000 victims. The newly formed sanitary committee introduced compulsory baths and the disinfection of clothing every three weeks for the inhabitants of each house. They also quarantined those houses affected. The sanitary squad consisted of 60 men, which later became the Sanitary Police.[7]

The Welfare Department of the Judenrat was very active in providing support where needed, including emergency services. They organized medical and dental clinics as well as a pharmacy. Social welfare kitchens were established for the poor, such as the unemployed and those who had lost their businesses.

A number of local companies—such as the Kara and Hortensja Glassworks; the Petrikauer Holzwerke (wood factory) owned

by Dietrich and Fischer, also known as "the Bugaj"; the Ostbahn; the Kreisgenossenschaft; and Phoenix—began to employ Jews, but young workers were given priority.

Those employed in the glassworks learned new crafts. The work itself was very hard. About 1,100 Jews worked in the Kara and Hortensja factories as glass breakers and blowers. They also loaded and unloaded soda, coal, bricks, sand, cement, and other materials. At the Kara factory the managers, Vogel, Popielowski, Mrozinski, and the many foremen, German and Polish, mistreated the workers at every opportunity. A giant glass oven cistern had to be built, and a huge, deep pit was dug for this purpose. The Jews had to remove large amounts of earth from the pit while foremen armed with sticks stood by, beating the workers. This work lasted a year, and in 1943 a new smelting pot and other small buildings were ready. The construction was completed thanks to the sweat and blood of the Jewish workers who carried all the bricks and stones.[8]

On July 5, 1941, the chairman of the Judenrat, Tenenberg, together with several Bundists on the Jewish Council were arrested, as the Germans suspected that they were cooperating with the underground. The investigation lasted 10 weeks, and those arrested were cruelly tortured to extract information. In September the arrestees were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Soon afterwards their families received telegrams informing them of the deaths of the men from various diseases. Szymon Warszawski replaced Tenenberg as chairman of the Judenrat.[9]

During the winter of 1941–1942 the German requisition of furs (*Pelzaktion*) was a further severe blow to the ghetto inmates. All heavy coats as well as furs were requisitioned. Many people became sick as a result of the loss of their winter coats. At the end of 1941, the Germans issued an order prohibiting Jews from leaving the ghetto. Jews caught outside the ghetto faced the death penalty. In early March 1942, the German administration in Piotrków ordered the ghetto to be closed by April 1, 1942. From that date, it was sealed: Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and no non-Jews were allowed to enter it.[10]

The Germans began preparations for the deportations (*Aussiedlung*) at the beginning of September 1942 with the creation of the Small Ghetto. The block of houses encompassing the Jerozolimska, Garncarska, Zamurowa, and Staro-Warszawska Streets was fenced in with barbed wire. It was rumored that only 3,000 productive Jews would remain for work at the German factories. At this time thousands of Jews were brought into the ghetto from the neighboring towns and villages, such as Sulejów, Srocko Prywatne, Wolbórz, Gorzkowice, and others, raising the total ghetto population to some 25,000. The tension in the ghetto reached its climax on October 13, 1942. The horrifying news spread that the "Aktion" was scheduled to begin on the following day.

On the night of October 13–14, 1942, SS and Ukrainian auxiliary forces surrounded and sealed off the ghetto. The Aktion began at dawn. The first group of people was ordered to go out to the Deportation Square opposite the Jewish Hospital. The commanders of the operation—headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Adolf Feucht from Radom, the main deportation expert in the Generalgouvernement—stood in the center of the square. As soon as the Jews had been lined up in rows, the Nazis selected the factory workers, who were sent to their workplaces. The others were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. The quota that day was 6,000 people, or enough to fill the 52 cattle cars. Once the quota was filled, all the others were sent back to the ghetto.

During the ensuing dreadful week, the workers from the glass factory, including the Jews who were temporarily housed there, saw the trains departing for Treblinka and witnessed the trembling hands of people groping at the window gratings and their terrible cries as they were carried off to their deaths. Trains departed on Wednesday, Friday, Monday, and on Wednesday again. In total, more than 20,000 Jews were deported. About 1,000 Jews were shot during the deportation Aktion, mainly the old and sick.

This experience left deep wounds in the souls of those who witnessed it. On the day of the last transport the Nazis realized that several cars would remain empty. The quota of 6,000 had not been met. They rushed the remaining inhabitants of the Small Ghetto to the square, where Feucht passed among the ranks and selected the 300 victims he needed. He took the scholars of the Jewish community, its leaders, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and others who had belonged to the Jewish Council. Finally he came to Rabbi Moshe Chaim Lau, who alone among them still kept his traditional dress and beard. The murderer pointed his cane at the rabbi: "The Jews need Rabbis there too," he shouted. Dislodged from his position and clutching a small Torah scroll, the rabbi joined the last Treblinka transport of Piotrków Jews. With their departure the great community of illustrious, ancient Piotrków was no more.[11]

When the workers from the Bugaj and the glass factories returned, they were housed in the Small Ghetto, in the dwellings of those who had been deported. Meanwhile, the people who had remained hidden in their houses outside the Small Ghetto filtered back in. Those several hundred "illegals" were of concern to Warszawski and his aides, who feared that the clandestine influx might provoke a further selection.[12] Indeed, soon the Germans began intensive searches assisted by the Jewish Police. The search uncovered several hundred Jews, including entire families. They were incarcerated in the Great Synagogue. Here, the murderers committed brutal atrocities with satanic pleasure. They carried infants out of the building, smashed their heads, and hurled their bodies into basin heaters over bonfires. The first group of people was sent by horse carriages to nearby Tomaszów Mazowiecki, where the deportations to Treblinka were still going on.

A month later, the Nazis assembled another group of several hundred victims from bunkers (hiding places) and the "illegals" from the Small Ghetto in the synagogue. On December 20, 1942, several hundred Jews were taken to their bitter end in the Raków Forest, first digging their own graves before they were mercilessly shot.[13] (In July 1943, during the liquidation of the Small Ghetto, 39 small children were killed in the same location.)

Only 2,400 Jews were permitted to remain in the Small Ghetto known as the "Blok," because of their work in vital industries; in fact, the population exceeded 3,000. Most inhabitants were employed in factories, thanks to which the group was allowed to remain. Others, however, worked in the "shop," which produced clothing for the Germans, and at the Befehlsstelle, cleaning up the large ghetto and sorting and shipping the "goods" to Germany. A small group worked in internal services, the laundry, and in the kitchen; on food supply; at the clinic and at janitorial work; and for the Jewish Police. Prior to the December massacre in Raków, 160 people were killed in the forest on November 20, 1942.[14]

In February 1943, 250 people were deported to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factories in Skarżysko-Kamienna. A month later another 250, mostly women, were sent to the same place, among them the rabbi of Radoschitz (Radoszyce), Admor Itzhakl Finkler, and his family.[15]

On March 21, 1943, the Germans perfidiously conducted a massacre during Purim. They took 10 scholars, doctors, and lawyers, claiming that they would be exchanged for Germans from Palestine. Doctors Brams and Glatter, attorneys Silberstein and Stein, their families, and others were brought to the Jewish cemetery, ordered to strip naked, and killed without mercy.[16]

In July 1943, it became known that only about 1,500 Jews were to remain in Piotrków, employed in the Kara and Hortensja Glassworks and in the Bugaj Lumberworks. The workers were destined to live within the factories' grounds. About 1,500 excess Jews were sent to the Bliżyn camp. Three truckloads sent to Pionki, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, and Radom completed the fate of the residents of the Small Ghetto. The ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski ceased to exist. When the transport left town in the second half of July, an official sign reading "Petrikau ist judenrein" (Piotrków is cleansed of Jews) was posted at the railroad station.[17]

The two labor camps that remained within the Piotrków city limits were headed by Szymon Warszawski at the Bugaj and Salamon Gomberg at the Kara and Hortensja. On November 26, 1944, the remnants of the Jewish population of Piotrków were put into cattle wagons to be transported to three destinations. The majority from the glass factories and a smaller part from the Bugaj were sent to the HASAG facilities in Częstochowa—the Pelzerei, Warta, Raków, and Częstochowianka factories. The larger part of those from the Bugaj, including about 50 people from the glassworks, were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp. The women and small children from both places were sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

In January 1945, only two small groups of Piotrkower were liberated at the Warta and Pelzerei in Częstochowa. The rest were sent to Buchenwald. From Ravensbrück some women from Piotrków were sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Only about half of the people that left Piotrków in November 1944 survived the atrocious conditions in various German concentration camps and on the death marches. By the end of 1946, about 600 Jews had registered with the Jewish Committee in Piotrków, and only 150 remained in the town by December 1948.[18]

SOURCES The English-language yizkor book edited by Ben Giladi, *A Tale of One City: Piotrków Trybunalski* (New York: Shengold in cooperation with the Piotrkow Trybunalski Relief Association in New York, 1991), contains much material from the original yizkor book, Yaakov Malts v-Naftali (Lavi) L'au, ed., *Pyotrkov Tribunalski veha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Vaadat ha-maarekhet shel ha-sefer shele-yad Irgun yots'e Pyotrkov be-Yisrael, 1965), including the excellent article by Dr. Joseph Kermish, "The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Piotrkow by the Nazis during World War II." Other relevant publications include memoirs by Isaac Goodfreind, *By Fate or by Faith* (Atlanta, GA: Longstreet, 2001); Charles Kotkowsky, *Remnants (Memoir of a Survivor)* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2000); Schraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben: Vom Pabianice und Piotrków in Polen durch die Lager Skarzysko Kamiena, Blizyn, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Ohrdruf bis zur Befreiung in Buchenwald* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004); Sidney Finkel, *Sevek and the Holocaust: The Boy Who Refused to Die* (Matteson, IL: Sidney Finkel, 2006); Yechiel Granatstein, *One Jew's Power, One Jew's Glory: The Life of Rav Yitzchak Shmuel Eliyahu Finkler, the Rebbe of Radoschitz, in the Ghetto and Concentration Camps* (Jerusalem: Feldheim, 1991); and Yisrael Meir Lau, *Al tishlah yadkha el ha-na'ar* (Tel Aviv: Yedi'ot aharonot: Sifre hemed, 2005). There are also a number of relevant articles including William Samelson, "Piotrków Trybunalski: My Ancestral Home," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 1–16; A. Brzeziński, "Eksterminacja ludności powiatu piotrkowskiego w latach 1939–1945," in *Rocznik Łódzki* (Łódź, 1972), 16: 147–148; and many others published in *The Voice of Piotrkow Survivors*.

Documentation and testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews of Piotrków Trybunalski during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1565; Ring I/340); BA-L (206 AR-Z 32/63); FVA (# 306, 888); IPN; USHMM (RG-10.045); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1100, 1298, 2568, and 2576; O-3/522-26, 2777, and 3287; and O-21/4).

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NOTES

1. Decree of Hans Drechsel, *Wiadomości Piotrkowskie*, no. 5, October 8, 1939; Kermish, "The Destruction," in Giladi, *A Tale of One City*, pp. 323–353; Finkel, *Sevek and the Holocaust*, p. 27; Mala Tribich, "A Child in the Holocaust," *The Voice of Piotrkow Survivors*, no. 41 (140) (November–December 2005): 12–15; and Samelson, "Piotrków Trybunalski: My Ancestral Home," p. 2; AŻIH, Ring I/340.

2. AŻIH, Ring I/340, Verordinung des Stadtkommisars von Piotrków, Drechsel, über Beschränkungen, die den im Getto befindlichen Juden auferlegt werden.

3. Bekanntmachung der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Petrikau, March 1940, republished in Giladi, *A Tale of One City*, p. 170.

4. David Perach, "The First Transport to the Labor Camp," in Giladi, *A Tale of One City*, pp. 202–203; Kermish, "The Destruction," p. 330.

5. Ben Giladi, "The Topic of Resistance," in Giladi, *A Tale of One City*, pp. 246–250, here p. 247.
6. Kermish, "The Destruction," pp. 331–332.
7. Ibid., p. 334; *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 19, September 24, 1940.
8. Kermish, "The Destruction," p. 331.
9. Ibid., pp. 334, 350; Giladi, "The Topic of Resistance," p. 247.
10. Kermish, "The Destruction," p. 335; Finkel, *Sevek and the Holocaust*, p. 29.
11. Kermish, "The Destruction," pp. 338–340.
12. Sheraga Golani, *Brennendes Leben* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004), p. 60.
13. Kermish, "The Destruction," p. 342.
14. AŻIH, 301/1565, testimony of Blanka Goldhaust; Kermish, "The Destruction," p. 341.
15. Granatstein, *One Jew's Power*, pp. 89–91.
16. Dr. Michael Lubliner, "The Purim Massacre in Piotrkow," in Giladi, *A Tale of One City*, pp. 237–240.
17. Kermish, "The Destruction," p. 343; BA-L, 206 AR-Z 32/63.
18. Kermish, "The Destruction," pp. 343–344.

POŁANIEC

Pre-1939: Połaniec, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Polaniec, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Połaniec, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Połaniec is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) northeast of Kraków. In 1939, there were 864 Jews living in Połaniec.

The persecution of Połaniec's Jews began even before German troops arrived, at the hands of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). The Wehrmacht occupied the village on September 5, 1939, and further abuse followed soon thereafter.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in October 1939. Among its members were the following: Shachne (surname likely Hanger, a carpenter), Avram Nogel, Meir Schlachter, Nehemiah Schnifer, and Shlomo Zucker. The Judenrat was held responsible for carrying out German orders. At this time, a unit of Polish (Blue) Police was organized, with Michał Peksa as its commander. The Jewish Police was likely organized in 1940.

Many Jewish refugees settled in Połaniec after the war broke out. The village lacked good road or rail connections, and with no German Gendarmerie post, Połaniec was regarded by many as a fairly safe place, where Jews were left in peace.[1] The Germans did not kill any Jews in Połaniec until early 1942.

According to the Judenrat in Połaniec, there were about 90 refugee families (mostly from Łódź) residing there by the fall of 1940. On December 3, 1940, on the orders of the Kreishauptmann in Opatów, 150 Jews were resettled from Radom to Połaniec. Some of them were already sick. Połaniec's Jews encountered problems housing this large number of people, since most houses were single-room cottages. The Judenrat solicited the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), based in Kraków, for help. Although Połaniec's Judenrat complained that it never received any outside assistance, the AJDC office maintained that a delegation from Radom's Judenrat visited Połaniec and some assistance was provided. Połaniec was also advised to open a soup kitchen for the resettled Jews. At this time, charity efforts in Połaniec were bringing in approximately 100 złoty per month. The Połaniec Judenrat, however, estimated that 1,000 złoty was necessary to cover the basic needs of the Radom expellees. At the end of 1940, there were approximately 1,200 Jews living in Połaniec. In March 1941, about 300 more Jews were brought in from neighboring towns; among them a number of deportees from Vienna.[2]

The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), also based in Kraków, was created especially for providing social and medical relief for refugees and the needy. Połaniec was subordinated to the regional office organized in Kreis Opatow in December 1940; however, a separate committee was not established in Połaniec, and the village came under the local Staszów branch administration. It is not known when assistance to the refugees and deportees in Połaniec started, but in February 1942, the soup kitchen distributed 8,600 meals. From that month on, children up to 13 years of age received additional food rations: 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and a glass of sweetened coffee.[3]

Sometime in 1941, the SS arrived and took hostage two Judenrat members: Schnifer and Nogel. They were to be released only upon delivery of a large ransom in silver and copper. The SS held the men in the nearby village of Łoniów, torturing them for three days until the ransom was paid.

In May 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter in Opatów ordered the concentration of all Jews in the Kreis in only 5 towns and 12 settlements by the end of the month. Połaniec was chosen as one of the settlements, which from June 1, 1942, were to be recognized as ghettos. This was the first stage in the German plan to "cleanse" the region of Jews. The arrival of 500 more Jews from nearby settlements produced further overcrowding in the village. As living conditions deteriorated, an outbreak of typhus developed in the summer of 1942. By June 1942, the ghetto had 1,553 inhabitants.

In August or September 1942, a German Gendarme accompanied by a Polish policeman arrested Yeshayahu Rothenberg at his home, took him to the bridge near the church, and shot him. At the same time, they also shot the head of the municipal council. Rothenberg was buried at the place where he was shot. Local Jews then bribed the Gendarme for permission to retrieve Rothenberg's body and rebury it in the Jewish cemetery.

Despite Połaniec being cut off from the outside world, news of Jews being deported to unknown destinations, allegedly to labor camps, had reached the ghetto by September 1942. Połaniec's Jews were suspicious of the fact that the transports included the elderly and children, who were unable to work. By early October, the number of Jews in the ghetto had risen to 2,200, more than doubling the pre-war number. Among the new arrivals were also several Jews who had escaped from recent deportation Aktions, including Yadzya Offman, who brought a horrific description of the Aktion in Koprzywnica. As rumors spread in mid-October of an impending Aktion in

Połaniec, many left to hide in the woods or bribed peasants to conceal them.

Some larger families divided themselves and went to separate hiding places to enhance their chances of survival. According to one testimony, there were groups of Jewish and Russian partisans in the vicinity of Połaniec, which took in some of the Jewish escapees. However, there were also instances of Jews being killed in the nearby forests by common criminals or Polish right-wing underground organizations, including elements of the Armia Krajowa (Home Army, AK). According to Moshe Szlachter, "all peasants" rid themselves of Jews who paid for shelter with the same ploy: saying that the Germans were coming to search their homes. Several Jews were even murdered after the liberation. Despite this, a number of Jews received various forms of help from local Poles. Several Poles from the area around Połaniec have been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations.

German-led forces arrived in Połaniec on Sunday morning, October 18, 1942, to liquidate the Połaniec ghetto. They ordered all Jews to report to the marketplace within half an hour, warning people that those who did not comply would be punished by death. They allowed Jews to take with them only a few basic necessities. All who reported were formed into two rows. During the roundup, Germans and their collaborators combed the village for hidden Jews. They shot on the spot anyone they discovered.

The selection took about five hours. Jews who were deemed unfit for travel were killed in front of the others. The three small children of Azriel Knobel wandered among the dead until an SS man shot them. Dead bodies were piled up in the middle of the market square. Then a column of those Jews that remained was marched 18 kilometers (11 miles) to Staszów. Those who could not keep up with the column were shot along the way. Only at night did the Germans permit the burial of the dead at the Jewish cemetery. According to one source, 300 Jews that had remained in Połaniec were taken to Staszów on the next day, October 19, 1942. Altogether, about 2,000 Jews were deported to Staszów. Initially they were caged on the town's market square, but later they were released into the ghetto, on condition that they did not attempt to run away.

A 90-year-old rabbi was walled up in his cellar in Połaniec by his son-in-law, who then ran away. The rabbi and his two grandchildren were discovered a few days later. Although he could no longer walk, he was arrested and then sent to Staszów. During the searches of the ghetto and the surrounding area for escaped Jews and Polish partisans over the period up to June 1944, Gendarmes from Staszów and Sandomierz shot at least 55 Jews and 19 Poles.

After the liquidation of the Połaniec ghetto, the Germans destroyed the wooden Jewish houses, while stone houses were sold. The synagogue was purchased by an ethnic German and demolished for firewood. Many Torah scrolls were destroyed.

The liquidation of the Staszów ghetto took place on November 8, 1942, when almost 6,000 Jews were marched to the Szczucin train station. About 700 to 740 Jews collapsed and were shot before reaching the station. The remaining Jews were loaded on trains and sent to their deaths at the Treblinka killing center.[4]

SOURCES Information regarding the destruction of the Jewish community of Połaniec can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 382–384; testimony of the survivor Moshe Szlachter, article on the Web (www.plontch.net/ybta.htm); and Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/813, 2280, 2291, and 3743); BA-L (B 162/4872); IPN (IPN 0173/97, Charakterystyka no. 135, p. 4); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3743; 301/2280.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 20, 1942.
4. BA-L, B 162/4872, Vorläufiger Abschlussbericht, April 21, 1960, reports that Staszów's Jews were deported to Treblinka; some other sources, e.g., AŻIH, 301/4972, indicate Bełżec as the destination.

PRZEDBÓRZ

Pre-1939: Przedbórz, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Przedborz, Kreis Konskie, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Przedbórz, Łódź województwo, Poland

The town of Przedbórz is located 87 kilometers (54 miles) south of Łódź. On the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Przedbórz had about 4,500 Jewish inhabitants.[1]

In the course of heavy fighting, Przedbórz changed hands several times in the September 1939 campaign. As a result, 70 percent of Przedbórz was destroyed, especially the town center, which was predominantly populated by Jews. Looting, persecution, forced labor, and murder began almost from the first day of the occupation. In view of the difficult conditions, hundreds of Jews—especially the better-off—left Przedbórz permanently.[2]

The town's Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created soon after the Germans arrived and was made responsible for the fulfillment of all German orders. Avigdor Tannenbaum, a lumber merchant and Zionist leader, was its first chairman. By May 1940, another Zionist, Zysman Tyberg, a former vice-mayor of Przedbórz, had replaced him. Other members of the Judenrat included Dawid Frydman (deputy), Dr. Juda Kamiński, Josek Rapoport, and Eliasz and Szachna Rozencwajg. Most of them had been community activists before the war. A soup kitchen for the poor was established in February 1940.[3]

In the spring of 1940, on orders from the Kreishauptmann in Końskie, Dr. Albrecht, an open ghetto was established in Przedbórz.[4] All of the town's Jews had to move across the

bridge to the predominantly Jewish suburb of Widoma. The ghetto consisted of Trytwa, Częstochowska, and Leśna Streets. The Poles living there had to vacate their houses. The transfer of people occurred immediately after the Germans announced the ghetto's establishment. The Jews moving in were forced to leave behind their sewing machines and other tools.

The ghetto initially had 2,800 residents. Large signs were posted on the streets warning ghetto inhabitants not to leave its confines; however, non-Jewish Poles were still allowed to enter the ghetto. Until October 1941, Jews caught outside the ghetto were fined between 5 and 50 złoty. Subsequently they faced the death penalty.[5]

Initially, there was no risk involved in smuggling food into the ghetto. One had to pass the Gendarmerie post on the bridge; but only occasionally did the Gendarmes turn people back. Yet with time, the Gendarmerie started shooting Jews for small misdemeanors—or for no reason at all. The executions were carried out at the local Jewish cemetery. A Gendarme by the name of Ettler reportedly terrorized Jews and Poles. In addition to the Gendarmerie, a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was set up to maintain order inside the ghetto.

In August 1940, about 150 young Jews were sent to the Zagacie labor camp, 14 kilometers (9 miles) from Przedbórz, where they drained land along the Czarna River. The laborers received insufficient food and no bedding. The Przedbórz Judenrat was ordered to provide them with food. A month later, when 180 Przedbórz Jews were working in Zagacie, a soup kitchen was established there. On November 13, 1940, 150 men from Przedbórz were released from the camp, only to be replaced by a new group of 200. According to one source, a number of Jews were also sent to a labor camp in Częstochowa.

In November 1940, the ghetto had 3,100 inhabitants, including 100 expellees from Łódź. The social branch of the Judenrat (run by Dawid Frydman) was able to obtain some help from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) based in Kraków. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was set up to take over the provision of aid for poor Jews from the Jewish Councils. The Kreis committee, based in Końskie, was established on September 26, 1940. The Przedbórz branch was launched in June 1941. Dawid Gottesman became its president, with Zysman Tyberg as his deputy. In July 1941, the rations and financial resources for Przedbórz diminished considerably, and the soup kitchen had to be closed. Kraków's JSS warned Przedbórz that their subvention would be cut if the Judenrat failed to reopen the kitchen. In August, the kitchen was feeding the poor every day except Saturday. About 200 children were receiving supplementary food rations. Despite these efforts, there was never enough food to go around. At this time, there were 3,150 Jews in the ghetto, 75 of them newcomers.

During this difficult period for the community, 23 poor Jews from Mnin—near Stopnica—were resettled into the ghetto on May 23, 1941. Due to extreme overcrowding, they were housed in the synagogue with other homeless Jews. To make matters worse, the Kreishauptmann ordered that the ghetto's boundaries were to be reduced. Trytwa Street was then excluded from the ghetto. The unsanitary living conditions led to renewed outbreaks of typhus (the first were in 1940).[6]

In June 1941, there were 3,211 Jews living in the ghetto. Around 10 percent of Przedbórz's shop owners and craftsmen were still permitted to operate their businesses. In 1941, the town's carpenters manufactured 2,500 tables for the Technisches Baubüro (Construction Office), while lathe operators filled orders for the Magister Śliwa Company in Kielce.[7]

In October 1941, typhus claimed more victims. Out of 3,000 Jews in the ghetto, the JSS estimated that over 100 were infected. Hospitals overflowing with the epidemic's victims in neighboring towns began to refuse treatment to Jews from Przedbórz. On December 3, 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to set up an epidemic hospital in a ruined building at 18 Wierzbowska Street. The Jews living there were given only a few hours to vacate the property.

It has been alleged that, at the request of the Radoszyce Judenrat, 67 of its most impoverished Jews were transferred to Przedbórz on December 22, 1941. Within a week, this number rose to 95. Przedbórz complained to the JSS in Kraków that Radoszyce's behavior "deserved condemnation." These recent expellees were housed in the synagogue. From then on, Przedbórz's Jewish authorities expected the continued resettlement of Jews from neighboring villages without sufficient means to help them. Finally, the deported Radoszyce Jews were sent back on February 28, 1942. This did not, however, ease the situation, as 119 Jews from Góry Mokre, Mojżeszów, Wojciechów, and other nearby settlements arrived in their stead. By April 1942, the ghetto was still not fenced, yet the number of Jews confined within it reached its peak: 4,300, including 200 expellees. The ghetto consisted of 120 houses in which there were 500 rooms. On average, at least 8 people shared 1 room.

In February 1942, the only Jewish craftspeople working in Przedbórz were some carpenters manufacturing beds for the German army. When Kraków's JSS informed the Jewish community in Przedbórz of the possibility of organizing craft workshops, it was eager to cooperate, as 150 carpenters and other craftsmen were in desperate need of employment. The workshops were established after May 1942.[8]

In either the spring or the summer of 1942, the ghetto's area was reduced when the Germans excluded its only playground. At that time a child day-care center was organized for about 125 children, aged four to eight. A nurse from the epidemic hospital, with three assistants, ran the center. Apart from two daily meals, the children were kept busy with songs, walks, gymnastics, and reading religious stories. Twice a month the children were bathed.

The ghetto in Przedbórz was liquidated on October 9, 1942. The elderly and the children were shot in the town. The Germans promised to spare eight Jewish policemen and one Judenrat member from deportation, presumably in return for their help in organizing the deportation. All nine were shot while the remaining Jews were on their way to Radomsko, 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) away. Some of the Jews were transported

on horse-drawn wagons, while the rest had to walk. Near the village of Granice many Jews attempted to escape, but the German police shot most of these people.

The Przedbórz Jews arrived in Radomsko around 2:00 P.M., and along with 5,000 local Jews, they were taken to the train station. On a rainy day, they waited in the open for a cattle train to arrive. The transport departed for the Treblinka extermination camp around 8:00 P.M., on October 10, 1942. The remainder of Radomsko's Jews were deported two days later.

In the spring of 1945, nine Jews who returned to Przedbórz were murdered in a nearby forest by a group under the leadership of Dovski, who was known as an antisemite before the war. According to Polish sources, a squad of the Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces, NSZ) led by Captain Władysław Kołaciński was responsible for the murders.

SOURCES Published sources on the fate of the Jewish community in Przedbórz during the Holocaust include: Shim'on Kants, ed., *Pshedboz': 33 shanim la-hurbanah: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv, 1977); and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 206–208.

Relevant information on the Przedbórz ghetto can be found in the following archives: APK (Akta miasta Przedborza 578-581); AŻIH (210/566 [AJDC]; 211/828-832 [JSS]; and 301/2513 [Relacje]); BA-L (B 162/6211); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); VHF (# 20127 and 20562); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Jerzy Tomaszewski and Andrzej Żbikowski, eds., *Żydzi w Polsce: Dzieje i kultura: Leksykon* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Cyklady, 2001), p. 377; Krzysztof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach: FPHU "XYZ," 2007), p. 387; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 152 (table 9), 175–176.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/566; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 40.
3. Ibid.; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/566; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 40.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 40, gives the date of March.
5. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/566; VHF, # 20562, testimony of Eugenia Magdziarz, 1996; # 20127-38, testimony of Morris Kornberg, 1996.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 40.
7. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/566.
8. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 40.

PRZYGŁÓW AND WŁODZIMIERZÓW

Pre-1939: Przygłów and Włodzimierzów, villages, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Przyglow and Wlodzimierzow, Kreis Petrikau, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Przygłów and Włodzimierzów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Przygłów is located approximately 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) and Włodzimierzów 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) southeast of Piotrków Trybunalski. These neighboring villages served before the war as resorts for middle-class Jews from Łódź and Piotrków. In 1939, there were 52 Jews living in Przygłów.[1] As the community was particularly small, the Germans initially did not establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat) there but rather subjected it to the supervision of the nearby Sulejów Judenrat.

In December 1939, a number of Łódź refugees settled primarily in the summer rental cottages and villas in Przygłów and Włodzimierzów. By August 1940, the number of Jews had risen to 600, of which, according to the newly established Judenrat, 92 percent were newcomers. "In connection with this great population growth, Przygłów has been recognized as a separate entity by the Kreishauptmann," reported the Judenrat.

The following people were members of the Judenrat: teacher Szaja wel Stanisław Głogowski as chairman, industrialist Abram M. Potasz as deputy, H. Guterman as secretary (later replaced by lawyer Maksymilian Kon), baker Moszek Altman, and Josef Goldsztajn. The Judenrat set up a self-help committee in August 1940, with the goal of equipping the summer cottages with stoves and winter bedding.[2]

In December 1940, there were 550 Jews living in Przygłów and Włodzimierzów. At a conference of Judenrat chairmen that took place on January 19, 1941, in Piotrków, Głogowski reported on the situation in Przygłów: "Almost all families are unemployed. Apartments are lacking beds. There is an utter lack of fuel. There are cases of death from starvation."

Nearly 500 deportees from Jeżów, Skierniewice, and Rogów arrived at the end of February 1941, increasing the number of Jewish residents in the two villages to nearly 1,000. By March 18, 1941, a number of Jews from Głowno, Łyszkowice, and Stryków, plus 50 from Piotrków, were transferred to Przygłów. A soup kitchen that opened and struggled to serve 200 meals daily was "besieged by lines of hungry people," reported Głogowski. It was closed by mid-May 1941.[3]

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established in May 1941. Its staff consisted of Judenrat members Głogowski, Kon, Altman, and Goldblum.[4]

On July 14, 1941, 100 to 120 men were taken to a labor camp in Wolbórz to regulate the Wolbórka River for the E. Jeglinsky Company. Terrible conditions in the camp, piecework, and low wages caused many laborers to run away. The Judenrat resorted to calling in the Gendarmerie to prevent work from ceasing in the camp and paid the 24 workers who remained a weekly salary of 25 złoty and a loaf of bread. Due to typhus epidemics in the vicinity, the camp was closed on November 25, 1941, on the orders of the Piotrków Arbeitsamt (labor office).[5]

In June 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out in Przygłów, populated at the time by 2,500 Jews. Some 6 to 8 persons were sharing a room. Most of the initial 18 cases of the sickness were sent to the Święta Trójca public hospital in Piotrków, while subsequently 100 persons were quarantined. Two patients had died by the end of the month.

The community employed Dr. S. Chwat and charged him with managing the Sanitation Committee. Two hospital

attendants, Krumhorn and Bajbuk, assisted Chwat. The German authorities pressured Przygłów: "The head doctor for the Kreis warns us constantly that if we cannot stop the epidemic, the isolation of our territory will be enforced." On his orders, the community opened a public bath. In September 1941, 2,092 Jews were reported to be living in Przygłów. As of that month, the hospital in Piotrków frequently refused to admit sick people from Przygłów due to overcrowding. The epidemic reached its height in January 1942, when the local JSS reported that "20 persons were dying weekly of hunger and typhus." Judenrat members Kon and Goldblum succumbed to the disease. Another lawyer—Abram Chojnacki—replaced Kon as secretary.

The total number of typhus victims remains unknown, but in January 1942, the Judenrat was forced to open an orphanage, initially caring for 25 children under 16 years old. Housing conditions became even more desperate after fire razed buildings housing 75 families (i.e., approximately 200 people). The number of orphans had risen to 44 by mid-April 1942. These were children of refugees from Łódź, Łowicz, Głowno, and Skierniewice. Most of them were suffering from scabies and frostbite. A refugee high school teacher from Skierniewice, Zofia Rajchman, managed the orphanage.[6]

The date on which the Przygłów ghetto was established is unknown. In April 1942, in response to a standard questionnaire regarding ghettoization, the local JSS stated that there was no Jewish quarter. At that time, the community numbered 2,251 Jews. It is most likely that around this time the authorities recognized the combined Przygłów and Włodzimierzów communities as a ghetto. It was a common German practice to announce that entire villages with predominantly Jewish populations were to be treated as ghettos. The reappearance of typhus also may have played a role. Because many families lived scattered in woodland summer houses, the Przygłów ghetto was never enclosed by a fence. Nonetheless, Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the two villages.[7]

Residents of the ghetto received significant help from Teodor Jasiński, a Pole in charge of the population register in the Łęczno community, of which Przygłów was a part. At the request of Głogowski and Judenrat members Guterman and Daniel-Józef Uffner, Jasiński provided dozens of fake Polish identification cards for ghetto inhabitants. The Judenrat filled in fictitious Polish-sounding names that helped recipients to leave the ghetto safely. Apart from Uffner, whom Jasiński also provided with documents, Jasiński never knew the original names of the recipients. According to Uffner, thanks to "dead souls," Jasiński was also able to obtain and smuggle flour and other produce into the ghetto. He was also the only source of radio and underground press information for the ghettoized community. In 1942 Jasiński was arrested, imprisoned in Piotrków, and later sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp.[8]

Although the typhus outbreak was contained in April 1942, 16 new cases appeared six weeks later, in June 1942.[9] In July 1942, there were reportedly 1,945 Jews living in the ghetto.[10] The ghetto was liquidated on October 13–20, 1942, when its residents were sent directly to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/570 [AJDC]; 211/798; 211/801-803; 211/837-839 [JSS]; 301/5826 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 30554).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/839 (Przygłów Włodzimierski), p. 29.
2. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 3, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/837 (Przygłów Włodzimierski), pp. 1–2; 211/839, p. 29; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/570 (Przygłów Włodzimierzów), pp. 1-3.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/798 (Piotrków Trybunalski), pp. 4, 16–20; and 211/837, pp. 6, 10, 14, 20.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/837, pp. 18, 20.
5. Ibid., p. 39; 211/838 (Przygłów Włodzimierski), pp. 8–9; 211/802 (Piotrków Trybunalski), pp. 34–35.
6. Ibid., 211/801 (Piotrków Trybunalski), pp. 14, 64; 211/837, pp. 23, 25, 27–28; 211/838, pp. 13, 15, 19, 25; and 211/839, pp. 1–2, 9–10, 12, 23–24, 29, 32.
7. Ibid., 211/802, p. 29; 211/839, p. 29.
8. AŻIH, 301/5826, testimony of Teodor Jasiński, n.d.; 301/5826, testimony of Andrzej Adrjan, 1949; 301/5826, testimony of Józef Uffner, 1961.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/839, p. 51.
10. Ibid., 211/803 (Piotrków Trybunalski), p. 83.

PRZYSUCHA

Pre-1939: Przysucha (Yiddish: Pshischa), village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Przysucha is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Łódź. There were 2,007 Jews living in Przysucha in 1939.

The Wehrmacht entered the town on September 8, 1939, and began a typical program of persecution, robbery, forced labor, and murder. Przysucha's male Jews were immediately conscripted for labor three days a week, mostly in road construction and extracting peat. People who had money paid the poor to work in their place; these people in turn were keen to work in order to receive some pay. Many Jews, especially the young, fled Przysucha at the start of the occupation; but they were soon replaced, primarily with refugees from Łódź, who began arriving in great numbers on December 15, 1939.[1]

The German authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to organize the conscription of forced laborers and communicate new laws and regulations to the community. The Judenrat chair changed several times. Archival sources confirm that Abram Rozenberg acted as the chairman in July 1940[2] and that Moszek Frydrych had succeeded him by February 1941.[3] In April 1941, the Judenrat consisted of the following seven members: Frydrych (chairman), Berek Krajewski (deputy), Lejzor Zylbersztein (secretary), Pejsach Kozłowski, Lejbus Majzels, Chil Wajngarten, and Dr. Dawid Krongold.

In February 1942, the *Gazeta Żydowska* continued to refer to Frydrych as the chairman.[4]

In May 1940, the Judenrat counted 1,200 impoverished Jews in Przysucha, with refugees constituting a substantial part of this group. To assist the impoverished, the Judenrat set up a self-help committee and financed the distribution of bread, flour, and some meat. This effort was eventually subsidized by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). Moszek Kunowski, Josek Finkelstein, Pinkus Kozłowski, and Moszek Przytycki distributed bread directly from bakeries in return for a signed receipt. Although helpful, this action was insufficient, and the Judenrat was concerned that a letter of complaint from "a few Łódź brawlers" had caused the AJDC to withhold its subsidies in April and May 1940.[5]

The number of refugees was constantly on the rise. By August 1940, there were approximately 2,500 Jews in town, including 437 newcomers, the majority from Łódź and Kraków.[6]

The soup kitchen opened by the self-help committee in December 1940 initially served 75 meals per day; the poorest were fed free of charge, while others paid 10 groszy.

By the end of 1940, a total of 120 patients were being treated for typhus. The only Jewish doctor in Przysucha, Dawid Krongold, attended the sick. When a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in Przysucha in November 1941, Dr. Krongold became its chairman.[7]

In May 1941, there were 3,360 Jews living in Przysucha, including nearly 800 newcomers. By August 1941, there were approximately 1,000 displaced Jews in Przysucha, primarily from Płock, Mława, Mogielnica, and Przytyk. By the end of 1941, new arrivals numbered more than half of the town's prewar Jewish population.[8] In October 1941, 150 Jewish laborers were conscripted for road construction work.[9]

To combat the spread of disease, the Judenrat was ordered in September 1941 to set up an epidemic hospital in Przysucha. Before then, the sick had been transported to the hospital in Tomaszów Mazowiecki. The Przysucha hospital was opened in the former rabbi's court on October 1, 1941. Within two months, 145 patients had passed through it. Furnished with 30 beds in six rooms, the hospital was too small, as sick Jews from the vicinity were also directed there. A total of 350 people were treated for typhus by the end of 1941. Although the epidemic worsened in the first months of 1942 (130 sick), the death rate, mostly of the old and undernourished, remained low. (Doctor Krongold assessed it at 2 percent.) Exacerbating matters, 159 people were diagnosed with tuberculosis.[10]

Although the date of the creation of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) is unknown, the *Gazeta Żydowska* states that in February 1942 its members were collecting monthly levies imposed by the Judenrat. Funds from these collections were used in part to finance breakfasts for poor children organized by the Women's Committee set up in September 1941 under the direction of Lea Berneman. As the Judenrat's welfare funds were insufficient, the JSS saw to the opening of "a café," where "the young and elderly gathered from time to time for social and consumption purposes." Although the revenue from the café initially doubled the number of breakfasts, some local "Jewish elements" were determined to close it. To stop the harassment, Przysucha's JSS asked the headquarters in Kraków to legalize the café immediately "under any name." By the end of April 1942, the café was closed. At this time, there were 3,812 Jews living in Przysucha.[11]

Although some sources report the establishment of a ghetto in 1940, late 1941, or the beginning of 1942,[12] it appears not to have come into existence until much later, on August 15, 1942.[13] The German authorities announced that Jews living on the outskirts of Przysucha were to move to the town center and settle on a few streets around the synagogue. The ghetto was later surrounded by barbed wire, with its two gates guarded by Polish and Jewish Police. One source indicates that the Gendarmerie in Opoczno was in charge of the Przysucha ghetto. There are also testimonies stating that the ghetto was split into two separate areas, with communication between them limited to designated hours.[14]

Correspondence from the Przysucha branch of the JSS shows that the movements of Przysucha's Jews were restricted by November 1941, as they were obliged to obtain "a permit for leaving the quarter's extent."[15] Those who were found outside the quarter (and later the ghetto)—often caught smuggling or in its streets after the 7:00 P.M. curfew—were shot on the spot. Some sources state that a total of 5,000 Jews passed through the ghetto during its existence.[16]

From the beginning of 1942, the prospect that many of the Jews in Przysucha would become employed in workshops served to keep up their hopes of survival. The Judenrat even created its own Craftsmen's Department run by the engineer Berneman and started to register craftsmen seeking jobs. Boasting approximately 200 knitters, Przysucha Jews had been the sole suppliers of woolen gloves to pre-war Łódź and were now ready to produce over 2,500 pairs weekly. If the workshops had been approved, an estimated 200 to 300 skilled workers and 400 helpers would have been employed.[17]

In April 1942, Gendarmes and Gestapo men from Tomaszów Mazowiecki shot 11 members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police. The number of dead and the date of the massacre differ depending on the source; some report that all victims were Judenrat members. An inhabitant of the nearby Drzewica ghetto claimed that the execution was in retaliation for a partisan attack. Some sources cite another mass murder of 19 or 30 Jews that presumably took place in August 1942. The total number of victims of the two executions is impossible to establish, as a German detachment destroyed evidence of the crime in 1944.

The liquidation of the Przysucha ghetto took place between October 27 and 31, 1942, when approximately 4,000 ghetto inhabitants were sent from the Opoczno train station to the Treblinka killing center. Approximately 100 Jews were killed during the liquidation Aktion. One survivor, Szymon Rozenberg, reports that 116 Jewish craftsmen and policemen remained in Przysucha. This group was subsequently sent to the Ujazd ghetto in December 1942. Adam Rutkowski estimates the number of Przysucha Jews who volunteered or were sent to Ujazd at around 300. At the beginning of January 1943,

the Ujazd ghetto was liquidated, and its inhabitants were sent to Treblinka.

A group of several dozen refugees from the Przysucha, Drzewica, and Opoczno ghettos joined the Communist Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, GL) "Wilk" partisan unit. They soon split off and set up a separate Jewish unit named GL "Lwy," which was commanded at first by Izrael Ajzenman (aka Julian Kaniewski "Julek") and then by a man with the alias "Siemion." The squad conducted several operations, including the destruction of documents from the local administrations in Nieznanowiec and Petrykozy, as well as the disarmament of the Polish (Blue) Police precincts in Gowarczów and Rusinów. Post-1989 publications suggest that the unit killed seven members of the Polish far-right-wing underground in Drzewica on January 22, 1943.

SOURCES The following publications include information on the fate of Przysucha's Jewish population: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 209–212; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1036–1037; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 412.

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/572 [AJDC]; 211/842-44 [ŻSS]; 301/3132 and 5414 [Relacje]); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS Przysucha], reel 41; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC Przysucha]; RG-15.084M, # 3132 and # 5414 [Relacje]; and RG-15.019M [ASG Przysucha]); VHF (# 14949); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/844, p. 34; and VHF, # 14949.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/842, p. 1.
3. Ibid., 211/843, pp. 1–2.
4. Ibid., pp. 14–15; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 11, 1942.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/842. Because of this dispute, the archives of the JSS contain numerous name lists with dozens of names; some names naturally repeat.
6. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC Przysucha), 210/572, p. 5.
7. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/843, pp. 14, 60; and 211/844, p. 15; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 7, 1941.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/843, pp. 5, 38–39; and 211/844, p. 34.
9. Ibid., 211/843.
10. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 8, 1942; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/843, pp. 44, 62, 65; and 211/844, pp. 15, 34.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/844; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 11, 1942.
12. VHF, # 14949; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 209–212; Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1037.
13. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG Przysucha). This date is repeated by Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 412. In April 1942, the JSS in Przysucha stated that there was no Jewish quarter in the town; see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/844, p. 34.
14. USHMM, RG-15.019M.
15. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/843, pp. 62–63.
16. Ibid., RG-15.019M; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 412.
17. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 27, 1942; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/844.

RADOM

Pre-1939: Radom, city, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Stadthauptmannschaft, center, Kreis Radom-Land and capital, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Radom is located in central Poland, approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Warsaw. In the months just before the German invasion, 85,112 people were residing in Radom, including 24,745 Jews (29 percent of the total population).

Units of the German army entered Radom on September 8, 1939. With the German occupation, the first anti-Jewish measures commenced, including the looting of Jewish shops and apartments, the beating and abuse of Jews, and the imposition of forced labor. During the months that followed, the antisemitic regulations imposed throughout the Generalgouvernement were also applied in Radom, as well as some specific local restrictions. For example, German officials in Radom introduced a complete ban on Jews using the city's main streets. Initially the Germans required a quota of around 100 Jewish forced laborers, rising to 1,200 by the summer of 1940. The laborers worked daily for a very low wage. Wealthier Jews were permitted to pay for substitutes, which in turn raised money to pay the laborers. In the spring of 1940, the German authorities began to transfer male Jews to labor camps established in the vicinity (in Chruślice, Kruszyna, Kacprowice, Wolanów, and other places), where they had to work in the



Entrance to the "large" ghetto in Radom, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #08307, COURTESY OF MUZEUM OKRĘGOWE W RADOMIU

fields and on road construction. In August and September 1940, approximately 2,300 Jews were transferred to labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, including those in Bełżec, Narol, Cieszanów, and other places.[1] During the transfer, much of the Jews' property was confiscated. In addition, Jews were forced to make "contributions" of money, precious metal, bed sheets, sewing machines, furniture, and other items. The German occupation forces introduced many other discriminatory measures against the Jewish population, such as the arrest and imprisonment of numerous Jewish lawyers, physicians, and individuals who had been active in public life before the war. In so-called special Aktions (Sonderaktionen) Jewish activists in the Socialist and Communist movements were arrested and killed.[2]

In November 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which exerted considerable influence over the lives of Radom's Jews. The Jewish Council of Radom had a special position—its administrative authority also extended over the Jews of neighboring towns and settlements. The official administrative title of the Radom Jewish Council was the Head of the Council of Elders of the Jewish population of the Radom District and Radom city (Der Ober-Ältestenrat der Jüdischen Bevölkerung des Distrikts Radom und Radom). The industrial entrepreneur Józef Diament was appointed Head of the Council by the German authorities. The Jewish Council consisted of 24 members, and its entire apparatus of numerous offices employed several hundred people. The activities of the Jewish Council were in conflict: on the one hand, it had to obey and implement all German demands and orders, including roundups and contributions imposed on the Jews; on the other hand, it was actively involved in organizing Jewish welfare.[3]

In December 1940, the German authorities resettled 1,840 Jews from the city of Radom to other towns in the region, including Koprzywnica. The Gestapo ordered that many elderly Jews and children were among those resettled. Plans for a further resettlement of 2,000 Jews in January 1941, however, were not implemented.[4]

On April 3, 1941, the head of the city administration (Stadthauptmann), Hans Kujath, ordered the establishment of two "Jewish residential areas" (*Judenwohnbezirke*) in Radom.[5] The two Jewish residential areas were not located next to each other but were in separate parts of town. The first ghetto, the so-called large ghetto or "midtown ghetto," was located in that part of Radom where Jewish residents had lived for centuries. Its main street was Wałowa, from which dozens of smaller and larger streets branched out, such as Szpitalna, Żytnia, Bóżnicza, Peretza, and others. One of the main reasons for the establishment of two ghettos was the fact that the city center was filled with compact and concentrated building areas. The neighboring houses at the edge of the ghetto served as a natural "wall" or demarcation to mark the borderline of the Jewish area. An extra wall, such as was constructed for the Warsaw ghetto, was not necessary. Instead of a wall, the German authorities ordered the sealing with stone or concrete of the lower windows of the apartment buildings along the perimeter of the ghetto. The only entrance to the ghetto was located at the intersection between Rwańska and Wałowa Streets, and it was guarded by the Polish and Jewish Police. The second Jewish residential area, the so-called small ghetto, was established in the Glinice part of town, a working-class and underdeveloped part of Radom. It consisted mostly of single-story wooden houses that had very poor sanitary and living conditions. Słowacki, Biała, and Wyścigowa Streets formed the borders of the small ghetto. In spite of the fact that the ghetto area was to a large degree open, the German authorities erected only a barbed-wire fence in a few areas. The settlement of the Jews into both ghetto areas and the relocation of the Polish population out of them were conducted during April 1941.[6] In 1941, the occupation authorities issued strict orders threatening the ghetto residents with the death penalty for leaving the ghetto area. As Mania Salinger recalled, "[I]t was announced through a loudspeaker and on posted notices that anyone leaving [the ghetto] without permission would be killed instantly."[7] According to the available documentation, a total of some 25,700 people were residing in the two ghettos once they had been established. Among the residents were also some refugees from Łódź, who had arrived in Radom during the first months of the German occupation. There were also a number of illegal refugees from Distrikt Lublin, Warsaw, and Płock, who had decided that the Radom ghetto offered more security than their former places of residence. In the spring of 1942, the German authorities transferred Jews from the neighboring villages to Radom and some smaller groups of Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) as well. It can be estimated that at the start of "Aktion Reinhard," approximately 33,000 people were residing in the two ghettos in Radom.[8]



Jewish men and women in Radom line up to register with the German authorities, 1940.
USHMM WS #05853, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

Living conditions in the two ghettos worsened month by month. Ration cards were issued to the Jews, but food distribution remained uneven. At the time of the establishment of the ghetto, a Jewish police force, under the command of Joachim Gajger, the head of the Labor Department, was set up. Subordinated to the Judenrat, it consisted of 150 policemen, 100 of them on duty in the midtown ghetto, the other 50 in Glinice. The Jewish Police wore dark blue armbands bearing red stripes, the Star of David, and the inscription "Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst." They were not armed but carried rubber

clubs. The members of the Jewish Council, the Jewish Police, and their families had a reputation for corruption, as they were known to enjoy a better standard of living than most other Jews. Some ghetto residents made a living by trading illegally with "Aryan" partners in Radom, and a few made large profits.[9] However, the majority of the Jewish population fell steadily deeper into poverty and misery. The lack of food (food prices rose continuously and rapidly) and the overcrowded housing conditions increased the spread of infectious diseases, especially typhus and intestinal diseases. In the third quarter of 1941, 440 cases of typhus were reported in the city of Radom.[10] Hygienic conditions in both ghettos became untenable. In November 1941, the Germans posted signs around the ghetto, warning of the danger of disease and threatening that Jews from other areas who entered the ghetto would be punished by death. Those Jews used for forced labor faced the worst conditions—the male workers spent 10 hours a day unloading coal, and they received as payment no more than a slice of bread and sometimes nothing at all.[11]

At the beginning of 1942, an estimated 4,000 Jews in the Radom ghettos were living in extreme poverty, with no source of income. The only support these people received came from the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), which was administered by Abram Salbe and the physician Dr. Ludwik Fastman (Fasman). This organization was given full responsibility for the welfare of ghetto residents by the Jewish Council. The JSS established three public kitchens, and these provided daily a total of 2,700 free or very inexpensive luncheons (a bowl of soup and a slice of bread). It also opened three community centers that served as kindergartens for some 400 children. In addition, under the supervision of the JSS, two hospitals (one for regular patients and one for quarantine patients), two foster homes for children, and a nursing home were established. The organization also was in charge of workshops in which shoes were repaired without any payment for the needy. It provided the poorest Jews with some meager financial support and infants with milk. The JSS registered every piece of land within the ghettos (including grassland) and organized them for agricultural use under the supervision of farmers. Special attention was given to the children, to give them the opportunities to play, sing, and be involved in outdoor activities that helped them to forget the horrors of war, at least for a few moments.[12] The members of the JSS actively supported all efforts to establish cultural activities in the ghettos and to keep hopes for the future alive. They organized classes in agricultural, mechanical, metalwork, and tailoring skills, because most ghetto inmates were convinced that basic professional skills would save them from deportation. They tried to encourage ghetto residents to read books and become active in public life. The Radom ghettos had their own orchestra, a choir, and a quartet of male singers. In December 1942, the theater show "*Aby dalej . . .*" *(To Carry on . . .)* was performed—it was a parody of the Radom ghetto Jewish Council. Later, another play, "*Glinice*", was performed.[13]

Daily life in the enclosed ghettos was characterized by an atmosphere of permanent terror inflicted by the German occupiers. For instance, waves of arrests were carried out, against all pre-war political activists, all the kosher butchers in the city (to deny the Jews access to kosher meat), and among former representatives of public life.[14] Between April 1941 and August 1942, approximately 700 Jews were arrested in Radom for a variety of reasons. These people were shot or deported to concentration camps. The largest such Aktion took place on April 27–28, 1942, under the direction of SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Fuchs of the Radom Gestapo. This was part of a centrally coordinated wave of arrests against alleged Jewish Communists and members of the intelligentsia throughout Distrikt Radom. In the city, 70 Jews were arrested, and another 100 were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, including Józef Diament, Joachim Gajger, and about 20 officers of the Jewish Police. After this Aktion, the German authorities ordered that Dr. Fastman become the head of the Jewish Council.[15]

The liquidation of both ghettos in Radom marked the start of "Aktion Reinhard" in Distrikt Radom. On the evening of August 4, 1942, the small ghetto was surrounded by heavily armed German police and a unit of Polish (Blue) Police. Then several large military searchlights were installed along the ghetto perimeter. A short time later, Polish policemen sealed the ghetto borders to prevent any attempts at escape. The German police prepared to enter the ghetto area. At 10:00 P.M., the floodlights were switched on, and the German SS, together with the Polish police, started to drive the Jews from their houses. They forced the Jews to gather at two locations. During this Aktion, several dozen Jews were shot, mostly elderly people and children. At the collection points, a selection was carried out. As a result, 1,000 young men and women were selected. These people were laborers working in factories for the needs of the Reich. The remaining ghetto residents, an estimated 8,000 people, were herded into columns and marched to the railroad station, where a train with some six to eight dozen railcars was awaiting them. After loading the wagons, it became clear that the number of Jews rounded up from the small ghetto was insufficient, as some wagons were still empty. Therefore, the German police went to the large ghetto on August 5, and at 5:00 A.M., they continued the selection among the Jews there. Using prepared lists, the police drove approximately 2,000 people out of their houses and marched them to the railroad station. After a short time, the train departed for the extermination camp at Treblinka.[16]

On the evening of August 17, 1942, the Germans commenced the liquidation of the large ghetto in Radom, in which about 25,000 Jews were then residing. This Aktion was supervised by the assistant to SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Herbert Böttcher in Radom, SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Blum. In an effort to avoid panic and resistance among the Jews, the German authorities falsely spread word among the Jewish Police and the Jewish workers in some factories that there would not be any deportations. The ghetto liquidation Aktion was carried out as on the first occasion: exactly at midnight, after the floodlights were switched on, the German police, Ukrainian collaborators, and members of the Jewish Police

began to chase the Jews out of their houses. The Jews were gathered at preselected locations. This roundup lasted until early the next morning, and approximately 10,000 people were herded to a train waiting on a siding. During the Aktion, many Jews were killed, including the patients of both ghetto hospitals and the inmates of the nursing homes in the large ghetto.

On August 18, 1942, the ghetto was quiet. Its remaining residents were waiting for the second phase of the Aktion. In the afternoon, the Jewish Police announced that the second phase would start at midnight. At the same time, part of the German security forces went to the courtyards of the houses and assured the Jews that those people able to work need not have anything to fear. It was known that the Jewish Police ordered their family members to go to the collection point voluntarily, to increase their chances of remaining in Radom. As a result of these efforts, most of the Jews gathered at the Stare Miasto Square by 11:00 P.M. At midnight, the floodlights were switched on again, and the German police launched the next Aktion. Approximately 3,000 men and women were selected and taken to several buildings on Szwarlikowska Street. Approximately 200 elderly, handicapped, and sick people were assembled and told that they would be transported in cars out of Radom (in fact, they were shot shortly afterwards). Hundreds of others were killed on the streets during the roundup. All the remaining Jews (around 10,000 people) were marched to the railroad station and loaded into train cars, which departed for Treblinka.[17]

After the Aktion, the 3,000 or so Jews capable of work (including more than 700 women), who were kept in Radom, were soon joined by hundreds of others who emerged from hiding in and around the city. Some of these people continued to work in the factories, while others had to bury the corpses of the Jews murdered locally and salvage property from the empty houses in the ghettos. In the fall of 1942, the two remnant ghettos in Radom were converted into forced labor camps—one on Szwarlikowska Street and one on Szkolna Street. Jews from the Szwarlikowska Street camp conducted various tasks such as sorting property collected from other liquidated ghettos in Distrikt Radom, digging peat, cleaning houses, and breaking up Jewish tombstones for use in road construction. A small Jewish resistance group was organized in Radom in the fall of 1942, and some Jews escaped into the countryside. It seems, however, that many of the escapees were caught and killed by German patrols, and some were even forced to return to the Radom camps.

On December 4, 1942, 800 Jews were transferred from Radom to the official remnant ghetto in Szydłowiec. In January 1943, 1,500 Jews from the Szwarlikowska Street camp were deported to Treblinka. Some Jews were also transferred subsequently to other forced labor camps in the vicinity, including the camps in Wolanów and Bliżyn. The Szwarlikowska Street camp was liquidated in November 1943, when more than 100 women, children, and elderly Jews were shot.[18] The remaining inmates were then transferred to other camps, including Płaszów, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, and the labor camp for Jews on Szkolna Street. After mid-January 1944, the factory camp at Szkolna Street became a subcamp of the Majdanek concentration camp (KL Lublin-Majdanek). It was liquidated on July 26, 1944, when the remaining prisoners were transferred west towards Łódź and presumably to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

SOURCES Two yizkor books record the history and fate of Radom Jewry: Icchak Perlow, ed., *Sefer Radom* (Tel Aviv, 1961); and Alfred Lipson, ed., *A Memory Book of Radom: The Story of a Jewish Community in Poland Destroyed by the Nazis* (New York, 1963). There is also a detailed account of the Holocaust period in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 538–543. In Polish there is an account by the author of this article, Sebastian Piątkowski, *Dni życia, dni śmierci: Ludność żydowska w Radomiu w latach 1918–1950* (Warsaw, 2006), which includes a more extensive bibliography of relevant publications on this topic.

Published memoirs concerning the Radom ghettos include the following: Jacob Gutman, *A Survivor's Memoir* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights, 1999); Mania Salinger, *Looking Back* (Northville, MI: Ferne Press, 2006); and Joseph Horn, *Mark It with a Stone* (New York: Barricade Books, 2008). On the labor camps that succeeded the ghetto in Radom, see Sebastian Piątkowski, "Obóz pracy przy ul. Szkolnej w Radomiu (1942–1944)," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 19 (1998): 41–44; and the entry by Evelyn Zegenhagen, "Radom [aka Radom (Szkolna Street)]," in Geoffrey Megargee, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. 1, *Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 892–893.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR (GDR 956; ZP 277); AŻIH (301/28, 56, 58, 59, 2559, 4501; 302/25; 210/237; 211/428-430); BA-L (e.g., B 162/4873, 14521); IPN; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.120*0162; RG-50.407*36); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/828, 1825, 2717).

Sebastian Piątkowski
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Jan Franecki, "Powiat radomski w latach wojny i okupacji," *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*z 13 (1–20) (1976): 118; Sebastian Piątkowski, "Deportacje Żydów z dystryktu radomskiego do obozów pracy przymusowej na Lubelszczyźnie w 1940 roku," *Almanach Historyczny* 1 (1999): 188–189.
2. AŻIH, 301/56; 301/59; APR, GDR 956.
3. AŻIH, 302/25; Lipson, *A Memory Book of Radom*, p. 43; Sebastian Piątkowski, "Organizacja i działalność Naczelnej Rady Starszych Ludności Żydowskiej dystryktu radomskiego (1939–1942)," *BŻIH*, no. 3 (2000): 31–38.
4. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 538–541.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 38 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), Lfd. Nr. 786a, p. 213.
6. APR, ZP 277; *Dziennik Radomski*, nos. 80 and 82 (1941).

7. Salinger, *Looking Back*, p. 53.
8. AŻIH, 301/56; 301/59.
9. Ibid., 301/28; 301/58; 301/59.
10. Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, eds., *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1975), p. 433.
11. AŻIH, 301/28.
12. Ibid., JSS, 211/428-430; AJDC, 210/237; YVA, O-3/2717; O-3/828; Piątkowski, *Dni życia*, pp. 210–212.
13. AŻIH, 301/56; JSS, 211/430.
14. Horn, *Mark It with a Stone*, p. 52.
15. BA-L, B 162/14521, Verdict of LG-Darm, December 7, 1972, pp. 31–32.
16. YVA, O-3/1825; AŻIH, 301/2559; 301/4501; Horn, *Mark It with a Stone*, p. 61.
17. YVA, O-3/1805; AŻIH, 301/56; 301/4501.
18. BA-L, B 162/4873, p. 567.

RADOMSKO

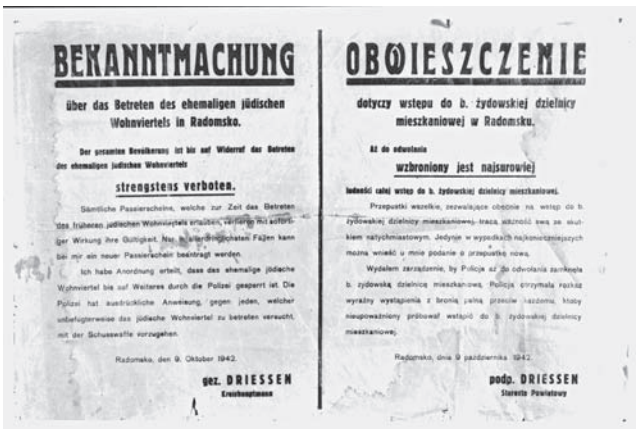
Pre-1939: Radomsko, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: center, Kreis Radomsko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Radomsko is located 134 kilometers (83 miles) east-southeast of Radom. There were 6,500 Jews living in Radomsko prior to the outbreak of World War II. Over 100 bombs fell on Radomsko's Jewish neighborhood in air raids on September 2 and 3, 1939, obliterating some streets completely and leaving 1,300 Jews homeless and over 100 dead. After gaining control of the town, the Germans put Radomsko's Jews to work clearing the rubble.[1]

A ghetto was set up in December 1939. The ghetto's establishment in Radomsko was largely due to pressure from the large ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) population in the town, which demanded the "Aryanization" of Jewish businesses. On November 25, 1939, the Radomsko Kreishauptmann Kobelt informed his superiors that, in response to Volksdeutsche demands, he had excluded Jews from trade entirely. Adolf Halama was reportedly the main commissar in charge of seizing Polish and Jewish property, including accounts held in Radomsko's banks. Another reason for the ghetto's creation was the severe housing shortage, resulting from the air raids and the influx of refugees seeking shelter in Radomsko.

The ghetto's establishment was not announced in advance. When it was determined to create the ghetto, two thirds of Radomsko's Jews—those living outside the ghetto's delineated borders—were given only 20 minutes to move into the ghetto, while the Germans and local Volksdeutsche looted their belongings left behind. Poles living within the ghetto were reportedly allowed to stay. There is no information on guards or how the ghetto was physically enclosed, but its population of 7,000 Jews was restricted to its borders. The Polish police force was disbanded, and a newly created Selbstschutz (Auxiliary Police) composed of Volksdeutsche took over its duties.[2]

The ghetto was set up along one of the town's main streets, Radom (later Przedbórz), and small streets leading off it, including Fabianiego, Stodolna, Wąwozowa, Rolna, Szpitalna (later Wyszyński), Joselewicz, and Mickiewicza. According to the Jewish Council (Judenrat), there were 10 Jews living in each room. These unsanitary living conditions led to a typhus epidemic. In response, the Jewish community opened a hospital.


BEKANNTMACHUNG

über das Betreten des ehemaligen jüdischen Wohnviertels in Radomsko.

Der gesamten Bevölkerung ist bis auf Widerruf das Betreten des ehemaligen jüdischen Wohnviertels

strengstens verboten.

Sämtliche Passierscheine, welche zur Zeit das Betreten des früheren jüdischen Wohnviertels erlauben, verlieren mit sofortiger Wirkung ihre Gültigkeit. Nur in allerdringendsten Fällen kann bei mir ein neuer Passierschein beantragt werden.

Ich habe Anordnung erteilt, dass das ehemalige jüdische Wohnviertel bis auf Weiteres durch die Polizei gesperrt ist. Die Polizei hat ausdrückliche Anweisung, gegen jeden, welcher unbefugterweise das jüdische Wohnviertel zu betreten versucht, mit der Schusswaffe vorzugehen.

Radomsko, den 9. Oktober 1942.

gez. DRIESSEN
Kreishauptmann

OBWIESZCZENIE

dotyczy wstępu do b. żydowskiej dzielnicy mieszkaniowej w Radomsku.

Aż do odwołania

wzbroniony jest najsurowiej

jakości całej wstęp do b. żydowskiej dzielnicy mieszkaniowej.

Przepustki wszelkie, zezwalające obecnie na wstęp do b. żydowskiej dzielnicy mieszkaniowej, tracą ważność swą ze skutkiem natychmiastowym. Jedynie w wypadkach najkonieczniejszych można wnieść u mnie podanie o przepustkę nową.

Wydałem zarządzenie, by Policja aż do odwołania zamknęła b. żydowską dzielnicę mieszkaniową. Policja otrzymała rozkaz wyraźny wystąpienia z bronią palną przeciw każdemu, kto by nieupoważniony próbował wstąpić do b. żydowskiej dzielnicy mieszkaniowej.

Radomsko, dnia 9 października 1942.

podp. DRIESSEN
Starosta Powiatowy

Announcement in German and Polish prohibiting unauthorized entry into the former Jewish residential district in Radomsko, October 9, 1942. From the German, the text reads:
"ANNOUNCEMENT about entry into the former Jewish residential district in Radomsko.
Until further notice the entire population is strictly forbidden entry into the former Jewish residential district.
All passes permitting the bearer to enter the former Jewish residential district are henceforth invalid. Only in very urgent cases will anyone be allowed to submit to me an application for a pass.
I have issued the order that the former Jewish residential district be closed until further notice by the police. The police have explicit instructions to shoot anyone who attempts unauthorized entry into the Jewish residential district.
Radomsko, 9 October 1942
Signed DRIESSEN
Kreishauptmann"
USHMM WS #33495, COURTESY OF GFH

Tradesman Moses Berger chaired the first Judenrat located at 5 Mickiewicz Street. Reorganized in May 1941, it was then run by Wiktor Gutstadt and included two deputies, Józef Pański and Samuel Spiro (Szpiro; a pre-war community leader), Josek Berger (treasurer), Izaak Wygodzki, and Dr. Henryk Róziewicz (in charge of health affairs). Its main function was Jewish labor conscription. As it enlisted only the poor and refugees, a crowd of Jewish laborers one day burst into the Judenrat's headquarters, demolishing the offices and driving out its members. The Judenrat called for the Gestapo's help, resulting in a three-day pogrom and looting of the ghetto.[3]

To better organize conscripted labor, the German authorities divided Jews into three categories: free professionals (as well as the Judenrat members) had to wear pink patches on their clothes, signifying the need to perform forced labor only when necessary; red patches, for those working three days per week; and yellow, for those laboring six days per week. At the beginning of July 1940, the Judenrat sent 400 Jews to perform drainage work in Przyrów (Kreis Radomsko). They returned

in January 1941, as did some of the laborers sent to camps in Distrikt Lublin. Out of several hundred youths sent from Radomsko and its vicinity to Maków Podhalański, 200 returned in October 1940. The Judenrat provided small benefits for the families of forced laborers, part of which was provided by those Jews unwilling to work.

The Judenrat opened a soup kitchen in June 1940 and had 3,000 applications for support by November of that year. In January 1941, there were 7,500 Jews residing in the ghetto. The 230 refugees from Łódź, Płock, and Ozorków were subsequently moved from the synagogue to a barracks, while another 120 lived with local families.

The number of Jews in the ghetto remained fairly stable throughout its existence; for example, July 1941 statistics reported 7,195 residents. Another 9,000 Jews lived in the 17 communities within Kreis Radomsko. The Radomsko Judenrat presided over all the other Jewish Councils in the Kreis.

A Jewish arbitration panel composed of 14 mediators representing all religious orientations was established to resolve conflicts among the Radomsko Jews. The Jewish Police was charged with traffic regulation and curfew supervision. The ghetto had its own post office, postmen, and clerks. There was also an epidemic hospital attended by three Jewish doctors. This hospital served all the Jews of the Kreis and provided an ambulatory clinic and a pharmacy. Despite the dire conditions, the death rate reported by the Judenrat for June 1941 stood at only 0.05 percent. The soup kitchen served 1,500 meals daily.

Some 300 or 400 Jews laboring in the so-called Work Battalion in Radomsko proper cleared rubble, performed leveling tasks, and maintained parks and squares in the summer of 1941. Three days of labor were paid at the rate of 9 to 12 złoty and 2 to 4 kilograms (4.4 to 8.8 pounds) of bread, while the other three days of the week remained unpaid. A number of workers labored in Dęblin, Garnek, and Topisz, all in the vicinity of Radomsko. By the end of September 1941, the Garnek laborers had been transferred to Topisz. A total of 140 Radomsko Jews labored there. In December 1941, 25 Jews were sent to Rudniki (near Częstochowa) to labor in lime production, and they stayed there at least until July 1942. The area of the ghetto was reportedly reduced in the autumn of 1941.

Various workshops operated in the ghetto. For example, a carpentry workshop producing beds employed approximately 100 Jews in September 1941. Craftsmen were ordered to register with the office of the Kreis Judenrat, for permission to keep their workshops open. Two fires broke out in the Mundus-Thonet furniture factory in November 1941. As a result, 180 of the factory laborers—including 35 Jews—were arrested for alleged arson and held in the Radomsko prison (set up in 1940). Some of the Jews were shot on the edge of town, as were some others after being sent to Częstochowa; the Germans deported the remainder to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

In December 1941, the German authorities intensified regulations governing the ghetto's sanitation and living conditions. Food rations were only to be issued upon the presentation of a doctor's certificate confirming vaccination, bathing, and delousing. Each building had to have a sanitation warden reporting any signs of sickness or unsanitary conditions. Inhabitation of the ghetto by nonghetto residents was strictly forbidden. Newcomers required special permission from the municipality, and later from the Kreishauptmann, prior to moving into the ghetto. Changes of address within the ghetto had to be reported within 24 hours. Noncompliance was punished with a 2,000 złoty fine and/or four weeks of arrest.

From the beginning of 1942, Jews were shot for leaving the ghetto; there were a few casualties. In March 1942, those who had moved in after June 1, 1941, were to report to the Jewish Police to obtain permission to "prolong their stay and start legalizing their residency." In April 1942, there were 220 refugees in the ghetto.[4]

From February 1942, a day-care room and additional food were provided to 400 to 600 ghetto children. An orphanage for 28 children, comprising two bedrooms and a playroom, opened in April 1942. The same month, Jews aged 3 to 70 were issued with special "sanitary IDs [identifications]" based on their forced labor assignments. The Work Battalion laborers had to bathe every 8 days. For example, 60 Jews sent in May 1942 to perform drainage work in Gidle returned to the ghetto every Sunday to bathe and be disinfected. Holders of green IDs were exempted from labor and forced to bathe only every 14 days. As of February, the renovated public bath could bathe and delouse a person in 25 minutes. A 12-man Sanitary Column of the Jewish Police was established shortly afterwards.[5]

In August 1942, the remaining non-Jewish population was forced out of the ghetto, and its area was again reduced. Poles were told that their expulsion would be only temporary. With their departure, the Germans began to concentrate in the Radomsko ghetto Jews from several localities in the Kreis, including Gomunice (500 people), Mstów (600), and Kłomnice. The deadline for completing this transfer was September 28, 1942.

The liquidation of the Radomsko ghetto started on October 9, 1942, and 5,000 local Jews, along with 3,000 Jews from the liquidated Przedbórz ghetto (33 kilometers [20.5 miles] away) in Kreis Konskie, were sent the following day to the Treblinka extermination camp. Several dozen elderly and sick Jews were selected and shot at the cemetery prior to departure. A number of Jews who were discovered in hiding or who refused to leave were also shot.

The remaining 9,000 Jews in Radomsko were held in and around the synagogue and deported to Treblinka on October 12, 1942. Then 150 Jews, composed of Judenrat members and craftsmen, were left to clear out the ghetto. The remnant ghetto attracted some Jews who emerged from their hiding places. When discovered, they were imprisoned and then shot by the Germans; very few were attached to the clean-up Kommando.

On October 29, 170 men and women were sent to the labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna, while 150 remained in the ghetto.

As large numbers of Jews had managed to evade the deportations throughout the region, on November 10, 1942, Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Krüger ordered the establishment of four remnant "Jewish residential areas" (*Judenwohnbezirke*) in Distrikt Radom, where Jews were free to gather with the promise they would remain unmolested. Radomsko was one of these four ghettos, attracting over 4,000 Jews, but now under strict guard.[6]

On January 6, 1943, the ghetto was surrounded, and its Jews were sent to Treblinka in cattle cars, after being stripped of most of their clothes; 320 were shot at the cemetery. The next day, 250 were sent to Skarżysko. Only about 40 craftsmen were left to complete construction of the Gendarmerie building. A few months later they were dispatched to the Pionki labor camp. About 1,200 Jews who were caught during and just after the last deportation were shot in mass executions at the Jewish cemetery on January 12 and 13, 1943.[7]

SOURCES The Radomsko ghetto is discussed in the following publications: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 80–81, 88, 118–119, 127–128, 143–144 (table 5); and Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 124–125.

The following archival sources were used to write this entry: AŻIH (210/583, 211/869, 301/31, 301/1697, 301/2090, 301/2429, 301/2813); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 42; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2813, testimony of Eliasz Markowicz, 1947; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 42, 211/869 (Radomsko), pp. 2, 6.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 42, 211/869, pp. 2, 6–8; AŻIH, 301/2429, testimony of Uszer Grossman, 1947; 301/31, testimony of Chemia Zylbersztajn, n.d.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 42, 211/869, pp. 1–2, 6–8, 17; *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 10, November 9, and November 12, 1941.
4. AŻIH, 301/31; *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 12, 1941, and January 14, March 26, 1942.
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 1, 13, April 5, 22, and May 6, 1942.
6. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.
7. AŻIH, 301/2090, testimony of Moszek Pantofel, 1947; 301/1697, testimony of Maria Widawska, n.d.; 301/2813; Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 101, 118–119, 143–144 (table 5); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo piotrkowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), p. 91. See also Y. Lador, ed., *Kehilat Zarki; ayarah be-hayeha u-ve-khilyonah* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Zarki in Israel, 1959), pp. 265–267.

RADOSZYCE

Pre-1939: Radoszyce, village and powiat center, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Konskie, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The village of Radoszyce is in southeast Poland, approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Kielce. There were 3,200 Jews living in the village on the eve of war in 1939. At the start of the September Campaign, the Luftwaffe bombed the village, burning much of it and causing most Jews to flee. On entering the village, the Germans took hostage 10 prominent Jews and Poles. They threatened to execute them, should any of the locals harm a German. All were released after two days.

At some date prior to June 1940, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Mordka Rutkowski as its president and Lejbus Tenenbaum serving as his deputy until April 1941.[1] There was also a small German Gendarmerie unit stationed in Radoszyce.

Jews from Radoszyce worked mainly as forest workers or craftsmen and on public works.[2] A number of Radoszyce laborers were sent to the Zagacie camp to drain the land along the Czarna River. They were released from the camp on November 13, 1940. In that same month, 200 Jewish workers were sent from Radoszyce to Distrikt Lublin.[3]

The influx of refugees and deportees into Radoszyce added to the general impoverishment of the Jews. Between November 1940 and June 1941, the number of Jews increased to 2,200. Approximately 700 of them were refugees, mainly from the Warthegau region (part of Poland incorporated into the German Reich) and the Warsaw województwo. Later in 1941, Radoszyce's Jews numbered 2,400.[4] In addition, four small Jewish settlements in the vicinity of Radoszyce were subordinated administratively to the Jewish community in Radoszyce: Pijanów (with a Jewish population of 250), Ruda Maleniecka (250), Miedzierza (20), and Grodzisko (110).

A special committee was organized by the Judenrat to assist the refugees. A small hospital was established with one Jewish attendant. A soup kitchen was opened; however, due to lack of funds, it could only provide dinners periodically. Prior to closure in April 1940, it served 450 meals daily. When it reopened in July, it was able to provide meals to only half of the village's 300 refugee families.[5]

To deal with the influx of refugees and deportees, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, based in Kraków, was established in Radoszyce. The Kreis committee, with its headquarters in Końskie, was established on September 26, 1940, with Josef Kinderlerer as its chairman. A local office was soon set up in Radoszyce, whose five members had

to be approved by the Germans. The president of the Radoszyce JSS branch was Mordka Montag. Most of the social relief was organized by the JSS and financed from Kraków via the Końskie committee. Subsequently the work of the JSS was hindered by accusations of corruption, embezzlement of public funds, and political infighting.[6]

In the winter of 1940–1941, the Judenrat, in cooperation with the JSS, collected warm clothing for the refugees and local poor. The soup kitchen was able to provide 400 people with a warm meal daily. Bread was distributed once a week. Once a month, the Radoszyce Jews also received rations of sugar, paraffin oil, soap, and medicine. In addition, each Jew in Kreis Konskie was to receive 200 kilograms (441 pounds) of potatoes for the upcoming winter; in the end, only some of the purchased potatoes were actually delivered. After a typhus epidemic broke out in February 1941, the Radoszyce Jews received slightly more than their share—approximately 30 percent of those potatoes actually delivered.[7]

In the face of ominous threats from the German authorities, the Jewish Council took measures to contain the typhus epidemic. A special medical committee was established, and the JSS committee in Końskie promised financial help to meet the conditions that the Germans demanded. These included the enlargement of the existing hospital from one to three rooms, the establishment of an isolation ward, and the reopening of the existing baths for use six days a week. After the Radoszyce Judenrat carried out these measures, the epidemic was contained after seven Jews had died.

The governor of Distrikt Radom, Karl Lasch, ordered the establishment of a number of ghettos in the Distrikt by April 5, 1941. According to the records of the JSS, however, by the end of May, no ghetto had been established in Radoszyce, and living conditions in the village were described as bearable.[8] However, it is almost certain that the ghetto was informally established by the gradual relocation of Jews over an extended period of time. In any case, the ghetto had been fully established by December 10, 1941, at the latest, when Konskie's Kreishauptmann announced that all villages in his Kreis with Jewish populations were automatically recognized as ghettos. He also announced that the death penalty would be applied to any Jews caught outside the ghetto. Several Jews were shot for disobeying this order.[9] The ghetto was not fenced. Those who lived among Poles had to move to the Jewish part of the village with all of their belongings.[10] In 1941, there were about 2,400 Jews in the Radoszyce ghetto, but only 529 of them were locals.

On January 11, 1942, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was created at the request of the German authorities. Its main task was to keep order in the ghetto. The president of the Judenrat, Mordka Rutkowski, appointed Lejbus Tenenbaum as the head of the eight-man Jewish Police. Also at this time, the Union of Craftsmen in Radoszyce registered 100 Jewish craftsmen, including tailors, cobblers, haberdashers, carpenters, tinsmiths, bakers, and hairdressers, who were provided with raw materials in order to start production.[11]

In the spring and summer of 1942, many Jewish conscripts or volunteers were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp, where they worked in the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory.

During the same period, the Germans moved Jews from neighboring settlements into Radoszyce. In April, approximately 200 Jews were transferred from Mnin, another 200 from Nieborów, and approximately 400 from Stąporków. A number of Jews were also moved from Pijanów, Ruda Maleniecka, and Duraczów. In August 1942, approximately 100 Jews were transferred from Miedzierza. This relocation of the region's Jews to Radoszyce marked the beginning of the end for Jewish settlement in the area. With this concentration, the number of ghetto residents rose from 2,400 at the end of 1941 to around 4,000 just a few months before the ghetto's liquidation in November 1942.

Deportations of Jews from Distrikt Radom commenced at the beginning of August 1942; however, the Jews in Kreis Konskie were the last to be deported, at the beginning of November. On November 3, 1942, all 4,000 Jews concentrated in Radoszyce were escorted to the train station in Końskie. This was also the first day of the deportation from the Końskie ghetto, on which 6,000 of its 9,000 inhabitants were sent together with the Radoszyce Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp.[12] Another source reports that the Radoszyce Jews were held for a few days in Końskie, and then, on November 11, they were transported to Treblinka along with the Jews of Końskie. During the Aktion in Końskie, the German police shot almost 600 Jews.

In March 1943, during the intense hunt for fugitives from the ghettos and those who had gone into hiding, the Germans murdered a number of Jews in Radoszyce. On September 29, 1944, SS forces and Gendarmes from Radoszyce shot 20 people, including both Poles and Jews. Their bodies were buried at the local cemetery. There were instances when Poles helped Jews and instances when local Poles murdered Jews in and around Radoszyce.[13] On September 3, 1944, SS troops destroyed parts of Radoszyce in reprisal for an attack by the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK) partisans. The part of the village where the ghetto had stood was razed to the ground.[14]

SOURCES There is no single publication specifically on the Jewish community of Radoszyce. Most of the information on which this article is based can be found in the following publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 75–182; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 256–257.

Information on the persecution of the Jews of Radoszyce and the history of the ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/159 and 879 [JSS]; 210/588 [AJDC]);

IPN (ASG); USHMM (1997.A.0124 [JSS]; and RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]); VHF (# 30970); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/681).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reels 29 and 43.
2. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 15.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 22, 1940; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29.
5. Ibid., reel 43.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29; see also VHF, # 30970, testimony of Maria Frocht, 1997.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 22, 1940; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 29.
9. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 15.
10. VHF, # 30970.
11. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 11, 1942.
12. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 15.
13. VHF, # 30970.
14. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 15.

RAKÓW

Pre-1939: Raków, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Rakow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Raków, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Raków is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Kielce. When the Germans entered Raków in September 1939, there were about 1,000 Jews living there. There was no Gendarmerie post stationed in the village, and for some time the German authorities left the Jews mostly undisturbed, only forcing them occasionally to pay "contributions."

The Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to mediate between themselves and the Jewish community, appointing Henryk (Chaim) Zielony as its chairman.[1] They also chose Zielony as commandant of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) of about six or eight men, which had to assist the Judenrat in implementing German orders. The control of both these offices by one individual was somewhat unusual in occupied Poland. Jewish policemen were responsible for collecting monetary contributions and taxes and for rounding people up for forced labor. The opinions of survivors differ regarding the behavior of the Jewish Police, but some Jews felt that they were too eager to carry out German instructions. Very little is known about the extent to which the Jews of Raków were subjected to forced labor, although it is known that some worked clearing snow from the streets in the winter.

At the end of February 1941, a group of 400 Jews was transferred to Chmielnik from Płock and Bodzanów. These deportees had passed through the feared transfer camp at Działdowo (Soldau). Most of them arrived exhausted, brutally beaten, and without any luggage. A few days later, about 80 of them were sent on from Chmielnik in horse wagons to Raków.[2] In March 1941, 108 Jews from Vienna were transferred to Raków. There were also deportees from Radom, Warsaw, Wieluń, and other places who had fled or were resettled to Raków. With the arrival of refugees and deportees, living conditions and sanitation in the village worsened. Often, three families were crowded into one room, where several people had to share a bunk bed.[3]

The Judenrat created a self-help committee and opened a soup kitchen, an ambulatory medical service, and an isolation ward, immediately following the deportees' arrival. The kitchen distributed 250 meals daily. To help cope with the influx of deportees and refugees, a local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), headquartered in Kraków, was formally established in June 1941, following the creation of the Kreis committee in Opatów. Zielony was also nominated as chairman of the JSS branch. Bernard Wajnsztok acted as his deputy.

Several secondary sources indicate that an open ghetto was established in Raków in early 1940. This impression probably stems from a misreading of the account published by Mark Turkov, which states only that generally in Poland the Jewish Police was formed at the same time as the first ghettos at the start of 1940. He then states that "in Raków, no physical ghetto was ever set up." Only on the streets leaving the shtetl were large signs put up warning that Jews were forbidden to leave the village on pain of death.[4] This measure was probably taken in the fall of 1941, when the death penalty was introduced in the Generalgouvernement for all Jews who left their designated residential areas. Therefore, by November 1941, Raków had become a de facto "open ghetto" for the Jews living there.

The Jews lived in the poorer section near the center of the village. Fresh water had to be drawn from the nearby river. Since the open ghetto was not strictly guarded, Jews could still leave Raków and barter their remaining possessions for food with local farmers. They continued to do this even after the Germans imposed the death penalty for Jews caught leaving their residential area.[5] On one occasion, however, a brutal Gendarme named Max caught the Jewish merchant Abish Langern outside the village. The Gendarme then tied Langern to a horse and cart and dragged him behind it until he was dead. Leaving the body at the edge of the village, Max then instructed the Judenrat to dispose of it. He also shot two Jewish youths from Raków he caught on the way to Łagów.

In April 1942, when there were 1,700 Jews living in Raków, the JSS committee assessed 400 of them as being extremely impoverished. Although the public kitchen was still open, Raków was not receiving any subsidies or medicine. Raków's JSS appealed to the headquarters in Kraków but was informed that the Kreis committee in Opatów was responsible for allocating local resources. Two doctors—one Jewish and one Polish—were examining about 20 patients a day with barely any remuneration. The JSS was also trying to open a small hospital with at least 10 beds but was unable to obtain money to finance it. In May 1942, the JSS started an initiative to employ as many of Raków's Jews as possible in agricultural work. Plans were made to solicit employment requests from the

owners of nearby estates, to obtain labor assignments for those capable of working.

In May 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter in Opatów ordered the concentration of all Jews in the Kreis into only 5 towns and 12 settlements, including Raków, by the end of the month. The concentration of Jews in 17 small- and medium-sized ghettos was the first stage of the total expulsion of Jews from the region. The arrival of more Jews from nearby settlements produced further overcrowding in Raków, and living conditions deteriorated once again.

In the summer of 1942, the Gendarmerie arrived suddenly in Raków to arrest young Jews for forced labor in the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna. Raków's youth immediately went into hiding to avoid deportation. Gendarmes, assisted by the Jewish Police under the command of Chairman Zielony, prodded with bayonets the walls and floors of Jewish houses, dragging out all who had hidden. They caught between 30 and 40 young Jews. They locked them up in the synagogue for the night, then loaded them on trucks that headed for Skarżysko the next morning.[6]

By September 1942, the Jews of Raków had received news of the pogroms and mass murders in other towns and started to prepare hiding places and sell remaining property to non-Jewish acquaintances, in expectation of a forthcoming deportation Aktion. According to one account, the Jews mostly stayed away from the synagogue and prayed at home during the High Holidays in September and even on the Sukkot holiday in early October, fearing that such a gathering would be an easy target for a German roundup. But then when news spread that the Aktion was due the next day, almost everyone went to the synagogue to pray together one last time.

Available sources differ regarding the date of the Aktion in Raków. It was most likely in early October, just after the holiday of Sukkot, as indicated by Turkov's narrative, which specifically mentions this holiday just prior to the deportation. Most other ghettos in Kreis Opatow were cleared at the end of October or in early November. Several secondary sources claim that the Germans cleared the Raków ghetto in late August 1942, with all the Jews being transferred to the Jędrzejów ghetto (60 kilometers [37 miles] to the west). This seems unlikely and probably refers to the smaller village, also called Raków, in Kreis Jedrzejow, which had far fewer Jews.

No firsthand account of the deportation Aktion has been located. From secondhand accounts, it seems that a number of Jews were murdered in Raków during the roundup. The majority were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp. Searches for those in hiding went on for weeks afterwards. Some Jewish property was sold in Raków to peasants from the surrounding villages. One family that had to abandon their hiding place in the woods after it was discovered and looted, was then repeatedly robbed by local peasants as they made their way to join the few remaining Jews in Chmielnik more than 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) away. As the Germans continued to hunt down the fugitives from the liquidated ghettos, seven Jews were killed in Raków on December 20, 1942.

SOURCES The only publication focused on the Jewish community of Raków is the book by Mark Turkov, *Mlakah Ovshayani dertseylt: Khronik fun undzer tsayt* (Buenos Aires: Tsentralfarband fun poylishe Yidn in Argentine, 1946). Additional information for this article comes mainly from two publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955).

The main documentary sources for the Jews of Raków under the German occupation are the records of the JSS available in the following archives: AŻIH (211/893 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 43). Relevant survivor testimonies can be found in VHF (# 26627 and 31436) and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 26627, testimony of Leon Edberg, 1997.
2. Ibid., # 31436, testimony of Julie Nattel, 1997.
3. Ibid., # 31436; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 43.
4. Turkov, *Mlakah Ovshayani dertseylt*, p. 21.
5. VHF, # 31436.
6. Ibid., # 26627; # 31436.

RAWA MAZOWIECKA

Pre-1939: Rawa Mazowiecka, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Rawa Mazowiecka is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east of Łódź. There were 3,018 Jews living in the town in 1921 (about one third of the total population). Air raids in the initial days of the September Campaign resulted in a number of civilian casualties. German forces shot a few dozen Poles and Jews on entering Rawa Mazowiecka. Jews were rounded up on several occasions at various points in the town, harassed for no reason, and then released.

In October 1939, the Germans selected the pre-war members of the Jewish community to serve on the Jewish Council (Judenrat). According to survivor Dawid Taśma, it was chaired by Aron Doner, a grain salesman.[1] Archival sources indicate that Michal Flom presided over the Judenrat at least between February and December 1940, followed by Hersz Grynszpan in May 1941. Its membership also included the following people: Salomon Targ, Icek Szwarc, Rachmil Dorn, Szyja Średni, Lajzor Wengrów, Icek Apfelbaum, M. Szmulewicz (secretary), and Abram Bekermos.

Zylberberg headed the Judenrat's Arbeitsamt (labor office); he later became the chief of the Jewish Police organized in November 1939. Judenrat members were also members of the Committee for the Relief of Refugees, established in January 1940 to help approximately 200 newcomers. The committee was chaired by Hersz Grynszpan and included only one refugee—Fiszel Goldrajch of Łódź.[2]

Survivors maintained that the Judenrat behaved very badly towards their own and even worse towards the refugees. One of its members, Abram Bekermos, was a Gestapo informant who denounced Jews who were trading illegally in foreign currency.[3]

In January 1940, the Judenrat was ordered to set up a "march camp" or transit camp around Skierniewice Street on the outskirts of the town. It was to hold deportees and refugees passing through or settling in Rawa. Their numbers were considerable due to the proximity of the Generalgouvernement's border with the Reich. Most of the newcomers at the time were from Łódź, Brzeziny, Zgierz, and Pabianice, in Reichsgau Wartheland.[4]

In the spring of 1940, the community was ordered to pay a contribution of 75,000 złoty; the Germans made the Judenrat responsible for the sum's collection. When better-off Jews refused to pay, the Judenrat identified them to the Germans. Following a few arrests, wealthier Jews soon contributed their share. In June 1940, Zylberberg was charged with collecting tens of thousands of złoty in overdue taxes from Rawa's Jews.

By July 1940, 80 percent of the Jewish shops on the market square had been confiscated and "given to Christians." Jews were also barred from setting up stalls there on market days. At that time, there were 3,200 Jewish residents registered in Rawa Mazowiecka.[5]

In July 1940, the Judenrat reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw that "the authorities pressure us either to feed the deportees or to resettle them." There is no information available on whether any Jews were deported at this time.[6] Abram Zand testified that after he moved to Rawa Mazowiecka in November 1941—then already a ghetto—"the Judenrat was sending transports of paupers to Warsaw [the Warsaw ghetto]."[7]

The soup kitchen regularly fed 250 local Jews but only 148 refugees in the summer of 1940. As it was providing support for these social services, the Warsaw AJDC claimed that the Judenrat had misrepresented the number of newcomers by counting together those who were registered as residents and also transients, to whom they afforded only temporary assistance; for example, 874 refugees were reported as living in Rawa in June 1940, while in fact there were fewer than 200 such persons. By August, their number had dropped to 129, rising again to 167 in October 1940.

In August 1940, a number of Jewish males were sent to forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.[8]

Dawid Taśma dates the ghetto's establishment in January or February 1941; however, secondary sources suggest that it was in March 1941. *Pinkas ha-kehilot* states that there was insufficient room for the large numbers of refugees, some of whom could not get permission to live in the ghetto and instead had to live on the town's outskirts behind Skierniewice Street. Some of these people moved into the ghetto illegally. They were not included in the population registers, did not receive ration cards, and were at greater risk of being expelled or captured in the roundups than were the legal inhabitants.

Taśma, a Rawa Mazowiecka native, describes the Rawa ghetto as consisting of two parts. The main part encompassed the pre-war Jewish neighborhood and included Jerozolima and Berek Joselewicz Streets in the northeast. Taśma does not provide the location of the other part, but it was probably in fact the refugee camp in the vicinity of Skierniewice Street. These people had even less rights than those in the main ghetto. A special passage was constructed to connect the two ghettos, both of which were surrounded by barbed wire. As neither was sealed initially, it was possible to maintain contact with people in the surrounding areas and obtain food. The ghetto inhabitants worked for the Germans, regulating the Zawada River near Tomaszów Mazowiecki and building a bridge over the Rawka River in Rawa. Clandestinely, they also worked as artisans and sold their wares to the locals.[9]

A local Jewish doctor, Pinchas Kotok, reported that the first typhus cases occurred "solely among the newly-arrived refugees" in April 1941. A local hospital treated all the sick. When an epidemic broke out in May 1941, the hospital refused to admit those newly infected. At the time, the ghetto had 3,360 residents and, reportedly, close to 700 refugees. Rawa's Jews were ordered to set up their own hospital; but initially the sick remained in their own households, as the community had nowhere to isolate them "in an overcrowded Jewish quarter." A hospital staffed with 17 people was set up in June 1941, admitting also Jews from Nowe Miasto. It lacked basic provisions and was always in serious debt; by August 1941, 47 Jews were hospitalized with typhus.[10]

The ghetto was sealed at the beginning of 1942. At that time, the German police suddenly surrounded the Skierniewice neighborhood ghetto and transferred its inhabitants to the larger ghetto. The German authorities also stopped distributing ration cards to Jews. After the ghetto's closure, Jewish agricultural laborers were forced to leave the ghetto under escort. Up to a dozen Jews who attempted to sneak out of the ghetto were shot during the ghetto's existence.

On August 16, 1942, the Gestapo shot 17 Jews at the Rawa Castle who had been denounced by Judenrat member Abram Bekermos. Several members of the Judenrat were among the victims, for example, Icek Apfelbaum, Jakub Dorn, Hersz Grynszpan, and Icek Szwarc.[11]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, a second typhus epidemic broke out in September 1942. Jewish laborers returning from the Zawada labor camp, where they had been sent for 10 days, carried the disease.

As news filtered through about the liquidation of other ghettos by October 1942, the Judenrat demanded money from the ghetto residents "for expenses connected with the eventual evasion of resettlement." Its members promised that those who paid would be spared from deportation.

On October 26, 1942, approximately 4,000 residents of the nearby Biała Rawska ghetto were brought to Rawa, where they were held in the open in one of the market squares.

The liquidation of the Rawa Mazowiecka ghetto took place on October 27, 1942. In its course the men were separated from the women and children. The Germans announced

that 220 craftsmen would remain in the ghetto; 500 remained in the end, while some of those with families managed to stay, based on the bribes they could afford. Approximately 70 people were murdered in the course of the ghetto liquidation; the remainder were taken to the Tomaszów Mazowiecki ghetto. The newly established cleanup group was housed next to the Judenrat, which later opened a soup kitchen for those who stayed. The cleanup group collected Jewish belongings, including furniture, in the synagogue.

On the following day—October 28, 1942—all who remained in Rawa were ordered to the market square where the Gendarmerie read out the names of 220 Jews who were to stay in Rawa, including certain Jewish policemen and Judenrat members. The remainder were deported to Tomaszów later that day. Prior to their departure, each person was forced to pay 300 złoty, allegedly to cover the costs of transport to Tomaszów.

A few days later, a new list of only 37 Jews who were to remain in Rawa was announced; only 30 people remained, as a few preferred to join their families being deported to Tomaszów. A Gendarme by the name of "Sas" is mentioned as taking part in the last selection. Their subsequent fate is unknown, although some Rawa Jews may have reached the remnant ghetto in Ujazd.[12]

The Tomaszów Mazowiecki ghetto was liquidated on October 31 and November 2, 1942, when its residents were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 423; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 153–155, 176–178; Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 257–260.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/592 [AJDC]; 301/1440, 301/2010, 301/3182 [Relacje]); BA-L (B 162/6090); and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2010, testimony of Dawid Taśma, 1946.
2. Ibid.; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/592 (Rawa Mazowiecka), pp. 3, 15, 64, 74, 98.
3. AŻIH, 301/3182, testimony of Abram Zand, n.d.; and 301/2010.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/592, pp. 1–2, 4–15, 35.
5. Ibid., p. 68; and AŻIH, 301/2010.
6. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/592, pp. 75–76.
7. AŻIH, 301/3182.
8. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/592, pp. 77, 80, 85, 99.
9. Ibid., pp. 41, 96; AŻIH, 301/2010.
10. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/592, pp. 98, 101–102.
11. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo skierniewickie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), pp. 116–117; AŻIH, 301/2010.
12. AŻIH, 301/1440, testimony of Izrael Wagwajzer, 1948; and 301/2010.

RYCZYWÓŁ

Pre-1939: Ryczywół, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ryczywol, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ryczywół, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Ryczywół is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south-southeast of Warsaw. There were 135 Jews living in the village of Ryczywół (pre-war gmina Świerże Górne) at the start of World War II. Most of the village was burned down in the course of hostilities, forcing many newly homeless families to scatter throughout neighboring settlements. In June 1940, there was an outbreak of typhus. Icek Mandel, a former prewar community leader, reported this situation to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Radom, adding, "Under these circumstances, not even a Judenrat was established." In the absence of a governing body for the community, Mandel requested that the AJDC send all subsidies and donations to his private address.[1]

In April 1941, Ryczywół Jews sent a letter to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, based in Kraków, protesting Mandel's alleged misappropriation of welfare benefits. "We have no faith in him, as he did not distribute fairly the rations and money sent for us . . . but instead took a large portion for himself and was [then] unable to explain it to us." They also underlined that they had not authorized Mandel to collect and distribute these funds. The letter's more than 20 cosignatories selected Szmerek Neimark, Szlama Lederman (Lejderman), and Maryś Lederman as their representatives to the JSS. This presumably meant that the Jews in Ryczywół were still without any official representation recognized by the German authorities.[2] In 1941, reportedly 160 Jews were living in Ryczywół, including 30 newcomers.

The precise date on which the ghetto was established in Ryczywół is unknown. According to historian Jacek Młynarczyk, the Kreishauptmann Radom-Land, Dr. Friedrich Egen, in December 1941 ordered the concentration of Jews from the local villages in a number of specified places in the Kreis, including in Ryczywół. These places were designated as *Judenbezirke*, or ghettos.[3] This order was presumably implemented at the beginning of 1942, as part of the overall ghettoization process.

On August 4, 1942, the Kreishauptmann Radom-Land reported to the office of population and welfare of the Governor of Distrikt Lublin that a Sonderdienst detachment had transported 69 Jews from the village of Ryczywół to the Sobibór extermination camp.[4] That same month, reportedly 160 Jews were transferred to the Kozienice ghetto. These Jews

were then deported to the Treblinka extermination camp on the liquidation of the Kozienice ghetto in September 1942.

SOURCES The following published sources were used in the preparation of this entry: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 158, 179; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122; and J. Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: 1946), pp. 55–56.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/606 [AJDC]; 211/925 [JSS]; and NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63); and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/606 (Ryczywół), p. 2.
2. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211//915 (Ryczywół), pp. 1–2.
3. AŻIH, NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63, Anordnung (decree) and Zustazordnung (amendment) of the Kreishauptmann, December 22 and 30, 1941, as cited in Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 122.
4. Kermisz, *Dokumenty i materiały*, 2: 55–56, Kreishauptmann Radom-Land to Department of Internal Administration, Office for Population Matters and Welfare in Distrikt Lublin, August 4, 1942, Ref. I/J/4/42 J.

SANDOMIERZ

Pre-1939: Sandomierz (Yiddish: Tsoyzmir), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Sandomierz is a town located 88 kilometers (55 miles) southwest of Lublin, on the west bank of the Vistula River. Just prior to the German invasion in September 1939, Sandomierz had approximately 10,000 inhabitants, of which nearly 3,000 were Jews.[1]

German forces occupied the town on September 9, 1939. A regime of murder, abuse, and plunder began immediately. On September 21, 1939, members of the SD from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski arrived in Sandomierz and gathered about 30 Jews from all walks of life. From these men they appointed a Judenrat of 17 members headed by Henryk Goldberg. The Judenrat was obliged to carry out German orders and was made personally responsible for the compliance of the Jewish community. The Judenrat established five departments, including ones for housing, labor, and social assistance. It also established a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) composed of young men.[2]

In early October 1939, more than 1,000 Jewish refugees arrived who had been driven out of Kalisz and Sieradz following the incorporation of these towns into the Reich. Other refugees arrived in 1941 from Vienna.[3]



Young Jewish men at forced labor hold shovels and wheelbarrows on a street in Sandomierz, 1942, with German troops in the background. Second from left (and marked with an "X") is 20-year-old Yitzhak Goldman.
USHMM WS #44343, COURTESY OF YIVO

From the start of the occupation, the Germans imposed forced labor on all Jewish men aged between 12 and 60. The Jews had to work for the Germans three days per week, but the wealthier ones could pay for a replacement, creating a useful source of revenue for the Judenrat's social assistance projects. In May 1940, the Nazis rounded up about 40 Jews and sent them to various camps in Distrikt Lublin, on the border with the Soviet Union, to construct fortifications. The conditions for these laborers were very bad. The men had to work up to 12 hours a day with only meager rations. The Jewish communities and also the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) sent some aid to these camps. Most of those sent to Distrikt Lublin returned after a couple of months, but the raids to round up forced laborers continued.[4]

In October and November 1940, the Germans confiscated all Jewish real estate, and by November 1941 all Jewish stores had been transferred into Polish or German hands. In November 1940, Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the town without special permission. Initially the punishment for disobedience was imprisonment, but from October 1941 such infractions were punishable by death. According to reports of the Polish underground, in April 1942, all Jews found illegally outside the town were summarily shot.[5]

The German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 worsened conditions for the Jews, as the Germans alleged that they sympathized with the Bolsheviks. Ration cards for Jews were introduced, limited to only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day and 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of sugar per month. About three quarters of the Jews were now receiving assistance from the Judenrat, and no more money was being received from the AJDC.[6] In December 1941, the German authorities demanded that the Jews surrender all their fur items for the use of the German army in Russia. The Germans were empowered to shoot any Jew retaining anything made of fur,

even if it was of no value. The Germans also established a Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in the town. Three young Jews were forced to bury the corpses of the many Soviet POWs who died there.[7]

On April 16, 1942, a meeting of the representatives of the Jewish Councils in Kreis Opatow was held. Among the questions discussed was the possibility of organizing some form of self-defense and the possibility of collecting funds to bribe the Germans.[8]

On May 13, 1942, the Opatow Kreishauptmann, Dr. Heinz Ritter, issued an order for the establishment of 17 ghettos in his Kreis, including one in Sandomierz, by June 1, 1942. As a result of this decree, a number of Jews were brought into Sandomierz from the surrounding area, bringing the total number of Jews to about 5,200, increasing the overcrowding and pressure on resources. A "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) was established in the town, which, however, did not have a wall or fence. The district included the following streets: Joselwicza, Zamkower, Bobola, and Podwale. Those Jews living outside this area had to exchange residences with any Christians living within it.

In August 1942, the Gestapo murdered the head of the Judenrat, Henryk Goldberg, following the disappearance of Judenrat member Appelbaum, who was suspected of resistance activities.[9] By this time the Jews of Sandomierz had a good idea of their intended fate, as refugees from the Aktions in other towns brought news of the murder of entire communities. When rumors spread in October of an impending Aktion in Sandomierz, many hid in bunkers or bribed peasants to conceal them.

On Wednesday, October 28, 1942, the Germans ordered the Jews to assemble on the market square at 7:30 A.M. Those who appeared or were found in their hiding places were driven to the railway station by the German police, assisted by Ukrainian and Latvian auxiliaries. Several hundred Jews were murdered in the town during the Aktion. About 3,000 Jews from the Sandomierz ghetto were deported to the Bełżec killing center on October 28–29, together with several thousand more from Zawichost and Klimontów. Some 300 remained behind in the "Lyceum" labor camp at the Jewish cemetery, and at least 400 more survived in hiding. Over the following days the German Gendarmerie commanded by a man named Lescher continued to shoot any Jews they uncovered.[10]

On November 10, 1942, the German authorities announced that Sandomierz would be one of the four remaining towns in Distrikt Radom where Jews would be permitted to reside in a "Jewish residential area" (*Judenwohnbezirk*).[11] Over the following weeks, many Jews came to Sandomierz out of hiding and from ghettos in the surrounding area, such as Staszów, raising the Jewish population to more than 6,000. Most remained suspicious of German intentions but simply could not find any other way to survive. One reason for this desperation was the hostile attitude of many Polish partisan groups who turned away or betrayed Jews who fled to the forests. Only relatively few escapees, such as 10-year-old Sara Glass, whose parents found her a safe refuge with Janina Szymańska in the village of Mokrzyszów near Tarnobrzeg, were able to remain in hiding for more than a few weeks.

The "Second Ghetto," which was located in about 20 single-story houses around Jewish Street ("Yiddisher Gas") and on part of Zamkower Street, was surrounded by a fence 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and guarded by German police.[12] Conditions in the ghetto are described by one survivor as: "terrible. It was so dirty. People were lying in the streets, hungry. . . . I've never seen such filth."[13] About 12 Jews had to share a room, and some lived in attics or on the street. Jews were able to barter remaining valuables for food with local peasants across the fence, but the meager rations issued by the Judenrat consisted only of bread and a little soup once per day. Jews had to go out of the ghetto under close guard to reach the bathhouse and had to queue for water. A communal toilet was established on an elevation towards the Christian quarter, but sanitary conditions were appalling, and disease was rife. Those who fell sick and reported to the hospital were generally murdered after just a few days. Many Jews tried to flee from this hell.[14]

In the summer of 1942, three forced labor camps for Jews had been established in and around Sandomierz, partly on the initiative of the Jewish Council. Some Jews based at the Lyceum camp and those at Mokoszyn outside Sandomierz were used by the Germans to dismantle Polish farmhouses in preparation for the settlement of ethnic Germans on enlarged farms. Most of the remaining inmates from these two camps were transferred to armaments factories in Radom and Starachowice-Wierzbnik in the summer of 1943. The other labor camp was inside a glassworks named Metan in Sandomierz.[15]

On January 7, 1943, units of the SS, the Gendarmerie, Polish police, and Latvian and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto. During the night these forces threw in bombs, setting a few houses on fire, and shot at anyone who approached the ghetto fence. Then on the following morning, they rounded up and deported most of the roughly 7,000 Jews in the ghetto, together with about 100 Jews from the Metan labor camp. During the roundup the Germans selected about 300 men who were fit for work and sent them to the labor camp at Skarżysko-Kamienna. As the deportees were escorted to the railway station, the German police and their auxiliaries cruelly beat them with clubs and shot hundreds of them en route. The deportees were placed into freight cars holding more than 120 people, each destined for the Treblinka extermination camp, where they were all murdered.[16]

Following the Aktion, the Germans again announced that those who came out of hiding and returned to the ghetto would not be harmed, then established a "Third Ghetto." About 180 people emerged and returned to Jewish Street to join 120 Jews who had been excluded from the deportation. These Jews were employed in clearing out the ghetto. At this time the Gendarmes Lescher and Schumann frequently entered the ghetto, terrorizing and murdering Jews. On April 15, 1943, the Germans selected young and healthy Jews and sent them to the labor camp at Pionki. Those remaining, including 15 children, were shot. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Germans ordered the demolition of the houses on Jewish Street, apart

from the synagogue building and Wasser's house. Local Poles searched through the ruins for any hidden valuables.[17]

The Red Army drove out the German occupants on August 18, 1944. At that time, only a handful of Jews who had hidden successfully with the assistance of Poles remained. Additional survivors returned from the Nazi camps and the interior of the Soviet Union, bringing the total registered to about 70; but by 1948 they had all left to start a new life in Israel or other countries in the West.

SOURCES A detailed account in English of the fate of the Jewish community of Sandomierz during the Holocaust can be found in the memorial book: Evah Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, ed., *Et ezkerah: Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir (Sandomiyez)* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Tsoizmir be-Yisrael: Moreshet, bet'edut "a. Sh. Mordekhai Anilevits," 1993). Two Yiddish-language publications are also relevant: Amnon Ajzensztadt, *Un di erd hot nisht tsugedekt dos blut* (Toronto: Tsentrale fun di tsozmerer organizatsyes, 1962); and L. Zylberberg, *A Yeed fun Klementov Dertzeilt* (Warsaw, 1947); and one in French, *L'Extermination des Juifs en Pologne: Depositions de témoins oculaires. Cinquième Serie: Lwów-Śniatyń-Sandomierz* (Geneva, 1945).

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Sandomierz can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/47, 125, and 2927; 302/54); CDJC; FVA (# 657); IPN; NARA (NO-5257); USHMM (RG-15.019M; RG-50.155*0007); VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean
trans. Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, pp. 584–568.
2. Ibid., p. 564. Another source dates the formation of the Judenrat in October 1939; see AŻIH, 301/47.
3. Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, pp. 565–562; *L'Extermination*, testimony of B.C., born 1925 [in French], located in CDJC; AŻIH, 301/47.
4. Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, pp. 563–561; testimony of B.C., in *L'Extermination*; AŻIH, 301/47.
5. AAN, 202/III-7, p. 79, Informacja Bežąca 14/39, April 13, 1942; USHMM, RG-02.208 (AŻIH, 302/54).
6. Testimony of B.C., in *L'Extermination*; AŻIH, 301/47.
7. Testimony of B.C., in *L'Extermination*.
8. AŻIH, 301/47.
9. Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, pp. 560–559; AŻIH, 301/1525.
10. Testimony of B.C., in *L'Extermination*; Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, pp. 557–555; AŻIH, 301/47.
11. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.
12. Ajzensztadt, *Un di erd hot nisht*, p. 72; Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, p. 555; testimony of B.C., in *L'Extermination*.
13. USHMM, RG-50.155*0007, Oral history interview with Ruth Muschkies Webber, February 2, 1987.
14. Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, p. 554; testimony of B.C., in *L'Extermination*.
15. Feldenkraiz-Grinbal, *Sefer kehilat Tsoizmir*, pp. 551–548.
16. Ibid., pp. 553–552.
17. Ibid., pp. 552–551; see also AŻIH, 302/94.

SĘDZISZÓW

Pre-1939: Sędziszów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sedziszow, Kreis Jedrzejow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sędziszów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Sędziszów is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) north of Kraków. The 1921 census registered 448 Jews living in Sędziszów.

Following the German occupation of Sędziszów in September 1939, Jews were beaten and rounded up for forced labor, which encouraged them to stay off the streets. They were further obliged to wear armbands with a Star of David. The Bet Midrash was razed by the year's end. By 1940, some Jewish shops, businesses, and nicer houses had been confiscated by the German authorities.

On the Kreishauptmann's order, elections to the Judenrat took place at the town hall in January 1940. Although voting was compulsory for all Jews, the mayor himself proposed the 12 candidates, all of whom were accepted with no objections. An owner of an iron warehouse, Załmen Szydłowski was appointed the chairman. By the year's end, some of the members had been replaced. In March 1940, the Judenrat estimated that 40 percent of the Jews in the village were refugees, most of them from nearby towns that had suffered war damage.

A Polish police force was stationed in Sędziszów. Jędrzejów's German Gendarmerie and Gestapo paid occasional visits.[1]

Early in 1940, an open and unfenced ghetto was organized around the market square. Jews living there were required to admit other families. Some families, due to cramped living space, were forced to live in the synagogue. At some point that year, Jews living in nearby villages—presumably mostly farmers—were forced out and moved to nearby towns. Most of them were transferred to Jędrzejów and Wodzisław.

The basis for the ghetto's establishment in Sędziszów was possibly the decision of the German authorities to expand the train station, turning it into a major rail junction. The area populated by the town's Jews was designated for housing railway employees, and 12 buildings were erected to accommodate them. A German from Silesia named Reiz managed the Jewish laborers constructing the housing estate.[2]

A labor camp for Jews was established near the railway in 1940. It contained approximately 700 Jews from throughout the Kreis. The Jews from outside Sędziszów were quartered there, whereas the Sędziszów Jews laboring there returned home for the night. Work tasks included shipping-related activities and station modernization.[3] Reportedly, there were a number of private companies performing various jobs at the station. It is not clear how many of the workers were forced laborers and how many—if any—had paying jobs. Some of the companies admitted limited numbers of volunteers, including women seeking the firms' protection from resettlement. The

women performed cleaning jobs and were paid with small rations (e.g., bread, soup, coffee, and tea).[4]

During the summer of 1940, the German authorities announced that the ghetto was closed, and only Jews conscripted for labor were permitted to leave. Polish and German police guarded its perimeters and were also tasked with escorting laborers to their workplaces. With the ghetto's closure, famine resulted, causing many of those escorted to work to beg for food. Despite this, there are no reports of epidemics during the ghetto's existence. The Polish Red Cross vaccinated Sędziszów's Jews for typhus in December 1940.[5]

Other jobs performed by Sędziszów Jews in 1940 included road repairs (approximately 20 laborers) and drainage works at the nearby Węgleszyn labor camp. Those laboring at the latter had been released by the year's end. In January 1941, 20 Jews were assigned to clear snow at the train station. An additional number reportedly worked at a sawmill and a mill in Tarnawa, outside of Sędziszów.[6]

In January 1941, 50 Jews expelled from Jędrzejów were transferred to Sędziszów, raising the number of ghetto inmates to 480. The Judenrat squeezed all but two families in with the ghetto's residents.[7]

In February 1942, the *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that the Judenrat had been reorganized "by its secretary Zylberberg." A sanitation committee affiliated with the Judenrat appealed to the ghetto's residents to keep their households, yards, and lavatories clean. Obtaining a permit to leave the Jewish quarter was at this time made dependent on first acquiring a delousing certificate issued by the Kreis doctor.[8]

Apparently, a number of Jews were resettled into the ghetto in early spring, although the total number of its residents had declined to 400 by April 1942. Survivor Mojżesz Najman, however, claimed that until the ghetto's liquidation, no Jews were sent to labor camps.[9]

Despite the Judenrat being reorganized, the welfare provided by its self-help committee remained limited, due to low cash reserves, to the distribution of food products provided by other organizations. In May 1942, the Sędziszów correspondent of the *Gazeta Żydowska*, J. Zaks, wrote to the Kraków Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS): "The Judenrat in our village consists primarily of the well-to-do, who can neither understand nor deal with the issue of providing help to poor laborers." J. Zaks proposed opening a soup kitchen and a branch of the JSS in Sędziszów.[10]

Following the registration of women aged 15 to 50 in July 1942, 50 young females were assigned to agricultural labor. They were quartered at their workplaces and were paid with money and meals. Several dozen Jews also worked at the Łownia estate, where they were brought daily on wagons and labored under the guard of two out-of-town Jewish policemen.[11]

German police forces liquidated the Sędziszów ghetto on September 20, 1942. That morning, the ghetto was surrounded, and the Jews were ordered to gather at the square. From there, they were taken to a meadow near the train station, where they were held overnight. Jews from the liquidated ghettos of Szczekociny and Wodzisław were also brought there. The old and sick were selected, shot, and buried in the meadow. A selection was also conducted at the labor camp, with all women, elderly, and boys less than 15 attached to the transport that left Sędziszów the next morning.[12]

Aside from the 350 Jews imprisoned in the enclosed labor camp, the Germans left in Sędziszów a handful of Jews, including the chairman Szydłowski with his family. At the beginning of November 1942, the remnant ghetto was inhabited by several dozen Jews.[13]

The 1947 to 1950 proceedings of the Kielce Appellate Court (SAK) include files on a group of policemen from the Sędziszów post and its environs who, in 1943–1944, took part in the murder of Jews found in hiding and plundered their property. The main defendant, Józef Godawa, was initially sentenced to death. Following the 1952 amnesty, his sentence was commuted to 15 years in prison. The others found guilty of some of the charges received 6 to 12 years in prison.[14]

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), pp. 480–481; and Wacław Cichocki, "Sędziszów–Sędziszowscy Żydzi (1918–1943)," available at www.sedziszow.pl/?c=mdTresc-cmPokaz-352.

The following archival sources include relevant information on the Jewish community and the ghetto in Sędziszów: AŻIH (210/620, 211/489, 211/947, 301/3549, and 301/7046); IPN (SAK 203 and 203a); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reels 26 and 45); and VHF (# 30065).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/620 (Sędziszów), pp. 3, 11; AŻIH, 301/3549, testimony of Mojżesz Najman, 1948; *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 24, 1940, and January 24, 1941.

2. VHF, # 30065, testimony of Regina Kluska, 1997; AŻIH, 301/3549.

3. Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998), p. 77.

4. VHF, # 30065; AŻIH, 301/3549.

5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 24, 1940; Cichocki, "Sędziszów"; VHF, # 30065. According to AŻIH, 301/3549, there was no special living quarter for Jews; however, starting from 1941, Jews were not allowed to leave their places of residence.

6. Fąfara, *Gehenna*, pp. 480–481; *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 24, 1940, and January 24, 1941.

7. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/620, p. 41; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 25, 1941.

8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 18, 1942.

9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 45, 211/947 (Sędziszów), p. 43; *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 1, 1942; AŻIH, 301/3549.

10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 45, 211/947, pp. 1–52; and Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/620, pp. 1–45. The AJDC and the JSS archives do not contain any data related to welfare provision at this time, for example, statistics on refugees and deportees, forced labor, epidemics, or anything that

would depict conditions in the ghetto. Please note that some of the archival information in both files on Sędziszów refers to Sędziszów Małopolski in the Ropczyce-Sędziszów powiat.

11. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 27, 1942. Cichocki, "Sędziszów," dates the ghetto's liquidation in 1943.

12. AŻIH, 301/7046, testimony of Cz. Jelonek and M. Migacz, 1986; 301/3549.

13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS) 211/489 (Jędrzejów), reel 26, pp. 51–52, 55.

14. IPN, SAK 203 and 203a, as cited in Alina Skibińska and Jakub Petelewicz, "Udział Polaków w zbrodniach na Żydach na prowincji regionu świętokrzyskiego," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i materiały*, no. 1 (2005): 132–134.

SIECIECHÓW

Pre-1939: Sieciechów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sieciechow, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sieciechów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sieciechów is located 92 kilometers (57 miles) south-southeast of Warsaw. By 1939, there were 120 Jews living in the village. Following its occupation, the Jews in Sieciechów were forced to perform various jobs for the few Germans present in the village, including cleaning stables and trucks. As payment they received lunch from a canteen. Jews were obliged to wear an armband with an emblem of the Star of David; the same Star also marked their dwellings. Apart from that (according to survivor Morris Blatman), Sieciechów's Jews were able to lead their lives more or less as usual until 1941.[1]

The precise date of the ghetto's establishment is unknown. According to historian Jacek Młynarczyk, in December 1941, Kreishauptmann Radom-Land, Dr. Friedrich Egen, ordered the concentration of Jews from the local villages in a number of specified places in the Kreis, including in Sieciechów. These places were designated as *Judenbezirke*, or Jewish ghettos.[2] This was presumably implemented at the beginning of 1942 as part of the overall ghettoization process. Blatman describes the ghetto as being very small and fenced. Jews were forbidden to leave it, but they still went out to buy or barter items for food.

A number of young Jews were rounded up for labor conscription, including in nearby Dęblin (in Distrikt Lublin, where Jews worked extending an airfield) and in Mozelice. The latter was an open camp 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) northwest of Sieciechów, from which Jews were able to leave temporarily.

The ghetto's residents were to some extent aware of the impending liquidation of the ghetto in August 1942; for example, the Blatman family managed to hide all their valuables with Polish friends in nearby Nagórnik.[3]

On August 17, the new Kreishauptmann Radom-Land, Dr. Justus Rubehn (who had replaced Dr. Egen), ordered that all the Jews of Mariampol, Magnuszew, Mniszew, and Sieciechów were to be transferred to the Kozienice ghetto by the end of the month.[4] The precise date of the Sieciechów ghetto liquidation is unknown, but in its course, approximately 300 ghetto residents were transferred to the Kozienice ghetto, which was then liquidated the following month, in September 1942. All Jews concentrated in Kozienice were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES The following published sources were used to prepare this entry: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 159, 179; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63); USHMM (Acc.2003.406.1, Aeltesten-Rat der jüd. Bevölkerung Kozienice); and VHF (# 36957, testimony of Morris Blatman, 1997; # 28457, testimony of Gerszon Blatman, 1997; # 29682, testimony of Israel Blatman, 1997). Of the three VHF testimonies, only Morris Blatman gives clear evidence regarding the existence of a ghetto, but of the three, his recollections generally provide the most detail. Israel Blatman, however, states that there was not a ghetto in Sieciechów, as he was instead sent to the Kozienice ghetto.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 36957, testimony of Morris Blatman, 1997.

2. AŻIH, NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63, Anordnung (decree) and Zustazordnung (amendment) of the Kreishauptmann, December 22 and 30, 1941, as cited in Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 122.

3. VHF, # 36957.

4. USHMM, Acc.2003.406.1, Aeltesten-Rat der jüd. Bevölkerung Kozienice, report (to the Security Police) on the mood of the Jewish population, August 31, 1942.

SIENNO

Pre-1939: Sienno, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Ilza (later Kreis Starachowice), Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sienno is located approximately 44 kilometers (27 miles) south-southeast of Radom. There were 826 Jews living in Sienno when the Germans captured the village in September 1939.[1] Following an initial wave of German brutality towards the village's Jews, community life returned to normal in the months following the occupation. A number of refugees from the western parts of Poland decided to settle in the village.

The Germans set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Sienno on February 12, 1940. Rachmil Mosenberg (Mesenberg), the owner of an oil-press company, chaired the council. The other members of the 12-man Judenrat included B. Zylbersztajn, Ch. Wajcman, M.J. Goldberg, Chil Goldberg, Z. Goldberg, M. Szerman, Ch. Wajsbrot, Ch. Rubinsztajn, Ch. Kranc, M. Szyfman, and the secretary, Zylberman. The Judenrat was responsible for the conscription of forced laborers, while its members were exempted. It was further charged with orga-



A Jewish family poses in their living quarters in the Sienno ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #75069, COURTESY OF HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES, WORLD WAR II PICTORIAL COLLECTION

nizing aid for the growing number of refugees (including many from Łódź) and local needy. By June 1940, there were 1,210 Jews in Sienno, 210 of them newcomers. Although the soup kitchen was launched with the help of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), it was more often closed than open, feeding on average 200 to 250 poor daily.[2]

By mid-1940, two jails were set up in Sienno. The first was supervised by the German Gendarmerie, the second by a squad of Polish police subordinated to the former. Out of approximately 500 people incarcerated altogether, the Germans murdered at least 200 prisoners (the number of Jews among them is unknown). The remainder were moved to prisons in Starachowice-Wierzbnik, Radom, and Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski. According to one source, there was also a German Schutzpolizei unit stationed in Sienno.

An inspection carried out by Ostrowiec's Judenrat in June 1940 revealed the Sienno Judenrat's poor bookkeeping and lack of receipts for distributed goods. The Judenrat was soon at odds with most of the institutions with which it was supposed to cooperate in assisting the community. In February 1941, in a series of inflammatory letters Chairman Mosenberg accused the AJDC of intentionally excluding Sienno from assistance, and he refused to provide a report of its activities for 1940, claiming that it "would show only a deficit." Although Jewish Councils were obliged to procure money primarily from within the community, the Sienno Judenrat "refused any responsibility" to do so whenever there was a shortage of income from welfare organizations. The AJDC replied that this attitude would negatively impact Sienno's Jews, as the New York headquarters determines allocations of financial assistance based on such reports.[3]

Following further expulsions of Jews from the Polish territories annexed to the Reich, the number of newcomers rose to 457 (out of a total of 1,104) by May 1941. At that time, the Judenrat assessed 700 Jews as "poverty-stricken." Close to one half of the Jewish residents of Sienno (448) were under 18 years old. Records indicate the following age distribution: 48 children aged 2 to 3, 79 children aged 3 to 7, 190 children aged 7 to 14, and 131 youths aged 14 to 18. Aside from the soup kitchen—when it was open—there was no social assistance provided for these children.

According to the Judenrat records for May 1941, 17 Jews (out of a pre-war number of 43) were permitted to keep their stores open, while 26 Jewish craftsmen (out of a pre-war number of 61) still ran their workshops. The workshops mostly were for tailors and cobblers, employing a total of 35 Jews. Records also show that 30 Jews were performing forced labor in the Kreis, with another 30 to 50 in labor camps. During a flood in May 1941, the river washed out two bridges in Sienno and a few Jewish houses, leaving their inhabitants homeless.

The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was set up to take over the provision of aid to poor Jews from the Jewish Councils. The Starachowice Kreis committee set up its branch in Sienno on June 7, 1941, with Herszek Zylberman as the chairman, Chil Mosenberg as his deputy, and Mendel Tarłowski as the committee's third member.[4]

The Judenrat immediately sought the dismissal of all nominees, as "adolescent and unmarried," proposing themselves for the posts as "married and wealthy." The proposed candidates included: Moszek-Josek Goldberg (chairman), Chaim-Majer Wajman (deputy), and the Judenrat's chairman, Mosenberg. From then on, the self-nominee Goldberg signed all correspondence from Sienno. The rebuffed Zylberman commented to the JSS in Kraków that the real reason behind his exclusion was his high school degree. He further stated that the Judenrat "literally did nothing" to help the impoverished Jews in Sienno, all the while falsifying their reports on the welfare of the town's inhabitants.[5]

On the orders of the Ilza Kreishauptmann, an open ghetto was established in Sienno on December 6, 1941. Ghetto residents were permitted to leave for work and to acquire food during daylight hours. A unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was organized to maintain order inside the ghetto.[6]

A new JSS committee was appointed in December 1941, including tailor Moszek Chaim Grynszpan, the Judenrat's chairman Rachmil Mosenberg (as deputy), and a tradesman, Zysman Zylberman. Despite certain misgivings, Mosenberg was chosen, as Kraków believed he would set aside his personal animosities and allow the committee to do its job. *Gazeta Żydowska* reported on the accomplishments of the reorganized JSS: keeping the soup kitchen open for seven months, setting up a commitee to provide care (including breakfasts and hygiene checkups) for 140 children in the ghetto, and in addition, raising money for the soup kitchen by organizing a charity concert on February 1, 1942. The audience filled up the Judenrat's office, where a fiddle quartet conducted by Arthur Gelbart rendered pieces by Mozart, Haydn, Schubert, and Mendelssohn.[7]

A typhus epidemic broke out in the Sienno ghetto in February 1942; 47 patients were diagnosed as infected. A Polish doctor treated the patients at their homes, as there was no Jewish doctor nor a hospital set up in the village. The number of sick increased to 72 within a month; several died.

At that time, the ghetto had approximately 1,100 inhabitants. There is no information regarding the size of the ghetto or the housing conditions in it, but it is known that some of the newcomers were probably housed in mass quarters, as the *Gazeta Żydowska* notes in June, and that others were assigned to stay with local families for the Sabbath holidays.[8]

By March 1942, Mosenberg was again in conflict, withholding the Judenrat's subsidy for the purchase of goods to be distributed for the upcoming Pesach holiday and ordering the JSS to cease its activities due to lack of money. As an alternative response, Zylberman and Grynszpan went from door to door and collected the necessary sum. Mosenberg instructed them to record the sum as a Judenrat subsidy. When they refused, he sought to conscript them for forced labor. Their quarrel reached its peak in June 1942, when Mosenberg had both members of the JSS arrested by the Jewish Police. They were released after 24 hours but threatened with renewed imprisonment. According to Zylberman, Mosenberg obstructed the work of the new committee, to show the community that it was just as ineffective, as when he was in charge of welfare in Sienno. Despite these threats, the kitchen reopened on July 1, 1942, with Kraków's financial help. Finally Radom's Judenrat intervened, warning Mosenberg that lack of cooperation would result in the Judenrat's dismissal.[9]

In September 1942, the Jews from the nearby settlements of Karolowa, Tarnówek, Nowa Wieś, and Wodąca were brought to the Sienno ghetto. Following their arrival, there were 2,136 Jews living in the ghetto by October 1942.[10]

The liquidation of the Sienno ghetto took place on October 15, 1942, with approximately 2,000 of its residents being deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Two days later on October 17, 1942, approximately 800 Jews transferred from nearby Kazanów filled the vacated ghetto in Sienno.[11] Soon afterwards, they were likely sent to the ghetto in Tarłów and from there to Treblinka on November 29, 1942, after that ghetto was liquidated.

A number of escapees from Sienno, Ostrowiec, Szydłowiec, Kazanów, and Iłża joined a small partisan group in the Seredzki Forest near Iłża. The squad commander was "Garbaty"; Hill Brawerman (alias "Baca") was the commander of its Jewish section. The squad—numbering 38 men and two women—was poorly armed. It was decimated by the Germans on December 2, 1942. Brawerman was killed in the summer of 1943.

SOURCES Information for this article comes mainly from two publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955).

The main documentary sources for the Jews of Sienno under German occupation are the records of the JSS and the AJDC available in the following archives: AŻIH (210/626 [AJDC]; 211/955-57 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 46; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]). Although the above archives consist of nearly 200 pages mainly covering the Sienno Judenrat's activities, they contain very little information on the life of Sienno's Jews before and after the ghetto's establishment.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/626; *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 10, 1941. According to *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 7, 1941, the Judenrat was set up in 1939.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/626.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46.
5. Ibid.; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/626. The three younger members of the JSS were officially dismissed in January 1942.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 11, 1942, March 27, 1942, and June 26, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 26, 1942; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46.
10. Ibid.
11. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," pp. 161 (table 12), 180–181; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 179; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1180; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 577.

SKARYSZEW

Pre-1939: Skaryszew, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The town of Skaryszew is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Radom. In 1921, there were 820 Jews living in Skaryszew, constituting 39.6 percent of the total population. On the eve of war in 1939, 993 Jews were residing in Skaryszew.[1]

Damage resulting from German air raids in September 1939 seriously affected the community. Luftwaffe bombs destroyed several dozen houses. As a result, refugees that might have settled in Skaryszew refrained from doing so for some time following the bombardments. Local Jewish families tried to rebuild their lives by moving to other localities. It is possible that during the second half of 1940, the Germans relocated some of Skaryszew's Jews to another locality within Kreis Radom-Land. In the spring of 1940, there were 1,192 Jews living in Skaryszew,[2] but by December the number had declined to 810, including 64 refugees (mainly deportees from Łódź and Kraków).[3] At the end of 1940, however, the Germans decided to build an airfield in Przytyk, just to the northwest of Radom. Consequently, many of the Jewish residents of Przytyk resettled to Skaryszew in the spring of 1941.[4]

The Jews of Skaryszew were subjected to a variety of antisemitic measures enforced by the Germans. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to represent the Jews to the German authorities. On its formation, it included Rabbi Lejzor Teitelbaum, Josef Mendel Goldberg, and five tradesmen: Lejbus Szajn, Izrael Herszenhorn, Noe Zajdman, Icek Frenkel, and Abram Goldberg.[5]

In early 1941, three local ethnic Germans were appointed to run the town. Their appearance made life more difficult for the Jews; they confiscated valuables and murdered the local butcher, Yitzhak Korman. In contrast, the local Polish police chief, Roczdinski, tried to help the Jews and assisted the Judenrat.[6]

In the second half of 1941, the number of Jews in Skaryszew began to increase considerably. This probably reflected an influx of Jews from Distrikt Warschau, looking for better living conditions in the countryside. By November 1941, there were 1,271 Jews in Skaryszew, most of whom were extremely impoverished.[7] The Judenrat sought to ameliorate the awful living conditions for the Jews, and a public kitchen was opened to serve hot meals to the poor. At that time, the Judenrat included Salomon Zylbersztajn (chairman), baker Lejbus Zajde (deputy), and a gardener, Josef Mendel Goldberg.[8] By 1942, there was also a branch of the Jewish Social-Self Help (JSS) active in Skaryszew.

On December 22, 1941, Kreishauptmann Dr. Friedrich Egen issued a decree on the creation of ghettos in Kreis Radom-Land. As a result a ghetto was established in Skaryszew, probably in January 1942 or at some time over the ensuing months.[9] It encompassed numerous buildings on Kobylańska Street, as well as some houses likely located on Chomentowska, Iłża, and Poprzeczna Streets.[10] The borders of the ghetto were densely constructed, and parts of the boundary were probably fenced in with barbed wire. With the ghetto's establishment, a seven-man Jewish police force was also organized.[11] Over the first six months of 1942, the number of residents in the enclosed Jewish quarter steadily increased, reaching 1,800 by June 1942.[12] This was due to the resettlement into the ghetto of Jews living in surrounding villages, as well as an influx of refugees from other localities. Due to extreme congestion, many ghetto residents were forced to reside in barns and sheds. Hunger prevailed in the ghetto, and epidemic disease spread among its residents. In the summer of 1942, young able-bodied Jews were registered for forced labor; about 50 young Jewish men were sent to a labor camp in Radom, and others were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp.[13] In the late summer of 1942, some Jewish partisans were active in the area around Skaryszew, sabotaging German vehicles and railway tracks.

The Germans transferred all the residents of the Skaryszew ghetto to Szydłowiec on August 18, 1942. The Jews gathered in Szydłowiec were deported from there to the extermination camp in Treblinka in two large transports on September 23 and 25, 1942. During the war, material evidence of the Jewish presence in Skaryszew was destroyed, including the tombstones from the Jewish cemetery, which the Germans used as road construction material.[14]

SOURCES Details regarding the location of the ghetto in Skaryszew can be found in Włodzimierz Płowiec, "II wojna światowa," in Włodzimierz Płowiec, ed., *Skaryszew—dzieje, ludzie, jarmarki końskie* (Radom, 2006), p. 21. Other relevant publications include: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 453; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków, 2004); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 377–378; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 75–182.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR; AŻIH (JSS, 211/430, 963); IPN (ASG, sygn. 47, p. 170); IPN-R (SORd 273); USHMM; VHF (# 27989, 40874); and YVA.

Sebastian Piątkowski
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 159.
2. Sebastian Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna i działalność charytatywna w gettach dystryktu radomskiego (1939–1942)," in Marek Przeniosło, ed., *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX, XX i na początku XXI wieku* (Kielce, 2008), p. 176.
3. APR, Akta miasta Skaryszew, 2.
4. "Przytyk," at www.sztetl.org.pl.
5. APR, Akta miasta Skaryszew, 2.
6. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 377–378.
7. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 159.
8. AŻIH, JSS, 211/430.
9. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 453, date its establishment in April 1942; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 377–378, in May 1942.
10. Płowiec, "II wojna światowa," p. 21.
11. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 99.
12. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 159.
13. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 377–378; VHF, # 40874.
14. Adam Penkalla, *Żydowskie ślady w województwie kieleckim i radomskim* (Radom, 1992), p. 156; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 274.

SKARŻYSKO-KAMIENNA

Pre-1939: Skarżysko-Kamienna, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Skarzysko-Kamienna, Kreis Kielce-land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Skarżysko-Kamienna, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Skarżysko-Kamienna is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) west-southwest of Lublin, on the banks of the Kamienna River. In



Two German soldiers publicly humiliate a religious Jew in Skarżysko-Kamienna by cutting off his sidelocks, 1939–1940.
USHMM WS #42683, COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION: GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

1937, Skarżysko-Kamienna had 19,700 inhabitants, among them 2,800 Jews, about 14 percent of the total.

Under German authority, living conditions for the Jews worsened significantly. Immediately Germans started putting Jews to forced labor. Five Jews were murdered for allegedly shirking forced labor, and other Jews were beaten and humiliated. On January 4, 1940, the special commissioner (Sonderbeauftragter) of the Nazi People's Welfare (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt, NSV) agency in Skarżysko-Kamienna asked the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw to send cod liver oil and tea for the Jewish community and to pay the physician, Dr. Kachan, a monthly support of 300 złoty. He also requested food for the inhabitants of the city. On February 1, 1940, he requested 400 portions of typhus serum for the Jewish community.[1]

The Skarżysko-Kamienna Jewish Council, headed by Rabbi Hirsh Feldman, turned to the AJDC for help. At that time, the Jewish soup kitchen provided 600 meals daily, which required the expenditure of 15,000 złoty every month. Additionally, 200 meals per day were prepared for children and other meals for the sick and elderly. The AJDC in Warsaw had sent 3,000 złoty, but this was insufficient to combat hunger in the Jewish community, to improve the hygienic conditions in the bombed town, or to buy clothes for 360 Jewish children.[2]

Over the next months, food was provided from different sources. In April, the AJDC sent 1,200 kilograms (2,646 pounds) of matzot, to be given to the poorest Jews, especially refugees, for free at Passover. Some 200 additional kilograms (441 pounds) came from the Jewish community in Radom.[3] In July 1940, the AJDC sent 45 kilograms (99 pounds) of sugar, 176 kilograms (388 pounds) of flour, and 21 kilograms (46 pounds) of lard, among other deliveries.[4]

In August 1940, the Jewish community reported that 90 percent of the male Jews had been drafted for forced labor. Most likely, many of them were employed by the Road Construction Group (Gruppe Strassenbau) within the Generalgouvernement, which from February 1940 was responsible for the construction of a highway between Skarżysko-Kamienna and Annopol. Others may have been sent to forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.[5]

In the summer of 1940, first attempts were made to concentrate the Jewish population in certain parts of the town: 240 Jewish families were crammed into a small area, which led to terrible sanitary conditions and made it difficult for Jews to reach their usual work sites.[6] The soup kitchen delivered more than 600 portions daily, but the funds of the community were exhausted. The Jewish outpatient hospital (*Ambulatorium*) treated 195 patients in August 1940, and doctors made 195 house calls. In the fall of 1940 and the winter of 1940–1941, food was still scarce, and an unknown number of Jews were homeless. The Jewish Council therefore again turned to the AJDC for help and groceries, including 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of cheese, 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of Ovomaltine, and 5.75 kilograms (12.7 pounds) of soup cubes; and 500 złoty also were delivered.[7] But more help was necessary to support the homeless and to buy medication for the sick. In the spring of 1941, a number of Jews from Przytyk arrived in Skarżysko-Kamienna, as the Germans were constructing an airfield in Przytyk.[8]

In April or May of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto, or—as it was officially called—a "Jewish residential area" (*Judenwohnbezirk*) in the town. The Office for Internal Administration in Distrikt Radom instructed the Stadtkommissar in Skarżysko-Kamienna that the ghetto should not be fenced but that its inhabitants should be subjected to certain restrictions. Entering and leaving the ghetto would only be allowed for those with a special permit issued by the Stadtkommissar.[9] Furthermore, Jews could not enter several of the main streets of the town. For disobeying these rules, Jews faced a penalty fee of 1,000 złoty or three months' imprisonment.[10]

The area of the ghetto was rather small, but according to German officials, it provided enough space for the 2,800 inhabitants. As Stadtkommissar Dr. Eberhard in Skarżysko-Kamienna noted on May 9, 1941, it was not necessary to fence

in the ghetto, since no infectious diseases had been reported among the Jews within the last months. On May 5, 1941, it was reported to the Department of Interior Administration for Distrikt Radom that the ghetto had been established.[11] As reported in the *Gazeta Żydowska*, with the establishment of the ghetto, a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was organized in Skarżysko-Kamienna, which controlled its interior borders.[12]

In June 1940, Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) became the sole trustee of the Skarżysko Kamienna munitions plant, mainly thanks to its general manager Paul Budin, a trusted Nazi. HASAG now ran the Skarżysko-Kamienna plant as a subcontractor for the Wehrmacht's Army High Command (OKW), a situation that subsequently had important consequences for the Jews in the ghettos of Skarżysko-Kamienna and its surrounding area. Between August 1942 and the summer of 1943, Jews from all over Distrikt Radom were brought to the Skarżysko-Kamienna factory and its three camps (A, B, and C)—in total 58 transports with 17,210 people. Of these prisoners, 6,408 managed to survive.[13] Although Jews most likely had already been employed by HASAG in mid-1940, only in late March or early April 1942 was a first group of about 2,000 local Jews brought into the plant to serve as permanent workers.

Over the next months, a complex system of interaction developed between the HASAG management in Skarżysko-Kamienna, the Judenräte, and the SS. The labor exchange began to assign Jews to work at the plants, and the regional Judenräte cooperated, since this arrangement relieved them from paying wages and providing food for the Jews concerned. Very soon, Jews even began to bribe Jewish authorities to be assigned to work in the camps, and HASAG supported this development by spreading rumors that it would be willing to accept volunteers. Working for HASAG seemed to offer some security to the Jews from deportation to a killing center. HASAG even paid the Jews a token wage and allowed them to correspond with their families.[14] There was an arrangement between HASAG and the SS authorities, too: whenever the SS organized a deportation or ghetto liquidation, Jews would find the means to bribe the SS officers in charge, and these officers would notify HASAG representatives, who would arrive at the scene of the Aktion to select those Jews from the ghettos fit to work in the ammunition plants.

Nonetheless, conditions in the forced labor camp were harsh, with long hours and inadequate food. Many Jews died there of exhaustion and disease, and their corpses were delivered to the Skarżysko-Kamienna ghetto, where Jerachmiel Feldman, the son of the Judenrat head, arranged for Jewish burials.

In August 1942, the camp already held 5,500 Jews, coming from Skarżysko-Kamienna, as well as from at least 17 transports from various ghettos. At that time, the Skarżysko camp was officially declared a *Betriebslager* (factory camp), and the Radom period of the Skarżysko-Kamienna camp began, with transports arriving from all over Distrikt Radom, as SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Herbert Böttcher and SS officer Franz Schippers organized the deportations in the region. Between September and October 1942, two deportations from the Skarżysko-Kamienna ghetto to the HASAG camp, totaling 550 people took place.[15] HASAG representatives most likely were present during each deportation. But HASAG also made its selection of slave laborers work in both directions. In late September 1942, exhausted workers in the HASAG factory camp were told that their names would be put on a list and that they would be allowed to return home to the ghetto. On October 3, the company—as Felicja Karay reports—selected about 1,000 workers, who were considered unfit to work. About 500 of them were shot in a nearby forest. The others were taken to the Skarżysko-Kamienna ghetto, where SS officer Franz Schippers was in charge of an ongoing deportation Aktion. More than 3,000 Jews were gathered at a central square in the ghetto, 500 of them were chosen by HASAG managers for work in the factory camp, and the others—including those returned from the HASAG camp—were put in cattle cars and sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Many pregnant women and elderly or sick Jews were shot in Skarżysko during the Aktion. Some Jewish children, who had been entrusted to local Poles by their desperate parents, were betrayed and handed over to the Germans.[16]

Karay argues that in the summer and fall of 1942 the HASAG management did not need to increase its labor force, due to the *Munitionsstop* then in force in the German armament industry. Rather, the HASAG managers may have been interested instead in the profits to be gained from accepting Jewish bribes and plundering Jewish property (from parcels sent to the factory plants as well as during the deportations).[17] This practice continued until October 1942, when the HASAG camp was put under the supervision of the SSPF in Distrikt Radom, while daily organization, supervision, and administration still remained under HASAG control. In a last big "grosse Filzaktion," on October 25, 1942, all camp inmates were bodily searched and selected. The next day, 195 of them were "dismissed" and shot. October 1942 was also the final hour for the Skarżysko-Kamienna ghetto. Amid a steep increase in the terror against the Jewish population all over Distrikt Radom, that month 29 people were hanged in Skarżysko-Kamienna.[18] In January 1943, HASAG obtained the Skarżysko-Kamienna plants from the Generalgouvernement. On March 17, 1943, the Skarżysko-Kamienna synagogue and the Jewish ritual bathhouse, both property of the "former Jewish religious community in Skarżysko-Kamienna," were declared to be ownerless and confiscated in favor of the Generalgouvernement.[19] The Jewish community in Skarżysko Kamienna had ceased to exist.

In the winter of 1945–1946, Skarżysko-Kamienna Jews that had been liberated from concentration camps returned home to retrieve their property. There they were greeted with open hostility, and in February 1946, five were murdered. Three of their murderers were sentenced to death.[20] In 1948 in Leipzig (Soviet Zone of occupation) trials took place to determine the guilt of 25 leading HASAG managers and members of the Werkschutz; 4 people were sentenced to death; 2 received

life sentences; and 18 others were given sentences of between one and five years.[21]

SOURCES Although the history of the Skarżysko-Kamienna HASAG factory camp is well researched, there is not much information available on the history of the Jewish community in the town. The most important sources for this include Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow. Skarzysko-Kamienna Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996); Eliezer Lewin and Jerachmiel Shier, eds., *Skarzysko Book—The Yizkor Book in Memory of the Jewish Community of Skarzysko* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Skarzysko former inhabitants in Israel and USA, 1973); Yerahmiel Siyar, ed., *Skarżysko Kamienna Memorial Book: Zekhor* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Skarzysko former inhabitants in Israel and USA, 1997); Krzsytof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, 2007), pp. 133–135; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 373–376. Further information is provided by Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006); Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen. Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 453–454.

For information on trials against HASAG managers, members of the Werkschutz, and other people involved in the establishment of the Skarżysko-Kamienna HASAG factory camp and the extinction of the local Jewish community, see C.F. Rüter, ed., *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung ostdeutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1955–1990*, vols. 1–3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press: K.G. Saur, 2000–2003); and Fritz Bauer, Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann et al., eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1999*, 26 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2008), among others, case 654 against Anton Ipfling, who supervised the Skarżysko-Kamienna factory camp.

Primary sources on the history of the Jewish community in Skarżysko-Kamienna and the ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/631; 301/3990); IPN (e.g., ASG, sygn. 47, p. 93; kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; CA MSW 183/129, folder 5); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC] 210/631; RG-15.031M [Der Kreishauptmann in Kielce], file 129).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/631, NS-Volkswohlfahrt-Sonderbeauftragter Skarżysko-Kamienna to AJDC Warsaw, January 4, 1940; and the same to AJDC Warsaw, February 1, 1940.
2. Ibid., Jewish Community Skarżysko-Kamienna to AJDC Warsaw, February 16, 1940.
3. Ibid., AJDC Warsaw to Jewish Community Skarżysko-Kamienna, April 15, 1940.
4. Ibid., District Inspector Radom to Jewish Council Skarżysko-Kamienna, July 12, 1940.
5. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, p. 159.
6. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/631, Jewish Community Skarżysko-Kamienna to AJDC Radom, August 9, 1940; and Jewish Council Skarżysko-Kamienna to AJDC Warsaw, September 23, 1940.
7. Ibid., AJDC to Jewish Council Skarżysko-Kamienna, October 23 and December 23, 1940.
8. "Przytyk," at www.sztetl.org.pl.
9. USHMM, RG-15.031M, file 129, Amt des Chefs des Distrikts Radom, Abteilung Innere Verwaltung to Stadtkommissar Skarzysko-Kamienna, April 25, 1941.
10. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 119.
11. USHMM, RG-15.031M, file 129: note to Abteilung Innere Verwaltung beim Chef des Distrikts Radom, May 5, 1941; see also Stadtkommissar Skarżysko-Kamienna to Chef des Distrikts Radom, April 8, 1941, and Stadtkommissar Skarżysko-Kamienna to Kreishauptmann Kielce, May 9, 1941.
12. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 7, 1941.
13. Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow*, p. 51.
14. Ibid., p. 31, also based on *Pamietnik Dawida Rubowinowicza* (Warsaw: Książazka i Wiedza, 1987), pp. 92–96.
15. Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow*, p. 36, based on Lewin and Shier, *Skarzysko Book*, p. 90.
16. Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow*, p. 38.
17. Ibid., p. 39.
18. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, p. 198.
19. USHMM, RG-15.9031M, file 129, Einziehungsverfügung, Kreishauptmann Kielce, March 17, 1943.
20. Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow*, p. 232.
21. For more information on the trials, see Rüter, *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen.* vols. 1–3, nos. 1369, 1432, and 1511.

SKÓRKOWICE

Pre-1939: Skórkowice, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Skorkowice, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Skórkowice, Łódź województwo, Poland

Skórkowice is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) west of Żarnów. Before the war, Skórkowice was 1 of over 30 settlements in the Machory rural community, with its seat in Marcinków. On the outbreak of World War II, there were 60 Jews residing in Skórkowice. In the fall of 1939, approximately 100 refugees from Łódź, Zgierz, Pabianice, and Ozorków settled in the village. At the beginning of March 1941, the Judenrat reported approximately 700 Jews living in the territory of the Machory community, the majority of whom were newcomers. At least half of them came within the jurisdiction of the Skórkowice Judenrat.[1]

The Germans appointed Icek Wadowski as chairman of the Judenrat in Skórkowice. Other members included S. Szydłowski (secretary), Jankiel Wodowski, Ela Koziniecki, K. Frydman, and H. Czyżewski. The latter two were responsible for welfare.[2]

In September 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out in Skórkowice. Many Jews also suffered from dysentery. The Judenrat engaged a nurse, and then Dr. Jan Singer from Żarnów, to attend the sick. It also set up a Sanitation Committee to control hygiene among the Jews and to isolate and feed the sick. A total of 10 patients were so gravely ill that they had to be transported to hospitals in Opoczno and Piotrków Trybunalski. By mid-February 1941, 10 Jews had died of typhus.[3]

While fighting off the disease, a ghetto was created in Skórkowice in January or February 1942, after 160 Jews (40 families) from the vicinity were transferred there on January 21, 1942. Until then, they had been inhabitants of the following six villages, all within 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) of Skórkowice: Klew (15 families), Siucice (13), Zawada (4), Ruszenice (3), Sulborowice (3), and Chorzew (2).

In mid-March 1942, the newly established branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Skórkowice reported to Kraków that the Jewish families who had been transferred to Skórkowice were "in a very miserable financial and living condition, as they cannot move anywhere outside the ghetto." Many of the newcomers were peddlers, now forbidden to go about their business. There is no information as to whether the ghetto was fenced or guarded.

The ghetto was extremely overcrowded, with 15 to 20 people quartered per room. On February 14, 1942, a fire razed a house inhabited by five families. There were 320 Jews living in the ghetto at that time.[4]

The composition of the JSS committee was proposed by the Judenrat and included among its members the tradesman Koziniecki as chairman, the sales clerk Szmul Sobel, and the shoemaker Zyskind Berliner. The town's welfare administrators and members of the Judenrat's oversight commission (Wodowski, Frydman, and Czyżewski) protested against this selection. The ghetto residents rebelled as well, sending letters to Kraków, demanding the committee's disbandment and refusing to pay their welfare contributions. Their main objection was to Koziniecki, "who was trusted by no one" and who, allegedly, had falsified records concerning the expenditure of welfare funds.

At the end of April 1942, chairman Wodowski wrote to the Kraków JSS: "Outrage and arguments arise daily that the Judenrat had allowed the [JSS] branch to be composed in this way." He described the JSS branch members as "unqualified" for social work, due to general mistrust among the ghetto residents and a lack of any experience in this field. Wodowski's request for their dismissal and the confiscation of the official JSS stamp was denied.[5]

In May 1942, there were 300 Jews living in the ghetto. In July 1942, Arbeitsamt (labor office) employees escorted 30 laborers daily out of the ghetto for drainage works within the Machory community. They drained ditches, meadows, and swamps. Some ironworkers were sent away to perform forced labor in Lwów.[6]

The date on which the Skórkowice ghetto was liquidated is unknown. Adam Rutkowski established that 300 Jews concentrated in Marcinków-Machory were transferred to the ghetto in Żarnów on October 3, 1942. It is very possible that this was also the fate of the Jews concentrated in the Skórkowice ghetto, that is, resettlement to Żarnów at the beginning of October 1942. The Żarnów ghetto was liquidated later that month, when its residents were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp, via the Opoczno ghetto, which was liquidated on October 27, 1942.

SOURCES The article by Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 154 (table 10), 177–178, was used to prepare this entry.

Archival sources include AŻIH (211/969, 211/1039 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/969 (Skórkowice), pp. 1, 27.
2. Ibid., pp. 6, 8, 21.
3. Ibid., pp. 10, 20, 27–28.
4. Ibid., pp. 21–22, 25, 27, 31–32, 35, 62–63.
5. Ibid., pp. 27–30, 35–38, 40, 43, 46, 49–51; and Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1039 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), pp. 62–63.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/969, pp. 52, 62–63.

SKRZYNNO

Pre-1939: Skrzynno, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Skrzynno is located approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) west of Radom. Before World War II, the Jewish population of Skrzynno was less than 200 people.

Between the summer of 1940 and the summer of 1941, up to 400 local Jews were conscripted to perform forced labor in a quarry. The material produced there was used for the building of roads and railway tracks within the framework of the "Otto Program," a major infrastructure development project designed by the German authorities. The living conditions for the Jews working in the Otto program were tough. They had to work under the harshest conditions, and per week they received pay of only 20 złoty and a loaf of bread.

The ghetto in Skrzynno was established by an order issued on January 1, 1942, announcing that all localities with a predominantly Jewish population were to become ghettos. It is possible, however, that in Skrzynno, as one source states (Court Inquiries about Executions and Mass Graves), the order was implemented only in July of 1942. The Skrzynno ghetto held about 400 people and encompassed one quarter of the entire village.[1] The ghetto residents were permitted to leave only to work in the quarries.[2]

By the end of October 1942, the Jewish quarter in Skrzynno had been liquidated. Czesław Pilichowski and colleagues, Krzysztof Urbański, and Jacek Młynarczyk indicate that all the Jews were taken to the Opoczno ghetto. One source (Court

Inquiries), however, reports that the ghetto residents were resettled to the Przysucha ghetto.[3] Both the Opoczno and Przysucha ghettos were liquidated at the end of October 1942.

A Polish employee of the Skrzynno gmina administration provided several dozen Polish identification cards for Jews living in the Skrzynno ghetto. These cards allowed them to move around unhindered; some recipients managed to make it to the Radom ghetto.

SOURCES The Skrzynno ghetto is mentioned in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), pp. 154, 272; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 151, 185; Adam Rutkowski, "Hitlerowskie obozy pracy dla Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim," *BŻIH*, nos. 17–18 (1956): 106–128; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 78, 85, 155. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), delivers some basic facts on p. 456.

Documentary sources on the ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH, (301/4356); IPN (ASG [Court Inquiries], sygn. 51, p. 133); OKBZH-R (sygn. 101, p. 21); and USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG Skrzynno), sygn. 51, p. 133.
2. AŻIH, 301/4356, testimony of Stefan Reguła, 1949.
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), sygn. 51, p. 133.

SŁUPIA NOWA

Pre-1939: Słupia Nowa, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Slupia Nowa, Kreis Kielce-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Nowa Słupia, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The village's pre-war name Słupia Nowa is currently Nowa Słupia; however, some sources still refer to the village using its previous name. Słupia is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) east of Kielce. There were 950 Jews living in Słupia at the onset of World War II.[1]

Following the village's German occupation, Gendarmes from nearby Bieliny paid frequent visits, terrorizing Słupia's Jews by cutting off their beards with bayonets, as well as extorting money and goods. Later, whenever Bieliny Gendarmes came to the village, they killed people; these atrocities were reportedly committed by their commander, Dunkier.

A Gendarmerie post was set up in Słupia later in the occupation, most likely following the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, at which time a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp was set up on the village's Święty Krzyż Hill. The Gendarmerie was based in a pre-war tourist hostel and commanded by Hans Ritter. Despite the initial absence of Germans, Słupia residents had to be on guard against a network of German collaborators, organized by Franz (or Hans) Wittek (or Witek), a Croat who had settled in Słupia before the war. Its victims comprised both Poles and Jews. Słupia's Jews also suffered at the hands of the town's Polish (Blue) Police force. Its commander, Stanisław Dmochowski, allegedly executed five Jews; three of them were escapees who were passing through Słupia after the ghetto liquidations in the region.



Five religious Jews seized at a synagogue in Słupia Nowa on Yom Kippur are photographed shortly before the Germans murdered them, October 20, 1940.
USHMM WS #44349, COURTESY OF YIVO

There were also traitors among the Jews. According to survivor Ana Flaumembaum, a local Jew denounced the entire Judenrat, including Flaumembaum's father Joshua (Szyja) Kestenberg, her uncle, and cousin. They were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp following their arrests.[2]

The date on which the Germans established the Judenrat is unknown. The first mention of its composition in June 1940 includes Mordka Kleiner, Lejb Markiewicz, and a refugee from Łódź. Moszek Grelich, a gaiter-maker, is also named as having been the chairman for a time; the period when he presided is unknown.

By April 1940, the number of Słupia's native residents had declined by approximately 150, and there were only 870 Jews in the village, including 70 refugees (mostly from Łódź and Włocławek). From June 1940, all able-bodied men aged 16 to 60 had to perform forced labor. By then, most of the town's Jews had lost their means of income from businesses that German authorities had expropriated and given to ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) or Polish "commissars."[3]

By January 1941, the Jewish population of Słupia had risen to 1,127. On March 12, 1941, a transport of more than 1,000 Jews from the towns of Płock and Wyszogród (annexed to Regierungsbezirk Zichenau in the Reich) arrived in Słupia on the orders of the Kreishauptmann Kielce-Land, Eduard Jedamzik, thereby more than doubling the number of Jews in the village. Efforts to distribute some of the Płock deportees to other localities remained fruitless.

At this time a number of Jews deported from Vienna and Prague were also sent to Słupia. Some were distributed among the neighboring settlements of Słupia Stara, Grzegorzowice, and Trzcianka. Those newcomers who remained in Słupia Nowa were housed with local Jewish families all over the village. Many (mostly Wyszogród Jews) were quartered en masse in the synagogue, drawing water from the nearby Słupianka River.

The situation of the deportees and refugees deteriorated as the winter of 1941–1942 approached, since the Zichenau deportees had arrived without any resources. In October 1941, a young Włocławek deportee named Dawid described his situation in a letter to his mother: "I am barefooted, tattered, with no money or work. . . . My compatriots are unable to help me as they are selling off the remainder of their stuff for food. Our situation—that of the deportees—is horrible: misery, fear of winter, anxiety for tomorrow, extreme despair."[4]

Some historians have accused the Judenrat of Słupia Nowa for failing to provide sufficient help to the Płock deportees. By comparison, the foreign Jews were much better off, as the Germans had allowed trains filled with their belongings to follow the transports. There were 2,000 Jews living in Słupia in May 1941, including 1,129 newcomers, rising to 2,347 inhabitants one month later. According to another source, this number had declined to 2,079 by July 1941.[5]

While the date on which an open ghetto was established remains unclear, indirect evidence points to the autumn of 1941, when the *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that, in mid-September 1941, all Judenrat sections were reorganized, that is, their staff was replaced (sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp—see above) and its headquarters was relocated from the market square to "a roomier location." The new Kreishauptmann, Han Drechsel, appointed Rudolf Margulies as "deputy commissar" and the new Judenrat chairman. Another man named Margulies became "the commissar" and Judenrat secretary.[6]

Słupia Jews were forced into a designated area of the village (e.g., Ana Flaumembaum's family had to vacate their house located on the market square), and their houses were taken over by Poles. Jews were allowed access only along Opatowska and Kielce Streets up to the small bridges on the river, as well as the entire length of Bodzentyn and a section of Świętokrzyska Street.

According to Flaumembaum, Jews were at first able to leave the ghetto; then, however, a strict order forbade it. Those found outside were shot, some by Commander Ritter of the Słupia Gendarmerie. Poles discovered helping Jews were also subject to the death penalty. The ghetto was reportedly unguarded at night, which enabled many of its inhabitants to sneak out to buy food from the villagers. At this time there was terrible overcrowding in the ghetto, with people dying both of typhus and hunger.[7]

In 1941, Słupia's Jews were employed to build a stone road leading to the POW camp at Święty Krzyż. Until the establishment of the Gendarmerie post in Słupia, Jewish laborers were supervised either by Polish or Jewish policemen and were able to simulate labor or send smaller labor details than those demanded by the Germans; however, the random raids by Gendarmes from Bieliny usually resulted in 100 Jews being coerced into roadwork, as well as beatings, house searches, and ransom demands. By autumn 1941, out of a total of 250 Jews employed, 100 labored on the roads. Another 125 worked in the "Staszic" sulfur mine in Rudki, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) north of Słupia. The remaining 25 Jews labored in Słupia proper, performing menial and cleaning work. Most of the workers were paid 5.20 złoty per day. The others received payment in kind in the form of food. The Judenrat issued a supplementary income for working Jews, comprising one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread and 2.50 złoty per week.[8]

A clinic and hospital for 35 patients had been set up by November 1941. Preparations were made to relaunch the short-lived soup kitchen and initiate child care. The number of ghetto inmates continued to decline, reaching 1,775 in January 1942. At that time, 1,600 ghetto inhabitants were asking the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee for help, but only 350 were receiving food, as the soup kitchen was again closed.[9]

The Słupia Nowa ghetto was liquidated in September 1942, when Gendarmes accompanied by dogs and Jewish policemen chased its residents onto Świętokrzyska Street. The men were separated from the women and children. Anyone who resisted or was too weak to leave was shot inside his or her dwelling. The Germans informed Słupia's Jews that they would be resettled to Palestine. Driven by the Germans, the town's Jews had to jump onto horse-drawn wagons that Polish villagers were forced to provide. The remainder were chased from Słupia on foot in the direction of Bodzentyn.

All the Jews were escorted to Bodzentyn, where the local ghetto was also undergoing liquidation. There, the Słupia Jews were added to the Bodzentyn Jews, then taken to Suchedniów and from there to the Treblinka extermination camp, when the Suchedniów ghetto was liquidated on September 22, 1942.

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the fate of the Jews of Słupia Nowa under the German occupation include E. Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: LSW, 1983), pp. 333, 337–339, 343–344.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/640 [AJDC]; 211/997 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 47, 211/997 [Słupia Nowa]; Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/640 [Słupia Nowa]; and ITS Archive [1.1.2.1, folder 8a, and 84a]); and VHF (# 21424).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/997 (JSS Słupia Nowa), reel 47, 211/997, p. 3.
2. VHF, # 21424, testimony of Ana Flaumembaum, 1996.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/640, p. 5; and VHF, # 21424.
4. AŻIH, Ring I/562 (Ring I/663 is a copy), letter from Dawid in Nowa Słupia to his mother, October 18, 1941, as cited by Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 98–99.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/997 (JSS), reel 47, 211/997, p. 3.

6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 5, 1941.

7. VHF, # 21424; Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności*, pp. 343–344. According to Stanisław Jop, "Tadeusz Rostański (Schramm)," *Teka Kom. Hist. OL PAN* 2 (2005): 144, 146, the ghetto was delineated in 1940; it is possible that, lacking a German presence in the village, the order was not enforced until a later date.

8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 5, 1941; Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności*, pp. 337–339; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 513.

9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 7, 1942.

SOBKÓW

Pre-1939: Sobków, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sobkow, Kreis Jedrzejow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sobków, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Sobków is located 15 kilometers (9 miles) northeast of Jędrzejów. There were 565 Jews living in the village on the outbreak of World War II.

Izrael Brajbort was one of the prominent Judenrat members; names of other Judenrat personnel are unknown. In July 1940, the Judenrat entrusted Brajtbort with establishing a self-help committee.[1]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, in September 1940, a number of Jews were transferred to Sobków from Kreis Jedrzejow, followed later by an additional number of refugees. In the meantime, the Germans established a ghetto in Sobków, where the Jews lived under extremely crowded conditions. The Jews suffered from shortages and hunger, leading to an outbreak of typhus in the ghetto. The same source stated that ghetto residents were assigned to forced labor, while skilled workers needed by the German arms industry were sent to labor camps.[2]

On January 15 and 16, 1941, the Germans deported 100 Jews from Jędrzejów to Sobków.[3]

According to the Judenrat's census, there were 810 Jews in Sobków at the end of May 1941; more than half of them requested assistance. At the end of October 1941, there were still 50 Jewish-owned workshops (mainly tailors and shoemakers) and five stores run by Jews open in Sobków.[4]

In June 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established with Brajtbort as chairman. A soup kitchen opened later that month initially fed 170 people daily, charging 30 groszy for a meal. In October 1941, the kitchen served up to 250 meals daily.[5]

On December 16, 1941, two of the JSS members, Brajtbort and Kałma Elia Goldfeld (40), drowned while crossing a ford over the Nida River on JSS business. The community appealed via the *Gazeta Żydowska* to those situated along the Nida to inform them if their bodies were found. The bodies were not found until March 31, 1942.

Following Brajtbort's death, Berek Ginsberg chaired the JSS. Lejb Wajsbaum was the manager of the soup kitchen, while Lejb Fasbirowicz served as treasurer. In May 1942, Sobków reported the same number of Jewish residents—810.[6]

The Jewish community in Sobków was liquidated on August 28, 1942, when its residents, totaling approximately 800 people, were resettled to the Jędrzejów ghetto. The Jędrzejów ghetto was liquidated on September 16, 1942, when most of the Jews concentrated there were deported to the extermination camp in Treblinka. The Germans selected fewer than 200 Jews they deemed fit for work and sent them to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. It is possible that a few Jews resettled from Sobków were among this group.[7]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the fate of the Jewish community of Sobków during the Holocaust: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 96, 101, 145–146 (table 6), 172–173; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 323–324; and *Gazeta Żydowska* (1941–1942). The existence of a ghetto in Sobków is mentioned also in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 732.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/642, 211/484, 211/494, 211/979); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6203); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/979 (Sobków), pp. 1–2; and *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 1 and December 31, 1941, and May 1, 1942.

2. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 324. This secondary source unfortunately does not indicate the basis for determining that a ghetto existed in Sobków.

3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 24 and February 11, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/484 (Jędrzejów), pp. 10–13.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/979, pp. 1–2, 15; *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 1, 1942.

5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/979, pp. 11, 17; *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 1, 1941.

6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 31, 1941, and May 1, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/494 (Jędrzejów), pp. 26, 40–41; and 211/979, pp. 15–17.

7. BA-L, B 162/6203, p. 569, as cited by Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 268; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 324.

SOLEC NAD WISŁĄ

Pre-1939: Solec nad Wisłą, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Solec an der Weichsel, Kreis Ilza (later Kreis Starachowice), Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Solec nad Wisłą, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Solec nad Wisłą is located about 10 kilometers (6 miles) east-southeast of Lipsko, on the Vistula River. In 1921, the number of Jews residing in the town was 735, which constituted 43.5 percent of the total. In 1930, the number of Jews reached its peak at 1,052, but by 1937 it had declined to 830.[1]

The Jewish community of Solec was hit hard by the initial events of World War II. Shortly after the arrival of the Germans, several Jews were killed as a reprisal for shots fired at German troops in the town. In an undated letter (probably written before April 1940), the Jewish Council (Judenrat) asked the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) for help, as many Jews had become homeless due to the war, and all trades were suffering from the economic downturn. Nearly 500 members of the Jewish community were in urgent need of help.[2] The AJDC responded in April 1940 by sending 496 kilograms (1,093.5 pounds) of matzot, which were to be distributed for free among the poorest members of the community, especially the refugees.[3] In July, more food arrived: 16 kilograms (35.3 pounds) of grits, 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) of sugar, 42 kilograms (92.6 pounds) of flour, 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) of lard, and 12 cans of condensed milk.[4] In the fall of 1940, the Jewish Council reported that meals were being served to about 900 people every day, about 300 inhabitants of Solec nad Wisłą and 600 refugees.[5] The continuous purchase of food supplies exhausted the community's funds, and in the fall of 1940, the Jewish Council again turned to Jewish aid organizations for help.[6] The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) had opened a branch office in Solec by 1942.[7]

On December 6, 1941, Kreishauptmann Zettelmeyer in Iłża ordered the creation of ghettos in a number of places under his jurisdiction, including in Solec.[8] Most likely, a ghetto was established in Solec nad Wisłą soon thereafter, which held around 800 Jews. The Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto only to go to their sites of forced labor and also at certain times to purchase food. Otherwise, Jews faced the death penalty for leaving the ghetto without permission. Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought into the Solec ghetto.

According to survivor David Levenstadt, his family was transferred from the nearby village of Dziurków to the enclosed ghetto of Solec nad Wisłą, probably in early 1942. Living conditions there were very overcrowded and primitive, with toilet facilities outside. As he did not have a typically Jewish appearance and also had false Aryan papers, David was able to sneak out of the ghetto to obtain food for his family. At that time, the Jews in the ghetto still had some money. During his stay in the Solec ghetto, there was an outbreak of typhus. Subsequently he left the ghetto and went into hiding, where he received assistance from non-Jewish acquaintances.[9]

In September 1942, the Jews of Solec were deported to the ghetto in Tarłów. During the deportation Aktion, some of the elderly and sick Jews were killed in Solec. The Tarłów ghetto was liquidated in turn on October 29, 1942, when the inmates were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.[10]

At the time of the liquidation of the ghetto in Solec nad Wisłą, several of the Jews were able to find hiding places with local Poles. In February 1943, the Germans killed three members of a Polish family, who were accused of assisting Jews.[11]

From June 1942, Solec nad Wisłą was also the location of one of the four penal labor camps in Distrikt Radom. More than 100 Poles (together with an unknown number of Jews), who had not fulfilled their work quotas or requisitions, were kept here and had to perform hard labor, mainly building dikes and regulating rivers.[12] The camp was run by the Water Regulation Administration (Wasserwirtschaftsverwaltung), and the working and living conditions in it were extremely hard. A number of inmates died at the camp. At the end of October 1942, an attack by partisans liberated 103 inmates, and in February 1943, the camp was relocated to Jedlnia Kościelna, east of Radom.[13]

SOURCES A description of the life of the Jewish community in Solec can be found in Krzsytof Urbański, "Solec nad Wisłą," in *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, 2007), pp. 138–140; Krzysztof Urbański, *Gminy żydowskie małe w województwie kieleckim w okresie międzywojennym* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodow w Kielcach, 2006), pp. 356–359; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 326–327. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), mentions Solec on p. 203; Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006), on pp. 55, 166, 167, 247, 262. Solec is listed in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 463; and in Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 85, 162.

Primary sources on Solec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/647); IPN (kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC] 210/647); and VHF (# 8400).

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NOTES

1. Urbański, "Solec nad Wisłą," p. 138.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/647, Solec Judenrat to AJDC, n.d.
3. Ibid., AJDC to Solec Judenrat, April 12, 1940.
4. Ibid., Distrikt Inspectorate Radom to Solec Judenrat, July 12, 1940.
5. Ibid., activity reports for August and September 1940.
6. Ibid., letters to American "towarzystwo 'Jeas,'" n.d., and to AJDC, November 11, 1940.
7. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 203.
8. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, p. 247.
9. VHF, # 8400, testimony of David Levenstadt.
10. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 463.
11. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 326–327.
12. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik*, pp. 55, 166.
13. Ibid., pp. 167, 262.

STARACHOWICE-WIERZBNIK (AKA WIERZBNIK OR STARACHOWICE)

Pre-1939: Wierzbnik, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Starochowice-Wierzbnik, Kreis Ilza (later Kreis/ Starachowice), Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Starachowice, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Wierzbnik is located 43 kilometers (27 miles) south-southwest of Radom. By 1939, there were 3,880 Jews living in Wierzbnik and only 40 in adjacent Starachowice. In April 1939, both were joined under the name of Starachowice-Wierzbnik. As "Wierzbnik" was dropped from the name of the town in 1952, many sources—especially Polish ones—refer to the ghetto by the town's present name, Starachowice.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized in Wierzbnik on November 26, 1939. It was charged with the provision of a daily quota of laborers and the assessment and collection of financial contributions extorted from each Jewish family. Comprising 20 members, the Judenrat included the following: the pre-war community activist Symcha Mincberg (chairman), Moszek Birencwejg (deputy, in charge of welfare), Moshe Adler (secretary), Szmul Isser, Shlomo Einesman, Szmul Kahan, Szaja Jojne Szaerfherc, Moszek Feldman, J. Tencer, Lejbuś Morgensztern, Josek Rozenberg, and draper Rachmil Wolfowicz, who also served as the Judenrat's liaison to the German police.

By the end of 1939, the Judenrat had created a Jewish police force commanded by Kornblum. Jeremiah Wilczek and Nathan Gelbard served in it and were tasked with arresting and jailing those who failed to pay their assessed contributions and keeping order among Wierzbnik's Jews. Based on almost 300 interviews, mainly with survivors from Wierzbnik, Christopher R. Browning maintains that the Wierzbnik Judenrat received a "mixed" evaluation, although more survivors "were inclined toward a favorable rather than an unfavorable evaluation." Browning adds, "[I]n contrast, the Jewish police . . . were remembered less favorably."[1] Contemporary evidence from some of the deportees in Wierzbnik presents a more critical picture. Płock deportees, who arrived in March 1941, stated that the local Judenrat "consists of individuals that stick at nothing, and even in the eyes of local Jews, arouse the worst opinions."[2]

German police forces in Starachowice consisted of a small Schutzpolizei (Schupo) detachment commanded by Rudolf Angerer (supervising the Polish [Blue] Police), as well as a 15-member Gendarmerie post. Survivors mostly refer to the Gendarmes Ertel (or Ertl) and Schmidt. As of October 1941, Walther Becker was in charge of the nearest branch office of the Security Police. Although numerous survivors testified that Becker killed and terrorized the Jews, a Hamburg court acquitted him in 1972, when he was tried for his role in the liquidation of the Wierzbnik ghetto.

In February 1940, the community was forced to pay a total of 48,735 złoty in contributions. It also had to deliver 15 laborers for menial assignments daily. The Judenrat further reported that deportees from Aleksandrów and Wiśniowa Góra had increased the number of Jews in Wierzbnik to 3,156. On March 2, 1940, 600 Jews arrived in Wierzbnik. Within a week, another 358 Jews from Łódź were transferred for a "temporary stay." On March 13, 1940, a transport of 960 Jews arrived from that city. As was typically the case, it was not clear how many would stay in the town. Browning estimates a total of 1,306 persons arriving on March 2 and 13 from Łódź. A short-lived soup kitchen opened, serving 300 meals daily.[3]

An informal census of the Judenrat registered only 374 newcomers in June 1940. Many of them soon departed, as Wierzbnik was too small to offer any means of livelihood, the forced labor was unpaid, and Jews were not employed at that time in the steel or ammunition industries in Starachowice. Browning established that Jewish labor did not commence there on a large scale until the spring of 1940. First occasional and then regular quotas of 80 to 100 people were supplied via the labor office, mainly to load and unload cargo. Later much larger numbers of Jews worked there and were assigned to more advanced tasks.[4]

The refugees, intelligentsia in particular, criticized the local self-help committee for not establishing a soup kitchen; the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) also described its bookkeeping as "a lot of fiction." As a result, the committee was reorganized, at least partially to separate it from the Judenrat and include representatives from among the newcomers. The new 13-member committee included three refugees. It opened a soup kitchen on July 28, 1940.[5]

In August 1940, possibly more than 100 men were selected by the Judenrat and sent to labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.

In December 1940, there were 3,600 Jews living in Wierzbnik. By January 1941, the majority of them were employed in the Starachowice factories earning 4 to 6 złoty daily. In addition, laborers received supplementary ration cards (*Zusatzkarten*), which allowed them to buy additional food.[6]

In March 1941, a number of Płock deportees were transferred to Wierzbnik. An open ghetto was established soon after their arrival, with only three days' notice, on April 2 or 12, 1941. Adam Rutkowski states that Starachowice's mayor announced the decree establishing the ghetto only on November 20, 1941, eight months after the accomplished fact.

Signs were posted to designate the ghetto's borders. Poles were evicted from its grounds. Jews were required to obtain permission to leave it, but Poles remained free to enter. In such a situation, obtaining food was much easier than in closed ghettos, although those Jews sneaking out were taking great risks; several people were killed for this transgression. The ghetto included sections of Rynek, Kolejowa, Iłża, Spółdzielcza, Krótka, and Targowa Streets. Up to four families shared a single-family apartment. Factory-conscripted laborers left the ghetto only in work battalions.

The situation of those Płock refugees arriving in Wierzbnik with no means was grave. A committee of people from Płockers established in Wierzbnik complained that out of all transports it was "able to keep in Wierzbnik only 300 people from Płock." This number had increased to 400 by the end of

March 1941, after a group initially deported to Bodzentyn came in. The Judenrat withheld assistance and refused to register deportees, so precluding them from obtaining work in the factories, in hopes of getting rid of them. It also denied them contact with representatives of the Radom Judenrat visiting Wierzbnik to prevent the "revelation" of the Judenrat's "perfidy."[7]

By the summer of 1942, Wierzbnik was known for its higher chances of survival due to the need for labor conscripts in the steel and munitions factories crucial to the German war industry, such as the Braunschweig Steel Works Corporation, a subsidiary of the Reichswerke Hermann Göring located in Starachowice. Anticipating deportations to come, Wierzbnik inmates were frantically trying to procure work permits. Leopold Rudolf Schwertner, the head of the non-German personnel in the Starachowice factory, helped many Jews to obtain work permits in return for bribes.

Following the liquidation of the Szydłowiec ghetto on September 22–23, 1942, a number of its Jews were brought to the Wierzbnik ghetto and sent to work the following day. But in the case of Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, liquidated three weeks later on October 12, over 100 able-bodied Jews were directed to newly constructed camp barracks in Starachowice, not to the ghetto. The arrival of 700 Jews from nearby Wąchock in Wierzbnik on October 23, 1942, was a sign of the ghetto's imminent liquidation.

On October 26, 1942, the evening before the deportation, the Jewish Police went around informing ghetto residents to report to the market square at 7:00 A.M. That night, some skilled workers and Judenrat members, together with their families, were transferred to the so-called Strzelnica camp in Starachowice.

Under Becker's command, the Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 27, 1942; 60 to 80 Jews were murdered in the course of the Aktion. While Polish and Jewish Police helped to assemble the Jews and maintain order, none of the survivors suggest that they were involved in the killings. Browning estimated that in the course of selections, 1,600 Jews, including 400 women, were selected for work in Starachowice and marched to the so-called Tartak and Strzelnica camps, and some were later transferred to the Majówka camp. The remainder, approximately 4,000 people, were loaded onto 50 cattle cars and a few passenger wagons between 2:00 and 5:00 P.M. All were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

In his postwar testimony the Judenrat chairman made the rather expansive claim: "Through my efforts I succeeded in obtaining the approval of the SS and Police Leader, Böttcher . . . to establish a work camp at the ammunition factory in Starachowice for 1,500 people."[8]

Between 60 and 70 people, including Jewish policemen, were selected to clean out the ghetto. The Kommando buried the victims in two mass graves and proceeded to sort Jewish belongings while continuing to live on its grounds. Several months later, the group was transferred to the Starachowice camp.

Browning notes: "The fact that more than 25 percent of the Jews rounded up in Wierzbnik were not sent immediately to their deaths stands in sharp contrast to the fate of other communities in Radom district, where the deportation rate during the ghetto-liquidation actions routinely stood at 90 to 95 percent."[9]

SOURCES The most detailed account of the Starachowice-Wierzbnik ghetto is in Christopher R. Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave-Labor Camp* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010), pp. 1–109. Additional information can be found in the following publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 83, 148, 197; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 83–84, 92, 93, 99, 162 (table 12), 180–181; and Yerahmiel Zynger, "Days of Decline and Destruction (the Destruction of Wierzbnik)," in Mark Shutzman, ed., *Sefer Virzbnik-Starakhovits* (Tel Aviv: ha-Va'ad ha-tsiburi shel yots'e Virzbnik-Starakhovits, 1973), pp. 144–145.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APK (sygn. 46, no. 94); AŻIH (e.g., 301/155); BA-L (ZStL, 206 AR-Z 39/62; Verdict of LG-Hamb [50] 35/70); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/653, 717; Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS], 211/1098; RG-15.079M [Ring], I/353; RG-50.030); VHF (e.g., # 3654, 5190, 9917, 26120); and YVA (TR-10/776).

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NOTES

1. Browning, *Remembering Survival*, pp. 38–39.
2. USHMM, RG-15.079M (Ring), I/353; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/653 (Starachowice), p. 1; and 210/717 (Wierzbnik), pp. 1, 20–23; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1098 (Wierzbnik), pp. 1–2.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/717, pp. 3–8.
4. Ibid., p. 11; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1098, pp. 1–2.
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 21, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1098, pp. 1–3, 5.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 14, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/717, p. 32.
7. USHMM, RG-15.079M (Ring), I/353.
8. AŻIH, 301/155, testimony of Simche Minckerg (Symcha Mincberg), 1945.
9. Browning, *Remembering Survival*, p. 296.

STASZÓW

Pre-1939: Staszów, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Staszow, Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Staszów, powiat center, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The town of Staszów is located in southeast Poland, 55 kilometers (34 miles) southeast of Kielce. The total population of Staszów in early 1939 was approaching 11,000, around half of whom were Jewish. On the night of September 7, 1939, the Germans occupied the town and immediately began a program of persecution, plunder, forced labor, and murder.

A permanent Gendarmerie post under the command of an officer named Braun was set up on October 26, 1939. There was also a small force of Polish (Blue) Police subordinated to the Gendarmerie.[1]

In early November 1939, the Landrat in Opatów ordered the establishment of an eight-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Staszów to represent the Jews to the German administration. Jechiel Nejman was its first chairman, but because he was not sufficiently compliant for the Germans, he was dismissed and replaced by Efraim Zinger. Other members of the Judenrat included Herszl Goldberg, Lejbusz Szniper, Herszl Winer, Alter Bemel, Josef Kestenberg, and J. Kirszenbaum.

Punitive expeditions by SS units became frequent; they were accompanied by beatings and demands for contributions. With time, harassment by the Germans and the new mayor Józef Suchan (appointed in August 1940) became more systematic.[2]

In December 1939, the first wave of deportees arrived in Staszów from Kalisz and Sieradz, followed by some from Łódź. The Judenrat opened a soup kitchen on January 26, 1940, to assist impoverished deportees. It provided three meals a day for nearly 400 people. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization also helped; the Kreis committee, with its headquarters in Opatów, was established on December 16, 1940, and the branch in Staszów was set up shortly afterwards. In May 1941, 2,600 people applied for social help; however, only 1,000 received it, mainly in the form of free or discounted meals, with some clothing and shoes when available.[3]

Following the arrival of the refugees and deportees, the Judenrat now had to deliver between 200 and 500 workers per day for forced labor. The employment office in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski issued an order that starting in July 1940, all Jews over the age of 15 had to perform forced labor two days a week. Approximately 200 Jews worked daily for the German "Oemler" Road Construction Company and also on landscaping and swamp drainage.[4]

The German authorities ordered the Judenrat to establish a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) in June 1941. At the beginning, it consisted of about a dozen members. Later, when the Germans promised that its members and their families would be protected from deportation and would be free to move to other ghettos, the number of volunteers increased to about 60. Piekarski was the chief, and Fiszman served as his deputy. Both treated the Jews well; however, in some key situations the behavior of the Jewish Police was quite brutal towards their own.

On March 27, 1941, a transport of 1,000 Austrian Jews arrived in Kreis Opatow. Many came to Staszów. In the same year a number of Jews arrived in Staszów from Mielec.[5] According to the Judenrat records, there were about 5,500 Jews living in Staszów between 1940 and January 1942; 750 of them were refugees or expellees.[6]

Due to the influx of people, sanitary conditions in the town deteriorated, and cases of typhus, typhoid, and dysentery appeared. A system of inspections and the opening of a Jewish bath helped to contain the typhus.[7]

From January 1942, Jews were forbidden to leave the town under penalty of death. From January 15, 1942, Jewish shops could operate only under the supervision of a German, an ethnic German, or a Pole.[8] According to the JSS records, there were 200 Jewish businesses operating in May 1941, most of them manufacturing shoes.[9]

Until the ghetto was established on June 15, 1942, the Jews still lived in their own homes and—for the most part—had their own shops. With the establishment of the ghetto, they were forced to move into two separate areas of the town, one in the east and one in the west, which included the streets Złota, Długa (Gęsia), Krótka, Stodolna, and Bóżnicza and, on the other side, Dolno Rytwiańska, Górno Rytwiańska, and Kąpielowa. The marketplace and the main streets were to be free of Jews. In June 1942, the ghetto had 6,151 inhabitants. In total, 8,000 Jews passed through the ghetto during its existence.[10]

The ghetto was closed on July 1, 1942, with a gate across Krakowska Street. Contact between the two parts of the ghetto was limited to two to four hours per day. A 6:00 P.M. curfew was imposed. Illegal trade with nearby villages fell to a minimum, but many Jews decided to risk their lives by leaving the ghetto and buying food from Poles. Later, Jews could buy food outside the ghetto with a special permit from Mayor Suchan.[11]

Tailoring shops were set up in August 1942, and German army uniforms were manufactured there. To equip workshops set up in the synagogue, the House of Study, and the high school, Jewish Police confiscated sewing machines from many Jews. At that time there were approximately 880 craftsmen, 360 tradesmen, and 270 laborers registered in Staszów.

At the beginning of October 1942, Staszów's Jews learned that the Germans had deported the Jews from many of the towns nearby, and more refugees arrived. The ghetto became more crowded than ever, and sanitary conditions worsened. Besides the 5,000 Staszów Jews, there were about 2,000 Jews from other places.

Many Jews fled Staszów; some tried to hide with Poles, while others built bunkers or went to hide in the Goliw Forest. There was also an attempt to organize Jewish armed resistance by the youth of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, Zionists, and Communists, but the Polish Communist Party refused to provide arms to Jews.[12]

On November 7, 1942, Judenrat chairman Efraim Zinger was ordered to prepare a meal for SS-Obersturmführer Schildt and the 150 members of a punitive expedition that was coming to town. In the afternoon, a group of 200 Jews from Kurozwęki and Szydłów arrived in Staszów. They were assembled and guarded by Ukrainian auxiliaries at the market square. Sometime on the same day, a Jew named Abraham Icek Kerbel came to Staszów with one SS man. He offered to take some Jews to a labor camp in Bodzechów near Ostrowiec for a fee of 1,000 złoty per person. Those who paid this large sum soon learned that it was a swindle.[13]

In the evening, the town was cordoned off by Germans accompanied by Ukrainian and Latvian auxiliaries and also

the Polish (Blue) and Jewish Police. Late in the evening, the Germans informed the Judenrat that the ghetto inhabitants would be deported the next day, November 8, 1942, and ordered all Jews to be present at the market square at 8:00 A.M.

The murder of Staszów's Jews started at sunrise on November 8, when two Gestapo men, Peters and Bruno, shot Zinger.[14] At 10:00 A.M., almost 6,000 Jews were ordered to march to the Szczucin train station. When the column entered Kraków Street, the shooting and beating of Jews started. Those who could not keep up with the column were shot. About 700 to 740 collapsed Jews were shot and subsequently buried in a mass grave in the village of Niziny. The remaining Jews were loaded on trains and sent to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination center.[15] The Polish underground press reported instances of individual armed self-defense during the deportation from Staszów.

After the column left the town, a search of the Jewish houses began, and anyone found hiding was shot on the spot. Jewish Police accompanied the search. Throughout the course of the day of the evacuation, the Germans and their auxiliaries murdered 450 Jews (189 of them were shot before the column left the town). Their bodies were buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery.[16]

Approximately 550 workers of the tailoring workshops, 250 employees of the Oemler Company, and the Jewish Police (now transformed into a cleanup Kommando) remained in Staszów. They were quartered on Bóżnicza and Złota Streets, which were fenced off with barbed wire. Shortly after the Aktion, about 1,200 "illegal" Jews emerged from bunkers or from the forests—some denied further help by Poles—and were crowded into the small remnant ghetto.[17] After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Germans auctioned Jewish property: houses, shops, and furniture. There were very few buyers, but many Poles looted Jewish houses.[18]

In the weeks and months following the deportations, many of the hidden Jews were murdered in the course of German-organized roundups. There were also instances when Poles revealed bunkers and other hiding places. On December 1, 1942, the Germans announced that all "illegal" Jews who remained in Staszów after the expulsions could stay alive but had to move to Sandomierz, which was proclaimed as one of the few remaining Jewish refugee towns in the Generalgouvernement. The Jews could freely travel to Sandomierz for 10 days, until December 10, 1942. When the Sandomierz ghetto was liquidated on January 10, 1943, hundreds of Staszów Jews who had moved there were sent to Treblinka.[19]

On December 15, 1942, Staszów's tailoring workshops were liquidated, and the Jews employed there were sent to the Poniatowa labor camp in Distrikt Lublin. All those at Poniatowa were killed when the entire camp was liquidated in November 1943. The Oemler Company camp was liquidated on June 3, 1943, and its employees were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp and to Radom.

Despite the danger to those who gave refuge to Jews, there were a number of acts of rescue in Staszów and the surrounding villages. One of these rescuers was Maria Szczecińska, a widow with five children who hid 14 Jews in a specially designed bunker for 22 months—from October 1942 until the liberation of Staszów in August 1944.

SOURCES Much information on the life and destruction of the Staszów Jews can be found in the yizkor book edited by Elhanan Erlikh, *Sefer Stashov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Ṣtashov be-Yisrael, 1962). The publication *The Life and the Extermination of Staszów Jews* (Staszów: Staszów Cultural Association, 1992), by Maciej Andrzej Zarębski, is largely based on *Sefer Stashov*. It was also published in Polish as *Życie i zagłada Żydów staszowskich: W 50 rocznicę zagłady gimny żydowskiej w Staszowie* (Staszów: Staszowskie Tow. Kulturalne, 1992). There are also a number of survivor testimonies, which are briefly described in Marek Jóźwik, ed., *Relacje z czasów zagłady: Inventarz* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny-Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 1998–2005). The Staszów ghetto is mentioned also in Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2004), pp. 182–183, 190; and in Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 116.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews in the Staszów ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/655; 211/989; and 301/13, 2790, 3633, and 4972); BA-L (e.g., B 162/4872); IPN (kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS], reel 47; and RG-15.073M [Rady Żydowskie], reel 1); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2790, testimony of Bina Pasmantier, Daniel Segał, and Samuel Szpic, 1947; and 301/3633, testimony of Basia Goldsztajn, 1947.
2. Ibid., 301/2790; Joseph Goldstein, "Extracts from a Ghetto Diary," in Erlikh, *Sefer Stashov*, pp. 26, 29; and A. Ehrlich, "The Path of Anguish and Destruction," also in *Sefer Stashov*, p. 41.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
4. AŻIH, 301/2790.
5. Ibid.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
7. Ibid., RG- 15.073M (RŻ), reel 1; and RG-15.019M, reel 14.
8. Goldstein, "Extracts," p. 25.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
10. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 14; Menahem Lifshitz, "The Last Struggle," in Erlikh, *Sefer Stashov*, pp. 23–24.
11. Lifshitz, "The Last Struggle," p. 24; Goldstein, "Extracts," p. 26; AŻIH, 301/2790.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47; Lifshitz, "The Last Struggle," p. 23; Goldstein, "Extracts," pp. 28, 30, 32; Ehrlich, "The Path," p. 36.
13. Goldstein, "Extracts," pp. 30–31.
14. AŻIH, 301/13, testimony of Gertner, 1944; Goldstein, "Extracts," p. 32.
15. BA-L, B 162/4872, Vorl. Abschlussbericht, April 21, 1960, reports that Staszów's Jews were deported to Treblinka; some other sources, e.g., AŻIH, 301/4972, indicate the Bełżec killing center as the destination.

16. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14; Goldstein, "Extracts," pp. 32–33.
17. Lifshitz, "The Last Struggle," p. 24; Goldstein, "Extracts," pp. 32–33; and Ehrlich, "The Path," p. 38.
18. Goldstein, "Extracts," p. 28; and Ehrlich, "The Path," pp. 38–39.
19. AŻIH, 301/4972, testimony of Meier Bydłowski, Bucharest, April 21, 1945.

STOPNICA

Pre-1939: Stopnica (Yiddish: Stavnich), village and powiat center, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Stopnitsa, Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Stopnica, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Stopnica is located in southeast Poland, 20 kilometers (12 miles) east-southeast of Busko-Zdrój. In 1939, the Jewish population was approximately 2,600.[1]

German forces captured the town on September 8, 1939; killings, persecution, and thievery soon followed. There were only three German Gendarmes stationed in Stopnica to maintain order; there was also a small Polish police force.[2]

In early 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established by the Germans with Taubenblat as president. The Judenrat organized a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordungsdienst) to keep order in the ghetto. Jews took advantage of the fact that there were very few Gendarmes in Stopnica; they could not be everywhere, so many Jews risked going to nearby villages to buy food from the farmers. Those who were caught could be shot, and some were even captured by Poles and handed over to the German police in exchange for a reward of sugar or alcohol.[3] The nearest large police station was in Busko. Sometimes Germans would arrive on motorcycles and randomly terrorize Jews or shoot them in the street. To protect Stopnica's Jews, the Judenrat collected money to bribe the Germans to stay away from town. Whenever Germans came to Stopnica, Jewish men went into hiding, often in places constructed especially for this purpose.[4]



Dina Ofman wore the white cotton armband (center) while in Stopnica from 1939 to 1941.
USHMM WS #N04572.01, COURTESY OF DINA OFMAN

From January 1940 onwards the Jews of Stopnica were subjected to forced labor. The Judenrat was responsible for providing the Germans with a specific number of workers and for paying them small wages. About 60 or 70 percent of the Jews in Stopnica would gather daily at the square at 7:00 A.M., and then they were marched to a site about 8 kilometers (5 miles) outside Stopnica to work. Usually, they worked on road construction under the eyes of German guards. If a Jewish laborer worked too slowly, these guards would take him away, after which he would never be seen again. There were also a number of Jews working at the nearby Wolica Manor. The Jews were paid with food for their work, receiving a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of wheat and 1 liter (34 ounces) of skimmed milk per day.

In the wake of the military campaign in September, the Jewish population in Stopnica was augmented by successive waves of refugees, mainly from areas of western Poland that the Germans annexed to the Reich. On December 6, 1940, 300 Jews from the Distrikt capital in Radom arrived in Stopnica. The group consisted of Radom's poorest Jews, as well as deportees from other cities and towns, including Łódź, Kraków, and Gąbin, who had been in Radom for only a short time. A group of 200 to 250 (mostly women and children) from Płock arrived on February 25, 1941. These deportees arrived without any necessities, and Stopnica's Jews were scarcely in a condition to help them. A soup kitchen was organized for their benefit in February 1941.[5]

To help cope with the influx of deportees and refugees, a local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established in Stopnica on March 9, 1941, following the creation of the Kreis committee in Busko on November 4, 1940. The local branch in Stopnica received funds from the headquarters of the JSS in Kraków, and as a result it took over the organization of social relief from the Judenrat.[6]

The Kreishauptmann in Busko, Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer, ordered the establishment of several ghettos in the Kreis by April 15, 1941. Around this time, an open ghetto was created in Stopnica. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the ghetto on penalty of death. Those who lived among Poles had to move into the Jewish quarter. These Jews were fortunate, at least in comparison with the refugees, as they were able to bring most of their furniture, bedding, and clothes with them.[7]

According to Judenrat records, there were about 1,500 laborers, 110 craftsmen, and 30 tradesmen in Stopnica in 1941. Tailoring workshops were set up, providing the craftsmen with some employment and small wages.[8] There were about 20 or 30 stores open, including bakeries and grocers, which were still run by Jews. Jewish bakeries produced challahs and kept *cholent* (a Sabbath stew) overnight in preparation for Shabbat.

The deportees were kept in two prayer houses (110 in one, and 50 in the other), in which up to 40 people had to share one large room. Only one of the two prayer houses had some bunk

beds, while the majority of the people had to sleep on the floor. At the beginning of March 1941, the JSS described the housing conditions for the expellees as "catastrophic," with many sick, 2 dead, a lack of medication, and deplorable sanitation. In May 1941, there were 4,600 Jews living in the ghetto.[9] By June, 400 people had died of hunger and disease.[10] While 1,900 applied for social assistance on a monthly basis, only 500 were able to receive it in the form of free or discounted meals, small loans, medication, or dry food (mainly potatoes and flour with insufficient quantities of eggs, sugar, and honey).

A hospital with 30 beds was soon opened. It was administered by the JSS and financed by the Judenrat. By the end of June 1941, it had admitted 147 patients. At that time the situation for the deportees was becoming even more desperate. They continued living in mass quarters and were given only 17 straw mattresses and six pairs of shoes. The organization of regular breakfasts and an orphanage for children whose parents had died in the ghetto became urgent matters. In August 1941, the children were receiving two cookies and a glass of milk for breakfast. Deportees were receiving a full ration of bread free of charge. About 250 poor Jews were receiving 0.5 to 2 kilograms (1.1 to 4.4 pounds) of bread per family per week. A special commission was set up to supervise its distribution.[11]

In 1942, Jews from neighboring villages were brought into the Stopnica ghetto. There were 5,300 Jews living in Stopnica in April 1942, declining to 4,900 by June of that year. On the eve of Passover 1942, the president of the Judenrat and his son were shot. Between March and July 1942, many Jewish conscripts or volunteers were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp, where they worked in the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory. The volunteers were assured that they would receive wages and that their wives and children remaining in Stopnica would not be accosted. Many decided to go, as they believed that they could save their families' lives and their own by working for the Germans. By the summer of 1942, rumors began to spread in Stopnica that Jews from nearby towns were being killed or deported to unknown destinations.[12]

The final liquidation of the Stopnica ghetto took place on November 5–6, 1942. It started when the Germans brought hundreds of Jews from Chmielnik to be deported together with Stopnica's Jews on November 5. German police and Ukrainian auxiliaries, with the help of the local Polish police and fire brigade, shot some 400 elderly Jews and children at the Jewish cemetery. They were buried at the Jewish cemetery, and their bodies were subsequently dug up and burned by the Germans in a mobile crematorium. Of the other Jews in the ghetto, 1,500 young men were sent to the labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. Approximately 3,000 Jews were marched on foot to the train station in Szczucin, 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Stopnica, where they were loaded onto trains and sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Jews caught hiding in the ghetto were shot on the spot or rounded up and included in this evacuation march.

In Stopnica itself, about 200 young men and women were kept in workshops and used for road building. In January 1943, this group was either sent to the ghetto in Sandomierz or to the labor camp in Poniatowa. All those at Poniatowa were killed when the entire camp was liquidated in November 1943.

The Stopnica Jews received some help from nuns in the local hospital. According to the report of the commander of the Armia Krajowa (Home Army, AK), dated June 21, 1944, there were instances of Jews being murdered near Stopnica by forces of the Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces, NSZ), a right-wing faction of the Polish resistance. During military operations in 1944–1945, Stopnica was completely destroyed; not a single house remained standing.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jewish community of Stopnica and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 19:237–238; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1248. The Stopnica ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 474.

Documentation on the persecution of the Jews in the Stopnica ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/267, 993; 210/658); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6204, 6483); IPN (kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS], reel 47; Acc.1997.A.0404; and RG-15.022M, reel 9); VHF (more than 20 visual testimonies of survivors from Stopnica); WL (Microfilm series 34, Eye Witness Reports, reel 6); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1353; and M-1/E/1139, 1512, 1634, 1709, 1836, and 2655).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
2. WL, London, Microfilm series 34, Eye Witness Reports, reel 6, (Skarżysko-Kamienna) No. 675, sworn testimony of an unnamed female Jewish survivor, Paris, February 15, 1954.
3. BA-L, B 162/6483, pp. 1064, 1071, witness statements of Pinkus G. and Moise W., 1954.
4. VHF, # 16472, testimony of Steven Dyzenhaus, 1996; # 43398, testimony of Rose Feintuch, 1998; # 12471, testimony of Alice Davis, 1996; # 15389, testimony of Paula Goldhar, 1996; and # 5306, testimony of Arthur Grossman, 1995.
5. USHMM, 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
6. Ibid.; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 108.
7. VHF, # 16472.
8. USHMM, 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
9. Ibid.

10. VHF, # 5690, testimony of Esther Frenkel, 1995; # 5306.
11. USHMM, 1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47.
12. VHF, # 12471; # 5690; and # 15389.

STROMIEC

Pre-1939: Stromiec, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Stromiec is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) east of Białobrzegi. In 1937, there were 392 Jews living in Stromiec.

Following the German occupation of the region in September 1939, the German administration appointed a tradesman and pre-war secretary of the Jewish community, Josek (Józef) Fryszman, as the Judenrat chairman. The nearest German forces responsible for supervising the Jews in Stromiec were based at the Gendarmerie post in Białobrzegi.

On April 2, 1941, a number of Jews from the recently depopulated village of Przytyk were transferred to Stromiec.[1]

As part of a larger ghettoization process of those Jews still living in the villages of Kreis Radom-Land, the Germans decided to liquidate Stromiec's community by transferring them to a larger ghetto at the end of 1941. However, according to the records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch based in Radom, "Thanks to efforts of the Supreme Council of the Jewish Community in Distrikt Radom," the Germans allowed several rural communities to remain in place by creating Jewish quarters for them.

The order to establish a ghetto in Stromiec was issued by the Kreishauptmann, Dr. Egen, in December 1941 and was implemented at the beginning of January 1942. Stromiec's Judenrat was further ordered to set up a hospital and open a soup kitchen.[2]

According to survivor Joseph Friedman, the ghetto was set up in early 1941. The same year, Friedman claims he witnessed the shooting of a married couple caught by Gendarmes from Białobrzegi as they were returning to the ghetto. Friedman stated that Stromiec's Jews remained in their own dwellings, as the pre-war Jewish neighborhood was chosen as the ghetto's location. While Jews were forbidden to leave the area of the ghetto, Friedman does not mention it being fenced or guarded, aside from two Białobrzegi Gendarmes who visited Stromiec every other day by bicycle.[3] By 1942 the ghetto had 313 residents.

When it opened on March 8, 1942, the soup kitchen was serving 170 meals daily due to the efforts of Dawid Feldberg, Herszek Mandelbaum, and Szyja Racimora. All three were later appointed as members of the JSS branch established in Stromiec in April 1942. From the start, the JSS branch was in conflict with the Judenrat, which, as a representative of the Białobrzegi JSS noted, "simply assumed a negative attitude towards the work of the JSS branch" and helped very little with the maintenance of the kitchen's services. Nonetheless, the kitchen served over 8,000 meals in April 1942.[4]

According to Friedman, the Stromiec ghetto was liquidated in mid-June 1942. This assertion is partially corroborated by the documentation of the JSS Kreis office in Radom, which indicates that July 1942 was the last month the community was scheduled for the distribution of rations and cleaning products.

The liquidation of the Stromiec ghetto and the transfer of its 300 residents to the Białobrzegi ghetto were announced only one day in advance. Children were transported on wagons, while others were forced to walk the distance of 10 kilometers (6 miles). The Białobrzegi ghetto was already overcrowded with Jews transferred there from other towns in the vicinity.[5]

On October 1 (or according to some sources, September 1), 1942, German-led forces liquidated the Białobrzegi ghetto.[6] Approximately 3,500 Jews were formed into a column and escorted through Stromiec to the train station in Dobieszyn, from where they were dispatched to the Treblinka extermination camp. During this march, police escorts beat or shot Jews who were unable to march. Judenrat chairman Fryszman was shot while the column was passing through Ksawerów Nowy.

SOURCES The pre-war figure for the Jewish population of Stromiec is from Krzysztof Urbański, *Gminy żydowskie małe w województwie kieleckim w okresie międzywojennym* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe, 2006), pp. 407–408.

For more details on the march of Stromiec's Jews via their native village to the Dobieszyn train station, see J. Kamiński and H. Stawiarski, "Żydzi w Stromcu," in *Stromiec. 750 lat osady i parafii* (Stromiec, 1992), pp. 86–87; an excerpt is cited in Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawn. Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2004), pp. 84, 87. Urbański dates the transfer of Stromiec's Jews to Białobrzegi at the beginning of 1941 (p. 166).

Numbers for the Jewish population during the ghetto's existence are from Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955), who alternatively maintains that upon the liquidation of the Stromiec ghetto, its population was transferred to Kozienice, not Białobrzegi (see pp. 159, 179).

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (211/854-55 [JSS]; NMO [Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63]); BA-L (B 162/6305); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 1005).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/854 (Radom), p. 7.
2. Ibid, p. 5; AŻIH, NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63, Anordnung (decree) and Zustazordnung (amendment) of the Kreishauptmann, December 22 and 30, 1941, as cited in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122.
3. VHF, # 1005, testimony of Joseph Friedman, 1995.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/855 (Radom), pp. 4, 5, 28.
5. Ibid., p. 45; VHF, # 1005.

6. October 1, 1942, is given by most Jewish survivors. See BA-L, B 162/6305, pp. 191, 196, 205, 209, 223, 226, 234. Others, however, date it on September 1; see pp. 213, 217.

SUCHEDNIÓW

Pre-1939: Suchedniów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Suchedniow, Kreis Kielce-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Suchedniów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The town of Suchedniów is located 31 kilometers (19 miles) northeast of Kielce. The Jewish community of Suchedniów numbered 1,200 prior to the outbreak of World War II.

In the days that followed the German invasion, many of Suchedniów's Jews—including the community rabbi, Yisrael David Lajnman—fled eastward. The village was occupied on September 7, 1939. During one Sabbath, Germans burst into the synagogue and ordered the attending Jews to burn the Torah scrolls outside. Many of those gathered in the synagogue were taken that same day to perform forced labor on the outskirts of the village.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established by Germans in November 1939; it was chaired by Zelig Warszawski and included Chaim Reizman and Chaim Rozenberg. The following month, a large fine, according to one source of 500,000 złoty (although that seems too high), was imposed on the community. Then 15 local Jews, including two Judenrat members, were held hostage and freed upon receipt of the payment. By February 1940, Suchedniów's Jews were forced to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. There was a unit of German Gendarmerie and also Polish (Blue) Police based in the village.

In the first part of 1940, a number of young Jews were conscripted for work at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna, where they were used as unpaid labor to build roads, cut trees, and unload trains. By mid-1940, all Jews were laid off, followed by the introduction of a law ordering Jews to be paid for their labor; at that time the Jews were replaced by Poles.[1]

Stanley Freed, a refugee from Łódź who settled in Suchedniów during the winter of 1940, remembers Jews walking home with their prayer shawls after services. The Polish and Jewish populations were still mixed at the time. Jewish store owners would pay poorer Jews to labor in their stead, as able-bodied Jews were conscripted to maintain the roads, cut trees, and hew stone. With time, these laborers, mostly newcomers, became "professional goers"; that is, the labor was unpaid, but workers were receiving food in lieu of payment.[2]

By September 1940, 300 newcomers had arrived in Suchedniów. The Judenrat attracted a doctor to the village and set up a self-help committee. The committee established a soup kitchen financed by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) but had to close it after two months due to a lack of funding.[3]

By November 1940, Wolf Sołomianik had become the chairman of the Judenrat. A. Nagiel was the Judenrat's secretary. In January 1941, there were 1,500 Jews in the town, including 350 refugees from Łódź. At this time, the committee was forced to discontinue the breakfasts fed daily to 180 poor children, as there were some cases of typhus among them. A number of children were sent to the hospital in Kielce, and their households were quarantined.[4]

On March 3, 1941, a transport of 300 Jews arrived from Płock, which had been incorporated into the Reich. On their route, they were held initially at the Działdowo (Soldau) transfer camp, where they were stripped of their belongings and starved for approximately one week before arriving in Suchedniów via Kielce. By the end of the month, a total of 650 Płock Jews arrived altogether. In April 1941, 2,100 Jews—including 900 newcomers—reportedly inhabited Suchedniów.

As early as May 1941, one of the deportees, Chaim Szafran, reported that watery soup was the only form of help Płock Jews were receiving from the Judenrat. He was paid 3 złoty for his daily labor, while a kilogram (2.2 pound) loaf of bread cost 9 złoty. He also believed that the Judenrat withheld financial assistance sent by other welfare institutions specifically for the Płock deportees; that it attempted to prevent Płock Jews from establishing their own representation in Suchedniów; and that it also prevented communication with representatives of welfare organizations visiting Suchedniów. With time, the situation for the Płock Jews deteriorated. Historians describe the attitude of the Suchedniów Judenrat towards Płock deportees as "misguided" (Krzysztof Urbański) and "reprehensible," with a disproportionately high number of deaths caused by starvation (Adam Rutkowski).[5]

An open ghetto was established in the center of Suchedniów in the spring of 1941. According to the survivor Paula Mintz, loudspeakers and posted placards announced its establishment. The sources are not clear as to its size. While one states that three streets were included in the ghetto, others refer to just one (Handlowa Street). A curfew was introduced. The ghetto was unfenced, and there were no guards, except for boards posted at the ghetto limits announcing the death penalty for those caught crossing the ghetto boundary. Mintz recalls that Jews were very obedient and did not go outside the ghetto. Local Poles came to the ghetto to sell produce.[6]

A Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) unit of 40 men was organized to maintain order among the ghetto inhabitants. The family of Felix Brand, who moved to Suchedniów under an assumed Polish identity, had to flee the town after they were recognized as Jews and blackmailed by some members of the Jewish Police.[7]

There is no information as to when the Jews resumed their labor at the Skarżysko camp, but during the ghetto's existence, assembled labor brigades would leave the ghetto with special permission. Most were conscripts; however, there were also some volunteers. According to Anita Basen, some labor brigades were picked up each morning in Suchedniów and were driven back at night. There were also brigades, accord-

ing to Freed, that were stationed in the camp but would return to the ghetto each Saturday and then depart for another week of work on Monday morning. There is no information as to the form of payment at this time.

According to Freed, a group of 35 professional laborers from Suchedniów revolted at one point against a Jewish foreman who used to beat them and steal their food. The group refused to leave Suchedniów for Skarżysko under his supervision—this forced the Judenrat to appoint a new foreman.[8]

There were 2,375 Jews registered in Suchedniów in January 1942, 2,300 a month later, and 2,400 by June 1942. The ghetto had its own hospital, isolation ward, ambulatory, and public bath.[9]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the Germans enlisted more Jews for forced labor in June 1942, sending them to newly built camps in the vicinity of Kielce. Between August and September 1942, 570 Jews were brought in two transports from Suchedniów to Skarżysko-Kamienna. Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation, the Germans abruptly stopped bringing Suchedniów laborers back to the ghetto and held them permanently in the camp.[10]

German authorities chose Suchedniów as one of the locations for the concentration of the Jews of the Kreis before sending them to the Treblinka extermination camp. By late August 1942, approximately 600 Jews from Bliżyn and 350 from Samsonów had been transferred to the Suchedniów ghetto. Shortly before the deportation, in September 1942, 3,000 Jews from the Bodzentyn ghetto were brought in. Jews who were brought in during the last two days of the ghetto's existence were quartered on an empty lot near the river. Those interned there most likely included Jews from Łączna, Ostojów, Zagnańsk, and other settlements. They were not allowed to walk around but instead were forced to sit for about two days without any blankets or shelter.

The Suchedniów ghetto was liquidated on Yom Kippur, September 21, 1942. Following a selection, able-bodied individuals were sent to the Skarżysko camp. The remainder of the ghetto's residents were sent by train to Treblinka the following morning, September 22. Sources vary as to the number of Jews sent to Treblinka (3,000–4,500). The cleanup Kommando of 250 Jews that the Germans left behind was sent to the labor camp in Bliżyn on October 14, 1942.[11]

Following the ghetto's liquidation, local Poles helped about 30 ghetto escapees to hide. In September 1944, they also assisted members of the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization) following the Warsaw Uprising.

SOURCES The Suchedniów ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 325–326; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zaglada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2004).

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (210/664 [AJDC]; 301/1157 [Relacje]; and Ring I/171-173); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and RG-15.079M [Ring I]); and VHF (# 2642, 5305, 8834, 10728, and 18557).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1157, testimony of Zając, n.d.
2. VHF, # 18557, testimony of Stanley Freed, 1996.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 20, 1940.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/664, pp. 13, 15.
5. Ibid., RG-15.079M (Ring I/171, 172, and 173).
6. VHF, # 8834, testimony of Paula Mintz, 1995; # 10728, testimony of Anita Basen, 1996; and # 5305, testimony of Helen Lefkowitz, 1995.
7. Ibid., # 2642, testimony of Felix Brand, 1995.
8. Ibid., # 18557; # 10728.
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 7, 1942.
10. VHF, # 18557; # 8834; and # 5305.
11. Ibid., # 5305.

SULEJÓW

Pre-1939: Sulejów (Yiddish: Silev), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sulejow, Kreis Petrikau, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sulejów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Sulejów is located on the Pilica River, 14 kilometers (9 miles) east-southeast of Piotrków Trybunalski. By 1939, Sulejów had a total of 6,500 inhabitants, 1,950 of whom were Jewish.[1]

Immediately following the war's outbreak, Sulejów took on approximately 3,000 Jewish refugees escaping from larger, heavily bombed cities such as Piotrków Trybunalski, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, and Radomsko, as well as other places, including Kamieńsk and Rozprza.

Although initially spared, Sulejów also suffered from numerous raids from German Stuka dive-bombers on September 3 to 5, 1939. Some sources record that more than 1,000 Jews died in the course of two air raids on Sulejów on September 4. On September 5, a final Luftwaffe raid of 14 airplanes completed the town's destruction. Out of the 93 houses occupied by Jews, 80 were razed. The town's synagogue—and its Torah scrolls—went up in flames.[2]

Jewish victims were buried on September 10, 1939. The death toll of Sulejów's Jewish inhabitants cannot be calculated precisely. While a few of the victims were laid to rest in the cemetery, the majority were buried in two mass graves dug just outside the cemetery's walls. Jacob Kreitman, who owned a mill where many Jews sought refuge during the bombardments, supervised the ceremony. By setting up a shelter and a public kitchen in his sawmill, Kreitman also took care of many who were wounded and left homeless.[3]

More than a half of the Jewish residents of Sulejów who had fled during the bombardments—that is, primarily the

wealthy and all the members of the pre-war community council—either did not return to the occupied town or returned only briefly and then left for good. Sulejów's Jews were left without leadership until November 1, 1939, when the German authorities ordered the creation of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). Henoch Weintraub (Wajntraub) was nominated as chairman of the Judenrat.[4] From the very beginning, Sulejów's Jews were grabbed off the streets and conscripted to fix roads and build drainage works in the town's proximity.

The only source providing a date for the establishment of the Sulejów ghetto is Krzysztof Urbański, who dates it in the late autumn of 1939 (presumably around the same time as in nearby Piotrków Trybunalski in October 1939). There is no information regarding the size of the ghetto or its location; however, the correspondence of the welfare organization Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) gives its address as Konecka Street 29.

The life of the ghetto inhabitants was especially oppressive, as it was located near an important ford over the Pilica River, as well as on a strategic road between Kielce and Łódź. For these reasons, forces of the Gendarmerie and the Wehrmacht diligently guarded it. The Gendarmerie prison that was set up on Piotrków Street in 1939 consisted of two chambers and a detention room. Many arrestees were sent on to the Gestapo in Piotrków, while some were shot outside the prison or in the streets of Sulejów.

An unknown number of Jews from Sulejów were resettled to the ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski at the end of 1939 or in the beginning of 1940, when transports of Jews were arriving there, primarily from parts of Poland incorporated into the Reich. In June 1940, the Sulejów ghetto housed 1,150 Jews. In the course of 1940, 90 Jewish workers from Sulejów were performing forced labor in labor camps, on average only 30 of them worked within Kreis Petrikau.

To ease the situation of Sulejów's Jews, a self-help committee led by the Judenrat's chairman, Henoch Weintraub, was established in April 1940. Sulejów was then sharing its subsidies with the nearby Przygłów settlement. Although there were only eight Jewish families in Przygłów before the war, the village was a summer resort with a number of intact empty lodgings, all of which had filled up quickly. By June 1940, 250 refugees and deportees from Łódź, Kraków, Płock, Głowno, Skierniewice, Stryków, Łyszkowice, Rogów, and other places had settled in Przygłów.

A number of newcomers settled in the Sulejów ghetto despite the terrible housing conditions. Available registers from January to April 1941 report 128 to 130 refugees. Unlike other ghettos, the refugee families benefited from only one third of the available social services, while the remainder were reserved for the local poor. The self-help committee set up a soup kitchen, which provided approximately 100 meals per day. Dr. I. Wajntraub oversaw an ambulatory that had been organized. By July 25, 1940, both the soup kitchen and ambulatory had been forced to close due to a lack of funds. When the kitchen was not operating, groceries were still distributed among the needy.[5]

In February 1941, the Judenrat reported to the main welfare benefactor for Sulejów's Jews—the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC)—about the deteriorating economic situation, due to shrinking incomes and supplies. The same letter reports about the rising number of deaths and shortages of medicine.[6] According to one account, some Jews were selected from the Sulejów ghetto and were transferred to the forced labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna.[7]

By August 1941, according to the Judenrat's census, the number of Jews in Sulejów had risen to 1,438. Out of that number, 192 were registered as working ("nonworking" included women, children, and forced laborers) in a total of 108 Jewish enterprises that were still permitted to operate. This included 52 workshop owners (employing another 20 Jews), 71 craftsmen, 56 laborers, and 8 professionals. On top of that, 100 men were performing forced labor. These numbers regarding the employed and forced laborers—as well as the total number of Jewish inhabitants—remained almost unchanged until the end of October 1941. The only numbers that witnessed a dramatic change were those of Jews requesting social help: rising to 750, of whom only one third received assistance.[8]

At the end of 1941, the Germans issued an order prohibiting Jews from leaving the nearby Piotrków ghetto and introduced the death penalty for Jews caught outside the ghetto. Although no similar information is available for Sulejów, it can be assumed that the same restrictions also applied there, especially for any Jews who left the town without permission.

The last registration of Sulejów's Jews took place in July 1942, counting 1,577 people. Most sources do not give a precise date for the liquidation of the ghetto, dating it only as October 1942. However, three separate records, included in *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo piotrkowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), clearly identify the date as October 15, 1942. During the course of the liquidation, the German Gendarmerie shot Dwojra and Moszek Feiman in their house. Another 7 Jews were shot by the Gestapo and Gendarmerie; the victims were Aidla, Fradla, and Berek Boruszek; Gołda Fuks; Josek Lahman; Moszek Nowak; and a woman by the first name of Brandla. The remaining Jews were expelled to the Piotrków Trybunalski ghetto, escorted by forces of the German Gendarmerie. On the way there, a 35-year-old tradesman named Gdala was shot. German postwar investigations indicate that the Jews from Sulejów were included in the next deportation from Piotrków on October 18, 1942, being sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.[9]

SOURCES There is not a single publication describing the life and the destruction of the Sulejów Jewish community. Brief descriptions and references are included in the following publications: Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 159–161; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New

York: New York University Press, 2001); and Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004). See also Josef Kermish, "The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Piotrkow," in Ben Giladi, ed., *A Tale of One City: Piotrków Trybunalski* (New York: Shengold in cooperation with the Piotrkow Trybunalski Relief Association in New York, 1991).

Relevant information on the Sulejów ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/665 [AJDC]; 211/997 (ŻSS); Ring I/151); BA-L (B 162/6234); USHMM (RG-15.079 [Ring I/151]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS], reel 47); VHF (# 6334); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47, 211/997.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/665.
3. See ibid., RG-15.079, reel 67, Ring I/151.
4. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC) 210/665, Sprawozdanie za czas od 1 listopada 1939 do 31 maja 1941 and Nr. 85/40.
5. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/665.
6. Ibid., 20 lutego 1941.
7. VHF, # 6334, testimony of Abram Edelstein, 1995.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 47, 211/997; Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/665, Sprawozdanie za czas od 1 listopada 1939 do 31 maja 1941.
9. BA-L, B 162/6234, pp. 2259–2263, Einstellungsverfügung Sta. Giessen, March 29, 1968, as cited in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), p. 272.

SZCZEKOCINY

Pre-1939: Szczekociny, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Jedrzejow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo śląskie, Poland

The town of Szczekociny is located 73 kilometers (45 miles) northeast of Katowice. On the eve of World War II, there were 2,590 Jews in Szczekociny, comprising approximately 700 families.[1]

Following an intense battle with Polish cavalry, the German army occupied Szczekociny on September 3, 1939. With 250 houses destroyed and only 10 undamaged, Szczekociny was one of the most devastated towns in the Generalgouvernement. An estimated 60 percent of Jewish families left the town; many fled to eastern Poland, which was occupied by the Soviet Union after September 17, 1939.[2] Nonetheless, the German army administrator, due to fear of an epidemic, deported 200 Jews from Szczekociny to Jędrzejów and Żarnowiec during September. A few weeks later, a group of 300 Jews from Szczekociny (including a number just arrived from the town of Siewierz, in what later became Oberschlesien [incorporated into the Reich]) was transferred to Włoszczowa.

In the fall of 1939, the Jews of Szczekociny were obliged to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. Their businesses were confiscated. The town's mayor, Johann Plutta (or Pluta), introduced a system of forced labor to clear the rubble. Each man had to work three days a week, 12 hours a day. Plutta appointed young and strong Jews as foremen. Their responsibilities included reporting to the German Gendarmerie those who dodged their assignments. At first, the punishment was 100 lashes, then 200. There were cases of people dying from these severe whippings.[3]

The 13-man Judenrat consisted of the pre-war members of the Jewish Council. Its premises were located at 4 Strażacka Street. Due to the lack of a consensus, the Germans quickly reduced the number of Judenrat members. The pre-war president of the community, Moszek Jakub Fajwicz (Fajwisz), chaired the Judenrat. Following his death in August 1941, Chil (Jechiel Mordechaj) Richt took over his function. Judenrat secretary H. Szwarcbaum died in a hospital in Kraków on August 22, 1941. The 40-year-old cobbler Dawid Izraelewicz served as the chairman's deputy until his death in the Jędrzejów hospital on May 25, 1942. Joel Dresner, a local tradesman, replaced him. Tannery owner Jakub Josek Ajzenberg (Ajsenberg) was also a Judenrat member. At the beginning of the occupation, the Judenrat reportedly organized a school for Jewish children.[4]

An open ghetto was set up in Szczekociny in 1940 or 1941. Located south of the market square, it included the following streets: Tylna, Strażacka, Wesoła, and the left side of Lelowska northeast of the market square. Another source places the ghetto on Leśna, Kraków, Ściegienny, and Wesoła Streets. It is possible that the ghetto's borders shifted during its existence.

Despite the ghetto being unfenced, Szczekociny's Jews could not leave it on pain of death. The exit streets were guarded. Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot by the Gendarmerie and buried in the Jewish cemetery. Polish farmers that found themselves living within the ghetto's limits were required to obtain special permits for entry and exit. Permits were also required of Jews who left the ghetto.

The ghetto was enclosed by a fence on June 22, 1941, and only after that date were Jews found outside its limits shot or sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

A five-man unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was set up by the German authorities to maintain order in the ghetto. The policemen wore yellow hats and were armed with rubber truncheons.

Following the ghetto's establishment, a typhus epidemic broke out, which caused the deaths of at least eight inmates. As there was no Jewish doctor in Szczekociny, the sick were sent to Jędrzejów, after a hospital was opened there in June 1941.

On September 18, 1940, 10 Jews were sent for labor on drainage works, most likely to Węgleszyn, located within Kreis Jedrzejow. The same year some Jews from Szczekociny reportedly labored in camps in Sędziszów and also at Skarżysko-Kamienna.

A self-help committee established by the Judenrat in Szczekociny opened a soup kitchen in December 1940. At that time, 1,245 Jews reportedly inhabited Szczekociny.[5]

On January 15 and 16, 1941, Jędrzejów's Kreishauptmann, Dr. Fritz von Balluseck, deported 150 Jews from Jędrzejów to Szczekociny. The Jews chosen were mainly the most impoverished in the Kreis center, including many refugees from other towns. The Judenrat housed most of them in the local synagogue. Terrible conditions in the still-ruined town prompted many of these deportees either to return to Jędrzejów or to move to some place else. Statistics from February 1941 mention only 69 refugees among a total of 1,300 Jews in Szczekociny. The soup kitchen was then serving 110 to 160 meals daily.[6]

By February 1941, the German authorities had set up an office of the Special Envoy for the Jewish Population in the Kreis (Sonderbeauftragter für die Jüdische Bevölkerung des Kreises Jedrzejow). The office was to handle all Jewish-related matters. Its three members were also on the Jędrzejów Judenrat and were charged with the supervision and control of all Jewish Councils in the Kreis, including that in Szczekociny.[7]

In May 1941, the ghetto was inhabited by 1,505 Jews. At that time, 100 Jews were performing unpaid labor tasks in the town allocated by the municipality in Szczekociny. Some 17 craftsmen could still operate their workshops; most were cobblers or fabricated the leather for shoes and boots. In addition, there were 30 other Jewish businesses still operating.

By March 1942, there were 1,300 Jews registered in the ghetto. In May 1942, the soup kitchen, then run by the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), which had been established in Szczekociny in September 1941, was serving 400 meals daily. The Judenrat members Richt, Izraelewicz, and Ajzenberg were nominated to chair the JSS Committee.[8]

At the end of August 1942, *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that almost all Jewish males had been conscripted for forced labor: 36 for the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna, 170 to the Chemische Werke AG Brieg (probably working on road construction), and another 40 for drainage work in Lipnica. The remainder of the able-bodied labored in Szczekociny for the Trading Cooperative, for the Gendarmerie and police, and at a German boarding school. At that time, the Germans ordered the registration of women aged 15 to 50. The number of Jewish policemen had increased from 5 to 12. They assisted the sanitary committee in maintaining the ghetto's cleanliness.[9]

The concentration in Szczekociny of the Jews inhabiting the surrounding villages began most likely in August 1942 and was completed less than a week before the ghetto's liquidation. Among other towns, it included the transfer of the Jews living in Radków, Dzierzgów, Moskorzew, Słupia, and Chlewice. The transfer, announced by the German authorities, was conducted with extreme brutality; for example, six elderly women and five men were shot by Gendarmes near Radków.

The newcomers were housed in the synagogue. Prior to deportation, contributions were levied on the community. According to one source, in the days before the ghetto's liquidation, all its original residents were transferred to the grounds of the local parish, that is, into a garden behind the presbytery.

The Szczekociny ghetto was liquidated on September 20, 1942, when Gendarmes and other police units escorted all the Jews to Sędziszów located 20 kilometers (12 miles) away. In the course of the liquidation Aktion, 15 Jews are reported as having been murdered. The elderly were transported on wagons, with the others marched in rows of 4. At the Mierzawa Brook near Tarnawa village, the men were forced to wade across only so that they would become drenched.

The Jews arrived in Sędziszów just as the ghetto there was being liquidated. The Jews from the nearby Wodzisław ghetto were most likely also brought there on that day. The able-bodied were selected and sent to work at HASAG in Skarżysko-Kamienna; the remainder were sent to the Treblinka extermination center the next day.[10]

Following the ghetto's liquidation, the municipality organized the auction of the Jewish property left behind. Then 27 Jews remained in Szczekociny to serve the Germans as forced laborers. This group included the Judenrat chairman Richt and the secretary of the Zionist youth, Jehuda Rafałowicz. Both were executed after being accused of the illegal act of listening to radio transmissions. On November 4, 1942, the remnant ghetto was reportedly still populated by 40 Jews. There is no information as to their subsequent fates.[11]

SOURCES The Szczekociny ghetto is described in two articles: Mirosław Skrzypczyk, "Okaleczona księga. Rzeczy, miejsca, pamięć," pp. 122–124, and Edyta Gawron, "Szczekocińscy Żydzi w XX wieku, na przykładzie historii rodzin Leona Zelmana i Icka Kuperberga," pp. 65–68, both in M. Galas and M. Skrzypczyk, eds., *Żydzi szczekocińscy. Osoby, miejsca, pamięć* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2008). It is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 489.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/673, 211/488, 211/489, 211/492, 211/1001, 301/4633, and 301/7046); and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reels 26 and 51; and RG-15.019M [Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, in provinces, and also in camps and ghettos]).

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NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 16, 1940; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1001 (Szczekociny), p. 1.
2. AŻIH, 301/7046, testimony of Czesław Jelonek and Mieczysław Migacz, 1986; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 88; *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 16, 1940.
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, file 47 Kielce woj., pp. 220 and reverse (Szczekociny).
4. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/673, p. 4; *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 1, 1941, June 3, 1942, and August 28, 1942; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/488 (Jędrzejów), p. 33; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1001, pp. 1–2.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1001, pp. 1–2.
6. Ibid., pp. 27–32; and Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/673, p. 10.

7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 27, 1941.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/488, p. 33; 211/492 (Jędrzejów), pp. 18–19; and *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 11, 1942.
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 28, 1942.
10. AŻIH, 301/7046; 301/4633, testimony of Róża Reiner, 1946; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, file 47 Kielce woj., pp. 220 and reverse (Szczekociny).
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489 (Jędrzejów), pp. 55–56; and RG-15.019M, reel 14, file 47 Kielce woj., pp. 220 and reverse (Szczekociny).

SZYDŁÓW

Pre-1939: Szydłów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Szydlow, village, Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Szydłów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Szydłów is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Kielce. There were 540 Jews living there in 1939.

When the Germans occupied Szydłów in early September 1939, Wehrmacht soldiers plundered Jewish houses, shops, and craft businesses. The stolen goods were then loaded on trucks. Theft became a part of daily life. Often, Germans would knock on any door, enter the house, and drag the man found inside into the street. They would shave his beard, torture him, or shoot him for no reason. To avoid the terror, most men spent their days in the fields or in hiding, returning to their homes for the night. Later, the Jews would set up guards to alert the Jews if Germans were approaching the town. Some men were sent to labor camps in other cities.[1]

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established as a liaison between the German authorities and the Jews in May 1940. L. Koralnik was its president. The Judenrat collected in advance money from members of the community to be prepared for imposed "contributions" or as bribes for Germans, when they rounded up men for deportation to labor camps. The Judenrat was also charged with providing the requested quota of laborers locally, which was on average about 80 workers per day. Jews repaired roads and worked in agriculture; only some of them received meager wages. They worked all day outside the town and returned to Szydłów in the evening.[2] A number of conscripts had to report in Chmielnik to be assigned to forced labor outside of Szydłów. In 1941, the German "Oemler" Road Construction Company established a forced labor camp for Jews in Szydłów.

There were about 200 refugees, mainly from Łódź, living in Szydłów in the summer of 1940. According to Judenrat estimates, 80 percent of them had no resources to support themselves. Szydłów Jews, numbering at the time 180 families (800 people), were scarcely able to help them. For a time, owners of Jewish mills supported them by providing bread, but by August 1940, the mills were no longer operating. Therefore, the Judenrat demanded that the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) headquarters in Kraków provide a monthly subsidy to open a soup kitchen. Until then, Szydłów was receiving such small quantities of groceries from the AJDC that it was physically difficult to divide them up among the over 400 people in need. Four nearby small Jewish settlements were subordinated administratively to the Judenrat in Szydłów: Kurozwęki, 250 Jews (including 70 deportees); Raczyce, 105 (40); Tuczępy, 96; and Potok, 75.[3] By September 1940, the pre-war number of Jews had almost doubled, as there were 1,000 Jews living in Szydłów.

In early December 1940, the Judenrat in Radom, the Distrikt capital, enlisted thousands of its poor Jews for deportation to places in Kreis Busko and Kreis Opatow. Many of them were transferred to Szydłów. Again, all were sent without possessions or means of existence. Another group of 150 deportees was transferred to Szydłów in February 1941 from Płock and Bodzanów. These expellees had been deported via the Działdowo (Soldau) transit camp. Most of them arrived exhausted and sick with flu. Because the Judenrat in Busko was unable to maintain its deportees, a number were transferred to Szydłów with permission from the German authorities. At some point Jews from the surrounding settlements were also moved to Szydłów. There were 770 Jews living in Szydłów in May 1941 (including 170 deportees); by September 1941, the total number had risen to 1,004.

The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), based in Kraków, was created especially for providing social and medical relief for deportees and the needy. The local branch in Szydłów was organized in March 1941.[4] At the end of 1941, I. Djament was its president.[5] When malnutrition and poor hygienic conditions led to an outbreak of typhus, the Jewish Council established a hospital. The sanitation committee checked the Jewish quarter for cleanliness.[6] On orders from the town's mayor, a six-man unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was created in August 1941. In October 1941, a newly organized Association of Jewish Craftsmen registered 34 local craftsmen. M. Taub was elected as its president, with M. Cholewa as his deputy.[7]

In September 1941, deportees from Płock and Łódź complained to the JSS headquarters in Kraków, accusing the president of the Society for the Protection of Health (TOZ), L. Koralnik (who also held the position of president of the Judenrat), of denying them social help to which they were entitled. Unlike other towns in the Kreis, there was no soup kitchen in Szydłów, nor were they receiving their full food rations. According to the deportees, Koralnik was selling most of the food to other towns and pocketing the money, claiming to have saved it in case of illnesses. At the time, less than half of the deportees were receiving one small meal a day. More than six months after their arrival, most deportees were still quartered in shops without heating or access to water. The deportees demanded that they be represented on the TOZ committee to better manage ration distribution.[8] A soup kitchen was opened on November 30, 1941, providing only 60 meals per day; a month later, up to 125 meals daily.[9]

On January 1, 1942, the Germans announced that the entire village of Szydłów would be recognized as a ghetto. The

punishment for leaving it was death. There were 742 Jews (226 of them were deportees) living in Szydłów in April 1942. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, but Szydłów's borders were still marked by medieval defensive walls. Szydłów was one of the ghettos where access for non-Jews was not forbidden. Jews had to obtain special permits to leave the town. German Gendarmes shot a number of Jews during the existence of the ghetto. On July 5, 1942, Szapsia Wajnryb was appointed as the new president of the Judenrat.[10]

There is somewhat contradictory information regarding the last months of the ghetto, especially regarding the number of Jews living there and the transfers to other ghettos. According to two different sources, 2,000 Jews were resettled from Szydłów to Jędrzejów. One of the sources dates the resettlement in April; the other, in June 1942.

The liquidation of the ghetto took place on October 3, 1942. On that day 150 Jews capable of work were deported to labor camps, and the remaining 1,000 were transferred to Chmielnik, where they were added to the Chmielnik transport to the Treblinka extermination camp that left three days later. On the day of the deportation, Gendarmes shot 15 Jews. Their bodies were buried in the town's Jewish cemetery. Their names are not known.

A group of about 200 Jews who had probably gone into hiding outside the village before or during the liquidation of the ghetto returned to Szydłów. They were forced into a small ghetto consisting of a few buildings. On November 7, 1942, all of them, including a number of Jews from nearby Kurozwęki, were taken to Staszów. They were collected in the market square and guarded throughout the night by Ukrainian auxiliaries without food or water. The next day, together with almost 6,000 Staszów Jews, they were ordered to march to the Szczucin train station, and from there they were sent to Treblinka.[11] During military operations in 1944–1945, 90 percent of Szydłów was destroyed.

SOURCES Much information on the history of Szydłów's Jews can be found in a chapter of Agnieszka Sabor, *Sztetl: Śladami żydowskich miasteczek: Działoszyce-Pińczów-Chmielnik-Szydłów-Chęciny: Przewodnik* (Kraków: Wydawn. Austeria, 2005). Other relevant publications include Krzysztof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach: FPHU "XYZ," 2007), pp. 152–153; and the official German-censored wartime publication *Gazeta Żydowska* (1941–1942). The ghetto is also mentioned in Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1282. There is also an article by A. Penkalla, "Synagoga i gmina w Szydłowie," *BŻIH*, nos. 1–2 (1982): 57–96.

Documentation on the persecution of the Jews in the Szydłów ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/1011; and 210/677); IPN; USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG], reel 14; Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); VHF (# 02406); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 02406-5, testimony of Helen Kupfer, 1995; USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 14.
2. USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AJDC); *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 25, 1941; VHF, # 02406-5.
3. USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 25, 1941.
5. Ibid., December 17, 1941.
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 14; VHF, # 02406-5.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 25, 1941.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS).
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 17, 1941, and February 11, 1942.
10. Ibid., August 5, 1942.
11. Joseph Goldstein, "Extracts from a Ghetto Diary," in Elhanan Erlikh, ed., *Sefer Stashov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Ṣtashov be-Yisrael, 1962), pp. 30–31; USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 14.

SZYDŁOWIEC

Pre-1939: Szydłowiec, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Szydlowiec, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Szydłowiec, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Szydłowiec is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Radom on the Korzeniówka River. On the eve of World War II, between 7,000 and 8,500 Jews lived in the town. About 150 workshops in the clothing and shoe industries employed about 1,400 Jews.

The Luftwaffe bombed Szydłowiec on September 4, 1939. Then on September 9, German forces entered the city and soon started to implement various antisemitic measures. The houses of Jews who had tried to flee the advancing enemy forces were looted by their Polish neighbors. On September 23, the Germans burned down the synagogue. Jews were seized for forced labor, mainly to clear the rubble from war-damaged houses. Later, they were used to dig up the bodies of Polish soldiers who had been buried where they had fallen in battle. These bodies were then reburied in Christian cemeteries.[1]

Soon a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Sh. Eisenberg. A Jewish police force, a Jewish labor office, and a sanitary committee were established as auxiliary organs of the Judenrat. Early in 1940, the Jewish community was forced to pay a "fine" of 5 million złoty. After already having paid 50,000 złoty a few weeks earlier, the Judenrat was unable to meet this onerous demand, and 23 prominent members of the Jewish community were executed, among them Sh. Eisenberg. He was replaced as Judenrat head by Abraham Redlich. According to survivor Abraham Finkler, the Jewish Council now planned a strategy of "intervention," using large amounts



German police inspect the household possessions of Jewish families loaded onto horse-drawn wagons, before granting admission to the Szydłowiec ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #83869, COURTESY OF YVA

of money to bribe people in charge, and three members of the Jewish community—Yerakhmiel Morgenbesser, Abraham Rosenbaum, and Pinchas Steinmann—were chosen to conduct the "negotiations."[2]

In March 1940, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the town. Due to the large number of Jews in Szydłowiec, the German plan proved to be impracticable. Instead, rules were imposed that forbade Jews from leaving their houses in the evening and at night. It was also illegal for them to use Kościuszko Street between Kielce Street and the main road leading to Radom.[3]

This "open ghetto" made it much easier for the Jews to remain in contact with the countryside and obtain food, but a number of Jews were shot and killed when caught outside the town trying to smuggle food back in.[4] Nevertheless, the relatively lax conditions made Szydłowiec an attractive destination for Jews from other parts of the country. Until the end of 1941, the Jewish underground press, printed in Polish and Yiddish, circulated in the Jewish community. Szydłowiec was also home to a group of Hasidic Jews, led by a student named Matus, which, despite the harsh conditions, continued to practice an optimistic religion, celebrating earthly pleasures like dancing, singing, and increasing their families.[5] Also, a secret kindergarten was in existence to help take care of the youngest and most helpless in the community.[6]

Many Jewish refugees arrived in Szydłowiec. Most had no means of support and depended on the local Jewish community to provide them with food and shelter.[7] Already in the winter of 1939–1940, the Judenrat had organized a soup kitchen to reduce hunger within the Jewish community. By June 1941, conditions had become so severe that the soup kitchen was no longer able to serve daily meals and instead provided only some bread. To celebrate Passover in the spring of 1941, money and flour were handed out to 859 Jews in need.[8] Soon the provision of bread instead of meals became the main way to feed the Szydłowiec Jews. About twice a week, the Jewish Council distributed bread, for instance, 750.2 kilograms (1,650.4 pounds) to 338 people between August 15 and 19, 1941.

The Jewish community was also in charge of providing food and shelter for Jews who passed through Szydłowiec while being resettled to other locations. For example, on July 23, 1941, about 200 Jews, mainly women and children, arrived from Wyszogród on their way to Suchedniów and Słupia Nowa (Kielce district). The Szydłowiec Jews provided medical assistance, food for the two days of their stay, and bath and disinfection, as well as shelter in the synagogue. On the morning of their departure, each person received 2 złoty for the trip. Many of the children, the sick, and the elderly were put on carriages owned by Jews and transported to their destination.[9]

Over time, assisted by the bribes, relations between the Szydłowiec Judenrat and the various German and local authorities in Szydłowiec and Radom improved, so the situation in Szydłowiec was more favorable for the Jews than in many other ghettos.[10] According to Finkler, Szydłowiec became known as the "town of refuge," where Jews could hide under assumed names and did not have to register—apparently, the Szydłowiec Judenrat never reported the correct figures for "immigrants" and "emigrants" to the Gestapo and other authorities.[11] The Jewish Council had obtained the right to issue travel permits for Jews (a privilege previously reserved only for the Radom Judenrat), and these permits became an important source of income for the Szydłowiec Jews—income that enabled the council "to distribute money left and right to the 'murderers in white gloves' in order to save Jewish lives."[12] As Finkler states, this task was not an easy one for the members of the council: "Who can comprehend the deep inner struggles of a Jewish Council member who wanted to remain in harmony with his conscience?"[13]

Bribing authorities turned out to be an efficient way to save Jewish lives. As ordered by the head of the German labor office, Ribitsky (or Robitzky), in the summer of 1940, lists of all unmarried men between the ages of 16 and 60 had to be prepared; rumors spread that the young men were to be sent to forced labor camps. As a result, many weddings quickly took place within the Jewish community. On August 20, 1940, men from Szydłowiec were sent to labor camps in the Lublin area, in Jósefów and Janiszów along the Vistula River near Zawichost. As a part of the road and railway construction program "Otto," Jews from Szydłowiec also worked there in quarries and at construction sites. Furthermore, the Jewish community had to supply 500 Jews per day for work at German companies, offices, and institutions. Thanks to the good relations of the Judenrat with the Gestapo headquarters in Radom and the head of the labor office in Lublin, Dr. Hecht, the Jews succeeded in bribing officials, and on November 11, 1940, all 400 forced laborers from Szydłowiec were returned from the Janiszów forced labor camp to their hometown.[14] After two weeks of rest, they had to perform forced labor in their hometown, clearing snow from the streets and doing other tasks.

On December 22, 1941, Kreishauptmann Dr. Friedrich Egen issued a decree on the establishment of ghettos in Kreis

Radom-Land. Jews from the smaller villages had to be resettled into a number of specified locations. In Szydłowiec, the poorest area of the town was designated to become the "Jewish residential area,"[15] covering only one quarter of the town. Apparently, at that time there was also a typhus epidemic in Szydłowiec.[16] The Jewish Council tried to negotiate with the local authorities, claiming that it would be impossible to force all the Szydłowiec Jews together with the new arrivals into such a small area. Finkler reports that their pleas were supported by "Madame X," who was married to a high-ranking German official in the Distrikt Radom government but was also the mistress of Karl Lasch, the governor of Distrikt Radom. When approached by the Jewish Council, Madame X persuaded the governor to allow the Szydłowiec Jews to remain in their homes and was rewarded with a trip to the Warsaw ghetto, where she received jewelry, fur coats, and watches.[17] In the end, the Szydłowiec ghetto was never enclosed by a fence, but on January 1, 1942, the Jews were forbidden to go outside the town limits, which made it impossible for them to buy groceries or sell their products, except at great risk. In late August and early September 1942, up to 9,000 Jews from surrounding towns and villages, including Wolanów, Skaryszew, and Wierzbica, were brought into Szydłowiec. This brought the total number of Jews in the Szydłowiec ghetto by mid-September up to between 12,000 and 15,000 people.

The liquidation of the Szydłowiec ghetto began on September 23, 1942. At 6:00 A.M., it was surrounded by large numbers of Lithuanian and Ukrainian auxiliaries, Polish police, and local firemen, commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Franz Schippers of the headquarters of SS and Police Leader (SSPF) Herbert Böttcher, who had already supervised expulsions from other towns in the area.

The Jews had to gather at a square, the Straw Market, and Schippers announced that those who were able to pay 1,000 złoty would not be deported or could at least stay in the area, being sent to the recently established labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna.

The first deportation train left Szydłowiec on September 23, the second one, on September 25, 1942. Each train comprised 50 wagons; in this deportation, more than 10,000 people were deported. The Jews were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Several hundred Jews were shot on the spot or on the 4-kilometer (2.5-mile) march to the railway station, among them the patients of the Jewish hospital, including Rabbi Neta Rosenberg.

A group of 150 Jews and the Jewish Police were kept in Szydłowiec to remove Jewish corpses from the roads, to collect Jewish belongings that had been left behind, and to clean out the houses. They were kept in the building of Pinkert's tanning factory. Very soon they were joined by other Jews who had remained in hiding. Thus, the remnant group rose to about 600 people. On September 30, 1942, 50 of them were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp, with most others following them on October 2. There they were selected. Those not fit for work at the labor camp were sent to Treblinka.

Only about 70 or 80 Jews were left behind in Szydłowiec. They were now housed at Fishl's tannery, and conditions were worse than ever.[18] As throughout the Generalgouvernement, the terror had increased, and still more Jews had emerged from hiding to find refuge in the few remaining "remnant ghettos" (*Restghettos*). In October 1942, in the Szydłowiec camp, 29 people were hanged. It was probably this severe cruelty that motivated some people to help the Jews. For example, Bazyli and Zofia Antoniak, a Ukrainian couple, assisted in hiding the two daughters of a Jewish friend. The girls were six and seven years old, and the Antoniaks took them to relatives in Galicia who had no idea that the girls were Jewish. Once the deed of the Antoniaks was uncovered, Bazyli was sentenced to death and his wife to three years in prison. On November 1, 1942, Jews were selected again, with the strongest ones being sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp.[19] Over the following days, probably all the remaining Jews were taken to Staszów. From there they were sent to the Bełżec killing center.

But this was still not the end of the camps for Jews in Szydłowiec. Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Krüger encountered difficulties in completing the "Final Solution of the Jewish question" as ordered by Himmler by December 1942. Therefore, on November 10, 1942, he issued a decree recognizing "Jewish residential quarters" (*Judenwohnbezirke*) in several towns in Distrikt Radom, including Szydłowiec, as well as in other towns in Distrikt Krakau and Distrikt Galizien. The goal was to lure Jews out of hiding and into these designated camps by December 1, 1942. These camps (so-called *Sammelghettos*) offered to provide shelter, food, and safety, while all Jews found outside these camps after December 1, 1942, were to be executed. On December 4, 1942, 800 (according to some sources, 1,000) Jews from Radom were brought into the new ghetto, which was located in a former tannery on the outskirts of Szydłowiec and surrounded by barbed wire. Very quickly, the population of this new Szydłowiec ghetto rose to about 5,000, mostly composed of Jews coming from the Końskie and Skaryszew regions. Again a Judenrat was established, with Yerachmiel Morgenstern as its leader. Even people from forced labor camps risked their lives by escaping from there to find a new home in the ghetto. Survivor Abraham Brojnberg describes terrible conditions in the camp including unsanitary conditions, starvation, and disease. People died everywhere, and dogs running around were carrying human limbs in their mouths—which they had torn off the corpses.[20] There was also an epidemic of typhus.

The new camp only existed for less than five weeks. On January 8, 1943, it was surrounded by SS and German police under the orders of the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) Radom. Food was no longer provided. On January 13, the ghetto was liquidated. About 80 people were killed during this Aktion; the others were selected. About 1,000 were sent by truck to the forced labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna, and all the others were deported by train to Treblinka.

According to one source, about 3,000 Jews from Szydłowiec survived the war, but this presumably included those who fled successfully into the Soviet Union in 1939.[21]

SOURCES A number of valuable sources are available on the history of the Jews of Szydłowiec. The most useful for the preparation of this summary was Berl Kagan, ed., *Memorial Book Szydlowiec* (New York: Shidlowtzer Benevolent Association in New York, 1989), which contains a number of personal testimonies by survivors such as E. Lifschutz, "An Outline of the History of the Jews of Szydlowiec," pp. 21–32; Berl Kagan, "Life in Szydlowiec before the Holocaust," pp. 86–90; Isaac Milstein, "Chronicle of the Destruction of Szydlowiec," pp. 93–137; Abraham Finkler, "A Ghetto without Barbed Wire," pp. 137–161; and Berl Kagan, "Summary," pp. 345–349. Other important sources include *Żydzi Szydłowieccy* (Szydłowiec, 1997); and B. Cohen, ed., *Szydlowiecer Yizkor Bukh* (New York, 1974). The Szydłowiec ghetto and its successor camps are also described in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 557–561; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); Robert Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: Der Distrikt Radom, 1939–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 507, no. 4867. Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), describes the creation of the HASAG factory camp and its interaction with the ghetto in the town.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Szydłowiec during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/55, memoirs of Abraham Finkler); BA-L (B 162/4872; 206 AR-Z 19/64; 206 AR-Z 15/65); CAHJP (HM/3540a, 6711); IPN (Sn 5/6/67); and YVA (O-2/999; O-3/3185, 3244, 3985, 4120, and 4234; M-1/E/264, 1707, and 1752; M-1/Q/452, 453; for SS officer Franz Schippers, see JM/3786, Nr. 602). Relevant collections at USHMM include Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH—AJDC), 210/676; and RG-15.019M (IPN—ASG).

Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945–1999 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–) contains, among others, case no. 786, including the report of Johann Reichl of Polizei-Kompanie Münster about events during the liquidation of the Szydłowiec ghetto in August–September 1942 and the statement of Abraham Brojnberg about the conditions in the Szydłowiec camp at the end of 1942. These sources can also be found in BA-L, 206 AR-Z 19/64. The documentation of the trial against the Antoniaks who had tried to hide Jewish children is held at APR (sygn. Sondergericht 2).

Evelyn Zegenhagen

NOTES

1. Milstein, "Chronicle of the Destruction," p. 98.
2. Finkler, "A Ghetto without Barbed Wire," p. 143.
3. Milstein, "Chronicle of the Destruction," p. 109.
4. Kagan, "Summary," p. 346.
5. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 226, based on AŻIH, 301/55.
6. Milstein, "Chronicle of the Destruction," p. 107.
7. Kagan, "Summary," p. 346.
8. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/676, Jewish Council Szydłowiec report, July 9, 1941.
9. Ibid., Jewish Council Szydłowiec to AJDC, July 24, 1941.
10. Kagan, "Summary," pp. 345–349.
11. Finkler, "A Ghetto without Barbed Wire," p. 146.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp. 150–151.
14. See Milstein, "Chronicle of the Destruction," pp. 104–105; and Finkler, "A Ghetto without Barbed Wire," pp. 151–154.
15. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 122, based on Kreishauptmann an die Bürger im Kreise Ilza, December 22, 1941, AŻIH, Niemieckie materiały okupacyjne, Fot. Dok. niem., no. 60.
16. Finkler, "A Ghetto without Barbed Wire," p. 139.
17. Ibid., pp. 139–140.
18. Milstein, "Chronicle of the Destruction," p. 129.
19. Kagan, "Summary," p. 348.
20. BA-L, B 162/6375, pp. 802–807, statement Abraham Brojnberg, May 20, 1971. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 38 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 786, pp. 207–270.
21. Kagan, "Summary," p. 349.

TARŁÓW

Pre-1939: Tarłów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Tarlow, Kreis Ilza (later Kreis Starachowice), Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tarłów, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The village of Tarłów is located approximately 90 kilometers (56 miles) east of Kielce. Tarłów had approximately 1,500 Jewish residents at the outbreak of the war in 1939.[1] Immediately upon arriving in the village, the commander of the Wehrmacht troops summoned Tarłów's two priests, Madejski and Wójcik, and the local rabbi. The three were ordered to go from house to house and collect all the men at the town's school, as the commander had an announcement for them. According to one testimony, the German authorities executed a number of Jews soon after entering Tarłów.

A number of Polish and Jewish hostages from Tarłów were sent to a civilian prison camp in Zochcin (near Opatów) that had been hastily organized by the Germans. Poles and Jews from Lipsko, Opatów, Sandomierz, Zawichost, and other towns were kept there on an open field, surrounded by barbed wire. The prisoners were released within a week and returned to their homes.

The plunder of Jewish property started immediately; endless searches of Jewish houses were conducted, and the owners' possessions were taken away in trucks. Jewish businesses were confiscated, and Jews were conscripted for forced labor.

The Germans also carried out frequent roundups; few were successful. Usually, by the time the Germans were able to surround the village, local Jews had run into the fields or hid with their Polish neighbors. There is one report of a group of escapees who were detained but were saved by a sudden downpour; as the Germans took cover in the nearest house, the Jews escaped.

The German authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and ordered its members to collect contributions from Tarłów's Jews. According to one testimony, despite the poverty of local Jews and difficulties collecting them, the Judenrat "racked up double the sums" demanded.[2]

When the first deportees from Łódź were transferred to Tarłów in March 1940, the Judenrat organized a self-help committee. Deportees arrived at the peak of a serious epidemic that broke out in December 1939 and lasted until June 1940. The Judenrat appointed wealthier families to provide for their sustenance. In April 1941, alehouse owner Chaim Rychtenberg was the chairman of the Judenrat, and the prewar community secretary Szymszon Gruman was the Judenrat's secretary.[3]

In the spring of 1941, large numbers of escapees from the Warsaw ghetto, where living conditions had deteriorated, settled in Tarłów. By May 1941, there were 1,960 Jews in Tarłów, close to a quarter of them newcomers. To cope with the growing number of deportees, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established in Kraków to take over the provision of welfare from the Jewish Councils. Starachowice's JSS committee set up a local branch in Tarłów in September 1941. Josek Lederman led the committee; the other two members were the Judenrat's chairman Rychtenberg and the secretary Gruman. The JSS opened a soup kitchen serving initially three meals to 85 people daily.[4]

In March 1942, all the JSS members suddenly resigned, explaining that they were unable to carry on due to a lack of funds. Tarłów approved a new committee consisting of Icek Zylber, Herszek Mendelbaum, and Fiszek Zylberman. Tarłów was not authorized to make personnel changes in the JSS composition, and the headquarters refused to accept the new appointments. Then Lederman revealed the real reasons behind the resignations. He and Rychtenberg had been summoned to appear before the Sondergericht (special court) in Radom on May 12, 1942, charged with "conveying food products for the American (Jewish) Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw in April 1940." They resigned from their JSS posts, as they expected they would be convicted and wanted to give the new committee time to be ready to take over their posts. In the meantime, these charges were dropped, and the former JSS committee went back to work.[5]

An open ghetto was set up in Tarłów on May 12, 1941, in a part of the village already populated by Jews. The forced labor and deterioration of living conditions in the overcrowded ghetto resulted in a typhus epidemic. The Sanitation Column opened a delousing facility, but it was still unable to completely prevent the spread of the disease. The synagogue initially was used as a quarantine ward, and those who were severely ill were transported on wagons to the hospital in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski. When the German authorities prohibited sending the sick to Ostrowiec, the synagogue was turned into an epidemic hospital. The only doctor in Tarłów, a Pole, attended the sick for no payment, but medication, provided primarily by the AJDC, remained scant. After the Germans proclaimed the ghetto closed in December 1941, the only open pharmacy remained on the Aryan side. The epidemic lasted nine months and was eventually contained in March 1942.[6]

According to the Judenrat, by April 1942, 2,200 Jews were squeezed into the ghetto, 700 of them refugees. Besides Warsaw and Łódź, they also came from smaller towns including Józefów nad Wisłą and Zwoleń. Now the JSS converted the Tarłów synagogue into a shelter for homeless Jews. Since the JSS "was convinced that refugees are dying mostly of dirt, not hunger," the synagogue was sanitized, fitted with a stove, and given beds padded with straw mattresses, a tub for washing clothes, and a broom. A Sanitation Column of 22 volunteers under the command of two honorary JSS members, Gerszoch Kuperbum and Boruch Wajnberg, kept the shelter clean.[7]

Despite the death penalty for Jews leaving the ghetto and any Poles who helped them (effective in the Kreis from December 15, 1941), hunger in the ghetto compelled Jews to risk their lives, buying food from villagers. In the Radom prison, Pinkus Wajsblum was sentenced to death for smuggling food and leaving the Tarłów ghetto.

In June 1942, German forces arrived in Tarłów and rounded up 70 young men and women. For six days they were guarded "earnestly" by the Jewish Police and unable to see their families. They all were then loaded onto a single truck and taken to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna.[8] From July 1942, 100 Jewish laborers worked in the newly opened phosphor mine in Tarłów. The following month, the number of Jewish laborers there doubled. The nature of the work caused frequent lacerations, and a Jewish nurse was sent daily to dress the wounds.[9]

The Germans selected Tarłów as a place of concentration for Jews from Kreis Starachowice before their deportation to extermination camps. Approximately 800 Jews from Kazanów (October 17), 3,000 from Lipsko (October 17), 800 from Solec nad Wisłą (September), 400 from Chotcza and surroundings,[10] 600 from Ciepielów (October 24), and 100 from Bałtów-Pętkowice (September 24) were brought there. There are also reports of a number of Jews being transferred from Opole Lubelskie and Kozienice.[11]

The ghetto in Tarłów was liquidated on October 29, 1942. All the ghetto's Jews were driven to the train station in Jasice, which was guarded by SS and Ukrainian militiamen. In Jasice, they were loaded onto trains destined for the Treblinka extermination camp. Approximately 100 Jews were killed before reaching the station, most of them children or the elderly. One account states that Jews were deported from Tarłów on trucks with the assistance of Jewish policemen.

The search for the ghetto escapees started on the day of its liquidation, as Germans troops combed nearby villages. Avail-

able sources differ regarding the number of Jews deported from Tarłów, ranging from approximately 5,000 to 10,000 people; around 8,000 is likely most accurate.

SOURCES The Tarłów ghetto is mentioned briefly in Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955); Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 248–249.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/681, 211/101, 301/1067, 301/1513, 301/2016, 301/3678); USHMM (RG-15.084M [AŻIH Relacje]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 47; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (e.g., # 22009); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47.
2. AŻIH, 301/1067.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC).
4. AŻIH, 301/3678, testimony of Regina Gerszt, 1947; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. AŻIH, 301/1067.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47.
10. More than 400 Jews were concentrated in Chotcza from August to late October 1942, including some brought in from a nearby labor camp. However, available sources do not use the term *ghetto* for this concentration. See ibid., 211/308 (Chotcza); and AŻIH, 301/1513, testimony of Gerszon Edelman, 1946.
11. VHF, # 22009, testimony of Dora Hershman, 1996.

TOMASZÓW MAZOWIECKI

Pre-1939: Tomaszów Mazowiecki, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Tomaschow, Kreis center, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Łódź województwo, Poland

Tomaszów Mazowiecki lies approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Łódź on the Wolburka River. In 1939, there were approximately 13,000 Jews residing in Tomaszów, which was famous for its textile factories that were mostly owned by Jewish businessmen.

German troops occupied the town on September 6, 1939. During the first weeks of the occupation a detachment of Einsatzgruppe III (Security Police) was active in Tomaszów, searching Jewish apartments for weapons. Jews were mistreated and about 300 were arrested, along with many non-Jews. Some 90 Jews were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Many Jews were evicted from their apartments to provide living quarters for German officials; Jewish businesses were marked with a Star of David and placed under trusteeship. In November 1939, the synagogue on Jerozolim Street was set on fire, and the Jews were prevented from extinguishing it.[1]

In the fall of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat), under the leadership of Baruch Schoeps and his deputy Leibush Warsager, was established in Tomaszów. The Judenrat had to organize the collection of a large contribution for the Germans and meet their demands for forced laborers. Other tasks for the Judenrat included registering the Jews, establishing a medical support system, maintaining contact with the Jewish Councils of other ghettos, dealing with social welfare, and maintaining cultural life.

When the Nazis established the Generalgouvernement in the fall of 1939, the town became the center of Kreis Tomaschow within Distrikt Radom. The first Kreishauptmann was Dr. Fritz von Balluseck (until November 1940); he was succeeded by Dr. Karl Glehn, who served in that capacity until the town's liberation in January 1945. From May 15, 1940, the head of the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tomaszów was SS-Hauptsturmführer Otto Thiel.

In 1940, a number of Jewish men were rounded up and sent to work in various labor camps in Distrikt Lublin. Around 1,000 Jews were required to perform forced labor in and around Tomaszów.

In December 1940, Kreiskommissar Glehn ordered the establishment of three separate Jewish residential districts (open ghettos) in Tomaszów. The Jews were forbidden to leave these residential districts and faced a fine of 100 złoty for their first offense; the sum increased considerably for subsequent transgressions.[2] Mira Ryczke Kimmelman has described the relocation efforts:

> The order to move was announced at the beginning of December 1940, giving us just a few weeks to find a place to live. When the Polish population moved out of their houses, Jews were moved in. Until now most of the Tomaszów Jews lived in apartments. Now they had to squeeze into one room, in some cases two and three families to occupy one room. The Jewish Council . . . was in charge of assigning living quarters.[3]

Altogether about 16,000 Jews were confined within the three ghettos in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, including approximately 3,000 Jews from the surrounding villages. Only 250 houses had to provide living space for all the residents—that is, more than 60 people per house.

The Jewish Council was obliged to organize an internal ghetto police, which maintained order and guarded the ghetto borders internally. The Jewish Police was also entrusted with enforcing the fixed prices for food, shop opening hours, the cleaning of the streets, and the curfew. The German

Schutzpolizei was responsible for securing the ghetto border externally.[4] Hans Pichler of the Schutzpolizei was the officer in charge of ghetto affairs in Tomaszów.

In the summer of 1940, the German civil administration had set the following official ration levels for Jews—2.8 kilograms (6.2 pounds) of bread, 0.2 kilograms (7 ounces) of sugar, and 0.16 kilograms (5.6 ounces) of artificial coffee per person per month—about half that for the Polish population.[5] According to Kimmelman: "Ration cards for bread, sugar, jam, or a little margarine were issued for a whole month, but this barely sustained us for a week."[6]

As in other ghettos of the Generalgouvernement, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, which was based in Kraków, played an essential role in the provision of social welfare and food to the needy Jews in Tomaszów. Food, medicine, and other material deliveries were transferred to the ghetto as well as money. Using this support, the Jewish Council established two public kitchens, a special food kitchen for children, a nursing home, a medical clinic, a hospital, a hostel for refugees and Jews passing through the ghetto, and a department for housing issues.[7] There is little information regarding religious or cultural life in the ghetto. However, Ludwik Druszcz mentions sporadic performances by a puppet cabaret.[8] Kimmelman recalls an extensive system of clandestine schooling, and she also participated in Zionist youth activities without informing her parents.[9]

In March 1941, around 1,000 refugees from Płock arrived in the Tomaszów ghetto. At this time, about 300 Jews from Tomaszów were assigned to a forced labor camp established 6 kilometers (4 miles) outside the town in the village of Zawada to work on river canalization work. The conditions in the camp were so appalling that even the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Tomaszów complained in October 1941 that the unsanitary and inadequate sleeping quarters rendered "the measures of the German authorities to combat typhus illusory."[10] As the Jews who fell sick were transferred back to the Tomaszów ghetto, this in turn spread typhus among the ghetto inmates.[11] In the third quarter of 1941, 1,129 cases of typhus were registered in Kreis Tomaschow, which was the highest rate of any Kreis in Distrikt Radom.[12]

To combat the spread of typhus, the German authorities intensified the isolation of the ghettos. In late November 1941, almost 600 refugee Jews were transferred from the Tomaszów ghetto to the ghetto in Koluszki, and more were sent to other small ghettos. The Judenrat was instructed to report immediately any of these Jews if they returned to Tomaszów, making all the Judenrat members personally responsible, on pain of death, for the enforcement of this regulation. Subsequently 33 Jews who did return were executed.[13] By this time, the death penalty had been introduced within the Generalgouvernement for Jews caught leaving the ghettos without permission. On December 11, a circular was distributed within Distrikt Radom instructing the Stadt- und Kreishauptmänner to put up signs on the borders of the ghettos informing the Jews of this penalty.[14] Initially Kreishauptmann Glehn responded by putting up such signs around all three Jewish residential districts in Tomaszów. He also introduced new regulations, which permitted Jews to move from one ghetto to another within the town only at certain set times in columns, escorted by the Jewish Police. Only a few days later, however, Glehn ordered the two smaller residential districts (ghettos) on Szeroka Street and Władysław Street dissolved. The Jews from these areas were distributed among smaller communities nearby or were moved to the larger ghetto. Then on December 15, 1941, the remaining ghetto area was officially enclosed. Some witnesses remembered the construction of a wall, some, a fence.[15] The new barrier probably consisted of a combination of a wooden and barbed-wire fence, together with the walls of the ghetto houses themselves.[16] On December 20, 1941, detailed regulations concerning the houses along the ghetto perimeter were issued. All windows and doors along the perimeter were to be boarded up. The Jews residing in these houses were forbidden to use the front rooms and could only reside in the courtyards and the rear parts of the buildings.[17]

The ghetto that remained was located on the following streets: Kościuszko, Antoni, Piłsudski, Jerozolima, Legionów, Listopada, Kieracki, Wojciechowski, Długa, Projektowa, Warszawa, Szeroka, and Niebrowska. The office of the Jewish Council was located at Cicha Street 15. This reorganization of the ghetto was combined with strict sanitary measures. Many of the Jews in the ghetto area had to have their heads shaved.[18]

Those Jews who had worked in various forced labor camps and working places in Tomaszów Mazowiecki before the ghetto's enclosure continued to leave the ghetto daily under the supervision of the Jewish Police, but by 1942 they were permitted to use only certain designated streets. The only income for the ghetto inmates was from the salaries working Jews received for forced labor. The average wage after the deduction of all taxes and other expenses was generally insufficient to cover even the living costs for a single person, and it was completely insufficient to feed a family.[19]

In the six months after the ghetto was enclosed, a number of Jewish refugees continued to arrive from other places, including towns in Distrikt Warschau, which increased the pressure on scarce living space and food.[20] In January 1942, a second major typhus epidemic broke out inside the Tomaszów ghetto. The ghetto hospital did not have sufficient space to treat all the infected Jews, and starvation and a lack of medicine and sanitary facilities exacerbated the problem considerably. Furthermore, during this winter, the Jews in the Tomaszów ghetto were ordered to deliver all their fur coats and other winter clothing to the German police to support the soldiers at the front in a so-called fur Aktion.[21]

On top of the disastrous living conditions in the ghetto, frequent killing Aktions, selections, and punishments for even minor transgressions decimated the ghetto population continuously. Many Jews fell victim to the so-called Shooting Order (Schiessbefehl) that allowed the German Order Police to shoot every Jew without warning if spotted outside the ghetto. As one survivor has recorded: "There was not a day, on which the Gendarmes did not kill a Jewish man or woman on the ghetto

border for buying potatoes or other foodstuffs. . . . Every day also small children went out of the ghetto to obtain a bit to eat . . . more and more of them were killed."[22] Kreishauptmann Glehn reported cold-bloodedly in March 1942: "in the previous month, around 30 Jews who left the ghetto without permission and tried to flee, were shot."[23]

On April 27–28, 1942, the German Security Police carried out an "intelligentsia Aktion" in the ghetto. The victims included lawyers, doctors, members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, and pre-war Jewish activists. Many Jews were shot in the streets, allegedly for "trying to escape" as they were arrested. On the following mornings, thousands of mourning Jews accompanied the bodies, as they were taken to be buried in the Jewish cemetery outside the ghetto. A further shooting Aktion took place a few days later in early May.[24]

For many ghetto inmates, nevertheless, a position in the Jewish Police was attractive, and many people tried to get a job there through bribery, as they believed it would protect themselves and their families from the expected deportation Aktions. During the deportations the Jewish Police were required to assist the German police in rounding up the Jews, and this earned them a very bad reputation among most of the ghetto inmates.[25] As rumors spread from August 1942 of the clearance of other ghettos in the region, the Jews looked to obtain a secure place of employment or to prepare hiding places in case of need. In the last days of October the other ghettos of Kreis Tomaschow were liquidated systematically.

On Saturday, October 31, 1942, the Germans commenced the liquidation of the Tomaszów ghetto. The ghetto residents living on the eastern part of Jerozolima Street were ordered to gather at the square by the Jewish hospital and to take only a few indispensable items with them. After a selection, those Jews in possession of special work papers were sent back to the yard of the hospital, while the remaining Jews were marched to the railroad station. There they were ordered to leave behind their hand luggage, to take off their shoes, and to enter the freight wagons of the train. About 120 individuals were squeezed into each wagon. The entire procedure was carried out by an SS unit that had arrived from outside the town, with the assistance of Trawniki men and local forces of the Sipo, the Order Police, and Polish (Blue) Police. During the roundup the Jews were brutally mistreated. On November 1, 1942, the empty part of the ghetto was searched, and the Jews found there were shot on the spot. On November 2, the inmates living in the second part of the ghetto were deported in the same way. Both transports—altogether approximately 15,000 individuals—were sent to the extermination camp in Treblinka.

After this major Aktion, probably around 900 working Jews still remained in the Tomaszów ghetto, who may have been joined by others who emerged from hiding. They resided in a small part of the former ghetto, known as "the Block," which became a remnant ghetto with many of the characteristics of a forced labor camp for Jews. In the first days of January 1943, 250 Jews were transferred from Tomaszów to the remnant ghetto in Ujazd, which itself was liquidated on January 6 with the inmates being sent to Treblinka. Also in January, the so-called Palestine Aktion took place. As part of an exchange for German prisoners of war (POWs), 67 Jews from Tomaszów were actually released via Vienna and Turkey on to Syria and then Palestine. But most of the others who registered in January 1943 in Tomaszów and other remnant ghettos were transported away and either shot locally or sent to Treblinka.[26]

A further Aktion took place at the time of the Purim festival, on March 21 in 1943. More than 20 members of the Jewish intelligentsia and patients at the hospital were arrested and shot at the Jewish cemetery. In the spring of 1943, groups of Jews were transferred from the Block to the forced labor camps in Pionki, Skarżysko-Kamienna, and Bliżyn. On May 29, the Block was finally liquidated, and the 650 men, women, and children there were deported to the labor camp at Bliżyn near Radom. The last 40 or so Jews were sent to the labor camp in Starachowice soon after they had cleaned out the ghetto/labor camp area.[27]

SOURCES Information about the history and fate of the Tomaszów Jews under Nazi occupation can be found in the following publications: Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); Mosheh Visberg, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Tomashov-Mazovyetsk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Tomashov-Mazovyetsk be-Yisrael, 1969); and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 123–130.

Relevant published survivor memoirs include Mira Ryczke Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997); and Ignacy Berzynski Burnett, *My Life and My Struggle* (Sydney: Vit Publishing, 1996).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Tomaszów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/1031-1039; 301/1450, 3184, 4071); BA-BL (R 52II/254); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14521); IPN (Case against Ludwig Fischer and Josef Bühler); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1995 .A.522); VHF (e.g., # 15964, 44328, 48119); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/14521 (Verdict of LG-Darm, 2 Ks 1/69, December 7, 1972, in the case against Boettig, Fuchs, and Reichl), pp. 14–15.
2. AŻIH, 301/3184, testimony of Samuel Talman; 211/1031, Glehn an Judenrat in Tomaszów, December 20, 1942; BA-L, B 162/14521, pp. 15–16.
3. Kimmelman, *Echoes*, p. 28.
4. VHF, # 48119, testimony of Ludwik Druszcz.
5. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 159.
6. Kimmelman, *Echoes*, p. 29.
7. AŻIH, 211/1034, pp. 17–18.
8. VHF, # 48119.
9. Kimmelman, *Echoes*, pp. 29–31.
10. Sipo-Aussendienststelle Schlussbericht, October 16, 1941, BA-L, B 162/Vorl. Dok. Slg. Verschiedenes 301 AAm, Bl. 51, 49, as cited by Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 152.

11. BA-L, B 162/14521, pp. 15–16.
12. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 127.
13. Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), pp. 120–121; and AŻIH, 301/4071, testimony of Samuel Talman, 1948.
14. BA-BL, R 52II/254, Rundschreiben Oswalds, Leiter der Abteilung Innere Verwaltung im Distrikt Radom, December 11, 1942, as cited by Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 121.
15. VHF, # 48119; # 15964, testimony of Mary Siegelbaum.
16. BA-L, B 162/14521, p. 17.
17. AŻIH, 211/1031, pp. 11–14.
18. Ibid., 211/1035, p. 46.
19. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, pp. 218–219.
20. AŻIH, 211/1034, p. 18.
21. BA-L, B 162/14521, p. 31.
22. AŻIH, 301/5361, testimony of E. Skórnicki, as cited by Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 221.
23. IPN, Verfahren gegen Ludwig Fischer and Josef Bühler, 285, p. 18, Glehn's Lagebericht, April 8, 1942.
24. Kimmelman, *Echoes*, pp. 35–36; BA-L, B 162/14521, pp. 31–46.
25. VHF, # 44328, testimony of Riva Bojarski.
26. Testimony of Dwora Leja B, March 7, 1963, BA-L, B 162/6922, pp. 1250–1251, as cited by Młynarczyk, *Judenmord*, p. 283; Kimmelman, *Echoes*, p. 41.
27. Kimmelman, *Echoes*, pp. 42–43; BA-L, B 162/14521, p. 49; AŻIH, 301/1450.

UJAZD

Pre-1939: Ujazd, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

The village of Ujazd is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) northwest of Tomaszów Mazowiecki. By 1921, out of 1,987 residents, 792 were Jewish.

An estimated 95 percent of the village was razed in the course of the September Campaign in 1939. Some Jewish residents, including Rabbi Łaznowski, fled to Łódź and then to the Warsaw region.

The Germans organized a Judenrat, chaired by Pinkus Gerber. It included S. Wygodzki and M. Feller.

Despite the substandard housing conditions, some deportees and refugees settled in the village in 1940.[1] In the spring of 1941, there were 351 Jews living in Ujazd, including 70 newcomers. In May 1941, the Judenrat reported that due to an order forbidding Jews to settle in Distrikt Warschau, "all our [former] residents returned." It further stated that there were "scarcely three, precisely—three small houses where 500 people are located." Apart from the returnees, the village also was visited daily by streams of Jews leaving Warsaw on their way to Piotrków Trybunalski, who were asking for help.[2]

In June 1940, all men and women aged 16 to 60 were forced to clear the rubble of burned buildings. As they also had to perform other forms of forced labor, the Judenrat reported that they were unable to make a living. A number of them worked on constructing the Ujazd-Lubochnia road, in the Kingeberg sawmill, and on the estates of Ujazd and Buków, in the settlement of Ciosny. At the end of August 1940, all young Jews were sent out of the village to perform forced labor. In the summer of 1941, the community had to fully support 20 laborers working in the vicinity of Ujazd.[3]

In August 1941, many Jewish refugees who had died in the nearby ghetto of Koluszki were sent for burial in Ujazd, as the cemetery that served Koluszki's Jews in Brzeziny had been incorporated into the Reich. "Note," the Ujazd Judenrat reported, "that two members of the Jewish Council are hospitalized in Tomaszów, sick with typhus they had contracted while arranging for the burial of corpses sent from Koluszki." There was no Jewish doctor in Ujazd. By January 1942, the community's sick were being sent to a hospital in Tomaszów for treatment.[4]

A ghetto was established in Ujazd, most likely in the summer of 1942. According to Czesław Pilichowski and colleagues, the ghetto was located in the Lidera neighborhood, where Jews were permitted to inhabit 32 houses on eight streets; however, according to other sources (e.g., the Gmina Ujazd Web site), the ghetto was located on Zagajnikowa Street, from which Polish residents had been expelled.[5]

Sometime in 1942, young and healthy ghetto residents were rounded up and driven to an unknown destination, probably to be sent to perform forced labor at various camps.

The ghetto in Ujazd was liquidated at the end of October 1942. Its estimated 800 residents were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

On November 10, 1942, the Higher SS and Police Leader of the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Krüger, issued an order creating remnant ghettos in Distrikt Radom. Ujazd was to be the only such ghetto in Kreis Tomaschow and one of only four in the entire Distrikt.[6] A survivor of this remnant ghetto, Sophie Pollack, recalled that the Germans announced that Ujazd was declared "an exceptional ghetto." It was announced that all those "who had hidden or escaped should feel free and safe to register" there. "Most of these people who came were young. . . . It was the cream of the ghettos: the healthiest, the smartest, those who had the most money. Everybody came there because there were not that many places to go, and whether they believed in those wonderful promises or not. . . . We wanted to believe in it," said Pollack.[7]

The ghetto attracted approximately 2,000 Jews mostly from other places in Kreis Tomaschow, including Przysucha, Rawa Mazowiecka, Opoczno, and Drzewica. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the German Gendarmerie from Tomaszów and the Polish (Blue) Police. Within the compound, the Jewish Police maintained order.

On the night of January 5, 1943, German forces surrounded the ghetto. Approximately 30 people were shot in the course of the ghetto's liquidation on the next day, January 6. The remainder of the ghetto's inmates were taken to the train station in Skrzynki. On the way, about a dozen more Jews were shot. The transport ended at the Treblinka extermination camp.[8]

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada

ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 118–119, 154 (table 10), 178; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 134, 187–189; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 534; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo piotrkowskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1983), pp. 139–140.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/697, 211/1055); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); and VHF (# 25485).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/697 (Ujazd), pp. 9, 11; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1055 (Ujazd), p. 15.
2. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1055, pp. 8–9; Acc.1999 .A.0154 (AJDC), 210/697, p. 11.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/697, pp. 2, 7, 19.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1055, pp. 15, 22.
5. See www.ujazd.ovh.org.
6. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.
7. VHF, # 25485, testimony of Sophie Pollack, 1997.
8. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG, Ujazd), reel 14, pp. 14–23.

WIERZBICA

Pre-1939: Wierzbica, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The village of Wierzbica is located 20 kilometers (12 miles) south of Radom. A Judenrat chaired by H. Hochman was established following its occupation.

By March 1941, there were 152 Jews living in the village, of which the Judenrat assessed 40 percent as unable to provide for themselves. Some 18 of these people lived entirely from the support provided by the Judenrat.

The number of residents almost doubled when 129 Jews (28 families) from the recently depopulated village of Przytyk arrived on March 10, 1941. Of those, 16 families (48 persons) were unable to pay rent. The Judenrat introduced a system of "forced dinners" by assigning 20 newcomers to local Jewish families. The Judenrat then compensated the host family with 1 złoty per meal, while the assignee paid the Judenrat 0.20 złoty.[1]

As part of a larger ghettoization process of those Jews still living in the villages of Kreis Radom-Land, the Germans decided to liquidate Wierzbica's community by transferring them to a larger ghetto at the end of 1941. However, according to Radom's Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), "thanks to the efforts of the Supreme Council of Jewish Communities of the Radom District," the Germans allowed several rural communities to remain in place by creating Jewish quarters for them. The order to establish a ghetto in Wierzbica was issued by Radom's Kreishauptmann in December 1941. Nonetheless, resettlement to the closed ghetto was not implemented for several months.[2]

The leadership of the Judenrat was changed on March 1, 1942. B. Milsztajn became its new chairman. He believed that "Wierzbica never received any social help from the JSS" because the former Judenrat "did not demonstrate any activity to ease the misery of our community." By May 1942, the community had set up its own hospital.[3]

Survivor Ester Hakman recalls that from March 1942 until that summer, she was able to get hired on the Zalesice estate, located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away from Wierzbica, to which she walked daily. She worked in agriculture and was compensated with some of the goods she harvested. Hakman's mother was still able to barter textiles for food with villagers; her sister, a dressmaker, continued her craft in exchange for food. It was at this time that a commissioner was assigned to run Wierzbica affairs.[4]

By July 1942, there were 500 Jews living in Wierzbica, of which only 30 percent were native residents, whereas another 40 percent had been deported from Przytyk. The remaining 30 percent were Jews resettled from Pruszków, Mogielnica, and Grójec (Distrikt Warschau), who initially were deported to Jastrząb and Rogów, both located approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Wierzbica.[5]

By July 17, 1942, the German authorities informed the community that an enclosed ghetto would be established in the village on August 1, 1942. It was to be surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire. The German authorities assigned only a few houses for the Jews, which could house 200 people only with the greatest difficulty according to the assessment of the Judenrat. For the remaining 300 people (60 families), the Germans ordered the community to build barracks. The Judenrat estimated the costs of their construction at 25,000 złoty. The Judenrat was also ordered to remodel the hospital (estimated at 4,000 złoty) and to construct a delousing facility. The date of the ghetto's establishment (August 1, 1942) was also a deadline to complete all the construction work. The Judenrat requested financial support from the JSS in Kraków.[6] Accordingly, the JSS was able to provide Wierzbica with 500 złoty in July 1942.[7]

Strict orders were issued for the Jews not to leave the ghetto; however, archival sources show that Boruch Sarna was arrested in Wierzbica "for leaving the ghetto" on May 8, 1942. Either this date is mistaken (i.e., possibly August 5, 1942), or it is possible that restrictions on movement were in effect before the establishment of an enclosed ghetto. Sarna was sent to the Radom prison, from which he was "deported to a camp" on August 18, 1942. There is no information as to whether anyone guarded the Wierzbica ghetto. Another resident, Wolf

Majdman, was also arrested on August 28, 1942, for exiting the ghetto. Majdman was registered as "deceased" in the Radom prison on October 16, 1942.[8]

According to Hakman, in August 1942, elderly Jews in the ghetto were rounded up and deported to the Szydłowiec ghetto. Agicultural labor was arranged at a nearby estate for approximately 400 able-bodied Jews from the ghetto, including women. The job was very desirable among Wierzbica's Jews, as they believed it would protect them from deportation. Moreover, they were fairly well fed on the farm. At the end of each workday, the Jewish laborers would return to the ghetto. It is not clear if they were escorted.[9]

Hakman believes that the ghetto was liquidated on November 22, 1942, when the Germans decided that the workforce on the farm was no longer needed. That same day, trucks filled with Ukrainian auxiliary forces came to the village to claim young Jews. Hakman, who volunteered, believes that "a couple of hundred" youngsters volunteered with her. She recalls that the first snow of the winter fell on that day. The trucks remained in the village for several hours and left after dark. It was only on the way that the volunteers learned that they were being taken to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna. There is no information as to the fate of those who remained in the ghetto on that day.[10]

Other sources give significantly different accounts of the community's fate; for example, *Pinkas ha-kehilot* states that the remaining Jews of Wierzbica were evacuated in 1940, presumably to labor camps in the area. Historian Adam Rutkowski dates the liquidation of the ghetto in August or the beginning of September 1942 and gives the names of two locations to which Wierzbica Jews were deported (the Kozienice and Szydłowiec ghettos).

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 585; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955). Rutkowski refers to the community being resettled to the Kozienice ghetto (pp. 160, 179) and to the Szydłowiec ghetto (p. 101).

The following archival sources contain information on the Jewish community in Wierzbica: AŻIH (211/854-855 and 211/1107 [JSS]; and NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 1018).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1107 (Wierzbica), pp. 2–3.
2. Ibid., 211/854 (Radom), p. 5; AŻIH, NMO, Fot. Dok. Niem. nos. 60 and 63, Anordnung (decree) and Zustzazordnung (amendment) of the Kreishauptmann, December 22 and 30, 1941, as cited in Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 122.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1107, pp. 8–9.
4. VHF, # 1018, testimony of Ester Hakman, 1995.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1107, pp. 7–8.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 211/855 (Radom), p. 49.
8. Kazimierz Jaroszek and Sebastian Piątkowski, *Martyrologia Żydów w więzieniu radomskim 1939–1944: Wykaz zamordowanych, zmarłych, deportowanych do obozów koncentracyjnych i obozów zagłady* (Radom: Archiwum Państwowe, 1997), pp. 67, 85.
9. VHF, # 1018.
10. Ibid.

WIŚLICA

Pre-1939: Wiślica, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wislica, Kreis Busko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wiślica, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Wiślica is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Kraków. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were 1,437 Jews living in the town.

When the Germans attacked Poland on September 1, 1939, many Jews fled Wiślica to the east. Some escaped to the Soviet Union, where they spent the war years. However, most of these people soon returned home. The Polish army set parts of the town on fire before they retreated. German forces conquered Wiślica on September 8. After settling in, they burned down the synagogue. On the following day, all the Jews were assembled in the town square, from which they were taken to fields outside town. After being robbed they were brought back and put to work cleaning up the town. The Germans imposed a fine of 30,000 złoty on the Jews, holding 10 prominent members of the community as hostages. The community council was reorganized as a Judenrat. Some of the original council members were retained, joined by a few new ones. The chairman was Joseph Flaum; the vice-chair was David Ovzhensky. On December 1, all Jews over 10 were ordered to wear a blue Star of David on a white armband. An additional decree obligated all Jews over 18 to perform forced labor. During the first months they shoveled snow from the railroad tracks.[1]

After the Generalgouvernement was set up at the end of October 1939, Wiślica was incorporated into Kreis Busko, within Distrikt Radom. In 1940, the Jews of Wiślica were ordered to pave a new road between Busko-Zdrój and Wiślica. They were also sent to perform agricultural work on estates confiscated from Polish landlords. Normal commerce ceased to exist. Output from manufacturing disappeared—textiles, leather, shoes, clothing, import-export, and retail outlets closed for lack of merchandise. Almost everyone, Jew and non-Jew, engaged in some form of illegal trade or smuggling.

The Germans permitted a few government shops—one for leather, another for textiles. Goods were sold for ration cards, available only to farmers who delivered their quota of agricultural produce. At a special warehouse, one could barter eggs for sugar. Jews would buy eggs from the farmers, trade them for sugar, and sell it for other goods or money. But after a time

the Germans put an end to this practice. Jews were also forbidden to go to the countryside, so farmers would bring their products to Jewish buyers. They, in turn, sold them to professional smugglers who came from Warsaw, Kielce, and Kraków to bring goods such as leather, clothing, or coffee to the large cities.[2]

The Germans sent police from Busko to search for merchandise hidden in Jewish homes. To evade these searches, Jews stored goods with Polish neighbors. In some cases the Poles simply kept the goods for themselves. In other instances, informants exposed the Polish partners. Once the Jews were deported, the caretakers "inherited" whatever was left in their care. On the weekly market day (traditionally Thursday, but later changed by the Germans to Saturday as a further hardship on religious Jews), Jews had little to offer, usually kitchen utensils or articles of clothing. Tailors and shoemakers invited customers into their houses to sell their goods. Throughout the occupation Jewish slaughterers continued to provide kosher meat, risking their lives to perform these tasks in barns rented from local farmers. An 8:00 P.M. curfew was imposed, and Jews were also forbidden to ride the trains. To reach Kraków to trade, Jews from Wiślica would go first to Opatowiec, then take the ferry that sailed between Nowy Korczyn and Kraków. This practice continued until the end of 1940.

At the end of 1940 and in early 1941, hundreds of Jewish refugees arrived in Wiślica, including many expelled from Radom, the district capital, and about 150 from Płock, which had been annexed to Germany. Other Jews came from Kraków, Warsaw, Łódź, and Sandomierz. The refugees arrived with only the clothes they stood up in. The Jews of Wiślica were scarcely prepared to deal with them. The Judenrat established a mutual-aid committee, which organized a soup kitchen for the refugees and needy locals. A small delegation was sent to Polish landlords to ask for assistance. They responded by contributing a great quantity of food, including potatoes, barley, and beans, as well as firewood for heating. The Judenrat housed the refugees from Płock in private homes. Refugees from Radom were housed in the large Bet Midrash, which was no longer in use. Bunk beds were built to accommodate them.[3]

In May 1941, an open ghetto (Jewish residential area) was set up in Wiślica.[4] It consisted of 76 houses and 452 rooms and was controlled by the German authorities. All remaining Jewish property outside the ghetto was confiscated. In the summer of 1941, the German administration in Busko ordered the Wiślica Judenrat to establish a Jewish police force.[5] The establishment of the ghetto had created unsanitary and overcrowded living conditions that increased the threat of disease. The collection of community taxes became more difficult as the numbers relying on public assistance increased. The impossible German demands for goods and money did not let up—they requested textiles, leather goods, tea, coffee, liquor, jewelry, and other items. Hunger became widespread, as access to the surrounding villages was now forbidden.[6]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans confiscated all fur garments. There were daily roll calls for forced labor. The workers received a daily ration of bread, baked at the Jewish bakery from flour provided by the Jewish community. An outbreak of typhus claimed many victims, and a community hospital was opened in response. The confiscation of Jewish-owned property was also completed, with local Polish "commissars" put in charge as the Jewish owners were dismissed. Shops for building materials, metal goods, clothing, shoemaking, tailoring, and groceries were taken over. Further restrictions were imposed. Jews were not allowed to swim in the Nida River. Men had to shave their beards. People grew increasingly depressed as all signs of normal life vanished. In the spring of 1942, Jews living in smaller nearby towns and villages were forced into Wiślica. By April 1942, the ghetto held 2,165 Jews, including 728 who had arrived from other places. Towards the end of the summer of 1942, the Germans ordered Polish workers to remove the gravestones from the old Jewish cemetery. After the final expulsion of the Jews the stones were used to pave a walkway to the train station.[7]

Tension gripped the town amid rumors of the deportations from large Jewish communities, such as Warsaw, Kielce, and Częstochowa, as well as nearby towns such as Miechów. As refugees brought word of the deportation from Działoszyce, apprehension that the same would happen in Wiślica hardened into certainty.[8]

The expulsion took place on October 3, 1942, organized by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kielce. Early in the morning, the German forces, assisted by Polish (Blue) Police and Polish work units, surrounded the city. Jews were roused from their sleep, told to pack their belongings, and ordered to the market square, where they were held under arrest. About 2,200 appeared. The local farmers were ordered to bring their wagons to transport the Jews. The head of the Judenrat bribed the police commanders to look the other way if Jews tried to flee, and a number were able to escape. Some survived; others were caught and murdered. Then all the Jews were escorted to Pińczów. The Jews of three towns—Wiślica, Busko, and Pińczów—were then taken to Jędrzejów and from there by train to the Treblinka extermination camp to be murdered on arrival.[9]

In 1942–1944, the Przenioslo family, a Polish family of seven who had farmed on 8 hectares (20 acres) of land in the village of Cieszkowy, in Kielce province, risked their lives to hide 12 Jews who had escaped from Wiślica during the liquidation of the ghetto. One of the Jews died in July 1944, but the remaining people survived and later immigrated to the United States and Israel. In 1986, some of them—including Regina Dzialoszycki, who was 8 years old in 1942—replied to an announcement in *Folks-Sztyme*, a Yiddish weekly in Warsaw, providing information about the family who had rescued them.[10] Among other Jewish escapees from Wiślica were members of the Gordonia training kibbutz who joined up with Polish Armia Ludowa partisans in the forests.

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town can be found in Itzchak Kazimierski, ed., *Sefer Vayslits: Dos Vayslitser yisker-bukh* (Tel Aviv: Association

of Former Residents of Wislica, 1971), which does not, however, specifically mention the ghetto; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 170–174. The open ghetto in Wiślica is mentioned briefly by Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 83, 91.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Wiślica under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2373); USHMMPA (# 96919); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-31/3964).

Samuel Fishman and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kazimierski, *Sefer Vayslits*, pp. 23–24.
2. Ibid., pp. 24–25.
3. Ibid., pp. 25–26.
4. M. Grynberg, *Księga Sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: PWN, 1993).
5. For a picture of a Jewish ghetto policeman in Wiślica, see USHMMPA, # 96919.
6. Kazimierski, *Sefer Vayslits*, p. 27.
7. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
8. Ibid., p. 213.
9. Ibid., pp. 29–30; AŻIH, 301/2373, testimony of J. Sternberg.
10. Grynberg, *Księga Sprawiedliwych*.

WŁOSZCZOWA

Pre-1939: Włoszczowa (Yiddish: Vlotscheve), town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939-1945: Wloszczowa, Kreis Jedrzejow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Włoszczowa, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Włoszczowa is located 46 kilometers (29 miles) west of Kielce. By 1939, there were 2,700 Jews living there, constituting 42 percent of the town's residents.[1] Following the town's occupation by German troops, a Gendarmerie post with its own prison was established before the end of September 1939. At this time, a number of refugees—mainly from the badly damaged towns of Szczekociny and Przedbórz nearby—settled in Włoszczowa. Groups from Poznań and Łódź followed later. Eventually the total number of refugees rose to 1,455 (28 percent of the community).

A 7-man (soon extended to 12-man) Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up in October 1939, chaired by a local notary named Aleksander Fargel (Fargiel). The Judenrat soon had to collect a "contribution" of 80,000 złoty.[2]

A self-help committee was established on January 10, 1940, and it soon opened a soup kitchen with support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). A second opened on January 21, 1940.

A ghetto for over 4,000 Jews—consisting of two separate sections—was established in Włoszczowa on July 10, 1940. A number of sources define the northern ghetto's borders, for example, as enclosed by Sienkiewicz, Śliska, and Targowica Streets (aka Krzywe Koło according to one Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute [AŻIH] testimony). The southern ghetto was located around Kiliński Street. Postwar (October 1945) Polish authorities named the following streets as included in one part of the ghetto: Żwirko, Mickiewicz, Górki, Długa, Wigury, Czarnecka, and Kozia; the second reportedly included Gęsia, Przedbórz, Stodolna, Nowa, and Niecała Streets.[3] An unknown number of Jews from the vicinity were also brought into the ghetto; however, in May 1942, Jews were still living in Kurzelów, Dobranica, Secemin, Radków, Oleszno, Kluczanko, Pilczyca, Krasocin, and other nearby settlements.[4]

In April 1942, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization established in Włoszczowa in July 1941 reported that an "open ghetto" existed in the town in response to a questionnaire, requesting information regarding its activities.[5] There is, however, a source that reports a wooden fence surrounding both ghettos.[6] Moreover, the above-mentioned AŻIH testimony states that the Jewish Police guarded the ghetto from the inside, while Ukrainian auxiliary forces guarded its exits. Notices threatened capital punishment for illegally crossing the ghetto's limits, and testimony mentions several Jews shot for this reason. Jews seeking to exit the ghetto had to obtain a special permit, as was also required of Poles trying to enter the ghetto. There were Poles reportedly living inside the ghetto's borders. There is no information regarding the forms of communication between the two ghettos or a possible street connecting the two.

A number of attempted escapes from the ghetto were reported, with those organized by individuals often failing. Some were organized with the help of bribed Germans. Each flight was followed by hefty contributions levied by the Gendarmerie, accompanied by threats to kill members of the Jewish community.[7] Gendarmerie Leutnant Kryjer was appointed as the ghetto commander; and two other Gendarmes, Mantke (or Mantko) and Klajmann, were also given some authority over it.[8] Many of the killings are attributed to an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) called Krwawy Julek Erdman, who was known to kill Jews for pleasure.[9]

The typhus epidemic that broke out in December 1939 had been eliminated by June 1940. The highest numbers of sick were registered in February (58) and then in April 1940 (56). The hospital had closed by October 1940, as there were then no cases of contagious disease. An ambulatory doctor's surgery opened nonetheless. Vaccinations of approximately 1,300 Jews took place in November 1940.[10] Mortality among the ghetto inmates was high due to hunger and sickness. A local Pole, Stanisław Jaszewski, was charged with collecting the dead daily and burying them at the Jewish cemetery, most likely with the assistance of Jewish laborers. Typhus returned in February 1941 and was contained by May 1941.

The self-help committee statistics for June 1940 report 1,451 newcomers; however, another report (July 1940) indicates 3,000 to 4,000 refugees, "most of them illegal," and stressed the need for urgent assistance.[11] With the ghetto's establishment, as the Judenrat reported, local tradesmen and craftsmen "lost their sources of income." Despite the introduction of charges for kitchen meals, the Włoszczowa kitchen had to be closed on September 1, 1940; Kurzelów's was also closed soon afterwards.

That same summer, a number of Jewish laborers were sent to a camp in Cieszanów, near Lubaczów in Distrikt Lublin. All but the seven who died had returned before the year's end.[12] There is also information on Jews laboring in Włoszczowa proper (at a sawmill), at lime quarries in Bukowa (Bukowa Góra), and on drainage works in the vicinity. The Jewish Police were responsible for the delivery of conscripted laborers. The Germans substituted members of the Jewish Police for any absentees.[13]

With time, conditions in the ghetto became harsher as the Germans continued the confiscation of Jewish possessions and demanded repeated contributions. Between 1941 and 1942, an estimated 100 Jews were murdered, either in their dwellings or at the local gallows (the so-called Górajek), on the outskirts of town. Most of the victims' names, dates of birth, and occupations are known.[14]

The Włoszczowa branch of the JSS, which launched its activities in July 1941, soon reopened the soup kitchen, which served 1,200 meals daily under Rajchman's management. Special attention was paid to children, 100 of whom were served breakfast daily.

As of February 1942, all able-bodied men were conscripted for labor. There were 4,279 Jews registered as living in the ghetto, including 1,654 refugees and deportees.

In the summer of 1942, two shipments of Jews were sent to the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna; the first transport consisted of 150 laborers.[15] In June 1942, on the orders of the local Arbeitsamt, the registration of women aged 15 to 55 was conducted. Local craftsmen, especially shoemakers, solicited the registration of workshops. The August 14, 1942, issue of *Gazeta Żydowska* contains correspondence from Włoszczowa that reads: "local shoemakers specializing in the production of army and work boots"; this advertisement stressed that the Włoszczowa cobblers were the only specialists of their kind in the entire region. Permission to establish such workshops, however, was most likely delayed and not issued before the ghetto was liquidated.[16]

The Germans liquidated the Włoszczowa ghetto in September 1942, most likely on September 18. Shortly beforehand, approximately 200 Jews from Secemin were brought in. First, the ghetto was surrounded by the Gendarmerie. Divided into groups, Gendarmes chased Jews out of their dwellings, plundering their contents, and then formed the Jews into rows 4 abreast. Many were shot in the course of the Aktion, including a woman and the newborn baby she had just delivered. A column of Włoszczowa's Jews was marched via Kiliński and Wiśniowa Streets to the level crossing. An awaiting train took them all to the Treblinka extermination camp. Wagons followed the march, picking up the dead.

The Germans left a number of able-bodied and wealthier Jews in the ghetto to clean it out and work in a quarry. Following yet another extortion effort by the Germans, the richest Jews—an estimated 80 to 90 people—were shot in their dwellings. About 30 Jews were left in the remnant ghetto, which was liquidated on December 9 or 10, 1942. Its inhabitants were transferred to the Radomsko ghetto.[17]

In 1946, according to a list prepared by the Central Committee of Polish Jews, there were 75 Jewish survivors residing in Włoszczowa.[18]

SOURCES The Włoszczowa ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja, 1979), p. 566; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 136, 172–173; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 81; and Edyta Gawron, *Vlotsheve: Żydzi we Włoszczowie w latach 1867–1942* (Włoszczowa: Włoszczowskie Tow. Krzewienia Kultury, 2000).

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/725 [AJDC]; 211/1114 [JSS]; 301/6360 and 301/7046 [Relacje]); and USHMM (RG-15.073M [Jewish Councils 1936–1942], reel 1; RG-15.019M [Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 51; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0235 [List of Jews registered in Włoszczowa]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.073M (Jewish Councils 1936–1942), reel 1 (Włoszczowa), p. 5.
2. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 2, 1942; USHMM, RG-15.073M, reel 1, pp. 4–7; and Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 566.
3. AŻIH, 301/7046, testimony of Cz. Jelonek and M. Migacz, 1986, dates the ghetto's establishment in the autumn of 1940. Also see USHMM, RG-15.019M (Włoszczowa), file 223; RG-15.073M, reel 1, pp. 16–17. Gawron, *Vlotsheve*, pp. 122, 185, gives the following configuration of the ghettos: Przedbórz, Śliska, Gęsia, Mleczarska, and Stodolna Streets; the second ghetto location is reported as being closer to the market square and Górki Street.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 25, 1942.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1114, p. 12.
6. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 136.
7. AŻIH, 301/7046; *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 6, 1942.
8. USHMM (RG-15.019M), file 223, dates the ghetto's establishment as being in July 1941.
9. AŻIH, 301/7046; and Gawron, *Vlotsheve*, p. 185.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1114, pp. 12, 17; and RG-15.073M, reel 1, p. 21.

11. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1114, pp. 2–3, 12; and AŻIH, 301/7046.

12. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/725 (Włoszczowa), pp. 3–4, 12; and RG-15.073M, reel 1, pp. 16–18.

13. Ibid., RG-15.019M, file 223; AŻIH, 301/7046; and Gawron, *Vlotsheve*, p. 185.

14. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1980), pp. 296–298; and AŻIH, 301/7046.

15. AŻIH, 301/6360, testimony of Josek Chaim Werthaim, n.d.; Gawron, *Vlotsheve*, p. 185; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1114, p. 12.

16. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 14, 1942.

17. AŻIH, 301/7046. According to USHMM, RG-15.019M, files 223 and 224 (Włoszczowa), the main liquidation Aktion took place in August 1942.

18. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0235, List of Jews registered in Włoszczowa in 1946 by the Central Committee of Polish Jews.

WODZISŁAW

Pre-1939: Wodzisław, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wodzislaw, Kreis Jedrzejow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wodzisław, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Wodzisław is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Jędrzejów. Sędziszów, Nagłowice, Nawarzyce, and Mstyczów belonged to the Wodzisław kehillah. At the outbreak of World War II, 2,400 Jews lived in Wodzisław.

A Judenrat consisting of 12 persons was set up in October 1939, with Izrael Mordka Norych as its chairman. Izrael Lewkowicz, Enzel Horowicz, and Chaim Unger were among its members. The Judenrat was charged with providing Jews for labor. Those who wanted to avoid forced labor conscription paid the poor to work for them.[1]

The town had a small Polish (Blue) Police force, consisting at first of three and then two policemen, named Szczukocki and Machowski. The latter participated in the shooting of local Jews; after the war, he was sentenced to death by a Polish court in Kielce and executed.[2]

The German authorities established a Jewish quarter in Wodzisław in June 1940. It remained an open ghetto at least until the end of June 1942 and probably remained open until its partial liquidation in September 1942. The ghetto was located in the quarter mainly inhabited by Jews before the war and consisted of 200 dwellings (600 rooms). Most of the buildings in the ghetto were small huts made of wood and mud. A 13-member unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), was also set up.

Jews comprised the overwhelming majority of the village's population, which more or less rendered the entire village a ghetto, with the exception of a few streets occupied by indigenous Polish residents. By November 1940, the ghetto's residents—approximately 3,500 Jews (including 1,000 refugees)—made up 85 percent of the town's total population.[3]

In 1940, those Jews living in the vicinity of Sędziszów (11 kilometers [7 miles] from Wodzisław) were forced to relocate to either the Wodzisław or Jędrzejów ghettos.[4] By August, 650 Jewish families inhabited the Wodzisław ghetto. The self-help committee, which was established at that time, was able to distribute a little cash, some clothing, flour, and lard it had received from welfare organizations.

By November 1940, living conditions had deteriorated as a result of a fire that broke out in September or October, which left more than 30 families homeless. Although most of them somehow squeezed into other Jewish households, 5 families continued to live among the debris, while another 5 camped in a nearby field. German soldiers, of whom several hundred were quartered in Wodzisław at the time of the fire, helped to extinguish it. The report of the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization reads: the soldiers "were treating the Jews well, they used them for labor, and fed them." The nature of the labor Jews performed at this time is not known.[5]

On January 15 and 16, 1941, the Germans deported 300 Jews from Jędrzejów—mostly the poor and refugees from elsewhere—to Wodzisław. The Judenrat housed 20 of the families with local Jews, while the remainder were quartered en masse in the Bet Midrash. To resolve the problem of overcrowding and to prevent the spread of disease, Jędrzejów's Kreishauptmann, Dr. Fritz von Balluseck, ordered the removal of 198 people, distributing them among neighboring villages. In Wodzisław, up to 10 Jews were packed into each room.

The situation of the ghetto's inhabitants, especially those refugees who had settled in Wodzisław at the beginning of the war, had deteriorated significantly by March 1941, following the cessation of bread ration distributions by the German authorities. The reason for this action, which forced the Jews to purchase bread at exorbitant prices, was the definition of Wodzisław as a village, not a town; only towns were entitled to bread rations, while villages were to live off their own agricultural surplus. However, in May 1941, the Judenrat reported to the JSS in Kraków that "there are no businesses or houses under commissary administration."[6] Zofia Kuźniak confirms that until then the Jews lived more or less in peace, with schools and shops still open; Jewish workshops continued to operate even after other Jewish businesses were shut down.

There is little information about the nature of the labor performed by Jews in Wodzisław. Some Wodzisław volunteers and conscripts worked in 1941 for various private companies at the train station in Sędziszów. The number of opportunities for voluntary work was limited, but women were accepted nonetheless.[7]

By June 1941, there were 3,315 Jews in the ghetto, including 1,831 refugees. A soup kitchen opened on June 15, 1941, serving meals to 500 Jews daily, out of a total of 1,100 Jews in need. At this time, a number of cases of typhus resulted in an epidemic. As there was no Jewish doctor or hospital in Wodzisław, the sick were sent to the Jewish hospital in Jędrzejów. When the Kreishauptmann ordered compulsory vaccina-

tions for Jews, Jędrzejów's doctor, Hirsz Beer, vaccinated the Jews of Wodzisław in August 1941.[8]

An official branch of the JSS was established in Wodzisław on September 1, 1941. At that time the JSS was taking care of 700 Jews, including 110 children allotted 0.30 złoty daily for meals. The JSS-run kitchen was closed on March 1, 1942, due to lack of funds.[9]

In mid-June 1942, the SS shot approximately 50 Jews at the local cemetery. According to Kuźniak, a number of such shootings were conducted in the town in 1941, most often at night. The victims were predominantly elderly men from well-off families. In such cases the bodies were left lying in the streets and only buried the next day, as the residents had to observe the curfew during the night. Later, the shootings on the streets of the town ceased, as the Germans would summon a number of males to the market square, from where they were taken to the Jewish cemetery to be shot.[10]

Starting on June 11, 1942, 100 Jewish men and women were assigned to employment on nearby estates, where they also slept overnight. Despite having been assigned to the job by the Jędrzejów Arbeitsamt (labor office), 24 of the unmarried men were selected and sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp on June 23, 1942. At the end of June 1942, 3,837 Jews were reported to be living in the Wodzisław ghetto—that is, an average of 7 people per room.

In the last month of the ghetto's existence, the JSS tried to organize local workshops for the manufacture of straw boots. They were to be established under the supervision of the workshop management in Jędrzejów, but the Kreishauptmann, who insisted on German supervision, kept delaying its organization. In the end, permission for the creation of the straw-boot workshops was not granted.

The Germans liquidated the Wodzisław ghetto on or around September 20, 1942. The Jews were gathered on the market square and were marched to Sędziszów, escorted by Polish Bahnschutz (Railway Police) and Jewish Police. A large number of Jews who could not keep up were killed along the way. The column reached Sędziszów in the course of that ghetto's liquidation. That same day, the Szczekociny ghetto was also liquidated; its Jewish population was also transferred to Sędziszów. Following a selection, the old and sick were shot in the same meadow where the deportees were forced to camp out overnight. That morning, all the Jews were loaded onto trains destined for the Treblinka extermination camp.[11]

In the course of the liquidation of the Wodzisław ghetto and the hunt for Jews in hiding that took place over the following weeks, reportedly 318 people were shot. Executions were conducted either at the Jewish cemetery or at the current playing field. Most victims were buried in Wodzisław, some in Świątniki.[12]

According to Kuźniak, the Jews in Wodzisław were alerted to the upcoming date of the ghetto liquidation. In reaction, almost all the younger people fled the town (over 1,000, according to historian Adam Rutkowski). Only the elderly and small children remained in the ghetto. For example, of the 6- to 8-person Jewish family with whom Kuźniak lived, only Estera Fiszman with her two small children remained. An elderly man named Klajn, who during the deportation hid with two infants his family had left with him in the attic of his house, set himself on fire with petrol to commit suicide.[13]

Following the liquidation Aktion, the German authorities established a remnant ghetto in Wodzisław. At the beginning of November 1942, 90 Jews lived there, but this number reportedly grew to 300 before its liquidation that same month. On November 20, the remaining Jews were resettled to the Sandomierz ghetto.[14]

SOURCES The Wodzisław ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1456; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955): 129, 146 (table 6).

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/726, 211/488-89, 211/494, 211/1115-17, and 301/3549); USHMM (RG-50.488 # 0149 [Polish Witnesses to the Holocaust Project]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 51 [JSS]).

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NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 25, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1116 (Wodzisław), p. 6, 211/1117 (Wodzisław), p. 12, and reel 26, 211/489 (Jędrzejów), p. 25.
2. USHMM, RG-50.488 # 0149 (Polish Witnesses to the Holocaust Project), interview with Zofia Kuźniak, 2002.
3. Ibid.; and Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1115 (Wodzisław), p. 12.
4. AŻIH, 301/3549, testimony of Mojżesz Najman, 1948.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1115, p. 12.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. USHMM, RG-50.488 # 0149; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1116, pp. 2, 6; and AŻIH, 301/3549.
8. AŻIH, 301/3549; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1115, p. 63, 211/1116, p. 12, and 211/1117, p. 7; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/726, p. 5; and *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 28, 1941.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 51, 211/1116, p. 25, and 211/1117, p. 10; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 25, 1942. Also see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/488 (Jędrzejów), p. 13, and 211/494 (Jędrzejów), p. 26.
10. USHMM, RG-50.488 # 0149.
11. AŻIH, 301/3549; and USHMM, RG-50.488 # 0149.
12. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo kieleckie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1980), p. 306.
13. USHMM, RG-50.488 # 0149; and Rutkowski, "Martyrologia," p. 129.
14. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów: Województwo kieleckie*, p. 306; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/489, pp. 55–56.

WOLANÓW

Pre-1939: Wolanów, village, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wolanow, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wolanów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Wolanów is located 13 kilometers (8 miles) southwest of Radom. On the outbreak of World War II, on September 1, 1939, there were probably around 500 Jews residing in Wolanów.[1] Archival documentation regarding their fate during the German occupation is very scant. This is due partly to the fact that from 1940 the village was included within a large German military training ground, set up by the occupying forces in the area around Radom. It encompassed a complex of training areas for antiaircraft artillery, which were linked to two airfields constructed in their vicinity. As the Wehrmacht enforced strict security around the training grounds, only fragmentary information regarding the Jewish community could be transmitted across its borders. It is known, however, that the community was soon subjected to the anti-Jewish legislation enforced in the Generalgouvernement. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to represent the local Jewish community. But its activities were very modest and were limited mostly to transmitting the orders of the occupiers to the Jewish residents. In the spring of 1940, Wolanów was one of the few localities in Distrikt Radom in which the Judenrat did not carry out much in the way of charitable work.[2]

In March 1941, the number of Jews increased to more than 600 people, following the resettlement of 26 families from the nearby town of Przytyk, which was completely evacuated for the construction of one of the airfields.[3] Other Jews, such as the family of Jerachmiel Pikier, arrived in Wolanów from Distrikt Warschau to avoid being concentrated in the Warsaw ghetto. A large number of men were forced to dig peat and perform various tasks at the military training grounds, such as the construction of barracks and new roads. Pikier, for example, was employed in the summer of 1942 on construction work in the nearby village of Strzałków. It is likely that a large group of Jews was imprisoned in the labor camp situated near Wolanów in the village of Garno from 1940. Prisoners of the camp worked in airfield construction.[4]

According to a witness testimony held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), a ghetto was established in Wolanów in July 1941. Wolanów is also mentioned as one of the places where Jews were to be concentrated in Kreishauptmann Dr. Egen's order of December 22, 1941, on the establishment of ghettos in Kreis Radom-Land, which thereby confirmed Wolanów's status as a *Judenbezirk* or Jewish ghetto. It is likely that following this order in early 1942, more Jews from the surrounding villages were required to move there.[5] After this date, Jews caught outside the ghetto faced the death penalty.

As houses in the village were scattered, the strict segregation of the Polish and Jewish population was probably not conducted, but rather the entire village was recognized as a ghetto. There were probably also overcrowded living conditions among the Jews in Wolanów, due to the arrival of the Jews from Przytyk and other places. Each month the food and sanitary conditions worsened. Although the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) transferred some funds to assist with the feeding of children during the course of 1942, it was only a drop in the ocean.[6]

The ghetto was liquidated in the last days of August 1942, when all of its residents were transferred to Szydłowiec. From there, on September 23, together with others, the Jews of Wolanów were deported to the extermination camp in Treblinka.[7] The prisoners of the labor camp in Garno faced a similar tragic fate when this camp was liquidated in August 1943.[8] During the war, material evidence of the Jewish presence in Wolanów was destroyed, including the tombstones from the Jewish cemetery, which the Germans used to pave roads in the area.

SOURCES Published sources regarding the Wolanów ghetto include Sebastian Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna i działalność charytatywna w gettach dystryktu radomskiego (1939–1942)," in Marek Przeniosło, ed., *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX, XX i na początku XXI wieku* (Kielce, 2008), pp. 172–177; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), p. 122; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 569.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR; AŻIH (211/430 [JSS]; NMO, nos. 60 and 63); and ITS.

Sebastian Piątkowski
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej dystryktu radomskiego podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 160, however, states—based on a witness account—that there were 800 Jews living in Wolanów at the outbreak of the war. This number is probably too high.
2. Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna," pp. 172–177.
3. AŻIH, 211/430; Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków, 2004), p. 141; Adam Rutkowski, "The War and the Destruction of the Jewish Population in the Radom Region" (trans. Jerrold Landau), in *Przytyk Memorial Book* (translation of David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Przytyk* [Tel Aviv: Przytyk Societies in Israel, France, and the USA, 1973]), p. 257.
4. In Polish publications the camp in the village of Garno is often referred to as being located in Wolanów. This is incorrect. See, for example, Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 569; and Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 152. Also see "Jerachmiel (Rachmil) Pikier, about his family during and after World War II in Warka, Wolanów, and Starachowice," available at www.sztetl.org.pl. Pikier was subsequently transferred to the labor camp after the evacuation of Wolanów's Jews in August 1942.
5. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, p. 122, citing AŻIH, NMO, nos. 60 and 63, from late December 1942.
6. AŻIH, 211/430.

7. Sebastian Piątkowski, "Żydzi w Szydłowcu w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1945)," in Jacek Wijaczka, ed., *Żydzi szydłowieccy. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 22 lutego 1997 roku* (Szydłowiec, 1997), p. 128.

8. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 569.

WOLBÓRZ

Pre-1939: Wolbórz, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wolborz, Kreis Petrikau, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wolbórz, Łódź województwo, Poland

Wolbórz is located about 39 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Łódź. In 1939, there were 254 Jews living in Wolbórz.

A significant part of the village was razed in the course of the September Campaign; the Jewish community estimated that 75 percent of its houses were destroyed.[1] There were some German forces encamped in the village; the Jews of Wolbórz were forced to clean their quarters and perform other tasks at their behest. This labor was unpaid.

H. Młynarski was the first Judenrat chairman. Młynarski's deputy, the dentist Icchok Rosenblat, later replaced him. Rosenblat was most likely succeeded by the tailor Abram Kirszbaum. Kirszbaum was shot on Modrzewski Street by the Tomaszów Mazowiecki Gestapo and German Gendarmerie on July 23, 1942. A Jewish police force was also established in the village; Rosenblat served in this force. The police commander was shot by SS men shortly before the liquidation of the Wolbórz ghetto.

By the end of 1939, numerous refugee and deportee families from Łódź and Tuszyn had settled in the village.

In 1940, 19 local youths were sent to a labor camp in Cieszanów in Distrikt Lublin. Meanwhile in Wolbórz, approximately 30 unpaid laborers were regulating the Wolbórka River, deepening it to improve the functioning of a local mill. Work was suspended briefly in January 1941 for the remainder of the winter. At that time, on the order of the Kreis doctor, the community was forced to open a public bath. There were reportedly 427 Jews living in the village at this time.[2]

By May 1941, a local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) had been established, with pre-war community leader Josek Szajnfarber as its chairman and Judenrat chairman Rosenblat serving as his deputy; another member of the pre-war leadership, the tradesman Moszek Baum, was also on the committee. The JSS committee's services were limited to the distribution of very small quantities of potatoes and sugar.[3]

By mid-1941, the number of locals was almost equal to the number of newcomers. In July of that year, the local JSS committee reported 182 refugees living in the village. August 1941 statistics show that there were a total of 121 children and youths under 18.

In September 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out, which remained uncontained until November 1941. The JSS managed to open a soup kitchen on November 9, 1941, which fed 40 people who were still quarantined. By December 1941, the kitchen was feeding 63 people daily. As of February 1942, the 40 poorest children in the village were fed breakfast four times a week comprising 10 grams (0.4 ounce) of bread with marmalade and chicory coffee.[4]

In May 1942, there were 424 Jews in Wolbórz, including 188 refugees. In a report dated May 5, 1942, the local JSS stated that there was no ghetto in Wolbórz. However, it noted: "Caution: over 80 percent of the Jews are living in Jewish houses [owned or occupied by Jews]. This month some families were resettled to Jewish houses. On average, up to seven persons share a room."[5]

This resettlement most likely indicates the ghetto's establishment. Two survivors and brothers of the Judenrat chairman, Herman and Samuel Rosenblat, testified that the ghetto was open. Samuel described it as follows: "The only plus was that the ghetto was not enclosed with barbed wire, it was like a few streets designated for a ghetto, and we somehow could survive by bringing in some food." Neither of the brothers refers to any punishment being imposed for leaving the ghetto or whether guards were posted around the perimeter. Herman stated, however, "We were not allowed to leave the immediate main square of the town." As the ghetto's mailman, he was the only Jew permitted to go to the local post office to pick up the community's mail. The ghetto was overcrowded, with four to five families sharing a house.[6]

The ghetto was liquidated at the beginning of October 1942. Its residents were transferred to the Piotrków Trybunalski ghetto, which was liquidated in turn on October 15–21, 1942. Many of its residents, including most of the Jews from Wolbórz, were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES References to the Wolbórz ghetto can be found in Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), p. 185; and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 102, 142 (table 4), 169–170.

Archival sources include USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/732; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], 211/798, 211/1127-1130) and VHF (# 00781 and 10740).

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1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1128 (Wolbórz), pp. 3–5; and 211/1130 (Wolbórz), p. 19.

2. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo piotrkowskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1983), p. 147; VHF, # 10740, testimony of Herman Rosenblat, 1996; # 00781, testimony of Samuel Rosenblat, 1995; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/732 (Wolbórz), p. 2; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/798 (Piotrków Trybunalski), pp. 4–5; 211/1128, pp. 3–5, 17–19; and 211/1130, p. 7.

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1127 (Wolbórz), p. 2; 211/798, pp. 4–5.

4. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/732, p. 2; 211/1128, p. 29; 211/1129 (Wolbórz), p. 19; 211/1130, pp. 14–15, 19.

5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1130 (Wolbórz), p. 19.

6. VHF, # 00781; # 10740.

WYŚMIERZYCE

Pre-1939: Wyśmierzyce, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wysmierzyce, Kreis Radom-Land, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wyśmierzyce, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Wyśmierzyce is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Radom, on the Pilica River. On the outbreak of World War II, approximately 150 Jews were residing in the town.[1]

Soon after the start of the German occupation in September 1939, the Jews of Wyśmierzyce became subject to the anti-Jewish legislation enforced throughout the Generalgouvernement. A Judenrat was established to represent the local Jewish community. According to available sources, its activities were very modest, largely limited to relaying the orders of the occupiers to the community. In the spring of 1940, Wyśmierzyce was one of the few localities in Distrikt Radom where the Judenrat apparently was not engaged in running welfare activities.[2]

In 1940–1941, the number of Jews in Wyśmierzyce rose significantly. The Germans sent about 40 Jewish families from Przytyk to Wyśmierzyce when the Jews of Przytyk were resettled in March 1941 to make way for the construction of an airfield.[3] In addition, numerous refugees from nearby localities in Distrikt Warschau (primarily Mogielnica and Przybyszewo) settled in the town. Their influx was due to the conviction among many Jews that Wyśmierzyce was a relatively "safe" place, as the German police visited the town only rarely. Local Jews were still able to sustain themselves by peddling, running retail stores and workshops, or selling their labor to local Poles in exchange for food.[4] Available sources imply that by the end of 1941 the number of Jews in Wyśmierzyce had reached 500. At that time, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) existed in Wyśmierzyce, most likely administered by Symcha Tenenbaum, Henoch Grynfarb, and Motek Bryner.[5]

A ghetto was established in Wyśmierzyce during the last days of May 1942. It included the following streets (present names): Zdrojowa, Wojska Polskiego, and Piotr Skarga, as well as the eastern side of the Market Square (*Rynek*), encompassing an area of approximately 2 hectares (5 acres). At that time there were 900 Jews in the ghetto, presumably including additional Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. Some of the Jews were forced to find shelter in cowsheds and barns. Sanitary conditions in the ghetto were simply disastrous, resulting in an outbreak of typhus.[6] It is not known whether at the time of the ghetto's establishment a Jewish police force was also organized. On June 15, the Jewish quarter was completely sealed: not a single Jew was permitted to leave the ghetto—not even temporarily. Poles were forbidden to enter the ghetto. A few days later the Germans took numerous able-bodied men from the ghetto to one of the labor camps in Distrikt Radom. As a result of this roundup, the number of people unable to sustain themselves rose to 700.[7] Conditions in the ghetto continued to deteriorate until around August 20, when all of the ghetto's residents were deported to the Białobrzegi ghetto. From there, they were driven subsequently to the train station in Dobieszyn, from which they were sent to the extermination camp in Treblinka.[8]

Just before the transfer of the Jews from Wyśmierzyce to the Białobrzegi ghetto, Dr. Heling turned to the secretary of the municipality, Hieronim Sochaczewski, asking for help. A few days later, Sochaczewski provided Dr. Heling with Aryan papers for himself, his wife, and his daughter, with roughly the right ages for the family, but bearing the names of people who were deceased. Sochaczewski then hid the Helings for several days, before assisting them in their escape across the Pilica River to another town, where they survived until the arrival of the Red Army in September 1944. In 1986, Sochaczewski was recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES The main published source regarding conditions in the Wyśmierzyce ghetto is Sebastian Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna i działalność charytatywna w gettach dystryktu radomskiego (1939–1942)," in Marek Przeniosło, ed., *Dobroczynność i pomoc społeczna na ziemiach polskich w XIX, XX i na początku XXI wieku* (Kielce, 2008), pp. 172–177. The ghetto is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 578.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APR; AŻIH (211/430, 1138 [JSS]); IPN; and YVA.

Sebastian Piątkowski
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej dystryktu radomskiego podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos 15–16 (1955): 160.
2. See Piątkowski, "Pomoc społeczna," pp. 172–177.
3. Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków, 2004), p. 141; Adam Rutkowski, "The War and the Destruction of the Jewish Population in the Radom Region" (trans. Jerrold Landau), in *Przytyk Memorial Book* (translation of *Sefer Przytyk*, ed. David Shtokfish [Tel Aviv: Przytyk Societies in Israel, France, and the USA, 1973]), p. 257.
4. AŻIH, 211/430.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.; Tadeusz Rostkowski, "Społeczeństwo Wyśmierzyc w latach 1939–1945," in *650 lat Wyśmierzyc* (Wyśmierzyce, 1988), p. 110.
7. AŻIH, 211/430.
8. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 578.

ŻARKI

Pre-1939: Żarki, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1940–1944: Zarki, Kreis Radomsko, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Żarki, województwo śląskie, Poland

Żarki is located on the Warta River, 26 kilometers (16 miles) southeast of Częstochowa. In 1939, 2,656 Jews lived in Żarki.

On the outbreak of World War II, many buildings in Żarki were destroyed by German bombardments. More than 150 people, including about 100 Jews, were killed. Many inhabitants tried to flee, but most were forced to return. Żarki was occupied on September 4. That day, about 1,000 Jews were ordered to gather on the central square where they were kept for hours, and some were subsequently shot. In the first weeks of occupation, a number of Jews were arrested as hostages, and one of the Jewish study centers was burned down.

Under German occupation, a known antisemite, Kovalik, became mayor of the town. Jewish houses had to be marked with the word "Jude" (Jew), Jews were not allowed to trade with non-Jews, and Jewish men were drafted for forced labor, especially to clean the streets of rubble.[1]

By the end of April 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been established in Żarki. The chairman was Yisrael Bornstein (who also was in charge of the Jewish Police), the secretary was I. Wolhendler,[2] and the chairman of the labor office was Moshe Rothstein. In April, the Judenrat reported on the situation of the Jews in Żarki. Of the 3,500 Jews there, most were craftsmen such as shoemakers or bootmakers. Many Jewish families had lost their homes, and there were only limited funds to help the homeless or hungry. A soup kitchen provided 300 meals per day. Jews performed forced labor, cleaning and repairing streets and squares, and Jews who owned horses had to work for local farmers. A Jewish physician, Dr. Margulies, took care of the sick and elderly.[3] To ease the burden on the community, wealthier Jews were taxed, and the money was used as a relief fund, to pay "contributions" or to bribe German officials.

In May 1940, Żarki became part of Kreis Radomsko, in Distrikt Radom within the Generalgouvernement. The new Kreishauptmann imposed a "fine" of 40,000 złoty on the Jewish community, which stretched its financial reserves to the limit.[4] On June 26, 1940, the Jewish Council reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) that due to lack of funds the soup kitchen had to be closed, and there was almost no money left to support the refugees. Almost all Jewish businesses had been liquidated, and unemployment was rising. Starvation increasingly became a problem. To help out, the AJDC sent food and clothing in August, including 100 kilograms (220 pounds) of rice, 192 kilos (423 pounds) of flour, and 200 cans of condensed milk.[5]



A group of Jewish men and youth from Żarki march to a forced labor site carrying shovels, June 20, 1940.
USHMM WS #16501, COURTESY OF LEAH HAMMERSTEIN SILVERSTEIN

In the summer of 1940, about 200 Jews from Żarki were drafted for forced labor: about 50 of them on irrigation projects for the Water Regulation Company in Częstochowa.[6] In October 1940, the labor office in Częstochowa sent 73 Jews to a forced labor camp in Przyrów and planned to send more. Some 50 Jews also worked for the chemical plant in Brieg; 50 more worked in town, cleaning rubble; and an unknown number worked in regulating the Leśniówka River. Some Jews received a regular salary and others did not, relying instead on support from the Judenrat, raised from Jews who paid for substitutes.[7]

The dire financial situation of the Żarki Jewish community was exacerbated by the constant influx of refugees. About 250 refugees arrived from Płock after being deported from there at the end of February 1941. The Jewish community had to provide them with food, housing, and clothing. The Judenrat and the local chapter of the Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland (TOZ) were also in charge of administering medical aid for forced laborers from Wodzisław kept in Żarki and for forced laborers from Żarki in the camp in Przyrów.[8] Facing all these expenses, the Judenrat repeatedly turned to the AJDC for financial help to reopen the soup kitchen and to keep the outpatient hospital running.[9]

In the spring of 1941, a group of young Jews, probably all members of the Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, established a farm on formerly Jewish-owned fields near Żarki. The 14-hectare (35-acre) farm was meant to provide unpaid vocational training in agriculture for about 25 adolescents; the instructor was a Jewish farmer. The Jewish Council requested financial support for the project, mainly to buy tools and livestock.[10] The farm, run by H. Bradys and M. Margulies, provided supplementary food for the Jews of Żarki, producing a wide variety of vegetables and fruits. The farm had seven geese and two ponds with fish; fruit was harvested from 162 trees and 350 bushes. According to survivors' memoirs, even representatives of the German authorities who visited the farm were impressed by the Jews' obvious agricultural capabilities, which defied the Germans' antisemitic stereotypes. The farm continued to operate into 1942.[11]

Information on the ghetto in Żarki is relatively sparse. Survivor accounts date the establishment of an open ghetto (Jewish residential area) on a few streets to the arrival of the Jews from Płock, which also led to overcrowding.[12] According to another account, following an outbreak of typhus in June 1941, local antisemites blamed the Jews for the disease and demanded the government isolate them. In response, the Kreishauptmann ordered that the "ghetto" in Żarki be enclosed

by a fence and sealed off. However, with the aid of bribes, the Jewish Council managed to get this edict reversed. Nevertheless, by the fall of 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave their places of residence and were shot if caught outside the ghetto without permission. This shut down almost all Jewish trade, especially smuggling across the border with the Reich. Now only a few specialists received official passes to go to workplaces outside the ghetto. Hunger subsequently drove more Jews to ignore the prohibition, going to nearby villages in search of food. But many were caught and shot. On each occasion the Judenrat was informed and instructed to go and collect the body.[13]

At the end of 1941, there was a renewed typhus epidemic, resulting in a number of deaths. The small hospital the Jewish community had opened was unable to do much, as it lacked drugs and medical personnel. The German authorities' response was to order the Jewish community to improve sanitary conditions by erecting a public bathhouse.

In the late summer of 1942, the Żarki Jews were scared by rumors about the liquidation of ghettos in the area and the deportation of Jews to extermination camps. In their despair, they looked for alternatives like volunteering for forced labor camps, collecting money to bribe the German authorities, or erecting places to hide in town or outside in the forests around Żarki. In late September, news reached the community that Polish farmers with horses and wagons had been instructed to arrive in town on October 6, 1942. Based on reports from other communities, the Jews knew what this meant: the horse-drawn carriages would take them to a train station, and from there they would be sent to camps. Panic spread. Some Jews tried to flee to other towns and ghettos, but for many there was no escape. On October 6, about 800 Jews were assembled at the market square, while German SS and Police, Ukrainian auxiliaries, and Polish (Blue) Police searched the town for Jews in hiding; 23 were found and shot on the spot.[14]

Probably due to the specific situation in Żarki—the ghetto was unfenced—about 1,600 Jews were able to flee. Most of them fled to Pilica, where the expulsions had been completed. From the 800 Jews at the market square, about 30 were selected for labor. The others were driven to Złoty Potok, the train station close to Żarki, and from there they were taken in freight cars to the Treblinka extermination camp.[15]

The 30 Jews held back were used to collect and sort Jewish property. Jews who had tried to escape the expulsion were caught and sent to ghettos in Pilica, Częstochowa, and Piotrków Trybunalski. The main collection ghetto for the area was in Radomsko, and many Żarki Jews were taken there. From all of these ghettos, the remaining Jews from Żarki were sent mainly to extermination camps in early 1943.[16]

SOURCES Relevant published sources concerning the fate of the Jewish community in Żarki during the Holocaust include the following: Y. Lador, ed., *Kehilat Zarki; ayarah be-hayeha u-ve-khilyonah* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Zarki in Israel, 1959); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 216–221; Krzysztof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, 2007), pp. 172–175; and Krzysztof Urbański, *Gminy żydowskie małe w województwie kieleckim w okresie międzywojennym* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowew Kielcach, 2006), pp. 189–196. The Żarki ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 597, no. 5812.

Relevant documentation on Żarki under German occupation can be found in AAN (202/III/7); AŻIH (210/752); BA-L (B 162/6221); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH—AJDC], 210/752); VHF (e.g., # 9642, 28289, and 31493); and YVA.

Evelyn Zegenhagen and
Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. Lador, *Kehilat Zarki*, pp. 165, 231.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH—AJDC), 210/752, financial report of the Ältestenrat, 1940.
3. Ibid., report of Ältestenrat, April 1940.
4. Lador, *Kehilat Zarki*, p. 166.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/752, various correspondence dated June 26 (Rechenschaftsbericht), July, and August 9, 1940.
6. Ibid., report for August and September 1940.
7. Ibid., report, October 1940.
8. Ibid., report of local TOŻ chapter for 1940.
9. Ibid., Ältestenrat to AJDC, January 29, 1941, and TOŻ chapter to AJDC in Kraków, February 5, 1941.
10. Lador, *Kehilat Zarki*, p. 169; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/752, correspondence of May 16 and June 12, 1941.
11. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/752; and Lador, *Kehilat Zarki*, p. 170.
12. VHF, # 28289, testimony of Joseph Dauman; # 9642, testimony of Eli Zborowski (uses the term "residential area").
13. Lador, *Kehilat Zarki*, pp. 240–243.
14. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 219.
15. Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), pp. 269, 302; BA-L, B 162/6221, pp. 1612 ff.
16. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen*, pp. 276–277; BA-L, B 162/6221, p. 1534; AAN, 202/III/7, vol. 2, p. 11.

ŻARNÓW

Pre-1939: Żarnów, village, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zarnow, Kreis Tomaschow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Żarnów, Łódź województwo, Poland

Żarnów is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Opoczno. There were 919 Jews living in the village in 1921; by 1937 their number had risen to 1,129.

Established by the German authorities, the Jewish Council (Judenrat) included Abram Wajnberg (chairman), a shoemaker and former president of the Jewish community in Żarnów; Nuchym Lipling (deputy); and K. Nuemiller (office manager).

By January 1941, 1,494 refugees and deportees had settled in the village. A self-help committee was established on February 2, 1941, taking over the provision of social assistance by the Judenrat, including the operation of the soup kitchen, which was managed by a man named Dobraszklanka. The committee was chaired by the dentist Rachmil Klajnert and included Aron Turko (deputy), Jakub Zacharjasz (treasurer), Rubin Kuszer, and Chaim Husytowski. The three members of the committee's oversight commission were Rabbi Alter Gotszalk and the Judenrat leaders Wajnberg and Lipling.[1]

The number of refugees rose to 1,643 following the arrival of 266 Jews from Płock on March 17, 1941. In April, a refugee from Płock with the first name of Felicja described her situation in Żarnów: "Very many people live like I do: for breakfast, black bread and coffee with saccharin, [and for] dinner 10 groszy [meal at the soup kitchen], for supper just like breakfast. . . . Sanitary conditions are calamitous, vermin is everywhere. The housing question is a headache only for those who have no money."

In May 1941, approximately 35 Jews were sent to a labor camp in Dęblin, where the Germans were expanding an airfield.[2]

In July 1941, out of an estimated 2,500 Jews residing in Żarnów, 1,500 were newcomers from Mława, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Płock, and other localities. As diseases were already spreading, the head doctor for the Kreis ordered Żarnów's Jews to establish an epidemic hospital by the end of July. Doctor Jan Singer, responsible for sanitation, stated in October 1941, "Typhus is spreading amongst deportees living in utter indigence." Soon after, the order was given to outfit the hospital with a total of 20 beds. The soup kitchen was closed to make room for the hospital but was reopened on November 11, 1941, after the Germans closed the hospital. The sick were then sent to a hospital in Opoczno. Out of 200 people who contracted typhus, 30 died by the end of December 1941.[3]

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was organized in the village in November 1941, staffed by Hersz Bromberg as chairman, Rachmil Klajnert, and Jakub Zacharjasz.[4]

By the end of January 1942, the Jews living in Żarnów had been ghettoized. On January 27, the JSS wrote to its Kraków headquarters: "As you know, the Jews are banned from leaving town. Accordingly . . . it is presently impossible to manage all affairs of the soup kitchen. . . . [A]ll efforts to buy produce for the soup kitchen, or straw and shoes for the poor, encountered enormous obstacles . . . even more so since none of the JSS members has any special permission [to leave the ghetto]." In February there were 2,200 Jews in the ghetto. In April 1942, still no one had permission to leave the town.[5]

This restriction, however, was most likely poorly enforced until shortly before the ghetto's liquidation in October 1942. Two sisters, Helen and Halina Zimm, whose families found refuge in Żarnów in 1940, do not describe it as a ghetto. Helen even testified: "luckily it was not a ghetto."[6] *Pinkas ha-kehilot* states that it was officially an unfenced area that was designated as Jewish; however, a number of Jews continued to live in other sections of the village. This lasted until September 1942, about one month before the liquidation.

The date the Jewish Police was organized is unknown; however, in February 1942, one of its tasks was to collect taxes—"often employing force"—imposed by the Judenrat. The monthly tax at the time ranged from 700 to 900 złoty. The kitchen continued its services (e.g., in April 1942 for 350 people), and some recipients were charged 10 groszy per meal.

On the orders of the Arbeitsamt (labor office), 50 of Żarnów's poorer Jews and refugees were daily performing public works in Opoczno in the spring of 1942. Jewish laborers reportedly also worked in agriculture, on road construction, and in workshops organized by the Judenrat.[7]

In May 1942, the German authorities arrested Judenrat head Wajnberg and several other community leaders. After an 11-day questioning they were shot in a forest near Opoczno. Hillel Zachariash (Zacharjasz) became the new Judenrat chairman. Among the victims was most likely Rachmil Klajnert, whom the JSS acknowledges at the time as being "deceased." As of June 1942, Chaim Husytowski was the JSS chairman. In the summer of 1942, a number of Jews from the ghetto were sent to the Janowska labor camp on the outskirts of Lwów.[8]

The last information about the ghetto comes from the JSS report for September 1942 (dated October 2, 1942). In a section referring to changes happening in the ghetto within the reporting period, the JSS noted: "Resettlement of Jews living until now in non-Jewish houses to Jewish-owned houses." The document reports 2,025 Jews in the Żarnów ghetto.[9] Helen Zimm testified that at the end of September the community learned about the planned resettlement to labor camps.[10]

The ghetto was liquidated in the second half of October 1942. Prior to this, more Jews from surrounding villages were brought in (e.g., 300 Jews from Marcinków-Machory on October 5, 1942, and possibly 300 Jews from the Skórkowice ghetto) as well as a few families from Siucice (where most of the Jewish population had already been sent to the Skórkowice ghetto in January 1942).[11] According to Florian Mayerski, his family was marched to the Żarnów ghetto just one day before its Jews were deported to the Opoczno ghetto. The next morning at dawn, the Germans forcefully gathered Żarnów's Jews in the market. Many elderly and disabled Jews were shot either on their way there or in their apartments. In the course of a selection, the Germans asked those with professional backgrounds to identify themselves. Approximately 50 people, including the chairman of the Judenrat, were held back, while the remainder were taken to Opoczno on trucks. The Opoczno ghetto was liquidated on October 27, 1942, when its residents were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Mayerski, who was a member of the cleanup Kommando, estimated that they buried about 30 corpses at the Jewish cemetery in Żarnów. The Kommando lived on the grounds of the ghetto. Some Jews escaped; others were most likely transferred to the Ujazd ghetto in December 1942 or January 1943.[12]

SOURCES The following publications make reference to the fate of the Jewish community of Żarnów during the Holocaust: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 132, 185; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności

żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 155 (table 10), 177–178; Krzysztof Urbański, *Almanach gmin żydowskich województwa kieleckiego w latach 1918–1939* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach: FPHU "XYZ," 2007), p. 177; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 104–105.

Relevant archival sources include AŻIH (210/754, 211/969, 211/1039, 211/1173-1175, Ring I/573); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079 [Ring I]); and VHF (# 19079, 19208, and 47850).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/754 (Żarnów), pp. 3–5; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1173 (Żarnów), pp. 3–4; 211/1174 (Żarnów), p. 2; and 211/1175 (Żarnów), pp. 9, 25.
2. Ibid., RG-15.079, Ring I/537, pp. 1–4; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/754, pp. 9–10; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1173, pp. 12, 14, 25.
3. Ibid., pp. 8, 29; 211/1174, pp. 1, 24, 26, 34, 38–39; and 211/1175, p. 1.
4. Ibid., 211/1174, p. 29.
5. Ibid., 211/1175, pp. 9–10, 12, 21.
6. VHF, # 19079, testimony of Helen Zimm, 1996; # 19208, testimony of Halina Zimm, 1996.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1175, pp. 12, 30; VHF, # 19079.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1039 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), pp. 62–63; and 211/1175, pp. 46, 53.
9. Ibid., 211/1175, pp. 61–64.
10. VHF, # 19079.
11. Ibid., # 47850, testimony of Florian Mayerski, 1998; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/969 (Skórkowice), pp. 31–32.
12. VHF, # 47850.

ZAWICHOST

Pre-1939: Zawichost, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Opatow, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

The town of Zawichost is located on the left bank of the Vistula River, 17 kilometers (11 miles) northeast of Sandomierz.

When the Germans captured Zawichost on September 9, 1939, they found about 1,500 Jews in the town. The large-scale plunder of Jewish houses started immediately, and all Jewish stores were forced to close.

In early 1940, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the town, nominating merchant Chaim Josef Kirszenbaum as chairman and Arnold Węgrzyn as his deputy. The Judenrat's main tasks were to organize forced labor and collect the "contributions" imposed by the Germans. As a first contribution, the Germans demanded 50,000 złoty, threatening to kill the entire community if the demand was not met. The successive contributions soon impoverished the Jews. One day, Kirszenbaum tried to explain to the Gendarmes, who came frequently from Sandomierz, that the Jews had run out of money. They took him out of his house and beat him. Despite such episodes, the members of the Judenrat generally had a good relationship with the Gendarmes. Jewish merchants even traded with Wehrmacht soldiers returning from France to obtain items they could resell for a profit.[1]

At the start, the Germans simply rounded up whomever they could catch for forced labor; later it was obligatory for all men aged between 16 and 60. The better-off Jews could avoid service by paying money to the Judenrat in return for a falsified document stating that they had performed such labor. Jews were forced to drain nearby fields and repair the levees on the banks of the Vistula River.

With the assistance of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) based in Kraków, the Judenrat sought to supply laborers with shoes and clothes. In August 1940, about 200 young and healthy Jews were sent to newly established labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, including one at Bełżec. There, they worked to fortify the banks of the Bug River (the border with the Soviet Union) and also improved highways as a part of the so-called Otto Program.[2]

In September 1939, approximately 200 Jews arrived in Zawichost, having fled from settlements to the west. In addition, about 130 Jews from Łódź, Kalisz, and Tarnobrzeg were resettled to Zawichost in November 1939. In December 1940, on German instructions, the Judenrat in Radom forced about 2,000 Jews to relocate to smaller towns. Approximately 100 were transferred to Zawichost without luggage or money. The Judenrat in Zawichost tried in vain to obtain money from Radom's Judenrat to assist these deportees. The Judenrat in Radom, which intentionally enlisted its own poor for resettlement, insisted that the Zawichost community treat these Jews like the other refugees and provide for them themselves.

The refugees and expellees received some assistance from the AJDC in Kraków; however, they claimed that due to the Judenrat's corruption, only a small fraction of the aid reached the intended recipients. Whenever Zawichost's indigent Jews spoke up for themselves, however, they were told "to eat stones" and "leave the Judenrat office." In June 1940, desperate deportees described the situation to the AJDC, requesting that a special envoy be sent. The envoy inspected local conditions in December 1940. In March 1941, the Judenrat estimated there were 300 deportees in Zawichost; by April this number had risen to 400.[3]

To cope with the growing number of deportees, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established in Kraków. The Kreis committee, with its headquarters in Opatów, was established on December 16, 1940. The Zawichost branch was founded in June 1941. The chairman of the Judenrat, Kirszenbaum, and his deputy Węgrzyn, proposed that they should also be in charge of the local JSS. The Kraków headquarters approved their appointment. Fajwel Szulman was the third member of the committee. After five months, in November 1941, the committee established a soup kitchen for the deportees and local poor that distributed 200 meals per day.

After their invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the German military left the town. Authority was exercised by German Gendarmes, the SS, and collaborating Polish policemen. A 6:00 P.M. curfew was imposed on the Jews. At night, the Gendarmes enforced the blackout with raids. Whenever they found an open shutter, they arrested the inhabitants of the house and held them at the Gendarmerie station for the night. When the Germans demanded further contributions, they would take members of the Judenrat hostage and demand the goods be delivered within one or two hours.

In the summer of 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). At first, it consisted of seven men charged with maintaining order in the Jewish neighborhood. They also collected fines demanded by the Judenrat from those who avoided forced labor or who refused to house deportees.

In November 1941, on German orders, the Judenrat collected all fur items from the town's Jews. A ghetto had not yet been established, but now Zawichost's Jews were not permitted to leave the town limits or ride in wagons. The German post office also started refusing to process Jewish shipments. A special department, affiliated with the regular post, was set up to manage the Jewish post.

In 1941, more men were sent to the labor camps in Distrikt Lublin. One of the prisoners from Zawichost escaped from the Bełżec labor camp after only six weeks. Physically broken, he weighed only 32 kilos (70.5 pounds). According to one testimony, pressured by the families of other youths sent there, Judenrat members went to Bełżec and successfully secured the return of the Jews from Zawichost. On their return in early 1942, the Judenrat enlisted the same men for work in the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) ammunition labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna. Jewish and Polish (Blue) Police conducted the roundup.[4] A second group of Jews was sent to Skarżysko in the summer of 1942.

Overcrowding, combined with poor diet and hygiene, led to outbreaks of typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis. Sanitation Commission records show that 25 Jews were treated for typhus in 1940 and 18 in 1941, resulting in the death of three patients. These numbers, however, do not reflect reality. According to health regulations, all cases of typhus had to be isolated immediately at the epidemic hospital in Sandomierz. Jews infected with typhus did not want to go to the hospital, asking to be left at home. Many of them did not receive any medical treatment. In the spring of 1942, the JSS in Zawichost requested 2,000 vaccinations for typhus and dysentery (but such a large amount could only be obtained on the black market).

Medical care in Zawichost was dispensed by Dr. Hugo Weiss, who treated Jews free of charge. In May 1942, a free dental clinic was also set up, run by Dr. Abraham Miller.

The JSS records show that 10 children were born in 1941 and 27 Jews died. In February 1942, 80 craftsmen were still running their own workshops—most of them as shoemakers and tailors. At this time there were 2,035 Jews living in Zawichost.

From January 20, 1942, the JSS fed breakfast to poor and orphaned children aged between 2 and 10. Initially, it served bread and sweetened chicory coffee to over 50 children a day.

In February 1942, the JSS reported that 829 kilograms (1,828 pounds) of potatoes had spoiled due to frost damage. The soup kitchen was unable to continue serving meals without potatoes. To illustrate the loss: in that month the kitchen issued almost 5,800 dinners using 2,040 kilograms (4,497 pounds) of potatoes. The next most common ingredients were sour cabbage (260 kilograms [573 pounds]) and beets (155 kilograms [342 pounds]). The remaining few products amounted to less than 100 kilograms (220 pounds). In February 1942, 600 poor Jews applied for social help—but only 495 received it.

In the same month, an agriculture club associated with the JSS was established to sow all empty plots and squares in the Jewish quarter with vegetables and flowers. The official aim was to decorate the town; but clearly this was to supplement their diet. The club asked Kraków for 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of beet, carrot, and onion seeds. It also requested some garlic, rhubarb, chives, and 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of various flower seeds. In March, with Kraków's approval, the JSS began registering laborers for agricultural work. This reflected an effort to reconnoiter nearby estates to obtain employment opportunities for Zawichost's Jews. There was also a plan to provide interest-free loans. However, these plans were never implemented.

In May 1942, Kreishauptmann Ritter in Opatów ordered the concentration of all Jews in the Kreis into only five towns (including Zawichost) and 12 settlements by the end of the month. All of these places were recognized as ghettos starting June 1, 1942. The order was in preparation for the total expulsion of Jews from the region.

The Jews who lived in the other parts of Zawichost were forced to resettle into the ghetto. It consisted of four small streets: Głęboka, Ostrowiec, Bóżnicza, and Berek Joleslewicz. The Judenrat supervised the transfer of the newcomers.[5] A Jew with a Paraguayan passport was also forced into the ghetto with his family despite his objections. The penalty for leaving the ghetto was death. Right after the establishment of the ghetto, its Jewish population numbered 2,145, of which 692 were deportees (another source states that there were 3,000 inhabitants).[6]

The second stage of concentrating the Jews in Kreis Opatow began in August 1942. Jews from Vienna, Annopol, Modliborzyce, Zaklików, Janów Lubelski, and other settlements were now crammed into the ghetto. As a result, the number of the ghetto's inhabitants more than doubled, rising to 5,000.[7]

The Jews in Zawichost were aware of other towns in the region being cleared of their Jewish populations. Most believed that if they worked for the Germans, they would be spared from the deportation. Those who were not working sought employment. In anticipation of the forthcoming deportation, a considerable number of Jews hid in underground bunkers within the ghetto, with Polish farmers, or in the surrounding forests.

The Germans liquidated the Zawichost ghetto on October 29, 1942. According to a secondhand account, SS troops and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the town at 4:00 A.M. Klaxons were sounded, and the town's Jews were ordered to gather at the market square, leaving their doors and windows opened. The dilatory, old, and sick were shot in their houses. Accompanied by beatings and shootings, the Germans and their collaborators drove approximately 5,000 Jews about 10 kilometers (6 miles) to the nearest train station in Dwikozy. About 40 Jews were killed during the march. The rest were loaded on railcars and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[8]

About 80 Jewish policemen and young men remained in Zawichost to clean up and bury the dead. The deserted ghetto was stripped of its most valuable objects, which were initially stored in the Zawichost synagogue and then later sent to Germany. During the looting, several people were discovered hiding, all of whom were murdered. Two days after the ghetto's liquidation, the members of the cleanup Kommando were attached to a transport of Jews deported from Sandomierz, Klimontów, and Koprzywnica.[9]

It is estimated that about 200 Jews were killed in Zawichost during the course of the ghetto's liquidation. Their bodies were buried at the Jewish cemetery. A few months later a special detachment arrived, dug out the corpses, and burned them.[10]

SOURCES Much information on the life and destruction of Zawichost's Jews can be found in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 190–192. Additional information for this article comes mainly from two publications: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004); and Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 16–17 (1955).

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community of Zawichost during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/1153-1154 [JSS]; 210/744 [AJDC]; and 301/2016 [Relacje]); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; and RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]); VHF (# 6825 and 1843); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2016, testimony of Zofia Zysman, 1946.
2. Ibid.; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 52.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 52; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/744.
4. AŻIH, 301/2016.
5. Ibid.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 52; RG-15.019M.
7. AŻIH, 301/2016.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. See IPN, SOWr 271, p. 621 and several secondary sources. According to USHMM, RG-15.019M, however, only 20 Jews were killed in the town.

ZWOLEŃ

Pre-1939: Zwoleń, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zwolen, Kreis Radom-Land, Distrikt Radom, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Zwoleń, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The town of Zwoleń is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) east-southeast of Radom. In 1921, there were 3,787 Jews living there (51.2 percent of the total population).

By 1939 Zwoleń had 4,500 Jewish residents. A large part of the town was destroyed in the course of the September Campaign, forcing many Jewish families to move into makeshift huts.[1]

The German authorities immediately instituted a regime of forced labor and extortion, including demands for monetary contributions. Jewish hostages numbering 200 to 300 were taken to Radom and Kielce; all of them were released and allowed to return home after one month. The Jews in Zwoleń were at first randomly rounded up for work; later, the Jewish Council (Judenrat) was charged with delivering the demanded quota of laborers. Work tasks consisted of cleaning snow off roads and attending to the needs of the German army and the Gendarmerie post.

Nuchim Wolman chaired the Judenrat; its secretary was Huberman. By September 1940, W. Kirszenberg had replaced Wolman. At the end of 1939, the Germans razed the local synagogue; the Jewish cemetery was leveled in 1942. In June 1940, an estimated 3,000 Jews were living in Zwoleń.[2]

In June 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out. Two hospital attendants, Jakób Breslauer and Kofman Ropoport, treated the sick in a Jewish hospital that had opened by August 1941 and was outfitted with 20 beds. By May 1942, when the epidemic was contained and the hospital closed, a total of 389 Jews had been treated for the disease. Ropoport, serving also as the chief of the sanitation committee in Zwoleń, reported that many Jews were suffering from skin diseases, mostly from scabies and sores.



The Sharfa family at forced labor in Zwoleń clearing away rubble, September 23, 1940.
USHMM WS #67994, COURTESY OF YIVO

In August 1941, there were 1,034 Jewish minors living in Zwoleń. In this group there were 439 children aged 7 to 14 years, and 77 of them were under 3 years old. There was no organized help for them.[3]

According to survivor Lejwa Fuks, the first roundup of males for transfer to labor camps took place in August 1941. One night, the entire Judenrat was arrested, only to be released the next morning by the Gendarmerie. As a result, 36 men were sent to the Pustków labor camp. Married men were soon released, while others escaped; the 2 laborers who remained in the camp were later released due to poor health.

In October 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established to take over from the Judenrat the organization of welfare. Following its launch, the local soup kitchen served over 600 meals to poor Jews daily and 250 breakfasts to children.

Mordka Blajchman (Bichman), the pre-war chairman of the Jewish community, was appointed as the JSS chairman; Lewi Izrael and Josek Kirszenbaum were also included on the committee. During the first six months of the kitchen's existence, 328 impoverished families received 116,376 meals. For over 85,000 meals, the JSS charged 30 groszy; the remainder of the meals were distributed free of charge.

According to Lejwa Fuks, at some point in 1941, Zwoleń's Jews were forbidden to walk the main street and the market square. Fuks dates the organization of the Jewish Police under the command of Mendel Weintraub to the same year.[4]

On January 2, 1942, Zwoleń's Jews reported to the JSS in Kraków that based on the order of the Kreishauptmann in Radom issued on December 22, 1942, a ghetto had already been established, and Jews from the vicinity were being transferred there. The Zwoleń ghetto was unfenced, but its residents were forbidden to leave the limits of the town. This ban prevented Jewish traders and peddlers, as well as those offering day-labor services, from making a living. The ghetto encompassed approximately 2 square kilometers (0.8 square mile); it was centrally located in a quarter populated by Jews before the war. The local Gendarmerie post was in charge of ghetto affairs.

Apart from those Jews who already lived within the ghetto limits, 50 Jewish families from Zwoleń's peripheries (known as Praga and Szosa Puławska) and also Jews from surrounding communities were transferred into the ghetto. The latter included Klwatka in the administrative gmina of Kuczki (39 people), Lucin (15), Podgóra (24), Janów in gmina Terów (47), Sobale (7), Ulianów (13), and 1 family from each of the following settlements: Helenówka, Grabów, Sucha, Strykowice, Bartodzieje, and Zielonka. Among the new ghetto inhabitants were also 115 Jews (24 families) who were transferred from the town of Przytyk, which had been depopulated of Jews as early as March 1941.

The JSS inquired about the possibilities of organizing a *hachshara* (youth training) and growing vegetables on the 2 hectares (5 acres) of land within the ghetto perimeter (of which 0.6 hectare [1.5 acres] consisted of adjacent garden plots). The 5 acres, however, were taken away from its Jewish owner and given to "a Christian deportee."

The local JSS estimated that at the time of the ghetto's creation in January 1942, there were 400 to 500 Jews from the city of Warsaw and other places in Distrikt Warschau living in Zwoleń illegally. With time their situation grew more serious, as Jews unable to present their *Kennkarte* (identity card) in March 1942 were "subject to the most severe retribution." Such was the case for many refugees from Łódź and Łuck, who were unable to obtain IDs due to severed postal connections or the destruction of archives in their native towns.[5]

In March 1942, the JSS estimated that there were 150 Jewish workshops in Zwoleń, of which only very few received significant production orders from the Germans. Most of them were for cobblers and tailors. Many ghetto residents were laboring in drainage and regulation of the Zwolenka River.

In April 1942, 4,500 Jews inhabited the still-open ghetto. The largest groups of newcomers were from Łódź, Warsaw, and the gminas of Kuczki, Terów, and Zwoleń. There were 239 houses in the ghetto, consisting of 676 inhabited rooms; on average, 7 people shared a room.

Between January and June 1942, the German authorities reduced the area of the ghetto on two occasions. Following the second reduction in June, the JSS reported that "hundreds of families are under a naked sky, soaked through for four days. There is no hope of finding accommodation for them, because the streets in the ghetto are mostly not built up." The JSS planned to build barracks for the homeless at an estimated cost of 30,000 złoty.[6]

According to Fuks, 200 men were sent to the Skarżysko-Kamienna labor camp in July 1942. On August 1, 1942, another 130 men and 10 women were sent to Skarżysko, 35 men were dispatched to Dęblin, and 40 went to Kurów. Another survivor, Perec Szapiro, stated that 200 men were sent to Dęblin in August 1942 to build a railroad for the Schultz (Szulc) Company and another 100 to the Stawy village, where a labor camp was set up on the grounds of an ammunition magazine.[7]

In the summer of 1942, Zwoleń became one of the centers for the concentration of Jews in Kreis Radom-Land, before their deportation to the Treblinka extermination camp. On August 3, 1942, 1,200 Jews from the Janowiec nad Wisłą ghetto arrived. On August 20, 1942, 488 Jews from the liquidated Pionki ghetto were likewise transferred. Furthermore, on September 18, 1942, Jews from the ghettos of Jedlnia Kościelna and Garbatka-Letnisko were concentrated there.[8]

The Zwoleń ghetto was liquidated either on September 29, 1942, or sometime in October 1942. According to survivor Isaac Engel, the deportation from Zwoleń was announced several days in advance. A siren signaled that the Jews had to gather in the marketplace. From there, in batches of 500 people each, they were escorted by the Ukrainian auxiliary forces to a barbed-wire enclosure that had been set up at the Garbatka train station. All were sent to Treblinka.

An estimated 200 Jews were murdered in the course of the liquidation and were buried at the Jewish cemetery. Afterwards (probably in 1943 or 1944), a German detachment destroyed the bodies using "unknown chemicals." A small cleanup Kommando of approximately 90 people, including the chief of the

Jewish Police, was left in Zwoleń to sort out Jewish belongings and was subsequently sent to Skarżysko-Kamienna.[9]

Estimates of the number of Jews gathered in the Zwoleń ghetto prior to its liquidation vary, depending on the source. The addition of the numbers given above—taken from primary archival sources—gives a maximum number of 6,500 Jews. A court inquiry about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos conducted in Zwoleń in 1945 states that the ghetto had approximately 6,000 residents.[10]

Secondary sources, namely, the historian of Distrikt Radom, Adam Rutkowski, and others, estimate that 10,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka from Zwoleń. Rutkowski's numbers, however, do not add up, as in addition to the communities mentioned above as transferred to Zwoleń, Rutkowski states that 5,000 Jews from Gniewoszów, 2,000 Jews from Oblassy, 400 from Policzna, and 6,500 from Sarnów were also sent to Zwoleń. But in the case of Oblas (located 1 to 2 kilometers [0.6 to 1.2 miles] south of Przytyk), it does not appear that any Jews were living there in the summer of 1942, as all Jews were removed from there in the spring of 1941—as they were from Przytyk. The figure for Sarnów is also implausible, as it was just a tiny settlement about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) south of Gniewoszów.

SOURCES Information regarding the Zwoleń ghetto can be found in the following sources: Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe AP, 2004), pp. 169–172; Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, nos. 15–16 (1955): 101, 156–160, 179–180; and Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), p. 36.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (211/1163 [JSS]; 210/750 [AJDC]; 301/8, 301/2474 [Relacje]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1163 (Zwoleń), pp. 1, 52–53; and 211/1164 (Zwoleń), p. 45.

2. AŻIH, 301/2474, testimony of Lejwa Fuks, 1947; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/750, pp. 1, 6; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1163, p. 23.

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1163, pp. 32, 34; and 211/1164, pp. 37, 39, 45, 52–54.

4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 8, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1163, pp. 48, 52; AŻIH, 301/2474.

5. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 47, p. 101; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1164, pp. 1, 8–11, 17–18, 25–26, 36, 45.

6. Ibid., RG-15.019M (ASG), file 47, p. 101; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1164, pp. 30, 36, 45, 49.

7. AŻIH, 301/8, testimony of Perec Szapiro, 1944; 301/2474.

8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1164, pp. 61, 67.

9. AŻIH, 301/2474; according to Fuks, the Jews from the Zwoleń ghetto were sent to Dęblin and then to Treblinka. Also see USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 47, p. 101; Isaac Engel, 1989, available at www.holocaustcenter.org.

10. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), file 47, p. 101.

WARSAW REGION



Jews are led through the streets on their way to the railroad station during a deportation Aktion from the Siedlce ghetto, August 22–24, 1942. This is one of a series of clandestine photographs taken by a member of the Polish Home Army (AK) underground.
USHMM WS #18787, COURTESY OF IPN

WARSAW REGION (DISTRIKT WARSCHAU)

Pre-1939: parts of the Warsaw, Lublin, and Łódź województwa, Poland; 1941–1945: Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: parts of the Łódź, Lublin, and Mazowieckie województwa, Poland

The German authorities established more than 60 ghettos in Distrikt Warschau. After the first ghettos were established in the Kreise to the west of Warsaw in the late spring and summer of 1940, a large wave of ghettoization accompanied the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto in October and November. The ghettos established to the west and south of Warsaw remained only short-lived, as more than 50,000 Jews from these Kreise were then concentrated in the Warsaw ghetto by April 1941. Further ghettos were established during 1941 in the Kreise to the east of Warsaw. Then in the spring of 1942, there was a further wave of resettlement to the Warsaw ghetto. After the start of deportations to the Treblinka extermination camp in July 1942, most of the remaining ghettos were liquidated in just a few months up to October. The Warsaw ghetto was the last to be liquidated in April 1943, in the face of bitter organized resistance by armed Jews, which lasted for several weeks into May.



A mid-1930s portrait of SS-Gruppenführer Paul Moder, the first SS- und Polizeiführer of the Warsaw District.
USHMM/PHOTOGRAPHED FROM ERNST KIENAST (ED.), DER DEUTSCHE REICHSTAG 1936: III. WAHLPERIODE NACH DEM 30. JANUAR 1933; MIT ZUSTIMMUNG DES HERRN REICHSTAGSPRÄSIDENTEN (BERLIN: R. V. DECKER'S VERLAG, G. SCHENCK, 1936), P. 411

The German authorities created Distrikt Warschau on October 26, 1939, as one of the four initial Distrikte of the Generalgouvernement, all of which were composed of parts of occupied Poland. In Distrikt Warschau, the German authorities initially created 10 Kreise (counties): Garwolin, Grojec, Lowicz, Minsk Mazowiecki, Ostrow Mazowiecka, Siedlce, Skierniewice, Sochaczew, Sokolow, and Warschau-Land, each governed by a Kreishauptmann. A Stadthauptmann governed the city of Warsaw.

The Distrikt's territory, which consisted of 16,860 square kilometers (6,510 square miles), was populated by more than 3 million people. According to a German estimate from July 1940, there were 540,000 Jews residing in the Distrikt (18 percent of the total population). This figure probably included tens of thousands of refugees and deportees, mainly from the Polish territories incorporated into Germany, who reached the Distrikt from late 1939, especially from Reichsgau Wartheland.

The chief German civil authority in the Distrikt was Gouverneur Dr. Ludwig Fischer. The SS and Police Leader (SSPF) was the senior police official in the Distrikt, subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger. The position of SSPF in Distrikt Warschau was held initially by Paul Moder; he was succeeded by Arpad Wigand in August 1941; then Dr. Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg took over in an acting capacity in July 1942, to be succeeded by Jürgen Stroop from late April until September 1943. The SSPF oversaw the forces of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo), comprising the Gestapo, Kripo, and SD, and also those of the Ordnungspolizei (Orpo), composed of Schutzpolizei in the cities and Gendarmerie posts in the rural areas. The relevant local civil administrators, especially the Kreishauptmänner, were generally in charge of ghetto affairs. Surveillance and order were in the hands of the German Sipo and Orpo forces, with Polish and Jewish police forces performing auxiliary duties under the Germans. Jewish policemen maintained order in the ghettos and guarded their internal borders, whereas Orpo forces and Polish (Blue) Police patrolled the external boundaries.

Assuming authority from the military on October 26, 1939, the German civil administration introduced a series of antisemitic laws, which deprived the Jews of their economic, cultural, and social rights, as well as imposing forced labor. The Germans ordered the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenräte), holding the members responsible for the implementation



An unidentified SS-Obersturmführer interrogates two Jewish resistance fighters during the suppression of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, April 19–May 16, 1943. The original German caption reads, "Jewish traitors." Pictured in the background are the SS- und Polizeiführer for the Warsaw district, SS-Brigadeführer Jürgen Stroop and, holding an automatic weapon at right, police captain Erich Steidtmann.
USHMM WS #26549, COURTESY OF NARA

of the authorities' orders, including the selection of Jews for forced labor, the collection of taxes and "contributions," the enforcement of sanitary regulations, and the organization of welfare and medical services. From late 1939, Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David.

The first ghettos in the Distrikt were established in Kreis Lowicz by May 1940. According to the personal report of the Kreishauptmann, Dr. Schwender, to the Generalgouverneur, Hans Frank, a ghetto was established in Łowicz due to the large influx of Jews from the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich and the resulting high incidence of typhus—some 200 cases in Łowicz—as well as the accompanying threat to security.[1] Around this time, five ghettos were established in Kreis Lowicz, the other four being in Łyszkowice, Kiernozia, Bolimów, and Głowno.[2]

On July 1, 1940, in response to SS orders giving the Jews of Mińsk Mazowiecki only 14 days to create a ghetto, the Jewish community petitioned the authorities to annul or defer the order. The Jews stressed the ruinous economic effects the order would wreak on the town's Jewish craftsmen, laborers, and shopkeepers and the inevitable threat to hygiene throughout the town. The Jews, supported by some non-Jewish residents, requested a deferral of several months so that the necessary sanitary infrastructure could be prepared in the ghetto area.[3]

It appears that Kreishauptmann Dr. Bittrich in Mińsk Mazowiecki put on hold creation of the ghetto for several months, but in October, Waldemar Schön, the head of the Resettlement Department for the Distrikt, visited Mińsk Mazowiecki to choose the location of the ghetto, which was then established on November 15, 1940, the same day that resettlement into the Warsaw ghetto was completed.[4]

Already in November 1939, the Germans made a first attempt to establish a ghetto in Warsaw, which, however, soon was abandoned. Then in January 1940, Schön began detailed planning for the Warsaw ghetto. In the summer of 1940, an exclusion zone (*Sperrgebiet*) for the Jews was established, to which no additional Jews were permitted to move.[5] On October 2, 1940, Gouverneur Fischer issued an official decree on the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto by the end of the month. As the resettlement could not be completed on time, the deadline for completing the resettlement was later extended to November 15.[6] The borders of the ghetto were changed several times subsequently.

A considerable wave of ghetto formation accompanied the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto. In Kreis Warschau-Land, the Kreishauptmann established a number of ghettos. A small ghetto was created in Łomianki for 300 local Jews to move into by September 15, but despite bribes, it was liquidated again in November. Sixty people departed for the Włochy ghetto established in Fort Solipse, and 25 went to the Legionowo ghetto, also established on November 15, 1940. Most others fled independently to the Warsaw ghetto. The Jews left everything behind—resulting in terrible need and poverty.[7] A larger ghetto was established in Otwock, where resettlement was completed by November 30. All the Jews of the Kreis living west of the Vistula were then concentrated in just four ghettos: Piaseczno, Włochy, Jeziorna, and Pruszków. From there they were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto in December and January 1941, as were the Jews of the Karczew ghetto, just east of the Vistula. Several open ghettos were also established in Kreis Garwolin in the fall of 1940.

By the end of 1940, six open ghettos had been established in Kreis Grojec, in Błędów, Tarczyn, Mogielnica, Góra Kalwaria, and Warka, as well as the Kreis center, Grójec. Reports from the Jewish aid committees in December mention the establishment of the ghettos in Tarczyn and Błędów.[8] According to survivor Jerry Lista, the relocation to the ghetto in Góra Kalwaria was announced in the papers and on loudspeakers, and the Jews were given two to three days to move into the designated area. The Jews could take with them only the most necessary items.[9] Then in January 1941, the Grojec Kreishauptmann, Zimmermann, ordered that all the Jews of the Kreis be concentrated in the six ghettos and that any Jew caught outside of a ghetto after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[10] This is the first example of such a shooting order, predating the similar order issued for the entire Generalgouvernement by nine months. Fear of the spread of typhus was given as a reason for these harsh restrictions, but they also served to concentrate the Jews of the Kreis in preparation for their deportation to the Warsaw ghetto shortly afterwards. In Błędów the Jews paid a renewed hefty "contribution" of 100,000 złoty in the hope that their expulsion would be deferred. But then on February 11, 1941, the Błędów Jews were marched or taken on carts to the railway station and put on trains to the Warsaw ghetto.[11]

For Kreis Sochaczew, the Germans prepared a detailed timetable for the transfers to the Warsaw ghetto. The Jews of the Żyrardów ghetto, as well as those from Wiskitki and Mszczonów (where probably no ghettos were established), were to be transferred on February 1–9, 1941; then on February 10–14, the Jews from the Grodzisk Mazowiecki ghetto; on Febru-

ary 15–16, from the Sochaczew ghetto; and from the ghetto in Błonie on February 17, 18, and 19, 1941. The Żyrardów Jews received only 48 hours' notice and were permitted only 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of belongings on the train.[12]

The transfers from Kreise Lowicz and Skierniewice were spread over a longer period, permitting some Jews to organize the transportation of their belongings into the Warsaw ghetto. A few Jews even managed to arrange an orderly transfer to other locations in the Generalgouvernement, where ghettos had not yet been established. On March 4, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Skierniewice reported that most of the Jews from the Skierniewice and Jeżów ghettos had moved "voluntarily" to Warsaw. In Skierniewice, only some 180 Jews remained; the Jews' removal had created a marked shortage of labor.[13] On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, most Jews from Jeżów were put into improvised hostels for refugees, where they encountered difficulties with hygiene and medical care and experienced numerous deaths from hunger.[14] Following these transfers, in April 1941, the Kreise of Sochaczew, Grojec, and Lowicz (in which Skierniewicze was now incorporated) were declared to be free of Jews other than in a few labor camps.

Most of these initial ghettos in Distrikt Warschau were open ghettos, especially those that remained short-lived. For example, the ghetto in Mogielnica was not enclosed by a fence, a wall, or any barbed wire. It consisted of two or three streets near the synagogue and the Bet Midrash.[15] The Włochy ghetto was established in a nineteenth-century fortress (Fort Solipse) and in Pustelnik in the Henryków and Osinki brickyard, in houses for former factory workers and barracks, completely isolated from the Polish population. The Pustelnik ghetto initially remained "open" (people left to work outside), but early in 1941, the ghetto was declared closed, and Jews could leave only with a special permit. According to the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch, this left the Jews "on the edge of destruction." The borders of a number of ghettos were marked by signs that read: "Jewish Area: Entrance Forbidden for Poles and Germans" (*Jüdische Gegend: Polen und Deutschen Eintritt verboten*).[16] Among the relatively few ghettos enclosed by a fence were those in Radzymin, Siedlce, and Wołomin.

Initially, Jews were punished with heavy fines and/or imprisonment for leaving the ghettos without special permission. As mentioned, from early in 1941, more severe penalties were introduced in some Kreise, as they were being cleared of Jews. By November 1941, as elsewhere in the Generalgouvernement, the death penalty was applied throughout the Distrikt, and many Jews were shot when caught smuggling or in hiding on the Aryan side. For example, in Sarnaki the open ghetto was sealed on January 1, 1942, to prevent the spread of disease. Initially Jews did not take the posted death penalty threat seriously and continued to sneak out to barter items. But in February, a Jewish woman and her one-year-old child caught in a nearby village were arrested and shot.[17]

With the exception of the Warsaw ghetto, which at its peak probably held some 460,000 Jews, most of the ghettos established throughout the Distrikt were relatively small, holding from only a few hundred up to around 4,000 people. A few larger ghettos were established, for example, in Siedlce (13,000), Otwock (12,000), Węgrów (9,000), Falenica (6,000), Sokołów Podlaski (6,000), and Mińsk Mazowiecki (5,000–6,000). Generally these ghettos were among the last to be liquidated.

The administration of welfare was transferred from the Jewish Councils to the JSS to help newcomers and the local poor. Its branches opened soup kitchens, distributed food and clothing, and sought to provide for children and the elderly. The level of assistance, due to insufficient funds, was never able to meet the needs. Consequently, there was frequent friction between the JSS branches and the Jewish Councils. JSS officials were replaced as unsuitable, and some Jewish Councils were accused of corruption, favoritism, or excessive subservience to German demands.

Poverty, hunger, overcrowding, and disease were common to all of the ghettos, but access to food from outside was somewhat easier in the smaller rural ghettos or even some medium-sized ghettos in Kreis Warschau-Land. Kosher butchers from the ghettos of Miłosna, Okuniew, and Rembertów were the main source of meat for the Warsaw ghetto, supplying up to 2,000 kilograms (4,410 pounds) per month with the help of Polish smugglers.[18] Whereas in the Warsaw ghetto more than 60,000 Jews (about 15 percent) died of starvation, death rates in the smaller ghettos generally were not on this scale. In Sarnaki, in the winter of 1941–1942, reportedly 100 Jews died out of 1,180 (almost 9 percent). Ration cards were issued to Jews, for example, in Żelechów, at the end of 1940, for small portions of bread, sugar, flour, meat, and jam, as well as in Warsaw.[19] These meager rations were insufficient to survive and supplementary food had to be obtained wherever possible.

After the initial wave of deportations from the Warthegau at the end of 1939 and in early 1940, Distrikt Warschau was not a major destination for German resettlements. In the summer of 1940, a number of Jews were sent to forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, but many of these Jews returned after a few months. In the late spring or summer of 1941, several hundred Jews from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki (Regierungsbezirk Zichenau) were driven into the Distrikt. In the spring of 1942, four transports, each of around 1,000 Jews, arrived from Berlin, Theresienstadt, Hannover, and other places in the Reich to the Warsaw ghetto, where there were also a number of Jews who had converted to Christianity. Also deported to Distrikt Warschau were Roma and Sinti from Cologne and its environs; they were put in the Siedlce ghetto in the summer of 1942, along with local Roma.[20] Finally between February and early May 1943, more than 20,000 Jewish workers were deported from the Warsaw ghetto to the Trawniki, Poniatowa, and other labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.[21]

The process of concentrating most of the remaining Jews in ghettos in the eastern Kreise of Distrikt Warschau began in early 1941 and was completed in 1942. In Kreis Sokolow, the planned establishment of six, initially open, ghettos was announced in January 1941, but implementation lagged behind. It was not until November 1941 that many of the Jews from the surrounding villages were concentrated in these six ghettos.

Similar concentrations of Jews were carried out in Kreise Garwolin, Siedlce, and Minsk Mazowiecki, which also signaled a final wave of ghetto establishment in places such as Latowicz.[22]

In the spring of 1942, a further wave of deportations to the Warsaw ghetto and ghetto consolidations commenced. In March Jews arrived in Warsaw from the nearby ghettos of Pustelnik, Okuniew, Miłosna, and Wawer. These expulsions occurred with considerable brutality, and a number of Jews were killed. In May 1942, the expulsion of the Tłuszcz Jews saw about 70 Jews shot during the roundup and 300 shot on the road to Radzymin, where they were loaded onto trains headed to Warsaw.[23] In May the Jews of the Sarnaki ghetto were sent to the ghettos in Łosice and Mordy.

The organization of the deportations in Distrikt Warschau was in the hands of SSPF Dr. Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg, assisted by a special deportation unit organized by Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) Warschau. Among the officers who played a leading role was SS-Untersturmführer Karl Brandt. These local forces had to work closely with Sonderkommando Höfle (led by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Höfle), which was assigned from Distrikt Lublin by SSPF Odilo Globocnik. The ghetto liquidations were implemented with the support of a number of Trawniki-trained auxiliaries (mostly from Ukraine or the Baltic states) and German Order Police units (battalions and stationary units of the Schutzpolizei and Gendarmerie). In some places units of the Polish (Blue) Police, ethnic German Sonderdienst, and Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) also assisted them.

The deportations were conducted more or less Kreis by Kreis. Deportations from the Warsaw ghetto commenced on July 22, 1942, and continued until September 21. In Warsaw there was a brief respite on August 19–21, while Jews from the ghettos in Otwock, Falenica, and Mińsk Mazowiecki were deported. In total, more than 250,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka, about 10,000 were sent to other camps for work via the so-called Dulag (*Durchgangslager*), and several thousand Jews were murdered in the city.

Due to the large forces assembled to clear the Warsaw ghetto, the liquidation of most other ghettos followed swiftly over just a few weeks in September and October. Jews from the ghettos of Kałuszyn, Dobre, Mrozy, and others in Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki were deported from mid-September. The Jews from Kreis Sokolow were all deported between September 21 and 25. In late September and early October, the Jews from the ghettos of Parysów, Łaskarzew, Stoczek Łukowski, and Żelechów in Kreis Garwolin were deported via Sobolew before finally the Jews of Sobolew were dispatched in early October. Then in the first days of October, the ghettos of Radzymin, Wołomin, and Legionowo in Kreis Warschau-Land were liquidated together.

Especially in those ghettos close to Treblinka, news of the mass murders arrived from train escapees and Jews working at the camp. Many Jews tried to evade deportation by hiding in prepared bunkers. Due to the large numbers of escapees during the course of the deportations, the German authorities announced that Poles faced the death sentence for even the smallest assistance provided to Jews. As punishment for aiding Jewish escapees, it was often that entire families were gunned down and their households razed. News of such punitive actions terrified the Polish population, causing some to turn out Jews they had been helping.

Almost all the transports went to Treblinka. In a number of ghettos, a few Jews were retained to sort Jewish belongings or perform other labor tasks, in so-called small ghettos. On October 28, 1942, HSSPF Krüger ordered the recognition of six remnant ghettos within Distrikt Warschau in Warsaw, Kałuszyn, Sobolew, Kosów Lacki, Rembertów, and Siedlce.[24] Their main purpose was to lure out of hiding those who had evaded the deportations. Most of these remnant ghettos, apart from Warsaw, were liquidated between November 1942 and February 1943. The remnant ghetto or labor camp in Rembertów, which contained Jews from Warsaw brought to Rembertów after the liquidation of the original ghetto there, was liquidated at the end of June 1943.

After the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, a number of Jews continued to live in a few labor camps, including that



Laden with rounded-up Jews from Sobolew, this truck overturned shortly after the photo was taken, facilitating the Jews' escape, n.d.
USHMM WS #18822, COURTESY OF IPN



The family of Icek Fajerschejn is deported from Stoczek, while an unidentified auxiliary looks on in the foreground, May 5, 1942.
USHMM WS #29277, COURTESY OF MORRIS ROSEN

in Karczew, which existed until the fall of 1943. Estimates of the number of Jews who escaped onto the Aryan side and went into hiding or passed as non-Jews vary, but probably exceeded 30,000. Jews on the Aryan side had to live in constant fear of denunciation or extortion by so-called *szmalcownicy* (blackmailers).

SOURCES Secondary works including coverage of the history of the Jews in the Distrikt Warschau ghettos include T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 83–125; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*, trans. Emma Harris (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?: Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw 1940–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007); and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989).

Published collections of documents include T. Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961); T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957); Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1988); Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986); and Ruta Sakowska et al., eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: PWN, 2000).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; APO; APSi; APW (e.g., Der Obmann des Judenrates in Warschau; Amt des Gouverneurs des Distriktes Warschau—Der Kommissar für den Jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau); AŻIH (e.g., sygn. 200; 210; 211; 301; 302; Ring); BA-BL; BA-L; BLH; CAHJP; IPN; MA; NARA; USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1998.A.0241 [Trial of Ludwig Fischer]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-02; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]; RG-15.077M [CENTOS]; RG-15.079M [Ring I]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]; RG-50); VHF; WL; YIVO; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, eds., *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1975), pp. 286–287, entry for October 10, 1940. See also the report of Schön, the head of the resettlement section in the office of the Governor of the Warsaw Distrikt, January 20, 1941, published in: Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, pp. 108–109.

2. See Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, p. 109, citing the report of the Lowicz Kreishauptmann, dated July 20, 1940. Some sources date the establishment of the Kiernozia ghetto in March 1940—see Gedaliah Shaiak, ed., *Lovitsh—a shtot in Mazovye un umgegent, seyfer zikorn* (Melbourne and Sydney, Australia: Lowiczer Landsmanshaften, 1966), p. 364.

3. AŻIH, 211/702, pp. 1–4, Petition of the Jewish population of Mińsk Mazowiecki, unsigned, July 1, 1940.

4. Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, p. 96; AŻIH, 211/702, p. 12, ghetto questionnaire, April 1, 1942.

5. USHMM, RG-15.073M, report on the activity of the Warsaw Jewish Council, from October 7, 1939, to December 31, 1940, p. 12.

6. *Warschauer Zeitung*, November 3–4, 1940. For an overview of events leading up to the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto, see Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, pp. 52–76.

7. AŻIH, Ring I/847 [874.], "Geyrush Lomianki bay Varshe," February 12, 1941.

8. Ibid., 210/680 (AJDC, Tarczyn); 210/266 (AJDC, Błedów), p. 35.

9. VHF, # 10410, testimony of Jerry Lista, 1995.

10. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/881.

11. VHF, # 2132, testimony of Ben Zion Guttman.

12. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/352, Kreishauptmann Sochaczew-Blonie, order concerning the clearing of the Kreis of Jews, January 31, 1941.

13. See Ibid., RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/29, pp. 88, 89, Kreishauptmann Skierniewice, monthly report, March 4, 1941.

14. AŻIH, Ring I/116.

15. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, sygn. 61, p. 95; VHF, # 1365, testimony of Ben Stern; # 17574, testimony of Aisic Hirsch.

16. AŻIH, 301/4805, testimony of Władysława Kruszczewska (Kruszewska), 1948; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/846, pp. 3, 5–6, 15–18, 23–25; 211/1083, p. 18.

17. Dov Shuval, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarnaki* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Sarnaki be-Yisrael, 1968), pp. 147–169.

18. Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rembertow, Okuniew, Milosna* (Tel Aviv: Rembertow, Okuniew and Milosna Societies in Israel, the USA, France, Mexico City, Canada, Chile, and Brazil, 1974), pp. 431–432.

19. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1176, p. 60.

20. APSi, 1290, Zarządzenia, # A67/42 (May 23, 1942).

21. Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, pp. 181, 207, 318–319. Most of these Jews were murdered during Aktion Erntefest in November 1943.

22. Berenstein, Eisenbach, and Rutkowski, *Eksterminacja Żydów*, pp. 108–109, 278–279; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/634, pp. 40–42.

23. Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 205–208.

24. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger, October 28, 1942, in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, pp. 342–344.


Ghettos in the Warsaw Region
1940—1943
Map Legend
Ghetto
KREIS CENTER
KREIS CENTER AND GHETTO
Extermination center
Regional border
Kreis border
Rivers
0 5 10 20 Miles
0 10 20 Kilometers
OSTRÓW MAZOWIECKI
Białystok Region
Narew
Bug
Zichenau Region
Treblinka
Kosów Lacki
Sterdyń
Stoczek Węgrowski
Łochów
Jadów
SOKOLÓW PODLASKI
Sarnaki
Węgrów
Tłuszcz
Radzymin
Legionowo
Vistula
Pustelnik
Wołomin
Dobre
Stanisławów
Mordy
Łosice
Łomianki
Rembertów
Okuniew
Miłosna
Kałuszyn
SIEDLCE
Mrozy
Warthegau Region
WARSAW
Wawer
MIŃSK MAZOWIECKI
Kiernozia
SOCHACZEW
Włochy
Falenica
Błonie
Pruszków
Siennica
Jeziorna
Otwock
Kołbiel
Latowicz
Piaseczno
Grodzisk Mazowiecki
Karczew
Stoczek Łukowski
Parysów
ŁOWICZ
Bolimów
Żyrardów
Góra Kalwaria
GARWOLIN
Lublin Region
Tarczyn
Sobienie Jeziory
Łyszkowice
Skierniewice
Żelechów
Głowno
GRÓJEC
Łaskarzew
Warka
Sobolew
Błędów
Jeżów
Mogielnica
Radom Region
N
W
E
S

BŁĘDÓW

Pre-1939: Błędów, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bledow, Kreis Grojec, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Błędów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Błędów is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) southwest of Grójec. Just before September 1, 1939, there were 957 Jews living in Błędów.[1]

The Germans entered Błędów on September 8, 1939. Soon after their arrival, the German police began stealing property from Jewish homes and shops. The Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. On one occasion in the fall of 1939, the Germans rounded up the Jews and abused and beat them, causing the death of at least one person. The Germans also started to kidnap Jews for forced labor, requiring them to conduct humiliating work such as sweeping the streets or cleaning the houses of ethnic Germans.

In November or December 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Błędów, chaired by Yaakov Arbuz. Soon the Jews were obliged to pay an 80,000 złoty fine, which was collected mainly from the more affluent members of the community. Local ethnic Germans were among the most active in abusing the Jews and seizing their property.

As of June 1940, 1,030 Jews were living in Błędów, including refugees from Łódź, Aleksandrów Łódzki, Zgierz, and other towns that had been incorporated into Reichsgau Wartheland. During 1940, the Jewish Aid Committee for Poor Jews in Błędów provided some financial aid and other support to the refugees and some local Jews; at least 47 different families received benefits, as reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) based in Warsaw.[2]

At the end of 1940 an open ghetto was established in Błędów, around the same time that the ghetto was also established in the Kreis center, Grójec.[3] A report of the Jewish Aid Committee, dated December 3, 1940, noted that it had been unable to supply the requested information due to the recent resettlement of the Jews into the "Jewish quarter" (*dzielnica żydowska*), which was still continuing for a few days longer.[4] The ghetto was unfenced, but initially any Jews caught outside it were severely beaten and could be punished further with a fine or a term of imprisonment.

On January 21, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Grójec, Landrat Werner Zimmermann, issued the following order: "All Jews living outside of the towns of Błędów, Tarczyn, Mogielnica, Góra Kalwaria, Warka, and Grójec are to transfer immediately to the closest of these towns, all of which were to be considered as ghettos. The heads of the respective settlements were made personally responsible for ensuring that by January 27, 1941, no Jews still were residing on their territory." The order also stipulated that any Jew caught outside these ghettos after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[5]

In January 1941, the Jews of Błędów had to pay a further fine of 100,000 złoty. The Germans spread a rumor that if the Jews paid the fine, their expulsion to the Warsaw ghetto would be deferred. Therefore, the Judenrat delivered the money, but then, according to survivor Ben Zion Guttman, on February 11, 1941, the Jews of Błędów were expelled to Warsaw anyway. The Jews were ordered to assemble on the market square and then had to walk 5 kilometers (3 miles) to the railway station, where they were put on trains to the Warsaw ghetto. The elderly and infirm were transported to the station on horse-driven carts.[6] Along the way some Jews managed to escape, but many of those who sought shelter in the area were betrayed to the Germans or even murdered by local Poles.

After the war, the Jewish community in Błędów was not reconstituted.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews in Błędów during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 150–151; T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 109; Roman Mogilanski, *The Ghetto Anthology: A Comprehensive Chronicle of the Extermination of Jewry in Nazi Death Camps and Ghettos in Poland* (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration Camps, 1985), p. 101. Additional information can be found in the yizkor book, *Sefer yizkor Mogielnica-Bledow* (Tel Aviv, 1972).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/266 [AJDC]; Ring I/881); USHMM (Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.079 [Ring I]); VHF (# 2132); and YVA.

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk," table 3.
2. AŻIH, 210/266.
3. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 151, however, dates the ghetto's establishment at the end of May 1940. Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 59, dates it in late 1940.
4. AŻIH, 210/266, p. 35.
5. Ibid., Ring I/881.
6. VHF, # 2132, testimony of Ben Zion Guttman; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 109, and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 213, both date the ghetto's liquidation in February 1941. After Janaury 1941, there is no further correspondence between the Jewish Aid Committee for Poor Jews in Błędów and the AJDC; see AŻIH, 210/266.

BŁONIE

Pre-1939: Błonie (Yiddish: Bloyna), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Blonie, Kreis Sochaczew, Distrikt Warschau,

Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Błonie, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Błonie is located about 27 kilometers (17 miles) west-southwest of Warsaw. In 1939, about 2,800 Jews lived there.

After the German army occupied the town and the surrounding area, murders of the civilian population took place. Among the 750 people murdered in Błonie in September and October 1939, the majority were Jews.[1] On September 19 alone, 50 civilian prisoners were shot in Błonie.[2] A transit camp (Dulag) was created in the town for Polish prisoners of war (POWs). This camp was established in mid-September 1939 on the grounds of a former match factory.[3]

After the German army occupied the town, it started to seize Jews for forced labor, mainly for cleaning work.[4] On the streets, German soldiers beat the Jews. Older, traditionally dressed Jews were kicked and humiliated. The beards of Jewish men were cut off. Jewish children were no longer permitted to go to school.[5]

In the fall of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Błonie. Avigdor Rosenberg stood at its head. Other members included Abram Gewer, Izrael Wajselfisz, and Lajb Rozenberg. Its tasks included the payment of forced "contributions" to the German authorities and participation in the selection of forced laborers. One survivor accuses members of the Judenrat, especially Wajselfisz, of cooperating with the Gendarmes in despoiling Jewish property for his own personal gain.[6]

With support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), an aid committee was established in Błonie in March 1940 to assist those in need. It was headed by Izrael Wajcberg and included Izrael Wajselfisz and Abram Gewer of the Judenrat among its seven members. The committee provided aid to about 1,000 people under its care. It also operated a public kitchen, which prepared warm meals for 700 needy Jews, as well as organizing assistance for children.[7]

From the end of 1939, a large number of refugees and deportees arrived in Błonie in several waves. In May 1940, 617 Jews from Iłów (Kreis Sochaczew), Łódź, Aleksandrów Łódzki, and other places arrived. Then in June, they were followed by another 926 expellees. Not all of these new arrivals remained in Błonie. Since these deportees were only permitted to bring with them a very limited amount of luggage, most arrived in a destitute condition, increasing the welfare burden on the Jewish Council.

On November 13, 1940, a placard posted by Kreishauptmann Karl Adolf Pott announced the imminent resettlement of the Jews from Błonie to Warsaw, while the Jews were forbidden, as of December, to leave an area in the center of town, which was to become a Jewish quarter or ghetto (*Jüdisches Wohngebiet*).[8] Myer Glick recalls the announcement of the transfer to Warsaw and that a member of his family traveled to the Warsaw ghetto, which was still open, in preparation for the move, but could only find a single room there. However, before the move to Warsaw, Glick and his family were evicted from their apartment in Błonie, with the participation of the Germans, and had to move in with his uncle in three overcrowded rooms.[9] This transfer within Błonie may reflect the establishment of a ghetto there in December 1940, which, according to one source, contained about 2,100 people.[10]

Since the ghetto in Błonie existed for only about two months, very little information is available concerning conditions there. One surviving document indicates that on January 28, 1941, the AJDC reported that 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of sugar had been donated to the child-care facility in Błonie, thanks to a charitable gift from Switzerland. A representative of the Aid Committee for Refugees and the Poor in Błonie could collect the sugar from the CENTOS (Central Organization for Orphan Care) food depot in Warsaw.[11] It is doubtful that this sugar was ever transported to Błonie.

At the start of 1941, the German authorities began deporting all the Jews from the western Kreise of Distrikt Warschau—Sochaczew, Grojec, Skierniewice, Lowicz, and parts of Kreis Warschau-Land—into the Warsaw ghetto. In total during this Aktion, from January to April 1941, some 72,000 Jews were relocated.[12] The deportation of the Jews was intended to free space for 62,000 Poles deported from Reichsgau Wartheland.[13]

As of January 31, 1941, Jews were no longer permitted to leave the Błonie ghetto. Their transfer to Warsaw was scheduled for February 17–19, 1941. The Jews were to be deloused beforehand, and each Jew was permitted to take only 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of luggage, as well as sufficient food for two days. Live animals could not be transported and were to be surrendered to the mayor. Property left behind was to be confiscated, and people plundering this property were to be strictly punished.[14] The Błonie Jews went by road to the Warsaw ghetto, on foot or in horse-drawn wagons, which enabled some to take a little extra luggage. Myer Glick remembers taking turns with his brother to sit atop the pile of luggage on the cart.[15]

At this time, the Warsaw ghetto already was overcrowded, and hunger predominated. The lot of the expellees was particularly harsh, as many had already experienced prior deportation from the Warthegau into Distrikt Warschau. On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, they were first put into quarantine for a period.[16] From there, they were then in large part concentrated in public buildings within the ghetto, such as synagogues and schools, under conditions of poor sanitation and provisioning, which gave rise to sickness and hunger among them, resulting in a number of deaths.

The Jews driven from the Błonie to the Warsaw ghetto shared the fate of the remainder of Warsaw's Jews. The majority were rounded up during the great liquidation Aktion, which began on July 22, 1942, and were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp, where they were murdered.

After the liquidation of the Błonie ghetto, the Germans destroyed the Jewish cemetery, leaving only several gravestones in place. After the expulsion in February 1941, a few Jews who defied the resettlement order remained in Kreis Sochaczew, including in Błonie. Executions in Błonie attest to their presence. In May 1943, a Gendarme shot three Jews on the property of Aleksander Różycki, at 1 Szkolna Street.[17]

In February 1943, a Gendarme shot four Jews (two men, a woman, and a child).[18] In June 1943, a Błonie woman, a member of the Polish underground, was arrested on the charge that she had sheltered Jews. A search conducted in her home revealed nothing. The search and arrest occurred most likely as the result of a denunciation.[19] In the summer of 1944, Gendarmes shot three Jews who had been residents of Powązki village (in the former Radzików gmina) on Powstańców Street in Błonie. The bodies were buried at the site of the execution.[20] From 1942 to 1944, in Błonie there were numerous other executions in which people perished but for which there is no information about their specific ethnicity. Some of them may have been Jews.[21]

A large group of Jewish partisans, under the leadership of Miller, operated in the Błonie area.[22] The group was composed of ghetto escapees who succeeded in securing arms and formed a partisan unit. The unit maintained good relations with a local unit of the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa), whose leader forewarned the Jewish group of threats to their security. In 1944, the group was subordinated to a Soviet partisan unit.[23]

The number of Błonie Jews who survived the war and occupation is unknown. However, after the war Jews from Błonie and Leszno established a fraternal organization.[24] In Błonie and the surrounding area some Jews survived in hiding; among them was Dr. Chirsz, who received assistance from a Polish family.[25]

SOURCES References to the fate of the Jews of Błonie during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo stołeczne warszawskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1988); Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 109; and T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 85, 115–116.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/267 [AJDC]; 211/234 [JSS]; 301/4444; 302/150, 153; Ring I/352 [Ringelblum Archive]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.0124 [JSS]); VHF (# 27027, 29135, and 51287); and YVA (O-3/6909, 7754; M-49/E/5748).

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NOTES

1. Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 127.
2. Jochen Böhler, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006), p. 224. AŻIH, 301/4444, p. 1, testimony of Rejla Sapot, mentions 40 Jews killed at the time of the Germans' arrival.
3. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 109.
4. YVA, O-3/6909, p. 4.
5. Ibid., O-3/7754, p. 6; VHF, # 27027, testimony of Myer Glick.
6. AŻIH, 301/4444, p. 2.
7. Ibid., 210/267, p. 26, AJDC letter to Błonie, March 29, 1940; Engelking, "Życie codzienne," p. 210.
8. Centrum Kultury w Grodzisku Mazowieckim, Resettlement announcement for Grodzisk, Żyrardów, Sochaczew, and Błonie, November 13, 1940.
9. VHF, # 27027. Glick, however, does not specifically mention the existence of a ghetto in Błonie.
10. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 109, report the existence of a ghetto in Błonie, but the only source given is to an unspecified reference in the ITS archives. A labor camp also existed in Błonie, but little information is available about this camp.
11. AŻIH, 210/267, p. 58, AJDC an Hilfskomitee für Flüchtlinge und arme Juden in Błonie, January 28, 1941.
12. *Raporty Ludwiga Fischera gubernatora dystryktu warszawskiego 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1987), p. 259.
13. Ibid., pp. 259, 277.
14. See AŻIH, Ring 1/352, Anordnung betreffend Freimachung des Kreises Sochaczew-Blonie von Juden, January 31, 1941; 301/4444, dates the transfer on February 17.
15. YVA, O-3/6909, p. 6; O-3/7754, p. 8; VHF, # 27027.
16. *Raporty Ludwiga Fischera*, p. 259 (Report, Warsaw Distrikt Chief, February 10, 1941 [for January 1941]).
17. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów . . . : Województwo stołeczne warszawskie*, p. 23.
18. Ibid.
19. *Raporty Ludwiga Fischera*, p. 489.
20. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów . . . : Województwo stołeczne warszawskie*, p. 24.
21. Ibid., pp. 22–24.
22. YVA, O-3/2078, testimony of Tuvia Miller.
23. Engelking, "Życie codzienne," p. 492.
24. Alina Skibińska, "Powroty ocalałych," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 546, 585.
25. YVA, M-49/E/5748, pp. 1–2.

BOLIMÓW

Pre-1939: Bolimów (Yiddish: Bolimov), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Bolimow, Kreis Lowicz, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Bolimów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Bolimów is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) west-southwest of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, in 1939, there were 235 Jews living in Bolimów.

In the fall of 1939, about 120 Jews from Łowicz were transferred by the Germans to Bolimów, where they were accommodated in the Bet Midrash. Among them was the family of David Flaum, who recalls that each family had its own corner.[1]

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Jews of the town were subjected to forced labor. For example, in March 1940, the Forestry Office requested the use of 40 Jewish laborers from the mayor of Bolimów. The Jews were to receive two thirds of the normal wage if they performed the required work

effectively. An account in the yizkor book confirms that a number of Jews worked in the forests around the town.[2]

The Bolimów ghetto was established in May or June of 1940 on the orders of the Lowicz Kreishauptmann, Regierungsrat Dr. Schwender. By this time a Jewish Council (Judenrat) had already been established in the town.[3] The non-Jewish local inhabitants took over many former Jewish homes, and the Jews were concentrated in an area around Synagogue Alley (Shul Gas). David Flaum confirms that the refugee accommodation was located within the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire. There was also a Jewish police force, consisting of 25 men, including 5 refugees.[4]

Due to the hard work and inadequate food, many Jews suffered from hunger and exhaustion. This drove some Jews to risk leaving the ghetto to buy food from local farmers at extortionate prices.[5]

In December 1940, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Łowicz reported that there were 460 Jews then living in Bolimów, of which 110 were receiving welfare support.[6]

In early January 1941, the head of the Jewish Council (*Obmann des Judengebiet*) in the Bolimów ghetto wrote to the Central Committee of the JSS in Kraków, reporting that the three members of the JSS branch in Bolimów had been dismissed, as they were too old and unsuited for their positions. He requested that three replacements be confirmed, as they were much better suited and had the confidence of the local Jewish population.[7]

In March 1941, the Jews of Bolimów were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto, as part of a large-scale plan to clear all the Jews from the Kreise of Distrikt Warschau to the west of the city. Due to a lack of transportation, many of the Jews had to travel on foot, leaving most of their possessions behind.[8] It is likely that a small group of Jews remained in the empty ghetto in Bolimów for a short period after the transfer, to sort out remaining Jewish property.[9]

On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, most of the Jews from Bolimów were put into improvised hostels designated for refugees. A report in the Ringelblum Archive from March 1941 noted the terrible conditions in one of these shelters based in a school building. Refugees from Bolimów were among 460 people being cared for in the facility. The report mentions difficulties encountered with hygiene and medical care and numerous deaths from hunger.[10] A large number of the refugees from Bolimów died of starvation and contagious diseases in the course of their one-and-a-half-year stay in the Warsaw ghetto. Many of those who survived until the summer of 1942 were among those deported to the Treblinka extermination camp during the large-scale Aktion at that time.

Some Jews evaded deportation to Warsaw and attempted to survive in hiding in the area around Bolimów. However, they risked being betrayed by local Polish inhabitants who received a reward from the Germans for every Jew they denounced. In one instance, 21 Jews were uncovered hiding in a bunker in the forest, following a tip-off from a Polish peasant. The Jews were shot and buried on the spot. Only after the war were their bodies exhumed and reburied in a mass grave in the Jewish cemetery in Bolimów.[11]

SOURCES Much of this entry is based on the Łowicz yizkor book, Gedaliah Shaiak, ed., *Lovitsh—a shtot in Mazovye un umgegent, seyfer zikorn* (Melbourne and Sydney, Australia: Lowiczer Landsmanshaften, 1966), which contains some information regarding the fate of the Jews in Bolimów under the Nazi occupation. The ghetto in Bolimów is mentioned also in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 66; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 113; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/273; 211/250, 674; Ring I/116); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-14.052; RG-15.079 [Ring]); VHF (# 6081); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 6081, testimony of David Flaum (born 1922), 1995; Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, pp. 368, 371.
2. USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154, 210/273, p. 5; Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 371.
3. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 113, dates it in May 1940; Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212, state June 11, 1940; Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 370, gives the spring of 1940. See also Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 109, which cites the report of the Kreishauptmann Lowicz, July 20, 1940.
4. VHF, # 6081; Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 371.
5. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 371.
6. USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/674, pp. 37–38.
7. Ibid., pp. 43–44.
8. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 371.
9. See USHMM, RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/29, p. 57, Kreishauptmann Lowicz, situation report, March 13, 1941.
10. AŻIH, Ring I/116 [469.]
11. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 368.

DOBRE

Pre-1939: Dobre, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Dobre is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) northeast of Mińsk Mazowiecki and 48 kilometers (30 miles) east of Warsaw. In 1921, 373 Jews were living in the village, making up 34 percent of the total population of 1,097. The Jewish population of Dobre was mainly Hasidic.[1]

The Germans occupied Dobre in early September 1939, immediately after which Jews were required to wear a yellow badge on their clothing and compelled to perform hard labor. Some Jewish families fled to the Soviet Union.[2] Conflicting information exists on when and even whether a ghetto was created in Dobre. According to one source, a ghetto was created in November 1940 and contained roughly 1,200 people.[3] According to another (the testimony of Sonia Powonzek, a native of the village), Dobre did not have a ghetto; from June 1942, Jews were merely prohibited from leaving the village.[4] According to yet another source, Dobre did indeed have a ghetto, which housed over 500 people, including Jews from Kałuszyn, Wyszków, Mrozów, Mińsk Mazowiecki, and Pabianice.[5] The testimony of Stanisław Słomkowski (aka Dawid Słoń) lends credence to the notion that Dobre functioned, at the very least, as a collection point for Jews from nearby towns, since he was deported there with his wife from Dropie in late 1941 or early 1942.[6] At the same time, it appears that some Jews from Dobre were deported to the ghetto in Kałuszyn.[7] Lejbka Fryd, for her part, was born in Dobre but hid in Dropie during the war.[8]

A four-member Judenrat was created in Dobre in 1941. J. Furmann served as its chairman and Sendrowicz as its secretary.[9] In Powonzek's account, Josek Nejman, the owner of a fashion accessories shop, is named as chairman of the Judenrat.[10] The Judenrat supplied Germans with Jewish laborers to dig trenches, lay pavement, and perform other types of forced labor. Relations between the Judenrat and local Jews were generally hostile. A three-member Jewish police force, including one Chil Mejnener, from a Hasidic household, operated in Dobre, as did an aid committee. The aid committee cared for 200 to 250 individuals, including some 100 refugees.[11]

Powonzek's testimony relates that living conditions in Dobre were extremely cramped, as the Germans took the best apartments for themselves. A Gestapo detachment consisting of six SS men was present in the village. Powonzek reports that life in Dobre otherwise continued more or less as normal under German occupation. There was neither hunger nor disease; religious life continued essentially uninterrupted under a man named Brotman, who served as both *shochet* and rabbi; Jewish children continued to go to a school, which was headed by Jan Zych; and the Germans did not undertake any special discriminatory measures towards Dobre's Jews. Jews maintained relations with local Poles, but the attitude of the latter towards the former was rather negative, with the Poles often betraying the hiding places of Jews to the German authorities.[12]

The ghetto in Dobre was liquidated on September 15, 1942. The details of the liquidation and deportation process as found in extant sources differ. One reports that the Jews of Dobre were compelled to travel by foot or by horse-driven cart to the closest railway station, in Mińsk Mazowiecki, where they were herded into railcars;[13] another reports that they were taken to nearby Stanisławów, where some were massacred on the spot, while others managed to escape.[14] The sources, however, agree that the final destination for Dobre's Jews was the Treblinka extermination camp, a fate that only a small number were able to escape, including two who were saved by Polish farmers.

SOURCES Articles on the Jewish community of Dobre can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 178–179; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 316.

The book by Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007) contains information on Dobre, pp. 64–66, 168–169, 215, 347.

Further information on Dobre can also be found in Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 159–160.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Dobre under German occupation can be found in the following archival collections: AŻIH (210/28, 30 [AJDC]; 211/59, 359 [JSS]; 301/2989, 5820 [Relacje]; and BA-L (B 162/6835).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4380, testimony of Sonia Powonzek.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-L, B 162/6835, pp. 149–150.
4. AŻIH, 301/4380.
5. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, pp. 159–160.
6. AŻIH, 301/3338, testimony of Stanisław Słomkowski.
7. BA-L, B 162/6835, pp. 146–147.
8. AŻIH, 301/3501, testimony of Lejbka Fryd.
9. Ibid., 211/59.
10. Ibid., 301/4380.
11. Ibid., 210/28, Wykaz miejscowości Komitetów Pomocy, sprawozdanie z działalności V-XII 1940 r.
12. Ibid., 301/4380.
13. BA-L, B 162/6835, pp. 149–150.
14. AŻIH, 301/4380.

FALENICA

Pre-1939: Falenica, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: part of the city of Warsaw, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Falenica is located about 16 kilometers (10 miles) southeast of the center of the city of Warsaw. In September 1939, the Jewish population was about 5,300.

On September 19, 1939, many houses and stores on the Jewish streets Handlowa and Długa burned down as a result of the fighting. At the start of the German occupation, only Wehrmacht troops were stationed in Falenica; later on some SS troops arrived to replace units sent to France. The SS

commandant organized a group of ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) from Falenica, who posed a real threat, as they knew the Jewish inhabitants.[1] In December 1939, the German authorities imposed a "contribution" of 80,000 złoty on Falenica (affecting both the Polish and Jewish communities).[2]

A number of Jews forcibly evacuated from the territories annexed to the Third Reich arrived in Falenica over the following months. In January 1940, a group of 140 Jews arrived, but it is not clear where they came from. The population increased from 5,106 in 1940 to 6,500 in August 1941.[3]

It is not possible to establish the precise date on which the Judenrat in Falenica was established, but it was about the same time as in Otwock (December 1939). Some correspondence between the Judenrat and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) has been preserved, starting in January 1940. The first head of the Judenrat was H. Cukerman, an assimilated Jew. After a few weeks the members of the Judenrat were arrested and shot, following a denunciation made by the ethnic German Buchholz. Then the German authorities appointed Eliasz Finkiel as head of the Judenrat—Finkiel had already been a member of the Judenrat and served on the committee for social assistance. Finkiel was a wealthy Jew from Warsaw and owned a farm in Miedzeszyn. The secretaries now were Mieczysław Chodźko from Łódź and H. Szancer. In 1940, other members of the Judenrat included David Goldberg, Pinkus Rozenberg, and Majer Rajner.[4] Subsequently Szancer became the head of the Judenrat in 1942, although there is no information on precisely when he was appointed.[5]

In Falenica the commandant of the Jewish Police and the majority of the policemen were originally from Łódź. The Jewish Police also included some Jews who had been expelled from Germany in the fall of 1938 and who had settled in Falenica.[6] The commandant of the Jewish Police was named Sziker (or Szejker). The size of the police force varied, but it was usually somewhere between 15 and 20 men. In the spring of 1942, Zimnawoda, a man who had arrived from Łódź, was appointed as commandant of the police and Sziker became his deputy. Under the new commandant, the Jewish Police showed its cruelty in rounding up people for work, as the Germans promised to spare the families of ghetto policemen if they delivered the required quota.[7]

On October 31, 1940, the Germans established a ghetto in Falenica. In terms of organizational structure, the Medem sanatorium for children in Miedzeszyn was also subordinated to the ghetto in Falenica. About 200 Jewish children resided there. Jews from Dobre, Kałuszyn, Wyszków, and Miedzeszyn lived in the Falenica ghetto. The Jews from Wiązowna were also compelled to move into the Falenica ghetto. The Germans did not establish a ghetto there because of the small number of Jewish inhabitants. In total, some 6,500 Jews passed through the ghetto. Approximately 1,500 died from hunger and disease.

The area of the ghetto was confined by Lawinowa, Mszańska, Chryzantemy, Hiacyntowa, and Bartoszycka Streets and also segments of Bystrzycka, Walcownicza, and Patriotów Streets on one side of the railway, excluding the power station. In Miedzeszyn the ghetto was located on the left side of the railway on the grounds of the Medem sanatorium. The ghetto was secured by a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fence, although it was only fenced on the side of the road and along the railway lines; the road through the forest to Radość remained open.[8] The Polish (Blue) Police guarded the ghetto rather ineffectively on the outside. However, the Jewish Police also guarded the gates on the inside. Germans serving in a unit of 36 SS men stationed in Falenica only showed up sporadically. When they appeared, however, they would shoot anybody who attracted their attention.

The establishment of the ghetto did little to disturb the ongoing Polish-Jewish trade. To facilitate communications, the Jews took down the wire in some places, and it was never repaired. The Polish policemen tolerated this trade. Expelled Polish house owners went to examine their properties inside the ghetto. Some people even took a shortcut to the railway station in Miedzeszyn through the ghetto.[9] Wheat was smuggled into the ghetto regularly, and a significant part of the bread made was sent to the Warsaw ghetto.

In March of 1940, due to the increasing number of people infected with typhus, the Judenrat was forced to establish a quarantine house.[10] On January 10, 1941, the Falenica ghetto was sealed off so that Jews could no longer enter or leave. During the existence of the Falenica ghetto, Jews from a number of towns, such as Dobre, Kałuszyn, Wyszków, and Mrozy, were brought into the ghetto. Sporadically, also, some Jews from Warsaw and Łódź arrived.

In May 1941, more than half of the 6,500 residents were receiving social welfare. In 1941, the Judenrat opened a hospital for the contagiously sick on the orders of the Kreishauptmann, Dr. Hermann Rupprecht.[11] In January and February 1942, the death rate in the ghetto was double that recorded in December. In January alone, some 2 percent of the total ghetto population died. The main cause of death was extreme exhaustion caused by hunger and frost.[12]

In the summer of 1940, Jews from the ghetto were sent to work unloading coal from trains, serving the German military forces, cleaning the streets, and doing laundry. Jewish girls were forced to clean rooms using their own underwear as rags. Forced labor tasks also included work in the surrounding forests, digging up tree roots.[13] Jews from Falenica were sent to work in Józefów near Lublin and also at the Karczew labor camp.

At the end of 1941, the Germans established a labor camp in Falenica for work at the sawmill and construction work at Podkowa Street on water and drainage works. Some 400 people worked at this camp.

When the Germans started to build the Treblinka extermination camp and also a labor camp in Wilanów (April–May 1942), for the first time the Jewish Police organized roundups for work. Some 50 people were sent to Treblinka and 70 to Wilanów. Some Jewish policemen were sent to keep an eye on the workers in Wilanów. Their commandant was a popular German Jew, Herman Kirschrot.[14]

At the end of May 1942, the head of the Arbeitsamt (labor office) in Otwock, Dietz; and Hartlof (the administrator of the confiscated Najwer sawmill in Falenica) arrived in the ghetto and selected about 80 to 100 men to work in the sawmill and at building huts for the military. They were promised that they would be spared if they performed their work well. The sawmill was outside the ghetto, and every day the Jewish Police escorted the Jewish workers to the site. In August, Hartlof told the workers that the ghetto would be liquidated, and he issued them work certificates (*Arbeitsscheine*) to protect them. On August 17, 1942, Jews from the small remnant ghettos or labor camps in Miłosna, Zakręt, and Wiązowna were brought to Falenica. That same day the Gendarmes from Rembertów demanded 100,000 złoty, which they received, to leave the ghetto. At the beginning of July the Polish (Blue) Police who guarded the outside of the ghetto were replaced by Ukrainian and Lithuanian guard units.

The liquidation of the Falenica ghetto took place on August 20, 1942. The Aktion was expected, as only one day earlier the Otwock ghetto had been liquidated. Shortly before the ghetto liquidation in Falenica, the Jews from Radość were brought on foot to Falenica.[15] Prior to the Aktion there were some 5,000 people in the ghetto. About 200 people were killed during the liquidation operation.

At 4:00 A.M., the Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the ghetto, and at dawn some SS troops joined them. The Ukrainian and Lithuanian guards killed everyone who was not able to walk or refused to leave their house. There were some cases of resistance and also of suicide. On the same day, the Jews from Rembertów were rounded up and chased on foot to Falenica. They arrived there around 2:00 P.M. Many of them were shot on the way. Between Miedzeszyn and Falenica, 200 people were killed and subsequently buried in two mass graves. All the people were gathered between the synagogue and the railways. Around 150 children from the Medem sanatorium joined the transport with their teacher.[16] After loading up, the train traveled on to Otwock to pick up the rest of the Jews who had been hiding following the liquidation of the Otwock ghetto on the previous day.[17] Thirty-five people were selected to work in Treblinka. The Germans ordered the owner of the sawmill, Najwer, to choose 100 men to remain working for him. On May 7, 1943, the commandant of the German Gendarmerie in Rembertów, Lüppschau, with the Gendarmes from Rembertów and Otwock murdered all the men by throwing grenades among them and then shooting the remainder. They were buried in a mass grave behind the sawmill.[18] In the ghetto about 24 Jewish policemen remained behind to guard and sort out the Jewish property that was to be sent back to Germany.

Thirty Jews from Falenica survived the war.[19] No information is available concerning any postwar trials of the persons involved in the liquidation of the ghetto.

SOURCES The main published work is *Sefer Falenits*, edited by David Sztokfisz (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Falenits be-Yisrael, 1967), and *Khurbn Otwock-Falenits-Karczew* (Bamberg: Farvaltung fun Otvotsker, Falenitser un Kartshever Landslayt in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland, 1948). Some information regarding the Falenica ghetto can also be found in the memoir written by Calel Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996). The main secondary work is Jadwiga Dobrzyńska's *Falenica moja miłość po raz drugi* (Warsaw, 1996).

In the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH) in Warsaw, there are preserved some rudimentary materials, including the correspondence between the Judenrat in Falenica and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (210/14, AJDC) and also the Presidium of the Jewish Social Self-Help (211/383-384, JSS) in Kraków. There are also a few testimonies by survivors recorded after the war (e.g., 301/2207). One of the most important sources for the liquidation of the ghetto is the testimony of Sara Najwer (302/4496). The lack of other archival sources is due to the destruction of the building of the Falenica Jewish community in July 1943. In an operation organized by the underground Home Army, the building was set on fire to destroy any documents that could be used against the inhabitants of Falenica.

Sylwia Szymanska-Smolkin

NOTES

1. Baruch Goldstein, "In the Ghetto and on the Aryan Side," in Sztokfisz, *Sefer Falenits*, p. 249.
2. Ludwik Landau, *The Chronicle of the Years of War and Occupation*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1962), p. 146.
3. Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 83–125.
4. AŻIH, JSS, 211/383, p. 4; AJDC, 210/14, p. 35.
5. Ibid., JSS, 211/383, p. 18.
6. Mieczysław Chodźko, "The Tragic Life of the Falenica Ghetto," in Sztokfisz, *Sefer Falenits*, p. 207.
7. Sztokfisz, *Sefer Falenits*, p. 253.
8. AŻIH, 301/5719, testimony of Danuta Dąbrowska, p. 1.
9. Sztokfisz, *Sefer Falenits*, p. 251; Dobrzyńska, *Falenica moja miłość po raz drugi*, pp. 116–117.
10. AŻIH, AJDC, 210/14, p. 10.
11. Ibid., JSS, 211/383, pp. 35, 52.
12. Ibid., JSS, 211/384, pp. 18, 25.
13. Ibid., 301/2207, testimony of Srulek Lang, p. 18.
14. Ibid., 301/4496, testimony of Sara Najwer, p. 1.
15. Sztokfisz, *Sefer Falenits*, p. 256.
16. Ryszard Zabłotniak, "Sanatorium Dziecka im. Włodzimierza Medema w Miedzeszynie," *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny* 55:3–4 (1922): 322; Sztokfisz, *Sefer Falenits*, p. 212.
17. Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?* pp. 64–65; Dobrzyńska, *Falenica moja miłość po raz drugi*, pp. 121–122.
18. AŻIH, 301/4496, p. 10.
19. Ibid., p. 5.

GŁOWNO

Pre-1939: Głowno, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Glowno, Kreis Lowicz, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Głowno, Łódź województwo, Poland

Głowno is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Łódź. The 1921 census registered 1,430 Jews in residence. According to the community's estimates, there were 2,000 Jews in Głowno on the outbreak of World War II.[1]

With the establishment of the Generalgouvernement in October 1939, Głowno became a town within Distrikt Warschau, which lay directly on the border with the Warthegau, that had been created out of Polish territory annexed to the Third Reich. By the end of 1939, the Jewish population of Głowno had more than doubled, due to the arrival of many deportees and refugees; for example, on December 29, 1939, approximately 1,600 Jews from Stryków were deported to Głowno. Documentation from the files of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) shows that the majority of the deportees were from Aleksandrów Łódzki, Łódź, Zgierz, and Stryków. Many of the newcomers soon were deported further to the east, for example, to Izbica Lubelska.[2]

Several times the German authorities ordered the expulsion of Głowno's Jews within 24 hours but then failed to proceed with the actual deportation; for instance, the December 6, 1939, deportation first was postponed until January 15, 1940, and then again until April. The local Jews of Głowno clashed with the newcomers, blaming them for increases in food prices and congestion. To avoid deportation, many newcomers moved to summer cottages in Głowno's suburbs of Nowy Otwock, Zakopane, and Warchałów. In January 1940, there were 2,700 newcomers in Głowno.

An Aid Committee for Poor Jews was organized in Głowno in December 1939, chaired by Juda Flamholc. The committee opened a soup kitchen that served at its peak 1,500 meals daily.

A 12-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in February 1940, which was chaired by Abram Rosenberg. Other members included Leon Borensztajn (deputy), Fiszel Baum, Chaim Bursztyn, Josef Klecki, Maurycy Baumerder, and Juda Flamholc. With the exception of Borensztajn, a German Jew, it consisted solely of merchants. The anonymous author of "The Głowno Timetable," preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, noted: "The Judenrat was greatly hated by the Jewish population." The Judenrat was tasked with the provision of laborers and hygiene. It immediately tried to dissolve the Aid Committee but succeeded only in October 1940, when it took over the management of the soup kitchen. By April 1940, the conflict had reached the point where both parties requested that it be resolved by a representative of the AJDC from Kraków.[3]

The period preceding the ghetto's establishment is described in the "Głowno Timetable":

> "The military leaves Głowno [in February 1940] and the Gendarmerie arrives. The conduct of the authorities towards the Jews becomes progressively worse. Jewish shops are shut down, searches are carried out, and . . . there is a good deal of looting. Instead of the odd two dozen Jewish workers demanded up till now, the labor authorities ask for 400 to work permanently, seven days a week. Volksdeutscher [ethnic German] Roger is in charge of labor.[4]

On April 5, 1940, an order was issued for all refugees to start leaving the town on April 8, at a rate of approximately 400 persons daily. The author of the "Głowno Timetable" noted: "The Judenrat decides that the first to leave will be the beneficiaries of the Aid Committee. None of the local Judenrat people or members of the Aid Committee are prepared to take any measures to intervene." To the great relief of the newcomers, this order was suddenly canceled.[5]

On April 18, 1940, sudden rumors spread that all deportees will be able to go to their hometowns the next day. That same day, an order for 2,000 Jews to report to the market square in the morning was issued. As most newcomers sought to avoid deportation, only several hundred of them reported to the square. The Jewish Police (created only shortly before) forced many to go to the collection point. The Germans took two Jewish policemen and one Judenrat member as hostages. A woman, who refers to herself as Nacia in her Ringelblum Archive memoir, wrote:

> Furious Głownians, like raving madmen, were running from house to house. . . . [S]uddenly, through a side window of the attic, I can see that Głownians are running into a backyard next door. At the forefront, councillor [Judenrat member] Flamholc [running] with a knife. Terrible screams reverberate; chinks of broken glass can be heard. The Głowno Jews are dragging people to the market square! ". . . should we suffer because of you? People might be shot because of you. You have to go!"—that is what the Jews of Głowno are shouting.[6]

In the end, the Germans drove the 2,000 refugees to Stryków in carts. In the morning, the exhausted crowd was suddenly sent back to Głowno. At least 1 person was shot on the way back. The Germans imprisoned approximately half of those deported in a former factory building near Głowno, where they were guarded by ethnic Germans and eventually released, with only the poorest remaining there. After a while the Germans dispersed these last people as well.[7]

The ghetto in Głowno was established officially on May 12, 1940, on the orders of the Kreishauptmann in Łowicz. Despite an attempted bribe of 15,000 złoty, the Judenrat failed to prevent its establishment. The main initiator of the ghetto was an ethnic German brick factory owner by the name of Wolbert. Local Poles objected to the plan to establish the ghetto in the predominantly Polish neighborhoods of Swoboda and Cichorajka. Instead, a resort area called Nowy Otwock, beyond the southeastern border of the town, was chosen as the ghetto's location. It consisted of the following four streets: Kościuszko, Cegielniana, Spacerowa, and Mościcki. Most of the buildings in the ghetto were summer houses.[8] In July 1940, there were 5,602 Jews in the ghetto.

A wire fence surrounded the ghetto. A Jewish police force consisting of 40 to 45 members kept order within the ghetto. The Jewish Police was divided into three sections, one of which included responsibility for sanitation. Its commanders included the Judenrat chairman and his son, B. Rozencwajg. "The [Jewish] police treated the population brutally. Extortion was a common and established practice," noted the author of the "Głowno Timetable." The Polish police guarded the single gate of the ghetto, but only during daytime. It did not interfere in internal ghetto affairs. The security of the ghetto was ultimately in the hands of the German Gendarmerie and its commander, Schwarz. Although Schwarz was unpredictable, there were no cases of ghetto residents being murdered.

An ethnic German, Lansky, was appointed as the ghetto commissar and "hygienist." He and his two assistants terrorized the Jews for five months, punishing them for excursions beyond the ghetto limits and its filthy conditions. Nacia names a man called "Ryt" as the commissar. As of May 1940, a German from Stryków named Sztyller was Głowno's mayor (Bürgermeister). Along with other local ethnic Germans, he initiated the demolition of Jewish houses in Głowno. In October 1940, M. Nikolaj of Łowicz replaced Sztyller.[9]

Living conditions in the ghetto were somewhat less harsh than in many others. On Rosh Hashanah in 1940, the authorities opened the synagogue for Jews to pray. For 0.50 złoty a week Jews could buy copies of the underground press. There were also soccer matches against Polish teams in the ghetto. On such occasions, the Landrat issued special permission for the Polish players to enter the ghetto. The Judenrat was in charge of issuing permits for ghetto residents to exit the ghetto, for which they had to pay. The regulations, however, were laxly enforced; the Jewish Police rarely checked the passes, as their relationship with the Germans was based on bribes.

The Jews continued to work in trade and crafts, and some even smuggled food to Warsaw. A number of Jews labored in workshops for tailoring and carpentry in Głowno. Survivor Halina Złotnik, a child at the time, remembers sneaking easily through the fence to visit farmers. Alternatively, farmers would bring their produce to the ghetto. Kosher butchers would bring cattle for slaughter through the ghetto gate or cut a hole in the fence to get them in. There was a constant war between the butchers and the Jewish Police, whom the butchers refused to bribe. The butchers also fought among themselves, denouncing each other to the Gendarmerie.[10]

The only Jewish doctor, Szmirgeld, managed a hospital housed in one of the ghetto's wooden cottages. Eventually, the Judenrat hired a Polish physician, Dr. Mierzejewski. Treatment conditions improved after Mierzejewski moved the hospital to a stone house, vaccinated the population against typhus, and ordered special food for the sick. Mierzejewski also improved sanitation in the ghetto: in the fall of 1940, all public toilets were closed, as they were overflowing, and German inspectors kept fining the ghetto residents for the consequent filth. The Jewish Police started to arrest those who did not keep themselves and their surroundings clean. The Judenrat hired an increasing number of cleaners to improve sanitation.

The first roundup for labor camps in Distrikt Lublin took place on August 14, 1940. These became so frequent that Jewish youths fled to the villages to hide. Few of the laborers returned to Głowno, as conditions in the camps were horrific.

The ghetto was suddenly closed after a fire razed several Jewish houses on Łowicz Street on September 27, 1940. On Schwarz's order, the ghetto gate was nailed shut. The Jews were accused of arson, and 20 people were arrested and sent to the Łowicz prison. All exit permits were temporarily canceled. The Głowno Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto on pain of death. One of the Gendarmes, Karl Braun, shot a woman for leaving its boundaries on September 29. After the fire, the Germans began to watch the ghetto more closely. The largest house in the ghetto was excluded from it, to straighten its borders and make the ghetto rectangular. Trees that obscured the view of the ghetto's fences were cut down. The arrestees were released from the prison at the beginning of December 1940 because there was no proof that the Jews had anything to do with the fire.[11] At that time, reportedly 5,300 Jews were living in the ghetto.[12]

On February 8, 1941, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to collect all 600 exit passes. Four Judenrat members were held hostage briefly, while the Jewish Police searched nearby villages to find any Jews still outside the ghetto after the order was issued. The Jewish population realized that resettlement to the Warsaw ghetto, which had already been imposed on several nearby communities, could not now be avoided. The author of the "Timetable" wrote: "In the end, conflict erupts in the Judenrat, it splits into two camps which contend with one another, slinging mutual recriminations. A committee is formed to help the poorer element leave. . . . The committee extorted money from the poorest and did nothing for them."[13]

The deportation to Warsaw was announced on February 28, 1941, for the following day, March 1. A number of Jews remained in the ghetto until March 18, 1941. During that time the ghetto size was shrinking, and Jews were expelled repeatedly from one house to another. A small number of craftsmen were transferred to the Łowicz ghetto and, from there, on to Warsaw; others were picked up off the streets of the Głowno ghetto and then transferred.

SOURCES The following publications refer to the Głowno ghetto: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 179; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 208–209; and Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 81–84, 164. Published sources include Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 120–123.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/340 [AJDC]; 211/674 [JSS]; 302/93 [Memoirs]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [Ring I]; RG-02.208M [Memoirs]); and VHF (e.g., # 9631, 42996, 48980).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 3, 1941.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/340 (Głowno), pp. 3–19.
3. Ibid., pp. 1–2, 13–20, 35–37; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/674 (Łowicz), p. 40; RG-15.079M, Ring I/438 [743.].
4. Translation of Ring I/804, "The Głowno Timetable," in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 120–123.
5. Ibid.
6. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/438 [743.].
7. Ibid.; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/340, p. 24; VHF, # 9631, testimony of Sara Boden, 1995.
8. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/340, pp. 3–19; *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 3, 1941; translation of Ring I/804, "The Głowno Timetable," in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 120–123.
9. USHMM, RG-02.208M (Memoirs), 302/93, memoir of Halina Złotnik; translation of Ring I/804, "The Głowno Timetable," in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 120–123; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/438 [743.].
10. USHMM, RG-02.208M (Memoirs), 302/93, memoir of Halina Złotnik; VHF, # 48980, testimony of Emil Hecht, 1998.
11. Translation of Ring I/804, "The Głowno Timetable," in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 120–123.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/674, p. 33.
13. Translation of Ring I/804, "The Głowno Timetable," in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 120–123.

GÓRA KALWARIA

Pre-1939: Góra Kalwaria (Yiddish: Ger), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Gora Kalwaria, Kreis Grojec, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Góra Kalwaria, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Góra Kalwaria is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) south-southeast of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, the population of Góra Kalwaria was 7,000, including around 3,300 Jews. However, since the Ger rabbi, Abraham Mordecai Alter, resided in this shtetl, the number of Jews generally swelled to double this number between Rosh Hashanah and the Shavuot holiday each year. The town was a major center of prayer and study for the Ger Hasidim.

With the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, the economy was ruined. The Ger rabbi left six days after war was declared, and the following day, a large proportion of the Jews fled hurriedly without their belongings. Some went to Warsaw, others across the Vistula. Góra Kalwaria was not severely damaged by the German bombardment.

On September 8, the Germans marched into Góra Kalwaria. On their arrival German soldiers plundered Jewish property, and soon they arrested the Jewish and Christian young men who remained. The Jewish prisoners were deported to forced labor camps in Germany and not released for a couple of months. After about one week, those Jews who had returned to the town found their homes standing but emptied by looters. The German authorities confiscated goods from Jewish businesses.[1]

The Germans required that between 200 and 400 Jews report for forced labor each day. One Jew, Yankl Czarnaczapka, a tailor by trade, was instructed to organize these labor details for the Germans. He claimed to be protecting the Jews from random seizures off the streets, but it soon became clear that "he protected and looked out only for his own interests."[2] German regulations soon forbade the Jews from carrying out most forms of business. Instead, a new business, smuggling food and life-sustaining needs from Warsaw, developed.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on the orders of the first Kreishauptmann, Regierungsrat Dr. Klein, on January 15, 1940 (he was replaced in March 1940). It consisted of six former members of the kehillah and six new members, including its head, Mr. M.K. Skrzypek. The Judenrat took over the organization of forced laborers. Forced labor tasks included agricultural work and road construction.

In January 1940, the Jews were assembled at the magistrate's office and were issued with numbers. The Jews then had to sew the numbers onto their armbands which they had to carry with them at all times or face punishment. The numbers were used by the Judenrat to assist in assigning people for forced labor. Excluding the sick, all Jews were required to work two or three days per week. Work on certain details was paid, while the others remained unpaid, causing considerable resentment that threatened to undermine the Judenrat's system of labor assignments, as Jews sought to get transferred to those jobs that were paid.

The Judenrat also was responsible for collecting funds needed to cover its expenses of some 5,000 złoty per month. Collecting this money became increasingly difficult over time, and the Judenrat employed the Jewish Police, led by Czarnaczapka, to impose sanctions on those unwilling to pay.

To assist the many needy Jews in Góra Kalwaria, contact was established with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw. By March 1940, with support received from the AJDC, a soup kitchen had been opened, organized under the supervision of the Judenrat. It provided up to 1,200 meals daily at a price of 10 groszy each. Those without means received the food for free. At Passover, monetary aid and matzot were supplied to needy Jews with the aid of some 15,000 złoty from the AJDC. The kitchen continued operations until June, when the AJDC ceased providing support.[3]

In the summer of 1940, to meet a quota of 170 people assigned by the Jewish Council for the Kreis based in Grójec, the Jewish Police and the Gendarmes rounded up 40 Jewish youths and sent them away to work at labor camps in Kreis Hrubieszow, Distrikt Lublin. Conditions in the camps were

appalling, and a number of youths died from illness or were shot by the guards. The remainder returned home by the winter of 1940–1941, severely weakened by the ordeal.[4]

Due to concerns about the spread of typhus among both Christians and Jews, the local health authorities instructed the Jews to build a bathhouse and an isolation ward. A wall was constructed in the Bet Midrash to isolate the contagious. This work went on for a number of weeks and had to be paid for by additional taxes on the Jews. Ultimately not all of the required construction projects were completed, as they were interrupted by the expulsion of the Jews from the town.[5]

At the end of 1940, the Jews of Góra Kalwaria were confined to certain streets, including Czorny-Dwor Street, establishing an open ghetto. According to survivor Jerry Lista, the relocation was announced in the papers and on loudspeakers, and the Jews were given two to three days to move into the designated area. The Jews could take with them only the most necessary items.[6] The Polish inhabitants had been removed from this area.[7] Apartments were hard to come by, and the living quarters were very cramped, with about 10 people sharing one room. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, and Christians were not allowed to enter. Smuggling stopped almost completely. Hygienic conditions were poor, and disease spread among the ghetto inhabitants.

In early January 1941, the Jewish Council reported that about 300 Jews had recently been resettled to Góra Kalwaria from nearby communities. In addition, there were about 100 Jewish refugees, mostly from towns in the Warthegau, living with the indigenous Jews in the Góra Kalwaria ghetto.[8]

On January 21, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Grójec, Landrat Werner Zimmermann, issued the following order: "All Jews living outside of the towns of Błędów, Tarczyn, Mogielnica, Góra Kalwaria, Warka, and Grójec are to transfer immediately to the closest of these towns, all of which were to be considered as ghettos. The heads of the respective settlements were made personally responsible for ensuring that by January 27, 1941, no Jews still were residing on their territory." The order also stipulated that any Jew caught outside these ghettos after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[9]

As rumors spread of the transfer of the Jews to the Warsaw ghetto, Jews began to sell off their last possessions for whatever they could get. To prevent this, in early February 1941 the Kreishauptmann forbade Jews from selling their furniture to non-Jews and declared invalid all such sales after February 1, 1941. The police were instructed to prevent all attempts to transport furniture out of the ghettos of the Kreis.[10]

On February 25 and 26, 1941, the Jews of Góra Kalwaria were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto. As there was some warning, a few hundred managed to escape in time to other towns. Starting at 6:00 A.M., the Jews were assembled at a meeting point next to the magistrate's office under armed guard. Each family could not take with them more than 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of luggage. They were escorted out of Góra Kalwaria to the railway station as the local Polish inhabitants watched them leave. From here they were transported in overcrowded carriages by rail to the Warsaw ghetto, being forced to change trains in Piaseczno on the way. On arrival they were required to shower and then placed the next day in quarters prepared for refugees, which included a synagogue and a disused hospital. In total some 3,000 Jews were transferred from Góra Kalwaria to the Warsaw ghetto.[11]

The Judenrat remained in the town for another eight days to try to retrieve some property items that had been requisitioned by the German Gendarmes. They also attempted to transport remaining food supplies to the Warsaw ghetto but were only partially successful, salvaging 50 out of 400 cubic meters (65.4 out of 523.2 cubic yards) of potatoes, as the Polish Red Cross obstructed them.

Horrendous conditions of poverty and hunger faced the Jews of Góra Kalwaria in the Warsaw ghetto. Whatever they brought with them was stolen. Hundreds died in the first months and many more daily after that. Most of the remainder were deported to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp in the summer of 1942.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews in Góra Kalwaria during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Gregorio Saposznikow, ed., "*Meguilat Guer*" (Buenos Aires: Residentes de Guer en Argentina, 1975); Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 188–197. The Góra Kalwaria ghetto is mentioned also in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 188; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 213; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 211–212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/349 [AJDC]; Ring I/809, 881, 1175); BA-L (Ordn. Vers. XXI); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (e.g., # 10410, 29091); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Ring I/809, cited here from the translation in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 191; Saposznikow, "*Meguilat Guer*," p. 330.
2. AŻIH, Ring I/809, cited from Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 191.
3. Ibid., pp. 192–193; AŻIH, 210/349.
4. AŻIH, Ring I/809; Saposznikow, "*Meguilat Guer*," pp. 332–333.
5. AŻIH, Ring I/809; 210/349.
6. VHF, # 10410, testimony of Jerry Lista (born 1927), 1995; Saposznikow, "*Meguilat Guer*," p. 333.
7. VHF, # 29091, testimony of Henryk Prajs (born 1916). This witness, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto in July 1940.
8. AŻIH, 210/349.
9. AŻIH, Ring I/881.

10. BA-L, Ordn. Vers. XXI, p. 364, Kreishauptmann Grojec an alle Bürgermeister und Gemeindevorsteher des Kreises Grojec, February 4, 1941.

11. AŻIH, Ring I/809; Saposznikow, "*Meguilat Guer*," pp. 334–335.

GRODZISK MAZOWIECKI

Pre-1939: Grodzisk Mazowiecki (Yiddish: Grodzhisk), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Sochaczew, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Grodzisk Mazowiecki is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Warsaw. Before World War II, there were around 3,600 Jews living in Grodzisk, among a total population of about 17,500.

On the evening of September 8, 1939, Wehrmacht units occupied the town. The Germans first granted recognition to the Jewish group that had formed in early September to function as a social welfare committee and gave it the name "Jewish Council of Elders" *(Ältestenrat der Juden)*. At first, the members were appointed by the Polish mayor, Edward Radgowski, drawing on a list provided by the former chairman of the Jewish community, Jakubowicz. Jakubowicz also headed the council, which had eight other members.[1]

Antisemitic measures instituted by the authorities, originating with Kreishauptmann Karl Adolf Pott, who resided in Sochaczew, first affected the Jews' food supply or, more specifically, that of the retailers. For instance, on November 8, 1939, by order of the Kreishauptmann, the first shops were closed, and other storefronts were painted with the word *Jude* (Jew) in red lettering.[2]

Soon the Jewish Council (Judenrat) was fully occupied with providing for the first refugees and deportees, who arrived in the town almost completely destitute. They included at least 1,103 persons who arrived on January 14, 1940, from the surrounding rural communities and from Łódź as well; in August 1940, an additional 543 refugees came to Grodzisk Mazowiecki, and in January 1941, there were more arrivals—around 1,200 persons, including some from Kraków. On the other hand, on October 10, 1940, around 100 inhabitants were deported to Łódź, amid great furor. Among the deportees were the chairman of the Jewish Council, Jakubowicz, and two other members of the council.[3] Nonetheless, by 1941 the total number of Jews in Grodzisk had risen to approximately 6,000.[4]

The Jewish Council, under the new leadership of Bernard Kampelmacher and Samuel Lewkowicz,[5] now had only six members, who tried rather vigorously to alleviate the Jews' suffering. First and foremost, funds were essential for this purpose, and consequently a tax of 1 to 5 złoty per month, depending on financial capacity, was levied. In addition, a fee of 0.30 złoty for food ration cards was instituted. The council used the revenue primarily for support of the poor,[6] a task it undertook jointly with the social welfare committee. Its members, Maks Hutt, Samuel Lewkowicz, Fiszel Płachta, Abram Wolanowski, and Bernard Kampelmacher, however, could not count on assistance from the Kraków-based organization Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS); such help continued to be denied them, despite numerous requests. No such assistance was provided in Grodzisk, unlike the Kreis capital Sochaczew, which had a JSS representative office, although the Jewish population there numbered only 3,000.[7] Contacts with Jewish organizations existed primarily in the form of branch offices of the Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland (TOZ) and the Central Organization for Orphan Care (CENTOS).[8] Nonetheless, the social welfare committee—which used its own funds to maintain disinfection equipment, an isolation ward, an outpatient clinic with two Jewish doctors, an orphanage for 40 children, and a school with seven grades, nine teachers, and 500 pupils—was largely forced to support itself. Not even the local public kitchen, which provided around 1,000 meals daily for the poorest members of the community, most of whom were refugees, could count on assistance from Kraków.[9]

Even so, the Jewish Council was able to place about 100 children in the care of the TOZ in Warsaw. Even the religious life of the Orthodox Mizrachim was fostered; the community maintained a rabbi and a house of study—admittedly, the latter housed the office of the Jewish Council.[10]

In Grodzisk, too, the German occupiers used the Jews as a labor force. The first work gangs had been in operation since 1939, cleaning streets and doing construction work;[11] 10 to 20 Jews were always at the permanent disposal of the town commandant's office, the regimental command, the Heeresunterkunftsverwaltung (Army Billeting Administration), and the officers' mess. Especially hard physical labor had to be performed by those who were deployed, for example, in the auto parts factory owned by the Kobylarski brothers. To forestall the arbitrary recruiting for labor that most German agencies carried out in the initial phase of the occupation, the Jewish Council soon set up a labor battalion, in which otherwise unemployed Jews could and had to participate. The Germans instructed the council where to send these workers; their payment was also handled by the council—if it had sufficient money for this purpose.[12]

The procurement of skilled workers and other qualified personnel was the responsibility of the Arbeitsamt (labor office) in Sochaczew, which made official requests for such workers and also took care of their weekly payment or, rather, arranged for the respective employers to pay their wages. Despite these measures, unemployment among the Jews of Grodzisk was high, and would-be workers frequently came to the council and asked to be placed in a job. A notable exception to this rule was the task of road construction near the town in the summer of 1940, which was pushed ahead under the harshest conditions. In view of the German pressure, the Judenrat could spare almost no one from the rigors of this work; a subsequent report described it as a "judgment from above."[13]

After around 150 Jews who had been arbitrarily arrested were sent to labor camps in Distrikt Lublin in three transports in October 1940, a delegation of the Jewish Council succeeded, while visiting the site, in arranging for at least the workers who had fallen ill to be returned to Grodzisk.[14] This accomplishment, probably the greatest success of the council under Bernard Kampelmacher, was soon followed by the shock of the ghettoization: on November 13, 1940, a placard posted by the Kreishauptmann announced the imminent resettlement from Grodzisk to Warsaw, while the Jews were forbidden, as of December, to leave an area in the center of town, the Jewish quarter or ghetto (*Jüdisches Wohngebiet*) that was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.[15]

The resettlement to Warsaw, which took place between February 12 and 20, 1940, was handled with great brutality, though no mass killing occurred; after being deloused, the Jews were allowed to take with them 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of baggage and a two-day supply of food. The deportation process is described in detail in both Jewish[16] and Polish[17] sources. Because Lissberg, the head of the German Kripo outpost,[18] had forbidden Jews to leave the town and ordered patrols to shoot any Jew found outside of the town, only a few Jews succeeded in escaping. Only a few craftsmen remained in Grodzisk itself until summer 1941, when they too were sent to Warsaw.[19]

Almost all the Jews of Grodzisk—initially organized in a kind of hometown association in the Warsaw ghetto, under the leadership of Kampelmacher[20]—shared the fate of the other inmates of the Warsaw ghetto and were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp; Kampelmacher died earlier, of typhus, in 1942. As early as the end of February 1941, a member of the Polish underground movement remarked that Grodzisk was empty without the Jews—but that the economy was profiting from their disappearance. Nonetheless, 125 survivors returned for some length of time immediately after the war.[21]

SOURCES The most significant information on Grodzisk, based on research mainly in the ŻIH archives, is found in the following publication: Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); the book also takes into account the older study by Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk Żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskie," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 83–125. Information about the fate of the town during the war, with occasional mention of the Jews, is found in the diary of the resistance fighter Stanisław Rembek, *Dziennik okupacyjny* (Warsaw: Agawa, 2000). Little light is shed, however, by Józef Kazimierski, ed., *Dzieje Grodziska Mazowieckiego* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Geologiczne, 1989), which almost entirely ignores the Jews of Grodzisk.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Grodzisk are preserved most notably in AŻIH in Warsaw (e.g., Ring I/8, 9, 15, 21, 320, 352, 806; 210/28 [AJDC]; 211/431 [JSS]). Copies are also available in other archives: USHMM and YVA. Yad Vashem has several accounts by survivors from Grodzisk (YVA, O-3). Local German policy is reflected in the comprehensive records of the Kreishauptmannschaft Sochaczew (APW, Fond 492).

Stephan Lehnstaedt

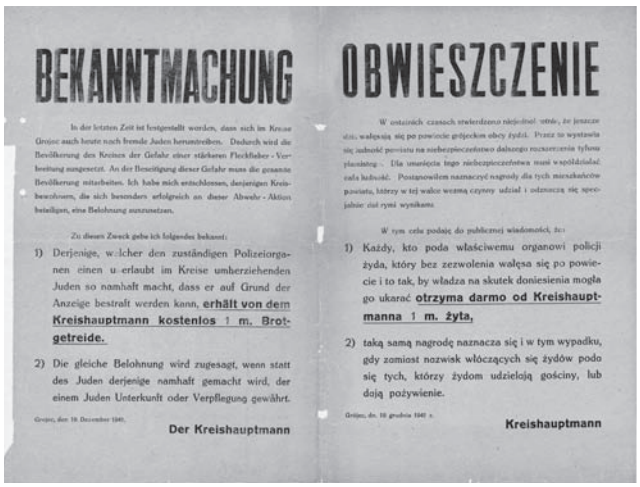
NOTES

1. AŻIH, Ring I/8, report by Bernard Kampelmacher.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. See Berenstein, "Deportacje," pp. 115–116.
5. On Lewkowicz, see the biographical sketch written by Kampelmacher, in AŻIH, Ring I/21, undated [summer 1941].
6. AŻIH, Ring I/8, report by Bernard Kampelmacher.
7. Ibid., 211/431, letters from Kraków JSS to Social Welfare Committee in Grodzisk, November 29, 1940, and December 7, 1940. In its letters, the JSS also pointed out that a representative office could be established only by the Kreishauptmannschaft.
8. Ibid., 210/28, AJDC index of places for Distrikt Warschau, May–December 1940.
9. Ibid., 211/431, telegram from Kampelmacher to Kraków JSS, February 1, 1941.
10. Ibid., Ring I/8, report by Bernard Kampelmacher.
11. See Rembek, *Dziennik*, pp. 16–17, diary entry for February 20, 1940.
12. AŻIH, Ring I/8, report by Bernard Kampelmacher.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid. See also Rembek, *Dziennik*, pp. 123–124, diary entry for October 30, 1940.
15. Centrum Kultury w Grodzisku Mazowieckim, Resettlement announcement for Grodzisk, Żyrardów, Sochaczew, and Błonie, November 13, 1940.
16. AŻIH, Ring I/9, report by Bernard Kampelmacher on the resettlement of the Jews, undated [1942]. See also Ring I/806 and Ring 1/352, Anordnung betreffend Freimachung des Kreises Sochaczew-Blonie von Juden, January 31, 1941.
17. See Rembek, *Dziennik*, pp. 163–170, diary entries for February 7–14, 1941.
18. See Jacek Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard' w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 39–74, here p. 42.
19. See Berenstein, "Deportacje," pp. 115–116.
20. AŻIH, Ring I/320, announcement of the Grodzisk Hometown Association in the Warsaw Ghetto, March 2, 1941.
21. See Alina Skibińska, "Powroty ocalałych," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 505–599, here pp. 586 and 591. In Grozdisk, there was also a regional Jewish committee, with which 77 survivors were registered.

GRÓJEC

Pre-1939: Grójec (Yiddish: Gritze), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Grojec, Kreis center, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Grójec, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Grójec is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) south of Warsaw. On June 23, 1939, Grójec had 9,752 residents, including 5,190 Jews.



BEKANNTMACHUNG

In der letzten Zeit ist festgestellt worden, dass sich im Kreise Grójec auch heute noch fremde Juden herumtreiben. Dadurch wird die Bevölkerung des Kreises der Gefahr einer stärkeren Fleckfieber - Verbreitung ausgesetzt. An der Beseitigung dieser Gefahr muss die gesamte Bevölkerung mitarbeiten. Ich habe mich entschlossen, denjenigen Kreisbewohnern, die sich besonders erfolgreich an dieser Abwehr - Aktion beteiligen, eine Belohnung zuzusetzen.

Zu diesem Zweck gebe ich folgendes bekannt:

1) Derjenige, welcher den zuständigen Polizeiorganen einen u erlaubt im Kreise umherziehenden Juden so namhaft macht, dass er auf Grund der Anzeige bestraft werden kann, **erhält von dem Kreishauptmann kostenlos 1 m. Brotgetreide.**

2) Die gleiche Belohnung wird zugesagt, wenn statt des Juden derjenige namhaft gemacht wird, der einem Juden Unterkunft oder Verpflegung gewährt.

Grójec, den 10. December 1941.

Der Kreishauptmann

OBWIESZCZENIE

W ostatnich czasach stwierdzono niejednokrotnie, że jeszcze dziś, wałęsają się po powiecie grójeckim obcy żydzi. Przez to wystawia się ludność powiatu na niebezpieczeństwo dalszego rozszerzenia tyfusu plamistego. Dla uniknięcia tego niebezpieczeństwa musi współdziałać cała ludność. Postanowiłem nazmaczyć nagrody dla tych mieszkańców powiatu, którzy w tej walce wezmą czynny udział i odznaczą się specjalnie dni rymi wynikami.

W tym celu podaję do publicznej wiadomości, że:

1) Każdy, kto poda właściwemu organowi policji żyda, który bez zezwolenia wałęsa się po powiecie i to tak, by władza na skutek doniesienia mogła go ukarać **otrzyma darmo od Kreishauptmanna 1 m. żyta,**

2) taką samą nagrodę naznacza się i w tym wypadku, gdy zamiast nazwisk włóczących się żydów podo się tych, którzy żydom udzielają gościny, lub dają pożywienie.

Grójec, dn. 10 grudnia 1941 r.

Kreishauptmann

Announcement in German and Polish issued by the Kreishauptmann of the Grójec district, Werner Zimmermann, offering a reward for turning in Jews, December 19, 1941. The original text reads: "It has been recently established that in the Grójec area foreign Jews are still moving about. The residents of the Grójec area are thereby exposed to the danger of a serious outbreak of typhus. The entire population must cooperate in the elimination of this danger. I have decided to reward those residents who are particularly successful in participating in this defensive action. To this end I make the following known:
1) He who provides to the responsible police organization the name of an illegal and transient Jew, in such a way that leads to his capture, will receive from the Kreishauptmann 1 m. [cubic meter] of wheat.
2) The same reward will be given if, instead of a Jew, the name of someone who gives shelter or aid to a Jew [is provided]."
USHMM WS #N09666, COURTESY OF IPN

German troops occupied the town on September 8, 1939. Shortly after the arrival of the Germans, they started to rob and persecute the Jews. Before the Germans arrived, many refugees arrived in Grójec; however, after hostilities ended, most returned home or moved on to other towns.

On September 12, the Germans assembled thousands of Polish and Jewish able-bodied men in Grójec and led them away on foot. Some of those who fell down were shot immediately along the way. The Poles were released shortly afterwards along with some Jews who paid bribes, but other Jews were taken away to places elsewhere in Poland or to Wrocław. The survivors returned to Grójec at the end of the month. In the first weeks of the occupation, the wooden synagogue was razed. Later, the Jewish cemetery was devastated, and broken tombstones were used to build a road to Kobylin, where the Kreishauptmann, Werner Zimmermann, had settled in a manor.

On January 24, 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Grójec. The following became members: Chaium Amberg, Chaim Braun, Noah Bitter, Yaakov Aaron Rechtszajd, Itzhak Brumer, Gecel Rotbard, Elai Waserman, Szymon Zylberminc, Szlama-Majer Rozental, Szoel Lachman, Fryd-Chil Motel, and Chaim-Szoel Groman. Noah Bitter became the chairman, and Yaakov Aaron Rechtszajd was his deputy. Later, J. Lewkowicz became the Judenrat chairman. Dr. Nathan Boim was in charge of welfare issues; Dr. F. Kotowski managed health. In the first months of 1940, the Gestapo arrested 100 Jews in Grójec, including four members of the Judenrat, demanding a ransom of 170,000 złoty. The prisoners were not released until this sum was paid.

Each day, a designated number of Jewish laborers had to gather at the market square to perform forced labor in Grójec. The most common jobs were cleaning the town, fixing roads, and clearing snow from the roads in the winter. Apart from these tasks, repairing the sewers and irrigation work were also conducted. More wealthy Jews were able to pay for substitutes via the Judenrat.

Approximately 400 persons worked in a labor camp in Częstoniew, established to support the Luftwaffe military airport in Słomczyn. Between 1940 and 1942, six small labor camps operated in the vicinity of Grójec, in which Jews were employed in drainage for the Water Regulation Office (Wasserwirtschaftamt) along the Jeziorka River and its inflows. The camps were in Grójec (400 inmates), Jasieniec (70 inmates), Boglewska Wola, Krobów (300 inmates), Częstoniew (70 inmates), Moczydłów (existed 1942–1943), and Słomczyn (200 inmates).[1] Labor camps of the Road Construction Office of the Governor of Distrikt Warschau operated in Kreis Grojec in the following localities: Gołków, Jeżewice, and Tarczyn.[2] Hilfspolizei and auxiliary police, consisting of *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) and Polish (Blue) Police, respectively, guarded Jewish workers in these labor camps.[3]

In June 1940, 4,889 Jews were living in Grójec. Due to the deportations of Jews from Polish territories incorporated into the Reich, a number of refugees had arrived from towns such as Łódź, Aleksandrów Kujawski, Lipno, Sierpc, and Włocławek. The influx of refugees and the resulting deterioration of living conditions for the Jewish residents necessitated the creation of a committee for refugee relief affiliated with the Judenrat. Chaim Margulis led the committee. The committee received financial help from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), which covered only a part of its necessities. Apart from financial help from the AJDC, the committee also received assistance with food and clothing. The committee opened a soup kitchen, which cared for approximately 1,000 people.

The first plans for the establishment of a ghetto in Grójec probably date from the summer of 1940. Around this time 94 Jewish families were evacuated from Piłsudski and Laskowa Streets, and other Jews were also evicted from their homes to make room for Germans. This may explain why the yizkor book dates the ghetto's creation in July 1940, although it states that the dating is uncertain.[4] The Polish doctor, responsible for health in Kreis Gojec, however, claimed after the war that through his intervention he managed to postpone the establishment of the ghetto for several months.

On November 14, 1940, the Kreishauptmann ordered the creation of a residential district for the Jews in Grójec. Consequently, a ghetto was set up in Grójec on November 25–28, 1940, in the western part of the town. The plans for the ghetto included the following streets: Kościelna, Mszczonowska, Zatylna, Lewiczyńska, Mogielnicka, Stodolna, Stokowa,

Starostokowa, and Nowostokowa. According to a key letter from the Jewish Council addressed to the mayor, before the creation of the ghetto, some 2,685 Jews (in 808 rooms) and 1,027 Poles (in 414 rooms) were residing in the planned ghetto area, to which another 2,108 Jews from the eastern part of Grójec were now to be added. As a result the ghetto would become severely overcrowded, with about 6 people sharing each room. A further result of the ghetto's establishment would be the almost complete exclusion of the Jews from trade, as they would no longer have access to the market square. After November 28, any Jews still living outside the ghetto faced being severely punished.[5] According to survivor testimony, the ghetto remained unfenced, but guards were posted at regular intervals around the perimeter.[6]

Just prior to the establishment of the ghetto, a unit of Jewish Police was organized, which was armed with wooden batons. Its duties included keeping order, collecting requisitions, and the mobilization of assigned workers for forced labor.

On January 21, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Grójec, Zimmermann, ordered that all Jews living outside of the towns of Błędów, Tarczyn, Mogielnica, Góra Kalwaria, Warka, and Grójec were to move to these towns immediately, all of which were to be considered as ghettos. Any Jew caught elsewhere after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[7] The reason given for the transfer was that the Jews living in the countryside were not subject to necessary sanitary controls and were suspected, therefore, of spreading epidemics. However, the aim of concentrating the Jews in larger towns, such as Grójec, was to prepare for their deportation to the Warsaw ghetto.

The liquidation of the Grójec ghetto took place in the last days of February 1941. On February 25 and 26, all residents were gathered on the market square. After forming a column, they were directed to the Grójec train station. From there, they were transported to the Warsaw ghetto. The deported were allowed to take only a small amount of luggage. Cleaning squads were brought in to the deserted ghetto to collect any remaining items of value. The Jews from Grójec were resettled in the Warsaw ghetto and quarantined at 109 Leszno Street.[8]

To arrest any Jews that remained in the Kreis, an announcement, published by the Grojec Kreishauptmann on December 19, 1941, offered a reward of one cubic meter of wheat for information about Jews in hiding or persons providing them with help. To deter the population from providing help to hiding Jews, the Kreishauptmann warned that Jews were allegedly carriers of typhus.

In the course of the deportation to the Warsaw ghetto, about 100 young and healthy men were selected—craftsmen of different professions: carpenters, locksmiths, tailors, cobblers, and others—and employed to work for the German army. According to the yizkor book, in September 1942, these Jews were taken to the Warsaw ghetto and subjected to a selection. Of the group, 83 were then sent to Smolensk for forced labor as part of a larger group of men and women. Only 3 of these men returned to Grójec after the war.[9] Another group of Jews was quartered in a barracks near the airport in Słomczyn as forced laborers from 1942 until the summer of 1943. On July 14, vehicles transported them to a forest near Dębówka village, to ditches already dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), where they were shot and buried.

There were numerous instances of local inhabitants helping and hiding Jews in Grójec and its vicinity. More than a dozen persons were honored with the title of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

After the war, in 1945, only about 30 pre-war Jewish residents returned to Grójec. Unfortunately, 2 of them, Dr. Jerzy Grus and his wife Jadwiga, were murdered by a Polish underground organization. Other Jews left Grójec and moved to Lower Silesia, where they set up the Committee of Grójec Jews in Wrocław. By 1947, there were 82 Grójec Jews living in Lower Silesia. They were scattered among different towns of the region, mainly in Wrocław, Dzierżoniów, Legnica, and Wałbrzych.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Karolina Panz, "Losy żydowskich mieszkańców Grójca—historia Zagłady: Między pamięcią a zapomnieniem" (M.A. thesis, Warsaw University, 2006); I.B. Alterman, *Megilat Gritse* (Tel Aviv: Gritse Association in Israel, 1955); Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 172–175; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 228.

Documents on the persecution of the Jews of Grójec can be found in the following archives: APW (GM, sygn. 542, pp. 568–569); AŻIH (211/436 [JSS]; Ring I/881, 1054, and 1069; 301/4802, 5584 [Relacje]); BA-L (Ordn. Vers. XXI, p. 364); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079 [Ring]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF (e.g., # 58, 17574, 26319); and YVA (e.g., M-10/Ring I/881, 1054, and 1069).

Witold Mędykowski and Martin Dean
trans. Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 317.
2. Ibid., pp. 276–277, 319.
3. Ibid., p. 297.
4. Alterman, *Megilat Gritse*, p. 281.
5. APW, GM, sygn. 542, pp. 568–569, as cited by Panz, "Losy żydowskich," pp. 87–89. Panz also gives a more precise description of the ghetto boundaries actually implemented and cites also an interview with the Polish doctor.
6. VHF, # 17574, testimony of Aisic Hirsch; # 26319, testimony of David Drayer.
7. AŻIH, Ring I/881.
8. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 252; YVA, M-10, Ring I/1069.
9. Alterman, *Megilat Gritse*, pp. 294–298; AŻIH, 301/4802, testimony of Adam Bitter, 1950.

JADÓW

Pre-1939: Jadów (Yiddish: Yadov), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Jadow, Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jadów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Jadów is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northeast of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, around 1,800 Jews lived there.

Following the outbreak of war, waves of refugees began to pass through Jadów, believing they would be safer in a small town. Some were fleeing east to the territories that came under Soviet rule after September 17, 1939.

After the town's occupation by German forces, some Jews began returning to Jadów. German soldiers persecuted Orthodox Jews, shaving their beards in public. Hunger developed in the town due to the economy's collapse.

A Judenrat (Jewish Council), chaired by Mojsze Zabraniecki, was established in Jadów. One of the first assignments of the Judenrat was the collection of a 150,000 złoty "contribution" imposed by the German authorities. The Germans threatened to shoot 50 hostages if their demands were not met. With great effort, only 80,000 złoty was collected. Following negotiations assisted by the ethnic German mayor, Schroeder, the German authorities accepted this sum.[1] The Jews of Jadów were subjected to the same anti-Jewish laws as throughout the Generalgouvernement. In the autumn of 1939, 529 Jewish refugees arrived in Jadów: 448 from Wyszków and 81 from Pułtusk, Gaworów, Stok, Długosiodło, and Radzyń. A self-help committee was established, which provided assistance to some 1,000 poor and displaced Jews.[2]

Among the refugees from Wyszków was Ellen Karsh, whose family found shelter in an empty auditorium, along with 10 other families. Many refugees arrived with few possessions or money, having fled from severe fires caused by German bombardments. Karsh recalls that there was no school and that she had to stand in line for bread. Sometimes the bread ran out before she reached the front of the line.[3] In 1940, there were 2,591 Jews living in Jadów; as of April 1940, 802 Jewish refugees were registered there.

The Jews were obliged to perform forced labor. Initially, the Polish (Blue) Police seized Jews off the street. However, the Judenrat subsequently organized labor recruitment. Some impoverished Jews volunteered for the labor detachments to obtain some bread. From the summer of 1940, Jews from Jadów were sent to forced labor camps.

A closed ghetto was established in Jadów, after the holiday of Sukkot (October 17) in 1940. The Jews were ordered to build the ghetto fence, which was topped with barbed wire. Because the Jews, constituting almost 90 percent of the town's residents, were concentrated in just one third of the town's area, there was severe overcrowding in the ghetto, with several families sharing each apartment. The Jews attempted to increase the ghetto area through bribery, without success. They were only permitted to take with them a small amount of personal possessions, leaving the remainder for the, mostly Polish, new occupants of their homes. The transfer was overseen by the German Gendarmerie and the Polish (Blue) Police, which also included ethnic Germans and Ukrainians. Once the ghetto was created, a unit of Jewish Police was established.[4]

In June 1941, there were 2,787 Jews in Jadów, including 2,085 local residents and 702 newcomers.[5] Workshops for shoemakers and other trades were organized to meet the needs of the German army, police, and administration. In July 1942, 100 Jews were sent to a labor camp in Wilanów and 50 to another in Izabelin.[6] The Jadów Judenrat sent clothing and food to these laborers.[7]

Fur garments, iron, and precious metals were collected from the Jews. The Jews also worked to build an airfield at Zawiszyn, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of Jadów. Each day a group of Jews left Jadów, returning to the ghetto after work. One day, five Jewish laborers were detained after work. On their release, equipped with special passes, they went on foot to Jadów. On the way, they met a car with Gendarmes from Tłuszcz who, without listening to any explanation, shot the laborers near the bridge over the Osownica River.[8]

There were outbreaks of disease due to overcrowding and inadequate medical care in the ghetto. Dr. Goldberg, a Jewish doctor from Warsaw, was sent to establish a hospital, but he was unable to improve the health of Jadów's Jews. To relieve the suffering of the poor, a public kitchen was established, which in January 1941 was serving 500 meals daily.[9]

There were many cases of Jews being beaten during forced labor and being shot in the streets. In the summer of 1942, the killings of Jews caught outside the ghetto intensified. On May 5, 1942, German Gendarmes shot two Jewish men; two more men were shot on May 28, 1942. The Gendarmes shot another Jewish man on June 10. On August 19, 1942, Gendarmes shot four Jewish women, and another two on August 27.[10]

According to the yizkor book, in the summer of 1942, a group of Roma (Gypsies) was placed in the Jadów ghetto, including many children. The Jews were ordered to feed them and ensure that they remained in the ghetto. However, the Germans subsequently shot a number of them, including some children. Later, a second group arrived unannounced. These Gypsies did not enter the ghetto but were shot nearby, on the orders of Oberleutnant Lipsch. The Jews were ordered to fill in the graves.[11]

It should be noted that the Warsaw–Małkinia Górna railway line leading to the Treblinka extermination camp passed only 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Jadów. As of July 1942, transports of Jews sent from the Warsaw ghetto and other localities for annihilation were passing by on this line. Many Jews managed to jump from those trains. The fugitives, who fell onto the railway tracks, were often wounded or killed by their fall. Gendarmes patrolled the vicinity and finished off the wounded. Ghetto residents heard about the trains passing by and of the Jews' attempts to escape.[12] The liquidation of the nearby Węgrów ghetto (on September 21, 1942) was especially bloody and was perceived as a warning that the liquidation of Jadów would soon follow.

The deportation Aktion in Jadów began on September 23, 1942 (the 13th day of Tishri, two days after Yom Kippur). On that day, all the Jews were ordered to gather near the cattle market. There was a warning that anyone who did not report would be shot. Armed Germans, Gendarmerie, Polish (Blue) Police, and other auxiliaries participated in the Aktion, commanded by Lipsch.[13] Before the Aktion, the Gendarmes drank copious amounts of alcohol. Jews who did not report to the assembly point but sought to hide in their houses were shot on the spot. The conduct of the liquidation was especially bloody. The elderly, sick, and children were shot in and around the town.

Probably between 100[14] and 200[15] Jews were murdered in Jadów, although one witness estimated that there were up to 600 victims. The murdered Jews were buried at the Jewish cemetery. A few months later, the bodies were exhumed and transported to Węgrów, where they were burned.[16]

Jewelry and other valuables were taken from the Jews collected near the market square, and some Jews were tormented and shot while gathered there. After several hours, the ghetto residents were formed into a column and marched out of town; anyone who fell behind was shot.

The Jews were marched to the Łochów train station and from there deported to Treblinka, where they were gassed. During the march, the column stopped for about an hour near Zawiszyn, due to a lack of ammunition among the guards; a truck was sent to Tłuszcz to get more. Reportedly, fewer people were shot on the ensuing march from Zawiszyn to Łochów.[17] After the ghetto's liquidation, some local inhabitants looted the deserted houses.

A group of 20 to 30 young men, including the chairman of the Judenrat, remained in the ghetto to sort out Jewish possessions. Upon finishing their assignment, the group was sent to the Warsaw ghetto.

Following the ghetto's liquidation, Jews discovered hiding in cellars and attics were shot by the Gendarmerie. One of the families who managed to escape at the time of the roundup was that of Finkelman. A partisan unit comprising Jadów ghetto fugitives under the leadership of Mosze Zieleniec was active subsequently in the forests surrounding Jadów.[18]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Jadów during the Holocaust include A.W. Jassni, *Sefer Yadov* (Jerusalem, 1966); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), p. 241; T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 108; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), pp. 87–88. The Jadów ghetto is mentioned also in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 201; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 62, 207, 297; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 896.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/370 [AJDC]; 211/454-455 [JSS]; 301/5204; Ring I/222 and 599/35); BA-L (B 162/6852); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079 [Ring I]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF (e.g., # 27133); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2151).

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NOTES

1. Jassni, *Sefer Yadov*, p. 233.
2. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 207.
3. VHF, # 27133, testimony of Ellen Karsh (born 1925), 1997; Jassni, *Sefer Yadov*, p. 234.
4. Jassni, *Sefer Yadov*, pp. 236–237.
5. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada," p. 108.
6. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 297.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 31, 1942.
8. YVA, O-3/2151, p. 1.
9. AŻIH, 211/455, as cited by Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 207.
10. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów . . . : Województwo siedleckie*, pp. 87–88.
11. Jassni, *Sefer Yadov*, pp. 247–248.
12. YVA, O-3/2151, p. 2.
13. BA-L, B 162/6852, pp. 88–90, as cited in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 62.
14. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów . . . : Województwo siedleckie*, p. 88.
15. BA-L, B 162/6852, pp. 88–90, as cited in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 62.
16. YVA, O-3/2151, p. 9.
17. Ibid., pp. 3–4.
18. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 207.

JEZIORNA

Pre-1939: Jeziorna (Yiddish: Yeziorna), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Konstancin-Jeziorna, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Jeziorna is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) south-southeast of Warsaw. As of September 1, 1939, there were around 655 Jews living in Jeziorna.

The Germans captured Jeziorna on September 14–16, 1939. Initially the 300 Jewish families residing in Jeziorna were permitted to remain in their homes and continued to lead more or less normal lives. The Jews were required to wear the Star of David, and Jewish children no longer attended Polish schools.

On the establishment of a German civil administration in October 1939, Jeziorna became part of Kreis Warschau-Land. The Kreishauptmann was Regierungsrat Dr. Hermann Rupprecht. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in early 1940. Its members included men named Szumacher, Grinstein, Dzialowski, Freiman, and others. The Judenrat had to fulfill the demands of the Gestapo but tried as

far as possible to protect the interests of the community.[1] The Judenrat organized Jewish forced laborers for the Germans; labor tasks included cutting down trees in a nearby wood. In June 1940, there were around 780 Jews residing in Jeziorna.

The German authorities established a ghetto in Jeziorna at some time in 1940.[2] Reliable information regarding the date of the ghetto's establishment is difficult to find. Jewish survivor Bella Pelcman recalled that pretty soon after the Germans' arrival, she and her family had to leave their homes and move to the ghetto. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, but it was not permitted to go out to the non-Jewish area, and non-Jews were not permitted to enter it. There was also a curfew until 9:00 A.M.[3] Solomon Freiman's family did not have to relocate, as their house was located within the ghetto area. However, living conditions in the open ghetto were more crowded than before, due to the Jews that came in. He recalls also that one ethnic German family that owned a large property with a farm also remained in the area reserved for the Jews. The head of this household continued to sell milk to the Jews and was appointed mayor of Jeziorna by the German authorities.[4]

The ghetto in Jeziorna did not exist for long—according to Freiman's recollection, only a couple of months. Only one letter from the welfare committee of the Jews of Jeziorna has survived in the archives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), dated January 16, 1941.[5] In January 1941, the German authorities issued detailed instructions for the sealing of the Jeziorna ghetto.[6] An internal document from the Department for Resettlement (Abteilung Umsiedlung) in the office of the Gouverneur of Distrikt Warschau, dated January 20, 1941, states that the remaining 700 Jews of Jeziorna were scheduled to be deported to the Warsaw ghetto on January 28.[7]

On January 24, 1941, the chief of the Polish (Blue) Police, Weclaw, warned Abram Konigstein, a former leader of the pre-war Jeziorna kehillah, that the Germans had issued an order to deport all the Jews on the following day. In response to this, Konigstein arranged for an ambulance to transport his family and also the town's rabbi in safety to the Warsaw ghetto before the resettlement.[8]

According to documents in the Ringelblum Archive, on January 25, 1941, the German police rounded up more than 600 Jews from the Jeziorna ghetto and transferred them to the Warsaw ghetto.[9] Freiman recalls that "German soldiers" arrived and told the Jews to take what they could. Then all the Jews were put on trucks and transported to the Warsaw ghetto, where they were accommodated in synagogues. He notes that almost the entire town was sent to Warsaw, except for a few who managed to escape.[10]

On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, the Jews from Jeziorna were quarantined at 109 Leszno Street. Here they were held for dozens of hours under unpleasant conditions. A critical account by one of the expellees from Jeziorna, preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, complains that in the quarantine center bribery, corruption, and theft were rife. The deportees had to pay to collect the parcels they were entitled to and could only be released from the quarantine center early in exchange for a bribe. A note attached to the account accuses the quarantine manager, Helber, of being a collaborator of the Gestapo.[11]

In the Warsaw ghetto, most Jews from Jeziorna shared the fate of the other Jews concentrated there: many were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp in the summer of 1942.

SOURCES Information on the persecution of the Jewish population in Jeziorna during the Nazi occupation can be found in the following publications: T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 106; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 240; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 270.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APW; AŻIH (Ring I/22 [488], 821 [780], 980 [781]; 210/383; 301/2980); IPN; USHMM (RG-15.079 [Ring I]; Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); and VHF (e.g., # 30190, 47896).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2980, testimony of Felicja Rotstein.
2. Ibid.
3. VHF, # 47896, testimony of Bella Pelcman (born 1923), 1998.
4. Ibid., # 30190, testimony of Solomon Freiman (born 1926), 1997. Freiman estimates that the ghetto may have been established as early as January 1940, but this contradicts his own testimony that it existed only for a couple of months, as he dates its liquidation in February 1941.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/383.
6. AŻIH, Ring I/980.
7. The order is partially reprinted in Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Vollstrecker: Die Liquidation von 500.000 Juden im Ghetto Warschau* (Berlin: Arani, 1961), pp. 329–330.
8. AŻIH, 301/2980, pp. 1–3.
9. Ibid., Ring I/22 and 821.
10. VHF, # 30190.
11. AŻIH, Ring I/22.

JEŻÓW

Pre-1939: Jeżów (Yiddish: Yezhov), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jezow, Kreis Skierniewice, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jeżów, village, Łódź województwo, Poland

Jeżów is located 13 kilometers (8 miles) southwest of Skierniewice. In 1921, there were 1,048 Jews living in Jeżów.

Following the occupation of the town by the Germans in September 1939, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the fall. Jews were forced to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, Jewish children were no longer permitted to go to school, and Jews were subjected to forced labor.

On September 9, 1940, the Kreishauptmann in Skierniewice, Regierungsrat Dr. Rupe, reported to Gouverneur Hans Frank in Kraków that there were 1,400 Jews living in Jeżów. In addition, he reported that in Jeżów the bathing facilities were being equipped with showers, and a hot-air disinfection apparatus was also being installed.[1]

The Jeżów ghetto was probably established in the fall of 1940 around the same time as the ghetto in Skierniewice, which was closed on November 15.[2] According to the recollections of Jewish survivor Albert Sliwin, the ghetto was apparently set up over a period of time. The Germans divided the town; they moved the Poles into the better Jewish houses and then crammed the Jews together. Even some houses were divided, half with Poles and half with Jews. "It was crazy the way they did this. It was not a regular ghetto. It would go on like this for 3 or 4 months." At the end of 1940, Albert's family left Jeżów with several other families, taking some of their possessions with them on horses and carts. They moved first to a vacation home in Włodzimierz and later ended up in the Rawa Mazowiecka ghetto.[3]

In the fall of 1940, at least 400 Jews in Jeżów were receiving welfare support, which included subsidized meals from a public kitchen, financed with the support of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).[4] A report dated January 21, 1941, noted that there were about 1,600 Jews residing in Jeżów, of which about 600 were refugees, mainly from Łódź, Stryków, Głowno, and Kraków. The last letter from the Jewish welfare committee in Jeżów is dated February 4, 1941: at this time there were 1,570 Jews, of which 552 were refugees. The welfare committee was supplying 200 meals to needy Jews each day.[5]

In late January 1941, the Jews of Jeżów were informed that they would soon be transferred to the Warsaw ghetto as part of a large-scale plan to clear all the Jews from the Kreise of Distrikt Warschau to the west of the city.

On March 4, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Skierniewice reported that in view of the planned expulsion of all the Jews of the Kreis to the Warsaw ghetto in mid-March, most of the Jews in the Jewish residential areas (ghettos) in Skierniewice and Jeżów and at the Rogów railway station had voluntarily moved to Warsaw. In Skierniewice, there were now only about 180 Jews; in Jeżów, just over 40; and at the Rogów station, only 4. The same report noted that in the course of the departure of the Jews in February, 6,252 people had been deloused and 6,845 had been bathed. The sanitary facilities, which had been established for the Jews, remained operational and were to be used in the future for the Aryan population. The houses abandoned by the Jews were being cleaned and disinfected by work columns supervised by the disinfection staff. The removal of the Jews had resulted in a shortage both of agricultural laborers and of craftsmen.[6]

On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, most of the Jews from Jeżów were put into improvised hostels designated for refugees. A report in the Ringelblum Archive from March 1941 noted the terrible conditions in one of these shelters based in a school building. Refugees from Jeżów were among 460 people being cared for in the facility. The report mentions difficulties encountered with hygiene and medical care and numerous deaths from hunger.[7] A large number of the refugees from Jeżów died of starvation and contagious diseases in the Warsaw ghetto. Most of those who survived until the summer of 1942 were among those deported to the Treblinka extermination camp at that time.

SOURCES The ghetto in Jeżów is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 113; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/384; Ring I/116); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-14.052 [BA-BL, R 52]; RG-15.079 [Ring]); VHF (# 33609); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/23, p. 7, Kreishauptmann Skierniewice, monthly report, September 9, 1940.
2. Yitshak Perlov, ed., *Seyfer Skernyevits: Le-zeykher der fartilikter kehileh kdosheh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Skernivits be-Yisrael, 1955), pp. 636–637, dates the establishment of the Skierniewice ghetto in the fall, as does AŻIH, 301/2063. See also Erster Bekanntmachung über die Errichtung eines besonderen Wohngebiet für Juden in der Stadt Skierniewice, October 15, 1940, published in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 721.
3. VHF, # 33609, testimony of Albert Sliwin, 1997.
4. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212 USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154, 210/384, p. 17, indicates that in October 1940, more than 500 people were receiving support.
5. USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154, 210/384, p. 22.
6. See ibid., RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/29, pp. 96, 88, Kreishauptmann Skierniewice, monthly report, March 4, 1941. No further information could be found about the existence of a ghetto in Rogów.
7. AŻIH, Ring I/116.

KAŁUSZYN

Pre-1939: Kałuszyn, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kaluszyn, Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kałuszyn, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Kałuszyn is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) east of Warsaw. The 1921 census reported 5,033 Jews in Kałuszyn. Estimates of the number of Jews living there on the eve of World War II range from 5,200 up to 6,500.

German troops occupied Kałuszyn on September 11–12, 1939, after intense fighting. In the first weeks of occupation, the Germans executed 30 residents for having participated in



Jews are rounded up for murder in the market square of Kałuszyn, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #18569, COURTESY OF IPN

the initial resistance and began to abuse and rob the town's Jews.[1] Following this initial round of persecution, hundreds of Jews fled east to the Soviet-occupied Polish territories. As much of the town had been destroyed, those who remained built shacks as shelter for the upcoming winter or repaired their damaged houses. Others moved into mass quarters in the remains of the Bet Midrash, the Bund meetinghouse, and other community buildings. As overcrowding led to the spread of disease, the German Gendarmerie was established in nearby Mrozy (instead of Kałuszyn). Nevertheless, Kałuszyn's Jews were charged with providing furniture for the Gendarmerie's offices. A jail and a unit of Polish (Blue) Police were set up in Kałuszyn. Both the Polish (Blue) Police and German Gendarmes were corrupt and treated the Jews badly.

In November 1939, the German authorities ordered the town mayor, Pliwaczewski, to establish a 12-man Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Judenrat included many pre-war community council members who were obligated to carry out German instructions. Initially, Rubin Michelson was the Judenrat chairman. After his death (before August 1940), local dentist Abram Gamze took over. The Judenrat also included Mojsze Kisielnicki (deputy), Mojsze Berman (who chaired the Judenrat in early 1941, to be replaced again by Gamze), Jidl Pięknawieś, Mojsze Alter Guzik, Lajzer Borensztajn, Aron Rapaport, Motel Aronson, Herszel Feldman, Mordka Rinwrot, and talles maker Lis. One of the Judenrat's first tasks was to collect 10,000 złoty; to ensure its payment the Germans arrested 10 wealthy Jews.

From the very beginning, Jews were seized for forced labor that included cleaning jobs, road construction, and drainage works. In early March 1940, the Kreishauptmann in Mińsk Mazowiecki, Dr. Bittrich, ordered the mayor of Kałuszyn to register all Jewish property by March 18. Some Jews were permitted to run their own businesses for a time.

At the turn of 1939–1940, approximately 1,000 deportees from Kalisz, Łódź, and Pabianice were transferred to Kałuszyn via Mińsk Mazowiecki. Some either were transferred back to Mińsk or departed on their own initiative shortly after. For example, 37 Jews from Pabianice settled in Kałuszyn.[2] Approximately 140 deportees from Mińsk Mazowiecki arrived in Kałuszyn in the autumn of 1940.[3] On average, there were 210 refugees and deportees living in Kałuszyn in the second half of 1940.[4]

In the winter of 1939–1940, all Jewish males aged 18 to 45 years were registered for work in labor camps. In April 1940, 38 of those registered were taken to a labor camp in Biała Podlaska. In the summer of 1940, another group was sent to the vicinity of Janów Podlaski; many of these men returned after a few months in very bad health. At the end of that summer, German soldiers arrived in Kałuszyn to recruit Jews for the construction of the train station in Mrozy. As the work was poorly paid and nobody volunteered, the laborers were conscripted.

Opinions regarding the date of establishment and also the location of an open ghetto in Kałuszyn are divided, as the sources provide conflicting information: one reports the ghetto's delimitation in October 1940, with Kałuszyn's Jews remaining wherever they lived as the entire town was declared to be a ghetto; another dates it in September 1941, with only the northwest part of the town comprising the ghetto. Most sources, however, support the former assertion. At places where Jews lived, signs with the following inscription were posted: "Jewish Quarter—Kalushin Ghetto." Despite this, its residents were still permitted to leave the town during daylight hours, as the curfew and blackout were imposed only in the evening.

Similar discrepancies arise regarding the nature of the ghetto's enclosure and when this took place. According to Michael Kishel, the ghetto was declared closed a few months after its establishment but never fenced. Jews needed a permit to leave it safely.[5] However, according to the Judenrat, the ghetto was still open in September 1941 and sometime afterwards surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.[6]

With the establishment of the ghetto, the Kreishauptmann ordered the Judenrat to organize a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) that included a sanitation unit. The following were its members: Goldwasser, Piasecki, Czapka, Radzyński, Gontarski, Berman, Kisielnicki, Wajnkranc, Dimentman, Gelbard, Kuska, Jaworski, Sadowski, Obronczka, Grodzicki, and Zylberman. A refugee from Łódź named Dembowic commanded the unit.

Kałuszyn's Jewish Police was charged with maintaining order inside the ghetto. Its sanitary unit was responsible for cleanliness and also supervised an epidemic hospital that the Judenrat opened in the summer of 1941. According to Kishel: "Though the police had to obey the commands of the Germans, they did whatever they could to lighten the Jews' burden." With the ghetto's enclosure, Kałuszyn's police were ordered to prevent Jews from leaving it, but "people ignored them."[7]

In October 1940, refugees from Pabianice and Kalisz wrote to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) that although the Judenrat had promised 9,000 złoty monthly for the soup kitchen, over the following months it not only withheld all incoming cash subsidies but even sold groceries that were supposed to be distributed free of charge. They did so to cover previous

months' debts, thereby treating the initial "contributions" as loans that were to be paid back. The soup kitchen was closed a short time later. The same letter also quotes Judenrat members as saying: "There are no people in need in Kałuszyn, but debts must be paid." Other complaints include accusations of theft, waste, and discrimination against refugees in the provision of assistance.[8]

The situation did not improve with time. News of the political infighting, mainly due to the efforts of A. Gamze to chair welfare institutions not only in Kałuszyn but also in the Kreis center Minsk, finally reached Dr. Gamsej Wielikowski in Warsaw. In October 1941, Wielikowski addressed the Judenrat as follows: "The essence does not rest in paperwork or fiction, but in real work and help for the broad multitude of the Jewish people."[9]

In March 1941, approximately 1,000 of Kałuszyn's Jews were deported to Warsaw, but most of them returned within a week. The Judenrat reported only 3,000 Jews living in the ghetto at the end of April 1941.[10] By September, their number had risen to 3,166.[11] Around December 1941, all Jews living in the vicinity, as well as groups from Dobre, Latowicz, and Stanisławów, were ordered to move to Kałuszyn. The number of ghetto residents increased to 4,000. During the winter of 1941–1942, 40 to 45 Jews were reportedly dying each month.[12]

In the months preceding the German invasion of the Soviet Union, forced labor was intensified, and more Jews were assigned to dig trenches, fell trees, and repair roads and bridges. Poles and Germans supervised the labor. These laborers were often beaten, even executed. When the Mińsk-based Wolfe and Goebel company arrived in the spring of 1941 (immediately following the deportation to the Warsaw ghetto), very few Jews resisted poorly paid job offers for fear of new deportations. In September 1941, 500 Jews were employed and paid 5 to 8 złoty per day. A small share of the Kałuszyn Jews' bread rations was withheld by the Judenrat for the benefit of the laborers and those in most need.

After the ghetto's closure, the situation for Kałuszyn's Jews worsened considerably, as almost all of them lived from trading with neighboring villages. Therefore, despite the risks, many Jews continued trading, sneaking out mostly at night. In the course of 1941, 12 Jews were executed at the Jewish cemetery.

According to Kishel, when Kałuszyn's Jews learned of the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto in July 1942, Judenrat member Kishelnitski (actually his father) brought a number of Kałuszyn Jews from that ghetto back to their hometown with the help of the Jewish Police.[13] The community later became aware of the liquidation of the Mińsk ghetto on August 21, 1942, and believed that their turn would come soon. Despite assurances given by the German authorities that the Kałuszyn ghetto would remain intact throughout the winter, the town's Jews did not believe them. Around this time, the Gendarmes and Gestapo tripled their demands for money and various goods. Many young Jews began to flee to the forest or to nearby camps, including Kiflev (Kuflów estate), Jeziorek, Mienia, and Siedlce.

On September 19, 1942, the chief of the Mińsk Gestapo, Schmidt, came to Kałuszyn demanding 500 laborers to be ready for work in Jeziorek the following day, which happened to be the eve of Yom Kippur. As very few Jews appeared for work, since most men chose to hide, Kishelnitski was jailed, and in spite of attempts by the Judenrat to bribe the Germans for his release, he was shot.

The liquidation of the Kałuszyn ghetto took place on September 25, 1942. The Warsaw and Mińsk deportation commando, Mrozy Gendarmerie, and Polish (Blue) Police conducted the operation, possibly assisted by Ukrainian, Latvian, and Lithuanian auxiliaries.[14] According to Kishel, the Jewish Police did not take part in the liquidation; its members could move freely, and many escaped from the town. When the Judenrat chairman, Abram Gamze, categorically rejected the Gestapo request to deliver Jews for "resettlement," he was shot in his home.

The ghetto's inhabitants were ordered to assemble at the market square. Several hundred to a thousand Jews were randomly selected and shot either there or at the Jewish cemetery, where they were taken in groups. The Polish manager of the Berman plant, Sheradzinsky, succeeded in getting permission for the 30 Jews employed there to stay and work at the plant, despite having already been detained.

That night, the Jews still remaining were led to the train station in Mrozy. Although women and children were taken on wagons, the men had to run to keep up with the Germans who rode horses. These Jews were loaded into freight trains and sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Available sources give figures in the range of 2,000 to 3,000 for the number of deportees. These disparities probably reflect either the inclusion or exclusion of those executed in Kałuszyn prior to transportation.

In November 1942, the Germans began liquidating the small camps in the vicinity and moved the conscripted laborers into a newly created ghetto/labor camp in Kałuszyn. The underlying purpose was to attract out of hiding and contain those Jews who had managed to escape the deportations, as Kałuszyn was one of only six remnant ghettos announced by Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Krüger for Distrikt Warschau at the end of October 1942. By December, 2,000 to 2,500 Jews had been settled in the ghetto.

This ghetto was liquidated on December 9, 1942. The children were taken away first; however, they were not included in the transport (but killed on the spot). Then the adults were marched to the Mrozy train station; that evening they departed for Treblinka. A number of Jews were able to jump from the train.

Following the town's liberation by Soviet forces, three Jews allegedly were murdered in Kałuszyn: Szmuel Lew Stolarz, Nosyn Finkelsztajn, and a man named Kuski.

SOURCES The following publications include information on the fate of Kałuszyn's Jewish population: Aryeh Shamri et al., eds., *Sefer Kalushin: Gehaylikt der horev gevorener kehile* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kalushin be-Yisrael, 1961), translated

into Hebrew by Yitshak Shoshani as *Kehilat Kalushin*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Y.L. Perets, 1977); Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 399–404; and Joseph Berman, *Autobiography of the Survivor* (West Bloomfield, MI: J. Berman, 1994).

Most of the information in this article is derived from unpublished memoir material and documentation, which can be found at the following archives: AAN; APO (Oddział AP M. St. Warszawy, Akta Miasta Kałuszyna [zespół nr 52]); AŻIH (Ring I/822-823, 210/506-510, and 211/129); BA-BL (R 52 III/29); USHMM (RG-15.079M [Ring I], reel 38; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reels 8 and 27; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-02.067*01 [statement of Michael Kishel, born Majlech Kishelnitski [Kisielnicki], translated from Yiddish]; RG-02.066*01 [Michael Kishel Holocaust memoir]; VHF (e.g., # 6526, 12547, 20270); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 20270, testimony of Paula Popowski, 1996.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 27, 211/508; Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 141.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/393, November 24, 1940, and December 4, 1940.
4. Engelking, "Życie codzienne," pp. 216, 220.
5. VHF, # 6526, testimony of Michael Kishel, 1995.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 8, 211/129, Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej odbytej po Dystrykcie Warszawskim w dniach od 8-14 września 1941; Kałuszyn's Judenrat delegation, while visiting Gamsej Wielikowski (a member of the JSS Presidium in Warsaw and an adviser to the head of Distrikt Warschau, Dr. Ludwig Fischer) in September 1941, reported the existence of "a Jewish quarter, but open"; J.A. Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard,'" in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 65; Berman, *Autobiography*, p. 36; VHF, # 12547, testimony of Carl Grushka, 1996.
7. USHMM, RG-02.067*01 (statement of Michael Kishel, born Majlech Kishelnitski, 1946 or 1947). It should be noted, however, that in this testimony Kishel did not reveal his own membership in the sanitation unit of the Jewish Police and also that deputy chair Kishelnitski was his father—facts subsequently revealed in his 1995 testimony, VHF, # 6526. See also USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/508.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/506-510; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/393, October 30, 1940.
9. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/506, October 5, 1941.
10. Ibid., 211/507, April 27, 1941; A. Żbikowski, "Żydowscy przesiedleńcy z dystryktu warszawskiego w getcie warszawskim 1939–1942 (z pogranicza opisu i interpretacji)," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 227; Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard,'" p. 65, which erroneously dates the deportation as 1940. According to USHMM, RG-02.067*01, 2,000 Jews were deported, but half of them returned to Kałuszyn. See also BA-BL, R 52 III/29, p. 75, report of Kreishauptmann Minsk Mazowiecki, March 5, 1941; and Dr. Josef Kermisz, "Martirologie, Viderstand un umkum fun der yiddisher kehilah in Kalushin," in Shoshani, *Kehilat Kalushin*, pp. 324–325; both mention plans in early 1941 to resettle some Jews to the Warsaw ghetto because of overcrowding in the Kałuszyn ghetto.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 8, 211/129, Sprawozdanie z podróży.
12. Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard,'" p. 65; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/510, January 2, 1942, and May 17, 1942.
13. USHMM, RG-02.067*01.
14. Berman, *Autobiography*, p. 37; USHMM, RG-02.067*01.

KARCZEW

Pre-1939: Karczew, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Karczew is located about 27 kilometers (17 miles) southeast of Warsaw. On the eve of the war in August 1939, about 500 Jews were living in Karczew out of a total population of some 6,000.

On September 2, 1939, German planes bombed Karczew. Many younger people fled to eastern Poland. The town was occupied in mid-September, and shortly afterwards the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which put some order into the daily recruitment of forced laborers. More well-to-do members of the community paid the Judenrat to keep them off the work assignments, and the poorer people were sent to work in their place. Skilled workers were sent to work in the German barracks and in local industrial enterprises set up by the Germans.

On December 1, 1940, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Karczew. About 700 Jews were confined within the "Jewish residential area." At first it was an open ghetto, which made it possible for the inhabitants to barter goods for food with the local Polish population. After a short while the ghetto was closed and such commerce was forbidden.

The records of the Jewish aid committee subordinated to the Judenrat in Karczew do not make specific reference to the existence of a ghetto, but on December 26, 1940, the committee noted that the Jews of Karczew, who mostly lived from trading with Warsaw, were now unemployed and could not afford to buy peat to heat their homes.[1]

The shortage of food brought on increased hunger. The malnutrition and overcrowded conditions, in turn, led to outbreaks of disease and increased mortality. Jewish communal assistance institutions opened soup kitchens for the destitute, but there were insufficient resources to help them, and the population grew weaker and weaker by the day.

In January 1941, only a few weeks after its establishment, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. The Jewish inhabitants of Karczew were transported to the Warsaw ghetto on trucks.

With the evacuation, the Jews of Karczew were left virtually destitute on entering the Warsaw ghetto. A few Jews who had relatives in Otwock escaped from the Warsaw ghetto to join their families in the Otwock ghetto. In April 1942, the Germans established a forced labor camp in Karczew; about 400 Jews from ghettos in the region, including some from the Otwock ghetto, were crowded into huts that were erected on the grounds of the camp.[2] They were put to work digging water channels, and many died in the camp. In May 1943 there was an escape from the camp, which continued to exist at least until September 1943. Only a few Jews from this camp survived to the end of the war.

The 1948 yizkor book notes that relations with the local Polish population did not improve during the war.[3] However, one Pole from Karczew, Albin Szerepko, has been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. He brought food and water to two Jewish boys, Yitzhak and Zvi Gontarski, who hid in the cowshed of the Szerepko family for more than a year. The two boys had fled to Kołbiel from the Karczew ghetto at the time of that ghetto's liquidation and returned to Karczew with their mother after the liquidation of the Kołbiel ghetto in September 1942. Szerepko's father had been employed by the boys' father, Zeev Gontarski, before the war.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Shimon Kanc, *Sefer Zikaron: Otvotsk-Karchev* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Otvotsk and Kartshev, 1968), is concerned primarily with Otwock but does include a small section on the pre-war history of Karczew. The earlier yizkor book edited by Benjamin Orenstein, *Khurbn Otvotsk*, *Falenits*, *Kartshev* (Bamberg: Former Residents of Otvotsk, Falenic and Kartshev in the American Zone in Germany, 1948), also includes a couple of pages on the fate of the Jews of Karczew under German occupation. There is also a brief article on the Jews of the town in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 406–407. The Karczew ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 218; and in *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 106–107.

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community of Karczew during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/525 [JSS]); IPN (ASG, sygn. 62, k. 257); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 211/525, Hilfskomitee beim Judenrat Karczew an Jüdisches Hilfskomitee Warschau, December 26, 1940.

2. Orenstein, *Khurbn Otvotsk*, *Falenits*, *Kartshev*, p. 43; Kanc, *Sefer Zikaron: Otvotsk-Karchev*, p. 843. The Karczew forced labor camp is mentioned in the report of a meeting on the forced labor of Warsaw Jews outside the ghetto, held in the office of the Kommissar of the Warsaw ghetto, Auerswald, on March 20, 1942; see Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), pp. 234–235.

3. Orenstein, *Khurbn Otvotsk*, *Falenits*, *Kartshev*, p. 43.

KIERNOZIA

Pre-1939: Kiernozia, town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Lowicz, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Kiernozia is located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) north-northwest of Łowicz. In 1921, there were 284 Jews living in the town out of a total population of 726.

On September 2, 1939, shortly after the start of the German invasion, Kiernozia was flooded with refugees fleeing from Włocławek, Toruń, and other places to the north and west. Then on September 15, 1939, the Germans started a heavy bombardment of Kiernozia. Most residents fled to nearby villages for safety. Only around 30 Jews remained, and 20 of them were killed in the synagogue on September 16 while praying. About half of the town was severely damaged by the bombing.[1]

When the Germans arrived in the town, they rounded up the entire population and drove them all on foot to Żychlin, about 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) away. The column of people, which included women and children, arrived exhausted and hungry and were detained there overnight. On the next day the Germans segregated the Jews from the rest of the detainees, requesting that they go to one side. Those who did not react quickly enough were pointed out by local ethnic Germans and severely beaten by the German guards.

The Jews of Kiernozia were held in Żychlin for another four days, during which they were required to perform forced labor together with other Jews from Żychlin. When the Kiernozia Jews reported to the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) to receive their passes to return home, the Germans humiliated them, shaving off the beards of elderly Jews. On returning home, in addition to the severe destruction, the Jews found that many Jewish shops and homes had been robbed. In these difficult circumstances, the Jews did their best to help each other out. Those who had lost their homes moved in with other Jewish families—two or three families shared each of the few houses that remained. As no Jewish stores were left operating, those Jews who still had a few possessions exchanged them with local farmers for food.[2]

According to the detailed account in the yizkor book, the Germans established a ghetto in Kiernozia in March 1940, which would make it perhaps the first ghetto in Distrikt Warschau.[3] Other sources, however, date its establishment in May 1940, at the same time that Kreishauptmann Lowicz Regierungsrat Dr. Schwender established four other ghettos in the Kreis, including that in the Kreis center of Łowicz.[4] The yizkor book notes that the Jews were given only five days to move into two small streets on the edge of town, where no Jews had been living previously. At the same time the Germans resettled the former Polish inhabitants of the ghetto

area into the larger number of Jewish houses being vacated. The overcrowding in the ghetto created unhygienic conditions, and many Jews became sick.[5]

All Jewish men over the age of 15 were subjected to forced labor. When the ghetto was set up, some of the men were soon tasked with erecting a fence around the ghetto. German Gendarmes came to the ghetto every day and seized both young and old Jews for work. At the same time, they also stole the last few possessions from Jewish homes.[6]

Some secondary sources mention that in July 1940 about 240 Jews from the surrounding villages were brought into the Kiernozia ghetto.[7] This seems likely, as in December 1940, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Łowicz reported that there were 650 Jews then living in Kiernozia, of which 360 were receiving welfare support.[8]

In February 1941, the Jews of Kiernozia were informed by the German authorities that they had about four weeks to prepare for their transfer to the Warsaw ghetto. In response, some Jews moved voluntarily to Warsaw before the deadline, and others sought to arrange their transfer to other parts of the Generalgouvernement where ghettos had not yet been established. According to the yizkor book, with the assistance of paid non-Jewish intermediaries, one group of 36 Jews managed to organize their successful transfer by truck to the town of Ćmielów in Distrikt Radom.[9]

In March 1941, most of the remaining Jews in Kiernozia were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto. It is likely that a small group of Jews was retained in the empty ghetto in Kiernozia for a short period after the transfer to sort out Jewish property.[10]

On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, many of the Jews from Kiernozia were put initially into improvised hostels designated for refugees. In the Warsaw ghetto, the Kiernozia Jews shared the harsh fates of the other Jews trapped there. Very few of them survived until the end of World War II.

SOURCES Much of this entry is based on the Łowicz yizkor book, Gedaliah Shaiak, ed., *Lovitsh—a shtot in Mazovye un umgegent, seyfer zikorn* (Melbourne and Sydney, Australia: Lowiczer Landsmanshaften, 1966), pp. 364–365, which contains one detailed account regarding the fate of the Jews of Kiernozia under the Nazi occupation. The ghetto in Kiernozia is mentioned also in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 313; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 231; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/674); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-14.052 [BA-BL R 52]); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 364.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 231, date it in May 1940. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212, state March 1940. See also Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 109, citing the report of Kreishauptmann Lowicz, dated July 20, 1940, which indicates that in May 1940 a ghetto existed in Kiernozia.
5. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, p. 364.
6. Ibid.
7. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212; Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, p. 313.
8. USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/674, pp. 37–38.
9. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, pp. 364–365.
10. See USHMM, RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/29, p. 57, Kreishauptmann Lowicz, situation report, March 13, 1941.

KOŁBIEL

Pre-1939: Kołbiel, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kolbiel, Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kołbiel, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Kołbiel is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Warsaw and 14 kilometers (9 miles) southwest of Mińsk Mazowiecki. In September 1939, there were 704 Jewish inhabitants in Kołbiel.[1]

German soldiers occupied the town on September 15, 1939. In the days immediately following the occupation, all the young men were ordered to gather in the local church. From there, they were sent to a military camp in Komorowo (near Ostrów Mazowiecka), where they were held for 10 days. During that time 13 of the men were shot. After that the Germans permitted them to return to Kołbiel. In November 1939, Jews over 10 years old were ordered to wear the Star of David. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Kołbiel. A Jewish police force was formed in November 1939. Subsequently, a Jewish aid committee was organized, which provided assistance to more than 200 people. Among them there were 110 refugees from other localities.[2]

A labor camp was established in Kołbiel whose inmates were assigned to regulate the Świder River. This was one of many camps established as part of a major German program for the regulation of rivers and the irrigation of fields in the Generalgouvernement.[3]

The German authorities established a ghetto in Kołbiel in 1941.[4] The Jewish population was resettled into a few houses located between two streets. The ghetto was very densely populated.[5] Many refugees arrived in Kołbiel from other areas. Among them were 157 Jews from Jakubówka and Wielgolas who were moved into the Kołbiel ghetto in November 1941.[6] Some of around 1,000 Jews who had escaped from the Mińsk Mazowiecki ghetto during its liquidation on August 22 and 23, 1942, sought refuge in Kołbiel. At this time, the population

of the Kołbiel ghetto was around 1,100 Jews.[7] Due to the overcrowding, the difficult sanitary conditions, and hunger, many diseases thrived in the ghetto, including an outbreak of typhus.

In August 1942, the Germans executed about 25 men from Kołbiel—15 Poles and 10 Jews—in the forest near the road to Mińsk Mazowiecki. The bodies were buried at the site of the execution. In the fall of 1942, another 30 Jewish men were murdered by the Germans.[8]

On September 27, 1942, the second day of the Sukkot holiday, German armed forces surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were taken from their homes and escorted to the train station in Pilawa. About 300 Jews—100 men, 80 women, and 120 children—were killed on the spot in Kołbiel or on the way to Pilawa.[9]

From Pilawa, the Jews were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. The Germans retained a small group of about 50 Jews in Kołbiel to clear out the ghetto. Another 100 or so people had succeeded in evading the deportation. After a short time, many of these escapees returned to Kołbiel, where the Germans used them as forced laborers. After some time, the remaining Jews in Kołbiel were resettled to the Warsaw and other remaining ghettos. In November 1942, a large group of Jews was sent from the liquidated labor camps to Warsaw. Among these Jews were a number of Jews from Kołbiel. After Rabbi Landau from Kołbiel arrived in the Warsaw ghetto, he continued to establish yeshivot until the liquidation of the ghetto in April 1943.[10]

After the liquidation of the Kołbiel ghetto, many Jews were caught and killed in the area around Kołbiel. In January 1943, Gendarmes from the post in Nowa Wieś shot a Jewish family—6 children and their parents—at the cemetery in Kołbiel. In December 1943, Gendarmes killed 5 Jews—3 children and their parents—again at the Jewish cemetery in Kołbiel. In 1943, the Nazis murdered 80 Jews in the forest near Kołbiel. The bodies were buried at the site of the execution.[11] According to the testimony of Elijachu H., the wife of the chairman of the Judenrat in Kołbiel was hidden with her child in the forest, where they initially received aid from a Polish forester; eventually, the forester denounced her to the Polish (Blue) Police. The German Gendarme Liebscher arrived; he first shot the child, then the mother.[12]

Of the pre-war Jewish population of Kołbiel, only a few families survived.

SOURCES Articles on the Jewish community of Kołbiel can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 409–411; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 645; and Roman Mogilanski, *The Ghetto Anthology: A Comprehensive Chronicle of the Extermination of Jewry in Nazi Death Camps and Ghettos in Poland* (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration Camps, 1985), p. 142.

The book edited by Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), contains brief information on the Kołbiel ghetto (pp. 15-16, 72, 230, 275-276, 317). Additional information on the ghetto and German crimes in Kołbiel can also be found in: *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 120; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 238; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), pp. 114–116.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Kołbiel under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/28 [AJDC]); BA-L (B 162/6852); IPN (AGK, Kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; AGK, Ankiety GK, woj. warszawskie, "Egzekucje," Kołbiel pow. Otwock; AGK, Kolekcja "Z" sygn. 488/c.s. 32; AGK, Alert ZHP, t. XV, z. 13, k. 107; AGK, Ankiety OK, Warszawa "Represje na ludności żydowskiej przed utworzeniem gett," "Inne represje stosowane przez okupanta hitlerowskiego," "Egzekucje," Kołbiel, pow. Otwock); ITS; and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

Grzegorz Kołacz

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 310/A; Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 216.
2. AŻIH, 210/28 (AJDC, Wykaz Miejscowości, Komitetów Pomocy), pp. 1–6, May 6 and June 1, 1940.
3. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 276.
4. AŻIH Web site, www.jhi.pl/pl/gminy/miasto/279.html.
5. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 409–411.
6. AGK (IPN), Kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; IPN, GK, Zh III/31/35/68, o. pr. woj. warszawskie; AŻIH, 310/A; ITS; *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 120; T. Berenstein et. al, *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 278; Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 216; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 238.
7. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 215–216.
8. IPN, AGK, Ankiety GK, woj. warszawskie, "Egzekucje," Kołbiel pow. Otwock; AGK, Ankiety OK, Warszawa, "Egzekucje," Kołbiel pow. Otwock; AGK, Kolekcja "Z" sygn. 488/c.s. 32; AGK, Alert ZHP, t. XV, z. 13, k. 107; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni*, pp. 114–115.
9. IPN, AGK, Ankiety OK, Warszawa "Represje na ludności żydowskiej przed utworzeniem gett," "Inne represje stosowane przez okupanta hitlerowskiego," "Egzekucje," Kołbiel, pow. Otwock; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni*, p. 115; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 409–11.
10. AŻIH, Ring II/338, "Wiadomości no. 3"; Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 230; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 409–411.
11. IPN, AGK, Ankiety OK, Warszawa, "Represje na ludności żydowskiej przed utworzeniem gett," "Inne represje stosowane przez okupanta hitlerowskiego," "Egzekucje," Kołbiel, pow. Otwock; AGK, Ankiety GK, woj. Warszawskie; AGK,

Alert ZHP, t. XV, z. 13, k. 107; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni*, pp. 115–116.

12. BA-L, B 162/6852, testimony of Elijachu H., June 6, 1962, p. 70, as cited in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 72.

KOSÓW LACKI

Pre-1939: Kosów Lacki, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kosow Lacki, Kreis Sokolow, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kosów Lacki, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Kosów Lacki is located about 89 kilometers (55 miles) northeast of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, the town had approximately 1,400 Jewish residents, constituting 85 percent of the total.

In the opening weeks of World War II, Kosów Lacki's location, 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) west of the Bug River, enabled an unknown number of the town's Jews to escape German occupation. Although the Germans entered Kosów Lacki on September 11, 1939, with no resistance from the Polish army, they did not remain long. As Kosów Lacki was originally assigned to the Soviet occupation zone, the Germans evacuated Kosów Lacki only two days after their arrival. The Red Army's presence in Kosów Lacki, shortly after September 17, 1939, also proved brief. The Soviets in turn evacuated the town after a few days, retreating behind the Bug River, as subsequent negotiations had placed Kosów Lacki back in the German occupation sphere. Some of the town's Jews, particularly the young, decided to leave with the Red Army.

Among the greatest pressures in the first two years of German occupation, which began in Kosów Lacki at the end of September 1939, was the sharp increase in the Jewish population, which more than doubled, from 1,400 at the start of the German occupation to 3,800 by December 1941. Part of this influx came initially from Jews denied entrance at the Soviet border who found it impossible to survive hiding in nearby forests over the winter. Another part came from German forced resettlement to consolidate Jewish communities in the Warsaw region. Seventy Jews from Prostyń were relocated to Kosów Lacki, as were Jews from Wyszków nad Bugiem, Pułtusk, and Ostrów Mazowiecka.[1]

The largest part of forced Jewish resettlement into Kosów Lacki came from German efforts to render those territories annexed to the Reich cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*). On December 13, 1939, German authorities charged the town's rabbi, Jerrucham Fishl Don, with receiving and caring for 750 Jewish deportees who had arrived from Kalisz. Even though the Germans took some of the Kalisz Jews to Sterdyń in March 1940, the sudden influx created enormous pressure on Jewish families in Kosów Lacki. Approximately 15 Kalisz families, about 70 people, were given shelter in the synagogue. Don also expected every Jew to take in as many families as they had rooms. To resolve tensions over the resulting cramped housing situation, the rabbi established a committee composed of Jewish representatives from Kosów Lacki and Kalisz. The committee ordered Kosów Lacki's Jews to feed their Kalisz guests on Fridays and Saturdays. Don also established a kitchen and dining hall, which served hot meals free of charge to refugees and local Jews displaced by the deportees.

In the fall of 1939, the Germans ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to act in the name of the town's Jewish population. In Kosów Lacki, the Judenrat, composed of pre-war kehillah functionaries, was initially chaired by Itzchak Liberman. Youth leaders from different political parties also organized, with permission from the official Judenrat, a parallel Judenrat. This youth Judenrat appears to have provided many of the ghetto's social services. It organized a sanitation committee, opened a small hospital for contagious diseases, and distributed food products to the weak, sick, and impoverished. It also created a social committee and arranged special passes enabling some, including the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), to remain outside beyond the curfew. The date of the establishment of the Jewish Police is not known, but a 20-man force was headed by an officer named Enoch.[2]

Although the town's Jews were expected to meet German demands for money, furs, and exotic foodstuffs, the German insistence on forced labor posed the greatest challenge to the Judenrat. While organizing female work brigades for neighboring farms expropriated for German and Ukrainian use proved relatively easy, the Judenrat experienced difficulties finding 500 to 600 men willing to travel 145 kilometers (90 miles) by train to spend a week draining the swamp in Łęki. The main Judenrat turned to the youth Judenrat to fulfill the quota for workers in Łęki. They did so by establishing a Work Committee to assign forced labor duties. The youth Judenrat also organized a militia of Jewish youth to enforce the labor quotas. The main Judenrat also broke up a Sabbath strike of female farm laborers launched within the first weeks of their assignment. The Judenrat assisted the German police in arresting the protesters' mothers, which soon brought the strikers back to work to obtain their release.[3]

In his monthly report for February 1941, the Sokolow Kreishauptmann noted that the movement of Jews in the Kreis had been forbidden and that the establishment of six Jewish residential districts (*Judenwohnbezirke*), including one in Kosów Lacki, would be completed in March. Any Jews remaining in the villages were being moved to one of these six places.[4] The same report indicated that the ghettos would be enclosed as soon as the weather permitted. However, most eyewitness testimony maintains that Kosów Lacki remained an "open ghetto," at least up until the main deportation Aktion in September 1942. It seems that as the bulk of the town's population was Jewish, the Germans designated Kosów Lacki a Judenstadt (Jewish town)—and rather than establish a separate ghetto within the town, they treated the entire town as a ghetto, refusing to allow Jews to cross the town's borders.[5]

In early 1941, the welfare expenditures of the Judenrat expanded considerably, from a monthly average in 1940 of about 800 złoty to around 6,500 złoty per month. This steep increase

resulted primarily from the new orders preventing Jews from leaving the town, as previously trade and labor in the surrounding villages had been a major source of food and income for many Jews. The Judenrat responded by launching a Bread Action in which all ghetto residents received half a kilogram (1.1 pounds) of bread free of charge, subsidized with the help of the Kraków-based American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in January and February 1941.[6]

As Germany began preparing for the invasion of the Soviet Union in the spring of 1941, Kosów Lacki's Jews were assigned the task of unloading German trains at the railroad station. Then on June 22, 1941, following the German invasion, Soviet planes bombarded Kosów Lacki, sparking a fire in which 42 people died.[7] Jewish labor obligations were now increased, as a number of craftsmen formed the worker pool at the Treblinka labor camp, less than 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) away. In the fall of 1941, SS troops and Ukrainian guards surrounded Kosów Lacki and took local craftsmen, their assistants, and their equipment to the Treblinka labor camp on trucks. A second roundup of craftsmen took place in 1942. Because carpenter Yankel Kuklavka was not at home at this time, the Germans threatened to kill many of the town's Jews if he were not surrendered. Kuklavka subsequently managed the carpentry shop at the Treblinka labor camp.[8]

The labor camp roundups were accompanied by SS demands for material "contributions." Several weeks after a roundup, SS guards presented the Judenrat with lists of SS demands for a range of goods, from tools and building materials for the labor camp to luxury items and cash payments for the camp's German staff. To obtain the construction materials, the Jewish community disassembled buildings destroyed by Soviet bombing. The Judenrat imposed stiff taxes to meet the SS demands and resorted to harsh measures to extract exotic foodstuffs from local residents, locking up the head of the Cegal household for his refusal to turn over coffee sent from France.[9]

Some residents of Kosów Lacki's ghetto believed that the craftsmen's labor and the town's financial contributions had established a special relationship with the SS at the Treblinka labor camp. When in 1942 SS officers from the Treblinka extermination camp gave a similar list of demands to the Judenrat, it appealed directly to Theodor von Eupen, the commander of the labor camp, with some success. However, the increasing failure of bribes and ransoms to protect the Jews undermined the Judenrat's authority and provoked a leadership crisis. In early 1942, the SS murdered several craftsmen at the labor camp, including locksmith Mordechai Liberman, son of the Judenrat chairman. After losing his son, the Judenrat chairman began drinking heavily. He was found shot dead in the street. His successor, Alter Burstein, failed to secure the release from Warsaw's Pawiak Prison of three young Jewish leaders. The Judenrat's policy of levying heavy taxes to pay for ransoms came into question, particularly after the parents of Joshua Liberman received a letter telling them their son had died in the Auschwitz concentration camp.[10]

Jews in Kosów Lacki were relatively well informed about the terrible events unfolding around them. They had learned about the creation of the Warsaw ghetto from Jews who escaped from the capital in August 1941, seeking better conditions in Kosów Lacki's open ghetto. Polish traders who came to Kosów Lacki to hire Jewish middlemen to help them with illicit trading brought news of deportations from the Warsaw ghetto. The craftsmen at Treblinka, who continued to come home for weekends throughout 1942, reported on their construction work at Treblinka's extermination camp. Ghetto residents also gave assistance to at least three Jews who had jumped from transports headed there. The town offered similar protection and travel papers to four escapees from the extermination camp. Some younger Jews in Kosów Lacki began preparing hiding places in the early fall of 1942. The funeral for Joshua Liberman's grandfather, timber merchant Abraham Liberman, who had died naturally, provided an opportunity to mourn the impending extinction of the town's Jewish community: "Young and old, enemies and friends came to his funeral. . . . People wept bitterly and long for themselves." Survivors later recalled the funeral as "the last time that dignity and ritual accompanied the burial of a Kosów Lacki Jew."[11]

The liquidation of the Jewish community in Kosów Lacki began on September 22, 1942. Early in the morning, Germans, Ukrainian guards, and the Polish fire department cordoned off the town. SS officers ordered the Judenrat and Jewish Police to gather all the Jews in the marketplace but separated off the families of the labor camp craftsmen in the building where the Judenrat met. SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries accompanied the Jewish Police on a house-to-house search for those in hiding, shooting those they found. Others, including a doctor, a female dentist, and at least two refugees from Warsaw, committed suicide. About 150 ghetto residents were killed trying to flee and were buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery. The next day, the SS searched Polish houses throughout the town and in the surrounding countryside, killing Jews they discovered there.[12] Disagreement exists over how the 3,800 Jews from Kosów Lacki's ghetto were transported to the Treblinka death camp. In some accounts, they were escorted to the railway station and loaded into wagons; in another account, Kosów Lacki's Jews walked to Treblinka.[13]

The craftsmen's families were relocated to two narrow streets in an impoverished part of town and were ordered not to leave under penalty of death.[14] Over the course of the next month, the Germans encouraged Jews who had escaped the previous roundups to return to Kosów Lacki, promising them they would not be deported. On October 28, 1942, Kosów Lacki was announced to be one of only six remaining Judenwohnbezirke in Distrikt Warschau.[15] Between 50 and 100 people came out of hiding and joined the craftsmen's families. They were the target of further SS roundups in December 1942, which once again spared those families whose sons and husbands worked at the Treblinka labor camp.[16] Ghetto residents became subjected to random SS violence. One evening, shortly after the second roundup, a group of SS arrived in town

"to have fun by shooting young Jewish men." On what subsequently became remembered as "Yankel Evening," the SS "caught several young Jewish men, including five named Yankel, and chopped their heads off with axes."[17] In February 1943, an SS unit took Kasów Lacki's remaining Jews to the Treblinka labor camp, ostensibly to reunite them with their families.[18]

No more than 50 of Kosów Lacki's Jews survived the war. Of those deported to the labor camp, only Szymon Cegel is known to have escaped during the August 1943 uprising there. The other Jews from the ghetto who survived did so mainly thanks to acts of rescue from Poles in the countryside.[19] Tragically, as many as 11 Jews who had survived the war were killed in its immediate aftermath, along with Poles, when the non-Communist underground blew up Kosów Lacki's Citizen's Militia building.[20]

SOURCES The best source about the Jews of Kosów Lacki during the interwar and World War II eras is the yizkor book *Kosow Lacki* (San Francisco: Holocaust Center of Northern California, 1992), based largely on interviews with two survivors. Other survivor testimonies are from Jews who came from outside the town. The most valuable of these are the accounts of Hanna Lewkowicz, a deportee from Kalisz, who recounts her family's unsuccessful attempt to cross into the Soviet Union along with some recollections of Kosów Lacki's ghetto (USHMM, RG-15.079M [Ring I/478], "Podróż do Rosji. Kosów Lacki w październiku 1941 r.," pp. 1–6, parts of which are published in "Podróż do Rosji," in Andrzej Żbikowski et al., eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, vol. 3, *Relacje z Kresów* [Warsaw: ŻIH, 2000], as well as in another partial publication in "Archiwum Ringelbluma," *Karta*, no. 39 [2003]: 12–13). More valuable for its descriptions of day-to-day ghetto life and organization is Lewkowicz's "Notatki o życiu przesiedleńców z Kalisza w Kosowie Lackim 1939/1941," pp. 1–9 (USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/479). Testimony of escapees from Warsaw who lived for at least a few days in the Kosów Lacki ghetto include the accounts of Józef "Jerzy" Himelblau (AŻIH, 301/3073 [in Polish] and 301/3615 [in Yiddish]), Heniek Ostrowicz (AŻIH, 301/3534), and also Aron Czechowicz (AŻIH, 301/688), who sought refuge in the Kosów Lacki ghetto after escaping from the Treblinka extermination camp.

Further documentation on the fate of the Jews in Kosów Lacki's ghettos can be found in the following archival collections: APSi (Akta Gminy Kosów 98); BA-BL (R 52III/29); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6846); and USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, JSS], reel 30, 211/573-574; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH, AJDC], 210/422 and 425).

Edward Kopówka and Laura Crago

NOTES

1. T. Berenstein, "Deportacja i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskich," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952), table 10; AŻIH, 301/2732, testimony of Rozalina Kożuchowicz, p. 1; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/479, p. 3, and Ring I/478, pp. 6–7; APSi, Akta Gminy Kosów, 98, "Pismo Przedwodniczącego Prezydium w Kosowie do Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie z dn. 3 kwietnia 1952 roku," p. 1; and *Kosow Lacki*, p. 23.

2. *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 24–26; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH, JSS), 211/573, p. 6; RG-15.079M, Ring I/479, pp. 6–8.

3. *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 24–27.

4. USHMM, RG-14.025M (BA-BL), R 52III/29, Lagebericht des Kreises Sokolow-Wengrow für den Monat Februar 1941, published in T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 106.

5. This interpretation of "Judenstadt" is in *Kosow Lacki*, p. 24. According to eyewitness testimony, the ghetto remained open at least until the first German liquidation in September 1942, as mentioned in AŻIH, 301/3073, p. 1, and 301/3534, testimony of Heniek Ostrowicz (aka Kuczowski), p. 1.

6. The Judenrat's social welfare expenditures and discussions of various campaigns to provide nourishment after the creation of the ghetto are in AŻIH, JSS, 211/573; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/479, pp. 1–8. For AJDC assistance, see USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC), 210/422, pp. 1–3, and 210/425, pp. 1–5.

7. See Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz et al., eds., *Raporty Ludwiga Fischera, gubernatora dystryktu warszawskiego, 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1987), pp. 344–345; and *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 27–28.

8. *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 28–29, 35.

9. Ibid., pp. 28–30.

10. Ibid., pp. 30–33.

11. AŻIH, 301/3534, p. 1; 301/688, testimony of Aron Czechowicz, p. 14; and *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 33–37.

12. *Kosow Lacki*, p. 37; AŻIH, 301/3073, pp. 3–5; 301/3534, p. 1.

13. For disagreement over methods of transportation to Treblinka, compare *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 36–37, with AŻIH, 301/688, p. 14, and the "provinces" section of the report sent from the Warsaw ghetto to the London Polish government-in-exile, "Sprawozdanie zjednoczonych organizacji antyfaszystowskich getta warszawskiego z dnia 15 listopada 1942 roku," in Berenstein, Eisenbach, and Rutkowski, *Eksterminacja*, p. 310.

14. Survivor H. Ostrowicz claimed that after the November 1942 deportations the Germans relocated the town's remaining Jews to a ghetto "on the [town's] square" and physically enclosed it. Other eyewitnesses, however, do not mention the smaller ghetto's physical enclosure. Compare here AŻIH, 301/3534, p. 1, with *Kosow Lacki*, p. 38.

15. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, October 28, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 342–344.

16. *Kosow Lacki*, pp. 38–40. BA-L, B 162/6846, p. 97, dates two roundups on December 9 and 19, 1942.

17. *Kosow Lacki*, p. 39.

18. Ibid.

19. See Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 61–62, 362–363.

20. Edward Kopówka, "Kosów Lacki," Treblinka: unpub. draft, 2008, pp. 5–6.

ŁASKARZEW

Pre-1939: Łaskarzew, village, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Laskarzew, Kreis Garwolin, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łaskarzew, town, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Łaskarzew is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 1,252 Jews living in the village.

On September 17, 1939, the Wehrmacht shot 53 residents, of whom 30 were Jewish, in retaliation for their defense of the town. In addition, the Germans also razed 85 percent of the buildings in the village center, including the synagogue and the ritual bath. Another 27 Jews were shot on November 28, 1939.

At first, German Gendarmerie officials from the towns of Sobolew and Garwolin were in charge of affairs in Łaskarzew; a Schutzpolizei unit was later stationed in the village. A unit of Polish (Blue) Police, commanded by Kazimierz Smarzewski, was based in Łaskarzew. Smarzewski reportedly helped the local Jews, among them ghetto survivor Zygmunt (Srul) Warszawer.[1]

A 12-man Judenrat was established in late 1939 with Yaakow Hersh Frimer (Jankiel Frymer) as its chairman. By January 1941, Chaim Goldberg chaired the Judenrat; tradesman Dawid Zelman was his deputy. Other Judenrat members included Mendel Zylbersztajn, A. Lerner, and S.B. Wakszal. A unit of Jewish Police was established later.

In March 1940, approximately 100 refugees from Garwolin settled in Łaskarzew. In November 1940, a second wave of Jews from Garwolin arrived, due to the partial deportation of the Jews from the Kreis center.

In April 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in Łaskarzew. It was staffed mostly by members of the Judenrat; Zelman served as chairman, Zylbersztajn was his deputy, and Goldberg and Frimer were also members. The JSS committee opened a soup kitchen on May 20, 1941.[2]

An open ghetto was established in November 1941. The ghetto was located in the western part of the village and included the following streets: Dąbrowska, 11 Listopada, Wolska, Garbarska, and Alejowa. It housed between 1,300 and 1,500 Jews, including deportees from nearby Maciejowice, Wola Rębkowska, Górzno, and Pilawa. During its existence, approximately 200 Jews were rounded up for a nearby labor camp in Wilga. The labor consisted of digging drainage ditches along the Vistula River.[3]

On January 19, 1942, as reported in *Gazeta Żydowska*, it was announced that the ghetto was closed: "The Jews are not to leave the borders of the [Jewish] quarter on pain of retribution," warned the newspaper. The Poles who had property within the ghetto's perimeter were allowed access with special passes issued by the local authorities. The Jews and Poles were able to visit each other's quarters only with written permission. The Polish police were charged with checking the passes.[4]

According to survivor Warszawer, the ghetto was unguarded. Kazimierz Majewski, a teenage scout at the time, testified that although the ghetto was fenced, entering it was very easy for the Poles. Majewski's scout unit was charged with the delivery of food to ghetto residents and surveillance of the ghetto. In particular, they were to report whether there were Poles taking advantage of the Jews' situation. Warszawer, who was a ritual slaughterer, was still able to conduct some business by smuggling kosher meat into the Warsaw ghetto.[5]

By February 1942, a medical office for walk-in patients and a small hospital had been opened in the ghetto. At this time, the JSS tried to procure orders for craftsmen who still possessed their workshops (25 tailors, 25 cobblers, and three carpenters). Although the six pre-war manual tanneries were razed in 1939, the tanners were still able to produce Russian leather and were seeking employment.[6]

Survivor Estera Waldman testified that the Jews were aware of and frightened by deportations in the region. "The Bürgermeister . . . promises to keep holding back the deportation of the Jews, and for this they pay [him]." The Bürgermeister Madejski also took hostages and released them upon payment. Equally as hostile to the Poles, Madejski was sentenced to death by the Polish Underground State and executed after his transfer to Osiecko. In the course of the summer of 1942, local Jews were paving the Łaskarzew-Sobolew road. Estera Waldman has described the weeks prior to the ghetto's liquidation:

> The men are escaping to the Wilga camp and pay to be admitted there, although before they were paying not to be taken to that camp. Women with children also want to be admitted to the camp, but they are not let in. They have been standing outside the "Lager" [camp] for two days begging to be let in, while their husbands remain inside advising them to run away. On the third day, the Gestapo comes and orders the surrender of all valuables, for which they promise good jobs on estates. When the women gave up everything they were walked into the forest and shot. . . . Sixty-seven women and children were murdered.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on the morning of September 30, 1942. The Germans managed to round up only about 400 Jews and transport them to the Treblinka extermination camp via Sobolew. According to Waldman, as many as 900 Jews managed to escape the deportation and reach the forests, including the elderly rabbi. Another source, the Polish court inquiry (Ankieta Sądow Grodzkich), contradicts Waldman's estimates, reporting 900 deported, 200 escapees, and 200 sent to the Wilga camp.

Shortly after the ghetto's liquidation, the Germans announced that they were "establishing a second ghetto," reported Waldman. She further added: "The Jews are returning from the forests." This remnant ghetto existed for about six

weeks, after which its residents were sent to Treblinka. Approximately 120 Jews were shot in the hunt for escapees of the first and final ghetto liquidations.[8]

SOURCES The following publications refer to the Łaskarzew ghetto: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 287; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 214, 297.

Archival sources include the following: AŻIH (211/658 [JSS]; 211/393-394 [JSS]; 301/35 [Relacje]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos], reels 13 and 18; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 15795, 39015).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M (court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos), reel 13, p. 234; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/658 (Łaskarzew), p. 1; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 136; VHF, # 39015, testimony of Kazimierz Majek, 1997; # 15795, testimony of Zygmunt (Srul) Warszawer, 1996; free.of.pl/l/laskare/historia_laskarzew_1939-1945_3.html.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/393 (Garwolin), pp. 4, 19–20; 211/394 (Garwolin), p. 32; 211/658, pp. 4, 6.
3. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 18, file 52; free.of.pl/l/laskare/historia_laskarzew_1939-1945_3.html.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 24, 1942.
5. VHF, # 39015; # 15795.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/658, pp. 24–26.
7. AŻIH, 301/35, testimony of Estera Waldman, undated; free.of.pl/l/laskare/historia_laskarzew_1939-1945_3.html.
8. AŻIH, 310/35; *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 137; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 18, file 52.

LATOWICZ

Pre-1939: Latowicz, *village*, *Warsaw województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki*, *Distrikt Warschau*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie*, *Poland*

Latowicz is located approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Siedlce. According to the 1921 census, Latowicz had 416 Jewish residents.

Ninety percent of the town's Jewish buildings, including a synagogue and ritual bath, were razed in the initial days of World War II. The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which included the following members: Chaim Płatek, Majer Piaskowski, Majer Akierman, Chajm Zysman, Wolf Zabielski, Mendel Szlechter, Aron Winograd, Gerszon Warszaw, Abram Berger, and Munysz Aizenberg. All were also members of the Committee for Help to Poor Jews established to assist local homeless and refugees. Płatek was the committee's president, and Piaskowski was his deputy. According to the committee's register, there were 418 Jews living in Latowicz in April 1940. Of that number, 110 people (23 families) had lost their dwellings.[1]

Latowicz's Jewish organizations were also to take care of more than 130 Jews living in three-neighboring gminy at the time: 105 Jews living in gmina Jeruzal (Waliska, 3 families; Jeruzal, 5; Dębowce, 4; Lipiny, 1; Borki, 1; Płomieniec, 2; Łukowiec, 2; Wężyczyn, 1); 18 Jews living in Wielgolas (Dęby Małe, 3 families; Kamionka, 1); and 11 people from Iwowe (Iwowe, 2 families; Oleksianka, 1).[2]

The community began restoration of both the synagogue and the ritual bath in 1939 but was short 8,000 złoty needed to finish the project. The plan was to use the bath also as a location for the soup kitchen. In July 1940, the committee reported that Latowicz's Jews were occupying 10 percent of the pre-war households, with two to three families sharing an apartment, adding: "As regards accommodation: we would like to mention that the local authorities are clearing the Jewish families from Polish-owned buildings." By that time several dozen families had been removed already. The letter ended: "All our interventions were futile and so the Judenrat was forced to crowd those [removed families] in with other Jews." Nine additional Jewish families occupying one house were given until August 11, 1941, to move out.

Due to a few cases of typhus among the Jews, the Kreis doctor ordered the immediate establishment of a quarantine facility for 32 persons. The doctor also forced the Judenrat to finish renovation of the bath for this purpose. The severely ill were sent to a hospital in Mińsk Mazowiecki. Dr. Eliasz Pietrów treated local patients.[3]

By mid-September 1941, there were 600 Jews living in Latowicz. Dr. Wielikowski of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Warsaw, who inspected the village at the time, stated that there was no Jewish quarter in the village. Fifty Jews labored in the Chyżyn labor camp located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside of Latowicz. The Judenrat provided them with half a kilogram (1.1 pounds) of bread daily and 10 złoty.[4]

A ghetto was established in November 1941. A German report on the concentration of Jews in Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki of March 3, 1942, states that in November 1941 "120 Jews from Jeruzal were resettled to the Jewish quarter in Latowicz."[5]

According to the Latowicz JSS branch, the relocation from Jeruzal took place a little later, at the beginning of December 1941. The number of newcomers was in fact twice that given in the above-cited German report. The registration of Jeruzal's Jews conducted on January 4, 1942, after their arrival in Latowicz, revealed 226 newcomers, of which only 118 were previously registered officially as living in the Jeruzal gmina and therefore included in the German statistics.

With the resettlement of the Jews from Jeruzal, the ghetto was declared closed. One Judenrat member lamented: "One is unable to trade at all because one cannot leave our locality as it is 'Closed for the Jews' [forbidden for the Jews to leave]."

The typhus outbreak reached epidemic proportions. At the beginning of January 1942, five infected people were transported to the Mińsk Mazowiecki hospital. The community struggled to pay hospital bills, feed the sick, maintain quarantine, and pay its guards.

In April 1942, there were 700 Jews in Latowicz. As of April 20, 27 Jews from Latowicz were conscripted to work at a labor camp in Kuflew (7 kilometers [4.4 miles] away), to which they had to walk daily. Those laborers were compensated with 20 grams (0.7 ounces) of bread and a bowl of rutabaga soup.[6]

According to J.A. Młynarczyk, a number of Jews from Latowicz were ordered to move to Kałuszyn; the date of this resettlement is unknown.

Secondary sources report that the ghetto was liquidated on October 14, 1942, when the Latowicz community was sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

SOURCES Publications that include references to the Latowicz ghetto include Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979) , p. 265; and Jacek A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawn. IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 65.

The following archival sources were used in the preparation of this entry: AŻIH (210/445 [AJDC]; 211/129 and 634 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/445 (Latowicz), pp. 6–9, 18, 23; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/634 (Latowicz), pp. 10–11.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/445, p. 19.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/634, pp. 10–11, 13.
4. Ibid., 211/634, p. 22, and 211/129 (Korespondencja Prezydium ŻSS z Gemisejem Wielikowskim—członkiem Prezydium ŻSS i Doradcą przy Szefie dystryktu warszawskiego, 2 IX 1941–30 X 1941), "Sprawozdanie z podróży służbowej odbytej po dystrykcie warszawskim w dniach od 8-14 września 1941," p. 57.
5. T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), Document 145, pp. 278–279; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/634, pp. 40–42.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/634, pp. 26, 40–42.

LEGIONOWO

Pre-1939: Legionowo, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: town, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Legionowo is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) north of Warsaw. Ludwisin, where the ghetto was located, is a southwestern neighborhood of Legionowo that borders the gmina of Jabłonna. The number of Jewish residents before the war is unknown, but it is unlikely that it exceeded 400.

A 12-man Judenrat was established in February 1940. In December of that year its members included Chil Rozenberg (chairman), Chaim Rozenberg, Abram Rozen (secretary and in charge of Jewish labor), Dr. Abraham Finkelsztejn, Hersz Finkelsztejn, Efroim Szafraniec, Szlama Sterdyner, Moszek Horowicz, Lejb Brzoza, and Motel Nizki.[1] Chana Ruta Magied wrote about the chairman Rozenberg: "I know of one incident when he acted with impropriety. It was shortly before the ghetto liquidation. The son of the Judenrat chairman was caught outside of the ghetto. Rozenberg gave the Germans some other Jew, because he wanted to save his son."[2]

In January 1940, the Judenrat reported to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) that there were approximately 1,000 refugees in Legionowo benefiting from the local soup kitchen, which was financed primarily by the AJDC. The AJDC conducted an inspection and requested a list of Jews, which was conducted by the Judenrat in March 1940. It showed that there were only 588 Jews in Legionowo, and no more than 300 of them were refugees. The inspector established that a "fictitious register" had been made, falsely inflating the number of family members. The Judenrat was ordered to decrease the number of kitchen meals it delivered accordingly and reconstitute the composition of its self-help committee, led by the Judenrat chairman Rozenberg. At this time, there were refugees from the following localities in Legionowo: Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, Serock, Nasielsk, Żuromin, Bieżuń, Sierpc, Chorzele, Nowe Miasto, Włocławek, Bukowiec, Wieliszew, Lipno, Pomiechówek, Ciechanów, Różany, and Pułtusk.

Legionowo's head *(wójt)* stated that based on a register dated April 4, 1940, there were 981 Jews living in Legionowo. That same month, the Judenrat stated there were 1,667 Jews living in the village.[3]

On November 19, 1940, the Judenrat wrote to the AJDC in Warsaw: "We are reporting that on November 15 [1940] a Jewish quarter was established on the territory of Legionowo; it includes [the Jewish] population of three gminas: Legionowo, Jabłonna-Henryków, and Nieporęt"—the latter having already been resettled.[4] There is little information as to how many Jews were transferred from each of these localities, but it is known that Henryków and Płudy had no more than 200 residents—including 88 refugees—in August 1940.[5]

The ghetto was located on the periphery of Legionowo in a neighborhood called Ludwisin; some sources refer to it only by this name. Other names include Ludwisin-Legionowo, Legionowo, but also Jabłonna, due to the ghetto's proximity to that town's border. Hence Magied's description: "They created [the ghetto] on Pola Ludwisińskie [Ludwisin Fields], between Jabłonna and Legionowo. . . . It was a pretty neighborhood, practically half-rural, green, full of orchards. The

only reason the Germans picked it for a ghetto was probably because it was so isolated. All the time they had us as if in the palm of their hand, as they could easily surround and shell [the ghetto]."[6] The following streets delineated the ghetto's borders: Sobieski, Mieszko I, Prymasowska, Kozietulski, Pomorska, and Zygmuntowska. The Judenrat was located at 77 Chrobry Street and the soup kitchen at 55 Sobieski Street. The ghetto remained unfenced. The streets leading into the ghetto had signs posted at the ghetto border with the following inscription: "Jüdische Gegend. Polen und Wehrmacht Eintritt verboten"—Jewish Area: Entrance Forbidden for Poles and German Army Personnel.[7]

Jewish policeman and ghetto survivor Nachman Józef Kazimierski testified that a Jewish police force was established in December 1940 on the orders of the Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land, Regierungsrat Dr. Hermann Rupprecht. The selection of candidates for the Jewish Police was left to the Judenrat chairman. According to Kazimierski, Rozenberg chose "serious citizens, so there were no underhanded tricks." Feldmann was the commander of the Jewish Police; the police wore special armbands and badges, as well as navy blue hats. The Jewish Police set up a jail but "allowed the incarcerated Jews to leave [the jail] during the day and trade," reporting back to the jail at night. Because the policemen enjoyed certain privileges and were excused from forced labor, wealthier Jews paid Rozenberg money to get their sons into the force. Every day Legionowo's Jewish Police was required to provide 150 laborers for the Germans and collect them from their workplace in the evening. There was also an arbitration court in the ghetto, conducted by a lawyer named Federman and two other citizens.[8]

Apart from the localities mentioned above, Jews from the following villages were ordered to move into the Legionowo ghetto: Dąbrówka, Łomianki, Białołęka Dworska, and Wiśniewo. In December 1940, the Judenrat reported around 2,500 Jews living in the ghetto. Almost half of the residents (1,200) were in need of support. Nonetheless, the soup kitchen was now closed for several months. "They live in accommodations under construction . . . which are located on a wide-open field and exposed to terrible winds," the Judenrat reported in January 1941, asking for money to buy fuel. One month later (February 1941), the ghetto was declared closed.[9]

Kazimierski wrote of life in the ghetto:

> We lived well in the town. Officially, we received 210 kilograms (463 pounds) of bread and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of sugar [a week], but nobody ever paid attention to the ration coupons. In the ghetto we had 50 small bakeries and two large [ones]. One of them baked rationed bread; the other was mine. . . . There were 50 ritual slaughterers. People were taking a risk by going to villages, buying cattle, and then herding it to Warsaw for ritual slaughter, [where it was] supervised by two slaughterers and a rabbi from Henryków.[10]

In April 1941, 10 Jews with typhus were sent to a hospital in Wołomin. Despite the danger of an epidemic developing, 400 deportees from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki were sent to Legionowo on May 14, 1941. Initially they were housed in the ghetto's isolation ward, consisting of five rooms, equipped with only two beds. Sixty of them left for Warsaw the next day. The local committee had no resources to help these newcomers aside from distributing some coffee to the elderly and children. As of June 1941, the committee was ordered to feed dinners to 300 laborers working for the German army in Legionowo. In July 1941, 3,000 Jews, of which 1,300 were refugees, were reported to be living in the ghetto. The soup kitchen was closed.[11]

A typhus epidemic eventually broke out in October 1941. By that time, the ghetto had its own epidemic hospital with 30 beds. The soup kitchen reopened only on December 8, 1941, serving a mere 400 meals daily. By February 1942, the epidemic was dying out.

A number of Jews from the ghetto worked in nearby labor camps, including those at Piekiełko and Żerań. There was also a camp in Jabłonna, where approximately 400 Jews from the ghetto were taken in the summer of 1942 to work on the embankment of the Vistula River.

The first reports of Jews being shot for leaving the ghetto appeared in the summer of 1942—for example, a man and a woman were murdered on August 4, 1942; two Jews were shot on August 11; a Jewish woman was shot on August 22.[12]

Following the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942, many escapees from those roundups started arriving in Legionowo. Kazimierski testified that the Jewish Police would take bribes of 5,000 złoty per head to legalize the fugitives in Legionowo. He also recalls how the Jews tried to save themselves by joining the Jewish Police. There were 40 policemen in the ghetto at the time of its liquidation.

The ghetto's destruction, on October 4, 1942, was unannounced, although the Polish (Blue) Police had warned some residents that it was coming. A German named Brandt, arriving with his unit from Warsaw, supervised the Aktion. Upon arrival at the Judenrat's office, the Germans announced that the Jews would be resettled to the east, where they would get land and work in agriculture. Following this, all but 10 policemen were dismissed. The Judenrat chairman was included in this group after he handed over "a sack of gold," recalled Kazimierski, who was selected as 1 of the 10 policemen. These policemen were ordered to go around the ghetto and call for all the residents to assemble on Chrobry Street, in front of the Judenrat. The 400 laborers regulating the Vistula remained in their barracks. Approximately 70 people, including the Judenrat chairman Rozenberg and the police chief Feldmann, were killed.

From the assembly point, Legionowo's Jews were taken to the Radzymin train station via Struga village. The community was deported to the Treblinka extermination camp, together with most of the remaining Jews from Wołomin and Radzymin.[13]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish communities in the Legionowo ghetto include Jacek A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," p. 63; Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," pp. 206, 209; and Marta Janczewska, "Aneks," pp. 275, 297, 304—all in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 200, 265.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/360, 210/466 [AJDC]; 211/635, 211/655, 211/1081-1083 [JSS]; 301/23 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [Ring I]; RG-15.084M [Relacje]); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1570).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/23 (Relacje), testimony of Nachman Józef Kazimierski; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/446 (Legionowo), pp. 5, 53.
2. Testimony of Chana Ruta Magied (YVA, O-3/1570), as cited by Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów," p. 135.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/446, pp. 6–8, 11, 15–24.
4. Ibid., p. 51.
5. Ibid., 210/360 (Henryków), p. 42.
6. Testimony of Chana Ruta Magied, as cited by Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów," p. 170.
7. Krzysztof Kołodziejczyk, "Zagłada w Dniu Radości," *Mazowieckie To i Owo*, June 6, 2008; AŻIH, 301/23; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1081 (Warszawa), p. 5.
8. AŻIH, 301/23.
9. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/466, pp. 62–63; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/635 (Legionowo), p. 1.
10. AŻIH, 301/23, p. 53.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/655 (Ludwisin), p. 3; 211/1081, p. 52; 211/1082 (Warszawa), pp. 15–16; 211/1083 (Warszawa), p. 18.
12. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo stołeczne warszawskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 115; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/635, pp. 2, 4, 6–7; AŻIH, 301/23.
13. AŻIH, 301/23.

ŁOCHÓW

Pre-1939: Łochów (Yiddish: Lochov), village, Lublin województwo, (later Warsaw województwo), Poland; 1939–1944: Lochow, Kreis Sokolow, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łochów, town, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

The civil parish of Łochów, on the northwestern border of the Węgrów powiat, abuts the Bug (River) National Park (Nadbużański Park Krajobrazowy). The civil parish's administrative seat, a town also named Łochów, lies about 55 kilometers (34 miles) north-northeast of Warsaw and 30 kilometers (19 miles) west-northwest of Węgrów. Judel Jakowlewicz Perlis (d. 1893), a Jewish merchant from Grodno, contributed to the establishment of a Jewish settlement there. In 1876, in the forest of Baczki, an estate east of Łochów, he built a factory for manufacturing steel farm implements. On clearings north and northwest of his factory, Perlis created several villages including in Jasiorówka (1875), Ostrówek (1882), and Łopianka (1883). He encouraged Jews to build homes there.[1] Important too was the 1882 purchase of the Łochów estate by Zdzisław Zamoyski (1842–1925). He welcomed Jews to Budziska village, on his estate's western edge, to develop trade and handicrafts.[2]

In 1921, Jews constituted 133 (27 percent) of Baczki's 486 inhabitants, 119 (28 percent) of Budziska's 425 residents, 224 (53.2 percent) of Łopianka's 421 residents, 92 of Jasiorówka's residents, and 56 of Ostrówek's inhabitants. By 1939, Łochów's Jewish population (800) had grown by almost 40 percent. That year, 90 of Łochów's Jews worked in commerce, mostly as small traders, 260 worked in handicrafts, 41 were industrial workers, and 38 were professionals. They belonged to the Jewish council of Stok (Polish: Stoczek-Węgrowski), 11 kilometers (about 7 miles) north.[3]

On September 10, 1939, the German army occupied Łochów. Fearing the Germans' arrival, the Perlis and Loewenstein families joined many Jews from Łochów fleeing to territories occupied after September 17 by the Soviet Union.[4] From October 1, the command of a German artillery unit was billeted at Perlis's factory. The Germans also seized the Zamoyski estate. They established a German Gendarmerie post there of between 10 and 15 policemen, under Karl Tetzen's command. Regional military authorities ordered the registration of Jewish property in the county and closed all Jewish enterprises on October 14, 1939. With these orders, the Germans formally expropriated Perlis's and Loewenstein's factories and placed them under German administration when they reopened in late November. (In the fall of 1941, the Germans turned half of the Loewenstein factory into the *Stammlager* [Stalag] 333 Soviet prisoner-of-war [POW] camp.) The Germans also expropriated vacation homes in the Urle Forest, between Łochów and Jadów. These homes were moved to Łochów for offices, housing, and other venues for German military and civil administrators.[5]

On November 28, 1939, the county's new Kreishauptmann, Landrat Friedrich Schultz, ordered Łochów's Jews to nominate a Judenrat. The Judenrat's chair, Mojżesz Goldsztejn, a blacksmith, was a pre-war supervisor at Perlis's factory. A resident of Baczki, he was an activist from Poale Zion-Left. The Judenrat's assistant chair, P. Płater, was a Zionist. The Judenrat established its headquarters in Łopianka. It placed medical services under the direction of the Perlis factory physician, Zofia Kirchen. Much later, it organized a six-member Jewish police force.[6]

Local German policies towards Łochów's Jews, at first uneven, became more uniform and violent by the fall of 1940.

Soldiers quartered at the Perlis factory in Baczki treated the factory's Jews well, as did a military unit that replaced them. Jews employed there and at the Loewenstein factory, both of which operated with expanded labor forces of 500 and 300 workers, respectively, received such high wages that Distrikt Warschau administrators sent several delegations to the Baczki factory to threaten its German administrator and Jewish technical director with prison terms if workers' earnings were not cut. Jews were not ordered to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David, mandated in Kreis Sokolow in December 1939, until the fall of 1940.[7] Outside of Baczki, Gendarmes harassed Jews, forcing those in Łopianka, Budziska, and Jasiorówka to engage in menial day labor, seizing animals and carts, and stripping stores of merchandise. In Jasiorówka, they repeatedly searched the homes of Jews with pre-war firearm permits. From September 1940, the Gendarmes unleashed several violent attacks against Jews, murdering three and raping adolescent girls in Łopianka. These attacks, almost always associated with Gendarme Hartmann, may have led the Judenrat to try to reduce violence with bribes.[8]

Migration also challenged Łochów's Jews. From November 1939 through 1940, Jewish refugees flooded Łochów, seeking refuge there while arranging to cross into the Soviet Union.[9] In the winter of 1939–1940, the Germans deported to Łochów Jews from Kalisz and Wyszków. By August 1, 1940, Jews comprised 1,200 of Łochów's 14,015 residents.[10] By May 1941, 1,400 Jews, including 756 refugees, lived there. Local Jews blamed the refugees for a 1940 typhus outbreak. The Judenrat created an old-age home for refugees from Kalisz. It ordered Łochów's Jews to house the remaining refugees. It extended free medical care and provided 240 free meals daily in April 1941 to the refugees.[11]

Appointed on June 10, 1940, the new Kreishauptmann Sokolow, Reichslandwirtschaftsrat Ernst Grams, took steps in 1941 to ghettoize Łochów's Jews. In February 1941, he forbade Jews from leaving villages where they lived without special permission. This order transformed many of Łochów's villages into open ghettos. In a February 1, 1941, report, Grams stated that Łochów was one of six places in his county in which Jews had been concentrated and promised to close the ghettos in these places as soon as the weather permitted.[12] Grams never implemented this plan fully. Łochów's Jews were ordered to be more tightly concentrated. In the fall of 1941, the Germans deported to Baczki the Jews of Ostrówek, Budziska, and Jasiorówka. The Kreishauptmann's office also ordered 359 Jews from Sadowne to Baczki by December 15, 1941.[13] Only the Jews of Łopianka were not transferred there. The ghettos in Baczki and Łopianka were never closed. Jews moved freely around these two villages.[14]

The creation of open ghettos in Baczki and Łopianka pushed a large number of Jews into poverty. In May 1942, unemployment had risen by 30 percent.[15] By August 1942, more than 700 Jews qualified for reduced-cost or free meals every second day. On September 10, 1942, the Judenrat chair reported his organization's financial bankruptcy. He warned that Łochów's 1,640 Jews stood on the brink of tragedy.[16]

By then, the Jews of Łochów realized that they would not be spared deportation to the Treblinka extermination camp. Living near the railroad leading to Małkinia, they had heard trains traveling to Treblinka, located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) northeast, throughout August 1942. They had aided several Jews who had jumped from those transports. News about the Germans murdering Jews at Treblinka also had arrived from Kosów Lacki's Jews and from local Poles. Survivors in Jadów of a July 1942 deportation there detailed how the Germans had shot hundreds of that town's Jews.[17]

The liquidation of Łochów's ghettos began on September 25, 1942. A large number of Baczki's and Łopianka's Jews refused to assemble for the deportation, choosing instead to hide. In Łopianka, intoxicated Gendarmes and members of the SS, assisted by Polish (Blue) Police and Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, shot Jews every few steps on the way to Łochów's train station. After selecting between 18 and 20 people for a postliquidation ghetto, the Germans ordered the Jews into wagons. The train, which departed Baczki at 3:05 P.M., stopped 25 minutes later in Sadowne to load Jews assembled there from Stoczek's ghetto. Once the train departed there at 4:48 P.M., several Jews opened one of the train wagons, about 10 minutes later. Scores were mowed down by armed guards as they jumped from the train. At 5:37 P.M., the train carrying the remainder of the Jews of Łochów and Stoczek arrived at Treblinka.[18]

A postliquidation ghetto was created in Budziska in a building near the Gendarmerie. When 50 survivors reported there, the Gendarmes executed 30 people who had not been issued residency permits. The postliquidation ghetto's 18 to 20 residents, tailors and shoemakers from two extended families, made boots and clothing, including leather coats, for the Gendarmes. On December 11, the Gendarmes surrounded the building that housed the ghetto. About 6 Jews managed to escape. The Gendarmes took the remaining 14 Jews to the forest, ordered them to undress, and then shot them.[19]

The Germans also continued to search for Jews in hiding. The day after the liquidation of the Baczki and Łopianka ghettos, Gendarmes shot more than 50 Jews found at the Perlis factory. In Budziska that day, Gendarme Hartmann shot another 30 Jews. The Germans also found and murdered Zofia Kirchen, the Judenrat physician. In September 1943, the Gendarmes shot 16 Jews in Łopianka.[20] They also killed Jews found hiding in Budziska and Jasiorówka. In May 1944, the Gendarmes shot 25 Jews in Kamionna village, south of Baczki.[21] The Germans murdered the largest number of Jewish survivors in the forest areas north of Łochów, in neighboring Sadowne. There between January and February 1943, they killed about 300 Jews and escaped Soviet POWs.[22] In the winter of 1942–1943, the Germans also attempted to extricate hidden Jews by taking punitive measures against Poles thought to be assisting them. These Aktions included an execution on January 13, 1943, of 2 Jewish women, outside of Sadowne, along with the baker Leon Lubkiewicz, his wife, and son, for having given the women bread.[23] From March 16 to 31, 1943,

the SS tortured and then executed 16 farmers from around Zarzetka (Sadowne parish), arrested about 150 others suspected of aiding Jews and escaped Soviet prisoners, stripped villagers of their livestock and agricultural stores, and then set fire to a part of Zarzetka. The number of Jews who perished in this reprisal is unknown.[24]

Less than 25 of Budziska's Jews survived the German occupation. Most did so with aid from Poles. The Lesiński family in Ostrówek gave refuge to Rozalia Kalecka, a supervisor at Perlis's factory, her sister Tzivia, brother-in-law Menashe, and nephew Bolesław. The Grzesiak family sheltered nine-year-old Natan Najman, from Łopianka, who had jumped from the Treblinka deportation train. The Zduński family in Józefów, near Warsaw, hid 10 members of the Brzostek family, from Jasiorówka, including several survivors of Budziska's postliquidation ghetto. The Roguszewski family in Łochów hid Ida and Chana Dzierzbowicz and also Najman and his brother for a time. They also helped the Najman brothers find escaped Soviet POWs, who agreed to arrange forest hiding places for them.[25]

Łochów's Jewish community, which numbered about 70 with returnees from the Soviet Union, was not reconstituted. After nationalist partisans attacked the Brzostek family, on March 20, 1945, fatally injuring two, the survivors in Łochów joined others already in Łódź.[26] The majority later immigrated to Israel, Canada, and England.

SOURCES Useful secondary accounts on the Jews of Łochów include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 81 (Budziska), pp. 115–116 (Baczki), p. 275 (Łopianka), and p. 321 (Sadowne); as well as the more general history of the Łochów region (including a detailed chapter on the Perlis and Loewenstein families) by Stanisław Sęczyk, "Dzieje Łochowa i okolic," ed. Tadeusz Krupa (unpub. MSS, available on the Web site of the Łochów gmina at www.gminalochow.pl/historia.htm).

Documentary evidence on the history of the Jews of Łochów's ghettos can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 211/660-661, 211/938, 301/4238, 301/4390); IPN (e.g., ASG); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 33, 211/660-661 (Łochów), and reel 45, 211/938 [Sadowne]; RG-15.019M [ASG], reel 14, vol. 45 [Warsaw woj.: Warszawa and Węgrów], 932-933 [Budziska], 936 [Jasiorówka], 938 [Kamionna], 939-941 [Łojki], 942 [Łopianka], 954 [Sadowne gmina, forest in Sadowne]); and VHF (e.g., # 04663, 14739).

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NOTES

1. Sęczyk, "Dzieje Łochowa," pp. 44–84, 87–91.
2. Ibid., pp. 21–34, 44–82.
3. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 81, 115–116, 275; and occupational statistics from a 1939 Łochów kehillah survey cited in USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 33, 211/660, p. 21 (report for the period from September 1, 1939, to July 1, 1941).
4. Sęczyk, "Dzieje Łochowa," p. 80; and VHF, # 04663, testimony of Genofewa Minor.
5. AŻIH, 301/4390, testimony of Abram Flug, p. 1; Tomasz Szczechura, "Terror okupanta w powiecie węgrowskim w latach 1939–1944," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 27 (1977): 60; Tomasz Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada społeczności żydowskiej w powiecie węgrowskim w latach 1939–1944," *BŻIH* no. 1 (105) (January–March 1978): 39–44; and Sęczyk, "Dzieje Łochowa," p. 33.
6. AŻIH, 301/4238, testimony of Helena Brzostek, pp. 1, 3–4; and Sęczyk, "Dzieje Łochowa," p. 63.
7. AŻIH, 301/4390, pp. 1–3; and Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 44.
8. VHF, # 14739, testimony of Natan Najman; AŻIH, 301/4238, pp. 2–3; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latch 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 146; and Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 60.
9. AŻIH, 301/4238, p. 2.
10. August 1940 German census figures cited in Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 41.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 33, 211/660, p. 15; 211/661, p. 6; and AŻIH, 301/4238, p. 2.
12. On the creation of six regional concentration points for the Jews in Kreis Sokolow, see document # 45, under the heading "Początek marca 1941. Ze sprawozdania starosty powiatu sokołowsko-węgrowskiego, Gramsa, za luty 1941," in T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 108.
13. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 81, 275; VHF, # 14739; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 33, 211/661, pp. 1, 9, and reel 45, 211/938, pp. 49–50, 52.
14. AŻIH, 301/4238, p. 3; and VHF, # 14739.
15. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 33, 211/661, p. 30.
16. Ibid., pp. 48–52.
17. AŻIH, 301/4238, p. 2; and VHF, # 14739.
18. Eyewitness accounts include AŻIH, 301/4238, pp. 4–5; and VHF, # 14739. The train schedule for the Łochów and Stoczek deportations appears as document # 46, under the heading "Rozkład jazdy z dnia 21.9.1942 r. pociągów transportowych do Treblinki," in "Zagłada Żydów w obozach na ziemiach polskich," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 13 (1960): 105–106 (Polish translation); on p. 65 F there, see photograph of original German document.
19. AŻIH, 301/4238, pp. 5–6.
20. VHF, # 14739; Sęczyk, "Dzieje Łochowa," p. 63; and USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 14, vol. 45 (Warsaw woj.: Warszawa and Węgrów), 944, pp. 1–2.
21. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, vol. 45, 932-933 (Budziska village, Łochów gmina), and 936 (Jasiorówka), and 938 (Kamionna), pp. 1–2; and see as well 940-941 (Łojki).
22. Ibid., reel 14, vol. 45, 955 (Sadowne civil parish, forest in Sadowne), pp. 1–2.
23. Wacław Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), p. 217; and Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, p. 467.

24. Wacław Piekarski, *Obwód Armii Krajowej Sokołów Podlaski 'Sęp' 'Proso,' 1930–1944* (Warsaw, 1991), pp. 25–27; Tadeusz Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust. Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1918–1947* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1997), p. 121; Zajączkowski, *Martyrs*, vol. 1, pp. 279–280; and *Głos Pracy*, May 13, 1943 (no. 20), reprinted in Paweł Szapiro, ed., *Wojna żydowsko-niemiecka. Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1943–1944 o powstaniu getcie Warszawy* (London: Aneks, 1992), p. 163. On these events, see also Dariusz Libionka, "Polska konspiracja wobec eksterminacji Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 498–502.

25. Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 259, 451, and pt. 2, pp. 933, 672; AŻIH, 301/4238, pp. 7–19; VHF, # 04663; # 14739.

26. AŻIH, 301/4238, pp. 6, 14.

ŁOMIANKI

Pre-1939: Łomianki (Yiddish: Lomianki), village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Lomianki, Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łomianki, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Łomianki is located about 15 kilometers (9 miles) north-northwest of the center of Warsaw. In 1921, the Jewish population of Łomianki was 89, with another 130 Jews residing in Łomianki Górne nearby.

German forces occupied Łomianki in September 1939. In October 1939, Łomianki became part of Kreis Warschau-Land; the Kreishauptmann was Regierungsrat Dr. Hermann Rupprecht.

Information about the Jewish community of Łomianki under German occupation is very sparse. The existence of a ghetto in the village is documented in an anonymous account preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, dated February 12, 1941, titled "Expulsion from Łomianki near Warsaw." An annotated translation of this account is included below, as it contains most of what is known about the ghetto:

> In September 1940, it became known to the Jewish community in Łomianki from a secret source that the Jewish population faced the dangers of an expulsion. We immediately contacted the "Ortsleiter" Sturmführer "K" about obtaining an easement [of this order]. He received 1,200 złoty for this task. After great efforts, he succeeded in transforming the expulsion order into the establishment of a ghetto [in Łomianki]. When the ghetto began to be implemented, the number of houses assigned to the Jews was so small that there was no way they could accommodate the entire Jewish population. We were again forced to give to the same Ortsleiter an additional 1,000 złoty to give us another few houses. The final date for the transfer into the ghetto was September 15, 1940. Into this very small ghetto were also driven the Jews from the surrounding communities.
>
> This situation only lasted until November [1940]. Then an order was issued that all the Jews had until November 10, to leave Łomianki and to depart for [Fort] Solipse and to settle into military quarters [an old fortress]. Between November 3 and November 10, we again contacted the Ortsleiter about intervening, to allow us to remain in our location. He demanded 3,000 guilders, and even if his efforts were to fail, he would still get 500 złoty. We agreed. His efforts did not succeed and we were obliged to pay the 500 złoty. In the last days, several "Volksdeutsche" [ethnic Germans] secretly informed us not to go to [Fort] Solipse, but to leave immediately for Warsaw. The ghetto in Warsaw was at that time functioning, and so some 300 people sold the possessions and provisions they had accumulated for winter, with [the expectation] that in Łomianki there would be an enclosed ghetto.
>
> They sold [everything] at the cheapest prices and paid from 500 to 2,000 złoty to be able to get transportation to Warsaw. Some 60 people departed for [Fort] Solipse and 25 to [the ghetto] in Legionowo [also established on November 15, 1940], where they remain till today. In January, the Jews who lived in [Fort] Solipse were within a half hour, put in cars and brought to Warsaw, not permitted to take along anything other than a few bedding items. The entire Łomianki population—those who were in Warsaw, as well as those who were shipped from [Fort] Solipse to Warsaw and left everything behind—lives now in terrible need and poverty.[1]

Confirmation of the arrival in the Włochy ghetto, also known as Fort Solipse, of a group of Jews from Łomianki can be found in an official Polish postwar questionnaire, signed by the deputy mayor of Włochy. According to this report, the Włochy ghetto was established on November 15, 1940. Among its roughly 300 Jewish inhabitants were many brought in from the surrounding area, including 67 from Łomianki (gmina Młociny).[2] Personal details of 296 Jews registered in the Włochy ghetto, including the town from which they came, were recorded by the town administration of Włochy and added to the postwar report on the ghetto as an appendix.[3]

The committee of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) for Kreis Warschau-Land, headed by Dr. Ignaz Schiper, reported on February 25, 1941, that among the Jews recently resettled to Warsaw were also Jews from Łomianki and Włochy.[4] Another report dated March 25, 1941, recorded 317 Jews from Łomianki among more than 40,000 Jews recently resettled in groups into the Warsaw ghetto.[5]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Łomianki is mentioned in Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epsztein, eds., *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes-Ringelblum Archive: Catalog and Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), p. 189. The transfer of Jews from Łomianki to Fort Solipse is mentioned in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 208, but dated, probably erroneously, in December 1940.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I/847; 211/1075, 1080 [JSS]); IPN (ASG); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [Ring]).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Ring I/847 [874.], "Geyrush Lomianki bay Varshe," February 12, 1941.
2. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 19, sygn. 62, pp. 299–312.
3. The list includes the name and surname, names of parents, profession, date of birth, and place from which each person arrived; see ibid., pp. 301–312.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1080, p. 38, Protocol of meeting of JSS committee for Kreis Warschau-Land, February 25, 1941.
5. Ibid., 211/1075, pp. 28–29.

ŁOSICE

Pre-1939: Łosice (Yiddish: Loshits), town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Losice, Kreis Siedlce, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łosice, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Łosice is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) east-northeast of Siedlce. Approximately 2,900 Jews lived in the town on the eve of the German invasion of Poland.

The Germans occupied Łosice on September 12, 1939. On September 29, control of Łosice was transferred from the Germans to the Soviets, who, however, only stayed briefly. As the Soviets subsequently pulled out in accord with the provisions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, many Jews left town with them. In early October, the Germans returned and reoccupied Łosice, this time permanently. The initial period of occupation was marked by general abuse of the Jews, not only by German forces but also by local Poles. The high point of early persecution came on November 29, 1939, when seven Jews were taken to the outskirts of town and executed on the pretext that they were Communists.[1]

A 10-member Judenrat (Jewish Council) was created in Łosice in March 1940. The Judenrat was headed by Gershon Lewin as chairman and also included Yehoszua (Szyja) Rozencwajg as his deputy,[2] as well as Elihau Rewiczer. A unit of Jewish Police, "outfitted with ridiculous blue hats and truncheons,"[3] was established under the authority of the Judenrat, as was a post office. One of the most significant functions of the Judenrat was providing the Germans with workers to perform forced labor in and around Łosice. Some of the projects on which Jews worked included the construction of barracks outside of town and various jobs in Siedlce, the largest railway hub in the area, in anticipation of the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.[4] The provision of social services was another central area of activity for the Judenrat, which included the distribution of clothing and medicine and the operation of a soup kitchen. Starting in January 1940, adult Jews received 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread and children 0.5 kilogram (1.1 pounds) per day. The quality of meals provided by the soup kitchen varied, sometimes consisting of soup made from only water and mashed potatoes.

The demands on the Judenrat continually grew as the number of Jewish refugees in Łosice from other areas steadily increased. In March 1940, more than 200 Jewish families (numbering some 900 individuals, 70 percent of whom were children) arrived from Łódź and Poznań and the small towns of Błaszki, Kalisz, Aleksandrów Łódzki, and Ciechocinek. The result of the influx was that by December 1940 Łosice counted around 4,000 Jewish residents and, by September 1941, around 4,600.[5] In March 1940, a letter of protest signed by both local Jews and newly arrived refugees was sent to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw to complain that the Judenrat was only acting in its own narrow interests. The letter-writers reported that Jews were dying of hunger and cold and lacked basic medical care.[6] The memoirs of one former resident of Łosice portray the members of the Judenrat in a similarly negative light, though not without acknowledgment of the complex circumstances, which shaped their situation: "In our town those on the Judenrat were considered mere stooges, incurring less hatred than contempt and ridicule. . . . In time they acquired blank faces and false smiles, became isolated and dehumanized, and it was a measure of their fitness for the job that they could endure the ostracism of a closely knit small town. We sneered at them openly."[7]

In April 1940, the refugees from Kalisz appealed to the AJDC in Warsaw for a new supply of underwear and clothing. In the same month, the Judenrat received approximately 2,200 kilograms (4,850 pounds) of matzot from the AJDC for distribution to refugees and others in need. In June 1940, the number of those receiving assistance from the Judenrat rose to approximately 1,300 persons, including 900 refugees. On July 20, 1940, an aid committee was constituted under the authority of the Judenrat. The chairman of the committee was Abram Wajman, a refugee from Pułtusk, and the deputy chairman was Aron Sztejnkloper, a member of the Judenrat.[8] In September 1940, the committee provided meals, warm clothing, and medicine to nearly 1,600 individuals, including approximately 1,100 refugees. On September 21, 1940, Dr. D. Seid, who had been in Łosice for two months, wrote a petition to the AJDC in Warsaw calling for immediate assistance for Łosice's Jews. In response to his letter, more than 1,500 people in the town's infirmary and in private homes received medical treatment, sometimes for a small fee but often for

free. The Judenrat continued to receive monetary and material aid on a fairly regular basis from the AJDC in Warsaw, as in April 1941 when the sum of 500 złoty was provided.[9]

A ghetto was created in Łosice in late 1941.[10] One native of Łosice, who dates the creation of a ghetto on December 1, 1941, describes Jews' initial reactions as "curious": "There was a deceptive feeling of strength, an illusion of safety, in living in a purely Jewish community."[11] At its peak (in the spring of 1942), the ghetto held upwards of 5,500 Jews, including both locals and refugees and deportees from other areas. Jews in the ghetto were compelled to perform various types of forced labor, including road repair and construction, snow removal, and agricultural work. There was no well located within the boundaries of the ghetto, and special passes were required to exit to fetch water. One Holocaust survivor from Łosice relates that Jews sometimes left the ghetto without passes (to collect water or for other reasons, such as obtaining provisions) and, if caught, were shot by the Germans on the spot,[12] as on November 16, 1941, when 7 Jews were caught outside the ghetto and executed.[13] With people clothed in filthy rags and living in cramped accommodations in old wooden homes that stank of putrefaction and were overrun by insects, typhus and tuberculosis were rampant. To alleviate the situation, Seid, one of the ghetto's doctors, planned to create a bathing and disinfection station.[14] People sometimes congregated in a rabbi's house for common prayer. The Germans became aware of this and amused themselves from time to time by abusing those they found there.[15] The relationship between Jews in Łosice and nearby Sarnaki was a peculiar one, as Jews from the latter were occasionally granted permission to visit relatives in the former as well as to buy food and supplies at the market there.[16] In the winter of 1941–1942, German authorities ordered the Jews of Łosice to relinquish their furs; 6 Jews who chose instead to burn theirs were executed. Around 500 Jews from the Sarnaki ghetto were transferred to Łosice in May 1942,[17] exacerbating what was already a very strained situation in respect to provisions and space. The Łosice Judenrat received 1,000 złoty from the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków in July 1942 and in turn requested a greater amount of aid to care for the newly arrived refugees.[18]

In the spring of 1942, some Jews who had escaped the deportations from Lublin and other towns arrived in Łosice. The Germans conducted searches throughout the ghetto and executed all the escapees they found. Rumors then began swirling that the Łosice ghetto itself would soon be liquidated and its inhabitants deported. At approximately the same time, the Judenrat was obliged to collect a "contribution" of 600,000 złoty imposed by the Germans on the town's Jews. The designated amount was paid, which led some to believe that liquidation and deportation might be staved off or even avoided altogether.

This belief was proven tragically wrong on August 22, 1942,[19] when the SS, together with Ukrainian police detachments, sealed the ghetto, marking the start of the liquidation and deportation process. Jews were rounded up in the town square in preparation for a forced march to the railway station in Siedlce, although some managed to avoid the German dragnet.[20] A number of Jews were executed both in and around Łosice and during the march to Siedlce.[21] The Jews from the Łosice ghetto who reached Siedlce (likely around 5,000 in total) were subsequently deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Following the August deportation, the ghetto was reconstituted as a "small ghetto" or remnant ghetto, which housed between 200 and 300 Jews who had avoided deportation. The reconstituted ghetto was also intended to lure any remaining Jews in hiding out into the open, as the German authorities announced that anyone returning to the ghetto would not be punished. Gathering and sorting the possessions of those who had already been deported represented the primary occupation of Jews in the remnant ghetto. On November 27, 1942, the small ghetto was liquidated, and its inhabitants were deported to Siedlce and on to Treblinka.

Despite the Nazis' efforts, some Jews from Łosice were able to avoid deportation and the near-certain death it entailed. The family of one Renée G., who was 10 years old at the time, escaped the small ghetto with the help of a family friend and was hidden by a Polish farmer in a small pit under a pile of manure for 18 months before being liberated by the Red Army.[22] Chaya Gitla Zylbersztajn and her daughter Stella escaped during the liquidation of the ghetto in August 1942, and although Chaya was killed, Stella was given shelter by a number of different Polish families and ultimately survived.[23] Sara Riwner (née Weiman), who was 9 years old in 1942, likewise survived, thanks to the refuge provided for 2 years by Roman and Maria Perycz.[24]

SOURCES Extensive information on Łosice and its inhabitants before and during World War II can be found in the personal testimonies of Łosice natives in the yizkor book *Loshits: Le-zeykher an umgebrakhter kehile* (Tel Aviv: Farband fun Loshitser landsleyt in Yishroel un in di tfutses, 1963). Personal accounts of life in Łosice during World War II can also be found in Oscar Pinkus, *The House of Ashes* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1964); Abrachah, *Je n'oublie pas, Natantchik* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1979); Eddi Weinstein, *17 Days in Treblinka: Daring to Resist, and Refusing to Die* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2008); and Joshua M. Greene and Shiva Kumar, eds., *Witness: Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: Free Press, 2000), pp. 46, 57–65.

Secondary sources containing information on the ghetto in Łosice include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 280–284; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 748–749; Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 122–123; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 291; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*

during the Holocaust, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), pp. 415–416; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo bialskopodlaskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 108–113; Fred Skolnik, ed., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 13 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with Keter Publishing House Ltd., 2007), p. 211; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 21, 52, 56–59, 67, 69, 124–125, 128, 139, 169, 217, 297, 302, 528, 533, 546, 566, 587, 591, 598.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archival collections: AŻIH (210/472 [AJDC]; 211/673 [JSS]; Ring II/304); BA-L (B 162/6876); IPN (163/6 sygn. 17 and 163/15 sygn. 49 [ASG]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.019M [Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos]); and VHF (e.g., # 2417, 11582).

Elżbieta Rojowska and Stephen Scala
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. The incident may have occurred in December 1939 and may have involved six Jews and one Pole.
2. Some sources identify Rozencwajg as head of the Judenrat and Lewin as his deputy. In one such source, Oskar Pinkus, a native of Łosice, describes Rozencwajg as "a rosy-cheeked, tiny, and clever Jew." Pinkus, *The House of Ashes*, p. 31.
3. Ibid., p. 52.
4. For a firsthand account of forced labor in and around Łosice, see ibid., pp. 37–42.
5. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada," pp. 122–123.
6. AŻIH, 210/472 (AJDC).
7. Pinkus, *The House of Ashes*, p. 32.
8. AŻIH, 210/472.
9. Ibid., 211/673 (JSS).
10. Extant sources provide conflicting data on exactly when the ghetto was established. Several claim that a ghetto was established as early as 1940, but, if correct, this was likely an open ghetto, which may have preceded the closed ghetto created towards the end of 1941.
11. Pinkus, *The House of Ashes*, p. 52.
12. Greene and Kumar, *Witness: Voices from the Holocaust*, p. 46.
13. IPN, 163/6 sygn. 17, Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych.
14. AŻIH, 210/472.
15. Moyshe Smolazh, "Peynen in geto," in *Loshits: Lezeykher an umgebrakhter kehile*, pp. 249–255.
16. Pesah Perlman, "Elef yamim bageto ube-mahteret," in Dov Shuval, ed., *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarnaki* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Sarnaki be-Yisrael, 1968), pp. 147–194.
17. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada."
18. AŻIH, 211/673.
19. The liquidation process may have begun as early as August 19.
20. Pinkus hid with a number of other Jews in an attic and subsequently fled Łosice with the help of a Polish policeman. Pinkus, *The House of Ashes*, pp. 75–88.
21. One roughly contemporaneous source speaks of more than 50 dead (IPN, 163/6 sygn. 17, Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych), but the total number killed during deportation was likely larger by several degrees of magnitude. VHF, # 2417, testimony of Dave Gewitzman, reports seeing several people shot in the town at the start of the roundup.
22. Greene and Kumar, *Witness: Voices from the Holocaust*, pp. 57–65.
23. Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, p. 326.
24. Ibid., pt. 2, pp. 598–599.

ŁOWICZ

Pre-1939: Łowicz (Yiddish: Lovitsh), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Lowicz, Kreis center, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łowicz, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Łowicz is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northeast of Łódź on the Bzura River, a tributary of the Vistula. In 1931, the Jewish population of Łowicz numbered 4,339—25 percent of the total. At the start of World War II, 1,300 Jewish families were living in Łowicz (about 5,000 people).[1]

Łowicz was bombarded by the Germans on September 3, 5, and 6, 1939. A large part of the population, mostly its younger members, fled towards Warsaw. When the German forces first entered the town on September 9, 1939, the remaining male Jews were gathered in the synagogue and held there for three days without food. There were beatings and shootings. The Germans then retreated, and the Jews joyfully received the Polish forces that reentered the town. The battle for Łowicz lasted for eight days in total. More than half of the city was destroyed. When the Germans reoccupied Łowicz after September 13, their torture and humiliation of the Jews soon started again.[2]

On November 11, 1939, the synagogue was destroyed by fire (the Torahs were hidden previously in private homes). In December 1939, hundreds of Jewish refugees arrived from Łódź and its surroundings. The Jewish community tried to find accommodation for them, placing some in the homes of wealthier Jewish families, and it organized a soup kitchen to aid the needy. By 1940, the Jewish population in Łowicz exceeded 8,000 people, including some 3,500 refugees.

The Łowicz ghetto was created in May 1940. According to the personal report of the Kreishauptmann, Regierungsrat Dr. Schwender, to the Generalgouverneur, Hans Frank, he initiated this first ghetto in Distrikt Warschau because of the large influx of Jews from the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich and the resulting high incidence of typhus—some 200 cases having been registered in Łowicz—as well as the accompanying threat to security.[3] Around this time, a total of five ghettos were established in Kreis Lowicz, the other four being in Łyszkowice, Kiernozia, Bolimów, and Głowno.[4]

Some secondary sources also report a ghetto existing in Sobota, which had a Jewish population of 356 in 1921. However, no primary sources could be found to confirm this. The absence of Sobota from the list of ghettos reported by the Kreishauptmann in July 1940, as well as its absence from a similar list of Jewish communities recommended for the establishment of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branches in December 1940, appears to indicate that no ghetto existed there.[5]

In the Łowicz ghetto there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which controlled a sanitary commission, a housing committee, a Jewish hospital, a Jewish artisans' house, and a bathhouse intended to serve as a delousing facility.[6] Baruch Shapiro (Szapiro) was chairman of the Judenrat. The ghetto was located in the center of town and initially was composed of four sections. At certain times of the day the Jews were allowed to cross from one part of the ghetto to the others. The ghetto gates were guarded externally by the Polish (Blue) Police. The Polish population demanded that the ghetto be moved outside the city. The ghetto was successively reduced in size until it only occupied one and a half streets, including Zduńska Street. A high fence enclosed the reduced ghetto. Jews managed to leave the ghetto and smuggle in some food. After two months, Jews were able to purchase permits to go outside the ghetto (in exchange for a large bribe to the German authorities).[7]

There was also a Jewish police force armed with whips, which was commanded by Josef Weinshtok. Members of the police were handpicked, and most reports about the Jewish Police are quite positive, but there was some corruption due to the nature of the times. For example, there is a report that some refugees on arrival in Łowicz were required to pay an entrance fee by the Jewish Police before being allowed through the ghetto gates.[8] On October 8, 1940, Hans Frank visited the Łowicz ghetto, and the Jewish policemen in the ghetto were provided with police hats for the occasion.

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, 300 Jewish workers were sent daily on the four-month project to divert the Bzura River away from town. For their work they received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a thin soup. Many died, weakened and exhausted from this hard physical work. However, the Jewish Police had to ensure that the quota was filled every day. Other forced labor tasks for Jews included road construction work and cleaning sewers.[9]

There were also Jewish workshops and shops within the ghetto. The Germans supplied the ghetto with a certain amount of flour, and the Jewish Council was able to smuggle in more illegally with the aid of the Jewish Police. This was used to bake bread, which was distributed generously to aid the poor. Nevertheless, the extreme overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions led to the spread of disease. According to witness accounts, Baruch Shapiro, chairman of the Judenrat, carried out the Germans' orders but personally tried with all his might to ameliorate suffering and related to everyone with friendliness and understanding. He did all he could to accommodate the many refugees and to provide them with minimal living conditions, given the very small budget of only some 3,000 złoty per month available to the Jewish Council.[10]

At the end of 1940, efforts were made to establish a branch of the JSS for Kreis Lowicz to obtain extra resources to assist with welfare efforts. Under the chairmanship of Ignacy Dąb, the JSS Kreis committee held a meeting on February 17, 1941. However, the committee was soon disbanded in March due to the resettlement of the Jews to Warsaw.[11]

On January 22, 1941, the Jews of the Łowicz ghetto were ordered to transfer 300 Jews per day from Łowicz to the Warsaw ghetto. They were to travel on their own, but only from Łowicz to Warsaw. Some were attacked and robbed on the way, but there were few restrictions on what property they could take with them. Indeed, according to some reports, the elderly German official in charge, Meister Shans, advised them to take as much as they could.[12] Subsequently transportation and even blankets were provided for the deportations, which proceeded without the brutality usually associated with such events. Some Jews were even permitted to return on special passes to collect possessions they had left behind. By March 15, very few Jews remained in Łowicz.[13] About 7,000 Jews had been transferred to Warsaw.[14] The JSS committee in Warsaw reported in April that it was holding funds in reserve for the last remaining 3,000 Jews expected from Kreis Lowicz, but probably most of these people had managed to flee to other places within the Generalgouvernement.[15]

A "remnant ghetto" of 150 craftsmen who worked for the Germans and their families remained in Łowicz for another year, located in the former primary school building on Bet Midrash Street. Among their tasks was clearing up the area of the ghetto. A Jew who sneaked back to Łowicz from Warsaw at the end of 1941 noted that "the walls of the former Łowicz ghetto had been pulled down and the old Jewish stores were filled with strange non-Jewish faces." Nevertheless, he received assistance from non-Jewish former acquaintances who mailed food packages to his family in Warsaw, and he was even aided rather than betrayed by two Polish policemen he had known from before the war.[16]

In the Warsaw ghetto the Jews of Łowicz occupied places designated for refugees. The largest percentage of these refugees died of starvation and contagious diseases in the course of their one-and-a-half-year stay in the Warsaw ghetto. Some were recruited as laborers for various work camps. In the summer of 1942, the first transports of Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp included many of these refugees.

SOURCES Much of this entry is based on the yizkor book, Gedaliah Shaiak, ed., *Lovitsh—a shtot in Mazovye un umgegent, seyfer zikorn* (Melbourne and Sydney, Australia: Lowiczer Landsmanshaften, 1966), which contains a number of articles related to the fate of the Jews in Łowicz under the Nazi occupation.

Additional Jewish testimonies and documentation concerning the Łowicz ghetto can be found, for example, in the

following archives: AŻIH (210/473-475; 211/674; Ring I/789); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-02.178; RG-14.052 [BA-BL R 52]; RG-15.079 [Ring]); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, pp. 65–87.
2. Ibid., pp. 223–225.
3. Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, eds., *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1975), pp. 286–287, entry for October 10, 1940; see also the report of Schön, the head of the resettlement section of the Governor of the Warsaw Distrikt, January 20, 1941, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1960), pp. 108–109.
4. See Berenstein et al., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord*, p. 109, citing the report of Kreishauptmann Lowicz, dated July 20, 1940. Some sources, however, date the establishment of the Kiernozia ghetto in March 1940; see Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, p. 364.
5. Berenstein et al., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord*, p. 109. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 462, indicate a ghetto existed in Sobota from 1940 to 1942, which is unlikely given the clearance of the Kreis by March 1941, and cite only unspecified documentation in ITS Arolsen as the source. See also USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/674, pp. 37–38, JSS Łowicz to JSS Kraków, December 27, 1940.
6. Präg and Jacobmeyer, *Das Diensttagebuch*, p. 287.
7. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, pp. 220–233; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/475, pp. 33–37.
8. AŻIH, Ring I/789, Report by Daniel Fligelman; USHMM, RG-02.178; Shaiak, *Lovits*, *seyfer zikorn*, p. xv, "Saved from the Gas Chamber," as told by Joseph Szemkura to G. Shaiak.
9. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, pp. xiv–xv, G. Tcharneson-Shaiak, "A River Disappeared and with It—A Jewish Community"; USHMM, RG-02.178.
10. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, p. xv, "Saved from the Gas Chamber," as told by Joseph Szemkura to G. Shaiak; *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 12, August 1, 1940.
11. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/475, p. 46; Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/674, pp. 37–38, 75.
12. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, pp. xv–xvi.
13. Report of the Lowicz Kreishauptmann for February 1941, dated March 15, 1941, published in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord*, p. 63.
14. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, p. 229.
15. Ibid., p. 230. The yizkor book contains a facsimilie of the document, which presumably comes from the archives of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in AŻIH; see also USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124.
16. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, p. xvi, "Saved from the Gas Chamber," as told by Joseph Szemkura to G. Shaiak.

ŁYSZKOWICE

Pre-1939: Łyszkowice (Yiddish: Lishkovits), *town*, *Łódź województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1945: Lyszkowice*, *Kreis Lowicz*, *Distrikt Warschau*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łyszkowice*, *województwo mazowieckie*, *Poland*

Łyszkowice is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) west-southwest of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 545 Jews living in the town. According to the Łowicz yizkor book, there were more than 1,000 Jews living in the town on the eve of World War II, but this number may be too high.[1]

German forces occupied the town in mid-September 1939. In the first months of the occupation, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures: the Jews of the town were subjected to forced labor; they were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established.

A number of Jews from Łyszkowice fled to the east, probably towards Warsaw, during the first days of the war. In their place, up to 300 Jewish refugees from Aleksandrów Łódzki, Brzeziny, Łódź, Zgierz, and other places arrived in the fall and the winter of 1939–1940.[2]

The Łyszkowice ghetto was established in May 1940 on the orders of Kreishauptmann Lowicz, Regierungsrat Dr. Schwender.[3] A report on the situation of the Jews in Łyszkowice was published in the official Polish-language newspaper for Jews, the *Gazeta Żydowska*, in September 1940: "From the moment a special Jewish quarter [*dzielnica żydowska*] was established, our work was adjusted to reflect the new situation." A labor section (Arbeitsabteilung) was created within the Judenrat, which managed to employ about 60 percent of the men. They worked on bridge construction, in agriculture and forestry, and at the local sugar factory, "Irena." In the late summer of 1940, a group of workers was sent to Distrikt Lublin to participate in drainage work. The Judenrat also directed its attention towards sanitation in the ghetto: it appointed a sanitation committee composed of 10 men and a nurse. There was also a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) formed in the ghetto.[4]

In late December 1940, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Łowicz reported that there were around 500 Jews then living in Łyszkowice, of which some 40 percent were receiving welfare support. At this time 3 people were proposed to form a local committee of the JSS in Łyszkowice: Jakub-Dawid Kacenelbogen (a member of the Judenrat); Mojsze Nasielski (a former member of the Judenrat); and Chil-Majer Grosman (a former member of the Judenrat).[5]

However, plans for the establishment of JSS branches in Kreis Lowicz, including in Łyszkowice, were soon cut short. The Generalgouverneur's Office for Internal Adminstration, Section for Population and Welfare, instructed the JSS headquarters in Kraków on March 15, 1941: "Since the resettlement of the Jews from Kreis Lowicz to Warsaw has been ordered, the establishment of a Jewish aid committee in Łowicz is no longer necessary."[6]

In March 1941, the Jews in the Łyszkowice ghetto were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto as part of a large-scale plan to clear all the Jews from the Kreise of Distrikt Warschau to the west of the city. According to the Łowicz yizkor book, only about 300 Jews remained at this time to be resettled.[7] On March 13, the Lowicz Kreishauptmann reported that most of the Jews had now left the Kreis, with only small groups of Jews retained in the empty ghettos for a short period after the transfer to Warsaw, to sort out Jewish property. After being cleaned and disinfected, the remaining houses in the ghetto areas were to be used to alleviate the housing shortage among the rest of the population.[8]

On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, most of the Jews from Łyszkowice were put into improvised hostels designated for refugees. Many of the refugees from Łyszkowice died of starvation and disease in the Warsaw ghetto. Most of the others were among those deported to the Treblinka extermination camp during the large-scale Aktion in the summer of 1942.

SOURCES The ghetto in Łyszkowice is mentioned in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 445; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 302; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/674); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-14.052 [BA-BL R 52]); and YVA.

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1. Gedaliah Shaiak, ed., *Lovitsh—a shtot in Mazovye un umgegent*, *seyfer zikorn* (Melbourne and Sydney, Australia: Lowiczer Landsmanshaften, 1966), p. 366.
2. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212.
3. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 231, date it in May 1940; Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212, state March 1940. See also Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 109, which cites the report of Kreishauptmann Lowicz, July 20, 1940.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 20, 1940, p. 4.
5. USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/674, pp. 37–38.
6. Ibid., p. 75.
7. Shaiak, *Lovitsh*, *seyfer zikorn*, p. 366.
8. See USHMM, RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/29, p. 57, Kreishauptmann Lowicz, situation report, March 13, 1941.

MIŁOSNA

Pre-1939: Miłosna, *village*, *Warsaw województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1945: Milosna*, *Kreis Warschau-Land*, *Distrikt Warschau*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Miłosna*, *województwo mazowieckie*, *Poland*

Miłosna is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) to the east of Warsaw. In 1921, the Jewish population was 143 out of a total of 792 inhabitants. By 1939, the number of Jews in Miłosna had declined to around 100.

Miłosna was occupied on September 16, 1939. When German troops entered Miłosna, they dragged Polish and Jewish men from their homes and drove them on foot to the village of Morawiec, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) away. After being held there overnight without food or water, the men were released to go home. The Germans confiscated Jewish merchandise and stole items of value from Jewish homes. At the end of 1939, Jews were compelled to wear white armbands bearing blue Stars of David on their sleeves.

According to Hirsh Noshevski, a survivor from Miłosna, the Okuniew and Miłosna Jews shared a common Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was based in Miłosna. The council was headed initially by two Jews named Fridman and Spekman, appointed on the recommendation to the Germans of the Polish local council (gmina). These men had little aptitude or inclination for the task. Therefore, they sent an offer to a former Polish officer, Kh. Lubliner, then living in Warsaw to return to Miłosna and become head of the Judenrat. In return for a good salary, Lubliner accepted the task and is described in the yizkor book as having been an energetic and upstanding leader, who "did much to benefit the ghetto inhabitants of Miłosna and Okuniew."[1]

Information regarding the establishment of a ghetto in Miłosna is scant and somewhat contradictory. *Pinkas ha-kehilot* dates it in early 1940, but this is most likely too early. The Noshevski account states that in early 1941 the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto. The Jews attempted to postpone or cancel this order by appealing to the police or the mayor (wójt). Noshevski then states that as a result "no ghetto was formed," but the Jews were moved into a separate quarter consisting of a number of houses, from which the Christians had been removed—in effect an open ghetto.[2] There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto, with about four families sharing each small dwelling.

According to the yizkor book, the Jewish butchers of Miłosna, Okuniew, and Rembertów were the main source of meat for the Warsaw ghetto, supplying up to 2,000 kilograms (4,410 pounds) per month with the help of Polish smugglers. At great personal risk, they acquired cows and chickens from the local farmers, which they then slaughtered.[3] At the beginning of 1942, there were about 500 people in the ghetto, including a number of families of refugees from Łódź, Kalisz, and Pabianice.

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) existed in Miłosna, which received small subsidies from the JSS headquarters in Kraków to provide assistance to impoverished members of the community. The correspondence concerning this support came to an end on March 20, 1942.[4]

On March 26, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Miłosna ghetto and deported the inhabitants to the Warsaw ghetto.[5] To carry out the deportation, an SS officer came to Miłosna. As the Jewish Council received some warning, a number of Jews

fled the ghetto on the eve of the deportation Aktion. The remainder was assembled early in the morning in the courtyard of a lumber company. Here the Germans ordered the Jews to surrender their valuables. One man, who was found to have concealed some money in his pockets, was shot.[6] Betty Horne also recalls that at least one child was killed while the Jews were assembled in the lumberyard.[7]

Horse-drawn wagons from surrounding villages arrived to transport children, the elderly, and the infirm. The other Jews were made to march behind the wagons, sometimes being urged to hurry up; those people who fell behind or collapsed were shot by the guards. On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, the Jews of Miłosna were put in a quarantine building for three days, where they also received some food.[8]

The deportees shared the fate of the Jews of Warsaw and perished at the Treblinka extermination camp. A small number were saved by Poles who provided them with hiding places.

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rembertow, Okuniew, Milosna* (Tel Aviv: Rembertow, Okuniew and Milosna Societies in Israel, the USA, France, Mexico City, Canada, Chile, and Brazil, 1974); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4., *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 273–274. The ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 480.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/701 [JSS]; Ring I/501 and 875); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [Ring I/501 and 875]); VHF (# 10879); and YVA.

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1. Shimon Ahronson, "Der ayfkum un umkum fun yidishn yishuv," pp. 411–412); and Hirsh Noshevski, "Der veg fun peyn un greyl," p. 435—both in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat . . . Milosna*.
2. Noshevski, "Der veg," p. 435.
3. Zvi Noshevski, "Der shmugl in geto," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat . . . Milosna*, pp. 431–432.
4. AŻIH, 211/701.
5. Ibid., Ring I/875; Ring I/501.
6. Noshevski, "Der veg," p. 436.
7. VHF, # 10879, testimony of Betty Horne.
8. Ibid.

MIŃSK MAZOWIECKI

Pre-1939: Mińsk Mazowiecki, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Minsk Mazowiecki, Kreis center, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernment; post-1998: Mińsk Mazowiecki, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Mińsk Mazowiecki is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 4,130 Jews living there out of a total population of 10,518. On the eve of World War II, almost 5,000 Jews lived there.



A Jewish policeman poses with his young cousin, Guta (now Genevieve) Tyrangiel, in the Mińsk Mazowiecki ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #09373, COURTESY OF GENEVIEVE TYRANGIEL-BENEZRA

During the first days of the war, thousands of refugees from Warsaw arrived in Mińsk Mazowiecki. The Germans captured the town on September 13, 1939. On the pretext of searching for Polish soldiers in hiding, German troops broke into Jewish apartments to steal money and valuables. A few days later they began to confiscate Jewish property and kidnap Jews for forced labor. Under these circumstances, about 200 Jews fled eastward into the area occupied by the Soviet Union after September 17.[1] At the same time, refugees from other towns in western Poland that had been incorporated into the Reich arrived in Mińsk Mazowiecki, including from Łódź, Pabianice, Lipno, Kalisz, Kutno, Włocławek, and elsewhere. These movements of people continued for an entire year.

The Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which consisted of men from differing political backgrounds. The head of the Judenrat was Moshe Kramarz, and his deputy was Leon Wajnberg. The Judenrat had to meet German demands for various items to be delivered within a certain time. A 15-man Jewish police force was also established to assist the Judenrat, headed by Izydor (Icek) Lipczinsky, who subsequently cooperated with the underground.

In the summer of 1940, several dozen young men were sent to various labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, including those at Tomaszów Lubelski and Bełżec. When word of the horrendous conditions in the camps reached Mińsk Mazowiecki, Judenrat chair Kramarz and his deputy undertook efforts to rescue them. They succeeded in having the men released in the winter of 1940–1941.[2]

On July 1, 1940, in response to orders from the SS that the Jews of Mińsk Mazowiecki create a ghetto within 14 days, the Jewish community wrote a petition, with the aim of reversing or at least deferring the order. The petition stressed the order's ruinous economic effects and especially the danger to hygiene of squeezing some 6,000 Jews into the poorest section of the whole town, without an adequate water supply. The letter stressed that so far not a single case of typhus had emerged among the Jewish population and had appended to it letters

from the senior medical officials in the town and also other Polish citizens, which stressed the dangers of spreading disease if such a ghetto were to be set up. The letters requested at least a deferral of several months, to give the Jews time to establish the necessary sanitary infrastructure, such as an isolation hospital, within the designated ghetto area.[3]

On July 5, Adam Czerniaków, the head of the Jewish Council in the Warsaw ghetto, noted in his diary: "In Mińsk Mazowiecki, the ghetto is at hand." A few days later, however, on July 15, Czerniaków wrote: "It is rumored that there will be no ghetto in Mińsk Mazowiecki. It seems that a meeting was held yesterday in Warsaw to reach a decision on the subject of the ghetto. The verdict—no ghetto."[4]

On October 11, 1940, Kreishauptmann Dr. Bittrich confirmed that in July 1940 initial efforts to establish a ghetto had been put on hold, due to instructions from his superiors. However, in the next few days, Reichsamtsleiter Schön, the head of the Resettlement Department, was expected to visit Mińsk Mazowiecki and to make a decision on the projected location of the ghetto on the basis of the prepared plans.[5]

It appears that the Jews of Mińsk Mazowiecki gained only a few months with their protest. According to the ghetto questionnaire submitted to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) headquarters in Kraków in April 1942, the ghetto was established on November 15, 1940.[6] The testimony of Mojsze and Brajndla Siekierka also dates the ghetto's formation at the end of 1940. Regarding overcrowding in the ghetto, they reported that 14 people lived in their small two-room flat with a kitchen. They also indicate that a barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto.[7]

The area of the ghetto included Siennicka Street, where most of the houses had burned, as well as part of the marketplace (*Rynek*), Mostowa, Nadrzeczna, Błonie, Warszaw, and other streets. A total of more than 5,000 Jews were packed into the ghetto, including local Jews, refugees, and people expelled from other towns. As a result of overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions, a typhus epidemic broke out in the winter of 1940–1941. To relieve hunger, Jews would sneak out of the ghetto to buy potatoes and bread from Polish farmers.[8]

In addition to its obligation to obey German orders, the Judenrat also had to handle the affairs of the imprisoned Jewish community. Members of the Judenrat sought to protect it to the best of their ability. They provided care for refugees and people expelled from other towns. They established a department of sanitation to maintain cleanliness and to manage the Jewish hospital. The hospital director was Dr. Shimon Grynberg, the only doctor in the ghetto (himself a refugee from Łódź). The Judenrat organized a public kitchen to distribute meals on a daily basis to hundreds of impoverished people. Every day a certain number of Jews had to perform forced labor. People who still had some means were able to pay for a substitute.[9]

Some members of the Judenrat maintained ties and provided assistance to the Jewish underground, which was organized in the ghetto in 1941. Kramarz gave them 10,000 złoty to acquire arms. There were four underground groups, each with five to six members. Some were from the ranks of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir or the Communist Party, and others were nonaffiliated, but the groups worked together in cooperation. The overall commander was Asher Grabownik, an activist with the Communist Party in Mińsk Mazowiecki. He had escaped to the Soviet side when war broke out but returned to Mińsk Mazowiecki after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. After some time, a link was established between the Jewish underground in Mińsk Mazowiecki and underground units of the Polish Communists.[10]

In November 1941 an order was issued for remaining Jews from the villages to be moved into the Mińsk Mazowiecki ghetto by December 1. Ita Gartenkranz was among the Jews transferred from the village of Stojadła at this time.[11] In February 1942, the Kreishauptmann reported another outbreak of typhus in the Mińsk Mazowiecki ghetto. A public bath and a delousing facility were opened inside the ghetto to combat the outbreak.[12]

In the summer of 1942, rumors spread that the ghettos would be liquidated. The Judenrat hoped that they would be able to avert this by bribing German officials, but on August 21, the Germans began the liquidation.[13] The ghetto was encircled by hundreds of German Gendarmes, Polish (Blue) Police, Sonderdienst, and Lithuanian, Latvian, and Ukrainian (Trawniki-trained) auxiliaries. On that day around 4,000 Jews were rounded up from their homes and assembled in the market square. After the Germans and their helpers had robbed them of their valuables, the Jews were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp. About 1,000 Jews refused to leave their houses and were shot on the spot. By evening, "Mińsk looked like a battlefield. There were dead bodies, puddles of blood."[14]

At the time of the roundup, two Gestapo men, Brandt and Handtke, arrived from Warsaw during a brief pause in the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto. In Mińsk Mazowiecki, they presented the chairman of the Judenrat, Moshe Kramarz, with a document stating that the council hereby delivered the Jews of their own free will. Kramarz tore it into small pieces and warned those around him of the real meaning of the impending "resettlement." The Gestapo men beat him and dragged him, with three other Judenrat members—Leon Weinberg, Meir-Sholem Briks, and Jacob Popowski—and several Jewish policemen, first to a camp in town, then to the Gestapo building, where they were shot.[15]

Only a small number of Jews were able to break out of the encircled ghetto and escape into the nearby forests. Thirteen organized into a partisan group commanded by former Polish army sergeant Yosef Wiszniewski. They acquired three rifles, two revolvers, and some hand grenades. After several months of bold actions against the Germans and their helpers, they were surrounded in their hiding place in the Łuków Forest. All but one of them was killed. Other escapees from the ghetto joined a partisan unit of the People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa, GL).[16]

After the ghetto's liquidation, about 370 Jews, whose skills the Germans needed, remained in the ghetto. About 150 men

worked in facilities run by the German army at the Rudzki Factory, for the Wolfer und Goebel Company engaged on road construction, or in other places. Another 220 were put into a labor camp housed in the three-story Mikołaj Kopernik School on Siennicka Street. Over time, they were joined by several hundred others, including women and children, who had fled into the forest or other hiding places during the roundup. When the men were taken each morning to forced labor, these "illegals" hid in the camp. There were frequent searches, during which unregistered inhabitants were shot.

In the closing months of 1942, the Germans began a "selection" process at the Kopernik camp. At the end of November, about 100 men were removed to Kałuszyn. They were then deported from there to Treblinka in December. On December 24, another 218 were taken out, brought to the Jewish cemetery, forced to dig a mass grave, and shot. On January 10, 1943, the rest of the Kopernik prisoners, about 300 in all, were marked for liquidation, but they chose to resist. A group of 30 men being taken to the cemetery attacked their German escorts. Almost all were killed, but during the confusion 3 managed to escape. Those still in the school building were also determined to resist. They barricaded themselves in and resisted the attackers with whatever was at hand: stones, scrap iron, and Molotov cocktails.[17]

The Germans attacked the building with flamethrowers and met those who jumped out of the burning building with gunfire. Almost all were killed. According to reports, Moshe Goldstein, one of the rebels, died with a Torah scroll in his arms. The only Jews left in Mińsk Mazowiecki were the 104 workers at the Rudzki factory. They were killed on June 5, 1943.[18]

According to a document in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, at least 46 Jews from Mińsk Mazowiecki are known to have survived the German occupation.[19] Several Jewish children were hidden in Mińsk Mazowiecki with Polish families. For example, a priest helped to transfer the infant child Guta Tyrangiel to Józef and Bronisława Jaszczuk, who defied blackmailers to preserve the child's life.[20]

SOURCES Publications discussing the ghetto in Mińsk Mazowiecki include the following: Ephraim Shedletzky, ed., *Sefer Minsk-Mazowiecki* (Jerusalem: Minsk-Mazowiecki Societies in Israel and Abroad, 1977); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 274–279; "Minsk Mazowiecki," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 12 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), pp. 59–60; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 482–484.

Published sources concerning the Holocaust in Mińsk Mazowiecki include the following: Leyb Rokhman, *The Pit and the Trap: A Chronicle of Survival* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1983); Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 96.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/702; 301/1010, 1680, 3335, 4072, 4093, 4098, 4103, 4158, 4324, 4629, 4761, 5088, 5874; 302/101, 123, 297); BA-BL (R 52III/29); IPN (ASG, sygn. 61, p. 1118); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); VHF (e.g., # 21519, 38132); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4098, testimony of Mojsze and Brajndla Siekierka (née Fiszbajn).
2. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 278.
3. AŻIH, 211/702, pp. 1–4, Petition of the Jewish population of Mińsk Mazowiecki, unsigned, July 1, 1940, letters of the Town Doctor and the Kreis Doctor, July 1, 1940, letter from citizens of Polish ethnicity in Mińsk Mazowiecki, July 2, 1940.
4. Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kerr, eds., *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 170, 174.
5. Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, p. 96.
6. AŻIH, 211/702, p. 12, ghetto questionnaire, April 1, 1942.
7. Ibid., 301/4098.
8. VHF, # 995, testimony of Michael Sien.
9. AŻIH, 302/123, testimony of Brandla (Bronka) Siekierka (née Fiszbajn).
10. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 278.
11. AŻIH, 301/4103, testimony of Ita Gartenkranz.
12. BA-BL, R 52III/29, monthly report of the Minsk Mazowiecki Kreishauptmann, March 5, 1942.
13. AŻIH, 301/4229, testimony of Diana Kagan; VHF, # 21519, testimony of Ralph Jorden.
14. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 278; AŻIH, 301/4229.
15. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 441.
16. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 278.
17. AŻIH, 301/1680, testimony of Efraim Siedlecki; 301/5088, testimony of Boruch Gartenkranc, Aleksander Walewski, Ludwik Michalski, and Icek Lipczyński; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 278; VHF, # 38132, testimony of Genevieve Benezra (born October 26, 1940); # 995.
18. AŻIH, 301/1680; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 278.
19. AŻIH, 301/4072, list of 46 Jews from Mińsk Mazowiecki who managed to survive the German occupation.
20. Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 308; VHF, # 38132.

MOGIELNICA

Pre-1939: Mogielnica (Yiddish: Mogelnitsa), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Grojec, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Mogielnica is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) southwest of Warsaw. In 1921, 2,722 Jews were living in Mogielnica, comprising 51.1 percent of the town's total population of 5,321 people. On the eve of the German invasion in 1939, there were 3,050 Jewish inhabitants.

German mobile forces occupied Mogielnica on September 8, 1939. The town was not seriously damaged in the fighting, but on the first day, Germans set fire to the old wooden synagogue. The Germans soon began to steal Jewish property and torment Jews they caught on the streets, kidnapping them for forced labor.[1]

On September 14, 1939 (Rosh Hashanah), the Germans dragged Hasidim and Orthodox Jews out of the Bet Midrash, including Rabbi Pinchas Osełka (Osalka) and another rabbi. They took them to the market square and pulled out their beards and side locks. They compelled them to sing holiday songs and dance. According to one testimony, a majority of the Poles, who observed this, clapped their hands and laughed. Some Poles even helped the Germans and beat the Jews. In the fall of 1939, the Germans converted the Bet Midrash into a stable for horses. Torah scrolls and other holy books were burned in the market square.[2]

The German authorities banned Jewish children from attending primary schools and ordered Jews to wear the Star of David.[3] In October 1939, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force. Józef Falc was appointed as chairman of the Judenrat. Other Judenrat members included Abraham Milsztajn and Chaim Danner. Majlech Osełka, Rabbi Osełka's son, was head of the Jewish Police, which reportedly had a good reputation.[4]

On the establishment of a German civil administration in October 1939, Mogielnica became part of Kreis Grojec. Initially there was little German presence in Mogielnica. German officials from Grójec visited occasionally to rob the Jews and make demands. To contain the damage, the Judenrat in Mogielnica negotiated with the Kreishauptmann to pay a weekly "contribution" of butter, eggs, and other items. As a result, the Jews in Mogielnica remained largely unmolested for a time.[5]

In December 1939, on the initiative of Sara Skotnicka and Majlech Osełka, the Jews of Mogielnica established an Aid Committee for Refugees and Indigent Jews. Fajwel Rajnbenbach was its chairman. An audit commission oversaw its operations.[6] In 1940, the aid committee provided assistance to more than 700 people, including 500 refugees and 150 children.[7]

In the first six months of 1940, 23 percent of the aid committee's funds (7,215 złoty) came from private donations. Additional funds came from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), which provided 21,000 złoty (68 percent), and from the Society for the Protection of Health (TOZ). In addition, a small fee was charged for some meals. A public soup kitchen was opened on February 7, 1940, and until June 1940, 73 percent (30,000 złoty) of all aid committee funds went to the soup kitchen. The remainder was used for medical assistance (doctors visits, free baths, vaccines against typhus, and sugar or milk for sick people, children, and pregnant women), for building repairs, or for buying fuel. The soup kitchen distributed three quarters of a liter of soup (about 3 cups) and 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread on every day except Saturdays to needy Jews.[8]

In April 1940, there were 2,774 Jews residing in Mogielnica. Among them there were 500 refuges, mainly from Łódź and other towns in the Warthegau. Refugees were placed in private houses and in Jewish community buildings, including two small prayer houses. In June 1940, some Jewish businesses were still operating, including four bakeries, five groceries, three ironmongers, two restaurants, and a pharmacy.[9]

Probably in the summer or fall of 1940, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Mogielnica.[10] Then at some time before January 20, 1941, probably in late November 1940 (as was the case in Grójec), the German authorities established an open ghetto in Mogielnica. According to one survivor's recollection, it was at the beginning of 1940, but this appears to be too early.[11] The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, a wall, or any barbed wire. It consisted of two or three streets near the synagogue and the Bet Midrash.[12]

According to Jakov Rotbart, after the creation of the ghetto, life became more difficult for the Jews. Bribery still served to weaken the effects of some German regulations. For example, the full quota of forced laborers for clearing snow was not always sent. However, by this time the Judenrat had imposed a progressive tax on the community, to pay forced laborers recruited from among the unemployed Jews 4 złoty per day and to meet the German "contributions."[13]

On January 21, 1941, the German authorities decreed that in Kreis Grojec the Jews could live only in the following towns designated as ghettos: Błędów, Tarczyn, Mogielnica, Góra Kalwaria, Warka, and Grójec. In addition, all Jewish families from nearby villages and towns had to move into one of these ghettos. Any Jew caught outside the ghettos after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[14] As a result of this decree and the previous influx of Jews from the Warthegau, the Jewish population of Mogielnica had risen to 4,000 people by February 1941.

The ghetto was very densely populated. According to one survivor, her 5-person family had to share cramped quarters with another 10 Jews, and people slept on the floor.[15] Due to the overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, and hunger, many diseases spread within the ghetto, including typhus. Those infected were removed from their homes and placed in the hospital, which had two or three rooms for quarantine purposes.[16]

On February 27–28, 1941, about 4,000 Jews from the Mogielnica ghetto were resettled to the Warsaw ghetto. At 4:00 or 5:00 A.M., the Germans arrived with dogs and started to drive people from their houses. Most Jews could take with them only the clothes they hastily put on and some food. They were transported on military trucks to the Mogielnica railway station. From there, the Jews were sent in cattle wagons to the Warsaw ghetto.[17] On February 27, 950 Jews were sent to Warsaw; the rest were transported the next day. Some people of means paid large sums to hire trucks to move some of their remaining belongings. The Judenrat also secured a few trucks,

by bribery, to move food supplies into the Warsaw ghetto. Since the Judenrat did receive some advance warning of the transfer, a number of Jews were able to flee to nearby towns in Distrikt Radom, including Białobrzegi, Opoczno, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, and Klwów, where ghettos had not yet been formed.[18]

In Warsaw, most of the Jews from Mogielnica were accommodated in so-called refugee shelters—that is, they were placed in schools, synagogues, and prayer houses. Hundreds of people lived in each shelter. Conditions there were very bad. People slept on military beds or on the floor. Usually they received only (one cup) of soup per day. People died from starvation and disease, especially typhus.[19] The Jews of Mogielnica expelled to the Warsaw ghetto shared the fate of the rest of the ghetto's population. Most were deported and killed in the first major deportation Aktion, which started in July 1942, when Jews from the refugee shelters were among the first to be sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Following the deportation of the Jews to Warsaw, a few Jews went into hiding in and around Mogielnica for at least part of the remaining period of German occupation: among them were Aisic Hirsch and Szmul Cyrkiel.[20] In August 1943, 3 Jews were caught near Mogielnica and shot in the Mogielnica Forest.[21] From June 9, 1944, until the end of the occupation, Maria Kisielnicka in Mogielnica helped to conceal Jerzy Sowa on false documents (as Jerzy Kulesza), and later she also provided similar aid to Sonia Blium and Jadzia Szitkie.[22] After World War II, only about 30 Jewish survivors returned to live, at least for a time, in Mogielnica.

SOURCES Articles on the Jewish community of Mogielnica can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 269–273; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., The *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 839. Additional information can be found in the yizkor book, *Sefer yizkor Mogielnica-Bledow* (Tel Aviv, 1972).

The book by Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), contains brief information on Mogielnica (pp. 213, 256, 339, 587).

Additional information on the ghetto and German crimes in Mogielnica can also be found in Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w Dystrykcie Warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 325; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo radomskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1985), pp. 110–111.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Mogielnica under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/280 [AJDC]; Ring I/116; Ring I/881; 301/2564, 5176 [Relacje]); IPN (ASG, sygn. 43-45 and sygn. 61, k. 95; Kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177; Zb. zesp. szcz., sygn. 145); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG], reels 13 and 18, sygn. 43-45 and sygn. 61, p. 95; Acc.1996.A.0028); and VHF (# 01365, 17574).

Grzegorz Kołacz

NOTES

1. VHF, # 01365, testimony of Ben (Bieniek) Stern; # 17574, testimony of Aisic Hirsch.
2. VHF, # 17574; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 269–273.
3. VHF, # 17574; # 01365.
4. AŻIH, 210/280 (AJDC), Sprawozdanie z pobytu w Mogielnicy k. Grójca, June 7, 1940, p. 1 (9); USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0028, Bulletin no. 5 (September 14, 1947), pp. 6–8, a report on Jewish life in Mogielnica from September 1939 to February 1941 by Jakov Rotbart—this source includes a more extensive list of Judenrat members.
5. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0028, Bulletin no. 5, pp. 6–8.
6. AŻIH, 210/280, Sprawozdanie, June 7, 1940, p. 1 (9).
7. Ibid., letter of June 1, 1940, p. 6.
8. Ibid., 210/280, Sprawozdanie, June 7, 1940, pp. 1–6 (9-14).
9. Ibid., p. 2 (10).
10. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0028, Bulletin no. 5, pp. 6–8.
11. VHF, # 01365.
12. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, sygn. 61, p. 95; VHF, # 01365; # 17574; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 269–273.
13. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0028, Bulletin no. 5, pp. 6–8.
14. AŻIH, Ring I/881.
15. VHF, # 17574.
16. Ibid., # 01365; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 269–273.
17. VHF, # 17574.
18. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0028, Bulletin no. 5, pp. 6–8.
19. AŻIH, Ring I/116; VHF, # 17574.
20. VHF, # 17574; AŻIH, 301/2564, testimony of Szmul Cyrkiel.
21. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 13, sygn. 43-45.
22. AŻIH, 301/5176, testimony of Maria Kisielnicka.

MORDY

Pre-1939: Mordy, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Siedlce, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Mordy is located 108 kilometers (67 miles) east of Warsaw and 18 kilometers (11 miles) east-northeast of Siedlce. The Jews were mainly Hasidim who were petty agricultural merchants, traders, and craftsmen. The Jewish community of about 1,750 residents comprised about half the town's residents on the eve of World War II.[1]

In the first weeks of World War II, a fire, sparked by German aerial bombardment, destroyed a part of Mordy. German soldiers who occupied the town shot Mordechai Laski, a disabled World War I veteran. The Germans evacuated Mordy two days later, under the territorial provisions outlined in the secret

protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. A new Soviet-German agreement on borders and friendship, signed on September 28, 1939, returned Mordy, and all other Soviet-occupied territories west of the Bug River, to German hegemony. In Mordy, the Germans appointed a local ethnic German named Eckhart as the local police chief. Otherwise, the direct assertion of German authority remained limited through 1941.[2]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Mordy, possibly in September though more likely in November 1939. In March 1940, its chair was Moszko (or Mosze) Waga. Waga was succeeded perhaps by Moshe Gershon Lewenberg, head of the pre-war kehillah. Other Judenrat members included Aaron Fajnzilber and Mordechaj (Mordko) Furman, both of whom had represented the Revisionists in the pre-war kehillah.[3]

Initially lightly guarded and located about 23 kilometers (14 miles) south of a Bug River crossing, Mordy served as a way station for Jewish refugees fleeing to the Soviet Union. Local Jews and Poles joined together to form smuggling networks to bring refugees to the border. Those turned away often ended up staying in Mordy until they succeeded in crossing the Bug. Some gave up and settled in the town.[4]

Mordy also became a center of forced Jewish migration, with 172 refugees, largely from Łódź, deported there by May 1940. In June, another 259 Jews from Łódź, Kalisz, and Poznań were expelled there. By July 1940, 512 deportees were living in the town.[5] Several dozen more Jews from Mława were deported there in the summer of 1940. Two thousand Jews resided in Mordy in January 1941.[6]

Initially, the Judenrat's main tasks were to assist refugees and expellees and to respond to demands from German authorities in Siedlce. In June 1940, the Judenrat provided free daily meals in a community kitchen for 180 adult and 250 child refugees as well as 50 meals for impoverished local Jews.[7] In the spring of 1941, it also distributed packages sent from Warsaw to 500 laborers draining swamps at a forced labor camp established on the Przebłucki estate, just outside Mordy.[8] That same year, the Judenrat responded to German demands for a monetary "contribution," collected by representatives sent from Siedlce.[9] From the summer of 1941, the Judenrat also filled quotas for the forced labor camp located on the Przebłucki estate.[10] Beginning in the spring of 1942, Jews from Mordy were sent for similar water melioration work at another forced labor camp at Bartków Nowy, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) from Korczew. This camp conscripted between 400 and 600 Jews, with Mordy's Jews comprising a significant part of the labor force.[11]

An open ghetto was established in Mordy shortly after Germany's June 22, 1941, invasion of the Soviet Union. Jews, particularly refugees, were concentrated in the southern part of the town in the pre-war Jewish neighborhood. In November 1941, Mordy's Jews were confined to a ghetto, located on a few streets, in the southern section of town. The ghetto was not fenced. Signs were posted there, listing punishments for Jews and non-Jews found leaving or entering the ghetto.[12] Placed in charge of the ghetto, Eckhart, the local police chief, demonstrated flexibility in his interactions with the Judenrat, responding positively, for instance, to requests to exempt certain Jews from forced labor.[13]

The ghetto's population significantly increased in this period. At the end of December 1941, the Germans deported to the Mordy ghetto Jews from local villages surrounding the town, including from Królowa Niwa, Przesmyki, Stok Ruski, and Tarków. That month, 3,195 Jews were concentrated in the Mordy ghetto. In May 1942, the Germans deported 500 Jews from Sarnaki to Mordy. By August 1942, 3,817 Jews were living in the ghetto.[14]

In 1942, Germans exercised more direct authority over Mordy. After 15 of the town's Jews escaped from the nearby forced labor camp, a group of SS arrived in Mordy and threatened to punish collectively the ghetto's Jews if the escapees were not turned over. The Judenrat yielded to the German demand. The escapees were not seen again. A new police chief, Pulfer, more stringently enforced the restrictions that confined Mordy's Jews to the ghetto. That year, Gendarmes executed several Jews caught outside the ghetto, smuggling food.[15]

The extermination of Mordy's Jews began on Saturday, August 22, 1942. That day, the Germans executed as may as 100 Jews in Mordy.[16] The remaining Jews, including the refugees, about 3,500 people, were marched to Siedlce's market square to join Jews from the ghettos in Siedlce and Łosice. While awaiting deportation, the Jews were subjected to increasingly random shootings by the SS guards. Deprived of water in sweltering heat, the Jews gathered in Siedlce were marched to the train station there on Monday, August 23, and then loaded into railroad wagons destined for the Treblinka extermination camp. The Germans liquidated the labor camp at Bartków Nowy on October 22, 1942. Its inmates were shot and buried in a mass grave on the grounds of the camp. The Germans liquidated the forced labor camp at Mordy in about March 1943. Its inmates also were shot at the camp.[17]

About 20 Jewish survivors returned to Mordy after the war. However, in May 1945, partisans, believed to have been from the anti-Communist underground, murdered between 2 and 12 of the town's Jews.[18] After the murders, the remaining Jews left Mordy, moving first to Warsaw and later emigrating from Poland.

SOURCES Useful published sources include the account in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 295–297, available in two different English translations, the first by Adv. Meir Garbarz Gover, available at jewishgen.org, and the second in Arnon Rubin, ed., *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 203–204.

A number of eyewitness testimonies by Jewish survivors from Mordy can be found at AJA (e.g., Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1918–1979, series C, subseries 3, C214/3). Other relevant archival documentation on the fate of the Jews in Mordy during the Holocaust include the following: USHMM (e.g.,

Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC, 210/501]; RG-15.019M [ASG, reel 6, 17/959, and reel 15, 49/143]; and RG-15.079M [reel 14, Ring I/389]); VHF (e.g., # 01851, 4407, 9317, and 13697); and YVA.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. VHF, # 4407, testimony of Bronia Golstadt; and # 01851, testimony of Arthur File; and Gitel Donath, *My Bones Don't Rest in Auschwitz: A Lonely Battle to Survive German Tyranny* (Montreal: Kaplan Publishing, 1999), p. 10.

2. "Mordy," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 203.

3. In Polish-language documentation, Moshe Gershon Lewenberg's name appears as Moszko Gerszon Lebenberg. Mordy's Judenrat membership can be found at USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/501 (Mordy), p. 3. In the 1940 filing with AJDC, Lewenberg is listed only as a Judenrat member, although subsequently he may have become the Judenrat chair.

4. VHF, # 4407; # 27150, testimony of Leopold Zylberman; # 01851; # 20620, testimony of Rachela Malinger.

5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/501, p. 13.

6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel # 45, 211/949 (Siedlce), p. 14; "Mordy," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, pp. 203–204; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 280–287, available in an English translation by Gil Levy, at jewishgen.org. Jews expelled from Mława are reported in Mordy's AJDC correspondence as early as July 15, 1940; see USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/501, p. 13. Postwar Polish court documentation claims that 4,500 Jews passed through the ghetto in total; see RG-15.019M (ASG), reel # 15, 49 (Lublin), 143 (miasto Mordy), Kwestionariusz o obozach, p. 1.

7. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/501, p. 4.

8. "Mordy," *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 23, 1941, no. 41, p. 6; USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 14, Ring I/389, Relacja Abrama Erlicha z obozu pracy przymusowej w Mordach koło Siedlec, p. 2; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel # 8, 211/127, Korespondencja Prezydium ŻSS z Gamsejem Wielikowskim-członkiem Prezydium Ż.S.S. i Doradcą przy Szefie Dystryktu Warszawskiego, 1 IV 1941-30 V 1941, pp. 27–28.

9. "Mordy," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 203.

10. Marta Janczewska, "Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów na terenie dystryktu warszawskiego," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 296–297.

11. Edward Kopówka, "Obozy pracy przymusowej w Szczeglacinie i Bartkowie Nowym k. Siedlec," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (2002): 518–519. The largest part of this camp's labor force came from Sokołów Podlaski's ghetto.

12. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel # 15, 49 (Lublin), 143 (miasto Mordy), p. 1.

13. "Mordy," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, pp. 203–204.

14. See the document labeled no. 145, under the heading "3 marca 1942, Warszawa—Zastępca komisarza dzielnicy żydowskiej w Warszawie, Grassler, do Wydziału 'Raumordnung' w dystrykcie warszawskim w sprawie koncentracji Żydów w poszczególnych powiatach," in T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 277 (in German) and p. 279 (in Polish); and T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 277.

15. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel # 15, 49/143, p. 2; and "Mordy," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 204.

16. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel # 6, 17 (Lublin Districts: Radzyń and Siedlce), 959 (m. Mordy), Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych, pp. 1–2; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 173; and Edi Weinstein, *Quenched Steel. The Story of an Escape from Treblinka*, ed. Noah Lasman (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), pp. 30–31. The precise number of Jews who were killed in Mordy during the ghetto's liquidation is unknown. Postwar Polish court documentation gives the figure of 200 Jews killed, but this is probably for the entire period from 1942 to 1944.

17. VHF, # 13697, testimony of Renia Lipska-Micznik.

18. For differences in the number of Jews murdered, compare "Mordy," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 204, with the account found under "Mordy" on the Cmentarze żydowskie w Polsce (Jewish cemeteries in Poland) Web site at kirkuty .xip.pl/mordy.htm.

MROZY

Pre-1939: Mrozy, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Mrozy is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Mińsk Mazowiecki. In 1921 there were 306 Jews living in the village; the total population stood at 508.

The village and its train station were heavily bombed during the initial days of the September 1939 campaign. Thirty-two Jews, including some refugees, lost their lives in the course of these air raids. Many residents were left homeless. The Germans established a Gendarmerie post in the village.

Only a few names of the German-established Judenrat are known, including its chairman Bencjon Rozenblitt, Joel Cieszyński, and A. Sztejn (secretary). Despite accommodation shortages, 150 refugees had settled in Mrozy by January 1940. A self-help committee was established to care for the newcomers, as well as locals whose dwellings were destroyed. In July 1940, the committee comprised chairman Chaim Alter Jakubowicz of Pabianice, Chaim Mendlewicz of Pabianice, and four locals: Josek Tenenbaum, Joel Cieszyński, Bencjon Rozenblitt, and Szlama Turyn. With support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), the committee managed to open a short-lived soup kitchen. Mrozy alderman Schulc transferred the building to the Polish Red Cross on August 15, 1940.[1]

Although the AJDC help was completely inadequate (e.g., 25 kilograms [55 pounds] of vegetable fat rationed out between

May and September 1940), its distribution divided the community into two camps—locals and newcomers. One of Mrozy's native committee members wrote to the AJDC in August 1940: "Nowhere are there such barbarous and heartless people as in Mrozy. Those who should give assistance [because they can afford it] are crying and complaining about our committee [asking] why we put refugees before [locals]?" He requested more help for the refugees than for the locals, ending the letter: "Let the locals understand what it is to be a refugee—that he is a human that needs to live. They [locals] do not understand this."

That same month, there were 507 Jews in Mrozy, according to the committee. There were also newcomers from Kalisz, Pabianice, Ostrzeszów, and Puławy. In November 1940, out of the total of 555 Jews, 243 were refugees and 312 were locals. The committee reportedly distributed 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread daily for the needy, doubling that amount on Saturdays. The committee was dissolved by the Judenrat in January 1941 and subsequently replaced by a similar body that was affiliated with the Judenrat.[2]

The Germans established a number of ghettos in Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki in the autumn of 1940. Based on correspondence dated December 13, 1940, the self-help committee reported that there was no plan to establish a ghetto in Mrozy: "This week we had a terrible worry that they were going to deport us. But somehow, as it seems to us, we will succeed in prolonging the deadline for deportation."

Instead of deportation, an open ghetto was established in Mrozy one year later, in November 1941. A German report on the concentration of the Jews in Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki of March 3, 1942, states that in November 1941, "138 Jews from Cegłów were resettled to a Jewish quarter in Mrozy."[3] A native Cegłów family, which included Teresa Körner (Chaja Esterstein), was among those resettled. Körner recalls Jews from the vicinity also being forced to move to Mrozy.[4]

With the resettlement of Jews from smaller settlements in the autumn of 1941, the Mrozy ghetto was closed. It was never fenced; rather, placards proclaiming the death penalty for leaving the ghetto without special permission were posted at its borders. A number of the ghetto's residents performed forced labor at the local train station, while others were assigned to drainage works.

Secondary sources report that the number of the ghetto's inhabitants rose to approximately 1,000 before its liquidation, which is dated as September 1942 or "autumn" of that year by those sources available.

The ghetto's liquidation was conducted by the local Gendarmerie. Mrozy's Jews were gathered in the ghetto and then sent by train to the Treblinka extermination camp. The Germans likely left behind a number of Jews for conscription to a small labor camp nearby. A. Kamiński—who escaped deportation from Kałuszyn—testified that some of the escapees were looking for jobs in a labor camp in Mrozy. *Rejestr miejsc* states that several dozen Jews laboring in nearby drainage works were shot in the autumn of 1943; however, this date may be inaccurate by as much as one year, as those laborers were likely shot as soon as it was too cold to continue working (i.e., in late 1942).[5]

SOURCES The Mrozy ghetto is briefly mentioned by Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 327; and Jacek A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds. *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawn. IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 66; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 501.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/502 [AJDC]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); VHF (# 19794); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2824).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/502 (Mrozy), pp. 8, 14–15, 32, 38.
2. Ibid., pp. 10, 18–19, 25, 27, 32–33, 38.
3. Ibid., p. 37; T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), Document 145, pp. 278–279.
4. See M. Melchior, "Uciekinierzy z gett po 'stronie aryjskiej' na prowincji dystryktu warszawskiego—sposoby przetrwania," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 328, for a summary of YVA, O-3/2824, T. Körner's testimony; VHF, # 19794, testimony of Teresa Körner (born 1929), 1996. Here Körner dates the resettlement to Mrozy in approximately the spring of 1941 and believes it was at that time most likely an open ghetto.
5. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 175; summary of YVA, O-3/842, A. Kamiński's testimony, as cited by M. Janczewska, "Obozy pracy dla Żydów na terenie dystryktu warszawskiego," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 303–304.

OKUNIEW

Pre-1939: Okuniew, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Okuniew is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) to the east-northeast of Warsaw. In 1921, the Jewish population was 489 out of a total of 1,891 inhabitants. Under German occupation, there were reportedly 84 Jewish families living in Okuniew.

Okuniew fell to the Germans on September 28, 1939. Within the first days of the occupation the Germans murdered two Jews. Various decrees and restrictions were soon imposed on the Jews, especially the performance of forced labor. Jews were required to wear special armbands, and Jewish children were

forbidden to attend school. Maria Segal, however, recalls that Jewish children attended school secretly at night, to continue with their education.[1]

In October 1939, a German civil administration was established, and Okuniew became part of Kreis Warschau-Land. The Kreishauptmann was Dr. Rupprecht.

Little information is available concerning the fate of the Jews of Okuniew under German occupation. For example, the yizkor book contains no survivor testimonies. According to the accounts of Zvi and Hirsh Noshevski, survivors from nearby Miłosna, the Okuniew and Miłosna Jews shared a common Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was based in Miłosna. The council was headed initially by two Jews named Fridman and Spekman, who had been recommended to the Germans by the Polish local council (gmina). These men had little aptitude or inclination for the task. Therefore, they sent an offer to a former Polish officer, Kh. Lubliner, then living in Warsaw, to return to Miłosna and become head of the Judenrat. In return for a good salary, Lubliner accepted the task and is described in the yizkor book as having been an energetic and upstanding leader who "did much to benefit the ghetto inhabitants of Miłosna and Okuniew."[2]

The standard Polish reference work by Czesław Pilichowski indicates that a ghetto existed for about 500 Jews in Okuniew. This was likely established in early 1941, at the same time as that in nearby Miłosna, and was probably an open ghetto.[3] According to contemporary Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) records, about 450 Jews were residing in Okuniew in mid-January 1941 under difficult conditions and in need of aid. On May 8, 1941, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) sent 250 złoty to the Jews of Okuniew for social relief, which had been received there by mid-June.[4]

According to documents preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, the Jews of Okuniew were expelled on March 25, 1942, and resettled into the Warsaw ghetto. During the expulsion, at least 15 named Jews are known to have been killed.[5]

Maria Segal, who was only six years old at the time, recalled that there was a great commotion and screams in the night on the eve of the expulsion. Her parents were very concerned about what was going to happen and tried to reassure her. They made name tags for the children to wear round their necks during the journey, lest they become separated. In the early morning hours, "rasping German voices shouted through loudspeakers for all Jews to leave their homes and congregate on the town plaza." The Jews were then escorted to Warsaw, with most men driven on foot, while children and the elderly were put on horse-pulled carts. The Jews could only take a very limited amount of luggage with them. Maria, with her sister, was separated from her parents, being placed on a cart for the journey. She heard shots in the distance as the carts drove away. It took the whole day to reach Warsaw. Some of those marching on foot, who could not keep up, were shot by the guards on the journey. On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, everyone was forced to take communal showers.[6]

From the Warsaw ghetto, nearly all of the remaining Jews were subsequently deported to the Treblinka extermination camp. Maria Segal was smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto with the help of a Polish family from Okuniew, for whom she then minded cows. While living there on the Aryan side, she learned that two other Jews, who were hiding in Okuniew, had been denounced and shot at the local cemetery.[7]

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Okuniew during the Holocaust include the following: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rembertow, Okuniew, Milosna* (Tel Aviv: Rembertow, Okuniew and Milosna Societies in Israel, the USA, France, Mexico City, Canada, Chile, and Brazil, 1974); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), p. 139; and Maria Segal, *Maria's Story: Childhood Memories of the Holocaust* (Santa Barbara, CA: Boehm Group, 2009). The ghetto is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 345.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/750 [JSS]; Ring I/501 and 875); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [Ring I/501 and 875]; RG-15.084M [Relacje]; RG-50.060*0069); VHF (# 43650); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Segal, *Maria's Story*, pp. 11–12; VHF, # 43650, testimony of Maria Segal.
2. Shimon Ahronson, "Der ayfkum un umkum fun yidishn yishuv," pp. 411–412; and Hirsh Noshevski, "Der veg fun peyn un greyl," 435—both in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*.
3. Regarding the establishment of the Miłosna ghetto, see Noshevski, "Der veg fun peyn un greyl," p. 435.
4. AŻIH, 211/750.
5. Ibid., Ring I/875; Ring I/501.
6. Segal, *Maria's Story*, pp. 11–12; VHF, # 43650. Understandably, the dating in Maria's accounts is inaccurate regarding certain details.
7. Segal, *Maria's Story*, pp. 21–22.

OTWOCK

Pre-1939: Otwock, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Otwock is located about 22 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of Warsaw. By September 1, 1939, the Jewish population had reached 10,689 out of a total 19,916. In November 1941 the Jewish population was 12,634, and in 1942, 12,030.[1]

The German army entered Otwock on September 14, 1939. The military administration lasted until October 25, 1939, when Otwock became part of Distrikt Warschau. Based in Otwock were units of the Gendarmerie, the Schutzpolizei, an outpost of the Kripo (Criminal Police), and the Gestapo. The pre-war mayor of the city, Jan Gadomski, was reinstated in his

position. The Polish police was reactivated, with Captain Bronisław Marchlewicz as its chief.

Immediately after entering the town, the Germans started to persecute the Jews. They forcibly cut off the beards of Jewish men, looted Jewish houses and stores, and arbitrarily arrested Jews for forced labor. The head of the Arbeitsamt (labor office), Hugo Dietz, dragged Jews from the synagogue on Aleksander Street on Saturdays. The Jews were forced to dig ditches and clean the villas of German officers. In October 1939, Germans burned down several synagogues in Otwock. Two other synagogues, one of them the Wajnberg synagogue, were destroyed later, in 1940.

The first murder took place on November 11, 1939, in the Śródborów Forest. The Germans shot three Jewish men for alleged illegal activities. In December 1939, the Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land, Dr. Hermann Rupprecht, imposed a contribution of 100,000 złoty on Otwock's Jewish community.

According to Calel Perechodnik, a Jewish policeman, the relationship between Poles and Jews, "except [for] sporadic events, was correct, although condescending."[2] One problem was the difficulty many Jews encountered in retrieving household goods given to Poles for safekeeping, as well as deteriorating relations in those cases where Jews had signed over their businesses to Poles. The general attitude of the German authorities towards Jews, apart from the occasional repressive actions, was initially tolerable. Gadomski, the wartime mayor of Otwock, earned a bad reputation in the Jewish community, as he signed off on all the anti-Jewish directives issued by the Kreishauptmann.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Otwock was elected at the end of December 1939. It consisted of 24 people, including the most prominent Jews. The head was Izaak Lesman; his deputy was Mojżesz Kagan.[3] Four of the members had been on the pre-war Community Council. Rabbis Rubin Zejman and Berysz Lejzor Janowski and 12 doctors also worked for the Judenrat.[4]

The Judenrat was responsible for delivering workers for forced labor, collecting valuables for the Germans, and organizing food supplies and social welfare services. Very soon the Judenrat was officiously fulfilling all German orders. The attitude of the German authorities and the local administration towards the Judenrat was initially not so stringent, but by the second half of 1942 it had become more hostile.

In July 1941, the German authorities dismissed Lesman as head of the Judenrat and dissolved the entire council for reasons that are unclear. The new head was Szymon Górewicz, and his deputy was Borys Chorążycki. Six members had also served on the first Judenrat.[5] Guta Kac-Kucyk recalled that members of the Judenrat were unable to satisfy the increasingly cruel German demands. Emanuel Ringelblum noted in May 1941: "In Otwock, 100 employees of the Jewish community were taken to labor camps, because they did not deliver the appointed number of [workers]."[6]

The ghetto in Otwock was established in the fall of 1940. It was the second largest ghetto in Distrikt Warschau. Throughout the two years of its existence, more than 12,000 people were incarcerated there altogether. The first steps to create the ghetto in Otwock were taken in September–October 1940, when Jews had to leave the areas of Sopliców and part of Śródborów and move to the center of town.[7] On November 4, 1940, the Kreishauptmann established two Jewish quarters in Otwock: a health resort area and a residential area.[8] The residential area consisted of "The Little Town" (also called "Shtetl") and the "Central ghetto," separated by the railway. From the Central ghetto to the Shtetl there was access across the railway track (near Samorządowa Street).[9]

The health resort ghetto did not have restricted borders. It contained Jewish medical institutions: hospitals, sanatoriums, and *pensions* (small hotels). The existence of these institutions and the resort character of Otwock were probably the reasons for the creation of a health resort ghetto. On the orders of the German authorities the sanatorium "Brijus" became the only place accepting Jewish tuberculosis patients in the Generalgouvernement. "Zofiówka" became the only place for nervous and mentally ill Jews. CENTOS (the Central Organization for Orphan Care) maintained in the health resort ghetto a shelter for child refugees, an Educational-Therapeutic Institute, and a ward for children in Zofiówka.[10]

The move into the ghetto was completed on November 30, 1940. The relative freedom that persisted inside the ghetto even induced some people to come to Otwock. For example, some Jews from Karczew, who were expelled to Warsaw in 1941, moved into the Otwock ghetto. Initially the ghetto was not sealed, so it was possible to leave it. As a result, the smuggling of food was not very difficult. The craftsmen sold their products to the people of the town and the surrounding area. Some ghetto inmates received food packages from relatives in the Soviet Union. Later the ghetto was partly fenced in, and Jews could not leave the ghetto under penalty of death. The Germans sealed the ghetto on January 15, 1941. To leave the ghetto one had to have a special permit. The columns of workers were allowed to leave for work under escort. Later orders were issued for the erection of wooden or wire fences. Still, the ghetto was only poorly fenced off, and Jews often left it, especially at night. As a result, the Kreishauptmann demanded from the Polish (Blue) Police that they guard the borders on a regular basis. Six policemen were assigned to control it from July 16, 1941.

After that date, several Jews were killed almost every day for leaving the ghetto, shot by Germans on the spot and buried in the fields. When conditions in the ghetto became worse, more people tried to leave. Very often they were caught by Poles, who, after robbing them, handed them over to the Polish (Blue) Police. They were reported to the Gendarmerie in Rembertów, which sent a unit to shoot them once a few people had been collected together.[11]

The strict closing off of the ghetto and the lack of contact between its three sections forced the Judenrat to form separate branches: members of the Judenrat and clerks working for the Judenrat lived in each section. Contact was maintained by phone or by special delegates.

In the fall of 1941 there was a typhus epidemic in Otwock, which became the official reason for fencing both sides of the

railway along the length of the Central ghetto and Shtetl ghetto.[12] There was no longer any connection between the health resort, the Central ghetto, and the Shtetl.

The Jewish Police in Otwock was organized in November 1940 to help facilitate the transfer of Jews into the ghetto. At first it consisted of the commandant Bernard Kronenberg, his deputy Efroim Rykner, and 30 policemen. Formally, but not actually, it was subordinated to the Polish (Blue) Police in the Generalgouvernement. In May 1941, there were 100 policemen and a commandant.[13] The police were divided into different sections: patrol, administrative, hospital, and sanitary. The Jewish Police was not popular due to corruption. The police selected people for forced labor and took them to the Arbeitsamt. Those who had money bought themselves out, and the poor were sent to work.

The Judenrat was obliged to supply a specific number of workers to German units stationed in Otwock, on average some 85 to 100 workers per day. They worked cleaning the town and the ghetto. Most people tried to avoid being sent to work, and very often the Jewish Police employed force to round them up, even killing some who resisted. In the summer of 1940, the German authorities sent young men to forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin. The wealthy paid money, and the poor were sent to the camps. Some 300 Otwock Jews were sent to the labor camps in Józefów, Biała Podlaska, Bełżec, Tyszowce, and Zamość.[14] In August 1940, 50 Jewish men from Otwock were sent to the Tyszowce labor camp. They worked on construction projects regulating the Huczwa River. In December the camp was liquidated, and people were released back to their ghettos.[15]

In April 1942, some 400 Jewish men from Otwock were sent to the labor camp in Karczew. The inmates worked on a land reclamation scheme. The close proximity to the ghetto played a key role in the life of inmates, who could receive support from their families and for the first few months the workers were even able to go to the ghetto for Shabbat.

In July 1942, the Jewish commandant of the Karczew camp, Welwel Kolkowicz, had to pay a large bribe to Inspector Frank for the camp to continue operating. Otherwise the workers were to be killed.[16] The workers in the camp stayed in contact with a Polish policeman, whose sons belonged to the underground Home Army. There were plans for resistance, but these were not realized due to the lack of any arms.

In January 1942, some 150 to 200 men were sent to the Treblinka forced labor camp to work on the construction of the Treblinka extermination camp. Postwar documents indicate that 175 men were sent there in January and dozens more in February. They were among the first victims of the gas chambers.[17] Three men from Otwock survived the liquidation of the camp.

Only a very small percentage of the Jews in the ghetto conducted any form of paid work. Some of these worked in the hospitals and sanatoriums. In 1941, there were 436 businesses in the ghetto: mainly engaged in trade and handicrafts or garretcraftsmen.[18] Among the craftsmen were tailors, shoemakers, and blacksmiths.

Most people earned money selling their belongings to the Poles. Those who did not have anything left took their food to the Warsaw ghetto to sell, especially 10- to 12-year-old children. Until the closing of the Shtetl ghetto, Poles and Jews traded regularly there.

There were six communal kitchens operating in the summer of 1941. Sickness and hunger increased considerably at the end of that year after the closing of the ghetto.

At first Jewish patients were treated in the Polish hospitals, but soon they had to be moved to separate Jewish wards. Because of the typhus epidemic and dysentery, the Judenrat had to organize an isolation hospital. Starting in August 1941, death rates increased due to the spread of contagious diseases. The winter of 1941–1942 brought the highest rates of sickness due to typhus. In December 1941 the mortality rate was 3.6 percent, and over the next two months it increased to 10 percent.[19]

The health resort ghetto became the center of cultural life, because a lot of Jewish intellectuals were receiving treatment there. A literature group was established, and lectures on history and literature were presented. There were some forms of conspiratorial learning in the ghetto. There were underground classes and also a *cheder*. Observant Jews studied the Talmud regularly. The meat from Otwock was ritually slaughtered and smuggled into the Warsaw ghetto by young, non-Jewish-looking girls. The meat had certificates of kashruth signed by *shochtim*.

In July 1942 the commandant of the Gendarmerie in Rembertów, Lüppschau, came to Otwock. He demanded from the commandant of the Jewish Police expensive gifts and in return gave assurances that the Otwock ghetto would be spared. On August 18, 1942, Major Karl Brandt, a Gestapo officer and one of the organizers of the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, came to Otwock with a few officers and ordered the ghetto area to be surrounded by a wall. He also dismissed the chairman of the Jewish Council in Otwock, Szymon Górewicz, appointing Bernard Kronenberg, the chief of the Jewish Police, to replace him.[20] According to Calel Perechodnik's memoirs, Kronenberg received a warning letter from a former commander of the Otwock Jewish Police—Efroim Rykner, who wrote about the threat of deportation. The news spread rapidly around the ghetto.

Part of the staff of Zofiówka received warnings from a Polish policeman about an upcoming Aktion, and the staff of the sanatoriums and hospitals escaped to Warsaw, using an ambulance. Some of the orderlies bleached their hair to disguise themselves as "Aryans." Many doctors committed suicide.

The liquidation Aktion began on August 19, 1942; it was carried out by Ukrainian auxiliaries and other SS troops. The Germans ordered people to leave their houses and gather in the main ghetto, and from there the Germans led them to the loading platform. The place for the final concentration of Otwock's Jews was on the site where a new workshop was planned. There, Jewish workers cut down trees and enclosed the square with a barbed-wire fence.[21] The commandant of the Rembertów Gendarmerie, Lüppschau, the Inspector of the Karczew camp, Frank, and the chief of the Arbeitsamt, Dietz, all came

to Otwock to supervise the loading of the trains. Some 8,000 Jews were deported from Otwock during this Aktion.

The liquidation Aktion in the resort ghetto was particularly brutal. In the sanatoriums "Brijus" and "Zofiówka," everyone who was unable to move or who was mentally ill was shot on the spot. Children from the sanatoriums were not shot, as the Germans did not want to waste bullets. Instead, they smashed children's heads against the walls. On Reymont Street, 600 people were shot.

Abraham Willendorf, a Jewish policeman, publicly renounced his police insignia and joined his family. Two men escaped from the train—Jurek Grandowski and Berek Kejzman.

The Aktion was repeated on the following day. The Jewish policemen stayed behind to clean up the ghetto. Some of them were sent to the hospital Zofiówka to bury the corpses of the murdered Jews. In December 1942, after finishing the work, the policemen were sent to the labor camp in Karczew. From there some of the policemen and 200 workers unfit to work were sent to the Warsaw ghetto. In May 1943, the head prisoner of the Karczew camp, Welwel Kolkowicz, decided to escape and advised his fellow workers to do the same. The camp existed until at least September 1943. Some of the policemen worked in camps in Rembertów and Piekiełko.

After the ghetto's liquidation, the hunt for hidden Jews and their murder continued for four weeks. Germans and Ukrainian auxiliaries searched houses and cellars. In the mass graves located between Reymont and Słowacki Streets, 1,500 people were buried. Similar graves were dug also in the woods surrounding the town and in air-raid shelters. About 3,000 people were captured and shot in the course of the operation.[22] Some children from CENTOS remained in the woods in hiding until the spring of 1943. Poles denounced most of them. Some children had prepared hideouts in the woods. Even those children who were deliberately given to Poles by their parents were mostly abandoned or left in Catholic convents. Otwock nuns from the congregation of Saint Elizabeth, who led the orphanage "Promyk," saved about 20 to 30 Jewish children. The chief of the Polish (Blue) Police, Captain Bronisław Marchlewicz, and Ludwik Wolski, a priest from the Wincenty à Paulo parish, forged baptismal certificates to save Jewish children. Meanwhile, ordinary Poles together with Germans busied themselves in looting Jewish goods.

Some 400 former Jewish inhabitants of Otwock returned to the town at the end of the war. Some of them had spent the war in the Soviet Union. Nobody from that group remained in Poland.

SOURCES There are two yizkor books published by the survivors: Benjamin Orenstein, ed., *Khurbn Otvotsk*, *Falenits*, *Kartshev* (Bamberg: Former Residents of Otvotsk, Falenic and Kartshev in the American Zone in Germany, 1948); and Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer Zikaron: Otvotsk-Karchev* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Otvotsk and Kartshev, 1968). One of the most important sources on the history of the Otwock ghetto and its liquidation is a memoir written by a Jewish policeman in the ghetto, Calel Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?* (Westview Press, 1996). A secondary source focused on the Otwock ghetto is a book written by this author, *The Jewish Population of Otwock during the Second World War* (Warsaw: Jewish Historical Institute, 2002).

The main archival sources are located in the State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw (APW), Otwock Branch, where many documents produced by the Judenrat and the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) are preserved. These documents can be found in the file Records of the City of Otwock, 1939–1942 (Akta miasta Otwocka, 643, 861, 896, 898, 925, 934, 1010, 1022, 1023, 1053, 1057, 1060, 1062, 1063, 1068). Some useful documents can be found in the records of the State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw: Kreishauptmannschaft Warschau-Land and Amt des Gouverners des Distrikts Warschau. Other materials were obtained from the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (e.g., AŻIH, 313/46, 87; Ring I/373). These include documents of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (210, AJDC) and the Jewish Social Self-Help (211/771 [JSS]), which give an insight into the economic situation in the Otwock ghetto. There are also several testimonies written by survivors (e.g., 301/4064, 4121, 5913 [Relacje]).

Sylwia Szymanska-Smolkin

NOTES

1. APW, Akta miasta Otwocka, 643, p. 60; 896, p. 27; 898, p. 1; 934, p. 38; 1022, p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Ibid., 1053, pp. 282–283.
4. Ibid., p. 250.
5. Ibid., 1060, p. 124.
6. Emanuel Ringelblum, *The Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Warsaw, 1983), p. 284.
7. APW, 861, p. 1; Ludwik Landau, *Chronicles of the Years of War and Occupation*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1962), p. 744.
8. APW, 1057, p. 74.
9. Kanc, *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 876; APW, 1057, p. 74.
10. APW, 1022, pp. 8–9.
11. Lucjan Chojczyk, "Komisariat przy Sienkiewicza," in *Mówią wieki* (1996), p. 17.
12. APW, 1010, pp. 192, 195–196; Ringelblum, *The Chronicle*, p. 343.
13. APW, 925, p. 73.
14. *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 28, November 23, 1940.
15. AŻIH, Ring I/373, pp. 1–10; Orenstein, *Khurbn Otvotsk*, *Falenits*, *Kartshev*, pp. 8–10.
16. Orenstein, *Khurbn Otvotsk*, *Falenits*, *Kartshev*, p. 23.
17. AŻIH, 313/87, Nissenszal; 313/46, Zygmunt Herzig's case, p. 5; Z. Łukasiewicz, "Obóz pracy w Treblince," *Bulletin of the Main Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland* 3 (1947): 113, 121; Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?*, p. 12.
18. APW, 1023, pp. 1–9.
19. R. Zabłotniak, "Sanatorium Towarzystwa Opieki nad Biednymi Gruźliczo Chorymi Żydami 'Marpe' (1907–1924–1942)," *BŻIH*, nos. 1–2 (165–166) (1993): 106–109; "Sanatoria żydowskie w Otwocku (1939–1942) w pięćdziesiątą rocznicę zagłady," *Zdrowie Publiczne* 55:3–4 (1992): 551–553; *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 81, September 5, 1941.
20. Kanc, *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 940; Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?*, pp. 20, 27.
21. Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?*, p. 20; AŻIH, 301/4064, p. 6.

22. AŻIH, 301/4064, pp. 7–8; 301/4326, testimony of Zalmen Cwi Golden, p. 8; T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 93.

PARYSÓW

Pre-1939: Parysów, village, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Parysow, Kreis Garwolin, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Parysów, town, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Parysów is located about 53 kilometers (33 miles) southeast of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 1,906 Jews in Parysów; the village's total population stood at 3,388. By 1939, there were 300 Jewish families living in Parysów.

Unlike many other localities in the Kreis, Parysów was not damaged in the course of the September 1939 campaign and so was subsequently flooded with refugees, including many Jews from Garwolin.

The Germans established a 12-man Judenrat, chaired by the tradesman Aharon Glatstein, with another tradesman, Jankiel Cymlich (Yaakov Zimlich), as his deputy. Other members of the Judenrat included Icek Goldman, Chil Borowski, Berek Drzewnowski, Moshe Chaim Poskolinski, and Aron Chełmer as secretary.[1] The Germans soon withdrew from the village, placing Polish (Blue) Police in charge of maintaining order. A Jewish police force was also later formed to enforce German orders, including labor conscription.

On May 17, 1940, 149 Jews who had been forced out of Garwolin arrived in Parysów. Another 202 deportees from Górzno, Wola Rębkowska, and Pilawa arrived on October 20, 1940. A survey conducted that same month reported 3,115 Jews in Parysów.[2]

An open ghetto was established in Parysów in November 1940, consisting of three streets in the southeastern part of the village and including Borowska Street (on which the synagogue stood) and one side of Garwolin Street. Poles who owned property within the ghetto boundaries could remain there, on request. The Jews were allowed to take their belongings with them, including artisan tools, despite the lack of space to set up their workshops. Owners of horses and wagons faced the same difficulty.[3]

There are no reports of the ghetto being guarded or closed or its inhabitants being executed for leaving its borders; however, Gestapo agents would sometimes come to the ghetto and beat up Jews in the streets.

On December 10, 1940, about 70 deportee families from Garwolin—by then almost entirely depleted of Jews—were transferred to Parysów. The Judenrat estimated the number of Jews at 3,500. In a letter to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) office in Warsaw, it reported that the "overcrowding cannot be described."[4]

The Germans ordered the organization of a Jewish police force with Judenrat member Moshe Chaim Poskolinski as its commander. It consisted of approximately 12 men from Parysów and Garwolin. The jail, due to lack of space, was set up in a windowless corridor of the synagogue. An inner wall was built to separate it from the remainder of the space, where the refugees were quartered. Later a fire brigade, commanded by Tuvia Miller, was organized in the ghetto. There were many volunteers, as the work guaranteed exemption from forced labor.

A cooperative of Jewish and Polish artisans was organized in the ghetto. The Jewish craftsmen produced the goods, while Poles, who were not barred from traveling, sold them. Yet the majority of the ghetto's residents lacked any paid employment and suffered from hunger. In addition, the community was forced to pay three large "contributions" to the German authorities; jewelry and money for the last two had to be extorted by the Jewish Police.

Impoverishment within the Jewish community forced many to resort to theft. Local farmers complained to the Polish police that their produce was being stolen from the fields. The local Jews in turn accused the refugees, who then claimed that the thefts were committed by the locals. The Polish police and the Judenrat warned the Jewish Police to restore order. Despite the hunger, pious Jews maintained religious practices including eating kosher meat, Sabbath prayers, and celebrating the High Holidays.[5]

On April 26, 1941, a local branch of the JSS was established in Parysów. The merchant Abraham Lejzer Raplański of Garwolin served as the chairman, and Izak Fajgenbaum was his deputy. The committee also included Icek Goldman, Jankiel Cymlech, Lejb Rolfus, and Aron Chełmer. The JSS was able to provide very little help. In February 1942, out of 2,078 Jews applying for meals from the soup kitchen, only 105 were recipients.

In the autumn of 1941, after an outbreak of typhus, the German authorities ordered a hospital opened. Despite the epidemic, more Jews from Garwolin, which by this time had been made *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews), were to be relocated to Parysów by November 20, 1941. Tuvia Miller was the hospital's administrator. The only doctor—a woman named Warchower—was its director. The hospital inspection conducted by the Garwolin JSS in January 1942 described it as "neglected." The inspectors recommended that "the arrival of a male Jewish doctor, who would organize the work at the hospital, is desirable." The report summed up the situation in the ghetto: "Terrible misery prevails in Parysów in every way."[6]

In 1942, the ghetto's Jews worked in two nearby labor camps. A 50-man labor brigade worked in Chyżyn, where they were straightening the Świder River channel. On reports that laborers were beaten while working knee deep in water, the Judenrat refused to send the Jews there the next day but later gave in, after the Germans issued a warning. Those who were assigned for labor in the Wilga camp—possibly as many as 100 Jews—demanded that the Judenrat provide transport. The 20-kilometer (12-mile) exhausting march to Wilga left the workers too weak to work, thereby resulting in severe beatings. Although a vehicle was eventually provided, the physical violence continued. Once barracks were built on the camp's grounds, the Parysów Jews refused to go to work, for fear of

being detained there. The Jewish police force was unable to compel them to go to work; as a last resort, it would lock up the designated laborers in the middle of the night and then send them off to the camp in the morning. All of Parysów's Jews were desperately trying to avoid work in both camps.

A number of Jews were also working on road construction, 3 kilometers (2 miles) from Parysów, in the village of Wilchta. "The Jewish Police drove us to labor," testified one of the ghetto's survivors, Meier Herc.[7]

In May 1942, the Germans arrested three members of the Judenrat, including the police chief Poskolinski. All were shot near the road to Garwolin. In June 1942, the Judenrat chairman, Glatstein, and his father, a slaughterer, were charged with the illegal killing of a cow. Arrested and taken to Garwolin, they never returned. Jankiel Cymlich was appointed as the new chairman. Tuvia Miller took charge of the police force.

At the beginning of September 1942, the Germans requested larger numbers of laborers to be sent to Chyżyn and for road construction. Approximately 600 Jews at that time worked to meet the deadline for the paving of the Parysów-Głosków road, including the elderly Rabbi Morgenstern. The deadline was met after some Poles with road-paving equipment helped to finish the job.[8]

Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation, the Germans changed the Judenrat chairman for the last time, replacing Cymlich with Moshe Munk, who was immediately tasked with collecting the last large contribution. In anticipation of the ghetto's liquidation, many Jews tried to save themselves by running to the Chyżyn camp.

In mid-September 1942 (possibly September 18), without notice, 3,000 Jews from the liquidated Stoczek Łukowski ghetto were brought into the Parysów ghetto. The Germans demanded that the Judenrat provide them with housing.

The destruction of the Parysów ghetto was also unannounced. The streets leading from the ghetto were blocked off on September 27, 1942, by Germans and Polish police. Residents of the ghetto were then chased to the market square. Meier Herc described the liquidation: "The Jews set off from the market square towards the train station in Pilawa, such that they had to cover 9 kilometers [5.6 miles] on foot. Recorded music was played from an automobile. Women and children were seated on wagons. The sick and weak were shot on the spot—on the square. And in this manner 150 persons were killed." From Pilawa, the community was sent to the Treblinka extermination camp by train.[9]

Thirty Jews were registered as being shot by the German Gendarmerie from October 2–4, 1942, in a hunt for ghetto survivors. Among the victims were 3 members of the Morski family and 11 of the Borucki family.[10]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Parysów under German occupation can be found in the following publications: Y. Granatstein, ed., *Sefer Parisov* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Parysów in Israel, 1971); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 405–406.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/541 [AJDC]; 211/393-95, 211/784 [JSS]; 301/4104 [Relacje]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.019M [Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/541 (Parysów), pp. 47–48; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/ 393 (Garwolin), pp. 33, 45.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/541, pp. 24–30, 47–48.
3. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 405; Granatstein, *Sefer Parisov*, p. 332.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/541, pp. 47–49.
5. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 405; Granatstein, *Sefer Parisov*, pp. 332–333, 337, 340–341.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/394 (Garwolin), pp. 24–25, 45, 49; 211/395 (Garwolin), pp. 36–37; and 211/784 (Parysów), p. 5; Granatstein, *Sefer Parisov*, pp. 333, 336–337, 339.
7. Granatstein, *Sefer Parisov*, p. 334; USHMM, RG-15.019M (Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos), reel 18, file 55; testimony of Meier Herc, AŻIH, 301/4104 (Relacje), as quoted in Barbara Engelking "Życie codzienne w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in B. Engelking, J. Leociak, and D. Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 203–204.
8. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 406; Granatstein, *Sefer Parisov*, pp. 340–341.
9. Testimony of Meier Herc, AŻIH, 301/4104, as quoted in Engelking, "Życie codzienne," pp. 203–204; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 406; Granatstein, *Sefer Parisov*, pp. 340–342.
10. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, IPN, 1985), pp. 193–194.

PIASECZNO

Pre-1939: Piaseczno, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Piaseczno is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Warsaw. In 1921, 2,256 Jews were living in Piaseczno, representing 40.2 percent of the town's total population (5,615 people). In the interwar period, numerous Jewish political organizations and professional bodies existed, which took an active part in the social and political life of the town.

German mobile forces entered Piaseczno on September 6, 1939. From the first day of the occupation, Wehrmacht soldiers executed inhabitants of Piaseczno, both Polish and Jewish. On September 9, 1939, 22 Polish prisoners of war (POWs) and

Jews were shot in Piaseczno; one day later, Wehrmacht soldiers killed 2 young Jews on Chiliczkowskiej Street.[1] In response, many Piaseczno Jews fled to Warsaw and to Soviet-occupied eastern Poland; at the same time though, approximately 1,000 Jewish refugees from various parts of the country arrived in the town, raising the number of Jewish inhabitants to approximately 3,500.[2]

On the establishment of a German civil administration on October 26, 1939, Piaseczno became part of Kreis Warschau-Land. In December 1939, the Ortskommandantur in Piaseczno ordered the Jews to wear the Star of David, marked the doors of Jewish homes and enterprises with yellow paint, and forced the Jewish community to pay a "contribution" of 30,000 złoty.[3]

In January 1940, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of 12 persons. The Judenrat established a welfare committee under the direction of Boruch Higier. The welfare committee was responsible both for the distribution of food provided with support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and for the collection of funds to help the poorest members of the Jewish community. In the period from February 4 to July 25, 1940, the Welfare Committee distributed 1,764 meals and 1,500 kilograms (3,307 pounds) of bread.[4]

In the spring of 1940 the Jews of Piaseczno were apparently struck by excessive violence that was perpetrated by the local Polish population with tacit approval of the German administration.[5]

The Jews of Piaseczno had to serve as unpaid workers for the German army and local farmers in the area surrounding Piaseczno. On March 15, 1940, 61 Jews resettled from Łódź and Garwolin arrived in Piaseczno, followed by another 185 deportees in June 1940.[6]

In the summer of 1940, the Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land ordered the German mayor of Piaseczno to present a proposal for the establishment of a ghetto in Piaseczno by August 1, 1940. On July 23, 1940, the Judenrat, however, forwarded a memorandum to the Kreishauptmann, trying to convince him of the impractical nature of German plans to establish a ghetto in the town.[7] Nevertheless, in November 1940, the Jews of Piaseczno were forced to move into the ghetto, which was established in the southern part of the town, along Świętojanska, Jerozolima, Topolowa, Czajewicz, and Krótka Streets.[8]

The ghetto existed for only around three months. In two waves the Jewish community of Piaseczno was deported to the Warsaw ghetto. On December 4, 1940, approximately 1,000 Jews were expelled from Piaseczno and forced into the Warsaw ghetto. The Jews were either herded on trucks or had to walk the entire distance of 18 kilometers (11 miles) to Warsaw on foot, carrying bundles with their possessions on their backs. On their arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, some Jews were placed into quarantine facilities and the others simply dispersed.[9] In a second wave, between January 22 and January 27, 1941, on the orders of the Department for Resettlement (Abteilung Umsiedlung) in the office of the Gouverneur of Distrikt Warschau, the remaining Jews of Piaseczno (about 1,000 people) were deported to the Warsaw ghetto. In Warsaw, these Jews were housed initially in a reception camp at 46 Grzybowska Street and were reported to be in desperate need of assistance.[10] Among them was also Kelman Szapiro, who would become the last rabbi of the Warsaw ghetto. His handwritten manuscripts survived the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto as part of the Ringelblum Archive and represent a unique Orthodox response to the Holocaust.[11]

The homes of the Jews in Piaseczno were taken over in the spring of 1941 by Polish citizens from the Bydgoszcz area, who themselves had been expelled from their homes to make way for ethnic Germans who had arrived from the Baltic states.

The Jews of Piaseczno shared the fate of the other Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. Many of them were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp and murdered there in the summer of 1942.

SOURCES Articles on the fate of the Jewish community of Piaseczno during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 346–347; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 984–985; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 583.

Additional relevant information can be found in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); and Józef Kazimierski, "Miasto Piaseczno i powiat piaseczyński w latach wojny i okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Jerzy Antoniewicz, ed., *Studia i materiały do dziejów Piaseczna i powiatu piaseczyńskiego* (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 253–268; and on the following Polish homepages: www.sztetl.org and www.studnia.org.

Documentation on the Jewish community of Piaseczno under German occupation can be found in the following archives: APW (877, k. 9); AŻIH (210/543 [AJDC]; 211/1071; Ring II); PAPP (3325 and 3312, k. 247-248); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.079M [Ring II]).

Daniel Brewing

NOTES

1. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: województwo stołeczne warszawskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1988), pp. 227–228.
2. APW, Starostwo Powiatowe Warszawskie (SPW), 877, k. 9; Kazimierski, "Miasto Piaseczno," p. 263.
3. APW, SPW, 877, k. 9; Kazimierski, "Miasto Piaseczno," p. 263.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/543.
5. Tomasz Szarota, *U progu zagłady: Zajścia antyżydowskie i pogromy w okupowanej Europie: Warszawa, Paryż, Amsterdam, Antwerpia, Kowno* (Warsaw, 2000), p. 32.

6. Berenstein, "Deportacje," pp. 106–107.
7. PAPP, akta m. Piaseczna, 3325 and 3312, k. 247-248; Kazimierski, "Miasto Piaseczno," p. 263.
8. PAPP, 3213, k. 11; APW, SPW, 877, k. 9; Kazimierski, "Miasto Piaseczno," p. 263.
9. Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kerr, eds., *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), p. 222.
10. The order is reprinted in Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Vollstrecker: Die Liquidation von 500.000 Juden im Ghetto Warschau* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 329–330; see also AŻIH, 211/1071, p. 41, undated note in German about "Aussiedlungen im Distrikt Warschau," probably about February 10, 1941.
11. USHMM, RG-15.079M, reels 58 and 61 (Ring II/431, Ring II/370, Ring II/432).

PRUSZKÓW

Pre-1939: Pruszków (Yiddish: Prushkov), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Pruszkow, Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Pruszków, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Pruszków is an industrial town located about 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) southwest of Warsaw. In 1921, 971 of the town's 15,132 residents were Jews; by 1931, the Jewish community had increased to 1,288, in a total population of 23,647.

After a summer of rumors and speculation about the looming war, the Jews of Pruszków devised several plans of action, often marked by generational conflict. Following the outbreak of war, many men made their way to Warsaw, where they were caught in the three-week siege of the city. Young people with leftist or Communist leanings headed eastward towards Soviet territory. The women and the older members of the community generally stayed put.[1]

The German army entered Pruszków after about one week of the German invasion of Poland and was welcomed by the local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) with salt and flowers. Some believe this gesture saved the town from widespread damage and destruction.[2] Although many Jews had fled the town, thousands of others attempting to reach Warsaw did not get past Pruszków. The local Jews put them up in schools and private homes, but many slept on the streets. Soup kitchens were opened and blankets distributed. Many refugees moved on after the fall of Warsaw, whereas many local Jews who had fled to Warsaw or Soviet territory began to return. The Germans ordered the shops of Pruszków to reopen and normal routines to be resumed.[3]

Nevertheless, each day brought new demands and decrees from the German authorities. Jewish schools were closed. Jews could not use the trains, except for one car designated for their use.[4] Jews over the age of 14 had to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David. In October 1939, the Judenrat was established, headed by a Jew from Łódź, Yitzhak Koenigstein. Each day, Jews up to the age of 60 had to report for forced labor, which was coordinated by the Judenrat. An exemption could be purchased by paying a fee, with unemployed youth sent as replacements.[5] Jews worked without pay in workshops at the rail yards, loading ammunition boxes, and cleaning trains.[6] Ration cards were distributed, but the available supplies were less than the allotment. Sickness was curtailed by strict attention to cleanliness. The local Jewish doctors had left, and the Polish doctors would not risk the danger of treating a Jew.[7] Others, however, mention the presence of refugee doctors in Pruszków, who helped to contain an outbreak of typhus.[8]

Even with the relative stability of the first year of occupation, Jews suffered numerous acts of oppression. On the first Yom Kippur (September 23, 1939), Polish youth, at the instigation of the Germans, attacked Jewish worshipers. Mentally ill Jews at the psychiatric hospital in Tworki were removed and murdered. During the harsh winter of 1939–1940, the townspeople dismantled the wooden synagogue for firewood. The Torah scrolls, however, were rescued and hidden on the grounds of the cemetery.[9]

In the fall of 1940, the situation worsened considerably. A fine of 50,000 złoty was imposed on the community. On October 12–13, 1940, a ghetto was established in a tiny sector of town near the paint factory of a Jew named Ehrenreich. The ghetto was packed with at least 1,000 people (other sources say 1,300 to 1,600), with several families to a room. Those moving in had to leave behind most of their property.[10] Despite the overcrowding and degradation, only one case of suicide was recorded.[11]

At first the ghetto was an open one, and Jews were allowed to leave it from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.[12] Jews earned a livelihood by petty trade and smuggling. Jewish youth established an underground elementary school and attempted to organize a library. There was a drama group, and the local branch of a Zionist youth group, "Dror," continued to meet. The young people began to build a school from the dismantled materials of a synagogue building outside the ghetto, but the project was never completed.[13]

Chiel Rajchman has described forced labor conditions in the ghetto: "Three times a week we were taken to the railroad labor camp, and we worked there without pay and we were harassed and beaten."[14] A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was operating in Pruszków by early January 1941; at this time about 300 Jews were receiving assistance.[15]

There were increasing rumors in the winter of 1940–1941 that the Jews were being transferred from the small ghettos around Warsaw to the Warsaw ghetto. Pruszków's turn came at the end of January 1941, when the Judenrat was informed that the ghetto would be eliminated and its inhabitants moved to Warsaw. The inhabitants of the Pruszków ghetto were surrounded and closed in for 10 days before being loaded onto a train for Warsaw.[16] People were allowed to take their belongings, but most were limited to 20 kilograms (44 pounds).[17]

According to one contemporary report, 1,200 Jews were transferred from Pruszków to Warsaw. On arrival in Warsaw the Jews were quarantined. To expedite their release, the Pruszków Jews had to pay another large fee. Once they were released, the authorities still kept their baggage, linen, and bedding

until the sum of 5,000 złoty was paid. "The collection of this sum took longer than 10 days, so the refugees of Pruszków had to go for two weeks without bedding and without underwear to change, until they managed to scrape together the ransom."[18]

The fate of the Pruszków Jews was entwined with that of the Warsaw ghetto. A few young people from Pruszków participated in the April 1943 uprising of the Warsaw ghetto.[19]

About 180 men were left behind to continue as forced laborers in the workshops at the rail yards. They were housed in one building, which they called the "white house,"[20] surrounded by a high wall. A few managed to escape, but by the summer of 1942 the rest had been sent to the Warsaw ghetto. Many of them were soon deported from there to the Treblinka extermination camp.[21]

Only a few dozen Jews from Pruszków survived the war, mostly with the help of non-Jewish local acquaintances and a few sympathetic farmers.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Pruszków can be found in the following publications: D. Brodsky, ed., *Sefer Pruszkow*, *Nadzin ve-ha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Pruszków in Israel, 1967); "Pruszkow," in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 372–376; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 407.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/5563, 5630; Ring I/892; 211/827 [JSS]); IPN (ASG, sygn. 62, k. 279-280); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.030*0185; Acc.1997.0124 [JSS]); VHF (e.g., # 1829, 7464); and YVA.

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1. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 375.
2. Brodsky, *Sefer Pruszkow*, p. 215.
3. Ibid., p. 216.
4. Ibid., p. 253.
5. Ibid., p. 217.
6. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 375.
7. Brodsky, *Sefer Pruszkow*, p. 217.
8. Ibid., p. 251.
9. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 375.
10. Bill Tammeus, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland during the Holocaust* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), p. 108; VHF, # 1829, testimony of Bella Elsa Thorn, 1995.
11. Brodsky, *Sefer Pruszkow*, p. 217.
12. VHF, # 7464, testimony of Jerry Koenig, 1995.
13. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 375; Brodsky, *Sefer Pruszkow*, p. 218.
14. USHMM, RG-50.030*0185, interview with Chiel Rajchman, December 7, 1988.
15. AŻIH, 211/827 (JSS), p. 6.
16. Brodsky, *Sefer Pruszkow*, p. 218.
17. Ibid., p. 219.
18. Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 295, 297.
19. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 376.
20. Brodsky, *Sefer Pruszkow*, p. 251.
21. USHMM, RG-50.030*0185; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, pp. 375–376.

PUSTELNIK (MARKI-PUSTELNIK OR MARKI)

Pre-1939: Pustelnik (village), Marki (village), Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Pustelnik (suburb of Marki), town, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Prior to World War II, Pustelnik was a village in the Marki gmina. At that time, Marki was a larger village nearby. The Jewish communities of Pustelnik and Marki, residing along the Radzymin-Warsaw road, about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) north-northeast of Warsaw, considered themselves as a single community. Marki was the center of community life, as it was the older Jewish settlement and the rabbi's seat. According to the 1921 census, there were 156 Jews living in Marki (total population 2,529) and 368 in Pustelnik (total population 1,956). The Germans established a ghetto in 1940 that was constructed for all the Jews of the Marki gmina.

According to survivor Szlama Kutnowski, the Germans established a system of labor conscription following the occupation of Marki in 1939. Under this regimen, local Jews were subjected to forced labor three days a week. Berek Jarzembski, a Pustelnik native, testified that the Germans also took some men from his village for labor; otherwise, the Germans did not bother the village's Jews much. There is more information on the pre-ghetto life of the Jews in Pustelnik, as the Judenrat (chaired by Litman) and its self-help committee (established in January 1940) were both located there.

On the outbreak of war, "a large number of trading firms were liquidated and factories immobilized," as was reported by the Pustelnik self-help committee to Warsaw when asking for help. Until June 1940, with the assistance of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), the self-help committee operated a soup kitchen and provided medical assistance.[1]

Pustelnik's ghetto—for which all the Jews of the Marki gmina were designated—was established at the end of 1940, most likely in December. The ghetto was located on Duża Street, approximately 2 to 4 kilometers (1.2 to 2.5 miles) northeast of Pustelnik. It was surrounded by barbed wire but unguarded. The Germans did not establish a Jewish police force, leaving the maintenance of order in the hands of the Judenrat.[2]

On January 7, 1941, the self-help committee described the situation: "Presently, due to the establishment of ghettos, our

material situation is catastrophic." The initial plan to establish a ghetto where the Jews already resided, "along the Warsaw-Radzymin road and the narrow gauge station went up in smoke. Consequently we were deported from our residences to a brickyard, Henryków and Osinki . . . far away from roads and contact. [We were placed] in houses for [former] factory workers and barracks, completely secluded and isolated from the Polish population." The committee emphasized that relocation to the ghetto caused the remainder of Jewish businesses to close. The committee estimated that by January 1941, 75 percent of the Jews in the ghetto lacked any source of income. Seven hundred people were requesting assistance.[3]

Initially the Jews were still allowed to leave the ghetto. The then 12-year-old Kutnowski recalls going to Marki to work. Nearby was a forest, approximately 60 meters (197 feet) from the ghetto fence, where Jews would pick blueberries or gather wood for heating. Housing conditions in the ghetto were appalling. Kutnowski described his family's living quarters as follows: "We were living in a garage. The floor was made of bricks. There was no roof, so we made one out of planks."[4]

By April 1941, the ghetto was declared closed. The self-help committee's report for January–April 1941 reads: "From the moment the ghetto was closed, the local population is on the edge of destruction." By May 1941, there were 850 Jews in the ghetto, including 598 refugees. The committee added: "Jews employed in the ceramic works and on other German details are earning 3 to 4 złoty per day, which in present conditions amounts to nothing." It is not clear whether the aforementioned "ceramic works" refers to the Henryków and Osinki brickyard or another factory outside of the ghetto's borders. In the same report, the committee also cited recent rumors of the resettlement of the ghetto's population to Warsaw, which were forcing Pustelnik's Jews to sell off their remaining belongings.[5]

The ghetto was liquidated on March 26, 1942. Its inhabitants were deported to the Warsaw ghetto. Berek Jarzembski states that the community, which was permitted only to take personal baggage, was deported on wagons and trucks. Kutnowski, who at the time of the Aktion was on one of his smuggling trips, testified: "When I returned home as usual, I did not find anyone. The barracks were razed and many people were killed."[6] *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that the deportees arrived in the Warsaw ghetto in the last days of March and were sent for quarantine at 109 Leszno Street.[7]

Pinkas ha-kehilot, which does not mention the ghetto's establishment, asserts that it was liquidated on April 6, 1942. In the course of its destruction, the SS reportedly riddled Torah scrolls with bullets and threw them into a fire. The Jews who rushed to save them—170 people—were shot, including the community rabbi Mendelsohn.

SOURCES The following publications make reference to the fate of the Jewish communities of Marki and Pustelnik: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 414; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 268–269; and Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 168–169, 188, 206, 209.

Archival sources on the ghetto include AŻIH (211/846, 211/1080, 211/1083 [JSS]; 301/273, 301/4805 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]; and RG-15.084M [Relacje]); and VHF (# 27561).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/846 (Pustelnik), pp. 1, 3–5, 25; 211/1080 (Warszawa), p. 39; VHF, # 27561, testimony of Berek Jarzembski, 1997; AŻIH, 301/273, testimony of Szlama Kutnowski, 1945.

2. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 19, sygn. 62, file 260; VHF, # 27561; AŻIH, 301/273.

3. AŻIH, 301/4805, testimony of Władysława Kruszczewska (Kruszewska), 1948; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/846, pp. 3, 5–6, 15–18, 23–24. Lists of food distribution, e.g., in April 1941, show addresses of the majority of ghetto residents as "Henryków" and a minority as "Osinki."

4. VHF, # 27561; AŻIH, 301/4805; and 301/273.

5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1083 (Warszawa), p. 18; and 211/846, pp. 23–25. Secondary sources, e.g., Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, estimate 1,200 residents of the ghetto.

6. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 19, sygn. 62, file 260; VHF, # 27561; AŻIH, 301/4805.

7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 19, 1942.

RADZYMIN

Pre-1939: Radzymin, *town*, *Warsaw województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Warschau-Land*, *Distrikt Warschau*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie*, *Poland*

Radzymin is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) north-northeast of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 2,209 Jews residing there, out of a total population of 4,201. In 1939, there were 3,867 Jews in Radzymin.[1]

On September 3, 1939, German planes bombed Radzymin, killing 30 Jews. As the German forces drew near, many Jews fled towards the Soviet border. The German army entered the town on September 24, and assaults on the Jewish population commenced immediately—tearing off men's beards, giving them physical beatings, and robbing them.[2] On October 26, a German civil administration took over from the German military: Radzymin became part of Distrikt Warschau. In November, 14 prominent members of the community were shot to death. In December, Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David, and a 7:00 P.M. curfew was imposed. Nevertheless, despite the harsh circumstances, most people maintained a relatively routine existence.[3]

From the start of the occupation, Germans and Poles carried out acts of robbery and looting against Jewish homes and

businesses. On three occasions over the initial few months, fines amounting to thousands of złoty were imposed on the Jewish community. Soon after their arrival the German authorities forced the officials of the Jewish community to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which had to assist with the implementation of German orders, including the collection of fines. The head of the Judenrat was initially David Israelski, succeeded at the end of 1941 by Meir Winterman. Jews were pressed into forced labor and sent off to work in the forests and peat bogs. The Judenrat had to provide about 300 men per day for forced labor.[4]

At the end of 1940, the German Kreishauptmann for Kreis Warschau-Land, Regierungsrat Dr. Hermann Rupprecht, ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Radzymin, which was also to include 60 Jewish families from the ghetto in Wołomin. Despite some technical difficulties, the ghetto had been set up by December 25, 1940, and was surrounded with barbed wire. It was located at the junction of Warszawa and Zjawjenna [Zjawienna] Streets, including 36 houses, mostly along these two streets. The Germans placed signs at the entrance reading: "Entry to the Ghetto Strictly Forbidden for Germans and Poles!"[5] A unit of Jewish Police was also established under the command of Bunim Radzyminski to maintain order within the ghetto. The creation of the ghetto completed the liquidation of Jewish shops located outside the ghetto, and the empty shops now gave the former flourishing commercial quarter the appearance of a deserted cemetery.[6]

In addition to the local population, the Radzymin ghetto also contained refugees from Serock, Pułtusk, Wyszków, and Konstantynów. In March 1941, refugees poured in from towns and villages in western Poland, including Mława, Przasnysz, Rypin, and other places. By July 1941, the ghetto population had reached 3,000, of whom about 800 were refugees.[7] The restrictions and overcrowded conditions, alongside a significant jump in the cost of food, led to severe malnutrition and disease, including an outbreak of typhus. The poor, who quickly exhausted their limited resources, were the first to die. A soup kitchen was set up to distribute one meal a day to those most in need, but before long even the more well-to-do had sold off all their possessions and become destitute. The only ones who had a source of livelihood were the tailors and shoemakers who, at great risk, could smuggle their goods to peasants in exchange for food.[8] On July 23, 1941, a ghetto inmate sent a postcard to his brother in Brooklyn. Its brief message encapsulates the dire straits in the ghetto: "We are eating as on Yom Kippur, clothed as at Purim, and dwelling as at Sukkot."[9]

In the fall of 1941, the situation in the ghetto continued to deteriorate. The death penalty was introduced for any Jews caught outside, making it even more dangerous for children and others to smuggle in urgently needed food in exchange for clothing and other items.[10] In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans confiscated furs and warm garments from a ghetto that was already stricken by hunger and epidemics.

In March 1942 the ghetto population numbered 2,800, including 550 refugees. In the period from July 1941 to March 1942 about 200 Jews died from starvation and typhus. Following the liquidation of the Tłuszcz ghetto on May 27, 1942, during which the Jews were sent via Radzymin to the Warsaw ghetto, some Jews from Tłuszcz found refuge in the Radzymin ghetto.[11] In the summer of 1942, about 100 men were taken to a work camp at Izabelin, where they put in 10 hours a day of backbreaking work in the peat bogs.[12]

The massive deportation from the Warsaw ghetto, which began in July 1942, was the start of the systematic liquidation of all the ghettos in the surrounding areas. Among the few ghettos that remained by September were those in Radzymin, Wołomin, and Legionowo.[13] The end of the Jewish community of Radzymin came on October 3, which coincided with the holiday of Simchat Torah, celebrating the joy of Torah. All the Jews were brought to the train station. Several men danced with the Torahs at the adjoining synagogue, and quite remarkably, the German officer in command allowed them to continue. The Jews from Wołomin and Legionowo were brought to Radzymin for inclusion in the deportation to the Treblinka extermination camp. Altogether some 12,000 people were sent to their deaths.[14]

On the previous evening, before the trains rolled, about 200 young people broke through the ghetto fence and scattered into the nearby forests. Several young men from Radzymin who participated in the Warsaw Uprising were killed in the course of the revolt. After the trains left the station the local Poles and ethnic Germans swarmed over the Jewish houses, taking whatever possessions were left.[15]

About 70 men working at the forced labor camp at Izabelin were excluded from the deportation. They were taken out and shot on October 24, 1942, except for a few who escaped into the forests. Only a few Jews from Radzymin survived the war. Most who had escaped the final deportation were caught and killed, often betrayed by informers.[16]

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jews of Radzymin and their fate during the Holocaust include the following: Gershon Hel, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Radzymin* (Tel Aviv: Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora, 1975); and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 424–427. Additional information on the ghetto in Radzymin can be found in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 422.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Radzymin under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2910; 211/881-882; and Ring II, PH/41-1-5); IPN (OK Warszawa, Ds 66/67); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 43; RG-15.084 [Relacje]; RG-15.079 [Ring]); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 18.
2. Ibid., p. 20.
3. Ibid., p. 264; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 426.
4. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 21.

5. Ibid., pp. 245–248. A sketch map of the ghetto can be found on these pages.
6. Michael Kossower, "La Destruction," in ibid., p. 46.
7. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 21; and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 426.
8. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 264.
9. Cited in Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (London: William Collins, 1986), p. 177.
10. AŻIH, 301/2910, testimony of Tomasz Lewinski. At the age of nine Tomasz participated in smuggling until he escaped from the ghetto in April 1942; Kossower, "La Destruction," p. 48.
11. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 20–21; and Wein, *Pinkas hakehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 426.
12. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 265; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 422.
13. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 264.
14. Ibid., p. 21.
15. Ibid., pp. 21, 268; Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 587.
16. Hel, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 270, 427.

REMBERTÓW

Pre-1939: Rembertów, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Rembertow, Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Rembertów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Rembertów is located about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) east of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 369 Jews living in Rembertów; the total population stood at 1,375.

Upon entering, the Germans established a system of forced labor with a daily quota of 50 workers. The labor was performed at various German military installations and at the ammunition factory "Pocisk."

Meir Tenenbaum was appointed as chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). At the end of 1939, the Judenrat established a Committee for Aid to Poor Jews, with 38-year-old Srul Bialer as president. Other members included A. Rozenszajn (deputy), Lejb Witkowski (secretary), and Sz. Dorn. The committee established a soup kitchen located at 6 Okuniew Street, with its offices located next door at 8 Okuniew Street.

By July 1940, there were over 230 refugees in Rembertów; this number had risen to 274 by the following December. The majority of the refugees came from Kalisz and Sieradz. The total number of Jews in October 1940 stood at 1,380, increasing again after approximately 300 Jews arrived from Łódź in March 1941.[1]

A ghetto was established in Rembertów in 1940. Survivor Stanisław Rudnicki (who escaped from Warsaw after establishment of the ghetto there) described Rembertów on his arrival as "not tight." Although the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, it was fairly easy to leave. Irene Rubinstein, who arrived in Rembertów just days before the ghetto liquidation recalls that only parts of the ghetto were blocked off by barbed wire.[2] The ghetto borders were delineated by the following streets: Okuniew, Artyleryjska, Koliewuka, Mariańska, and Kościuszko.

In January 1941, the committee for Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) reported that it was caring for 750 Jews, of which 500 benefited from the soup kitchen, while the remainder received food and medical help from Dr. Artur Rajcher. The Kalisz deportees, unhappy with the level of support they were getting, desperately pleaded for help and an inspection by a representative from Warsaw's JSS branch. The refugees reported:

> Clothing and footwear, which was to be distributed primarily among deportees, had been given to Rembertów locals. Not one of us got anything. . . . They [the committee members] divide everything amongst themselves and sell the rest. Our "great lords" beg and plead on our behalf to Warsaw, while we, the refugees, live in wretched conditions. We get only a thin soup for 20 groszy.[3]

With the emergence of the first case of typhus in February or March 1941, the ghetto was closed, initially for two weeks. When the second case of typhus was registered, the closure was extended "for an indefinite period," as reported by Dr. Rajcher and chairman Bialer on April 24, 1941. The closure meant that the majority of the ghetto inhabitants, employed by the Germans outside of the ghetto, lost their minimal income. Food prices in the ghetto increased, and the soup kitchen was closed. The letter summed up the situation as follows: "It is difficult to imagine the depression of the population, which is simply hungry. It [the situation] threatens to further spread disease and, what's worse, [is likely to cause] the deportation of the Jewish population form Rembertów." There are no statistics available on the typhus outbreak or whether an epidemic followed.[4]

In the spring of 1941, the Judenrat implemented a program sowing all plots of land in the ghetto with vegetables, hoping to use the crops to feed the community. In August 1941, the Judenrat requested 1,000 złoty from the JSS in Warsaw to sow the remaining plots with rutabaga.

Relations between the Judenrat and the welfare committee (reestablished in 1941 as a branch of the JSS) deteriorated with time. In October 1941, the Warsaw JSS informed the headquarters in Kraków of "the fierce conflict between Tenenbaum and Bialer," after Tenenbaum intercepted money the JSS had sent for its branch in Rembertów. "Because the JSS encounters various obstacles [from the Judenrat] it is unable to continue its activity," concluded the Warsaw office.[5]

In May 1942, the JSS reported that several hundred of Rembertów's Jews (including women) were performing labor for the military at the following sites: "Sortierbetrieb [at 'Pocisk'], Munitionslager ['Pocisk'], Ostbahn, and Durchgangslager." The laborers would leave the ghetto and come back from work under an escort assigned by the German authorities,

assisted by the Jewish Police; the latter also "assisted the laborers during work." The hourly rate of pay was between 26 and 48 groszy. At some work posts, laborers were also receiving a bowl of soup.[6]

The ghetto was liquidated on August 20, 1942.[7] Survivor Stanisław Rudnicki recalls being woken up by screams and the sounds of shots. Tadeusz Łomankiewicz, who had permission to enter the ghetto as an employee of the local power station, testified that the Pocisk workers were not allowed to leave the ghetto for work that day. All the Jews were collected in front of the Judenrat building. Those who did not leave their dwellings were shot inside by the German Gendarmerie. The same day the Germans ordered the burial of their bodies in a ditch near the Judenrat.

The remainder of the ghetto inmates was then driven to Falenica. From there, the community was deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.[8]

On October 28, 1942, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the SS and Police Leader in the Generalgouvernement, ordered the establishment of six remnant ghettos in Distrikt Warsaw. Rembertów was announced as one of the locations. According to Rembertów native Łomankiewicz, as early as mid-September the Germans began fencing off parts of the former ghetto. "The fence was tight, and one could not compare it to the fence of the first ghetto. At the end of September—or in early October—approximately 300 Jews from Warsaw arrived in cars," testified Łomankiewicz. He also estimated that "90 percent of them were members of the intelligentsia—doctors, dentists, lawyers and merchants."

The ghetto laborers were escorted daily to the Pocisk factory by two or three soldiers stationed at the airfield. The ghetto's sole gate was guarded by two Germans. The Jewish Police still functioned. Łomankiewicz estimates that this (remnant) ghetto (or forced labor camp) was liquidated at the end of May or the beginning of June 1943, when its residents were suddenly deported by railway cars to Treblinka.[9]

Some secondary sources do not mention the remnant ghetto (e.g., *Pinkas ha-kehilot*), or they state that although ordered, it was never actually established (e.g., Ruta Sakowska). Both report that two labor camps were established after the August 1942 liquidation. The Ringelblum Archives also include evidence on the existence of a labor camp located at 6 Kościuszko Street. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, in June 1943 the Gestapo murdered about 1,000 inmates. The last 50 Jews in Rembertów were murdered in August 1943.[10]

SOURCES For references on the fate of the Jewish community of Rembertów, see the following: Jacek A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," p. 69; Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," pp. 206, 209; and Marta Janczewska, "Aneks," pp. 318—all in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 255–256; Ruta Sakowska et al., eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, vol. 3 (Warsaw: PWN, 1997), p. 279; and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 433–434.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/594 [AJDC]; 211/904, 211/1081-1084 [JSS]; 301/5636, 301/4742, 301/4817 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [Ring II/270/4, 5, and 7]; and RG-15.084M [Relacje]); and VHF (# 43738).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/594 (Rembertów), pp. 21, 24, 27–28, 38; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/901 (Rembertów), p. 6; 211/1082 (Warszawa), p. 19; and 211/1084 (Warszawa), p. 63.
2. VHF, # 43738, testimony of Irene Rubinstein, 1998; AŻIH, 301/5636 (Relacje), testimony of Stanisław Rudnicki, 1959.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/901, pp. 1–2, 4–5.
4. Ibid., 211/1081 (Warszawa), p. 34.
5. Ibid., 211/1083 (Warszawa), p. 44; and 211/1084, pp. 49, 69–70, 86.
6. Ibid., 211/901, p. 14; AŻIH, 301/5636.
7. AŻIH, 301/4742, testimony of Adolf Fingrut, 1950.
8. Ibid., 301/4817, testimony of Tadeusz Łomankiewicz, 1950; and 301/5636.
9. Ibid., 301/4817.
10. Ibid., Ring II/270/4, 5, and 7.

SARNAKI

Pre-1939: Sarnaki, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Siedlce, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sarnaki is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) east of Warsaw. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,198 out of a total population of 1,588. Estimates of the Jewish population in 1939 range from 1,400 to 2,000.

Following the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, the Bug River became the new border between the Generalgouvernement and the Soviet Union, according to the secret Soviet-German agreement that divided the country. Sarnaki is located just a few miles to the west of the river. Many of Sarnaki's Jewish residents had relatives residing in Siemiatycze, on the other side of the Bug. Therefore, about half of the Jewish population escaped Sarnaki to the Soviet-administered area. Some Jews escaped after the Germans entered the town and started harassing the Jews. On one occasion, Rabbi Abraham Kac and other Jews were forced to remove horse excrement from a stable with their bare hands.

The German authorities expelled thousands of Jews from the Reichsgau Wartheland (part of Poland that Germany an-

nexed) at the end of 1939. As a result, in the winter of 1939–1940, more than 800 Jewish deportees from Błaszki, near Kalisz, arrived in Sarnaki. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to take care of the many issues that arose because of the presence of so many refugees. In March 1941, the chairman of the Jewish Council, Zajf, sent a letter to the headquarters of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Kraków, asking for assistance. In his letter he described the efforts of the local Jewish population to help the new arrivals. The number of refugees in need of help exceeded the size of the indigenous Jewish population.[1]

The Jewish Council received financial help from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), which enabled them to purchase bread and distribute it among the poor. A few slices of bread a day per person was all that could be distributed. A newly established soup kitchen distributed approximately 5,500 portions in May 1941.[2]

In early 1941, the Germans used Jewish forced laborers from Sarnaki for building strategic roads in preparation for the June invasion of the Soviet Union. The wall surrounding the Jewish cemetery was taken apart, and the stones were used for road construction. That same winter, the forced laborers were used to install a phone line between Sarnaki and Zabuże. The local peasants provided horse-drawn carts to transport the laborers.[3] Many Jewish women had to work on Polish farms; this was considered a fortunate assignment, as it allowed them to obtain additional food for their families.

The Germans destroyed the great synagogue in Sarnaki soon after the invasion in September 1939. In the winter of 1940–1941, the wooden boards disappeared into the ovens of Polish deportees, who had arrived from Pomerania. The remains of the synagogue burned down as a result of a Soviet air raid on June 22, 1941, the first day of the German invasion of the USSR.

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a "separate Jewish quarter," or open ghetto, in Sarnaki, although the announcement that it would be set up was probably made some time in advance.[4] Jews from several nearby villages, including Górki, Łysów, and Kornica, were brought into the Sarnaki ghetto in November 1941, bringing the total population up to 1,180.[5] These Jews were compressed within a small area, so that at least 10 or 15 people had to share a single room. Those moving into the ghetto were only permitted to take with them what they could carry in their arms. The ghetto was located near the marketplace between the streets of May 3rd, Szkolna, Berek Joselewicz, and Kolejowa. Many of the houses within the ghetto had been burned down in September 1939.

In December 1941, the Germans declared that soon the ghetto would be sealed to prevent the spread of disease. The deadline for sealing the ghetto was January 1, 1942. The authorities posted signs on the streets leading to the ghetto, proclaiming that anyone leaving or entering it without permission faced the death penalty. The ghetto remained unfenced, however, and only loosely guarded by the Polish (Blue) Police. Initially, the Sarnaki Jews did not take the warning about the death penalty too seriously. Some Jews still left the ghetto at night to barter items for food, and Poles also came to the ghetto to order work from Jewish tailors and shoemakers.[6]

Jews working outside the ghetto received permits to go to their workplaces, which included the railway station and cutting wood in the forest. The Jewish Police escorted them every day. This work provided the main connection with the outside world. The new, more stringent restrictions caused hunger to intensify among the Jews, and according to Pesach Perlman, about 100 Jews died in the winter of 1941–1942. No Jews were shot for leaving the ghetto in January 1942, but in February, a Jewish woman and her one-year-old infant were arrested by the Polish (Blue) Police in a neighboring village. Despite appeals for their release, an official of the German police arrived and shot them at the Jewish cemetery.[7]

The Germans allowed a Polish man, Władysław Panczerski, to take out the dead from the ghetto and bury them at the Jewish cemetery. This was against the Jewish tradition, and Rabbi Kac received permission for one Jew to accompany Panczerski and be present during the burials.

The most powerful man on the Sarnaki Jewish Council was Gabriel Zucker, who reportedly took advantage of his position. He and his family did not suffer from hunger like the other Jews in the ghetto and ignored appeals from the poor for assistance.[8]

On May 15, 1942, the Germans ordered the transfer of most of the Jews in the Sarnaki ghetto to the ghettos in Łosice and Mordy, with probably around 500 going to each. The Jews had to hire local Poles with their carts to transfer them to their destination. The Judenrat paid for the transfer of the poorer Jews to the Mordy ghetto.

Eighty young men were selected to stay behind and clear out the ghetto. Their families were taken to the Łosice ghetto, and they were able to visit them once a week.[9] The Sarnaki ghetto was turned into a labor camp, which existed for a few more months. Accounts as to the fate of the group of Jewish workers in Sarnaki differ. According to one source, officers of the Gestapo and the German police shot most of the laborers, although a few young men escaped and survived in hiding. Another source reports that the men were transferred to Platerów and were then deported by train to the Treblinka extermination camp from there.[10]

On August 19–20, 1942, the Jews from the Łosice and Mordy ghettos were marched to the marketplace in Siedlce. On Saturday, August 22, 1942, almost all the Jews were deported from the Siedlce railroad station to Treblinka.

According to the account of Jakub Chaszkies, about 50 or 60 Jews escaped to the surrounding villages and forests at the time of the final roundups in August. The German and Polish (Blue) Police conducted intensive searches for them over the ensuing weeks and months. Local Poles were reluctant to assist Jews, as the Germans also threatened them with the death penalty. Nevertheless, about 20 Jews managed to survive until July 1944, when the Red Army drove the

Germans from the area. These Jews left Poland for Israel and other countries after the war.[11]

SOURCES The main published source on the Sarnaki ghetto is the yizkor book, edited by Dov Shuval, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarnaki* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Sarnaki be-Yisrael, 1968). Secondary sources containing information on the ghetto in Sarnaki include Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 691; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 445; and T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952). In addition, there is a short article by Rafał Zubkowicz, "Okupacyjne losy Żydów w Sarnakach," available at www.nawschodzie.pl.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/942, 211/619, 211/942, 301/2591 and 301/2271); IPN (ASG, sygn. 49, p. 147); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); VHF (# 41835); and YVA.

Teresa Pollin and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 211/942.
2. Ibid., 210/619.
3. Testimony of Wincenty Cybulski, as cited in Zubkowicz, "Okupacyjne losy Żydów w Sarnakach."
4. AŻIH, 301/2591, testimony of Jakub Chaszkies, dates it in the fall of 1941. Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, p. 691, dates it in September 1941.
5. T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), Document 145, p. 277.
6. Testimony of Pesach Perlman, in Shuval, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarnaki*, pp. 147–169; VHF, # 41835, testimony of Leon Rosenberg.
7. Testimony of Pesach Perlman, in Shuval, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarnaki*, pp. 147–169.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. The respective sources are Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, p. 691; and Jacek Andrzej Młynarczek, "'Akcja Reinhard' w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 39–74, here pp. 58–59.
11. AŻIH, 301/2591.

SIEDLCE

Pre-1939: Siedlce (Yiddish: Shedlits), city, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Siedlce, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Siedlce lies 90 kilometers (56 miles) east of Warsaw. On the eve of World War II, its 17,000 Jewish residents formed about half the population.



A unit of German soldiers views the burning of the synagogue in Siedlce, December 24, 1939.
USHMM WS #09534, COURTESY OF IPN

In 1939, from September 1 to September 9, German air attacks and attendant fires devastated Siedlce. Jews lived in 80 percent of homes destroyed, constituted 75 percent of the 2,000 city residents made homeless, and comprised the majority of the 600 civilians who died.[1] The Germans occupied Siedlce on September 11. On September 15, they rounded up more than 1,000 men (Christians and Jews). They shot dead 56 of them during a forced march to a prison in Węgrów and a labor camp in Ostrołęka. At the labor camp, Siedlce's Jews were beaten, starved, and humiliated by having their beards torn off.[2]

On September 29, 1939, the Germans evacuated Siedlce to make way for a brief Soviet occupation. When the Red Army withdrew behind the Bug River in early October, as many as 2,000 Jews accompanied them.

Upon reoccupying Siedlce on October 9, 1939, German soldiers broke into the synagogue, beat Jews praying there, and fired at those attempting escape. On Christmas Eve, the Germans set the synagogue on fire. They also plundered Jewish homes and stores and rounded up Jews for forced labor. In November, the Germans arrested the most prominent Jewish intellectuals, professionals, and businessmen and demanded 100,000 złoty for their release.[3]

After receiving the ransom, the Germans ordered a Jewish Council established. The 25-person body officially was led by Icchak Nachem Weintraub, head of the Zionist movement and religious community since 1926. Owing to Weintraub's advanced age, its acting leader was physician Henryk Loebel, chair of the Jewish Council's health division. Avraham Bressler commanded the 50-person unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst).

The Jewish Council's Social Welfare Division struggled to care for the impoverished. Aid from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) was insufficient to support 3,500 of the neediest Jews and about 1,000 refugees, many from nearby localities, including Kosów Lacki, Łosice, Mordy, Sokołów Podlaski, and Węgrów. A kitchen opened in October 1940 to feed the hungry closed by December.

The Jewish Council's labor department, led by Izrael Friedman, organized compulsory forced labor conscription. From January 1940, about 500 Siedlce Jews unloaded shipments of food at the military base outside town. From the spring of 1940, another 1,500 reported daily to reclaim land on the Liwiec River. Siedlce Jews also filled labor quotas at the Reckman Construction Company, which from January 1941 used 500 to 1,000 Jewish laborers to improve rail lines; at Kiesgrube, a labor camp established in the fall of 1941 near a gravel pit on the Siedlce-Łuków rail line; at the Gęsi Borek glassworks; and at the Wolfe and Goebel Construction Company. From early 1941, this last firm conscripted 2,000 local Jews to improve the Trakt Brzeski. Women worked mainly in agricultural labor.

In response to German demands, the Jewish Council paid 20,000 złoty in December 1939 and 100,000 złoty in November 1940. It offered money to ameliorate violence, as occurred on March 23, 1941, after the Germans avenged a soldier's death. In what became known as Siedlce's "German pogrom," they ransacked Jewish houses, murdered at least 6 Jews, injured more than 100, and arrested countless others. When the Germans threatened to shoot the arrested Jews, the Jewish Council bought their freedom for 100,000 złoty.[4]

Small, underground self-defense groups formed. Before the Germans expropriated their printing business, the Goldberg family shared German military and administrative orders they published, with a pre-war Polish friend, the head of the Peasant Battalion for Independence, a populist wing of the underground Polish Armed Organization. The Goldbergs also printed falsified documents for the organization. More violent forms of protest included the November 1939 murder of a Pole for collaborating with two German soldiers in expropriating goods from the Goldstein brothers' tailoring shops. In November 1940, some Jewish blacksmiths led by Chaim Mejer, working with Polish Socialist Party (PPS) activist Władysław Makarek, planted charges along the rail lines. In the winter of 1941–1942, acting Jewish Council chair Henryk Loebel asked Zionist youth to form an underground opposition group. This effort collapsed when the Polish contact, "Tadeusz" Żelazowski, was killed by the Gestapo.[5]

Following the April 1940 registration of all Jewish men aged 16 to 60 for labor conscription and a street-by-street census that November, the Germans moved, on August 2, 1941, to create a ghetto. The plan involved crowding 13,000 Jews into an area where 3,589 Jews and 369 Christians had lived. The ghetto was bordered in the east by Błonie Street and in the south by Piłsudski Street. Its southwesternmost tip was on Kochanowski Avenue. It followed an irregular pattern everywhere else. The neighborhood included portions of 11 streets, including parts of Jatkowa, Asłanowicz, Browarna, and May 1 Streets. On October 1, the ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire. Those without special permission were forbidden from entering or exiting the ghetto. Some 500 to 1,500 people evaded ghettoization by fleeing to other towns without ghettos, such as Międzyrzec Podlaski.[6]

In November 1941, the Germans ordered all the Jews from nearby villages to report to the ghetto. Among the villages covered in the order were those in the following pre-war gminy: Czuryły, Domanice, Krześlin, Niwiski, Skórzec, Skupie, Stara Wieś, Suchożebry, Wiśniew, Wodynie, Zbuczyn, and Żeliszew. Late that year, Roma (Gypsies) and Sinti from Cologne and its environs, including Hürth, were deported to the ghetto. On May 23, 1942, Roma from Kreis Siedlce were given until June 15 to report to the ghetto.[7]

Such crowding provoked disease and starvation. Rooms of 10 square meters (108 square feet) housed as many as 15 people. Residents spilled into hallways, and some camped outside. In the winter of 1941–1942, a typhus epidemic daily claimed 18 to 25 lives.[8]

At first, many ghetto residents, particularly craftsmen, were able to sneak from the ghetto to take orders from their former Polish customers. Poles also entered the ghetto to trade, putting on armbands with the Jewish Star, required of all Siedlce Jews from December 1940. In January 1942, the Germans cracked down by executing 10 Jews they caught outside the ghetto.[9]

With the ghetto's enclosure, the Jewish administration appeared increasingly complicit in German policies. Jewish Police and sanitation forces violently enforced orders, encouraged by German promises that such compliance would save their members' lives. Sanitation force members beat women for not adequately clearing snow and assaulted others for refusing to accept more boarders in overcrowded homes.[10] When, on March 3, 1942, 10 Jews, accused of shirking work obligations, were executed, the Jewish Council, under pressure from German authorities, issued a statement supporting the authorities' actions.[11]

Survivors' accounts uniformly describe the moral deterioration of ghetto residents. To escape forced labor, the rich bribed officials or paid poorer Jews to fill their places. Residents fought over limited material resources. Notable exceptions were the Hassidic followers of the tzaddik of Radzyń who maintained their religious faith, devoted hours to collecting and organizing Jewish religious works, and assisted anyone who asked. "They formed an island in a sea of inhuman behavior, where it was considered normal to strip a corpse of everything that might be useful," one survivor later recalled.[12]

Under these conditions, self-defense proved difficult and came mainly from those with outside connections. Jan Emil Karpiński (Emanuel Alberg), a pre-war law student at Wilno University, received passes from the Jewish Council chair to teach illicitly non-Jewish children outside the ghetto. Through connections with one of his student's fathers, he met pharmacist Olszakowski, an underground PPS leader in Siedlce. Olszakowski provided Karpiński with underground newspapers to distribute in the ghetto. Abram Halber worked at the garage of the Criminal Police, where Junuszkiewicz (pseudonym Kornaga), a member of the underground Polish Home Army (AK), provided him with news of planned German arrests, forced labor roundups, and executions. Halber then warned the ghetto residents. Halber also distributed newspapers, arms, and ammunition to AK members.[13]

Jewish Council members clung to the hope the German need for laborers would save the Siedlce Jews. The Germans

fostered this misconception by portraying the liquidation of the nearby Mińsk Mazowiecki ghetto as retribution for the refusal of its residents to meet their labor obligations.[14] Other Jews feared the worst, particularly from August 20, 1942, the day on which members of a Jewish work brigade reported they had unloaded a stalled freight car (en route to the Treblinka killing center). The workers found the wagon filled with the bodies of more than 100 Jews from Radom who had suffocated when a fire engulfed their train's locomotive. No one believed the Germans' claim that the dead were prisoners being moved to another jail, particularly after someone recognized family members among the victims.[15]

At dawn, on Saturday, August 22, 1942, Germans, mainly from the local offices of the SS and Sonderdienst, assisted by the Polish (Blue) Police, surrounded the ghetto. Also participating in the four-day liquidation were a detachment of Border Police (Grenzpolizei) from Platerów and a force of Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, probably part of Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) Warsaw or Sonderkommando Höfle. SS-Obersturmführer Erhard Schulz directed the Aktion. Schulz gave the 10,000 ghetto residents until 10:00 A.M. to report to the square by the Jewish cemetery. Ukrainian auxiliaries and Sonderdienst patrols drove Jews from the ghetto, shooting dead those who refused to leave or were too infirm to comply. At the square, the doomed were forced to sit in a crouched position for at least 30 hours in unbearable heat. The German head of the local Labor Office pleaded with Schulz to spare craftsmen and laborers from expulsion. At about 2:00 P.M., Schulz ordered Jewish men, aged 15 to 40, to line up at the Jewish cemetery. Over the next 5 hours, he chose 600 men to retain for labor.

As the heat in the square grew intense, the Germans resorted to violence to enforce order. When Jewish Council member Furman rose to his feet around 11:00 A.M., to ask for a delivery of water, he was shot dead. The Germans then deployed machine guns, aiming at those who defied the orders to remain crouched. By midafternoon, as the Germans began quenching their thirst with beer, the violence became more random, with intoxicated policemen, led by KdS commander Julius Dube, indiscriminately firing into the crowd. When the Polish fire department finally sprayed water on the assembled Jews in the evening, more than 2,000 had been killed by gunshots. Shots also rang from the cemetery, where the Germans were executing those found hiding in the ghetto as well as Jews from some work details.[16]

Violence continued on Sunday, August 23, 1942. During the late-afternoon march to the train station, of approximately 17,000 Jews, including around 8,000 newly arrived from the ghettos of Mordy and Łosice (among them the Jews from Sarnaki, resettled in May in Mordy and Łosice), the Germans shot dead those who fled the march. At the station, several German soldiers sprayed bullets into the crowd and into already loaded railway wagons. In the ghetto, the Germans and Ukrainian auxiliaries continued to uncover and shoot Jews in hiding. On this day, about 200 to 300 Jews perished. In addition, on August 24, a group of local SS, led by Albert Fabisch, the Stadtkommissar of Siedlce, murdered at the Jewish hospital 60 patients and 40 personnel, including Jewish Council chair Loebel.[17]

The 600 men retained for labor were ordered to the northwestern part of the old ghetto. Within a week, an additional 1,500 to 2,000 survivors from Siedlce, including many Roma, as well as Jewish women and children, filled this "small" or "triangular" ghetto bounded by Sokołowski, Asłanowicz, and November 11 Streets. An October 28, 1942, order by Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, head of the SS and Police (Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, further increased the population in the reconstituted ghetto. The order announced that Siedlce would be one of six remaining "Jewish residential areas" in Distrikt Warschau and promised safety to Jews there. The order drew another 1,500 to 2,500 Jews to the ghetto, including fugitives from ghetto liquidations in Łosice, Węgrów, Kałuszyn, Sokołów Podlaski, Międzyrzec Podlaski, and Łuków.[18]

The final liquidation of the Siedlce ghetto began on November 25, 1942. That day, the Germans moved the residents of the triangular ghetto to the Gęsi Borek encampment, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) away. The transfer was allegedly to control a typhus outbreak in the small ghetto. The Germans gave the appearance that Gęsi Borek would be its residents' permanent and peaceful home by issuing Jewish Council members three-month residence passes, looking aside as ghetto inhabitants violated orders to bring in only what they could carry, and allowing the Jews and Roma to barter freely with Polish peasants.

Some remember that the final liquidation of the Gęsi Borek ghetto occurred three days later, on November 28, when the Germans, assisted by Polish (Blue) Police, rounded up the residents, including some Roma, and marched them to the Niwiski railway station (in Brzoszków village). The elderly Icchak Nachem Weintraub, titular head of the Jewish Council, led the procession.[19] Another account places the ghetto liquidation on December 3. It holds that when no railway cars were waiting at Niwiski, the procession was marched back to Gęsi Borek. There, the Jews and Roma were packed into a closely guarded building. German Gendarmes then called people out by name, including all those with Jewish Council connections, and executed them. The Polish (Blue) Police commander shot Avraham Bressler, chief of the Jewish Police. The next morning, on December 4, the remaining Jews and Roma were marched again to the railway station.[20]

Although a number of those in the procession donned prayer garments, a larger group, including craftsmen and members of the Jewish Police, resisted deportation. Master locksmith Symcha Wilk, Meloch Halber, and several other men smuggled tools onto the transport and forced open the doors to their wagons, permitting a large number of individuals, including Rabbi Aria Nejman, to jump from the train. The guards on the train murdered those who remained behind. When the train arrived at the Treblinka extermination camp, Jewish prisoners unloading the transport discovered the wagons full of thousands of naked, beaten, bullet-ridden corpses.[21]

As many as 200 to 300 people survived the German extermination of the Jewish and Roma communities of Siedlce. Emil Karpiński, Dawid and Ida Tenenbojm, and a few others arranged for false identity papers, enabling them to pass as Poles. Others, such as Herzel Kave, joined by friends Kiwerant and Nelkienbojm, stowed away on trains they believed to be taking men or materials beyond the borders of the Generalgouvernement or the Reich. Another group of agricultural laborers, originally from Siedlce, assigned to an estate in Drupia, fled to the woods in November 1942 after the Polish overseer warned them he had received orders to turn them over to the Gestapo. The laborers formed a 30-person armed partisan unit, which conducted operations around Łuków.[22]

A number of Poles sheltered Jews. Four pre-war friends of Cypora Jabłoń-Zonszajn took care of her one-year-old daughter Rachela.[23] The family of postal worker Witold Kozłowski found hiding places for another 8 Jews, including former neighbors Rachel and Izrael Halberstadt and Rabbi Aria Nejman.[24] In (Stare) Opole-Sabinka, the family of Czesław Osiński, a pre-war secondary school director and PPS leader, hid 17 Jews, including E. Landau, a nurse wounded during the liquidation of the Jewish hospital.[25]

However, far fewer survived to see the war's end. Some, including Abram Halber, died of illnesses contracted in the ghetto. Twenty-one of the 30 partisans perished in combat operations. The Germans killed Jews they found hiding during routine patrols. Still others, including several Jews who jumped from the train heading towards Treblinka and 16 of the 17 Jews hidden by Osiński, are believed to have been killed by Poles.[26]

Of the fewer than 150 Jewish survivors, only Rachel and Izrael Halberstadt remained in Siedlce after the war. At postwar trials in East Germany, Willi Richter and Edmund Langer, two former members of the Grenzpolizei detachment in Platerów, were convicted of numerous crimes, including murders committed during the Siedlce ghetto liquidations. They received life sentences.

SOURCES Coauthor Edward Kopówka has written *Żydzi Siedleccy* (Siedlce, 2001), which discusses the experiences of Jews, Roma, and Sinti in the Siedlce ghetto. The book's bibliography and detailed footnotes including references in a number of languages offer an important departure point for those interested in researching the Siedlce ghetto. The yizkor books, Elimelekh Faynzilber, ed., *Af di hurves fun mayn heym: Hurbn Shedlets* (Tel Aviv: 1952) and *Sefer yizkor li-kehillat Shedlets* (Buenos Aires: ha-Irgunim shel yots'e Shedlits be-Yisrael uve-Argenṭiṇah, 1956), also contain substantial secondary coverage and testimonies from survivors. The second book has been cited here in a partial, unpublished Polish translation, by Adam Bielecki, titled "Księgi pamięci," available at APSi, used by author Kopówka in his research.

Published memoirs by survivors discussing the fate of the Siedlce Jewish community include Gitel Donath, *My Bones Don't Rest in Auschwitz: A Lonely Battle to Survive German Tyranny* (Montreal: Kaplan Publishing, 1999); the testimony of Gedali Niewiadomski, in Henryk Grynberg, *Children of Zion*, trans. Jacqueline Mitchell (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998); Nelli Rotbart, *A Long Journey: A Holocaust Memoir and After: Poland, Soviet Union, Canada* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies, 2002); Edi Weinstein, *Quenched Steel: The Story of an Escape from Treblinka*, ed. Noah Lasman (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002); Samuel Willenberg, *Revolt in Treblinka* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1992); and Eta Wróbel, *My Life, My Way: The Extraordinary Memoir of a Jewish Partisan in World War II Poland* (New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, 2006).

Among the more important witness statements are Noach Lasman, *Pięćdziesiąt kilometrów od Treblinki* (Warsaw: Borgin, 1994), available in an earlier Hebrew-language edition; Emil Karpiński, "Wspomnienia z okresu okupacji," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1989): 65–89; and Agata Dąbrowska, ed., "Pamiętnik Cypory Jabłoń-Zonszajn ur. w 1915 r. i zamieszkałej w Siedlcach do 1942 r.," in *Szkice podlaskie*, no. 9 (2000): 228–244, with the last available in a partial English translation, "Siedlce Memoirs," at the Aktion Reinhard Death Camps Web site. The USHMM is the repository for the original manuscripts of Karpiński and Jabłoń-Zonszajn and in the latter case additional materials from Zofia (Olszakowska) Glazer and Irena Zawadzka, two of the aid givers of Rachela Jabłoń-Zonszajn. For this reason, the memoirs are cited in the entry as USHMM, 2003.84.1, and USHMM, 1.2002.3, respectively.

Secondary accounts in Polish considered important include for the March 1941 "German pogrom" Wanda Więch-Tchorzewska, "Zródła do dziejów okupacji hitlerowskiej na Podlasiu południowo-zachodnim," in Władysław Ważniewski, ed., *Podlasie w czasie II wojny światowej* (Siedlce: Wyższa Szkoła Rolniczo-Pedagogiczna w Siedlcach, 1997); and the unpublished manuscript, held at the Ossolineum (i.e., ZNiO), by Lucjan Koć, "Pomóc i współpraca z ludnością żydowską ludności wiejskiej powiatu siedleckiego z uwzględnieniem sytuacji zagadnień żydowskich innych powiatach Podlasia—w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce," also covering Jewish self-defense before, during, and after the ghetto's establishment, discussing efforts to develop and maintain communication between Jewish Socialists in Warsaw and Siedlce, and describing Polish-Christian assistance. In addition to Koć, Jewish resistance is covered by Emil Karpiński, Eta Wróbel, and Stanisława Lewandowska, *Ruch oporu na Podlasiu* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, 1976).

Also considered of primary importance are the testimonies and historical materials collected by Jontel (Jankiel) Goldman for the Siedlce branch of the State Commission for Historical Preservation (Państwowa Służba Ochrony Zabytków, Województwo mazowieckie, Oddział terenowy w Siedlcach) in conjunction with plans (only some realized) to establish several monuments to commemorate the Jewish community, available in an unpublished manuscript, W. Sobczyk, ed., "Cmentarz-pomnik męczeństwa narodu żydowskiego w Siedlcach" (Unpub. MMS, Siedlce, 1961), at the organization's Siedlce archives. Contemporary press coverage includes "Siedlce," *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 1, January 3, 1941, p. 5.

Coverage of the Roma and Sinti in the Siedlce ghetto can be found in the aforementioned memoirs of Jewish survivors Weinstein and Karpiński and in the more scholarly Michael Zimmerman, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische Lösung der Zigeunerfrage* (Hamburg, 1996), pp. 278–283; and Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, *Rassismus-Lager-Völkermord: Die nationalsozialistische Zigeunerverfolgung in Köln* (Cologne: Emons, 2005), pp. 219–222.

German orders pertaining to the Siedlce ghetto and documentation related to the efforts of Leon Feiner, Jan Karski, and the Polish London government-in-exile to make known its liquidation in the West appear in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw, 1957), pp. 277–279, 310–314. Also important is *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985); and *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1035 and Lfd. Nr. 1038, respectively, for the postwar trials of Willi Richter and Edmund Langer.

Photographs taken for the Karski report are available at APSi; the visual iconography and diary of Hubert Pfoch, a German soldier, are discussed in Gitta Sereny, *Into that Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder, a Study of Franz Stangl* (London, 1974), pp. 158–159.

A large amount of documentation exists on the Poles who aided Jewish fugitives, with the most significant in English Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 87–88, 166, 326, 390, 568, 789, 862, 927–928. An important testimony by Zofia Olszakowska-Glazer is located on the Web site of the Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej at www.ceo.org.pl/portal/b_wiadomosci_doc?docId=37891.

Unpublished documentation relating to the Siedlce ghetto can be found in the following archives: AAN; APSi (e.g., 36 [2362, 2364, 2368], 62 [334/2], 334/2, 1290); AŻIH (e.g., 210/621-622; 211 [126, p. 9; 949-950]; 301 [5758, 5867, 6307, 6383, 6436, 6517]; 313/41); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6873 and 6878); FVA; IPN (e.g., ASG, GKBZHwP [OKBZH-Si, 26/30]); USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0223 [AŻIH 313]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-10.114; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG] [49/151-159]; RG-50.488*0171); VHF (e.g., # 2828, 24291, 30396, 35649, 39119, 42698, 42918); and YVA (e.g., O-16 [1589, 2555, 3303, 4178]). The Muzeum Walki i Męczeństwa w Treblince (Museum of Struggle and Martyrdom in Treblinka), directed by Edward Kopówka, also has unique holdings pertaining to the Siedlce ghetto.

Edward Kopówka and Laura Crago

NOTES

1. IPN, GKBZHwP, OKBZH-Si, 26/30; USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/622, p. 18.
2. Testimony of Herzel Kawe (Kave), in "Księga pamięci," p. 635.
3. Donath, *My Bones*, pp. 8–9, 19–20.
4. BA-L, B 162/6873, pp. 322–323; ZNiO, Koć, "Pomoc i współpraca," p. 120; "Księga pamięci," pp. 706–707; Donath, *My Bones*, pp. 56–57.
5. USHMM, 2003.84.1, pp. 5–6.
6. APSi, 36 (Akta miasta Siedlce), 2362 (Wykaz ludności getta siedleckiego 7.11.1941), 2364 (Zniszczenia wojenne 1939), 2368 (Stan ludności 1940), and 1290 (Zbiór afiszy okupacyjnych powiatu siedleckiego), Ogłoszenie # 1 (August 2, 1941); Donath, *My Bones*, pp. 67–69.
7. APSi, 1290, Zarządzenia, # 1 (November 25, 1941), # A67/42 (May 23, 1942).
8. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0223, 313/41, p. 80.
9. Ibid., p. 95; RG-50.488*0171, interview with Henryk Maliszewski; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów*, p. 236.
10. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0223, 313/41, pp. 40–45, 80–81, 85–90, 94.
11. Ibid., 2003.84.1, pp. 3, 7; VHF, # 24291, testimony of Aria Leib (Nejman) Newman.
12. Lasman, *Pięćdziesiąt kilometrów*, pp. 7–9.
13. USHMM, 2003.84.1, pp. 8–9; AŻIH, 301/6307, testimony of Izaak Halber, pp. 1–3.
14. USHMM, 1.2002.3, "Pamiętnik," p. 1, 2003.84.1, p. 9.
15. Ida Jomtov-Tenenbojm testimony, in "Księga pamięci," p. 650; Faynzilber, *Hurbn Shedlets*, pp. 34–35.
16. USHMM, 2003.84.1, pp. 12–13; Kawe, in "Księga pamięci," pp. 635–636.
17. Weinstein, *Quenched Steel*, pp. 29–35; BA-L, B 162/6873, p. 323; USHMM, 2003.84.1, pp. 7–15, 1.2002.3, pp. 1–4, 7; Lasman, *Pięćdziesiąt kilometrów*, pp. 22–24.
18. USHMM, 1.2002.3, pp. 5–6, 2003.84.1, pp. 12–18; Weinstein, *Quenched Steel*, p. 110.
19. Goldman, "Materiał historyczny," in Sobczyk, "Cmentarz-pomnik," p. 23; Jomtov-Tenenbojm, in "Księga pamięci," pp. 670–671.
20. Weinstein, *Quenched Steel*, pp. 110–113.
21. USHMM, RG-10.114; VHF, # 24291; Willenberg, *Revolt*, pp. 46–47.
22. AŻIH, 301/6383, testimony of Ela Gorzeliński.
23. USHMM, 1.2002.3, Szymon Jabloń and Rachel Zonszajn letters.
24. AŻIH, 301/5758, testimony of Witold Kowalski, pp. 1–2; 301/6436, Rachel and Israel Halberstadt declaration, pp. 1–4; VHF, # 24291; # 35649, testimony of Janusz Kowalski.
25. VHF, # 39119, testimony of Bogdan Osiński.
26. Weinstein, *Quenched Steel*, p. 113; VHF, # 24291; # 39119.

SIENNICA

Pre-1939: Siennica, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Siennica is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-southeast of Warsaw and 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Mińsk Mazowiecki. In 1921, 560 Jews were living in Siennica, comprising 56.7 percent of the town's total population. In September 1939, there were 704 Jewish inhabitants in Siennica.

German soldiers occupied the town on September 13, 1939. All inhabitants of Siennica, Jews and Poles, were rounded up and held in the church of the local monastery. According to one testimony, a German officer ordered the priest to send one man with a message for the Polish army, which had established a defense line 3 kilometers (2 miles) from Siennica. The man had to present the Polish officer with an ultimatum—that if they did not retreat or surrender, the Germans would burn alive all the hostages in the church. The Polish forces soon retreated, and the Germans released the hostages.[1]

The same day, the Germans set fire to the town. Around 80 percent of the buildings in Siennica were burned to the ground, including 43 of the 46 Jewish homes.[2] On that day, Wehrmacht soldiers killed 24 people, Poles and Jews from Siennica and the surrounding area. These murders were probably a reprisal Aktion, following the killing of a German soldier in the vicinity.[3]

From the first months of the occupation, the Jews were required to perform forced labor. In October 1939, the German authorities sent to Garwolin a group of Jewish men, all aged over 13 years, where they lived in barracks and worked. After one month there they returned.[4] Jews from Siennica also worked on the construction of roads for the German firm of Schmidt.[5] A group of Jewish men from Siennica was taken to the labor camp in Jozefów and worked on the regulation of the Vistula River and on the irrigation of the fields.[6]

There were not any German soldiers or German police based directly in Siennica, but German Gendarmes visited Siennica regularly from Mińsk Mazowiecki, once or twice per day.[7]

The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), a Jewish police force, and later a Jewish Social-Self Help (JSS) organization in Siennica. The Judenrat and the Jewish police force each had 12 members.[8] Lejb Kózka was appointed as the chairman of the Judenrat in Siennica. Aron Lubelski was the secretary of the Judenrat. Also among the members of the Judenrat were L. Goldsztejn, Sz. Jablonka, and A. Stokfisz (their signatures can be found on Judenrat documentation from 1941).[9]

The JSS and its aid committee provided assistance to more than 200 people.[10] Among them there were mostly inhabitants of Siennica, whose houses and property had been burned (296 Jews in January 1941), and refugees from other localities (48 people in January 1941).[11]

The aid committee was able to provide assistance, thanks to donations from members of the Jewish community in Siennica, which provided about 25 percent of the necessary funds.[12] Additional funds for social assistance came from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and the central offices of the JSS in Kraków. These funds were mainly used to buy food and fuel (wood and coal). The support received from the AJDC in February, March, and April 1940 enabled the aid committee to open a public soup kitchen.[13]

The JSS organization in Siennica received between 400 and 600 złoty of support from the AJDC and the JSS every two months in 1941. Half of this came from the AJDC and half from the JSS. All of these donations were applied to the provision of material support (mainly food).[14]

The German authorities established a ghetto in Siennica in November 1941. Throughout November, the Judenrat in Siennica tried to convince the Germans to permit the Jews to remain in Siennica and not to resettle them into a ghetto in another town. On November 23, the Germans decided that the Jews could stay in Siennica and that a ghetto would be set up there. In addition, all Jewish families from the nearby villages had to move into the ghetto. As a result of this decision, around 30 Jewish families were moved into the Siennica ghetto, leading to a deterioration of living conditions in the ghetto.[15]

The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence or a wall or even any barbed wire. There were only signs posted that Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto area.[16]

According to some testimonies, a major event in the Siennica ghetto was the short visit of a rabbi from Otwock in 1942. He went into hiding during the liquidation of the Otwock ghetto and was then denounced. When the Germans caught him, he told them that he would give them a large amount of gold if they would let him go to a camp where Jews were still living. Apparently the Germans agreed to this. On his way to the camp, he stopped in Siennica to pray in the synagogue. All of the town's Jews were waiting for him and the message he would give them. After the prayer, he told them: "If you are still staying in the town, it means that God has chosen you to stay and that you will go back to work and you will survive."[17]

The Siennica ghetto was liquidated on October 18, 1942. According to the testimonies of survivors, four German soldiers arrived in the town on the day prior to the liquidation. They ordered the Judenrat members to assemble in the pharmacy. The Germans told them that at 8:00 A.M. on the following day all the Jews of Siennica would have to go to the town of Mrozy and no Jews would be permitted to stay in Siennica. According to survivor testimony, the Judenrat was given the choice that either the Jews themselves could organize the resettlement to Mrozy or the Germans would send armed units to implement it. The members of the Judenrat were aware that the deployment of German forces would doubtless entail considerable brutality and the killing of Jews on the spot. Therefore, the Judenrat decided to organize and implement the transfer itself.[18]

On the following day, October 18, 1942, at 5:00 A.M,[19] the column of Jews with horse wagons carrying the old and the sick traveled the 16 kilometers (10 miles) to the town of Mrozy, where the railway station was located. The column was escorted by the Jewish Police, and survivors maintain that they did not see any German or Polish police involved. After several hours, at 4:00 P.M., the column arrived at the Mrozy railway station, and from here they were sent on to the extermination camp at Treblinka.[20]

Some of the Jews from Siennica, after arriving in Mrozy, organized themselves and escaped to the village of Mienia, where there was a farm on which the Germans had created a labor camp for Jews. Some of these Jews managed to survive the war.[21]

SOURCES Articles on the Jewish community of Siennica can be found in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), p. 437; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1180.

The book by Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007)

contains brief information on the Siennica ghetto, pp. 168, 169, 216.

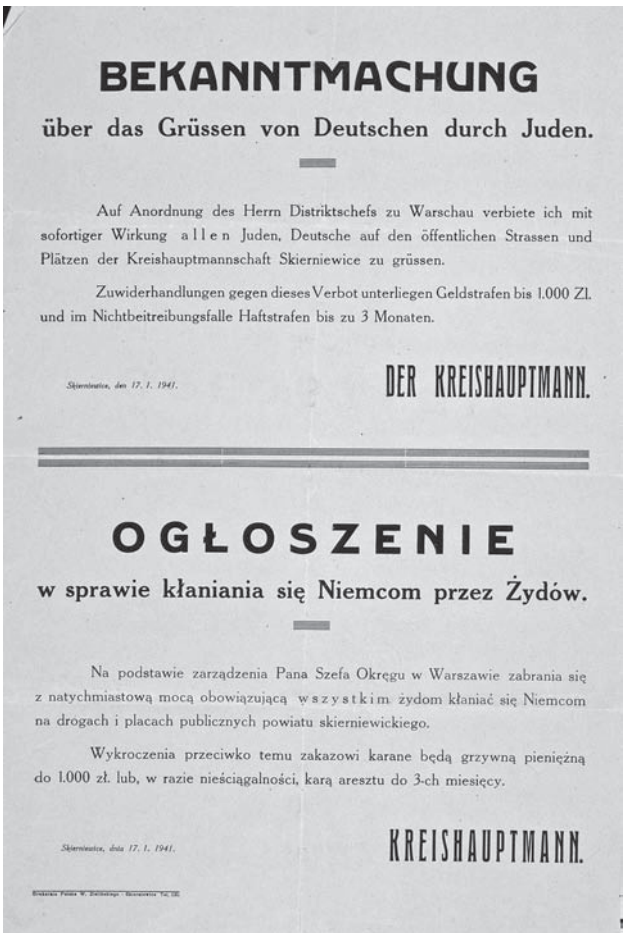
Additional information on the ghetto and German crimes in Siennica can also be found in *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952), 120; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 451; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 347.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Siennica under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/624 [AJDC Siennica]; 211/953 [JSS Siennica]); IPN (AGK, Kolekcja "Ob," sygn. 177); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 13); and VHF (# 398, 3813, 39094).

Grzegorz Kołacz

NOTES

1. VHF, # 3813, testimony of George Shedletzky.
2. AŻIH, 210/624 (AJDC Siennica), p. 3, report of February 13, 1941.
3. USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 13); *Rejestr miejsc . . . : Województwo siedleckie*, p. 347.
4. VHF, # 3813.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. AŻIH, 210/624, pp. 1–3; 211/953 (JSS Siennica, 1941–1942), pp. 1–29.
10. Ibid., 210/28 (AJDC), p. 6, report of June 1, 1940.
11. Ibid., 210/624, p. 1.
12. Ibid.; 211/953.
13. Ibid., 210/624, p. 3.
14. Ibid., 211/953.
15. Ibid.
16. VHF, # 3813.
17. Ibid., # 398, testimony of Ben Shedletzky.
18. Ibid.
19. The ghetto was liquidated on October 18, 1942, but Ben Shedletsky, who provides this description, dates it in July 1942.
20. VHF, # 398; and # 3813.
21. Ibid., # 398; and # 3813.



BEKANNTMACHUNG

über das Grüssen von Deutschen durch Juden.

Auf Anordnung des Herrn Distriktschefs zu Warschau verbiete ich mit sofortiger Wirkung allen Juden, Deutsche auf den öffentlichen Strassen und Plätzen der Kreishauptmannschaft Skierniewice zu grüssen.

Zuwiderhandlungen gegen dieses Verbot unterliegen Geldstrafen bis 1.000 Zl. und im Nichtbeitreibungsfalle Haftstrafen bis zu 3 Monaten.

Skierniewice, den 17. 1. 1941.

DER KREISHAUPTMANN.

OGŁOSZENIE

w sprawie kłaniania się Niemcom przez Żydów.

Na podstawie zarządzenia Pana Szefa Okręgu w Warszawie zabrania się z natychmiastową mocą obowiązującą wszystkim żydom kłaniać się Niemcom na drogach i placach publicznych powiatu skierniewickiego.

Wykroczenia przeciwko temu zakazowi karane będą grzywną pieniężną do 1.000 zł. lub, w razie nieściągalności, karą aresztu do 3-ch miesięcy.

Skierniewice, dnia 17. 1. 1941.

KREISHAUPTMANN.

Announcement in German and Polish issued by the Kreishauptmann of Skierniewice on January 17, 1941, proclaiming a new regulation that prohibits Jews from greeting Germans on the streets or in public places. The announcement reads: "Announcement about the greeting of Germans by Jews.
By the command of the District Chief of Warsaw, I prohibit all Jews from greeting Germans on the streets and public places in the city of Skierniewice. This is effective immediately.
Resistance to this prohibition will result in a fine of up to 1,000 złoty. If the person cannot afford to pay this fine, he will be punished with a jail sentence no longer than 3 months.
Skierniewice, January 17, 1941.
The Kreishauptmann"
USHMM WS #N64834, COURTESY OF MUZEUM NIEPODLEGŁOŚCI

SKIERNIEWICE

Pre-1939: Skierniewice (Yiddish: Skernyevits), town, Łódź województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: center of Kreis Skierniewice, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łódź województwo, Poland

Skierniewice is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) southwest of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 4,333 Jews living in the town. A similar number of Jews were residing there on the eve of World War II.

Following the capture of the town on September 9, 1939, the Germans seized Jews and humiliated them at the market square, violently plucking out their beards. Jewish property was plundered during the first days of the occupation.

At the end of October 1939, the Kreishauptmann in Skierniewice, Regierungsrat Dr. Rupe, ordered Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by the teacher Herman Guzik. His deputy was Alter Lewkowicz. The Judenrat was required to deliver a specific number of Jewish forced laborers aged 12 to 60 each day. Soon the Judenrat permitted better-off Jews to pay for substitutes, who received 5 złoty per day. The Jews worked at the military barracks, at the train station, and for the town authority. At the end of 1939, the Germans burned down the main synagogue and also desecrated the Torah scrolls in the shtiblekh (prayer house) of the Ger Hasidim.[1]

In the last months of 1939 and in 1940, some 2,500 Jewish refugees arrived in Skierniewice, almost all of them after fleeing or being expelled from those parts of Poland that had been annexed to the Reich, including from Łódź, Zgierz, Aleksandrów Łódzki, Brzeziny, and Włocławek. They arrived in a weary and impoverished condition, and the Jews of Skierniewice appealed to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) for financial assistance. The Judenrat used the money they received to supply beds and heating stoves for the refugees; it also opened an infirmary and a public kitchen for them. Subsequently these welfare services came to benefit the native Jews of Skierniewice as well, when conditions in the town deteriorated further.[2] By the fall of 1940, at least 1,300 Jews in Skierniewice were receiving welfare support.[3]

On September 9, 1940, the Skierniewice Kreishauptmann reported to Generalgouverneur Hans Frank in Kraków that 200 Jews from his Kreis had been sent to the collection point in Warsaw, for transfer to labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.[4]

On October 15, 1940, the Kreishauptmann published an announcement (*Bekanntmachung*) about the establishment of a special residential area for Jews in the town of Skierniewice. The announcement included a map, which marked the area of the ghetto. The Jews were given until November 15 to move into the ghetto, and all non-Jews also had to be evacuated by this date. The chairman of the Jewish Council was made responsible for the allocation of apartments within the ghetto. The ghetto was to be surrounded with walls, but only fences were to block those streets that formed part of the ghetto boundary.[5]

The ghetto was located in the most dilapidated neighborhood of the town. Its streets included Batory (Piotrków), Stryków, Raweska, Jawia, the alley of the rabbi's house, and the alley of the *mikveh*. Soon it was enclosed by a high fence with just one gate to either exit or enter, on Raweska Street. Piotrków Street, which passed through the ghetto, was out of bounds for the Jews; they had to cross it on a wooden bridge.[6]

Living conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with three or four families sharing a house. Some houses had no heating or indoor plumbing. One survivor recalls that the outhouses were overflowing due to the lack of a proper sewage system, but the human excrement was then sold to the local farmers as fertilizer.[7] In the ghetto there was also a unit of Jewish Police, a post office, and a Jewish hospital directed by Dr. Rosenthal.

In January or February 1941, the more than 6,000 Jews in the Skierniewice ghetto were informed that they would have to transfer to the Warsaw ghetto by March. This was part of a large-scale plan to clear all the Jews from the Kreise of Distrikt Warschau to the west of the city. Some Jews were able to transport some of their possessions with them to Warsaw on wagons rented from non-Jews. The departure took place in an orderly fashion without aggressive intervention by the German police.

On March 4, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Skierniewice reported that in view of the planned expulsion of all the Jews of the Kreis to the Warsaw ghetto by mid-March, most of the Jews in the Jewish residential areas (ghettos) in Skierniewice, in Jeżów, and at the Rogów railway station had voluntarily moved to Warsaw. In Skierniewice, there were now only about 180 Jews. The same report noted that in the course of the departure of the Jews in February, 6,252 people had been deloused and 6,845 had been bathed. The sanitary facilities, which had been established for the Jews, remained operational and were to be used in the future for the Aryan population. The houses abandoned by the Jews were being cleaned and disinfected by work columns supervised by the disinfection staff. The removal of the Jews had resulted in a shortage both of agricultural laborers and of craftsmen.[8]

At the time of the Jews' departure from the town, Zenon Drzewiecki, a Pole, who worked for the town's welfare administration but also had links to the Polish underground, gave temporary shelter in an Old People's Home to a number of Jews who had gone into hiding. However, it was too dangerous for them to stay there for long, and they had to be moved to safer locations.[9]

On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, most of the Jews from Skierniewice were put into improvised hostels designated for refugees. It appears that not all of the Jews from Skierniewice were registered in the group hostels, and some are known to have gone to other towns in the Generalgouvernement, such as Rawa Mazowiecka, Biała Rawska, and Przygłów, where they had relatives or contacts. A JSS report dated March 21, 1940, noted that 3,300 Jews from Skierniewice were among the more than 40,000 Jews recently arrived in the Warsaw ghetto as part of organized groups.[10]

A large number of the refugees from Skierniewice died of starvation and contagious diseases in the Warsaw ghetto. Some left for other places in the Generalgouvernement, and a few even returned to Skierniewice to live on the Aryan side. Many of the Skierniewice Jews in the Warsaw ghetto who survived until the summer of 1942 were among those deported to the Treblinka extermination camp at that time.

Only 43 Jews are known to have returned to Skierniewice in 1945.

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jews of Skierniewice during the Holocaust include the following: Yitshak Perlov, ed., *Seyfer Skernyevits: Le-zeykher der fartilikter kehileh kdosheh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Skernivits be-Yisrael, 1955); Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), pp. 166–171; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 720–722.

The ghetto in Skierniewice is mentioned also in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 113; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/633; 211/967, 1075; 301/2063; 302/213; Ring I/908); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-14.052 [BA-BL, R 52];

RG-15.079 [Ring]); VHF (e.g., # 214, 10031, 32285); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2933, O-3/3186; O-6/21).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2063, testimony of Zenon Drzewiecki; 302/213, testimony of Zenon Drzewiecki; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/967, p. 2; Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 166–171.
2. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 166–171.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/967, p. 8. Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 212, give the figure of 1,500.
4. USHMM, RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/23, p. 18, Kreishauptmann Skierniewice, monthly report, September 9, 1941.
5. See Erster Bekanntmachung über die Errichtung eines besonderen Wohngebiet für Juden in der Stadt Skierniewice, October 15, 1940 (YVA, O-6/21), published in Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, p. 721. The accompanying text, however, states only that the ghetto was established in October 1940.
6. Dabrowska and Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 1, *Lodz and Its Region*, pp. 166–171. VHF, # 214, testimony of Anna Fischer, 1994, also mentions the bridge. See also Perlov, *Seyfer Skernyevits*, pp. 456–457.
7. VHF, # 214; and # 32285, testimony of Adam Sulkowicz, 1997.
8. See USHMM, RG-14.052 (BA-BL), R 52III/29, pp. 88, 96, Kreishauptmann Skierniewice, monthly report, March 4, 1941.
9. AŻIH, 301/2063; 302/213.
10. Perlov, *Seyfer Skernyevits*, p. 431; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1075, pp. 28–29.

SOBIENIE JEZIORY

Pre-1939: Sobienie Jeziory, village, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Garwolin, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sobienie Jeziory is located 42 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 1,439 Jews in Sobienie Jeziory. They comprised just over 76 percent of the village's population.

The Germans established a ghetto in the village in September 1941, 11 months after Distrikt Warschau chief Ludwig Fischer's October 2, 1940, order to establish ghettos for the region's Jews.[1] The ghetto, which spanned about 75 percent of the town, covered the territory bordered by Warszawska, Piwońska, and Garwolińska Streets. Little is known about the ghetto's subsequent administration. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by A. Friedsohn, a metal goods store owner and political activist in the interwar period. The date of its establishment is unclear. Friedsohn also headed the town's Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee.[2] The existence of a Jewish police force is not mentioned in known accounts of ghetto life.

The ghetto experienced population growth, as the Germans used it as a regional concentration point for Jews from neighboring towns and villages en route to extermination camps. In February 1941, 2,250 Jews were living in the village. By October 1941, a month after the ghetto's establishment, the population had expanded to 3,680. Some accounts claim the ghetto's population in the fall of 1941 was much greater, with some 6,000 residents. Greater consensus exists over the ghetto's overall population peaking at the beginning of September 1942, though here, too, population statistics differ. According to some estimates, at the end of that month, on the eve of the ghetto's liquidation, more than 8,000 people were confined there, but these figures are likely too high. Other evidence suggests that by then Sobienie Jeziory's ghetto population may have been reduced considerably, with a part of the village's Jews deported earlier. Although Sobienie Jeziory's ghetto contained escapees from larger ghettos, including the Warsaw ghetto, the overwhelming majority of its population came from the surrounding area, especially nearby villages and towns. In January 1941, Jewish residents of Sobienie Jeziory included deportees and refugees from Falenica, Wilga, Osieck, Piaseczno, Karczew, Górzno, Pilawa, Otwock, Góra Kalwaria, Garwolin, and Huta Dąbrowa.[3]

The 17 German policemen assigned to the local Gendarmerie post, under the leadership of Kreis commander Roechel, engaged in antisemitic acts and violence against the Jewish population and limited the access of ghetto residents to illicit food supplies. Local police officials desecrated the Jewish cemetery, ordering the removal of its headstones for the construction of a walkway and a patio at the Gendarmerie post in the pre-war Catholic parish rectory. Some eyewitnesses later attested that the local Gendarmes gathered daily "to hunt Jews on the ghetto's streets." Officers Gatzke, an ethnic German from Silesia, and Lentz gained reputations as "notorious Jew hunters," who "competed over the number they killed."[4] As the German police unleashed random violence, they also curtailed efforts by some local Christians to supplement the ghetto's food resources. On June 15, 1942, the Germans halted the most regular of these actions, biweekly deliveries of carts of potatoes from Sobienie Szlacheckie, the estate of Sobienie Jeziory's original founder. They arrested the estate's owner, widow Countess Zofia Jezierska, and her fiancé Michał Jaczyński.[5]

Under these conditions, starvation and illness became widespread among the Jews by the summer of 1942. A young Christian observer, who crossed regularly into the ghetto to play with a Jewish school friend, reported that by mid-1942 the ghetto's streets were "littered with living corpses of bone," dying of starvation and typhus. In his opinion, hunger and disease claimed the lives of between 15 and 20 ghetto residents daily. Official post–World War II court documentation sets the figure a bit lower, claiming that between 4 and 15 residents perished each day in the ghetto.[6]

The Judenrat responded by organizing social relief. It established a hospital to accommodate the sick. It also distributed free daily dinners in a small community kitchen. The

Judenrat, though, appears to have been unable to raise levies or even secure some form of loan from the town's Jews to finance an expansion of social services. At the end of March 1941, for instance, the community kitchen could provide meals for no more than 700 residents, whereas the Judenrat saw a need to offer 1,000 such meals. In a funding request that month to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) for an expanded kitchen facility, Friedsohn explained that his village's poverty made it impossible to consider taxing the town's Jewish inhabitants. The transfer of some of the Jews to the Wilga forced labor camp, on the outskirts of Sobienie Jeziory, did reduce the number of hungry mouths in the town. But when 8 men perished there from beatings at the end of April 1941, the Judenrat communicated with an underground commission of doctors from the Warsaw ghetto, investigating conditions in forced labor camps in the region.[7]

An unknown, though relatively large, number of Jews responded to starvation either by moving to other ghettos or by leaving temporarily in search for food. In mid-1941, Jacob Epstein, an arrival from the Warsaw ghetto, quickly realized that conditions in Sobienie Jeziory—with its vigilant police force seemingly oblivious to bribes and its starving population—could not sustain the illicit activities had helped him survive in Warsaw. After just two days in the town, he arranged a pass, through his uncle, chair of the Judenrat, to stay with an aunt in Garwolin, about 22 kilometers (14 miles) east of Sobienie Jeziory.[8] A larger portion of Sobienie Jeziory's residents who left the ghetto appear to have done so temporarily and more illicitly, usually at night, with some risking denunciation by knocking on the doors of the town's Christians to ask for food.[9]

Efforts to seek food outside the ghetto sparked violent German police reprisals and ultimately had consequences for the treatment of Jews found living outside of ghettos in the Warsaw region as a whole. In a December 22, 1941, letter to Dr. Jan Wielikowski, Warsaw-based adviser for the JSS, Friedsohn explained that "day after day" in Sobienie Jeziory "the Germans shoot Jews for having left the ghetto." Friedsohn inquired about whether the JSS could intervene with the local police in Sobienie Jeziory so that in the future the Germans would notify the town's Judenrat of the names of the Jews they had killed and where they had buried them.[10] German officials apparently exploited Friedsohn's letter to escalate violence against Jews living outside ghettos throughout the Warsaw region. On January 9, 1942, Heinz Auerswald, from April 1941 to November 1942, the commissioner for "jewish residential districts" (ghettos) in Distrikt Warschau, circulated Friedsohn's letter as part of a longer memo in which he demanded police officials throughout the Distrikt take "effective action" against Jews found outside the ghettos.[11]

As Friedsohn's note indicates, in Sobienie Jeziory local police rigidly enforced the shoot-to-kill orders that applied to Jews found outside of ghettos from the end of 1941. Although the list is far from complete, Poland's Institute of National Memory has documented more than 110 cases in which German police in Sobienie Jeziory murdered Jews for being outside the ghetto. In the largest single incident, village police officials executed more than 25 Jews from the ghetto in Otwock, 22.5 kilometers (14 miles) to the north, found hidden in underbrush outside of Sobienie Jeziory. The remaining documented executions tend to be of individuals caught searching for food beyond the ghetto's confines. Police from the local Gendarmerie, for instance, executed 4 men and 3 women in the Jewish cemetery at the end of 1941. They killed another 5 Jews—2 of them women—in the first half of 1942. In August 1942, the Germans shot 50 more Jews, including a pregnant woman, for being outside the ghetto without permission.[12]

The liquidation of Sobienie Jeziory's ghetto occurred on Sunday, September 27, 1942. At dawn, German SS surrounded the town. Police from the Gendarmerie, again supported by the SS, ordered the entire ghetto population to the main square at 9:00 A.M. Those who refused to comply were shot in their homes. At the square, one of the policemen explained that the town's Jews were to be sent to Ukraine "to work the land." The police next collected the Jews' money and valuables. The old and infirm were then placed on wagons. From the town square, the Jews were marched to the train station in Pilawa. Guards brutally beat them along the way. Those who were unable to keep up with the column were shot, "with the entire path of the march strewn with corpses." At the Pilawa railway station, the Germans shot Judenrat chair Friedsohn in the midst of a farewell speech "full of dramatic overtones." Sobienie Jeziory's Jews were then loaded into trains and sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.[13]

After the ghetto's liquidation, members of the police searched for and killed Jews they found remaining in the town. In the first week, they executed at least 25 more Jews, including 11 members of the family of Wigdor Kleiman, a pre-war store owner, and 4 abandoned children. As late as January 1943, the police were still uncovering survivors in fields adjoining the village. In November 1943, a fire of suspicious origins destroyed the former ghetto. Still unknown is whether the fire was set by German police trying to root out Jewish escapees, by Poles looting the empty ghetto, or accidentally by Jews still in hiding.[14]

No more than 20 of Sobienie Jeziory's Jews are thought to have survived the war. Jacob Epstein, who had come from Garwolin, survived the liquidation of the region's ghettos at the home of an ethnic German on a nearby farm. Bolesław Wójcik, another Jew from Sobienie Jeziory, hid with the Polish Legat family, residents of Pilawa.[15] Abram and Felicia Gwiazda, a married couple, survived the war in Sobienie Jeziory hidden by the Grzędas, local Polish farmers. In 1941, Felicia gave birth to another survivor, their daughter, who was rescued by the family of her Polish midwife. Monko's son Mieczysław also interceded after the war to reunite the child with her parents.[16] A sixth survivor, also an infant when she was surrendered by her mother to a local Polish woman, was not reunited with her family until almost 60 years after the war's conclusion. Because her parents had both perished in the Holocaust, the Polish family who had rescued the child refused to return her to a surviving aunt, Aliza Kuperman-Nachmany.

Inspired by her mother's determination to find the girl, Kuperman-Nachmany's daughter Emmunah ultimately reunited the family.[17]

SOURCES The largest number of eyewitness testimonies remain in the private possession of Father Jerzy Marion Cygan, who recorded them for his book *Dzieje parafii Sobienie Jeziory* (Biała Podlaska, 2001).

Documentation on Sobienie Jeziory's ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/641, 211/978, 301/5490); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 47, 211/978; RG-15.019M [ASG], reel 18, 61 [Warsaw woj.], 59, pp. 1–2; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH, AJDC], 210/641; and RG-15.079M, reel 3, Ring I/25, reel 14, I/409, and reel 22, Ring I/546); VHF (# 14342, 18718, 30190, and 43653); and YVA.

Edward Kopówka and Laura Crago

NOTES

1. See T. Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), pp. 100–102 (in German) and p. 106 (in Polish trans.).

2. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 461; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47, 211/978, "Korespondencja Prezydium ŻSS z Delegaturą ŻSS w Sobieniach Jeziorach," pp. 1–4.

3. See T. Berenstein, "Deportacja i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskich," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 118–119. The high figure of 9,380 people comes from the 1945 questionnaire on ghettos filled out by regional administrators in Poland. This questionnaire lists the "average" number of ghetto residents in Sobienie Jeziory as 4,453 people; see USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, 61 (Warsaw woj.), 59 (Sobienie Jeziory), pp. 1–2. The 3,680 population figure is cited in Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 392.

4. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, 61/59, p. 1; Maja Jaszewska, "Trzecie pokolenie sprawiedliwych," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, July 27, 2003; Cygan, *Dzieje parafii*, p. 231.

5. Anna Poray, "Polish Righteous" (unpub. MSS, PALC).

6. H. Kowalczyk, "Wspomnienia" (unpub. MSS, PAEK), pp. 4–5; and USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, 61/59, p. 1.

7. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, 61/59, p. 1; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/641 (Sobienie Jeziory), pp. 1–5; RG-15.079M, reel 14, Ring I/409, "A barikht fun a lager in Sobin," and reel 3, Ring I/26, "Relacja—wyciągi z protokołów oględzin lekarskich i zeznań w sprawie bicia i rozstrzeliwania więźniow w obozach pracy przymusowej: Piekło, Nakło, Wilga, Garwolin, Mordy, Łąki, Stok Ruski, Drewnica, Sobienie-Jeziory, Kałuszyn, Roztok," p. 14.

8. VHF, # 14342, testimony of Jacob Epstein. See also USHMM, RG-15.079M, reel 22, Ring I/546.

9. Examples of individual Christian material aid to Jews who sought food outside the ghetto can be found in A. Mońka-Staniakowa, "Tajne nauczanie w Sobieniach Jeziorach," *Szkice podlaskie* (1996): 102; and Cygan, *Dzieje parafii*, pp. 231–233.

10. The document can be found under the heading "Komisarz dzielnicy żydowskiej w Warszawie, Auerswald, do starostów powiatowych o sankcjach karnych wobec Żydów za opuszczanie gett," in Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów*, pp. 124–125.

11. Ibid., p. 124 (in Polish) and p. 125 (in German).

12. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popłnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1943: województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), pp. 250–254. The execution of the Otwock escapees is covered also in J. Lempkowski, "Ród (wspomnienia)" (unpub. MSS, PAEK), pp. 219–220.

13. Kowalczyk, "Wspomnienia," p. 5; Cygan, *Dzieje parafii*, p. 233; Mońka-Staniakowa, "Tajne nauczanie," p. 102; B. Wójcik, "Wspomnienia lat wojny i konspiracji" (unpub. MSS, PAEK, 1973), pp. 12–13; Lempkowski, "Ród," pp. 219–220; AŻIH, 301/5490, testimony of Droździasz Sura, p. 1; and USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 18, 61/59, p. 1.

14. *Rejestr miejsc*, pp. 251, 254; Lempkowski, "Ród," pp. 219–220; Cygan, *Dzieje parafii*, p. 233; and Mońka-Staniakowa, "Tajne nauczanie," p. 103.

15. VHF, # 14342; and testimony of Mrs. Przychalska (Sobienie Jeziory: unpub. testimonies in the possession of Jerzy Marion Cygan). According to Przychalska, Wójcik assumed the surname of his Polish rescuers and served as head of Wilga powiat after the war.

16. Mieczysław Monko identifies the village in which he, his wife, and his mother saved the child as Sobienie Jeziory, in VHF, # 43653, testimony of Mieczysław Monko. The town is not specified in the entry in Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, p. 526.

17. Kuperman-Nachmany immigrated to Israel after the war but returned regularly to Poland, with her daughter, in an unsuccessful search for her niece. The Nachmanys' story is retold in Aleksander Klugman, "Podwójna ofiara polskich Sprawiedliwych," *Więź*, no. 7 (July 2007): 58–59; and presented in a larger historical context of the war and immediate postwar periods by Emmunnah Nachmany-Gafney, *Levavot hatsuyim: Hotsaoat yeladim Yehudim mi-bate Notsrim be-Folan le-ahar ha-Shooah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005).

SOBOLEW

Pre-1939: Sobolew, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Garwolin, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sobolew is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Garwolin and 71 kilometers (44 miles) southeast of Warsaw. At the start of World War II, approximately 840 Jews were living in Sobolew, making up more than half of the village's population.

Sobolew was occupied by the Germans on September 17, 1939. Very early on in the occupation of the town, the Jews of Sobolew were summoned to the train station to hear an address from the local SS commandant in which he insulted and threatened them and stated that all of Sobolew's Jews would be dead before the Soviets would arrive to save them.[1] Following the speech, the Germans humiliated 3 esteemed Jews by chasing them through town and keeping them locked up for 10 days



A young woman wears an armband in the Sobolew ghetto, December 1942.
USHMM WS #23230, COURTESY OF KALMAN HOROWITZ

in a stable. Soon afterwards, a curfew was imposed on the Jewish residents of Sobolew, who were forbidden to be on the street after 6:00 P.M. Near the end of 1939, a 12-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established under the leadership of Yisrael Farber, which was responsible mainly for providing the Germans with laborers. The laborers broke stones on the road between Lublin and Warsaw and cleared away snow, among other activities.[2] The Judenrat included 5 Jewish policemen.

During the war, Sobolew's Jewish population grew to roughly 1,600 people, approximately 600 of whom were refugees from other towns.[3] A group of over 100 Jewish families deported from Maciejowice to Sobolew on October 23, 1940,[4] formed the largest group of refugees in the village. A letter from November 4, 1940, described the difficult conditions facing the new arrivals: "Their situation is simply desperate. They're being accommodated in attics, they're living five to six families per room. We're at a loss since all of our local aid sources have been exhausted. We remain without clothing, without shoes, and without any possibility of getting even a small piece of bread."[5] An aid committee operated in Sobolew under the auspices of the Jewish Council and was responsible for the care of approximately 500 individuals.[6] The committee ran a soup kitchen and a clinic.

A ghetto was created in Sobolew in the course of 1941[7] and may have been preceded by an open ghetto established in the fall of 1940. The ghetto housed approximately 2,000 individuals, including many Jews from nearby towns, and saw at least one outbreak of typhus.[8] Pesakh Kuperman reports that he was able to leave the ghetto at night to sell his possessions to local Poles and to buy potatoes, flour, and bread.[9] Moyshe Grinkorn relates that Poles smuggled bread and other food into the ghetto to sell to Jews who could afford to buy such items.[10] In the summer of 1942, 17 Jews were caught while trying to cross the border of the ghetto. On the orders of Dr. Freudenthal, the head of Kreis Garwolin, the 17 fugitives were executed.[11] During the German occupation, an estimated 150 Jews and Poles from Sobolew and surrounding localities were executed in Sobolew and their corpses buried in a mass grave in a nearby forest.[12]

The deportation of Jews from Kreis Garwolin began in September 1942, at which time Sobolew, as the only town in the immediate area with a railway link, became a collection and transportation center. Jews from ghettos in the vicinity were brought to Sobolew and then loaded onto trains headed for the Treblinka extermination camp. Halina Cymbrowicz (née Gedanken) relates that Jews from her hometown of Żelechów were either taken by cart or, if they were able, forced to travel by foot to Sobolew.[13] Between September 27 and 30, Jews who had been brought to Sobolew from the ghettos in Parysów, Łaskarzew, Stoczek Łukowski, and Żelechów were herded into freight cars and taken to the Treblinka extermination camp. The deportees were ordered to hand over their gold, money, and other valuables and were informed through an interpreter that noncompliance would be punished by death. As they were being loaded into the cars, "they were bludgeoned and beaten with sticks for so long that the last four didn't make it in. The doors were then closed from the outside. Barbed wire had been affixed to the upper windows beforehand."[14] The liquidation of the Sobolew ghetto itself followed in October 1942, with its inhabitants likewise sent to Treblinka. It was approximately at this time as well that Jewish labor units in and around Sobolew were liquidated. Some of the prisoners who made up the labor units were killed on the spot; some were sent to Treblinka.[15]

In October–November 1942, following the liquidation of the ghetto, a separate remnant ghetto was established in Sobolew as a "collection point" in a German attempt to coax the remaining Jews in the area out of their hiding places. The German authorities announced that Jews who came to the ghetto would be able to live and work as normal. Estera Borensztain, a native of Sobolew hiding in the countryside at the time, returned with her mother and two younger brothers to the reestablished ghetto, where they lived together with two other families in a single room: "[T]his did not, however, last very long."[16] The second ghetto was liquidated in January 1943, at which time a "selection" was made: the elderly were killed immediately, while the young and able-bodied were loaded onto railcars and transported to Treblinka.

SOURCES Extensive information on Sobolew and its inhabitants before and during World War II can be found in the personal testimonies of Sobolew natives in the yizkor book, Mosheh Levani, ed., *Sefer Laskazshev un Sobolev* (Paris: Di Gezelshaft Laskazshev-Sobolev in Frankraykh, 1960).

The book by Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), contains information on Sobolew, pp. 52–53, 59–60, 68–69, 168, 206, 214.

Further information on Sobolew can also be found in Tatiana Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), pp. 732–733.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Sobolew under German occupation can be found in the following archival collections: AŻIH (210/28, 30 [AJDC]; 211/980 [JSS]; 301/2989, 5820 [Relacje]; 310/A; Ring I/851); BA-L (B 162/6820, 6822, 6876); and IPN (163/18 sygn. 42 and sygn. 61 [ASG]).

Stephen Scala

NOTES

1. See multiple accounts in Levani, *Sefer Laskazshev un Sobolev*.
2. IPN, 163/18, sygn. 61, Kwestionariusz o obozach.
3. AŻIH, 210/28 (AJDC), Wykaz miejscowości Komitetów Pomocy, sprawozdanie z działalności V-XII 1940 r.
4. Ibid., 210/30 (AJDC), Dystrykt warszawski, różne wykazy, b.d.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. The date named in various sources ranges from February to December 1941.
8. IPN, 163/18, sygn. 61, Kwestionariusz o obozach.
9. Pesakh Kuperman, "Mayne iberlebungen in di gehenemtsaytn," in Levani, *Sefer Laskazshev un Sobolev*, pp. 563–569.
10. Moyshe Grinkorn, "A sobolever yid ratevet zikh," in Levani, *Sefer Laskazshev un Sobolev*, pp. 574–598.
11. BA-L, B 162/6820, p. 62.
12. IPN, 163/18 sygn. 42, Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych.
13. AŻIH, 301/5820, testimony of Halina Cymbrowicz.
14. BA-L, B 162/6822, pp. 10 ff, testimony of Stanisław W., November 13, 1967.
15. Ibid., B 162/6876, p. 562.
16. AŻIH, 301/2989, testimony of Estera Borensztain.

SOCHACZEW

Pre-1939: Sochaczew (Yiddish: Sokhatshev), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: center of Kreis Sochaczew Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sochaczew is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west of Warsaw. The Jewish population of the town was 2,419 (48 percent) in 1921. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population numbered about 4,000.

As awareness of the impending invasion and German occupation increased, local Poles affixed crosses and icons to their houses. During the first week of the war, before the German army reached Sochaczew, many Jews fled eastward towards Warsaw and beyond. About 200 made it into areas occupied by the Soviets after September 17, 1939, enabling many of them to survive the war. Sochaczew was the center of bitter fighting from September 9 to 17, 1939, in the Battle of the Bzura, as the Germans encountered stiffening resistance near Warsaw. Once the town was secured, the first victims of the occupation were elderly and sick Jews, pulled from their houses by German soldiers and murdered in cold blood. About 100 houses belonging to Jews who had fled were set on fire. At the end of September, during the festival of the Sukkot holiday, several hundred Hasidic Jews were forced onto the streets, harassed, beaten, and made to dance to the music of a band. Their beards and side locks were cut off. As the battles subsided, many who had fled returned to Sochaczew. They found their homes occupied by Poles or burned to the ground. They were forced to find shelter in cellars, attics, and storage sheds. In January 1940, 400 refugees from other towns arrived and were taken in by the Jews of Sochaczew.[1]

A local ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*), Julian Prouze, was appointed mayor of the town. An auxiliary police force (Sonderdienst) was recruited to assist him. Jews were kidnapped for forced labor on a daily basis. They were put to work rebuilding the damaged bridge over the Bzura River, digging canals, draining marshes, and clearing the rubble of bombed buildings (including the 700-year-old church). Some were sent to fortify an airfield at Bielice, using gravestones stolen from the Jewish cemetery. Mayor Prouze also made a profit by selling the bricks from damaged Jewish houses.[2] In January 1940, Prouze announced the creation of an 18-member Judenrat, drawn from a list of prominent local figures. The chairman was a merchant, Yaakov Biederman. A Jewish police unit was also established, headed by Menashe Knott.[3] The Judenrat was ordered to organize the daily work assignments, but anyone who could pay 1 złoty a day to the Judenrat was left off the work roster. Tensions within the Judenrat led Biederman to resign and be replaced by Yitzhak Gelbstein, a tailor who had ingratiated himself with the Germans. Under his leadership the Judenrat extorted valuables from the Jews, supposedly to bribe the authorities, but allegedly much ended up in their own pockets.[4]

One night in January 1941, the Sonderdienst conducted a search of Jewish houses. They took whatever they wanted and beat the Jews brutally. They also arrested two Jews, Aharon Zelig Marienfeld and Aryeh Szmelc. According to one account, Szmelc and Marienfeld had worked together with local ethnic Germans in trading on the black market. The German police now tortured and murdered them, as they knew too much. At dawn, the German authorities ordered the Judenrat to bury their mutilated corpses in the Jewish cemetery.[5]

By mid-January 1941, plans were made to establish a ghetto in Sochaczew, following the establishment of a ghetto in Żyrardów in mid-December 1940. Since it would be too small for

the entire population, about 900 Jews were rounded up and, on January 18, 1941, sent to the Żyrardów ghetto.[6] The Jews living in the villages of Kreis Sochaczew were also instructed by Kreishauptmann Pott to move to the ghetto in Żyrardów at this time.[7] In Sochaczew, those who could pay the Judenrat were allowed to remain. On the next day they were resettled into the ghetto. Each person was permitted to bring along only 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of personal possessions.[8] Jewish houses outside the ghetto area were burned. On January 24, the ghetto area was slightly enlarged and then enclosed with a high barbed-wire fence. It was guarded by German police on the outside and by Jewish Police within. Poles were also strictly forbidden to enter the ghetto, which covered the areas of Staszic, Toruńska, and Farnej Streets, as well as Kościuszko Square. The narrow confines of the ghetto caused overcrowding, with five people to a room and every available space put to use—storage sheds, attics, and cellars. Food was scarce and hunger widespread. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) operated a free kitchen, which provided one warm meal a day to about half of the ghetto inhabitants. The AJDC also distributed packages of clothing, food, and money.[9]

On January 31, 1941, the German authorities informed the remaining Jews that soon the ghetto would be liquidated and that they were forbidden to leave the ghetto area. The date scheduled for the expulsion from the Sochaczew ghetto was February 15–16, 1941.[10] At that time, the Germans instructed all the remaining Jews in Sochaczew, about 1,800 people, to move to the Warsaw ghetto. They were permitted to take with them 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of luggage and food for two days. A few, including the Judenrat leaders and their families, were transported on wagons. The rest went on foot. In the ensuing confusion the captain of the Jewish Police, Menashe Knott, was shot by Priwer, the Gestapo commander, after a quarrel about boots that were ordered but not delivered.[11] In his report for February 1941, Kreishauptmann Pott noted that the Jewish real estate properties were being registered.[12]

Julian Prouze demanded that 150 Jews be brought back from Warsaw as laborers. All but 21 were sent back when the work was finished. Those who stayed worked a little longer and then were taken to the nearby forest and murdered. A number of Jews who escaped during the expulsions tried to hide in smaller towns or in the countryside. Many were children who wandered about in search of food and shelter. A bounty of liquor or sugar was offered to anyone who caught or turned in a Jew. Pits were dug in the Jewish cemetery, where they threw the bodies of those who were caught and killed. Only very few survived.[13] The fate of the Jews sent from Sochaczew to Warsaw was the same as the others in the capital city.

The accounts in the yizor book mention two non-Jews who sought to protect the Jews during the early months of the occupation. They were a pharmacist, Jan Silwa, who helped some to hide, and the daughter of the butcher, Balcarska, who used her influence with the German commander, Blashchik, to ease some of the restrictive conditions.[14]

A handful of survivors returned to Sochaczew after the war to erect a memorial on the grounds of the cemetery.

SOURCES The yizkor book, edited by A.S. Stein and Gavriel Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew* (Jerusalem: Former Residents of Sochaczew in Israel, 1962) in Hebrew and Yiddish, contains a number of personal accounts by survivors from the town. There is also a short article on the Jewish community of Sochaczew in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 311–318. The book by Paweł Fijałkowski, *Żydzi sochaczewscy* (Sochaczew: Muzeum Ziemi Sochaczewskiej i Pola Bitwy nad Bzurą, 1989), has information on the ghetto on pages 22–23 and also contains a very brief summary in English. Additional information on the ghetto can also be found in the *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); 85, 115–116; and in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 462.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Sochaczew under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., Ring I/352, 914); BA-BL (R 52III/29); IPN; USHMM (e.g., RG-14.025M; RG-15.019M; RG-15.079M [Ring I]; RG-50.120*0140); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Stein and Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew*, p. 729.
2. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/914.
3. Stein and Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew*, p. 730.
4. Ibid., p. 478.
5. Ibid., p. 414; USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/914.
6. Mardekhai V. Bernshteyn, ed., *Pinkes Zshirardov, Amshinov un Viskit: Yizker-bukh tsu der geshikhte fun di kehiles* . . . (Buenos Aires: Di landlayt-faraynen in Amerike, Yisroel, Frankraykh, Argentine, 1961), p. 454, mentions the arrival of 900 Jewish refugees from Sochaczew at this time.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 11, February 7, 1941.
8. Stein and Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew*, p. 730. According to another account by Chaim Weisz, "Dates to Remember," from the same book, pp. 450–451, an "open ghetto" was established on November 1, 1941, and the Jews were expelled to Żyrardów on November 15, 1941. Most sources, however, seem to support the dating of these events in January and February 1941.
9. Stein and Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew*, p. 731.
10. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/352, Kreishauptmann Sochaczew-Blonie, order concerning the clearing of the Kreis of Jews, January 31, 1941; RG-50.120*0140, Oral History interview with Zeev Sheinvald, May 20, 1993, tape IV, confirms the deportation took place on February 15, 1941.
11. Ibid., RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/352; Stein and Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew*, pp. 732, 744.
12. USHMM, RG-14.025M (BA-BL), R 52III/29, p. 95, Kreishauptmann Sochaczew-Blonie, monthly report for February 1941.
13. Stein and Weisman, *Pinkas Sochaczew*, p. 733.
14. Ibid., p. 730.

SOKOŁÓW PODLASKI

Pre-1939: Sokołów Podlaski, town, initially Lublin województwo (later Warsaw województwo) Poland; 1939–1944: Sokolow, Kreis center, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sokołów Podlaski, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sokołów Podlaski is located 102 kilometers (about 63 miles) east-northeast of Warsaw. The town was home to nearly 6,000 Jews on the eve of World War II.[1]

In the first weeks of World War II, German military operations inflicted significant damage on the town, particularly on its Jewish community. On September 7, 1939, German airplanes bombarded Długa Street, killing seven or eight people. On Thursday, September 7, a larger German attack destroyed part of the town's center, killing many people, primarily Jews living on Mały Rynek, Rogowski, and Piękna Streets.

The Germans retreated from the town in the third week of September, and the Red Army briefly took over Sokołów Podlaski on September 27. A new Soviet-German agreement, however, soon returned Sokołów to German hegemony. About 1,000 of the town's Jews evacuated with the Red Army. Throughout 1940, Jews continued to cross the Bug River illegally.[2]



Jewish survivors watch as Poles exhume a mass grave in Sokołów Podlaski, 1945.
USHMM WS #15077, COURTESY OF HYMAN KAWER

The German military returned to Sokołów on October 11, 1939, and embarked on a series of antisemitic attacks. German soldiers harassed Jews, cutting off their beards with knives. When groups of Polish youth also beat several Jews, the Germans arrested the offenders and sentenced them to six months in jail.[3] German soldiers conducted numerous seizures of property in Jewish stores in November 1939, forcing many to close down.[4] German soldiers also arbitrarily conscripted Jews for labor.[5]

German civil administrators continued in the footsteps of their military predecessors. Landrat Friedrich Schultz was appointed Kreishauptmann for Kreis Sokolow on November 11, 1939. A week later, he ordered Sokołów's mayor to arrest 15 prominent Jews and demanded the Jewish community pay a ransom of 15,000 złoty. After succeeding Schultz on June 10, 1940, the new Kreishauptmann, Reichslandwirtschaftsrat Ernst Grams, ordered city officials to dismantle the town's largest Jewish cemetery.[6]

At the end of November 1939, the town's mayor ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its first chairman, Chaim Jakob Szpadel, died soon after being nominated. Nuchym Lewin then became the Judenrat's chair. The Judenrat's labor office was headed by Icko Szlachme and Kalman Rosen. The Judenrat also created a Jewish police force, composed of about 30 officers. It was headed first by Josel Rozenswaig and later by Shwartzbard. The police also established a Jewish jail in the Bet Midrash, mainly to incarcerate those who did not pay dues demanded by the Judenrat.[7]

With the formation of the Judenrat, the Germans demanded a series of payments from Sokołów Podlaski's Jewish community. These included another contribution of 80,000 złoty in December 1939 and a third payment in January 1940 of 100,000 złoty. To secure money for these payments, the Judenrat ordered that men pay monthly dues, ranging from 700 up to 1,200 złoty.[8]

From mid-1940, the Germans undertook a series of measures that gradually established an open ghetto in Sokołów Podlaski. In the fall of 1940, to create a separate Christian neighborhood for German officials, Grams ordered the expulsion of Jews from pre-war Christian neighborhoods. Jews who lived and worked there were moved onto two streets surrounding the main synagogue, in the center of town, where most Jews had lived before the war. The order initiated the period of the so-called open ghetto. Jews were still allowed to move freely about the town, but they could not live or operate stores in Sokołów Podlaski's Christian neighborhoods. Christians who lived in the so-called Jewish neighborhood were not expelled from it.[9]

In the last days of July 1941, or perhaps on August 1, the Germans created a closed ghetto in Sokołów Podlaski. Because the town's pre-war Jewish neighborhood contained Długa Street, a major northwest-to-southeast thoroughfare connecting the town's two main non-Jewish neighborhoods, German plans might have called originally for the expulsion of Jews

from a large part of the pre-war Jewish neighborhood and their concentration in only one of the neighborhoods divided by the street. Negotiations between the Judenrat and German officials and another round of bribes supposedly forestalled these German plans.[10] Instead, to make Długa Street accessible to non-Jewish traffic, the Germans created two ghettos in Sokołów Podlaski, one of which ran east of Długa Street and the other west of the same street to the Cetynia River. The houses on both sides of Długa Street were enclosed behind barbed wire. Jews who resided in homes there were ordered to brick over windows and doors facing that street. In both ghettos, roads that formerly had intersected with Długa Street were blocked off by 3-meter-high (almost 10-feet-high) brick walls, topped with shards of broken glass.

The first ghetto, located on a large part of the western side of the pre-war Jewish neighborhood, formed a rough diamond-like shape territorially. Its extreme eastern edge was bounded by Długa Street and one side of Siedlecka Street. Its western edge was at the intersection of Bóżnicza Street and the eastern side of Winnice Street. This ghetto contained five additional streets: Szeroka, Nowa, Niecała, Szkolna, and Próżna Streets. The entrance to this first ghetto was on Bóżnicza Street. The town's second, or eastern ghetto, roughly followed the streets found within it. These included Długa, Szewski Rynek, a part of Wilczyński, Krótka, Piękna, and Przechodnia Streets. It also included Mały Rynek Street. The entrance to this second ghetto was at the intersection of Szewski Rynek and Wilczyński Streets. This ghetto was surrounded mostly by barbed wire, with a wooden fence erected around its southernmost tip. Residents could cross between the two ghettos through a passageway in the Bet Midrash, which also housed the ghetto's jail.

Jews could leave the two ghettos only with special permission. A few Poles who continued to live in the ghetto were issued special passes. Otherwise, Poles also were forbidden from entering the ghetto. Under the control of Dr. Hermann, from the Kreishauptmann's office, the ghetto was heavily guarded. Barriers were erected in front of the entrances to both ghettos. Polish (Blue) Police and German Gendarmes guarded the exterior of the ghettos' gates. Jewish policemen guarded the ghetto internally, including the passage between the two ghettos.[11]

In September 1941, 5,080 Jews were confined to the ghetto.[12] These numbers included 684 Jews who had settled in Sokołów Podlaski by December 29, 1939, and an additional 915 Jews who had arrived there before June 1, 1940. The majority of these new arrivals had been forcibly expelled by the Germans from Kalisz, Pułtusk, Kałuszyn, and Aleksandrów Łódzki.[13] In November 1941, the Germans also began ordering 316 Jews from villages and agricultural settlements located east and south of Sokołów Podlaski, including from Kudelczyn, Korczew, Repki, Wyrozęby, and Kowiesy, to move to the ghetto. This transfer was to be completed by December 15, 1941.[14]

The Judenrat faced great difficulties in finding homes for these expellees. By September 1941, rooms in the ghetto housed an average of six people.[15] As the ghetto was established around the Jewish neighborhood, most Jewish businesses continued to operate, with only a handful, including a bakery, being forced to close preexisting facilities and reopen in the ghetto. Children were sent to illicit schools, some with classes in Hebrew, others in Polish.[16]

Forced labor became more structured with the ghetto's closure. Six hundred residents left the ghetto daily to work at a number of Luftwaffe facilities. Another 200 Jews, employed as craftsmen at these facilities, lived there.[17] In the summer and fall of 1941, town officials also conscripted 50 Jewish workers to construct walkways in the town using headstones from the Jewish cemetery on Bóżnicza Street. Another team of conscripts worked to level the cemetery.[18]

From the fall of 1941, an increasing number of ghetto residents, ultimately several hundred, were assigned to water irrigation work at two forced labor camps near Korczew, the first located in Szczeglacin and the second in Bartków Nowy. Initially the workers reported only for monthlong stints, receiving 10 złoty per day for their families. A supplementary bread ration was also paid for by the Judenrat from fees paid by people to be exempted from forced labor.[19]

The ghetto's closure nonetheless provoked unemployment, particularly among craftsmen. Two hundred tailors and 400 shoemakers lost their former Polish clientele. In September 1941, these craftsmen sought permission to establish cooperative workshops in the ghetto to fill orders from German firms and the Luftwaffe. However, the central authorities in Distrikt Warschau denied their request, and no workshops were ever established inside the ghetto.[20]

Draconian food distribution and rationing policies pursued by Kreishauptmann Grams provoked hunger within weeks of the ghetto's closure. Because Grams had constricted deliveries of vegetables to the ghetto to 10 cartloads daily, the Judenrat could not supply ghetto residents with their full rations. Equally disconcerting was Grams's refusal in September 1941 to make available winter food rations to either Jews or Poles. Nor were the Judenrat's charity institutions able to respond to the crisis. Unable to afford to purchase food at market rates, the Judenrat's community kitchen did not reopen. Charity assistance to orphans and children continued but was circumscribed, with only orphans being fed daily. Grams did agree in late September 1941 to allow the Judenrat to bring 30 carts of vegetables daily into the ghetto and also authorized the release of food to Jewish charity organizations. But these promises were too little, too late. Large parts of the promised food remained in government and Judenrat storehouses as the onset of winter made roads impassible, preventing deliveries to the ghetto.[21]

As these policies combined to provoke hunger and a typhus epidemic in the fall and winter of 1941, scores of Jews began leaving the ghetto illicitly in search of food. A few Poles threw food items over the ghetto fence. Others agreed to receive packages sent by Jewish family members living abroad.[22] Far more frequently, store owners and traders sneaked out with light industrial goods to trade for food to stock the ghetto's stores. They relied on bribes and payments—to Jewish, Pol-

ish, and German police—to get out and back into the ghetto safely. Unable to afford bribes, Jewish craftsmen took more risks when engaging in barter, as the penalty for leaving the ghetto was death. In the fall of 1941, for instance, Gendarme Edward Poppe shot a Jewish shoemaker for being outside the ghetto.[23]

The Judenrat's inability to provide basic social services, its increasing corruption, and its insistence on filling forced labor quotas made it appear increasingly complicit to many ghetto residents. In the spring of 1942, Jews called up for work in the Szczeglacin labor camp discovered that the Judenrat had cut supplemental bread rations to 200 grams (7 ounces) and had opened a special store only for Judenrat employees. Feeling betrayed, the conscripts assigned to the camp refused to assemble. The Jewish Police went from house to house, beating those participating in the protest.[24] In December 1941, moreover, the Judenrat had assigned 15 young workers to labor duties at the Treblinka labor camp, located just 34 kilometers (21 miles) north of Sokołów Podlaski. About half of them perished at the camp. When most of the survivors returned home as invalids, wounded by frostbite, it seemed unthinkable that the Judenrat would continue to draft workers for labor assignments there. Then, in early June, workers from Sokołów Podlaski were called up to construct the Treblinka extermination camp. The men sent there failed to return home.[25]

By the summer of 1942, the ghetto's Jews, fearing a larger roundup, began formulating strategies to avoid deportation to Treblinka. A number started building hiding places in their homes. Others either paid the Judenrat premiums to secure agricultural work or voluntarily signed up for work at Szczeglacin, believing it was safer than remaining in the ghetto.[26] On August 24, 1942, posters appeared in the ghetto containing orders, signed by Grams, limiting entry there to registered residents and voiding all Jewish travel passes.[27] Some ghetto residents opted to remain at the estates where they had been working, and others decided to surrender their children to Polish Christians.[28]

The extermination of Sokołów Podlaski's Jews began early on September 22. That day, local German police and security forces (Gestapo and Kripo), an auxiliary SS Ukrainian detachment, and Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the ghetto. As elsewhere in Kreis Sokolow, the roundup of the ghetto's Jews was bloody, because many residents—about 2,000 out of 6,000 people—did not assemble at the market square, choosing instead to hide. In the searches that followed, between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews found in hiding places were shot. The Germans selected between 100 and 120 Jews from those at the square to form a postliquidation labor force. The remainder of the town's Jews, between 4,000 and 5,000 people, were marched to the train station and deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.[29]

The Germans exterminated the surviving remnants of Sokołów Podlaski's Jewish community over the next two months. Six days after the ghetto's liquidation, German officers rounded up Jews who worked and lived at the town's military facilities, with only those who labored at the military hospital escaping death. That same evening, on September 26, 1942, the head of the Distrikt Warschau Sonderkommando shot 4 members of the Judenrat, including its chair, Lewin.[30] The Germans liquidated the two forced labor camps in Szczeglacin and at Bartków Nowy on October 22, 1942. The Jews conscripted there at the time of the liquidation were shot and buried in a mass grave.[31] Those Jews who worked at Sokołów's German military hospital were shot on November 7.[32] Before the end of November, the Germans assembled the about 100 Jews from the ghetto's postliquidation labor force and shot almost all of them. A few surviving members of the Judenrat and of the Jewish Police are thought to have been sent to the Treblinka labor camp. The last remaining groups of Jewish forced laborers from Sokołów were murdered in March 1943.[33] In March 1944, a Sonderkommando 1005 unit exhumed the bodies of the Jews killed in Sokołów Podlaski during the ghetto's liquidation. They were transported to Węgrów and burned there in a makeshift crematorium.[34]

Not more than 50 of the ghetto's residents are thought to have survived the ghetto's liquidation. Two of them, Reuwen Rozenberg and Anszel (Antshel) Fabiarz, had joined the partisans operating in the forests outside of Sokołów.[35] Hersh Biderman, his young son, and two sisters were hidden by the Jaworski family, Biderman's pre-war friends.[36] The Pietraszko family, overseers of the Czekanów estate in Jabłonna Lacka civil parish, hid 16 Jews from the Sokołów ghetto, many of whom had been working in agriculture during the ghetto's liquidation.[37] Shaindla Lender, Golda Hochberg, and Perl Morgenstern, who had survived the liquidation of the Szczeglacin forced labor camp, secured Polish work papers from Kazimierz Miłobędzki.[38]

Sokołów Podlaski's Jewish community was not reconstituted. After several postwar incidents during the Polish Home Army's insurgency against the postwar Communist government, including the deaths of 10 Jews in Kosów Lacki, survivors began leaving the country, immigrating to France, Israel, Argentina, Nicaragua, and the United States.

SOURCES Published primary sources include memoirs by Marian Pietrzak, *Sokołów Podlaski dawniej i dziś* (Sokołów Podlaski: Czar-Media, 2002); and Zdzisław Rozbici, "To widziały oczy moje," in Wiktoria Liwowska, ed., *Czarny rok . . . czarne lata* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Dzieci Holocaustu w Polsce, 1996). A number of yizkor books commemorate the town's Jewish past: *Yoyvl-bukh: Gevidmet dem ondenken fun di kdoyshim un martirer fun Sokolov* (New York: Di Sosayeti, 1946); *Mayn horev shtetl Sokolov: Shilderungen, bilder un portretn fun a shtot umgekumene Yidn* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-Farband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentine, 1946); *In shotn fun Treblinka (khurbn Sokolov-Podliaski)* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Sokolov-Podliaski be-Yisrael, 1957); *Sefer ha-zikaron. Sokolov-Podliask* (Tel Aviv: Yots'e Sokolov-Podliask be-Yisrael, Sokolover Landsmanshaft in Amerike, 1962); as well as the account in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 339–342, available in two different English translations in Arnon Rubin, ed., *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics*

Today, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 260–264; and a second version online on the Jewishgen Web site at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00339.html.

Documentation on the Jewish community of Sokołów Podlaski during the Holocaust can be found at APSi; AŻIH (e.g., 301/1186, 301/2505, 301/3079, 301/3979, 301/4085, 301/4507); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6843); FVA (e.g., # HVT-2318); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/646; Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS], reel 8, 211/129, pp. 40–47; RG-15.019M [ASG], reel 19, 45 [Warsaw woj.], 244 [Sokołów Podlaski]; Acc.1998.A.0017 [e.g., Aaron Elster Memoir]; and RG-50.488*0171 [e.g., Polish Witnesses to the Holocaust Project—Kazimierz Miłobędzki interview]); and VHF (e.g., # 08257, 10131, 23494).

Edward Kopówka and Laura Crago

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3979, testimony of Szepsel Grynberg, p. 1 (typescript).
2. Ibid. See also VHF, # 08527, testimony of Aaron Elster; # 23494, testimony of Pearl (Morgenstern) Newman; and # 10131, testimony of Fay (Rothstein) Kief.
3. AŻIH, 301/4085, testimony of Josek (also Josef or Józef) Kopytko, pp. 10–12.
4. Ibid., 301/3979, p. 3.
5. Ibid., 301/4085, pp. 6–7.
6. Ibid., 301/3979, pp. 2–3; and Pietrzak, *Sokołów*, pp. 34–35.
7. "Sokołów Podlaski," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 263; and AŻIH, 301/3979, pp. 2–5; and 301/4085, pp. 1–2.
8. AŻIH, 301/4085, pp. 7–8; 301/3979, p. 5; and VHF, # 10131.
9. The period of the so-called open ghetto is covered in "Sokołów Podlaski," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 263; and Edward Kopówka, "Getto w Sokołowie Podlaskim," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 3 (2005): 376–377.
10. AŻIH, 301/3979, pp. 3–4. This source states that the Germans later decreased the ghetto's size several times.
11. Physical descriptions of the shape of the ghetto can be found in VHF, # 10131; AŻIH, 301/3979, pp. 3–4; 301/4085, pp. 50–51; Pietrzak, *Sokołów*, pp. 20–23; and Kopówka, "Getto," pp. 376–377. Regarding the date of the ghetto's enclosure, see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, p. 40.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, p. 40.
13. T. Berenstein, "Deportacja i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952): 124–125. See also USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/646 (Sokołów Podlaski), pp. 1–13.
14. For the local deportations, see Tatiana Berenstein, et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*. Zbiór dokumentów (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 278 (in German) and p. 279 (in Polish); and APSi, Akta Miasta Węgrów, 46, Korespondencja ogólna. Rok 1941, Okólnik nr. 50 z dn. 9 grudnia 1941, signed by Dr. Hermann, p. 45.
15. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, p. 41.
16. VHF, # 10131; and Pietrzak, *Sokołów*, pp. 22–23.
17. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, pp. 40–41.
18. Pietrzak, *Sokołów*, pp. 34–35. See also AŻIH, 301/3979, p. 3.
19. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, p. 43. See also, for example, Edward Kopówka, "Obozy pracy przymusowej w Szczeglacinie i Bartkowie Nowym k. Siedlec," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (2002): 515–519.
20. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, pp. 41–44, 46.
21. Ibid., pp. 41–42, and reel # 45, 211/950 (Siedlce), pp. 13, 30–46.
22. On the typhus epidemic, see K. Witt, "Sokołów Podlaski w latach 1939–1950," in Józef Kazimierski, ed., *Dzieje Sokołowa Podlaskiego i jego regionu* (Warsaw: PWN, 1982), p. 219. Christian assistance to Jews is covered in the eyewitness account by Zdzisław Rozbici, "To widziały oczy moje," in Wiktoria Liwowska, ed., *Czarny rok . . . czarne lata* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Dzieci Holocaustu w Polsce, 1996), p. 392.
23. Pietrzak, *Sokołów*, pp. 19–20; VHF, # 08257, and FVA, # HVT-2318, Irene B. Holocaust testimony.
24. AŻIH, 301/4085, pp. 13–14.
25. Ibid., pp. 4, 50; and 301/1186, testimony of Szmul Miedziński, pp. 1–3.
26. VHF, # 08257; # 23494; and FVA, # HVT-2318. See also AŻIH, 301/2505, testimony of Józef Kopytko, p. 1 (Polish typescript).
27. APSi, 48, Zbiór afiszów okupacyjnych pow. Sokołów Podlaski.
28. VHF, # 08257; FVA, # HVT-2318; and AŻIH, 301/4085, pp. 22–23.
29. Eyewitness accounts of the liquidation of Sokołów Podlaski's ghetto include AŻIH, 301/4085, pp. 22–49, 53; 301/3979, p. 5; 301/4507, testimony of Alek Hamburger, pp. 1–4; USHMM, Acc.1998.A.0017, Aaron Elster memoir, pp. 2–3; VHF, # 08257; # 10131; BA-L, B 162/6843, Deposition of Smicha P., March 13, 1962, p. 24, and Deposition of Szabtaj G., March 28, 1962, p. 32; and Rozbici, "To widziały," pp. 393–394. See, as well, USHMM, RG-15.019M, (ASG), reel 19, 45/244, pp. 1–2.
30. AŻIH, 301/3979, p. 4; VHF, # 10131; and the controversial memoir, parts of which have been republished in Józef Górski, "Na przełomie dziejów," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i materiały*, no. 2 (2006): 288–291.
31. AŻIH, 301/4085, pp. 39–40; and VHF, # 23494.
32. AŻIH, 301/4507, p. 2.
33. For brief discussions of the fates of Jews in the postliquidation ghetto, see VHF, # 08257; # 23494; USHMM, Acc.1998.A.0017, p. 4; and FVA, # HVT-2318.
34. Pietrzak, *Sokołów*, pp. 42–43, 45–46.
35. "Sokołów Podlaski," in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 264; and AŻIH, 301/3079, testimony of Abraham (or Antshel) Fabiarz, pp. 6–8 (typescript).
36. VHF, # 08257; USHMM, Acc.1998.A.0017, pp. 3–4; and Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 309–310. See also VHF, # 10131.
37. AŻIH, 301/4085, pp. 75–114.
38. For Miłobędzki, see USHMM, RG-50.488*0171, Polish Witnesses to the Holocaust Project, testimony of Kazimierz Miłobędzki; VHF, # 23494; Joanna Lenart, "Sprawiedliwy z Sokołowa," *Przegląd*, no. 48 (102) (November 26, 2001): 30–31; and Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 518–519, and pp. 83–84, for Bednarz.

STANISŁAWÓW (MAZOWIECKI)

Pre-1939: Stanisławów, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Stanislawow, Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Stanisławów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Stanisławów is located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) north of Mińsk Mazowiecki. According to the 1921 census, there were 495 Jews living in Stanisławów, representing approximately one quarter of the village population.

In May 1940, the self-help committee, which was affiliated with the Jewish Council (Judenrat), reported the arrival of several refugee families from Tłuszcz and Warsaw. The committee opened a soup kitchen, which, due to financial problems, closed soon afterwards.

That same month, the Judenrat dismissed three non-Judenrat members of the committee (A. Miodowski, I. Żółty, and M. Berger), "due to misunderstandings existing between members of the committee." The trio was replaced by Beniamin Kaufman, Rafał Stokowski, and Chaim Płatkiewicz, all of whom were members of the Judenrat. Menachem Gelbard chaired the committee. Other members of the committee included Jankiel Warszawski (deputy), Pejsach Jakubowski, and Szlama Zylbernagel. The last four committee members were likely Judenrat members as well; Gelbard was possibly the Judenrat chairman.[1]

The existence of a ghetto in Stanisławów is mentioned for the first time in a German report of March 3, 1942, on the concentration of Jews in Kreis Minsk Mazowiecki, which states that in November 1941, 32 Jews from Glinianki and 33 from Dęby Wielkie "were resettled to a Jewish quarter in Stanisławów."[2] Secondary sources report that there were either 400 or 700 Jews assembled in the Stanisławów ghetto.

There are no details available about life in the ghetto. Its survivors do not mention any physical enclosure or penalty for leaving it—for example, the memoir of Brandla Bronka Siekierkowa (Siekierka). Three members of the Siekierka family, who reached Stanisławów at the beginning of September 1942, never refer to it as a ghetto but describe it as a place where Jews were concentrated after the liquidation of the ghettos in Mińsk Mazowiecki and other nearby towns: "The Germans announced to all corners that in Stanisławów the Jews will remain alive, [and therefore] they should come out of their hiding places, that they will get a job, and will be able to live."[3]

In the first part of September 1942, approximately 500 Jews from the nearby Dobre ghetto were ordered to be transferred to Stanisławów. Sonia Powronzek described the living conditions there upon her arrival: "There was a terrible crush in Stanisławów because the Jews from surrounding towns and villages were deported there. Several families shared two rooms."[4] A number of the ghetto residents were selected for labor at the Rokman (or Rekman) Company in Siedlce, where they worked on the railway tracks.[5]

The liquidation of the Stanisławów ghetto was unannounced; nonetheless, as Mojsze Siekierka testified, the Jews sensed it coming after laborers were released by the Rokman Company. The town was surrounded at night by the German Gendarmerie and Polish (Blue) Police. The Siekierka family, whose house bordered the Aryan side, managed to flee after being warned by a Pole.[6]

A number of the ghetto survivors (e.g., Brandla Siekierkowa, Fala Róża, and Berek Róża) date the liquidation on the first day of the Sukkot holiday, September 25, 1942. It was on that day that the community was deported to the Treblinka extermination camp.[7]

SOURCES The fate of the Jews of Stanisławów during the Holocaust is mentioned briefly in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 467; and Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 215–216.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/651 [AJDC]; 211/987 [JSS]; 301/3338, 301/3681, 301/4098, 301/4380, 301/5108 [Relacje]; 302/123 [Pamiętniki]); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH, AJDC]; RG-02.208 [AŻIH, Pamiętniki]; RG-15.084 [AŻIH, Relacje]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/651 (Stanisławów), pp. 1, 3–4.
2. T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, and A. Rutkowski, eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), Document 145, pp. 278–279.
3. AŻIH, 302/123 (Pamiętniki), Brandla Bronka Siekierkowa (Siekierka), III zeszyt, pp. 47–56; 301/4098 (Relacje), testimony of Mojsze Siekierka, 1949; 301/3681 (Relacje), Władysław Siekierka, 1948.
4. Ibid., 301/3338 (Relacje), testimony of Stanisław Słomkowski aka Dawid Słoń, 1948; and 301/4380 (Relacje), testimony of Sonia Powronzek, 1949 (note that Powronzek testified that there was no ghetto in Dobre).
5. Ibid., 301/4098.
6. Ibid.; 301/3338; 301/3681; 302/123; and 301/4158, testimony of Brandla Siekierka, 1949.
7. Ibid., 301/5108 (Relacje), testimony of Fala Róża and Berek Róża, undated; 302/123; 301/4158.

STERDYŃ

Pre-1939: Sterdyń (Yiddish: Sterdin or Esterdin), village, initially Lublin województwo (later Warsaw województwo) Poland; 1939–1944: Sterdyn, Kreis Sokolow, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sterdyń, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Sterdyń (or Sterdyń-Osada, as it was formally known) is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) north of Sokołów Podlaski and

9.7 kilometers (6 miles) east of Kosów Lacki. On the eve of World War II, 686 Jews lived in Sterdyń. They comprised 87.5 percent of the village population.[1]

The Germans occupied Sterdyń on September 14, 1939, the evening of Rosh Hashanah. They immediately began breaking into the town's Jewish stores to rob them of their merchandise. German military authorities also closed the village's synagogue. The German occupation left the village without its rabbi. In Otwock at a sanitarium caring for his dying father when the war broke out, Rabbi Morgenstern did not return to Sterdyń after the Germans closed its synagogue. Instead, he moved to Warsaw, probably to attend to his father's burial. In November 1939, the Germans ordered Sterdyń's Jews to nominate a Judenrat. The six- to eight-person Judenrat, composed of the Jewish community's elders, included Shaja Winograd. The Judenrat created a 10- to 12-member Jewish police force, led by Trębacz.[2]

During the war, voluntary and forced Jewish migration doubled Sterdyń's Jewish community. In September and November 1939, many families with ties to Sterdyń flocked there from larger cities, including Warsaw, believing it would be easier in wartime to find food in a small agricultural village. During the winter of 1939–1940, the Germans forcibly deported to Sterdyń about 800 Jews, mostly from Kalisz.[3] In December 1941 and January 1942, the Germans expelled to Sterdyń another 103 Jews from the nearby civil parish of Jabłonna Lacka and from the settlement at Chruszczewka.[4] The Judenrat found housing for the refugees. In January 1940, it also provided more than 300 subsidized meals and organized a shoe drive for them.[5]

The Germans also ordered the Judenrat to fill regular forced labor quotas. The village's Jews were conscripted for agricultural labor at several nearby estates expropriated by the Germans. Some also worked draining swamps in Łęki.[6]

Appointed Kreishauptmann Sokolow, Reichslandwirtschaftsrat Ernst Grams, on June 10, 1940, created an open ghetto in Sterdyń. From January 1941, Jews living there were forbidden to leave the village without special permission. Grams appears to have intended for the ghetto to be enclosed. In a February 1, 1941, report, he stated that Sterdyń was one of six places in his county in which Jews had been concentrated and promised to close the ghettos in all of these places as soon as weather permitted.[7] Grams never implemented this plan fully. In Sterdyń, the ghetto remained unfenced, with Jews there confined to the village.[8]

Forewarned by local Poles several days before Yom Kippur 1942 about German plans to liquidate Sterdyń's ghetto, the Judenrat announced the impending liquidation of their community on September 22. About 700 of the village's 1,200 Jews found hiding places in forests, villages, and estates surrounding Sterdyń. When the Germans arrived the next morning to liquidate the ghetto, they found only 500 of the village's Jews there. Those who did not seek shelter were marched, on foot by some accounts, to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp, located 26.3 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Sterdyń. Over the next two days, the Germans extricated between 270 and 300 Jews from hiding places. These Jews were shot in Sterdyń and buried in a mass grave there.[9]

Beginning in the winter of 1942–1943, the Germans embarked on a series of measures to find Jews from Sterdyń still in hiding. To discern where Jews were sheltered, the Germans planted at least one agent in the forest surrounding part of the town. Based on his information, the Germans began rounding up and executing Jews who had survived the ghetto's liquidation. In March and April 1943, for instance, the Germans murdered 1 Jewish woman and 3 Jewish children. In the autumn, German Gendarmes executed 40 Jewish men, women, and children.[10] The Germans simultaneously took punitive measures against Poles known to be hiding Jews from Sterdyń. The best documented of these reprisal Aktions was on February 24, 1943, at the Paulinów estate just south of Sterdyń. There the Germans shot 10 Poles suspected of providing food and shelter to Jews from Sterdyń.[11] From March 25 to April 23, 1943, the Germans executed as many as 47 other Poles and may have arrested 140 others suspected of rendering assistance to Sterdyń's Jews.[12] These reprisals, coupled as they were with similar punitive actions in Sądowne, near the Łochów and Stoczek Węgrowski ghettos, provoked many Polish villagers to renege on promises of assistance they had extended to Sterdyń's Jews. Following the reprisals, some Poles purportedly murdered Jews they had agreed initially to protect.[13]

Under these conditions, fewer than 30 of Sterdyń's Jews survived the war. These included Regina "Rivka" Rosenberg, born in Wyszków, whose family had moved in with the family of her uncle and aunt in Sterdyń at the end of September 1939. Also counted among the survivors are 5 members of Zila Fuchs's family, escapees of the ghetto at Kosów Lacki, who sought shelter in their pre-war village of Nowe Mersy, 2.5 kilometers (1.5 miles) northwest of Sterdyń, with the family of Erazm "Razek" Augustyniak, a former employee of Zila's father.[14] Twenty partisans led by Pinchas Lerman, from Sterdyń, survived the war in the nearby forest. This group also included escapees from the August 1943 Treblinka uprising.[15]

Sterdyń's Jewish community was not reconstituted after the war. About 20 survivors gathered initially in the home of Rosenberg's uncle in Sterdyń. They dispersed within a month of liberation in August 1944, moving to other towns, before leaving Poland mainly for Israel and the United States.

SOURCES A number of important published sources are available, including "Sterdyń Sokołowski," *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 14, February 18, 1941, p. 7; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 350, available in English translation in Arnon Rubin, ed., *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 264–265; and Zila Fuks, *Ze'akot lelo kol* (Tel Aviv: I.L. Peretz Publishing, 1988), a chapter of which appears in English translation as "Life in Hiding: Razek's Barn. An Excerpt from *Silent Screams*," in Esther Fuchs, ed., *Women and the Holocaust: Narrative and Representa-*

tion (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 1999), pp. 127–134.

Documentary evidence for the Jewish community of Sterdyń during the Holocaust can be found at AŻIH (e.g., 301/4174 and 4771); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [ASG, reel 13, vol. 44, pp. 736–737]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); and VHF (e.g., # 33494, 41841).

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4174, testimony of Abraham Sukno, pp. 1–2.
2. Ibid.; VHF, # 33494, testimony of Perl (Morgenstern) Newman; # 41841, testimony of Regina "Rivka" Rosenberg.
3. AŻIH, 301/4174, pp. 2–3, 6; and VHF, # 41841.
4. See T. Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 278 (in German) and p. 279 (in Polish).
5. "Sterdyń Sokołowski," p. 7.
6. AŻIH, 301/4174, pp. 3–4; and VHF, # 41841.
7. On the creation of six regional concentration points for the Jews in Kreis Sokolow, see Document # 45 in Berenstein et al., *Eksterminacja Żydów*, p. 108. This report also includes mention of the provisions that prohibited Jews from leaving the towns to which they had been confined.
8. VHF, # 41841.
9. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/4174, pp. 8–9; and USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel # 13, vol. 44 (Warsaw woj.), pp. 736–737 (Sterdyń-Osada). The postwar Polish court documentation for Sterdyń claims that between September 23 and 24, 1942, the Germans murdered 393 Jews, Poles, and Soviet POWS in and around Sterdyń-Osada. However, some of the Poles and Soviet POWs probably were murdered in subsequent German punitive actions. The figure cited here for the number of Jews killed in Sterdyń during the ghetto liquidation comes from AŻIH documentation.
10. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 268.
11. More information on the Paulinów pacification is provided in Wacław Piekarski, *Obwód Armii Krajowej Sokołów Podlaski 'Sęp' 'Proso,' 1930–1944* (Warsaw, 1991), pp. 26–27; the article in the nationalist *Głos Pracy*, May 13, 1943 (no. 20), reprinted in Paweł Szapiro, ed., *Wojna żydowsko-niemiecka. Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1943–1944 o powstaniu W getcie Warszawy* (London: Aneks, 1992), p. 163; Wacław Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), pp. 199–200, 228; and The Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation, IPN, and the Polish Society for the Righteous Among Nations, *Those Who Helped. Polish Rescuers during the Holocaust*, 2 pts. (Warsaw, 1996), pt. 2, pp. 79, 102, 124–125.
12. The figure of 47 is from Mariusz Bechta, *Rewolucja—mit-bandytyzm* (Warsaw and Biała Podlaska, 2000), p. 83; and Piekarski, *Obwód*, p. 37. See also Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, p. 228.
13. VHF, # 41841.
14. Fuks, "Life in Hiding: Razek's Barn," pp. 127–134; and Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 61–62. Also useful is the account by Fuchs's daughter Esther Fuchs, "Exile, Daughterhood, and Writing. Representing the Shoah as a Personal Memory," in Ronit Lentin, ed., *Re-presenting the Shoah for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), pp. 253–268.
15. AŻIH, 301/4771, testimony of Pinchas Lerman, pp. 1–3. See also Shmuel Krakowski, *The War of the Doomed. Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1984), p. 244.

STOCZEK ŁUKOWSKI

Pre-1939: Stoczek Łukowski, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Stoczek Lukowski, Kreis Garwolin, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Stoczek Łukowski, Lublin województwo, Poland

Stoczek Łukowski is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Warsaw, on the Świder River. In 1939, the population figure was 4,118, with around 60 percent being Jews.

Stoczek felt the first effects of the war as early as September 10, 1939, when the Germans began bombing the town. With the arrival of the Wehrmacht two days later, a catastrophic fire broke out in which 80 percent of the predominantly wooden buildings, including the synagogue, burned to the ground. In the following two years, these structures were replaced by barrackslike buildings.[1]

One of the first steps taken by the new holders of power was to change the administrative affiliation of the town; previously part of the Lublin województwo, it now was assigned to Kreis Garwolin within Distrikt Warschau.[2] Until April 1941, the Kreishauptmann—and therefore the person with local responsibility for Jewish policy in the first years of the war—was Dr. Hans Klein. He was succeeded by Dr. Carl Freudenthal, who was notable for his especially radical policy regarding the local inhabitants.[3]



The burned-out Jewish quarter in Stoczek Łukowski, after September 12, 1939.
USHMM WS #49699, COURTESY OF TOM SALMON

In the very first months of the occupation, the Jews were subjected to persecution by the National Socialists, including not only registration but also seizure of assets and robbery. In addition, a curfew was introduced.[4] In 1939, there were about 2,200 Jews living in Stoczek, and by November 1940 that number had declined to 1,956, as many took flight, mainly heading eastward towards the Soviet-occupied regions of Poland. At the same time, there were already 225 Jewish expellees living in the town, most of whom had been forced out of the neighboring village of Prawda and were compelled to resettle resulting from an Aktion that took place on December 13, 1940.[5] Even in late January 1941, the figure of approximately 2,000 Jews in Stoczek still remained valid.[6] Because the Nazi holders of power sought to concentrate the Jewish population still further, however, new refugees from other places in Kreis Garwolin soon arrived. By July 1941, the number of Jews in Stoczek had risen to 2,450, and in April 1942, it reached 2,950[7] (by other estimates, 3,300), around 15 percent of all the Jews in Kreis Garwolin.[8]

In the fall of 1940, the Jews in Stoczek were moved into an open, unfenced ghetto; they were not allowed to leave this area, however.[9] More precise information regarding the date on which the ghetto was established is not available, as is quite frequently the case in Distrikt Warschau.[10] Nonetheless, certain particulars of Jewish life under the occupation can be provided. For example, it is known that the Judenrat, which was created by the Germans in late 1939 or early 1940, soon set up a Jewish social welfare relief committee, which organized distributions of goods to 600 needy people, thanks to support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), and also issued 500 daily food rations through a distribution office.[11]

The relief committee was headed by Aron Heller, the chairman of the Judenrat, a 60-year-old businessman who had played a role in Stoczek's public life as a juror before the war.[12] Heller also represented Stoczek as the official Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) delegate in Kreis Garwolin, where he was assisted by Wolf Tykociński. At the municipal level, the JSS committee, which also organized special collections in winter, included other Judenrat members as well: Heller's deputy, Szmuel Nachtlajfer, who was a shoemaker, and the trader Lejb Perkal and baker Majer Szulim Goldschmidt, who had been town councilmen in Stoczek before the war and thus were among the local notables.[13]

Stoczek Łukowski was the first ghetto in Kreis Garwolin to be liquidated in the course of Aktion Reinhard. Around September 18, 1942, the Jews, in a brutal Aktion, were driven on foot by German, Ukrainian, and Polish policemen and SS units towards the ghetto of Parysów, a good 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) to the west. Around 200 of them were shot before leaving Stoczek or along the route of their march. From Parysów, a few days later, the Germans deported the Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp.[14]

SOURCES Relevant facts and sparse details on Stoczek can be found in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), and T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk Żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 3 (1952): 83–125. Further information, based on survivor testimonies at Yad Vashem, is available in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007). A book on the town's history widely ignores its Jewish inhabitants: Adam Budzyński and Józef Filipczuk, *Stoczek Łukowski. Z dziejów miasta* (Stoczek Łukowski: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Stoczka, 1996), but it is useful for a general assessment.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Stoczek can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/28, 211/399); BA-L (B 162/6816); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and YVA (O-3 and O-93; O-4/334).

Stephan Lehnstaedt
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See Budzyński and Filipczuk, *Stoczek*, p. 119 ff.
2. See Berenstein, "Deportacje," p. 84.
3. See Markus Roth, *Herrenmenschen. Die deutschen Kreishauptleute im besetzten Polen—Karrierewege, Herrschaftspraxis und Nachgeschichte* (Göttingen, 2009), pp. 146, 442.
4. See Rubin, *Rise*, p. 266.
5. See Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard' w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 39–74, here p. 59.
6. AŻIH, 211/399, letter from the Stoczek Judenrat to JSS Kraków, January 26, 1941.
7. See Berenstein, "Deportacje," p. 118.
8. See Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, pp. 119–221, here p. 214. On the total number in the Kreis, see AŻIH, 211/399, Letter from the Stoczek Judenrat to JSS Kraków, January 26, 1941.
9. Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów," p. 214.
10. Ibid., pp. 168–169.
11. AŻIH, 210/28, AJDC index of places for Distrikt Warschau, May–December 1940.
12. Ibid., 211/399, Correspondence between the JSS Kraków and the Judenrat in Stoczek Łukowski from October 1940 to February 15, 1941.
13. Ibid., List of candidates for the JSS elections in Garwolin, February 1941.
14. BA-L, B 162/6816, p. 21, statement of Jakob F., May 30, 1962, as cited in Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard,'" p. 60; Berenstein, "Deportacje," p. 118.

STOCZEK WĘGROWSKI

Pre-1939: Stoczek Węgrowski (Yiddish: Stok bey Vengrov), village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Stoczek-Wegrowski, Kreis Sokolow, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Stoczek, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Stoczek Węgrowski is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) northeast of Warsaw. In 1921, there were 1,221 Jews living there out of a total population of 1,636.

On September 10, 1939, German forces bombarded the town, setting on fire the synagogue and destroying most of the houses. Many Jews fled into the fields in panic and on their return discovered that their homes and possessions were lost. The Germans first entered Stoczek a few days later but soon retreated under the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; then the town was briefly occupied by the Red Army in the second half of September. A number of young Jewish men exploited this opportunity and escaped across the Soviet border, before the Germans returned again about two weeks later, after the Nazi-Soviet agreement had been revised. Subsequently, Jewish refugees from all over Poland also came to the region, with the aim of crossing into the Soviet Union. However, border security was considerably tightened by 1940, causing some of the refugees to settle in Stoczek.[1]

In the first weeks of the occupation, Germans, assisted by some local hooligans, looted what remained in Jewish homes and stores. By early in 1940, the German authorities had established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force to assist with the enforcement of anti-Jewish decrees and demands. At least one account in the yizkor book speaks bitterly of the behavior of the members of these institutions, as they sometimes arrested fellow Jews and also extracted onerous taxes from them. The account's author refuses to mention their names.[2]

In a February 1, 1941, report, the Kreishauptmann Sokolow, Reichslandwirtschaftsrat Ernst Grams, stated that Stoczek was one of six concentration points for Jews (*Judenwohnbezirke*) in the Kreis. He intended to enclose these ghettos as soon as the weather permitted. Any Jews remaining in the villages were to be moved to one of these six concentration points. From February 1941, the Germans forbade Jews from leaving the towns' boundaries.[3] It seems, however, that Grams never implemented this plan fully. In Stoczek, as was the case also, for example, in Węgrów and Kosów Lacki, the ghetto remained open up until September 1942.

The testimony of Jewish survivors is fairly consistent on this point. Chaim Kwiatek maintains that no ghetto was established in Stoczek ("keyn geto is in shtot nit gewen"). At the same time he notes that Jews from surrounding villages, including from Osówno, Prostyń, Korytnica, Grębków, Grochów (phonetic: Gerech), and other places, were concentrated in Stoczek, although at some point this process of concentration ceased. This resulted in three or four families residing in each home. Due to this overcrowding, an epidemic of typhus broke out in which about 20 percent of the Jews died.[4]

Heim Tshekhanovietski recalls that when the Germans set up the ghettos in the towns, they said that Stoczek was too small to have a ghetto. The result was that the Jews of Stoczek had to pay a large sum of money to the relevant German officials to be allowed to remain in place. A condition of their remaining in Stoczek was that they were not allowed to leave the town. Any Jew caught outside Stoczek was shot.[5]

Finally, Ali Yankl Teytelbaym notes that no closed or sealed ghetto existed in Stoczek, but Jews who left the town were shot without warning. However, Poles were still able to come into town, and they traded with the Jews, although under these conditions, they were able to dictate the prices, as the Jews still hoped somehow to survive.[6]

In November 1941, the Germans ordered that 302 additional Jews relocate to the open ghetto in Stoczek, including those from the villages of Prostyń, Stara Wieś, and Miedzna. At the same time, another 269 Jews from Korytnica, Ossówno, Sinołęka, and Borze were concentrated in the open ghetto in Grębków.[7] If Kwiatek's testimony is correct, it is possible that the Jews concentrated in Grębków were subsequently consolidated, in 1942, in Stoczek. (Unfortunately, no detailed information could be found concerning the ghetto in Grębków, and therefore no separate entry for it has been included in this volume.) According to Czesław Pilichowski and others, some 2,000 Jews were collected in the Stoczek ghetto altogether.[8]

On May 15, 1942, the Judenrat in Stoczek was ordered to provide 35 (according to one source, 135) men for forced labor construction work at the Treblinka extermination camp. The families of these men remained behind in Stoczek. Some contact remained with the Jews of Stoczek for several more weeks, as the Germans permitted deliveries of food and washed clothes to the laborers, which also enabled messages to be passed between the two groups. In this way quite detailed information about the killings in Treblinka became known to the Jews of Stoczek, which was also confirmed by Jews who had jumped from the trains or escaped from Treblinka and sought refuge in Stoczek.[9]

Among the last communications from Stoczek Węgrowski is a short letter dated September 4, 1942, which was sent to the Warsaw ghetto and has been preserved in the Ringelblum Archive.[10] According to one survivor account, most of the remaining men from Stoczek were deported on or around September 11, either to Treblinka or to labor camps in the region, leaving behind mostly women and children.[11]

The Germans liquidated the Stoczek ghetto on September 24–25, 1942. According to Pilichowski and colleagues, 188 Jews were shot in and around the town, and the remainder were sent to the Sadowne train station.[12] On September 25, 1942, a train, which was carrying Jews from the ghettos of Baczki and Łopianka (near Łochów), stopped at 3:30 P.M. in Sadowne to load Jews assembled there from Stoczek's ghetto. Once the train departed there at 4:48 P.M., several Jews opened one of the train wagons, about 10 minutes later. Scores were mowed down by armed guards as the Jews jumped from the train. At 5:37 P.M., the train carrying the remainder of the Jews of Łochów and Stoczek arrived at the Treblinka extermination camp. Stoczek Jews working at Treblinka learned of the murder of their women and children just a few hours after their arrival in the camp, as some last messages of farewell were passed on by other prisoners.[13]

As they were aware of their likely fate, a number of Jews from Stoczek avoided the final roundups by hiding in prepared bunkers in and around the town. However, intensive searches for Jews continued in the region for many more months, and some Jews were betrayed by local peasants, who were rewarded by the Germans with material goods for denouncing Jews in hiding. Only a few Jews from the Stoczek ghetto survived until the Germans were driven from the region by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book *Pinkas Stok (bey Vengrov)* (Buenos Aires: Residentes de Stok en la Argentina, 1974) contains several accounts concerning the wartime period. The existence of a ghetto in Stoczek Węgrowski is mentioned in the following secondary sources: Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 759–760; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 473; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 266–268.

Published documents making reference to the ghetto or Jewish residential area in Stoczek include T. Berenstein et al., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hiterlowskiej. Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), pp. 106, 278, 279.

Documentary sources on the Jews of Stoczek during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/668; Ring II/275 and 295); BA-BL (R 52III/29); USHMM (RG-14.052 [BA-BL, R 52]; RG-15.079M [Ring]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF, #14739; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ch. Frabish-Vardi, "Shnot ha'milchamah 1939–1945 bestock," in *Pinkas Stok*, pp. 402–411; Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, *District Lublin*, pp. 266–268.
2. Ali Yankl Teytelbaym, "Epes fun di natsishe tseitn in Stok bes der milhomah," in *Pinkas Stok*, pp. 436–437.
3. USHMM, RG-14.025M (BA-BL), R 52III/29, Lagebericht des Kreises Sokolow für den Monat Februar 1941, published in Berenstein et al., *Eksterminacja Żydów*, pp. 106–108.
4. AŻIH, 301/668, testimony of Chaim Kwiatek.
5. Heim Tshekhanovietski, "Fun Stok keyn Treblinke un di dervartete bafreyung," in *Pinkas Stok*, p. 423.
6. Teytelbaym, "Epes fun di natsishe tseitn," p. 437.
7. Berenstein et al., *Eksterminacja Żydów*, p. 278 (in German) and p. 279 (in Polish).
8. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 473.
9. Tshekhanovietski, "Fun Stok keyn Treblinke," pp. 423–425. See also *Pinkas Stok*, pp. 432, 438, which both give the figure of 35 Jews; and AŻIH, Ring II/295, published in translation in Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 710–716.
10. AŻIH, Ring II/275.
11. *Pinkas Stok*, p. 438.
12. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 473.
13. See AŻIH, 301/4238, pp. 4–5; and VHF, # 14739. The train schedule for the Łochów and Stoczek deportations appears as Document # 46, under the heading "Rozkład jazdy z dnia 21.9.1942 r. pociągów transportowych do Treblinki," in the document collection "Zagłada Żydów w obozach na ziemiach polskich," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 13 (1960): 105–106 (Polish translation) and p. 65 F (photograph of original German document); see also *Pinkas Stok*, p. 426.

TARCZYN

Pre-1939: Tarczyn (Yiddish: Tartchin), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Grojec, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Tarczyn is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south-southwest of Warsaw. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,457 Jews living in the town, comprising 56.5 percent of the total population.

As the German army approached Tarczyn, many Jews escaped to the east. Tarczyn was occupied in mid-September 1939. According to reports in the Ringelblum Archive, there was a major fire in Tarczyn in September 1939 at the time of the German occupation. In addition, there was a temporary expulsion of male Poles and Jews from Tarczyn at this time.[1] When the Generalgouvernement was set up by the Germans in late October 1939, Tarczyn became a part of Kreis Grojec. The Kreishauptmann was initially Regierungsrat Dr. Klein; in March 1940, he was replaced by Landrat Werner Zimmermann.

From the period 1939 to 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Tarczyn. They confiscated Jewish property, ordered the Jews to wear distinguishing armbands, and registered the population. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor. The Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which assisted with the provision of forced laborers. Hundreds of Jews were requisitioned daily for building roads and cutting down trees.

In early 1940, there were 1,540 Jews residing in Tarczyn, including refugees. The Jewish community established an aid committee, which included L. Najberg and P. Higer, who ran the public kitchen. It received financial support from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). These funds were used to provide aid to at least 400 needy Jews in the town, including the operation of the soup kitchen. The kitchen was temporarily closed in the summer of 1940; it reopened again on August 18 but was closed again in mid-October.[2] There were about 60 refugees from other towns living in Tarczyn.

On December 6, 1940, the aid committee in Tarczyn reported to the AJDC in Kraków that currently "we were busy with establishing a Jewish quarter [open ghetto] in Tarczyn."[3] The ghetto was guarded by the Polish (Blue) Police. According to survivor Sylvia Kolski, her family exchanged their apartment with a Christian family who lived within the designated

ghetto area. There was no wall or fence around the ghetto, but the Jews were not permitted to go to the Catholic side.[4] Nonetheless, illegal trade continued with the local Polish population who supplied food to the ghetto in exchange for valuables and personal belongings.

On January 21, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Grójec, Landrat Zimmermann, issued the following order: "All Jews living outside of the towns of Błędów, Tarczyn, Mogielnica, Góra Kalwaria, Warka, and Grójec are to transfer immediately to the closest of these towns, all of which were to be considered as ghettos. The heads of the respective settlements were made personally responsible for ensuring that by January 27, 1941, no Jews still were residing on their territory." The order also stipulated that any Jew caught outside these ghettos after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[5]

The Tarczyn ghetto was liquidated on February 28, 1941, when all the Jews—around 1,600 people—were resettled into the Warsaw ghetto.[6] According to Henry Leshno, who was 15 years old at the time, the Germans announced beforehand that all the Jews were to move to Warsaw. They were able to take with them only their own personal belongings.[7] From the ghetto in Warsaw, most of the Tarczyn Jews were deported in July through September 1942 to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Only a handful of Jews from Tarczyn managed to survive the German occupation, some of them being hidden in the homes of local Polish inhabitants. In the village of Stefanówka, near Tarczyn, there was a man who was engaged in tracking down Jews in hiding. He uncovered two sisters, who were hiding in Stefanówka, but they managed to bribe him to avoid being denounced.[8]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Tarczyn during the Holocaust include Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 229–230. The Tarczyn ghetto is mentioned also in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 514; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 213; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 807.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/680 [AJDC]; 301/2493 and 5340 [Relacje]; Ring I/809, 881, 920, 921, 1175); BA-L (Ordn. Vers. XXI); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.079M [Ring I]; RG-15.084M [Relacje]; RG-50.030*0114); VHF (e.g., # 26012, 49983); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, Ring I/920 and 921.
2. Ibid., 210/680 (AJDC).
3. Ibid.; Ring I/920, however, dates the ghetto's establishment in January 1941.
4. VHF, # 49983, testimony of Sylvia Kolski (born 1925); USHMM, RG-50.030*0114, interview with Sylvia Kolski.
5. AŻIH, Ring I/881.
6. Ibid., Ring I/920 and 921, date the ghetto's liquidation on February 28, 1941. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 514, give the figure of 1,600 ghetto inhabitants but erroneously date its liquidation on February 28, 1942.
7. VHF, # 26012, testimony of Henry Leshno (born 1925).
8. AŻIH, 301/5340.

TŁUSZCZ

Pre-1939: Tłuszcz, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Tluszcz, initially center of Kreis Radzymin, then Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tłuszcz, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Tłuszcz is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Warsaw. In 1921, the Jewish population was 437, out of a total population of 1,102.

On September 3, 1939, the Luftwaffe heavily bombarded Tłuszcz, as it lay on the main railroad from Warsaw to Białystok. Since they were constructed of wood, many Jewish houses burned down in the ensuing fire. Several Jews were killed in the bombardment, and many others fled to the surrounding villages. German forces occupied the town on September 14, 1939. When the Jews celebrated the High Holidays a few days later, many were still staying with peasant acquaintances in the surrounding villages.[1] Soon after their arrival, the Germans started to harass the Jews, impress them for forced labor, cut off their beards, and beat them. They seized Jewish property during searches and required requisitions.

In October 1939, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by Gutman Popowski. With the transfer to civilian rule on October 26, 1939, Tłuszcz initially became part of Kreis Radzymin in Distrikt Warschau; subsequently Kreis Radzymin was incorporated within Kreis Warschau-Land. In the town, the main German presence was a squad of 12 Gendarmes headed by Wachtmeister Stein. Popowski tried to ease the burden on the Jews by giving the Gendarmes gifts of boots, watches, or even silk stockings and diamond rings for their women. In the fall of 1939 and the ensuing winter, a number of Jews fled to the Soviet-occupied zone of Poland; then the Jewish population of the town, including refugees, was about 740.

In September 1940, the Germans established a ghetto in Tłuszcz. The Jews were forced to move out of their homes and were resettled into the homes of Polish peasants just outside of town. The peasants were moved into the houses vacated by the Jews. There was terrible overcrowding in the ghetto, where the Jews were packed together very tightly. There was no running water, and Jews were only permitted to go and collect water once per day.[2] In January 1941, 685 people living in the Tłuszcz ghetto were receiving potato rations with the aid of the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS).[3]

In the summer of 1941, a typhus epidemic broke out in the ghetto, causing the Germans to seal it off. The Jews were warned that they would be shot if they tried to leave. Since the Jews made a living primarily by selling clothing and other items to the Polish peasants in return for food products, some of which were resold in Warsaw, the new restrictions dealt a serious blow to the Jewish population. To overcome this, chairman Popowski paid Wachtmeister Stein 1,000 złoty per week and other bribes for the Gendarmerie to turn a blind eye and permit trading to continue. According to the deal, Jewish craftsmen (tailors, carpenters, and others) were permitted to sell their goods to the peasants. Within a short time, however, several Jews were caught and shot for being outside the ghetto. In response, the Judenrat increased the level of the bribes, but no real security existed, and the risks for smugglers were high, which also caused black market prices to rise.[4]

Since Popowski was the only Jew officially permitted to leave the ghetto, he went one day to collect a sum of money on behalf of a Jewish woman from the town's post office. When the German official refused to serve him, Popowski complained and nearly got shot for his pains. Two weeks later he was lured out to the post office on a false pretext and was arrested by the Gestapo. Having handed over the keys and accounts to the rest of the Judenrat, he was then taken to the Pawiak prison in Warsaw. From there he was transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where he reportedly died after only a few weeks.[5]

Meir Taub succeeded Popowski as Judenrat chairman. Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated further during the winter of 1941–1942. Jews were dying every day from starvation and disease, and more Jews were shot for leaving the ghetto. Searches conducted inside the ghetto for illegal possession of fur, silk, or leather items resulted in hefty fines or extortionate demands from the Gendarmes. The Polish (Blue) Police also extorted money from the Jews.

By the spring of 1942 rumors spread about the imminent liquidation of the ghetto, following the expulsion of the Jews from other nearby towns, including Pustelnik and Wawer. The Jews learned that local Poles had appealed to the Landrat in Radzymin for the Jews to be driven out of Tłuszcz, merely out of spite.[6]

On Monday, May 25, 1942, a Polish policeman requested that a uniform he had ordered from a Jewish tailor be ready the same day, as all the Jews were soon to be driven out of town. This report soon spread panic among the Jews. Since an elderly Jew had just died, on May 26 Reb Yaakov Joseph Bruckman and the head of the Jewish Police, Berl Gelbard, decided themselves to take the body to be buried in the nearby town of Jadów to try to find out if there was any substance behind the rumors. They agreed in advance that if there was no danger they would both return, but if the rumor appeared to be true, Reb Bruckman would remain in Jadów.[7]

On the night of May 26, 1942, Berl Gelbard returned to Tłuszcz alone with news from the Jadów Judenrat that the liquidation of the Tłuszcz ghetto was planned for the next day. At 4:00 A.M. the next morning, German Border Police (Grenzpolizei), Polish (Blue) Police, and Gendarmerie forces under the command of Oberleutnant Lipsch (the Gendarmerie commander in Kreis Warschau-Land) surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were instructed to assemble on the market square, and here a selection took place. The men aged between 16 and 30 were sent to labor camps, including the one at Wilanów. A group of Jews was forced to remove the furniture from the Jewish houses and put it on the square. Most other possessions, including any valuables, were taken from the Jews before their departure, supposedly in payment for their transportation costs. About 70 Jews were shot in Tłuszcz at the time of the roundup. Among those killed was a family accused of hiding some leather, many of the Jews who had worked for the Gendarmerie, and a local Jewish woman who was shot by Wachtmeister Stein personally as he thought that she was too beautiful. The Germans loaded the women and children onto carts, which drove off towards Radzymin. About one hour later the remaining men were sent after the women and children on foot with instructions to run and catch up to them. The Germans shot another 300 or so people on the road to Radzymin, as they failed to keep up with the column. The corpses were buried quickly by Polish auxiliaries wearing red armbands who followed along behind.[8]

In Radzymin, the Gendarmerie and Border Police robbed and beat the Jews again. The Germans then loaded the remaining Jews onto railway cars, and, then closer to Warsaw, the Jews were loaded onto overcrowded trams and sent to the Warsaw ghetto. On arrival they were disinfected in a quarantine section before entering the ghetto.[9]

A note preserved in the files of the JSS in Kraków, recording a message sent by a representative of the JSS for Kreis Warschau-Land, reports that of more than 800 Jews resettled from Tłuszcz on May 27, 1942, only 582 people reached the quarantine section of the Warsaw ghetto, without any personal property or money. They arrived in a terrible state, many of the men barefoot. Unofficial information revealed that 65 people were selected at Marki along the way to perform agricultural work in Wilanów. Another 65 people were reportedly deported from Tłuszcz, who never arrived in quarantine nor were redirected to Wilanów.[10]

On the same day that the Jews were driven out of Tłuszcz, Oberleutnant Lipsch went to Jadów and demanded that the Judenrat there hand over Reb Bruckman or he would kill several of its members. On learning of this, the rabbi decided to give himself up. The Gendarmes forced him to dance, beat him, and then shot him. His body was thrown into a deep ditch in the center of the market.[11]

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jews of Tłuszcz and their fate during the Holocaust include Mendl Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Tlushtsh* (Tel Aviv, 1971); Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 201–208; and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 233–235. Additional information on the

ghetto in Tłuszcz can be found in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 519.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Tłuszcz under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/1030 [JSS]; Ring I/222); IPN (ASG, sygn. 62, p. 221); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 48; RG-15.079 [Ring I]); and YVA (e.g., O-21/4).

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NOTES

1. M. Perel, "Der anheyb fun suf fun shtetlekh Tlushtsh," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Tlushtsh*, pp. 134–137.
2. Dara Mozer-Shkalnik, "Meyne Melhomah Iberlebungen," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Tlushtsh*, p. 138.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48 (AŻIH, 211/1030), report of the JSS branch in Tłuszcz to the JSS central office in Kraków, January 31, 1941. The report also includes a list of family names and the number of persons in each family.
4. AŻIH, Ring I/222, published in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 202–203.
5. Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 203.
6. Ibid., pp. 203–204.
7. Ibid., pp. 204–205.
8. Ibid., pp. 205–208. Also see Michal Kossover, "Di lkvidatsie fun Tlushtsher geto," pp. 125–126, and Dara Mozer-Shkalnik, "Meyne Melhomah Iberlebungen," pp. 140–141—both in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Tlushtsh*.
9. Asher Seymon, "Melhomah Iberlebungen," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Tlushtsh*, pp. 182–183; Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 208.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 210/1085, p. 50.
11. Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 208–209; Kossover, "Di lkvidatsie fun Tlushtsher geto," pp. 127–128. There are some discrepancies between these two accounts, but the gist is very similar.

WARKA

Pre-1939: Warka (Yiddish: Vurka), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Grojec, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Warka is located on the left bank of the Pilica River about 53 kilometers (33 miles) south-southeast of Warsaw. In 1921, the Jewish population was 2,176, out of a total of 4,306. On the eve of World War II, there were approximately 3,000 Jews living in Warka.

The German occupation of Warka began in September 1939. One resident of Warka recalls that the Germans "came into town on Friday night, September 8, 1939. The next morning, they began to round up people to work on clearing the highway between Warka and Góra Kalwaria. The roundups continued daily. Jews were seized to clear the highway and the streets, to carry water, and to cook for the army. While at work, they were tortured and beaten terribly."[1] Although some Jews remained in Warka at the time of German occupation, many had already fled to the east, into the area that came under Soviet occupation.



A wooden synagogue in Warka, ca. 1938.
USHMM WS #07084, COURTESY OF JERZY FICOWSKI

After the Germans occupied Warka, they began to search Jewish homes, seize Jewish property, and cut off the beards of Jewish men. The Germans banned the practice of kosher slaughter; however, Warka's Jewish population continued it illegally. The Germans also appointed a new mayor of Warka—a woman called Kosmal, who was of ethnic German origin—and a new chief of police—a man called Weitknecht (also an ethnic German).[2]

In October 1939, after the holiday of Sukkot, the synagogue, Bet Midrash, and the *mikveh* were set on fire by the Germans and burned. Jewish residents attempted to extinguish the flames; however, a cordon of soldiers encircled the entire Jewish quarter and opened fire at the oncoming Jews, forcing them to return to their homes. Rabbi Yanovisky and his son attempted to save two Torah scrolls; however, German soldiers shot and killed them.[3] The Germans also imposed monetary "contributions" on the Jewish population of Warka. In some accounts this was a ransom to release Jews taken hostage, and in others it was a punishment for failing to meet the quota of forced laborers. The Germans also threatened to increase the amount demanded if the sum was not delivered on time.[4]

In early 1940, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which took over the task of

supplying forced laborers. Members of the Warka Judenrat included Werchajzer Uszer (head), Dawid Mokotow, Moszek Chaim Lipszyc, Icek Putermilch, Berek Lander, Moszek Weber, Lejbus Blatman, Lejb Zymler, Zurek Sztajbok, Chaim Feldman, and Aaron Kohn. Subsequently Icek Putermilch became chairman of the Judenrat.[5] The Germans ordered all Jews over the age of 12 to wear the Star of David on their right sleeve.

During 1940, an aid committee was active in Warka, providing assistance to some 700 needy Jews. The committee corresponded initially with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw and subsequently also with the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) headquarters in Kraków.[6]

The Germans established a ghetto in Warka on November 28, 1940.[7] The ghetto area covered several streets, with Santorski Street at its center. The entire Jewish population was forced to abandon their homes and move into the congested ghetto area.[8]

On December 8, 1940, the Jewish Council reported: "A Jewish district was introduced in Warka, this district numbers 400 households along with stores, it contains 2,200 Jews, in addition to this, in the last months a great number of displaced persons came to Warka from Głowaczów, Piaseczno, and Warsaw."[9] Therefore, in total the Warka ghetto may have contained up to 2,800 Jews, including those brought in from neighboring villages.[10]

The ghetto population managed to survive by bartering their remaining possessions with Polish farmers from the surrounding area in exchange for food. Initially, it was possible for Jews to leave the ghetto in the morning and return in the evening. One survivor, Jack Berman, recalls going out of the ghetto to perform forced labor chopping wood. The lack of living space, poor hygiene, and inadequate medical care resulted in a high mortality rate among the Jews.[11]

According to one account, on December 31, 1940, soldiers surrounded the entire town and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) were dispatched to every Jewish home. They made a careful search of each household and collected all of the Jews' belongings in one place. The next day, officials came and registered all the Jews' possessions, informing them that they would be responsible for ensuring that nothing was missing.[12] On January 21, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Grójec, Landrat Zimmermann, ordered that any Jew caught outside the ghettos in Kreis Grojec after January 27, 1941, would face the death penalty.[13] Shortly afterwards, in early February 1941, the Kreishauptmann issued a further decree forbidding the Jews from selling their furniture to non-Jews.[14] In preparation for the expulsion of the Jews from Warka, the German authorities wanted to ensure the complete confiscation of all Jewish property.

News of the liquidation of other ghettos in nearby towns and their deportation to the Warsaw ghetto had reached the Jews of Warka at this time, spreading fear among them. The liquidation of the Warka ghetto took place on February 20–21, 1941. The Jewish quarter was surrounded by armed policemen, ethnic Germans, and other auxiliary forces. The German authorities instructed the Jews to gather in front of the municipality. Each individual was allowed to take with them only 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of luggage. The assembled men, women, and children were beaten badly in front of the municipality building.[15] Then the order was given to march in the direction of the railroad station, located a few kilometers outside the town. Those unable to walk and small children were loaded onto horse-driven carts. At the train station the Jews were loaded onto waiting cattle cars by SS guards. The cars were locked from the outside and then transported the Jews to the Warsaw ghetto. On arrival at the ghetto they were met by two German policemen on the outside and two Jewish policemen on the inside.[16]

The majority of the Jews of Warka shared the fate of most of the other Jews of the Warsaw ghetto: they were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp from the summer of 1942. Only a few Jews from Warka survived the Holocaust. Among them were several people who escaped from the Warka ghetto on the eve of its liquidation and fled to other towns in the Generalgouvernement. They then survived the remainder of the occupation on false papers, in hiding, or under harsh conditions in various camps.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Warka during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Vurka; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Vurka Society in Israel, 1976); Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), pp. 310–313. The Warka ghetto is mentioned also in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 538; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 213; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 896.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/703 [AJDC]; 211/1066 [JSS]; 301/3003; 302/264; Ring I/809, 881, 1175); BA-L (Ordn. Vers. XXI); USHMM (RG-15.084 [Relacje]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154); VHF (e.g., # 20954, 29086, 35130); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 310.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 312; David Gersht, "The Ghetto in Warka and Its Liquidation," in *Vurka; sefer zikaron*, pp. 361–379.
4. VHF, # 35130, testimony of Helen Sadik; Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 311.
5. AŻIH, 211/1066, p. 4, report to the JSS in Kraków, January 7, 1941.
6. Ibid.; 210/703.
7. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 538.
8. Gersht, "The Ghetto in Warka," pp. 361–379; VHF, # 35130.
9. AŻIH, 210/703, p. 49.

10. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 538.
11. Gersht, "The Ghetto in Warka," pp. 361–379; VHF, # 20954, testimony of Jack Berman.
12. Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 313.
13. AŻIH, Ring I/881.
14. BA-L, Ordn. Vers. XXI, p. 364, Kreishauptmann Grojec an alle Bürgermeister und Gemeindevorsteher des Kreises Grojec, February 4, 1941.
15. Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 313.
16. Gersht, "The Ghetto in Warka," pp. 361–379.

WARSAW

Pre-1939: Warsaw (Polish: Warszawa), city, capital of Poland, and center, Warsaw województwo; 1939–1945: Warschau, Stadt, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Warsaw, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Warsaw is located 137 kilometers (85 miles) northeast of Łódź. In 1939, on the eve of war, the approximately 380,000 Jews living there comprised just less than one quarter of the city's total population of around 1.3 million.

Following the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, Warsaw came under siege for three weeks. The continuous bombardment of the city during the siege killed and injured many people, including large numbers of Jews. A mass exodus of inhabitants and the Polish political leadership began. Among those who fled were the leaders of Polish Jewry, such as Maurycy Meisel, head of the Warsaw Jewish Community Council. The German army entered Warsaw on September 27, 1939. Both systematic and impromptu persecution, abuse, theft, forced labor, and murder began immediately. In February 1940, there were some 394,000 Jews in Warsaw, including tens of thousands of Jewish refugees.

In October 1940, Ludwig Fischer, the Gouverneur of Distrikt Warschau, decreed the establishment of a ghetto by the end of the month.[1] The Jewish community had to pay for the ghetto wall, and Jewish forced labor built it. It was 3 meters high (9.8 feet) and 18 kilometers (11 miles) long. Hundreds of thousands of Jews, carrying their possessions, moved into the area designated as the ghetto. As the resettlement could not be completed on time, the German authorities extended the deadline for the Jews to move into the ghetto to November 15.[2]

The establishment of the ghetto was a precipitating factor in the economic and physical liquidation of the Jewish population; because most inhabitants could no longer work, food supplies were grossly inadequate, and diseases soon ran rampant.

The ghetto stretched over only 2.4 percent of the city's area in one of the poorest districts of northern Warsaw. The number of ghetto inhabitants actually grew after it was established. More than 50,000 additional Jews from smaller Jewish communities around Warsaw were forcibly moved into the ghetto in the first three months of 1941, and other refugees and expellees entered the ghetto subsequently. These mostly impoverished newcomers were among the first to be stricken by



Young Jewish men conduct a business transaction over the Warsaw ghetto wall, n.d.
USHMM WS #05923, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

epidemics and malnutrition, and many did not survive for long.[3] By April 1941, due to the large influx, there were some 460,000 Jews living in the ghetto. Soon the population began to dwindle, however, because of overcrowding, sickness, and malnutrition. With the ghetto closed off, most of the inhabitants could no longer earn a living, a situation that accelerated the process of impoverishment and deprivation. From August 1941, about 4,000 to 5,000 people died per month, as a typhus epidemic peaked in the fall of that year. In total, more than 60,000 deaths were recorded between January 1941 and the end of July 1942.[4]

In October 1939, the Germans appointed Adam Czerniaków to head the Jewish Council (Judenrat). From the start, the Judenrat served as the liaison between the Germans and the Jews. The Judenrat conducted population censuses, provided lists of those assigned to forced labor, and paid ransoms for people under arrest. The men Czerniaków selected to be members of the Judenrat had been, before the war, political

activists and party members. Among them were some people whose main concern was the general welfare, but others appeared to be simple collaborators. Almost from the start, the public viewed the Judenrat as corrupt because some officials accepted bribes from people seeking help or information about kidnapped or missing persons.

The Judenrat tried to cope with the Jews' day-to-day needs while also fulfilling German demands. It numbered about 25 departments and 6,000 workers. Its responsibilities were varied: provision of food and drink, prevention of the spread of disease, removal of sewerage and garbage, maintaining public order, firefighting, allocation of accommodations, and tracking and registering the inhabitants. It oversaw the establishment of hospitals and clinics, cultural activities and education, welfare and mutual-aid institutions, and orphanages.

The Jewish Police, which the Judenrat supervised, was embroiled in controversy. German orders established it at the same time as the ghetto. Józef Szeryński, a convert to Christianity who had held a senior position in the Polish police, was its chief. Most policemen were educated and members of established, often assimilated families. More than a few police assisted in smuggling food or smuggled it themselves. They also helped distribute food and provide aid to the needy. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the Jewish public, the Jewish Police became the embodiment of evil and public corruption.[5] They escorted the work details operating outside the ghetto, collected taxes, searched for absentees, and in the end, seized Jews for deportation.

Another entity in the ghetto was known as the "Thirteen," named after the address of its headquarters on Leszno Street; it was a kind of enforcement unit under the German Security Police. Its function was to keep an eye on whatever was happening in the ghetto. Abraham Gancwajch headed it. On the surface, the Thirteen ran the "Office to Combat Usury and Profiteering in the Jewish Quarter of Warsaw"; in practice, its task was to inform on all smugglers and secret economic activity to the Gestapo, frequently using this knowledge to blackmail those they uncovered.[6]

The official daily food ration in the ghetto was about 180 calories per person. Starvation led to incidents of violence and stealing food on the street. People lost their composure, women engaged in prostitution, and there were even incidents of cannibalism. Against this background, food smuggling was essential to the ghetto's survival. About 80 percent of the food that entered the ghetto was smuggled. Smuggling was done by individuals, by organized groups, and in large measure, by children. The smuggled goods kept various food programs and soup kitchens going. Many smugglers were caught, beaten, and shot, including young children. The professional smugglers became members of the ghetto elite, living it up on their profits, patronizing the more than 60 restaurants and clubs in the ghetto. By contrast, most of the population lived under conditions of terrible poverty. The Nazis exploited the appearance of prominent wealth next to abject poverty for anti-Jewish propaganda.



"Vendor of Jewish Stars," by Halina Olomucki, 1941.
USHMM WS #73574, COURTESY OF HALINA OLOMUCKI

Some goods were brought into the ghetto by means of the German Transfer Station (Transferstelle), and illegal industries and handicrafts quickly developed. Raw materials were brought into the ghetto and fashioned into various goods, such as brushes, garments, and electric products. Finished products were smuggled out of the ghetto and sold. In the spring of 1941, the Germans recognized the ghetto as a center of industry and commerce, and by summer German owners of wood, fur, and textile firms began to come in. The German industrialist Walther Többens set up a large textile firm. There was also a factory for brush manufacturing. The pay for work in these firms was poor, generally a daily food ration. Work also continued at many unofficial sites, arranged with the knowledge of the Germans or thanks to the bribery of the watchmen and the Jewish, German, or Polish police.

About a third of the ghetto population was children (about 150,000), many of whom were refugee children, who arrived in the ghetto with, or sometimes without, their parents. They

roamed about barefoot, begging for charity. Many were involved in smuggling, as errand boys, or in peddling cigarettes, bread, and matches. Some sustained themselves as street performers.

Jewish society within the ghetto tried to maintain the activity of voluntary organizations helping the weak and the needy. Aside from the Judenrat and its departments, a number of bodies functioned under the aegis of the Jewish Social Self-Help–Coordinating Commission (JSS–CC, later renamed ŻTOS in October 1940, then JSS in November 1941). Initially some financial support for Jewish welfare efforts was provided directly by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). From February 1941, the JSS received AJDC funds and supervised their distribution in consultation with the Judenrat.

From early 1941, the Judenrat strengthened its influence over the welfare organizations, preferring to extend assistance to people working on various projects, as opposed to the destitute. For example, in the summer of 1941, the Judenrat clashed with welfare activists over proposals for wealthy inhabitants to surrender their ration cards or to be taxed more to support the poor. These initiatives were blocked by the Judenrat despite Czerniaków's initial support. Therefore, the ghetto inhabitants' attitude towards the various charitable organizations was more positive than their attitude towards the Judenrat, which they saw as a tool of the Germans.

Aid continued to be extended to incapacitated people as well as to children in orphanages, refugees, and the elderly. In the summer of 1941, the number of meals served daily by public kitchens increased to 100,000, as the Germans briefly sought to increase the productivity of the ghetto. As Emanuel Ringelblum commented, however: "It is the beggars and the corpses who have won us this small concession. Besides, typhus has done its part." The number of meals served declined again in the fall, once the Germans withdrew support for the feeding program.[7]

Other welfare agencies active within the ghetto included TOZ (Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland) and CENTOS (Central Organization for Orphan Care). After the United States entered the war in December 1941, the AJDC funds from abroad largely dried up, and the welfare organizations struggled to maintain their aid programs. Even then it continued to provide assistance for illicit activity, such as funding printing presses and educational institutions.

In all the large ghettos, including Warsaw, despite the official German ban on most educational activity, there were educational and cultural networks. In the Warsaw ghetto there were elementary schools, middle schools, and vocational courses, such as a nursing school. There were university-level lectures, literary creativity in Yiddish, Polish, and Hebrew, and theater and orchestra performances. There was also scholarly research, including historical studies. One of the most important of the cultural institutions was called "Oneg Shabbath," the underground archive of the Warsaw ghetto, which the historian Emanuel Ringelblum directed. The Ringelblum Archive documented whatever transpired in the ghetto. It also acquired written testimonies about the extermination camps and succeeded in transmitting the documents to the Polish government-in-exile in London. Eventually the archival material was hidden in metal containers and milk cans, which were buried in different places in the ghetto. Almost the entire archive team died in the Holocaust, but much of the material was recovered after the war.

The Germans quickly banned religious services, so Jews held services in secret. In the spring of 1941, the ban was lifted, and the synagogue on Tłomackie Street reopened with a festive ceremony. However, it was hard to maintain religious duties, observe holidays, and keep kosher under ghetto conditions. The Nazis were especially abusive towards observant Jews with side curls, beards, and head coverings. And inevitably, some lost their faith in the face of the suffering they experienced.[8]

Members of the Zionist and other youth movements (including Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, with about 800 members) were prominent in the social and cultural activity of the large ghettos, as well as in smuggling food. In a period when most of the communal leaders escaped to the Soviet Union and the Jews of Warsaw remained without leadership, the members of these youth movements displayed great civic responsibility. Whereas the older people struggled to cope with dislocations in social frameworks and community life, the members of the youth movements adjusted more easily to ghetto life and quickly renewed organized group activity.

The youth movements developed study groups, schools, and soup kitchens and helped feed children and adults. They also sent emissaries to youth movements in other ghettos to establish links and share information. Couriers, both male and female, maintained these contacts at great personal risk. Other young people contributed to the underground press. Information about events in Poland and in the world appeared in the newspapers, which also covered life in the ghetto. With the start of the transports to the extermination camps, the publication of newspapers was temporarily interrupted. Later, the press resumed with a more limited scope, publishing information about the true character of the transports.

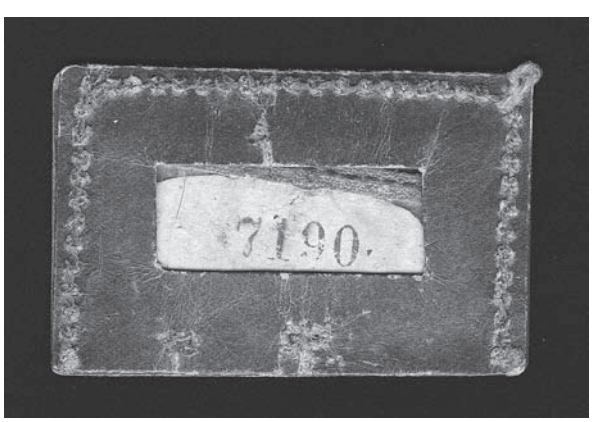
By January 1942, word had arrived in Warsaw about the murder of the Jews of Wilno at Ponary and the German mass killings in the cities of eastern Poland. Accounts of the murder of Jews at the Chełmno extermination camp also began to arrive in February.[9] Couriers who traveled in eastern Poland also reported on the transports that started in March 1942, first to Bełżec and then to other extermination camps. Persistent rumors about deportations swirled around the ghetto in July 1942. Czerniaków tried to get information from the German officers with whom he had contact. Most of them denied the rumors. On July 21, however, all the other members of the Judenrat were arrested. On the next day Czerniaków wrote these words in his diary: "We were told that all the Jews irrespective of sex and age, with certain exceptions, will be deported to the East. By 4:00 P.M. today a contingent of 6,000 people must be provided. And this (at the minimum) will be the daily quota."[10] On July 23, having unsuccessfully pleaded

for the lives of orphaned children and unwilling to aid in killing his own people, Czerniaków committed suicide.

At the start of the deportations, the Germans persuaded the Jews to assemble at the Umschlagplatz, a freight yard, by promising to give everyone who reported three loaves of bread and a portion of jam. At first, most of the Jews who arrived at the Umschlagplatz did not understand that the transports to the east meant death at the Treblinka extermination camp. Later on, as they learned the truth, they hoped that their work documents from the firms operating in the ghetto would free them from the transports. But the Germans emptied streets and whole apartment buildings in the process of evacuation. The Jewish Police were forced to collect people until its size was drastically reduced, and then many of its members themselves were deported on September 21.

In the course of the first great deportation Aktion, which took place from the end of July until the middle of September 1942, more than 260,000 people were deported—almost all to be murdered at Treblinka—and the living area of the ghetto shrank. About 60,000 of the Jews who remained alive moved to dwellings in the center of the ghetto near the area of the workshops; many of these people were now living illegally.

Word of the extermination camps, which started reaching Warsaw early in 1942, convinced members of the youth groups to organize for armed self-defense. The Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB), which united members of Hechalutz, Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, Dror, and Bnai Akiva, was established in July as the transports began. At first two key leaders of the ŻOB were Józef Kaplan and Szmuel Bresław of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir. However, they were caught at the beginning of September, apparently because of informants, after they had succeeded in acquiring a few weapons. The underground collapsed but began to reorganize in October. At that time members of the Bund and representatives of Zionist organizations and parties joined the ŻOB. In the meantime, members of Betar formed an additional military structure in the ghetto, the Jewish Military Organization (ŻZW, known after January 1943 as the Jewish Military Union). This organization had good connections with the Polish underground (Armia Krajowa [Polish Home Army], AK) and apparently succeeded in obtaining more arms than the ŻOB. The two groups had their differences, but a short time before the great revolt, the ŻZW did agree to fight alongside the ŻOB, while not being absorbed into it.



An identification tag issued to Gina Tabaczynska, when she was detained with other personnel of the Schultz & Co. factory in the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942. Those who held these tags were presumed to be exempt from deportation.
USHMM WS #16638, COURTESY OF EUGENIA TABACZYNSKA STRUT

The first attempt at an uprising took place in January 1943 in response to the second deportation Aktion, and sporadic attacks on German and Ukrainian personnel continued for the next three months. The January revolt convinced the Jews that the Germans would try to liquidate the ghetto, and therefore they began to prepare hiding places for the future. Hundreds of bunkers were built, some of them dug beneath buildings that had already been destroyed in September 1939. The headquarters of the revolt was based initially at 29 Miła Street and later in the bunker at 18 Miła Street.[11] The standing of the ŻOB grew stronger as a result of the January uprising, and it earned the support of many of the Jews who remained in the ghetto. A short time before the revolt there were about 800 fighters in the two underground groups.

In preparation for the liquidation of the ghetto, the Germans organized the transfer of more than 20,000 Jewish workers with their production units from the Warsaw ghetto to the Trawniki, Poniatowa, and other labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, starting in February and continuing into the uprising in early May 1943.[12] The Germans assumed that the Jews would forcefully oppose deportation, as they had in January. On the morning of April 19, 1943, they entered the ghetto with a force of 2,000 soldiers, accompanied by tanks. The Germans expected to make short work of the poorly armed fighters, but the main struggle went on for more than four weeks, with sporadic fighting afterwards. Eventually the Germans had to blast and burn the fighters out of their positions. The Germans discovered the headquarters of the ŻOB in the bunker at 18 Miła Street on May 8. After German forces blocked all exits and several hundred civilians emerged, the ŻOB commander Mordechaj Anielewicz committed suicide along with some 120 Jewish fighters, as the Germans dropped in poison gas. In September 1943, the Germans destroyed the remaining buildings and the ghetto walls. Most of the Jews still in hiding were apparently killed in this action, but a few individuals survived in the area until the end of the war.

The Warsaw ghetto revolt became one of the most significant occurrences in the history of the Jewish people. At the beginning, no one gave the ghetto any chance to hold out. But this seemingly hopeless struggle showed that even the years of the Nazi terror regime and the passivity in the Polish surroundings were not enough to break the fighting spirit of the youth movement members and the ghetto dwellers. The revolt became a symbol of resistance and heroism.

At the end of the revolt more than 20,000 Jews were left in Warsaw, in hiding or on the Aryan side, but it is impossible to know how many survived the war. The Germans established a concentration camp in the ruins of the ghetto to salvage building materials.[13]

SOURCES Among the many publications on the Warsaw ghetto, the following titles in English can be recommended: Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*, trans. Emma Harris (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Israel Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt*, trans. Ina Friedman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?: Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); and Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw 1940–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002). More extensive bibliographies can be found in these and other publications.

Published primary sources include the following: Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961); Mary Berg, *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary by Mary Berg*, ed. S.L. Schneiderman (New York: L.B. Fischer, 1945); Helge Grabitz and Wolfgang Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren: Fotos und Dokumente über Opfer des Endlösungswahns im Spiegel der historischen Ereignisse* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1988); Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kerr, eds., *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979); J. Katsh, ed., *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* (New York, 1965); Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986); Abraham Lewin, *A Cup of Tears: A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); *Report concerning the Uprising in the Ghetto of Warsaw and the Liquidation of the Jewish Residential Area*, trans. D. Dąbrowska (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1958); Ruta Sakowska et al., eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: PWN, 2000); and Jacob Sloan, ed. and trans., *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum* (1958; New York: Schocken, 1974).

Among the many memoirs by survivors, the following are worthy of mention: J. David, *A Square of Sky: Recollections of My Childhood* (New York, 1964); Janusz Korczak, *The Warsaw Ghetto Memoirs of Janusz Korczak*, trans. with an introduction by E.P. Kulawiec (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1978); Zivia Lubetkin, *In the Days of Destruction and Revolt* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House and Am Oved Publishing House, 1981); Vladka Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall: Memoirs from the Warsaw Ghetto*, trans. Steven Meed (New York: Holocaust Library, 1993); and Władysław Szpilman, *The Pianist: The Extraordinary Story of One Man's Survival in Warsaw, 1939–1945* (New York: Picador USA, 1999).

The recent publication of *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes-Ringelblum Archive: Catalog and Guide*, ed. Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epsztein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, 2009) and the digitization of these unique records have greatly increased their accessibility.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN (202/II 26-29); APW (e.g., Der Obmann des Judenrates in Warschau; Amt des Gouverneurs des Distriktes Warschau—Der Kommissar für den Jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau); AŻIH (e.g., sygn. 200; 210; 211; 301; 302; Ring I); BA-BL; BA-L; BLH; CAHJP; IPN (e.g., ASG); MA; NARA; USHMM (e.g., Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1998.A.0241 [Trial of Ludwig Fischer]; RG-02; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]; RG-15.077M [CENTOS]; RG-15.079 [Ring]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]; RG-50); VHF; YIVO; and YVA (e.g., O-3; O-16; O-33).

Miri Freilich and Martin Dean
trans. Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. An English translation of the October decree establishing the ghetto is published in Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, p. 102.
2. An overview of events leading up to the establishment of the ghetto can be found in ibid., pp. 52–76. Also see *Warschauer Zeitung*, November 3–4, 1940.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1075, pp. 28–29; AŻIH, Ring I/116.
4. Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, pp. 48–49; USHMM, RG-15.073M, Der Jüdische Wohnbezirk in Warschau (Zahlen und Tatsachen), Warschau, June 1942; see also Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, p. 177.
5. USHMM, RG-15.079, Ring I/115, published in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 304–309.
6. See Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, pp. 218–232.
7. Ibid., pp. 307–308; Sloan, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, p. 192.
8. Katsh, *Scroll of Agony*, p. 207; Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, pp. 647–648.
9. USHMM, RG-15.079, Ring I/412 [1115.].
10. Hilberg, Staron, and Kerr, *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*, pp. 383–384.
11. Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, p. 786.
12. Grabitz and Scheffler, *Letzte Spuren*, pp. 181, 207, 318–319. Most of these Jews were murdered during Aktion Erntefest (Harvest Festival) in November 1943. See also the entries for **Poniatowa** and **Trawniki**—both in **Lublin Main Camp**—in volume I of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.
13. See **Warschau Main Camp** entry in volume I of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.

WAWER

Pre-1939: Wawer, village, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Wawer is located about 10 kilometers (6 miles) east-southeast of the center of Warsaw. As of September 1, 1939, there were around 1,300 Jews living in Wawer.

German forces occupied Wawer in September 1939. In the fall of 1939, Jews were required to perform forced labor and to pay "contributions" imposed by the German authorities. Jews were forced to wear the Star of David, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Menachem Kestenberg. In October 1939, Wawer became part of Kreis Warschau-Land; the Kreishauptmann was Regierungsrat Dr. Hermann Rupprecht.

On the night of December 26–27, 1939, on the orders of Unterleutnant Max Daume, the 2nd and 3rd Companies of

the 6th Battalion of the 31st Regiment of the Order Police (Ordnungspolizei) carried out a special "pacification" Aktion in the area of Wawer and Anin, near Warsaw. The Aktion was a reprisal for the shooting on the previous day of two officers from the German 538th Construction Battalion, stationed in Wawer. The two men were killed in a town restaurant by Marian Prasuł and Stanisław Dąbek. The Germans then arrested 120 Polish, Jewish, and Russian men, aged 16 to 70, and sentenced 114 of them to death. The executioners used machine guns, and the killings took place publicly in the square between Błękitna and Spiżowa Streets. The following Jews were among those shot: Elja Brajtman, Jankiel Czerwonka, Szachna Desau, Aron Fogelnest, Eliasz Nusselbaum, Lejbuś Płatkowski, Jankiel Rosenberg, Uszer Rosenberg, Herszek Szajman, and Lejbuś Szajman. The bodies of the victims first were buried in a provisional grave, then were exhumed on June 25–27, 1940, on the orders of the Kreishauptmann. The "Eternity" (Wieczność) Association sent the remains of 11 of the victims to the city of Warsaw.[1]

After the events of December 27, 1939, in fear of further reprisals by the Germans, one Jewish man fled with his mother and two sisters to stay with his father in Opatów. His father was a painter, who had painted the local synagogue in Opatów.[2] By June 1, 1940, around 60 Jewish refugees had arrived in Wawer.[3]

Sources differ regarding the date on which the Wawer ghetto was established. The first documentary reference to the ghetto is a letter from the Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land to the Wawer Judenrat, dated November 30, 1940. In the letter, the Kreishauptmann issued various instructions concerning sanitary conditions in the recently established ghetto (*Jüdisches Wohngebiet*). This implies that the ghetto had been established just prior to this, some time in November 1940.[4]

Due to a shortage of apartments in the ghetto area, the Judenrat was permitted to erect special barracks, and also four adjoining buildings were to be added to the ghetto, to be used to house sick beds and a quarantine section. However, the Judenrat had to take down provisional wooden walls set up in the larger buildings for privacy, creating instead a corridor system with separate quarters, for sanitary reasons. In addition, a sanitation column was to be established to enforce sanitary regulations, and the Jews were to be vaccinated against typhus at the cost of 0.50 złoty per head. The Judenrat was also obliged to prepare a list of the Jews in each apartment and to establish a bathing facility by the end of the year.[5]

A postwar Polish report indicates that the ghetto was located in Czaplowizna, within the Wawer gmina, in an area known as "Kolonia Różyczka." It encompassed an area of about 5 hectares (12.4 acres) on Klasztorna Street. On the grounds of the ghetto, there were no factories, but some Jews performed artisanal work in their own homes.[6]

In Wawer, a Jewish welfare committee was active to assist the refugees and local Jews in need. It received support from the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee for Kreis Warschau-Land, headed by Dr. Ignaz (Icchak) Schiper. On March 20, 1941, the board of the Jewish welfare committee referred to a letter from the Kreishauptmann ordering the establishment of a hospital, a quarantine section, and a steam bath. The committee had the space to set these up but no money to fix and open the bath. In the letter, the committee also requested 10 blankets, sheets, pillow cases, white aprons, men's and women's shirts, dressing gowns, and pajamas. The letter was signed by the head of the Judenrat, M. Kestenberg.[7]

On May 25, 1941, the board in Wawer sent the following note to the JSS in Warsaw: "We are waiting . . . hungry, sick, swollen, and ragged . . . mainly elderly and children, all miserable. It is so bad for us now that we can find no words to describe it. We beg you to help us!" The JSS reported providing aid to some 500 people in Wawer.[8]

A further appeal from the Judenrat in Wawer, on August 18, 1941, noted that a severe outbreak of typhus had struck the ghetto. The Germans had ordered the ghetto to be closed, and the Jews were completely cut off from the outside world. The letter concluded: "We are starving. Help us."[9] As a result of the epidemic, five Jews died.

In March 1942, there were approximately 950 Jews residing in the Wawer ghetto.[10] According to Manes Puterman, the German authorities liquidated the ghetto on Thursday, March 23, 1942.[11] At the time of the ghetto liquidation, the German police shot around 10 sick and bedridden Jews locally. The remaining inmates of the ghetto were resettled into the Warsaw ghetto. During the transport to Warsaw, more than a dozen Jews were shot and buried in unmarked graves along the way.[12] Confirmation of the timing of the transfer can be found in a report preserved in the Ringelblum Archive concerning the ghetto in Tłuszcz. This noted that at the start of April, two weeks before Passover (April 16), news had arrived of the expulsion of the Jews from Pustelnik and Wawer.[13]

At the time of the ghetto's liquidation in late March 1942, a number of Jews avoided the roundup and managed to find shelter with non-Jews in and around Wawer. For example, four members of the Frydman family found refuge with their old acquaintances, the Kupidlowska family. The Frydmans remained hidden successfully for two and a half years until the Germans were driven from the area. Other Jews who fled from the Warsaw ghetto also found temporary shelter in a specially prepared hiding place in Wawer set up with the help of Żegota (the Polish Council of Aid for Jews). Not all the Jews were able to hide successfully. On March 3, 1944, two Poles and two Jews, who had been in hiding in Wawer during the occupation, were shot on the street while trying to escape.[14]

After the war, "the crimes in Wawer" committed on December 27, 1939, were tried by the Polish Supreme National Tribunal (Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy). On March 3, 1947, the court sentenced Max Daume to death. Friedrich Wilhelm Wenzel also was sentenced to death by the Regional Court (Sąd Wojewódzki) in Warsaw in 1951.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Wawer during the German occupation can be found in the following publications: T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1

(1952); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 556; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 923–924.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (Ring I/222 and 501b; 211/1081, 1082, 1084, 1087 [JSS]; 301/447, 1134, 2747 [Relacje]); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]; RG-15.079M [Ring]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); and YVA (e.g., M.31).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. H. Pawłowicz, *Wawer, 27 grudnia 1939 roku* (Warsaw, 1962), pp. 30, 111–115; S. Płowski, "Wawer," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* (Warsaw) 6 (1951): 125–130; W. Bartoszewski, *Warszawski pierścień śmierci* (Warsaw, 1970), pp. 53–58.
2. AŻIH, 301/1134, testimony of Samuel Wilenberg, p. 1.
3. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada," table 2a.
4. AŻIH, 211/1081, p. 48, Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land an den Judenrat in Kol. Różycka Gem. Wawer, November 30, 1940. According to the report of Manes Puterman from Wawer, the German authorities established a ghetto in Wawer on November 10, 1941 [*sic*]; it appears likely that Puterman was mistaken by one year; see AŻIH, Ring I/501b [938.], report of Manes Puterman.
5. Ibid., 211/1081, p. 48.
6. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 556; IPN, ASG, reel 19, vol. 62, pp. 294 and verso.
7. Ruta Sakowska, "Icchak Schiper w getcie warszawskim. Działalność opiekuńcza," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (216): (December 2005): 487; AŻIH, 211/1081, p. 34a.
8. AŻIH, 211/1082, pp. 2, 22.
9. Ibid., 211/1084, p. 41.
10. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 556.
11. Ibid., date it also in March 1942; AŻIH, Ring I/501b [938.].
12. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 556; IPN, ASG, vol. 62, pp. 294 and verso; Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada," p. 88; AŻIH, 301/447, testimony of Helena Lewińska, 1945.
13. Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 204, from Ring I/222.
14. Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 396, 414–415, 423–424; H. Wierzchowski, *Anin, Wawer* (Warsaw, 1971), p. 83.

WĘGRÓW

Pre-1939: Węgrów (Yiddish: Vengrov), town, initially Lublin województwo, then on April 1, 1938, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Wegrow, Kreis Sokolow, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Węgrów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Węgrów is located alongside the Liwiec River, about 71 kilometers (44 miles) east-northeast of Warsaw. By September 1, 1939, there were 9,200 Jews living among the 92,226 residents of the Węgrów powiat. The Jews were concentrated mainly in the town of Węgrów, comprising two thirds of the town's 11,000 residents.

Upon occupying Węgrów on September 10, 1939, German soldiers engaged in antisemitic attacks. In the first week, they arrested and then executed a number of the town's wealthiest Jews.[1] Węgrów's German military administration also closed the town's synagogues. On Yom Kippur (September 23, 1939), the Germans discovered a private prayer service and dragged the men to the market square, where they ordered them to dance and sing. On this occasion they murdered Rabbi Jaakov Mendel Morgenstern by bayoneting him in the stomach.[2]

On November 28, 1939, the county's new Kreishauptmann, Landrat Friedrich Schultz, ordered Węgrów's Jews to create a Judenrat. The Judenrat's chair was Mordechai Zajman, and Shmuel Halberstadt served as vice president. The Judenrat also established a Jewish police force of 10 to 15 men headed by Noach Kochman, and medical services were placed under the direction of Dr. Melchoir. By mid-October, a German Gendarmerie post of 10 to 15 men, commanded by Oberleutnant Müller, patrolled Węgrów. A military detachment, directed by Commandant Scherle, also was stationed there.[3]

In the first months of the war, 390 Jews arrived in Węgrów, most of them fleeing from larger cities. By August 1940, the Germans had deported an additional 1,000 Jews there, mainly from Piotrków, Aleksandrów Łódzki, Kalisz, and Pułtusk. By September 1940, there were about 8,500 Jews living in Węgrów. By the end of December 1941, the Germans had ordered to Węgrów another 255 Jews, including those from the villages of Ruchna, Jaczew, Jarnice, and Wyszków. Expellees from this last village included its rabbi, who assumed the functions of the murdered Morgenstern. Jews forcibly deported to Węgrów in



Two Jewish policemen, presumably in the Węgrów ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #05514, COURTESY OF LEOPOLD PAGE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

this period included those from areas east of the town, such as from Grochów Szlachecki.[4]

The new arrivals were mainly destitute, with many of them begging for food. The Judenrat extended food assistance to the deportees, who comprised nearly half of the town's 2,500 most impoverished Jews by August 1940. In 1940, the Judenrat's Housing Authority also ordered Jews from Węgrów who lived in homes with more than one room to surrender remaining rooms to the emigrants. Even so, there was insufficient housing for the refugees, with some living in attics.[5]

Jews in Węgrów also faced increasingly more organized forced labor roundups. In 1939 and 1940, patrols of German soldiers and police arbitrarily conscripted hundreds of Jewish men to work at various army barracks. Tasks included gardening, latrine cleaning, and purchasing groceries. By the end of 1940, the Judenrat's Arbeitsamt (labor office) was assigning men to specific tasks. In 1940 and 1941, 250 Jews from Węgrów worked at a freight terminal near Sokołów Podlaski, unloading sacks of wheat. Others worked near the village of Liw, on the Liwiec River, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) from Węgrów, replacing bridge pilings destroyed in September 1939. Several hundred others were sent to a forced labor camp near Mordy to drain marshland. In September 1941, a large number was called up to work on a similar project in Łęki, and others labored in agriculture. By late 1941, part of Węgrów's forced labor quota was for craftsmen to work at the Treblinka forced labor camp. From May 1942, Jews from Węgrów also formed the initial labor pool used to build the Treblinka extermination camp.[6]

Hoping to forestall larger labor quotas, deportations, and the creation of a closed ghetto in Węgrów, the Judenrat organized internal taxes to raise money for gifts and payments to German authorities. It negotiated for smaller labor quotas by bribing German officials with diamonds, gold, fur coats, and leather boots. When German demands for labor increased at the end of 1940, the Judenrat imposed higher taxes to pay for larger bribes. In the first half of 1941, the Germans threatened to deport Węgrów's Jews to the Warsaw ghetto if a large demand was not met. A second large payment was made in the early summer of 1942 to avert the creation of a closed ghetto in Węgrów.[7]

As this evidence suggests, the town's ghetto remained open. Appointed Kreishauptmann of Sokołów Podlaski on June 10, 1940, Reichslandwirtschaftsrat Ernst Grams appears to have intended its closure. In a February 1, 1941, report, he stated that Węgrów was one of six concentration points for Jews in the Kreis and promised to close these ghettos as soon as weather permitted.[8] Grams never implemented this plan fully. In Węgrów, as well as in Stoczek Węgrowski and Łochów, the ghettos remained open. Many eyewitnesses in Węgrów later claimed that the Germans nonetheless had created a Jewish quarter, as migrants and expellees were housed in the southern part of town, where Jews had been most heavily concentrated before the war. But many Polish Christians continued to live in this neighborhood. Some Jews continued to reside outside the Jewish neighborhood. Until Yom Kippur 1942, Jews were allowed free movement about the town, except perhaps for a few streets that housed German administrative and residential buildings. From February 1941, the Germans forbade Jews from leaving the town's boundaries.[9]

The February 1941 prohibition on Jewish movement beyond Węgrów brought a drastic deterioration in Jewish living conditions. Most Jewish business owners could not sustain operations by the end of 1941. Some traveled illicitly to the Warsaw ghetto for merchandise to stock their stores. A far larger number had to close their businesses. Some were wholly or partially expropriated by Poles. Under these conditions, poverty became widespread, as unemployment consumed virtually all those not employed by official Judenrat institutions. Most Jews now hovered on the edge of starvation, due to the prohibition on Jewish movement and the refusal of Grams's administration to make winter food rations available to Jews and Poles. The majority of Węgrów's Jews sought charity assistance in September 1941. The Judenrat, which reopened its community kitchen to feed the destitute, could provide meals only for 1,200 people. In early 1941 and again later that year, typhus epidemics ravaged the Jewish community.[10]

To secure money to pay bribes and to meet quotas for forced labor, the Judenrat resorted from mid-1941 to authoritarian measures. The Jewish Police arrested several families to extort money from them, and by July 1942, it even raided the homes of Jews behind on their taxes, conscripting able-bodied men for forced labor.[11]

Although Węgrów's ghetto remained open, the town's Jews realized by the summer of 1942 that they would not be excluded from deportations to the Treblinka extermination camp. Suspicions about the camp heightened in July 1942 after forced laborers from Węgrów working there did not return home. In July, the wives of German military and police officials in Węgrów told Jews who worked for them to hide their valuables. Then, on August 24, 1942, posters were hung in Węgrów signed by Grams restricting access to Jewish neighborhoods only to registered residents and voiding all Jewish travel passes. The majority of the town's Jews realized that Grams's orders signaled their impending deaths. Many Jews constructed hiding places in their homes, and some arranged shelter with local farmers, usually in exchange for advance payment. Fearing the Germans would send them to their deaths on Yom Kippur, private services were begun early. The *Shacharis* (services of morning prayer) and *Musaf* (additional service recited on festive days) were prayed on Sunday, September 20, 1942, on the evening of Yom Kippur, with weeping interrupting the cantor at one such service during the *Unesaneh Tokef* (liturgical poem).[12]

The Germans' extermination of Węgrów's Jews began at dawn on Yom Kippur (Monday, September 21, 1942). Members of the SS, aided by Ukrainian auxiliaries, German Gendarmes, and Polish (Blue) Police, surrounded the town. Then they went from house to house, ordering the Jews—approximately 9,000 people—to the town's square. Those who refused or were too old or infirm to comply were shot in their homes. By some accounts, the Germans murdered some 600 Jews in the first

two hours of the roundup. More than 2,000 Jews perished from gunshots in Węgrów before this first effort to exterminate Węgrów's Jews ended. Only 100 to 200 of the town's Jews were selected to form a postliquidation labor force. In the late afternoon, the remainder of those assembled, between 3,500 and 5,000 people, were marched 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) to the train station in Sokołów Podlaski. Along the way, the Germans shot those who failed to keep pace with the march. A large group of young Jews—reacting to a prearranged signal—fled en masse into the woods. Although an unknown number of them were shot, some survived. The march's remaining Jews, placed on wagons at the train station, were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

In Węgrów, the SS, German Gendarmes, and Polish (Blue) Police began searching for more than 2,000 Jews believed to be hiding. In the following days, an unknown number, possibly more than 1,400, were extricated from their hiding places and shot at the cemetery. After a week the SS departed and responsibility for pursuing Jews still in hiding fell to the Gendarmerie.[13]

In Węgrów, Christian complicity accompanied the murder of Jews in hiding. The Germans initially asked members of the Polish volunteer fire department to help them locate hidden Jews. Fire department members soon surpassed the Germans engaged in this task. Local members of the Polish (Blue) Police also participated at the outset in executions of Węgrów's Jews. The German police came to rely heavily on both forces to search for and execute Jews in hiding. Extricated from hiding by teams of firemen, groups of Jews usually were accompanied to the cemetery by one member of the Gendarmerie and six armed members of the Polish (Blue) Police. The firemen provided further reinforcement, surrounding the armed guards. Polish workers buried the dead. As payment the Poles received clothing that had belonged to the executed Jews. The fire department and their Polish followers became known as "the dentists" for the gold that they stripped from the mouths of Jews murdered at the cemetery.[14]

After locking up members of the postliquidation Jewish labor force for several weeks in an armory, the Germans organized an enclosed ghetto in Węgrów during the second week of November. Located on the corner of the main market square and Gdańsk Street, the ghetto was policed by German Gendarmes. Those who resided there, including some who had survived the Yom Kippur roundup in hiding, were required to repair Jewish homes and businesses to prepare them for transfer to local non-Jews. German police patrolled the ghetto, which had between 150 and 300 residents, executing Jews they found there during the day for evading work. At night, they confined most of the ghetto's residents to the basement of a large building on the corner of the square. The ghetto was administered by a Judenrat, which remained briefly under the direction of Mordechai Zajman. About another 100 Jews were allowed to remain outside the ghetto, as they were registered as workers necessary for the German war effort. Another 100 to 200 Jews refused to register with the Germans, preferring to remain in hiding. On the night of April 26–27, 1943, the Germans surrounded the ghetto and the homes of Jews officially living outside of it. That night, they shot the majority of the town's surviving Jews. The search for those in hiding continued through at least June 10, when the Germans executed about 10 Jews.[15]

In March 1944, a team from Sonderkommando 1005, the unit charged with obliterating traces of mass killings, arrived in Węgrów. In April, the officers of the Sonderkommando forced a tightly guarded group of Jewish prisoners, probably from Łódź, to dig up the remains of the Jews executed in Węgrów and burn them.[16]

No more than 100 of Węgrów's Jews are thought to have survived the war. Some did so by making their way to Mordy to join a forced labor camp, at which Jews continued to work. Most of the remainder of Węgrów's Jews depended on the assistance of local Poles. Several young children were brought into the homes of Polish families. These included Gitel Przepiórka, 3 years old when her mother turned her over to the Kowalczyks in the summer of 1942; Zofia Shenberg, an abandoned infant discovered by Marianna Ruszkowska in Węgrów on Yom Kippur 1942; Lusia Fabiarz found by Pelagia Vogelgesang on May 1, 1943; and the 10-year-old Sara Nortman who survived the ghetto liquidations living with the Buczyński family.[17] Other Poles extended assistance to Węgrów's adult Jews, some in exchange for compensation. Zbigniew Bucholc, a Pole employed at Węgrów's labor office, arranged false documents for members of the Friedman family, which enabled them to travel as non-Jews to positions in Lwów. Similar papers enabled Ella Picot and her niece, Halusha Gross, to walk off the market square during the liquidation of the town's Jews on Yom Kippur 1942.[18] The Potockis in Węgrów, the Czyżewskis in Pieńki, the Toefels in Jarnice, and the Korczak and Bujalski families in Zając all extended shelter at some time to 10 members of the Bielowski (also known as the Bielawski or Biel) family, enabling them to survive the war.[19]

Węgrów's Jewish community was not reconstituted after the war. A majority of the few Jews who returned to the town soon immigrated to England, Canada, the United States, Argentina, and Israel. The only one of Węgrów's 13 Torahs known to have survived the Holocaust is located today at the Sixth & I Historic Synagogue in Washington, DC.[20]

SOURCES A number of important published sources are available, including the memoirs by Shraga Feivel Bielawski (Fajwel Bielowski), *The Last Jew from Wegrow* (New York: Praeger, 1991), and by Nelli Rotbart, *A Long Journey: A Holocaust Memoir and After: Poland, Soviet Union, Canada* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies, 2002); as well as the yizkor book, *Kehilat Vengrov: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at yots'e Vengrov be-Yisrael be-hishtatfut yots'e Vengrov ba-Argentinah, 1961).

Documentary sources on the Jews of Węgrów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/38, 301/687, 301/3387, 301/4875, and 301/6043); BA-L (e.g., B 162/6843, 6845, and 6873); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [ŻSS, reel 50, 211/1091]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC, 210/708];

RG-15.019M, reel 14 [ASG, 45 Warsaw woj.]); VHF (e.g., # 13697, 17292, 18608, 23573, 26871, 32778, 34246, 35694, 45830, 51043); and YVA (e.g., O-33/1066).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/6043, Władysław Okulus, "Największa tragedia w dziejach Węgrowa," p. 1.

2. Ibid., 301/38, testimony of Fajwel Bielowski, pp. 1–2; see also his account in Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 20–22; and under his Americanized name, VHF, # 34246, testimony of Phillip Biel; # 23573, testimony of Sara Kaye; *Kehilat Vengrov*, pp. 62, 116.

3. Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 22, 32, 47–48; VHF, # 35694, testimony of Henry Miller; and Tomasz Szczechura, "Terror okupanta w powiecie węgrowskim w latach 1939–1944," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* 27 (1977): 57–59.

4. For population figures and the origins of the migrants, see, among others, T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (January–June 1952): 95; Tomasz Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada społeczności żydowskiej w powiecie węgrowskim w latach 1939–1944," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (January–March 1978): 40–42; T. Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 278 (in German) and p. 279 (in Polish); AŻIH, 301/6043 (introduction); and 301/38, pp. 1–2; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 22–24; and Barbara Engelking, "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego," in Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), p. 219.

5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/708 (Węgrów), pp. 39, 47–48; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, p. 23; and VHF, # 34246; # 35694; and # 17292, testimony of Nellie Kaptsan.

6. Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 23, 30, 36, 38, 41–43, 46, 39; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel # 8, 211/129, p. 43, and reel # 50, 211/1091 (Węgrów), p. 10 ; VHF, # 13697, testimony of Renia Lipska-Micznik, 1996; and # 34246; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Treblinka—obóz śmierci 'akcji Reinhardt,'" in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), pp. 217–218.

7. Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 23–34, 27, 48, 38, 46; AŻIH, 301/6043, p. 2; and VHF, # 23573, testimony of Sara Kaye; # 45830, testimony of Leokadia Michalska.

8. On the creation of six regional concentration points for the Jews in Kreis Sokolow Wegrowski, see Document # 45 in Berenstein et al., *Eksterminacja Żydów*, p. 108.

9. AŻIH, 301/6043, pp. 1–2; 301/3387, p. 1; VHF, # 32778, testimony of Maria Borowska; # 51043, testimony of Ella Picot; # 35694; # 45830; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, p. 29; and Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 44. Available sources differ on whether the concentration of Jews in Węgrów should be regarded as a ghetto or not. For example, Bielawski says "there was no ghetto" in Węgrów but goes on to say that all the town's "Jews had been concentrated in one area. Only in a very few cases did Jews live together with Christians." In their VHF testimonies, Borowska, Picot, Miller, and Michalska all discuss "Aryan" or "Christian" and "Jewish" sections of town, with Picot describing the town's main square as "neutral ground."

10. Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 38, 43–44, 46, 49; VHF, # 32778; # 35694; # 17292; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1091 (Węgrów), p. 10. The failure of Grams's administration to deliver food rations to Jews and Poles in Kreis Sokolow is the subject of USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel # 8, 211/129, pp. 45–47; reel # 44, 211/912, p. 20; and reel # 45, 211/950 (Siedlce), pp. 13, 30–46.

11. Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 46–49; and VHF, # 35694.

12. Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 45, 48, 53–56; VHF, # 26871, testimony of Perla Orenstein; and Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 46.

13. Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," pp. 46–47; AŻIH, 301/6043, pp. 3, 5; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "'Akcja Reinhard' w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego, 1942–1943," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, p. 67; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 57–62; and VHF, # 35694; # 51043; # 32778; # 34246; # 26871; and # 45830. Agreement exists over the bloody nature of the Germans' liquidation of the Węgrów ghetto, but discrepancies emerge in the documentation over the number of Jews murdered in Węgrów. Młynarczyk, for example, cites a testimony by a member of Węgrów's Jewish police force, who worked over the course of two days to remove the bodies of 2,000 Jews murdered in Węgrów; see BA-L, B 162/6843, testimony of Ruwen F., June 12, 1962, p. 55.

14. On Polish collaboration, see the account of Władysław Okulus, AŻIH, 301/6043, pp. 4–7, 9–10, and those of Fajwel Bielowski: AŻIH, 301/38, p. 2; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 57–67; and VHF, # 34246. Equally useful are the smaller treatments by eyewitness Hillel Zydman, titled, in English translation, "'Good Neighbors' as Beasts of Prey," and by Ephraim Przepiurka, "The Way Wengrow Was Destroyed by Its Inhabitants," in *Kehilat Vengrov*, pp. 63–65. See, too, VHF, # 13697.

15. Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 48; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 77, 80–86, 97–101, 106–107 114–115; AŻIH, 301/6043, pp. 5, 7; 301/4875, testimony of Pelagia Vogelgesang, p. 1; and VHF, # 23573.

16. AŻIH, 301/6043, pp. 8–9; 301/4875, p. 7; and Szczechura, "Życie i zagłada," p. 49.

17. These children's survival accounts are retold in Gloria Glantz, "A Child's Journey," *Holocaust/Genocide Project: Survivors Speak* (June 2001), pp. 6–7, on the Web site of the International Education and Resource Network, at www.iearn.org/hgp/aeti/aeti-2001/2-SS.PDF; VHF, # 10888, testimony of Gloria Glantz; # 23573; Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 2, pp. 683, 842–843; AŻIH, 301/4875, pp. 1–10.

18. AŻIH, 301/3387, pp. 1–4; and VHF, # 32778.

19. VHF, # 35694; and Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 111–144.

20. AŻIH, 301/4875, p. 9; Bielawski, *The Last Jew*, pp. 145–162; and David Brooks, "A Time to Dance, and Mourn," *New York Times*, February 28, 2004.

WŁOCHY

Pre-1939: Włochy, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Włochy, Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Włochy, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Włochy is located on the outskirts of Warsaw, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) southwest of the city center. Only a few Jewish families were living in Włochy on the eve of war in 1939.

Włochy was occupied by the Germans at the end of September 1939. In late October a German civil administration took over the region from the military. Włochy became part of Kreis Warschau-Land; the Kreishauptmann was Regierungsrat Dr. Hermann Rupprecht.

Jewish residents of Włochy were subjected to a number of persecutory measures from early in the occupation. They had to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David; they had to perform forced labor; and their property was confiscated. At some time before the summer of 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Włochy.

Information regarding the Włochy ghetto is scant, mainly because no survivor testimonies could be located for this town. A report from the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Warsaw notes that at the end of October a deadline had been set of November 15, 1940, for the resettlement of the Jews from the Włochy gmina and surrounding areas, some 700 people into Fort Solipse (aka Fort V, a nineteenth-century fort located outside the town). As the fortress was in an absolutely ruined condition, the gmina of Pruszków had offered to take in some of the Jews intended to go to Fort Solipse.[1]

The establishment of the ghetto is confirmed in an official Polish postwar questionnaire, signed by the deputy mayor of Włochy. According to this report, the ghetto indeed was established on November 15, 1940. In total, around 300 Jews were brought into the Włochy ghetto, but only 17 of them were originally from Włochy. Among the others, there were 130 from Ożarów due west of Warsaw, 67 from Łomianki (gmina Młociny), 50 from the nearby gmina of Falenty, 14 from Okęcie, 12 from Warsaw, 6 from Piastów, and 6 from Skorosze. The ghetto measured about 4,860 square meters (1.2 acres) in area. Jews living in the ghetto worked in the bakery located there, in the slaughterhouse, and in workshops for sewing, tailoring, and shoemaking. Some craftsmen also received orders from the local residents of Włochy. There was no communal kitchen in the ghetto, so families had to fend for themselves. The head of the Judenrat was Josek Ferszt. He permitted some wealthy Jews to leave the ghetto to visit the town in return for a payment. In the initial weeks, two members of the Polish (Blue) Police guarded the Jewish families in the ghetto. Subsequently German Gendarmes took over from them, and they escorted all the Jews to Warsaw.[2]

According to an account in the Ringelblum Archive, in early November, the Jews of Łomianki were given only until November 10 to leave Łomianki and to depart for [Fort] Solipse. Following a tip-off from local ethnic Germans, however, many of the Jews from Lomianki decided instead to move directly to the Warsaw ghetto, while another 25 moved to the ghetto established in Legionowo. The anonymous report states that around 60 Jews from Lomianki departed for [Fort] Solipse in mid-November 1940.[3]

Personal details of 296 Jews registered in the ghetto, including the town from which they came, were recorded by the town administration of Włochy and added to the postwar report on the ghetto as an appendix.[4]

According to a letter addressed to the JSS in Warsaw from the Włochy Judenrat, dated January 1, 1941, there were 274 Jewish residents in the Jewish quarter (*dzielnica Żydowska*). These people consisted mainly of women and children, who were in extreme need of material support. The letter complained in particular about a tax or "contribution" of 5 złoty per head, which had been imposed on the Jews of Włochy by the Kreishauptmann. The Judenrat requested that the JSS intervene with the Kreishauptmann to have this onerous tax rescinded. The last correspondence from the Judenrat in Włochy to the JSS is dated January 13, 1941.[5] The JSS in Warsaw noted on January 16 that all the resettled Jews from around Włochy had been accommodated in Fort Solipse and were making urgent appeals for assistance in the form of bread and heating materials.[6]

An internal document from the Department for Resettlement (Abteilung Umsiedlung) in the office of the Gouverneur of Distrikt Warschau, dated January 20, 1941, states that the remaining 320 Jews in Włochy were scheduled to be deported to the Warsaw ghetto on February 3, 1941.[7] It appears that the transfer may have occurred a few days earlier. According to the anonymous account concerning Łomianki in the Ringelblum Archive: "In January, the Jews who lived in [Fort] Solipse were within a half hour, put in vehicles and brought to Warsaw. [They were] not permitted to take anything with them other than a few bedding items. The entire Łomianki population—those who were in Warsaw, as well as those who were shipped from [Fort] Solipse to Warsaw and left everything behind—lives now in terrible need and poverty."[8] An article in the *Gazeta Żydowska*, dated February 18, 1941, noted that Jews from Włochy were among the recent arrivals in the Warsaw ghetto.[9]

After the ghetto liquidation, all the remaining Jewish property was confiscated by the Germans. The Jews transferred to the Warsaw ghetto shared the fate of most other Jews there. Jews from Włochy were among those who died from cold, starvation, and disease in the winter of 1941–1942. The majority were deported to the Treblinka extermination camp in the summer and fall of 1942.

After the liquidation of the ghetto in Włochy, there were several Poles in the town who provided shelter to Jews. After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto on June 30, 1942, Maria Klimczuk-Miron and her son were hidden in the home of Anna and Zygmunt Wróbel until the end of the occupation.[10] Jadwiga Gedychowa, who lived in Włochy at 5 Sowińska Street, also cared for five members of a Jewish family.[11] Alicja Prechner hid on the "Aryan" side in Włochy, as did two other Jewish survivors, Irene Faitlowicz and Irene Rubinstein.[12] Unfortunately none of these survivors are able to provide information regarding the Włochy ghetto.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish population in Włochy during the Nazi occupation can be found in the following publications: T. Berenstein, "Deportacje i zagłada skupisk żydowskich w dystrykcie warszawskim," *BŻIH*, no. 1 (1952); Czesław

Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 556; and Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), pp. 208, 210.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews in Włochy during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/124, 125, 1108 [JSS]; 301/2737, 5843 [Relacje]); IPN (ASG, sygn. 62, pp. 299–312); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, JSS]; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]; RG-15.079M [Ring]; RG-15.084 [AŻIH, Relacje]); and VHF (e.g., # 12272, 43738).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/124, pp. 32–33, report of Dr. G. Wielikowski to JSS in Kraków, October 30, 1940.
2. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 19, sygn. 62, pp. 299–312.
3. Ibid., RG-15.079M, Ring I/847 [874.], "Geyrush Lomianki bay Varshe," February 12, 1941.
4. The list includes the name and surname, names of parents, profession, date of birth, and place from which each person arrived; see ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN, ASG), reel 19, sygn. 62, pp. 301–312.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/1108, Włochy Judenrat letters to JSS, January 1 and 13, 1941.
6. Ibid., 211/125, undated note in German about "Aussiedlungen im Distrikt Warschau," January 16, 1941.
7. The order is partially reprinted in Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Vollstrecker: Die Liquidation von 500.000 Juden im Ghetto Warschau* (Berlin: Arani, 1961), pp. 329–330.
8. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/847 [874.].
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 14, February 18, 1941. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 19, sygn. 62, p. 299, however, dates the ghetto's liquidation on February 26, 1941.
10. AŻIH, 301/5843, testimony of Anna and Zygmunt Wróbel.
11. Michał Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw, 1993), p. 147.
12. AŻIH, 301/2737, testimony of Alicja Prechner; VHF, # 12272, testimony of Irene Faitlowicz; # 43738, testimony of Irene Rubinstein.

WOŁOMIN (AKA SOSNÓWKA)

Pre-1939: Wołomin, town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Wolomin, Kreis Warschau-Land, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wołomin, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Wołomin is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Warsaw. The Jewish population in 1921 was 3,079, 49.3 percent of the total population. About 100 Jews living in villages nearby were also linked to the Wołomin community. By 1939, as a result of Polish economic policies and other disruptions, the number of Jews in Wołomin had declined to 3,000, only 22 percent of the total population.[1]

On the first day of World War II, the Germans bombed Wołomin, hitting neighborhoods that were predominantly Jewish and causing much damage and loss of life. The town was taken on September 13, 1939. From the first day the Germans tormented the Jews, stealing their possessions, robbing their stores, and grabbing men off the streets for forced labor. The most respected members of the community were ordered to sweep the streets and dance with their brooms. The Bet Midrash was burned together with the Torah scrolls on October 4, 1939.[2]

Many people fled eastward into areas taken by the Soviet army. In November, the occupiers also ordered the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by Yaakov Blumberg. The Judenrat's function was to meet all German demands; it had to organize forced labor groups and deliver money ("contributions") and valuables. It was assisted in its functions by a Jewish police force. At the end of 1939, Jews over the age of 12 were ordered to wear the Star of David. From the beginning of the occupation Jews were subject to random shootings. When these occurred, the Judenrat was notified and ordered to bury the victims.[3]

In October 1940, the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Wołomin.[4] The ghetto was composed of two neighborhoods. Jews were evicted from their homes and taken to the nearby settlement of Sosnówka,[5] which consisted mainly of summer houses. The Jews were put in the houses of the Polish farmers, who in turn were moved into the Jewish homes. The "nicer" neighborhood on the edge of Wołomin was for members of the Judenrat, the Jewish Police, and prominent members of the community. The larger and more crowded neighborhood was for the others. At first it was an "open ghetto" with a population of 2,800 Jews, including 600 refugees expelled from Pułtusk, Wyszków, Serock, and Nasielsk. Later on some displaced Jews arrived from Radzymin.[6]

Conditions in the ghetto were extremely overcrowded. Fourteen people, for example, were jammed into a small house with two rooms, a kitchen, and an attic.[7] There was a severe shortage of food, which had to be obtained at inflated prices from local Poles by bartering valuables and personal possessions. Jewish artisans and craftsmen were able to exchange their finished goods for food. Others did not fare so well. Within the ghetto there was a bakery, to which farmers brought their grain. Jews ground the grain into flour on concealed hand mills, and the farmers smuggled the bread into Warsaw.[8]

There were two young Jewish women from Wołomin who had "Aryan" features that enabled them to engage in smuggling. They would travel by train to the outskirts of Warsaw, board a tram that passed by the Warsaw ghetto (but was not allowed to discharge passengers), and bribe the driver to slow down so they could jump off the tram. Then they would bribe their way into the ghetto, exchange bread for clothing, and make their way back to the ghetto in Sosnówka. The clothing was traded to the farmers for more grain to bake more bread.[9]

There is a brief note of a wedding in the ghetto, without music, singing, or dancing. Instead of rejoicing, the families in attendance read psalms as a source of consolation. Jewish marriages were forbidden, so the wedding was seen as an act of defiance. There is no mention of dates or names.[10]

A local "currency" was created by which needy Jews could "pay" for their free hot meals. The ghetto leaders also established an orphanage and formed a sanitation department to supervise cleanliness and run the local hospital. The physicians in charge were Drs. Resnik and Freik. Jews engaged in forced labor left the ghetto each day to work on the railroad tracks and on the estates of Polish gentry. Hundreds of young people were sent to work at camps in Lipnik, Izabelin, and Wilanów. Three hundred youths worked in a labor camp on the farm of Count Potocki.[11]

At some time in the first half of 1941 (according to one account, in June), barbed wire was strung around the ghetto, making it an "enclosed ghetto." The Germans placed signs at the entrance reading: "Beware, Infectious Diseases: Entry for 'Aryans' Forbidden!" The entrance to the ghetto was guarded by Jewish policemen.[12] In February 1941, the number of ghetto inhabitants reached 3,000. Hundreds died from starvation, overcrowded conditions, and disease, especially typhus. The Germans imposed a fine of 2,000 złoty on anyone caught smuggling food. Sometimes the smugglers, including children, were shot on the spot. Among the worst perpetrators was an SS officer named Nowak.[13]

By the summer of 1942, word arrived that the Warsaw ghetto was being liquidated. Several survivors recall the train transports to the Treblinka extermination camp that passed within sight of the Wołomin ghetto. One woman wrote:

> I remember the trains. Day and night they rolled from Warsaw on the way to Treblinka. I could see the faces pressed against the small openings of the cattle cars. I could hear the cries of women and children. Often notes were thrown to the ground by someone in the transport warning: "Save yourselves," or "Do something, we are on our way to destruction." But of course, there was nothing we could do. It was too late. We were exhausted, starved, diseased, beaten.[14]

The Jews in the Sosnówka ghetto knew that nearly all the other ghettos in the vicinity had been liquidated and their day was coming soon. They frantically sought places to conceal themselves, in improvised hiding spots, underground bunkers, or the thick forests.[15] All those attempting to escape and caught by the local police were taken off to be killed in some unknown place. Many Poles were indifferent to the fate of the Jews or even hostile towards them; however, several Polish families, including Antony Kleimak and his wife who rescued two Jewish families, took considerable risks to aid escaped Jews.[16]

At the beginning of October, the Germans liquidated the Wołomin orphanage, taking the children into the forest and murdering them. The destruction of the ghetto community began on the night of October 2, 1942,[17] which was the holiday of Shemini Atzeret. By morning SS and Polish (Blue) Police had surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were driven from their houses into the village square. Anyone resisting was shot. Only a few managed to escape. They were taken to Radzymin and sent along with the Jews of that town to Treblinka. Around the same time the 300 youths working on the farm of Count Potocki were taken out and shot.[18] Polish sources indicate that as many as 620 Jews were shot altogether in and around Wołomin at the time of the ghetto liquidation.[19]

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jews of Wołomin and their fate during the Holocaust include the following: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin* (Tel Aviv: Wolomin Society, 1971); and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 184–186. The ghetto in Wołomin is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 570; and Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (prepared originally by ITS in 1949–1951; repr., with new introductory matter, Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 690.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Wołomin under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 211/1132-33 [JSS]; Ring II, PH/41-1-5); IPN (ASG, sygn. 62, p. 222); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 52); VHF (e.g., # 10331, 14868, 18625, 30068, 39044); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 36; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 21 (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), p. 153.
2. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 382; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; VHF, # 10331, testimony of Solomon Aidelson.
3. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; VHF, # 14868, testimony of Henry Kruger; # 18625, testimony of Kuba Markusfeld; Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 381.
4. VHF, # 10331.
5. In 1921, Sosnówka had a Jewish population of 20; *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965). The ghetto in Sosnówka is referred to in some sources as Kobyłka. In fact this was part of the Wołomin ghetto.
6. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; AŻIH, 211/1132, p. 3, report dated December 30, 1940.
7. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 385.
8. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; VHF, # 18625.
9. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 388.
10. Ibid., p. 397. One child survivor also recalls celebrating her fifth birthday party in the ghetto with several friends; VHF, # 39044, testimony of Rita Ross.
11. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; AŻIH, 211/1133; VHF, # 18625.

12. Kapl Berman, "Meyn iberlebenishn in geto," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 418; VHF, # 14868; # 39044; # 10331, dates the enclosure of the ghetto in June 1941, linking it to the German attack on the Soviet Union.

13. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; AŻIH, 211/1133; Berman, "Meyn iberlebenishn in geto," p. 418; VHF, # 14868; # 10331.

14. Riva Kopyto Pfeffer, "Volomin Remembered," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 582 (English-language entry); see also VHF, # 10331.

15. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, pp. 383–385; VHF, # 10331.

16. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186. Among those named as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem is Eleonora Warszawska of Wołomin, who hid the Rubinstein family after they escaped from the ghetto; see Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 849. VHF, # 14868, Kruger mentions the hostile attitude of some Poles he encountered after escaping from the ghetto.

17. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin*, p. 389; Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 587.

18. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region*, p. 186; VHF, # 10331.

19. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 570.

ŻELECHÓW

Pre-1939: Żelechów, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zelechow, Kreis Garwolin, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Żelechów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Żelechów is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) southeast of Warsaw. By 1921, it had 4,806 Jewish residents.

On entering Żelechów in September 1939, the Germans burned the synagogue. Soon after, a number of Jews from the shelled town of Garwolin arrived.



Deportation of Jews from the Żelechów ghetto, September 30, 1942.
USHMM WS #50433, COURTESY OF IPN

In November 1939, the new authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), initially chaired by Israel Mordecai Engel. Szulim Finkelsztajn (Shalom Finkelstein), the pre-war leader of Żelechów's Zionists, soon replaced Engel. The Judenrat also included Dawid Kesselbrener (deputy), the craftsman Welwel Szprynger (Velvel Shpringer), Moses Weislander, and the tradesman Chaim Dawid Altman.

Altman also chaired the Judenrat affiliated self-help committee, which included the following members: Łódź journalist Izrael Lichtenstein (also in charge of the soup kitchen), Lipno refugee Dawid Bromberg, and Majer Dobrzyński of Łaskarzew. In the course of 1940, the kitchen operated for only 156 days. The Judenrat, the self-help committee, and the soup kitchen were located at 28 Piłsudski Street.

One of the Judenrat's first assignments was the selection of 150 Jews for labor on a German managed estate in Jarczew. Survivor Halina Gedanken recalls that after the ghetto's establishment, these laborers, having been provided with proof of employment, were permitted to walk the 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) to the estate unescorted.

By the summer of 1940, Żelechów's Jews were obliged to pay rent to continue living in their houses. Shops and businesses were either confiscated or assigned to a non-Jewish commissar. In July and August 1940, 1,200 refugees from Warsaw and Maciejowice arrived. At the end of this period, a medical office for ambulatory patients managed by gynecologist Dr. Mordechaj Szkop was organized.[1]

In October 1940, an open ghetto was established in Żelechów. The ghetto was unfenced, but the Jews, as survivor Dwora Shamai recalls, knew where the borders were. The center of the town—with its marketplace and adjacent streets—was assigned to the ghetto, as many of Żelechów's Jews already lived there. The following streets were included in the ghetto: Chłopicki, Traugutt, Kościuszko, 11 Listopada, and Piłsudski. Those Poles living within this area were forcibly removed and consigned to Jewish houses outside the ghetto.

Poles were allowed access to the ghetto. In addition, the Tuesday market continued to operate in the town's market square, with non-Jewish participants also receiving access. With rumors of deportations circulating by the summer of 1942, posts were erected around the ghetto in preparation for establishing a fence, but the job was never completed.[2]

In December 1940, a Jewish police force was established, commanded by Mejlach Szarfharc. One of the policemen—Bromberg—was later shot by the Germans. Subsequently, a 50-man fire brigade was established. Its members were exempted from forced labor and permitted to leave the ghetto.

Confiscations and house searches became more and more frequent. Living conditions in the overcrowded dwellings deteriorated. For example, in January 1941, the Judenrat reported: "Due to the establishment of a Jewish quarter in Żelechów, living conditions are terrible." Of the 18,000 Jews in the Kreis, 12,000 were living in Żelechów by February 1942. (This total includes the 600 Jews transferred there from Stoczek Łukowski on February 9, 1941). The soup kitchen served 1,000 meals daily; half of them for 5 groszy each, the other half for no payment.

Since the Kreis center, Garwolin, had been almost completely depopulated of Jews, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków considered establishing its main branch for the Kreis elsewhere, with Żelechów a strong candidate, as it contained the most Jews. This office would supervise welfare assistance for the remainder of the Kreis, with smaller local branch organizations to be established in the other towns, where Jews still resided. Finkelsztajn sent numerous memoranda to Kraków insisting that Żelechów should be the Kreis seat, but the existing Żelechów self-help committee, consisting mostly of refugees, who claimed Finkelsztajn was corrupt to the bone, successfully undermined his credibility. Other localities were also against the establishment of the seat in Żelechów, particularly as the German Kreis authorities were based in Garwolin. Nevertheless, Finkelsztajn defended his position: "Neither Stoczek, Parysów, nor any other gossipy, malicious types from Żelechów, can guarantee credible insight [on who is able to provide social assistance], but we—and only we—deserve this trust."[3]

In April 1941, "due to [unhealthy] relations between local activists" in Żelechów, and despite the fact that the Germans had expelled all but 36 Jewish families from Garwolin, Kraków decided to establish the Kreis JSS committee there. Finkelsztajn finally fought his way onto the Kreis JSS committee by proposing that he should be included in it so as "not to encounter obstacles." As of July 1941, he was a member, along with Jonathan Klepfisz and J. Wasserman.

The local branch of the JSS was established in Żelechów in April 1941. It included Dr. Mordechaj Szkop (as chairman), Dawid Bromberg (as deputy), Izrael Lichtenstein, Dawid Kesselbrener, Chil Judensznajder, Jankiel Lejb Goldcwajg, and Wolf Springer; membership was reduced to the initial three by July 1941. Nonetheless, Judenrat-JSS relations did not improve. In May 1941, Szkop wrote to Kraków, "Finkelsztajn felt that a potato and an ounce of bread are slipping from his hands. [He] began to terrorize me in ways unacceptable . . . to force me to resign." Although this committee also offered to include Finkelsztajn, so as to be able to work in a "peaceful atmosphere," relations only worsened with time. The committee continued to give examples of Finkelsztajn's fraud. The JSS members claimed that they were not allowed to leave the ghetto due to Finkelsztajn's actions.[4]

Following the start of the German-Soviet war in June 1941, Jews could leave the ghetto only for reasons of conscripted labor. That same month, four young Jews were caught smuggling sugar into the ghetto and sentenced to death; a fifth person was shot by the Germans when trying to exchange a fur for food with farmers.

In June 1941, with deteriorating sanitary conditions and cases of typhus appearing in the ghetto, the authorities ordered the opening of a 20-bed hospital. What came to be an epidemic reached its peak in August and September of 1941. By the end of that year, 637 Jews had been treated for typhus. With only 19 cases in January and 9 in February 1942, the epidemic was then considered to have been contained. At its height, during September 1941, a number of Jews were taken to the nearby labor camp in Wilga, where they dug drainage ditches near the Vistula River.[5]

In November 1941, "due to the forcible expulsion of Jews from some towns in the Kreis," 900 additional Jews were resettled to Żelechów. The community was informed of their arrival on November 15, 1941—only five days beforehand. The newcomers included almost all the remaining Jews from Garwolin (which then became free of Jews), as well as residents of Huta Dąbrowa, Koryczany, and other villages.

As of November 1941, the Jews were allowed to live in only six localities within the Kreis: Parysów, Sobienie Jeziory, Stoczek Łukowski, Sobolew, Łaskarzew, and Żelechów. In December 1941, the Kreishauptmann moved the JSS seat to Żelechów, as both Wasserman and Klepfisz had been transferred there.

In December 1941, 3 Jews were hanged in the market square (a female teacher, a policeman, and a tradesman). In January 1942, there were reportedly 11,000 Jews living in the ghetto. Increasing poverty caused one third of the ghetto's population to apply for winter aid, consisting of fuel and potatoes. Over 2,500 Jews applied for soup kitchen meals, yet only 1,600 were available.

The situation of the incoming refugees was especially difficult. In February 1942, Szkop sent the following comment to Kraków: "The Jewish cemetery has expanded thanks to the hospitality of local citizens towards their refugee brothers." Moreover, "a refugee, as unwanted, is abused, and humiliated."[6]

On March 4, 1942, the Judenrat opened a one-room orphanage for 20 children, which the JSS termed a "children's cage." As the power struggle continued, the Kreishauptmann ordered the deportation of Dr. Szkop to Sobienie by March 15, 1942; the deadline subsequently was postponed for one month. In the meantime, Szkop's coworkers reported: "Szkop is of late afraid to visit the JSS office, believing that for this price, Finkelsztajn will allow him to stay." Finkelsztajn denied any involvement. Klepfisz—who replaced Szkop in April—was arrested on June 7, 1942, and sent to the Wilga camp.[7]

In mid-July 1942, the Germans shot Finkelsztajn. Lichtensztajn was nominated as the new chairman of a reorganized Judenrat. By mid-August 1942, Gedalia Kijewski had replaced him. A number of executions took place in the course of the summer in Żelechów, including those of the Polish Bürgermeister Ludwik Pudło and policeman Władysław Rybak, both of whom were sympathetic to Jews.

In July 1942, 400 laborers were sent to Wilga and 300 to Mińsk Mazowiecki. Those sent to Mińsk were repairing the Mińsk-Siedlce road for the Wolfer und Goebel Company. Another 200 Żelechów laborers worked on the Dęblin-Ryki road for the Schalinger Company. On September 18, 1942, the Kreishauptmann permitted the opening of workshops in Żelechów; however, there was work for only 20 carpenters, who were ordered to make windows and doors for 18 barracks.[8]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, a Jewish underground organization existed in the ghetto under the command of Isaac Weislander. It gathered clothing and food for Russian prisoners of war (POWs) who had fled from a nearby camp. Weislander was killed after some Poles informed on him, and the

group was disbanded. According to *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, Yosef Melinkowski was the leader of the Żelechów underground.

Terror in the ghetto intensified just prior to its liquidation. In the course of September and early October 1942, over 700 Jews were shot and buried in 14 mass graves. According to Gedanken, the community sensed the approaching liquidation. The Germans did not announce it. On the contrary, "to mislead the Jews" they ordered shoes from cobblers one day before the liquidation.[9]

The ghetto was surrounded on September 30, 1942. In the morning, accompanied by the sound of sirens, Żelechów's Jews were chased out onto the square, on which there stood the remains of the burned-out synagogue. Approximately 70 persons were killed during the Aktion. The remainder were taken to the train station in Sobolew (20 kilometers [12 miles] to the southwest), and from there they were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.

The Germans left only the following Jews in Żelechów: 50 members of the fire brigade, the Jewish Police, and 25 craftsmen. The task of the firemen was to bury the dead and then sort Jewish property. Upon completing these tasks, they were sent to the Wilga camp, and then to another camp near Sobolew. The craftsmen continued working in the former study house until they were murdered on February 28, 1943. All the members of the Jewish Police, approximately 20 people including its commander Szarfharc, were shot at the Jewish cemetery in the spring of 1943.[10]

Several of the ghetto's residents who had fled the deportation joined a partisan group led by Samuel Olshak. In 1943, the unit became more active, thanks to weapons airdropped by the Soviets. Its actions included operations to free Soviet POWs from a camp near Dęblin-Irena, as well as the destruction of railways and highways in the Dęblin-Lubartów area.

SOURCES The following publications include information on the Żelechów ghetto: Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 598; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 199–203; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 975–977.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/755 [AJDC]; 211/394, 211/1176-1180 [JSS]; 301/4800, 301/5820 [Relacje]); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.019M [Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos]); and VHF (# 12350, 30347).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/755 (Żelechów), p. 8; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1176 (Żelechów), pp. 1, 7–8, 12–13; AŻIH, 301/5820, testimony of Halina Gedanken; *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 6, 1942.

2. VHF, # 12350, testimony of Dwora Shamai, 1996; # 30347, testimony of Janusz Sierczyński, 1997; AŻIH, 301/5820; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1179 (Żelechów), p. 43.

3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 6, 1942; VHF, # 30347; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1177 (Żelechów), pp. 2–8, 12–15, 38; 211/1178 (Żelechów), p. 51.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/394 (Garwolin), pp. 19, 42–44, 57, 63; 211/1176, pp. 29, 49–51; 211/1177, pp. 6, 16–18, 22, 25–26; 211/1178, pp. 29–31; and 211/1179, pp. 19–21.

5. Ibid., 211/1177, pp. 27, 35–36, 50; 211/1178, pp. 3, 8–9; and 211/1179, p. 35.

6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 9, 1942; AŻIH, 301/4800, testimony of Jankiel Grynblat, 1950; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1178, pp. 40–42, 47, 59, 64–65; and 211/1179, pp. 5–6, 19–21, 40.

7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1179, pp. 36–37, 53–54, 68–69, 73; 211/1180 (Żelechów), p. 3; *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 29, 1942.

8. AŻIH, 301/5820; *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 16, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1180, pp. 17–18, 21, 33; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo siedleckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, IPN, 1985), pp. 337–338.

9. AŻIH, 301/5820.

10. USHMM, RG-15.019M (Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos), reel 13, file 307-308; AŻIH, 301/5820; *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 339.

ŻYRARDÓW

Pre-1939: Żyrardów (Yiddish: Zshirardov), town, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zyrardow, Kreis Sochaczew, Distrikt Warschau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Żyrardów, województwo mazowieckie, Poland

Żyrardów is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Warsaw. It is named after Philip Girard (Żyrard), the French inventor of the spinning mill, who first set up spinning mills in Poland in 1825. In 1921, there were 2,547 Jews living in Żyrardów, comprising 12 percent of the total population. On the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, there were more than 3,000 Jews in Żyrardów, out of a total population of more than 30,000.

In the war's first days, there was great panic as thousands of fleeing refugees passed through and the Luftwaffe bombed the town. Some local Jews also sought to escape. A few made it across the border into areas under Soviet control, but most were forced to return by the rapid German advance. German forces captured the town on September 8, 1939. Jewish properties were plundered by the local Polish population, as well as by "Poles" who were recognized as ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) by the new authorities. The Germans held refugees from Łódź for two weeks in an open stadium, without cover from the rain. The refugees were greatly helped by local Jews, who brought them food and clothing.[1]



The deportation of Jews from the Żyrardów ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #81229, COURTESY OF IPN

In October 1939, the German military authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by Jacob Baran (formerly a member of the Mizrachi political party).[2] On October 26, 1939, a German civil administration took over from the German military: Żyrardów was incorporated into Kreis Sochaczew. The Kreishauptmann was Landrat Pott. The head of the Judenrat, Baran, believed that "money will soften the heart of the German," and he collected contributions from all segments of the Jewish population to bribe the Germans.[3] Following the initial abuses and forced labor, there was a period of relative quiet in Żyrardów, with the required number of laborers being provided daily by the Judenrat.[4]

In July 1940, the Jewish population of the town was about 3,200, including some 1,000 refugees, mostly from parts of Poland annexed to the Reich, and almost all in desperate need.[5] In December 1939, the Judenrat had established a public kitchen, which by January 1941 was serving 700 meals per day and also distributing food products to 600 needy people.[6] Under the authority of the Judenrat, a Jewish court was established for the Jews of the town, regulating mainly disputes between Jewish tenants and subtenants; its decisions were also recognized by the other local courts.[7]

In December 1940, the Germans established a Jewish residential area (*dzielnica żydowska*), or open ghetto, in Żyrardów.[8] The Jews were given until December 15 to move into the specified ghetto area, which lay within the following streets (German names): Familienstrasse, 1. Maistrasse, and Bahnhofstrasse. Some houses on the streets leading to Banhofstrasse were excluded from the ghetto. The Jews were permitted to take their smaller household items (*Hausrat*) with them but officially were supposed to leave the furniture (*Einrichtungsgegenstände*) behind. Accommodation within the Jewish quarter was to be assigned by the Judenrat. After December 15, Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto. To assist with the transfer, a 50-member unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was established. The Jews were obliged to report to the authorities the addresses of all the apartments vacated by the move into the ghetto.[9]

In the second half of January 1941, 900 Jews from Sochaczew, and additional Jews from other places in the Kreis, including Mszczonów, were moved into the Żyrardów ghetto. A telegram from the Jewish Council in Żyrardów was received on January 19 by the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Warsaw that read: "Very many Jews from Sochaczew have arrived—requesting immediate help." The Judenrat housed a number of the new arrivals in the synagogue, where they were subjected to severe beatings and abuse from the German Gendarmerie.[10] Due to the short period of its existence, there were no serious outbreaks of disease in the Żyrardów ghetto and only a few deaths from illness or starvation.

On January 31, 1941, the Germans issued an instruction to the Judenrat that all the Jews were to be transferred to the Warsaw ghetto within 48 hours, taking with them no more than 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of their belongings.[11] Although Baran had known about the deportation plan before, he kept it secret, hoping somehow to forestall it through bribes. Therefore, no one was prepared when the news of the resettlement was announced.[12]

On February 1, 1941, German forces surrounded the Jewish residential area, and going from house to house, they took the Jews out to waiting railcars, separating men from women.[13] The Jews were transported for one day and one night without being told their destination. Upon arrival in Warsaw, everyone was ordered to undress and taken to the bath; their clothing was steamed, and women's hair was cut.

Some secondary sources indicate that similar short-lived ghettos were also established in the neighboring towns of Mszczonów and Wiskitki (Yiddish: Viskit).[14] The available contemporary documentation does not appear to confirm this, although it remains unclear. According to a report in the *Gazeta Żydowska*, dated January 24, 1941, at that time it was still not known whether the Jews of Mszczonów would remain in place or be transferred to the Jewish quarter in Żyrardów. A subsequent report dated January 28 mentions a 6:00 P.M. curfew in Mszczonów and that exceptions were permitted only for those with special permits.[15] The Kreishauptmann's January 30 order concerning the clearing of Jews from the Kreis mentions that henceforth the Jews were confined to their residential

areas (*Wohngebiete*). However, the same order lists Żyrardów, Wiskitki, and Mszczonów together for transfer to the Warsaw ghetto between February 1 and 9—implying, perhaps, that all these Jews were to be expelled via the Żyrardów ghetto.[16]

Firsthand accounts of the events in Mszczonów could not be located. However, two survivors from Wiskitki both report that in the period just before the expulsion to Warsaw the Jewish Council faced repeated demands for contributions from the Germans. The Jews surrendered all their remaining jewelry, silver, and gold, as each time they were assured that if they paid, the Germans would not create a ghetto in Wiskitki. Neither of them states that a ghetto was created but rather that on February 4 the Jews of Wiskitki were marched through the snow to Żyrardów, where they spent one night in the deserted ghetto, six or seven families to a room, before being sent on to the Warsaw ghetto the next day. Fajga Wołkowicz confirmed that two days earlier the Jews of Żyrardów had been expelled to Warsaw but noted that the Żyrardów Judenrat head, Baran, and his helpers were still there to supervise the loading of the Wiskitki Jews.[17] Already on February 3, a permit was issued by the branch of the Arbeitsamt (labor office) in Żyrardów for one of its employees to remove salvaged Jewish property from the Jewish residential area.[18] On February 11, 1941, the *Gazeta Żydowska* reported the arrival of 600 Jews from Żyrardów in the Warsaw ghetto; these Jews were sent for disinfection at a facility on Spokojnej Street.[19]

During the last months of 1941 and the first of 1942, a severe typhus epidemic in the Warsaw ghetto claimed the lives of many Jews from Żyrardów and its surrounding areas. The worst conditions of hunger and disease came in January 1942.[20] Jacob Baron, the former head of the Żyrardów Judenrat, registered for "volunteer" work in the Warsaw ghetto and never returned after the war.[21] The majority of the remaining Jews from Żyrardów were deported to the extermination camps from Warsaw in the summer and fall of 1942.

A number of Jews from Żyrardów played an active role in the Warsaw Uprising in April and May 1943.[22] Among those who were killed in the fighting was Itzhak Bloistein—one of the organizers of the uprising and the commander of a Dror (Freedom) detachment. Other fighters from Żyrardów who laid down their lives included Itzhak Greenboim, Aaron Haldzband, Moshe Ziegler, Feivl Schwarzstein, and the Jewish women Irke Yakobowitch and Roize Blumstein.[23]

Abraham Margolis from Żyrardów was a member of the group who planned the uprising at the Sobibór extermination camp. Margolis was 1 of 47 Jews known to have successfully escaped from the camp and survived the war.[24]

SOURCES Much of this entry is based on the yizkor book, Mardekhai V. Bernshteyn, ed., *Pinkes Zshirardov*, *Amshinov un Viskit: Yizker-bukh tsu der geshikhte fun di kehiles . . .* (Buenos Aires: Di landlayt-faraynen in Amerike, Yisroel, Frankraykh, Argentine, 1961). Additional information on the Jewish population of the town can be found in Elżbieta Hulka-Laskowska, *Żyrardowscy Żydzi w mojej pamięci* (Żyrardów: Stacja Naukowa MOBN, 1985).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jewish communities of Żyrardów, Mszczonów, and Wiskitki under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., Ring I/328/2, 352, 353, 458, 947, 1261; and 211/1071 and 1190); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH, Ring]); VHF (e.g., # 11002); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, pp. 453–454. According to another account in AŻIH, Ring I/458, published in Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 230, the sports stadium camp held mostly Polish POWs. This account notes that "Jewish soldiers had to suffer much abuse from their Polish colleagues" and that "city people brought plenty of food, but demanded high prices."

2. Isruel Milnbak, "Der ershter Pogrom un nach im," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 482.

3. M. Boymerder, "In Iene Teg," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 466.

4. Etarah Blumenshtayn, "Geblibn Eyne," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 525.

5. Rukhl Fogel, "Dos gevein fun Zshirardover geto," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 473.

6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 54 (AŻIH, 211/1190), correspondence of the Jewish Council of Elders and Aid Committee in Żyrardów with the JSS in Kraków. These documents are also published in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, pp. 455–462.

7. Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 454; see also Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (1972; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 181.

8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 54 (AŻIH, 211/1190), Żyrardów, January 14, 1941, letter to JSS in Kraków.

9. Ibid., RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/353; see also Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 454.

10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1071, p. 56; Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 454; *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 11, February 7, 1941. Avraham Margulis, "Sobibor—Dos Schechtheuz far Mentshn," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 506, however, dates the transfer of Jews from Mszczonów, Wiskitki, and Sochaczew in December 1941. See also Paweł Fijałkowski, *Żydzi sochaczewscy* (Sochaczew: Muzeum Ziemi Sochaczewskiej i Pola Bitwy nad Bzura, 1989), p. 22; and Milnbak, "Der ershter Pogrom," p. 484, which dates the transfer in January 1941.

11. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/352, Kreishauptmann Sochaczew-Blonie, order concerning the clearing of the Kreis of Jews, January 31, 1941.

12. Fogel, "Dos gevein," p. 469.

13. Berel Vaytser, "Vie azoy mir hobn sikh geratevet," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 517.

14. For example, Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 503–504, describes an open ghetto in Mszczonów; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator*

encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 564, mentions a ghetto in Wiskitki.

15. *Gazeta Żydowska*, nos. 7–8, January 24 and 28, 1941.

16. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/352.

17. VHF, # 11002, testimony of Samuel Feldman; AŻIH, 301/5992, testimony of Fajga Wołkowicz.

18. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/328/2.

19. *Gazeta Żydowska*, no. 12, February 11, 1941.

20. See Kermish, *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor*, pp. 326–327.

21. Freyde Sheradzki, "Zvishn lebn un teut," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 502.

22. "Die finf Zshirardover heldn," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, pp. 497–500.

23. Yosele Yakubovitsh, "Begegnishn mit Zshirardover Yidn," in Bernshteyn, *Pinkes Zshirardov*, p. 569.

24. Margulis, "Sobibor," pp. 507–515. The 47 survivors are listed in Jules Schelvis, *Sobibor: A History of a Nazi Death Camp* (Oxford: Berg in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), p. 168.

KRAKÓW REGION



View of the Kraków ghetto gate, ca. 1941. The text in Yiddish reads Yidisher Voynbazirk (Jewish residential district).
USHMM WS #73170, COURTESY OF IPN

KRAKÓW REGION (DISTRIKT KRAKAU)

Pre-1939: parts of the Kraków, Kielce, and Lwów województwa, Poland; 1941–1945: Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: parts of województwa podkarpackie, małopolskie, and świętokrzyskie, Poland

Distrikt Krakau was established by the German authorities on October 26, 1939, as one of the four initial Distrikte of the Generalgouvernement. On this date the city of Kraków became the capital of the Generalgouvernement, where Generalgouverneur Hans Frank soon took up residence in the Wawel Castle, as well as the capital of Distrikt Krakau. The Distrikt was divided into 12 Kreise (counties), each governed by a Kreishauptmann. The Kreise were Debica, Jaroslau, Jaslo, Krakau-Land, Krosno, Miechow, Neumarkt, Neu-Sandez, Przemysl, Reichshof, Sanok, and Tarnow.

According to German statistics from 1940, Distrikt Krakau held more than 200,000 Jews, exceeding 5 percent of the total population.[1] These statistics, however, are likely an underestimate, as they do not fully reflect the large influx of Jewish refugees that arrived at the end of 1939 from Polish territories incorporated into the Reich.

The chief German civil authority in the Distrikt was initially Distrikt governor Dr. Otto Gustav Wächter, who was succeeded first by Richard Wendler, then by Dr. Ludwig Losacker (provisionally), and finally by Dr. Kurt von Burgsdorff. The SS and Police Leader (SSPF) was the senior police official in the Distrikt, subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger. The position of SSPF in Distrikt Krakau was held in the following succession: Hans Walter Zech, SS-Oberführer Julian Scherner, and finally SS-Sturmbannführer Willi Haase. The SSPF oversaw the forces of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) in the Distrikt and also those of the Ordnungspolizei (Orpo), which included both the Schutzpolizei (Schupo) in the cities and the Gendarmerie in the smaller towns and rural areas. The relevant local civil administrators, the Kreishauptmänner and their subordinates, were generally in charge of ghetto affairs. Surveillance and order were in the hands of the German Sipo and Orpo forces. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) kept order in the ghettos, guarding their internal borders, whereas Orpo forces and Polish (Blue) Police patrolled the ghettos externally.

Taking over authority from the military on October 26, 1939, the German civil administration introduced a series of antisemitic laws that deprived the Jews of their economic, cultural, and social rights and regulated forced labor.[2] On November 28, 1939, the Generalgouverneur ordered the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenräte) for each Jewish community.[3] The members were to be held personally responsible for the implementation of German orders. The main tasks of the Jewish Councils included the organization of forced labor, the collection of taxes and contributions, registration, the enforcement of sanitary regulations, and the organization of welfare and medical services. As of December 1, 1939, all Jews were obliged to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.[4]

Several improvised ghettos—for example, in Pruchnik, Sanok, and Leżajsk and, according to one source, also in Przeworsk—were established in Distrikt Krakau at the end of 1939. These ghettos were formed in response to the Soviet authorities closing the frontier to further immigration by Jews. Once German expulsion efforts in various border towns had failed to drive all the Jews across the border, in some places those that remained were forced to move together in specific parts of town. These early, improvised ghettos were established around November or December 1939, that is, just after the first documented ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski (Distrikt Radom).

In the summer of 1940, Generalgouverneur Hans Frank announced a temporary halt to ghetto establishment. Nevertheless, in some towns, such as Tarnów, the first stage of ghettoization commenced with the exclusion of Jews from specific streets in the center of town. The main development at this time was the removal of Jews from the capital city of Kraków, as Stadthauptmann Dr. Carl Schmid sought to reduce considerably its Jewish population of more than 60,000 people. Initially Jews were encouraged to leave voluntarily. In response, tens of thousands of Jews left Kraków, mainly for other towns in the Distrikt: for example, some 4,000 fled to Tarnów and another 1,000 to Miechów. Then from November 1940 until March 1941, about 10,000 Jews were deported from the city of Kraków into Distrikt Lublin.

The establishment of the Kraków ghetto in March 1941 was followed by a wave of ghetto creation in the spring of 1941: additional ghettos were set up, for example, in Miechów, Bochnia, Jasło, and Wolbrom. Most of these ghettos were initially unfenced, although some were enclosed subsequently. In Miechów, the Judenrat was instructed to build a 5-meter-high (16.4-feet-high) wall topped with barbed wire. Jews continued to work outside the ghettos, facilitating the smuggling in of food to support the ghetto inhabitants.

The administration of welfare was transferred from the Jewish Councils to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, which had set up branches in most places with a significant Jewish population by mid-1941. The JSS branches opened soup kitchens, distributed food and clothing, and sought to provide for children and the elderly. The level of assistance was generally insufficient to meet the dire needs of the Jewish



Jews forced out of Myślenice taking their household possessions on horsedrawn wagons, under the supervision of Kraków district officials, on August 22, 1942. Maria Gorniesiewicz clandestinely photographed this scene from the balcony of her second-story apartment.
USHMM WS #38494 COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION: GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

population, but it served to ameliorate conditions for the poorest Jews. Jewish Councils were criticized for their treatment of refugees, alleged corruption, and favoritism. However, the Judenräte inevitably faced "choiceless choices," which also produced a high turnover among their leadership. A number were killed for failing to meet the incessant and impossible German demands. The Judenräte's most common response to German pressure was bribery, but this had little chance of success in the long term, as Jewish financial resources became exhausted.

Following another brief halt to ghettoization, ordered by Hans Frank in the summer of 1941s, a more intense wave of ghetto establishment started towards the end of that year. Among the reasons for the Germans to establish ghettos were concerns about the spread of typhus among the Jews, the desire to control black market activities, and the acquisition of space in the cities and towns. On October 25, 1941, Generalgouverneur Frank decreed that henceforth Jews leaving their place of residence without permission were subject to the death penalty.[5] Although formal ghettoization was not as widespread as in Distrikt Radom, more than 25 additional ghettos were established between October 1941 and February 1942 in Distrikt Krakau, many of them unfenced. Several of these were in Kreis Reichshof, where on December 17, 1941, Kreishauptmann Dr. Heinz Ehaus had ordered the establishment of Jewish quarters, setting dates for them to be closed. In Rzeszów, the closing order was effective on January 10, 1942; for the remainder of the Kreis, it was February 1, 1942. In Kolbuszowa, also in Kreis Reichshof, where a ghetto had been established previously in June 1941, on January 5, 1942, posters were put up around the ghetto, prohibiting Germans and other "Aryans" from entering the ghetto without a special pass.[6]

The new more stringent movement restrictions severely impacted Jewish communities. Jews now had to risk their lives to buy or barter for food with villagers. In the spring and early summer of 1942, there was a further wave of consolidation, as Jews in many smaller communities were moved to the nearest towns. In some regions, this process of consolidation had started earlier. For example, about 2,000 Jews from the surrounding region had been concentrated in the Nowy Targ ghetto in May 1941, as the Germans attempted to clear the border region near Slovakia of Jews.[7] Some towns, such as Mszana Dolna, were named as concentration points for Jews, but no separate residential district (ghetto) was established there.[8]

As living conditions for Jews deteriorated in the first half of 1942, the terror of the Gestapo also intensified. In February 1942, the Security Police shot about 50 Jews in Jasło who had been allowed to return from Eastern Galicia in the fall of 1941. A similar Aktion was conducted in Tarnów a few weeks later. These people were deemed suspect as they had lived under Soviet rule. In the spring of 1942, the Security Police also seized and killed prominent Jewish social and political activists in a number of ghettos in Distrikt Krakau, especially any Jews known to be Communists, Socialists, or Zionists. For example, the head of the Gestapo in Nowy Sącz, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann, received orders from the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) in Kraków to arrest and shoot all Jews in the Kreis known to be Communists or to sympathize with them. In response, Hamann obtained an old membership list for the Poalei Zion (left-wing Zionist) movement and ordered that all those on the list be arrested with the assistance of the Jewish Councils and Jewish Police. When the head of the Judenrat in Grybów attempted to limit the effects of this order, arresting only 20 people from a much longer list, Hamann ordered the shooting of 5 members each from the Judenrat and the Jewish Police.[9] Similar "anti-Communist" Aktions took place, for example, in Rzeszów and Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The goal was to terrorize Jews and forestall efforts at resistance just prior to the deportations. At the same time, the Germans were rounding up young Jews for work in labor camps within the Distrikt, including those in Biesiadka, Pustków, and Płaszów.

In March 1942, the complete expulsion of the Jews from Mielec provided an indication of the terrible fate awaiting the Jewish communities of Distrikt Krakau. In a brutal Aktion, about 500 people were murdered in and around the town, 750 were selected for the Pustków camp, and another 3,000 were deported to various towns in Distrikt Lublin.

In 1942, the Jewish Councils and the JSS conducted a campaign to find employment for as many Jews as possible. Attempts were made to secure work for Jews, including women,



Religious Jews from Jasło, rounded up for forced labor or deportation, are crowded onto the back of a truck, ca. 1940.
USHMM WS #08311, COURTESY OF MUZEUM OKRĘGOWE W RADOMIU



Jews are ferried from Sandomierz to the Kraków ghetto, 1940.
USHMM WS #14688, COURTESY OF ARCHIWUM DOKUMENTACJI MECHANICZNEJ

in agriculture and to establish workshops and vocational training courses. As news spread of large-scale deportations, there was a growing conviction that only those whom the Germans considered useful would be spared.

The organization of the deportations was in the hands of the SSPF and his staff. The ghetto liquidation Aktions were implemented by the German Security Police assisted by a number of Trawniki-trained auxiliaries and German Order Police units. In some places, units of the Polish (Blue) Police and Jewish Police were involved in the roundups. The Construction Service (Baudienst) organization, made up of conscripted Polish young men, was occasionally tasked with digging and filling in mass graves.

The main wave of deportation Aktions in Distrikt Krakau took place between June 1 and mid-September 1942—that is, within a period of only three and a half months. All of these transports were directed to the Bełżec extermination center. The first deportation Aktion took place on June 1 to June 8, 1942, from the Kraków ghetto. An additional group of Jews from Słomniki was added to this transport. Another large-scale deportation then followed from the Tarnów ghetto. The remaining deportations were carried out more or less Kreis by Kreis, as follows: Reichshof and Debica in July; Jaroslau, Krosno, Jaslo, Neu-Sandez, Neumarkt, and Krakau-Land in August; Miechow, Sanok, and Tarnow in September. A further large-scale Aktion was conducted in the Kraków ghetto at the end of October, while most of the smaller remnant ghettos were cleared in November 1942.[10] It seems that in a number of places Jews continued to live in their former houses, without ghettoization, right up to the deportations, as, for example, in Skalbmierz, while for a few locations, there is inadequate documentation to determine whether a ghetto was established.[11]

The concentration process connected with the deportations, however, did produce a further wave of ghetto establishment. In Kreis Tarnow, ghettos were established in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Brzesko, Tuchów, Zakliczyn, and Żabno in the summer of 1942 to serve as concentration points up to the main deportation Aktions in mid-September 1942.[12] At the time of the deportations, Kreishauptmann Dr. Kipke issued proclamations threatening Poles with the death penalty for concealing Jews and ordering them not to buy or receive Jewish property.[13]

Some ghettos were set up only a few weeks before the deportations, as was the case in Sędziszów Małopolski and Ropczyce. In other places, such as Słomniki and Radomyśl Wielki, the announcement of a "ghetto" by the German authorities was used mainly as a ruse to allay Jews' fears during the period of concentration.

Two large collection ghettos were established in the Kreis centers of Dębica and Rzeszów, which held most of the Jews of their respective Kreis just prior to deportation. Some Jews were transferred twice during the period of consolidation. For example, the Jews of the Ropczyce ghetto were transferred first to the Sędziszów Małopolski ghetto before being deported to Bełżec via the Dębica ghetto. In most places, the sick and the elderly, as well as those uncovered in hiding or resisting deportation, were shot locally.

At several locations in Distrikt Krakau, almost all the Jews were shot not far from their places of residence, rather than being deported to Bełżec. In Mszana Dolna, where no ghetto had been established, more than 880 of the town's 1,029 Jews were shot on the orders of Heinrich Hamann on August 19, 1942, just outside the town.[14] In Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, after the selection of 30 Jews to be sent to the Gorlice ghetto, the remaining 364 Jews were shot in the nearby Dąbry Forest, located only about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the ghetto. Similar mass shootings were conducted against the Jews from the ghettos in Jasienica Rosielna, Kołaczyce, Jodłowa, and Brzozów.

In Kreis Sanok, the Germans established a transit camp for Jews at Zasław, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) south of Sanok. In early September 1942, most of the Jews of Kreis Sanok (more than 10,000 people) were brought to the camp and crammed into barracks suitable for only about 500. They were then deported to Bełżec in three large transports over the

ensuing days. In December 1942, around 700 of the last Jews from Sanok were murdered close to the camp.[15] Similar transit camps existed at Pełkinie in Kreis Jaroslau and at Słomniki in Kreis Miechow, where Jews were held under horrendous conditions for several days prior to their deportation to Bełżec.

During the deportation Aktions, many of the able-bodied Jews were selected out and sent to labor camps. Following most deportations, a few Jews, often from the Jewish Police and the Judenrat, were retained to sort Jewish belongings or perform other labor tasks in so-called remnant ghettos. These registered Jews were often soon joined by others who had evaded the roundups by hiding. In a few locations, a form of remnant ghetto was established where no ghetto had existed prior to the main deportation Aktion. This was the case, for example, in Proszowice and in Pilica where, a few days after the deportations, the German authorities announced that Jews would be permitted to return to live in remnant ghettos. One of the main aims of such remnant ghettos was to lure additional Jews out of hiding.

On November 10, 1942, HSSPF Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger issued an order creating five official remnant ghettos in Distrikt Krakau. They were established in Kraków, Bochnia, Tarnów, Rzeszów, and Przemyśl.[16] Their purpose was to lure out of hiding those who had evaded the deportations by promising them safety and work. A number of Jews were transferred to these places in November from other unofficial remnant ghettos. However, in many places the remaining Jews were shot or transferred to work camps. The five official ghettos had each been divided by December 1942 into "A" and "B" ghettos, with the former for working Jews and the latter for women, children, and the elderly, incapable of work. The A ghettos were gradually converted into labor camps over the ensuing months, while the situation of the Jews in the B ghettos became desperate with periodic selections and inadequate food supplies.

Jewish resistance movements were active in several ghettos in Distrikt Krakau. Bochnia had a branch of the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization, ŻOB), which was linked to the larger organizations in Kraków and Warsaw. The ŻOB in the Kraków ghetto carried out several attacks in and around the city, including the bombing of the Cyganeria and Esplanada Cafés in December 1942. Several ghetto fighters were captured in the aftermath of these operations, however, severely disrupting the organization's effectiveness. Other forms of resistance included the dissemination of the underground press, the smuggling of weapons, the preparation of bunkers, and mass escapes from several places just prior to deportation Aktions.

On December 31, 1942, according to the Korherr report, there were about 37,000 Jews remaining in Distrikt Krakau.[17] These "legal" Jews were now all confined either in the five main remnant ghettos or in various enclosed camps, including those in Pustków, Mielec, Płaszów, and other locations.

The five remnant ghettos in Kraków, Tarnów, Przemyśl, Rzeszów, and Bochnia had all been liquidated by the end of September 1943. The labor camps, which succeeded the A ghettos, however, were in some cases not finally liquidated until February 1944, with many of the remaining Jews being transferred to other labor camps.

SOURCES Surprisingly, no comprehensive monograph has yet been prepared on the fate of the Jews of Distrikt Krakau during the Holocaust. Secondary works with coverage of the history of the Jewish communities of the region include the following: E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 87–109; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984); Adam Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj," 1992); Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," pts. 3 and 4, *BŻIH* (1987–1988); and Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; APKra; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; FVA; IPN; MOR; NARA; USHMM; USHMMPA; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Auszüge aus einem Bericht der Regierung des Generalgouvernements über die Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung . . . bis Juli 1940, in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* [*FGM*] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 86.

2. For a more extensive list of restrictions, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 667a, pp. 350–354.

3. Verordnung des Generalgouverneurs H. Frank über die Einsetzung von Judenräten, in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, p. 71.

4. Anordnung: Kennzeichnung der Juden im Distrikt Krakau, signed Wächter, November 18, 1939 in Marian Domanski, *Fleeing from the Hunter* (Toronto: Azriei: Foundation, 2010).

5. *Verodnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs*, 1941, p. 595.

6. USHMMPA, WS # N64876, Polizeiliche Anordnung, signed Dr. Ehaus, January 5, 1942.

7. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 342; Report of the Kreishauptmann in Nowy Targ for the period from September 17, 1939, to May 31, 1941, in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, p. 64.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 308; AŻIH, 211/710.

9. Shlomo Zalman Lehrer and Leizer Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz* (Southfield, MI: Targum, 1997), p. 312; *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 357.

10. For a concise overview, see Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 387–388.

11. Concerning Skalbmierz, see PAIH, testimony of Zeev Lida, December 17, 1997: "It's hard to call it a ghetto, even though we were not allowed to leave. They did not concentrate

us in a specific street. We stayed in the same houses." Other possible sites of ghettos include Żołynia (see www.zolynia.org/about-new.html—unfortunately, the information on this Web site could not be verified from other sources) and also Charsznica, where a small remnant ghetto for 25 Jews may have existed in the fall of 1942 (see VHF, # 37148, testimony of Solomon Salat; and AŻIH, 301/5484).

12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, protocol of the JSS in Tarnów, July 31, 1942. See also *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 31, 1942.

13. *JuNS-V*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 710a, pp. 390–391; and vol. 35 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), Lfd. Nr. 775, p. 303.

14. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 3, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," doc. 264; AŻIH, 301/1715, testimony of Abraham Borger; *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 397–403.

15. BA-L, B 162/14494, pp. 17–18; AŻIH, 301/3246, 301/3556, 301/4916.

16. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, pp. 344–345.

17. Korherr report, March 23, 1943, in ibid., p. 348.



Borders as of 1942

BARANÓW SANDOMIERSKI

Pre-1939: Baranów Sandomierski, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Baranow, Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Baranów Sandomierski, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Baranów Sandomierski is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) south-southwest of Sandomierz. In 1921, there were 745 Jews living in the town (42 percent of the total population).

The Jews of Baranów, mostly poor and barely making a living, were unprepared for the coming of war. Except for a few well-to-do families, they did not acquire any supplies. Hunger followed immediately on the German occupation in September 1939. Initially, the Wehrmacht administered the town, which did not particularly mistreat the Jews but required them to perform forced labor. Jewish men worked on road repairs, and women were cleaning and doing laundry; all returned after work to their quarters in Baranów. Later, the Polish (Blue) Police maintained order, with periodic visits by SS men who abused the Jews as they pleased. A man by the name of Numerik, who was a shepherd before the war working for a Jew, conveniently remembered his distant German heritage, deciding that he was a member of the "master race," and became the ruler of the town, with the Bürgermeister deferring to him. Numerik took money from the Jews and also beat and abused them. (He is reported to have organized the deportation of Baranów's Jews and personally to have shot Jews.)

After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Jews were sent to work camps in Biesiadka, Dęba, and Huta Komorowska. In Płaszów and Mielec the letters *KL* (Konzentrationslager—concentration camp) were tattooed on the hands of Jews. Polish policemen were the guards and frequently beat the Jews. There were about 180 Baranów Jews in all the work camps. They received passes to visit their families from Saturday afternoon until the roll call Monday morning, but they chose to return Sunday afternoon, to make sure they were not late. A German by the name of Nickel got drunk and announced that he must kill 2 Jews to prove himself to his friends. He shot and killed two brothers.[1]

The Baranów ghetto was established on June 30, 1942, to facilitate the extermination of the Jews of Baranów and its surroundings, which began on July 20, 1942—three weeks later.[2] The ghetto encompassed part of the marketplace and sections of adjoining streets. Anticipating disaster, some Jews (including two Jewish policemen) managed to escape but perished later.[3] A day before the liquidation, 40 Jews from Tarnobrzeg were marched to the Baranów ghetto, guarded by Polish policemen.[4]

On Sunday, the ghetto Jews were ordered to assemble on Monday morning in the marketplace, taking with them not more than "25 pounds" (11.3 kilograms) of their belongings and leaving the keys to their homes in the door. Of the assembled Jews, the Germans took 20 or 30 elderly people and children by horse and cart to the cemetery, where Jews had been forced to dig a ditch, and they shot them there; Poles were brought in to cover the ditch. The rest of the assembled Jews were marched to the railroad station and put into cattle cars that already contained Jews from Rozwadów and Łańcut. For two days the train traveled the 50 kilometers (31 miles) to Dębica, where a selection took place, including Jews brought from Rozwadów, Tarnobrzeg, Kolbuszowa, and Dębica (about 10,000 people). SS men from Pustków carried out the selection. The elderly were immediately shot; some others were taken to work camps and some to the ghetto in Dębica. On Thursday, the rest were transported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[5]

At the time of the deportation in July 1942, the Hauser family, consisting of Natan, his wife Dora, and their two children, escaped and found shelter with a farmer in a neighboring village. After six months the farmer asked them to leave, as he was afraid. Therefore, the family returned to Baranów, where they hid in the hayloft of Stanisław Karol Wawrzycki, a Christian friend from before the war. When it became too dangerous for them to stay in Baranów, Wawrzycki took them to a forester and continued thereafter to supply them with food. Here the Hauser family survived until the arrival of the Red Army in July 1944.[6]

After the war, Poles were afraid returning Jews would claim their possessions, and most were not welcoming; returning Jews soon left, as they feared for their lives. In the Jewish cemeteries only one tombstone remained intact.

The yizkor book *Sefer Yizkor Barnov* includes a listing of 162 names of the heads of Jewish families in Baranów who perished in the Holocaust. Having been derived entirely from the memories of survivors, the list cannot claim to be complete or accurate. The Jewish inhabitants of the following nearby villages perished along with the Jewish population of Baranów: Dąbrowica, Wola, Dymitrów, Skopanie, Padew, Przykop, Knapy, and Krasiczyn.[7]

SOURCES Much information on the fate of the Jews of Baranów during the Holocaust can be found in the yizkor book edited by N. Blumenthal, *Sefer Yizkor Barnov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1964). There is also a short article in Hebrew in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 59–62. The ghetto is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 91; and in *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 95.

Samuel Schalkowsky

NOTES

1. Blumenthal, *Sefer Yizkor Barnov*, pp. 196, 198–200, 204.
2. Ibid., p. 205; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 62.
3. At first they were hidden by non-Jews who, for payment, later either turned them over to the Nazi authorities or killed them personally; see Blumenthal, *Sefer Yizkor Barnov*, pp. 208–210.
4. Ibid., pp. 205, 208.
5. Ibid., pp. 202–203, 209–210.

6. Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 854. On May 16, 1993, Yad Vashem recognized Stanisław Karol Wawrzycki as being Righteous Among the Nations.

7. Blumenthal, *Sefer Yizkor Barnov*, pp. 220–222.

BIECZ

Pre-1939: Biecz, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

The town of Biecz is located about 104 kilometers (65 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. In 1921, the Jewish population of Biecz was 632.

On September 7, 1939, German forces entered Biecz. Some of the Jews tried to escape, but most were forced to return because of the rapid advance of the German army.[1] Soon the German military administration started to conscript Jews for forced labor and impose large financial contributions on the Jewish community. The Germans confiscated two study houses, converting them into a warehouse and a theater. In late 1939 and 1940, Biecz absorbed 500 refugees from Łódź and its surroundings, raising the Jewish population to 1,300.

In March 1940, the German civil administration introduced the wearing of white armbands bearing a blue Star of David for all Jews over the age of 12. It also established a Judenrat (Jewish Council) in Biecz, headed by Markus Peller. Its main task was to provide forced laborers for the Germans. In the summer of 1940, the Judenrat had to supply 30 Jews per day for German forces stationed in the area. Some Jews worked in the Ulrich-Becker sand and gravel plant, where meager wages were paid, and others on water regulation projects. Among the many discriminatory regulations imposed by the Germans, including onerous taxes and the confiscation of property, the Jews were also prohibited from leaving the town limits without a valid work permit. Furthermore, Jews were not allowed to participate in funerals unless they were closely related to the deceased. During the first two years of German occupation, acts of random violence and harassment were commonplace, including the shaving of beards from Jewish men, but very few Jews were killed in this period.[2]

By the end of November 1940, the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) had organized a public kitchen that distributed more than 500 free meals during that month, serving also refugees from Łódź and Kraków. In May 1941, the JSS branch reported that there were 1,063 Jews in Biecz. Of the adult male Jews able to work, 260 were working, and 85 were unemployed; 18 Jews were assigned to a labor camp outside the town.[3] These figures reflected the ability of the Biecz Jewish Council to bribe the German authorities, limiting the number of those sent away to work.

In October 1941, the German authorities prohibited Jews from leaving the Jewish quarter in Biecz on pain of death.[4] The Jewish quarter (or open ghetto) was based around the *Ringplatz* (market square) and the surrounding alleys leading onto it. Living conditions for the Jews were extremely harsh. Although the Judenrat had to comply with the demands of the occupying authorities, they attempted to save the lives of some Jews by establishing workshops, including shops making straw shoe-covers for German soldiers, which employed some of the most impoverished Jewish residents. Three members of the Jewish Council were the only Jews permitted to move freely outside the Jewish quarter.[5]

At the end of December 1941 the Germans ordered the Jews to surrender their fur items for the German army within three days. The collection was organized by the Judenrat, but some Jews burned their winter clothing rather than let them fall into the hands of the Germans.[6]

In 1942, conditions for the Jews in Biecz deteriorated severely. The number of shootings and killings increased markedly. Between January 3 and February 21, 1942, the Gestapo from Jasło and Gorlice visited Biecz several times; assisted by the local Polish auxiliary police, they shot more than 70 Jews. The corpses of the victims were buried in a common grave in the Jewish cemetery.[7]

By May 1942 the movement of Jews was further restricted within the town to the area around the Ringplatz. In June and July 1942, there was a large influx of Jews from surrounding small towns and villages that resulted in increased overcrowding and shortages of food. The population rose to almost 1,700 Jews in the Biecz ghetto in July. This concentration of the Jews was part of German preparations for their destruction.[8] At the end of July, the Germans summoned all male Jews aged 18 to 35 to the market square and selected about 170 for work in the Płaszów forced labor camp. Among this group were most of the few survivors from the Biecz ghetto.[9]

On August 14, 1942, German policemen assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto in the early hours of the morning. All of the Jews were ordered to assemble at 7:00 A.M. on the Ringplatz with a few belongings, as they would be "resettled." During the roundup the police forces murdered about 150 elderly and sick Jews, and their remains were buried in the Jewish cemetery. The roughly 1,000 Jews gathered on the market square were crammed into a barracks, where they were held for at least three days without food or water. On August 17, they were loaded onto railway wagons and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[10]

Many Jews attempted to hide within the ghetto or escape to the surrounding countryside. Some were shot by the Polish auxiliary police as they fled or when discovered in hiding. Others were handed over by local Poles, as the Germans imposed severe penalties for aiding Jews. One Pole was shot by the Germans for robbing a Jew he had handed over to them. The Judenrat members were taken to the Jewish cemetery in Gorlice and shot there. The Germans sealed the empty Jewish houses and confiscated remaining property. Only the 40 Jews who worked in the Ulrich-Becker factory remained in Biecz. Subsequently they were sent to a labor camp in Przemyśl. Most of the Jews who fled to the villages were captured and killed with the assistance of the Polish (Blue) Police.[11]

SOURCES Further information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Biecz can be found in the following publications: Yehudah Leyb Blum and Devorah Vinfeld-Samu'el, eds., *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh/Unzer shtetl Baytsh: Be/vinyanah uve-hurbanah* (Ramat Gan: Irgun yotse Baitsh veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1959 [or 1960]); Samuel Halpern, *The Life Story of Rabbi Samuel Halpern: A Holocaust Survivor* (Canarsie, NY: S. Halpern, 1981); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 88–90.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Biecz can be found in the following archives: AHJP (HM/7921); AŻIH (301/3199); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 15); VHF; and YVA (JM/1573, O-3/1695, O-16/1649, and O-33/42).

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, pp. 147–150.
2. Ibid., pp. 149–159; VHF, # 42739, testimony of Ira Goetz; Halpern, *The Life Story*, p. 11; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 89–90.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 15, 211/217, pp. 3, 7, report of the Judenrat in Biecz to JSS in Kraków, November 26, 1940, and statistical report of the JSS delegation in Biecz to JSS in Kraków, May 31, 1941.
4. Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, p. 153.
5. Ibid., pp. 153–154; VHF, # 42739; Halpern, *The Life Story*, p. 11; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 89–90.
6. Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, p. 155; Halpern, *The Life Story*, p. 12.
7. AŻIH, 301/3199, testimony of S. Kurz; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1983), pp. 18–19; Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, pp. 155–157.
8. Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, p. 159, specifically mentions the Biecz "ghetto" with reference to this time.
9. AŻIH, 301/3199; Halpern, *The Life Story*, p. 12; Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, p. 167.
10. Blum and Vinfeld-Samu'el, *Sefer-zikaron li-kidoshe 'ayaratenu Baitsh*, pp. 164–165.
11. Ibid., pp. 165–168; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 90.

BIRCZA

Pre-1939: Bircza (Yiddish: Berch), village, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Przemysl, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Bircza is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Przemyśl. By 1921, there were 1,038 Jews residing there, constituting 54 percent of the village's population. Before World War II, the town had three ethnic quarters. Poles occupied the eastern part of the market square; Ukrainians, the western and southern parts; and the Jews lived in the northern part of the square.

In September 1939, Bircza was briefly under German occupation. On September 17, 1939, it was taken over by the Soviets and remained under their rule until the invasion of the Soviet Union by the German army on June 22, 1941. In the summer of 1940, a number of Bircza's Jews, who declared that they desired to move to German-occupied Polish territory, were deported instead into the eastern part of the Soviet Union.[1]

According to survivor Avraham Kern, an unfenced ghetto was established in Bircza immediately on the renewed German occupation, at the end of June 1941. The German authorities announced that the entire village was a ghetto. The Jewish population was informed that no one was allowed to leave Bircza on pain of death. The Germans, lacking a presence there, established a Judenrat (Jewish Council) and charged it with fulfilling German orders.

Famine, including deaths from starvation, followed the establishment of the ghetto. As a result, many Jews risked their lives seeking food in the surrounding villages. According to Kern, the Ukrainian police never killed any of the ghetto's inhabitants; yet there were instances when local Poles or Ukrainians murdered Jews attempting to escape from the ghetto. The ghetto's inhabitants were not conscripted for forced labor. There were, however, some Jews who were taken to a labor camp (e.g., survivor Izrael Rubinfeld).

Kern and his friends organized the clandestine teaching of Hebrew and Jewish history to the ghetto's children. These classes lasted only a few months, as a Ukrainian policeman uncovered their existence and forced them to cease. No one was punished, due to connections one parent had with the Ukrainian police.[2]

The first mass execution of Bircza's Jews took place in April 1942, when 50 of them were rounded up, shot on a hill outside the village, and buried in a mass grave. One of the victims was Rubinfeld's father. Several other mass executions—most likely including Jews from other localities—were carried out prior to the ghetto's liquidation. The precise dating of these events remains unclear, but most secondary sources cite 16, reportedly wealthy, Jews shot on Kamienna Górka in May 1942, and between May and August of that same year approximately 200 Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery. In Bircza Stara (Wierzysko) 500 (or according to another source, 800) people were executed in either July or August 1942. The bodies of all these victims were exhumed in 1957 and buried in the Jewish cemetery in Przemyśl.[3]

Sometime prior to the ghetto's liquidation, Jews from other places in the vicinity were brought to the Bircza ghetto, including Jews from Pruchnik and from Leszczawa Dolna.

The ghetto was liquidated in mid-August 1942. About 48 hours before the deportation, on pain of death, Bircza's Jews were ordered to collect a large contribution of money, wedding rings, and other jewelry. After the ransom was paid, the community was ordered to gather at the village square at

4:00 P.M. Men wearing uniforms shot those who did not report as instructed. All the ghetto residents were held in the square overnight, in the open, until dawn and were then marched 24 kilometers (15 miles) to the Przemyśl ghetto. The old and children were driven in carts, from which many elderly people were thrown and shot along the way.

In Przemyśl, 150 to 160 Jews were selected and sent for labor in Rzeszów. The remainder were deported soon afterwards to the Bełżec extermination camp.[4]

SOURCES The Bircza ghetto is briefly mentioned in Andrzej Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica* (Brzozów: Związek Gmin Brzozowskich and Muzeum Regionalne PTTK w Brzozowie, 1993), pp. 26–27.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: VHF (# 816, 14890).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. "Izrael (Srulek Jack) Rubinfeld," in John J. Hartman and Jacek Krochmal, eds., *Pamiętam każdy dzień . . . losy Żydów przemyskich podczas II wojny światowej* (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Przemyślu, 2001), pp. 72–74; VHF, # 14890, testimony of Avraham Kern, 1996; # 816, testimony of Hanna Bertram, 1995.
2. "Izrael (Srulek Jack) Rubinfeld," pp. 72–74; VHF, # 14890.
3. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo przemyskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), pp. 13–15; "Izrael (Srulek Jack) Rubinfeld," pp. 72–74.
4. "Izrael (Srulek Jack) Rubinfeld," pp. 72–74; VHF, # 14890.

BŁAŻOWA

Pre-1939: Błażowa, town, Rzeszów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Blazowa, Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Błażowa, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Błażowa is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Rzeszów. The 1921 census reported 930 Jews living in Błażowa (18.2 percent of the total population of 5,123); another 51 Jews resided within the Błażowa gmina. The Błażowa Jewish community numbered 825 people in 1939.

After the Soviets invaded Poland from the east on September 17, 1939, German troops stationed in Błażowa tried to expel as many Jews as possible by ordering them to cross the San River—located less than 16 kilometers (10 miles) from Błażowa—which had already been reached by Soviet forces. A total of 57 Jews left Błażowa permanently, and 768 decided to stay.[1]

German authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Abraham Unger as the chairman and Wolf Silberstain as the secretary.[2] Mojsze Weiss was charged with assigning local Jews to labor conscription in accordance with German demands. Jakob Atlas was also a member of the Judenrat.

Members of Błażowa's Jewish establishment were generally assigned to paid jobs that were fairly easy, such as working at a large estate occupied by the German authorities. Both Poles and Jews worked the estate's land; as laborers, they were not mistreated. Weiss negotiated laborers' paid minimum wages with the estate's owner; most likely they received 1 or 1.20 złoty per day. Those Jews who were assigned to work for the municipality were unpaid.

According to the survivor Jozef Atlas, the Germans did not interfere with local Jews and hardly ever came to Błażowa. It seems that there was only a collaborationist Polish (Blue) Police unit in the town, at least from the summer of 1941, when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union. As Jozef Atlas reported, the Polish (Blue) Police were ill-disposed towards the Jews at times and confiscated goods in their frequent house searches.

By July 1940, 89 deportees from Łódź and 50 from Kalisz had been transferred to Błażowa via Rzeszów. By mid-October 1940, 60 more had arrived from the same towns.[3] In December 1940, the Judenrat reported the following statistics regarding Jewish residents in Błażowa: out of a total of 991 Jews, 778 (240 families) were locals. Out of the total of 213 newcomers, 154 were deportees (39 families) and 59 refugees (23 families). The latter came to Błażowa as they had relatives there and had to rely on their support.

Some 30 of the deportee families (90 people) subsisted solely on the welfare provided by the self-help committee set up by the Judenrat, as less than 10 of the newly arrived families were able to find employment. A parentless child who was found later in Błażowa was assigned to a private family for sustenance at the Judenrat's expense.

The Judenrat opened a soup kitchen on November 26, 1940, which placed a great financial burden on the community. It served an average of 120 meals daily, although there were demands for 200. Those able to pay were charged 0.20 złoty per meal. Aside from the Judenrat's small monthly donation, this charge was the only other source of income for the kitchen.

A local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), subordinated to the Kreis office in Rzeszów, was established on May 2, 1941, and took over provision of welfare for Błażowa's Jews. Józef Natansohn chaired the local committee, which also included Hersch Lieber and Simche Intrator. However, the efforts of the local JSS were largely futile, as the kitchen ceased its activity by August 1941 due to lack of funds.

When Natansohn resigned in September 1941, Dr. Jakób Neiss was charged with running the organization. Unhappy with the performance of the other two elderly members of the JSS (Lieber and Intrator), Neiss suggested that they be relieved from the committee by November 1941, because in his opinion they were either not willing or not capable of fulfilling their duties. At Neiss's suggestion, David Lieber and Aleksander Klaristenfeld were nominated in their place. When the kitchen reopened in January 1942, it served only children, the elderly, and the sick. An estimated 80 children were undernourished in Błażowa, but the kitchen was able to feed only a total of 70 people per day.

JSS records imply that most Jewish businesses were taken over and placed under trustee management by mid-1941, although in many cases this process had been accomplished

much earlier. In July 1941, only 13 Jewish craftsmen were running their own businesses: haberdashers, cobblers, and tailors.[4]

In mid-June 1941, approximately 100 Jews were taken to Rzeszów and employed in road works. They received full board and were paid enough to save some money for their families in Błażowa. This, the JSS believed, eased the burden on the town considerably. Another 80 Jews labored at this time outside the gmina. By September 1941, the number of Błażowa workers decreased to 40 laboring within the gmina, and 35 beyond it. The same source reports approximately 250 Jews working in the gmina in the following months and none beyond its borders. There is no information on where or what kind of labor Błażowa Jews performed then or if they were paid or compensated in any way.[5]

According to a survivor, Sam Reich, in the winter of 1941, the German authorities requested one young man from each Jewish family in Błażowa to go to a labor camp. The roundup was conducted in the middle of the night by two SS men, who arrived in a truck. Approximately 40 to 50 boys were driven to the nearby Huta Komorowska labor camp. The camp was unfenced, and although it was guarded by civilian ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), it was controlled by the SS. Its commander, a brutal man named Johann Robert Schmidt, was later replaced by Kopf, and then Nickel. There were no toilets in the camp. Water had to be delivered by wagons from another town. When it was available, it was dirty, and there was never enough for the prisoners to wash themselves. Many died of disease and exhaustion there. Inmates were housed in a wooden barracks and slept on bunk beds with little straw. Each day they were escorted to a nearby forest to cut beech trees.

During the "fur Aktion" in December 1941, Błażowa Jews were given only two days to give up their fur garments and other winter clothing.

By mid-January 1942, the community was made aware that from February 1, 1942, Jews would no longer be allowed to leave Błażowa's town limits. The basis for this was an order issued by the Reichshof Kreishauptmann, Heinz Ehaus, on December 17, 1941, creating Jewish quarters in the territory of the Kreis. It was effective from January 10, 1942, in Reichshof; in the remainder of the Kreis, from February 1, 1942. A ghetto in Błażowa was most likely set up soon after this date. There is no information available as to how the establishment of the ghetto influenced the community's life.[6]

A new demand for young Jewish laborers came in the spring of 1942. According to Jozef Atlas, the Jews captured in this roundup were sent to the Pustków labor camp. Those who had fake jobs through connections (e.g., Atlas, whom the Judenrat had registered as a courier) were able to stay in Błażowa.

That spring, the Gestapo suddenly appeared in Błażowa. Jews ran in panic, trying to hide in the nearby hills and along the riverbed. A total of 10 or 11 (according to another testimony, up to 15) Jews were captured and executed that day. Among them were Błażowa's rabbi Meir Shapiro and his son.[7]

In May or June 1942, the Jews living in the vicinity were resettled into the Błażowa ghetto. The Błażowa community was not surprised by the resettlement to the Rzeszów ghetto. German authorities permitted a special market to be open for a week or two for Jews to sell their belongings. Then local Poles were ordered to report with their wagons on the day of the deportation to transport the ghetto residents to the Rzeszów ghetto.[8]

The liquidation of the Błażowa ghetto took place on June 26, 1942. There is no information on how many Jews were evacuated to Rzeszów. A Polish woman, Stanisława Jakubczyk, is known to have been shot in the course of the Aktion, but there is no information regarding Jewish victims on that day.[9]

In July 1942, the Jews of Błażowa, along with the other Jews concentrated in the Rzeszów ghetto, were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[10]

SOURCES The Jewish community of Błażowa and its fate during the Holocaust are briefly mentioned in the following publications: Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 27–28; Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 91–92; and in a series of articles by Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," published by *BŻIH* (nos. 1–2 [1984] and 3–4 [1985]).

Documents on the persecution of the Jews of Błażowa can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/265 [AJDC]; 211/231-233 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 15); and VHF (# 15572 and 19803).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 15, 211/231, p. 53.
2. VHF, # 15572, testimony of Sam Reich, 1996; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC Błażowa), 210/265, p. 12.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/265, p. 3.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 15, 211/231, pp. 28, 29; and 211/232, p. 38.
5. Ibid., 211/231, pp. 44, 54; and 211/232, pp. 14, 32, 38.
6. Ibid., 211/233, p. 18.
7. VHF, # 15572; and # 19803, testimony of Jozef Atlas.
8. Ibid., # 19803.
9. Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów," pt. 3, p. 91; and Potocki, *Żydzi*, p. 28.
10. Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów," pt. 3, p. 99.

BOBOWA

Pre-1939: Bobowa, village, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Bobowa is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) southeast of Kraków. In 1939, there were approximately 700 Jews living in the village.

The Wehrmacht captured the village on September 7, 1939. Kazimierz Wieniawa-Długoszowski was the Polish mayor of Bobowa at this time. It is unknown if there were any German

forces permanently stationed in the village. Most sources note only that Gestapo and Gendarmerie officials from Jasło and Gorlice paid occasional visits.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized at the beginning of 1940, with Samuel Messinger as the chairman and Moses Hochberger as the secretary. The Judenrat's main task was to care for refugees, collect contributions imposed by the authorities, and conscript laborers to meet German demands. According to one survivor, Efraim Landau, the Judenrat did its best to treat the Jews fairly in the interests of the whole community, but other sources indicate there was some criticism of its handling of German demands for forced labor.

Unlike many other communities, the Judenrat did not initially organize a rotation system for forced labor. Rather, on its authority, Jews were seized at random from Bobowa's streets or houses. The workday lasted 10 to 12 hours (including Saturdays). It is not clear who supervised the laborers. Records show that 30 Jews were working outside of Bobowa throughout 1940 and 10 during the first months of 1941.[1]

Jewish-owned businesses remained open for the first six months of the war. By September 1941, the number of tradesmen permitted to keep their businesses open had diminished from 62 before the war to only 23. The number of craftsmen also declined by more than half, from 29 to 13.[2]

By May 1940, there were already 90 refugees in the village, including many from Gorlice and its vicinity. A soup kitchen opened in the first part of the year but had to close when supplies collected among Jews and Christians dried up. The number of refugees rose to 140, after approximately 40 Jews expelled from Krynica and its environs arrived in November 1940. The soup kitchen reopened and fed 100 Jews two or three meals per day. About 125 children received cocoa milk and white rolls.

There were 1,237 Jews registered in Bobowa in July 1941. This included 160 Gorlice Jews expelled to Bobowa that same month. By August 1941, 60 Jews expelled from the town of Oświęcim were transferred to Bobowa, raising the total number of Jewish residents to 1,270. Like many other groups, they arrived empty-handed, draining Bobowa further of its resources. The local Jews pleaded with the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) central office in Kraków for additional support. One of the refugees, Rubin Wassertheil, recalls Bobowa's Jews blaming the less religious refugees for their persecution, believing that it was a punishment from God for their not being observant.[3]

According to some sources, the Germans established a ghetto in Bobowa as early as October 1941.[4] Apparently it remained an open ghetto at first, as recalled by one survivor—Moishe Hochhauser—who was among those transferred to the Bieżanów labor camp in the summer of 1942. Another survivor, Samuel Oliner, however, who did not enter the ghetto until June 1942, recalls the ghetto as being gated and surrounded with barbed wire, implying that it was probably enclosed by the summer of 1942. There is no information as to who guarded the ghetto. It measured roughly 1 or 2 square kilometers (0.4 to 0.8 square mile) in area and was located in Bobowa's predominantly Jewish center, including at least one side of the market square. Local Jews stayed in their own houses, while some refugees, who lived among Christians, were forced to move within the ghetto limits.[5] Its inhabitants often sneaked out either to barter or to buy food from local farmers. Workshops manufacturing straw overshoes were organized in the synagogue, possibly before the ghetto was established.

Between January and March 1942, a series of executions took place, including of Jews brought in from other towns. Victims were shot either publicly on the market square or at the Jewish cemetery. The following shootings of Jews have been documented: on January 5, 1942, when the Gorlice Gestapo shot 17 Jews; on February 5, 4 shot; on March 4, 30 shot; and on March 14, 18 shot. During the execution on March 4, 30 of Bobowa's wealthier ghetto residents were shot. They were first taken to a barn on the outskirts of Bobowa, where they were ordered to hand over all of their remaining valuables. Those who agreed were escorted home to collect the ransom and then shot on providing it; the Germans shot the remainder at the cemetery.[6]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans began transferring Jews living in the surrounding villages (including Brzana) into the Bobowa ghetto. The Jewish residents of Brzana were given only half an hour to pack their clothing and pots on sleighs. German Gendarmes then escorted them to the ghetto.[7] By April 1942, there were 1,345 Jews concentrated in the ghetto, including 678 refugees, indicating that the population had doubled since the start of the war. At some point, Jews from Gładyszów were also brought in.[8]

On June 12, 1942, Jews living in the villages of Mszanka and Bielanka were forced into the ghetto. They could take with them only basic necessities and bedding. In July 1942, the Jews from Stróża were brought in. At the time, the ghetto was extremely overcrowded, and the Judenrat was forced to place several families into one room. Samuel Oliner, who moved into the ghetto at this time, remembers its inhabitants as frightened and hungry; some were forced to eat nonkosher food. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, due to the efforts of the Polish mayor, there was no spread of contagious diseases among the Jews in Bobowa.[9]

Between May and August 1942, a number of Jews were taken to labor camps in Bieżanów, Prokocim, and possibly Bochnia. A group of 210 Jews was sent to Bieżanów in August, where they worked on the railway for the Stuag and Klug companies.[10]

In June 1942, a workshop employing 150 Jewish tailors, shoemakers, upholsterers, haberdashers, and patch-makers was set up in Bobowa. Their production included straw shoes, drapery, and children's toys.[11]

On August 13, 1942, the Germans called for new volunteers for the Bieżanów camp. The community was promised that if each family were to send one able body, the remainder would be left in peace. The number of volunteers is unknown, but upon their departure the same afternoon, Germans and Ukrainian auxiliary forces surrounded the ghetto.[12]

The ghetto was liquidated on the morning of August 14, 1942. The liquidation Kommando went from house to house,

banging on doors and dragging the inhabitants from their dwellings to the market square, where trucks awaited them. The Germans offered the Judenrat chairman, Messinger, a chance to save himself, but he refused.[13]

Twenty-five of Bobowa's Jews were reportedly shot in the course of the liquidation Aktion, either on the streets of Bobowa or in the Jewish cemetery, where they were later buried in a mass grave.[14] The same day, several hundred (possibly 700) of Bobowa's and Gorlice's Jews were shot in the Garbacz Forest near Stróżówka village, in the vicinity of Gorlice. Another 80 are recorded as having been shot in the Dąbry Forest, near Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, "after August 14, 1942."

The number of Jews inhabiting the ghetto prior to its liquidation is difficult to determine, because the number of Jews reportedly sent to various labor camps differs considerably among the available sources. Another complication arises from the German policy of selecting Jews from different locations and taking them together to yet another location to execute them, as in the August 14, 1942, shooting of Bobowa and Gorlice Jews mentioned above. In addition, there are several accounts that indicate that those who survived the initial selection were also subsequently murdered.

It appears most likely that in fact most, if not all, of Bobowa's ghetto residents were shot in the Garbacz Forest near Stróżówka, where the Jews were made to undress before they were shot next to a mass grave.[15] Some sources indicate, however, that only about 400 Jews, probably women, children, and elderly, were murdered in the Dombro (Dąbry) Forest near Bobowa. Of the remainder, some were sent to the Szebnie labor camp, and the others were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp after their transfer to and subsequent deportation from the Gorlice ghetto.

SOURCES The following published sources make reference to the Bobowa ghetto: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 63–64; Samuel P. Oliner and Pearl M. Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe* (New York: Free Press, 1988), p. xvi; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 109.

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (210/258, 211/235, 301/1373, and 301/242); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 15; RG-02.208M [Pamiętniki]; and Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 10797, 15948, 18652, 20731, 34133-3, 49767-1).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 34133-3, testimony of Efraim Landau, 1997.
2. Ibid.; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/258, pp. 5, 17.
3. VHF, # 20731, testimony of Rubin Wassertheil, 1996; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 15, 211/235, pp. 13, 17, 35; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/258, pp. 35–36, 60.
4. But see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 15, 211/235 (Bobowa), p. 2.
5. VHF, # 49767-1, testimony of Samuel Oliner, 1999; # 15948, testimony of Moishe Hochhauser, 1996; # 10797, testimony of David Borgenicht, 1996.
6. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo nowosądeckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 15–16; AŻIH, 301/1373, testimony of Rena Kant, 1946; 301/242, testimony of Hirsch Tauber, 1946; VHF, # 34133-3; # 15948; and Władysław Boczoń, *Żydzi gorliccy* (Gorlice: Władysław Boczoń, 1998), p. 149.
7. AŻIH, 301/1373.
8. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/258, p. 2; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 109.
9. VHF, # 49767-1.
10. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August, 16, 1942; VHF, # 15948; # 10797; and # 18652.
11. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 8, 1942.
12. VHF, # 20731.
13. Ibid., # 34-133-3.
14. Ibid., # 49767-1; *Rejestr miejsc*, pp. 16–17.
15. This version is indicated by VHF, # 49767-1.

BOCHNIA

Pre-1939: Bochnia, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Salzberg, Kreis Krakau-Land, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Bochnia, powiat center, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Bochnia is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. In 1939, there were around 3,500 Jews living there, comprising about 20 percent of the town's population.

German forces occupied Bochnia on September 3, 1939. Soon after their arrival the Germans began to kidnap Jews for forced labor. Deportations to labor camps began in 1940 and continued through most of the ghetto's existence. Sometimes the Jewish community had to pay the transportation costs to the camps.[1]



Jewish men and women make brooms in a workshop inside the Bochnia ghetto, n.d. The original German caption reads, "City workshops in Bochnia. Jewish labor strength made useful."
USHMM WS #51738, COURTESY OF IPN

In the fall of 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Bochnia to act as intermediary between the Jewish community and the German authorities. In 1940, Symcha Weiss was appointed as chairman of the Judenrat, and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was created under Dr. Szymon Rosen.

The Jewish population grew through the arrival of successive waves of Jewish refugees, from Kraków (May 1940), Krzeszowice (March 1941), and Mielec (spring 1942).

The German authorities established a ghetto in the center of Bochnia in March or April 1941. Initially the ghetto remained unfenced. The area of the ghetto was about 600 meters by 200 meters (656 by 219 yards), based around Kowalska Street.[2] From July 1941, Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto without a special permit; by October the punishment for disobeying this order was death. Over the following 10 months, over 300 Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery for disobeying this command.

Following the arrival of the Krzeszowice Jews, the ghetto was expanded in April 1941 and included the following streets: Proszowska, Wygoda, Podedworze Dolne, and the remainder of Krzeczowska Street. Due to the large number of refugees and the very confined space, the ghetto became severely overcrowded, and sanitary conditions were deplorable.[3]

The Germans controlled the supply of food into the ghetto and enforced strict food rationing. Those who worked received rations that were sufficient barely for one person. To feed the sick and the old, their names were added to the list of productive workers, but their relatives then had to cover for them by working even longer hours to meet stiff production quotas.

By the end of 1941, about 2,000 Jews were employed in workshops in the ghetto. They manufactured army uniforms, handkerchiefs, underwear, shoes, brushes, toys, electrical equipment, and baskets for the Germans. A German named Wettermann was in charge of these workshops, but a Jew, Salomon Greiwer, oversaw day-to-day operations.[4] Other Jews exited the ghetto under escort each day to perform forced labor.

To maintain a semblance of normalcy, an elementary school and a Bet Midrash operated within the ghetto until August 1942. There was also a hospital from the end of 1941, which the Germans established to deal with a typhus epidemic. Dr. Anatol Gutfreund was in charge. The hospital received some medical supplies, with aid initially received from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Kraków.[5]

Nazi restrictions did not extend to Jews who were citizens of certain foreign countries. Therefore, these Jews were able to provide some contact between the ghetto's residents and the outside world. They also helped to smuggle foodstuffs into the ghetto, gave refuge to children during Aktions, and helped to organize escape routes to Hungary and Slovakia.[6]

In the spring of 1942, the ghetto was enclosed by a wooden fence, about 2 meters (7 feet) high, which Polish police guarded.[7]

Mass expulsions throughout the region spread fear among the Jews in the spring and summer of 1942. There were reports about whole communities being murdered. Greiwer tried to reassure the workers that they would remain protected, but many ghetto residents constructed bunkers to hide when the time came.

A few days before the first mass deportation in August 1942, the Judenrat was forced to pay the Germans a sum of 250,000 złoty—the latest in a series of demands—supposedly as protection money to guarantee the Jews' safety. However, it proved to be just a scam to steal the Jews' last remaining money.

All the Jews in the Kreis were gathered together on the evening of Friday August 21, 1942, and were brought to Bochnia the next morning. The entire Jewish community of Nowy Wiśnicz (about 1,500 people) was transferred to the Bochnia ghetto, along with Jews from a number of villages, including Brzeźnica, Bogucice, Lipnica Murowana, Rzezawa, Targowisko, Trzciana, Uście Solne, and Zabierzów. This relocation caused fear and panic in the Bochnia ghetto, as they now expected a large-scale Aktion—which indeed followed, between August 25 and 27.[8] Some Jews went into hiding, on their own or with their German employers.[9]

Gestapo, SS, and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto. Then (with help from the Jewish Police) they rounded up the Jews and conducted selections. As so many people were in hiding, there was a shortage of deportees. As a result, even some people with special permits were included in the deportation, and Jewish policemen had to bring their own family members. Those who were unwilling or unable to follow orders were shot in front of their families. Greiwer was murdered when he tried to save his workers.[10]

The Gestapo shot a number of Jews in and around the ghetto, and a group of about 800 elderly and sick Jews (including some from the hospital) was loaded onto trucks with the assistance of Polish Labor Battalion (Baudienst) members and transported to the village of Baczków to be shot. They were thrown into a pit and buried while many were still alive.[11]

The remaining Jews on the roll-call square (*Appellplatz*), comprising healthy and strong Jews, were loaded onto a waiting train and sent to the Bełżec killing center, where they were murdered in the gas chambers.[12] Almost the entire membership of the Judenrat was on the last transport to Bełżec. They went along to reassure people that the Nazis were really resettling them to the east. In total, more than 5,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec during the August Aktion.[13]

After the Aktion, the remaining ghetto residents again had to pay for their right to survive, which they ironically called "slaughter money."[14] Officially there were still some 1,000 Jews left in the ghetto, plus an additional 400 "illegals" in hiding. The number soon swelled to around 5,000 again, however, as many Jews emerged from hiding in Bochnia and the surrounding countryside. The head of the Gestapo in Bochnia, SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Schomberg, issued the Jews special permits allowing them to remain, and the workshops resumed operations, now employing some 3,000 people. During a second Aktion on November 10, 1942, 150 people were shot, and around 500 were sent to Bełżec.[15]

That same day, the Germans announced that Bochnia would be one of the five remaining towns in Distrikt Krakau

where Jews could live in a "Jewish residential area" (*Judenwohnbezirk*).[16] As a result, the ghetto population again swelled to more than 5,000, as additional people emerged from hiding.

In December 1942, several German officers bought the workshops to run them as a private business. At this time the Bochnia ghetto was split into two parts—Ghettos A and B—divided by an internal fence guarded by the Jewish Police. In Ghetto A, those who held workers' permits were housed in separate barracks for men and women, as it was now officially designated a forced labor camp, subordinated to the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Kraków; Ghetto B contained those who did not work: the elderly, disabled, weak, and children. The new owners were obliged to pay the SS for the right to exploit Jewish slave laborers. The Bochnia Jewish community had officially ceased to exist, and children had to be hidden, as they were forbidden in the labor camp.[17]

The Hebrew youth movement Akiba was active in Bochnia before the war, and from 1940 its members established an underground cell in the town, which cooperated with the branch of the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization, ŻOB) in Kraków. The Bochnia underground dealt in money and false identifications and prepared bunkers in the forest as a base for resistance operations. ŻOB members were recruited in the ghetto, and after December 1942 the underground was located in Ghetto B. From there they maintained communications with sections of the Polish underground and also the ŻOB members in Kraków. On Friday, February 26, 1943, the Germans arrested most members of the Bochnia underground. Surviving ŻOB leaders moved to the forest to continue the armed struggle against the Nazis. They remained in contact with the remaining cell inside the ghetto until the ghetto's liquidation.

In the early spring of 1943, another Aktion took place in which 100 Jews were sent to Płaszów for forced labor. In July 1943, there was a scramble in the ghetto to purchase false documents showing foreign citizenship, as it was rumored that any foreign Jew who paid a large sum would be able to migrate to the United States. However, the ruse was soon exposed when approximately 100 Jews were not sent to the United States but to Płaszów, where the Germans shot all but 2 of them.[18]

The final liquidation Aktion started on September 1, 1943. At approximately 5:00 A.M., SS forces surrounded the ghetto and roused the residents from sleep, with orders to go to the Appellplatz. There they were divided into two groups. One contained most of the inhabitants of Ghetto B, including all of the children and elderly. This group, numbering approximately 4,000 people, was sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp to be murdered. The other group, comprising approximately 1,000 people aged 13 to 35, was transported to the Szebnie camp on September 3, where most of them died. At the communal cemetery, around 60 people were shot and their bodies burned.[19]

Officially, 150 Jews were allowed to remain in Bochnia as a work detail to clear the ghetto, along with a few members of the Jewish Police. Another 100 people joined the work detail after appealing to the Judenrat. However, when this was discovered the next day, 100 people were taken at random and shot in the street. Those remaining were forced to pile up the dead and burn the bodies. These 150 people worked until December 1943, and then 50 were sent to the Płaszów camp and 100 went to Szebnie.[20]

Many Jews hid during the last Aktion, but most were uncovered over the following six weeks.[21] The Jews in the work details tried to help them, but the Germans used dogs and smoke to force the Jews out of hiding to murder them. Most who tried to escape were murdered either by the Germans or by extremist Polish nationalists. A few made it to Hungary. The total death toll for the Bochnia ghetto was at least 13,000 Jews deported, most of them sent straight to their deaths in Bełżec or Auschwitz, and over 1,800 people killed in Bochnia and its vicinity.[22]

SOURCES Publications on the Bochnia ghetto include the following: I. Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia: On the Trail of the Family I Never Knew* (Canada: I. Zelinkovsky, 1995)—another version is available on the Web (www.angelfire.com); "Bochnia Ghetto," on the Aktion Reinhard Camps (ARC) Web site (www.deathcamps.org/occupation/bochnia%20ghetto.html); Irena Zawidzka, "W 50 rocznice zagłady getta bocheńskiego," in *Rocznik Bocheński*, vol. 1 (Bochnia, 1993); Maria Szymkowska, "Bochenskie getto," *Wiadomości bochenskie*, no. 3 (2002); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 667; Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 64–69; and Chaim Shlomo Friedman, *Dare to Survive* (New York: CIS, 1992).

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Bochnia during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1909, 4927; 211/236-241); BA-L (B 162/1967-1976, 2251-2259, and 14275-14276 [Verdict of LG-Kiel, 2 Ks 4/66, March 19, 1968]); USHMM (RG-15.019M; RG-50.120*0099 and 0251; and RG-50.166*0021); VHF; and YVA (e.g., collections M-1/E and O-3).

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NOTES

1. Recorded testimony of Pinkas Klapholz, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia* (TST5), pp. 3–4.
2. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, p. 357; YVA, O-3/4504, testimony of Bertha Braunhut, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia* (TST1), p. 5.
3. YVA, O-3/4504, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 5; *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 25, 1941.
4. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, p. 357; Friedman, *Dare to Survive*, pp. 76–77.
5. YVA, O-3/1383, testimony of Dr. Stefan Korenhauser, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 1.
6. Ibid., p. 3; testimony of Ida Grinberg, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, pp. 7–8; Friedman, *Dare to Survive*, pp. 216–219.
7. Recorded testimony of Pinkas Klapholz, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 6; *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, p. 357.
8. Klapholz, p. 7, and Braunhut, p. 5, both in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*; and USHMM, RG-50.120*0099.
9. YVA, O-3/1383, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 2.

10. Klapholz, p. 7, and YVA, O-3/1383, p. 2, both in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*; AŻIH, 301/1909, mentions the brutality of the Jewish Police.
11. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, pp. 366–367.
12. YVA, O-3/3284, testimony of Johanan Kalfus, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 8.
13. Testimony of Pincus Kolender, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, pp. 4–5; *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, pp. 366–367.
14. Klapholz, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 8.
15. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, p. 380.
16. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.
17. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667, p. 379.
18. YVA, O-3/3091, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, pp. 20–21.
19. Braunhut, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, pp. 12–14.
20. YVA, O-3/1383, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 8.
21. Kolender, in Zelinkovsky, *Ghetto Bochnia*, p. 8.
22. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 110.

BRZESKO

Pre-1939: Brzesko, town, Tarnów powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tarnow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Brzesko is located about 52 kilometers (32 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. On the outbreak of World War II in 1939, there were 2,119 Jews living in Brzesko (around 50 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on September 5, 1939. The Jews were rounded up for forced labor. In September 1939, the Germans set the synagogue on fire. They also demanded a ransom of 40,000 złoty from the Jewish community and took 10 Jews hostage. In October 1939, the Germans registered all men between the ages of 15 and 60. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Jakub Hendler. It was entrusted with meeting German demands for forced laborers. The Szczurowa and Borzęcin Jewish communities (comprising 239 Jews in total in 1940) were both subordinated to the Brzesko Judenrat. Apart from the Judenrat and the Brzesko branch of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), there was also a Committee for the Aid to Refugees and the Poor, as well as the Central Organization for Orphan Care (CENTOS), which provided assistance to around 130 children in 1940. German police officials (most notoriously Wilhelm Rommelmann, Lapsch, and Beck) visited Brzesko occasionally to shoot Jews. They selected their victims either from a previously prepared list or at random.[2]

The Brzesko JSS reports 3,270 Jews in Brzesko on May 31, 1941. There were 1,625 Jews seeking assistance, but only 1,125 received help. Furthermore, around 500 Jews received meals from the community kitchen; 1,100 received financial assistance; 1,033 Jews received coal; 328 were given medical assistance; and 640 received medicine. There were still 48 Jewish workshops in Brzesko, where mainly tailors, hatmakers, furriers, and butchers worked. Around 82 businesses were owned by Jews, and some 200 Jews performed physical labor. In the first week of March 1941 and again on March 9, 1941, transports of Jews from Kraków arrived in Brzesko. These resettled Jews were left without any means of support. In December 1941, the Germans demanded that the Jews surrender all their winter equipment and fur clothing for the German army in Russia.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the Germans created an open ghetto in Brzesko, the area of which was designated by signs. Two Jewish residential districts were created in separate areas of the town: one area was located on both sides of Wapienna Street; the second area was situated around present-day Sobieski, Ruchu Oporu, Ogrodu Jordanowsi, and Chopin Streets and also Kazimierz Wielki Square. The Jews could not leave these areas on pain of death. At first, there were around 3,000 Jews concentrated in the ghetto, but the number rose to 6,000 in the summer of 1942. A Jewish police force also was created, headed by Diestler, a former soldier in the Austrian army. Jews performed forced labor for the Germans (a number of Jews from Brzesko were sent to the Pustków and other labor camps), as well as working in workshops inside the ghetto.[4]

In the ghetto, the Jews experienced hunger and disease. They could still obtain food while the ghetto remained open, as some contact with the local population was maintained. Due to poor sanitary conditions and malnutrition, an epidemic of typhus broke out. Patients were treated in the ghetto hospital where Maurycy Gross was one of the doctors. During three days around 15 people were hospitalized, 5 of whom died. Jews also became victims of shootings by the Germans. After the executions, the Germans demanded payment for the ammunition used and forced the Jews to sign documents falsely indicating the natural death of the victim. The Germans also demanded further "contributions" from the Jewish community.[5]

By the spring of 1942, the typhus epidemic had ended. An Aktion took place around that time. The Germans came to the town, rounded up people, and shot 6 of them in the town square. In mid-April 1942, a further Aktion took place. The Germans, including three members of the local Order Police, Lapsch, Wagner, and Mikler, shot around 50 Jews; the bodies were buried in two mass graves at the Jewish cemetery. In May 1942, Germans arrived from Tarnów, demanding furniture and money from the Jews of Brzesko. On June 18, 1942, the third Aktion took place. Ukrainian units surrounded the town, while German forces carried out the Aktion. Around 200 Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Brzesko, and 400 were deported.[6]

According to an order issued by Kreishauptmann Dr. Kipke in Tarnów on July 15, 1942, Jews from the settlements

of Kreis Tarnow, except from the city of Tarnów itself, were required to move to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Brzesko, Tuchów, Zakliczyn, or Żabno by July 23, 1942. In mid-July 1942, the Germans established an enclosed ghetto in Brzesko. It was surrounded by a fence; windows had to remain closed, and the curtains drawn. There were two ghettos, one on each side of the church and divided by an "Aryan" street. Jews were transferred from one ghetto to the other escorted by the Jewish Police. In the ghetto there was overcrowding. According to German policy, 10 people were assigned for each window in a dwelling. People prepared hiding places; some forged Aryan papers. There was not enough to eat. The social organizations distributed only small amounts of food, and the ghetto inhabitants had to obtain the rest themselves. The Jewish Police were able to smuggle food into the ghetto; people also used to sneak out at night and barter items for food with the Poles. Polish police guarded the ghetto externally, but some Jews were able to escape. If they were caught outside the ghetto, they were shot. Although no official religious services were held, some people maintained their religious practices, such as observing Shabbat.[7]

In September 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. The Jews were rounded up and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. A number of Jews managed to escape the roundup, but most were subsequently captured and shot. Some escapees received help from Dr. Jan Brzeski, who treated Jews in their hideouts at great personal risk. Only around 70 Jews remained after the Aktion, tasked with clearing out the ghetto area. Afterwards, these Jews were sent to the Tarnów ghetto. In 1943, the Germans shot 28 Jews at the Brzesko Jewish cemetery (presumably people uncovered in hiding).[8]

Only about 200 Jews from Brzesko survived the Holocaust.

SOURCES Publications dealing with the history and murder of the Jews in Brzesko include the following: "Brzesko," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984); Aleksandra Pietrzykowa, *Region tarnowski w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Polityka okupanta i ruch oporu* (Warsaw: PWN, 1984); Iwona Zawidzka, *Cmentarz żydowski w Brzesku* (Brzesko: Brzeska Oficyna Wydawnicza, 2001); and Adam Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj," 1992).

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Brzesko can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/609, 611, 1376; JM 10005, # 5735958); IPN (ASG, sygn. 48a, p. 25; ZhIII/31/35/68; Dsn 7/30/68/"W" 471); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 16; and RG-15.019M, reels 3 and 14); VHF (# 4147, 8609, 30095, 37249, 41736, 42765, 51734); WAPKOB; and YVA.

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1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 16, JSS Brzesko report for period from September 1939 to May 31, 1941.

2. Ibid., report of the Mitglied des Judenrates in Brzesko fur die Sammelgemeinden Szczurowa und Borzęcin, September 29, 1940, and letters of the Committee for the Aid to Refugees and the Poor, November 18 and 19, 1940; AŻIH, 301/609, testimony of Mendel Feichtal; and VHF, # 37249, testimony of Maurice Moritz Reiss.

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 16, JSS Brzesko report for period from September 1939 to May 31, 1941, and JSS Brzesko reports for May and June 1941.

4. Ibid., note from Kraków, March 17, 1941; RG-15.019M, reel 14, "Kwestionariusz o obozach"; and VHF, # 4147 and # 30095, testimonies of Anita Hirsch and Samuel Brandsdorfer.

5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 16, letter of JSS Brzesko to Kraków, November 21, 1941.

6. A. Dylewski, *Śladami Żydów polskich* (Pascal, 2002); AŻIH, 301/611, testimony of Felicja Schafer; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 3, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych."

7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 16, protocol of JSS in Tarnów, July 31, 1942; AŻIH 301/611, pp. 3–5; VHF, # 8609, testimony of Aron Beidner; # 37249, # 30095, and # 42765, testimony of Stella Lanner.

8. Władysław Myśliński, *A jednak tak było* (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 283–284, states that the Aktion took place on August 24, 1942; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, dates the Aktion on September 12, 1942; AŻIH 301/611 and 1376, testimony of Helena Schmalholz; Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 117, 217.

BRZOSTEK

Pre-1939: Brzostek, village, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Brzostek is located 49 kilometers (29 miles) southwest of Rzeszów. According to the 1921 census, there were 479 Jews living in Brzostek. The Jewish community occupied the village square, 20 Czerwca and Żydowska Streets; the synagogue was located on the latter. By 1939 Brzostek had an estimated 500 Jewish residents.

A significant number of Brzostek's Jews fled to the east on the outbreak of war into the part of Poland annexed by the Soviet Union in the fall of 1939. With the occupation, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by Israel Schonwetter. Its primary task was to supply laborers for agricultural work, to level and beautify the village square, and to pave roads. Labor squads building fortifications in Wiśniowa were driven to work on trucks and brought back in the evening.[1]

By February 1940, a committee for refugee relief had been established in Brzostek. A man named Goldman was its chairman. Refugees were quartered in the synagogue; their numbers and place of origin are unknown. In 1942, a number of Jews from the Jodłowa ghetto were transferred to Brzostek.[2]

In the summer of 1941, after the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Germans selected around 40 professionals from among Brzostek's Jews to be sent to a labor camp in Lwów. One of the men selected, Adam Szus, recalls that the Ger-

mans threatened to kill his parents after he went into hiding to avoid deportation.[3]

By the summer of 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) had been established in Brzostek. It operated briefly, only to be closed in September 1941 by the Kraków JSS headquarters, in response to an assessment by the Jasło branch describing the Brzostek JSS's "insignificant activity."[4]

Mieczysław Wieliczko, historian of Jasło County, established that the process of ghettoization in the Kreis was completed in 1941 (most likely in the autumn), when a ghetto in Jasło was established. One of the ghettos created around that time was in Brzostek. An open ghetto, unguarded and unfenced, most likely included the village square and Żydowska Street.

At the beginning of 1942, a number of Jews were seized for work in labor camps, including in Pustków.[5] On May 1, 1942, the Germans shot eight Jewish Communists, who were then buried in the Jewish cemetery on Szkotnia Street.[6]

Two days before the ghetto's liquidation on August 12, 1942, the Gestapo requested chairman Schonwetter to report to the Polish police station for questioning, where he was then held until the Aktion. The wife of the Polish police commander informed Schonwetter's family of the planned execution. The police commander released Schonwetter, asking him to "go for a walk." Schonwetter returned to the jail, saying: "I know exactly what is happening. But I am the leader of this community. I will stand with my people."[7]

According to Wieliczko, Jews from the Brzostek ghetto were brought to nearby Kołaczyce on August 12, 1942. Following a selection, some were sent to a labor camp in Jasło. Several people were shot during the liquidation Aktion in Kołaczyce. Others (as many as 260 people) were transported by the Germans to the Podzamcze Forest (also referred to as the forest in Kowalowy) near Krajowice village and then shot that same afternoon. Members of the Jasło Gestapo supervised the execution.[8]

SOURCES The following publications refer to the fate of the Jews of Brzostek: Bogdan Stanaszek, *Brzostek i okolice* (Brzostek: Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Brzosteckiej, 1997), pp. 61, 63, 66; Mieczysław Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1974), pp. 131, 148, 182–184; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 147–148.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/280 [AJDC]; 211/472-473 [JSS]; 301/4697 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/280; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 4409, 20720, 35501).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 4409, testimony of Adam Szus, 1995; # 20720, testimony of Mark Schonwetter, 1996; Tadeusz Frączek, "Historia ludności żydowskiej zamieszkałej w Brzostku w okresie II wojny światowej," *Wiadomości Brzosteckie*, no. 4 (41) (July 1999): 9—see www.brzostek.alpha.pl/wiadomos/archiwum.html.

2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/280 (Brzostek), p. 1; AŻIH, 301/4697, testimony of Regina Rueck, 1945.

3. VHF, # 4409.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/472 (Jasło), p. 36; and 211/473 (Jasło), p. 9.

5. VHF, # 35501, testimony of Leona Silverman, 1997; AŻIH, 301/4697.

6. Frączek, "Historia ludności żydowskiej"—the article is based on an interview with survivor Abraham Schuss. According to Schuss, the killing of Communists took place in 1941, but it most likely took place in the spring of 1942, when the Germans conducted killings of Jewish activists in ghettos.

7. VHF, # 20720; Johanna Ginsberg, "Family Helps Polish Town Reclaim Its Painful Past," *New Jersey Jewish News*, July 30, 2009—see njjewishnews.com/njjn.com/073009/njFamilyHelpsPolishTown.html.

8. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), pp. 70–71, 74–75.

BRZOZÓW

Pre-1939: Brzozów, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Brzozow, Kreis Sanok, then from November 1941, Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Brzozów, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

The town of Brzozów is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) north of Sanok. There were 1,127 Jews living in Brzozów in 1921, constituting 21.7 percent of the total population. Their number had fallen to 1,046 by 1931.

The Germans occupied Brzozów on September 9, 1939. Upon entering the town, they confiscated merchandise from Jewish shops, marked them with an inscription in yellow paint ("Jew"), and later assigned trustees to these businesses.



A sports field in Brzozów where Jews were assembled prior to deportation, August 8, 1942.
USHMM WS #33438, COURTESY OF GFH

Jewish residents, including their rabbi, Mojżesz Weber, were forced to clean streets and labor at nearby petroleum wells. Women cleaned the offices of the German administration. By October 1939, the number of Jews had declined to 920, as many fled east to the Soviet-occupied Polish territories.

On October 26, 1939, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) chaired by Benzion Laufer. Joel Fass replaced him, most likely at the beginning of 1940. Mojżesz Knobelbarth was Fass's "sword-arm"; Sala Biber (secretary) and Uszer Freund (treasurer) also staffed the Judenrat. The Gestapo, together with officials from the Kreis and Landrat offices, paid the Judenrat frequent visits, demanding contributions in foreign currencies, gold, tea, coffee, liqueurs, and furs.[1]

A German Gendarmerie post and its jail were located initially at 1 Sienkiewicz Street; later it was moved to the grounds of a church parish. The prison of a local court was located on Mickiewicz Street.

By March 1940, 91 Jewish refugees had settled in Brzozów. The Judenrat opened a kosher soup kitchen for their benefit on March 7, 1940. It operated six days a week, but half of its meals were meatless. The kitchen served on average 140 meals a day but only 33 to the newly arrived refugees. The Brzozów community contributed 25 percent of the kitchen expenses, while the remainder was covered by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). Due to financial constraints, meals with meat were soon reduced to one per week. As a result, the recipients became "very discontented," and the Judenrat considered closing the kitchen. Unable to finance it any longer, the Judenrat had no other choice and closed it anyway on July 20, 1940.[2]

In August 1940, the Judenrat reported 910 Jews (including 113 refugees) living in Brzozów. By November 7, 1940, the number of Jews had risen to 944, and the Judenrat was reporting, "We are sending over 300 workers to labor camps in Krosno, Baligród, Wzdów, and Bzianka."[3]

In May 1941, a local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in Brzozów to relieve the Judenrat of its assistance duties to the poor and refugees. Out of a total of 1,007 Jews in Brzozów, one quarter sought assistance, and 811 were registered as "without an occupation." There were, however, 44 stores and 21 Jewish workshops still operating in the town. At the same time, only 13 Brzozów Jews were laboring in camps outside the gmina.[4]

The Brzozów ghetto was most likely set up in the second half of 1941, or possibly at the beginning of 1942. The ghetto encompassed the eastern part of the market square, including Piastowa and Kazimierzo Streets. The displacement was without warning. Brzozów's Jews were allowed to take up to 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of clothes and household goods with them.

Jacek Joterski, a Pole who assisted the Jewish community during the war and on whose memoir this entry is largely based, states that the ghetto inmates were forbidden to travel more than 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) beyond the town limits on pain of death. The ghetto was severely overcrowded, with up to 10 people sharing a room, typically with only straw for a bed and people sleeping in shifts due to the lack of space.[5]

None of the sources refer to the ghetto being physically enclosed. A Jewish police force was organized in October 1941 to keep order inside the ghetto and to guard it internally. Approximately 200 men were conscripted into the Ortsschutz (local protection force) and also air-raid-defense units, which guarded and patrolled the ghetto at night and enforced the blackout. The latter included Poles and was supervised by the Gendarmerie and Polish police. Fifteen prominent Poles and all ghetto residents were declared to be hostages to prevent any acts of sabotage.

In October 1941, the JSS reported that it was responsible for a total of 1,350 Jews in seven neighboring settlements; of that number, 1,000 were Brzozów Jews. It was at this time that the soup kitchen was reopened. Over a dozen workers labored on road works in Kalnica near Baligród.[6]

In May 1942, the authorities announced an increase in the size of the Jewish Police.[7]

On June 18, 1942, 400 Jews from the surrounding settlements were transferred to Brzozów. The Housing Committee and the Jewish Police placed them en masse in community buildings. It was also reported that a group of Jews was transferred from the Krosno ghetto. At that time, the Jewish Police was in the process of recruiting new members, as most of its staffers had been sent to Jaśliska to supervise Jewish laborers.[8] Among the newcomers were approximately 20 families from Humniska, who even before their transfer to the ghetto had been working in Brzozów on a daily basis, carrying stones for road construction. Ten of these families were housed in a local school.[9]

At the beginning of August 1942, 258 Jews were deported to the Płaszów labor camp via the Targowiska train station. Over 40 people were sent for spadework at the petroleum well in Grabownica.

The Germans informed the Judenrat one day in advance that the ghetto residents would be resettled to labor camps on August 10, 1942. It was also announced that 50 craftsmen and their families would stay in Brzozów. All the Jews were ordered to gather at the local stadium near the Stobnica River with up to 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of luggage. The community was anxious and suspicious of German intentions, as they were aware that large ditches had recently been dug in a nearby forest on August 8.

The ghetto residents were transferred to the stadium unescorted. There, a selection by a single SS man was conducted; he directed individual Jews to be escorted away by other SS men onto three trucks standing at the stadium's gate. The Judenrat secretary, Sala Biber, checked those selected against a list. The trucks departed in a southwesterly direction towards the Spring Forest (Las Zdrojowy). Some of the trucks reportedly went northwest, in the direction of Stara Wieś village. By 10:30 A.M., the stadium was empty. The last to be loaded onto trucks were the members of the Judenrat.

The trucks were unloaded near the turning off point to Zmiennica, at the Spring Forest. Jews were ordered to undress

and then led deeper into the forest to an opening, which locals often used for picnics. Three SS men carried out the executions by shooting their victims in the back of the skull on the edge of the pits. Small children were killed using an iron crowbar. By 2:00 P.M., an estimated 700 to 800 Jews had been murdered. As the SS had ordered the Judenrat to prepare a detailed list of all those selected to be killed, a search for the approximately 100 who had gone into hiding ensued.[10]

According to another source, the Krosno Gestapo conducted the liquidation Aktion. In its course, 1,400 Jews were murdered, of which 800 were shot in the settlement of Karolówka.[11] Some sources, for example, *Obozy hitlerowskie* and *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, state that a number of Jews survived the selection and were sent to Iwonicz (23 kilometers [14 miles], southwest of Brzozów).[12]

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 120; Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004); and E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O Zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 88.

Archival sources referring to the Brzozów ghetto include AŻIH (210/282 [AJDC]; 302/258 [Memoirs of Jews]); and USHMM (RG.02.208M [Memoirs of Jews]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-50.002*0030).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/282, pp. 2, 6; AŻIH, 302/258, memoir of Jacek Joterski, 1962.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/282, pp. 8, 10–11, 23, 36–38, 41, 49, 60.
3. Ibid., pp. 57, 64. Note that pp. 67–74 list all 275 Jewish families living in Brzozów (name and surname of the head of the family and the number of family members). Although undated, it was most likely drawn up in December 1940.
4. Ibid., p. 2.
5. AŻIH, 302/258.
6. Ibid.; *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 17, 1941.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 20, 1942.
8. Ibid., June 18, 1942, and July 29, 1942.
9. USHMM, RG-50.002*0030, interview with Mina Zuckerman, 1983.
10. AŻIH, 302/258.
11. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), pp. 24–26.
12. Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), p. 72.

CZUDEC

Pre-1939: Czudec, village, Rzeszów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Czudec is located 136 kilometers (85 miles) east of Kraków. The 1921 census registered 322 Jews in Czudec, constituting 35.3 percent of the total population; this number had increased to 376 by 1939.[1]

According to survivor Samuel Halpern, when the war broke out on September 1, 1939, the commander of the local Polish police force approached Czudec's rabbi and advised him that all Jewish men should leave the village. He believed that the women would be safe under German occupation. There is no information regarding the initial occupation of the village and possible casualties.

The new German authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat), but its composition is unknown. A self-help committee was set up following the arrival of a stream of refugees and deportees in November 1939. One of its initial members was Jakub Nebenzahl, who was likely a member of the Judenrat. This institution was charged with organizing social assistance for Jews in the initial months of the war. The 48-year-old Nebenzahl was a local tradesman and the pre-war leader of the kehillah.[2]

The Judenrat census shows that at the end of November 1940 there were 494 Jews living in Czudec, including 83 newcomers. By February 1941, the number of newcomers had risen to 123, but the total number of Jews had declined to 476. The newcomers, most of them transferred by the German authorities via Rzeszów, were originally from Kalisz, Łódź, Kraków, Silesia, and various places in Germany. An estimated 80 percent of all Jews in Czudec were in need of some sort of support.[3]

The winter and spring correspondence of 1941 between the Czudec Judenrat and the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) office in Kraków, referring to the establishment of the official branch of the JSS in Czudec, indicates that the Judenrat, consisting of adversaries of the local Hasidim, sought to prevent them from taking charge of the organization. The three initial nominees pushed by the Hasidim (Zachariasz Jaffe, Szabse Herzig, and Samuel Engelberg) were deemed by the Judenrat to be "inadequate"—for example, Engelberg, "despite his wealth, pays his contributions only when forced." Seeking to change the committee's composition, the Czudec Judenrat had to fight Jaffe and Herzig's supporter, Schmid, who was described by the Judenrat chairman as having "conjured up on the spot the surnames of his Hasidim, who for nearly a year and a half had not lifted their noses to see the light of day."

By May 1941, the following were at last included in the committee: 37-year-old Szabse Herzig and two tradesmen, Jakub Nebenzahl and 43-year-old Pinkas Chajes. That same month, Nebenzahl was replaced by Samuel Engelberg, whose position was taken in August 1941 by a native of Rymanów, Izrael Iser Citronenbaum. Throughout most of that year, Czudec was entitled to 4 percent of the total amount of welfare distributed among all the localities in Kreis Reichshof by the JSS. A soup kitchen was opened on the market square only in September 1941, serving up to 100 meals daily.[4]

According to the records of the Czudec Judenrat, a total of 499 Jews were residing in Czudec in June 1941, increasing to

503 three months later. The same source indicates that 119 children under 18 years of age were living in Czudec that summer. Of that number, 14 were under 3 years old, 33 were 3 to 7 years old, 42 were 7 to 14 years old, and 30 were 14 to 18 years old.

There is no information concerning health or diseases among Czudec's Jews; however, it is known that there was no pharmacy in the village. By the summer of 1941, there was still no hospital or ambulatory clinic established there.

As regards Jewish labor conscription in Czudec, most of the surviving records refer to the summer months of 1941. At that time, only 11 Jewish businesses remained open with permission from the Germans, most of these being tailors and cobblers. Twenty-six Jewish laborers performed forced labor within the community, and another 41 worked in labor camps outside the village. The nature of their work and possible compensation—if any—are unknown. What is known is that between July and the end of October 1941, the so-called Administration of the Czudec Estate employed 35 Jews in agriculture. It is not clear whether their status was that of forced laborers and whether, as such, they were included in the statistics for "laboring Jews" cited in this paragraph, either as Jewish peasants working their own fields or simply as hired agriculture workers.[5]

Only one source, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, dates and briefly describes the establishment of a ghetto in Czudec between late 1941 and the beginning of 1942. The Czudec ghetto was unfenced, and the German authorities let the Jews remain in their existing residential area; however, permission was required to leave the village. Those laboring outside the village limits did so with explicit permission from the employment office. The relatively vague time frame and description of the ghetto provided in the *Pinkas ha-kehilot* publication are consistent with evidence regarding other small ghettos in the vicinity.[6]

On March 20, 1942, 80 Jews from the nearby village of Lubenia were resettled to Czudec. An unknown number of Jews from other neighboring settlements soon followed. By April 4, 1942, 52 Jews suitable for labor had been selected and sent to a work camp. The local JSS committee complained to their headquarters in Kraków that they were now the sole support for the women and children that remained. The transfer of Jews from smaller to larger Jewish settlements and the roundups of Jews for labor camps that followed serve as the two main indicators for the existence of several smaller ghettos within Kreis Reichshof.[7]

Eighteen *Kennkarten* (identification cards issued by German authorities, with corresponding colors based on ethnicity) designating their holders as "Poles" were obtained with the cooperation of a Polish employee and two staffers within the Czudec gmina registration office. Nine of the identification cards were issued for the following Czudec residents: Henryk Tewel, Ewa Tewel, Gołda Speiser, Simon Götrel, Chaim Goback, Mozes Heffer, Naftali Engelberg, Naftali Jaffa, and a man known only by his first name, Berl; the other Kennkarten were issued to Jews from Pstrągowa, Lubenia, and Wyżne.[8]

Kreis Reichshof was chosen by the Germans to be one of the first to become *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews) in Distrikt Krakau. Several of the ghettos in the Kreis were liquidated between June 25 and 27, 1942, when their inhabitants were relocated to the Rzeszów ghetto. Czudec's Jews were most likely among the Jews transferred at this time. A series of railroad transports organized in July 1942, destined for the Bełżec extermination camp, practically emptied the Rzeszów ghetto of most of its inhabitants.[9]

SOURCES Publications containing some information regarding the fate of the small Jewish community of Czudec include the following: E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O Zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959); Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004); and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984).

This entry is based mostly on documents that can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/311A [AJDC Czudec]; 211/336-337 [JSS Czudec], 211/922, 211/925, 211/933 [JSS Rzeszów]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 20); and VHF (# 45091).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 20, 211/336, p. 25.
2. VHF, # 45091, testimony of Samuel Halpern; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 20, 211/336, p. 20.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 20, 211/336, pp. 2, 10a, 11, 17.
4. Ibid., pp. 11–13, 15, and 211/637, pp. 8, 16; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 44, 211/922, p. 36, and 211/925, p. 49; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 45, 211/933, p. 17.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 20, 211/336, pp. 6, 25, 51, and 211/337, pp. 7, 14.
6. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 303.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 20, 211/337, pp. 61–62.
8. Elżbieta Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej-Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), p. 59.
9. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O Zagładzie Żydów," pp. 94–95; Zbigniew K. Wójcik, *Rzeszów w latach drugiej wojny światowej: Okupacja i konspiraga 1939–1944–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Europejskich Studiów Społecznych; Kraków: Tow. Sympatyków Historii, 1998), p. 156; Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 41.

DĄBROWA TARNOWSKA

Pre-1939: Dąbrowa Tarnowska, town, Dąbrowa powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Dabrowa Tarnowska, Kreis Tarnow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Dąbrowa Tarnowska, województwo małopolskie, Poland

The town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) east-northeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, there were about 2,400 Jews living in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.

German troops entered the town on September 8, 1939. In October 1939, Dąbrowa Tarnowska was incorporated into Kreis Tarnow in Distrikt Krakau. Within Kreis Tarnow, Dąbrowa Tarnowska became the administrative center of its own Landgemeinde.[1] Anti-Jewish Aktions in Kreis Tarnow, including Dąbrowa Tarnowska, were organized and carried out by the Security Police detachment (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tarnów, which served under the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Kraków. The German Gendarmerie and Polish auxiliary police also took part in the Aktions against the local Jewish population.

Between 1939 and 1941, the German occupying authorities in Dąbrowa Tarnowska implemented a number of anti-Jewish policies. Jewish property was confiscated; the Jews were registered, ordered to wear patches and armbands bearing the Star of David, and were forbidden from leaving the limits of the town, performing ritual slaughter of animals, or trading with the non-Jewish population. Many were obliged to perform various forms of heavy physical labor. The Germans had established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) by early in 1940, which was headed by Dr. Neuberger. The Judenrat took measures to meet the basic needs of the Jewish community. It organized a communal kitchen, which in May 1941 provided more than 7,000 meals; it distributed shoes and clothing, and it provided some means of financial support to the needy. The Judenrat also assisted those Jews who from December 1941 were sent to work in the labor camps in Pustków and Mielec.

By June 1941, as a result of the resettlement of many Jews from western Poland, including the city of Kraków, the total number of Jews in Dąbrowa rose to 3,200. Following the influx of refugees, sanitary conditions for the Jews seriously deteriorated. In January 1941, an epidemic of typhus broke out, and Jews were forbidden to leave their homes. The town remained sealed off for two months, during which the Jewish population was on the verge of starvation, and provisions had to be smuggled in. By September 1941, the Jewish population in the town had declined to 3,091. In January 1942, another epidemic of typhus broke out. Despite the efforts of the Judenrat to obtain medical supplies and funds to treat and cure those infected, the hospital was only able to function intermittently.[2]

At the end of April 1942, around 20 Jews accused of being Communist activists were shot as part of a larger Aktion against alleged members of leftist movements that was carried out by the Security Police throughout the region. In June 1942, in an attempt to spare as many Jews as possible from being conscripted for forced labor, the Judenrat created a workshop that employed 412 workers. That month, the Germans demanded a large "contribution" from the Jews, which was to be composed mainly of cash, furniture, and appliances. The contribution was paid in full in the hope that this would avert a large deportation Aktion. However, a few days later, a detachment of the Security Police and an associated deportation Sonderkommando from Tarnów surrounded the town in the early hours of the morning. They rounded up the Jews in the town square and selected about 450 for deportation to the Bełżec extermination camp. Men of the Sonderkommando shot about 50 elderly people on the spot during the Aktion. Many people avoided the roundup by hiding in the woods and in underground bunkers.

Towards the end of June 1942, the German authorities established an enclosed ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Between June 15 and June 23, 1942, Jews were resettled from the villages and small towns of Kreis Tarnow to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Tarnów, and several other newly established ghettos. On July 17, a second Aktion was carried out in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Around 1,800 Jews who had been concentrated in the town's ghetto from the surrounding area were deported to Bełżec; the German police forces shot nearly 100 people on the spot during the Aktion.[3]

The third Aktion took place on September 18, 1942. Although the Germans had intended to liquidate the ghetto on that day, a large number of people were able to hide. During this third Aktion, the Germans deported 500 people and shot 10 others, including the head of the Judenrat. In the days that followed, many people returned to the town from hiding, and a "small ghetto" was established. Suddenly on October 1, 1942, the German forces again descended on the town and deported 900 people to Bełżec. On October 6, the Germans rounded up 600 more people, many of whom had been hiding in bunkers, and they shot some 20 people. Around 30 Jews were left in the ghetto to clear out remaining property. Some of them were later taken to the Tarnów ghetto, while the Germans murdered the others at the Jewish cemetery on December 20, 1942.[4]

Although the ghetto was officially liquidated in 1942, between July and August 1943, more than 250 Jews were killed by the Gestapo in and around Dąbrowa. From October to December 1943, members of the Gestapo and the SS shot another 228 Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who had been in hiding. In 1944, there were at least two documented incidents in which members of the Gendarmerie and the SS shot Polish women and the Jewish families they had been hiding.[5]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Dąbrowa Tarnowska can be found in the following publications: *Dąbrowa Tarnowska: Zarys dziejów miasta i powiatu* (Warsaw, 1974); S. Zabierowski, *Pustków. Hitlerowskie obozy wyniszczenia w służbie poligonu SS* (Rzeszów, 1981); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 107–111; A. Pietrzykowa, *Region tarnowski w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Polityka okupanta i ruch oporu* (Warsaw: PWN, 1984); and E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 87–109.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Dąbrowa Tarnowska can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1209, 1637, and 2348); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.0124 [AŻIH, JSS], reels 47 and 48); VHF (# 20597 and 43549); and YVA.

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów," p. 88.
2. Pietrzykowa, *Region tarnowski w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, p. 184; USHMM, Acc.1997.0124, reel 47, JSS Tarnów

protokuł, September 30, 1941; VHF, # 20597 and # 43549, testimonies of A. Peled and H. Brand; AŻIH, 301/2348, testimony of A. Milet; and 301/1209, testimony of S. Feiner.

3. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów," pp. 93–95; AŻIH, 301/1209, 2348, and 1637, testimony of I. Stieglitz. According to Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 110, it took place on July 24–25, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.0124, reel 48.

4. AŻIH, 301/2348 and 1209.

5. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo tarnowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 48–49.

DĘBICA

Pre-1939: Dębica (Yiddish: Dembitz), town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Debica, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Dębica, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Dębica is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) east of Kraków. In 1921, about 40 percent of the town's population was Jewish (1,564 individuals out of 3,922 inhabitants).

The Germans captured Dębica on Friday, September 8, 1939. On October 26, Dębica became part of the Generalgouvernement, which was ruled by Gouverneur Hans Frank. In the first weeks of the occupation, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, which included the seizure of much of their movable property, the imposition of forced labor, and a ban on visiting public places. Jewish social organizations and community institutions were closed down and their property confiscated. However, during this initial period, many Jewish businesses continued to function, and Jews were still able to use public transportation. The most onerous burden was the imposition of forced labor. Jews worked as cleaners and orderlies in offices and military barracks; others were made to clean the streets and to remove the ruins resulting from the German bombardments.



A sign in German and Polish on the door of a Jewish business in Dębica, issued by Kreishauptmann Schlüter, announces the property's confiscation from its Jewish owners, March 9, 1942.
USHMM WS #49006, COURTESY OF YIVO

The German civil authorities in Dębica, under Kreishauptmann Dr. Auswald, initially made most key decisions regarding the Jewish community. The Gestapo, headed by a man named Gabler, only became more closely involved once the ghetto was established. In November 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, under the leadership of Tovia Zucker. The Judenrat was responsible for providing the daily quota of men for forced labor. In addition, it had to collect Jewish property and valuables to meet the "contributions" demanded by the Germans. Forced labor entailed road construction and work in factories repairing locomotives and railway cars. At work the Jews were frequently beaten and abused by the overseers. Some young Jews tried to escape and flee to the east. However, restrictions on obtaining Soviet citizenship soon forced many to return to Dębica.[1]

In the spring of 1940, the German authorities conducted a census and used it to register those Jews capable of performing forced labor. In June 1940, a group of young Jewish men was sent to the labor camp in Pustków. In April and May, the Waffen-SS had established a military training camp there using Jewish labor. Many smaller labor camps were established around the camp, where Jews and Poles were exploited as forced laborers until 1944. The Judenrat was required to provide food, utensils, and blankets for the inmates, which helped many of them to survive. During the course of the year, bribes enabled the Dębica Judenrat to obtain the return of some forced laborers from Pustków.

During the winter of 1940–1941, conditions for the Jews in Dębica deteriorated steadily. The Germans imposed further restrictions on Jewish movement; they looted Jewish property; and they demanded large contributions. The Judenrat established a communal kitchen to help needy people obtain warm food. However, at this time, most Jews were still allowed to reside in their own homes. Due to internal differences, the head of the Jewish Council, Tovia Zucker, was replaced by Yosef Traub.

From the beginning of 1941, discussions began between the Jewish Council and the local town administration regarding the establishment of a "Jewish residential area." The area chosen for the ghetto was in one of the poorest and most rundown parts of town near the marketplace.[2] Some Polish families were removed from this area to make way for the Jews. Most probably during the early months of 1941, about 2,200 Jews from Dębica were settled into the ghetto. Since the living space in the ghetto was inadequate, small wooden huts were built at the edge of the ghetto, each of which had to accommodate about 20 people.[3]

By the summer of 1942, the ghetto was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence. Only individuals with special permits were allowed to leave the area. Jews caught outside the ghetto or in the process of smuggling food were shot in the Jewish cemetery. By July 1942, the influx of Jews from surrounding towns had brought the number of Jews in the ghetto to more than 4,000

people. The Jewish Council was given the impossible task of finding housing for all the ghetto's residents. Due to the extreme overcrowding, sanitary conditions deteriorated. It became urgent for the ghetto residents to halt the spread of epidemic disease by organizing medical care and establishing an isolation hospital for the severely ill. Dr. Mantzer, Dr. Idek, and Dr. Tau treated the patients in this small hospital.

Even under the harsh conditions of the ghetto, some religious Jews managed to maintain an active underground yeshiva. Awareness of the expulsions from neighboring settlements increased anxiety among Jews in the Dębica ghetto, as they suspected that their turn would come soon. Some of the Jews working in factories outside the ghetto started to look for hiding places and attempted to make contact with non-Jewish acquaintances.[4]

The first large Aktion probably took place at the end of July 1942. One or two days before, many Jews from the neighboring villages and towns, including Sędziszów Małopolski, Ropczyce, Pilzno, Radomyśl Wielki, and Baranów Sandomierski, were brought into the Dębica ghetto, following Aktions conducted to clear those places of Jews. This was part of a large-scale deportation Aktion throughout Kreis Debica, during which up to 12,000 Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp and murdered. Dębica was chosen as the main point of concentration because of its location on the main railroad towards Bełżec, as well as its status as the center of the Kreis. SS units, in collaboration with the Polish (Blue) Police, surrounded the ghetto and ordered the Jewish Council to collect all the work permits of the Jews, ostensibly for the purpose of renewing them. The Jews had to gather at the main square in the ghetto for the selection. The Jews were told that only the most essential and skilled workers would be issued new work permits; all the others were to be sent to work "in the east." Those without work permits were sent to a second collection point directly below the Każynca Lunka.[5] Following the selection, Gestapo men, assisted by the Polish (Blue) Police and members of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), searched the houses in the ghetto, looking for any Jews in hiding. Those found were taken to the Jewish cemetery and shot immediately. The Jews who received valid work permits were ordered to return to their homes in the ghetto. Approximately 200 people were taken from the group to be deported to the "east." In fact, they were sent to Lisa Góra near the village of Wielice and shot.

Shortly after this initial selection, those Jews with new work permits were divided into three groups: one group was sent to work in the Messerschmidt aircraft factory in Rzeszów and the Heinkel aircraft factory in Mielec; another was transferred to the Pustków labor camp; and several hundred Jews remained in the ghetto. As a result of these selections, a group of approximately 2,000 Jews from the Dębica ghetto was sent along with several thousand of the Jews who had just arrived in Dębica from the surrounding towns to the Bełżec extermination camp.

Following this first large-scale Aktion, a number of Jews who had found refuge with Polish families or who had gone into hiding returned secretly to the ghetto. The survivors of this Aktion worked hard, hoping that their useful contribution to the German war effort might save their lives. In the autumn of 1942, about 600 Jews were still registered in the Dębica ghetto, which was now reduced in size. The Jews went to work every day outside the ghetto, which was guarded externally by the Polish (Blue) Police. The official food rations for ghetto residents consisted mainly of a thin watery soup occasionally containing a morsel of potato or cabbage.[6] Therefore, in spite of the danger, a number of Jews tried to barter items for food from non-Jews or scavenge vegetables by sneaking out of the ghetto. In November 1942, Kreishauptmann Schlüter (Dr. Auswald's successor) published a proclamation stating that as of December 1, 1942, any person giving shelter to Jews outside the enclosed camps would face the death penalty.[7]

On December 15–16, 1942, the Germans conducted another large-scale Aktion against the ghetto residents at Każynca Lunka. At this time, the ghetto was to be liquidated, and only those working for the railway factory were to be retained in what was now to be a forced labor camp in which the Jewish elder was the notorious Jewish policeman Immerglick. As a result, many Jews tried to obtain a spot there by bribing the new Jewish leadership.[8] When the Aktion started, the railway factory workers were separated from the rest. Almost all the remaining people, including the families of the railway factory workers, were deported to Bełżec. During this Aktion, conducted mainly by members of the Ukrainian Sonderdienst (Special Police), the Jewish Police again assisted the Germans in the hope of saving themselves. Many Jews tried to escape from the deportation trains, but most were shot by the guards.

Some Jews who survived the Aktion tried to return to the forced labor camp, but the Jewish Police (at this time led by Immerglick) did not allow them inside. It was already an open secret that the German authorities planned to liquidate the Dębica forced labor camp soon. At the beginning of 1943, the last surviving Jews of the neighboring Jewish communities were brought to the camp. The number of inmates increased to approximately 1,600. One group of 50 "illegal" Jews was handed over by the camp leadership and shot immediately. Other Jews without valid permits fled into the Bochnia ghetto, where they shared the fate of its residents. All were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp in September 1943. The liquidation of the forced labor camp in Dębica started in April 1943. Up to then, the Jews had continued to work in the railway factory and in construction. At this time, the last camp inmates were transferred to a labor camp near Kraków or to other camps.[9]

As Soviet troops approached the area in 1944, the remaining labor camps were liquidated, and the prisoners, including a number of former inmates of the Dębica ghetto, were transported to a variety of forced labor and concentration camps further west. Some Jews survived by hiding with Polish families or fleeing to the woods. The precise number of Jews from the Dębica ghetto who survived until the end of the war is not known.

SOURCES Information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Dębica can be found in the following publications: Daniel Leibel, ed., *Sefer Dembitz* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dembits be-Yisrael, 1960); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 119–124; and Irene Eber, *The Choice: Poland 1939–1945* (New York: Schocken, 2004).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Dębica can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/378); FVA (# 627); IPN; USHMM (RG-15.019M); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/89, 1294, 1597, and 2490; and O-3/705).

Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Reuven Siedlisker-Sarid, "The Murder of the Jews of Dembitz," in Leibel, *Sefer Dembitz*, pp. 141–155.
2. Eber, *The Choice*, p. 36.
3. Siedlisker-Sarid, "The Murder of the Jews of Dembitz," implies that the ghetto was established in the first months of 1941 but does not state this explicitly.
4. AŻIH, 301/378, testimony of Leonka Gertler, Kraków, 1945.
5. Siedlisker-Sarid, "The Murder of the Jews of Dembitz."
6. Eber, *The Choice*, p. 38.
7. Proclamation signed by Kreishauptmann Schlüter, Dębica, November 19, 1942, published in W. Bartoszewski and Z. Lewin, eds., *Righteous among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Eastcourt, 1969), p. 643.
8. Siedlisker-Sarid, "The Murder of the Jews of Dembitz."
9. Ibid.

DOBROMIL

Pre-1939: Dobromil, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Przemysl, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Dobromil is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) southwest of Lwów. By 1921, there were 2,119 Jews living in Dobromil, constituting 61.7 percent of the total population. German forces briefly occupied the town in September 1939. Following the Soviet attack on Poland on September 17, 1939, the town was incorporated into the Soviet Union. The Germans reoccupied Dobromil on June 28, 1941.

From the Security Police outpost in Jasło, the Germans transferred Gestapo officials Walter Augustin, Max Lehmann, and Paul Pettirsch to a branch of the Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office [of the Security Police]) that was set up in November 1941 in Dobromil. In addition, a German Gendarmerie unit and a Ukrainian police post were established there.

The first Aktion against the Jewish population took place on June 30, 1941. It was prompted by the discovery of the bodies of several hundred Ukrainians who had been killed by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) prior to the Soviet retreat. Einsatzgruppen report no. 24 of July 16, 1941, stated:

> Eighty-two bodies, including four Jews, were found in the Dobromil jail. The Jews had been Bolshevik informers; they were eliminated as accomplices. Near Dobromil was an abandoned salt mine shaft 80 meters [262 feet] deep completely filled with bodies. Close by was a mass grave measuring 6 by 15 meters [20 by 49 feet]. The number of people killed in and near Dobromil amounted to several hundred. . . . The Russians and Jews had carried out the slaughter by extraordinarily brutal means. . . . In Dobromil, both men and women were killed with sledge hammers used to stun livestock.

In retribution, antisemitic sentiment among the Ukrainians provoked a pogrom in the town during the course of which Ukrainians set synagogues on fire and beat and robbed many Jews. Local Ukrainians rounded up several hundred Jews on the market square. Members of Einsatzkommando 6, headed by SS-Standartenführer Dr. Kröger, took away 132 of them and shot them at the salt mine shaft.[1] According to the Dobromil yizkor book, there were some 50 Jewish victims in total.

The Germans established a district Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Dobromil that was given authority over the other Jewish Councils in several nearby places, namely, in Chyrów, Rybotycze, and Nowe Miasto. The Dobromil Judenrat was subordinated to the Jewish Council for the Kreis based in Przemyśl.[2] The Judenrat included Joseph Miller, Leib Teitelbaum, and two attorneys, Reiner and Karton. The German authorities carried out the registration of Dobromil's Jews, and they were required to report for various kinds of forced labor, including street cleaning, gardening, and lumber work. The Judenrat was charged with organizing this Jewish labor. Many of the forced laborers were mistreated by the Ukrainian guards; there are reports that they hitched Jews to wagons as "workhorses."

In October 1941, the German authorities created a Jewish "residential area"—that is, an open ghetto—in Dobromil.[3] The town's Jews were evicted from several parts of the town and were confined to an area around the old market square, most likely including Szewska and Salinarna Streets. From this time, any Jews caught leaving Dobromil without permission could be punished with the death penalty. Permission to move freely was granted solely to the Judenrat members, the Jewish Police, and some professionals employed by the Germans. In addition, garbage collectors officially could leave and enter the ghetto, but many of them were murdered by Ukrainian collaborators.

In November 1941, when pleading for support from the headquarters of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków, the local Judenrat wrote: "Our community, affected by two years of Bolshevik administration and changes, is unable to remedy our misery on its own." By December 1941, there

were 2,400 Jews living in the Dobromil ghetto, of which one third were in need of assistance.[4]

German regulations required that Jews wear an armband bearing an emblem of the Star of David. The Germans also confiscated most of the Jews' valuables and deprived them of many basic rights.[5] This included prayers, which were conducted in secret in the house of Rabbi Zeydah on Szewska Street.

On February 21, 1942, the Judenrat opened a soup kitchen, which initially distributed 300 meals a day. One hundred were sold for 0.30 złoty per meal; the remainder were distributed free of charge.

In March 1942, on the orders of the Kreishauptmann in Przemyśl, the Judenrat staff was doubled from 5 to 10 members. At this time, its chairman was I. Koritan; his deputy was a man named Belemer.[6] Between April 1942 and the ghetto's liquidation in July 1942, the Judenrat spent much of its energy unsuccessfully trying to open various workshops—especially one for knitted goods—to make the unemployed Jewish youth productive.[7]

In late July 1942, Jews living in the vicinity (including those in Nowe Miasto) were ordered to move to the Dobromil ghetto; for example, the Jews of Kwaszenica were informed of the transfer one week in advance. On arrival at the entrance gate, the Gestapo searched their belongings and confiscated most of them, along with any money. Next, the Germans selected 400 to 500 able-bodied men and separated them from other Jews in the ghetto. They were later marched to labor camps in Przemyśl.[8]

The liquidation of the ghetto took place on July 29, 1942, when 3,166 Jews were gathered at a stadium located near the railway station. From here, the Germans deported them by train to the Bełżec extermination camp. Several Jewish "specialists" remained in the town with their families. According to the yizkor book, as many as 500 Jews remained in Dobromil. This number included the Judenrat members Miller and Karton, as well as Jewish policemen, who bribed the Germans to let them remain. They were forced to dig their own graves before they were killed on November 24, 1942, at the Lichtman sawmill in Dobromil. The site was later ploughed over to cover any traces of the killings. A few hundred Jews who had hidden prior to the deportation Aktion were captured and killed in the course of 1942 and 1943.[9] Only a small number of Jews from the town managed to survive.

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the Jewish community in Dobromil and the ghetto there include Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 150–153, 232, 336; M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-zekher Kehilat Dobromil ve-Nayshtut* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Dobromil ve-Nayshtut be-Yirsrael, 1964); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 317.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dobromil can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/360); BA-L (ZStL, 206 AR-Z 39/1960, 206 AR-Z 865/1971, SA 337, SA 566); DALO; GARF (7021-58-20); NARA: USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); VHF (e.g., # 2409, 32667); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. NARA, T-175, reel 232, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 24, July 16, 1941; LG-Tüb, Ks 1/68, verdict of July 31, 1969, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 714.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/360 (Dobromil), p. 1; *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 25, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-58-20, p. 138.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/360, pp. 1, 5.
5. GARF, 7021-58-20, p. 138.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 25, 1942.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/360, pp. 17–25, 29–31.
8. VHF, # 32667, testimony of Marion Domanski-Erdman, 1997; # 2409, testimony of Michael Lewental, 1998.
9. GARF, 7021-58-20, p. 139.

DUKLA

Pre-1939: Dukla, town, Krosno powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Dukla is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) south of Rzeszów on the Jasiołka River. In 1921, the Jewish population consisted of 1,509 people, 72 percent of the total population. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population of Dukla was about 1,650.[1]

German troops occupied Dukla on September 8, 1939. By then, many Jews had already fled to the east, and some of them subsequently remained in what soon became the Soviet-occupied zone of Poland. From the start, German soldiers terrorized the Jews by shaving off the beards of religious Jews and seizing Jewish men for forced labor. During the first phase of the occupation, the Germans ordered those Jews who were not skilled laborers to cross the San River. A group of Jews obeyed this order, entering the Soviet zone, while others went into hiding, and only around 100, mostly more wealthy, families remained in the town. In 1940, the Soviet authorities deported many of the recent refugees from Dukla into the Soviet interior—so at least 100 of them survived the war.[2]

By early 1940, the Germans had established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Dukla, which had to organize the daily quota of forced laborers.[3] The Germans imposed various restrictions on the Jewish population. Jews had to register and wear the Star of David at all times. In addition, they had to obey a curfew and were forbidden to leave the town; and they were harassed, beaten, and subjected to random shootings. Most Jewish property was either seized and handed to non-Jews or became part of the many "contributions" demanded by the Germans from the Judenrat.[4]

In May 1941, 1,476 Jews were registered by the Judenrat in Dukla, reflecting the influx of a number of refugees from nearby villages and other towns in German-occupied Poland. At this time, 135 Jews worked as forced laborers on road construction and other tasks for the Germans.[5] Many of the Jews in Dukla worked at the stone quarry about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. The manager of the quarry, Karol Marcinkowski, treated the Jewish workers badly, beating the weaker ones, although he was susceptible to bribes. Until August 1942, these Jewish laborers lived in the town and marched to the work site every day in a column supervised by Chaskiel Goldman and Hersch Ehrenreich. The laborers worked 10 hours per day for only 15 or 20 złoty per week, plus meager rations comprising one loaf of bread and a little jam or sugar.[6]

In June 1941, a branch of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), headed by L. Werner, was established in Dukla. Its main task was to provide the Jewish population with medical supplies, financial aid, and child care. The public kitchen was run by the local Judenrat, which by 1942 was headed by Simon Stoff. To combat an outbreak of typhus in the region, the Jewish Council in Krosno issued instructions in December 1941 to the Jews in Dukla to bathe regularly with soap.[7]

In the spring of 1942, all the Jews in Dukla were concentrated into one specific area, which one source describes as an enclosed ghetto, although it may have remained open until August 1942.[8] In mid-August 1942, the Gestapo based in Krosno, assisted by the Order Police, conducted an Aktion in Dukla shortly after the Aktion in Krosno on August 10, 1942. It is probable that Jews from the surrounding towns and villages, such as Jaśliska, were brought into Dukla just prior to the Aktion, as by this time the number of Jews is estimated to have been more than 2,000.[9] On the morning of August 13, the Germans drove the Jews out of their houses to the marketplace (*Rynek*). Some of those who tried to hide or were too sick to move were shot on the spot. Then Marcinkowski participated in the selection of about 300 Jews, mostly boys and young men, to remain in Dukla as forced laborers. The remaining Jews were divided into two groups. The women and children, probably more than 1,000 people, were deported by train to the Bełżec extermination camp.[10] The elderly and the sick (about 400 people) were also separated and taken to a nearby forest, where they were shot, probably together with several hundred elderly Jews selected in Rymanów, Jaśliska, and other places. In total, the Germans murdered around 800 mostly elderly Jews at this time in the forest near Barwinek to the south of Dukla.[11]

The 300 or so remaining Jewish workers were put into two Jewish forced labor camps in Dukla, established following the deportation Aktion. The labor camps belonged to the German construction firms of Artur Walde (Breslau) that had about 140 forced laborers and Emil Ludwig (Munich) with about 170, both established in mid-August 1942.[12] One survivor describes these two forced labor camps as the "ghetto," which consisted of four or five buildings located in two different neighborhoods of the town that were guarded by the Polish (Blue) Police.[13] In November 1942, the Artur Walde camp was liquidated, and the 200 or so Jewish workers there were sent to another forced labor camp near Kraków.[14] A short time later, probably in December 1942, the Emil Ludwig camp was dissolved, and the forced laborers were sent to Rzeszów.[15] Only about 50 Jews from Dukla survived the German occupation in the camps or in hiding.

SOURCES Information on the history of the Jewish community of Dukla and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 111–114.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Dukla can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1757, 3236, and 3448); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reels 21 and 32; RG-50.002*0028; and RG-15.019M, reel 17); VHF (# 18425); and YVA.

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 111–112; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 21, 211/374, Sprawozdanie, May 31, 1941.
2. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 113–114. VHF, # 18425, testimony of J. Braun, erroneously dates this event in September 1941.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 21, 211/373.
4. VHF, # 18425. According to Braun, there was no Jewish Police in Dukla.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 21, 211/374, Sprawozdanie, May 31, 1941.
6. AŻIH, 301/3448, testimony of Rubin Bergman; and 301/1757, testimony of Adolf Nattel.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 21, 211/374-375, and reel 32, 211/615, Dringender Rundauftrag der Jüdischen Gemeinde Krosno, Abtlg. Gesundheit und Hygiene, December 16, 1941.
8. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 113–114.
9. AŻIH, 301/3448, gives the figure of 2,500 Jews; 301/1757, gives the figure of 2,200, noting that some came from the surrounding area.
10. Estimates for the number of Jews sent to Bełżec vary considerably, from ca. 1,600 given in ibid., 301/1757, to only 300 in 301/3236, testimony of Mozes Kurzman.
11. Ibid., 301/3448; 301/1757; A. Potocki, *Zydzi Rymanowscy* (Krosno: APLA, 2000), p. 169; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), p. 35.
12. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 163; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17, pp. 84–85. See also USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (ŻSS), reel 21, 211/375, letter of ŻSS Kraków to Fa. Emil Ludwig, Dukla, October 15, 1942.
13. VHF, # 18425.
14. AŻIH, 301/3236; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 163.
15. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17, p. 85. VHF, # 18425, dates the transfer to Rzeszów in June 1943.

DZIAŁOSZYCE

Pre-1939: Działoszyce, town, Miechów powiat, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Dialoszyce, Kreis Miechow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Działoszyce, województwo świętokrzyskie, Poland

Działoszyce is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northeast of Kraków. In 1939, it is estimated that about 7,000 Jews lived there (80 percent of the total population).[1]

German forces occupied the town on September 8, 1939. Refugees with relatives in Działoszyce returned from other towns (Zagłębie, Kraków, Pinczów, and Łódź). The German authorities enacted anti-Jewish legislation as soon as the fighting ended. Jewish shops and merchandise were confiscated, and the Jewish populace was forbidden to transact business. For most of the occupation, there was no permanent German police force stationed in the town, which somewhat diminished the daily pressure (and may be the reason many former residents returned from other areas). The German district authorities (office of the Kreishauptmann) were based in Miechów, about 25 kilometers (16 miles) away. By the winter of 1940–1941, the Jewish population of Działoszyce had reached 10,000, two thirds of them penniless refugees. Housing conditions were abysmal, with hundreds crowded into public buildings and institutions with no sanitary facilities or running water. Almost 1,000 people were crammed into the synagogue and adjoining Bet Midrash (study hall). The situation worsened in September 1941, when another 300 refugees were transferred to Działoszyce from Miechów.[2]

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) evolved from the leadership of the kehillah (Jewish community council), headed by Moshe Yosef Kruk. It served as an address for the Germans, implementing the unending flow of anti-Jewish orders and satisfying the appetites of the local officials. The members of the Judenrat were made personally responsible for enforcing all German orders. Among the most notorious extortionists were Kriminalobersekretär Bayerlein, head of the Gestapo office in Miechów, and others such as Schmidt, Vogt, Becker, and Reginer, as well as Gendarmes such as Kosko, Dachauer-Kornhäuser, and Schubert.[3] They demanded numerous "contributions," and everything of value had to be turned in: gold, silver, jewelry, foreign currency, radios, furs, and the like.[4] The Judenrat's basic strategy was that by fulfilling German demands they would delay or avert impending danger. One of the results was constant conflict within the community. Commenting on this situation, the yizkor book concludes: "[O]ne must always remember the factors involved in daily life, which caused the ordinary Jews to view it [the Judenrat] with suspicion. I am certain that in our town it functioned only in order to handle those difficulties produced by the times and the circumstances."[5]

The Judenrat had to face the danger of epidemics and disease. Dr. Grambovsky was the only doctor in town, but in 1940 Dr. Dvora Lazar arrived from Kraków. In addition to overseeing medical services for 10,000 people, this heroic Jewish physician established sanitary measures to head off epidemics and the spread of contagious diseases. Disinfection stations were set up, and a sanitation committee made rounds to fumigate buildings with sulfur and other disinfectants. In 1941, there were simultaneous outbreaks of dysentery, typhoid, and typhus, but they were somehow contained. There were many deaths, but the news was never reported to the German authorities, as they were known to take drastic measures in such instances. In November, the hospital that had been set up in Skalbmierz to deal with patients from the two communities was transferred to Działoszyce.[6]

The Judenrat had to supply workers for various work tasks in and around the town. All men over age 14 were taken to labor camps or pressed into forced labor, digging ditches and sewage canals. The German labor chief, named Mucha, worked with the Judenrat's labor department, headed by Mr. Hoffmann, to establish a rotation schedule for all able-bodied men. For many the meager pay was the only source of income. Families with more resources paid substitutes a few coins to replace them in the forced labor gangs. Periodically, German police would show up to seize a few dozen young people and send them to labor camps near Kraków or to work in the factories of the German firm Richard Strauch. Sometimes the Judenrat's Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) were called on to enforce the demands for Jewish forced labor.[7]

The most extraordinary effort of the beleaguered community was the communal kitchen, which was established when the first refugees arrived. Members of the Zionist youth movements went door to door to collect funds, clothing, bedding, and items of furniture for them. At the beginning of 1940, one wing of the Bet Midrash was opened as a public kitchen and dining hall. At first only a few hundred refugees ate there, but over time it became the most important institution in town, providing a hot daily meal for thousands. Some of the food came from the rations allocated to the Judenrat by the authorities, but the rest had to be obtained by other means, legitimate or not so legitimate. The kitchen functioned for two and a half years, until the final liquidation of the community in the autumn of 1942.[8]

During the early years, some assistance was available from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), which continued to operate in Poland until the United States entered the war. In 1940, the AJDC supplied Passover matzot for Polish Jewry. Although travel was forbidden, two young men hired a wagon and got to Częstochowa to bring back the matzot.[9]

Some secondary sources refer to a "ghetto" in Działoszyce from March of 1940,[10] but primary sources indicate that the Jews continued to live in their own homes right up to the main deportation Aktion in September 1942 and that no fence was ever constructed to contain the Jews. As already noted, due to the influx of many refugees, Działoszyce became a collecting point for Jews in overcrowded conditions from early 1940. A curfew was strictly enforced at night, and several accounts stress that "it was forbidden to go beyond the limits of the town."[11] By 1942, leaving the town to barter with the

peasants was punishable by death. Nonetheless, many Jews felt compelled to leave the town to obtain a little extra food for their families, and some of them paid for this with their lives.[12]

Since the Jews gradually became subject to ever more stringent movement restrictions and harsh living conditions, some survivors have described Działoszyce as a kind of "open ghetto." Szlama Leszman, who mostly lived outside Działoszyce, as a partisan with the underground resistance of the Polish Socialist Party, noted that the town was "abnormally overcrowded" with "people living in every attic and basement. . . . The poverty was dire and was accompanied by malnutrition, and this brought about an escalation of illnesses. The town was transformed into a huge Jewish ghetto."[13]

In the spring and early summer of 1942, additional Jews were brought into Działoszyce from the surrounding villages, worsening the overcrowding. Despite the isolation, rumors about Aktions in neighboring communities, such as Słomniki, began to spread during the summer of 1942.

On September 3, German armed units surrounded Działoszyce. On the next day, after a night of terror, everyone was instructed to pack a bundle of only 10 to 15 kilograms (22 to 33 pounds) of personal belongings, including work clothes, and report to the market square.[14] After the marketplace filled up, horses and carts driven by peasants arrived. People too old or weak to walk to the train station were loaded onto the carts and taken straight to the cemetery. There they were shot with machine guns and buried in three mass graves, about 1,200 to 1,500 victims. Included in this group was the community's elderly rabbi, Itzhak Halevi Staslovsky. The others were taken by truck from the train station to a huge open field near Miechów, where Jews from other towns, including Książ Wielki and Wodzisław, were also assembled. By the following morning, there were approximately 15,000 Jews there. At noon the people were ordered into groups of 5, with young men sent to the left (about 2,000) and the rest to the right.[15] The latter, Jews from Działoszyce as well as neighboring towns, were loaded onto cattle cars and taken by train to the Bełżec extermination camp. The younger group was sent, on the same train, to the Prokocim labor camp near Kraków.

Shortly after their arrival at Prokocim, the Germans sent the Jewish Police from Działoszyce back to the town to collect and clean up what was left behind after local Poles had looted the Jewish houses. When others heard this, they escaped from the camp and also returned. A few Jews who had survived the expulsion by hiding in neighboring villages also slipped into town, and the Germans even published announcements allowing them to return to their homes. By the end of October 1942, there were several hundred Jews in Działoszyce. According to Majer Zonenfeld's account, the Germans rounded up the remaining Jews living scattered in Działoszyce and moved them into the synagogue, and a small Judenrat was created. Now all movement was strictly forbidden, especially on the outskirts of the Jewish residential area. On November 3, German forces returned and began house-to-house searches. Some Jews were shot, the others deported.[16]

By the end of 1942, a few hundred Jews from Działoszyce were in the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp, but only a handful survived. A number of Jews from Działoszyce hid during the roundups and fled into the woods around Pinczów, where they formed Jewish partisan units together with other Jewish escapees. However, many of them were killed in February 1944 in a battle near Pawlowice.

SOURCES This entry draws mainly on the yizkor book for the town, *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce vehaseviva* (Tel Aviv: Ha-Menora, 1973). Moshe Beisky's article in *Sefer yizkor* provides the most comprehensive summary of the Holocaust period; he also testified at the Eichmann trial in 1961. Two relevant personal memoirs are by Eliahu Raziel (Rozdzial), *Alone and in Hiding*, trans. Susan Rosenfeld (Moreshet: Mordechai Anilevich Study and Research Center, 1994); and Joseph E. Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption: A Life Renewed* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2005).

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Działoszyce under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/118, 1765, and 3260); FVA (# 159 and 169); IPN; ITS; USHMM; VHF; and YVA (# 10331, testimony of Alter Lendgarten, in English).

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NOTES

1. *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 33. Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption*, p. 97, gives the figure of 12,000 Jewish inhabitants of the town due to the influx of refugees.
3. *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 35; Raziel, *Alone and in Hiding*, p. 30.
5. *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, p. 38.
6. Ibid., p. 34.
7. Ibid., pp. 35–36; Raziel, *Alone and in Hiding*, p. 28.
8. *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, p. 37.
9. Ibid., p. 25.
10. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 165; Martin Weinmann, with Anne Kaiser and Ursula Krause-Schmitt, eds., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (prepared originally by ITS in 1949–1951; repr., with new introductory matter, in Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 685.
11. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), p. 344, evidence of Dr. Moishe Beisky; Abraham Langer, "During and After the War," trans. Zulema Seligson, in *Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community in Działoszyce and Surroundings* (Tel Aviv: Hamenora, 1973), pp. 380–387, available at JewishGen.
12. Raziel, *Alone and in Hiding*, pp. 33–34; Majer Zonenfeld, "In Działoszyce and the Camps," trans. Sulema Seligson, in *Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community in Działoszyce*, pp. 365–387.
13. Szlama Leszman, "In the Polish Underground," trans. Rochel Semp, in *Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community in Działoszyce*, pp. 298–303.
14. Raziel, *Alone and in Hiding*, p. 38; *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, p. 40; AŻIH, 301/3260, testimony of Eliasz

Minz; and 301/1765, testimony of Gustaw Weinfeld; Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption*, pp. 105–106.

15. *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, p. 42; Raziel, *Alone and in Hiding*, pp. 42–43; Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption*, p. 113.

16. *Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Dzialoszyce*, pp. 42–43; Raziel, *Alone and in Hiding*, pp. 41–43, 50–51; Zonenfeld, "In Działoszyce and the Camps," pp. 365–387.

FRYSZTAK

Pre-1939: Frysztak, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Frysztak is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, there were 1,322 Jews living in Frysztak.

Units of the German army occupied Frysztak on September 8, 1939, and soon began maltreating the Jews.

In November 1939, the Germans established a civil administration in the newly formed Generalgouvernement. Frysztak was incorporated into Kreis Jaslo, within Distrikt Krakau. Regierungsrat Dr. Walter Gentz was the Kreishauptmann from February 10, 1941.[1] The Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK), commanded from 1940 to 1943 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Wilhelm Raschwitz, organized and carried out the large-scale anti-Jewish Aktions in Kreis Jaslo. Stationed in Frysztak was a unit of German Gendarmerie that controlled the Polish (Blue) Police.

In the fall of 1939, the German authorities appointed a Judenrat in Frysztak, headed by a man named Baldinger. The Judenrat controlled a unit of Jewish Police. On April 29, 1940, the Judenrat in Frysztak was placed under the regional Judenrat for Kreis Jaslo. Since all Jews aged 15 to 60 were required to perform forced labor, the Judenrat had to organize work details, as well as coping with refugees and distributing food. At the end of 1939 there were 1,466 Jews in Frysztak, including 116 refugees; one year later, there were 1,581 Jews, including 202 refugees. The refugees arrived mainly from Śląsk, Kraków, and Łódź. Living conditions for Jews in Frysztak deteriorated rapidly. In 1940, 283 Jews received material aid; and 1,440 received some financial assistance. On September 25, 1940, the Frysztak Judenrat sent an urgent letter to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Kraków, warning of the imminent danger of starvation.[2]



Jewish children, some wearing armbands, walk along an unpaved street in Frysztak, n.d.
USHMM WS #76183, COURTESY OF ARCHIWUM DOKUMENTACJI MECHANICZNEJ

On June 7, 1941, a branch of the JSS was established in Frysztak, headed by Jakub Braff. It provided help to Jews from Frysztak and Wiśniowa in Kreis Jaslo and the Jewish community of Odrzykoń in Kreis Krosno. In September 1941, out of 1,080 Jews, 400 applied for aid, but the JSS could assist only 325 Jews.[3]

In April 1941, there were four labor camps around Frysztak, exploiting the labor of local Jews and Jews from Kraków. In mid-May 1941, about 1,000 Jewish forced laborers from the Warsaw ghetto arrived in Frysztak. On July 11, 1941, 150 Jews from Frysztak were sent to the Płaszów labor camp. From July to November 1941, there was a labor camp in Frysztak, located in two synagogues. Approximately 2,000 Jews from Warsaw were held there, supervised internally by a Jewish police force. The Jews worked on road construction and stone quarrying in Cieszyna. The guards mistreated and abused them. Due to overcrowding, typhus spread within the camp, and a number of inmates died. After its liquidation, the Germans probably transferred the surviving inmates back to the Warsaw region.[4]

Reports of the JSS in Frysztak indicate that the Germans had established a "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) by January 1942. In December 1941, due to the spread of disease, the Germans prohibited Jews from leaving the town, which made it harder to obtain food. Jakub Braff reported that from early January 1942 the town was completely sealed off as a "Jewish residential area." Signs placed around the town warned that Jews could not leave the limits of the town on pain of death. The only exception was for 250 Jews sent out daily to clear snow from the roads. In addition to refugees from other Polish towns, the Germans brought in Jews from the surrounding villages, shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto. In the spring of 1942, some 200 Jews from Jasło were moved to Frysztak. In total, there were about 1,800 Jews concentrated in Frysztak.[5]

In January 1942, the Frysztak branch of the JSS established a public kitchen, serving 300 dinners per day, which still failed to meet the demand. In May, it set up a separate cafeteria to feed 100 children, but another 100 went hungry. The JSS lacked the resources to sustain the public kitchens, obtain medical supplies, or assist about 100 Jews who had nothing to wear but rags. In 1942, the JSS made attempts to reestablish the town as a center of clothing production, in an effort to forestall further deportations to labor camps. About 100 Jewish tailors produced around 2,000 shirts and over 100 pairs of pants each day. However, in early 1942, the Kreishauptmann vetoed JSS plans to organize agricultural training for Jews.[6]

On July 2–3, 1942, Gestapo officers under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Raschwitz from Jasło organized the

first deportation Aktion in Frysztak, assisted by units of the Order Police, Ukrainian, and Polish (Blue) Police. The head of the Frysztak Judenrat was instructed that all of the Jews in Frysztak must assemble in the cattle market between 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. Here the Germans took all their valuables. Certain craftsmen and younger people were selected from a previously prepared list to have their working papers stamped. Men aged 52 or older were loaded onto trucks. Those who could not walk fast enough were beaten. Women with more than two children were also put on the trucks, as well as some individual Jews to complete the transport of some 800 people. The Jews were taken to the Warzyce Forest, stripped naked, and shot into three mass graves, which were filled in by Poles working for the German construction service (Baudienst). Children were seized from mothers and murdered by smashing them against the trucks. The Aktion was completed by 3:00 P.M. According to Mieczysław Chabański, the Kreishauptmann even charged the Kreis Judenrat in Jasło for the cost of transporting people from Frysztak to Warzyce, for ammunition, and for cleaning the Jews' clothing.[7]

Following this Aktion, the Gendarmerie hunted down groups of Jews in hiding in and around Frysztak. On August 13, 1942, the Gendarmerie shot 10 Jews, including four children, in Frysztak and Twierdza.[8] The final liquidation of the Frysztak ghetto took place on August 18, 1942. Some Jews were taken to the Rzeszów ghetto, and 35 Jews were sent to the Przemyśl ghetto after they had been used to clear up the area of the Frysztak ghetto. The rest of the Jewish population was taken to Jasło, and from there they were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp on August 19 and 20.[9]

As many as 100 Jews escaped the deportation Aktions, mostly by hiding in the surrounding forests. However, due to repeated searches and some denunciations by local Poles, only about 20 of them remained by the end of 1943.

A number of Poles risked their lives to help Jews. On July 3, 1943, the Germans shot several Poles in the villages of Markuszowa and Kozłówek for aiding Jews.[10] Eugeniusz Niedziela and his family from Markuszowa were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations for assisting the Weitz and Schmidt families, when they fled to the forests following the liquidation Aktions in Frysztak. Among others who helped Jews was Kasper Pilch from the village of Kożuchów, who assisted the Apfelbaum family from Frysztak, and also Michał Świętoń of Niewodna, who saved six members of the Resler family.[11]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Frysztak include the following: "Frysztak," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 295–298; Itzhok Berglas and Shlomo Yahalomi-Diamand, *The Book of Stryzow and Vicinity*, trans. Harry Langsam (Los Angeles: "Natives of Stryzow Societies" in Israel and the Diaspora, 1990); and Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975).

Other works relevant to the history and persecution of the Jews in Frysztak include the following: Zofia Rusek and Danuta Skóra, *Społeczność żydowska w dawnym Strzyżowie i okolicy—historia i wspomnienia* (Strzyżów, 2006).

Documents on the extermination of the Jews in Frysztak can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (JM 3968/5568401; 301/1952); BA-L (B162/14484); IPN (Dsn 13/74/73/"W" 452; Dsn 13/15/67/"W" 393; Dsn 13/216/73/"W" 717; Dsn 13/15/67/"W" 399; and Zh III/31/35/68); MOR (I/43b/V/H, GK 105z/A, t. 1; Bühler case, t. 74); OKBZH-Rz (II Ds 22/70; II Ds 58/68); USHMM (RG-10.027; Acc.1991.099; RG-15.019M, reels 10 and 17; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 22); USHMMPA (# 76183 and 76184); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/3602; M-1/E/1690).

Joanna Śliwa

NOTES

1. BA-L, B162/14484 (II 206 AR-Z 827/63), verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972, pp. 11–13; Dr. Gentz, who committed suicide in 1967, succeeded Regierungsrat Dr. Ludwig Losacker in this post.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 22.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., reels 3 and 22; RG-15.019M, reel 17; IPN, Zh III/31/35/68 and Dsn 13/216/73/"W" 717.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 22, JSS in Frysztak reports to the Presidium in Kraków on January 8 and 19, 1942; RG-15.019M, reel 17; and BA-L, B162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, p. 16.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 22.
7. AŻIH, 301/1952; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reels 10 and 17; BA-L, B162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, pp. 16–19; Mieczysław Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1974), p. 165; MOR, I/43b/V/H, GK 105z/A, t. 1, and Bühler case, t. 74.
8. IPN, Dsn 13/15/67/"W" 399. See also USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17; and IPN, Dsn 13/216/73/"W" 717, regarding the shooting of a group of Jews in July 1942.
9. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 297–298; Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską*, p. 181; BA-L, B162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, p. 19.
10. Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską*, pp. 199–200.
11. Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 544–545; Rusek and Skóra, *Społeczność żydowska*, pp. 51–53; OKBZH-Rz, II Ds 58/68.

GŁOGÓW MAŁOPOLSKI

Pre-1939: Głogów Małopolski, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Glogow, Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Głogów Małopolski, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Głogów Małopolski is located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) north of Rzeszów. There were 648 Jews in Głogów in 1921. On the outbreak of World War II, approximately 600 Jews were residing there.[1]

The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) chaired by Symche Hiller. On December 17, 1939, a large group of refugees arrived, mostly from Łódź and Kalisz. A refugee committee established to relieve their situation organized a soup kitchen in the Bet Midrash, but the building was requisitioned shortly afterwards by the German military. From then on, the preparation of meals was divided between 11 private houses cooking approximately 150 meals daily.

In May 1940, the Judenrat reported 130 Jewish families in Głogów. The number of refugees stood at 104. By June 1940, the number of refugees had risen to 187, bringing the total number of Jewish residents to 806. A similar number, 800 Jews, was reported through November 1940.[2]

After the German army abandoned the school building in June 1941, a labor camp for approximately 100 Jews was established on its grounds. Both German and Jewish policemen guarded the camp. The prisoners worked cleaning the town, excavating earth, and working in the weapons magazines located in a forest, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of Głogów. The soldiers who guarded them mistreated the local Jews and extorted valuables and food supplies.

In September 1941, Jews from Raniżów and the surrounding villages of Staniszewskie, Zielonki, and Mazury were deported to Głogów (as well as to Sokołów Małopolski). Most of them were Jewish farmers, whose land the Germans planned to incorporate within their military training grounds. Deportees were permitted to take all of their belongings except for livestock.[3]

At this time, the German Landkomissar Twardon, residing in Kolbuszowa, ordered the Kolbuszowa Judenrat to move 25 Jewish families to Sokołów and Głogów. As a result, a number of farmers from villages surrounding Kolbuszowa (including Kupno and Przewrotne) were transferred to Głogów on October 14, 1941. Those refugees and deportees, who had settled in Głogów in 1939–1940, were simultaneously forced to relocate to barracks in Rzeszów.[4]

According to A. Potocki, a ghetto was established in Głogów on February 1, 1942. The Kreishauptmann's order to establish a net of ghettos in the Kreis was issued on December 17, 1941. In Rzeszów, the order was effective from January 10, 1942, with the closing of its ghetto; ghettos in the remainder of the Kreis were to be established by February 1, 1942.

Survivor Edith Kornbluth remembers that the Germans resettled the community to the most neglected part of the town. The ghetto was unfenced. As overcrowding was severe, the Kornbluth family had to share a room with three other families. Her father would sneak out at night to buy food from villagers. The men in the ghetto were subject to forced labor. The system of paying for substitutes to perform assigned labor was initially tolerated but subsequently became illegal.[5]



Edek Rebhum, head of the Jewish Police in the Głogów Małopolski ghetto, 1942. Rebhum was subsequently the leader of the Jewish forced labor camp in Głogów. Escaping from that camp, he joined Naftali Saleschütz's partisan group. He was later killed by the Poles.
USHMM WS #67241, COURTESY OF NORMAN SALSITZ

The Jews worked in forestry, agriculture, and road maintenance. A number of the laborers, according to another survivor of the ghetto, Martin Rosenberg, were deported to the Pustków forced labor camp. Rosenberg's family moved to the Głogów ghetto from Kolbuszowa to improve their living conditions and security.[6]

As of March 1942, the Schutzpolizei raids became more frequent and deadly. The following murders are registered: four men were shot in March 1942; then between May and June, another four persons, including a married couple, were murdered. The source, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni*, notes that some of these murders might have been committed within the ghetto.[7]

On May 2, 1942, *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that the number of Jews in Głogów had tripled since the beginning of the war, rising to 1,800. The most recent newcomers were a group of 300 Jews from Kolbuszowa, Raniżów, and Sokołów. There was no soup kitchen in the town, and the system of distributing newcomers to private houses had failed due to overcrowding. There were no epidemics, partially because the community maintained a public steam bath.[8]

Survivor Michel Kruger testified that in May 1942 a number of men were selected by the Germans for the Biesiadka labor camp.[9]

Two hundred Jews from the Sokołów ghetto were reportedly transferred to Głogów on Sokołów's liquidation, which most likely took place on July 27, 1942.

The ghetto in Głogów was also liquidated in late July 1942; the Jews concentrated there were deported to Rzeszów.[10] The

Rzeszów ghetto was liquidated in the course of deportations to the Bełżec extermination camp that began in July 1942; its final liquidation took place in November 1942.

Some of Głogów's Jews were selected for the labor camp in the town's school. Since its establishment, the camp had been reorganized, holding approximately 120 Jews and Poles. The prisoners were tasked with maintaining the Głogów-Kolbuszowa road. During the camp's liquidation on October 25, 1942, the Jewish prisoners were sent to the Rzeszów ghetto.

SOURCES The following publications contain brief references to the destruction of the Głogów ghetto: Tadeusz Kowalski, *Obozy hitlerowskie w Polsce południowo-wschodniej, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1973), pp. 103–104; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 179, 462; Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 54–56; and Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," pt. 3, *BŻIH*, nos. 3–4 (1985): 89–90.

Archival sources can be found in AŻIH (210/339; 211/402); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-50.002*0140); and VHF (# 569, 12802, 15495, 39769, 43384).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 2, 1942.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/339 (Głogów Małopolski), pp. 1–3, 6–7, 23, 25; VHF, # 39769, testimony of Louis Kadlovski, 1998.
3. *Kolbuszowa Memorial Book*, available on the Web at www.jewishgen.org—a translation of I.M. Biderman, ed., *Pinkas Kolbishov* (New York: United Kolbushover, 1971), pp. 55–88.
4. Franciszek Kotula, *Losy Żydów rzeszowskich 1939–1945: Kronika tamtych dni* (Rzeszów: Społeczny Komitet Wydania Dzieł Franciszka Kotuli, 1999), p. 71; VHF, # 569, testimony of Edith Kornbluth, 1995.
5. USHMM, RG-50.002*0140 (Edith Kornbluth); VHF, # 12802, testimony of Wolf Finkelman, 1996; # 569.
6. VHF, # 15495, testimony of Martin Rosenberg, 1996.
7. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo rzeszowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 52–53.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 2, 1942.
9. VHF, # 43384, testimony of Michael Kluger, 1998.
10. Ibid., # 15495.

GORLICE

Pre-1939: Gorlice, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Gorlice is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Kraków. The Jewish population of Gorlice consisted of more than 3,400 people on the eve of World War II in 1939.

The German army occupied the town on September 7, 1939. Almost immediately, the Wehrmacht started seizing Jews for forced labor and stealing their possessions.



Jewish women and girls repair shoes in a fenced-in yard in the Gorlice ghetto, 1941.
USHMM WS #05951, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

Despite many residents' flight on the outbreak of the war, the Jewish population of Gorlice increased during the first year of occupation. Jewish refugees from Germany had begun to arrive following the expulsion of Polish Jews just prior to *Kristallnacht* (November 9–10, 1938), and after the war started, many Jews from western Poland sought refuge in the eastern part of the country. By the fall of 1940, the Jewish population of Gorlice had grown to 4,000, with another 1,500 living in the smaller surrounding villages.

In the fall of 1939, the German authorities confiscated Jewish workshops and businesses, placing them into fictional "trusteeships" under the direction of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) or German managers. For a few months, they allowed smaller Jewish shops to remain open, but women ran them, as the men stayed out of sight to avoid being rounded up for forced labor.[1]

In March 1940, the Germans established a seven-man Judenrat headed by Dr. Henryk Arnold, a local lawyer and Zionist leader. Dr. Jakub Blech, also a lawyer, served as his deputy.[2] On April 29, 1940, the Gorlice Judenrat was placed under the jurisdiction of the regional Judenrat in Jasło. A Jewish auxiliary police force was also established. The Judenrat was instructed to organize forced labor details, which were made up of requests for between 100 and 300 men per day, and this brought an end to the random kidnappings. Around 200 Jews were sent to work at two sawmills run by the German firm HOBAG under a German manager named Girtner. The Jewish forced laborers were supervised by Jewish policemen and a Werkschutz (factory guard) detachment; some Poles worked there as well, and they helped Jews by giving them additional food. Among the finished items produced by HOBAG were wooden planks used for the construction of barracks and coffins to transport German soldiers killed in action. Some Jewish forced laborers worked at a factory for making tar paper, owned before the war by a Jew named Fessel, and others worked on road construction projects in the town, for which they received only some soup and the right to receive food coupons.[3]

The German Landkommissar based in Gorlice was an official named Alfred Koch, who was subordinated to the Kreis-

hauptmann in Jasło (initially Dr. Ludwig Losacker, and then from February 1941, Dr. Walter Gentz). From March 1940, an outpost of the Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, or GPK) in Jasło was established in Gorlice. From December 1941 until March 1944, Kriminalassistent (later Kriminalsekretär) Ernst F. was in charge of this office, assisted by his deputy, Otto Friedrich. In Gorlice there was also a detachment of about 8 or 10 German Gendarmes (Order Police), which also commanded a larger force of local Polish (Blue) Police.[4] In 1940, the German authorities instituted a system of hostage taking. As recalled by the survivor Joseph K.: "Ten Jewish men were named as hostages, and their names were posted on placards all over town. Should anything happen to a German, those ten men would be executed." The hostages changed every 14 days. This system was already in operation in February 1940. Joseph K.'s father was one of those named among the list of 10 hostages posted on June 8, 1940. The hostages were taken on the orders of the Kreishauptmann, Dr. Losacker. Poles were sometimes also named among the hostages.[5]

The Judenrat organized a soup kitchen to support the many Jews in need. In 1940, a medical clinic was opened, but there were no Jewish doctors left in Gorlice. However, a local Polish doctor, Dr. Otański, "put aside his antisemitic convictions" and, at great personal risk, tended the Jewish sick. A Jewish refugee doctor from Kraków, Dr. Feldmaus, arrived in 1941. In the fall of 1940 two dental clinics were in operation. When epidemics broke out in late 1941 or early 1942, a small Jewish hospital was opened.[6]

Despite economic privation, the Jews of Gorlice were able to obtain food smuggled in from neighboring Slovakia, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) away. In July 1941, after the invasion of the Soviet Union, the new Kreishauptmann, Dr. Gentz, ordered the delineation of a ghetto area on the edge of town. About 160 impoverished Jews were expelled from Gorlice to Bobowa. On August 7, another group was shipped to Biecz, Bobowa, and two other towns. By October 1941, the Germans had established the ghetto in Gorlice, which at first remained open. The ghetto consisted of two separate sections located south of the market square (*Rynek*), which lay outside the ghetto. There was the Dworzyska area: composed of the present-day Mickiewicz, Nadbrzeżna, Stroma, and Strażacka Streets. This was separated by Mickiewicz Street, which remained open for non-Jewish traffic, from the Garbarnia area of the ghetto: composed of the present-day Nadbrzeżna, Legionów, Rzeźnicza, and Ogrodowa Streets. In total, there were about 3,500 Gorlice Jews residing in the ghetto, plus a growing number of refugees.

The ghetto was guarded by Ukrainian police and later also by Polish police, supervised by the local Gestapo and Gendarmerie. According to Polish sources, some of the Polish policemen were also members of the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa) commanded by Sergeant Jan Fereński ("Sęp"), and these men abetted the smuggling of food into the ghetto. The Jewish Police was issued with wooden bats made by HOBAG to maintain order inside the ghetto. Its commander, a tailor named Keller, is named in some sources as having been an informant of the Gestapo, who kept a close eye on the activities of the Jewish Police.[7]

The space allocated for the ghetto was gradually decreased, and as of February 1942, it became an enclosed ghetto. In addition to the overcrowding (10 to 15 people to a room), there were shortages of food, clothing, and fuel for heating. Disease broke out, and the death rate climbed. During the severe winter of 1941–1942, the Jews had to turn in their fur garments, including the fur hats worn by pious Jews. Some burned their furs to keep them out of German hands. Anyone caught disobeying the order was shot, as was the case with at least one family.[8]

During 1942, the situation in the ghetto deteriorated considerably, and the Judenrat eventually became less cooperative with the German authorities. On January 3, 1942, the Security Police shot about 20 Jews on the streets, allegedly to prevent the spread of typhus. On April 25, 1942, the Germans shot another 70 Jews, who were members of Zionist organizations. In the spring of 1942, Jews expelled from villages in the surrounding area started to arrive in Gorlice. Rumors of the impending liquidation of the ghetto began to spread. The Judenrat initiated a program to train people as tailors. By June, about 350 people were employed making clothes. A workshop for youngsters aged 13 to 20 enabled 100 of them to become employed making toys and house slippers.

On July 22, 1942, the German authorities ordered all men to assemble on the town square. Several hundred Jews were selected and were sent to labor camps in Płaszów, Pustków, and Frysztak or to the aviation factory in Mielec. At about this time the Germans demanded a "contribution" from the Jews. When people did not deliver the required amount, Germans broke into their dwellings and took money and valuables by force. At the beginning of August, Jews from Bobowa and Biecz were brought back to the ghetto.

In mid-August 1942, the Germans organized a major Aktion against the ghetto. First, the German authorities demanded another large contribution of 250,000 złoty. Then during the night of August 13–14 (or according to some sources, on August 16–17), the Germans, assisted by Ukrainian and other auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto, and all Jews were again ordered to report to the town square.[9]

Many hid in attics and cellars. The German-led forces combed the area, and anyone discovered in hiding was shot on the spot. Some 200 Jews were selected from the square and sent to the Płaszów camp. Perhaps several hundred Jews—the elderly, the sick, and the children—together with a similar group from the Bobowa ghetto were taken by truck to the Garbacz Forest in Stróżowka, forced to undress, lined up next to open pits, and murdered. The members of the Judenrat, the Jewish Police, and their families were shot next to Gestapo headquarters. The "essential" workers at HOBAG and the tar paper factory were excluded from the roundup. The rest were taken to sheds on the grounds of a shoe factory near the train station. Here they were held without food or water for three days and then put onto 60 freight cars destined for the Bełżec extermination camp. In total, about 2,500 Jews perished in this Aktion.[10]

About 700 Jews were left in the enclosed ghetto. These included the roughly 100 "essential" workers, others who were assigned to clean up the ghetto, and some agricultural workers. Also among them were some "illegals," people who had hidden during the roundup. About 50 were caught and sent to the Garbacz Forest to bury the corpses. They never returned. Another selection took place at which 250 people were ordered to step forward. Anyone who refused was shot. The rest were shipped to Bełżec. On September 14, the ghetto was finally liquidated, when a few hundred more Jews were put on the train to Bełżec. Only the 70 working for HOBAG and the 30 at the tar paper factory remained. They were locked up on the grounds of these factories. On January 6, 1943, the 70 HOBAG workers were sent to the labor camp at Muszyna, and the 30 from the tar paper factory were taken to the camp at Rzeszów.[11]

In August 1968 the regional court in Nürnberg-Fürth sentenced two former officials of the GPK in Gorlice, Otto Friedrich and Paul Baron, to life imprisonment for shooting Jews in Gorlice on a number of separate occasions in 1942 and 1943.[12]

SOURCES Publications on the Jewish community of Gorlice and its fate during the Holocaust include the following: M.Y. Bar-On, ed., *Sefer Gorlice; Hakehillah bivinyanah uvihurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Gorlice and Its Vicinity in Israel, 1962); Władysław Boczoń, *Żydzi Gorliccy* (Gorlice: W. Boczoń, 1998); and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 93–97. Extracts from a survivor testimony taken by the Fortunoff Video Archive (FVA) can be found in Joshua M. Greene and Shiva Kumar, *Witness: Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: Free Press, 2000).

Documents on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Gorlice can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1113); BA-L; FVA (# 61); IPN; ITS (R 50/Z 34); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 10); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 96; and Bar-On, *Sefer Gorlice*, p. 237.
2. AŻIH, 301/1113, testimony of Izrael Buchsbaum and Mojsesz Hirschfeld; and Boczoń, *Żydzi Gorliccy*, p. 135.
3. Boczoń, *Żydzi Gorliccy*, pp. 138–139.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 688, pp. 170–171.
5. Greene and Kumar, *Witness: Voices from the Holocaust*, p. 48. A facsimile of the poster dated June 8, 1940, is reproduced on page 50. Another such poster, dated February 17, 1940, is reproduced in Boczoń, *Żydzi Gorliccy*, p. 143.
6. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 96; Bar-On, *Sefer Gorlice*, pp. 237–238.
7. Boczoń, *Żydzi Gorliccy*, pp. 144–145.
8. Bar-On, *Sefer Gorlice*, pp. 237–240; *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 688, p. 171.
9. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas Hakehillot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 96.
10. Ibid., pp. 96–97; AŻIH, 301/1113. Boczoń, *Żydzi Gorliccy*, pp. 148–156, dates the ghetto liquidation Aktion from August 17–20, 1942. Zabierowski Stanisław, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 185, cites 700 Jews from Gorlice and Bobowa murdered in the Garbacz Forest but dates it on August 13, 1942.
11. AŻIH, 301/1113.
12. *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 688, pp. 167–195.

GRYBÓW

Pre-1939: Grybów, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Grünberg, Kreis Neu-Sandez, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Grybów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Grybów is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. In 1921, the Jewish population was 847 out of a total population of 2,931.

In September 1939, before the arrival of the Germans, many Jews fled to the east into what soon became the Soviet-occupied zone. Some remained there, while others returned to Grybów, once the fighting had ceased. A week after the outbreak of war, German forces arrived in Grybów and immediately began to kidnap Jews for forced labor. Most were put to work repairing roads and bridges damaged in the fighting. The German authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the levying of "contributions," limitations on the movement of Jews, and the requirement to wear identifying markings.

At the end of October 1939, the town became part of Kreis Neu-Sandez, administered by Kreishauptmann Dr. Reinhard Busch. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). One of its main tasks was organizing the daily quota of Jewish forced laborers. In the first months of 1940, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was formed. As the economic plight of the community



Spectators watch as a Polish woman is led through the town square in Grybów by two Jews wearing armbands, n.d. The sign around her neck states, "For selling merchandise to Jews." She is supposedly being taken to a killing site.
USHMM WS #79062, COURTESY OF ŻIH, IMIENIA EMANUELA RINGELBLUMA

worsened, the Judenrat extended material assistance to those in need. The local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) opened a public kitchen. By the fall of 1940, there were 1,320 Jews in Grybów (including 191 refugees). More than 500 Jews were receiving assistance from the JSS.[1]

In the fall of 1940 and the first half of 1941, the German authorities ordered that Jews living in the villages and smaller towns in Kreis Neu-Sandez must move to the larger towns of Nowy Sącz, Stary Sącz, Mszana Dolna, Limanowa, and Grybów. As a result, a number of refugees arrived in Grybów from Łabowa, Tylicz, Librantowa, Muszyna, Krynica, and other places, almost all in need of support.[2] The local branch of the JSS sent an urgent plea to the central office of the JSS in Kraków for assistance in absorbing these additional refugees.

At the end of 1941, there was an increase in the number of people being kidnapped and sent to forced labor camps. In March 1942, the JSS sought to establish a workshop and develop a training program for young people, in the hope that this might provide some protection from the roundups for the labor camps.

At the beginning of 1942, the Germans banned the Jews from streets occupied by non-Jews and forced them to live on a few narrow streets of their own scattered throughout the town, establishing a form of open ghetto. The Jews had to build paths and steps to get from one street to the other without encroaching on non-Jewish boundaries.[3]

At the time of the formation of the open ghetto in early 1942, a Polish woman, Sukonava, was caught selling milk to a Jewish woman. As a punishment, the Polish police forced Sukonava to dance with a Jew in the marketplace on Sunday afternoon, as the Christians were returning home from church. As a result, most Poles became too scared to trade with the Jews, and the shortages of food in the ghetto worsened considerably.[4] At this time the public kitchen increased its assistance to the needy, and the Judenrat opened a clinic to try to prevent outbreaks of disease.

In April 1942, the head of the Gestapo in Nowy Sącz, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann, received instructions from the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Kraków to arrest and shoot all Jews in the Kreis known to be Communists or to sympathize with them. In response, Hamann obtained an old membership list for the Poalei Zion (left-wing Zionist) movement and ordered that all those on the list be arrested with the assistance of the Jewish Councils and Jewish Police. When it was reported that the Jewish Police in Grybów had been able to arrest only about 20 people from a much longer list, Hamann traveled in person to Grybów on the morning of April 28. On his arrival he confronted the head of the Judenrat, Samuel Neugroschl, and ordered that he be shot together with four other members of the Judenrat and five members of the Jewish Police. The 20 or so Jews arrested in Grybów were sent to the prison in Nowy Sącz and were shot along with other Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Nowy Sącz shortly afterwards.[5]

At the beginning of August 1942, the German authorities demanded another large contribution from the Judenrat in Grybów.[6] The Gestapo office in Nowy Sącz planned the "resettlement" of the Jews from Grybów on August 16, 1942. Just prior to this date, the Germans ordered Poles in the Construction Service (Baudienst) to dig a large ditch behind the wooded hill in Biała Niżna close to the Dominican monastery about 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) to the northeast of Grybów. At 6:00 A.M., on the morning of August 16, the Jews were assembled on the market square with the assistance of the Jewish Police. On the basis of a list prepared by the Judenrat, Hamann checked that all the Jews were present and then participated in the selection of about 300 sick and disabled Jews, who were sent to one side. Another group of 34 Jews employed at the Hobag-Werke in Grybów were given special passes and sent off to their work site.[7]

After placing their house keys into baskets as ordered, the remaining 1,200 or so Jews capable of walking were escorted by the Jewish Police 21 kilometers (13 miles) in the heat of the sun to the enclosed ghetto on Kazimierz Street in Nowy Sącz. Those selected as unfit were loaded onto five trucks and taken to the killing site at Biała Niżna, which was cordoned off by men of the Gendarmerie. The Jews were made to undress, and members of the Gestapo under Hamann's supervision shot them in groups of 5 using machine pistols, as they lay facedown in the mass grave.[8] Some Poles observed the gruesome scene at the site of the mass shooting while sitting on their rooftops.[9]

At the end of August 1942, the occupiers deported most of the Jews in the Nowy Sącz ghettos to the Bełżec extermination camp. Some of those from Grybów who were capable of work were sent to various labor camps, including those in Rytro, Rożnów, and Sędziszów Małopolski.[10]

Only very few Jews from Grybów and its vicinity managed to survive the German occupation, either in various camps or by hiding on the "Aryan" side.

SOURCES Both yizkor books for Nowy Sącz contain some information in relation to Grybów: Shlomo Zalman Lehrer and Leizer Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz* (Southfield, MI: Targum, 1997); and Rafael Mahler, ed., *Seyfer Sants* (Tel Aviv: Sandzer landsmanshaftn, New York, 1970). Other relevant published sources include Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 100–103; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 269–484 (LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/65, verdict against Heinrich Hamann and others).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Grybów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1338, 1703; 211/437-440); IPN (ASG, sygn. 10, k. 428); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 24); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 103.

2. Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der*

Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 99. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 308, dates the clearance of the border area in the first half of 1940. Also see Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, pp. 743, 769.

3. Lehrer and Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz*, p. 311.
4. Ibid., pp. 311–312.
5. Ibid., p. 312; *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 357. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo nowosądeckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), p. 44, lists seven of the victims, including Samuel Neugroschl. This source dates the Aktion on April 24, 1942.
6. AŻIH, 301/1703, testimony of S. Kaufer.
7. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 389–391.
8. Ibid., pp. 390–391; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów: Województwo nowosądeckie*, p. 13.
9. Lehrer and Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz*, p. 312.
10. AŻIH, 301/1703.

JASIENICA ROSIELNA

Pre-1939: Jasienica Rosielna, village, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: initially Kreis Sanok, then Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Jasienica Rosielna is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west-southwest of Przemyśl. Approximately 500 Jews were living there in 1939.

German forces occupied Jasienica Rosielna around September 10, 1939. There is no information regarding the first months of the occupation other than that a small number of Jews from Krosno were resettled there, either in late 1939 or in 1940.[1]

The German authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which in the spring of 1940 included Osias Majerowicz as the chairman, Dawid Sicherman, Majer Balser, and Leib Sindel. By December 1940, Dawid Sicherman had taken over the Judenrat's leadership.[2] The date when the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was organized is unknown; however, it included Natan Balcer and Izrael Beer Weitz.[3]

In May 1940, there were 386 Jews living in Jasienica, including 46 refugees, mostly from Kraków and Upper Silesia. The Jasienica Judenrat, however, also administered a much larger Jewish population in the so-called Domaradz Collective Community that included nearby villages in which 750 Jews lived. The largest of the settlements was Domaradz, located 6 kilometers (4 miles) from Jasienica and boasting a population of more than 100 Jews. By the end of 1940, the number of Jews in Jasienica itself had risen to 430 (88 families).[4]

By the spring of 1940, most of Jasienica's Jews had already been deprived of their means of income and were left to support themselves by selling their furniture and clothing. In the autumn of 1940, a number of men were employed in road construction, earning 3 złoty per day, yet part of these meager wages was deducted to support those unable to work. Many were conscripted daily for forced labor in and around Jasienica. Not a single Jewish-owned shop remained open.[5]

As the authorities considered Jasienica a village—not a town—its Jews were not eligible for ration cards. Welfare organizations did not provide assistance because the community could not afford to open a soup kitchen, and this was a prerequisite for the provision of financial support. A soup kitchen was in fact opened briefly; but according to the Judenrat, its maintenance did not make much sense, as it was too difficult for the widely dispersed needy Jews to walk every day all the way to Jasienica for a single meal. The Judenrat's position was that the community would benefit more from the distribution of groceries instead.

With time, the Judenrat's correspondence with the main welfare institutions American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization reveals its increasing frustration, due to the continued denial of assistance. The severity of the situation may have led the JSS headquarters in Kraków to establish a branch in the smaller village of Domaradz at the beginning of 1942 despite its never having established a kitchen. The branch, chaired by Izydor Nattel, supervised the organization of welfare in six settlements, including Jasienica, where the soup kitchen was reopened in January 1942. Willi Halpern was the kitchen's manager.[6]

In March 1942, a number of Jasienica Jews worked in a labor camp in Bzianka (near Strzyżów). The Judenrat provided money for their sustenance.[7]

On June 24, 1942, 550 Jews from the area north of Brzozów were resettled to Jasienica. Among others, the resettlement included Jews from Domaradz, Hłudno, Barycz, Golcowa, Gwoźnica, Blizne, Przysietnica, Wesoła, Wola Jasienicka, and Orzechówka (mostly in the Domaradz and Nozdrzec Landgemeinden). This meant that approximately 250 of the newcomers were brought in from settlements that were not included in the original Collective Community. The number of Jews in Jasienica rose to approximately 1,000 or 1,100.

The Gestapo and the Polish police usually conducted the resettlements to Jasienica. The Jews were usually given only minutes to pack, so many of them arrived with few or no belongings.

The ghetto in Jasienica Rosielna was set up on June 27, 1942.[8] In many cases, about 15 people shared a room, and some had to sleep in the streets. People slept both night and day, in shifts, or in sitting positions.[9]

The JSS branch was transferred from Domaradz to Jasienica on the establishment of the ghetto and included Izydor Nattel (chairman), Mechel Scherer, and Abraham Willner. With financial help from Krosno for the resettled, the soup kitchen continued serving meals, while children and the sick were getting some milk. Krosno also provided Jasienica's ghetto with some medicine and sent a Jewish doctor to examine the poor free of charge. A Sanitation Committee was established. The public bath was open every other day. Jasienica's Jews were also vaccinated for typhus.[10]

Immediately following the ghetto's establishment, on either June 29 or 30, 1942, able-bodied men had to register. Soon small groups of Jews went to Jaśliska, Dynów, Bachórz,

and Wola Wyżna. In Jasienica itself, approximately 60 men labored in fieldworks at a nearby manor, on road works, and at a quarry.[11]

The hardest labor was in Jaśliska, where laborers walked 28 kilometers (17 miles) each day to cut beech trees in a forest. A survivor recalls running 8 kilometers (5 miles) mostly uphill. Although workers were treated humanely, the daily quota set by the company management was impossible to fulfill. Divided into teams of three, the workers were to gather 5 cubic meters (177 cubic feet) of wood daily. Within the two weeks they spent in Jaśliska, the laborers received so little food that the Jasienica JSS had to furnish them with rations, clothing, and blankets. Laborers in Bachórz worked 12 to 13 hours daily. Laborers suffered from hunger in each of the camps. A number were released early due to malnourishment.[12]

At the end of July 1942, the Brzozów authorities—"in principle"—agreed to open workshops in the Jasienica ghetto. Tentative orders were placed but were to be fulfilled using their own materials. The Arbeitsamt registered 140 women who were then engaged in the small-scale production of straw goods.[13]

In early August, the ghetto was effectively closed, as the JSS chairman Nattel reported increased restrictions on movement: "The delivery or purchase of any food [outside of the ghetto] was precluded entirely."[14]

The liquidation of the Jasienica Rosielna ghetto was conducted on August 12, 1942. That morning, Gestapo men and Ukrainian policemen from Krosno surrounded the ghetto. Seven Jews were reportedly killed while the community was being chased out of their homes. Young girls and teenagers were taken on trucks to the Iwonicz train station; there are no sources reporting their fate. Some 645 women, children, and elderly were shot in the Jewish cemetery. The execution lasted from 10:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M., with only a one-hour break. The victims were buried in a mass grave.[15]

SOURCES Brief information on the Jasienica Rosielna ghetto can be found in the following publications: Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 65–66; and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), p. 107 (Domaradz) and pp. 220–221 (Jasienica Rosielna).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Jasienica Rosielna can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/375 [AJDC Jasienica Rosielna]; 211/466 [JSS Jasienica Rosielna]; 301/2045 and 301/4536 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS Jasienica Rosielna], reel 25, and [JSS Korespondencja z Jakubem Sternbergiem], reel 10, 211/154-156; and RG-15.084M [Relacje], # 2045 and 4536); VHF (# 3503); and YVA.

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. Potocki, *Żydzi*, p. 66. However, the entry on "Krosno," pp. 82–83, indicates a relocation to Jasienica in November 1941.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/375, pp. 1–2, 17.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS Korespondencja z Jakubem Sternbergiem), reel 10, 211/154, p. 60.
4. Ibid., pp. 1, 20–22; for the names of the family heads in Jasienica, see pp. 15, 17–20; and Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS Jasienica Rosielna), reel 25, 211/466, pp. 3, 9.
5. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/375, pp. 2, 9, 21–22.
6. Ibid., pp. 4–6, 9, 10–11, 21–22; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 20 and 24, March 22, April 8, and June 7, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 25, 211/466, pp. 4, 6.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 22, 1942.
8. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 204; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 221 (Jasienica Rosielna).
9. AŻIH, 301/2045; and VHF, # 3503.
10. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 8 and July 29, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 25, 211/466, pp. 11–12, 16, 18.
11. AŻIH, 301/2045; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 29, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 25, 211/466, pp. 10–11, 19, 22; and Potocki, *Żydzi*, p. 66.
12. AŻIH, 301/2045; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 25, 211/466, pp. 21–22.
13. AŻIH, 301/2045; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 25, 211/466, pp. 22–23.
14. VHF, # 3503; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 25, 211/466, p. 27. According to Potocki, *Żydzi*, p. 66, the laborers were sent to Kraków-Podgórze on the day of the deportation.
15. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), p. 52; Czesław Czubryt-Borkowski, ed., *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Wydawn. "Sport i Turystyka," 1988), p. 394. Potocki, *Żydzi*, p. 66, dates the liquidation on August 11, 1942. According to Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 204, those who were not killed in Jasienica were transported in the direction of Krosno.

JASŁO

Pre-1939: Jasło, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jaslo, center of Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jasło, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Jasło is located about 94 kilometers (58 miles) west of Przemyśl. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, around 3,000 Jews were living there, among a total population of some 10,000 people. At the end of 1939 and in 1940, some 3,000 Jews were resettled into Kreis Jaslo from western Poland, which increased the town's Jewish population considerably.[1]

On September 8, 1939, German armed forces occupied the town. At the end of October, Jasło was incorporated into Distrikt Krakau within the Generalgouvernement. Jasło became the administrative center of Kreis Jaslo. Regierungsrat Dr. Ludwig Losacker was the first Kreishauptmann, from the end of 1939; Regierungsrat Dr. Walter Gentz succeeded him in this post on February 10, 1941.[2]

Alongside the office of the Kreishauptmann, the Germans established in Jasło a German Gendarmerie force, the Polish



A Jewish couple wearing armbands stand in front of a sign in the Jasło ghetto. The sign, bearing skull and crossbones, says, "Ghetto."
USHMM WS #38496, COURTESY OF SHALOM FOUNDATION: GOLDA TENCER-SZURMIEJ COLLECTION

(Blue) Police, and a Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK), which was commanded from 1940 to 1943 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Wilhelm Raschwitz. The GPK (composed of Security Police) organized and carried out the Aktions against the Jews in Jasło and the surrounding areas.

On September 22, 1939, on the orders of the occupying forces, Polish firefighters burned down the synagogue. The Germans also demanded 40,000 złoty as a "contribution" from the Jews and took 150 notable Jews hostage in the prison as leverage. After this sum was paid in full, they released the hostages on September 25.[3] From the start of the occupation, German soldiers and officials robbed Jewish shops and houses with impunity. Jews were also compelled to perform forced labor. At the end of October 1939, the German authorities ordered all Jews to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David and established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Jewish Council in Jasło served from April 29, 1940, as a central council of Jewish elders coordinating the operations of the 16 Jewish Councils operating in Kreis Jaslo.[4]

Jakub Herzig has described how the president of Jasło's Judenrat and some of its members lived well while most Jews went hungry. According to Herzig, a minority of the Judenrat acted decently, but they lacked power.[5] Despite this criticism of some corruption and favoritism, the Jewish Council did undertake several measures to alleviate the suffering of the Jews, including the many refugees in Jasło. It organized a soup kitchen, an orphanage, a hospital, and also in December 1940, a school for 300 children.[6]

Sometime during 1941, probably before May,[7] Dr. Gentz ordered the Judenrat to establish a Jewish quarter (*jüdisches Wohnbezirk*) or open ghetto on a few of the poorest streets of the town, around the old marketplace, Targowica. Here, the Jews were crammed together in overcrowded houses under terrible conditions. Until the end of 1941, Jews could leave the area each day to buy goods from the local Poles. But on December 20, 1941, the ghetto was transformed into a closed area, surrounded on all sides by walls or a fence with only one exit that was closely guarded. Thereafter, Jews could not leave the ghetto without a special permit issued by the German authorities; signs placed around the ghetto warned violators that the punishment was death.[8]

At the end of December 1941, all Jews in the ghetto were ordered to hand over their fur coats and other fur articles of clothing. Refusal to comply was also punishable by death. The food rations issued to the Jews were totally inadequate, containing only a minimal amount of low-grade meat, a little bread and jam—but no fat or milk. Hunger and malnutrition accompanied by other diseases caused the Jews to become desperate. Some were compelled to sneak out of the ghetto in search of food despite the great risks involved.[9]

At the time of the "fur Aktion" (Pelzaktion), in the winter of 1941–1942, a number of Jews were shot by members of the GPK, allegedly for withholding fur items. Other Jews were shot for leaving the ghetto without permission. In February 1942, the GPK shot about 50 Jews who had been allowed to return from Eastern Galicia to Jasło in the fall of 1941. Shortly after this, Dr. Maria Zucker, a Jewish physician who had been permitted to live outside the ghetto because of her treatment of wounded German soldiers, was arrested on the orders of the mayor. Her husband was among those who had returned from Eastern Galicia. She was denounced for alleged defeatist remarks about the Germans, who executed her at the Jewish cemetery.[10] In the spring of 1942, about 200 Jews were sent to the nearby town of Frysztak to perform forced labor. The GPK subsequently arrested the families of these Jews in Jasło in July 1942 and shot them in the forest.[11]

In the summer of 1942, the German authorities began to liquidate the ghettos in Kreis Jaslo. On August 18, 1942, Dr. Gentz ordered the Judenrat to assemble the Jews on the Targowica marketplace. At this time, German, Ukrainian, and Polish police had already surrounded the ghetto. As these forces searched the empty ghetto, any Jews that were uncovered were either shot on the spot or escorted to the marketplace. At the Targowica, the Jews were searched for any valuables. A selection was conducted, and about 200 Jews capable of work were sent to one side to assist with cleaning out the ghetto. Those unfit for travel were then loaded onto trucks and taken to the forest of Warzyce to be shot. As the deportation trains had not arrived in time, the remaining 2,000 to 3,000 Jews were escorted up the hill to the monastery of "Wizytki," part of which had been converted into a barracks. One or two days later, these Jews were escorted to the railway station and loaded onto trains destined for the extermination camp in Bełżec together with other Jews from the nearby towns of Frysztak and Żmigród Nowy.[12]

By 1943, only about 100 people were left in the remnant ghetto; they were then sent to a labor camp for Jews in Szebnie.[13] Some Jews, such as Jakub Herzig, went into hiding or

attempted to live on the Aryan side. They had to fear blackmailers or other people who might denounce them, and they could not survive without the assistance of non-Jews. Several people from Jasło have been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem for their assistance to Jews, including Helena Kosiba, who helped Jakub Herzig by regularly supplying him with food and helping him to leave Jasło once he had acquired false identification cards.[14]

As the Germans prepared for their retreat at the end of 1944, they began to destroy the town systematically. Very little of the town remained when the Red Army captured Jasło in January 1945.

On December 5, 1972, the local court in Arnsberg, Germany, passed sentence on three former members of the GPK in Jasło who in 1942–1943 had participated in the persecution and murder of Jews in the town. One of the accused was found not guilty; Walter Augustin received a sentence of two years; and his other co-defendant was sentenced to five and a half years in prison.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Jasło can be found in the following publications: M.N. Even-Hayim, *Toldot yehudei Jaslo; me-reshit hityashvutam be-tokh ha-ir ad yemei ha-hurban al yedei ha-natzim* . . . (Tel Aviv: Jaslo Society, 1953); Jakub O. Herzig, *Jaslo* (Montreal, 1954); Jakub O. Herzig, *My Wanderings in the War* (Montreal, 1955); *Jasło oskarża* (Warsaw, 1973); M. Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw, 1974); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 207–213; and Jakub O. Herzig, "Jaslo: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community in Poland from its Beginnings to the Holocaust," translated by Rabbi Leila Berner and published by Adam and Jack Herzig (available at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L (ZStL, II 206 AR-Z 827/63 [B 162/14484]); IPN (ASG, sygn. 58, k. 51); ITS; USHMM (RG-15.073M, reel 1, 222/1, financial register of the Jewish Council in Jasło, 1941–1942; and Acc.1995.A.770); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydow w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 87–109.

2. BA-L, B-162/14484 (II 206 AR-Z 827/63), verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972, pp. 11–13; Dr. Gentz committed suicide in 1967 while under investigation for crimes in Jasło.

3. Herzig, "Jaslo: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community."

4. *Gazeta Żydowska* (German newspaper in Polish that served as the propaganda instrument of the German authorities in the Generalgouvernement), December 13, 1940, # 42.

5. Herzig, "Jaslo: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community."

6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 13, 1940, # 42; USHMM, RG-15.073M, reel 1, 222/1, financial register of the Jewish Council in Jasło, 1941–1942—this register includes expenses for these communal institutions.

7. Martin Weinmann, ed., *Das nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1990), p. 686; ITS, R 50/Z 55.

8. Herzig, "Jaslo: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community"; BA-L, B-162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972, pp. 14–15; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 205.

9. BA-L, B 162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972, pp. 14–15.

10. Herzig, "Jaslo: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community."

11. BA-L, B-162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972, pp. 15–16.

12. Ibid., pp. 22–24; Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach*; USHMM, RG-15.073M, reel 1, 222/1, financial register of the Jewish Council in Jasło, 1941–1942—the last entry is for the end of July 1942.

13. *Jasło oskarża*, p. 95; Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach*, p. 185.

14. Herzig, "Jaslo: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community"; Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 378.

JAWORNIK POLSKI

Pre-1939: Jawornik Polski, village, Rzeszów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jawornik, Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jawornik Polski, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Jawornik Polski is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Rzeszów. There were 328 Jews living in Jawornik and its vicinity on the eve of World War II. Several neighboring settlements had an average population of a few dozen Jews.

The Wehrmacht entered Jawornik on September 10, 1939. Wehrmacht forces were permanently stationed in Jawornik due to the presence of Red Army forces just across the San River, following the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland. Wehrmacht officers occupied the town hall, while soldiers were quartered in a barracks built next to it, as well as in private homes.

By the end of 1939, the new authorities had appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Jakób Schneid as its president and Markus Beck as his deputy.[1]

By the end of the summer of 1940, the Reichshof Kreishauptmann had ordered 40 deportees from other parts of Poland to be resettled from Rzeszów to Jawornik. In December 1940, the Jewish community of Jawornik and its vicinity consisted of 350 Jews. This number remained more or less constant, increasing only by another 50 in May 1941. Some of the newcomers were housed outside of Jawornik with the better-off Jewish peasants, mostly comprising holders of small plots in neighboring settlements. Newcomer families were rotated between different households so as to distribute the burden of their care more evenly. A Jewish committee for social aid was

set up on the deportees' arrival. In January 1941, its members were Judenrat deputies Markus Beck, Bernard Mohl, Chaim Teitelbaum, Israel Turner, and L. Magiet.[2]

The committee's aid proved to be inadequate; for example, its expenses for May 1941 show that out of its 137 złoty budget, 90 złoty went towards the salaries of the committee's three paid employees; 12 złoty was spent on office maintenance; and 10 złoty went to office supplies. The remaining 25 złoty is registered as "other expenses." If it were spent on the refugees' needs, it would provide each of them with only 0.50 złoty of aid per person, which at the time could buy only a single meal.

The same month, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), headquartered in Kraków, was established in Jawornik Polski. A committee including the Judenrat's president Schneid as the chairman, Israel Turner, and Chaim Bessen governed it. The JSS staff was unpaid and was helped by 10 volunteers. The committee never opened a soup kitchen. A little cash, clothing, and groceries (mostly potatoes, flour, and kasha) were dispensed whenever aid was sent by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) or the JSS.

Apart from this activity, the Jawornik JSS refused even to attempt to organize any kind of help themselves, not only because of lack of funds but also because its staff was unpaid. In August 1941, when spurred by Kraków to set up a soup kitchen for children, the JSS committee replied that there were "not enough children" in Jawornik. As the community had no access to medical assistance, Kraków offered to send a doctor to visit Jawornik, to which chairman Schneid replied: "[E]veryone is in the best of health, so those doctors do not have to visit us." In March 1942, the chairman again reported no disease among Jawornik's Jews.[3]

By May 1941, only one Jewish-owned shop remained open; and none of the craftsmen were operating their businesses. Between March 1940 and July 1941, 40 Jews labored permanently either in Jawornik itself or within the gmina's borders. Out of a total of 355 registered members of the Jawornik community, 310 were "without occupation" during this time. Between August and November 1941, only 12 to 13 Jews were laboring. Occasionally, the Germans would request much larger numbers of workers. There is no information as to the nature of their work or its compensation. However, the JSS did not bear any of their labor costs, nor did it provide sustenance for the laborers, as was common in other Jewish communities.[4]

From December 17, 1941, Kreishauptmann Dr. Heinz Ehaus ordered the establishment of Jewish quarters in Kreis Reichshof, setting dates for them to be closed. In Rzeszów, the closing order was effective on January 10, 1942, whereas for the remainder of the Kreis, it was February 1, 1942. Soon after the latter date, Jawornik, or at least that part populated by Jews, was recognized as a ghetto, and the inhabitants were forbidden to leave on pain of death.

By April 1942, land belonging to Jewish peasants in the vicinity had been expropriated. The JSS in Kraków instructed its Jawornik branch to research whether the Jews could be employed in agriculture, but by April 25, 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Rzeszów had ordered all Jews living in the vicinity—approximately 200 people—to resettle within Jawornik's town limits. The number of Jews in the ghetto, however, did not change, as these peasants had been included previously in JSS statistics. As the Judenrat's chairman Schneid put it, the peasants "arrived in such a condition that they were unable to afford even a single breakfast."

Just days later on April 30, 1942, a registration of Jewish men aged 12 to 60 was conducted. A transport of an unspecified number of laborers left Jawornik on May 4, 1942, for the Biesiadka labor camp near Mielec. The Jawornik JSS made an effort to send weekly food packages to the camp.

In Biesiadka, Jews and Poles, separated from each other, were conscripted to cut beech trees for the German Fischer company and assist the Müller company to transport them to Mielec by truck. Jewish laborers were treated as prisoners and worked under the supervision of guards. Kolis, the commander of the Jewish camp in Biesiadka, often shot individual laborers. Laborers received a modest meal before and after work.

Upon the men's departure from Jawornik, a registration of young women was also conducted, and a number of them were tasked with beautifying the village. The few able-bodied men who remained in Jawornik worked on road construction.[5]

The last correspondence concerning the Jawornik JSS is dated May 23, 1942. The ghetto's liquidation took place in late June 1942. A brief description can be found in the Ringelblum Archives, as well as in the Polish Court Inquiry about Executions and Mass Graves of October 1945, although neither document uses the term "ghetto." The Ringelblum Archive states that while collecting the Jews on the market square by chasing them out of their houses, nine Jews were murdered. They were shot by the SS and police at the following locations: on the river bank, in the field, and on and around the market square. Apart from Chaja and Malcia Spiegel, who were both 20 years old, the other victims were 48 to 90 years old. Jewish residents buried the victims in separate graves in the Jewish cemetery. The remaining Jews, including the Judenrat, were sent to the Rzeszów ghetto.[6]

The Jawornik Judenrat is mentioned in another record in the Ringelblum Archives, which refers to overdue taxes that all inhabitants of the Rzeszów ghetto were due to pay by June 26, 1942 (in accordance with a June 19, 1942, order by Kreishauptmann Ehaus). In the evening of June 26, 15 Judenrat members (5 from Rzeszów and 10 from various liquidated ghettos whose residents had just been brought to Rzeszów, including Jawornik) were shot, allegedly for not having paid these overdue taxes.[7]

In July 1942, the Jews of Jawornik, along with other Jews concentrated in the Rzeszów ghetto, were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[8]

Six Jews who were discovered in an empty house in Jawornik were reportedly shot in August 1942 by SS and police forces for "hiding from the ghetto." All of them, including the four-person family of the tradesman Mozes Springer and his son's fiancée, were buried at the Jewish cemetery in a mass grave.[9] On September 13, 1942, German Gendarmes shot five or six Jews in the Wola Rafałowska settlement. The Polish

woman Rozalia Socha who had given them shelter was executed in punishment next to her house two months later. On September 16, 1942, the Gestapo shot three Jewish men and also a Pole, Wojciech Patroński, for hiding them. All were murdered in the Buczyna Forest in the settlement of Szklary. In November 1942, the Germans discovered a bunker occupied by Jews hiding in the forest of Handle Szklarskie. A captured Jewish woman reportedly gave away the names of nine Poles who had helped the fugitives. In all, nine Poles and seven Jews were shot.[10]

SOURCES Brief descriptions and references can be found in the following publications: Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 71–72; and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 206–207; Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," pt. 3, *BŻIH*, nos. 3–4 (1985) and pt. 4, *BŻIH*, nos. 1–2 (1988).

Relevant archival information can be found in AŻIH (Ring I/472; 211/475 [JSS]; and 210/380 [AJDC]); IPN (ASG); and USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and RG-15.079M [Ring I/472, also as ARG I/1/35, DVD 2]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/475, pp. 1, 9.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/380 (Jawornik Polski), pp. 2–3; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/475, pp. 1, 22, 58.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/475, pp. 1, 4, 7–10, 35, 53, 58.
4. Ibid., pp. 9–10, 24, 36, 39.
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 26, 1942; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/475, pp. 57–58, 60.
6. USHMM, RG-15.079M (ARG I/1/35), p. 7; RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 11, pp. 594–595; and Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 26, 211/475, p. 61.
7. Ibid., RG-15.079M (ARG I/1/35), p. 5.
8. Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," pt. 3, p. 99.
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 11, p. 593.
10. Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo rzeszowskie* (Warsaw, 1984), p. 185; Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," pt. 4, pp. 103–104; Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 72.

JEDLICZE

Pre-1939: Jedlicze, village, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: initially Kreis Jaslo then Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Jedlicze is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. In 1921, there were 232 Jews living in Jedlicze.

Following the German occupation of the village in September 1939, Jews were forced to clean the Wehrmacht's stables and quarters—the latter situated in a local school. They were "paid a few cents" for their work. According to survivor Bernice Feit, during Rosh Hashanah in 1939, the Gestapo raided the village, conducting strip-searches of women as they searched for hidden valuables. It was on this occasion that the Germans burned all the books in the synagogue.[1]

Other survivors, however, emphasize that the occupation of Jedlicze was largely peaceful. Henry Adler stated that thanks to his cousin's familiarity with the Gestapo men who oversaw Jedlicze, through "business transactions and bribery . . . [it was possible to ensure that] nobody touched the town." Jewish stores were closed. Regular searches of Jewish houses were conducted, but in most instances, the occupants remained unharmed.[2]

A Judenrat chaired by Izrael Lambik was set up at the beginning of 1940; Szymon Friss, a refugee from Katowice, replaced him in the summer of 1942.

By May 1940, there were 300 Jews (75 families) in Jedlicze, including 27 refugees from Germany and Upper Silesia.[3]

More refugees arrived from Kraków in the summer of 1940. By mid-September of that year, they were the largest group of newcomers, totaling 65 persons. Lambik described the group as follows: "Nearly all of them are in need of relief, because the rich would not come to such a small place." By February 1941, there was a total of 385 Jews in Jedlicze. In April 1941, the Judenrat reported to Kraków "that due to the deportations from Jasło, we are experiencing a great population influx, such that we cannot cope."[4]

The date on which Jedlicze's ghetto was established is not known. Unfenced, it remained open to the extent that its inhabitants did not feel restrained. Survivor Menasche Wolf describes the situation in 1941 as follows: "We lived in the same houses. There were no restrictions so to speak . . . like ghettos, but we were confined to our houses. . . . They managed without doing anything, still to keep you in the house [such that you did] not go too far." A Jewish police force was organized.[5]

A children's day-care service was opened on August 1, 1940. The *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that in the summer of 1941, two teachers were instructing all 60 children "in accordance with the program of the public school in Jasło," as well as providing limited food rations.[6]

Throughout the town's occupation, up to 50 men aged 16 to 50 regularly had to perform forced labor. Many labored in an oil refinery on the outskirts of Jedlicze. Others walked daily 10 kilometers (6 miles) to Krosno to build the Sanok-Jasło road or dig ditches for electricity and water pipes at a military airfield in Krosno. A column of laborers would leave at 5:00 A.M. every day, only to return in the evening. After the Germans constructed barracks at the airfield sometime in 1941, laborers remained there permanently and consequently were not allowed even to visit Jedlicze. In August 1941, 20 men were reported as laboring outside the gmina.[7]

In July 1941, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was set up in Jedlicze with the Judenrat chairman Izrael

Lambik as president. It also included Józef Reiss (deputy) and Samuel Felber. Shortly thereafter, the JSS opened a soup kitchen; however it was repeatedly closed due to insufficient funds. The JSS branch itself was closed in September 1941. Its members continued to work unofficially, but with little efficacy. In August 1941, there were 485 Jews living in Jedlicze.[8]

The Kreishauptmann ordered the concentration of the rural Jews of the Kreis in towns and ghettos by June 24, 1942. According to the Krosno JSS, 120 Jews from the Chorkówka collective gmina were given only one hour on this day to pack their belongings for resettlement to the Jedlicze ghetto. Survivor Stephen Feld recalls, however, that residents of other settlements were notified by the Judenrat's chairman, who went around informing all Jewish inhabitants that they had three days to transfer to Jedlicze. The newcomers were placed with the town's Jewish families and in the synagogue.[9]

The last information on the number of ghetto residents is from the July 1, 1942, issue of *Gazeta Żydowska*, reporting a population of 512 Jews, including 210 deportees to Jedlicze. One week later, the same source reported that a total of 170 Jews had been resettled to Jedlicze. At this time, 35 children were being taught Hebrew, Judaism, arithmetic, and bookkeeping.[10]

Using the false pretext of labor registration, the Germans rounded up Jedlicze's Jewish population and liquidated the ghetto—most likely—in the first half of August 1942. In the night preceding the liquidation, German and Ukrainian forces surrounded the village. The following morning, the Jewish Police helped to gather ghetto residents on the market square. Each person was allowed to take up to 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of luggage. Old people were then rounded up to be shot. Women, children, and those who could not present an *Arbeitskarte* (work card) were held at the market, then loaded onto wagons and taken to the Krosno ghetto.[11]

Among the 80 people who were spared from deportation to work in the oil refinery were the new Judenrat chairman Friss and his wife. After another selection was conducted later that day, only 40 men and 3 women with children remained. They were given two large houses in which to live. Only those Jews working in the refinery could stay there; however, several escapees hid in the attic. After a surprise search by the Gestapo, refinery laborers "got scared because they endangered them." In December 1942, the remaining laborers were informed by the Germans that they would be evicted and placed in another home; in fact, all were deported to the Rzeszów ghetto.[12]

SOURCES Andrzej Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica* (Brzozów: Związek Gmin Brzozowskich i Muzeum Regionalne PTTK im. Adama Fastnachta w Brzozowie, 1993), p. 35, states that all but 40 Jews were deported on July 7, 1941, to the Jasło ghetto. None of the sources used in this entry confirm such an early date for the transfer of the community.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/381 [AJDC]; 211/477, 211/615 [JSS]; 301/1373 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 7037, 24020, 25078, 34731, 34789).

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1. VHF, # 7037, testimony of Bernice Feit, 1995.
2. Ibid., # 24020, testimony of Henry Adler, 1996; and # 34789, testimony of Menasche Wolf, 1997.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/381 (Jedlicze), pp. 1–3, 5; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 14, 1941; AŻIH, 301/1373, testimony of Rena Kant, 1946.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/477 (Jedlicze), pp. 6, 26, 33; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/381, pp. 9, 12, 21–22.
5. AŻIH, 301/1373; VHF, # 34789.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/477, p. 40.
7. VHF, # 34789; and # 24020; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/477, pp. 17, 30, 53.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 14, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/477, pp. 38, 41, 50, 53, 59, 66, 68, 72.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/615 (Krosno), p. 52; VHF, # 7037.
10. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 1 and July 8, 1942.
11. VHF, # 34731, testimony of Stephen Feld, 1997; AŻIH, 301/1373.
12. VHF, # 25078, testimony of Mala Niewodowski, 1996; and # 24020; AŻIH, 301/1373.

JODŁOWA

Pre-1939: Jodłowa, village, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Jodlowa, Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Jodłowa, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Jodłowa is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) southeast of Tarnów. There were 301 Jews living in Jodłowa in 1921.

After the German occupation, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Jodłowa at the beginning of 1940. Salamon Kanarek served as its chairman and Abraham Pariser as his deputy. In November 1940, there were 30 refugees from Kraków and Łódź in the village. By February 1941 the number of refugees had risen to 50. They were housed with local Jews, 1 to 2 persons per family. The total number of Jewish families in Jodłowa stood at 72. A self-help committee that the Jasło Judenrat had ordered to be established in Jodłowa was at this time "closed."[1]

According to survivor Jack Pariser, no Germans were permanently stationed in the village, and a unit of Polish (Blue) Police maintained order. The community was usually aware of German visits, as the Jews had to provide laborers or money. During one of the first raids, Jodłowa's Jews were forced to remove the Torah from the synagogue and walk on it. Jewish businesses were confiscated, but a majority of the Jews were engaged in agriculture and were able to keep their land and livestock until the very end. Pariser stated that with the exception of a few punitive Aktions the Jews lived peacefully in Jodłowa until the summer of 1942.[2]

Mieczysław Wieliczko, historian of Kreis Jaslo, established that the process of ghettoization in the Kreis was completed in 1941. One of the ghettos created around that time was in Jodłowa. The open ghetto most likely included the village square and remained unguarded and unfenced.

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in the village on July 21, 1941. Its three members were: the Judenrat chairman Kanarek, a teacher Manes Guttman (deputy), and Salamon Kohn. Guttman was in charge of child care. At that time, there were 120 Jewish children aged 1 to 18. Of that number, 50 (aged 6 to 14) were selected for child care—that is, additional food, physical education, singing, needlework, and some form of education "to prevent illiteracy." A Dr. Laja was employed by the Judenrat to attend to the children's medical needs. In the summer of 1941, a soup kitchen was opened in Jodłowa.[3] The JSS branch was closed again by September 15, 1941, due to "minimal" activity.[4]

In September 1941, there were 345 Jews in Jodłowa. The community was vaccinated for typhus at this time.[5]

As reported by A. Rubin, in February and March 1942, a number of men were selected for labor camps in Mielec and Pustków. Survivor Jakób Schenker testified that in June 1942, 50 men were sent to the latter.[6]

According to child survivor Regina Rueck (born 1935), her family and possibly a number of other Jodłowa Jews were deported to the Brzostek ghetto, most likely in 1942. They were allowed to take clothing and bedding and were quartered in Brzostek's synagogue.[7]

Most sources date the ghetto's liquidation on August 12, 1942.[8] On August 11, SS troops came to the village and paid a short visit to the Polish (Blue) Police. The Polish policemen warned the Jewish community that the Germans planned to shoot all of them on the following day, after reporting to the village square for supposed transfer to a larger ghetto. News spread among the families who lived around the square, as well as to those who lived outside the Jewish quarter. Survivors Schenker and Pariser estimate that over 100 Jews escaped that night; close to 30 survived the war.[9]

In the course of the liquidation, 21 to 25 Jews were shot at various points in the village en route to the place of execution. Another 160 to 180 people were taken to a forest next to the village of Przeczyca and shot.[10] Members of the Baudienst (Construction Service) in Jasło were forced to dig the graves for Jodłowa's Jews. Two witnesses from among this group (Jan Rączka and Władysław M.) testified that the victims were led in groups of 10 to the grave and forced to undress. Standing by the grave, they were shot one by one in the back of the head.[11]

SOURCES The following sources include references to the destruction of Jodłowa's Jewish community: Mieczysław Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1974), pp. 131, 148, 182–184; Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 73–74; Czesław Czubryt-Borkowski, ed., *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa: Lata wojny 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Sport i Turystyka, 1980), p. 482; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 195–196.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/387, 211/472, 211/495, 301/1694, 301/1778, 301/4697, 301/7164); IPN-Rz (OKBZH-Rz, 549); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.019M [Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos]; RG-50.493*0107); and VHF (# 9514).

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NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 5, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/495 (Jodłowa), p. 1; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/387 (Jodłowa), p. 1; VHF, # 9514, testimony of Jack Pariser, 1995; USHMM, RG-50.493*0107 (testimony of Jack Pariser).

2. Rose Pariser Schwartz testimony (HRC-1043), in Joseph J. Preil, ed., *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p. 112; VHF, # 9514; USHMM, RG-50.493*0107.

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/495, pp. 2, 5–7, 11–12, 15, 29–30, 32.

4. Ibid., p. 19; Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/472 (Jasło), p. 36.

5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, September 5, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/495, p. 13.

6. AŻIH, 301/1694, testimony of Jakób Schenker, n.d.

7. Ibid., 301/4697, testimony of Regina Rueck, 1945.

8. Other sources date the liquidation in July 1942; e.g., *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo tarnowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 96–98, dates the liquidation of the ghetto on July 16, 1942; Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, pp. 73–74, on July 1, 1942.

9. VHF, # 9514; AŻIH, 301/1694; USHMM, RG-50.493*0107.

10. USHMM, RG-15.019M (Court inquiries about executions and mass graves in districts, provinces, camps, and ghettos), reel 10, sygn. 10, p. 179 (Przeczyca) and p. 186 (Jodłowa).

11. AŻIH, 301/7164, testimony of Jan Rączka, 1993; and 301/1778, testimony of Chaim Spett, 1946; excerpts of testimony by Władysław M., in Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 183–185; IPN-Rz, OKBZH-Rz, 549, zeznania Stanisława Janigi, pp. 107–108, as cited in Elżbieta Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie, 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej-Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), pp. 152–153.

KALWARIA ZEBRZYDOWSKA

Pre-1939: Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Krakau-Land, and Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Kalwaria Zebrzydowska is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Kraków. There were approximately 700 Jews living in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska on the eve of World War II.[1] Fleeing the Germans' advance in September 1939, most of the Jews sought shelter in Mielec and Lwów. Those who returned shortly afterwards found their homes destroyed and stores robbed.

A *Volksdeutscher* (ethnic German) and local pharmacy owner named Kunze was appointed as the town's Kommissar. Soon afterwards, Kalwaria's Jews were forbidden to travel without a permit, even to nearby Kraków, where many of them conducted trade. Then their businesses were taken over by German trustees, while Jews, according to the local Jewish Council (Judenrat), were "prohibited to engage in any trade or craft." Nonetheless, records show that 17 craftsmen were permitted to run their workshops and also to employ an additional 10 Jews.

Either in late 1939 or early 1940, a German Stadtkommissar, Leopold Holtz, who was an elderly war veteran and invalid, replaced Kunze. Despite his hostility to the Jews, Holtz was—as one of the survivors described it—"open to bribery"—"everything had a price." Due to bribes, the community was allowed to bake matzot and sell it; such payments were likewise mandatory for the reception of food rations, to which the town's Jewish inhabitants were already entitled.[2]

Kraków's Kreishauptmann ordered the creation of a 12-member Judenrat in February 1940. The only two known names are those of the chairman, Baruch Rand, and his deputy, Dr. J. Breit, who most likely joined the Judenrat in 1941.[3]

The local court's prison was located at 9 Mickiewicz Street, where it held prisoners from Kalwaria and Skawina for short periods. There were also German policemen, Gendarmes, and Wehrmacht personnel, as well as a Polish (Blue) Police detachment stationed in Kalwaria.

By August 1940, a large number of refugees had arrived in Kalwaria, many from Kraków and Milówka.

That summer, 70 Jews worked in road construction. On average, a total of 140 Jews labored on roads throughout 1940, 40 of them in Kalwaria itself and the remainder in its vicinity.

A school for young children opened in 1940, where a Hebrew teacher taught classes both in Hebrew and Polish.[4]

By March 1941, a clinic supervised by Dr. Breit was constructed on the premises of the Judenrat's headquarters at 9 Zebrzydowice Street. Breit also supervised a sanitation committee charged with the improvement of flats and yards. Although tuberculosis was on the rise in the first months of 1942, there were no reports of other contagious diseases in Kalwaria. Severely sick Jews were treated in the hospital of the Banifratrów Monastery in Kalwaria. It was at this time that the Judenrat operated a soup kitchen for the poor and refugees.[5]

On April 4, 1941, Kraków's Kreishauptmann Höller announced a list of towns and gminas where Jews were allowed to live; Kalwaria was one of them. The original deadline for resettlement—April 25, 1941—was delayed until May 18, 1941, and Jewish farmers were excluded.

An unknown number of Jews from Kalwaria's vicinity responded to the resettlement order and moved to Kalwaria, where they were housed en masse.[6] The newcomers were mainly residents of the villages of Zebrzydowice and Brody. Upon their arrival, Holtz imposed further restrictions on Jewish residence in Kalwaria. All those Jews living along the main streets with windows overlooking the street had to move to apartments facing the backyards or onto side streets.[7] At the end of May 1941, 1,069 Jews were registered in Kalwaria.[8]

During the second half of 1941, the town's Jews were permitted to walk the streets of Kalwaria for only two hours a day. Soon afterwards, a curfew was imposed, and all roads were closed to the Jews. To maintain communal contacts, they created passageways through the courtyards from house to house.

As it was probably never officially declared, the date of the ghetto's establishment is unknown; however, according to survivor Israel Scharf, going to the villages in 1941 to buy food meant "risking [one's] life," because "the minute that you pass beyond the town's perimeters, the Polish Police shot right away." He further claims that several Jews were shot for leaving the town.[9] Another survivor, Leon Ebel, however, recalls taking off his armband and going to nearby Brzeźnica by bike to obtain food but does not mention any danger involved in leaving Kalwaria.[10]

By May 1941, 42 Jews from Kalwaria had been sent to the Pustków labor camp. Another 70 labored in the vicinity, and approximately 50 in Kalwaria proper worked on pulling down old houses. The number of Jews the local Arbeitsamt required for labor changed frequently, as did their assignments; for example, by autumn 1941 most of the women aged 12 to 45 and men aged 12 to 60 were employed as seasonal laborers in agriculture on surrounding estates.[11]

On July 1, 1941, a branch of Kraków's Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in Kalwaria to take over the provision of welfare from the Judenrat. The Judenrat president, Rauch, chaired the committee together with Dr. Breit and a man named Ohrenstein.[12] With diminishing resources, the soup kitchen was soon serving approximately 200 meals a day and was thereby forced to cancel free meals and charge everyone. Soon afterwards, a tax was introduced on the ghetto inmates, as voluntary donations had dried up.

By October 1941, the JSS had opened a so-called garden for poor children aged 6 to 12. It was located on the premises of the ambulatory; the latter was soon transferred to the premises of the Judenrat. Activities were organized for about 80 children for three hours a day.[13] By the end of January 1942, the number of ghetto inhabitants had risen slightly to 1,093. Records show that all laborers had returned from the labor camps, resulting in a total of 250 Jews employed in Kalwaria.

The date of the Germans' order for the transfer of Jewish farmers to Kalwaria is unknown; according to Leon Ebel, who moved there from Brzeźnica, it occurred at the beginning of 1942.

According to Scharf, the situation of Kalwaria's Jews changed in March 1942, when "Jewish labor became a hot item" and German companies were in constant search of free Jewish labor. At this time, Kalwaria's Jews were being rounded up, jailed for a short time, and then sent to build the Płaszów labor camp. Those who could find employment in Kalwaria were, in theory, exempted. By mid-August 1942, an estimated 100 Jews had been sent to Płaszów in three separate transports; it is known that the June transport consisted of 60 Jews. The local community was charged with providing the laborers with food and clothing.[14]

On Kommissar Holtz's orders the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was set up either at the end of June or the beginning of July 1942.[15]

In the first days of August 1942, Holtz informed the ghetto residents that they would be resettled to a work camp in two or three weeks. Having heard about similar reports from other towns, the Jews became suspicious of the Germans' plans.[16] Other sources suggest that the community paid a contribution to try to prevent their deportation.[17]

On August 12, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Kalwaria Zebrzydowska ghetto, taking up to 1,000 Jews (among them a large number of refugees) to the Skawina ghetto. The latter was liquidated in turn on August 29–30, with most of the inhabitants being sent to the Bełżec extermination camp, while some able-bodied individuals were transferred to the Płaszów labor camp; the Germans separated out the elderly and children in Skawina and shot them in a nearby forest. About 550 of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska's Jews died in the Holocaust.[18]

SOURCES The fate of the Jewish community in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska is mentioned in the following publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 315–318; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 589–590; E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 87–109, here p. 92; and *Gazeta Żydowska* (1941–1942).

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (301/599 [Relacje] and 211/505 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 27 [Kalwaria Zebrzydowska]); and VHF (# 2480, 11651, and 17120).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 27, 211/505, p. 2.
2. VHF, # 17120, testimony of Israel Scharf, 1996; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, pp. 1–2.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 13, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, p. 30.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, pp. 1–3.
5. Ibid., pp. 2, 40–41; *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 13 and June 24, 1941.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 23, 1941.
7. Ibid., June 24, 1941; VHF, # 17120.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, p. 2.
9. VHF, # 17120.
10. Ibid., # 11651, testimony of Leon Ebel, 1996.
11. Ibid., # 17120; *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 24, August 29, and September 28, 1941, and January 9, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, pp. 2–3.
12. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 25, 1941, and January 9, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, pp. 1–3.
13. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 21 and November 9, 1941, and January 9, 1942.
14. VHF, # 17120; # 11651; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 5 and August 12, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 27, 211/505, p. 57.
15. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 5, 1942.
16. VHF, # 17120.
17. Ibid., # 2480, testimony of Dorothy Fields, 1995.
18. AŻIH, 301/599, testimony of Zofia Głowacka Hradowa, 1945.

KAŃCZUGA

Pre-1939: Kańczuga, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kanczuga, Kreis Jaroslau, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kańczuga, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Kańczuga is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Przemyśl. There were 948 Jews living there in 1939.

On occupation, Kańczuga's Jews received German permission to remain in their town, while many other communities in the vicinity were forced to relocate to the Soviet-occupied regions of Poland. In June 1941, the Kańczuga branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) reported 810 Jewish residents.[1]

Jews living in 11 nearby villages were part of the collective community called Kańczuga-Land (Kańczuga–wieś), with headquarters in Żuklin, located less than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Kańczuga. Sometime before 1941, 250 members of this predominantly farming community were stripped of their land. Their Judenrat, chaired by a man named Mörsel, continually requested JSS assistance, emphasizing that Kańczuga-Land was "entirely separate" from Kańczuga. In its last letter to the JSS headquarters in Kraków, dated October 2, 1941, the community was reportedly caring for 18 refugees.[2]

In May 1942, the Kańczuga JSS described the situation as follows: "Since January 1942, the Jews in the Kreis are restricted in their movement. One must not leave [Kańczuga] and as a result the situation of our community has worsened by 100 percent." Survivor Moses Zellerkraut also noted in his brief testimony that "the Jews cannot leave the town."[3]

The ban on Jewish freedom of movement in and out of Kańczuga meant that, in effect, an open ghetto was established, bounded by the town's limits; this reflected also the general pattern of ghetto establishment in Kreis Jaroslau during the course of 1941–1942. According to *Sefer Lantsut*, the head of Kreis Jaroslau, Georg Eisenlohr, issued an order on December 18, 1941, forbidding the Jews from leaving their places of domicile on pain of death. "Domicile" was defined as an urban or rural community, a village, or lodging place. The order went into effect on January 1, 1942. It is very likely that the Kańczuga-Land community was transferred to Kańczuga town, as it was common procedure to concentrate the rural Jewish population in nearby towns; however, no archival documentation could be located to confirm this. In October 1941, the Kańczuga JSS issued its final report, giving the Jewish population as 808 residents. This record was made several months before the likely transfer of the Kańczuga-Land Jews.[4]

There is a little information available on the fate of Kańczuga's Jews during the occupation. Most of them occupied Węgierska, Świętej Barbary, and Długa Streets. Szmiel Westreich was the chairman of the Judenrat. Westreich also chaired the JSS branch set up in December 1940, which also included Abraham Turm (secretary) and Aron Freund. The JSS office was located on 79 Długa Street. In mid-September 1941, 17 Jews were rounded up and transferred to the police prison in Jarosław.[5]

During 1940–1941, there were only three cases of typhus registered. In March 1942, the community was vaccinated for typhus. There was no Jewish doctor in Kańczuga. As of May 1942, 60 Jews were employed in nearby Przeworsk; each day they would return for the night to Kańczuga.[6]

Survivor Jakub Kesstecher, who moved to Kańczuga in June 1942, testified that there were three large expropriations imposed prior to the liquidation of the community. In July 1942, the Germans began issuing Jewish identity stamps. Only those who received special stamps were to be spared from deportation. At first 350 documents were stamped, yet a subsequent registration reduced the number to 100. After the last registration, conducted on July 28, 1942, only four families were permitted to stay in Kańczuga.[7]

Secondary sources report that Kańczuga's liquidation took place on either August 1 or 8, 1942. According to Kesstecher, the community was deported to a transit camp in Pełkinie, where a number of men were selected for labor camps, children and the elderly were shot, and the remainder were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. Kesstecher, however, does not mention the murder of 246 Jews at the community cemetery in Siedleczka (3 kilometers [1.9 miles] south of Kańczuga), as noted by other primary sources. This may be because the shooting, which took place over three days (around August 12), was conducted after the departure of most of the Jews to Pełkinie. Prior to their execution, Jews were held in an unfinished synagogue in Kańczuga. There were also 20 Jews registered as shot between August and October 1942. The bodies were buried in a private garden on Węgierska Street.[8]

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Fay Walker and Leo Rosen, *Hidden: A Sister and Brother in Nazi Poland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. 51–149; and N. Kudish and M. Walzer-Fass, eds., *Sefer Lantsut* (Tel Aviv: Irgune yots'e Lantsut be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1963), pp. xxxiv–xxxix.

The following archival sources refer to the fate of the Jewish community in Kańczuga during the Holocaust: AŻIH (301/4922, 301/4955); and USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], 211/523-524; RG-15.019M [ASG]; RG-02.050).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/523 (Kańczuga), pp. 1–3; RG-02.050 (Fay Walker), "My memories, 1939–1945 testimony."
2. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/524 (Kańczuga—wieś z siedzibą w Żuklinie), pp. 1, 5–6, 8, 11, 14.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/523, p. 51; AŻIH, 301/4955, testimony of Moses Zellerkraut, 1945.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/523, p. 33.
5. Ibid., pp. 1–3, 16, 23; AŻIH, 301/4955.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/523, pp. 46, 51.
7. AŻIH, 301/4922, testimony of Jakub Kesstecher, 1945.
8. Ibid.; USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 11, file 511 (Kańczuga); and file 513 (Siedleczka); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo przemyskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), pp. 45–46.

KOŁACZYCE

Pre-1939: Kołaczyce (Yiddish: Koloshitz), village, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kolaczyce, Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kołaczyce, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Kołaczyce is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Jasło. The Jewish community occupied a southern neighborhood of the town called Blich (Beilich). According to the archives of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), 203 Jews were residing there on the outbreak of World War II.[1]

The first chairman of the Judenrat (Jewish Council), established in December 1939, is unknown. Survivor Felicia Passal wrote in her memoir that in 1941 her brother, Itzek Fessel (22 years old), chaired the Judenrat.[2]

The Jews assigned for forced labor would pick up tools each morning from the Judenrat and return them upon completion of their labor. In August 1941, the daily quota of laborers was 25.

A six-man Jewish Police unit was organized. One of its assignments was to supervise Jewish labor. There was also a five-man Polish (Blue) Police unit supervised by the German Schutzpolizei.[3]

In January 1941, after the Kreishauptmann announced the transfer of a number of deportees to Kołaczyce from Kraków, the Judenrat requested the assistance of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). Kołaczyce's Jews had to convert their Bet Midrash into living quarters for the newcomers.[4]

According to Mieczysław Wieliczko, historian of Kreis Jasło, the process of ghettoization in the Kreis was completed in 1941. One of the ghettos established around that time was in Kołaczyce. The date when Jews from surrounding villages were ordered into the ghetto is unknown, but this transfer included Jewish residents of Sowin and, most likely, also Bieździedza.

Sowin Jews were given 24 hours to move into the ghetto. Survivor Thelma Krugman testified that the Germans designated a small area for the ghetto. Her grandfather committed suicide, as he did not want to move there. Krugman's large family was unable to find housing within the ghetto and received German permission to live outside of its limits in a rented house that was a 10-minute walk from the ghetto. Krugman recalls that one person from each family was forced

to report to the Judenrat regularly for assignment to forced labor, which usually consisted of street cleaning.

Up to 14 Jews were executed for leaving the ghetto without permission, probably just before its liquidation in August 1942.[5]

Sowin native Genia Krüger (born 1935), whose family was one of those transferred to Kołaczyce, testified: "The Germans would come to the ghetto every week, take away 10 Jews and order the Jews to give them a lot of money [for ransom]. When people did not have the money, they would kill them [the hostages], or they would take the money and kill them anyway." On those occasions, the Germans would gather all the Jews and usually order them to sweep the streets.[6]

On July 21, 1941, a branch of the JSS was established in Kołaczyce with Isak Boryl (chairman), Lipa Sperber (deputy), and Bernard Silber.

According to a Judenrat census, the community numbered 298 Jews—including 82 deportees—in August 1941. Out of eight pre-war workshops, only four were still operating (two glaziers, a tailor, and a maker of the upper parts for shoes). According to the Judenrat, a soup kitchen was operating from April 1 until June 25, 1941, and again from August 15, serving 120 breakfasts and dinners. One of the Kraków deportees, Henryk Blunstein, however, reported to the JSS headquarters in Kraków in September 1941 that no soup kitchen had yet been opened in the village. The JSS branch in Kołaczyce was liquidated by the officials in Kraków on September 15, 1941, and all its members were dismissed. Nevertheless, the JSS archives show two transfers (October 4 and 15, 1941) for a total of 600 złoty to be spent on food in Kołaczyce.[7]

In May 1942, the *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that the refugees in Kołaczyce were from Żywiec and Kraków; the most recent group had been transferred from the Jasło ghetto. A large number of them lived in the synagogue. On April 1, 1942, a registration of men (aged 16–60) for forced labor took place. On April 20, 15 men were assigned to agricultural work. A soup kitchen, established specifically for their benefit, distributed free breakfasts and dinners. The Jewish Police, who supervised the laborers, also helped in the kitchen.[8]

According to Wieliczko, Jews from the nearby Brzostek ghetto and a number from surrounding villages were brought to Kołaczyce on August 12, 1942. Following a selection, some were sent to a labor camp in Jasło. Several people were shot during the ensuing liquidation of the ghetto. Others (as many as 260 people) were transported by the Germans to the Podzamcze Forest (also referred to as the Kowalowy Forest) near the village of Krajowice and were shot the same afternoon. Members of the Gestapo from Jasło supervised the mass shooting.[9]

Members of the Baudienst (Construction Service) in Jasło were forced to dig the graves for the Kołaczyce Jews. Two witnesses from the Baudienst (Jan Rączka and Władysław M.) testified that the Jews were gathered in a clearing. In groups of 10, the victims were led to the grave and forced to undress. Standing by the grave, one by one, they were shot in the back of the head. Rączka, a native of Kołaczyce, recognized among the victims the families of Waldman, Rosner, Kraut, Rand, Szlam, and others. Salka (née Wald) was pregnant. Baudienst workers were made to disguise the grave by planting trees on top of it.[10]

SOURCES The following sources include references to the Kołaczyce ghetto: Mieczysław Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach drugiej wojny swiatowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1974), pp. 131, 148, 182–184; Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), p. 78; Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 183–185; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 238.

Archival sources include AŻIH (210/413, 211/551, 301/4698, 301/7164); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 40037).

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1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/551 (Kołaczyce), p. 9; Felicia Passal, *In Quest for Life* (Warsaw: Ypsylon, 1994), p. 22.
2. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 25, 1941; Passal, *In Quest for Life*, p. 71.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 27, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/551, pp. 8–9.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/415 (Kołaczyce), p. 1.
5. VHF, # 40037, testimony of Thelma Krugman, 1998; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), pp. 74–75.
6. AŻIH, 301/4698, testimony of Genia Krüger, 1945; 301/7164, testimony of Jan Rączka, 1993.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/551, pp. 5, 8–9, 11–15, 18; *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 25, 1941.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 27, 1942.
9. *Rejestr miejsc*, pp. 74–75; AŻIH, 301/4698.
10. Extracts of Władysław M. testimonies in Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 183–185; AŻIH, 301/7164.

KOLBUSZOWA

Pre-1939: Kolbuszowa, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Kolbuszowa is located about 150 kilometers (93 miles) east-northeast of Kraków. On the outbreak of World War II, around 2,500 Jews were residing in the town.

Following the German invasion on September 1, 1939, many Jewish refugees arrived in Kolbuszowa. Upon capture of the town, about two weeks later, German soldiers began kidnapping Jews for forced labor and searching Jewish homes for valuables. At this time, many Jewish homes were burned down and looted.

In the fall of 1939, Gestapo men arrived in Kolbuszowa and took several Jews hostage, threatening to kill them if the



A group of Jewish forced laborers pose with shovels in Kolbuszowa, March 9, 1940.
USHMM WS #01472, COURTESY OF NORMAN SALSITZ

Jews did not leave town within a few days. A number of Jews fled to the Soviet-occupied zone, but several days later the evacuation order was rescinded, and some Jews who had left returned. In mid-November, German soldiers requisitioned most of the Jews' remaining food and merchandise.[1]

In December 1939, Jews over the age of 12 were required to wear white badges bearing a blue Star of David. Initially the penalty for noncompliance was a 100 złoty fine, but subsequently the death penalty was introduced for this offense.

On January 25, 1940, the Germans established a Sonderdienst (Special Police) unit in Kolbuszowa, composed mainly of young ethnic Germen men. The German police soon found it difficult to find the 150 to 200 Jewish forced laborers demanded daily. So a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in March 1940, headed by Dr. Leon Anderman. The Jews were registered and performed forced labor in rotation. The payment for a replacement was initially a loaf of black bread and later only half or a quarter of a loaf. The Judenrat also paid bribes to the Germans to halt the ransacking of Jewish homes, to release detained Jews, and to obtain permits for Jewish train travel. It raised funds by taxing the Jews.[2]

In July 1940, all Jews aged 12 through 60 were registered and issued work cards. On September 9, German officials selected 50 Jewish men to be sent to the forced labor camp in Rzeszów. Two months later, the Judenrat arranged for their release. In November another roundup occurred; this time 80 Jews were chosen for forced labor in Pustków.

In June 1941, Landkommissar Twardon arrived in Kolbuszowa. On June 12, he ordered the resettlement to Rzeszów of Jews living in the market square. This measure decreased the Jewish population prior to the establishment of a ghetto. On June 13, Twardon gave the Jews only 48 hours to move into the ghetto, which was located in the poorest section of town, where 700 Jews and 90 Poles resided. Now the Poles were relocated to make space for 1,100 additional Jews in this area. The ghetto was bordered on the east by the river, on the west by Sędziszów Street, and on the north by the "Golden Row." It did not include the market square, where Jewish shops were transferred to Poles.[3]

For the relocation, the Jews lacked transport and feared not making the deadline. On the second day, the German police increased the panic by beating up any Jews they encountered. That night they surrounded the ghetto and arrested 26 Jews, including most of the Judenrat. Efforts were made to obtain the release of Dr. Anderman, with the involvement of some Polish notables, but Twardon refused, and a new Judenrat was formed with Paszek Rappaport at its head.[4]

Soon afterwards, the new Judenrat raised the money demanded to purchase the return of those Jews who had been relocated to Rzeszów. The arrested Jews were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Within a short time, most were killed, and the Gestapo insisted the families sign statements confirming the alleged cause of death.[5]

In the ghetto, clothing and shoes were made from old rags and scraps of wood. Hunger was severe. The Judenrat established a public kitchen, where many Jews received their only meal of the day. Smuggling into the ghetto was accomplished through permits to travel outside, arranged by Rappaport for a high price. The Judenrat and a few of Rappaport's friends obtained permits, enabling them to smuggle in food, kerosene, soap, wood, and other needed items, at the risk of their lives.[6]

On January 5, 1942, posters were put up around the ghetto, signed by Kreishauptmann Dr. Heinz Ehaus, prohibiting Germans and other "Aryans" from entering the ghetto without a special pass.[7] This measure probably resulted from a fear of the spread of typhus. In January 1942, the Germans demanded that the Jews surrender all fur items on pain of death.

In February 1942, the Jewish Police was established, to assist the Judenrat with its functions. Landkommissar Twardon enacted many new decrees, such as forcing Jews to shave their beards and demanding a ransom of 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of gold for the lives of 15 Jews. On April 28, 1942, the Gestapo arrested and shot more than 20 Jews according to a list prepared by a Ukrainian informant, who served in the police. When Twardon learned that 3 Jews had only been wounded, he sent his doctor to see them—he uncovered the wounds and left the men to die.[8]

The murdered Jews were buried in mass graves in the Jewish cemetery. However, their family members dug up the corpses and put a knife in each right hand to symbolize revenge before reburying them in family plots.[9]

Three days later the Gestapo demanded various luxury items, including silk stockings, wool for suits, and canaries in cages. If the items were not produced by evening, another execution was threatened. As they could not be found in the ghetto, several Jews sneaked out and bought the items at high prices from Poles. When the Gestapo men were satisfied the demands had been met, they left.[10]

Conditions steadily deteriorated as starvation increased. New decrees were issued, and shootings became commonplace. Jews believed that to remain in the ghetto, they must be productive. Therefore, a cooperative workshop was established in

the ghetto synagogue. After an inspection of the workshop, the Germans announced that the workers and their families could remain in Kolbuszowa.

In June 1942, Kreishauptmann Ehaus made repeated financial demands of the Jewish communities in the Kreis, which had to be paid within one week. If payment was incomplete, members of the respective Judenrat were murdered, corresponding to the deficient sum. Each time, the various Judenrat members were summoned to Rzeszów to hand over the money. According to Naftali (Norman) Salsitz's account, Kolbuszowa was the only Judenrat that managed to pay each sum in full, and therefore suffered no losses to its Judenrat.[11]

After the executions, Ehaus announced that all Jews in the Kreis would be evacuated to Rzeszów by June 25–27. Panic and fear spread through the ghetto, as the residents quickly prepared for their departure. In preparation, the Judenrat used its remaining flour to bake one loaf of bread for every person.

On June 25, 1942, approximately 100 SS men encircled the ghetto and then drove the Jews out of their houses to the gates. All the Jews' possessions were loaded onto peasants' wagons, leaving no space for the Jews, so that everyone had to go on foot, escorted by the German and Polish police. On arrival in Rzeszów, the peasants demanded payment for the transportation, threatening otherwise to steal the Jews' possessions.[12]

The second evacuation the next day was much smaller but conducted in the same manner. Afterwards, thousands of peasants poured in to take property from the abandoned Jewish homes. A token sum was paid to make it appear that this was not looting. Only three Jews remained in the ghetto to run the cobbler's cooperative, making suits and boots for the German police.[13]

On June 28, 1942, Twardon went to Rzeszów and ordered a group of Jewish men to return to Kolbuszowa to dismantle the ghetto houses. The men were housed in the Bet Midrash, now called the "Kolbuszowa Labor Camp." Some Kolbuszowa Jews were sent from Rzeszów to the Jasionka labor camp, where most were murdered or died of starvation. The other Kolbuszowa Jews in Rzeszów were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.

A few Jews survived in hiding, in the camps, or as partisans in the forests. Some survivors were murdered by Poles when they returned home, and many emigrated soon afterwards.[14] The Jewish community of Kolbuszowa was not reestablished after the war.

SOURCES Much of this entry is based on the detailed account by Naftali Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," in I.M. Biderman, ed., *Pinkas Kolbishov* (New York: United Kolbushover, 1971), pp. 56–88; a more personalized account by the same author (after he changed his name) is Norman Salsitz, *Against All Odds: A Tale of Two Survivors* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1990), which adds some further details. Other relevant publications include Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 329–331; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 237.

Documentation concerning the fate of the Jews in Kolbuszowa during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/545-546); IPN (ASG, sygn. 58, p. 64); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.030*0199; RG-15.019M); USHMMPA (WS # N64876); VHF (# 3331 and 16458); and YVA.

Shannon Phillips and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 56–60.
2. Ibid., pp. 60–63; see also USHMM, RG-50.030*0199, interview with Norman Salsitz, May 15, 1990.
3. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 66–67; Salsitz, *Against All Odds*, p. 125. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17, file no. 58 (Rzeszów województwo), p. 64, indicates the ghetto was established in September 1941, on Piłsudski and Piekarski Streets, covering an area of 500 square meters (598 square yards).
4. VHF, # 16458, testimony of Max Notowitz.
5. Ibid.; Salsitz, *Against All Odds*, pp. 167–168.
6. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 67–69.
7. USHMMPA, WS # N64876, Polizeiliche Anordnung, signed Dr. Ehaus, January 5, 1942.
8. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 74–75; Salsitz, *Against All Odds*, p. 193.
9. USHMM, RG-50.030*0199.
10. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 75–77; Salsitz, *Against All Odds*, p. 196.
11. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 77–79.
12. Ibid., pp. 79–81; Salsitz, *Against All Odds*, p. 207.
13. Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," pp. 81–82.
14. USHMM, RG-50.030*0199.

KORCZYNA

Pre-1939: Korczyna, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: village, initially in Kreis Jaslo, then from November 1941, Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Korczyna is located 5 kilometers (3 miles) northeast of Krosno. There were 796 Jews living in the town of Korczyna in 1921.

After the German occupation of Korczyna in mid-September 1939, various German military units were garrisoned in the town for several months. During their stay they requisitioned Jewish houses and forced Jews to work for them as servants. They frequently searched Jewish homes and stores, beating the owners and taking whatever they liked.

In March 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, with J. Rubin as the chairman and Salomon Horowitz as his deputy. Jakob Sprung, Chaskel Lutman (or Lautmann), and Raffael Rachwall were also members.

According to the town's yizkor book, Korczyna's Jews were asked to choose their representatives. Apparently, the chairman Rubin and his assistant "Lewitman" (probably Lautmann) disappointed the Jews of Korczyna, as they "took matters into

their own hands and ignored the rest of the Judenrat." They received a salary from the Germans and had to implement German instructions. Those who failed to pay a monthly tax imposed by the Judenrat had their possessions (e.g., Shabbat candle holders, pillows, clothing, etc.) confiscated by the Jewish Police. The Judenrat asked the Germans for help on occasion. Arrestees were sent to the Krosno prison; there were also cases when Jews were shot in Korczyna.[1]

By April 1940, the Judenrat had opened a soup kitchen serving three meals daily. The poorest received them for free, while others paid 20 to 30 groszy per day.

By September 1940, there were 20 refugees from Kraków, 17 from Łódź, and 15 Jewish families from Germany living in Korczyna. On March 27, 1941, the Krosno Landkommissar ordered the transfer of 119 Jews from Krosno to Korczyna. The same day, the Jasło Kreishauptmann also directed 22 Jews there from Jasło. On April 8, 1941, 75 more Jasło Jews were transferred and housed with the other recent arrivals in Korczyna. Most of them were refugees from Łódź. At this time, a total of 50 refugees from Kraków were living in the village.

In May 1941, a two-man Jewish police force was established. One of the policemen, Naphtali Kirschner, would forewarn the community of raids by the Polish police. In June 1941, Jewish-owned stores were confiscated.[2]

A local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was set up in Korczyna in July 1941 to provide relief for the town's poor and refugees. It included chairman Salomon Horowitz, Jakub Sprung, and Izrael Isak Denn. The branch was liquidated in September 1941. The reasons for its liquidation included insignificant aid delivered, the small size of the Jewish population, and infighting among its members. For example, Horowitz requested the dismissal of Sprung and Denn as their "age and appearance" made them "unfit for the job."[3]

An unfenced ghetto located around the market square of Korczyna was set up in November 1941.[4] Poles—most likely—were not evicted from the ghetto grounds and continued to share some houses with the Jewish population. For example, during the ghetto's liquidation, survivor Rosa Walker and her son Hendrik did not report to the market square, "instead hiding in the attic of the house they lived in, which belonged to [a Pole] Stanisław Pudło."

In January 1942, the German authorities ordered the Jews to surrender all their fur garments or face the death penalty. The Jews responded and brought even their old worn-out fur hats to the Judenrat, who passed them on to the Germans. Two days later, the Germans searched the Jews' homes to check for concealed items, but they found nothing, and the town suffered no casualties.[5]

It is not clear who was in charge of the ghetto's security. According to the yizkor book, Jews were forbidden to leave the Korczyna ghetto by March or April 1942. The Germans posted signs indicating the limits of the Jewish area. Jews could walk to Godele Gutwein's house, to Herz Halpern's house, to Mangel Street, to the pharmacy, and to Pszyslowski's house. Any Jew caught outside this demarcated area faced the death penalty.[6] A. Potocki mentions that a man was shot for leaving "the ghetto" before this, in December 1941. Also, a 38-year-old, Lejb Korb, is registered as having been shot by the police in November 1941; the precise reason why he was killed, however, is not known.[7]

Survivor Aron Neubarth, who moved to the ghetto when rural Jews were brought in (in June 1942), testified that Korczyna's Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto only for organized labor assignments. Those who were assigned to work at an airfield or on road construction in Krosno would gather daily in the market square, then march from Korczyna unescorted. In the evening they would return to the ghetto—again unescorted. Otherwise, Jews were afraid to leave the ghetto and rarely attempted to sneak out.[8]

By January 1942, the ghetto had 700 Jewish inhabitants. Forced labor continued; approximately 80 men then walked daily to Krosno for snow removal. They were paid a small compensation and given a hot meal by Krosno's Jewish community. The sanitary commission continued to check Jewish households for signs of contagious diseases, finding none. In May 1942, Jews aged from 6 to 60 years old were vaccinated against typhus. Dr. Bucholz attended to the sick.[9]

The concentration of the rural Jews of the Kreis in ghettos began on June 24, 1942. By that date, the number of Jews in Korczyna had reached 1,200. The JSS branch was reopened on June 28, 1942, most likely due to the increase in the number of ghetto inmates. The reorganized branch was now led by a refugee from Kraków, Aleksander Choczner, with assistance from Wolf Gleicher and pharmacist Jakub Lewaj. They kept the soup kitchen open and organized a day care in the ghetto for 55 children aged four to nine.

All Jews aged 14 to 60 were obliged to work at this time. Women and young girls performed agricultural labor. In June 1942, Korczyna's Jews were ordered to pay overdue taxes, allegedly outstanding from when the war started.[10]

On July 30, 1942, 300 Jews, who were composed of deportees from Łódź who were living in Krosno, were moved to Korczyna. Due to the lack of lodging, most of them were quartered in the town's synagogue. Their hygiene was so poor that the JSS ordered free-of-charge hair clipping, shaving, and bathing for all newcomers.[11]

The ghetto was liquidated on August 12, 1942.[12] Korczyna's Jews were ordered to report to the market square. The Germans possessed a list of all the inhabitants and their addresses. House searches for those in hiding were conducted, while the remaining Jews were sitting in the square. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, trucks took old and sick Jews to the vicinity of Wola Janicka, where they were then shot. The *Rejestr miejsc*, however, reports that on the same day the SS and the Gestapo shot several dozen Jewish families in the Wawrzyce Forest; some of their names are available.[13]

As for the remainder of the ghetto's inmates, women and children were deported to Krosno on trucks, while men walked there under the escort of Ukrainian auxiliary forces.[14] On August 14, 1942, Korczyna's Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.

Out of 140 Jews who were selected to remain and labor in Korczyna, 70 were taken to the Krosno ghetto. In December 1942, they were transferred together with the remaining Jews of that ghetto to the ghetto in Rzeszów and then dispersed among various camps.

SOURCES The following publications include information on the Korczyna ghetto: Andrzej Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica* (Brzozów: Związek Gmin Brzozowskich i Muzeum Regionalne PTTK im. Adama Fastnachta w Brzozowie, 1993), p. 35; Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 326–328; and Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 652.

The yizkor book *Korczyna; sefer zikaron* (New York: Committee of the Korczyna Memorial Book, 1967) contains information on the German occupation, and a translation by William Leibner is on the Web at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/korczyna.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (211/471, 211/472, 211/570, 211/650 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); and VHF (# 38834).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 2, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/471 (Jasło), p. 42; *Korczyna; sefer zikaron*, pp. 84–86.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/570 (Korczyna), pp. 1–3, 7, 9–12, 28; *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 2, 1941; *Korczyna; sefer zikaron*, pp. 86, 95–96.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/570, pp. 25, 45; 211/471, p. 42; and 211/472 (Jasło), p. 36.
4. Ibid., RG-15.019M (ASG, Korczyna), reel 10, pp. 90–91. Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica*, dates the ghetto's establishment in the spring of 1941.
5. *Korczyna; sefer zikaron*, pp. 96–97.
6. Ibid., p. 97.
7. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krośnieńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), p. 77.
8. VHF, # 38834, Aron Neubarth, 1998.
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 30, May 29, and August 7, 1942.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/615 (Krosno), pp. 52, 55; and 211/271, p. 1; *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 7, 1942.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/271, pp. 10, 12.
12. Ibid., RG-15.019M (ASG, Korczyna), reel 10, pp. 90–91.
13. *Rejestr miejsc*, pp. 151–152.
14. VHF, # 38834.

KRAKÓW

Pre-1939: Kraków, city and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1945: Krakau, Kreis center, Krakau-Land, and Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kraków, powiat center, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Kraków is located about 290 kilometers (180 miles) south of Warsaw. In 1931, the Jewish population of the city was 56,800.

On September 6, 1939, the German army entered Kraków. At the time of the invasion, many men, Jews and non-Jews alike, fled the city, often with other family members. However, German bombing and the rapid advance of the Wehrmacht forced many to return to the city.

Anti-Jewish Aktions and measures began immediately. German soldiers kidnapped Jews for forced labor, humiliated them in the streets, and also arrested and killed some of them, seemingly at random. Jewish homes and businesses were looted. Between October and December 1939, Jewish homes were searched by the German occupiers, and a curfew was decreed. Anyone caught disobeying the curfew could be shot. German officials exploited the searches to steal or confiscate items that were illegal for Jews to possess, such as gold, jewelry, and foreign currency.

On September 8, 1939, all Jewish enterprises were required to be marked with a Star of David. Also at this time, Jews were removed from breadlines. A survivor, Mieczysław Staner, recalls: "In Kazimierz, the old Jewish quarter of Cracow, Orthodox Jews were dragged out of their homes into the streets to be beaten by the drunken SS troopers and tortured sadistically by having their beards torn out or being set on fire, to the amusement of the offenders and horror of the onlookers."[1]

On September 13, 1939, all Jewish synagogues and prayer houses were closed. On the holiest day of the Jewish year, Yom Kippur, Jews were required to fill in antitank ditches. Shortly afterwards, in October 1939, the Jews of Kraków were registered by the Municipal Registration Offices "on special registration forms marked with a yellow band."[2]

On October 26, 1939, Generalgouverneur Hans Frank ordered the Jews subject to forced labor and instituted special Jewish labor battalions.[3] In November and December, almost all Jewish schools were closed and Jewish teachers also



Jews forced to construct a wall around the Kraków ghetto, 1941.
USHMM WS #39064, COURTESY OF IPN

dismissed from non-Jewish schools. Jewish families responded by organizing clandestine classrooms, where parents or private tutors taught children in small groups.[4]

In November 1939, a census conducted by the Judenrat counted 68,482 Jews in Kraków and a few neighboring places (including Skawina, Prokocim, and Borek Fałęcki).[5] In December 1939, a 24-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formally recognized in Kraków by the German authorities. It had already been established in September at the request of SS-Oberscharführer Paul Siebert, who ordered Marek Bieberstein, a teacher and public activist, to become its head. The vice president was Dr. Wilhelm Goldblat. The Judenrat offices were located at 41 Kraków Street. Subsequently in the ghetto the Jewish communal leadership had its offices at the corner of Limanowski Street and Rynek Podgórski.[6] The Germans held the Judenrat personally responsible for carrying out all their demands, and the Jewish community was ordered to obey the Judenrat.

From December 1, 1939, all Jews above age 12 were required to wear a Star of David on their right arm. A curfew was instituted for Jews from 9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. From January 1, 1940, Jews were forbidden to change residence without permission, and by the end of January, Jews were no longer allowed to travel by rail.[7] Despite these restrictions, the number of Jews in Kraków continued to increase, as refugees arrived, especially from those parts of Poland incorporated into the Reich. In January and February 1940, Jewish businesses were seized, and a trustee institution was set up to organize their transfer to Germans and ethnic Germans, with businesses of lesser value being given to Poles or Ukrainians.

In April 1940, Hans Frank determined that his capital city of Kraków should become the "most Jew-free city" in the Generalgouvernement. He ordered that the vast bulk of Kraków's more than 60,000 Jews be expelled and dispersed among smaller towns and villages in the Distrikt, while only about 10,000 Jews were to remain as indispensable skilled workers.[8] To implement these instructions, Stadthauptmann Dr. Carl Schmid announced on May 18 that by August 15 the Jewish population was to be reduced to 15,000 workers and their families.[9] To encourage Jews to leave, those who left voluntarily were permitted to take their possessions with them. By June 1, the Jewish population in Kraków had declined to 54,517.[10] Many Jews left for Warsaw, Bochnia, Kielce, and other places.

In July 1940, the forcible removal of the Jewish population of Kraków commenced. Only those Jews able to obtain permits indicating that they were economically necessary to the Germans could remain in the city. At the end of August, several thousand Jews who could not obtain permits were forced to leave the city, being allowed to take with them only 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of possessions. By the beginning of October the population of the city had declined by about 50 percent.

Stadthauptmann Schmid decided to do his part to decrease the Jews in town by ordering the arrest of Dr. Bieberstein. During the mass expulsions, Bieberstein attempted to bribe the authorities to allow more Jews to remain in Kraków. He was arrested, and after his release 18 months later, he was sent to the Płaszów forced labor camp, where he died in 1944. The second chairman of the Judenrat was Dr. Ahron Artur Rosenzweig.

Between October and December 1940, there was a slight increase in the city's Jewish population, as some Jews who had fled to the surrounding areas returned to Kraków. To inhibit this, Dr. Otto Wächter, governor of Distrikt Krakau, issued an order on November 25, 1940, banning all Jews without special permits from residing in the city.[11] Deportation transports to a number of smaller towns in Distrikt Lublin had commenced on November 12, 1940. Almost 10,000 Jews from Kraków were dispatched to Distrikt Lublin on more than 40 transports up to March 20, 1941.[12]

On March 3, 1941, Governor Wächter, citing sanitary, economic, and police considerations, announced the establishment of a Jewish residential district, a ghetto, in the poor Kraków suburb of Podgórze. Jews had until March 20, 1941, to move into the designated area, which lay on the left bank of the Vistula River. Furniture and other items, which could not be taken into the new accommodations, had to be offered first to the Trustee Office (Treuhand-Aussenstelle Krakau) and could only be sold freely once released by that office.[13] The relocation period was extended to the end of April 1941, when the last Jews were moved into the ghetto. In the weeks following the decree, thousands more Jews fled Kraków to avoid enclosure in the ghetto. Approximately 15,000 Jewish workers resided in the ghetto area, and another 2,500 officially lived outside the ghetto walls.[14]

The ghetto area stretched from Rynek Podgórski to the end of Limanowski Street and from Józefińska Street to Plac Zgody to the foot of Krzemionki Hill. In all, it consisted of 15 streets, 320 houses, and a total of 3,167 rooms. During April 1941, a wooden fence and a 2- to 3-meter-high (6.6- to 9.8-feet-high) wall, evoking the look of Jewish gravestones, were erected around the ghetto, and doors and windows facing the Aryan side of the ghetto were ordered to be bricked up.[15] The main entrance gate at Rynek Podgórski "was ornamented with a huge blue Star of David and a sign in German, but written using Hebrew letters, spelling 'Jüdische Wohnbezirk' [Jewish residential area]."[16] In addition to this main entrance, there were entrances at Lwów Street, at Plac Zgody, and two entrances on Limanowski Street. A trolley ran through the ghetto, but it was forbidden to stop there.

Initially, the Jews were able to enter and exit the ghetto more or less whenever they chose; however, this freedom was short-lived, as just a few weeks later the ghetto gates were closed, and Jews needed permits to enter and exit the ghetto. The ghetto was guarded by German and Polish (Blue) Police externally, as well as by the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) internally. The Jewish Police had been established by the Gestapo in the summer of 1940 and was headed by Simcha Spira, a glazier by trade, who had been a religious man before the war.[17] The Jewish Police in Kraków subsequently earned a bad reputation for its inhumanity to other Jews, including participation in German roundups.

Other ghetto institutions included health-care services. One survivor reported: "Three hospitals were within the walls of the ghetto, the General Hospital located on the corner of Józefińska and Węgierska streets, the Epidemic Hospital on Rękawka Street, and the Hospital for the Disabled and Psychologically Ill on Plac Zgody."[18] There was also an old-age home and an orphanage.

The ghetto also had a German labor office, which set wages at 4 to 5 złoty per day, the cost of 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread. Approximately 60 percent of the ghetto residents worked outside the ghetto walls, in various factories, at the airfield, or cleaning offices for German officials. Each worker needed a permit to leave the ghetto, and this required a monthly identity card renewal. There were also several factories inside the ghetto. Some were traditional factories such as the "Madritch Uniform Factory" in the former "Optima" chocolate factory, which was owned by an Austrian industrialist and member of the SS. Madritch saved many Jews during the war. The more famous Oskar Schindler also used Jewish labor in his Kraków factory, which became a Nazi subcamp and thereby saved 1,098 Jews.

Others worked in home-based enterprises, such as making brushes, which they then sold in bulk to the Germans. There were also a number of private business operations, which relied on the ability of Jews to enter and exit the ghetto with their products.

Various cultural and religious activities continued within the ghetto. Zionist groups organized secret study groups, and at least three synagogues and other religious study houses remained in use. There was even a café on the corner of Limanowski Street and Rynek Podgórski offering live music, including the Rosener Players, and the ghetto pharmacy served as a place where people could read official and underground newspapers and discuss daily problems.[19]

In October and November 1941, conditions deteriorated further as 27 smaller communities around Kraków were incorporated into the city, and an additional 5,000 Jews from these places were forced to move into the ghetto. In December 1941, the receipt and sending of postal packages was forbidden. Then in January 1942, Jews were ordered to surrender their furs under penalty of death. Some people destroyed their furs rather than hand them over. Others stood in the freezing cold to hand over their furs at the designated building on Limanowski Street. Altogether some 8,000 fur items were collected.

In 1941 and the first half of 1942, there were repeated arrests and roundups of Jews in the ghetto. Some had their names put on lists by Jewish Police chief Spira or by a Jewish Gestapo agent named Szymon Szpic, and they were deported to Distrikt Lublin, as the ghetto was too overcrowded. Others were taken away by the Gestapo directly.[20]

The German Security Police conducted the first mass deportation to the Bełżec extermination camp from Distrikt Krakau, following an Aktion in the Kraków ghetto on June 1–8, 1942. Between March and May of 1942, the Kraków Jews were registered. Those who had trades were given stamps on their identification cards (*Kennkarten*), whereas those who were unemployed or had white-collar professions were denied the stamp. During the mass deportation in early June, those without the stamp were rounded up and deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[21] Approximately 150 Jews were shot during the Aktion, including the poet Mordechai Gebirtig.[22] In total, some 7,000 Jews from Kraków were deported at this time.

On June 7, 1942, in preparation for the final roundup of the Aktion, a registration was conducted in the offices of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS). Those Jews needed as workers received a blue card stamped by the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) attached to their identification cards. Those who did not receive a blue card were taken to the Optima factory courtyard, from which they were deported to Bełżec the next day.[23] During the June Aktion of 1942, the head of the Judenrat, Rosenzweig, refused to cooperate with the deportations. As punishment, he and his family were sent to Bełżec. He was replaced by the third and final Judenrat leader in Kraków, Dawid Gutter.

Shortly after the June Aktion, on the orders of Stadthauptmann Rudolf Pavlu, who had succeeded Schmid in September 1941, the ghetto was reduced considerably in size.[24]

Jewish resistance organizations conducted activities both outside and within the ghetto. Various pre-war youth groups reconnected after the initial invasion and began training their members in weapon usage, implementing mutual assistance programs, and engaging in a variety of underground activities. Important among these groups were Akiva, a pre-war religious Zionist pioneer youth movement, led by Adolf "Dolek" Liebeskind, and Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, a pre-war Socialist Zionist youth movement, led by Zvi "Heshek" Bauminger. The underground groups were organized into cells of five and engaged in various actions. They eventually merged in the autumn of 1942 into the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization, ŻOB), which had been formed in the Warsaw ghetto.

The resistance fighters killed off Gestapo informants, stole German uniforms being produced in the ghetto, and



Group portrait of members of a Jewish resistance group, Jewish Fighting Organization (Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa, or ŻOB), led by Juda Lieber. The group was involved in the attack on the Cyganeria Café on Szpitalna Street that resulted in the deaths of seven German officers.
USHMM WS #65857, COURTESY OF ŻIH, IMIENIA EMANUELA RINGELBLUMA

carried out other acts of resistance. Outside the ghetto walls, they set fire to the German garage at Grzegórzki, which at the time was full of Organisation Todt vehicles; threw grenades into an officers' mess; carried out directed assassinations; and attacked German checkpoints.[25] The largest attack, carried out on December 22, 1942, was the bombing of the Cyganeria and Esplanada Cafés. In the aftermath of these operations, the hiding place of the ghetto fighters was discovered, and those captured in the bunker were tortured. In the end, some of the arrestees revealed the locations of others, and the underground organization in the Kraków ghetto was severely disrupted.[26]

The second major deportation Aktion occurred on October 28, 1942, when at least 6,000 Jews were sent to their deaths, and another 600 were killed on the spot. One survivor described the deportation of the children from the orphanage on Józefińska Street: "SS soldiers arrived at the orphanage in trucks and herded all the children into them, piled on top of each other. The younger ones and the babies were thrown inside through the windows of the trucks, onto the children already inside. Their screams were heard from afar, reaching all corners and breaking hearts, but apparently they never reached the heavens."[27] Two hospitals and an old-people's home were also completely cleared during this Aktion, which was directed by SSPF SS-Sturmbannführer Willi Haase, who by then had succeeded Julian Scherner in this post.[28]

Following the Aktion, the ghetto area was again reduced. Then on December 6, 1942, the remnant ghetto inhabitants were divided into two sections: Ghetto A, for those who were able to work, and Ghetto B, for those unable to work. The final liquidation of the Kraków ghetto, personally supervised by Haase and carried out by SS-Sturmführer Amon Leopold Goeth, began on March 13, 1943. The able-bodied from Ghetto A, at least 8,000 people, were marched to the Płaszów labor camp. The remaining people, including all the inhabitants of Ghetto B, were either murdered in the ghetto or transported to their deaths, with some 1,000 being sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where all but 15 men and 26 women were sent straight to the gas chambers.[29] Following this, the Judenrat members also were sent to Płaszów, where Gutter was murdered on his arrival.

Only around 2,000 Jews from Kraków survived the German occupation.

A number of postwar trials dealt with crimes committed in Kraków. Amon Leopold Goeth, the infamous commandant of the Płaszów forced labor camp, was extradited to Poland, where he was tried in 1946. He was found guilty, sentenced to death, and executed by hanging.



A group of Jewish men is assigned to clear out the homes of the deported, following a deportation Aktion in the Kraków ghetto, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #07120, COURTESY OF ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWÓWE W KRAKOWIE

SOURCES Information on the fate of Kraków's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arieh L. Bauminger, *The Fighters of the Cracow Ghetto* (Jerusalem: Keter Press, 1986); Aleksander Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawn. Literackie, 2001); Anna Jodłowiec-Dziedzic, *The Holocaust of Cracow Jews 1939–1945* (Kraków: Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2004); Felicja Karay, *The Women of Ghetto Krakow* (Tel Aviv, 2001); Anna Pióro, *The Cracow Ghetto 1941–1943: A Guide to the Area of the Former Ghetto* (Kraków: Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2005); Roman Pytel, "Destruction of the Jewish Community in Cracow," in *Memorial Journal in Honor of Jews from Cracow Perished 1939–1945* (New York: New Kraków Friendship Society, 1967); Aleksander B. Skotnicki, *Oskar Schindler in the Eyes of Cracovian Jews Rescued by Him* (Kraków: Wydawn. AA, 2008); Katarzyna Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat: Losy Żydów w Krakowie 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawn. Literackie, 2004); *Proces ludobójcy Amona Goetha* (Kraków: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1947).

Relevant published memoirs and documentation include Tadeusz Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987); Malvina Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto and the Płaszów Camp Remembered* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1989); Mieczysław Staner, *The Eyewitness* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo "Hagada" and Argona-Jarden, 1999); Zvi Barlev-Bleicher, *Would God It Were Night: The Ordeal of a Jewish Boy from Cracow—Through Auschwitz, Mauthausen, and Gusen* (New York: Vantage Press, 1991); and *Every Day Lasts a Year: A Jewish Family's Correspondence from Poland*, introduced and edited by Christopher R. Browning, Richard S. Hollander, and Nechama Tec (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: AAN; APKra (e.g., collection 450); AŻIH (e.g., 211/583-596, 218, 301, and 302 collections); BA-BL (e.g., R 52III/22); BA-L; IPN (e.g., NTN 39-47); NARA; USHMM (e.g., RG-02.107, 143, 168; RG-15.026M [Records of the Generalgouvernement]; RG-15.072M [Jewish Council in Kraków, mostly 1939–1940]; RG-15.098 [Stadthauptmann der Stadt Krakau]; Acc.1998.A.0248); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/22).

Helene Sinnreich, Shannon Phillips, and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Staner, *The Eyewitness*, p. 7.
2. UNWCC, *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1992), p. 119.
3. *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*, no. 1 (1939): 1. For an English translation,

see Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1973), p. 524.

4. Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto*, p. 17.

5. Andrzej Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa*, *Kraków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 5 (Kraków, 2002), p. 95.

6. Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 16; Staner, *The Eyewitness*, p. 9.

7. For a more extensive list of restrictions, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 667a, pp. 350–354.

8. Hans Frank, *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouveneurs in Polen*, ed. Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer (Stuttgart: DVA, 1975), p. 165 (entry of April 12, 1940).

9. Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 32.

10. Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat*, p. 40.

11. Pytel, "Destruction of the Jewish Community"; YVA, M-1/E/22, testimony of Josef Kohs, February 13, 1946.

12. USHMM, RG-15.072M (AŻIH), 218/1, comprehensive list of Jewish transports from Kraków, 1940–1941; see also David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2003), pp. 141–144.

13. Wächter Verordnung, Betrifft: Bildung eines jüdischen Wohnbezirkes in der Stadt Krakau, March 3, 1941, in *Krakauer Zeitung*, March 6, 1941, reprinted in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 118–120.

14. Tatiana Berenstein, ed., *Eksterminacja Zydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), p. 111; Pytel, "Destruction of the Jewish Community."

15. Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy*, p. 4; Pytel, "Destruction of the Jewish Community." *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667a, p. 355, gives a more detailed description of the ghetto area.

16. Staner, *The Eyewitness*, p. 9. Compare with caption on p. 477.

17. Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto*, p. 39.

18. Staner, *The Eyewitness*, p. 11.

19. Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy*, p. 12.

20. Ibid., pp. 33–38.

21. Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto*, p. 43.

22. Bauminger, *The Fighters of the Cracow Ghetto*, p. 27.

23. *JuNS-V*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 619a, pp. 80–81; Graf, *The Kraków Ghetto*, p. 47.

24. Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy*, p. 62; Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 67; *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667a, p. 356.

25. Bauminger, *The Fighters of the Cracow Ghetto*, pp. 67–68.

26. Moshe Singer, "Jewish Resistance Movement in Kraków," in *Memorial Journal in Honor of Jews from Cracow Perished 1939–1945* (New York: New Cracow Friendship Society, 1967).

27. Barlev-Bleicher, *Would God It Were Night*.

28. On the October Aktion, see, for example, *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667a, pp. 370–376; and Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy*, pp. 69–82.

29. Pytel, "Destruction of the Jewish Community"; *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667a, p. 377; Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, *1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), p. 354, entry for March 16, 1942.

KROSNO

Pre-1939: Krosno, town, Jasło powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: initially Kreis Jaslo, then from November 1941, center of Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Krosno is located about 152 kilometers (94 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, there were about 2,500 Jews living in Krosno and another 5,870 in the neighboring towns and villages.

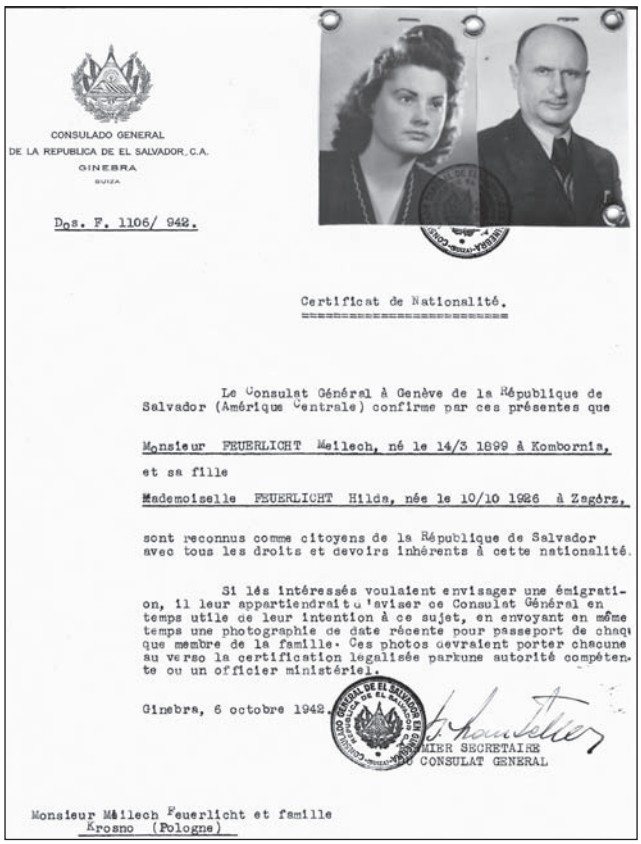
In the first days of World War II, some of Krosno's Jews fled east into what soon became the Soviet-occupied zone of Poland. At the same time many Jewish refugees from western Poland also arrived in Krosno. The German army occupied Krosno on September 9, 1939, and soon a program of mistreatment, plunder, and murder began. A Gestapo office was set up in the town, headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Gustav Schmatzler (sentenced to death by the Special Criminal Court in Rzeszów after the war) and his deputy SS-Obersturmführer Ludwig von Davier. Other officials included SS-Untersturmführer Stengler (Stentzler) and Oskar Bäcker. From October 1939 to May 1940, Walter Thormeyer and Albert Schulz served in the Grenzpolizei (Border Police) unit in Krosno.[1]

At the end of 1939 or in early 1940, the Germans appointed a Judenrat headed by Juda Engel, who was assisted by his deputy Moshe Kleiner. The chairman was viewed favorably by most Jews. The Judenrat was required to provide forced laborers, consisting mainly of impoverished refugees, to work at the military airport in Krosno and at a labor camp in Frysztak. The Judenrat paid the workers small wages out of contributions collected from wealthier Jews, who were exempted from forced labor. Several Jews worked at an oil refinery in Jedlicze, and about 160 Jews worked in factories.

In December 1939, there were about 500 resettled Jews in Krosno (400 of them having been expelled from Łódź), along with about 400 local Jews, who were all in need of support. According to a subsequent report, by April 1941, another 600 Jews had been resettled there from Kraków. At that time, there were about 1,400 Jews in need of support in Krosno. In June 1941, the Krosno branch of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established under the leadership of Juda Engel and later of Samuel Rosshandler. Up to the end of 1941, the *shammes* (or sexton) Silberberg organized a shelter in the synagogue for arriving refugees.[2]

As of June 22, 1941, there were 2,072 Jews in Krosno: 1,187 women and 885 men. Of these, 172 were 60 years of age or older, and 395 were under 12 (including 84 infants of less than 3 years). Only 544 Jews were capable of working (26.3 percent).

As of mid-November 1941, there was no Jewish district in the town, which the chairman of the Judenrat ascribed to his own efforts. Jewish stores remained open. The Judenrat ran a school for Jewish students; it also maintained a shelter for refugees, a community kitchen that distributed about 200 meals a day, and a shelter for about 12 elderly single women. Until 1942, the Jews of Krosno were allowed to live in



CONSULADO GENERAL
DE LA REPUBLICA DE EL SALVADOR, C.A.
GINEBRA
SUIZA

Dos. F. 1106/ 942.

Certificat de Nationalité.

Le Consulat Général à Genève de la République de Salvador (Amérique Centrale) confirme par ces présentes que

Monsieur FEUERLICHT Meilech, né le 14/3 1899 à Kombornia,

et sa fille

Mademoiselle FEUERLICHT Hilda, née le 10/10 1926 à Zagórz,

sont reconnus comme citoyens de la République de Salvador avec tous les droits et devoirs inhérents à cette nationalité.

Si lés intéressés voulaient envisager une émigration, il leur appartiendrait d'aviser ce Consulat Général en temps utile de leur intention à ce sujet, en envoyant en même temps une photographie de date récente pour passeport de chaque membre de la famille. Ces photos devraient porter chacune au verso la certification legalisée parkune autorité compétente ou un officier ministériel.

Ginebra, 6 octobre 1942.

PREMIER SECRETAIRE
CONSULAT GENERAL

Monsieur Meilech Feuerlicht et famille
Krosno (Pologne)

Unauthorized Salvadoran citizenship certificate issued to Meilich Feuerlicht and his daughter, Hilda, by Salvadoran diplomat George Mandel-Mantello, while they were held in the Krosno ghetto, October 6, 1942. Addressed to Mr. Meilech [*sic*] Feuerlicht and family, Krosno (Poland), the text reads:
"Certificate of Nationality
The Consulate General at Geneva of the Republic of Salvador (Central America) confirms by these presents that
Mr. FEUERLICHT Meilich, born the 14th of March 1899 at Kombornia
And his daughter
Miss FEUERLICHT Hilda, born the 10th of October 1926 at Zagórz,
Are recognized as citizens of the Republic of Salvador with all the rights and obligations inherent to this nationality.
If the applicants would like to consider emigration, it is up to them to notify the Consulate General in time of their intention on this subject, at the same time sending a recent photograph for the passport of each family member. Each of these photos must carry on the reverse the legal certification by a competent authority or a ministerial officer."
USHMM WS #87320, COURTESY OF ENRICO MANDEL-MANTELLO

their pre-war homes, but the Germans imposed a curfew and prohibitions on schooling and religious observance; in addition, food could only be obtained at certain times and places.[3]

Up to November 1941, Krosno was part of Kreis Jaslo, but following the incorporation of Distrikt Galizien within the Generalgouvernement, in the summer of 1941, Krosno became the center of its own Kreis. In November 1941, the Germans permitted 85 Jews to return to Krosno from Distrikt Galizien, which until June 1941 had been under Soviet occupation. On November 19, 1941, about 100 Jews from Krosno were sent to the nearby towns of Brzozów, Jasienica Rosielna, Jasło, Korczyna, Rymanów, and Żmigród Nowy. In December 1941, the Jews were ordered to surrender all fur items of clothing on pain of death.

At the end of July or the beginning of August 1942, the Germans demanded a "contribution" from the Judenrat, claiming that it would postpone their resettlement. The Jews managed to collect the money, although they were also providing assistance to the Strzyżów Judenrat.

On August 10, 1942 (the Jewish mourning day Tisha B'Av), the first deportation Aktion took place. Members of the Security Police, Order Police, and Waffen-SS, as well as Polish and Ukrainian auxiliary police units, surrounded the town. The Germans conducted a selection and issued work permits to young and able-bodied Jews. About 120 Jews, mainly the sick and disabled, were taken away to a forest and shot, and about 1,000 Jews were sent by train to the Bełżec extermination camp. Afterwards, the Germans conducted thorough searches for any Jews in hiding.[4]

The sources unanimously agree that there was a ghetto in Krosno, but the recollections of survivors contain some contradictions. One survivor recalls that in May 1942 the Germans ordered the preparation of a ghetto area. The ghetto was to be located in four or five houses on Franciszkańska Street. Jews were allowed to exit the ghetto only with a permit. One Polish policeman and one Jewish policeman guarded the gate.[5] While some survivors recall it as an open ghetto, others describe walls surrounding the ghetto.[6] Some survivors claim that the ghetto was guarded, and one needed a permit to leave the ghetto to go to work; others claim that the ghetto was only a sleeping area for workers, and it was possible to sneak in and out.[7] Finally, a number of survivors recall that the Krosno ghetto was established the night after the first deportation Aktion on August 10, 1942.[8]

The trial verdict of the court in Bonn concludes that on the night of August 10, 1942 (after the Aktion), the Germans established the Krosno ghetto for the remaining Jews. It was an enclosed ghetto guarded on the outside. The ghetto was in the shape of an *L* and was located around the Franciszkańska Square, on Franciszkańska and Spółdzielcza Streets. There were two entrances to the ghetto: on Sienkiewicz Street and near the Franciscan Church. Between 300 and 600 Jews inhabited the ghetto, and Moshe Kleiner was appointed the new head of the Krosno Judenrat.[9]

According to a report by the Krosno Jewish community dated November 8, 1942, there were 950 Jews in the Krosno area, and they performed forced labor in German factories or quarries.[10]

The Krosno ghetto was liquidated on December 4, 1942 (on a Friday, the first day of Hanukkah). Members of the Security Police, Order Police, and Waffen-SS, as well as Polish and Ukrainian auxiliary police, surrounded the town. The Germans ordered the remaining Jews (about 300) to assemble at Franciszkańska Street. The entire population of the ghetto, with the exception of 25 people, was sent to the Rzeszów ghetto. The area of the ghetto was searched thoroughly, and any Jew found in hiding was shot on the spot.[11]

In the years from 1942 to 1944, the Germans shot a number of Jews who were caught in the Krosno region. In the spring of 1942, the Germans shot 6 Jews, including 4 children. Jews captured after the liquidation of the ghetto were shot inside the synagogue. Around March 1943, 7 children were shot on the street, and their parents were burned alive in one of the former Jewish houses. In 1943, between 100 and 120 Jews from Krosno and its vicinity were shot by the Germans at the Jewish cemetery on Zawodzie Street. Some Poles, such as the priest Jan Zawrzecki, helped Jews by providing them with places to hide.[12]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the history and murder of the Jews in Krosno include the following: "Krosno," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 329–331; "Krosno," in Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Libra, 2004); Elżbieta Rączy, *Ludność żydowska w Krośnie 1939–1946* (Krosno: Muzeum Rzemiosła w Krośnie, 1999); Jakob Breitowicz, *Through Hell to Life* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1983); and Alexander B. White, *Be a Mensch: A Legacy of the Holocaust* (Scottsdale, AZ: A.B. White, 2004).

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Krosno can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2832, 301/4924); BA-L (B 162/14505); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124, reels 31 and 32; RG-15.019M; RG-50.002*0047; RG-50.042*0017; RG-02.056; Acc.2002.335.1); VHF (# 1559, 4113, 4364, 9987, 12530, 12730, 12852, 19762, 20714, 22642, 28197, 28463, 28534, 29310, 30456, 33925, 37309, 38152, 38834, 43099, 44867, 45836, 46267, 48091, 50973, and 51382); and YVA.

Joanna Śliwa

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4924, testimony of Dawid Melamed; 301/2832, testimony of Helena Bruder Szmidt Kenig.

2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 31: "Aufruf—Odezwa" [Appeal of the Jewish Community of Krosno], December 22, 1939; Krosno Jewish community to AJDC in Kraków, April 20, 1941; Krosno Jewish community to JSS in Kraków, April 4, 1941; letter from JSS Kraków to Juda Engel of Krosno, June 10, 1941; JSS Kraków to Mojżesz Wiesenfeld of Krosno, June 11, 1941; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 32, Samuel Rosshandler to JSS Kraków, April 16, 1942.

3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 31, report of the visit to Krosno, November 14–16, 1941; "Regulations concerning attendance of the CENTOS School," December 18, 1940; VHF, # 12730, testimony of Salek Beim; # 38152, testimony of Sol Willner.

4. White, *Be a Mensch*, pp. 93, 96–98; Itzhok Berglas and Shlomo Yahalomi-Diamand, *The Book of Stryzow and Vicinity*, trans. Harry Langsam (Los Angeles: "Natives of Stryzow Societies" in Israel and the Diaspora, 1990), p. 242; "Krosno," in Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, pp. 329–331, *Galicia and Western Silesia*"; "Krosno," in Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 83; BA-L, B 162/14505, verdict of LG-Bonn, 8 Ks 1/72, pp. 14–15.

5. VHF, # 4113, testimony of Alexander White; White, *Be a Mensch*, p. 89.

6. VHF, # 4364, testimony of Abraham Herson; # 12852, testimony of Enoch Trencher.

7. Ibid., # 28534, testimony of Manny Spindler; # 48091, testimony of Rosa Lichter.

8. VHF, # 29310, testimony of Paul Thaler; # 45836, testimony of Richard Wehrman; # 12730, testimony of Salek Beim; # 9987, testimony of Shlomo Berger; # 38152.

9. USHMM, RG-15.019M, woj. Rzeszów, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," no. 91; AŻIH, 301/2832; Breitowicz, *Through Hell to Life*; BA-L, B 162/14505, verdict of LG-Bonn, 8 Ks 1/72, pp. 15, 20–22.

10. USHMM, RG-15.019M, woj. Rzeszów, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," no. 92; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 32, Krosno Jewish community to JSS Kraków, November 8, 1942.

11. Ibid., RG-15.019M, woj. Rzeszów, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," no. 91; BA-L, B 162/14505, verdict of LG-Bonn, 8 Ks 1/72, pp. 15–16, 20, 22–23.

12. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 10, woj. Rzeszów, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," no. 234.

ŁAŃCUT

Pre-1939: Łańcut, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Landshut, Kreis Jaroslau, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łańcut, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Łańcut is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) west of Jarosław. There were 2,753 Jewish residents in Łańcut in 1921, constituting 30 percent of the total population.

On September 22, 1939, the German authorities occupying Łańcut ordered all Jews to leave the town in the direction of Jarosław and cross the San River, which they presumed would serve as the new German-Soviet border after the latter's attack on Poland on September 17. The expulsion was to be implemented on the following day. On September 24, 1939, the Germans combed the neighborhoods in search of those who had stayed behind, loading them onto trucks with no luggage and driving them to the other bank of the San. However, some of the Jews, who had left on their own initiative, settled along the way in nearby villages, hoping to be able to return to Łańcut.[1]



Jews are forced to dig graves before a killing Aktion in the Łańcut ghetto, which coincided with the ghetto's liquidation, August 3, 1942.
USHMM WS #98754, COURTESY OF GFH

In the first days of October 1939, the Germans announced that those Jews remaining could stay in Łańcut on condition that they register with the authorities. According to survivor R.L., they were allowed to remain in their own houses but forbidden to leave Łańcut, which meant that effectively a form of open ghetto was established, bounded by the town's limits. R.L. does not state exactly when the movement of Łańcut's Jews was restricted in this way.[2] Historian Czesław Pilichowski states that the Germans established a ghetto at the end of 1939. According to *Sefer Lantsut*, however, this probably occurred much later, when all the remaining communities in the Kreis were ghettoized. According to this source, the head of Kreis Jaroslau, Georg Eisenlohr, issued an order on December 18, 1941, forbidding the Jews from leaving their places of domicile on pain of death. "Domicile" was defined as an urban or village community, a village, or lodging place. The order went into effect on January 1, 1942.

In October or November 1939, the Germans designated Marcus Pohorille to serve as the chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). His staff included Luzer Marder, Shlomo Greenbaum, Leizer Fass, Wolf Gutman, Moshe Sigel, David Rosenblum, Hayyim Leib Kornblau, Isaac Weinbach, and Israel Gersten. Rachel Sapir was the Judenrat secretary.

The Judenrat summoned one person from each Jewish family once a week for forced labor—primarily cleaning assignments. There was no soup kitchen, but each of the wealthier families had to provide for at least one poor person two days a week. Subsequently, there were only a few sporadic cases of typhus and dysentery.

Some of the Jewish houses in Łańcut were torn down to create a *Planty* (small recreational area with trees). In the winter of 1939–1940, the Jews were ordered to wear armbands with a Star of David emblem. They were excluded from economic life; accordingly, all 150 Jewish-owned shops were closed, and by January 1940, their remaining property had to be registered.

Early in 1940, the Germans ordered all Jews performing forced labor to be registered. Of the total of 900 Jewish residents at the time, at least half were newcomers, most of them having been expelled from the western parts of Poland incorporated into the Reich. Of that number, 157 were between the ages of 14 and 60 (i.e., 17.4 percent) and were obliged to report for forced labor. The majority of the deportees were from Łódź, Kalisz, and also some from Piotrków Trybunalski inside the Generalgouvernement.[3]

The Jewish Social-Self Help (JSS) committee for Kreis Jaroslau was established in Łańcut at the end of 1940, rather than in the Kreis center of Jarosław, in which very few Jews remained after similar expulsions in late September 1939. The JSS committee included two Judenrat members—M. Pohorille and L. Fass—as well as Shmelke Westreich of Kańczuga. In December 1940, the JSS estimated 6,000 Jews were left in the Kreis, of which the largest community was in Łańcut, amounting to 1,300 people (including 400 deportees).[4]

After the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a significant number of Łańcut Jews who had been expelled into Eastern Galicia returned. These people were forced to register and pay 100 złoty.

Diana Greenbaum, the daughter of one of the Judenrat members who returned to Łańcut from Lwów in January 1942, testified that, on the whole, the community lived in peace at that time and somehow managed their lives. It was even still possible to get meat from a ritual slaughterer.[5]

At the end of 1941, Łańcut's mayor Bernard Bonnek started to persecute those Jewish returnees who had lived under Soviet occupation and had not registered on their return to Łańcut. Suspecting that many of them had collaborated with the Soviets, the mayor had 20 of them arrested and interrogated for alleged membership in the Communist Party or for being commissars; this group was later released and sent to work. Of another group of 24 returnees who were arrested, 23 were shot at the Jewish cemetery after only a few months in captivity.

Another major round of arrests of several dozen Poles and Jews was conducted on March 20–23, 1942 (or possibly in February 1942). At the same time, the Judenrat was summoned to the Gestapo; only Greenbaum, Marder, and Weinbach showed up, while the other members hid. These three were arrested along with six Jews who had been randomly picked up after the Judenrat members refused to select 10 hostages. Six of those arrested were reportedly shot in the prison courtyard, and the remainder were executed in July 1942. The resultant panic that arose among the returnees caused many to register with the authorities.[6]

Gestapo officials from Jarosław carried out most of the executions. N. Dzibulski, N. Kritzinger, and N. Kirschner are reported as having taken part in several of them. The most feared, Kokut, a member of the Łańcut German Gendarmerie, was discovered in 1957 in Czechoslovakia and extradited to Poland, where he was sentenced to death.

The new Judenrat was chaired by a lawyer, Rubin Nadel, and included Moshe Siegel, Joel Perlmutter, Mottel Kern, David Rosenblum, Hayyim Leib Kornblau, and Israel Milrad. Naphtali Reich was its secretary. According to Diana Greenbaum, the new Judenrat was made up of young people who "had no esteem in the town" and "didn't enjoy high regard" among the Jews. The Judenrat imposed various charges on the Jews, and when the Germans ordered it to collect allegedly overdue taxes in July 1942, this was conducted "in a relentless manner."[7]

From early in 1942, all Jewish men were forced to work. As news arrived of the resettlement of Jews from other towns, most people tried to secure work in road construction or in German enterprises, as such employment appeared to offer the best safeguard against being deported.[8]

On July 15, 1942, the Gestapo ordered all of Łańcut's Jews to gather at the playing field of a local high school (*gymnazium*) to have their identification cards (*Kennkarten*) stamped. Only those with stamped cards were allegedly to be spared from the resettlement, which was set for August 1, 1942. The Gestapo chief in Jarosław, Schmidt, chaired this special commission. In the end, the stamps did not make any difference. Some of

those who attempted to escape to the countryside during this period were caught and shot.[9]

Jews still living in the countryside around Łańcut appear only to have been brought into the town at the last minute. For example, according to Józef Leichter, a Judenrat messenger only informed the Jewish population in Medynia Głogowska one night in advance that they would have to evacuate to the Łańcut ghetto on the following morning, August 1, 1942. Some Jews from that village were ordered to move to the Rzeszów ghetto.[10]

On the day of the Łańcut ghetto's liquidation (August 1, 1942), all its Jewish residents were transferred either by horse and buggy or on foot to a transit camp in Pełkinie (14 kilometers [9 miles] away). The Germans selected this former Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp as the place to concentrate the Jews of the Kreis. From there, the elderly were taken to a nearby forest and shot; the others were loaded onto trains and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. The young and able were dispatched to various labor camps.

A group of approximately 60 young people and the members of the Judenrat were sent back to Łańcut for work. They were able to move back into their apartments and help those who had survived the expulsion by hiding in Łańcut. They were then transferred to the Sieniawa ghetto, on September 17, 1942. The Sieniawa ghetto existed until May 4, 1943. Most of its residents worked in labor camps in forestry.[11]

Georg Eisenlohr, the Kreishauptmann in Jarosław, was extradited in 1947 to Poland by the French authorities and sentenced in 1948 to five years in prison by the court in Kraków. He died in prison on March 27, 1951.

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 287; Martin Gilbert, *Holocaust Journey: Traveling in Search of the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 203; and N. Kudish and M. Walzer-Fass, eds., *Sefer Lantsut* (Tel Aviv: Irgune yots'e Lantsut be-Yiśrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1963), pp. xxxiv–xxxix.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/657 [JSS]; 301/840, 301/891, 301/1501, 301/2745, 301/4939 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1501, testimony of Diana Greenbaum (Grinbaum), 1946; 301/840, testimony of R.L., n.d.
2. Ibid., 301/840.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/657 (Łańcut), pp. 15–16.
5. AŻIH, 301/1501.
6. The sequence of events with regard to the arrests of returnees from the former Soviet-occupied zone—as well as various details—differs in the following sources: Kudish and Walzer-Fass, *Sefer Lantsut*, p. xxxvi; AŻIH, 301/840. According to AŻIH, 301/1501, Diana Greenbaum's father was the only Judenrat member who reported to the authorities and was arrested.
7. AŻIH, 301/1501.
8. Ibid., 301/4939, testimony of Ignacy Fliegel, 1945.
9. Ibid., 301/1501; 301/840.
10. Ibid., 301/891, testimony of Józef Leichter, 1944; 301/2745, testimony of Zalman Birenfeld, 1947.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG Sieniawa), reel 17, p. 46; AŻIH, 301/840; and 301/1501.

LESKO

Pre-1939: Lesko (Yiddish: Linsk), town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Sanok, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Lesko is located about 208 kilometers (129 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. The 1921 census reported 2,338 Jewish residents, constituting 61.4 percent of the population.

In the first days of September 1939, Lesko received large numbers of refugees fleeing eastward, away from the advancing German troops. Among the newcomers there were 200 to 300 Jewish deserters from the Polish army. According to Leon Finver, a survivor, the local youth set up a self-defense group whose goal was to obtain civilian clothes for these deserters to prevent the Germans from sending them to prisoner-of-war (POW) camps on their capture of the town, which occurred on September 10, 1939. During the ensuing short-lived German occupation, Jews were apprehended for cleaning jobs.[1]

In accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Lesko became a border town with German and Russian guards on opposite ends of the bridge over the San River. Most of the Jews found life at least bearable under Soviet rule.

The situation changed radically at the end of June 1941 when the Germans recaptured Lesko, following their invasion of the Soviet Union. A Ukrainian militia and a prison to hold short-term male arrestees were soon established. By October 1941, the Sanok Kreishauptmann had taken over the administration of Lesko, as it became incorporated into Distrikt Krakau. From the very beginning of the occupation, the Germans seized religious Jews and shaved off their beards. They sporadically shot people in the streets for no reason. According to the testimony of survivor Renee Stern, unlike in other parts of the Generalgouvernement, the Jews of Lesko were not required to wear armbands with the Star of David—or at least this regulation was not enforced in Lesko.[2]

The new German administration ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with a notary named Teich as its chairman. According to Jaffa Wallach, the Judenrat mainly looked out for its own interests more than those of the entire community. Its tasks included the collection of contributions imposed by the Germans.[3]

A Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) committee independent of the Judenrat was established in Lesko following the German occupation. By August 1941, the soup kitchen was serving 400 meals daily. It closed within a month, however, and when it

reopened in mid-October, it was only able to distribute 200 bowls of soup per day. To help as many of the needy as possible, the JSS only issued meals to individuals on alternate days. The kitchen was financed by the Kraków central office of the JSS, by donations from local Jews, and by the Judenrat. By November 1941, there were 2,260 Jews living in Lesko (684 families). At that time, the Judenrat was reporting cases of people swelling up from hunger. The only Jewish shop operating sold stationery. Dr. Nathan Wallach attended Lesko's sick.[4]

There is no information on Jews performing forced labor in the town; however, registrations of men aged 18 to 50 were conducted at the town hall, and a number were conscripted to build labor camps in the vicinity. According to one source, there were also roundups of young males who were never heard from again.[5]

As of December 12, 1941, the Sanok Kreishauptmann restricted the residency of Jews in the Kreis to those who were registered prior to June 22, 1941. All those who had arrived after that date were ordered to leave the Kreis. There is no information on how this impacted the population of Lesko; however, by April 1942, the number of Jews had changed very little, that is, to 2,300.[6]

A ghetto was established in Lesko in the spring of 1942, and an estimated 200 Jews were shot during the ghetto's existence. Renee Stern, whose family had to leave their market square lodging, said that Jews were being transferred "in bunches" to the town's outskirts. Residents were forbidden to leave the ghetto, but there is no information as to whether it was closed or guarded. Peasants who were free to move around often came to the ghetto to sell or barter food. There were cases of contagious diseases. In 1942, the Judenrat reported spending a significant amount of its funds on burials (700 złoty monthly, as compared with 150 to 250 złoty per month in 1941).[7]

When welfare donations dried up in May 1942, the Judenrat imposed forced contributions. The stationery shop remained open, and a second Jewish shop—a grocery—had just received permission to operate. Nine workshops were still open (two barbers, four tailors, two tinsmiths, and a haberdasher). The Judenrat reported that the remainder of Lesko's Jews lived by selling their belongings or from welfare support. Despite the poverty, the soup kitchen continued serving meals. A day-care center for 46 children aged 4 to 15 had opened by July 1942, serving three meals per day.[8]

A large-scale transfer of Jews to Lesko from throughout Kreis Sanok began in June 1942—for example, those from nearby Cisna (31 kilometers [19 miles] south of Lesko) were expelled to Lesko on June 20, 1942. The transfer was unannounced and conducted by German and Ukrainian police units. Cisna's Jews were marched to Lesko-Łukawica, where the newcomers were forced to surrender any money exceeding 20 złoty, which was then handed over to the Lesko Judenrat.[9]

By mid-July 1942, the Judenrat reported that 365 expellees had arrived, whereas in total some 1,600 new arrivals from the entire Kreis were expected. Regarding the Jewish communities that were transferred to Lesko, only a few locations are known, including Wola Michowa, Baligród (15 kilometers [9 miles] south of Lesko), and Kalnica (or Kalica). The Judenrat supervised the accommodation of the newcomers. A carpentry workshop was opened to make bunk beds, chairs, and tables for them. The soup kitchen was expanded, serving almost 900 meals per day.[10]

On September 4, 1942, the Sanok Kreishauptmann, Dr. Class, announced that the deportation of all the Jews of the Kreis would commence the next day, and he warned the non-Jewish population that any assistance rendered to the Jews would be punishable by death.[11]

According to Jaffa Wallach, all Jews—with the exception of the Jewish doctor—were "imprisoned in their own houses" prior to the deportation. On September 6, 1942, the ghetto residents were free to go out until nightfall when they were to return and be ready for their departure to the Zasław labor camp 6 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Lesko, where they were to work in a paper factory. Following a selection, approximately 100 elderly and disabled Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Lesko.[12]

Sources agree that the ghetto liquidation took place at night and that the ghetto's residents were marched to Zasław; however, some date it on August 14, 1942—before the Kreishauptmann's deportation order.[13] According to *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, Lesko's Jews made a mass pilgrimage to the local cemetery before leaving for Zasław.[14]

On arrival at the camp barracks in Zasław, the Lesko Jews found them already overcrowded with Jews brought there from other localities, so they were forced to remain outside. They did not receive any food, and there was no work waiting for them. Over the next few days, a deportation transport of 4,000 Jews, including women and children, was sent from Zasław to the Bełżec extermination camp. This was followed by the shooting of elderly Jews in a nearby forest and then more transports to Bełżec, which continued until the camp's liquidation in 1943.[15]

SOURCES The following sources include information on the ghetto in Lesko: Andrzej Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica* (Brzozów: Związek Gmin Brzozowskich and Muzeum Regionalne PTTK w Brzozowie, 1993), p. 38; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 266; and Jerzy Tomaszewski and Andrzej Żbikowski, eds., *Żydzi w Polsce. Dzieje i kultura. Leksykon* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Cyklady, 2001), p. 252.

The following archival sources were used in preparing this entry: AŻIH (211/636; and 301/280); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 32 [Lesko]); and VHF (# 10770-2, 11086-1, 15248-9, 16875, 25239-3, and 32066).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 10770-2, testimony of Leon Finver, 1996.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/636, p. 6; VHF, # 25239-3, testimony of Renee Stern; and # 11086-1, testimony of Rosalind Ryza. It is possible that the armband regulation was not enforced in Lesko, as the town only became part of Distrikt Krakau in the summer of 1941, whereas

the armband regulations had been introduced throughout the rest of the Distrikt at the end of 1939.

3. VHF, # 16875, testimony of Jaffa Wallach, 1996.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/636, pp. 1–2, 5–7.

5. VHF, # 25239-3; and # 11086-1.

6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/636, pp. 22–23; and Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 31, 211/614, p. 30, letter signed by Dr. Tisch of November 17, 1941.

7. VHF, # 25239-3; # 11086-1; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/636, pp. 22–23.

8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/636, pp. 23, 25, 26, 28.

9. AŻIH, 301/280, testimony of Moses Zwas, 1945.

10. Ibid. Please note that two different villages named Kalnica are located in the vicinity, in Cisna and Zagórz gminas. Zwas estimates that 13,000 Jews were collected in the ghetto before its liquidation, but this figure is clearly too high. Also see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/636, p. 28.

11. W. Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1987), p. 121.

12. VHF, # 16875; and Potocki, *Podkarpackie*, p. 38.

13. VHF, # 16875. According to AŻIH, 301/280, the ghetto was liquidated at the end of August 1942. Tomaszewski and Żbikowski, *Żydzi w Polsce*, p. 252, and Potocki, *Podkarpackie*, p. 38, both date the liquidation Aktion on August 14, 1942.

14. Schmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 724; please note that this publication erroneously places Lesko in today's Ukraine.

15. AŻIH, 301/280; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 445; and VHF, # 16875.

LEŻAJSK

Pre-1939: Leżajsk (Yiddish: Lizhensk), town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Lezajsk, Kreis Jaroslau, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Leżajsk, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Leżajsk is located about 200 kilometers (124 miles) east-northeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, there were around 2,500 Jews residing in Leżajsk.

Following the outbreak of war in September 1939, many Jews fled eastward from Leżajsk—by crossing the San River—into what was soon to become Soviet-occupied territory. The Germans occupied Leżajsk on September 10, 1939. On that same day the Germans set the synagogue on fire. They plundered Jewish property and abused mainly the Orthodox Jews. At the end of September 1939, the Germans expelled most of the Jews to the Soviet occupation zone. Only about 350 Jews, who had hidden in nearby villages, returned to live in the town. A local ethnic German, Nelis, was appointed as mayor of Leżajsk.[1]

At the end of 1939 or in January 1940, the German authorities established an "open ghetto" in Leżajsk in an area that had also been inhabited by Jews before the war. The Germans concentrated some 40 Jewish families from Leżajsk and an unknown number of resettled Jews into a "Jewish quarter," on Bożnicza Street, where the synagogue had once stood. Poles and Germans took over the vacant Jewish dwellings. According to a report prepared by the Leżajsk branch of Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in May 1942, there were 105 small wooden houses and 27 brick houses in the Jewish quarter. The Jews were allowed to leave the area between 8:00 A.M. and 10:00 A.M. to purchase food. Conversations among Jews in the ghetto were concerned mainly with food and the bleak outlook for the future. Education and religious practice were forbidden by the Germans, but Yosel Melamed taught the children to keep them occupied, and some Jews worshipped secretly and observed the Sabbath. In 1940, the Jews were also required to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David.[2]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, headed by Feivel Wagner, Shmuel Ozer, and Leibel Katz. It was entrusted with providing laborers for the Germans who performed work such as digging up *matzevot* (Jewish tombstones) for paving roads. Jewish women worked mainly as maids in German homes. In November 1940, the Judenrat planned to open a community kitchen for the impoverished Jews of Leżajsk, which would distribute around 200 meals a day. The Judenrat wrote to the JSS in Kraków requesting assistance with the provision of food supplies.[3]

In 1941, the Germans enclosed the Leżajsk ghetto. Now Jews could leave the ghetto only with a special permit and only for labor. Jews caught outside the ghetto without a permit were imprisoned in the local jail; 6 Jews were executed in the jail yard. According to the Leżajsk branch of the JSS, there were about 1,000 Jews in the town as of April 1, 1942. The inhabitants of the Leżajsk ghetto consisted of the Jewish population of Leżajsk and the surrounding area who had evaded the Nazi deportation into the Soviet Union and more than 100 resettled Jews from Kalisz (arrived in 1939), Kraków (resettled in 1940), and Germany (deported in 1938).[4]

The anti-Jewish Aktions conducted by the Germans intensified. In 1942 (the exact date is unknown), members of the Gestapo and Order Police shot a number of Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Leżajsk. The details of the Aktion are unclear, since the arrests and shooting of the Jews took place at night. Soon afterward, a group of Jews was sent to an unknown destination. On June 23, 1942, the Germans shot 8 Jews who were being transported to Sieniawa. On July 15, 1942, the Germans shot 16 Jews in the town's square and executed 20 Jews in Jelna.[5]

At the end of July and beginning of August 1942, German police forces liquidated the Leżajsk ghetto: 39 Jews were taken to the village of Wierzawice and shot; the remaining Jews were taken to a temporary camp in Pełkinie, about 20 kilometers (12 miles) to the southeast, and after brutal treatment, they were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. Several families and individual Jews were hidden by their Christian acquaintances. Some survived with the aid of Aryan papers provided by Marian Kozyra, which enabled them to register

for work in Germany. Others fled to the forests in the hope of surviving there. The Germans conducted thorough searches of the Leżajsk area for hidden Jews, right up to the end of the occupation.[6]

On February 18, 1945, a unit of the National Military Organization "Wołyniak" attacked three Jewish homes and a building of the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), killing a number of Jews. The few survivors immigrated mainly to Israel and the United States. The Jewish community of Leżajsk was not reconstituted after the war, but Jews from all over the world come to Leżajsk on Adar 21, the anniversary of tzaddik Elimelech Weisblum's death (*Yahrzeit*). The *ohel* (a structure built over the resting place of a tzaddik, destroyed by the Germans in 1940) was restored in 1963, thanks to the efforts of Boruh Sefir, who survived the war in a Soviet camp; and Kazimierz Gdula and Rabbi Friedman, who, while imprisoned at Dachau concentration camp, promised each other to rebuild the ohel if they survived.[7]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Leżajsk include the following: "Leżajsk," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 232–236; Chaim Rabin, ed., *Lizhensk; sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Lizhensk she-nispu be-shoat ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Leżajsk in Israel, 1970); "Leżajsk," in Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Libra, 2004); and Stanisław Kłos, *Leżajsk i powiat leżajski* (Krosno: Roksana, 1999).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/638); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 32; RG-15.019M [ASG], reels 10 and 17); VHF (# 7685 and 47446); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 7685, testimony of Paula Engel; Rabin, *Lizhensk*, pp. 41–45, 271.
2. VHF, # 7685; Rabin, *Lizhensk*, pp. 46–54, 82, 271–273; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, report of Leżajsk branch of JSS to JSS headquarters in Kraków, received May 21, 1942.
3. VHF, # 7685; Rabin, *Lizhensk*, pp. 46–54, 82, 271–272; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 32, Leżajsk Judenrat to JSS Kraków, November 28, 1940.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 32, Leżajsk JSS to JSS Kraków, received May 21, 1942.
5. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 10, ASG, woj. rzeszowskie, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," Leżajsk, p. 345; IPN, ASG, woj. rzeszowskie,"Egzekucje," Łańcut; Sąd Grodzki w Łańcucie, Zg—brak numeru aktów zgonu/1946; Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 95.
6. E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagladzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 95–96; Rabin, *Lizhensk*, pp. 21–27.
7. Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 96; N. Aleksiun-Mądrzak, "Nielegalna emigracja Żydów z Polski w latach 1945–1947," *BŻIH*, nos. 3/95–2/96 (1995–1996): 76; Rabin, *Lizhensk*, pp. 130–133. See also Adam Mickiewicz Institute, available at www.diapozytyw.pl/en/site/slady_i_judaica/lezajsk.

LIMANOWA

Pre-1939: Limanowa, town and powiat center, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Ilmenau, Kreis Neu-Sandez, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Limanowa, town and powiat center, województwo małopolskie, Poland

The town of Limanowa is located 74 kilometers (46 miles) southeast of Kraków. According to the 1931 census, 1,002 Jews were living in Limanowa.

German forces occupied Limanowa on September 10, 1939. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans started to persecute the Jewish population; they arrested six Jews and took them to the nearby village of Stara Wieś, where they killed them.[1]

On the official establishment of the Generalgouvernement on October 26, 1939, Limanowa became part of Kreis Neu-Sandez in Distrikt Krakau. The Kreishauptmann in Nowy Sącz was Dr. Reinhard Busch. The Aktions against the Jewish population in the Kreis were organized and carried out by the Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) in Nowy Sącz, subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Kraków. SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann, one of the cruelest and most bloodthirsty SS officers in the region, was in charge of the Nowy Sącz GPK (also known simply as the Gestapo) from 1940 to 1943. In implementing the various anti-Jewish measures and Aktions, the Security Police was assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Polish (Blue) Police in Limanowa.

In the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1940, a large number of refugees came to Limanowa from other towns in Poland. In March 1940, 500 refugees from the city of Łódź were confined within a refugee camp in Limanowa. This camp was, however, soon closed down without warning in mid-April. The refugees were sent to Nowy Sącz, Grybów, Mszana Dolna, and Limanowa; from the fall of 1940 and during 1941, these became



The bodies of sixty Limanowa Jews who were murdered in the Jewish cemetery are prepared for burial, ca. 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #50376, COURTESY OF IPN

collecting centers for all the Jews forced out of the smaller towns and villages in the area.[2]

In the fall of 1940, there were 895 Jews in Limanowa, including 95 refugees. In September 1940, a public kitchen coordinated by the local Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Limanowa to alleviate the growing needs of the local population.[3] By the summer of 1941, all the Jews from the surrounding villages had been concentrated in the town, and the population had swelled to over 1,000 residents. At the end of December 1941, the Germans conducted a "Fur Aktion" in Limanowa and imposed a large monetary contribution on the Jewish population.[4] In April 1942, Limanowa counted a population of 1,402 Jews, including 602 refugees.[5]

In April 1942, the head of the GPK, Hamann, in Nowy Sącz received instructions from KdS Kraków to arrest and shoot all Jews in the Kreis known to be Communists or to sympathize with them. In response, Hamann obtained an old membership list for the Poalei Zion (left-wing Zionist) movement and ordered that all those on the list be arrested with the assistance of the Jewish Councils and Jewish Police. When the head of the Judenrat in Limanowa, Sola Shnitzer, refused to obey this order, Hamann traveled personally to Limanowa. On April 20, 1942, Hamann arrested Shnitzer together with the other members of the Judenrat. They were taken to a barn not far from the office of the Judenrat, where, under Hamann's supervision, three SS men shot them. The members of Poalei Zion in Limanowa were then arrested and shot shortly afterwards.

On June 4, 1942, the Germans established an enclosed ghetto in the town. The ghetto was located in the so-called Kamieniec area along the Mordarka Stream.[6] Between July 10 and July 16, 1942, more than 50 Jews from the ghetto were murdered by the Gestapo from Nowy Sącz and members of the local Gendarmerie post in Limanowa. In particular, Hamann directed the shooting of 33 people on July 16, 1942, with the aim of inducing the Jews in the ghetto to pay a contribution consisting of 75,000 złoty, several meters of fabric, 50 liters (13 gallons) of spirits, and 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of canned food.[7] Another contribution was requested at the beginning of August 1942, when similar contributions were demanded from the Jews in Nowy Sącz, Stary Sącz, Grybów, and Mszana Dolna.[8]

On August 16, 1942, the Gestapo office in Nowy Sącz began the evacuation of the Jews from the ghettos of Limanowa, Stary Sącz, and Grybów, and from Mszana Dolna to the two ghettos in Nowy Sącz. The ghetto in Limanowa was liquidated on August 18, 1942.[9] One day prior to this, Poles conscripted into the Baudienst (Construction Service) were ordered to excavate a mass grave in the forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of town on the road to nearby Stara Wieś.[10]

All the Jews were forced to assemble in the marketplace; they were allowed to bring with them only 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of luggage.[11] Among those assembled in the marketplace were 50 Jews who were already in a special work detachment (Arbeitskommando), employed as workers for the Vianowa construction company. Another 50 workers were then selected by Hamann for this detachment to fulfill the quota of 100; after the selection, the group was forced to surrender all valuables and marched to a labor camp in nearby Sowliny.[12] Around 200 people, mostly the sick and the elderly, were selected and taken to the mass grave close to Stara Wieś and shot on the spot by members of the Gestapo and the SS.[13] The Germans forced all the others, about 800 people, to walk to the ghettos in Nowy Sącz, some 26 kilometers (16 miles) away.[14] At the end of August 1942, the occupiers deported almost all the Jews in the Nowy Sącz ghettos to the extermination camp in Bełżec.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, the *Julag* (Jewish forced labor camp) at Sowliny to the north of the town continued to exist until November 1942. An additional 80 Jews were sent there from Mszana Dolna. On November 5, 1942, on Hamann's orders, Fechner from the Gestapo in Nowy Sącz, assisted by local Gendarmerie officials under the command of Leutnant Georg Urban, escorted the remaining Jews of this camp (about 150 people) to a forest near Tymbark, to the west of Limanowa, where they were shot.[15]

Once the ghetto had been cleared, the houses in the area of the former ghetto were occupied by local Poles. The Germans arranged for the sorting of remaining Jewish property, and the less valuable items were auctioned off to local inhabitants.[16]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Limanowa during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 235–236; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 268; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 269–484 (LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/65, verdict against Heinrich Hamann and others).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Limanowa can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/1203 and 1703); IPN; USHMM, (RG.15.019M [ASG], reels 4 and 14–15; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 32, 211/693); VHF; and YVA.

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 4.
2. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635 (Urteil von LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/65, July 22, 1966), p. 308.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/639.
4. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 328.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 32, 211/639.
6. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reels 14–15, p. 110, "Kwestionariusz o obozach"; and Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 235.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 3. It is not clear from this source if these shootings in July were related to the Aktion in April.
8. AŻIH, 301/1703, testimony of S. Kaufer.
9. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 393–397.
10. Ibid.
11. AŻIH, 301/1203, testimony of Mojżesz Ginter.

12. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 393–397.
13. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 3.
14. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 393–397; and AŻIH, 301/1703.
15. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 438–440.
16. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reels 14–15, p. 110, "Kwestionariusz o obozach."

MIECHÓW

Pre-1939: Miechów, town and powiat center, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Miechow, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Miechów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Miechów is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) north of Kraków. In 1939, on the eve of war, the Jewish population was about 2,500 (out of a total of 6,700).

At the time of the German invasion on September 1, 1939, a large number of refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish, arrived in Miechów from towns and cities near the German-Polish border. The Germans arrived on September 3, and food supplies became short, as the Germans took the best for themselves.[1] Soon the German army and SS were abusing the Jews, and they burned down the synagogue.[2]

In the fall of 1939, the leadership of the Jewish community was reconstituted as a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was chaired by Hirsch Edelist. Its principal responsibility was to supply workers for forced labor. A six-man unit of Jewish Police assisted in enforcing German demands. In December the Judenrat was ordered to compel every Jew aged 15 or older to wear a white armband with a Star of David. The Judenrat, which controlled the supply of material for the armbands, manufactured and sold them to people.[3]



A man stands alongside a wall inscribed with a Star of David inside the Miechów ghetto, July 11, 1941.
USHMM WS #18606, COURTESY OF IPN

A few Jews who had escaped to the Soviet part of divided Poland slipped across the border for visits and reported on the relatively tolerant treatment of Jews on the Soviet side. This prompted a small number of young people to cross the San River and try their luck under the Soviets. During the period between the division of Poland in 1939 and the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, there was a reliable postal service across the border. The winter of 1939–1940 passed without major disruption. However, Jews were under constant threat of being kidnapped for forced labor, such as shoveling snow. An 8:00 P.M. until dawn curfew was imposed on the Jewish population.[4]

In April 1940, German soldiers surrounded the town and forced the Jews and some non-Jews to assemble at the Miechów municipality. The Germans instigated a riot, breaking into Jewish homes, smashing furnishings, attacking the men, and raping some women. Towards evening they lit bonfires and forced the Jews to burn holy books and religious articles while singing and dancing around the fires.

In the spring of 1940, a German firm, Jaeger, arrived to take charge of repaving the Kraków-Miechów-Warsaw highway. The Judenrat was ordered to provide a substantial workforce as quickly as possible. Well-to-do members of the community bribed their way out of the labor gangs (10 złoty per day, paid to the Judenrat) and were replaced by poorer people. In many cases the meager food allowance the workers received was a lifesaver. There were, however, protests against such favoritism by some youths, who were repeatedly pressed into forced labor. Other parties were used to redirect the river channel at the edge of town or for road maintenance.[5]

From the start of the occupation until July 1940, Miechów's total population increased from 6,700 to 9,860, mainly due to the influx of Jewish refugees. Another 1,000 Jews who were expelled from Kraków arrived during the summer of 1940. From time to time, the local authorities forced people, mainly Jews, to leave the town to relieve the overcrowding. The Judenrat took on the responsibility for health and sanitation, assistance to the needy, education, and other functions. Some of the Kraków refugees were sick with typhus, and everyone in Miechów was inoculated. The Judenrat also opened a bathhouse and ordered everyone to bathe there on a weekly basis. Members of the sanitation service entered houses to inspect for cleanliness and to fumigate clothing. In June 1940, 120 poor people received one warm meal a day. By March 1941, the public soup kitchen was serving 300 meals a day for a token payment. A women's committee tended to the nourishment of 150 children and ran a kindergarten in the Judenrat building. A local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organiza-

tion in Kraków was also active in Miechów, although it did not always see eye to eye with the Judenrat.[6]

According to the JSS records for Miechów, in March 1941 the Jews were ordered to move to about 10 designated streets in the south of town around the synagogue, which became a "partially enclosed" ghetto. The ghetto area contained 350 houses, which had to accommodate more than 2,000 people.[7] The German authorities gave the Jews only a few hours to move in, taking only what they could carry with them. Two or three families were forced to share each house. The few Christians who lived there were moved into abandoned Jewish houses. Subsequently the Judenrat was instructed to build a 5-meter-high (16.4-feet-high) wall topped with barbed wire, at its own expense, around the ghetto. Entry and exit required a permit from the German authorities. However, the guards could be bribed, and local farmers exchanged produce for work done by tailors and shoemakers in the ghetto, so that Jews could supplement their inadequate rations. At the start, there were probably around 2,500 inhabitants in the ghetto.[8]

In 1941 and 1942, additional Jews arrived from surrounding towns, as well as some deportees from Austria and Germany. Due to the overcrowded conditions, about 300 refugees were moved from Miechów to Działoszyce. During the winter of 1941–1942, the oppressive conditions and hunger grew worse. By February 1942, the JSS was assisting 450 needy people, and the public soup kitchen had to increase the number of daily meals. Despite the ban on movement in and out of the ghetto, ways were found to acquire food. Until the spring of 1942, the Jews of Miechów were able to send food packages to relatives in other towns. By 1942, Jews caught outside the ghetto would be shot on sight.[9]

One day at the end of June 1942, the Jews were locked inside the ghetto. Then 50 young men were taken to the Great Synagogue and held for 24 hours. On the next day they were taken to Bonarka, near Kraków, and put to work in the brick factory. For a while they were able to steal away from the work camp for an occasional Sunday visit in Miechów.[10]

On August 28, 1942, the Security Police post in Miechów took 600 sick and elderly Jews to Słomniki, where they joined thousands of others from the region. They were held without food or water, under heavy guard, in a swampy field on the banks of the Szereniawa River. After a week, at the beginning of September, a "selection" took place. Several hundred Jews were taken to open pits and killed on the spot. Jews deemed fit for work were sent to labor camps, while the rest were loaded onto freight trains and taken to the extermination camp at Bełżec. On September 4, 1942, the great Aktion took place in Miechów. German police units and auxiliary forces surrounded the ghetto and chased the inhabitants into a field near the train station, where thousands of Jews from Działoszyce, Proszowice, Skalbmierz, and other nearby towns were waiting. Many who evaded the roundup were hunted down and shot. The Germans selected 800 to 900 young men for the labor camps at Prokocim and Płaszów. The rest were put into freight cars "sanitized" with a dusting of lime and transported to Bełżec. About 50 Jews were kept back to clean up the ghetto and sort the possessions that were left behind. During the following weeks, they were joined by some 200 others who had escaped deportation or fled the labor camps to seek refuge in Miechów. Some were former inhabitants, others from smaller towns in the area.[11]

At the beginning of November 1942, the German command ordered the complete "cleansing" of Kreis Miechow. In mid-November, the deputy Kreishauptmann in Miechów, Dr. Friedrich Schmidt, assisted by some local Poles, SS forces, German Gendarmerie, men of the civil administration, and the Jewish Police, captured about 600 surviving Jews from throughout the Kreis (including the last few dozen Jews left after the deportation from nearby Koszyce, where no formal ghetto had been established) and murdered them in the Chodówka Forest. Their bodies were thrown into pits dug by local farmers. Some who had hidden in the forest emerged from their hiding places, and they too were caught and shot to death. On January 15, 1943, the Germans burst into the ghetto and finished off the remaining 32 Jews (composed mainly of the Judenrat and Jewish Police). These victims were thrown into a common grave at the Jewish cemetery.[12]

Despite these Aktions, about 20 Jews managed to escape. Most of them survived in hiding for the rest of the war. On January 16, 1945, the Red Army drove the Germans from Miechów.[13]

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town can be found in the following publications: Nachman Blumental and Aviva Ben-Azar (Broshy), eds., *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, *Charsznica*, *Ksiaz* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Miechov, Charshnitza and Kshoynzh, 1971); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 300–305. The personal memoir of William Eisen, *Two Pounds of Sugar* (Buffalo, NY: William Eisen, 2003), includes a description of his life in the ghetto. The ghetto in Miechów is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 317–318.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Miechów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1739; and 211/680-694); BA-L (ZStL/II 206 AR-Z 40/62); ITS; USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 14; RG-50.002*0063; and RG-50.155*0009); VHF (e.g., # 5821, 11791, 20139); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, pp. 196, 197.
2. Ibid., p. 197.
3. Ibid.; Eisen, *Two Pounds of Sugar*, pp. 45–46.
4. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, p. 198; USHMM, RG-50.002*0063, Oral History with Aba Prawer, March 19, 1987; RG-50.155*0009, Video Testimony of Emanuel Tanay, June 16, 1987.

5. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, pp. 198–199.

6. AŻIH, 211/680–694 (files of the JSS branch in Miechów).

7. Ibid., 211/694, p. 48; VHF, # 5821, testimony of Peter Gersh recalls that ghettoization took place "a bit over a year after the start of the occupation."

8. Eisen, *Two Pounds of Sugar*, pp. 48–49. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, pp. 215, 217, also date the establishment of the ghetto in 1940. Other sources date it in April 1941 (USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, p. 123) or September 1941 (Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 303–304). These later dates probably reflect the completion of the wall around the ghetto; in his oral testimony (USHMM, RG-50.155*0009), Emanuel Tanay stresses that the ghetto was established incrementally and probably was not formally "closed" until 1942.

9. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 303–304; AŻIH, 211/694, p. 48.

10. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, p. 199.

11. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 304.

12. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, p. 211, 217; another account (p. 200) dates this Aktion on January 15, 1943. Also see USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, p. 123; AŻIH, 301/1739.

13. Blumental and Ben-Azar, *Sefer yizkor Miechow*, p. 211.

NIEBYLEC

Pre-1939: Niebylec (Yiddish: Nebilitz), village, Rzeszów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Niebylec is located approximately 22 kilometers (14 miles) south of Rzeszów. An estimated 450 Jews were living in the Niebylec gmina on the eve of World War II.[1]

Following the German invasion in September 1939, the German authorities had established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Niebylec by the end of 1939. In March 1940, Moses Pariser was its chairman.[2] The German Gendarmerie also operated a jail in the village.

In December 1939, 20 refugees from Kalisz and Łódź were sent via Rzeszów to Niebylec, bringing the number of Jews up to approximately 220. As all of them arrived with almost nothing, the Judenrat provided them with free housing (some families were housed in nearby Lutcza), as well as bread, potatoes, and milk. They also received a small amount of cash and firewood; their shoes were repaired at the Judenrat's expense. A doctor was brought in to care for 2 people who had fallen ill. One of them was a *shochet* (ritual slaughterer), Dawid Reicher (or Rescher), who "suddenly lost his mind." By May 1940, the town's Jews had spent 3,000 złoty on the newcomers' sustenance but had received only 150 złoty in assistance from the Kraków branch of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).[3]

In the spring of 1940, the Judenrat engaged in providing seeds for Jewish farmers holding small plots. Out of the approximately 50 farming families in the gmina, 17 were unable to fully sow their fields. The authorities threatened to expropriate them as "negligent" and put their farmland under Polish administration. Of the 17 families, 5 of those families lived in Lutcza, 4 in Blizianka, 3 in Niebylec, 2 each in Baryczka and Jawornik, and 1 in Gwoźnica Górna. They owned a total of 49 *morgi* (1 *morga* is approximately 5,600 square meters or 6,698 square yards) but were able to sow only 32, leaving 17 to lie fallow. Pariser pleaded with the AJDC for financial help, as he feared that those farmers would be resettled to Niebylec, "and if that were to happen, a few more vagrant families would come in."[4]

A JSS committee was later set up to aid the refugees. It acted under the Judenrat's supervision and included Aron Uhes, Hersch Freund, and later, Israel Feldman.[5]

In August 1940, the Rzeszów Judenrat sent 10 new refugees from Kraków to Niebylec. Soon after, a much larger group of 40 expellees followed, bringing the number of newcomers to 64 by September 1940. This number of refugees remained stable until at least January 1941.[6]

In November 1940, the Judenrat was ordered to register Jews for forced labor; however, there is no information regarding the forced labor performed in Niebylec or its surroundings.[7]

On December 17, 1941, the Reichshof Kreishauptmann, Heinz Ehaus, ordered the establishment of ghettos in the Kreis. In Rzeszów, the order was effective on January 10, 1942; for the remainder of the Kreis, on February 1, 1942. The Jewish residential area in Niebylec was most likely established as a ghetto shortly after this date. While not fenced, its inhabitants were allowed to leave it only with written permission. Laborers conscripted to work outside the ghetto were granted such permission.

Similar to other places in the region, the Jews living in the vicinity of Niebylec were ordered to move there in March 1942. An estimated 450 Jews were collected in the Niebylec ghetto during this period.

On April 14, 1942, the Gestapo shot seven ghetto residents. Of those executed, five names are known: Ida Brener (60 years old), Jankiel Fridrich (60), Szymon Mer (90), Józef Graz (45), and Mozes Schneiwas (70). All were buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery.

In June 1942, the German authorities in Kraków issued an order for all the Jews of Kreis Reichshof to be concentrated in the Rzeszów ghetto for deportation, as Kreishauptmann Ehaus was eager to be the first to render his Kreis *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews) in Distrikt Krakau. As a result, in the second half of June, the Gendarmerie supervised the transfer of the Jews from all the other Kreis ghettos into the Rzeszów ghetto, such that some 22,000 Jews were concentrated there by the beginning of July 1942.[8]

The Niebylec ghetto was liquidated on June 25, 1942. Agents of the Sonderdienst (Special Police) killed three Jewish

merchants during the transport to Rzeszów. Aron Blum and Aron Rain were buried in the village of Połomia; Szandla Rain, in Baryczka.[9]

In Rzeszów, the Niebylec Jews shared the fate of others concentrated there and were sent in the course of the July 1942 deportations to the Bełżec extermination camp.[10]

In November 1943, the Gestapo shot nine Jews and the 11 Poles who had been sheltering them in the neighboring village of Połomia.

SOURCES Brief descriptions and references on the ghetto in Niebylec are included in the following publications: Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 114–115; Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 266–267; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo rzeszowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), p. 123.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/509 [AJDC], 211/918 [JSS]); and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC Niebylec]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 3 (1959): 88.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/509 (Niebylec), p. 1.
3. Ibid., 210/509, pp. 1–4, 11, 21, 24.
4. Ibid., pp. 7–8, 14–15; for a full list of the farmers, see p. 13.
5. Ibid., pp. 20, 30, 46.
6. Ibid., pp. 36–37, 42, 47, 54, 59; for a complete list of all refugees, including their towns of origin, see pp. 43–45.
7. Ibid., p. 51.
8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 711, pp. 414–415; and Moshe Yaari Wald, ed., *Rzeszów Jews: Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Rzeszower Societies in Israel and the United States, 1967), p. 82.
9. *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 123. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 333, dates the Niebylec ghetto liquidation in July 1942; Potocki, *Żydzi*, p. 115, as April 1942. However, other sources confirm that Jews from the neighboring ghettos were brought into Rzeszów during a three-day period, between June 25–27, 1942; e.g., see Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich (Part 3)," *BŻIH*, nos. 3–4 (1985): 90.
10. Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich (Part 3)," p. 99.

NOWY SĄCZ

Pre-1939: Nowy Sącz (Yiddish: Nay-Sants), city, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Neu-Sandez, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Nowy Sącz, city and powiat center, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Nowy Sącz is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Kraków. In 1939, the city's population numbered about 35,000; of these, approximately 12,000 were Jews.[1]

The German army occupied Nowy Sącz on September 6, 1939. The Germans suppressed all Jewish religious institutions, including the synagogues and religious schools, plundered Jewish homes, and required that Jewish males perform physically demanding labor.

At the end of September 1939, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann of the Security Police was appointed as deputy head of the Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) in Nowy Sącz (becoming its head in 1940).[2] In late September the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat); among its first tasks was to supply laborers to the Germans, which to some extent stopped Jews from being seized from the streets. In November 1939, a number of Jewish refugees from Łódź and Sieradz arrived, and the Jewish Council helped to integrate them into the community.[3]

In the spring of 1940, Yaakov Marin was officially appointed as head of the Jewish Council; but in October 1940, on Hamann's orders, he was sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp and died there of pneumonia. In 1940, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was also established under Y. Folkman to assist the Judenrat with its tasks. It was comprised mostly of social outcasts and soon earned a bad reputation for working closely with the German police.[4]

Over the initial months of the occupation, the Germans imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in the city. These



Polish Jews wearing armbands walk down a street in Nowy Sącz, n.d.
USHMM WS #63041, COURTESY OF MICHAEL O.

included the marking of Jewish businesses and a ban on leaving the city without permission. Jewish lawyers were forbidden to practice, and Jewish doctors could treat only Jewish patients. Many Jewish stores were "Aryanized"—that is, their inventory was seized or the businesses were placed under "trusteeship" by the German authorities.

By the summer of 1940, the Germans had established a labor camp at Lipie, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) from Nowy Sącz, and had sent several hundred Jewish laborers there. At Lipie the Jews lived and worked under harsh conditions while constructing a new road. Another group of 300 Jews was sent from Nowy Sącz to work constructing a dam in Rożnów. Other Jews worked at sites around the city, assigned by the labor office (Arbeitsamt). A Jewish Block Dienst (separate from the Ordnungsdienst) assisted in rounding up Jews for forced labor quotas. The German police guarded the Jews, pursued them on the streets of the city, and sent them to labor camps. The Gestapo demanded money and other "contributions" from the Jewish community. Jewish houses were searched repeatedly for weapons, and the officials conducting the searches frequently looted any items they fancied.

In the fall of 1940, all the Jews living close to the Slovak border were ordered to leave their homes and move to Nowy Sącz or its immediate vicinity. The Kreishauptmann in Nowy Sącz, Dr. Reinhard Busch, decreed that several spa towns in this area, including Krynica, Muszyna, and Piwniczna, had to be cleared of Jews by November 30. The Jewish Council in Nowy Sącz had to find accommodation for these new refugees.

The number of Jews in the city increased, especially following the expulsion of thousands of Jews from Kraków in the spring of 1941. This increase in the Jewish population meant new challenges and burdens for the Jewish Council. The Jewish hospital on Kraszewski Street was reopened, receiving financial support from Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków.

In April 1941, the Jewish community of Nowy Sącz was fortunate to receive more than 6,000 kilograms (6.6 tons) of matzot in time for Passover. Part of this delivery was purchased by the Jewish Aid Committee in Slovakia and sent to Nowy Sącz on instructions from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). At this time, 1,000 people were using the public kitchen that served hot meals. In the summer of 1941, some food aid was even received from Portugal, thanks to assistance from the First New Sandez Society in New York.[5]

In May 1941, the German authorities ordered that Jews who were living in the villages and smaller towns in Kreis Neu-Sandez had to move to the larger towns, including Nowy Sącz. As a result, several hundred more refugees arrived, almost all in need of support.[6] Then in July 1941, following the German attack on the Soviet Union, the German authorities established two Jewish residential areas or ghettos in Nowy Sącz, in the northern part of the city where most Jews had lived for generations. The first was at Piekło, in the northeast, near the Kamienica River, and the second was in the area around Kazimierz Street (also known as Jewish Street). The latter area was smaller in size but more densely populated. In July 1941, all Jews living outside these two demarcated areas were forced to move within them. The ghettos remained unfenced at first, but Jews required special permits to leave them. A total of about 12,000 Jews were forced to reside in the two ghettos.[7]

Extreme overcrowding was the norm. In some cases, four or five families (20 people) had to share a single apartment comprising one room and a kitchen. There was also terrible hunger. The weekly ration consisted of only 700 grams (24.7 ounces) of bread, 30 grams (1 ounce) of meat, and 20 grams (0.7 ounce) of sugar per person. Everyone had to obtain some extra food illegally or starve. In the cold winter of 1941–1942, the Jews had to chop up their furniture for firewood to keep warm, as they were ordered to surrender all fur items. Soon afterwards they were even ordered to surrender their remaining furniture.

In the late summer of 1941, the Border Police post (or Gestapo) launched a manhunt for rabbis and traditionally clothed Hasidim. Code-named "Aktion Kaputan," this resulted in the arrest of 10 individuals who were all sent to Auschwitz.

At the start of 1942, a typhus epidemic broke out in the ghettos. A health committee, composed of those with medical experience, strove to improve medical treatment and sanitary conditions. At first, the hospital did not charge for medical services, but later a small fee was collected and turned over to the Jewish Council. The doctors made house calls and were permitted to go out after the curfew. The German authorities forbade the treatment of gunshot wounds, but the medical staff ignored this order. There were no Jewish surgeons in the ghetto. In the face of the growing danger of Aktions in the town, some Jews sought to hide in the hospital.

In the fall of 1941, the Gestapo targeted Jews who had fled to Soviet-controlled eastern Poland in the fall of 1939 and had subsequently returned to Nowy Sącz. They arrested about 30 Jews during this Aktion and murdered them. In January 1942, the Gestapo conducted a "cigarette Aktion" in the ghetto. On Hamann's instructions, they raided the ghetto and arrested any Jews trading in cigarettes. Two groups comprising about 70 people altogether (including some children) were arrested as "black marketeers" and shot in the old Jewish cemetery.

Officials of the Gestapo and German Order Police sometimes entered Jews' apartments and arrested them with no explanation. They operated together with the Jewish Police, which also participated in many of the roundups.

In the first half of 1942, a German named Hans Swoboda was in charge of Jewish affairs at the Arbeitsamt; he was responsible for sending groups of Jews to labor camps in the region, such as those at Rabka and Pustków. Some of those sent to these camps were murdered there or died from the harsh conditions.[8]

On April 28, 1942, Hamann conducted an Aktion against left-wing elements in the ghetto, especially Zionists. At 5:00 A.M., SS units surrounded the ghetto. On the basis of lists, the German and Jewish Police arrested about 150 people and brought them to the prison on Piarska Street. After one day

and night in prison, they took the prisoners to the Jewish cemetery and shot them there. On the following night, at least another 50 Jews were murdered as Hamann's men shot people wildly in the ghetto.

Rumors spread among the Jews that these Aktions were only the prelude to a larger deportation or killing Aktion. Ghetto residents tried to find work with German companies or the Wehrmacht, which might provide some security. Some Jews paid bribes to obtain these positions. Many of the skilled jobs were located in the area of the Piekło ghetto, which remained an open ghetto, although its area was reduced by a few streets in the summer of 1942. Here, there were workshops specialized in repair work and trades such as carpentry, broom making, and preparing furs. Among those places employing Jews outside the ghetto were a German army barracks, various construction companies, a school for Luftwaffe officers, woodworking companies in Nawojowa and Rytro, coal transportation at the railroad station, and the labor camp in Kurów. The workers employed by these enterprises received permits that appeared to protect them from deportation.

At some time in July 1942, the Germans enclosed the second ghetto on Kazimierz Street with a brick wall 2 meters (6.6 feet) high.[9] The preparation for the liquidation of the ghettos also began in July 1942. The sick and elderly were moved into the enclosed ghetto, and Jews capable of work were registered once again. In August the Piekło ghetto was reduced in size, increasing overcrowding. Heavy taxes were demanded from all the Jews of the Kreis, just before the deportation Aktion. Then between August 17 and August 20, Jews from the surrounding towns of Stary Sącz, Grybów, and Limanowa were transferred to the ghettos in Nowy Sącz, raising the number of Jews there to more than 16,000.[10] The SS and Police Leader (SSPF) ordered that the sick and elderly were to be shot on the spot. Hamann was in charge of the Aktion leading to the deportation of the Jews.

During the clearing of the Jews from the surrounding towns, Hamann's men shot many of the Jews on site, and in Mszana Dolna almost all the Jews were shot, rather than being transferred to Nowy Sącz despite the existence of a rail connection.[11] On August 21, 1942, Hamann assembled all the Jewish officials and announced that the expulsion of the Jews would start two days later, on August 23, 1942. The Jews were ordered to gather that day at 5:00 A.M., next to the Dunajec River between the railway and Helena bridges. The Jewish Council instructed the Jews to bring their apartment keys with them, tagged with the owners' names and addresses. Every person was told to bring 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of food and 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of luggage. The Jews were informed they would be resettled to Ukraine for agricultural work, but many expected the worst as some Germans spoke openly about the Jews' fate: "They will come to St. Peter."

The Germans launched the Aktion on Saturday, August 22, with the arrest of about 200 Jews. They escorted the Jews to the Jewish cemetery, where they were ordered to destroy all the tombstones so as to leave no trace of a Jewish presence in the town. The remaining Jews, around 16,000 people, began to assemble at the Dunajec River late in the evening of August 22. At 6:00 A.M. the next morning, Hamann showed up with Swoboda of the employment office and other German officials, Gestapo officers, and a police unit. Armed guards surrounded the entire area. The selection began at 9:00 A.M., and after two hours, about 750 Jews had been selected for labor details. Those not capable of work were sent back to the ghetto. These people would be sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.

The first train arrived on Monday, August 24, 1942, and left two days later; the last one departed on Friday, August 28. Jews were packed into the rail cars—about 140 in each—and lime spread on the floor of the cars was the only "comfort" they received on the journey to Bełżec.[12] Many people had to leave their belongings behind, due to lack of space. Each train had approximately 25 railroad cars. The windows of the cars were barred with barbed wire. The Jews that left from Nowy Sącz were gassed on arrival at Bełżec.

Of the 750 selected Jews, about 200 were sent away to other labor camps at Muszyna, Rożnów, and Sędziszów Małopolski. Those who remained in Nowy Sącz were housed on Kazimierz Street, and most were assigned to the Aufräumkommando, tasked with clearing up remaining Jewish property in the ghettos. At the end of August, Hamann also directed the killing of the patients of the Jewish hospital. These individuals were shot in Marcinkowice, about 6 kilometers (4 miles) from Nowy Sącz. After the deportations the Gestapo searched systematically for Jews who tried to hide in the city or in the former ghettos, all of whom they shot on the spot or at the Jewish cemetery.

The work of the clearing group was accompanied by hunger, physical exhaustion, and the emotional strain of witnessing the searches for Jews in hiding and the sale of Jewish property. When a group who worked outside the remnant ghetto was caught smuggling in food, Hamann had all 38 of them shot. As the amount of work declined in late 1942, groups of Jews were sent to Mielec and Tarnów for other work assignments. The remaining 100 or so Jews were sent to the labor camp at Szebnie in two groups in July and August 1943. Altogether, more than 20,000 Jews from the city and its vicinity perished within less than three years. Only a few hundred managed to survive in the various labor camps, in hiding, or on the "Aryan side."

Heinrich Hamann was sentenced to life imprisonment by the regional court (Landgericht) in Bochum in 1966.

SOURCES The Yiddish-language yizkor book for Nowy Sącz edited by Rafael Mahler, *Seyfer Sants* (Tel Aviv: Sandzer landsmanshaftn in New York, 1970), contains a particularly detailed section on the Holocaust by Rafael Mahler "der hurbn un umkum," pp. 721–797; another detailed source is the more recent volume in English by Shlomo Zalman Lehrer and Leizer Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz* (Southfield, MI: Targum, 1997), pp. 247–333. Other relevant published sources include Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 256–266;

Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 269–484 (LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/65, verdict against Heinrich Hamann and others); and Mordechai Lustig, "Ghetto of Nowy Sącz under German Occupation" (testimony written in Hebrew in June 2006; a translation is available at www.jewishgen.org).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Nowy Sącz can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/211, 1203, 1327, 1338, 1703, 2040, 3455, 3456, and 3458); IPN; USHMM (RG-15.019M; 1997.A.0124 [ŻSS]); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Lustig, "Ghetto of Nowy Sacz," on the JewishGen Web site: "Remember the Community of Sanz," p. 1; Lehrer and Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz*, p. 257.
2. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 276.
3. Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, p. 734; Lehrer and Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz*, pp. 269, 277.
4. AŻIH, 301/1703, testimony of Samuel Kaufer; Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, p. 770; Lehrer and Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz*, p. 287.
5. Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, pp. 756–760, 764.
6. Ibid., pp. 743, 769; Lustig, "Ghetto of Nowy Sacz," p. 2.
7. Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, pp. 769–770. USHMM, RG-15.019M, "Kwestionariusz o obozach" for Nowy Sącz, dates the establishment of the ghetto in August 1941.
8. AŻIH, 301/3455-3456, and 3458; Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, p. 774.
9. AŻIH, 301/1338, testimony of Emil Steinlauf; *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 308; USHMM, RG-15.019M, "Kwestionariusz o obozach."
10. AŻIH, 301/1203 and 1338; Lustig, "Ghetto of Nowy Sacz," p. 4; Mahler, *Seyfer Sants*, pp. 782–783.
11. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 357.
12. Ibid., pp. 405–406; and Lustig, "Ghetto of Nowy Sacz," p. 4.

NOWY TARG

Pre-1939: Nowy Targ, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Neumarkt, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Nowy Targ, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Nowy Targ is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) south of Kraków. In 1921, there were 1,342 Jews living in the town (16 percent of the total population). In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were about 2,500 Jews living in Nowy Targ.

German armed forces occupied Nowy Targ on September 1, 1939, the first day of the invasion, due to the town's proximity to the Czechoslovakian border. A few Jews fled to Eastern Galicia ahead of the German advance. The Soviet authorities subsequently deported most of these Jews to Siberia after they occupied eastern Poland in mid-September. As soon as the Germans occupied Nowy Targ, they arrested 12 Jewish community leaders on the pretext that they had fired on German troops, then sent them to a concentration camp in Germany. Accompanying the German army were mobile forces of the Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police). Einsatzkommando I/3, commanded by Alfred Hasselbach, advanced through Zakopane to Nowy Targ. According to one source, Hasselbach's forces murdered 45 Jews in the Nowy Targ area before moving on to Nowy Sącz and Jarosław.[1]



A group of boys wearing armbands pose in Nowy Targ, April 1940.
USHMM WS #44839, COURTESY OF ROBERT MENDLER

Among the first decrees issued by the German authorities was for all Jewish businesses to be taken over by a custodian. The larger ones were handed over to local ethnic Germans, and the smaller ones were liquidated. All Jews over the age of 10 had to wear the Star of David on their clothing, Jews were not permitted on the town square or the main streets, and they could not buy food in Polish stores. From November 12, 1939, Nowy Targ came under the supervision of SS-Hauptsturmführer Robert Philip Weissmann, the head of the Security Police in Kreis Neumarkt, whose headquarters was located in Zakopane.

The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 12 members chaired by Meir Ginsberg. The Jewish Council's duties included preparing lists of Jews for forced labor and collecting "contributions" for the Germans. No Jewish police force was created. The Jews were conscripted to perform various forced labor assignments in the town and for the Germans. Jews from Nowy Targ also worked in a stone

quarry in Zakopane. The workers received meager food rations and had to work long hours. They were able to receive parcels from relatives provided an "Aryan" delivered the parcels to the Zakopane Judenrat for distribution.[2]

The Nowy Targ "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) was created in May 1941. It was located between Kraśińskiego, Waksmund, Nadwodna, Jan Kazimierz, and Dorota Streets. Its area was about 1,000 square meters (1,196 square yards). Initially about 2,000 Jews from Nowy Targ and the surrounding region were concentrated there. According to a report by the Kreishauptmann in Nowy Targ, written at the beginning of June 1941, the area around Zakopane had been cleared of Jews up to the gates of Nowy Targ. "The Jews in Neumarkt were currently being concentrated in a ghetto, which later on was also to absorb the Jews from the other locations [in the Kreis]."[3] The area of the open ghetto was very small and dilapidated. The Jews were persecuted and harassed. For example, the Weissmann family was killed because they bore the same name as the head of the Security Police in Zakopane, Robert Weissmann. From October 15, 1941, leaving the Jewish residential area without special permission was punishable by death.[4]

Random executions of Jews intensified. The Germans executed several Jews from the Nowy Targ ghetto in the Bolfark Forest near the town. On June 8, 1942, the Germans took several Jews from a feather-plucking plant, shooting and burying them at the Jewish cemetery. Also, Jews charged with trading in foreign currency were taken to the SS training school in Rabka, tortured, and murdered there.[5]

At the end of July or the beginning of August 1942, SS-Oberführer Scherner, the commander of the Security Police in Kraków, ordered that the Jews from Szczawnica, Krasiuski, and other villages should be concentrated in Nowy Targ briefly, prior to their deportation. Those who were too old or sick to be moved were to be shot on the spot. During August these orders were implemented, resulting in an additional influx of several hundred Jews into the Nowy Targ ghetto. In Szczawnica, for example, a Security Police detachment commanded by Richard Sehmisch shot 39 Jews, sending the remainder to Nowy Targ.[6]

On August 29, 1942, the Nowy Targ Judenrat, on instructions from the Germans, announced that all Jews were required to assemble in the Piłsudski sports stadium the following morning. The Jews were told they would be sent to work in Reichskommissariat Ukraine and that they should bring a small amount of luggage. About 3,500 Jews assembled at the stadium, where German and Polish police surrounded them. Then SS-Hauptsturmführer Weissmann carried out a selection. Old and infirm Jews were hurriedly sent to one side together with the members of the Judenrat. Jews with special skills or craftsmen were also selected into another group on the basis of a list from the work office (Arbeitsamt) and separated from their families. The Jews were then made to surrender their valuables, and those chosen for work were loaded onto trucks and taken to a collection point under guard. The mass of the Jews were then escorted to the railway station and loaded onto cattle trains to be sent to the Bełżec extermination camp; Jews from the neighboring town of Jordanów were added to the deportation train, following a similar Aktion there on the same day. In Nowy Targ, the elderly and infirm together with the Judenrat members were taken and shot at the Jewish cemetery. Polish members of the conscripted Construction Service (Baudienst) filled in the mass grave. David Grassgreen managed to escape the shooting, as he knew the hidden trails in the area. Following the ghetto liquidation, the German and Polish police forces combed the Jewish houses, looking for those in hiding. Over the following months a number of Jews were captured and shot in the Nowy Targ area.[7]

A labor camp was established in Nowy Targ on August 30, 1942. It was located in a barracks behind the train station. The labor force consisted of approximately 35 Jews who had been spared deportation from the Nowy Targ ghetto. The prisoners performed the following types of work: carpentry, plumbing, shoemaking, and sewing. The prisoners also had to sort the clothing that belonged to the murdered Jews. About 10 of the prisoners died in a typhus epidemic. The Germans executed some inmates outside the labor camp. When the camp was liquidated on May 25, 1944, the remaining prisoners were taken to the Płaszów forced labor camp.[8]

After the war, a few Jewish survivors returned to Nowy Targ and established a local Jewish committee in the town. According to the yizkor book, Poles belonging to the extremist right-wing organization NSZ (National Armed Forces) began attacking and harassing the Jews. Chairman Klinger and six other Jews were given 24 hours notice to leave town; they were shot before the required time elapsed. David Grassgreen, who escaped from the cemetery during the August 1942 Aktion, was also murdered following his requests to the Polish Ministry of Interior for the return of the synagogue, which had been converted into a movie theater. This wave of antisemitic violence convinced the remaining Jews not to remain in Poland; most immigrated to Israel and the United States.[9]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the fate of the Jews in Nowy Targ include the following: Michael Walzer-Fass, ed., *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ and Vicinity. Translation from Sefer Nowy Targve ha seviva* (Tel Aviv: Townspeople Association of Nowy Targ and Vicinity, 1979); and Mieczysław Adamczyk, ed., *Dzieje Miasta Nowego Targu* (Kraków: Drukarnia Narodowa w Krakowie, 1991).

Documents on the extermination of the Jews in Nowy Targ can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1667, 1781, 4707); BA-L; IPN (e.g., Wyrok p-ko Robertowi Weissmannowi i Richardowi Schmieslowi); USHMM (Acc.2004.368; Acc.1997.A.0166; RG.15.019M, reels # 4 and 14; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 36); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1420 and 1172; O-6/410/5564276; O-41/650/5732776).

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NOTES

1. Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ*, pp. 56–57.
2. Ibid., pp. 56–57, 75–76; verdict in the case of Robert Philip Weissmann, LG-Frei, 1 Ks 1/64, June 25, 1965, published in

Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, vol. 21 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 593, pp. 170–219.

3. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 342; Report of the Kreishauptmann in Nowy Targ for the period from September 17, 1939, to May 31, 1941, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Doumentation über Ausrottungund und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rutten & Loening, 1961), p. 64; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14 (ASG sygn. 48 b), "Kwestionariusz o obozach," p. 189.

4. *JuNS-V*, vol. 21, Lfd. Nr. 593, p. 182; A. Eisenbach, "Ludność żydowska w Królestwie Polskim w Końcu XIX w.," *BŻIH*, 30 (1959): 96; Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ*, pp. 57–58; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14 (ASG sygn. 48b), p. 189.

5. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 4, docs. 552 and 553, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych," and doc. 498 Protokół, June 10, 1945; IPN, Ankieta GK "Represje . . ." pow. Nowy Targ, woj. krakowskie; Sąd Pow. w Nowym Targu, Zg 13/46, 43/48, 6/49; Ankieta GK "Egzekucje" Nowy Targ, woj. krakowskie.

6. Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ*, p. 69; *JuNS-V*, vol. 21, Lfd. Nr. 593, pp. 184–185.

7. Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ*, p. 60; *JuNS-V*, vol. 21, Lfd. Nr. 593, pp. 186–189; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 4, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," doc. 548; AŻIH, testimonies of Józef Winstrauch (301/1781) and Maryla Pastor (301/4707, 1667). Also see *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo nowosądeckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 78–83; this source indicates that some 1,500 Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery in 1942, but this figure may be too high.

8. IPN, ASG, sygn. 48a, p. 188; IPN, Kolekcja "Z," sygn. 924; OKKr, S 33/71; Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ*, p. 62; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 342.

9. Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ*, p. 72.

OŁPINY

Pre-1939: Ołpiny, village, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Olpiny, Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ołpiny, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Ołpiny is located approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Jasło. There were 185 Jews living there in 1921, out of a total population of 2,674.

The Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) chaired by Chaskiel Machler. Benjamin Wróbel served as the Judenrat's secretary. In May 1940, there were 225 Jews in Ołpiny, including 50 refugees from Łódź who settled there in December 1939. In describing the community's situation at the time, the Judenrat wrote to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) that Ołpiny's Jews are no longer engaged in any kind of trade, which had been their main pre-war source of income.[1]

According to Arnon Rubin, the Germans restricted the freedom of movement of all Jews soon after the occupation, allowing them to go only to the nearest village, and so depriving them of their means of income. The Judenrat delivered 30 Jews a day for forced labor. It also collected money and valuables at the Germans' request.

In February 1941, the Judenrat reported 299 Jewish residents. A number of Jews were receiving some food from surrounding estates owned by Poles.[2]

According to Mieczysław Wieliczko, historian of Jasło County, the process of ghettoization in the Kreis was completed in 1941, while some Jews were still allowed to live in villages. One of the ghettos established around that time was in Ołpiny.

Wieliczko established that in the spring of 1942 part of the Jewish population from the ghetto in Ołpiny was moved to Jasło and to Biecz. Rubin, who maintains that no ghetto was established in Ołpiny, dates the resettlement to Biecz in the summer of 1942. Prior to this deportation (June and July 1942), 40 men were sent to the labor camp in Płaszów. The remaining 120 men, women, and children were taken on August 9, 1942, to the Dąbry Forest near Rzepiennik Biskupi and shot there.

SOURCES The following publications include references to the fate of the Jews of Ołpiny: Mieczysław Wieliczko, *Jasielskie w latach drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1974), pp. 131, 182–184; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 259–260.

Archival sources can be found in AŻIH (210/524) and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/524 (Ołpiny), pp. 1–3.
2. Ibid., pp. 11, 19–20.

PILICA

Pre-1939: Pilica (Yiddish: Piltz), town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: initially a town, reclassified in 1941 as a village, Kreis Miechow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: town, województwo śląskie, Poland

The town of Pilica is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) north-northwest of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, there were 1,763 Jews living there.[1]

Pilica was occupied by German troops on September 5, 1939, and it soon came under the administration of the German civil authorities (the Landkommissar for Kreis Miechow) based in nearby Wolbrom. A German Gendarmerie post was set up in Pilica Castle; there was also a unit of Polish (Blue) Police in Pilica. Until the autumn of 1941, however, Jews were



Pre-war photograph of the Berman family in front of a wooden synagogue in Pilica.
USHMM WS #11901, COURTESY OF ANN BERMAN DAY

allowed to conduct their lives in nearly the same manner as they did before the war.[2]

By March 1940, the German authorities had set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Ber (Berek) Fogiel as chairman, Ch. Zielony as secretary, and Bencion Oberbaum, M. Blumenfeld, Gutman (Gitman) Wajnsztok, and Dr. Jakub (Jan) Szabszewicz (Szabsiewicz) as the remaining members.[3]

A Jewish health-care organization, Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia (TOŻ), resumed its activities in Pilica on June 25, 1940, under the supervision of Dr. Szabsiewicz. Due to the scarcity of resources, it could only distribute small amounts of basic medicine, and yet it provided special assistance to Jewish children by serving them a glass of milk, two white rolls, and a slice of bread daily. At first, only 20 children were in its care, but by the end of 1940, it was assisting up to 80. From September 22, 1940, the Central Organization for Orphan Care (CENTOS) was also active in Pilica.[4]

By the end of November 1940, the number of Jews in Pilica had increased by 500, reaching 2,253. Most of the newcomers were either deportees from Silesia or refugees from Kraków or the town of Szczekociny, which had been burned down.

On January 1, 1941, the authorities revoked Pilica's town status, and as a result, all residents were divested of their right to food rations, as they were now treated as village residents.[5]

A six-man Jewish Police unit was set up on the orders of the Kreishauptmann in April 1941. Its number increased to 10 in May 1942, at which time a sentry was also posted outside the ghetto.[6]

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in Pilica to take over provision of welfare from the Judenrat on July 31, 1941. The committee was chaired by Dr. Szabsiewicz, and it included Bencion Oberbaum and Abram Borzykowski. The Judenrat members Fogiel and Wajnsztok soon replaced the latter two. Szabsiewicz resigned in protest, accusing the Judenrat of obstruction of welfare in Pilica.[7]

By October 1941, 191 deportees from Miechów and Wolbrom had been resettled in Pilica with an additional 200 Jews from other localities. The Judenrat registered 2,500 Jews living in Pilica in December. This number had increased slightly—to 2,572—by April 1942.[8]

According to a survivor, Helena Rusinek, the situation of the Jews in Pilica changed after Polish partisans shot two Polish policemen on February 28, 1942. Within days, two retaliatory Aktions followed in which 11 Pilica residents were arrested and machine-gunned in a public execution. During these Aktions, three Jews were also shot separately.

After that, approximately 60 young Jews began to meet and discuss the possibility of resistance. Two rifles were purchased with money received from Chairman Fogiel, who also informed them of the location of three hidden revolvers and let the group use the typewriter to produce leaflets. Organized in cells of 5 people each, they entered into an agreement with local Polish partisans. The two groups undertook some joint sabotage operations, such as taking down road signs, loosening railroad ties, and distributing flyers. They further communicated with partisan groups in Jędrzejów and Opoczno and collected 100,000 złoty by going into peasants' homes and demanding a levy on "pain of death." Following the disappearance of one of their most active members—Herbert—Chairman Fogiel was no longer kept informed of the unit's plans, as circumstantial evidence indicated that he had betrayed Herbert to the Germans.[9]

According to JSS records, in April 1942, no separate Jewish quarter had yet been established in Pilica. Possible confirmation of the existence of an "open ghetto" in Pilica just prior to the liquidation Aktion in September comes from the testimony of one survivor regarding the deportation of Pilica's Jews: "there was no closed ghetto in the town. Jews lived on one street."[10]

By July 1942, 100 Jews had been sent to the Płaszów labor camp, and another 75 to the Bieżanów labor camp. A special committee was set up to collect money and food for their sustenance. The Jewish Police was tasked with its weekly delivery.[11] By August 1942, workshops had been set up in the synagogue with 50 tailors supported by 40 assistants sewing pants.

It was at this time that the Miechow Kreiskommissar visited Pilica and promoted the secretary of the Jewish Police, Leon Teuchler, to its commander. He also increased its strength from 10 to 14 members.[12]

Pilica's Jews were aware of the partial deportation of the nearby Słomniki community that took place in early June 1942. On June 8, 1942, the Judenrat chairman warned the community that "[when the time comes] every able Jew must flee to the forest."[13]

In the event of a deportation Aktion, the community's Jewish partisans planned to stock each house with gasoline, set the town on fire, and "die on the spot." A few weeks later, on September 5, 1942, forces of the SS, the Gestapo from Miechów and Wolbrom, and Gendarmes surrounded the town. All Jews were summoned to the market square, where they were held all day without any food or water. Approximately 20 people, including children, were shot.[14]

According to Estera Rusinek, 1,080 Jews were deported, while over 1,000 managed to flee.[15] However, the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, which dates the liquidation Aktion on September 6, states that the majority of the 3,000 able-bodied Jews were sent to work camps and the remainder (1,060) to the Bełżec extermination camp from Wolbrom.

By September 12, Chairman Fogiel had received the Germans' permission to establish an open, remnant ghetto in a separate part of the town, where somewhere between several hundred and 3,000 Jews gathered. They were confined to a few houses near the synagogue under very overcrowded conditions. They worked gathering, cleaning, and sorting abandoned Jewish property.

With the help of local Poles, those partisans who had evaded the deportation built four separate bunkers in the vicinity and moved out of the ghetto. Soon afterwards, a group of ghetto inhabitants were removed, some of them being sent to work camps.[16]

A police order issued on November 10, 1942 (effective December 1, 1942), listed those towns in Distrikt Krakau where the presence of Jews in ghettos was still permitted; Pilica was not one of them. The penalty for Jews found outside of ghettos was death. A number of Pilica residents managed to move to the Radomsko, Będzin, and Sosnowiec ghettos before the Pilica ghetto was liquidated in November 1942 and its residents murdered.[17]

The Jewish underground failed in its attempt to organize local resistance. Most of the partisans were killed when the Germans discovered their bunkers in mid-January 1943. Some 70 Jews were reportedly shot in Pilica and its vicinity that month. Some of the Poles who provided shelter, including Maria Rogozińska and her one-year-old son Piotr, and certain Polish policemen were also shot.[18]

Of the few Jews known to have survived from Pilica, most passed through a series of forced labor and concentration camps, including several who were inmates of the Auschwitz concentration camp.

SOURCES The main published account on the fate of the Jewish community of Pilica during the Holocaust is Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 388–392. Reference to a ghetto in Pilica is made also in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 988–989.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/545 [AJDC]; 211/789-791 [JSS]; and 301/520 and 2856 [Relacje]); and USHMM (RG-15.079 [Ring I/122]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 38, 211/789 (Pilica), p. 10.
2. AŻIH, 301/520, testimony of Estera Rusinek, n.d.
3. According to *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 16, 1942, Uberbaum died in February 1942; *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 5, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/545 (Pilica), p. 4; and Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/789, pp. 33, 39.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/789, pp. 2, 8, 12–13; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/545, pp. 5–8.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/789, p. 61.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 3, 1942.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/790 (Pilica), pp. 1, 9, 11–14.
8. Ibid., 211/791, pp. 3, 9.
9. AŻIH, 301/520; in her description of events, Rusinek is frequently off by one year.
10. Ibid., 301/2856, testimony of Helena Lederman, 1947. It is possible that Lederman was referring to the open remnant ghetto that was set up later, as she refers to the Aktion as the "last deportation," but she mentions simultaneous Aktions in Wolbrom and Żarnowiec, which probably indicate rather the September deportation.
11. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 3, 1942; and USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/791, pp. 41, 43, 46.
12. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 28, 1942.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/791, p. 53.
14. AŻIH, 301/520.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Getto warszawskie, lipiec 1942–styczeń 1943* (Warsaw: PWN, 1980), p. 309.
18. AŻIH, 301/520. Note that Shmuel Krakowski in *The War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984), p. 234 and in his later article "Żydowski opór w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie," p. 285, in e.d. D. Libionka, *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004) – reports about armed resistance in Pilica on September 5, 1943, long after the small ghettos in the Distrikt were liquidated (or gives this date as the date of the ghetto liquidation). Krakowski further connects these purported uprisings with a larger wave of Jewish resistance in 1943, i.e., in Warsaw or Częstochowa. The chronological error most likely derives from Rusinek's testimony (AŻIH, 301/520).

PILZNO

Pre-1939: Pilzno, town, Dębica powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Pilzno is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) east of Kraków. A census in 1921 recorded 752 Jews (21.2 percent of the total population) living there. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, 788 Jews were residing in the town, out of a total population of 1,342.

German forces occupied the town about one week after the start of the invasion on September 1, 1939. When the Germans established the Generalgouvernement in late October 1939, Pilzno became part of Kreis Debica within Distrikt Krakau.

In Pilzno there was an outpost of the German Gendarmerie and a detachment of the Polish (Blue) Police.

In mid-September 1939, the synagogue was burned down. Starting in the fall of 1939, the German authorities in Pilzno introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were made to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David and were required to register with the authorities. Jews were deprived of much of their private property. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was assigned the task in 1940 of providing Jews for forced labor. Forced labor tasks performed by the Pilzno Jews included road construction work, breaking rocks in a quarry, cutting trees in the forest, and sweeping the streets.

In mid-August 1940, the Judenrat established a self-help committee, which by the end of the year had become subordinated to the official Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization for the Generalgouvernement, based in Kraków. In late September 1940, there were about 1,300 Jews residing in Pilzno, including 250 refugees, mainly from Łódź, Poznań, and Kraków.[1]

By the summer of 1941, the JSS had established a soup kitchen, which provided food for the poor. It received occasional food distributions from the food supply office (Ernährungsamt) of the Kreishauptmann in Dębica and also more regular financial support from the JSS in Kraków—but little help from the Judenrat. However, the available resources always remained inadequate to meet the needs of the many impoverished Jews in Pilzno.

In July and August 1941, the simmering conflicts between the Judenrat, headed by M. Treibicz, and the JSS branch in Pilzno, headed by Leon Kupferblum, intensified. Disputes about the financing of JSS activities in Pilzno were aggravated by personal accusations made by the Judenrat against members of the JSS branch. These disputes were settled temporarily in September, following the intervention of the Kreisjudenrat in Dębica. In October 1941, there were 17 cases of typhus reported, mostly among the poorer Jews of Pilzno, which resulted in three deaths.[2]

In mid-December 1941, the JSS branch opened a child-care facility in Pilzno for children of poor Jewish families, providing health checkups, some education, and also supplementary nutrition. In the following months, around 30 children received extra food and care in this facility.[3]

In January 1942, the head of the Judenrat, Treibicz, was dismissed by the Kreishauptmann, and a new Judenrat was formed. Among its members now was Samuel Birnbach, who also served on the local JSS committee. In this way, it was hoped that most of the previous frictions between the two bodies could be eliminated. Twenty-four of the Jews sent for work at the Pustków labor camp returned in January, as they had become infected with typhus there.[4]

On June 20, 1942, the Jews of Pilzno were informed that they had until July 4 to move to a "closed quarter" (*geschlossenes Viertel*).[5] Several Pilzno survivors confirm that a ghetto was set up in Pilzno during the summer of 1942. It covered about 1,800 square meters (2,153 square yards) and existed for just a few weeks. According to Israel Turk, it was set up in a few buildings in the smallest, dirtiest corner of town. Henry Reicher noted that part of the town was fenced off and guarded by the Jewish and Polish (Blue) Police. The Jews lived crowded together, with more than 4 people per room. Sarah Friedman recalls being forced to move out of her house into the ghetto, which was very overcrowded; people slept on mattresses on the floor.[6] The JSS records confirm that by July 4, 1942, a Jewish hospital had been opened within the "Jewish quarter." By mid-July, between 400 and 600 additional Jews had been brought into Pilzno from the surrounding villages, half of whom qualified for support from the soup kitchen. At this time, the Pilzno JSS desperately pleaded for a special subvention from the headquarters in Kraków, as all the able-bodied men were assigned to work in Dębica, or further away, and the remaining women and children were left with no means of support. In addition, the resources of the Judenrat were exhausted, due to many additional costs.[7]

In the second half of July, the office of the German Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Dębica organized the liquidation of the ghetto, assisted by the local Gendarmerie and other auxiliary forces. During the roundup in Pilzno, at least 17 Jews were killed on the spot, and around 1,500 Jews were sent to Dębica.[8] According to one survivor, a policeman came to warn his family of the impending ghetto liquidation the next day, so her family fled at night to the countryside. They tried to retrieve belongings they had hidden with Polish neighbors, but these former friends turned them away empty-handed.[9]

From Dębica, together with Jews from other localities, the German Security Police deported most of the Jews from Pilzno to the Bełżec extermination camp. A few able-bodied Jews were sent to Pustków and other labor camps. Some of those sent to Pustków were subsequently transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp.

In the second half of 1942 and in 1943, after the Pilzno ghetto had been liquidated, the German Gendarmerie and Polish (Blue) Police hunted down and shot Jews who had gone into hiding. The Chilowicz, Bochner, and other Pilzno families evaded the roundups by hiding in prepared bunkers, but some Jews were betrayed and killed.[10]

A good number of local Poles decided to help the Jews, and several of them paid for it with their lives when the Germans discovered their humanitarian efforts.[11] On February 19, 1943, the German police shot four Poles for offering shelter to Jews; they also killed the 6 Jews whom the Poles had hidden. On October 9, 1943, the Germans shot five members of the Rębina family and the 12 Jews they had been hiding, then burned all the buildings on the farm. When Josef Bobrowski was discovered to be hiding 2 Jews, both he and the Jewish refugees were shot. After the war, Yad Vashem recognized Józefa Rysinska of Pilzno as Righteous Among the Nations for her role in helping Jews during the occupation. Another Pole who provided life-saving help to the Jews was Mieczysław Ryba, of Slotiwej. From August 1942 to the summer of 1944, 3 Jews hid on his father's farm: Benjamin Deresiewicz, Abraham

Einspruch, and Israel Hamel. In the spring of 1943, the brothers Hyman and Mendel Reiner of Pilzno joined them. As the front grew closer, the 5 Jews moved to another farm. All survived.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Pilzno can be found in these publications: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 385; Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 291–293; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3, *District Krakow* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 268–270; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 586. Additional information can be found on these Web sites: "Maurice Chilowicz and the Story of Pilzno," at www.shtelinks.jewishgen.org; and "Pilzno," at www.sztetl.org.pl.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/792-794 [JSS]); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); VHF (e.g., # 6985, 10213, 23367, 27137, 30184); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/792, p. 7, JSS Pilzno to JSS Kraków, September 25, 1940.
2. Ibid., 211/793, pp. 10–55.
3. Ibid., 211/792, p. 26, JSS Pilzno to JSS Kraków, January 5, 1942 (misfiled); 211/793, pp. 67–70; 211/794, pp. 12, 39.
4. Ibid., 211/794, p. 14, JSS Pilzno to JSS Kraków, February 1, 1942.
5. Ibid., 211/794, pp. 46–47, JSS Pilzno to JSS Kraków, June 21, 1942; RG-15.019M, woj. Rzeszów, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," no. 8 (Pilzno), dates the ghetto from June 20, 1942, but this was the day when the order for its establishment by July 4 was issued.
6. VHF, # 6985, testimony of Israel Turk; # 27137, testimony of Henry Reicher; # 30184, testimony of Sarah Friedman.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/794, pp. 46–54, June and July 1942.
8. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 385; VHF, # 10213, testimony of Sidney Schrank.
9. VHF, # 30184.
10. "Maurice Chilowicz and the Story of Pilzno," at www.shtelinks.jewishgen.org/pilzno/Chilowicz.htm.
11. www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/pilzno/backgr.html.

PROSZOWICE

Pre-1939: Proszowice, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Miechow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Proszowice is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) northeast of Kraków. In 1939, there were 1,450 Jews living in Proszowice.[1]

The Wehrmacht occupied Proszowice in early September 1939. Dawid Szydłowski was charged with running the town's Jewish Council (Judenrat). The remainder of the Judenrat consisted of the pre-war leaders of the community.[2] A Jewish police force was organized subsequently, and its commander cooperated with the Germans.[3]

At first, the Proszowice Jews were able to lead their lives much as they had before the war. All survivors emphasize that it was safe and quiet there until 1942.

By May 1940, there were 1,700 Jews in Proszowice, including 200 refugees. The Judenrat assigned the poor to local families for support and sustenance. A self-help committee was set up for their benefit by August 1940 and was chaired by the Judenrat's president. By October 1940, the number of refugees had doubled, the newcomers being mainly Jews expelled from Kraków. Although many rented from Poles, there was a serious shortage of lodging.[4]

A typhus epidemic broke out in March 1941. German authorities quarantined the town, and Proszowice residents were forbidden to leave. There was no epidemic hospital. A Jewish doctor by the name of Loofenholz attended to the sick. By May 1941, the number of Jews had increased significantly, reaching 2,600. At the end of June 1941, the town was still closed. A soup kitchen was launched to feed the sick and was maintained after the epidemic for the benefit of the poor. Typhus cases kept reappearing periodically. A hospital fitted with 10 beds opened only in June 1942.[5]

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established in Proszowice in July 1941 to take over the organization of welfare from the Judenrat. It included the Judenrat chairman Szydłowski as president, Leibuś Felman as his deputy, and Dawid Rozenberg. In the summer of 1941, the JSS soup kitchen served 350 meals daily, including 100 free of charge. In November 1941, the JSS solicited food supplies from 20 Polish estates in the vicinity for the soup kitchen; 19 owners promptly responded, promising produce free of charge. By January 1942, the number of Jews in Proszowice had reached 3,008, with the number of newcomers (1,558) exceeding the number of local Jews.[6]

In June 1942, JSS member Rozenberg accused Szydłowski of abuse of power and called for an investigation of the branch by the main office in Kraków. According to Rozenberg, Szydłowski denied other members access to the organization's affairs, correspondence, and bookkeeping; the latter was done solely by his brother and sister. Szydłowski further intentionally delayed two vital matters for the community, these being the opening of workshops and an agricultural cooperative. Although the outcome of Rozenberg's action is unknown, only Szydłowski's name appears in subsequent official correspondence.[7]

On July 15, 1942, the Jews living in the villages surrounding Proszowice were brought into the town. Their number is unknown.[8]

On June 22, 1942, 100 laborers were sent to Kraków, thereby raising the number of Proszowice Jews laboring in the vicinity of Kraków to 350. A few hundred more Jews were dispatched

to Kraków in mid-July. The community was forced to deliver weekly food rations for its laborers. That summer in Proszowice, 50 Jews worked repairing roads; 40, on water irrigation projects for the Strauch Company; 10, for Trunkenpolz in agriculture; 8, for an agricultural cooperative; and 10 aged over 50, cleaning the streets. Approximately 100 women were employed in agriculture in Wierzbno, Kościelec, Jakubowice, Opatkowice, and Kowary.[9]

A Czech German named Lachowicz and a Jewish refugee from Kraków named Stern organized privately owned workshops in late July 1942. Proszowice Jews generally distrusted Stern, and of the town's craftspeople, only the tailors decided to take paid jobs at the workshop. Another obstacle to the workshop's operations was the local Arbeitsamt, which continued to conscript workshop employees for forced labor in Kraków, thereby forcing Lachowicz to change the status of the workshop from "private" to "collective," as the latter designation was approved by the Arbeitsamt. The workshops filled sample orders of trousers, drawers, suits, and furs for the Strassberg, Medwitz, and Lichtig companies. By the time production orders were placed by these companies, however, the community was no longer in existence.[10]

The Jewish community of Proszowice was liquidated at the end of August 1942, probably on Saturday, August 29. One day prior to the community's deportation, the town was surrounded, and the Germans ordered all Jews to report to the market square. Local farmers were forced to provide wagons to transport 2,000 Jews to nearby Słomniki, from where many of the Jews of Kreis Miechow were being gathered for deportation to the Bełżec extermination camp. Posters were hung reminding Poles of the death penalty for helping Jews.

Those who did not report to the market square were shot in their houses. The elderly and children were selected out and shot. A group of Jews numbering between 50 and 100 were sent to Płaszów by truck. Some volunteered to go.[11]

Aside from those who fled or hid with Polish friends, the Germans left behind 100 to 200 Jews, including members of the Judenrat and Jewish Police, to gather, clean, and sort the abandoned Jewish property stored under the Judenrat's care. These Jews formed the basis for some kind of remnant ghetto, as they were subsequently joined by other Jews who emerged from hiding.

Upon the community's liquidation, the Germans went from village to village in search of Jews in hiding. Those they caught they shot on the spot; Poles found to be sheltering Jewish escapees shared the fate of the Jews. The killings, however, ended after three or four days, as the German authorities announced that Jews would be permitted to return to Proszowice to live in their own houses. On September 24, 1942, Szydłowski informed the Kraków JSS office of the resumption of social welfare activities, including the reopening of the soup kitchen after "a one-month break." By this time, approximately 500 Jews had gathered in the Proszowice "ghetto." Szydłowski further estimated that 700 Proszowice Jews were in the various Kraków camps. After the Germans caught one of his sons pocketing an item from the warehouse, Szydłowski and all his sons were shot together on one day. A total of 26 Jews were reportedly shot in October 1942.[12]

A police order issued on November 10, 1942, listed those towns in Distrikt Krakau where the presence of Jews in ghettos was permitted; Proszowice was not one of them. The penalty for Jews found outside these ghettos was death. This order presaged the imminent deportation of the remaining Jews in Proszowice.[13] One of the survivors, Al Bukiet, reported that after the main deportation Aktion, he was still able to return from his labor camp to Proszowice for weekends. With time the ghetto became smaller and smaller, and only those who had jobs were allowed to stay.[14]

The ghetto was most likely liquidated in December 1942, although some sources date it in November. Its inhabitants were sent to Bełżec.[15]

SOURCES The fate of the Proszowice Jewish community is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1030.

The following archival sources were used for this entry: AŻIH (210/564 [AJDC]; 211/820-825 [JSS]; 302/66 [Pamiętniki]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 50; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and RG-02.208M [Pamiętniki]); and VHF (# 01355-1, 07285-3, 11515-6, 19305, 19311, 22337, 24467-3, 31459-4, 31742, 32085, 35546, 37184, 42061-3, and 43560).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 50, 211/824 (Proszowice), p. 19.
2. VHF, # 19305, testimony of Majer Goldstein, 1996; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/820 (Proszowice), pp. 7, 11.
3. VHF, # 31459-4, testimony of Helen Reich, 1997.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/564, pp. 1, 5, 7.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/820, pp. 32, 34; 211/821, pp. 23, 31; 211/822, p. 22; 211/823, p. 23; 211/824, pp. 6, 19; and 211/825, p. 7.
6. Ibid., 211/821, pp. 44, 54; 211/822, pp. 61, 66; and 211/824, p. 19.
7. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/825, pp. 1–3.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 2, 1942; and VHF, # 35546, testimony of Barbara Dohnal, 1997.
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 2, 1942, and August 16, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/825, pp. 8–9, 13, 16.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/825, pp. 18, 23–24, 28, 44.
11. According to VHF, # 19311, testimony of Hala Goldstein, 1996; # 32085, testimony of Rachel Englard, 1997; # 22337, testimony of Mannie Schneider, 1996; # 07285-3, testimony of David Werdyger, 1995; # 43560, testimony of Al Bukiet, 1998; # 19305; # 31742, testimony of Janek Schnall, 1997; and Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1030.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/825, pp. 47, 50; VHF, # 11515-6, testimony of Fryda Wollstein, 1996; AŻIH, 302/66, testimony of Maria Stecko; VHF, # 19305; # 24467-3, testimony of Jack Kleiner, 1997, specifically uses the

word *ghetto* in describing Proszowice at this time. Also see *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krakowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), p. 79; and Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1030. No description of the "ghetto" has survived, but it probably was an open ghetto where the remaining Jews lived together in a few houses.

13. E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 98.

14. VHF, # 43560.

15. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/825, p. 57; VHF, # 19305; # 11515-6; # 07285-3; # 43560; *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 79.

PRUCHNIK

Pre-1939: Pruchnik, village, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Jaroslau, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

The village of Pruchnik is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) southwest of Jarosław. In 1921, there were 877 Jews living in Pruchnik, constituting 51.7 percent of the total population. Jewish residency was concentrated around the market square, as well as on Kańczuga, Jarosław, Kościelna, and Długa Streets.

There were 976 Jewish residents in Pruchnik on the outbreak of World War II. Shortly after capturing the village on September 9, 1939, the Germans shot approximately 50 Jews after having dragged them behind horses through the streets.[1]

The Germans replaced the majority of Poles serving in the Pruchnik municipality with Ukrainians. A man by the name of Harasymow was appointed as the new mayor; and a certain "Kondratko" became Pruchnik's wójt. A small German Gendarmerie post was stationed in the village.[2]

Archival files of the Pruchnik American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branches maintain that an open ghetto in Pruchnik was established as early as November 1939. Until the beginning of 1942, the ghetto—located on Długa Street—served as the designated place of Jewish residence; however, its inhabitants could still move freely around the village.[3]

The Judenrat chairman, Samuel Goldstein, described events leading to the ghetto's establishment as follows: "In November 1939, the community was expelled to the [new German-Soviet] border, but because the border was [already] closed, they [the Jews] could not cross it. Wanting to return to their houses, they were unfortunately forbidden entrance, and were forced to wander for two weeks until they finally received the authorities' permission [to move back to Pruchnik]. On their return, they were compressed onto a single street, suffocating in this confined space and dying of hunger." In this letter, sent to the AJDC's Kraków office in June 1940, Goldstein requested assistance for the 580 Jews who had returned to Pruchnik (i.e., approximately two thirds of the pre-war population), including 25 refugees. By December 1940, the number of ghetto residents had risen to 600.[4]

In the spring of 1941, the community sought the Kreishauptmann's permission to teach horticultural and agricultural courses and for the assignment of uncultivated parcels of land in and around Pruchnik. The Kreishauptmann denied the request. Nevertheless, clandestine schooling of Jewish children took place in the ghetto. Among the teachers was Irena Kudler, who also took part in the underground education of Polish youth in Pruchnik.[5]

A branch of the JSS was established in Pruchnik in June 1941. Local doctor Ottmar Schorr (born 1908) chaired the committee, which also included Irena Kudler (deputy) and Bernard Pasternak. On Schorr's request, Maier Ober replaced the latter due to poor performance, in March 1942. The committee never managed to open a soup kitchen and limited its activity to the distribution of small sums of money or rations.

According to Schorr, very few men returned after the 1939 expulsion; hence the ghetto's residents consisted primarily of women, children, and the elderly, none of whom were able to donate any funds for social services. According to the JSS report, there were 137 ghetto residents under the age of 18 in August 1941. Of that number, 39 were 14 to 18 years old. In the summer of 1941, a number of Jews arranged employment for reasonable wages with local farmers.

In an attempt to increase welfare funds, Schorr wrote to the JSS headquarters in Kraków in June 1941: "The municipality in Pruchnik collects rent from all 'ownerless' Jewish houses [those whose owners did not return after expulsion], and even from those whose owners are residing in Pruchnik. Furthermore, the municipality collects significant rental sums from the military quartered now for several months in two synagogues. Of all this income, the Jewish community is not receiving anything." Schorr requested Kraków's assistance in persuading the municipality to transfer a portion of this income for the welfare of Pruchnik's Jews. Furthermore, according to Schorr, expropriated Jewish land had been assigned to private commissars, who were depositing part of the income with the Treuhandstelle (Trustee Office)—not the Jews.[6]

By January 1942, Pruchnik's Jews were no longer allowed to leave the limits of the village, due to "the recent order forbidding the Jews to leave their places of residence." Despite poverty and overcrowding among the Jews of Pruchnik, there was only one case of typhus registered by March 1942. Dr. Schorr was the only doctor serving the community.

In April 1942, there were 575 Jews living in the ghetto. They occupied 51 houses, comprising 146 rooms. A few of the Jews were permitted to live outside the ghetto; for example, in June 1942, Schorr lived at 39 Rynek Street, and Irena Kudler, at 5 Kościelna Street.

Pruchnik's Jews remained hopeful of obtaining jobs in agriculture; however, by June 1942, "permissions to go to work on neighboring farms" remained with the authorities. Finally, in mid-July 1942, 65 volunteers were working in agriculture, 15 of whom were under 15 years of age and labored in local orchards.

The JSS reported in June 1942 that "[the community] recently declined by 20 people, mainly fathers and mothers, who up to now had sustained families, which are now left to their fate." These people were either sent to labor camps or more likely shot. In the summer of 1942, over a dozen Jews were reportedly shot by three German Gendarmes near the cemetery.[7]

As evidenced by another of Schorr's letters to Kraków, dated August 3, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated between August 1 and 3, 1942. "Because [the] entire local population is being deported, the JSS branch is ending its activities as of July 31, 1942." According to a secondary source, the community was deported to the Bircza ghetto, and shortly thereafter, on that ghetto's liquidation, to the Bełżec extermination camp. An unknown number of Jews were also taken from Pruchnik to the killing site in Wólka Pełkińska and shot there. The Germans allowed a few families to remain in Pruchnik for at least one month, after which they were moved to the ghetto in Sieniawa.

SOURCES The Pruchnik ghetto is briefly mentioned in Andrzej Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica* (Brzozów: Związek Gmin Brzozowskich and Muzeum Regionalne PTTK w Brzozowie, 1993), pp. 123–124.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/565 [AJDC]; 211/826-827 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); and VHF (# 5761).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. VHF, # 5761, testimony of Dov Feit, 1995; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo przemyskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1983), pp. 82–83; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/827 (Pruchnik), p. 28.
2. "Wspomnienia łączniczki Armii Krajowej ps. 'Kropka' z lat okupacji hitlerowskiej z terenu Pruchnika," *Ziemia Pruchnicka*, no. 3 (11) (2002): 3–4.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/565 (Pruchnik), p. 1; "Wspomnienia łączniczki," pp. 3–4.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/657 (Łańcut), p. 16; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/565, pp. 1–2. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1030, the expulsion was "an initiative of the Polish mayor."
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/827, pp. 6–7; "Wspomnienia łączniczki," pp. 3–4.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/826 (Pruchnik), pp. 6–7, 15–19, 36, 41–43; and 211/827, pp. 2, 10, 23.
7. *Rejestr miejsc*, pp. 82–83; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/827, pp. 6–7, 24, 28, 33–34, 39, 43.

PRZEMYŚL

Pre-1939: Przemyśl, city and powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: two occupation zones along the River San—the German-occupied right bank, Jarosław powiat, from June 27, 1940, Deutsche-Przemysl, and the Soviet-occupied left bank, Pshemysl', Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Przemysl, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Przemyśl, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Przemyśl is located about 220 kilometers (137 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, Przemyśl had around 54,000 inhabitants, including some 20,000 Jews. Another 4,000 Jews resided in the villages of the Przemyśl powiat.

Przemyśl straddled the demarcation line between the German and Soviet occupation zones in Poland. The city was divided along the San River, creating a German-occupied zone, including the left-bank Przemyśl, and a Soviet-occupied zone, incorporating the city center and its adjacent districts.

On September 16, one day after the German capture of Przemyśl, parts of the Einsatzgruppe zur besonderen Verwendung (Einsatzgruppe z.b.V.) commanded by Obergruppenführer Udo von Woyrsch entered the city. Einsatzgruppe personnel collected Jewish men, especially leaders of the community, shot them in pits at various locations outside the city, then went on to loot and destroy Jewish homes and businesses.[1]

By the end of September, the Jews from German-occupied Przemyśl had been expelled across the San River. After the expulsions, only 66 Jews remained in the part of the city now called Deutsche-Przemyśl. These Jews were subsequently forced into two buildings on 11/13 Dolińskiego Street; they consisted mainly of sick and elderly refugees from Katowice and Jarosław. In June 1942, the Germans killed them in the nearby village of Kuńkowce.

After October 26, 1939, the Einsatzgruppen administration was transformed into the regional office of the Gestapo under SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Alfred Hasselberg based in Przemyśl. At this point, Captain Schiffer was appointed as the Kreishauptmann, while SS-Obergruppenführer Schattenheim became head of the local Gestapo.



Poles buy household goods being sold by Jews in the Przemyśl ghetto, 1941. The original Yiddish caption reads, "The peasants exploit our desolation."
USHMM WS 44372, COURTESY OF YIVO

On June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union, capturing Przemyśl on June 28 after heavy fighting. Among the city's 65,798 inhabitants were about 16,500 Jews.

On November 1, 1941, the Germans reunited the right- and left-bank districts of Przemyśl into one administrative district. On March 1, 1943, Przemyśl became the center of its own Kreis with an area of 1,996 square kilometers (771 square miles) and 217,106 inhabitants.

After the Germans captured the city, the Jewish community organized a committee led by Drs. Susswein, Haas, and Duldig. In early July, this committee was transformed into the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The German authorities appointed Dr. Ignacy Duldig as head of the council. Its executive committee consisted of over 20 prominent members of the Jewish community and had its headquarters on Kopernik Street. The Judenrat was responsible for collecting funds, provisions, and equipment demanded by the local German army command, as well as supplying Jewish laborers for road construction and repairing war damage in the city. Shortly after the German occupation of Przemyśl, the Gestapo arrived and announced a new set of regulations for the Jews. They were to be separated from the rest of the population, made to surrender personal property and valuables, and ordered to abandon their homes and relocate to the Garbarza district of the city. In addition, all Jews aged 16 to 60 were required to register with the Jewish labor office, which was subordinated to the German Arbeitsamt, headed by a Ukrainian senior official. Groups of Jewish workers provided manual labor overseen by ethnic Germans and Ukrainians.

The Judenrat was also responsible for issuing food rations and overseeing the Jewish Police. To assist the starving population, the Judenrat organized a soup kitchen. In addition, members maintained the small synagogue on Mnisza Street (the only synagogue within the Jewish quarter) and several churches (*kloizers*), particularly on Czarniecki Street.

In July 1941, Jews were forced to move to a designated area of Przemyśl, and after December 26, 1941, the Schutzpolizei became responsible for policing the Jewish district. The Garbarza district, designated as the Jewish residential area, was bounded on three sides by the bend in the River San. The southern boundary was marked by the Kraków-Lwów rail line. This small Jewish quarter became home to 17,000 people. Initially the Jewish area was not enclosed, and Jews could walk freely through the streets. Only crossing the river via the provisional bridge was prohibited by the Germans.

On July 3, 1942, the newly appointed Stadtkommissar, Bernard Giesselmann, issued a formal decree to create a separate Jewish residential quarter in Przemyśl. On July 16, the Przemyśl ghetto came into being, covering roughly the same territory as the existing Jewish quarter.[2]

The Jews had to move to the ghetto no later than 10:00 P.M. on July 15. Those leaving the ghetto illegally and those knowingly giving shelter to Jews were threatened with the death penalty. All the entrances to the ghetto were closed except for those on Wiktoria (Jagiellońska) and Lwów Streets. In its final section, the regulation ordered that Jews could only leave the ghetto to work. In the early hours of July 16, the fencing of the ghetto began.

Most sources estimate that at least 22,000 Jews had been resettled to the ghetto by the summer of 1942. Throughout its history, approximately 24,000 Jews passed through the Przemyśl ghetto.

From the spring of 1942 on, the Gestapo and members of the Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) shot groups of Jews at the Jewish cemetery on Słowacki Street on numerous occasions. In addition, between June and August 1942, the Germans killed a number of Jews remaining in the surrounding villages. By the end of June 1942, some 5,000 surviving Jews from neighboring villages, such as Bircza, Krzywcza, Niżankowice, and Dynów, had been resettled to the Przemyśl ghetto, as the area around Przemyśl was cleared of Jews.

On the orders of Gestapo chief SS-Untersturmführer Adolf Benthin, in mid-June 1942, the Judenrat had to provide a list of 1,000 young, able-bodied Jews capable of work. On June 18, 1942, people on the list were arrested and handed over by the Jewish Police to the Gestapo and Schupo. On June 20, those not able to bribe their way off the list were transported to the Janowska Street Camp in Lwów.

After sealing the ghetto on July 16, 1942, the Germans prepared for the first large-scale deportation from Przemyśl. The leaders of the Judenrat were notified on July 23, 1942, that the first resettlement for forced labor would take place four days later. Members of the Judenrat, hospital staff and patients, and those with working permits were to be exempted. The Gestapo issued 5,000 work permits to Duldig to be distributed among the 20,000-strong Jewish population. All work cards were collected and sent to the Gestapo on July 24 and given back to the Judenrat two days later with a list of those marked for "resettlement."

On July 25, the ghetto was surrounded by part of Police Battalion 307, under Captain Schaller's command. Announcements were posted throughout the city notifying the local population of the resettlement of the Jewish population on July 27 and warning that anyone caught giving assistance to Jews or plundering their property would face the death penalty. On July 27, 3,850 Jews, primarily from the areas adjacent to the synagogue on Mnisza Street, were deported to the extermination camp at Bełżec. On the same day, the head of the Judenrat, Dr. Duldig, and his deputy, Rechter, were killed on the steps of the Judenrat building on Kopernik Street. At this time, several hundred elderly, sick, and disabled Jews were taken to the forest near Grochowce and shot by members of the Sipo, commanded by Karl Reisner.

The deportations continued on July 31, when about 3,000 residents of Czarniecki, Kopernik, and adjacent streets were transported to Bełżec. On August 3, another 3,000 Jews shared the same fate. In total, 9,850 Jews were sent to their deaths in Bełżec between July 27 and August 3, 1942. It was during this first Aktion that despite the pledges made by the Catholic bishop of Przemyśl, Franciszek Barda, all Jewish converts to Christianity were shot at the Jewish cemetery. In addition, all the patients of the Jewish hospital were shot.

On November 17, men of the Schupo and Gestapo surrounded the ghetto. The next morning, "Aktion Judenrein" began, in which 4,000 people were collected at the deportation square and sent to their deaths in Bełżec. (Some 8,000 Jews were slated for deportation to Bełżec, but only 3,500 showed up. The remainder were in hiding in the ghetto. Before the trains left, another 500 were pulled from their bunkers and added to the transport.) On the same day, the orphanage was liquidated.

After the second Aktion, the ghetto was reduced in size and partitioned into two ghettos: "Ghetto A," for about 800 people capable of work; and "Ghetto B," for about 4,000 "nonproductive" Jews. In February 1943, the two ghettos in Przemyśl were put under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Josef Schwammberger, who was known for his exceptional cruelty. Ghetto A was officially declared a labor camp by Schwammberger, and any contact with Ghetto B was strictly forbidden.

Although there was no armed resistance in the ghetto, a dozen young Jews managed to escape in mid-April 1943. An organized group, headed by Brunk, Kastner, and Grin, attempted to reach Polish partisans in the surrounding forests but was apprehended. All the escapees, except for one, were shot by Ukrainians just outside the city. On May 10, 1943, Reisner was severely injured after a Jew stabbed him. The attempt on Reisner's life brought severe German retaliation to the ghetto when three randomly chosen Jews, Grin, Gründ, and Krebs, were sentenced to be hanged. In addition, approximately 30 Jews in the ghetto were shot as a reprisal.

On September 2–3, 1943, the final liquidation of Ghetto B began when an entire battalion of German troops rounded up approximately 3,500 Jews and sent them to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp. On September 4, 100 Jews from the ghetto were deported to the work camp at Szebnie. On September 10, the commander of the GPK, Rudolf Benewitz, announced that all Jews who reported for resettlement voluntarily would be assigned to work camps. On the following day, 1,580 Jews gathered at the Grzegorz Piramowicz School on Kopernik Street. After making them undress and surrender their valuables, the Sipo shot them in groups of 50. This Aktion became known as the "Turnhalle Aktion" (Gymnasium Aktion). Another deportation of 100 Jews to the Szebnie camp followed on October 28.

Between November 28, 1943, and February 2, 1944, the roughly 1,000 Jews remaining in the (former) Ghetto A labor camp were either shot or sent to the camps at Stalowa Wola, Szebnie, Płaszów, or Auschwitz II-Birkenau. The last 20 Jewish children in the ghetto were shot personally by Schwammberger. Just before the liberation of Przemyśl, the bodies of Jews killed in the ghetto were burned by the Wehrmacht. By the spring of 1944, only approximately 120 Jews remained in hiding in Przemyśl.

The ghetto was destroyed at the end of February 1944, at which point Przemyśl was declared to be *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). The estimated 120 Jews still hiding in bunkers and other places in Przemyśl were mostly discovered and killed over the subsequent months.

On July 27, 1944, the Red Army reentered the city. According to official data, the population of Przemyśl had fallen from approximately 54,000 on the eve of World War II to only 28,144 in January 1945. Of these, there were 22,173 Poles, 3,372 Ukrainians, 415 Jews, 106 Russians, and 78 of other nationalities. Of the 415 Jews in Przemyśl in January 1945, fewer than 250 were pre-war residents of the city. The Shoah abruptly ended the thousand-year history of the Jewish community in Przemyśl.

When the SS prepared to launch their first Aktion on July 26, 1942, the military commandant in Przemyśl, Major Max Liedtke, and his adjutant, Dr. Albert Battel, requested that Jews working for the German army be spared. When the request was denied, Wehrmacht forces took control of the rail bridge over the San River. They threatened that no transports would leave the ghetto and ordered the bridge to be blockaded. When the SS Kommando attempted to cross the bridge, Liedtke threatened to open fire. After phoning their commander in Kraków, Julian Scherner of the Gestapo, they acceded to the request, temporarily saving many Jews from deportation. On the same day, according to survivors' testimony, an army detachment under Battel's command broke into the ghetto and used army trucks to whisk off between 80 and 100 Jews to a military barracks for protection.

After the incident, SS authorities began a secret investigation into Battel's conduct. They discovered that Battel, though himself a member of the Nazi Party since May 1933, had previously attracted notice by his friendly behavior towards Jews. Before the war, he had been indicted by a party tribunal for extending a loan to a Jewish colleague. During his service in Przemyśl, he was officially reprimanded for shaking the hand of the chairman of the Judenrat. Battel's actions even attracted the attention of Heinrich Himmler, who took a lively interest in the investigation. Yad Vashem posthumously recognized Albert Battel as Righteous Among the Nations nearly 30 years after his death. For his part, Major Max Liedtke became the highest-ranking German officer to be awarded the same honor.

In Przemyśl, the number of Christians who provided assistance to their Jewish neighbors will never be known. Whether it was a piece of bread for a starving inhabitant of the ghetto or a hiding place for a Jewish stranger, the true extent of aid given to Jews during their last days can never be quantified. In spite of constant fear and the threat of death, dozens of Christians from Przemyśl, both Polish and Ukrainian, were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem. Fortunately, much evidence of the kindness and heroism of a number of people from Przemyśl and its vicinity has been documented by those Jews who survived with their help.

A number of Poles and Ukrainians, however, lost their lives for helping Jews, due to betrayal by neighbors, friends, and even family members. According to postwar investigations, 568 Christians from Kreis Przemysl were murdered for attempting to help Jews. For example, Michał Gierula from the village of Łodzinka near Bircza was hanged by the Gestapo after being betrayed by a Polish woman for offering shelter to

three partisans of the Armia Krajowa (Home Army) and to three Jews.

Stefania Podgórska and her sister, Helena, saved 13 Jews using a hiding place in the attic behind a false wall in their home at 3 Tatarska Street. Stefania went on to marry Max Diamand (Józef Burzmiński), one of the Jews hidden in her cottage. Their story was made into a film, *Hidden in Silence* (1996), and a documentary, *The Other Side of Faith* (1991). The Sisters of the Sacred Heart, a convent in Przemyśl, sheltered and cared for 40 Christian and 13 Jewish children during World War II. Most of the Jewish children there either had been left on the steps of the orphanage at 80 Mickiewicz Street by desperate parents or had been brought by Polish friends and neighbors. In addition to individuals and religious orders, a local branch of Żegota also functioned in Przemyśl after September 1943. Żegota provided false identity cards, food, and money; assisted individuals and institutions sheltering Jews; and protected them against informers.

Karl Reisner was sentenced to life imprisonment by a German court in 1969 for crimes committed in Przemyśl.[3]

SOURCES Further information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Przemyśl can be found in the following publications: Aaron Freiwald and Martin Mendelson, *The Last Nazi: Joseph Schwammberger and the Nazi Past* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994); John J. Hartman and Jacek Krochmal, eds., *I Remember Every Day: The Fates of the Jews of Przemyśl during World War II* (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk and Remembrance and Reconciliation, 2002); Arie Menczer, ed., *Sefer Przemyśl* (Tel Aviv, 1964); Joseph Rebhun, *God and Man in Two Worlds* (Claremont, CA: Or Publishing, 1985); Joseph Rebhun, *Leap to Life: Triumph over Nazi Evil* (New York: Ardor Scribendi, 2000); Jan Rożański, "Przemyśl w latach drugiej wojny światowej," in *Tysiąc lat Przemyśla* (Warsaw and Kraków, 1974); Józef Sohn-Sonecki, *Byłem jeńcem Wehrmachtu* (Warsaw, 1956); Józef Sohn-Sonecki, *Byłem więźniem Wehrmachtu* (Warsaw, 1965); Bronisław Szatyń, *A Private War: Surviving in Poland on False Papers 1941–1945* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1985); A. Wolfshant-Dinkes, *Échec et mot: La miracle de ma vie* (Paris, 1975); and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 586–592.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Przemyśl under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: APPrz; AŻIH (e.g., 301/4957; 211/833-834); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, 205 AR-Z 302/67, vol. 3); IPN; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.002*0131; RG-15.019M, reel 11); VHF; and YVA.

Curt Dunagan

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, 205 AR-Z 302/67, vol. 3, pp. 498–577.
2. For a map of the ghetto area as of its enclosure on July 15–16, 1942, see Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*, p. 589.
3. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 699, pp. 519–671, verdict of LG-Hamb, (50) 38/67, January 14, 1969.

PRZEWORSK

Pre-1939: Przeworsk, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Jaroslau, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: town, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Przeworsk is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) east of Rzeszów. There were 1,457 Jews living in Przeworsk in 1921, according to the census.

In the first days of World War II, the Jewish section of Przeworsk was severely damaged by air raids. Shortly after occupying the town, the Germans searched the synagogue and allegedly found ammunition there. In retaliation, they razed the building on September 12, 1939. The Gestapo arrived from Jarosław to execute 30 Jews.

Survivor Harry Kuper testified that the Germans, soon after entering Przeworsk, ordered the Jews gathered in a church. After an elderly rabbi failed to report, the Germans selected every tenth man from among the assembled, took them away, and pretended to torture them to find out the rabbi's whereabouts. After a man disclosed his hiding place, the rabbi was arrested and thrown into a hole for execution. Observing the scene from his window, a priest was shot for intervening. The prisoners, including the rabbi, were released.[1]

Within weeks, the Germans stripped Jewish stores of merchandise and then closed them. Men, aged from 15 to 70 years old, and women, from 15 to 65 years old, daily assembled at the market square for work assignments. The assignments included cleaning train cars of debris, factory labor, and menial work for the Germans.[2]

Survivor Zygmunt Margules testified that shortly after the Soviet invasion of Poland, on September 17, 1939, the SS arrived in Przeworsk late one night, beat many Jewish residents, and "said everybody has to go."[3] According to historian Andrzej Potocki, most of the Jews were forced across the San River, into Soviet-occupied Polish territory, including to the nearby town of Sieniawa. The Germans left only 27 Jews in Przeworsk.



One religious Jew is forced to cut off the sidelocks of another in front of German SS men in Przeworsk, ca. 1939–1940.
USHMM WS #33485, COURTESY OF GFH

Contemporary documentation of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) indicates that nearly 1,750 Jews were forcibly expelled from Przeworsk. In 1940, the Jewish Council (Judenrat), led by Mojżesz Korn, reported that some 2,000 Jews had resided in Przeworsk before the war, but only 25 Jews lived there in May 1940. Another 200 Jews, presumably former Przeworsk residents, were living in neighboring villages. In November 1940, the Judenrat reported "35 souls" residing in Przeworsk. In a retrospective report, dated March 2, 1941, to the AJDC concerning charity efforts over the past year, the Judenrat noted that the same number of Jews were still in Przeworsk. Another 170 Jews lived in its vicinity. There were no refugees or deportees. The Jews had no paying jobs and were living off their "depleted savings."[4]

A detailed testimony by Mina Kalter, the only other primary source available to the author, suggests that Kalter's extended family were some of the only Jewish residents still living in Przeworsk after the expulsions. Because Kalter's family resided in a house in an undamaged Christian neighborhood, they took in other relatives and a family of refugees from Kraków, bringing the number of occupants to 28.

Kalter recalls that the Germans forced the Przeworsk Jews to reside in a ghetto in October 1939 but does not mention explicitly the forced expulsions, which made the ghetto one of the smallest in the Distrikt. She states that the possible reason for the Germans to establish a ghetto was because "my home town was only 15 miles from the border that was established then between Germany and the Soviet Union. . . . So we thought that maybe the Germans did not have any confidence in us, knowing that the Russians are only a few miles away; therefore, they separated us from the mainstream of society and maybe from the Soviets. They had no confidence, because that's all we heard is Jews are Communists, and that's maybe the reason we are there."[5] Two secondary sources report that the ghetto was established as late as July 1942.[6]

Kalter testified that violence accompanied the Jewish population's transfer to the ghetto. One day after work, the community was ordered to deliver all valuables and house keys to the town hall the following morning. That day, the Jews were ordered to wait outside their houses with only what they could carry. They were then escorted to a pasture behind the Bernadine monastery. There the Judenrat members were ordered to dig a hole. The rabbi and his two sons were thrown into it and shot. All the remaining Jews were then escorted to the burned-out section of the town and ordered to reside there.

Initially unfenced, the ghetto was subsequently enclosed. Kalter describes the situation as follows: "In the first weeks, which was then called the ghetto, it was open. . . . Only a couple of weeks later, the ghetto was encircled by barbed wire, by four watch towers that were manned twenty-four hours a day, and nobody could get out any more, except to and from work. There were gates through which the people taken out to work were counted." The workers were often beaten and insulted. Only working ghetto residents received "a small bread ration and a bowl of soup."

Diseases, especially typhus and dysentery, spread due to the deplorable living conditions. The sick were either shot or left to die. "It began to be a very common sight to see on your way to work all the people in the streets dying and dead," Kalter recalls. She also remembers that separate barracks for men and women subsequently were constructed on the ghetto grounds. The sick, forced to reside in a barrack at the very end of the ghetto, were periodically removed and presumably shot.[7]

Secondary sources date the ghetto's liquidation to October 1942, when its residents were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. Kalter, who escaped from the ghetto in March 1941, believes the Przeworsk Jews were deported to Sędziszów Małopolski, an unlikely destination located in Kreis Debica.

A number of Jews likely perished during the ghetto liquidation or subsequently. Polish documentation indicates 90 Jews were shot in Przeworsk between 1942 and 1943. Some probably were fugitives from the liquidation of ghettos in other localities. The victims were buried in the Jewish cemetery. Nine people were buried in a field owned by Jakub Kapusta in the Mokra Strona neighborhood.[8]

SOURCES The following publications were used to prepare this entry: Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), p. 138; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 410.

Archival sources on the fate of the Przeworsk community include AŻIH (210/269 [AJDC]; 211/836 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]; and RG-50.462*0013); and VHF (# 7785, 14642).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 14642, testimony of Harry Kuper, 1996.
2. USHMM, RG-50.462*0013, testimony of Mina Kalter, 1986.
3. VHF, # 7785, testimony of Zygmunt Margules, 1995.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/269, pp. 1–5.
5. Ibid., RG-50.462*0013.
6. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo przemyskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1983), pp. 96–97; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 410, citing undefined documentation in ITS Arolsen.
7. USHMM, RG-50.462*0013.
8. Ibid., RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 11, file 527 (Przeworsk).

RABKA

Pre-1939: Rabka, town, Nowy Targ powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Neumarkt, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Rabka-Zdrój, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Rabka is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) south of Kraków. On the outbreak of World War II, around 500 Jews were living there.[1]

The German army occupied Rabka on September 3, 1939. In the first months, Jews were harassed and beaten by the Germans, and their property was plundered. The German authorities imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews, including the wearing of the Star of David.

In March 1940 the Germans created a 12-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Rabka, referred to as the Jewish Community (Jüdische Gemeinde), with Zygmunt Buschbaum as chairman. The other members included Benzion and Dawid Braunfeld, Salomon Koc, Bernard Borger, Chaim Schiffer, Stiel, Hochman, Szymon Zollman, Izrael Selinger, Filip Ettinger, Scherer, and Samuel Reitenbaum. The Rabka Judenrat held jurisdiction over several surrounding villages and small towns. The Judenrat had to pay "contributions" to the Germans.[2]

In August 1940, the Germans transferred the headquarters of the Security Police School (Die Schule des Befehlshabers der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes) from Zakopane to Rabka. The purpose of the school was to train future German and Ukrainian Security Police officers and collaborators. SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger was the founder and first commander of the school. SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Rosenbaum was his deputy and later the commandant. Jews performed forced labor at the school, such as constructing shooting ranges; they were also rounded up, tortured, humiliated, and killed there, serving as live practice targets. Paul Beck, a Jew from Zakopane, was entrusted with organizing the work details.[3]

As of February 21, 1941, there were 460 Jews in Rabka, 120 of them receiving social welfare assistance. On March 30, 1941, a community kitchen administered by the Judenrat opened in Rabka. Due to lack of food, it was forced to close several times during its existence. By June 1941, the Jewish population had risen to around 630. In September, the newly established branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Rabka provided financial assistance to 96 people (15 percent of Rabka's Jews). From September 1, 1939, to March 31, 1942, the JSS in Rabka provided medical help in 143 cases and housing to 30 people; helped 75 people obtain clothing; provided supplementary food to 130 people; and distributed about 66 meals a day in the community kitchen.[4]

The Jews of Rabka were conscripted for forced labor. In 1941, around 30 Jewish men together with about 300 Poles worked in stone quarries in Zaryte. They worked 16 hours a day and received little payment and no food or clothing. On October 24, 1941, Jews from Rabka were taken to a labor camp at Czarny Dunajec. Among those sent were 37 men, mainly the elderly and sick, who had previously not been deemed fit for such work.[5]

The situation of the Jews of Rabka deteriorated in 1942. All Jewish men were enlisted for forced labor. Almost no one received any kind of money for work. There were also conflicts between the JSS and the Judenrat over lack of funds. In February 1942, the Jews were ordered to surrender all winter clothing to the Germans. Four Jews who tried to hide their clothing were shot. On April 1, 1942, there were 686 Jews in Rabka, including 370 refugees who had arrived from Kraków and Bielsko-Biała (in Ost-Oberschlesien) in 1940. At this time 200 Jews were receiving aid from the JSS, which was also planning job training for women.[6]

In May 1942, around 80 forced laborers from Stary Sącz were working in Rabka. In June 1942, another group of destitute Jews arrived from Nowy Sącz. The Jewish Council planned to open a tailoring cooperative for 10 tailors and 50 seamstresses, in the hope that productive efforts might preserve the Jewish community, which in July comprised 450 people, as well as 200 Jewish forced laborers from other towns. During the summer, the Germans shot hundreds of Jews from Rabka and other nearby towns in a series of bloody Aktions.[7]

The first Aktion took place on May 20, 1942; 45 Jews from Rabka and its vicinity, who had been identified as elderly or unfit for work during an examination conducted by SS-Untersturmführer Rosenbaum a few weeks earlier, were assembled at the Villa Tereska. They were shot and buried in a mass grave in a small clearing in the forest behind the Security Police School. About 10 of the forced laborers from Stary Sącz deemed unfit were shot with them.[8]

The second Aktion took place in June 1942. The victims included 45 Jews brought from Nowy Targ (arrested for alleged currency offenses) and 55 Jews from Rabka.[9] The Germans also shot a whole family because it bore the name Rosenbaum, which was the name of commandant Wilhelm Rosenbaum, and the Buschbaum family, because the wife was German and had converted to Judaism.[10] The third Aktion took place on July 17, 1942, when the elderly Jews of Rabka were assembled by the Germans near the Villa Tereska and shot. At this time the Germans demanded "contributions" from the Judenrat, claiming that in return the Jews would not be deported. In the course of daily roundups, the Germans picked up Jews and shot them in the nearby forest.[11] At the end of July 1942, around 100 Orthodox Jews carrying Torahs were brought to Rabka from Nowy Sącz, tortured, and murdered.[12]

The deportation of the Jews of Rabka to the Bełżec extermination camp took place on August 30, 1942. The Germans issued a warning that any Pole providing help to the Jews would face the death penalty. Nonetheless, the convent of the Sisters of Magdalene in Rabka gave refuge to Jewish children from many places in Poland.

The Germans hunted down and murdered the remnants of Rabka's Jews who had evaded deportation. At the end of August 1942, SS officers hanged 10 Jews at the Security Police School, including a member of the Judenrat.[13]

Several sources indicate the existence of a form of "open ghetto" in Rabka but do not date its establishment. From 1940 the Jews of Rabka and its vicinity were conscripted regularly to perform forced labor at the Security Police School. At first, the local Jews were allowed to live in their own houses, while Jewish workers from outside the town were housed near the school in the Słone district. Eventually, all the Jews of Rabka were ordered by the Germans to move into this residential

area.[14] In June 1941, the Germans extended the *judenfrei* (free of Jews) resort area around Zakopane northward towards Nowy Targ.[15] A curfew was imposed on the Jews of Rabka. They could remain on the streets for only one hour a day. In January 1942, Zygmunt Buschbaum, as chair of the JSS in Rabka, wrote to the main office in Kraków that German plans to create a Jewish residential area in Rabka had been postponed.[16] Some sources indicate that the Rabka "ghetto" was located in two or three residential buildings on Długa Street. The ghetto could be accessed from a drugstore in the Słone district of the town.[17]

Wilhelm Rosenbaum was tried in Hamburg in 1967 and sentenced to life imprisonment.[18]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the fate of the Jews in Rabka during the Holocaust include Michael Walzer-Fass, ed., *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ and Vicinity; Translation from Sefer Nowy Targve ha seviva* (Tel Aviv: Townspeople Association of Nowy Targ and Vicinity, 1979); Robin O'Neill, "Rabka Police School (Poland)" (Salisbury, England: Yizkor Book Project, 2004), available at www.jewishgen.org; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 416.

Documents on the extermination of the Jews in Rabka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3269, 3270, 4727); IPN (SP Nowy Targ Ns IV 5/53, Zg 19/46, 54/49; SP Sucha Beskidzka Zg 8/47/1, 8/47/2-3, 20/48, and 34/46; and SP Żywiec Zg 72/46); USHMM (RG.15.019M, reels 4 and 14; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 36, JSS [AŻIH, 211/848-850]; and RG-50.002*0063); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 41, 211/849, JSS memo April 1, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/3270, testimony of Izrael Salinger, p. 1.
3. Martin Gilbert, *The Boys: Triumph over Adversity* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), p. 449; O'Neill, "Rabka Police School (Poland)"; AŻIH, 301/3719, testimony of Leopold Kestenbaum.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/848, JSS report to Kraków, September 28, 1941; and letter of Jewish Community to JSS Kraków, February 21, 1941.
5. Ibid., testimonies of Henryk Ettinger and Paweł Langsam in JSS Kraków report of June 22, 1941, and letter to Kraków JSS, October 22, 1941; RG-50.002*0063, testimony of Aba Prawer.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/849-850, JSS reports on January 17, April 1, 6, 20, 24, and May 8, 1942.
7. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/850, JSS reports to Kraków, June 29, July 6 and 20, 1942, interview with Mr. Naht from Rabka, June 19, 1942, and with Mr. Schreiber, June 21, 1942; Verdict against Wilhelm Rosenbaum, LG-Ham (50) 21/67, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 30 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 689, pp. 216–218.
8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689, pp. 216–218; AŻIH, 301/3270, 3269, testimony of Maria Żak (Maria Grunberg), p. 3; and 4726, testimony of Oskar Lonker, p. 2.
9. AŻIH, 301/3269, 301/4726.
10. Walzer-Fass, *Remembrance Book of Nowy Targ and Vicinity*, p. 80; *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689, pp. 221, 232.
11. IPN, SP Żywiec Zg 72/46; *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689, p. 219; AŻIH, 301/3269.
12. *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689, pp. 218–219; AŻIH, 301/3269.
13. Ewa Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine. How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German-Occupied Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1997), pp. 197–204; *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689, pp. 222–223.
14. *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689, p. 211; O'Neill, "Rabka Police School (Poland)."
15. Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 64.
16. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 41, 211/849), JSS report to Kraków, January 17, 1942.
17. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 14 (IPN, ASG, sygn. 48b, k. 193), report on the Jewish Ghetto in Rabka, signed by Jozef Stalin [*sic*?]; testimony of Dr. Zdzisław Olszewski (at www.rabka.pl).
18. Verdict against Wilhelm Rosenbaum, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 30, Lfd. Nr. 689.

RADOMYŚL WIELKI

Pre-1939: Radomyśl Wielki, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Radomysl Wielki, Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Radomyśl Wielki, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Radomyśl Wielki is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) northeast of Tarnów. In 1925, there were 1,425 Jews living in Radomyśl Wielki out of a total of 2,432 residents. In 1939, Jews still comprised more than half of the town's population.

Soldiers of the Wehrmacht entered Radomyśl Wielki after bitter fighting on September 7, 1939. Immediately, they seized Jewish and Polish men and took them to the local church, where they were held for a few days before being released. The Germans beat the nearly 300 captive men, murdering several. Soon after their arrival, the Germans began to conscript Jews for forced labor and also beat and humiliated them. On one occasion, they chased the Jews to the market square (*Rynek*) and forced them to undress, taking their valuables and giving their clothes to local peasants. They also forced Jews to clean the square with their bare hands and to cut the grass with their teeth. German soldiers raided Jewish homes, confiscating valuables and brutalizing the occupants.[1]

The German authorities soon imposed a series of discriminatory restrictions on the Jewish community. Although Jewish businesses had reopened shortly after the occupation, Jewish owners were forced to display the Star of David outside the front door. In addition, Jews were forced to wear armbands at all times. Jews could not move freely without a special pass; restrictions on the selling of food were enforced,

and ritual slaughter of animals was strictly forbidden. Shortly after the introduction of these discriminatory laws, most Jewish businesses were handed over to local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Despite the restrictive measures, the Jewish population initially retained some contact with the surrounding villages. Soon, however, Jews were forbidden to leave town even with work passes, and "contributions" and special taxes were imposed on the Jewish community.

The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Jeremiah Leibowicz, on January 25, 1940.[2] Its main task was to ensure that the orders imposed by the Germans were carried out, or it would face severe punishment. It organized quotas of forced laborers every day, and in response to repeated German demands for contributions, it collected and handed over Jewish property. The Judenrat also coordinated the work of various welfare organizations that were active during the occupation. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Radomyśl Wielki ran two public kitchens that depended heavily on the branch's ability to raise funds. According to one report from November 1941, the Jewish community in Radomyśl Wielki, which was largely composed of refugees, was suffering from overcrowding, impoverishment, and famine. Some 80 percent of the Jews were in need of welfare support.[3]

The members of the Judenrat tried their best to spare as many Jews as possible from being sent away for forced labor. The establishment of small workshops and factories provided several Jews with employment, which exempted them from labor conscription. Despite the efforts of the Judenrat, in 1940, kidnappings of young Jewish men capable of work intensified. Many of those captured by the Germans were sent to the Pustków labor camp or to the neighboring village of Dulcza Mała. On April 17, 1940, over 200 people were taken to Pustków; the transport that followed, which also included members of the Judenrat, was more than twice this number.[4]

In 1941 and 1942, another influx of refugees from Mielec and Dębica caused living conditions in Radomyśl Wielki to deteriorate. Overcrowding and dire sanitary conditions contributed to the outbreak of a typhus epidemic. Once again, the Judenrat acted promptly, establishing a sanitary unit as well as an isolation hospital for those infected.

In April 1942, a member of the Gestapo from Mielec came to Radomyśl Wielki and murdered all the Zionists, including their leader Haskel Eisland.[5]

The sources disagree on the existence of a ghetto in Radomyśl Wielki. Most archival sources indicate that there was not a ghetto, or even a Jewish quarter, until just prior to the deportation Aktion.[6] It appears that a "ghetto" existed in Radomyśl Wielki only very briefly in mid-July 1942, serving as a temporary holding area for Jews from surrounding villages during the destruction process.[7] Prior to this, it appears that the Jewish population continued to live beside their Aryan neighbors. However, some oral testimonies and sections of the yizkor book mention the existence of a ghetto without specifying the date of its establishment.[8] According to J. Ziobron's essay, following the second transport of Jews to the Pustków camp (probably in 1942), the Germans "sought to create a ghetto in town, and to put all the Jews from the nearby villages in that ghetto."[9] It appears that some survivors employ the term *ghetto* to convey the idea that the Jews were concentrated under overcrowded conditions and physically segregated from the rest of the population.

From April to June of 1942, an influx of refugees from Dębica and Bobowa further strained the resources of the Judenrat and the welfare organizations in Radomyśl Wielki. Living conditions became unbearable, and tension was further exacerbated by constant German demands. In mid-July 1942, all the remaining Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Radomyśl Wielki. Soon afterwards, the Judenrat informed the population that had converged on the town that the Germans demanded the establishment of a ghetto, but many Jews refused to believe it.[10]

Shortly afterwards, the Germans asked for a contribution from the Jews, claiming that it might defer an impending deportation Aktion. Although the contribution was delivered, on July 17, 1942, forces of the Gestapo and the police sealed the town. Two days later, in early morning, all the Jews of Radomyśl Wielki were ordered to assemble in the market square with all their possessions. A selection was carried out; and many Jews were murdered during the process, as they were unwilling to be separated from their loved ones. The elderly and infirm (about 150 people) were taken to the Jewish cemetery where forces of the Gestapo, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzpolizei shot them. Their bodies were buried in a mass grave. Those who remained in the marketplace were transported on carts to Dębica, which served as a concentration point for the Jews of the area. From Dębica, most of the Jews were deported with other Jews of the region to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[11]

A few Jews managed to escape the roundup and fled to the forests. The Germans and their collaborators hunted down most of them, but one group formed a partisan unit of about 50 people (including a number of Jews from Radomyśl Wielki) in the forest near Dulcza Mała. German raids resulted in the capture of some Jews even in November 1944. One group of 70 partisans succeeded in crossing the front line to the Soviet side on December 27, 1944.[12]

SOURCES Further information on the history and the fate of the Jewish population of Radomyśl Wielki can be found in the following publications: Antoni Balaryn, *Martyrologia ludności żydowskiej z Radomyśla Wielkiego i okolic podczas II wojny światowej* (Radomyśl Wielki: A. Balaryn, 1989); *The Martyrdom of the Jewish Population of Radomysl Wielki and the Surrounding Areas during the Second World War*, trans. Krystyna Brozyna (Virginia: M. Miller, C. Fox, 1989); Hilel Harshoshanim and Yitsḥaḳ Turḳoṿ-Grudberg, eds., *Radomishel rabati ṿeha-sevivah: Sefer zikaron Groys Radomishle un sviveh: Yizker-bukh*, (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Radomishel ṿeha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1971); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 338–341; and Jan Ziobron, "The History of the Jewish Commune in Radomysl Wielki" [in Polish], *Ziemia Radomska*, no. 3/7 (March 1991).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Radomyśl Wielki can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1428, 1025, 1103, and 1145; and 211/873); IPN; USHMM (1997.A.0272; RG-50.030*0285); VHF (# 18869, 46584); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1145, testimony of H. Aussenberg; Ziobron, "The History of the Jewish Commune," pp. 4–5; and Harshoshanim and Turḳoy-Grudberg, *Radomishel rabati ṿeha-sevivah*, pp. 1104–1105.
2. Haja Garen-Rozenblat (now Levi), "The First Days with the Germans," in Harshoshanim and Turḳoy-Grudberg, *Radomishel rabati ṿeha-sevivah*.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 42, 211/873, report of the JSS Radomyśl Wielki to JSS in Kraków, November 19, 1941.
4. Balaryn, *Martyrologia ludności żydowskiej*, p. 12; AŻIH, 301/1145, and 301/1428, testimony of Z. Reich; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 340–441; Ziobron, "The History of the Jewish Commune," p. 5.
5. Ziobron, "The History of the Jewish Commune," p. 5.
6. See AŻIH, 301/1145; 301/4964, states that there was no ghetto or Jewish quarter in Radomyśl Wielki.
7. Ibid., 301/1145.
8. Harshoshanim and Turḳoy-Grudberg, *Radomishel rabati ṿeha-sevivah*, pp. 1104–1105; VHF, # 18869, testimony of Jack Honig; and # 46584, Pninah Levenberg.
9. Ziobron, "The History of the Jewish Commune," p. 5.
10. AŻIH, 301/1145.
11. Ibid., 301/1103, testimony of B. Lichtig; Ziobron, "The History of the Jewish Commune," pp. 5–6.
12. AŻIH, 301/1145.

ROPCZYCE

Pre-1939: Ropczyce (Yiddish: Ropshitz), Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Ropczyce is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east of Kraków. On the eve of war in 1939, there were about 1,200 Jews living in Ropczyce.[1]

Following the invasion of Poland, German troops occupied Ropczyce on September 8, 1939.[2] In the first days of the conflict, the Germans bombed the town heavily. Jewish homes were particularly affected, leaving more than 30 families without shelter. Upon entering Ropczyce, the Germans burned the local synagogue, and they harassed and humiliated the Jewish population.[3] Soon after, the Germans began to conscript Jews for forced labor. In 1939 or early in 1940, the Germans created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Dr. Arnold Meister. Immediately after its establishment, the Judenrat began to take care of the numerous needs of the Jewish community. At the end of 1940, under the patronage of the Judenrat, a public kitchen, a shelter, and a "women's committee" were established. In 1941 and 1942, following the establishment of a local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, many of the impoverished and malnourished Jewish children in Ropczyce were provided with food and medical assistance.



Jews are gathered in an open lot in the Ropczyce ghetto, April 1, 1942. USHMM WS #44341, COURTESY OF YIVO

By the spring of 1940, Ropczyce had become a collection point for Jewish refugees from the territories annexed by the Third Reich and from neighboring villages. The Jewish population in the town increased from 773 in 1940 to over 1,000 in 1941.

On May 7, 1942, on orders from the Security Police in Dębica, 75 men capable of physical work were sent to the labor camp in Pustków.[4] A second roundup took place at the beginning of June 1942. The Germans shot 23 people on the spot and sent 150 more to the Pustków labor camp. In late June 1942, the Jews from Ropczyce and neighboring villages were forced into a ghetto located on Jewish Street. The conditions in the ghetto were extremely hard, due to severe overcrowding.[5]

In July 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They shot 28 people, mostly children and the elderly on the spot, while the majority of the population was escorted on July 23 to the nearby town of Sędziszów Małopolski. From there, most of them were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. A group of young women was loaded on cattle cars destined for this extermination camp. According to information from local Christians, the train also carried lime, which may have poisoned the passengers; however, it is more likely that they were gassed on arrival at Bełżec. A number of the Jews from Ropczyce were selected as unfit for travel, and the SS and Gendarmerie shot several hundred Jews on the spot in Sędziszów and buried them in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery.[6]

SOURCES Further information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Ropczyce can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 352–353; and I. Rosenfeld, ed., *Hayo hayta Ayara Ropczyce* (Israel: privately published, 1985).

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Ropczyce can be found in the following

archives: AŻIH (301/793 and 301/620); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 44); VHF (# 19939); and YVA.

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. Rosenfeld, *Hayo hayta Ayara Ropczyce*, pp. 25–26, 37.
2. AŻIH, 301/793, report prepared by the Temporary Jewish Committee in Dębica.
3. VHF, # 19939, testimony of Helena Horowitz.
4. AŻIH, 301/620, testimony of J. Himmelblau.
5. Rosenfeld, *Hayo hayta Ayara Ropczyce*, pp. 74–78, dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of 1942; but VHF, # 19939, and Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 352–353, both date the establishment of the ghetto in June 1942.
6. Rosenfeld, *Hayo hayta Ayara Ropczyce*, pp. 74–78, 92–95; AŻIH, 301/793 (this source dates the liquidation of the ghetto and the transfer to Sędziszów on July 24).

RYMANÓW

Pre-1939: Rymanów, town, Sanok powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1941–1945: Rymanow, Kreis Krosno, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Rymanów, Krosno powiat, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Rymanów is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. In 1921, of a total population of 3,546 the Jews numbered 1,412.

On September 8, 1939, the Germans entered Rymanów. Soldiers marched into the town, claiming that local civilians had fired on them.[1] They forced the Jews to assemble in the main square and stand for hours at gun point with their arms up. Soon women and children were allowed to leave, and the others were released three hours later. On September 17, the Security Police from Sanok arrived in Rymanów and ordered that all Jews, except for a few families and members of the Judenrat, must leave town and relocate to the Soviet-occupied zone. Most of those who crossed the border, however, were able to return home shortly afterwards.[2] The Jews of Rymanów did not offer any organized resistance to the German occupation.[3]



Jews are assembled for deportation in a public square in the Rymanów ghetto, August 1942.
USHMM WS #18782, COURTESY OF YVA

On October 26, 1939, when the Generalgouvernement was created, Rymanów was incorporated into Kreis Krosno, within Distrikt Krakau. Large-scale deportations of Jewish populations in the area of Kreis Krosno, including Rymanów, were organized and carried out by the Krosno Border Police detachment subordinated to the main office in Jasło (Grenzpolizeikommissariat [GPK] Jaslo–Aussendienststelle Krosno). The German Gendarmerie and Polish (Blue) Police also participated in these Aktions.

From the fall of 1939, the German authorities enforced a series of discriminatory measures against the Jewish population of Rymanów. They confiscated Jewish businesses and prohibited the free movement of Jews without special permission. Jews were forced to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and to surrender any valuable items, and they were conscripted for forced labor. Jews were forbidden to buy produce in the marketplace before 10:00 A.M. The German authorities demanded several large "contributions" from the Judenrat, which were paid.[4] Furthermore, those able to work were forcibly engaged in the construction of what subsequently became a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) during 1941.[5]

Rymanów became a transit point to which Jews from other cities were brought shortly before being deported to extermination and labor camps. In November 1941, 100 Jews were brought to Rymanów from the neighboring town of Krosno. Jews were apparently able to take with them various kinds of movable property.[6] In December 1941, the town of Rymanów had 1,300 Jewish residents, 300 of which were displaced persons from neighboring villages and towns. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was active by 1941, establishing a public kitchen as well as a sanitary commission. The Jewish Council (Judenrat) was headed by H. Spira and P. Silber. It established a Jewish police force to assist it in enforcing German regulations and demands for laborers.[7]

Information on the ghetto in Rymanów is sparse and somewhat contradictory. The majority of the Jewish population was not significantly displaced, as most Jews lived within the "Jewish residential quarter" near the center of town. Jews brought in from neighboring towns and other refugees were moved in with the original population, and no physical barriers were erected around the Jewish quarter, which served as an open ghetto. By 1942, leaving this area without permission was punishable by death. There was also a camp or area of Jewish concentration on the outskirts of the town at Posada Dolna. This served both as a transitory holding area for some Jews before being sent on to labor camps or sites of destruction and as a lodging place for those performing forced labor for the Kirchhof road construction firm. The sources occasionally refer to this specially constructed Jewish "camp" as a ghetto. Both the camp at Posada Dolna and the area of the Jewish quarter in the town had been established by early 1942 (some sources date these events in 1941).[8]

In March 1942, the entire Jewish population, including those who had been displaced there from other cities and towns, was officially registered. In July 1942, almost 600 Jews from throughout Kreis Krosno were moved to Rymanów, causing further overcrowding and pressure on limited resources. Those able to work were promptly registered by the employment office to be eligible to receive assistance from the JSS.[9]

At the beginning of August 1942, a selection took place. The Gestapo informed the Judenrat that a group of Jewish men fit for work was to assemble on the marketplace the next morning: 200 young men between the ages of 18 and 35 answered the order. They were subsequently divided into two groups. One was sent to the Kirchhof facility, and the other was directed to the railway station where the men boarded a train headed for the Płaszów labor camp.[10] Deportations to extermination sites at Bełżec and Barwinek near the Slovak border followed soon after. On August 13, 1942, a group of SS men and local militia surrounded the town and ordered all Jews to report to the marketplace. Women, children, and those unable to work, as well as those who were living in the outskirts of Rymanów, were shot on the spot.[11] The assembled mass of Jews was then divided into groups; the elderly were taken to Barwinek and subsequently murdered in the woods near the border town of Dukla.[12] A number of those able to work were sent to the Kirchhof facility, while the rest of those assembled in the marketplace were taken to the railway station and loaded onto trains probably destined for the Bełżec extermination camp. For several weeks after the deportation, the police forces then patrolled the town, hunting down and shooting Jews they found in hiding. The Kirchhof workers were employed for a few more weeks and were then sent to Rzeszów. Their fate is unknown.[13]

Although the Rymanów ghetto had been almost completely liquidated, in August 1943 around 100 Jews coming from Brzozów, the area around Rymanów, and the town itself were shot by unidentified members of the Gestapo and two SS officers, Neumann and Keller from the Krosno Border Police Office. The corpses of this group were buried in a mass grave at the local Jewish cemetery.[14]

According to the testimony of P. Dager and B. Scherrer, there were roughly 400 survivors, about 20 of which had survived the camps. Those who were not deported mainly survived in hiding with the aid of non-Jews, on forged "Aryan" papers, or because they had crossed into the Soviet Union prior to June 1941.

SOURCES Further information on the history of the Jewish community in Rymanów can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 356–358; Yosef Rotem et al., eds., *Rimanov: Toldot ha'ir ve-haye ha-Yehudim b'temunot* (Israel: Y. Rotem, G. Vainreb, Y. Sharar, 2001); and A. Potocki, *Żydzi rymanowscy* (Krosno: APLA, 2000). The ghetto in Rymanów is mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 440.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Rymanów during the war can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/235); IPN; ITS; USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 1; and *Gazeta Żydowska*); VHF (e.g., # 1077, 10361); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2283; M-1/Q/38, 205; M-1/E/2139, 2171, 2197).

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/235, testimony of Israel Alster.
2. Ibid.; and Central Historical Commission (CHC) of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone, Munich (Historical questionnaire) Pearl Dager, Betsheva Scherrer, published in Potocki, *Żydzi rymanowscy*, pp. 158–160.
3. CHC, U.S. Zone, Munich (Historical questionnaire) Pearl Dager, Betsheva Scherrer, pp. 158–160.
4. AŻIH, 301/235.
5. Potocki, *Żydzi rymanowscy*, p. 78.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, November 19, 1941.
7. Ibid., December 12, 1941.
8. Potocki, *Żydzi rymanowscy*, pp. 49, 79, 169; Rotem et al., *Rimanov.*
9. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 8, 1942.
10. AŻIH, 301/235.
11. Ibid.; Rotem et al., *Rimanov*, p. 42.
12. Potocki, *Żydzi rymanowscy*, p. 169.
13. AŻIH, 301/235.
14. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 1.

RZEPIENNIK STRZYŻEWSKI

Pre-1939: Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, village, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Rzepiennik Strzyzewski, Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Rzepiennik Strzyżewski is situated on the small Rzepianka River, approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) south of Tarnów. An estimated 40 Jewish families lived in Rzepiennik Strzyżewski in 1939.[1]

The German army occupied the village in early September 1939, but there is no information on how this initially impacted the Jewish community. The new administration set up a German Gendarmerie post. The synagogue was destroyed.

Moses Braw was appointed as the chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), and D. Baranker was its secretary. In January 1940, the Judenrat reported only 169 Jews living in Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, 10 of them refugees from Kraków. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) archives contain a list of recipients of donated flour distributed by the Judenrat in December 1940. The list contains the names of the heads of 26 families, close to one half of the community—97 people.[2]

On August 28, 1940, 12 expellees from Łódź arrived in Rzepiennik. They were housed with local Jewish families who also provided them with sustenance. Even the arrival of such a small group became a heavy burden on the impoverished community. The Judenrat set up a welfare organization, with Simson Kirschenfeld as the chairman. Its primary purpose

was to seek any help available from the AJDC and the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization.[3] From mid-1942 onward, Dawid Kahane was in charge of local welfare.[4]

By January 1941, the number of Jews in Rzepiennik had increased to 241. Another group of expellees—numbering 36 in all—came from Oświęcim in February or March 1941. The Judenrat housed them together by assigning them to flats and provided them with beds containing straw for padding. A soup kitchen was opened for their benefit, serving up to 65 meals per day. The kitchen did not last very long, due to financial constraints, but it was reopened in May 1942. In the meantime, a small amount of donated groceries was distributed. In March 1941, the Judenrat reported 300 Jews living in Rzepiennik.[5]

On the orders of the Kreishauptmann in Jasło, Dr. Walter Gentz, a ghetto was established in Rzepiennik Strzyżewski at the end of 1941.[6] Again, there is no information regarding how the ghetto's founding changed the community's life, the size of the ghetto, or restrictions on movement. Most likely, Jews remained in those houses they had lived in since before the war. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was organized and charged with keeping order among the ghetto's inhabitants.[7]

By June 1942, Jewish farmers from the surrounding villages, including the other Rzepienniks, were resettled into the ghetto, thereby bringing the number of residents to over 400.

Information regarding disease in the ghetto is lacking; however, it is likely that the community was on the verge of an epidemic, as all residents were vaccinated for typhus in the summer of 1942. The Judenrat's sanitation committee periodically checked yards for cleanliness. That summer, 45 laborers were employed in road works, and 8 women worked as gardeners, "beautifying the neglected appearance of the village."

In July 1942 a new chairman of the Judenrat, Jechiel Loria, was appointed.[8]

German forces commanded by the Gestapo chief in Gorlice, Ernst Fundheller, assisted by Gendarmes from Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, Jasło, and Gorlice, liquidated the ghetto on August 11, 1942. The community was made to believe that it would be deported to a different location. Each person was allowed to take up to 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of luggage. Thirty young men were selected from the group and sent to the Gorlice ghetto.

The remaining 364 Jews were led to a nearby meadow by a ravine. Formed in rows of 4, all were marched to the nearby Dąbry Forest located about 0.8 kilometer (0.5 mile) from the ghetto. In sequence, groups of 10 people each were forced to undress and walk approximately 201 meters (220 yards) through bushes to a bench. Sitting on the bench, they were shot in the head in succession. A young boy would throw the dead bodies into a large hole, powdering them with lime. The mass shootings were completed by nightfall. Active participants in the shooting included Paul Roloff, the Gendarmerie commander in Jasło, and Alois Viellieber, deputy commander of the Gorlice Gendarmerie.[9]

Only a few names of those murdered are known: Dawid Dembitzer, with his wife and daughter; Berl Kochane, with his wife, daughter, and son-in-law; the families of Judo Sped, Pachel Taffel, Gast, Kirschenfeld, Kornfeld, and Teller. A number of Jewish residents who were at some point brought to the Rzepiennik ghetto from the nearby village of Ołpiny may also have been among those murdered.[10]

In Gorlice, 30 men from Rzepiennik were collected on the edge of the town in a shoe factory on Polna Street. They were most likely included in the transport that was sent to the Bełżec extermination camp on August 17, 1942.

It is not known how many Rzepiennik Jews managed to escape the liquidation. On September 8, 1942, the *shochet* Chaim Stamler, his wife Miriam, and two-year-old child were shot by the German Gendarmerie near a forest in Rzepiennik Strzyżewski. They were buried together at the place of execution.

SOURCES Brief information on the Jews of Rzepiennik Strzyżewski can be found in these publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 154–155; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo tarnowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), p. 166.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1113 [Relacje]; 210/610 [AJDC Rzepiennik Strzyżewski]; and 211/918 [JSS Rzepiennik Strzyżewski]); and USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 44; and RG-15.084M, # 1113).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, June 5, 1942.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/610 (Rzepiennik Strzyżewski), pp. 1, 4, 7, 13–15. At the turn of 1940–1941, Braw was temporarily replaced by Ch. Hölzel. He is named as the chairman's deputy in the summer of 1942; see Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 44, 211/918 (Rzepiennik Strzyżewski), pp. 69, 71.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/610, pp. 9, 17; also see Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/918, p. 14.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/918, p. 65.
5. Ibid., pp. 3, 43, 65; and Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/610, p. 17.
6. Władysław Boczoń, *Żydzi gorliccy* (Gorlice: Władysław Boczoń, 1998), p. 144.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 12, 1942.
8. Ibid.; also, June 5, 1942.
9. *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 166; Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 182; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 411; "Rzepiennik Strzyżewski," www.kirkuty.xip.pl/rzepiennik.htm. According to Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 155, the liquidation Aktion took place on August 9, 1942.
10. *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 166—three days later, on August 14, 1942, 80 residents of the Bobowa ghetto and 38 of the Biecz ghetto (they came from Skołyszyn near Jasło) were executed in the same Dąbry Forest. For a partial name list, see p. 167.

RZESZÓW

Pre-1939: Rzeszów, city, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Reichshof, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Rzeszów, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Rzeszów is located about 156 kilometers (97 miles) east of Kraków. In 1931, there were 11,228 Jews living in Rzeszów out of a total population of 26,902. On the outbreak of World War II, there were probably about 14,000 Jews living in the city.

The Germans bombarded Rzeszów on September 9, 1939, and occupied the town on September 10. As the German forces drew closer, many Jews tried to flee to the east, but most were turned back. The Germans ordered a census, including a special listing of the Jews. Many were put to forced labor, including office and street cleaning, road and bridge repairs, and other forms of menial labor. During this work the Jews were beaten and the beards and *payot* (side locks) of Orthodox Jews were torn off their faces. Within the first month, the interiors of the synagogues were trashed and their contents desecrated. The better apartments of the Jews were taken over by German officers. The Jewish hospital was turned into a military installation.

At the end of October 1939, a 30-man Judenrat, headed by the attorney Kleinman, was appointed. A Jewish police force, commanded by Leon Brezner, was also established. The Judenrat had to raise "contributions" demanded by the Germans and organize the quota of forced laborers.

From December 1, 1939, Jews aged 12 and older were ordered to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David. Their movement about the city was restricted and train travel forbidden. A 7:00 P.M. curfew was imposed. In December, thousands of Jews from Kalisz, Łódź, and Upper Silesia were forcibly resettled to Rzeszów. They were housed in synagogues and the old army barracks. All Jews aged 16 to 55 were examined by physicians to see if they were fit for labor. Those who passed were registered at the Arbeitsamt (labor office).[1]

The Germans changed the name of Rzeszów to Reichshof. During 1940, the principal disruptions for the Jews were caused by arbitrary house searches and kidnappings for forced labor. People of means were able to bribe their way out of forced labor, paying for replacements. The German mayor (Stadthauptmann) ordered the removal of Jewish businesses from the main streets of the city, which in turn created some all-Jewish streets, although a ghetto was not created at this time.[2]



Jews walk in a long column through the streets of Rzeszów during a deportation Aktion in the ghetto, July 1942.
USHMM WS #74347, COURTESY OF IPN

By 1941, it was evident that the Germans were planning to establish a ghetto. Starting in June of that year and continuing throughout the fall, the Jews were ordered to vacate their homes and move onto the special streets designated for the ghetto.[3] The official announcement of the establishment of the ghetto was published on December 17, 1941. The ghetto area included these streets: Galenzówsky, Wenska, Tannenbaum Słowacki, Kazimierz, Baldachówka, Szpitalna, Blum, and Mickiewicz. There were entrance gates at three streets—Mickiewicz, Galenzowsky, and at the junction of Kazimierz with Baldachówka. The part of the ghetto lying between Targowica and Lwów Streets was marked out in such a way that only the buildings were in the ghetto, but the streets themselves were outside it. To pass from one house to another, people had to make holes in walls, cross over balconies, or go through improvised passages and gangways. By December 1941, all the Jews had moved into the ghetto.[4]

On January 5, 1942, posters were put up around the ghetto, signed by Kreishauptmann Dr. Heinz Ehaus, prohibiting Germans and other "Aryans" from entering the ghetto without a special pass.[5] This order followed other measures also affecting the movement of Poles, designed to combat the spread of typhus. On January 10, 1942, the Rzeszów ghetto was sealed. By this time the ghetto had been enclosed by walls and wooden fences and surrounded by barbed wire. Houses along the ghetto perimeter had had their windows and doors boarded up. At this time the number of people imprisoned in the ghetto is estimated at 12,500. The only people permitted to leave the ghetto were those being taken to forced labor. Within the ghetto there were workshops for tailoring, shoemaking, and upholstery. The Judenrat was ordered to open a medical clinic to replace the Jewish clinic outside the ghetto that was shut down.

In addition to the work noted above, Jews were put to forced labor at installations belonging to the German air force, in a factory formerly owned by Jews, on nearby farms, and in military camps. Those allowed outside the ghetto for work fared somewhat better than those locked in with no access to food and because of the poor sanitary conditions. Epidemics of dysentery and typhus drove up the mortality rate, and bodies piled up in the streets. The Judenrat established a small hospital, which lacked both beds and medicine. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) provided support for 2,500 people, and two public kitchens distributed hundreds of portions of soup on a daily basis. The Judenrat received permission to grow potatoes in a field outside the ghetto. Some of the small ghetto workshops served German clients, which enabled the ghetto inhabitants to acquire supplementary food.[6] In the spring of 1942, a number of forced laborers were transferred to a labor camp in Biesiadka, where they cut down trees.

The Judenrat established an elementary school, which functioned until the large Aktion of July 1942. The Judenrat also offered vocational training courses to provide more people with "essential skills" that might keep them alive. There were courses for training electricians, carpenters, nurses, and agricultural workers.

In addition to the Jews of Kalisz and Łódź, other Jews from the vicinity were brought to the Rzeszów ghetto. The overcrowding became severe, sometimes with more than one family to a room. In January 1942, the inhabitants were ordered to turn in their fur garments. On April 30, 1942, the Gestapo in Rzeszów conducted a "Kommunisten-Aktion" against the Jews of the ghetto. Gestapo men arrested a number of Jews as alleged Communists. These people were then tortured in prison before being killed. The Judenrat was instructed to collect the mutilated bodies and bury them.[7]

In June 1942, Kreishauptmann Dr. Ehaus imposed a massive "contribution" of 1 million złoty on the Reichshof ghetto, threatening to kill members of the Judenrat if the sum was not paid within one week. The other Jewish Councils in the Kreis also had to deliver smaller sums to the Kreishauptmann personally at this time. According to a survivor from Kolbuszowa, the Judenrat from that town was the only one not to suffer losses at the hands of Dr. Ehaus during this Aktion. It was probably at this time that Kleinman and several other members of the Rzeszów Judenrat were executed, although some secondary sources date this much earlier in 1940.[8]

On June 25–27, 1942, congestion in the ghetto became intense with the transfer of Jews from Łańcut, Tyczyn, Kolbuszowa, Głogów Małopolski, Sokołów Małopolski, Sędziszów Małopolski, Czudec, Jawornik Polski, Błażowa, Niebylec, and Strzyżów to the Rzeszów ghetto. Mina Perlberger recalled the scenes as the Jews crowded into Rzeszów: "The wagons, starting to move, were lined up, and it was impossible to see the beginning or the end of the line. It was wagons from all the small towns around Rzeszów, Błażowa, Jawornik, Tyczyn, going in one direction: Ghetto." Word soon spread that there was insufficient space to accommodate all the Jews and that people would have to sleep in the streets.[9]

Once they were all settled into the Rzeszów ghetto, there were now three families to a room. By early July 1942, the ghetto population had reached around 22,000 people. At that time the Judenrat was notified by the German authorities that the evacuation of the ghetto would begin in a few days, starting with those who were unfit for work or in an otherwise weakened condition. Everyone was told to bring a few personal effects, including jewelry, and a two-day supply of food. Placards informed the public that any Pole who hid a Jew would be shot.[10]

The massive expulsion began on July 7 and was carried out in four stages: July 7–8, July 11, July 14–15, and July 17–18. At each stage the sector of the ghetto designated for removal was surrounded by forces of the Order Police and the Gestapo. The inhabitants were ordered to assemble in the old Jewish cemetery. People lingering in their dwelling places for any reason were shot on the spot. The assembled Jews were stripped of their possessions. "Essential" workers and their families were exempted from the expulsion. Patients in the hospital were forcibly removed. Jewish doctors slipped poison to some of their patients to spare them from the ordeal. The remaining hospital patients, occupants of the old-age home, and others unfit for labor (about 1,000 people) were taken to the Rodna Forest (between Rzeszów and Głogów) and murdered. The majority of the ghetto inhabitants were marched to the train station at Starowina and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[11]

The evacuations continued throughout July. The empty apartments were turned over to Poles who had been evicted from their own dwellings to make way for German occupants. During this period, nearly 20,000 Jews were deported, and hundreds were shot.[12] At the end of this major Aktion, the only ones left were those with a special stamp on their identification cards.

Following this major Aktion, the size of the Rzeszów ghetto was reduced to the area between Baldachówka and Kaczmarska Streets. In November 1942, the Germans designated the Rzeszów ghetto as one of the five ghettos in Distrikt Krakau in which the remnants of the Jewish population in that area would be concentrated.[13] At this time, only 3,000 Jews remained, mainly essential workers and their families, but also people who had evaded the expulsion—the "illegals."[14]

The ghetto was divided into two sectors—one to the right of Baldachówka Street and the other to the left. The eastern ghetto (# 1) was run like a concentration camp. It was surrounded by barbed wire and lit up by searchlights. Each morning the prisoners were lined up for a roll call. The beds were removed and replaced by wooden shelves, and a barrier separated the men from the women. The western ghetto (# 2) was called the Schmelz (smelting) ghetto by the Jews and was for the elderly, the children, and those unable to work. In August 1942, women with children were ordered to register for "light labor." With a perversity of hope this was interpreted as a positive sign; women who had no children "borrowed" a child from their neighbors. As they reported for the registration, they were surrounded by an SS unit and then sent to Bełżec.

On November 15, the Gestapo ordered everyone with a labor permit to assemble at the roll-call square. Many brought their children with them, based on the assumption that their work permits would protect the children as well. As the workers stepped forward and were checked off, the children were detained for placement in a "children's home." During this Aktion, around 1,500 Jews (mainly children) were loaded onto trucks and taken to their deaths.[15]

Between December 1942 and June 1943, there were numerous Aktions that led to the murder or transfer to work camps of the ghetto inhabitants. Jews continued to work making clothes for the German army and dismantling the houses in the ghetto, among other tasks. The head of the Judenrat in

this period was a Jew named Serog from Teschen in Silesia.[16] In March 1943, 22 Jews were shot as they entered the ghetto from work. In late August or early September 1943, the existence of the two ghettos came to an end. The remaining inhabitants, about 2,500 to 3,000 people, were assembled on Baldachówka Street. Some were transferred to the forced labor camp at Szebnie, and many of the others were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp. About 150 were held back to clean up the ghetto area and collect the belongings of the deported.[17] After this date, around 450 Jews remained in Rzeszów in the forced labor camp at the aero-engine factory (*Zwangsarbeitslager im Flugmotorenwerk Reichshof*), which existed until the summer of 1944.[18]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Rzeszów during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications, among others: M. Yari-Wold, ed., *Kehilat Raysha; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rzeszow in Israel and the USA, 1967); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 155–170; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 14 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), pp. 537–538; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 23 and 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998 and 2004), Lfd. Nr. 619 and Lfd. Nr. 711; Stanisław Kotula, *Losy Żydów rzeszowskich 1939–1944: Kronika tamtych dni* (Rzeszów, 1999); Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004); Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich," *BŻIH*, pts. 1–4 (1983–1988); and Hilde Huppert, *Hand in Hand mit Tommy: Ein autobiographischer Bericht 1939–1945* (St. Ingbert: Werner J. Röhrig, 1988).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 211/922-933; 301/4968); BA-L (B 162/2275-2277); IPN; USHMM (e.g., RG-02.054); USHMMPA (WS # N05250, N05264, N64876, N64897, copies received from MOR); VHF (e.g., # 907, 19803, and 24020); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha*, pp. 75, 95; USHMMPA, WS # N05250 and N05264 (copies received from MOR).
2. Bericht des Stadthauptmanns in Reichshof, October 30, 1940, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 186–187.
3. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha*, pp. 79, 95.
4. Ibid., p. 95; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, pp. 165–166.
5. USHMMPA, WS # N64876, Polizeiliche Anordnung, signed Dr. Ehaus, January 5, 1942.
6. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silevia*, p. 166.
7. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha*, p. 522.
8. Naftali Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," in I.M. Biderman, ed., *Pinkas Kolbishov* (New York: United Kolbushover, 1971), p. 77.
9. USHMM, RG-02.054, "Buried Alive," a diary by Mina Perlberger, p. 128.
10. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha*, pp. 83, 523; USHMMPA, WS # N64897, Bekanntmachng, signed Der Kreishauptmann, July 6, 1942.
11. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 167. See also BA-L, B 162/2275–2277 (ZStL, AR-Z 288/60, vol. 2, pp. 273 ff, and vol. 4, pp. 934 ff.); and *JuNS-V*, vol. 23, Lfd. Nr. 619, p. 91.
12. AŻIH, 301/4968, testimony of Dawid Grünberg, p. 3.
13. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942; see Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*, pp. 344–345.
14. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 167.
15. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha*, pp. 85–86; *JuNS-V*, vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 711, p. 415.
16. Huppert, *Hand in Hand mit Tommy*, pp. 55–81.
17. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha*, p. 90; Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 168.
18. *JuNS-V*, vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 711, p. 416.

SANOK

Pre-1939: Sanok, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: center, Kreis Sanok, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Sanok is located approximately 200 kilometers (124 miles) southeast of Kraków. In 1938, there were 4,773 Jews in Sanok (including 324 Jews from Posada Olchowska, which was incorporated into the town in 1930). At the onset of World War II, more than 5,000 Jews were living in Sanok, including a number of refugees from Germany, Austria, and western Poland.[1]

German armed forces occupied Sanok on September 8, 1939. On the night of September 16–17, the Germans burned down three synagogues and destroyed two Jewish printing houses and libraries, containing some 4,000 volumes. On September 26, the Germans ordered 150 Jewish families across the San River into the Soviet zone of occupation. The Aktion



View of the Sanok ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #59022, COURTESY OF STADTAN, E 39 NR. 933/13

was organized by Einsatzkommando I/1. Jews from Kraków, Bochnia, Tarnów, Krosno, and Rymanów were also deported into the Soviet zone via Sanok, and others came to Sanok, attempting to cross the border voluntarily. By the end of 1939, the Soviet authorities had more or less closed the border.

In October 1939, Sanok became a Kreis center within Distrikt Krakau. The first Kreishauptmann was Dr. Schaar; Dr. Class succeeded him from the second half of 1941 until the start of 1943. Primarily responsible for the anti-Jewish Aktions in Sanok was the Border Police-Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK), especially the members of its Gestapo section.

In the fall of 1939, the Germans started to confiscate and liquidate Jewish businesses. From December 1, Jews aged over 12 had to wear armbands bearing a blue Star of David. The Germans appointed Leon Werner as chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which had to provide a daily quota of forced laborers aged between 14 and 60. More wealthy Jews, however, were permitted to pay for replacements. Jewish men worked mainly cleaning and repairing the streets, while women and children either worked as domestic servants or were forced to gather rocks from the San River. The Jews were poorly paid and malnourished, so they had to barter possessions for food on the black market.[2]

On their arrival, German officials started to evict Jews to take their apartments, and Jews also had to meet German demands for furniture. Soon the Jews expelled from their homes and those living in other areas of town were all required to move into several designated Jewish residential areas within Sanok. The movement of Jews was restricted; they could leave the town only up to the distance of 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) and only during specific hours. To travel further afield, they required special permits issued by the Kreishauptmann. The penalty for disobeying these rules was death. According to several sources, the resettlement of the Jews into specific quarters within Sanok effectively meant the establishment of an open ghetto, although it is difficult to date this precisely.[3]

As of December 1940, there were about 9,000 Jews in Kreis Sanok, of which some 2,500 lived in the Kreis center.[4] According to a report of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), in July 1941, there were 2,700 Jews in Sanok, including 140 merchants; 120 skilled workers (of which 68 owned businesses, mainly tailors, shoemakers, and tinsmiths); 200 laborers; 6 self-employed; and 600 unemployed. Furthermore, 350 Jews were receiving assistance, while another 550 had applied for aid. The community kitchen distributed daily meals to 175 Jews; 102 Jews received medical help; and 144 families were receiving financial assistance.[5] In September 1941, the Sanok JSS reported there were 2,400 Jews in the town, of whom 334 were receiving assistance; 50 Jews were performing forced labor.[6] Around this time (at Rosh Hashanah), the Gestapo arrested a group of Jews while praying and deported them to the Auschwitz concentration camp.[7]

As of December 12, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Sanok introduced a law restricting the residence of Jews within the Kreis. Jews who were not permanent residents before June 22, 1941, were not permitted to settle in Kreis Sanok. Any Jews who had arrived after this date were required to leave the area. The Judenräte were required to report any Jewish newcomers to the office of the Kreishauptmann. Violators of the law would be severely punished.[8] In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews had to surrender all items of fur clothing to the Germans.[9]

From the spring of 1942, the Gestapo in Sanok conducted repeated registrations of the Jews in the town, dividing them into those able to work and those unfit for work.[10] From this time, members of the Gestapo regularly arrested groups of Jews and shot them in the Jewish cemetery on Kiczury Street. The Judenrat was forced to send other Jews to bury the bodies. Among the victims were Jews who had appealed against their categorization as unfit for work and probably some who had returned from Distrikt Galizien, but others were shot more or less at the whim of the Gestapo. At the end of the occupation, the Polish authorities uncovered more than 30 mass graves here, containing the bodies of around 1,000 Jews. The other Jewish cemetery was razed, and the Germans used the *matzevot* (tombstones) to pave the roads.[11]

In mid-summer 1942, the Germans dissolved the separate Jewish quarters in Sanok and established a single enclosed ghetto in the town, which was closely guarded. Jews could only leave it with a special pass to go to their workplaces. Jews caught outside the ghetto without permission faced the death penalty.[12] It was located on Jagiellońska Street and covered 2,000 square meters (almost 2,400 square yards). Initially, about 2,500 Jews inhabited the ghetto, but additional Jews were brought there from other places in the Kreis. Some Jews left the ghetto daily to work in road construction and at a railway carriage factory. Others worked in a labor camp based at the Trepcza quarry on the outskirts of town. The death rate in the ghetto reportedly was about 2 people per day.[13]

In preparation for the deportations from Kreis Sanok, the Germans also established a transit camp for Jews at Zasław, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) south of the town. This was an unfinished paper factory, with its own railhead, that was surrounded with barbed wire. The only accommodation was in primitive barracks. From the middle of August the Germans started to concentrate Jews in Zasław, for example, from Lesko, Bukowsko, and Ustrzyki Dolne. The camp's location within a factory was exploited to make Jews believe they would find employment there, but most were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp within days.

On September 5, 1942, the Germans announced on placards that all the Jews in the Sanok ghetto would be taken to the Zasław camp.[14] Then on September 10, the German police, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries, conducted a major deportation Aktion. The Jews were ordered to appear with luggage in front of their houses, leaving their keys behind. It was announced that anyone providing help to Jews would be punished by death. The Jews of Sanok were taken to the Zasław camp, where in total more than 11,000 Jews from the region were crammed into barracks suitable for only about 500 people. The sick and the disabled were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Sanok. After a few days, some 4,000 Jews from Kreis Sanok were deported to Bełżec. Soon afterwards, two more

transports carrying about 9,000 Jews in total were sent from Zasław to Bełżec.[15]

On September 14, 1942, Stadthauptmann Class announced the creation of three separate Jewish camps (or remnant ghettos) in Kreis Sanok, in Sanok, Trepcza, and Zasław. In this manner, the Germans attempted to lure out of hiding the remaining Jews, promising them survival. About 300 Jews had remained in the Sanok ghetto. The Germans soon killed most of the Jews who emerged.[16] In the fall of 1942, about 100 Jews were retained to clear the area of the ghetto, but several hundred others lived in the Trepcza camp and other workplaces in Sanok, now converted into barrack camps. In mid-December 1942, the Gestapo shot remaining members of the Judenrat in the Jewish cemetery.[17] Also in December, the Trepcza camp was liquidated, and about 700 Jews were transferred to Zasław, where they were shot the next day.[18] In January 1943, the remaining Jewish laborers in Sanok were concentrated in the remnant ghetto. After a few days, they were then sent to the Zasław camp. It is assumed that most were then sent to their deaths from Zasław, although the details remain unclear.[19]

Some Jews managed to escape the liquidation of the ghetto and go into hiding. The Germans hunted down the Jews in the nearby villages. In Bykowce, the Germans shot 3 Jewish escapees from the Sanok ghetto. In Dąbrówka, the Gestapo shot 14 Jews. On April 19, 1944, Stanisława Kornecka was executed by the Germans for sheltering a Jew.[20]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Sanok include the following: El'azar Sharvit, ed., *Sanok: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Sanok veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Sanok veha-sevivah be Yisrael, 1969)—a translation of sections dealing with the Holocaust (pp. 327–333) is available at jewishgen.org; "Sanok," in Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Wydawn., 2004); David Bloomberg, *Won't Forgive . . . Can't Forget: The Story of Jacques Graubart* (Oxfordshire, England: Writersworld, 2006); and Jafa Wallach, *Bitter Freedom: Memoirs of a Holocaust Survivor* (Schuylkill Haven, PA: Hermitage Publishers, 2006).

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Sanok can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1619, 1793, 3245, 3246, 3555, 3992); BA-L (B 162/14494); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 45; RG-15.019M, reel 11; RG-50.155*0010); USHMMPA (WS # 57831, 57842, 57843, 57848, and 57851); VHF (e.g., # 9007, 20860, 38212, 38885); and YVA.

Joanna Śliwa

NOTES

1. "Sanok," in Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, pp. 170–174.

2. BA-L, B 162/14494, Verdict of LG-Be (500), 3 P(K) Ks 1/72, August 23, 1973, against Johann Bäcker und Hans Quambusch (ZStL, II 206 AR-Z 13/64), pp. 10–12; Sharvit, *Sanok: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 327–333; AŻIH, 301/3245, testimony of Hadasa Hochdorf; VHF, # 38885, testimony of Henry Stern; # 9007, testimony of Pearl Parnes; testimony of Ya'akov Gurfein, in *The Trial of Adolf Eichman: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel State Archives and Yad Vashem, 1992–1995), pp. 331, 333; Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 36–38; "Sanok," in Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 174.

3. BA-L, B 162/14494, p. 12; VHF, # 38885; # 9007; Gurfein testimony, in *The Trial of Adolf Eichman*, vol. 1, p. 331.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 45, letter from Kraków JSS to Sanok, December 22, 1940.

5. Ibid., report of Sanok JSS for July 1941.

6. Ibid., report of Sanok JSS for September 1941.

7. Sharvit, *Sanok: Sefer zikaron*, p. 331.

8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 45, letter signed by Dr. Tisch, November 17, 1941.

9. BA-L, B 162/14494, p. 13; Gurfein testimony, in *The Trial of Adolf Eichman*, vol. 1, p. 333.

10. Gurfein testimony, in *The Trial of Adolf Eichman*, vol. 1, p. 331.

11. OKBZH-S, 8/70, testimony of Janina Piotrowska and Jan Smyczyński; C. Cyran and A. Rachwał, "Eksterminacja ludności na Sanocczyźnie 1939–1944," *Rocznik Sanocki* (1979), p. 42; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 11, "Protokół," doc. 685.

12. BA-L, B 162/14494, p. 17.

13. USHMM, RG-15.019M, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," doc. 185; BA-L, B 162/14494, p. 17; "Sanok," in Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 174.

14. AŻIH, 301/3555, testimony of Maria Dżambowa and Mala Sturm, p. 1.

15. BA-L, B 162/14494, pp. 17–18; Gurfein testimony, in *The Trial of Adolf Eichman*, vol. 1, p. 331; AŻIH 301/3246, testimony of Markus Silberman; 301/3556, testimony of Uszer Szwarc; 301/4916, testimony of Mojżesz Zwas; E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 97.

16. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów," pp. 97–98.

17. Sharvit, *Sanok: Sefer zikaron*, p. 332.

18. BA-L, B 162/14494, p. 25.

19. Sharvit, *Sanok: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 332–333, gives the final destination as Bełżec, but this killing facility was closed at the end of December 1942.

20. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 11, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," doc. 683; "Sanok," in Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem*, p. 175.

SĘDZISZÓW MAŁOPOLSKI

Pre-1939: Sędziszów Małopolski, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sedziszow Malopolski, Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sędziszów Małopolski, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Sędziszów Małopolski is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east of Kraków. In 1921, when the town became part of the reestablished Polish state, there were only 861 Jewish residents in Sędziszów Małopolski.

Soon after the invasion of Poland, German troops entered Sędziszów Małopolski on September 8, 1939. When the Germans established the Generalgouvernement in October 1939, the town became part of Kreis Debica, within Distrikt Krakau. A branch of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle)

based in Dębica organized the main Aktions against the Jews within its area of jurisdiction, including the town of Sędziszów Małopolski, assisted by the German Order Police and other auxiliary forces.[1]

In 1939, there were 1,000 Jewish residents in the town. In the period from 1939 to 1941, the Germans imposed a series of discriminatory measures against the local Jewish population. These included the confiscation of Jewish property, the imposition of forced "contributions," the obligation to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, and mandatory registration. In addition, the Germans prohibited the Jews from leaving the town limits and conscripted them to various kinds of compulsory hard labor.

There is very little information regarding the fate of the Jewish population prior to the establishment of the ghetto in June 1942. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by a man named Faust was established and made responsible for providing the daily quotas of forced laborers, who were mainly employed in construction and cleanup work. Records of the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization indicate that until September 26, 1941, despite the dire situation of the Jews in the town, there was no public kitchen. This was mainly due to the difficulties encountered raising funds to restore the local synagogue, in which the kitchen was to be established. Although no epidemic of typhus broke out in Sędziszów Małopolski, poor sanitary conditions among the Jewish population forced Meilech Löw, the head of the local JSS, to request funds to buy medical supplies in January 1942.[2] On February 2, 1942, the public kitchen, which served around 100 free meals per day, was finally opened. However, the living conditions in the town were also affected by considerable overcrowding. By February 15, 1942, the number of Jews in Sędziszów Małopolski had reached 1,380, including many refugees who had arrived from the nearby town of Kolbuszowa.[3]

At the beginning of May 1942, 50 young Jews were sent to the Pustków labor camp. The Germans established an open ghetto in Sędziszów Małopolski in June 1942 in an area circumscribed by three buildings. In addition to local Jews, it very briefly held several hundred Jews from the village of Ropczyce, who were concentrated there on July 23, 1942, just one day before the ghetto's liquidation. This brought the number of Jews in the ghetto to about 1,900. The ghetto was liquidated on July 24, 1942. Approximately 400 Jews, many of them old people, children, and women from Ropczyce, were shot on the spot by members of the SS and the Gendarmerie after a selection. Their remains were buried in a mass grave in the Jewish cemetery. About 1,500 Jews were dispatched via Dębica to the extermination camp at Bełżec. Although the town was officially declared to have been "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein)* following the liquidation of the ghetto, at least 19 Jews were discovered subsequently in hiding and were immediately shot.[4]

SOURCES Information regarding the ghetto in Sędziszów Małopolski can be found in the following publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 280–282; E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 87–109, here pp. 87 and 95; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 446; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo rzeszowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), p. 172.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Sędziszów Małopolskie may be found in the following archives: AŻIH (JSS 211/948); IPN (Zh III/31/35/68, g., woj. Rzeszowskie); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 45); VHF (e.g., # 1236 and 18693); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1412 and O-22/54).

Caterina Crisci and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagladzie żydów," p. 87.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 45, Bescheinigung, Krakau, January 31, 1942.
3. Ibid., reel 45; VHF, # 1236, testimony of E. Kleinman.
4. Wein and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia*, p. 282; VHF, # 18693, testimony of S. Blaufeld, and # 1236; Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów," p. 95; *Rejestr miejsc*, pp. 172–173; Yehoshua Gold, "Ropshitz during the Occupation," in I. Rosenfeld, ed., *Hayo hayta Ayara Ropczyce* (Israel: I. Rosenfeld, 1985), pp. 74–78.

SIENIAWA

Pre-1939: Sieniawa, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Seniava, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sieniawa, Kreis Jarosław, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Sieniawa is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northwest of Przemyśl. In 1939, there were 1,300 Jews living in Sieniawa.[1] German forces briefly occupied the town in September 1939. The Soviets took over later that month, following their invasion of Poland from the east. The Soviet occupation was largely peaceful for Sieniawa's Jews. Survivor Sally Bach recalled it as "a very good period" under the Soviets.[2]

Following the German recapture of Sieniawa in late June 1941, 50 to 60 Jews were arrested on charges of having cooperated with the Soviet police. Most were released after paying a ransom, but 15 people were detained and later shot.

The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) chaired by Shmiryahu Schmidt, who was soon replaced by Eliyahu Gross. According to survivors, Gross was very friendly and influential with the Gestapo who oversaw the town, often bribing its members.[3]

On May 26, 1942, a conference of all the Judenrat chairmen in the Kreis took place in Sieniawa. The Kreishauptmann in Jarosław appointed Gross as the Kreisobmann, that is, the president of the Presidium of the Area Council. This position held authority over all 15 Jewish Councils, some of which had much larger Jewish populations. Among them were Jarosław (the Kreis center), Łańcut, Przeworsk, Pruchnik, Landshut,

Leżajsk, Grodzisko Dolne, Żołynia, Bystrowice, Markowa, Kańczuga, Czarna, and Monasterz. At the conference, Gross "introduced a work plan in the sphere of fulfilling the decrees of the German authorities, and in the social field." Gross never exercised much of his power, and in the summer of 1942, most of the Jewish communities in the area were liquidated.

In July 1942, there were 1,800 Jews living in Sieniawa. By then, its Judenrat had distributed some clothing, heating fuel, and 20,000 złoty among the town's Jews. No soup kitchen was organized. The Jewish population sustained itself by trading household items for food with Ukrainians, the predominant residents of the town. Jews worked in forestry, road repairs, and sanitation.[4]

In the summer and early autumn of 1942, several processes were taking place in Sieniawa, most of them simultaneously. Each was part of the liquidation plan for the Jews of Kreis Jaroslau. The Germans had selected Sieniawa as the main place of concentration for the Jews before their final shipment to extermination or labor camps. The Jews from neighboring settlements were brought into Sieniawa in the summer of 1942. A number of Jews from larger towns in the Kreis were also transferred to Sieniawa, following the liquidation of their communities. At that time, the Jews of Sieniawa were not ghettoized and there are no references to restrictions on their movement within the town.

Available sources differ, but the liquidation of the Sieniawa Jewish community probably took place on August 25, 1942. After this main Aktion, only several hundred Jews remained in Sieniawa. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*—which gives an earlier date of July 20 for the Aktion—the community was gathered in the synagogue and then sent to the Pełkinie transit camp. Many children and elderly people were murdered in and around Sieniawa during the course of this Aktion. The women were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp, while the healthy men were transferred to labor camps. Historian E. Podhorizer-Sandel, however, dates the Aktion on August 25 and indicates that the Jews were sent on wagons to nearby Wólka Pełkińska and from there by truck to a forest where they were shot.

The latter date seems more likely, as the local office of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), established in Sieniawa only on July 19, 1942, reported to JSS headquarters in Kraków on August 26, 1942: "[F]or the laborers, deportees, abandoned, and children who remained [in Sieniawa], we have set up a kitchen." It served three meals a day for 150 people but worked to increase this output as the authorities had announced that they should expect more deportees to be resettled to Sieniawa. "We are stressing that from the entire Kries Jaroslau, Sieniawa will be the only town inhabited by Jews, the number of which cannot presently be determined," the JSS added.[5]

It was only after this first liquidation Aktion that a closed ghetto was established on September 15, 1942, in the center and northern parts of Sieniawa. Poles were expelled from their houses, and all the Jewish inhabitants were relocated to this area. The Germans gradually fenced the ghetto area with barbed wire and constructed at least one guarded gate. A Jewish police force was organized, possibly before the ghetto's establishment. Apart from the remaining Jews of Sieniawa, there were also Jews from Leżajsk, Łańcut, Żołynia, Grodzisk, and Kańczuga in the ghetto.

A German Gendarme by the name of Seidel was in charge of ghetto affairs. He was assisted by the commander of a Ukrainian police force, Babak, and another Ukrainian named Kozak.[6]

Even after the first liquidation, when new Jews were still being brought into the ghetto from other places where the Jewish communities had just been liquidated, Gross repeatedly assured the ghetto inmates that he would protect them against deportation.[7]

In the course of the ghetto's establishment, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to set up several labor camps. Gross approved the candidates for labor conscription. The first of three camps, which all lay less than 10 kilometers (6 miles) from Sieniawa, had been set up by September 11, 1942. Some 200 men and 30 women labored in forestry and lived in barracks constructed close to their workplaces. The Sieniawa ghetto was ordered to provide meals for them from its soup kitchen. The monthly cost was estimated at 10,000 złoty. Sieniawa Jews drained of money pleaded to the JSS in Kraków for help: "Other localities in our Kreis cannot help us either, as there are no longer any Jews there at all." By October 26, 1942, the JSS reported 1,300 Jews living in Sieniawa's enclosed ghetto.[8]

Earlier in October 1942, another massacre took place. At least eight members of the Judenrat were shot in an Aktion that some survivors described as another liquidation operation, which ended with the murder of many ghetto inmates. A witness, Helen Gruenfeld, a relative of Gross, testified: "The president [of the Judenrat] ran out and screamed, 'Please save my ghetto!' And they were so drunk, the SS-men. They started shooting [at] him. There were seven shots and he begged for his life, and then all of a sudden it became quiet."

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, members of the Judenrat, including Gross, were murdered when they were caught carrying furs and other valuables, which they intended to use to bribe the "governor [Kreishauptmann] in Jarosław," in exchange for cancellation of the planned dissolution of the Sieniawa ghetto. The execution took place outside the Judenrat building. Lazar Pes was then appointed as the new chairman. Bernard Schanzer further recalled that when the camps were being organized, the Germans killed all the chairmen of the Jewish Councils from neighboring towns who were living in the ghetto, as well as most of their family members.[9]

By November 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto had declined to 1,100. The Judenrat and JSS were responsible for providing food to 169 laborers who were then working in the three forestry camps: in Dobra (10 kilometers [6 miles] distant), Milniki (8 kilometers [5 miles] distant), and Koty (4 kilometers [2.5 miles] away from Sieniawa). There were cases of typhus reported among the camp inmates.[10]

It is not clear to what extent the Jews in the camps were able to communicate with the ghetto or what the Jews who remained in the ghetto were doing at this time. The ghetto

existed until May 4, 1943. The number of inhabitants at that time and the manner of its liquidation are unknown. In the spring of 1944, an SS detachment exhumed the bodies of the people who had been murdered in Sieniawa during the German occupation, transferred them to Koniaczów, and burned them there.[11]

SOURCES The Sieniawa ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 360–362; and E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 95–96.

The following archives were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (211/952 [JSS]; 301/2200 [Relacje]); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [ASG]); and VHF (# 2380, 4222, 7563, 24980).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July, 3, 1942.
2. VHF, # 24980, testimony of Sally Bach, 1997.
3. Ibid., # 7563, testimony of Helen Gruenfeld, 1995; # 4222, testimony of Bernard Schantzer, 1995.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/952 (Sieniawa), pp. 3–4, 7; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 3, 1942.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/952, pp. 10, 15.
6. Ibid., RG-15.019M (ASG Sieniawa), reel 17, fr. 46; AŻIH, 301/2200, testimony of Szymon Wulwik, 1945; VHF, # 24980; and # 4222.
7. VHF, # 4222.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/952, pp. 18, 22.
9. VHF, # 2380, testimony of Ben Stelzer, 1995; # 7563; and # 4222.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/952, p. 25; VHF, # 24980.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG Sieniawa), reel 17, fr. 46.

SKAWINA

Pre-1939: Skawina, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Krakau-Land, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Skawina is located 15 kilometers (9 miles) southwest of Kraków. There were approximately 360 Jews living in Skawina in 1939. Many fled before the advancing German troops at the start of the September Campaign; by the spring of 1940, there were only 290 Jews left in Skawina, including nine refugees.[1] A Polish (Blue) Police squad and a German Gendarmerie post were based in the town.

The occupying German authorities appointed Salomon Heim as the chairman of Skawina's Jewish Council (Judenrat) and Mendel Spielman as his deputy.[2] The Judenrat set up a self-help committee in early March 1940. Although unable to open a soup kitchen, it distributed food received from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Kraków. It also required that better-situated families should provide daily meals to 10 children from poor families. A complete list of the Jewish families living in Skawina in November 1940, prepared for flour distribution, is available in the AJDC files. It includes the name and surname of the family heads and the number of people in each family.[3]

In the autumn of 1940, a large number of Jews who had been expelled from Kraków moved to Skawina, nearly doubling the town's pre-war Jewish population. By mid-November 1940, 100 refugees had already been settled; and another 230 were in the process of arranging their accommodation. Each able-bodied newcomer had to register with the local Arbeitsamt (labor office) for work assignment.[4]

By the end of 1940, Jewish shops and businesses had either been closed down or taken over by non-Jewish trustees. At this time, the Judenrat stated that "the only source of income was from forced labor." In January 1941, 700 Jews were registered in Skawina.[5]

A temporary infirmary was set up for the severely ill refugees in the early spring of 1941. A Women's Committee affiliated with the Judenrat organized a rotation among local families, who took it in turns to bring food to the inpatients to provide them with sustenance. Some patients were later transferred to Kraków.[6]

In April 1941, before the Passover holidays, the Gestapo and the Polish (Blue) Police rounded up 150 men and women enlisted for deportation to Międzyrzec Podlaski. The list was handed over to the Judenrat's chairman one day in advance. A number of those listed went into hiding after learning of their planned deportation; in their place, other Jews were seized randomly.

Available records show that by May 1941 the number of Jews in Skawina had decreased to 556.[7]

On May 22, 1941, the then-deputy of the Judenrat, Mendel Spielman, was appointed as its new chairman, with the approval of Kraków's Kreishauptmann.[8]

The new Judenrat chairman was also appointed as the president of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch that was officially established by the Kraków headquarters on August 7, 1941. The JSS was located on 133 Kolejowa Street. It opened a soup kitchen on August 18, 1941, at 219 Korabnicka Street.[9]

A Judenrat sanitation committee was soon created to prevent the spread of disease. A Jewish female doctor, Czapnicka, supervised it; she was also in charge of the clinic. The sanitation committee consisted of six people tasked with inspecting Jewish households for cleanliness, ordering vaccinations and haircuts, providing bedding replenishment, and maintaining floors and toilets. Poor people could use the public baths free of charge and were ordered to do so once a week. Half of Skawina's Jewish population was vaccinated for typhus. By May 1942, there were still no serious diseases, apart from three cases of tuberculosis.[10]

There were 597 Jews registered in Skawina between February and May 1942. These included some Jewish deportees from Slovakia, such as Mikuláš Liptovský, who were trying to locate relatives sent to other towns.[11]

In the first days of July 1942, the Jews living in Krzeszowice (renamed Kressendorf by the Germans), including those from the villages of Tenczynek and Nowa Góra within Landgemeinde Kressendorf, as well as Jews from the separate Landgemeinden of Liszki and Czernichów, were notified of their upcoming transfer to Skawina. At the time of the transfer from Krzeszowice, a Sonderdienst squad took approximately 140 children, sick, and elderly into a forest near Tyniec, where they were forced to undress and then shot. The victims were buried in three mass graves.

With the arrival of 222 Jews from Landgemeinde Kressendorf, Skawina's Jewish population rose to 812.[12]

The newcomers from Kressendorf were followed by many more. The local government was instructed not to interfere with those Jews attempting to settle in the by now extremely overcrowded town of Skawina, "as long as it was within the town's boundaries."[13] A number of houses near the train station were emptied of Poles, and Jews were housed in their place.[14]

Although there is no evidence that a ghetto was ever formally established, an informal open ghetto was effectively in place by August 1942, at the latest.[15]

On August 12, 1942, up to 1,000 Jews (among them a large number of refugees) were brought in from the liquidated ghetto in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska.[16] At that time, on the orders of the Arbeitsamt in Kraków, all Jews employed in agriculture in the vicinity of Skawina were released from their employment. By then an SS unit was quartered in Skawina. Its headquarters, set up in the local factory, received more and more troops. Supplementary Polish police forces were also gathered and quartered in the local school. The SS informed the town's mayor that Skawina's Jews were under their jurisdiction and ordered the Jews to pay three separate "contributions" in a very short time.

The Jews from Myślenice and its vicinity were brought to the Skawina ghetto on August 21, 1942. At this time the ghettoization process was complete, and Jews were no longer allowed to leave the town. Checkpoints were spread out along Skawina's town limits; the identification of those coming in and leaving was checked. At least two Jews were killed trying to leave the town.[17]

On August 29, 1942, the ghetto's inhabitants were informed that they were to be deported "to the East for work" and were to report to the market square. In the process of assembling, those slow to arrive or discovered in hiding were killed. The night before, groups of Jews were rounded up and kept in the so-called Catholic House and the new slaughterhouse. The Germans announced shortly afterwards that Poles were forbidden to enter the market square until noon the next day, Sunday, August 30, when the liquidation of the Skawina ghetto would be complete.

The following morning, the deportation commenced with the tormenting of those Jews who showed up with the heaviest luggage. They were ordered to run to the Catholic House and back, then to the train station and back. Children's carriages and luggage were collected in front of the town hall, after which a selection took place. Small children, infants, the old, and handicapped were loaded onto trucks. All of them were taken to the so-called Pobory Forest and shot on the edge of a previously dug mass grave. Polish workers serving in the German Construction Service (Baudienst) were later forced to bury them.

The remainder of the Jews was divided into two groups. An unknown number of healthy men were ordered to one side of the square and then loaded on trains destined for the Płaszów labor camp. Women and youths over 12 years old were taken to the other side and then sent on freight cars to the Bełżec extermination camp.[18]

An intensive search for escapees from the ghetto was conducted following its liquidation; for example, 4 Jews were shot on September 1, 1942; 6 Jewish men, all with the same surname (Kunstlinger), were shot on September 2; 17 Skawina Jews were murdered on September 3; and another 16 on September 30.[19]

SOURCES The ghetto in Skawina is briefly mentioned in E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 96; more information on conditions for the Jews concentrated in Skawina can be found in Bruno Shatyn, *A Private War: Surviving in Poland on False Papers, 1941–1945* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1985).

The following archival sources were used in this entry: AŻIH (210/632, 211/965-966, 301/599, 301/799, 301/4470, 301/4572, 301/4720, and 301/5322); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC], 210/632 [Skawina]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 46, 211/965-966 [Skawina]); and VHF (# 28035-3, 2480, and 17120).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/632 (Skawina), pp. 1–3; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46, 211/965 (Skawina), p. 18.
2. Shatyn, *A Private War*, p. 10; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/632, pp. 1, 8.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/632, pp. 11–13, 18; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 46, 211/965, p. 28.
4. Shatyn, *A Private War*, p. 11; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/632, p. 15.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/632, pp. 15, 20; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 46, 211/965, p. 18; and 211/966 (Skawina), pp. 36–37.
6. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 25, 1941.
7. AŻIH, 301/4720, testimony of Dawid Enoch, n.d.; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 46, 211/965, p. 18.
8. *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 2, 1941; and USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/632, p. 30.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 46, 211/965, pp. 23, 28–29; and 211/966, p. 8.
10. Ibid., reel 46, 211/966, pp. 4, 14, 30, 50; *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 2, 1941.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 46, 211/966, pp. 4, 28, 36, 49.
12. Ibid., p. 54.
13. Shatyn, *A Private War*, p. 20.
14. VHF, # 28035-3, testimony of Regina Lockerman, 1997.

15. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów," p. 96. In this article the author specifically uses the term *ghetto* referring to Skawina.

16. VHF, # 2480, testimony of Dorothy Fields, 1995.

17. Shatyn, *A Private War*, pp. 27–29; AŻIH, 301/599, testimony of Zofia Głowacka Hradowa, 1945.

18. Shatyn, *A Private War*, pp. 32–33; AŻIH, 301/599; VHF, # 17120, testimony of Israel Scharf, 1996.

19. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo krakowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 92–93.

SŁOMNIKI

Pre-1939: Słomniki, town, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Slomniki, Kreis Miechow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Słomniki, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Słomniki is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) north-northeast of Kraków. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,460, out of a total population of 4,797.

German forces occupied Słomniki on September 6, 1939. A number of Jews, mainly young men, fled eastward just before the occupation. However, many subsequently returned in the winter of 1939–1940.

On October 26, 1939, Słomniki became incorporated into Kreis Miechow in Distrikt Krakau within the Generalgouvernement. The German authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the confiscation of property, a curfew, and subsequently a prohibition on Jews leaving the town. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Israel Moshe Bialebroda. The Jewish Council had to supply forced laborers to the Germans for clearing snow, road construction, quarrying, and draining swamps. Jews with means were able to pay for substitutes to replace them on forced labor details.[1] According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the German commissar of the labor office in Miechów, Beckman, was notable for his brutality; on one visit to Słomniki, he forced Rabbi Huberband to remove all the holy books from the synagogue and burn them in front of the building.

In the period up to the end of 1941, the Jewish population of Słomniki increased by up to 1,000 refugees, including a number of people displaced from Kraków. The community organized public assistance and a soup kitchen for the needy. In the winter of 1940–1941, about 100 young men from Słomniki were sent to a labor camp in Nowy Targ.

Probably in the spring of 1942, the German Security Police selected a few of the most prominent Jews of Słomniki and took them to Miechów, where they were killed.[2] In the first half of 1942, a unit of Jewish Police was created in Słomniki, which served under the Judenrat.

In late April or early May 1942, the Germans rounded up about 150 able-bodied Jews in Słomniki and deported them to work at two camps near Kraków. Some worked at the Fliegerhorstkommando, agricultural section, in Rakowice, and others were sent to the Siemens factory camp in Płaszów. The Słomniki Judenrat managed to send them small amounts of money, food, and clothing for a few weeks in the summer of 1942.[3] According to Roman Ohrenstein, who was among those included in this deportation, up to this date there was no ghetto in the town. The Jews received bread in accordance with ration cards but had to barter possessions with local farmers to supplement this meager diet. They continued to live in their own homes, but all the decrees meant that living conditions were "just as bad as a ghetto."[4]

The first large-scale deportation Aktion from Słomniki, which was also the first from Kreis Miechow, took place on June 4–8, 1942. Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) records indicate that at this time about 1,200 Jews were deported, and some 800 to 900 Jews remained in the town.[5] On the night of June 4, hundreds of SS men aided by Ukrainian auxiliaries and Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the town. The German authorities ordered the Judenrat to prepare a list of the Jews who lived in the town's center and its eastern part. That night, Jews from these districts were forcibly evicted using vicious dogs and imprisoned in the synagogue and two Polish schools. Those unable to walk were killed on the spot.

After being held in the schools and the synagogue for three days without food or water, on June 8, the Jews were then transported on trucks to Prokocim, just to the southeast of Kraków, where they were held in the local soccer field for a few hours. Here they were ordered to hand over their valuables. A selection was conducted, and a few dozen able-bodied Jews were sent to the Płaszów labor camp. The old, sick, and frail were also selected out and killed nearby. The bulk of the Jews were then deported by rail to the Bełżec extermination camp on cattle cars, together with other Jews from Kraków, where the first large Aktion had commenced on May 30 and was now concluding.[6]

Following this Aktion, about 900 Jews were still living in the western part of town. At the end of June 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Miechów issued a decree on the establishment of "Jewish quarters" (*Jüdischer Wohnbezirke*) in Kreis Miechow. According to German trial materials, this order instructed the Jews of Michałowice (and probably also other nearby villages) to move to the "ghetto" in Słomniki by July 15, 1942.[7] The resettlement of the Jews of Michałowice was conducted in a brutal fashion by the head of the Gestapo Aussendienststelle in Miechów, SS-Untersturmführer and Kriminalobersekretär Bayerlein; a number of Jews were shot in the streets of the village.[8] JSS records confirm that the Kreishauptmann informed the Jews of Słomniki to expect the resettlement of about 450 Jews from the neighboring villages on July 13–14, 1942. Then on July 21, JSS records indicate that initially the mayor of Słomniki did not want to accept these new arrivals. However, he agreed, once an official from the office of the Kreishauptmann gave permission for them to be housed with the other Jews within the borders of the "eventual Jewish quarter" and even permitted some to be housed temporarily in other parts of town, once the official had stated that "there were no plans to establish a [permanent] ghetto in Słomniki."[9] Thus the order announcing the establishment of a Jewish

quarter in Słomniki appears to reflect the town's use as a temporary concentration point for Jews of the region prior to their deportation, rather than the establishment of a formal ghetto for Słomniki's Jews. Its main purpose was probably to deceive Jews passing through Słomniki about the real nature of the deportation Aktion. Nonetheless, most of the native Jews of Słomniki were by now concentrated in the western part of the town, due to the manner in which the first deportation Aktion was conducted.

On August 2, 1942, the soup kitchen in Słomniki was reopened after the disruptions caused by the first deportation. The Gestapo chief in Miechów, Bayerlein, engaged in selling "certificates" to the increasingly anxious Jews for a price of 10,000 złoty, which were supposed to protect people from deportation; however, during the next deportation Aktion, these certificates proved to be worthless. By mid-August, the Germans had established a transit camp near Słomniki, consisting of a specially fenced area in a field, near the flour mill on the Szerniewa River. On August 20, 1942, most of the remaining Jews of Słomniki were transferred to this area, where Jews from other nearby towns were also brought successively during the last days of August and the first days of September. Among other places, Jews were brought there from Charsznica, Skalbmierz, Koszyce, Miechów, Proszowice, and Skała.[10] Many Jews were murdered by the Ukrainian and Lithuanian escorts during these transports, and eventually the transit camp held about 6,000 to 8,000 Jews, including about 1,000 from Słomniki. In the camp, the inmates were held under terrible conditions, exposed to the elements. Only some 200 Jews, including members of the Judenrat, were allowed to remain in Słomniki.

The Słomniki Judenrat managed to organize some food and water for the thousands of Jews crammed into the camp.[11] However, more than 40 people died during the first four days, and many others contracted dysentery and typhus. On September 6–7, 1942, the Germans and their auxiliaries liquidated the camp. About 1,000 people were selected and sent to forced labor camps, and hundreds of the infirm and children were shot and buried in nearby pits, some being buried alive. The remaining Jews were loaded onto cattle cars and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.

The remaining Jews in Słomniki were subsequently joined by other Jews who had evaded the roundups in hiding. At this time, the Germans and their collaborators were scouring the region for any Jews who had escaped, shooting those they found on the spot.

In November 1942, the Germans shot the last remaining 200 Jews in Słomniki in the Chodów Forest, along with a number of Jewish fugitives captured in the area. Only a few Jews from Słomniki managed to survive until the end of the German occupation in 1945.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews in Słomniki during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 358–362; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 619; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 241–242, 665–666, 1190, 1200.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/976 [JSS]; 301/1695, 1732, 1808); VHF (e.g., # 20661, 27514, and 27994); and YVA (M-1/E/494).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 27994, testimony of Roman Ohrenstein; # 27514, testimony of David Merin.
2. Ibid., # 27994.
3. Ibid., # 27994; # 27514; AŻIH, 211/976, p. 5, JSS Słomniki to JSS Kraków, May 4, 1942.
4. VHF, # 27994.
5. AŻIH, 211/976, pp. 32, 38, JSS Słomniki to JSS Kraków, May 4, 1942.
6. VHF, # 27514.
7. *JuNS-V*, vol. 23, Lfd. Nr. 619b, p. 119.
8. Ibid., Lfd. Nr. 619a, pp. 89–91.
9. AŻIH, 211/976, pp. 48, 50, JSS Słomniki to JSS Kraków, July 13, 1942, and Notatka, Kraków, July 21, 1942.
10. Ibid., 301/1695, testimony of Mozes Goldkorn; 301/1732, testimony of Mates Brunengraber; 301/1808, testimony of Izrael Anker.
11. YVA, M-1/E/494, testimony of Wolf Lerer.

SOKOŁÓW MAŁOPOLSKI

Pre-1939: Sokołów Małopolski, town, Rzeszów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Sokolow, Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sokołów Małopolski, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Sokołów Małopolski is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) north-northeast of Rzeszów. On the eve of World War II, there were 1,600 Jews living there.

Following the German occupation of the town in September 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed in the fall. Leon Kaufmann became its chairman. One of the Judenrat's main functions was providing laborers for the Germans.

By December 1939, over 200 Jews who had been deported by the German authorities from Łódź were transferred to Sokołów Małopolski via Rzeszów. Upon their arrival, Sokołów's Jews spontaneously set up a Committee for the Support of Deportees. A soup kitchen opened, distributing breakfasts and dinners. The Judenrat had taken charge of the committee by January 1940.

In March 1940, there were 1,700 Jews living in Sokołów, including 270 deportees from other areas. The number of deportees fluctuated, with several groups of Jews arriving and then leaving Sokołów; by June 1940, the number had fallen to approximately 150.[1]

Those Jews who remained in Sokołów worked for a construction company on various projects on and around the



A postcard bearing a rubber stamp in German and Polish addressed from the Judenrat in Sokołów Małopolski to the Jewish community in Litzmannstadt (Łódź), February 13, 1941.
COURTESY OF EDWARDVICTOR.COM

market square. Civilian supervisors named Jeschko, Lindner, and Schäfer often beat these laborers. In winter, Jewish labor was used to clear the streets of snow.[2]

The Judenrat closed the soup kitchen in the summer of 1940, immediately after the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) stopped sending money. Before this, the AJDC had questioned the Judenrat's policy of not charging for meals and overspending on provisions (bought on the black market), instead of attempting to buy food at the maximum prices fixed by the German authorities in their efforts to prevent speculators; in fact, Jewish charitable organizations were still eligible to buy some food under these regulations.

In September 1940, an AJDC inspector criticized the Judenrat chairman Kaufmann for being "a flincher," taking the easiest way out by simply refusing to reopen the soup kitchen. From then on, the Judenrat only distributed cash, which forced the poor to buy food themselves at inflated prices, whereas the Judenrat could have negotiated to pay bulk prices and could also have saved on fuel costs by operating a communal kitchen. The AJDC did not renew its support, as it considered its money was being spent unwisely.[3]

By February 1941, a branch of the welfare organization known as the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), with its headquarters in Kraków, opened in Sokołów. It took over the provision of social aid from the Judenrat, which now included Dr. Józef Weissberg, Symche Halpern, and Awadje Breselod. Continuing the politics of the Judenrat, the JSS chose to distribute cash instead of organizing a soup kitchen. Close to half of its 1941 budget was spent supplying conscripted laborers with food and clothing.[4]

According to a JSS report of June 1941, a total of 400 Jews worked in labor camps outside the Kreis, most of them likely in Górno.

In September 1941, all Jews from villages surrounding Raniżów and Sokołów, including Wola Raniżowska, Zielonka, Staniszewskie, Mazury, and Górno, were deported to Sokołów and Głogów Małopolski. A group of 250 people, mostly farmers, resettled in Sokołów, the remainder in Głogów. Those who were sent to Sokołów had been working at the open labor camp in Górno; their resettlement was to rationalize their labor there.[5] One Jewish survivor, who arrived in Sokołów in September 1941, described the town at that time as "a kind of a ghetto" overcrowded with refugees but unguarded, unfenced, and with no gates. He claimed that there was no hunger and the town's Jews could still go out and buy food.[6] At this time, the German Landkommissar Twardon, residing in Kolbuszowa, ordered the Kolbuszowa Judenrat to move 25 Jewish families to Sokołów and Głogów.[7]

A hospital was probably not established in the village until 1942. Towarzystwo Ochony Zdrowia (Society for the Protection of Health) disinfected dirty apartments from December 1940. One source claims that there was never a serious epidemic in Sokołów and the death rate was not significantly above average. However, on December 20, 1941, the police decree of Kreishaumptmann Heinz Ehaus announced Strzyżów, Niebylec, and Sokołów Małopolski as quarantined areas, and all traffic in and out was halted. The penalty for disobeying the order was a 1,000 złoty fine or prison time. There is no information as to when the quarantine was lifted.[8]

At the beginning of 1942, the Judenrat organized linen-sewing, carpentry, and agricultural courses for the youth. Although the courses began in February 1942, the Judenrat subsequently failed to establish workshops that might have offered people some form of employment and therefore perhaps security against deportation for forced labor.

The German authorities established a ghetto in Sokołów on April 27, 1942. It covered approximately 500 square meters (almost 600 square yards) and included Kupiecka and Kochanowskiego Streets, as well as part of Piłsudski. The Poles living there had to leave their homes. Landkommissar Twardon became the commandant in charge of the Sokołów ghetto. Marcuse, a refugee, was head of the Jewish Police.[9] Survivor testimonies disagree on whether or not the Sokołów ghetto was physically enclosed.[10]

By May 1942, the ghetto had 3,000 inhabitants. The local Arbeitsamt (labor office) registered all newcomers aged between 14 and 60 years old. In May 1942, according to *Gazeta Żydowska*, approximately 800 Jews worked daily at the Luftwaffe barracks in Górno; however, it is not clear if all of them were from the Sokołów ghetto. At that time, the commander of the Górno outpost offered dinners to Jewish laborers at 0.40 złoty each. Another 100 to 120 Jews worked in Sokołów cleaning the town and repairing roads.

The Reichshof Gestapo arrived in Sokołów in early May 1942 and shot several Jews whom they believed to be Communists as part of a wider Aktion throughout Distrikt Krakau.

The liquidation of the Sokołów ghetto took place in July 1942. German police officers arrived in Sokołów and shot around 30 ghetto residents, following a selection. Approximately 200 Jews were relocated to Głogów; Jewish professionals were sent to Rzeszów. The remaining Jews were given only two days to transfer to the Rzeszów ghetto. Forty Jews

found hiding were murdered in four separate shootings in the forest near the village of Pogwizdów Nowy.[11]

Along with those expelled from other towns, Sokołów's Jews were put into shacks outside the Rzeszów ghetto. All were most likely sent to the Bełżec extermination camp in the course of the July 1942 deportations.[12]

In the summer of 1943, Wehrmacht soldiers shot three Jews and executed four Poles accused of hiding them. All were shot and buried on the grounds of Sokołów's elementary school. According to a survivor's testimony, one Jewish man was killed in Sokołów after the end of the war, as he was accused of having been a member of the Jewish Police—an allegation that the survivor deemed to be false.[13]

SOURCES There is no single publication describing in detail the fate of the Jews of Sokołów Małopolski. Brief descriptions of the destruction of the community can be found in Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), p. 181; and Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 276–278.

Documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/645 [AJDC]; 211/983 and 211/931 [JSS]; and 301/4968 [Relacje]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); USHMMPA (CD no. 0409, WS # N64867); and VHF (# 30185).

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NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 20, 1940; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/645, pp. 1, 3, 7, 11, 23; Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich. Part 2," *BŻIH*, nos. 1–2 (1984): 97.

2. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG Sokołów Małopolski); AŻIH, 301/4968.

3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 20, 1940; USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154, 210/645, pp. 1, 21, 24–26, 28.

4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 15, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1999. A.0154, 210/645, pp. 14, 24; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 47, 211/983, pp. 1, 3.

5. Franciszek Kotula, *Losy Żydów rzeszowskich 1939–1945: Kronika tamtych dni* (Rzeszów: Społeczny Komitet Wydania Dzieł Franciszka Kotuli, 1999), pp. 68–69; USHMM, Acc.1997. A.0124, reel 45, 211/931, p. 13.

6. VHF, # 30185, testimony of Israel Friedman, 1997.

7. *Kolbuszowa Memorial Book*, available at www.jewishgen .org (a translation of I.M. Biderman, ed., *Pinkas Kolbishov* [New York: United Kolbushover, 1971]), pp. 55–88.

8. USHMMPA, CD no. 0409, WS # N64867; USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG); Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47, 211/983, p. 24; *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 20, 1940.

9. USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG); *Kolbuszowa Memorial Book*, pp. 55–88.

10. See AŻIH, 301/4968; VHF, # 30185.

11. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 462.

12. Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich. Part 3," *BŻIH*, nos. 3–4 (1985): 99.

13. AŻIH, 301/4968; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo rzeszowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), p. 177.

STARY SĄCZ

Pre-1939: Stary Sącz, town, Nowy Sącz powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Alt-Sandez, Kreis Neu-Sandez, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Stary Sącz, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Stary Sącz is located about 85 kilometers (53 miles) southeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, there were about 434 Jews living in the town.[1]

German armed forces occupied Stary Sącz on September 5, 1939. At the end of October, the town became part of Kreis Neu-Sandez, administered by Kreishauptmann Dr. Reinhard Busch. A Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) was established in Nowy Sącz and headed from 1940 by SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann. A unit of Polish (Blue) Police, stationed in Stary Sącz, was commanded by a Viennese official named Neumann. The Germans conscripted Jews for forced labor, mainly cleaning streets, washing latrines, and performing other degrading work. A curfew was imposed on the Jews. A Judenrat was established in the town in the fall of 1939.[2]

Up to the beginning of 1940, Jews were permitted to remain in their own houses unless the house was on one of the main streets, from which all Jews were evicted as Jews were not permitted to use them. In 1940, the Germans confiscated Jewish houses and businesses. At the end of 1940 and in the first half of 1941, the Kreishauptmann ordered that all Jews living in the smaller towns and villages must move to one of five major towns in the Kreis: Nowy Sącz, Stary Sącz, Limanowa, Mszana Dolna, or Grybów. By 1942, leaving the residential area without permission was punishable by death.[3]

In 1941, the Germans began to concentrate the Jews in one area on the outskirts of Stary Sącz. Jews from nearby villages and smaller towns, including Krynica, Stadło, Piwniczna, and Rytro, were brought into the town. About 1,000 Jews lived in the crowded Jewish area in the northern part of town, which became an open ghetto. It was administered by the Judenrat and policed internally by the Jewish Police, with Polish (Blue) Police acting as external guards. Due to the prohibition on leaving the ghetto and the meager food rations supplied, many Jews engaged in black market activities. The Germans also prohibited Jews from religious observance, but some Jews held clandestine religious services.[4]

According to a report by the Stary Sącz branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) for the period from June 26 to July 15, 1941, the Judenrat had registered 1,024 Jews, of which more than half had arrived since the start of the occupation. These included 33 merchants, 25 skilled workers, 4 farmers, 5 self-employed individuals, 43 forced laborers, and 257 unemployed. Some 85 Jews were receiving aid. Based on the community

kitchen's report for October 1941, the kitchen distributed paid and unpaid meals to 231 Jews, but 298 more people had applied for assistance.[5]

The Germans intensified their persecution of the Jews during 1941. On September 13, 1941, the Germans shot 20 Jewish women in the Miejska Góra Forest.[6] On December 13, 1941, a renewed order was issued commanding Jews to wear armbands with the Star of David. The armband had to specify the person's last name, address, and town of residence.[7] At the end of December 1941, the Germans ordered that the Jews surrender any fur items and hard currency.[8]

On January 6, 1942, the Kreishauptmann announced that Jews could not leave their area of residence without the approval of either his office (Kreisamt) or the labor office (Arbeitsamt). Jews had to obtain an approval from the Kreishauptmann for travel by rail. In the spring or summer of 1942, the Jews from Kreis Neu-Sandez were ordered to hand over to the Germans a contribution of 140,000 złoty, furs, large amounts of tea and coffee, and 500 pots. Somehow the Judenrat in Stary Sącz managed to scrape together their share of this harsh German demand.[9]

On August 14, 1942, the Germans ordered conscripted Poles of the Construction Service (Baudienst) to dig a large ditch in a field near the Poprad River. The Germans sent an order via the Judenrat that all Jews must assemble at the cattle market in the early hours of August 15, 1942. The Order Police and Gestapo from Nowy Sącz carried out the Aktion. A selection was made in the course of which at least 70 people who were elderly, sick, or otherwise unfit for work were sent to one side. They were taken to the mass grave near the Poprad River and shot. The Germans also selected about 140 people from the mass of Jews for three labor detachments, issuing them special work cards stamped by the GPK in Nowy Sącz. One group consisting of 35 people was taken on trucks to perform forced labor at the HOBAG factory in Rytro just to the south of Stary Sącz. A second group, also of 35 people, became the cleanup group (Aufräumkommando) that remained in Stary Sącz to sort the clothes and other possessions of the Jews. Another work group consisting of 70 men was marched off to the Piekło ghetto in Nowy Sącz. The remaining group of more than 300 Jews was escorted by Jewish Police to the closed ghetto on Kazimierz Street in Nowy Sącz.[10] The Germans deported the majority of the Jews from the two Nowy Sącz ghettos to the Bełżec extermination camp between August 24 and August 28, 1942.

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Stary Sącz include "Stary Sącz," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 278–280; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 1998), Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 269–484 (LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/65, verdict against Heinrich Hamann and others).

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Stary Sącz can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1895); IPN; USHMM (Acc. 1995.A.228; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 47; RG-02.070*01; RG-15.019M, reel 4; RG-50.106*0008; RG-50.002*0156); VHF (# 291, 9874, 10710, 11490, 20997); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc 1997.A.0124, reel 47, report for the period June 26 to July 15, 1941, by the Stary Sącz branch of the JSS.

2. A. Krawczyk, "Hitlerowski aparat okupacyjny na sadecczyźnie," in *Okupacja w Sądecczyźnie: Praca zbiorowa* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1979), pp. 67, 72, 187; VHF, # 10710, testimony of Moses Goldberg.

3. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 308, 347; Witold Rawski, "Dzieje okupacyjne Starego Sącza i Grybowa," in *Okupacja w Sądecczyźnie*, p. 193; VHF, # 10710; Rafael Mahler, ed., *Seyfer Sants* (Tel Aviv: Sandzer landsmanshaftn in New York, 1970), p. 769; Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 99.

4. VHF, # 10710; # 11490, testimony of Leon Sperling; # 9874, testimony of Henry Sperling; # 291, testimony of Murray Goldfinger; and USHMM, RG-02.070*01, p. 4, "Leontyna Davies questionnaire." Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 472, date the establishment of the ghetto in the spring of 1942; this may have been the time at which all Jews residing in Stary Sącz were compelled to move within the Jewish quarter.

5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47, report for the period June 26 to July 15, 1941, by the Stary Sącz JSS branch; and report of the Stary Sącz community kitchen for October 1941.

6. IPN, Ankieta GK "Egzekucje" pow. Nowy Sącz, woj. krakowskie; also Alert ZHP, t. VII, z. 12, k. 19.

7. Rawski, "Dzieje okupacyjne Starego Sącza i Grybowa," p. 193.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, p. 328.

9. Rawski, "Dzieje okupacyjne Starego Sącza i Grybowa," p. 193. Shlomo Zalman Lehrer and Leizer Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz* (Southfield, MI: Targum, 1997), p. 309, date the demand for a large contribution in early August 1942.

10. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 635, pp. 385–387; Rawski, "Dzieje okupacyjne Starego Sącza i Grybowa," pp. 193–194; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 4, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," doc. 483. Lehrer and Strassman, *The Vanished City of Tsanz*, p. 310, give the number of Jews shot in Stary Sącz as 100 to 150, and the number of workers sent to the open ghetto in Nowy Sącz as 40.

STRZYŻÓW

Pre-1939: Strzyżów, town, Rzeszów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Strzyzow, Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Strzyżów, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Strzyżów is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Rzeszów. On the eve of World War II, there were 1,300 Jewish residents in the town.

On September 8, 1939, German forces occupied Strzyżów. Maltreatment, plundering, and killings began almost immediately.

A detachment of German Order Police was established in Strzyżów under the command of Hauptmann Otto Koeller and his deputy Wilhelm Kopf. Their subordinates included Hugo Drewitz, Hans Hoffmann, and Wiktor Waszek (Waschek). The latter was especially sadistic towards Jews and was sentenced to 10 years in prison by Rzeszów's Provincial Court after the war. Hauptmann Koeller often carried out executions himself; Polish partisans shot him in Zaborów on July 3, 1944.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established by the new authorities and was chaired by Abraham Braw. The Jewish Council included Yacov (Jakub) Rosen, Aaron Deutsch, Elimelech Waldman, and a manufacturer from Łódź, Zygmunt Schinagiel. By May 1940, Avigdor Diamant was appointed the Judenrat's treasurer, and by November 1940, Nussbaum was also included on the council. Besides Strzyżów proper, the Judenrat was also responsible for the following settlements: Bonarówka, Żyznów, Wysoka, Żarnowa, Grodzisko, and Łętownia.

Itzhok Berglass, the author of the chapter on the Holocaust in the Strzyżów yizkor book who actually spent the war years in Russia, reports that the Judenrat behaved decently towards the town's Jews, doing all that it could to ameliorate the impact of German decrees. Of the two Jewish Police in Strzyżów, only one extorted money from his fellow Jews.[1]

On December 15, 1939, the Kreishauptmann in Reichshof sent 247 refugees to Strzyżów, most of whom originally were from Łódź and Kalisz. A commission for refugees was set up within the Judenrat; however, it soon ran into debt trying to provide for their sustenance and housing. The numerous sick among the refugees generated further costs at the local pharmacy and with a private doctor. A few patients had to be sent to the general hospital in Rzeszów. By the end of January 1940, over 60 of them had left Strzyżów.

In the following months the number of refugees steadily diminished by about 20 people a month, as newcomers chose to leave Strzyżów to join their families in other places in the Generalgouvernement or were simply forced to leave owing to the deterioration of living conditions in the town. The Strzyżów Judenrat provided them with funds for their journeys.

By April 1940, there were 1,238 Jews (i.e., approximately 210 families) in Strzyżów; only 140 of them were refugees and deportees. Among them there were 34 Jews from places in Germany (including Stuttgart, Cologne, and Hamburg) and Upper Silesia. In July 1940, only 126 refugees remained in Strzyżów, half of the original number.

By June 1940, 60 to 70 percent of Jewish-owned shops in Strzyżów had been closed down. Jews were no longer receiving their ration cards. Prices of food were high—for example, a 2-kilogram (4.4-pound) loaf of bread cost 5 złoty. The Strzyżów Judenrat was responsible for sending local Jews to perform forced labor. In the autumn of 1940, 140 of them worked daily.[2]

On October 2, 1940, the community was informed by Kreishauptmann Ehaus to prepare for the arrival of another 80 deportees from Rzeszów. The Judenrat had a problem housing them, as German companies operating in Strzyżów were demanding more and more space.[3]

By November 1940, there were 1,240 Jews living in Strzyżów, including approximately 200 deportees (among them now, 58 from Kraków). Out of the total number of Jewish residents, the Judenrat estimated that 220 were less than 18 years old. A soup kitchen that issued breakfasts consisting of one roll and a glass of milk was opened for approximately 120 children daily; it operated only between October 1940 and April 1941.[4]

By June 1941, 190 Strzyżów Jews were being conscripted for labor a few days a week. They worked for two German companies: the Organisation Todt (OT) and Kirchhof. Both companies provided meager food rations and some wages, but the latter had a reputation for mistreating people. Some poorer Jews volunteered to work for food. The labor included paving roads, building tunnels, quarrying stone, and unloading freight. Jews were also forced to remove tombstones from the Jewish cemeteries to pave the marketplace, then to level them to create public space. Besides Strzyżów's Jews, 60 Jewish laborers from the Czudec and Niebylec gminas were added to the road construction brigades. Only a few Jewish men from Strzyżów were sent to labor camps during the German occupation, those camps being at Biesiadka and Pustków.

That summer, there were 32 Jewish businesses still operating, comprising mainly tailors, tinsmiths, and bakers. Apart from their owners, they employed another eight sales assistants. All Jewish farmers (a total of five families) were still able to sustain themselves from agriculture. In June 1941, the community numbered 1,243.[5]

After several outbreaks of disease in Strzyżów in the autumn of 1941, the German authorities ordered the opening of a public bath that cost an estimated 15,000 złoty, as the building had already been partially torn down to widen the street. On December 20, 1941, Kreishauptmann Ehaus announced that Strzyżów, Niebylec, and Sokołów Małopolski were quarantine areas, and all traffic was halted. By February 1942, the bath had not yet been opened. There is no information as to when the quarantine was lifted, but the material situation of the Jews deteriorated rapidly.

On December 17, 1941, the Kreishauptmann in Rzeszów ordered the establishment of Jewish quarters in the Kreis, setting dates for them to be closed. In Rzeszów, the closing order was effective on January 10, 1942; for the remainder of the Kreis, it was February 1, 1942. Soon after the latter date, an unfenced ghetto was announced for Strzyżów's Jews. None of the available sources mention that Jews had to move to a designated area; therefore, they were probably allowed to remain where they were living. This, and the fact that Jews had been forbidden to leave Strzyżów since mid-1940, meant that their situation did not change dramatically with the ghetto's

establishment, especially since the recent quarantine measures had already largely cut them off from the outside world.

In the summer of 1942, Strzyżów's Judenrat tried to halt the expulsion order to the Rzeszów ghetto. Hauptmann Koeller promised to delay the deportation for a few grams of gold. Strzyżów's Jews managed to collect it with the help of the Jews of Krosno. But the moment the bribe was delivered, the Germans set the date for the deportation Aktion.[6]

German forces probably liquidated the Strzyżów ghetto on June 26–28, 1942, as most of the ghettos in the Kreis were emptied at this time and their residents transferred to the Rzeszów ghetto.

It is known, however, that although there was a train station in Strzyżów, its Jews were deported to Rzeszów on carts, for which Hauptmann Koeller ordered them to pay. Tadeusz Szetela, a Polish Catholic and resident of Strzyżów, remembers how peasants with their wagons arrived in the town square. Jews loaded their belongings onto the wagons, as they were allowed to take everything with them, and quickly headed towards Rzeszów because the Germans had announced that any Jew found in the town after 6:00 P.M. would be shot on the spot. On the way to Rzeszów, the elderly and infirm were killed by the Germans.[7]

The bulk of Strzyżów's Jews were most likely sent to the Bełżec extermination camp in July 1942 during the deportations from the Rzeszów ghetto.[8]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Strzyżów include the following: Itzhok Berglass and Shlomo Yahalomi-Diamand, eds., *The Book of Stryzow and Vicinity*, trans. Harry Langsam (Los Angeles: "Natives of Stryzow Societies" in Israel and the Diaspora, 1990). An unpublished work dealing with the history and the persecution of the Jews in Strzyżów was also consulted in preparing this entry: Zofia Rusek and Danuta Skóra, "Społeczność żydowska w dawnym Strzyżowie i okolicy—historia i wspomnienia" (Strzyżów, 2006).

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Strzyżów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/663 [AJDC]; 211/925, 932, 933, and 995 [JSS]; 301/899 [Relacje]); IPN (Dsn 13/11/68/"W" 922); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG], reel 11; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reels 44 and 47; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); USHMMPA (WS # N64867); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS Strzyżów), reel 47, 211/995, pp. 8, 30; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC Strzyżów), 210/663, pp. 27, 54; I. Berglass, "The Second World War," in Berglass and Yahalomi-Diamand, *The Book of Strzyżów*, p. 238.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/663, pp. 1–2, 4, 6, 10, 12, 15, 18, 21, 29, 35, 40.
3. Ibid., pp. 46, 55; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47, 211/995, p. 8.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47, 211/995, pp. 7–9, 14.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS Rzeszów), reel 44, 211/925, p. 18, and reel 47, 211/995, pp. 3, 13–14; and Berglass, "The Second World War," pp. 233, 239.
6. Berglass, "The Second World War," p. 242.
7. AŻIH, 301/899, testimony of Samuel Rozen, 1945. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 477–478, date the ghetto liquidation in July 1942. Also see Berglass, "The Second World War," pp. 242–243, 245; Tadeusz Szetela, *Dzieje Dobrzechowa, opowieść o rodzinnej wsi* (Rzeszów-Dobrzechów, 2003).
8. Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagłada Żydów rzeszowskich, part 3," *BŻIH*, nos. 3–4, 1985: 99.

TARNOBRZEG

Pre-1939: Tarnobrzeg, town and powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: powiat center, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Tarnobrzeg is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Kraków. In 1939, around 2,800 Jews were living in Tarnobrzeg.

In mid-September 1939, German armed forces occupied the town. Within a week of their arrival, the initial German military administration introduced a program of forced labor for the Jews, which involved road repairs and other heavy manual labor, accompanied by beatings.[1] In October 1939, Tarnobrzeg was incorporated into Kreis Debica, within Distrikt Krakau in the Generalgouvernement. The office of the Security Police and SD in Dębica was primarily responsible for the implementation of anti-Jewish Aktions in the Kreis, assisted by forces of the German Order Police (Schutzpolizei and Gendarmerie) and the Polish (Blue) Police.

In September 1939, immediately following the occupation of the town, soldiers of the Wehrmacht killed 5 Jews.[2] By the end of September 1939, a number of Jews from neighboring towns and other Jewish refugees began to concentrate in Tarnobrzeg. In October 1939, the Germans ordered all the Jews to assemble in the marketplace (*Rynek*), bringing with



German soldiers search Jews in Tarnobrzeg, before permitting their crossing of the San River into then-Soviet territory, September 1939. USHMM WS #50874, COURTESY OF IPN

them all their valuable belongings. More than 4,000 people gathered in the Rynek; members of the SS lined the Jews up in rows, at the end of which there was a table manned by a German officer. The Jews were then robbed of all their valuable possessions and brutally beaten. They were stripped naked, medically examined by a doctor, and forced to sign a document, declaring their voluntary evacuation from the town.[3] Subsequently the Jews were divided into groups of 500 to 600 people and were marched towards Radomyśl nad Sanem, just across the San River, more than 35 kilometers (22 miles) to the east. After marching for three days in the pouring rain, those who arrived at the riverbank were forced onto rafts by members of the Gestapo and pushed into the water. Many people drowned, and those who turned back seeking help, including women and children, were shot at by the Gestapo. During this expulsion Aktion, dozens of Jews were killed or drowned in the river. Most made it across to Radomyśl but soon were forced to move on in the direction of Lwów, as the area around Radomyśl was about to be handed over to the Germans. A few hundred of the Jewish expellees from Tarnobrzeg subsequently returned to the town in the period up to the summer of 1941. Most of those who remained under Soviet rule were deported to the Soviet interior in 1940 or 1941, an action that may have saved their lives.[4]

In Tarnobrzeg, the Kreishauptmann ordered the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by Aron Tannenbaum. Its main task was the allocation of Jews for forced labor, repairing the road from Tarnobrzeg to Ćmielów. The Jews worked for a private firm and were taken to the site each day in motorized transport. They also received wages for their work, which enabled them to buy some food from the peasants. The Germans took the synagogue and the Bet Midrash and used them for storage purposes.[5] In November 1940, the Jewish Council issued a desperate appeal for help to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) based in Kraków, as the Jewish population in Tarnobrzeg consisted mainly of deportees, who had no means to repair their apartments and had to live under almost inhuman conditions. Aid was also needed to buy food and clothing.[6] In February 1941, 320 Jews were reportedly living in the town.[7]

According to the yizkor book, the Jews were not confined within an enclosed ghetto but lived in a Jewish quarter (*Judenviertel*) or open ghetto, which consisted of part of the market square and some of the houses behind it.[8] According to one source, the ghetto was created in June 1941. Towards the end of 1941 and in the first half of 1942, the number of residents increased due to an influx of Jews evacuated from towns such as Jarosław, Rozwadów, and the surrounding villages. Around this time, 1 Jew was shot for being outside the town without permission. Another Jew was shot in the street by the SS. It is estimated that about 12 Jews were shot altogether before the ghetto's liquidation.[9]

In July 1942, the Germans liquidated the open ghetto in Tarnobrzeg. Rumors of an imminent deportation spread when the Jews from nearby Grębów were brought to Tarnobrzeg and locked in the synagogue. Fearing the worst, the Jews of Tarnobrzeg prayed or sought to escape or hide. However, all escape routes were already cut off by the SS. On July 19, in the early hours of the morning, the SS and Gendarmerie drove the Jews out of their houses and conducted a selection. The elderly and sick people were taken to the old Jewish cemetery, where they were killed. The remaining Jews were escorted in the pouring rain initially to the town of Baranów Sandomierski; then subsequently, on July 21–22, they were sent from there to the ghetto in Dębica. On July 24, most of the remaining Jews from Tarnobrzeg were included in the transport from Dębica to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[10]

The available sources also mention a Jewish forced labor camp in Tarnobrzeg established in the spring of 1941. It was located in the rabbinate and a nearby barracks on Szeroka Street and housed between 40 and several hundred inmates. The workers were mainly involved in road construction for the Bermann Company. Polish sources date the liquidation of this camp in the fall of 1942, but survivor Don Spira recalls being transferred from the Tarnobrzeg labor camp to another camp in Mielec in August or September 1942.[11]

SOURCES Further information on the history and the fate of the Jewish population of Tarnobrzeg can be found in the following publications: Y.Y. Flaisher, ed., *Kehilat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov (Galitsyah ha-ma-aravit)* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Tarnubzig-Dzikuv be-Yisrael, 1973); Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 191–194.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Tarnobrzeg can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/242, 3212, and 3473); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 11; and Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47 [AŻIH, JSS, 211/1015]); VHF (# 3189 and 25386); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2395).

Caterina Crisci

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3212, testimony of Hersz Engelberg.
2. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 11.
3. AŻIH, 301/242, testimony of O. Kalech, states that 4,500 Jews assembled at the market square and 4,000 arrived in Radomyśl, but in view of the town's pre-war population (estimated at 2,800), these numbers are probably too high. Also see AŻIH, 301/3212; VHF, # 3189, testimony of Pola Schlenger; Flaisher, *Kehillat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov*, pp. 302–303.
4. AŻIH, 301/242; and Flaisher, *Kehillat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov*, pp. 306–307.
5. Flaisher, *Kehillat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov*, pp. 311–312. This source also names several other members of the Judenrat.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47 (AŻIH, JSS), 211/1015, Judenrat Tarnobrzeg to the JSS in Kraków, November 16, 1940.
7. AŻIH, 301/242.
8. Flaisher, *Kehillat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov*, p. 311. Evidence from the archives of the JSS also confirms the existence of a Jewish "quarter" (*dzielnica*); see AŻIH, JSS, 211/1015.
9. Flaisher, *Kehillat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov*, p. 312; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich*

1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 514.

10. Flaisher, *Kehillat Tarnobrzeg-Dzikov*, pp. 312–313; AŻIH, 301/242. It appears that a few of the able-bodied Jews in Tarnobrzeg were transferred to the Mielec forced labor camp, either from the ghetto (via Dębica) or from the Tarnobrzeg forced labor camp.

11. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 514; VHF, # 25386, testimony of Don Spira.

TARNÓW

Pre-1939: Tarnów, city, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Tarnow, Kreis center, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tarnów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Tarnów is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) east of Kraków. On the outbreak of World War II, about 25,000 Jews (45 percent of the city's population) were residing in the city.

German armed forces occupied the city on September 7, 1939. Ernst Kundt became the first Kreishauptmann, with Walter Heinrich as his deputy. In December 1940, Ludwig Stitzinger replaced Kundt as Kreishauptmann, to be succeeded in January 1942 by Dr. Kipke. The headquarters of the Gestapo, Order Police, and Sonderdienst were all in the city, as it was the Kreis center. On September 9–11, 1939, the Germans burned down all the synagogues and *shtiblekh* (prayer houses) in Tarnów. By an order issued on October 20, 1939, the Jews of Tarnów had to wear the Star of David on their clothes. In November 1939, Jewish bank accounts were blocked; on November 12, 1939, the Germans ordered Jews to mark their businesses and the entrances to cafés and restaurants with a white Star of David painted on the buildings. The penalty for disobeying the order was 10 year's imprisonment and a fine; after the creation of the ghetto, the penalty was death. Jews aged 14 to 60 had to enlist for forced labor. Jewish schools and institutions were closed. In the first weeks of the war, many Jews fled to the Soviet occupation zone.[1]



A Jewish woman wearing a Jewish star walks on the streets of Tarnów, 1939.
USHMM WS #13538, COURTESY OF IPN

In November 1939, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Tarnów. Initially, it was chaired by a former head of the Jewish community, Dr. Józef Offner, who quickly resigned. The next chairman, Dawid Lenkowicz, and another Judenrat member, Ruwen Waksman, escaped to Lwów. A new Judenrat was appointed in 1940, headed by Dr. Szlomo Goldberg and Dr. Wolf Schenkel, who were both arrested by the Germans and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Eventually, Artur Volkman became chairman of the Judenrat. The Judenrat was entrusted with preparing lists of Jews for forced labor and handling social issues. It also provided assistance to inmates of the Pustków labor camp.[2]

From the beginning of January 1940, Jews were prohibited from moving to other towns, traveling, or using the main streets. They were restricted from entering districts north of Krakowska and Wałowa Streets and west of Brodziński Street. In time, they were also prohibited from looking out of their windows onto certain streets. Jews had to clear the streets of snow and garbage. In April 1940, Jews were forbidden to enter public parks; and on April 17, 1940, a curfew was imposed on the Jews, who could remain outside only until 9:00 P.M. In the spring of 1940, the Germans demanded a ransom of 500,000 złoty from the Jewish community, which it managed to collect in the hope of easing the restrictions. In June 1940, the Germans publicly destroyed Jewish prayer shawls and religious books. The Jews were prohibited from performing the ritual slaughter of animals. In the summer of 1940, the Jews were assembled in the town's square while the Germans plundered their homes. On June 13, 1940, the Germans arrested 753 men in Tarnów, among them 5 prominent Jews. The next day, 728 men were sent on a cattle train to Auschwitz. The "Tarnovian" prisoners were tattooed with numbers from 31 to 758 and marked the beginning of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Almost 200 of them survived; none of these survivors were Jews.[3]

On August 7, 1940, the wealthier Jews who lived on Kraków and Wałowa Streets received an order to move out of their houses within 12 hours and move to the eastern part of the city—Grabówka, which was inhabited mostly by poorer

Jews. This was the first step towards the creation of a ghetto, but it was not completed until early in 1942.

On the order of Stadtkommissar Dr. Hein, on October 16, 1941, the wearing of beards and side locks by Jews was forbidden for "sanitary reasons." For violating the order, a fine of 100 złoty and a 14-day arrest were imposed. At this time, Jews were also banned from the following streets in Tarnów: Kraków, Jasna, Marktstrasse, Wallstrasse, Kathedralstrasse including Kazimierz Square to the circle, the Kleinen and Grossen Treppe, Bastei Treppe, Fischgasse, and Festungsgasse. It was forbidden for Jews to come closer than 100 meters (109 yards) to those streets. The presence of Jews in the whole western part of the city now was strictly forbidden. Some Jews who lived there could only enter the eastern part of the city from the southern pathway on Narutowicz, Lipowa, or Mickiewicz Streets; the Jews who lived near the circle could access it through Brama Pilzneńska. Going to work located on the forbidden streets was possible only by taking the nearest adjacent cross streets. This order forced most of the Jews to move into the Grabówka district in the east of the city.[4]

On October 16, 1941, the Germans created a Jewish Police unit consisting of about 300 policemen. The Jewish Police was headed by Miller, then Wasserman, and finally by Diestler. Diestler was a German Jew who had held the rank of captain in the Austrian army. His brutality was much feared among Jews. The Jewish Police was located in the building of a bus depot at Magdeburg Square.[5]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews had to surrender all fur clothing, winter boots, and skis on pain of death. From December 1, 1941, Jews were prohibited from receiving food packages. A German police officer, Grunow, came to Tarnów and staged an Aktion against the Jews on December 8, 1941: over 100 Jews were arrested, 17 of whom were shot, and the rest were released after a few days. According to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) report, in 1939, 285 children were born, while the death rate was 172 people. By comparison, in 1941, 235 children were born, and the death toll was 540 people.[6]

Most sources date the completion of the ghettoization process in Tarnów in February 1942.[7] The Germans established an open ghetto in Tarnów that encompassed the following area: left side of Lwów Street; Pod Dębem Square; and Nowa, Folwarczna, Szpitalna, Polna, and Jasna Streets. There were four entrances to the ghetto: two at Magdeburg Square, the third at Pod Dębem Square, and the fourth at Folwarczna Street, near the Judenrat building.[8]

Until 1942, the Jews had managed to live as normally as they could in such circumstances. They were still able to bury the dead at the Jewish cemetery. At the beginning of 1942, all Jews had to register with the German authorities. In 1942, through March 20, there were 251 reported deaths in the ghetto. Death resulted from hunger, exhaustion, an epidemic of typhus, and random shootings. The people felt endangered. The streets were empty by 6:00 P.M. Around 9,500 Jews were receiving social help; the four community kitchens distributed around 7,000 meals per day; there were 78 children in the orphanage; and 51 people resided in the home for the elderly.[9]

On April 1, 1942, on the eve of Passover, the German officers Grunow and SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rommelmann, on noticing a Jewish woman selling poultry, demanded to know who had performed the slaughter. The Germans stormed into the house of Lipa, a *shochet* (ritual slaughterer), and killed him and his family. The Jewish community was deeply affected by the incident, and many stopped eating meat. On April 24, 56 Jews were murdered following their return to Tarnów from Lwów. In May, the Germans demanded from the Judenrat 500,000 złoty and furniture sufficient for 500 German apartments. At the end of May, the head of the Jewish Police received an order from the Germans to increase the size of the police force.[10]

On June 10, 1942, the registration of the Jewish population of Tarnów was completed. Two notices then appeared: the first, signed by SS-Untersturmführer Palten, informed them about the resettlement of the Jews from Tarnów, apart from the hospital staff and the Jews whose identification cards had been stamped; the second notice, signed by SS-Obergruppenführer Julian Scherner, announced that anyone providing aid to the Jews of Tarnów upon their resettlement would be punished by death. The notice also specified that on June 11, 1942, no Jews were to leave their houses, but the houses should remain open. During the first Aktion of June 11–18, which was directed by Kriminalsekretär Wilhelm Rommelmann (who was tried by a Polish court and executed in 1948), German and Ukrainian auxiliary units shot around 6,000 Jews, mainly the sick, the elderly, and children, in the Buczyna Forest at Zbylitowska Góra; they also sent around 3,500 Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp and shot around 3,000 Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Tarnów. Following this Aktion, the ghetto was considerably reduced in size.[11]

On June 19, 1942, Stadthauptmann Gustaw Hackbarth announced the creation of an enclosed ghetto for the remaining Jews in Tarnów. According to the decree, 20,000 Jews, as well as Jewish converts, had to move into the ghetto within 48 hours. From the house on 16 Lwowska Street, the borders of the ghetto ran through the following streets: Zamknięta, Szpitalna, Jasna through Polna Street, right side of Goldhammera, Drukarska, Nowa, to Folwarczna Streets. The area was sealed off with barbed wire. There were four guarded gates leading to the ghetto: two of them at Magdeburski Square, the third at Folwarczna Street, and the fourth at the Pod Dębem Square. Polish (Blue) Police guarded the ghetto externally, and Jewish Police guarded it on the inside. The ghetto was administered by SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Blache, who lived at 24 Lwowska Street. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto on pain of death. There was a Jewish post office inside the ghetto directed by Bronisława Perlberg. The death penalty also applied for making contact with the Polish population. Some Jews, like Mania Korn, Dr. Lustig, and Ms. Organd, were killed by the Germans for contacting Poles. Jews had to perform forced labor inside and outside the ghetto. Food was scarce, but some people managed to smuggle it in on their return from external work details. There was an orphanage run by Dr. Lieblich, four community kitchens, and a branch

of the JSS; and a Jewish hospital section, which treated patients with tuberculosis, was run by Dr. Eugeniusz Schipper.[12]

After the ghetto was established, there were about 40,000 Jews, including Jews from Tarnów and its vicinity, about 3,000 refugees from Kraków (639 of whom were resettled between March 3, 1941, and December 28, 1941), as well as Jews from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany. The Jews organized their own associations of craftsmen that produced items for the Germans. Work details outside the ghetto were escorted by either the German or Polish (Blue) Police. The workers received little payment, and those who did not work received no official help. The German companies using ghetto labor included Papapol, Bon Boveru, Ostbahn, and Madritsch, among others.[13]

On September 11, 1942, another registration of the Jewish population took place. Some of those who did not get a work stamp sought help with the artisan Raba, who forged stamps for a nominal fee. During the second Aktion on September 12, 1942, which was orchestrated by Rommelmann, the ghetto was surrounded by German and Polish (Blue) Police units. Jews were ordered to assemble at the Magdeburski Square. After the initial selection, another selection was made in which every tenth Jew was picked out for deportation. Nineteen-year-old Mosze Alban resisted a German by spitting and hitting him, after which the German shot him. On September 13, 1942, around 3,500 Jews were deported to Bełżec. Overall, close to 8,000 Jews from ghettos in Tarnów, Brzesko, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Tuchów, Zakliczyn, and Żabno were deported to Bełżec.[14]

The third Aktion took place on November 15, 1942. A few days earlier, a notice appeared announcing that Jews who were hiding in nearby towns and villages could safely enter the Tarnów ghetto. On the day of the Aktion, the Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the ghetto while the Germans rounded up 2,500 Jews, whom they sent to Bełżec. On November 16, 1942, SS-Oberscharführer Blache ordered that the ghetto be divided into ghetto A (for the elderly, children, and people without permanent work) and ghetto B (for all Jews with permanent work papers). The ghettos were divided by a fence. Movement between ghettos was strictly prohibited. There was starvation in ghetto A, but Jews from ghetto B provided clandestine help. By November 1942, all the smaller ghettos in Kreis Tarnow had been liquidated. The Jews who had to clear the area of the former ghettos were transferred to the remaining larger ghettos, including Tarnów, in which around 12,000 Jews were concentrated. Further movement restrictions were imposed on the Jews remaining in the Tarnów ghetto. New armbands were issued, specifying the types of companies where the Jews were working.[15]

There were some escapes from the ghetto. In the ghetto there was a group of young Jews from Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, of which the most active were Josek Bruder, Szmulik Springer, and Melech Bienenstok. They managed to obtain weapons and make contact with the Polish underground. They also helped those Jews living outside the ghetto. Josef Birken, one of the leaders, and his sister Franka forged Aryan papers. Another form of resisting the enemy was observance of forbidden religious practices. For example, Sam Goetz's parents prepared a celebration of his Bar Mitzvah on June 21, 1941.[16]

In mid-August 1943, SS-Hauptsturmführer Amon Goeth arrived in Tarnów to liquidate the ghetto. On September 2, 1943, in the early morning, German and Latvian units surrounded the ghetto and removed the internal fence dividing it in two. The Jews were ordered to assemble on Magdeburski Square. They were notified that they were being sent to the Płaszów camp. Children could not be taken, but mothers secretly smuggled their children with them on the transport. The final roundup and deportation Aktion was conducted on September 2–3, 1943, during which Goeth displayed inhuman cruelty towards the Jews (he was tried in a Polish court and hanged in 1946). About 8,000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz; 3,000 were sent to Płaszów; and a group of 300 young and strong Jews were selected to clean out the ghetto (Säuberungskolonne, a purge column).[17]

The 300 Jews were located in two buildings at 13 and 14 Szpitalna Street, which constituted the last closed area of the Tarnów ghetto. The Ukrainian guards locked the Jews in the houses after they returned from work. The population of the ghetto increased to about 500 when some Jews came out of the bunkers a few days after the Aktion. These "illegal inhabitants" of the ghetto were shot on their way to Szebnie at the end of September 1943. Also, 150 Jews who were no longer needed were taken to Szebnie. The last transport of the remaining 150 Jews from Tarnów was sent to Płaszów on February 9, 1944.

Some Jews were able to hide in the Tarnów area. Around 450 Jews caught in different hiding places were assembled at Widok Street. The Germans shot them and burned their bodies. Others managed to find shelter in nearby villages and towns or lived on Aryan papers.[18]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the history and destruction of the Jews of Tarnów include the following: Kazimierz Bańburski, Janusz Bogacz, and Janusz Kozioł, eds., *Żydzi w Tarnowie. Świat, którego nie ma* (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 2003); Adam Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj," 1992); Adam Bartosz, *Żydowskim szlakiem po Tarnowie: In the Footsteps of the Jews of Tarnów* (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 2002); Adam Bartosz and Janusz Kozioł, *Tarnowski cmentarz żydowski* (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 2005); Abraham Chomet, ed., *Tarnów: The Life and Decline of a Jewish City* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Tarnow, 1954); Sam Goetz, *I Never Saw My Face* (Danbury, CT: Rutledge Books, 2001); Leszek Hońdo, *Żydowski cmentarz w Tarnowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2001); Ian Lichtig, *Memories*: *An Incredible*, *True Story of Survival under the Holocaust* (New York: I. Lichtig, 1996); William Kornbluth, *Sentenced to Remember. My Legacy of Life in Pre-1939 Poland and Sixty-Eight Months of Nazi Occupation* (London: Associated University Presses, 1994); Rebeka Lipiner, *Kartki ocalałe z płomieni* (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 1989); Aleksandra Pietrzykowa and Stanisław Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów* (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 1990); Stanisław

Wróbel, *Opowieści o dawnym Tarnowie* (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 2003); *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Goetha przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym* (Kraków: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydów w Polsce, 1947).

Documents on the fate and extermination of the Jews in Tarnów can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/436, 570, 571, 580, 836, 1090, 1101, 1111, 1182, 1208, 1591, 1668, 2040, 2053, 2059, 2081, 3228, 3247, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3436, 3437, 3446, 3548, 3579, 3703, 3705, and 3860); IPN (AGK, ASG, sygn. 11, pp. 750, 764, and sygn. 413, pp. 8–9); PAP-Tarn (sygn. PTW 346/41, 347/41); SOT (sygn. 150-152, 158); SPT (Zg 1154/46, 1155/46, 1156/46, 1207/46, 1208/46, 1220/46, 1224/46, 1235/46, 1236/46, 1255/46, 1296/46, 199/47, 94/48, 95/48, 96/48, 98/48, 99/48, 132/48, 133/48); USHMM (RG-15.019M, reels 4 and 15; RG-15.020M; RG-15.072M; RG-02.168, 169, and 204; RG-50.002*0049; RG-50.030*0218; RG-50.120*0012 and *0114; Acc.1997.8; Acc.1998.31; Acc.2004.637; Acc.1994.A.427; Acc. 1995.A.517; Acc.1995.A.526; and Acc.1997.A.0124, reels 1, 47, 48); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/215; and O-41).

Joanna Śliwa

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3228, testimony of Halina Korniło; 301/3548, testimony of Eugeniusz Schipper; Hońdo, *Żydowski cmentarz w Tarnowie*, p. 25—the order issued by Ernst Kundt in Tarnów preceded the decision of Hans Frank about the marking of Jews on November 10, 1939.

2. Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 17, 26–27, 37.

3. Ibid., pp. 23–24; Hońdo, *Żydowski cmentarz w Tarnowie*, p. 25; Bartosz, *Żydowskim szlakiem po Tarnowie*, pp. 53–54; Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (New York: H. Holt, 1990), p. 13.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47, Anordnung issued by Stadtkommissar Dr. Hein, October 16, 1941.

5. Bańburski, Bogacz, and Kozioł, *Żydzi w Tarnowie*, p. 53; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, p. 14; AŻIH, 301/3579, testimony of Naftali Spanglet.

6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, report of Tarnów JSS to Kraków, January 19, 1942; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 28–29.

7. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 516. Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 814, dates it on February 19.

8. Hońdo, *Żydowski cmentarz w Tarnowie*, p. 10; Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, pp. 54–55; Urteil gegen Karl Oppermann and Gerhard G., LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/68, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 710, p. 327.

9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, report of Tarnów JSS to Kraków, March 20, 1942, and notes from trips to Tarnów and Pleśnia, March 26, 1942; Hońdo, *Żydowski cmentarz w Tarnowie*, pp. 25–26.

10. Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 31–34.

11. AŻIH, 301/3432, testimony of Leon Leser; 301/3433, testimony of Józef Korniło; 301/3434, testimony of Izaak Izrael; 301/3436, testimony of Lola Gimpel; 301/3437, testimony of Łucja Rausch; 301/3446, testimony of Franciszka Kryształ; 301/3705, testimony of Artur Spindler; Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946–1950*, Część II (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu-Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1992), p. 193; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 36, 38–45; *JuNS-V*, vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710; Urteil gegen Hermann Blache, LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/63, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 571.

12. Goetz, *I Never Saw My Face*, p. 31; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada Tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 24, 47–50; Arthur Spindler, *Outwitting Hitler, Surviving Stalin: The Story of Arthur Spindler* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1997), pp. 31–42; Naftali Frankel, *I Survived Hell: The Testimony of a Survivor of the Nazi Extermination Camps (Prisoner Number 161040)*, (New York: Vantage Press, 1991), pp. 46–70; Kornbluth, *Sentenced to Remember*, pp. 76–84; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, "Kwestionariusz o obozach"; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, report of Tarnów JSS, July 26, 1942; AŻIH, 301/2059, testimony of Blanka Goldman; 301/2081, testimony of Janina Schiffówna; 301/3228; 301/3579; *JuNS-V*, vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710, pp. 327–328; USHMM, RG-50.030*0218, testimony of Martin Spett.

13. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, "Kwestionariusz o obozach"; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 47, letter of Tarnów JSS to Kraków, September 4, 1940; and letters of the Tarnów Judenrat to the Stadtkommissariat of September 19, 1940, and October 30, 1940; and reel 48, report of Tarnów JSS to Kraków, March 18, 1942; RG-15.072M; E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 90.

14. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, p. 55; Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagladzie żydów," p. 98; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada Tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 54, 57, 73–82; *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 571, and vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710.

15. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów," p. 98; AŻIH, 301/3579; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 66–68; *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Goetha*, pp. 161–169, 257–261, 304, 440–442; *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 571, and vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710.

16. Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 53–54, 62–64; Josef Birken, "Udział szomrów tarnowskich w ruchu oporu," *Mosty*, no. 23 (April 1947); Goetz, *I Never Saw My Face*, pp. 26–28.

17. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, pp. 54–55; Kornbluth, *Sentenced to Remember*, pp. 96–104; AŻIH, 301/1090, testimony of Samuel Grunkraut; 301/1591, testimony of Erna Landau; 301/2040, testimony of Giza Beller; *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 571, and vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710.

18. Bańburski, Bogacz, and Kozioł, *Żydzi w Tarnowie*, p. 58; Pietrzykowa and Potępa, *Zagłada tarnowskich Żydów*, pp. 84–85; *JuNS-V*, vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710, p. 363.

TUCHÓW

Pre-1939: Tuchów, town, Tarnów powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland 1939–1945: Tuchow, Kreis Tarnow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tuchów, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Tuchów is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. At the outbreak of World War II, around 500 Jews (25 percent of the population) were living in Tuchów.

The German armed forces occupied Tuchów on September 7, 1939. On September 11, Wehrmacht soldiers shot 12 Jews from Tuchów in the Karwodrza Forest. In November 1939, the Germans burned down the synagogue and destroyed the Jewish cemetery, using Jewish tombstones (*matzevot*) to pave roads. As soon as the Germans entered the town, they began maltreating the Jews by cutting the beards of Orthodox Jews, looting Jewish businesses, and destroying homes. In December 1939, all Jewish men aged 13 and older were ordered to appear at the local school. The Germans selected 15 men and murdered them in the nearby village of Tarnowiec. The Jewish community paid a bribe to the Germans so that the corpses could be brought back to town for a religious Jewish burial. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by Emil Wachs was appointed by the Germans to keep records of the Jewish population and to enlist Jews for forced labor.[1]

In 1941, the Germans resettled Jews into Tuchów from neighboring towns and villages, including Ryglice and Gromnik. According to records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Tarnów, on September 30, 1941, there were 536 Jews in Tuchów. The Judenrat and the local branch of the JSS used their scarce resources to assist the refugees as much as possible. In January 1942, the community kitchen distributed 150 meals daily, but it lacked sufficient food to supply all those in need. On March 4, 1942, the JSS opened a public kitchen in Tuchów for about 50 Jewish children.[2]

Since the Nazis prohibited religious observance, the Jews of Tuchów worshipped secretly, and the home of the Weiss family became a prayer house. In May 1942, the Germans discovered this secret house of worship and murdered six elderly Jews who were praying.[3]

In 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Tuchów, which was administered by Karl Oppermann and Hermann Blache, of the Security Police in Tarnów, and by a man named Prussok, who was sent to the Tarnów region from the Schutzpolizei in Breslau (Wrocław). A Jewish Police unit was set up in the ghetto, which was located in the southern part of town and enclosed with barbed wire. On its establishment, about 2,500 Jews were confined in a ghetto consisting of only 17 houses. (During the entire existence of the ghetto, some 3,000 Jews passed through it.) The Jews worked on local farms, as well as in workshops. The Jews in the Tuchów ghetto did not receive food from the German authorities, but the JSS and the Judenrat distributed food purchased with their scarce resources. There were random shootings of Jews inside as well as outside the ghetto, and the bodies were buried at the Jewish cemetery.[4]

In mid-June 1942, the German Schutzpolizei officer Prussok publicly executed six Jews in the town square. On June 23, 1942, Karl Oppermann shot seven Jews, including the chairman of the Judenrat. On orders issued by the Kreishauptmann in Tarnów on July 15, 1942, Jews from the towns of Kreis Tarnow, except from the city of Tarnów itself, were required to move into ghettos established in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Brzesko, Tuchów, Zakliczyn, and Żabno by July 23, 1942. In September 1942, units of German and Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the Tuchów ghetto. The Jews were commanded to assemble in the town square. After a selection, the Jews were taken to the train station and loaded into cattle trains and were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.

Only 43 Jews were spared deportation. They formed the Aufräumkommando, which was ordered by the Germans to clear the ghetto and sort Jewish belongings. The work was finished at the beginning of December 1942. The German Gestapo officer from Tarnów, Oppermann, ordered that the Jews be locked in a building until their resettlement to Tarnów. The next day, Oppermann inspected the building in which the Jews were being held and shot a Jewish man, Grunewald. In December 1942, Oppermann shot 26 Jews at Ogrodowa Street in Tuchów. Once the remnant of Jews from the Tuchów ghetto had been brought to the Tarnów ghetto, Oppermann ordered all of them to be shot. A few managed to escape. The survivors related their stories at the trial of Karl Oppermann in Germany, where he was sentenced to life imprisonment.[5]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Tuchów include "Tuchów," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984).

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Tuchów can be found in the following archives: IPN (AGK, ASG, sygn. 11, pp. 771–775); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124, reels 47 and 48; RG-15.019M, reels 4 and 15; and RG-50.002*0056); and YVA.

Joanna Śliwa

NOTES

1. Adam Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj," 1992), pp. 95–96; and USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 4, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych."

2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reels 47 and 48, letter of the JSS Kraków headquarters to Tarnów branch, January 24, 1942; letter of Tarnów JSS to Kraków, March 11, 1942; protocol of Tarnów JSS, September 30, 1941.

3. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 4, p. 774, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych."

4. Ibid., reel 15, p. 229, "Kwestionariusz o obozach"; Urteil gegen Karl Oppermann and Gerhard G., LG-Bo, 16 Ks 1/68, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 710, pp. 378–383.

5. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 4, pp. 771–773, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych"; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, protocol of Tarnów JSS, July 31, 1942; *JuNS-V*, vol. 32, Lfd. Nr. 710, pp. 378–383.

TYCZYN

Pre-1939: Tyczyn, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Reichshof, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Tyczyn is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Rzeszów. There were 720 Jews living in Tyczyn on the outbreak of World War II in 1939. Soon after the occupation, the Germans ordered the Jewish community to leave within 24 hours and cross over to the Soviet-occupied Polish territories. The initial order was postponed for a few days. At the last minute, the evacuation was "called off for four weeks and then they stopped to talk at all about departures," as noted by survivor Mina Perlberger in her diary.[1]

The ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) mayor selected five established leaders of the community to serve in the Judenrat. Wheat merchant Moszek Goldman was appointed as its chairman. Jakob Eisen was the Judenrat's secretary. Its office was located in Tuchman's house on the market square. The Judenrat's first order was to register all Jews in Tyczyn and its vicinity aged 12 and older. A second registration in the winter of 1939–1940 served to identify a prisoner's profession and current workplace. Unemployed Jews were assigned to hard labor in the fields, on road construction, and in wet areas, performing swamp drainage.[2]

According to George Salton (born 1928), in the summer of 1940, Jews were "no longer allowed to travel from Tyczyn to Rzeszów without specific written documents from the police." Perlberger, a prisoner who worked as a black market trader, recalled being fined 10 to 25 złoty for this offense. The Jews were also forbidden to leave their houses after 9:00 P.M.; this was particularly problematic, as most of the smuggling to Rzeszów took place at night when the Germans would stop patrolling the roads.[3]

In May 1941, there were 953 Jews in the town, including 250 refugees, the majority of whom had arrived in Tyczyn on December 15, 1940. Many were former Kalisz and Łódź residents. The Judenrat's requests for assistance were dismissed by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), as it described the Judenrat's welfare efforts as being of "the most primitive kind"—that is, that the services were limited to the distribution of donated food and clothing, sometimes by way of a lottery. At this time 560 residents were requesting help.

A number of Jewish men were seized from the streets and taken to labor camps in Babice, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Tyczyn, for the summer of 1940 (or 1941).[4]

In May and June 1941, a large detachment of German soldiers stationed in Tyczyn demanded the provision of forced laborers. These soldiers were engaged in training and did not bother the Jewish community. Following their departure, with Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, some of Tyczyn's residents, who had fled east at the beginning of the war, returned. Their lodgings were organized by the local administration in homes that German soldiers had recently vacated.

In the spring of 1941, a refugee from Kalisz named "Hanka" and an elderly man, Mates Wachs, were shot. From the fall of that year, the Gestapo and SS began to visit Tyczyn almost every week, conducting house searches and confiscations and fining the Judenrat for various offenses. As regards the visits of the Kreishauptmann, Perlberger wrote: "[He was] searching every home for young females. He was well known for his sadistic, sexually degenerate way of hitting with his riding whip, only females."[5]

Perlberger noted in her diary that as of "February 1942, it was a death sentence for the Jews to cross a border to another city [*sic*]." This was most likely the result of the December 17, 1941, order by the Kreishauptmann to create ghettos in the Kreis. In Rzeszów, the order was effective on January 10, 1942, with the closing of the ghetto, and in the remainder of the Kreis it applied from February 1, 1942.

An open ghetto—unfenced and unguarded—was established in the center of Tyczyn in March 1942. The Jews were still allowed to move around Tyczyn, but as Perlberger noted: "You can't cross the border from Tyczyn, because you will be killed on the spot." Jews living in nearby villages (e.g., Hermanowa) were given three days for relocation to the ghetto. In Hermanowa, each family had to wait for the Germans to oversee their departure from their homes and collect the keys. Perlberger's family was forced to sign a document surrendering possession of their immovable property. There was little housing available in Tyczyn because Jews from other localities who were ordered to transfer to the Rzeszów ghetto had moved to the Tyczyn ghetto instead. The Judenrat was charged with assigning accommodation, which typically amounted to one room per family.

According to George Salton, as of the spring of 1942, the Polish (Blue) Police and the SS were permanently present in Tyczyn, patrolling the streets. Violence and killings escalated. One day, 14 men were rounded up and shot at the Jewish cemetery. At this time, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to deliver laborers for transfer to a labor camp in Biesiadka. As the men on the Judenrat's list went into hiding, the Germans threatened the community with the substitution of their women for labor in Biesiadka. It took the Jewish Police three days to deliver the demanded number of laborers.

Several contributions, some in the form of overdue taxes, were imposed on the community in the months preceding the ghetto's liquidation. Five Jewish hostages were shot. Tensions and anger rose within the community because of the way the Judenrat had handled these demands; for example, the amount each family had to pay was based on the Judenrat's estimation of their means. Perlberger records that Polish policemen extorted money and various possessions from the Jews. The community was also reportedly ordered to pay to Poles all the debts owed to them, on pain of death. A local farmer blackmailed Perlberger's family.[6]

In late June 1942, the commander of the SS summoned the Judenrat and informed them of the impending resettlement to the Rzeszów ghetto. Judenrat chairman Goldman was arrested. The same day posters were put up: "It was typed and carried the seal and signature of the German Distrikt administrator. It read: 'Within one week, all Jews residing in Tyczyn and vicinity must be relocated to the Rzeszów ghetto.'" Secondary sources report that relocation took only three days, from June 25 to 27, 1942. The German and Polish (Blue) Police escorted columns of wagons to Rzeszów. The Jews were able to take with them very little in the way of belongings.

Several people were killed in the course of the ghetto's liquidation, including Berl Kuflik.[7]

The Rzeszów ghetto was liquidated in the course of deportations to the Bełżec extermination camp that began in July 1942; its final destruction took place in November 1942.

SOURCES Useful in the preparation of this entry was the book by George Salton, *The 23rd Psalm: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). The following publications contain brief references to the destruction of the Tyczyn Jewish community: Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 533; Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), p. 183; Stanisław Poradowski, "Zagład Żydów rzeszowskich," pt. 3, *BŻIH*, nos. 3–4 (1985): 80, 86, 89–90.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (210/694 [AJDC], 211/1048 [JSS]); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M; and RG-02.054); and VHF (# 26577).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1048 (Tyczyn), p. 3; RG-02.054 ("Buried Alive: A Diary by Mina Perlberger" [typescript], pp. 53–55.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/694 (Tyczyn), p. 5; Salton, *The 23rd Psalm*, p. 26.
3. Salton, *The 23rd Psalm*, p. 34; USHMM, RG-02.054, pp. 10, 77, 101.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/694, pp. 2–7; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1048, pp. 1–3; RG-02.054, p. 10.
5. Salton, *The 23rd Psalm*, pp. 37–41; USHMM, RG-02.054, p. 122.
6. Salton, *The 23rd Psalm*, pp. 44, 48; USHMM, RG-02.054, pp. 83, 93–97, 102–104, 122–123, 125; VHF, # 26577, testimony of George Salton, 1997.
7. Salton, *The 23rd Psalm*, pp. 49, 53; USHMM, RG-02.054, pp. 125–130.

USTRZYKI DOLNE

Pre-1939: Ustrzyki Dolne (Yiddish: Istrik), town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Nizhn'o-Ustriki, raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ustrzyki Dolne, Kreis Sanok, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Ustrzyki Dolne is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Sanok. The 1921 census registered 1,767 Jewish residents in Ustrzyki. German forces occupied Ustrzyki briefly in September 1939 before handing over control to the Soviet Union. Following their attack on the Soviet Union, German forces reoccupied the town in late June 1941.

Most of the information on this entry is based on two detailed testimonies by Herman Iwler, which he gave to the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw in 1948 and 1949. Iwler never uses the term *ghetto*, although from his descriptions—especially those given in his 1948 testimony—a form of open ghetto most probably existed in Ustrzyki.[1] Also, *Pinkas ha-kehilot* states that Jews were evicted from their homes and concentrated in a dilapidated area of the town. This publication, however, does not state when the ghetto was established. The ghetto most likely remained unfenced, as neither of these sources mentions any form of enclosure.[2]

Nonetheless, Jewish movement was restricted from the onset of the German occupation in 1941. For example, at this time the German authorities prohibited Jews from crossing the market square and the main street, the latter starting from the pharmacy building where the Gestapo offices were located. In addition, Ustrzyki Dolne's Jews could only use side streets—and those only until 7:15 P.M. They were ordered to wear armbands with an emblem of the Star of David. Those caught without an armband were punished with 25 lashes or sometimes shot.

In the second half of 1941, an outpost of the Gestapo was established in Ustrzyki Dolne; among the more notorious Gestapo men based there were Johann Bäcker and a man named Doppke. Others who served there included Müller, Schmidtchen, and von Malottki.[3] The Germans also set up a Ukrainian police force commanded by Ustianowski. The Ukrainian militia conducted searches of Jewish households and confiscated food. Locals were forbidden to sell goods to Jews. Jewish shops were closed.[4]

The German authorities designated a local veterinarian, Schimel (or Schiml), as the Judenrat chairman. Schimel himself selected the remainder of his staff: Rapaport (dentist), Szymon Reich, Dawid Scheinbach (wholesaler), Sterner Jr. (lawyer), Dawid Harman, and Mojżesz Horowitz; the latter later resigned.

The first forced labor conscription for local Jews was to build a Russian prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Ustianowa. The Judenrat provided each of the 60 to 80 laborers with a daily ration of 25 grams (0.9 ounces) of bread and a bowl of soup.

In April 1942, 150 Jews were sent to work in a sawmill and at a refinery. At the same time, the local Gestapo conscripted a separate group of 60 to 120 Jews who were required to reinforce the banks of the Strwiąż River; to build a bridge, a shack, garages, and stables; and later to regulate the river's waters. The foreman, Szymon Walzman, often beat his laborers. Early in the summer of 1942, Jewish farmers from the vicinity were also forced to work for the Germans. For example, owners of horses and wagons were made to transport wood from disassembled Soviet shelters and bunkers found in the surrounding forests.[5]

In June 1942, the Germans ordered all Jewish residents over 65 years old to report to the Judenrat. Prior to this, Bäcker had gone from house to house registering them. Approximately 200 registered men and women were transferred to a local jail that evening (an exact date is not known); 50 of them were shot that same night in the courtyard of the Judenrat's office, while others were taken away in vehicles and shot in a forest near Berechy. According to historian Andrzej Potocki, the murder took place in Brzegi Dolne. Other publications

claim the murder took place earlier, on May 5, 1942, and cite 300 victims.[6]

Following this mass killing, the Gestapo made several trips to nearby villages including Ropienka, Olszanice, Czarna, Stefkowa, and Wańkowa, shooting many Jewish residents but sparing horse and buggy owners. In Lutowiska, the Ustrzyki Gestapo ordered all Jews to report to the market square: 800 of them were selected and killed; the remainder were transferred to Ustrzyki Dolne together with the looted possessions of the murdered Jews gathered by Doppke and Bäcker.[7]

In July or August 1942, the Jews from surrounding villages were also brought into Ustrzyki to join the ghettoized Jews living there. Iwler describes it as follows: "All of them were driven past the Gestapo, where they were searched [by Gestapo men], who ripped apart their down comforters and killed two children, allegedly for being dirty. At the beginning of spring 1942, the Germans had prohibited Jews from going beyond the limits of the villages." The Judenrat placed the deportees with other Jewish families. Following the arrival of the rural Jews, according to Iwler, some 3,000 Jews were concentrated in Ustrzyki. At that time—weeks before its liquidation—it was most likely announced that the ghetto was to be closed, with strict orders that nobody could leave it.[8]

Individual executions of ghetto residents continued throughout the summer. Reportedly, Doppke conducted them at night in front of the Judenrat building. His victims were most often accused of having cooperated with the Soviets. The Judenrat was instructed to dispose of the bodies, and they were carried away for burial using the doors of the Judenrat office, which had been taken off their hinges. Executions were so frequent that there was a nightly guard duty especially assigned for this purpose.

Residents of the ghetto were aware of the approaching deportation Aktion and the clearance of neighboring Jewish communities; for example, conscripted sawmill laborers witnessed passing cattle trains loaded with people. The Judenrat maintained that they contained Soviet POWs. According to Iwler, "[T]he Judenrat instructed us to go to work smiling, with heads up so as to not to incur the anger of the Germans."

A registration of the ghetto inmates took place in August 1942. Those who received special stamps on their *Kennkarten* (identity cards) were allegedly to be spared from the resettlement. This group of 60 to 70 Jews was purportedly slated for forestry work.[9]

On September 2, 1942, the Judenrat announced that the workday would end at noon and that Ustrzyki's Jews should prepare for their transfer to a labor camp in Zasław, 24 kilometers (15 miles) away. The community was told that they would be housed there in barracks and would work in a paper factory. "Those who refused to go were to be shot," testified Iwler, adding that the Judenrat used this occasion to trick Jews by offering to accept bribes in return for enlisting them for deportation. The order was then rescinded that same day, after which it was announced that 50 individuals were to remain behind, working at the sawmill. Ustrzyki's Judenrat then sought to extract more funds by offering places on a "new list" of those who were to remain in Ustrzyki Dolne.

The deportees were allowed to take all their possessions by wagon. The column left Ustrzyki under escort at night, on September 2, 1942, and it arrived at the Zasław camp the next morning, on September 3, 1942. Jews from other localities also were being concentrated there. A separate registration was conducted to identify those Jewish men from Ustrzyki fit for labor. Women, children, and the elderly were separated out.

Ustrzyki's Judenrat president was shot in Zasław. Most of the Jews concentrated there were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp within a week, the first transport leaving on September 6, 1942; the second, on September 8.[10]

SOURCES Reference to the fate of the Ustrzyki Jews can be found in the following publications: Andrzej Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica* (Brzozów: Związek Gmin Brzozowskich and Muzeum Regionalne PTTK w Brzozowie, 1993), p. 51; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1365; Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 59–62; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), Lfd. Nr. 799, pp. 236–259.

The following archival sources were used to prepare this entry: AŻIH (211/1061 [JSS]; 301/3558, 301/4314 [Relacje]).

Jolanta Kraemer

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3558, testimony of Herman Iwler, 1948.
2. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 59–62.
3. *JuNS-V*, vol. 39, Lfd. Nr. 799, pp. 240, 244.
4. AŻIH, 301/3558. In 1973, Bäcker was sentenced to life in prison by a German court; see Potocki, *Podkarpackie judaica*, p. 51.
5. AŻIH, 301/4314, testimony of Herman Iwler; and 301/3558.
6. Ibid., in 301/3558 Iwler testified that the killings in Lutowiska took place before those of the elderly Jews murdered in Ustrzyki.
7. *JuNS-V*, vol. 39, Lfd. Nr. 799, p. 244.
8. AŻIH, 301/3558.
9. Ibid.; also 301/4314.
10. Ibid., 301/3558; 301/4314.

WIELICZKA

Pre-1939: Wieliczka, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Krakau-Land, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie, Poland

Wieliczka is located about 16 kilometers (10 miles) southeast of Kraków. In 1939, an estimated 1,500 Jews were living there.[1]

The Wehrmacht occupied Wieliczka on September 7, 1939. By that time, the majority of the town's male Jewish

population had fled. Due to the virtual absence of males, the women, old, and sick also performed forced labor at first. Eventually, the German authorities forced women to become members of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).

Bronisława Friedmann chaired the seven-woman Judenrat. The following women were also members of the Judenrat: Berla (or Berta) Rakower, Berla (or Berta) Zellner, Hania Feidenfron, Helena Brishorn, Salomea Küchler, and Zlata Komhamer.

The Judenrat's first order was to collect a contribution of 8,000 złoty demanded by the Germans. The town's women had to travel to Kraków, where their husbands were hiding, to get the money. They were also required to furnish the offices of the German Gendarmerie (commanded by Wagner) and of the Sonderdienst that were set up in Wieliczka. Three months later, the men started to return gradually, but they were still afraid to cooperate with women in the Judenrat.[2]

A German named Frenzel was appointed as Stadtkommissar in Wieliczka; he was very susceptible to bribes. In 1940, SA officer Hermann Rosig replaced him.

Although Jewish businesses and houses were registered and repeatedly plundered, the situation in Wieliczka stabilized following Rosig's appointment. Word spread quickly that the town was a safe haven for Jews, and this attracted refugees. Moreover, its proximity to Kraków played a major role in influencing approximately 350 Jewish families to move to Wieliczka. A larger wave of Kraków refugees arrived in Wieliczka in the early summer of 1940. The Judenrat tried to relieve the suffering of the poor by opening a soup kitchen on November 10, 1940.

In December 1940, the German authorities set up the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), which was commanded by lawyer Maksymilian Liebeskind. By the end of 1941, the force had expanded to 20 members.

The creation of the Kraków ghetto in March 1941 led more Jews to move to Wieliczka to escape the harsh conditions of ghetto life. According to Maria Bill-Bajorkowa, the German authorities set a limit of 5,000 Jews for Wieliczka. All those who were not registered were to be shot. Official Judenrat statistics, which registered 4,000 Jews in June 1941, 4,300 by the end of October 1941, and 4,900 in April 1942, may have been falsified, as many testimonies suggest that the number of Jews in Wieliczka actually surpassed the set quota.[3]

Wieliczka did not have an enclosed ghetto or even a separate Jewish quarter; the Jews continued to live where they wanted in the town, mixed in with the Poles.[4] However, by late 1941, Wieliczka's Jews were required to stay within the town's limits, on pain of death. There was considerable overcrowding in Wieliczka, as the original Jewish population had more than trebled by the spring of 1942.

A branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization was established in Wieliczka in July 1941 to take over the organization of welfare from the Judenrat. Chairwoman Friedmann was nominated as the organization's president, and the lawyer Ludwik Steinberg from Kraków was appointed as her deputy, with Salomon Heller as the third member. Through their efforts, a second soup kitchen was launched at the end of the same month, serving up to 200 meals daily. It was set up for the refugee "intelligentsia" and referred to as the "B" kitchen or "kitchen for the impoverished middle class." By February 1942, the "A" kitchen, for the poor, served on average 700 meals daily (i.e., 454 grams [16 ounces]) of vegetarian soup, of which 30 percent were free of charge. The "B" kitchen prepared up to 300 meals per day (a soup and two vegetable sides), charging 1.50 złoty per meal at a discount.[5]

By September 1941, male refugees from Kraków took over the Judenrat. Its new deputy, Grossman, later wrote that he and Steinberg (appointed as the chairman) made their participation in the Judenrat conditional on receiving a free hand to select its remaining members. The other members were: the lawyer Zygmunt Landau from Kraków, Leo Münzer from Bielsko as secretary, and four local Jews (Dr. Izydor Rakower, Roman Joachimsman, Chaim Loffelholz [Loffecholz], and Jakub Zellner). According to Zellner, Salomon Gelles, Ozjasz Goldstein, and Bronisława Friedmann were also included in the Judenrat, although Friedmann served only a short time.[6]

From the very beginning of the war, Friedmann had advocated opening a Jewish hospital in Wieliczka, but the authorities continually denied their permission. A clinic was established on August 21, 1941, with the arrival of a number of doctors from Kraków. Organized and managed by Dr. Otmar Reiner, it was located in the Judenrat building on 11 Seraf Street and admitted patients daily. Patients were treated free of charge in the clinic; however, doctors requested to be paid for house visits.

Permission to set up a hospital was finally granted in May 1942, but the authorities stressed that additional approval would be required to open it. The Cheder School building on Bolesław Szpunar Street was subsequently renovated and equipped for this purpose.[7]

The most significant JSS activity was its provision of a daily breakfast, starting in October 1941, for up to 200 children (3–12 years old). It consisted of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread with marmalade and a glass of chicory coffee with milk or porridge. By the summer of 1942, 78 children in their care were from Wieliczka, while 130 were the children of refugees.[8]

After partial deportations from the Kraków ghetto in June 1942, Wieliczka's Jews became concerned about their own fate. Their rabbis, as from the beginning of the war, commanded the community to endure all German brutalities with submissiveness, repeating: "Let the beast devour." The idea of opening workshops and thereby saving themselves by working for the Wehrmacht rose within the Judenrat; some sources cite that it was actually Stadtkommissar Rosig's idea. At the time, Rosig promised that nothing bad would happen to Wieliczka's Jews, and he was "showered with diamonds" again.

"Town Workshops," an agency linked to those operating already in Bochnia, opened in mid-June 1942 in a local school. Its largest branches consisted of tailors and furriers who repaired winter clothing for the Wehrmacht.

With increasing reports of Jews being deported from other locations, Wieliczka's Jews paid bribes of up to 50,000

złoty to obtain unpaid positions in the workshops, yet only about 700 could secure a workplace. All believed that deportations from Wieliczka would be partial and would not affect Jews who worked. A number of those who could not afford bribes reportedly sent denunciations to the Kraków Gestapo.

It was at this time that the Judenrat intensified their efforts to obtain permission to open the hospital, believing that its patients would be spared from the deportations. A list of 100 patients for admission was prepared, but securing a place on that list cost thousands of złoty.[9]

In early August 1942, Kraków's Stadtkommissar Rüger and Rosig demanded a contribution of 1 million złoty from the Wieliczka Judenrat to be paid by August 22. The Judenrat negotiated it down to half a million. The community was already aware that such contributions generally preceded deportations. In those days, many Jews prepared bunkers or secured a hiding place with local Poles. A significant number fled Wieliczka.

On August 20, 1942, Rosig ordered the Judenrat to prepare for the arrival of 3,600 Jews on August 22. These were from Niepołomice, Mogiła, Łapanów, Dobczyce, and Gdów. At the time, Rosig told the Judenrat that he intended "to expand the 'Jewish quarter' considerably." The Wieliczka Jewish community was informed about the sudden concentration by posters. Signed by Rosig, they announced that the resettlement would "enlarge the 'Jüdische Wohnbezirk' and provide Jews with sustenance."[10] Therefore, the concept of a ghetto, or separate Jewish quarter in Wieliczka, was exploited by the Germans to dupe the Jews into thinking they would not be deported, while Wieliczka itself became a temporary concentration point and staging post for the deportations.

The Jews of Niepołomice, Gdów, and Łapanów were informed of their resettlement approximately seven days in advance. They were allowed to take all of their belongings with them and waited for their wagons to be packed. The Gdów Jews were intimidated to such an extent that they prevented anyone from evading the deportation, for fear of possible German reprisals.[11] An estimated 3,000 to 3,500 Jews arrived in Wieliczka. The authorities announced that from then on all Jews found outside Wieliczka would be shot, as well as any Poles hiding them. As a result, many Jews were shot at the roadside on the first day following the deadline.[12]

The Wieliczka Judenrat was unable to house everyone. Approximately 700 of the newcomers were accommodated in a barracks in the Nowy Świat quarter of Wieliczka that was designed to hold no more than 70 people. Poles that lived on the outskirts of the town were forbidden to give shelter to the newcomers, who were ordered to concentrate in the center of Wieliczka. By this time, the town had been surrounded by a number of German units, Polish auxiliary police, and later also by the Jewish Police brought from the Kraków ghetto. Despite this, some people were still able to escape, often with the help of local Poles.[13]

On August 26, 1942, Kunde, Heinrich, and Becher arrived from Kraków with a list of 128 employees of the Town Workshops whose *Kennkarten* (identity cards) were to be stamped prior to the transfer of them and their families to the Bochnia workshops (a total of 500 people). The authorities at this time demanded another contribution of 150,000 złoty and 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of coffee. That same night they informed the Judenrat that all Jews should report to the field near the train station by 5:00 A.M. on August 28, 1942. Rosig maintained that the community would be sent to Ukraine for work.[14]

On August 27, 1942, the hospital that the Germans had allowed to open just three days prior to the deportation Aktion was liquidated. Its patients and about 40 doctors and nurses were brought to the forest and shot.[15]

On the day of the deportation a selection took place near the train station. Approximately 700 elderly and infirm people were loaded onto trucks and taken to the Niepołomicki Forest, where they were shot. Others, found in hiding or trying to escape, were killed in the town. About 700 young men were selected for forced labor and sent to Pustków, the *Julag* in Kraków, and other labor camps. The remainder were loaded onto the waiting train late in the afternoon and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. It is estimated that at least 6,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec of the around 8,000 Jews concentrated there just before the deportation Aktion. A small cleanup detachment of up to 300 Jews remained in Wieliczka to sort out remaining Jewish property. Following alleged Jewish sabotage in Bochnia—the setting of a fire in the workshops—the 128 laborers that remained in Wieliczka were dispatched to Skawina for liquidation.[16]

SOURCES Published information on the Jewish community of Wieliczka during the Holocaust includes Shemu'el Me'iri, ed., *Kehilat Vilits'kah: Sefer zikaron* (Irgun yots'e Vilits'kah be-Yisrael, 1980); and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 667a.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/712 [AJDC]; 211/1092-1095 [JSS]; 301/573, 301/776, 301/1120, 301/1183, 301/2320, 301/2052, 301/3411, 301/3266, 301/4117, 301/5321, 301/5425, and 301/6245 [Relacje]; 302/143 [Pamiętniki]); FVA (# 15); USHMM (RG-02.208M [Pamiętniki]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 50; RG-15.084M [Relacje]); VHF (e.g., # 27085, 30751, 42577, and 45865); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 50, 211/1092 (Wieliczka), p. 30.

2. Ibid., pp. 1, 30; AŻIH, 301/5425, testimony of Maria Bill-Bajorkowa, 1952; 301/1120, testimony of Tauba Zyslowitz, n.d.; Michael Zellner, "The Nazi Atrocities in Wieliczka," in Me'iri, *Kehilat Vilits'kah*, p. 39.

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1092, pp. 30, 67; 211/1094, pp. 49–50, AŻIH, 301/5425; and 301/2052, testimony of Hirsch Grossbard, 1946.

4. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667a, p. 358.

5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 20, 1941, and February 20, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1092, pp. 26, 30, 34, 64.

6. AŻIH, 301/2052; 301/1183, testimony of Meilech Zeliner, 1945; *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 20, 1942; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1093, pp. 38–40.

7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 27, 1941; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1092, pp. 44, 72–73; 211/1093, pp. 30, 39; and AŻIH, 301/5425.

8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1092, p. 40; and 211/1095, p. 29.

9. AŻIH, 301/573, testimony of M. Hollaender, 1945; 301/3266, testimony of Salomea Flawmhaft, 1947; and 301/1183; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 50, 211/1093, p. 44; and 211/1095, pp. 37–38.

10. AŻIH, 301/2320, testimony of Leib Storch, 1947; 301/2052; 301/573; 301/3266.

11. Ibid., 301/4117, testimony of Fajwel Kornberg, n.d.; 301/5321, testimony of Anna Steinberg, n.d.

12. Ibid., 301/2052; 302/143, memoir of Maria Bajorkowa, a fragment published also in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 40–46, and Me'iri, *Kehilat Vilits'kah*, pp. 63–81.

13. AŻIH, 302/25, testimony of Michał Weichert; and 302/143, testimony of Maria Bill-Bajorkowa. A number of Jewish testimonies refer to the help they received from Poles—e.g., 301/6245, testimony of Zofia Chorowicz-Rosenbaum, Edmund Fischler, Lonka Fischler-Tempka; 301/3266.

14. Ibid., 301/2052.

15. Mieczysław Skulimowski, "Zagłada szpitala żydowskiego w Wieliczce w roku 1942," in Me'iri, *Kehilat Vilits'kah*, pp. 81–88, also published in *Przegląd Lekarski* 22(1) (1966): 101–105; it is based mainly on Bill-Bajorkowa nad Zellner testimonies and includes a partial list of the murdered doctors.

16. AŻIH, 301/573; 301/5425; 301/2052; and *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 667a, pp. 367–370. Some sources date the deportation on August 27, 1942—e.g., AŻIH, 301/1183; and 301/3411, testimony of Herman Schnur, 1947.

WIELOPOLE SKRZYŃSKIE

Pre-1939: Wielopole Skrzyńskie, village, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wielopole Skrzynskie, Kreis Debica, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wielopole Skrzyńskie, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Wielopole Skrzyńskie is located about 148 kilometers (92 miles) east of Kraków. According to the 1921 census, there were 550 Jewish residents, constituting 54.7 percent of the total population of Wielopole Skrzyńskie.

Upon the village's occupation, the Germans established a Judenrat chaired by Chaim Meller, together with Abraham Langer (treasurer) and Mendel Kanner. In May 1940, the Judenrat reported 763 Jews, including 135 refugees, living in the village. Of that number, 70 had arrived from Inowrocław in December 1939. Other refugees were mostly from Łódź or other localities within Kreis Debica. In late 1940 and 1941, dozens of Jews were sent to a forced labor camp in Pustków near Dębica.[1]

The Gestapo from Dębica oversaw life in the village, and it often extorted valuables from its Jewish inhabitants. According to A. Rubin, the Germans executed two Jews caught outside the village, buying food from farmers in January 1941.

On May 1, 1940, the Judenrat opened a soup kitchen. It served on average 45 breakfasts and dinners per day. On Saturdays those receiving food from the soup kitchen were assigned to local families for a meal. The kitchen closed in November 1940 due to a lack of money. It reopened briefly, only to close again in June 1941.[2]

In March 1941, 112 Jews from Kraków were deported to Wielopole. By mid-April 1941, their number had risen to 250, as some of the Kraków Jews who were initially assigned to Mielec were later directed to Wielopole.[3]

In May 1941, the Judenrat wrote to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków, stating that none of the Jewish businesses were under trustee management. In June 1941, a branch of the JSS was set up in Wielopole with three officials: Szaje Tajtelbaum (chairman), Chaim Mejer Lipschitz (deputy), and Jakub Barth. It managed to reopen the kitchen on November 1, 1941, producing 70 meals daily. Those who could afford it paid 10 groszy per meal; most customers received their meals for free.[4]

Secondary sources date the establishment of the ghetto in the spring of 1942, at which time Jews were forbidden to live in certain parts of Wielopole and were resettled to a few narrow streets. The ghetto was not enclosed, but its inhabitants' freedom of movement was severely restricted.

In March 1942, approximately 170 Jews were deported to Mielec to work in aircraft factories. Norbert Friedman testified that the Germans surrounded the village one day and announced that if men volunteered for the labor camps, their women and children would not be resettled. Friedman was one such volunteer.[5]

By May 1942, the JSS had found agricultural employment for 100 Jews. They worked on the surrounding large estates, including in Mała (about 8 kilometers [5 miles] northwest of Wielopole), and on other nearby homesteads.[6]

The ghetto was liquidated on June 26, 1942, when the community was resettled to the ghetto in nearby Ropczyce. In the course of the liquidation—or shortly thereafter—50 to 56 elderly Jews were shot and buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery. Some of them were brought from the village of Mała. Among the victims were Arszcz Schaja Hiller, Feiga Mała Hiller, and Samuel Leidner.[7]

The ghetto in Ropczyce was liquidated on July 23, 1942, when the majority of its population was escorted to the nearby town of Sędziszów Małopolski and then deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.

SOURCES The ghetto in Wielopole is briefly mentioned in the following publications: E. Podhorizer-Sandel, "O zagładzie Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim," *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 95; Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkarpackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), pp. 189–200; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 928; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 3,

District Krakow (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2008), pp. 354–355.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/713, 211/344, 211/1096-1097); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]); and VHF (# 3022).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/713 (Wielopole Skrzyńskie), p. 4; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1096 (Wielopole Skrzyńskie), pp. 4, 10–11, 13.
2. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AJDC), 210/713, pp. 14, 17; Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1096, p. 4a.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/344 (Dębica), pp. 26, 34, 55, 67.
4. Ibid., 211/1096, pp. 20, 26, 43.
5. VHF, # 3022, testimony of Norbert Friedman, 1995.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/1097 (Wielopole Skrzyńskie), pp. 21, 23.
7. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo rzeszowskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984), pp. 199–200.

WOLBROM

Pre-1939: Wolbrom, town, Miechów powiat, Kielce województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Wolfram, Kreis Miechow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wolbrom, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Wolbrom is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northwest of Kraków. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 4,276 (59 percent of the total), rising by 1931 to 5,450 Jews.[1]

When the German invasion began on September 1, 1939, many young men from Wolbrom, Jews and non-Jews, were mobilized into the Polish armed forces. Some were killed in action or captured and taken to Germany, but soon afterwards the prisoners of war (POWs) were sent home. When the German army entered the town, it had been emptied of young Jewish men. Dozens of Jews were immediately shot. The Germans drove the Jews out of town in the direction of Zawiercie, and a number died of exhaustion on this forced march. After two weeks they were allowed to return.[2]

On a daily basis the Germans abused and humiliated prominent members of the community. They forced the rabbi, doctors, nurses, and pharmacists to sweep the streets. Other Jews were put to work repairing the rail line to Olkusz and Chrzanów. A Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Moshe Aharon Wolochinsky, was established. A Jewish police force was also recruited. Refugees from Upper Silesia, Kraków, and Łódź, seeking a more secure place, arrived in Wolbrom. Former residents who had left town before 1939 came home. Some who were in the Soviet-occupied area of pre-war Poland crossed the cease-fire line to rejoin their families.[3]

The Judenrat was responsible for extracting the money and goods demanded by the German authorities, organizing forced labor, monitoring the 7:00 P.M. until dawn curfew, and enforcing the order for Jews to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David on their sleeves. Jews were required to stay in their own dwellings, refrain from travel to other towns (except with a permit obtainable for a suitable bribe), shave their beards, and not eat white bread. Meat, butter, and eggs, most of which the Germans took from local farmers, were also forbidden to the Jews. Clothing and leather goods were confiscated from Jewish shops, as well as gold and silver, and put into military storehouses. The displacement of people from areas destined for annexation to Germany brought additional refugees to Wolbrom, which was near the new border. When the Jews of Kraków were driven out of the city and their apartments given to SS and Gestapo officers, hundreds more Jews arrived in Wolbrom. The local community struggled to absorb them, mostly in their own homes, with some put up in communal buildings. The Judenrat established a public kitchen, which by October 1940 was feeding up to 200 Jews, so no one went hungry despite the deplorable conditions.[4]

According to the records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch in Wolbrom, in May 1941, just prior to the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the German authorities established an open ghetto, which consisted of 177 houses located in the vicinity of the synagogue.[5] From the summer of 1941, conditions for the Jews in Wolbrom worsened considerably. By early 1942, a much more brutal Gendarmerie officer, Leutnant Baumgarten, had taken over from Leutnant Müller in command of the 15-man Gendarmerie post on the outskirts of town. Under this new leadership, the Gendarmerie significantly increased the tempo of random killings, abuse, coercion, and demands for money, gold rings, silver synagogue ornaments, and fur coats.[6] The few goods and valuables that people had in their homes were confiscated. The price of food shot up, resulting in increased shortages and hunger, and the overcrowded conditions exacerbated the deteriorating situation. On April 1, 1942, 4,940 Jews were registered as living in the Wolbrom ghetto, or more than 20 per house.[7]

In July 1942, the Germans set up a clothing factory in the Bet Midrash HaGadol (community study center), and all tailors were ordered to report with their sewing machines. In August the German authorities demanded 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of gold, which the Judenrat managed to collect in the naive hope that this would appease the occupiers.[8]

The SD office in Kraków organized the first Aktion in Wolbrom in early September 1942. Word spread that on Thursday, September 3, the rabbi and synagogue leaders had hidden the Torah scrolls in a crate and buried it in the old Jewish cemetery—a sure sign that disaster loomed. On Friday the SS notified the Judenrat that everyone was required to report to the market square by 8:00 A.M. on Saturday morning, including the old and the weak. They were to bring up to 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of food and clothing and leave the doors of their houses unlocked. Anyone attempting to flee or hide would be shot on the spot. The Jews made ready for the fateful day; some hid valuables in their homes. A number of them committed suicide by overdosing on pain-relieving

medicine. On Saturday, September 5, the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and units of the Polish (Blue) Police surrounded the Jewish quarter. As people gathered in the square they saw wagonloads of conscripted Polish youth of the Baudienst carrying shovels and axes. Probably in excess of 6,000 people, including deportees and refugees, were assembled in the square. The initial step was to load about 300 elderly and weak people onto carts (as if to spare them the march to the train station) and take them to the Olkusk Forest opposite the Jewish cemetery, where they were stripped, shot, and thrown into open pits. The rest of those assembled were herded into a marshy area opposite the station.[9]

Jews from two neighboring towns (which had no train station) were brought to Wolbrom. Around 12:00 A.M., about 1,000 arrived from Żarnowiec. At 4:00 P.M., more than 1,000 from Pilica were brought in, swelling the assembly to more than 7,000. Towards evening the Germans separated out about 2,500 men, aged 18 to 50 and fit for work, and designated them for forced labor. The rest were sent east in cattle wagons to the Bełżec extermination camp.[10]

The workers, joined by Jews who had been hiding, were held in the community study center. For example, 23-year-old Willie Sterner gave himself up after hiding for three weeks, once he learned the fate of the rest of his family. Over the next few weeks, representatives of German factories came to claim the workers, in groups of several hundred, for forced labor, sending many of them to the Płaszów camp. Their number dwindled to about 150, who were put to work burying the dead and gathering abandoned household goods for shipment to Germany.[11]

From mid-September 1942 until the liberation of the town at the end of 1944, nearly 400 Jews, who were found or denounced while in hiding, were shot at the Jewish cemetery. At the beginning of November 1942 the final contingent of Jews was sent to Bełżec from Wolbrom.[12]

SOURCES The yizkor book, edited by M. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Wolbrom in Israel, 1962), contains sections in Hebrew and Yiddish and has a few articles covering the war years and the Holocaust in Wolbrom. The ghetto in Wolbrom is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 569.

Documentation concerning the ghetto in Wolbrom can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/1131; 301/1699, 3263); BA-L (B 162/14504); IPN (Bühler Trial); ITS; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], 211/1131); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, pp. 22, 412–417.
2. Ibid., pp. 24–25.
3. Ibid., pp. 25, 56–57.
4. Ibid., pp. 26–27; Bericht des Kreishauptmanns in Miechów für September, October 4, 1940, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 217.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1131 (Wolbrom), p. 41. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, pp. 28–30, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto in April 1942.
6. BA-L, B 162/14504 (II 206 AR 1356/69), verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 27/71, July 11, 1973, p. 8.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1131 (Wolbrom), p. 41. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, pp. 28–30.
8. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, p. 57.
9. BA-L, B 162/14504, verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 27/71, July 11, 1973, pp. 9–12; Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, pp. 58–59, 87; AŻIH, 301/3263.
10. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, p. 60; AŻIH, 301/3263.
11. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, p. 40; Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 760–761. Willie Sterner was later transferred to the Płaszów camp but managed to escape with aid of Aryan papers smuggled into the camp by Kazimiera Strzałka, who was later recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations.
12. Geshuri, *Wolbrom irenu*, p. 40; AŻIH, 301/1699.

ŻABNO

Pre-1939: Żabno, town, Dąbrowa Tarnowska powiat, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zabno, Kreis Tarnow, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Żabno, województwo małopolskie, Poland

Żabno is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, between 500 and 600 Jews were living there.[1]

Once the Germans occupied the town, the Jews were subjected to humiliations and restrictions. Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, and even children caught not wearing their armbands properly were severely beaten and could be shot. Soon after the start of the occupation, Jewish children were denied schooling. There were food shortages in the town, and people encountered difficulties in getting enough to eat. The Jews were prohibited from going more than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) beyond the limits of the town, which reduced their ability to scavenge for food.[2] The Jews also were required to perform forced labor, with most being sent to work in agriculture on the estates in the surrounding countryside.

In May 1940, the Judenrat conducted a census of the Jewish population in Żabno, which served as the basis for reports prepared by the Żabno branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS).[3] In November 1940, the Żabno Judenrat established a community kitchen that distributed 70 meals per day.[4] According to the Żabno JSS report for August 1941, there were 634 Jews in the town. Among those Jews 20 were merchants, 15 were skilled workers, 187 were laborers (35 of whom were in labor camps), and 183 were unemployed. Jews owned 35 businesses at that time. While 250 Jews were receiving some sort of assistance, another 250 Jews in need were still seeking help. The community kitchen fed 220 people, 11 Jews received



Group portrait of Jewish children in front of a stage set of a Purim celebration in Żabno, March 1941.
USHMM WS #32691, COURTESY OF ANN SHORE (HANIA GOLDMAN)

monetary assistance, 10 individuals received medical assistance (although there was no hospital in the town), and 50 Jews received additional help.[5] By September 1941, the number still seeking assistance had increased to 253; the community kitchen gave out 280 meals per day; 25 people received financial assistance; 4 received medical help; and 75 received bread and flour. The report indicates that 37 Jews performed forced labor.[6] The next Żabno JSS report for October 1941 shows that the number of Jews receiving assistance had increased to 320, while another 345 Jews seeking assistance had to be turned away empty-handed.[7]

On March 10 or 11, 1942, members of the Order Police from Dąbrowa Tarnowska and the Gestapo from Tarnów dragged between 30 and 40 Jews from their houses and shot them near the brick factory. The bodies were buried in one mass grave at the Jewish cemetery in Żabno. After the event, a few Jews fled from the town and hid with peasants in the countryside, in some cases in return for payment.[8]

The Żabno ghetto was established at the beginning of May 1942. About 700 Jews were confined within it.[9] The ghetto was administered by the Order Police from Dąbrowa Tarnowska and the Tarnów Gestapo. There was overcrowding inside the ghetto, and the Jews lived in a state of uncertainty and fear. Some people referred to the Jewish area as the *gettele* (little ghetto) hoping that now their persecution would be diminished, as they only lived together with other Jews. They did not want to believe those Jews who claimed that the purpose of ghettoization was to concentrate the Jews to facilitate the German anti-Jewish Aktions.[10] The German persecution of the Jews continued—on May 9, 1942, the Gestapo shot a Jewish man.[11] According to Polish court documentation, between March 12, 1942, and August 31, 1942, the Germans shot around 50 Jews in Żabno and its vicinity. The bodies were buried in three mass graves at the Jewish cemetery in Żabno. The shootings were carried out by members of the Gestapo from Tarnów and of the Order Police from Dąbrowa Tarnowska in conjunction with the Polish (Blue) Police and a member of the Sonderdienst named Fanysz. Thus it appears that a dozen or so more Jews were shot in the period up to the liquidation of the ghetto.[12]

According to an order issued by the Kreishauptmann in Tarnów on July 15, 1942, Jews from the towns of Kreis Tarnow, except for the city of Tarnów itself, were required to move to concentration points in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Brzesko, Tuchów, Zakliczyn, and Żabno by July 23, 1942.[13] It is not known how many additional Jews were brought into the Żabno ghetto as a result of this order. Unfortunately, very few sources exist that can shed light on living conditions in the Żabno ghetto, as most of those Jews who survived escaped from Żabno before the ghetto was established.

The Żabno ghetto was liquidated in mid-September 1942, around the same time as the second large-scale deportation Aktion in the city of Tarnów. From the summer of 1942, the main officer dealing with Jewish affairs at the Tarnów Gestapo was an official named Rommelmann, who probably was responsible for coordinating the deportations in Kreis Tarnow on the orders of the SS- und Polizeiführer in Kraków. At the time of the deportations, Kreishauptmann Dr. Kipke issued proclamations threatening Poles with the death penalty for concealing Jews and ordering them not to buy or receive Jewish property.[14] Most of the 650 or so Jews that remained in the Żabno ghetto were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. About 40 Jews were left behind to clear out the area of the ghetto. At the end of October 1942, the Jews organized an escape into the nearby forests. Their fate remains unknown.[15]

The German occupation forces were driven out of Żabno by the Red Army in January 1945. Only 15 Jews are known to have survived the war and returned to Żabno, and most of these soon emigrated from Poland.

SOURCES Publications dealing with the history and persecution of the Jews in Żabno include the following: "Żabno," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 139–141; and "Żabno," in Adam Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj," 1992), pp. 97–98.

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Żabno can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3446); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 53; RG-15.019M, reels 3 and 15); and VHF (# 39906).

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NOTES

1. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, pp. 97–98; also see www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/650.html.

2. Story of Ann Shore [Hanna Goldman] in Howard Greenfeld, *After the Holocaust* (New York: Greenwillow Books, 2001), p. 8; VHF, # 39906, testimony of Ann Shore.

3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 53, report of Żabno JSS, September 1–30, 1941.

4. Ibid., letter from Żabno Judenrat to JSS in Kraków, November 20, 1940.

5. Ibid., report of Żabno JSS, August 1–31, 1941.

6. Ibid., report of Żabno JSS, September 1–30, 1941.

7. Ibid., report of Żabno JSS, October 1–31, 1941.

8. Story of Ann Shore, in Greenfield, *After the Holocaust*, pp. 8–9; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 3, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," doc. 165. See also Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 270–271.

9. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, p. 98; www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/650.html; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, "Kwestionariusz o obozach," doc. 78.

10. VHF, # 39906.

11. OKK, "Wykaz spraw . . . ," Zg 1946, p. 388.

12. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 3, "Kwestionariusz o egzekucjach masowych i grobach masowych," doc. 166.

13. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, protocol of the JSS in Tarnów, July 31, 1942. See also *Gazeta Żydowska*, July 31, 1942.

14. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 32 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 710a, pp. 390–391; and vol. 35 (2005), Lfd. Nr. 775, p. 303. On Rommelmann, see also AŻIH, 301/3446.

15. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, p. 98.

ZAKLICZYN

Pre-1939: Zakliczyn, *town*, *Tarnów powiat*, *Kraków województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1945: Kreis Tarnow*, *Distrikt Krakau*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: województwo małopolskie*, *Poland*

Zakliczyn is located about 72 kilometers (45 miles) east-southeast of Kraków. On the outbreak of World War II, there were around 600 Jews (40 percent of the total population) living in Zakliczyn.[1]

The German army entered Zakliczyn on September 5, 1939. The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Zakliczyn, chaired by Jakub Appel. Other Judenrat members included Mendel Ebenholz, Michał Frant, Izak Kirschenbaum, Roman Finder, and a woman—with the surname Weinstock.[2]

In 1940, around 220 Jewish refugees from Kraków (50 people), Krynica, and from the countryside arrived in Zakliczyn. The situation of the Jews living in the town was terrible: there was not enough food, medicine, or housing.[3] In the first months of 1941, around 38 Jews from Zakliczyn were sent to the Pustków labor camp.[4] Jews also performed forced labor on road construction in the area. In June 1941, the Zakliczyn branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established, with Pinkas Kupfer as chair and Emil Lerner as his deputy.[5] In October 1941 an epidemic of typhus broke out among the Jewish population of Zakliczyn: about 6 Jews contracted the disease.[6] In December 1941 a kitchen for around 50 children was opened in Zakliczyn. Apart from receiving meals, the children celebrated Jewish holidays such as Hanukkah.[7] The JSS was forced to close the community and children's kitchens in April 1942, due to lack of food. The Jewish inhabitants suffered from hunger and diseases related to malnutrition.[8]

On July 10, 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Zakliczyn, which was sealed on July 23, 1942, at 9:00 A.M. The Jewish community had to pay the Germans a "contribution" of 50,000 złoty and surrender furniture and other valuable items.[9] According to an order issued by the Kreishauptmann in Tarnów on July 15, 1942, Jews from the towns of Kreis Tarnow, except from the city of Tarnów itself, were required to move to concentration points in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Brzesko, Tuchów, Zakliczyn, and Żabno by July 23, 1942.[10] The Zakliczyn ghetto was an enclosed ghetto surrounded by barbed wire. There was only one gate located on the side that bordered the town square. The ghetto was located between the left side of Mickiewicz Street and Piłsudski Street, covering an area of around 500 square meters (598 square yards). The ghetto was under the authority of the Kreishauptmann in Tarnów, Dr. Kipke, his deputy Dr. Pyrnus, and SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rommelmann of the Security Police in Tarnów.[11] In the ghetto there were workshops for tailors and cobblers. The Jewish Police was established under the direction of Chaim Ebenholz. Its members included Hersz Frant, Kantorowicz, Stenek Schreiber, Handel, Spitzer, Mendel Finder, Schneiderman, Leon Dener, Dow Mikołajewicz, Hausman, Józef Schlanger, and Irom.[12]

More than 2,000 Jews from Zakliczyn and its vicinity were concentrated in the ghetto. Jews from Wojnicz (356), Czchów (290), Ciężkowice (286), Iwkowa (183), Uszwia (147), Pleśna (58), Gromnik (57), Radłów (33), Szczurowa (14), Gumniska (11), and Wietrzychowice (4)—in total, 1,439 additional people—were forced into the ghetto. As communication with people outside the ghetto was cut off almost completely, and the Jews had virtually no financial resources left, there was starvation among the ghetto's inhabitants. Some of the Jewish refugees who arrived in Zakliczyn had already been resettled several times and were unable to bring with them much in the way of personal belongings. They were housed in barns and attics, with no sleeping mattresses, since the Jewish quarter consisted of only about 160 rooms and was unable to accommodate all the new arrivals. Around 20 people had to share one room. Until the end of summer people even slept outside. Before the influx of resettled Jews, about 50 Jews from Zakliczyn were receiving meals at the community kitchen. Thereafter the community kitchen had to feed 825 people.[13] There was a Jewish medical unit in the ghetto directed by Dr. Helena Schajer-Ehrlichowa and Dr. Józef Bester.[14]

In mid-September 1942, German police forces liquidated the ghetto in Zakliczyn. The Jews were deported by rail from the Gromnik station to the Bełżec extermination camp. About 72 adult Jews and 1 child, mainly the members of the Jewish Police and the Judenrat and their families, were spared deportation. The Jews, planning on escaping to the forest, began to

organize weapons with the aid of some Poles, but they were denounced to the Gestapo. On December 12, 1942, SS-Unterscharführer Rommelmann shot about 50 Jews in Zakliczyn, who were buried in a mass grave near the synagogue. The Germans ordered the synagogue to be dismantled afterwards. Around 20 Jews still remained to clean up the area of the ghetto. Five Jews had to bury the dead, and 4 Jewish girls were taken to the Tarnów ghetto. The remaining 16 Jews were taken to the Brzesko cemetery to be shot. Only 1 Jew was able to escape from this last remnant.[15]

Among the few survivors from the Zakliczyn ghetto were Regina (Rivka) Riegelhaupt and her two daughters Lea and Judit, who were smuggled out of the ghetto dressed as Polish peasants by a Polish acquaintance, Andrzej Piechniczek, shortly before the ghetto's liquidation. They survived by hiding with a number of poor peasants until the liberation but nearly starved. Others were not so lucky. German police from Zakliczyn shot Maria Pierzyński on January 20, 1944, for sheltering two Jews, Benjamin and Roman Sukman.[16]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the history of the Jews of Zakliczyn and their fate during the Holocaust include the following: "Zakliczyn," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 146–147; "Zakliczyn," in Adam Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj," 1992), pp. 96–97.

Documents on the fate of the Jews in Zakliczyn can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1758, 2038, 2051, and 3733); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 52; RG-15.019M, reel 14); VHF (# 19005, 27431, and 31437); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, p. 96.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, letter of Zakliczyn Judenrat to JSS headquarters in Kraków, December 8, 1940; AŻIH, 301/1758, testimony of Sala Ebenholz.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, Zakliczyn JSS report of April 1, 1942, and letters of Zakliczyn Judenrat to JSS headquarters in Kraków on November 3 and 22 and December 8, 1940; VHF, # 31437, testimony of William Nattel.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków regarding the typhus epidemic, October 19, 1941; VHF, # 19005, testimony of Arthur Neigut; and # 31437.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, Kraków JSS headquarters to Zakliczyn regarding the Zakliczyn JSS branch, June 9, 1941.
6. Ibid., Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków, November 17, 1941, and Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków regarding the typhus epidemic, October 19, 1941.
7. Ibid., Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków regarding kitchen for children, April 9, 1942, and Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków, November 9, 1941.
8. Ibid., Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków, April 15, 1942.
9. Ibid., note about the conversation with Dr. Spira from Kraków, July 23, 1942.
10. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 48, protocol of the JSS in Tarnów, July 31, 1942.
11. Bartosz, *Tarnowskie judaica*, p. 96; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, "Kwestionariusz o obozach"; Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków, August 1, 1942, and Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków of August 1, 1942 (regarding the establishment of the Jewish district in Zakliczyn); AŻIH, 301/2051, testimony of Izrael Dawid Mikołajewicz; 301/2038, testimony of Stefan Sztuka; and 301/3733, pp. 3–4, testimony of Regina Riegelhaupt Kempińska; Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979). Rommelmann was sentenced to death by a Polish court on March 25, 1948, and executed on November 9, 1948.
12. AŻIH, 301/1758.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, letter of Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków, August 1, 1942, and on the same date (regarding the establishment of the Jewish district in Zakliczyn); AŻIH, 301/2051.
14. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 52, letter of Zakliczyn JSS to Kraków, August 1, 1942.
15. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 14, województwo krakowskie, pp. 42–43; AŻIH, 301/2051; 301/2038; and 301/1758; VHF, # 27431, video testimony of Israel Mikel.
16. AŻIH, 301/3733; Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 601; and Anna Poray-Wybranowski, *Polish Righteous: Those Who Risked Their Lives* (Canada: A. Poray), no. 460, Maria Pierzynski.

ŻMIGRÓD NOWY

Pre-1939: Żmigród Nowy, town, Kraków województwo, Poland; 1939–1945: Zmigrod Nowy, Kreis Jaslo, Distrikt Krakau, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Nowy Żmigród, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Żmigród Nowy is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Kraków. On the eve of World War II, 800 Jews were living in Żmigród Nowy.

The German army occupied Żmigród Nowy on September 8, 1939. They immediately started to impose restrictions on the Jews. Jews were prohibited from moving freely, were forced to wear armbands with the Star of David, had to pay "contributions" to the Germans, and were required to perform forced labor. On September 14, 1939 (the first day of Rosh Hashanah), German soldiers entered the synagogue and beat those worshipping there. On October 5, 1939 (the last night of the Jewish holiday of Sukkot), the Germans set fire to the synagogue and ordered the Jews to raze the building to the ground.

In November 1939, the Germans established a civil administration in the newly formed Generalgouvernement. Żmigród Nowy was incorporated into Kreis Jaslo, within Distrikt Krakau. Regierungsrat Dr. Walter Gentz was the Kreishauptmann from February 10, 1941.[1] The Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) was commanded from 1940

to 1943 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Wilhelm Raschwitz. Stationed in Żmigród was a unit of German Gendarmerie under Paul Roliff, which controlled the Polish (Blue) Police.

At the end of 1939, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Żmigród Nowy headed by Hersz Eisenberg, which was subordinated to the Judenrat in Kreis Jaslo on April 29, 1940. The Germans ordered the Judenrat to conduct a census of the Jewish population. The Judenrat was entrusted with distributing food and providing medical and housing assistance. It also prepared lists of Jews for work details to repair roads and bridges and to dig trenches. The forced laborers received meager food rations and suffered from disease. Every day about 50 Jews were sent out for road construction work for the German company of Emil Ludwig at Lipowce near Dukla. From the spring of 1941, several transports of Jews were sent to various forced labor camps from Żmigród.[2]

In 1940, Jews were brought into Żmigród Nowy from the surrounding villages. A public kitchen was established that initially distributed almost 200 meals per day. In February 1941, the aid committee of the Judenrat reported that 114 daily meals were supplied, 115 people received housing help, and 25 Jews received financial assistance. That same month a Society for Health Protection was created, headed by Hersz Eisenberg. In March and April 1941, 100 Jews from Kraków, 150 from Łódź, and 200 from Jasło were brought to Żmigród, raising the Jewish population to 1,500 and producing overcrowding. In addition, the Jews were ordered to surrender all valuable items to the Germans and, in December 1941, all fur clothing.

The increased Jewish population led to food shortages. On July 25, 1941, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch in Żmigród sent a telegram to the main office in Kraków warning that 300 people were starving because the community kitchen had no food. On January 13, 1942, about 300 additional Jewish refugees from Jasło arrived in Żmigród. Attempts by the Judenrat to prevent this transfer were in vain. Living conditions in Żmigród deteriorated further; the JSS complained of a lack of medicine and reduced food rations due to the influx of refugees.

A "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) was established in Żmigród Nowy in the first half of 1942. It was inhabited by the Jewish population of Żmigród and its vicinity, as well as by refugees. On its establishment, it contained about 1,300 Jews. The Żmigród Jewish residential area was not fenced in, but signs were put up around the open ghetto warning Jews that they were forbidden to leave the borders of the town on pain of death. The first Jewish victim of the Germans was "mute Dovid" who left the town to get flour from a peasant and was shot by the German police officer Kreil in 1942. There was immense overcrowding in the ghetto, and living conditions became unbearable. At the beginning of 1942, the authorities demanded 100,000 złoty from the Judenrat, threatening to kill chairman Eisenberg. In February 1942, the Judenrat made plans for Jews to be employed as craftsmen as a way for the Jews to become useful to the Germans and perhaps avoid deportation. Work outside the town also enabled some Jews to barter items illegally and smuggle food back into the ghetto.[3]

In May 1942, the JSS created a sanitary unit, which collected bedding and clothing for the poorest Jews, cleaned the living quarters, and distributed soap. The JSS also established a day care for 90 children, who were also fed in the public kitchen and received medical care. On June 17, 1941, the JSS created a mother and child committee headed by Rab Hersch that provided food to 72 Jewish children and 15 infants.[4]

On July 7, 1942, all the Jews in the Żmigród ghetto were ordered to assemble on the soccer field. At that time, there were around 2,000 Jews in the ghetto. German, Polish, and Ukrainian police units surrounded them. The able-bodied were ordered to register for work with representatives of various German companies. All Jews were required to hand in their valuables. Members of the Gestapo brutally murdered the chairman of the Judenrat in front of the other Jews. A group of 1,250 Jews, composed mostly of women, children, the sick, and the elderly, was taken by truck to a forest near Hałbów, where the Germans shot them and buried them in a mass grave. On July 12, 1942, around 150 Jews were sent to the Płaszów concentration camp. On August 15, 1942, a group of Jews was sent to the Zasław labor camp near Kraków. The remaining Jews of Żmigród were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp at the end of the summer in 1942.[5]

About 70 or 80 Jews managed to escape the July 1942 deportation Aktion and hid in the forests, but most were hunted down by German and Polish police. For example, on April 25, 1943, the Gestapo shot 16 people, including 2 Jewish children. They took the Jews from a local prison and shot them in a mass grave near the Jewish cemetery in Żmigród. In the second half of 1943, 3 Jews from Żmigród were caught by the Germans and brought to the Jasło prison, where they committed suicide.[6]

After the war the Jewish community of Żmigród was not revived. The survivors immigrated to Israel and the United States. After World War II, Żmigród regained its status as a town and was renamed Nowy Żmigród.

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Żmigród Nowy include the following: "Nowy Zmigrod," in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 3, *Galicia and Western Silesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984), pp. 152–154; and the memoir by Leo Rosner, *The Holocaust Remembered—A Child Survivor's Account of Imprisonment and Redemption 1939–1945* (2003).

Documents on the extermination of the Jews in Żmigród Nowy can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1764); BA-L (B-162/14484); IPN (Dsn 13/5/67/"W" 1093; Dsn 13/5/67/"W"/393; OK Rzeszów S 13/67/R; Sąd Grodzki w Jaśle Zg 8/47; AGK Tarnów-Rzeszów, sygn. 5, k. 167); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 54; RG-15.019M, reels 10 and 17; RG-50.002*0033; RG-50.002*0039; RG-50.431*0788); and YVA.

Joanna Śliwa

NOTES

1. BA-L, B-162/14484 (II 206 AR-Z 827/63), verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972, pp. 11–13; Dr. Gentz,

who committed suicide in 1967, succeeded Regierungsrat Dr. Ludwig Losacker in this post.

2. USHMM, RG-50.002*0033; and RG-50.002*0039.

3. IPN, Tarnów-Rzeszów, sygn. 5, k. 167; and Dsn 13/5/67/ "W" 1093; A. Eisenbach, "Ludność żydowska w Królestwie polskim w końcu XIX w., *BŻIH*, no. 30 (1959): 94; BA-L, B-162/ 14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972; USHMM, RG-50.002*0033; RG-50.002*0039; and Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 54.

4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 54.

5. BA-L, B 162/14484, verdict of LG-Arns, 6 Ks 4/70, December 5, 1972; Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 181–182; and AŻIH, 301/1764, testimony of Moses Einhorn, January 17, 1946.

6. IPN, Dsn 13/5/67/"W" 1093; Dsn 13/5/67/"W"/393; OK Rzeszów S 13/67/R; and Sąd Grodzki w Jaśle Zg 8/47; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reels 10 and 17.

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LUBLIN REGION



People walk along a commercial street near the Lublin ghetto entry sign, ca. 1941–1942. The sign reads, "GHETTO! Entry for Wehrmacht (personnel) is forbidden."
USHMM WS #65614

LUBLIN REGION (DISTRIKT LUBLIN)

Pre-1939: parts of the Lublin, Lwów, and Warsaw województwa, Poland; 1941–1945: Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: parts of the Lublin and Podkarpackie województwa, Poland, and the L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Distrikt Lublin was established on October 26, 1939, as one of the initial four Distrikte of the Generalgouvernement. Spanning 26,660 square kilometers (10,294 square miles), the Distrikt, composed of territories from pre-war Poland, encompassed almost the entire Lublin województwo, a territorial sliver from the Warsaw województwo, and small parts of the Lwów województwo required to extend its southern frontier to the San River.

Some 2.4 million people resided in the Distrikt, including 240,000 to 300,000 Jews. The Jewish population fluctuated, initially because tens of thousands fled German occupation by crossing into neighboring Soviet-occupied Poland.



General Governor Hans Frank leads a tour in the Lublin ghetto, following completion of a deportation Aktion, June 2, 1942. Pictured from left to right in the front row are an unidentified German army officer, unidentified General Government official, SS-Gruppenführer Richard Wendler, Frank, unidentified Luftwaffe officer, Ernst Zörner, Otto Wächter, Ernst Kundt, and an unidentified SS officer.
USHMM WS #61417, COURTESY OF ARCHIWUM DOKUMENTACJI MECHANICZNEJ

On October 26, 1939, Friedrich Schmidt was named the first governor of Distrikt Lublin. Ernst Otto Zörner, the former mayor of Dresden and German-occupied Kraków, succeeded him on February 21, 1940. Kreishauptmänner governed 10 Kreise, centered in Biała Podlaska, Biłgoraj, Chełm, Hrubieszów, Janów, Krasnystaw, Lublin, Puławy, Radzyń Podlaski, and Zamość. A Stadthauptmann oversaw the municipality of Lublin. Odilo Globocnik, the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) of Distrikt Lublin, was the senior police official in the Distrikt, subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement. Through February 1942, civilian officials oversaw Jewish affairs.

German civilian authorities, present in the Distrikt from October 4, 1939, used increasingly more uniform antisemitic decrees to deprive Jews of their social, economic, and cultural rights. From October 10, Otto Strössenreuther, the Kreishauptmann in Janów, met weekly with the newly appointed heads of local collaborationist civilian administrations, initially native Poles appointed wójtowie (singular, wójt) and mayors, to convey various orders. At the December 14 meeting, he required Jewish Councils to sell armbands with Jewish stars for 2 złoty and mandated the Jews to wear them by January 5, 1940. In late December 1939, Strössenreuther forbade Jews from selling or transferring property. At the January 5, 1940, meeting, he excluded Jewish children from primary education.[1]

Absent from the order portfolios in Kreis Janow, the only place where such early documentation wholly survived, are decrees by Generalgouverneur Hans Frank mandating forced labor and Jewish Councils (October 26 and November 28, 1939). In more eastern areas, where a brief Soviet occupation delayed the civilian administration's establishment, survivors recall that the SS issued the marking decrees and civilian officials ordered the Jewish Councils established.[2] Created across the Distrikt by January 1940, the Jewish Councils initially were composed of pre-war community leaders.

David Silberklang has suggested the well-documented rivalry between civilian authorities and Globocnik for control of Jewish policy made the former reluctant to establish ghettos. Mid-August 1940 raids conducted by the SS on Jewish communities throughout Distrikt Lublin for labor camp conscription at Bełżec convinced them that ghettoization would facilitate Globocnik's drive. "By not establishing ghettos," Silberklang explains, "civilian authorities in effect made the job of the SS more difficult and increased their own involvement in Jewish affairs. Without a ghetto, the SS would need increasingly to turn to the civilian authorities."[3] As a result,



SS-Gruppenführer Odilo Globocnik, the SS and Police Leader of Lublin, reviews troops (after November 9, 1942).
USHMM WS #09538, COURTESY OF IPN

in September 1941, the Kreishauptmänner reported ghettos existed in just 11 places: Biała Podlaska, Irena, Lublin, Opole, Piaski Luterskie, Zamość, and the towns of Kreis Radzyn (e.g., Kock, Lubartów, Łuków, Międzyrzec Podlaski, and Radzyń Podlaski, with Ostrów, on September 1, transferred to Kreis Lublin-Land).

The research conducted for this volume indicates that the September 1941 lists should not be the benchmark to determine the extent of ghettoization in Distrikt Lublin. By then, at least 26 ghettos had been established. Some had disappeared. Others had not yet been created. Required to resettle Jews in the Distrikt from December 1939 and to respond to related demands for increased security, German authorities had established a complex policy to confine and isolate Jews, of which ghettos were just a part.

The first ghetto was established in Puławy (October 1939), where war devastation left little available space for the Kreis administration. A larger effort to concentrate Jews came in October and November, when Radzyn Kreishauptmann Hennig von Winterfeld designated Ostrów and Kock the *Judenreservate* (Jewish reservations) for the Kreis's 32,430 Jews. From mid-October through November, the SS transferred thousands of Jews to the *Reservate*. In Lubartów, an open ghetto, of a few streets, was established for workers (and their families) retained for labor.

In Kreis Pulawy, an informal Reservat emerged from late December 1939, after the Puławy ghetto was disbanded and the SS forcibly expelled its residents to Opole. May 1940 bans on Jewish residence in spa towns brought the expulsion of the Jews from Nałęczów. Expellees not sent to labor camps ended up in Opole, the only place where Kreishauptmann Alfred Brandt permitted all Jewish newcomers to register.[4]

These early efforts to concentrate Jews vaguely echoed Adolf Eichmann's use of a sliver of Distrikt Lublin, near the San River, for a Judenreservat for expellees from Vienna, Katowice, and Morawska-Ostrava. Under the Nisko Plan (October 1939), the so-called useful Jews among the first 3,587 (of 4,088) deportees constructed a retraining camp in Zarzecze. Those deemed nonuseful were pushed over the Soviet frontier.

The Nisko Plan slowed ghettoization in Distrikt Lublin, as expulsions, such as the Chełm death march (including about 3,000 Jews from Chełm, Hrubieszów, and Dubienka) on November 30–December 1, 1939, gained the upper hand. On December 6, Winterfeld changed course, ordering hundreds of Jews in Radzyń to Sławatycze, a border town, to await expulsion. In Zamość, Kreishauptmann Helmuth Weihenmaier, believing an expulsion imminent, imprisoned 150 Jews from Włocławek. The Radzyń expellees received permission to return to Kreis Radzyn in April 1940, on the formal suspension of the Nisko Plan. Only some were allowed to resettle in Radzyń. Returnees were required to be vetted by the Jewish Council, to pay a fee, and to reside in the historic Jewish neighborhood, recognized as an open ghetto in the late spring of 1940.

Ghettoization was shaped even more decisively by the October 30, 1939, decision to expel to the Generalgouvernement a projected 1 million Polish Christians and Jews from territories the Germans were annexing to the Reich to make room for ethnic German settlers from the Baltic states and Volhynia. Janina Kiełboń conservatively estimates that 30,140 Polish Jews (including 5,570 prisoners of war [POWs]), 32,000 Polish Christians, and 24,000 ethnic Germans were resettled in Distrikt Lublin between 1939 and 1940. An additional 3,220 Jewish expellees (including 1,200 from Stettin and 1,020 from Kraków) arrived that year.[5]

Kiełboń has shown that the Warthegau deportees were distributed across the Distrikt (probably to speed the expulsions and to secure local Polish authorities' acquiescence, as Heinrich Himmler, the director of the resettlement initiative, required they assume responsibility for the expellees). In most Kreise, Jewish deportees were divided among many Jewish communities, where the appropriate Jewish Council and subsequently the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, formally established in Kraków in January 1940, became responsible for them. An exception was in Kreis Krasnystaw, where Izbica and Turobin were designated from December 1939 for the resettlement of Polish Jewish deportees. Reich deportees were divided between fewer localities. The Stettin expellees, for example, were settled in Bełżyce, Głusk, and Piaski Luterskie.

In Ostrów, where 5,000 Jewish expellees had arrived by early January 1940, Winterfeld began permitting local Jews expelled to the Reservate to return home and instead designated Kock for Jewish newcomers.[6] In Kock, no ghetto replaced the Reservat because Winterfeld refused to provide rations to unemployed Jews or to permit the Kock JSS food purchases from cheaper government resources, thereby making the deportees the responsibility of the local Jewish community. In Ostrów, a ghetto replaced the Reservat. Winterfeld provided rations (initially bulk food grants), enabling the JSS to distribute meals to 850 Poznań deportees. The assistance probably was required, as the Jews formally were confined to a ghetto.



Jews line up in front of a public kitchen sponsored by the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) office in Biała Podlaska, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #18548, COURTESY OF ŻIH IMIENIA EMANUELA RINGELBLUMA



Jews are rounded up for deportation in the Wisznice ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #03831, COURTESY OF ELIEZER AND JENELLY ROSENBERG

The arrival of Polish Christian expellees sometimes hastened ghettoization, but rationing policies constrained official recognition of what had occurred. In Szczebrzeszyn, pressures to house the newcomers resulted in the establishment of a ghetto in the winter of 1940–1941. However, the ghetto (and another open ghetto, established in the summer of 1940 in Biłgoraj) officially did not exist, as Bilgoraj Kreishauptmann Werner Ansel never provided nutritional assistance to unemployed Jews. For this reason, the Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto to purchase food. Similarly, the Krasnystaw Jewish Council, in official correspondence, mentioned not a ghetto, ordered by Kreishauptmann Hartmut Gerstenhauer on August 9, 1940, but spoke of the relocation of the Jews to a new neighborhood. In Chełm, circumstantial evidence indicates the Cholmer Aktion (September 2–December 14, 1940), which brought 28,365 Polish Christians to a relocation camp and saw the permanent Polish population grow by 10 percent (the largest increase in the Distrikt), sparked the German mayor's ghettoization decree on October 30, 1940.

In 1940, ghettos also were established in Łęczna (January), Kazimierz Dolny (March), Wisznice (November), and Piaski (December 31). In these cases, officials also were responding to local conditions. Emil Ziegenmeyer, Kreishauptmann of Lublin-Land, ordered an open ghetto established in Łęczna because his official residence was located there. In Wisznice, designated for Ukrainian settlement, newly appointed local authorities confined the Jews to the first closed ghetto in the Distrikt, enabling Ukrainian newcomers to appropriate their residences. The Wehrmacht's use of Kazimierz for rest and recreation leaves contributed to ghettoization there.

Elsewhere, the decision to transfer responsibility for expellees onto Jewish communities delayed ghettoization. For this reason, too, when expulsions resumed in November 1940, with the formal abandonment of the Madagascar Plan, some 3,436 Jews from Kraków, expelled by April 1941, initially were distributed among almost every Jewish community in the Distrikt. In mid-December 1940, at least 3,000 Jews from Mława and Ciechanów arrived in Kriese Biala Podlaska and Radzyń. On February 15 and 27, some 2,006 Viennese expellees were directed to Opole. On March 5, another 981 Viennese deportees were resettled in Modliborzyce. On March 10–13, 3,000 Jews from Konin arrived in Kreis Krasnystaw.

Preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941) spurred the next significant round of ghettoization. Ghettos were established in Irena and Janów Podlaski (January), Ryki and Opole (March), Lublin and Wąwolnica (April), Łuków and Zamość (May), and Zwierzyniec. The presence of significant military installations or the quartering of troops almost always prompted the decrees.

Hobbled by rationing policies, the JSS established the deepest welfare programs in ghettos, such as Chełm, where Jews received rations and could not safely leave, and ghettoization was complete. The fact most Jews in the Distrikt lived outside of ghettos and until the spring and again in the summer of 1941 could move around relatively freely permitted some to evade ghettoization and nearby communities to respond to the plight of those in ghettos. During the winter of 1940–1941, the Jewish communities of Sławatycze and Parczew transported thousands of kilograms of donated and purchased food to Mława expellees confined to the Wisznice ghetto.

Privileged Jews, usually craftsmen, medical personnel, and others employed by the Germans, often resided outside of ghettos (e.g., Radzyń, Wisznice, Piaski, and Lublin) at times in specifically designated areas (e.g., Szczebrzeszyn and Zamość). Typhus outbreaks from December 1939 and epidemics (in the spring of 1941 and the fall of 1941 through the winter of 1942) in overcrowded Jewish (and non-Jewish) communities likely made some Distrikt authorities recognize that ghettos would be seedbeds of infectious diseases and prompted the decision to allow some Jews to live outside the ghetto. In Chełm, Kazimierz, and Opole, where ghettoization was complete, non-



Jewish deportees from Vienna live in crowded barracks in Opole, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #45838, COURTESY OF LILLI SCHISCHA TAUBER

Jews were permitted to enter the ghetto to seek out the services of craftsmen.

On January 17, 1941, Zörner established the basis for a new form of concentration by recommending Kreishauptmänner and mayors contain Jews to fewer places, ostensibly to cut down on illegal trade and smuggling but really to keep Jews out of militarized areas and towns.[7] The orders saw Ziegenmeyer place northern Kreis Lublin-Land off limits to new expellees and to designate Bychawa, Chodel, and Bełżyce not as ghettos but rather as *Judensammelorte* (assembly points for Jews) for future expellees. The Konin expellees were divided between Izbica and Józefów, effectively the *Sammelorte* for new Warthegau deportees to Kreise Krasnystaw and Bilgoraj. On January 23, 1941, Janow Kreishauptmann Hans Asbach first deployed the recommendation locally ordering 1,000 Jews (mainly Łódź deportees) expelled to Radomyśl nad Sanem, a community of fewer than 311 native Jews. The larger Radomyśl nad Sanem gmina served in practice as the Sammelort for all new Jewish deportees to the Kreis, including in November some 400 from Kraków.[8]

Expulsions to what in effect were Sammelorte sometimes forestalled ghettoization. In Biała Podlaska, the Jewish Council reported a ghettoization decree, initially issued on January 4, 1941, was rescinded after 1,507 mainly Kraków expellees accepted "voluntary resettlement" to Podedwórze-Opole and Piszczac. Forced to live in barns, the Podedwórze-Opole expellees began returning almost immediately, prompting authorities to establish a ghetto in Biała Podlaska by the early summer of 1941.

In Lublin, where 10,000 Jews were expelled on March 10–13, 1941 (initially to the Sammelorte of Kreis Lublin-Land), and voluntary resettlements soon followed, the expulsions were intended to establish a small ghetto, officially for 25,000. (Some 14,149 Jews refused resettlement, making the ghetto population much larger.) In Zamość, too, 900 (mostly Warthegau) expellees were forcibly transferred to Komarów or Krasnobród before a ghetto was established. To prevent their return, Kreishauptmann Helmuth Weihenmaier extended to the expellees the same rations he provided nonworking Jews in the Zamość ghetto.

Expulsions resulted in significant reductions in the size of some ghettos. In Krasnystaw, after 950 to 1,250 Jews were expelled in May to the Zakrzew gmina, just 250 to 300 were left in the ghetto. Similar expulsions in Kazimierz led to the establishment of a labor ghetto and the creation in Wąwolnica of a ghetto for those with direct family ties to the locality.

Opole, long used to dump unwanted Jews, was the only informal Sammelort transformed into a ghetto. Its barbed-wire fencing was replaced in June by a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) wooden fence. In June, a fence also was erected around the Piaski ghetto. Yet, that same month, authorities rejected the request of the wójt in Bełżyce (like Piaski, in Kreis Lublin-Land) to transform the Sammelort into a closed ghetto, because no fencing material existed. In practice, authorities preferred territorial solutions, such as expanding preexisting Sammelorte (e.g., in Radomyśl).

Many survivors recall overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, and hunger existed in ghettos. However, as the Jews desiring to remain in Lublin, Kazimierz, and Biała Podlaska attest, conditions were comparatively better in most ghettos than in the Sammelorte. The worst material conditions for Jews in the Distrikt probably were in Józefów, Radomyśl, and Izbica, with the latter perhaps not officially declared a ghetto before the summer of 1942.[9]

In Radomyśl, some 600 Kraśnik expellees were crowded into the synagogue or lived 10 to a room with native Jews. Food reserves for the Polish Christian population, swelled by 600 Warthegau newcomers, were so limited the wójt feared the Jews would starve. Most survived by begging for food in the countryside. In November and December 1941, after Frank imposed the death penalty on Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement found without permission outside their places of registration and a Jew from Radomyśl was shot dead, the local JSS chair noted that "almost the entire town [almost all the Jews] were condemned to extinction." By mid-January 1942, 25 to 30 Kraśnik expellees had died from a lack of food.[10]

Frank's proscriptions did not see any place where Jews resided transformed into open ghettos. The only ghetto established in the autumn of 1941 was in September, in Urzędów. It was organized to provide the Heinkel Company (Heinkel Werke) a captive winter labor pool to transform a factory in Dąbrowa-Bór into an airplane repair facility.

In none of the approximately 25 responses to the April 1942 JSS ghetto questionnaire did a Jewish official describe the entire locality as a ghetto. Positive responses, including in Janów Podlaski, Lubartów, Łęczna, Łuków, Ostrów, Wisznice, and Zwierzyniec, indicate that ghettos in the Distrikt were defined narrowly as residential areas, of a limited number of houses. Negative responses were received from among others such as Biłgoraj, Hrubieszów, Kock, Międzyrzec, Modliborzyce, Parczew, Piszczac, Terespol, Włodawa, and Wojsławice. Rather, Frank's orders were understood as part of a complex group of

decrees, which had restricted Jewish movement in different degrees, at various times and places.[11]

The final phase of ghetto construction occurred during the deportations to killing centers. Around October 13, 1941, Himmler ordered Globocnik to begin work on the Bełżec extermination facility and appointed him to organize, oversee, and implement Operation Reinhard throughout the Generalgouvernement, elevating him above Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, his formal superior. On the eve of the expulsions, the SS increased labor camp conscription quotas. Civilian authorities issued new identification cards to separate so-called productive Jews from the remainder of the population. To facilitate the expulsions, the Lublin ghetto in February 1942 was fenced and partitioned, with the smaller ghetto on March 16 designated for those who worked for the Germans and the much larger ghetto A for those slated for expulsion.

The deportations in the Generalgouvernement began in Lublin, with the expulsion of 30,000 Jews to Bełżec from March 17–28 and March 31–April 14, 1942. (Several thousand were killed in or outside of Lublin.) To root out fugitives, the SS ordered those retained for labor relocated to a closed ghetto in Majdan Tatarski. On April 20, 2,500 to 4,000 illegal ghetto residents were shot, leaving just 3,300 to 4,000 Lublin Jews in the remnant ghetto.

The deportations expanded to touch almost every community during March and April 1942. The first wave targeted small numbers of mainly elderly. However, in Kraśnik, most of the Jews were sent to Bełżec on April 12, 1942, as the Kreis administration, scheduled to move there, needed their homes. In Irena, Izbica, Końskowola, Krasnystaw, Kraśniczyn, Lubartów, Opole, Rejowiec, Piaski, Tyszowce, and Zamość, a considerable part of the Jewish population was gassed at Bełżec so their places could be filled temporarily by foreign deportees.

Approximately 85,000 foreign Jews arrived in Distrikt Lublin between March 13 and June 20, 1942, as part of Operation Reinhard. The deportees included 19,000 to 25,000 Germans, 6,000 Austrians, 14,000 Czechs and Slovaks from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and 39,899 Slovaks and Hungarians from Slovakia. About 63,000 passed through one of the designated consolidation or collection points, officially known as *Hauptunterbringungs- und Umschlagpünkte* (literally, main accommodation and loading/unloading points). A few thousand deportees were sent to labor camps, while transports carried another approximately 18,000 directly to killing centers. A few places (e.g., Piaski, Izbica, and Rejowiec) became revolving doors.

From May 6, 1942, the expulsions became more systematic, moving across Kreise, from Pulawy, Krasnystaw, Cholm, Zamosc, Hrubieszow, and Biala Podlaska before temporarily halting on June 12. At least eight remnant ghettos (e.g., Kurów, Rejowiec, Tomaszów Lubelski, Tyszowce, and Hrubieszów) were established for the few Jews retained for labor. Some ghettos (e.g., Opole and Irena) were used to consolidate Jews from nearby communities and thereby bring them closer to railway connections. The Jews almost all were killed at the Sobibór extermination camp, opened in May.

The mass shooting in July and early August 1942 of 1,700 Jews in Józefów and 2,187 in Łomazy shattered the lull, extended killing operations into Kreis Bilgoraj and renewed them in Kreis Biala Podlaska. From mid-August, the expulsions systematically enveloped Kreise Cholm, Zamosc, and Lublin-Land (via Piaski). The expulsions appeared more tentative in Kreise Biala Podlaska and Radzyn and parts of Kreis Pulawy because killing operations at Treblinka, opened in July, had bogged down. (The choice of killing center was determined by the fact that the Jews lived near the main railway line to Treblinka or its Lublin switching junction in Dęblin.) Repeated sweeps in October and early November focused on sending those earlier retained for labor in remnant ghettos to killing centers or to the Majdanek concentration camp, along with almost all Jews in Kreise Janow, Cholm, Biala Podlaska, and Radzyn not imprisoned in labor camps.

To facilitate the expulsions, new collection ghettos were established in Tarnogród, Kraśnik, Zaklików, Międzyrzec, Włodawa, and Izbica. Some Jews (mainly men) were imprisoned at nearby labor camps (e.g., Krychów, Majdanek, Poniatowa, Trawniki, Budzyń, Małaszewicze Duże, etc.), at new labor camps (e.g., Bełżyce, Cholm, Kraśnik, Jatkowa, etc.) established at the time of the expulsions, and in northern Distrikt Lublin (e.g., Kreise Biala Podlaska and Radzyn) in fenced remnant ghettos (e.g., Kock, Komarówka Podlaska, and Parczew).

Officially, orders from October 28, 1942, permitted Jews to reside outside of labor camps in just eight remnant ghettos: Izbica, Piaski, Włodawa, Końskowola, Międzyrzec, Łuków, Parczew, and Zaklików. In practice, no such ghetto existed in Zaklików. Some collection ghettos (e.g., Rejowiec) existed alongside the remnant ghettos until the spring of 1943. They, like the longest-lived remnant ghettos, also were used as labor ghettos (e.g., Łuków, Międzyrzec) or as temporary sites to imprison Jews (e.g., Końskowola) from outside the Distrikt during transportation bottlenecks or backlogs in murder operations at Bełżec or Sobibór. Liquidated in stages, the last ghetto, in Międzyrzec, disappeared in July 1943, with the execution of its 200 to 300 Jewish residents.

In researching ghettos in Distrikt Lublin, documentation was examined for 120 communities. Materials discovered in contemporary Jewish materials, including American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and JSS records, resulted in the addition of several communities (e.g., Rossosz, Urzędów, and Zwierzyniec) never previously thought to have had ghettos. For some communities (e.g., Łomazy), entries were included when new documentation indicated no ghetto existed, but nonetheless it was still open to question. Documentation was found to have been misinterpreted for some places (e.g., in Firlej) but mostly to have been too sparse in others (e.g., in Kamionka, Kodeń, and Michów), long believed to have had ghettos.

Wherever possible, contributors included a discussion of Reservate, Sammelorte, and Hauptunterbringungs- und Umschlagpünkte, while maintaining the focus on ghettos, the

subject of the volume, and on representing as accurately as possible how German authorities and Jews (contemporaries and survivors) understood them. The absence of entries for some places (e.g., Radomyśl, Józefów, Podedwórze-Opole, and Kraśniczyn) known to have been communities in which Jews were concentrated provides a reminder that ghettos were but one part of a complex, evolving German policy, designed to exploit and to isolate Jews while facilitating the transformation of Distrikt Lublin into one of the Holocaust's primary killing grounds.

SOURCES Secondary works with regional coverage about the history of Jews in the Distrikt Lublin ghettos include Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH* 21 (1957): 21–92; Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); M.J. Fajgenbaum, *Podliashe in umkum: Notitsn fun hurben* (Munich: Aroysgegebn fun der Tsentraler Historisher Komisye baym Ts. K. fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland, 1948); Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996); Janina Kiełboń, *Migracje ludność w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939–1944* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1995); Shmuel Krakowski, *The War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944*, trans. Orah Blaustein (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1984); Robert Kuwałek, "Getta tranzytowe w dystrykcie lubelskim," in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), pp. 138–160; Zygmunt Mańkowski, "Pierwsze miesiące okupacji niemieckiej w Kraśniku (październik 1939–maj 1940)," *Regionalista*, no. 7 (1997): 58–63; Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999); Dieter Pohl, *Von der "Judenpolitik" zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993); Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007); David Silberklang, "Defining the Ghettos: Jewish and German Perspectives in the Lublin District," in Jonathan Petropoulos, Lynn Rapaport, and John K. Roth, eds., *Lessons and Legacies*, vol. 9, *Memory, History, and Responsibility: Reassessments of the Holocaust, Implications for the Future* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp. 106–123; David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003); and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999).

Works providing coverage of various Reservate schemes and the radical population relocation programs that shaped ghettoization in the region include, among others, Götz Aly, *"Final Solution": Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews*, trans. Belinda Cooper and Allison Brown (London: Arnold, 1999); Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004); Philip Friedman, "The Lublin Reservation and the Madagascar Plan: Two Aspects of Nazi Jewish Policy during the Second World War," in Ada June Friedman, ed., *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), pp. 34–59; Se'ev Goshen, "Eichman und die Nisko-Aktion im Oktober 1939," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 19:1 (3 January 1981): 74–96; Jonny Moser, "Nisko: The First Experiment in Deportation," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* 2 (1985): 1–30; and Joseph Poprzeczny, *Odilo Globocnik: Hitler's Man in the East* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004).

Also important are the relevant volumes of *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945, województwa: bialskopodlaskie, chełmskie, lubelskie, siedleckie, tarnobrzeskie, zamojskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and GKBZHwP-IPN, 1984–1994).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; APL; APL-Chełm; APL-Kraśnik; APL-Radzyń; APZ; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; FVA; IPN; IPN-Lu; NARA; USHMM; VHF; YIVO; and YVA. Many museums in the Lublin województwo, including in Lublin, Kraśnik, Łęczna, Lubartów, Łuków, Zamość, and the State Museum in Majdanek (APMM), also are important repositories for unique archival documentation.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Mańkowski, "Pierwsze miesiące," pp. 58–60.
2. AŻIH, 301/4333, testimony of Berko Finger, p. 1; 302/122, testimony of Mieczysław Garfinkiel, pp. 6, 8–9.
3. Silberklang, "The Holocaust," p. 184.
4. VHF, # 31584, testimony of Rose Welner.
5. Kiełboń, *Migracje*, pp. 26–35, 140.
6. AŻIH, 301/2013, testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, pp. 1–3.
7. Musial, *Zivilverwaltung*, p. 134.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/871, p. 49.
9. AŻIH, 301/72, testimony of Leon Feldhändler, pp. 4–8 (Izbica), which dates ghettoization in Izbica to the fall of 1942. See, however, also Mark Roseman, *A Past in Hiding: Memory and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New York: Metropolitan, 2001), pp. 186–197.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/870, pp. 12–13; 211/871, pp. 39–40, 61; 211/872, pp. 6, 16.
11. See, for example, for Annopol, VHF, # 14967, # 477, # 3843, respectively, testimonies of Eli Fishman, Benny Kleiman, and Josef Krystal.



Borders as of 1942

BARANÓW NAD WIEPRZEM

Pre-1939: Baranów nad Wieprzem, village, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Baranow, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Baranów, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Baranów lies atop a high bank of the Wieprz River, some 60 kilometers (37 miles), by road, northwest of Lublin. Its 1930 population of 2,071 included 1,092 Jews.

In the second week of September 1939, the Luftwaffe bombardment killed an unknown number of Baranów Jews as they were on the road, fleeing west to Ryki, some 16 kilometers (10 miles) distant. On September 17, a Wehrmacht unit briefly occupied Baranów. The soldiers held a group of Jewish and Christian Poles hostage in the synagogue but released the prisoners unharmed several days later. The local military commander ordered the Jews to surrender valuables. German soldiers ransacked Jewish shops and residences in the ensuing searches.[1] The German military commander appointed a local Polish collaborationist civil administration, led by a wójt (head), for the larger pre-war Baranów nad Wieprzem gmina, of which Baranów served as the administrative center.

In 1940, German civilian authorities occasionally arrived from Puławy to impose financial and material demands on the Jews. During one such visit, the Jews were ordered to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Aron Cukierman. Accompanied by local members of the Polish (Blue) Police, the Germans usually demanded monetary contributions and took a number of Jews as hostages, pending receipt of the payments.[2] However, because local Polish authorities in Baranów tended to look the other way, the Jews managed to circumvent some of the anti-Jewish decrees imposed on all Jews living in the Generalgouvernement. As a result, most Baranów Jews initially were able to restore a part of their pre-war lives, though sometimes illicitly. When Jews, for instance, were forbidden from attending schools, parents in Baranów organized informal instructional circles for their children.

Because the Jews initially lived in much better conditions than their counterparts in many places in the Generalgouvernement, Baranów quickly flooded with refugees. By mid-December 1940, 350 refugees had swelled the Jewish population to 1,500. Among the refugees were a substantial number of Jews expelled from Puławy in late December 1939. In January 1941, 400 Jewish refugees were residing in Baranów. In June, the refugee population crested at 483 (140 families).[3] Abraham Edelist, a printer and pre-war kehillah officer from Puławy, established a committee to assist the refugees. From December 1940, he also chaired the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) office in Baranów. Abraham Aichenstein (Eichenstein), the rabbi of Baranów, represented local Jews on the committee.[4]

Tensions created by the arrival of so many refugees came to a head on March 19, 1941, during a Judenrat meeting at which Edelist presented a plan to divide a charity shipment of herring. A group of local Jews stormed the meeting, assaulted Edelist, and threatened to abscond with the fish, unless he agreed to distribute charity items more equitably between the refugees and local Jews.[5] Ordered by the Jewish Council to apportion the herring as the protestors demanded and then admonished by JSS authorities in Lublin and Kraków for not distributing the fish as required, Edelist and Aichenstein believed they had no choice but to resign.[6]

By late July or perhaps on August 1, 1941, an open ghetto was established in Baranów. On July 10, Edelist mentioned to Dr. Marek Alten, head of the JSS in Distrikt Lublin, that the Baranów Jews had learned that Alfred Brandt, the Pulawy Kreishauptmann, had issued orders, to remain in effect until October 1, forbidding Jews from leaving their places of registration.[7] The orders were made permanent in October, when Hans Frank forbade Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement from leaving their places of residence.

Survivor Pinchas Zając notes the decree binding the Jews to Baranów was followed in the summer of 1941 by orders for all Jews living in houses along the main streets to move into houses located on alleys and back streets. Because the Polish owners of the houses also were required to move, Zając describes the decree as establishing a ghetto in Baranów. (The Poles mostly took over the residences the Jews had been forced to vacate.)[8] Hela Arbeiter, another survivor, mentions in her testimony the existence of a specifically designated Polish neighborhood in Baranów, a point that may indicate the housing reshuffle concentrated the Jews into a designated residential quarter.[9]

In mid-July 1941, on the eve of the establishment of the Baranów ghetto, the newly appointed JSS officials, all leaders of the protest movement, undermined further the material conditions of the most impoverished Jews by using the food allotment for Baranów to establish a for-profit canteen at a local labor camp. On July 20, the Judenrat dissolved the committee and, supposedly on the orders of Brandt, assumed control for all Jewish welfare relief in Baranów.[10] The original JSS leaders were invited to join a reorganized committee, on which the Jewish Council chair also served. Though Aichenstein agreed, Edelist, like many refugees, had decided to leave Baranów for Lublin upon learning of the impending decree binding Jews in Kreis Pulawy to their places of registration.[11]

Because the JSS correspondence for Baranów focuses almost entirely on the problems that beset the organization and the ongoing effort of the Jewish Council and the Kraków JSS to recover lost funding, it contains none of the documentation traditionally used to provide statistical measures of forced labor quotas, labor camp conscription, and the health and welfare of Jews confined to ghettos. Zając recalls the only way for the Jews to secure nourishment after the ghetto's establishment was to sneak out of Baranów under cover of darkness to barter material possessions for food with peasants in nearby villages. He mentions that, by early 1942, almost all the able-bodied male population was interned in labor camps. Those who remained behind in the ghetto—mostly the elderly, women, and children—were dying of illnesses, including those associated with malnutrition and starvation.[12] Because of the poor conditions and rumors that Brandt soon would

order the ghetto fenced, some Jews, beginning in 1942, began to escape from Baranów, mostly to the ghetto established in Żelechów (Distrikt Warschau).[13]

On May 8, 1942, a group of 10 to 12 SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries arrived in Baranów to expel the Jewish community. Informed about the expulsion orders days earlier, some families had found hiding places with Poles in nearby villages. Unaware of the orders, others believed the SS had come to eat an early dinner with members of the local Polish (Blue) Police.[14] After the meal, the SS, the Ukrainian auxiliaries, and Polish police ordered all the Jews to assemble along Puławy Street. As many as 500 Jews, mostly young men probably already working at local labor camps, were held back from the expulsion. The rest of the Jews, at least 500 people, were ordered onto peasant carts. Zając believes the Jews were driven to the train station in Puławy and ordered there onto trains destined for the Sobibór death camp.[15] However, many scholars, including David Silberklang, maintain the Baranów Jews were sent to Sobibór via the railway station in Dęblin.

Many of the more than 100 Jews who fled from the deportation initially built hiding places in nearby forests. After some fugitives were pursued and killed by Polish partisans hostile to Jews, most sought refuge in a number of communities from which Jews had not yet been expelled, including in Kamionka (Lubartów powiat) and Adamów (Łuków powiat).[16] In late summer and early fall 1942, local German authorities began ordering unregistered Jews in these two communities to report to Końskowola. Some Baranów Jews perished in a typhus epidemic there. Many others managed to escape the liquidation of the Końskowola collection ghetto in early October.[17]

Forced to seek refuge in the forests, the Jewish fugitives were almost all hunted down and shot during sieges of the wooded areas around Baranów and Ryki organized in late 1942 and early 1943 by the German SS, SS Ukrainian auxiliaries, and members of the Polish (Blue) Police.[18] Others, including Zając's parents and brother, perished in similar searches conducted by the SS for partisans in February 1944. Contacts with a group of Communist partisans, commanded by Dąbrowski, contributed to the Jews' survival, though tensions between Poles and Jews in the unit remained high.[19] Fewer than 25 Baranów Jews survived the war.

SOURCES In addition to noting that an open ghetto and a Jewish quarter were established in Baranów in late 1941, the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 116–118, and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 56–58, maintain Brandt ordered the Jews confined to a closed ghetto in April 1942, but local authorities failed to implement the decree. David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 177–178, 271, notes Brandt, in a memo on September 12, 1941, emphasized, among other points, that he had no plans to establish additional ghettos in Kreis Pulawy. The memo can be found at APL, 498/0/273, with copies at YVA. Silberklang's research also provides insight into the railway route by which the Baranów Jewish community was sent to Sobibór.

Archival documentation pertaining to the history of the Baranów Jewish community during World War II includes AŻIH (210/248, 211/137, pp. 39–43, 211/194, 301/272, 301/996); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, ŻSS], 211/194; Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AŻIH, AJDC], 210/248; RG-50.120*0181); VHF (# 31126); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.120*0181, testimony of Pinchas Ziontz (Zając).
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), ŻSS, 211/194, pp. 2, 5, 23, 25–30.
4. Ibid., p. 2.
5. Ibid., pp. 15–16, 21–23.
6. Ibid., p. 17; and 211/137, p. 41 (Edelist and Aichenstein to Alten, June 1, 1941).
7. USHMM, 211/137, p. 42 (Edelist to Alten, July 10, 1941).
8. USHMM, RG-50.120*018.
9. AŻIH, 301/272, testimony of Hela Arbeiter, p. 2.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/194, pp. 44–45, 49–50, 54.
11. Ibid., 211/194, p. 54; 211/137, p. 42.
12. USHMM, RG-50.120*0181.
13. VHF, # 31126, testimony of Yehezke'l Gluzman.
14. Compare AŻIH, 301/272, p. 1, and 301/996, testimony of Pinchas Zając, pp. 4–5.
15. Ibid., 301/996, pp. 3–4.
16. USHMM, RG-50.120*0181; AŻIH, 301/272, pp. 3–5.
17. AŻIH, 301/272, pp. 5–6.
18. Polish participation noted in USHMM, RG-50.120*0181.
19. AŻIH, 301/272, p. 6; USHMM, RG-50.120*0181.

BEŁŻYCE

Pre-1939: Bełżyce, town, Lublin powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Belzyce, Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Bełżyce, Lublin powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Bełżyce lies 26 kilometers (16 miles) by road southwest of Lublin. In August 1939, 2,100 Jews lived there.[1]

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Bełżyce on September 16, 1939. Over the next two weeks, soldiers passing through Bełżyce on the way to Lublin broke into shops and homes to rob and beat Jews. On Rosh Hashanah (September 21), a German unit arrived to humiliate the Jews.[2] By January 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been established.

From late 1939, a growing number of Jewish deportees arrived in Bełżyce. Among the first were expellees from Puławy.[3] In February 1940, 300 deportees arrived from Stettin.[4] In February 1941, 360 deportees arrived from Kraków. A March

3 transport, of 101 Kraków expellees, brought the number of deportees in Bełżyce to 681.[5] Emil Ziegenmeyer, the Kreishauptmann of Lublin-Land, also named Bełżyce, Chodel, and probably Bychawa the three localities in Kreis Lublin-Land in which to resettle a part of the 15,000 Jews expelled from Lublin, in order to establish on March 27 a small ghetto in the city. On March 10, the deportation's first day, members of Police Battalion 306 forcibly expelled some 500 Lublin Jews to Bełżyce. More Lublin Jews arrived over the following weeks.[6] Even after many Lublin deportees illicitly returned home, the Bełżyce Jewish population in late May stood at 3,499, including 1,199 refugees and deportees, making it the second largest in Kreis Lublin-Land. Only Piaski Luterskie, which that same month had 4,803 Jews, was larger.[7]

After the Stettin deportees arrived, German authorities ordered the Jewish Council reconstituted. Physician Adolf Flater, a former Stettin synagogue leader, was named council chairman. Paul Bauchwitz, a distinguished Stettin World War I veteran, became vice chair. Some native Jews (the wealthiest pre-war merchants), including Berek Goldsztejn (Stein) and timber merchant Szmul Arbuz (Arbus), received seats on the 12-member council. Stettin deportees filled almost all the council's administrative positions. Erich Silbermann was postmaster. His wife Cläre taught at the Jewish school. Puławy expellee Gołda Teich recalled the Stettin deportees were overrepresented on the Jewish police force.[8] Albert (Israel) Dombrower, another Stettin deportee, headed the Bełżyce Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) delegation.

On June 18, 1941, Stanisław Szubartowski, the Bełżyce wójt (head), proposed the expanded Jewish population be confined to a closed ghetto, near the market square. His superiors, citing material shortages, denied the request.[9]

Bełżyce nonetheless appeared on a list of ghettos Ziegenmeyer submitted to German authorities on September 19, 1941. However, Ziegenmeyer described Bełżyce as a "Jewish assembly site" (*Judensammelort*), rather than a ghetto. Ziegenmeyer likely named Bełżyce, Bychawa, and Chodel as *Sammelort*e when he permitted Jews expelled from Lublin to settle there, during a second expulsion wave in April. Because the list was compiled in response to a Reich Interior Ministry inquiry about available space in Distrikt Lublin for incoming Jews, the three localities and Piaski, which Ziegenmeyer claimed as the only ghetto in his Kreis, probably also were the places the Kreishauptmann envisioned resettling additional Jews. He cautioned that Poles would have to be expelled from the localities to accommodate any Jewish newcomers.

In Bełżyce, a formal Jewish quarter, or open ghetto, probably was not established. Gołda Teich describes her brother-in-law living in the pre-war Polish neighborhood. Jews were banned from walking on main streets and the market square. A 7:00 P.M. curfew was imposed. Some Jews were shot for ignoring the restrictions. The first were 11 men and 1 woman whom Gendarmes, probably from the post in Bychawa, found walking on streets from which Jews were banned, one day in February 1941.[10] Shortly thereafter, the post was moved from Bychawa to Niedrzwica Duża. In November and December, Hans Frank ordered all Jews in the Generalgouvernement confined, on penalty of death, to the borders of the localities in which they resided.

In the spring of 1941, poor sanitary conditions, the result of overcrowding, led to a typhus outbreak, which was declared an epidemic by April 29. The sick filled the 21-bed hospital. Another 46 were quarantined. Though typhus cases initially ebbed, an epidemic again was declared in October. On November 12, Flater, also the head of the Jewish hospital, requested medical supplies from the JSS in Kraków. Flater contracted typhus but recovered. The epidemic raged until mid-December.[11] By January 1941, 60 Stettin expellees, some 13 percent of the 462 deportees sent to Distrikt Lublin on the third Stettin transport, had died. (A part of the transport's passengers had been resettled in Piaski and Głusk.)[12] In April 1942, the JSS distributed over 1,000 Passover meals. A charity drive collected used clothing for the needy.[13]

Twice weekly, Gendarmes from the Niedrzwica Duża post visited Bełżyce. Lublin expellee Róża Mitelman recalls their visits always cost some Jewish lives. She reports the Gendarmes used prohibitions on kosher slaughter as a "pretext" to arrest and kill Jews. Mirka Wiener remembered four members of the Zylbernadel family as among those murdered for the illegal (religious) slaughter and sale of meat.[14]

By 1942, many Jewish conscripts worked as agricultural labor on nearby estates, including in Jastków, or for local Poles. Others worked on local road construction projects.[15]

On May 11 or May 23 (the Shavuot holiday), 1942, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, assisted by the Jewish Police, rounded up between 430 and 580 men (under age 35) and marched them to the Majdanek concentration camp.[16] The deportation likely was to accommodate some 1,200 Jews from Thuringia and Saxony (mainly from Dresden and Leipzig) who arrived on May 12.[17] On May 19, Ziegenmeyer recommended the Bełżyce



Gera and Alfred Borchert celebrate their wedding in Bełżyce, October 29, 1940. The photograph was sent to Walter Jacobsberg in Shanghai.
USHMM WS #25773, COURTESY OF WALTER JACOBSBERG

Jews, by then some 3,639 in number, as well as Jews from five other communities, for resettlement.

On Yom Kippur or Hoshana Raba (September 21 or October 2) 1942, the 1,300 Jews in Chodel were expelled to Bełżyce and from there to killing centers.[18] The next day, the SS and a group of Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded Bełżyce. After killing the patients at the Jewish hospital, they ordered all Jews to report to the square. There, the Jewish Police identified several hundred young men and women for immediate deportation to Majdanek. Teich, among the deportees, reports that the women were the first large group of female Jews interned at the concentration camp.[19]

Between October 9 and 12, 1942, Jews from nearby localities were consolidated in Bełżyce. Among the deportees were all the Jews from the pre-war Bychawa, Jastków, Wojciechów, Piotrowice, Brzeziny (including 325 in Puchaczów), and Krzczonów gminy.[20] Dawid Białogród (Stanisław Nowakowski), a Warsaw refugee to the Piotrowice gmina, remembers the Jews, about 345 in number, were simply told to report to Bełżyce.[21] The 59 Jews in Krzczonów probably received similar orders. In the Bychawa gmina, the SS first ordered consolidated, in Bychawa, a settlement of nearly 3,000 Jews, the Jewish residents of the pre-war Bychawa, Niemce, and Osmolice gminy. The Osmolice expellees included 107 former residents of Kraków's Ester Street asylum, deported to Distrikt Lublin in February 1941.[22] The SS escorted the Jews to Bełżyce. Among the Jastków deportees were agricultural laborers from the Jastków estate, where a labor camp had been established in July 1942. After the evacuation, some 125 inmates remained.[23] The arrival in Bełżyce of more than 4,000 Jews brought the number who passed through the Sammelort to just above 10,000.

On October 13, 1942, the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded Bełżyce. All Jews were ordered to the square. There, the SS divided men, women, and children from one another. Men fit for labor were loaded onto trucks destined for the Poniatowa forced labor camp or the labor camp established in the Piaski ghetto.[24] Some 300 people, including the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police, were retained for a labor camp in Bełżyce. Children, women, the elderly, and others deemed unfit for labor were ferried by truck to the Niedrzwica railway station. Chaim Grabel, among the deportees, reports that the Jews were sent to the Treblinka extermination center. He recalls 130 men and 30 women were held back at Treblinka for labor. The remaining Jews were gassed.[25] Most historians believe the deportees (perhaps a part) were sent to the Sobibór extermination center.

A fenced labor camp was established in Bełżyce near the old synagogue for the 300 Jews retained for labor. Another 700 to 1,000 mainly Bełżyce Jews, who had evaded deportation, entered the camp. Among them was Grabel, who had escaped from Treblinka. He and several other survivors refer to the camp as a closed ghetto. Many inmates initially sorted Jewish property in Bychawa and probably in other localities from which Jews had been deported. However, the postwar Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation reports that the camp's raison d'être was for Jewish laborers to complete construction of the road from Bełżyce to Niedrzwica. An SS official from Lublin formally served as the camp commander. Day-to-day responsibility for the Jews fell to the private German firm overseeing the road construction project.[26]

In early 1943, the SS sent a part of the Bełżyce inmates to the Trawniki forced labor camp, probably together with most of the agricultural laborers at Jastków. The Bełżyce deportees, all older Jews, included the Mossbachs.

In May, the Bełżyce ghetto was liquidated. SS-Oberscharführer Reinhold Feiks (Feixs), commander of the Budzyń forced labor camp from December 1942 until August 1943, oversaw the Aktion.[27] At 4:00 A.M., Feiks and a group of SS Ukrainian auxiliaries ordered the Jews assembled. Feiks held back for labor at Budzyń some 100 women and 200 to 300 men. He and the auxiliaries shot dead the remaining 500 to 600 inmates, including 100 men, 150 children, and 250 to 350 women.

Few Bełżyce Jews survived the deportations. At Trawniki, Cläre Mossbach (Silbermann) sent postcards to a Quaker friend and, after she failed to respond, to a mutual acquaintance to notify her of Erich's death.[28] Teich reports the Majdanek deportees almost all were gassed or had perished, many in a spring 1943 typhus outbreak. She and her sister are among the only known Bełżyce deportees transferred to Bliżyn in the summer of 1943. In November, during Aktion Erntefest, SS and police units executed the Jewish prisoners at Trawniki and Majdanek. In Budzyń, Feiks hanged Bauchwitz, supposedly for being so assimilated into German culture he defied the camp commander's anti-Jewish stereotypes. In May 1944, as the Red Army approached the Lublin region, the surviving Budzyń inmates were transferred to a number of camps, including Wieliczka, Skarżysko-Kamienna, Starachowice, Mielec, Ostrowiec, and Auschwitz. Many, including Szmul Arbus, perished during the evacuation of these camps.

Almost all of the approximately 100 Bełżyce Jews believed to have survived the German occupation were Budzyń deportees. Only Berek Rycer and a handful of others were sheltered by local Poles near Bełżyce.

SOURCES Secondary sources with coverage of the Bełżyce Jewish community during the war include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 98–101; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 58–61. Adam Kopciowski, "Dzieje Żydów bełżyckich," which first appeared in *Studia z dziejów Bełżyc* (Bełżyce, 2006), is widely available online.

The letters of deportees Cläre and Erich Silbermann are included in Else Behrend-Rosenfeld and Gertrud Luckner, eds., *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski: Briefe Deportierter aus dem Distrikt Lublin 1940–1943* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch

Verlag GmbH, 1970), pp. 116–130; detailed testimonies from survivors Manfred Heyman and Erich Mosbach are published, respectively, in Martin Gilbert, *The Boys: The Untold Story of 732 Young Concentration Camp Survivors* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), and Jacob Peiser, *Die Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde zu Stettin*, 2nd, expanded ed. (Würzburg: Holzner Verlag, 1965); and a transcription of an English-language interview, conducted in Israel with survivor Yaffa Reis, a daughter of Szmul Arbus, appears on the Bełżyce home page at the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich. Contemporary Jewish press coverage includes "Bełżyce," *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 29, 1942, no. 63, p. 6.

A discussion of the ghetto lists compiled in September 1941 by Kreishauptmänner in Distrikt Lublin appears in Dieter Pohl, *Von der "Judenpolitik" zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 92–94; Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 137, 222–223; and David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 176–180. A German-language transcription of Ziegenmeyer's May 19, 1942, recommendation to deport the Bełżyce community is available in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: GKBZHwP, 1946), pt. 1, pp. 52–53.

Archival documentation for the Bełżyce Jewish community includes AŻIH (e.g., 211 [134, pp. 10, 62; 138, pp. 42, 73–74; 139, p. 57; 199–200; 648, pp. 16, 18, 24; 649, pp. 10–11, 19–21; 650, pp. 14, 16, 29; 651, pp. 13–14, 16, 18, 20, 28; 652, pp. 6–12, 23–24; 653, pp. 10, 16, 47; 654, pp. 3, 9, 10, 23, 27]; 301 [50, 222, 228, 715, 716, 1169, 1443, 1449, 1812, 4398, 5003]); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 174/67/1-4); USHMM (e.g., Acc. 1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, 211]; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG] [reel 15, 49/57-58]); VHF (e.g., # 23633); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/199, p. 42.
2. AŻIH, 301/50, testimony of Hela Foerstman (Fersztman), pp. 1–2.
3. Ibid., 301/1812, testimony of Gołda Teich, p. 2.
4. Ibid., 301/50, pp. 3–4; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/199, p. 6, 211/652, pp. 6–12, 23–24.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/649, pp. 10–11, 19–21, 211/650, p. 14.
6. Ibid., 211/649, pp. 24–29; AŻIH, 301/1514, testimony of Róża Mitelman, p. 3.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/651, p. 16.
8. AŻIH, 301/1812, pp. 2–3.
9. APL, GDL 273, pp. 46–47.
10. AŻIH, 301/1812, pp. 2–4.
11. Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen*, pp. 123, 125, 128; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/199, p. 71.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/199, p. 6.
13. Ibid., 211/200, p. 18.
14. AŻIH, 301/1514, pp. 3–4, 301/1169, testimony of Mirka Wiener, p. 1.
15. Ibid., 301/1812, p. 3.
16. Compare ibid., 301/222, testimony of Noach Becher, p. 1, and 301/1812, pp. 3–4.
17. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/199, p. 29; Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen*, p. 129.
18. Compare AŻIH, 301/1812, pp. 4–5, and 301/222, p. 1.
19. Ibid., 301/1812, pp. 4–5.
20. Ibid., 301/4398, testimony of Berek Rycer, p. 1.
21. Ibid., 301/5003, testimony of Dawid Białogród, p. 1.
22. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/648, pp. 6–8, 10, 12, 32.
23. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/58.
24. AŻIH, 301/1514, p. 4.
25. Ibid., 301/228, testimony of Chaim Grabel, p. 1.
26. USHMM, RG-15.019M, 49/57.
27. AŻIH, 301/1514, pp. 5–6, 301/1169, p. 2, 301/1449, testimony of Sala Feigenman, pp. 2–3.
28. Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen*, p. 130.

BIAŁA PODLASKA

Pre-1939: Biała Podlaska (Yiddish: Biala Podlyashe), town, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Biala Podlaska, Kreis center, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Biała Podlaska, Lublin województwo, Poland

Biała Podlaska is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) north-northeast of Lublin. In 1939, approximately 7,500 Jews were registered in the town, most of them working as traders, craftsmen, or artisans.[1]

German troops first occupied Biała Podlaska on September 13, 1939. Since under the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact the town was originally assigned to the Soviet Union, units of the Red Army took over from the Germans on September 26. However, the Soviet troops retreated in early October and Biała Podlaska returned to German control. About



Jewish survivors stand in an open mass grave among the exhumed bodies of the victims of a shooting Aktion in Biała Podlaska, April 25–May 2, 1946. The Yiddish sign reads, "Exhumation of the Jewish martyrs who were murdered by the beastial Hitlerite murderers/Biała Podlaska, April 25, 1946."

USHMM WS #30857, COURTESY OF ARLENE CHASIN STROWMAN

600 Jews from the town fled with the Red Army into Soviet-occupied territory.[2]

Shortly after reoccupying the town, the German authorities, assisted by local Poles wearing armbands, started to seize Jews from the streets for forced labor. Hundreds of Jews were requisitioned every day to clear the rubble from buildings damaged at the time of the invasion and to clean public buildings and German barracks.[3]

On October 26, 1939, under the new civil administration, the town became part of Distrikt Lublin, serving as the center of Kreis Biala Podlaska. From November 29, 1939, until December 20, 1942, the Kreishauptmann was SA-Standartenführer Hubert Kühl, who previously had worked in the Reich Propaganda Ministry.[4] Other German offices in the town included posts of the Criminal Police, the Gestapo, and the SD, all subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Lublin. These offices were subsequently consolidated into the so-called Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office). Serving as head of the Gendarmerie were individuals named Ruddeck, Christoph, König, and Becker. Between October 1940 and the end of 1943, part of Police Bataillon 307 was also based in Biała Podlaska.[5]

In November 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) under the leadership of Izaak Pirzyc was established. The Judenrat attempted to maintain pre-war communal activities, organizing, for example, a public kitchen for the needy and a Jewish hospital. In addition, the community maintained two public libraries.[6]

From the fall of 1939, the German authorities imposed a series of discriminatory measures against the Jews. In November 1939, Jews were forbidden to leave the town without permission; on December 1, all Jews were obliged to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. German officials robbed the Jews, confiscated their businesses, imposed taxes, and demanded large "contributions."[7] The yizkor book notes that at this time the local Housing Office began requisitioning Jewish homes for non-Jews. Local collaborators, such as Mayor Antony Walewski and his deputies S. Szczypanski and Bajlicki, actively participated in the confiscation of Jewish apartments.[8]

At the end of 1939, about 2,000 Jews who had been deported by train from Suwałki and Serock arrived in Biała Podlaska. They were permitted to bring almost no luggage with them. Some were accommodated in Jewish apartments and others in the synagogues and prayer houses, which were very cold in winter. Their presence severely aggravated the poor living conditions in the town, and some departed shortly afterwards for Warsaw.[9]

In early 1940, about 500 Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) from the Polish army were marched on foot to Biała Podlaska from Lublin, where they were placed in a POW camp located in a barracks on the road towards Brześć Litewski. Subsequently, some of these Jewish POWs managed to sneak out of the camp and join the Jews in Biała Podlaska. On May 15, 1941, most of the Jewish POWs in the camp were transferred to the west to Końskowola.[10]

In March 1940, the Germans ordered the systematic registration of all Jews available for work.[11] The conscripted Jewish workers were sent mainly to factories and workshops in Biała Podlaska and its environs. In addition, some seven labor camps were established at construction sites. For example, some Jews worked expanding the airfield at the pre-war airplane manufacturing facility, where the Luftwaffe had established a military base. Jews were paid between 3 and 10 złoty per day for forced labor, depending on their skills.[12] In July 1940, all the Jewish men were assembled, and a number were selected and sent to forced labor camps near Bełżec. After a few months the Jewish Council was able to secure their return.[13]

In December 1940, about 1,000 Jewish deportees arrived in Biała Podlaska from Mława. The expectation of more deportees arriving in early 1941 caused the authorities to consider responses in terms of Jewish residential patterns. According to the records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS):

> On January 4, 1941, the representatives of the Jewish community in Biała Podlaska were informed by the authorities about a project to resolve the problem of the resettlement, of what in the near future will be 4,000 people. . . . [The proposed German solution was to transfer most of the Jews, including natives, to camps.] The remainder of the Jews will be relocated to a Jewish quarter, to be comprised of just 48 properties.[14]

However, this ghettoization order was "postponed" because the expected deportees did not begin arriving in large numbers until March.[15]

On the arrival of more than 1,000 Jewish refugees from Kraków in March, the decision was made instead to disperse the Jews "voluntarily" to other places in a so-called Lublin solution. For example, 550 of the Kraków expellees were sent on March 22, 1941, to Piszczac, and older Jews from Biała Podlaska were resettled to nearby villages, including on March 27, 1941, some 350 native Jews were sent to Podedwórze-Opole. In addition, by April 1941 another 607 Kraków deportees had been sent from Biała Podlaska to Podedwórze-Opole.[16] One survivor recalled: "At the beginning of 1941, the 'roundups' began. The unemployed and elderly were brought to Opole [i.e., Podedwórze-Opole]."[17]

In the late spring of 1941, as the Germans began to prepare for war against the Soviet Union, many Jews were requisitioned for the construction of fortifications. Other Jews had to work on road construction, building barracks, in sawmills, or installing water pipes. A large number of Jewish women worked on the Halasy estate, which had formerly belonged to Duke Potocki. Around this time the so-called Vineta barracks camp for Jewish workers was also established in Biała Podlaska.[18]

In June 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of measures to fight the spread of typhus, which severely affected the Jews. For example, all trade between "Aryans" and the Jewish population was banned, and non-Jews were

forbidden to enter Jewish houses. These regulations severely restricted the ability of Jews to obtain food, causing prices to increase further.[19] The typhus epidemic became particularly serious in the winter of 1941–1942, resulting in a number of deaths among the Jewish population.[20]

In the meantime, many of the "voluntary deportees" had been returning to Biała Podlaska, and more refugees were arriving. This situation and the typhus epidemic probably led Kreishauptmann Kühl to establish a more formal Jewish quarter or ghetto in Biała Podlaska. Some Jewish survivor accounts date the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1941.[21]

The account in the yizkor book uses the term *Jewish quarter* when describing events in 1941 but does not describe specifically what this meant. It notes, however, that in the fall of 1941, the office of the Judenrat was moved to Grabanowska Street with the aim of eliminating the last few Jews who were still living outside the designated Jewish area ("di angemerkte grenetsn fun yidishn revir").[22] Nonetheless, the JSS records indicate that it was not until April 1942 that Kreishauptmann Kühl ordered the JSS to move its community kitchen from Stadtplatz 19 into the ghetto area, which had been accomplished by June 1942.[23]

Jewish survivors also deal with the issue somewhat ambiguously: some use the term *ghetto*, but others use phrases such as "Jewish zone," "Jewish residential area," or "Jewish quarter." The ghetto was never fully enclosed. Survivors recall that initially the ghetto inmates were able to leave and return as they pleased to buy groceries from the local peasants in exchange for clothing or other goods.[24] However, by the end of 1941 any Jew caught outside the Jewish quarter could be shot on sight.

A unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was also established with authority inside the Jewish quarter in the fall of 1941; by the summer of 1942, its strength had increased to 50 men.

In the spring and summer of 1942, the SS and Gestapo conducted mass shootings of Jews in the forests surrounding Biała Podlaska.[25] On June 6, 1942, rumors spread that the Jews of Biała Podlaska were soon to be driven from the town. The office of the Kreishauptmann ordered that all Jews without work identity cards from the labor office had to report for "resettlement" on June 10. After receiving the order, many Jews disobeyed the instruction and fled into the forests. On June 10, about 700 Jews assembled at the synagogue courtyard at 5:00 A.M. More were gathered during the course of the day with the aid of the Jewish Police and were handed over to the Sonderdienst (ethnic German police) at the railway station. The next day, the victims were forced into freight cars and deported to the extermination camp at Sobibór. In total, about 3,000 Jews from Kreis Biala Podlaska were deported.[26]

On the night of August 4, 1942, a group of 19 Jews was shot. The area of the Jewish quarter was reduced following this Aktion. On August 7, the Judenrat reported that the Jews had until 6:00 A.M. the following morning to move into the reduced ghetto area. According to the yizkor book, the Jewish quarter—which previously had been located between Grabanowska Street (with the synagogue courtyard alleys, apart from the houses with access to the [New] Market Square [Plac Wolności]), Janowska Street (just the right side), Prosta (from the court building onward), and Cmentarna Street—was now to be enclosed within these streets: Grabanowska (without the synagogue alleys), Prosta (only from Grabanowska to Przechodnia), Janowska (the side to Przechodnia), and Przechodnia (just the right side).[27]

On August 12, a wave of kidnapping of Jewish men by German Gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries began in Biała Podlaska. The Jewish Council complained to the German authorities, and as a result about 400 Jews, including most of the members of the Jewish Council, were deported to the Majdanek concentration camp. From there most of them were sent on to a labor camp at Gołąb for work on the railroad.[28]

On September 22, the day after Yom Kippur, a German official from Biała Podlaska gave the Jews in the Konstantynów ghetto until September 25 to report to the ghetto in Biała Podlaska. On September 25, the Jews still in Konstantynów were marched, probably together with the remaining Jews in Janów Podlaski, to the Biała Podlaska ghetto.[29]

On September 26, the Gestapo liquidated the Biała Podlaska ghetto. On the eve of the Aktion, the ghetto was surrounded and the victims were herded to the New Market Square. Except for some Jews sent as a forced labor detail to the Małaszewicze Duże airfield, all the Jews who were rounded up were deported to Międzyrzec Podlaski and settled in the ghetto there.[30] The registration cards for 1,200 Jews transferred from Biała Podlaska to the Międzyrzec ghetto on September 26, 1942, can be found in the records of the International Tracing Service.[31] Jews who did not obey orders and were caught in hiding were shot immediately. The Gestapo also shot all the patients and the two nurses in the Jewish hospital. In total, the Gestapo assisted by the Gendarmerie and local collaborators shot about 100 Jews in the town, burying them in the Jewish cemetery. The searches for those in hiding went on for several days. On September 28, the mayor of Biała Podlaska prohibited the local population from entering the "former Jewish quarter" and threatened that looting would be punished with the death penalty. On the following day, another announcement by the mayor instructed local inhabitants to intercept Jews and hand them over to the Gendarmerie.[32]

The Jews deported from Biała Podlaska were held in the Międzyrzec ghetto for several days. On October 6, additional Jews from labor camps in the vicinity were assembled at the Biała Podlaska railway station and sent from there to the Treblinka extermination center. The train made a stop in Międzyrzec on the way to pick up those Jews from Kreis Biala Podlaska, who had been concentrated earlier in the Międzyrzec ghetto.

Some of the Jewish labor camps in and around Biała Podlaska continued to function for several more months. One group of Jewish workers that had remained in Biała Podlaska was employed by the Gestapo to clear out property from the former ghetto area. They also had to demolish the synagogue and other Jewish religious buildings. The Wehrmacht camp

was liquidated in mid-December 1942; the remaining Jews were either sent away or shot.[33]

On July 26, 1944, Soviet troops entered the town of Biała Podlaska. Of the roughly 7,000 Jews living in the town in the fall of 1939, only about 300 people survived the German occupation.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Moses Joseph Feygenboym, ed., *Podliashe in Natsi-ḳlem: Noṭitsn fun hurbn* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn durkh a haverim-ḳomiṭet, 1953); Moses Joseph Feygenboym, ed., *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah* (Tel Aviv: Kupat gemilut hesed al sh. Kehilat Bialah Podlaskah, 1961); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 84–89; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 65–68; and "Biala Podlaska Ghetto," on the Aktion Reinhard Camps (ARC) Web site (www.deathcamps.org).

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Biała Podlaska during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 301/466, 4516; 211/201-209); BA-L (B 162/14275-76 [verdict of LG-Duis, 14 Ks 1/72, November 30, 1973]); USHMM (RG-15.019M; RG-15.102M; Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, JSS], reels 13-14; RG-50.120*0218 and 0244); VHF (e.g., # 6071, 13655, 18103, 18564, 26004, 40845); and YVA (e.g., collections M-1/E and O-3).

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NOTES

1. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 84–89; VHF, # 18103, testimony of Golda Stiel, 1996; # 40845, testimony of Sala Bonder, 1998; and # 18564, testimony of Nina Kliger, 1996; verdict of LG-Duis, 14 Ks 1/72, against Leo Bernhard Busch (BA-L, B 162/14275-76 [II 208 AR-Z 26/62]), p. 1.

2. Joseph Pell and Fred Rosenbaum, *Taking Risks: A Jewish Youth in the Soviet Partisans and His Unlikely Life in California* (Berkeley, CA: RDR Books: Western Jewish History Center of the Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2004), pp. 34–48.

3. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 400; APL, Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (GDL) 691, pp. 1–4; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 84–89.

4. Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement. Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 388, 391–392. Following Kühl's assassination by partisans on December 20, 1942, Friedrich Sauermann succeeded him from April 18, 1943, until the end of the occupation.

5. BA-L, B 162/14275-76, verdict of LG-Duis, 14 Ks 1/72, November 30, 1973, p. 13.

6. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 84–89; Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, pp. 402–403.

7. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 401.

8. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 84–89; Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 402; Feygenboym, *Podliashe in Natsi-ḳlem*, pp. 198–199. According to the German court in Duisberg, by the end of 1939, the German authorities ordered the Jews of Biała Podlaska to move into a "Jewish residential area" or "Jewish quarter" in the northeastern section of town; see BA-L, B 162/14275-76, verdict of LG-Duis, 14 Ks 1/72, p. 14. However, on the basis of other sources, it seems unlikely that a ghetto was established this early.

9. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 402.

10. David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), p. 47; Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 402.

11. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, pp. 404–406.

12. Ibid., p. 406; "Biala Podlaska Ghetto," pp. 1–2.

13. Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," p. 108; Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 405.

14. AŻIH, 211/202, p. 6.

15. Ibid., p. 61.

16. Ibid., pp. 74–75; 211/203, p. 7.

17. Ibid., 301/72, testimony of Fajgenbaum, p. 1.

18. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 407; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 97.

19. Bekanntmachung signed by the mayor of Biała Podlaska, June 6, 1941, reproduced in Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 408.

20. Feygenboym, *Podliashe in Natsi-ḳlem*, p. 199.

21. See, for example, AŻIH, 301/4516, p. 1. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 97, also date the establishment of the ghetto in 1941.

22. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 409.

23. AŻIH, 211/205, p. 18; 211/208, p. 57; and 211/209, p. 10.

24. VHF, # 18564; # 6071, testimony of Harry Wolfe; and # 13655, testimony of Louis Hofman, 1996.

25. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 412.

26. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 84–89; BA-L, B 162/14275-76, verdict of LG-Duis, 14 Ks 1/72, pp. 15–16; Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," p. 272; Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, pp. 415–417.

27. BA-L, B 162/14275-76, verdict of LG-Duis, 14 Ks 1/72, p. 14. A plan of the Jewish quarter of Biała Podlaska under the Nazi regime can be found in Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, p. 418. A photograph of Grabanowska Street with a banner reading *Judenviertel* spread across the street can be found at www.holocaust.myoptimus.com (3.1 Getta Biała Podlaska).

28. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, pp. 418–419; Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, *District Lublin*, pp. 66–67.

29. Oscar Pinkus, *The House of Ashes* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1964), p. 100.

30. "Biala Podlaska Ghetto," p. 3; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 84–89.

31. USHMM, ITS collection, 3050, Gruppe P.P. Ordner 830.

32. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo bialskopodlaskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1984),

p. 18. This source dates the shootings on September 26–30, 1942, stating that they were in conjunction with the resettlement of the Jews to Międzyrzec. Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, pp. 423–424.

33. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego*, p. 18: Feygenboym, *Sefer Bialah Podlaskah*, pp. 435–436. The Wehrmacht camp mentioned here is probably identical to the "Vineta" camp, which, according to Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 97, was liquidated on December 17, 1942.

BIŁGORAJ

Pre-1939: Biłgoraj (Yiddish: Bilgoray), town, Biłgoraj powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Bilgoraj, Kreis center, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Biłgoraj, Biłgoraj powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

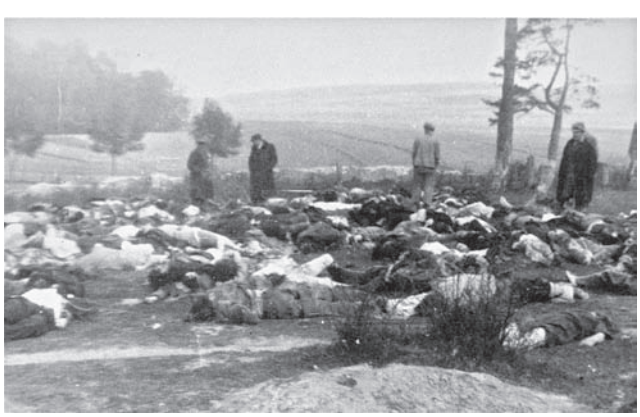
Biłgoraj lies 88 kilometers (55 miles) south of Lublin. In 1931, its 8,173 residents included 4,596 Jews.

Biłgoraj suffered serious damage in early fighting; then the Wehrmacht arrived on September 17. Murder, abuse, and plunder soon followed. On September 27, German forces ceded Biłograj to advancing Red Army forces. When the Soviets pulled out again, some 1,500 Biłgoraj Jews joined the October 5–6 evacuation behind the Bug River. Hundreds more homeless Jews moved to less devastated German-occupied localities, such as Szczebrzeszyn, Tarnogród, and Zamość. The Germans reoccupied Biłgoraj on October 7.

That month, Werner Ansel was appointed the head of the German civil administration, or Kreishauptmann of Kreis Bilgoraj. In April 1942, Hans Augustin succeeded Ansel. Karl Adam replaced Augustin in November 1942.

In late 1939, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Chaim Mordecai Hirszenhorn became its chairman. By April 1940, Jews over age 14 had to wear white armbands with blue Jewish stars.

Forced labor, mandatory for all adult Jews, initially centered on clearing war devastation. From late spring until November 1940, many men were imprisoned at labor camps, including in Turkowice and Bełżec and at a quarry near Kraków. At home, conscripts built barracks at the hospital and on war-devastated Jewish communal and private property. The latter formally was confiscated in the Kreis only in March 1941.[1] From the fall of 1940, many Jews worked on constructing one of the seven Luftwaffe air bases built in Kreise Zamosc, Hrubieszow, and Bilgoraj and the Luftwaffe pilot training school, built right outside of Biłgoraj.



Four men view the bodies of Jews shot in a Jewish cemetery in the vicinity of Biłgoraj, 1942.
USHMM WS #50382, COURTESY OF IPN

Most survivors remember that a ghetto existed in Biłgoraj by the late summer of 1940. However, the evidence suggests Ansel did not formally establish ghettos in towns in his Kreis; rather, he ordered Jews gradually evicted from certain streets. The documentation of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization indicates the evictions were ongoing in late October 1940. By then, the 2,600 to 2,700 Jews remaining in Biłgoraj were concentrated on four streets: Kościuszko, Piłsudski, Lublin, and May Third.[2]

In anticipation of the arrival of Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe forces in advance of the invasion of the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), Ansel ordered the Biłgoraj Jewish population reduced in size. On April 6,800 Biłgoraj Jews were forcibly expelled to Goraj. By July, some 1,900 Jews were residing in Biłgoraj.[3]

In January 1941, a *Treuhänder* (trustee), responsible for 125 confiscated Jewish sieve-making workshops, ordered Hersz Zylberberg to recruit artisans and to restart production. By November 1941, 120 Jewish craftsmen (half the pre-war total) worked at 60 workshops. About 75 percent weekly earned at least 50 złoty, the amount required to keep Jews in Biłgoraj from falling into abject poverty.[4] Several dozen more craftsmen, mainly tailors and shoemakers, maintained small workshops to provide services to German personnel. In August 1941, the German-administered Społem food wholesaler mobilized women, the elderly, and children to pick berries and other edible plants in a nearby forest. The laborers earned 6–7 złoty daily. Another 30 Jews were interned at a water drainage camp located in the Biszcza gmina.[5]

Prior to the German invasion of the Soviet Union, German authorities forbade the Jews from leaving Biłgoraj. Yisrael Plotz, caught returning from a nearby village with potatoes, was shot dead. The orders, lifted in Distrikt Lublin by mid-July 1941, were reimposed permanently in November, when Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement were confined on pain of death to the borders of the places in which they resided. Because most Biłgoraj Jews initially ignored the restrictions, the Germans retaliated by executing Hirszenhorn and a second Jewish Council member. Szymon Bin succeeded Hirszenhorn as council chair.[6]

As three or four Jewish families lived in a single room, overcrowding bred unsanitary conditions and gave way to typhus epidemics in June 1941 and again from October 1941 until March 1942. During the first epidemic, German medical authorities ordered the JSS to establish an isolation facility. Dr. Jakob Meisels, a March 1941 Viennese deportee to Modliborzyce, became its head.[7] The JSS organized a

community kitchen to feed the sick. When the kitchen reopened in November, it provided a daily meal to 200 (of 400) impoverished.

In September 1941, Ansel had to submit a list of ghettos to authorities in Lublin. He noted that the Jews in Biłgoraj were restricted to certain streets but reported that no ghettos or other type of *Judensammelorte* (gathering or concentration places for Jews) existed in Kreis Bilgoraj. In April 1942, Zylberberg, from February 15 the head of the Biłgoraj JSS, also noted on the charity organization's ghetto questionnaire that no ghetto, either open or closed, yet existed in Biłgoraj.[8]

The JSS documentation suggests Ansel stopped short of officially establishing ghettos so that he could deny resources to Jews.[9] (In this regard, Ansel distinguished himself from other Kreishauptmänner in Distrikt Lublin.) An official ghetto required a certain level of non-Jewish and Jewish capital investment that Ansel refused to make. He may also have wanted to resist pressure from the Reich Interior Department to take more Jews. And he also probably wanted to retain the flexibility to control the Jewish population in the Kreis. After all, he, like many Kreishauptmänner in Distrikt Lublin, had created what effectively were *Sammelorte* by dumping unwanted Jews in less strategically important places, such as Goraj, more removed from railway lines and Luftwaffe air bases.

On May 3, 1942, the Gestapo demanded that Bin and Jewish Council member Hillel Janower compile a list of candidates for deportation. When the men refused, they were shot.[10] Zylberberg probably at this time became the Jewish Council chair.

In early August 1942, German authorities instructed the Jewish Council to prepare a list of 1,000 Jews, ostensibly for deportation to a labor camp in Ukraine. Jewish Council members, craftsmen, and those employed by the Germans were exempted from deportation. On August 9, the 1,000 Jews on the list assembled at the square, some with additional family members. Some 1,500 Jewish expellees soon arrived from Tarnogród. The SS and German Schutzpolizei oversaw the expulsion, mainly on foot, of the Jews to the railway station in Zwierzyniec, some 21 kilometers (13 miles) away. Polish wagon drivers transported some deportees there. At the railway station, the Biłgoraj and Tarnogród deportees were forced onto rail cars and sent to be gassed at the extermination facility in Bełżec.[11]

After the first deportation, a more formal remnant ghetto was established on Lublin and May Third Streets for the approximately 600 to 800 Jews held back for labor. It was an unfenced open ghetto. The Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto during allotted hours to purchase food.

On November 1, 1942, Zylberberg announced that the Gestapo had ordered 70 ghetto residents relocated to a smaller, closed ghetto. Most inmates of the new, or "small," ghetto were craftsmen, including about 30 tailors and their families.

On November 2, 1942, SS stationed in Biłgoraj, members of Reserve Police Battalion 67, and Lithuanian and Ukrainian SS auxiliaries ordered the Jews not residing in the closed ghetto to assemble on the square. Many Jews were beaten and shot.[12] The Jews were imprisoned overnight, under armed guard, in wooden barracks. Late that night, other Reserve Police Battalion 67 members and SS auxiliaries brought about 500 to 1,000 Jews from Tarnogród. The Tarnogród expellees also were imprisoned in barracks. Released from their prisons the next morning (on November 3) and ordered to march to Zwierzyniec, the Jewish captives were joined along the road to another 500 to 1,000 Jewish expellees from Goraj, Krzeszów, and Frampol. (The numbers are ranges, because some Jews, particularly in Frampol, had evaded deportation and the police had shot dead hundreds of others during the expulsions.) The remaining Jews in Józefów were not among the deportees because they had been executed on September 21, 1942. At the Zwierzyniec railway station, the Jews were forced onto cattle wagons and sent to their deaths at Bełżec. After the expulsion, the ghetto inmates collected the bodies of the approximately 200 Jews killed during the deportation Aktion.

On January 7, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Women, children, and the elderly were shot. A group of 15 youths was sent to a labor camp, possibly located in Janowice.[13]

Only a handful of Jews survived the Biłgoraj ghetto. Ten-year-old Rywka Wajnberg sneaked away from the march on the evening of November 3, 1942. She was among six Biłgoraj Jews sheltered by Jan Mikulski.[14] A few Biłgoraj Jews participated in partisan activity in the area; such cases were comparatively rare.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the World War II history of the Biłgoraj Jewish community include the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 93–97, with an English translation available at jewishgen.org.

Survivor accounts in English include Sara Avinun, *Rising from the Abyss* (Hod Hasharon, Israel: Astrolog Publishing House, 2005), originally published in Hebrew as *El rafsodot ba-tehom* ([Israel]: ha-Ḳibuts ha-me'uḥad, 1998); and Joseph Ben-Or Lumer, ed., *Yochvet: The Story of a Family's Survival* (Los Angeles: Living Legacies, 2000). The two Biłgoraj yizkor books, Mosheh Teytlboym, ed., *Bilgoray yizker bukh* (Jerusalem, 1955), and Avraham Kronenberg, ed., *Hurbn Bilguray* (Tel Aviv, 1956), also contain survivor testimonies. The second book is available in a Polish translation, Avraham Kronenberg and Andrzej Trzciński, eds., *Zagłada Biłgoraja: Księga pamięci*, trans. Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska and Marzena Zawanowska (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2009).

Contemporary press coverage includes the relevant articles in *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 22, 1941, no. 7, and January 8, 1942, no. 4. The verdicts of two relevant West German trials concerning the office of the Security Police in Biłgoraj can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 42 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), respectively, Lfd. Nr. 846 and Lfd. Nr. 847.

Additional documentation may be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/26, 211/219-224; 301/1437, 5501); BA-L (208 AR 38/62, 208 AR 1269/64); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 254/67/1-2, 284/8); USHMM (e.g.,

Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]); VHF (e.g., # 13212, 31306, 32727, 35717, 43935); and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q-1423/222, O-3/3078, O-16/4617).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5501, testimony of Jerzy Markiewicz, p. 3; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/221, pp. 25–28.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/219, pp. 2, 6–9, 11.
3. Ibid., 211/221, p. 47; 211/220, pp. 52–54, 58.
4. Ibid., 211/220, p. 8; 211/221, p. 55.
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, August 22, 1941, no. 75, p. 6.
6. Ibid., January 8, 1942, no. 4, p. 6; AŻIH, 301/5501, p. 2.
7. *Gazeta Żydowska*, January 8, 1942, p. 6.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/224, p. 21.
9. Ibid., 211/220, p. 65; 211/221, pp. 14, 37, 38.
10. Kronenberg, *Hurbn*, p. 253 (Yisrael Geist testimony).
11. Ibid., p. 257 (Geist).
12. AŻIH, 301/1437, testimony of Rywka Wajnberg.
13. Kronenberg, *Hurbn*, pp. 274–275 (Geist).
14. AŻIH, 301/1437; Kronenberg, *Hurbn*, pp. 309–314 (Ben-Zion Rosenboim testimony).

BYCHAWA

Pre-1939: Bychawa, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lublin województwo, Poland

Bychawa is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south of Lublin. In 1921, the Jewish population was 2,848 (65.9 percent of the total). Before the war, most Jews in Bychawa lived together in one neighborhood around the market square and in the northwestern part of town. In September 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were about 1,900 Jews residing in Bychawa.

About three weeks after the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, news spread that the Germans were approaching, and some local Poles robbed Jewish property. The Germans occupied the town for a few days, but then they withdrew and soldiers of the Red Army entered Bychawa from the east. A few days later the Soviets withdrew behind the Bug River, together with some Jewish youths who chose to follow them. German forces then reentered the town.[1]

In the first days following the German seizure of Bychawa, the Germans forcibly shaved off the beards of some Jews, beating and humiliating them in the streets. An ethnic German, named in the yizkor book as Kelbinski, arrived and organized a local police force. Soon some of the Jews living in Bychawa were ordered to leave town.[2] Those remaining were required to perform forced labor and wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

From the start of the occupation, the German authorities imposed a series of "contributions" and onerous taxes on the Jews. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which had to provide large amounts of food and coffee for the local German Gendarmerie. When the Jewish Council failed to meet the required quota, the German authorities shot seven Jews as a punishment. The Jewish Council also distributed available food to Jews using ration coupons. In the summer of 1940, a number of Jewish men were selected and sent to forced labor camps near Bełżec to dig antitank ditches on the German-Soviet border. Concerned about their welfare, the Jewish Council was able to send some food assistance, and a number were able to return after several months.[3]

Several waves of Jewish expellees and refugees arrived in Bychawa from the end of 1939. By March 1940, around 145 deportees from Łódź had arrived. Then between February 26 and March 5, 1941, another 246 Jews were deported from Kraków to Bychawa. It is likely also that a number of those Jews who voluntarily departed from Lublin after March 1941 made their way to Bychawa. By July 1941, this influx of poor Jewish refugees had increased the town's Jewish population to 2,750.[4] This large influx of refugees placed considerable strain on the community. Most were housed with Jewish families, and a public kitchen was organized to provide hot meals for the needy.

In March 1941, another large contribution was imposed on the Jews by the Gestapo. Several hostages were taken and held for two weeks until the amount was paid. Around this time, the Gendarmerie post in Bychawa was moved to Niedrzwica Duża. However, an auxiliary police unit, composed of ethnic Germans and Ukrainians (apparently a Sonderdienst unit), remained in Bychawa. Józefa Seliga, a young Polish woman who lived in Bychawa during the German occupation, recalled many years later that the Ukrainian guards would sometimes raid the "ghetto" and demand ransom. During these wild Aktions, many Jews were killed.[5]

In the late spring of 1941, as the Germans began to prepare for war against the Soviet Union, many Jews were again conscripted for the construction of antitank ditches along the Bug River. Most returned safely after a few weeks. The Germans strictly forbade Jewish doctors to treat non-Jews, and vice versa. On one occasion the Jewish *felczer* (physician's assistant) was arrested and sent to Lublin for treating a non-Jewish patient. He was never heard from again. In Bychawa a Jewish medical clinic was established with 16 beds that were always fully occupied. After a severe typhus epidemic broke out in July 1941, the Kreis office of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) wrote to the central office in Kraków urgently requesting money and medicine, criticizing the failure of the head of the Judenrat to respond effectively. Despite receipt of some of the requested medicine, the typhus epidemic resulted in a number of Jewish deaths before it was brought under control.[6]

During the first two years of the occupation the ethnic German mayor in Bychawa, August Schwergott (Swierkott), organized orgies, for which the Jewish Council chairman (at that time Boruch Herszman) was forced to supply Jewish girls. One Jew, who came from Lublin, named Kleinfeld, denounced him to the German authorities, and for this he was severely beaten and humiliated. Nevertheless, Schwergott subsequently was replaced as mayor in 1941.[7]

Most Jewish survivor testimonies do not refer specifically to a ghetto in Bychawa, although according to one source, from early in the occupation new arrivals were probably required to reside together with the local Jews around the synagogue.[8] Bychawa nonetheless appeared on a list of ghettos Emil Ziegenmeyer, Kreishauptmann of Lublin-Land, submitted to German authorities on September 19, 1941. However, Ziegenmeyer described Bychawa as a "Jewish assembly site" (*Judensammelort*), rather than a ghetto. Ziegenmeyer likely named Bychawa, Bełżyce, and Chodel as *Sammelorte* when he permitted Jews expelled from Lublin to settle there during a second expulsion wave in April 1941. As the list was compiled in response to a Reich Interior Ministry inquiry about available space in Distrikt Lublin for incoming Jews, the three localities and Piaski Luterskie, which Ziegenmeyer claimed as the only ghetto in his Kreis, probably also were the places the Kreishauptmann envisioned resettling additional Jews. He cautioned that Poles would have to be expelled from the localities to accommodate any Jewish newcomers.

Jewish craftsmen continued to work secretly for Polish peasants living in the surrounding villages, exchanging goods with the aid of smugglers. As the Bet Midrash was being used as an overflow care center, people continued to pray privately in their houses. Jews also prepared hiding places in case of a German Aktion.

In December 1941, the Jews were required to turn over to the Germans all their fur items and other warm clothing. The Germans made Shmuel Nissenboim, a member of the Judenrat, responsible for ensuring that this directive was fully implemented. When the Germans discovered some Jews who had not turned over their furs, they shot them dead together with Nissenboim.[9] By this time, as throughout Distrikt Lublin, Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits on pain of death. After Chaim Rozenberg was shot dead when he went out in search of food, others thought twice about disobeying this order. Nonetheless, some Jews persisted in foraging for food, and those caught were not always shot. In the winter the Jews had to perform forced labor clearing snow from the roads. A group of skilled laborers was sent to the Majdanek concentration camp, reportedly in 1942. Most did not return.[10]

In May 1942, in response to an inquiry from the Subdivision for Population Affairs and Welfare in the office of the Governor of Distrikt Lublin, concerning the number of Jews "whose resettlement appears necessary," Kreishauptmann Emil Ziegenmeyer proposed that the 2,733 Jews from Bychawa were among those that should be given priority.[11] Available sources, however, indicate that the deportation of the Jews from Bychawa did not occur until the fall of 1942.

At dawn on October 10, 1942, SS men and Ukrainian auxiliaries broke into Jewish homes and ordered the Jews to assemble in the town square. After all of the Jews had been counted, the SS men opened fire into the crowd, killing many of them. Afterwards the Jews returned to their homes. The Bychawa ghetto was liquidated on October 11, 1942, and its occupants were transferred to the ghetto in Bełżyce. Józefa Seliga reported having witnessed the murder of several Jews during the deportation Aktion, including one Jew who was limping and was then shot and killed by the Germans.[12] Most of the Jews from Bychawa were then deported from Bełżyce to the Bełżec extermination camp shortly thereafter.[13]

Several hundred Jews were sent from Bełżyce to Bychawa a few days after the final Aktion in Bychawa. These Jews were imprisoned in a closed and secure labor camp in the Bet Midrash. Some Jews in hiding made contact with the Jews in the camp, but most were advised to stay in hiding if they could. The Jews in the labor camp were made to dismantle all the Jewish houses in the town.[14] The labor camp in Bychawa was dissolved on May 8, 1943. At this time there were about 500 Jews there who were transferred to the labor camp in Budzyń. The surviving Jews from Budzyń were moved to Majdanek, and a few of them survived until the camp was liberated by the Red Army. Only about 50 of the Jews living in Bychawa at the start of World War II survived the German occupation.

SOURCES Published sources on the history of the Jews of Bychawa include the following: Ya'akov Adini, ed., *Bychawa: Sefer Zikkaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotze'e Bychawa be-Yisrael, 1969); "Bychawa," in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 91–93; Robert Kuwałek, "Żydzi Bychawscy w czasie II wojny światowej," *Głos Ziemi Bychawskiej*, no. 10 (29) (1997); and Ryszard Szczygieł, ed., *Dzieje Bychawy* (Bychawa-Lublin: Bychawskie Towarzystwo Regionalne, 1994).

Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 122, refers to a ghetto in Bychawa but does not cite strong evidence in support of this. Bychawa is included here primarily on account of its status as a Judensammelort. Some available testimonies refer to the concentration of the Jews in Bychawa or even use the term *ghetto*, but this evidence remains debatable.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Bychawa during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/287; 211/273, 652; 301/1449, 3278, 4398); USHMM (RG-15.019M; Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]; RG-50.488*0055); VHF (e.g., # 26182); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Moshe Brun, "Yorn fun peyn un umkum," in Adini, *Bychawa: Sefer Zikkaron*, pp. 542–543.
2. Ibid., p. 543.
3. Moshe Orlid, "In di shrekleche teg," p. 569; and Shmuel Rubin, "In di teg fun leydn un peyn," p. 577—both in Adini, *Bychawa: Sefer Zikkaron*.
4. AŻIH, 210/287, pp. 3, 52; 211/273, p. 4; 211/649, pp. 2–18; and Brun, "Yorn fun peyn un umkum," p. 542.
5. USHMM, RG-50.488*0055, oral testimony with Józefa Seliga from Bychawa.
6. Brun, "Yorn fun peyn un umkum," pp. 544–546; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, reel 33 (AŻIH, 211/652, p. 17), JSS Lublin-Land to JSS Praesidium in Kraków, Betr.: Die Lage in Bychawa, July 31, 1941.

7. AŻIH, 301/3278, testimony of Ryfka Akierman; see also Adini, *Bychawa: Sefer Zikkaron*, pp. 536–537, 543–544.

8. Waleria Jakubiak, oral history testimony on the Web site of the Lublin theater group Ośrodek Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN in Lublin, available at www.tnn.pl/himow_fragment.php?idhr=2005.

9. Rebekah Akerman, "Bekheve meyn heym," in Adini, *Bychawa: Sefer Zikkaron*, p. 537; Orlid, "In di shrekleche teg," p. 569; and Brun, "Yorn fun peyn un umkum," p. 548.

10. Brun, "Yorn fun peyn un umkum," pp. 549–550; Orlid, "In di shrekleche teg," p. 569–570; Rubin, "In di teg fun leydn un peyn," p. 579.

11. Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), p. 399.

12. USHMM, RG-50.488*0055, oral testimony with Józefa Seliga from Bychawa.

13. AŻIH, 301/4398, testimony of Berek Rycer, p. 1; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 122.

14. Adini, *Bychawa: Sefer Zikkaron*, pp. 561, 588; AŻIH, 301/1449, testimony of Sala Feigenman, p. 2.

CHEŁM (LUBELSKI)

Pre-1939: Chełm (Yiddish: Chelem), town, Chełm powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Cholm, Kreis Cholm, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Chełm, Lublin województwo, Poland

Chełm lies 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-southeast of Lublin and 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) west of the Bug River. Its August 1939 population of 33,622 included 15,000 Jews.

Luftwaffe bombardment from September 8, 1939, claimed about 200 lives, including at least 30 Jews. However, on September 25, in accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Red Army occupied Chełm. After a subsequent border demarcation, on September 28, designated the Bug River the German-Soviet frontier, hundreds of Jews joined the Red Army's October 7 evacuation. On October 9, 1939, the Germans occupied Chełm.

On October 25, 1939, the SS newly stationed in Chełm took some 20 wealthy Jews hostage, demanding 100,000 złoty for their release. Once freed, the "hostages" served as the intermediaries between the authorities and the Jewish community. The SS chose from among the hostages almost all 18 members of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), including its chair, industrialist Majer Frenkiel. Survivors disagree over whether the council was constituted in November or December.[1] The council organized a 150-person unit of Jewish Police.

On November 30, 1939, SS-Obersturmbannführer Hager, the newly appointed Stadtkommissar of Chełm, demanded the Jewish Council the next day assemble 1,000 to 2,000 adult male Jews on Plac Łuczkowski for an inspection by a visiting delegation, including Hans Frank, head of the Generalgouvernement, and SS-Gruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the east.[2] At the square, members of the 5th Squadron of the 1st SS-Reiterstandarte surrounded the assembled Jews and ordered them to march to Hrubieszów. The SS shot half the men dead during the march there. (German reports note 440 of 1,018 Jews were shot for escape attempts.) In Hrubieszów, the police the next day added more than 1,000 men to the survivors' ranks, divided the column in half, and then compelled the men to cross the Soviet frontier near Bełżec and Sokal. Hundreds perished near Sokal when Soviet border guards initially refused the men passage.[3] Wartime Jewish sources noted 400 Chełm expellees returned home. Another 1,600 died on the Chełm death march.[4]

On October 30, 1940, Miller, the newly appointed Stadtkommissar, effectively established a ghetto in south-central Chełm by banning Jewish residence in northern and central neighborhoods. Miller's order prohibited Jews from residing on 17 streets, including Narutowicz, Browarna, Nadrzeczna, Jordańska, Piromowicz, Ogrodowa, Strażacka, Reformacka, and Kopernik. Jews living on the named streets had until November 10 to report to what Miller called the ghetto. On November 27, Miller ordered Jews to evacuate Lublin Street.[5] A March 1941 article in *Gazeta Żydowska* noted the Jewish Council had averted the authorities' plan to fence the ghetto.

Miller's orders left for the ghetto a small sliver of the old Jewish neighborhood, from which Christians were never evicted.[6] In April 1941, 11,000 Jews, including 400 refugees, resided there. That month, Frenkiel reported: "The Jewish population in Chełm is confined residentially to an extremely narrow area in which space is limited. Several dozen reside in a single room."[7] By December, its Jewish population was 12,500.

The Germans permitted Jewish craftsmen, businessmen, and health professionals to establish small private enterprises in the ghetto. In June 1941, 1,400 craftsmen (100 fewer than before the war) held artisanal licenses. They established 300 workshops, mainly tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry enterprises. Another 540 Jewish-owned enterprises, mostly stores, employed 1,736 Jewish workers.[8] Non-Jews entered the ghetto to order services from the craftsmen. They used specially marked front doors on the business establishments. Jews entered through back doors.

Meager rations required most to depart the ghetto to find food and heating fuel. Death was the penalty for leaving the ghetto's boundaries without permission and for transactions in food officially denied Jews. Though severe beatings were more common, several Jews found outside the ghetto were executed. The victims included three women discovered purchasing milk on a market day.[9]

Questions nonetheless remain about whether a ghetto existed in Chełm, mainly because, in September 1941, Hans Augustin, the newly appointed Kreishauptmann of Cholm, maintained that no ghettos existed anywhere in his Kreis. The fact that Augustin was responding to a Reich Interior Ministry inquiry about available space for incoming Jewish deportees undoubtedly shaped his response. Augustin explained he was contemplating a ghetto for Chełm but had

postponed its establishment, as no room existed there (or elsewhere in the Kreis) for additional Jews.

On May 31, 1941, 1,800 Chełm Jews worked for several large German concerns on road and railway construction projects, in forestry labor, at a quarry, at a sawmill in Zawadówka village, and for the military. Another 250 were interned at labor camps, most at a camp established by the Inspectorate of Water Regulation (Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion) in Kamień. In June, 100 additional ghetto residents became the first inmates of another Water Inspectorate camp, established in Chełm to reclaim swampland.[10]

Another 1,200 Chełm Jews performed forced labor each day. Women worked as domestic servants for German civilian and military authorities. Men labored on public works projects, unloading coal at the railway station, removing *matzevot* (gravestones) from the cemetery to use as sidewalk paving stones, and extending the municipal water system. In the spring of 1942, when the authorities moved Stalag 319 from Okszowska Street, conscripts dismantled the old prisoner-of-war camp and buried hundreds, if not thousands, of dead Soviet soldiers in the nearby forest.[11] The Jewish Council permitted wealthier Jews to purchase exemptions from forced labor obligations. The council, in turn, offered volunteers (poorer Jews) 3 złoty for a day of substitute labor.

To establish a welfare system for the impoverished, the Jewish Council and the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch, also led by Frenkiel, used profits from a jam factory, and when the authorities closed it in mid-1940, they imposed an income tax on ghetto residents. By late 1941, three community kitchens, a medical clinic, and a 25-bed hospital for infectious diseases, established in November during a typhus epidemic, cared for 6,828 (of 8,500) impoverished prisoners. The child welfare programs established by JSS activist Chaja-Róża Oks, the wife of a physician murdered in the December 1939 expulsion, to care for the neediest of the ghetto's 5,000 children were considered the most developed of their kind in Distrikt Lublin.[12] By May 1941, they included a public school for 700 impoverished pupils (aged 7 to 12), free medical care, free meals daily for another 600 children, and a summer camp to provide special nutritional care to 110 of the most impoverished. Served two meals daily, the campers gained 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) on average. A Drop-of-Milk (Kropla mleka) initiative provided pre- and postnatal care (usually a cod-liver oil milk substitute) to 450 infants and their mothers. Volunteers organized games at a playground to provide 500 impoverished children a daily opportunity for play.

German rationing policies undermined the welfare programs, threatened Jews' physical existence, and—when beneficent—increasingly accelerated authorities' direct interference in Jews' private lives. In March 1942, the Kreishauptmann's office, for example, extended to Jews (for 12 groszy) a bar of soap and enough detergent to launder one outfit. It was the first time Jews in Chełm had received these items. However, the authorities tied their distribution to a Kreis-wide "Cleanliness Week," advertised under the slogan, "We are destroying lice!" (*Tępimy wszy*). From March 22 to 27, 1942, Jewish authorities and German officials supervised Jews throughout the Kreis as they cleaned their persons, belongings, and homes and removed items from attics, basements, and storage facilities.[13] Abram Cytron noted that this last order made it more difficult to hide during the expulsions.[14]

In April 1942, during the opening phase of Operation Reinhard in Kreis Cholm, the SS, according to survivor Gitla Libhaber, began marching through Chełm Jewish expellees from nearby communities as distant in the north as Sawin (home in January to 841 Jews) and in the south as Wojsławice. The April 20 Wojsławice deportation included 209 (of 1,450) Jews. The expellees were all over 60 years old.[15] On April 10 or 11, a group of the expellees were sent to their deaths at the Bełżec extermination camp. Because later deportees, sent to Włodawa, never arrived there, they are presumed to have perished at the new Sobibór extermination facility. In late April, the SS ordered the Chełm Jewish Council to prepare a list of 3,000 elderly for immediate "resettlement."[16]

On May 11 and 12, 1942, 2,000 Slovak Jews from Humenné and Žilina arrived in Chełm. The SS confiscated the deportees' baggage, making them dependent on the Jewish Council. On May 18, the SS marched through Chełm nonworking Jews from Siedliszcze (nad Bugiem), a Jewish community, which in January had numbered 2,026. Because the 1,000 to 3,000 Slovak deportees sent to Siedliszcze in April for labor at the Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion (Water Regulation Authority) camp almost all were camp inmates, they formed an insignificant part of the expellees destined for Sobibór.[17]

The retention of labor camp inmates and working Jews motivated Frenkiel to attempt to blunt the forthcoming Chełm deportation's scope. He offered to recruit immediately for Holzheimer, the Wasserwirtschaftsinspekteur for Kreis Cholm, 7,000 conscripts (men and women) from the ghetto for the organization's eight labor camps.[18] When the Cholm Landkommissar offered to shield from deportation volunteers for agricultural labor on his estate in Ruda-Opalin, it became a refuge for the native elderly.[19] The Jewish Council protected others considered vulnerable, including 600 orphans it began placing in early May with foster families and probably also sending to Ruda.[20]

Frenkiel's protection of native Jews and the fact many Slovak expellees were older sealed their fate. On May 22–23, 1942, the Shavuot holiday eve, they were sent by rail to Sobibór together with 1,000 elderly Chełm Jews during the first deportation. The deportation was much larger, as it included small-scale expulsions from nearby eastern communities. In Dubienka, for example, a part of the town's 2,700 Jews were expelled on May 22.[21] Gitlaber recalls Dubienka Jews among the expellees who passed through Chełm in the spring of 1942.

In Chełm, a raid of work sites in June or July enveloped about 1,000 underage and elderly public works conscripts and Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion camp inmates deemed unfit for labor. Holzheimer may have intervened to reduce to 300 the number sent to Sobibór.[22] In a larger Aktion, in mid-August, remembered as the second or children's deportation, the SS sent to Sobibór 3,000 to 4,000 Jews, including most of the

ghetto's children, the unemployed with many children, and the remaining elderly.

The ghetto area was reduced in size to establish what German authorities had planned in June 1942 as a "compact quarter."[23] It was composed of Szkolna, Uściługska, Pocztowa, Siedlce, and Katowska Streets. Jews living outside its borders were required to report to the ghetto in late August. The ghetto was unfenced. The Jewish and Polish (Blue) Police patrolled its internal and external borders. Some 5,000 Jews resided there.

On October 25, 1942, SS from Lublin and Ukrainian auxiliaries ordered all ghetto residents assembled on the Siedlce Street square. In a two-day Aktion, 2,000 to 3,000 Jews, officially the unemployed, were marched, via Włodawa, to Sobibór. Thousands evaded deportation by hiding in ghetto bunkers or with local Christians.

On November 5–9, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated. Late on November 5, the SS began transferring 500 to 1,000 laborers, craftsmen, Jewish Council members, and the craftsmen's and councilmen's family members outside the ghetto to labor camps and to vacant public buildings and barracks. The next morning, after surrounding the ghetto, SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries ordered its inhabitants assembled on the square. The deportees were marched to the railway station. The first to arrive went immediately to Sobibór. Others, held in a fenced holding facility established at the Kolejowa Street construction camp, went to Sobibór over the next several days.[24] While searching for almost a thousand people hidden in bunkers, the SS set fire to many ghetto buildings. Some uncovered during the searches were marched to the transit camp and sent to Sobibór. Others were killed on the spot. By November 13, the SS announced all Jews could enter a camp established on Katowska Street (at the pre-war Staszic public school) for 370 laborers held back from expulsion. Several hundred fugitives who reported there were executed.[25]

Jews retained for labor resided mainly at the Staszic School (laborers' camp) or the railway station barracks (craftsmen's camp). When typhus engulfed both camps a few weeks after the ghetto liquidation, the SS executed in the Borek woods hundreds of sick inmates. The Jewish Council members, initially held at the Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion camp, also were shot. In January 1943, the prisoners at the school, including the Jewish Police, were sent to their deaths at Sobibór. In the spring, after the SS transferred to Sobibór for labor the craftsmen in construction trades, 28 Jews, mainly tailors, shoemakers, and their families, were left in Chełm. On March 31, the Gestapo executed 20 of the Jews. In October 1943, the Chełm craftsmen at Sobibór joined the prisoners' revolt.[26] Officially, only 8 Jews, all craftsmen, remained alive, incarcerated at the Chełm prison.

A number of fugitives had escaped from Chełm or jumped from the deportation trains. Some with false identity papers made their way to other localities to attempt to survive as Poles.[27] A few were sheltered by local Christians. Many more entered the collection ghetto in Rejowiec.[28] In addition to the 8 craftsmen at the Chełm prison and at least 3 participants of the Sobibór revolt, another approximately 50 ghetto residents survived the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources providing coverage of the life and death of the Chełm Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 221–228; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 82–87.

English-language memoirs include Felicia B. Hyatt, *Close Calls: Memoirs of a Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991); Ana Sherman, with I. Lewis Schneider, *Ana's Story. A Holocaust Memoir* (Potomac, MD, 2000); and Kalmen Wewryk, with Howard Roiter, *To Sobibor and Back: An Eyewitness Account* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 1999).

Two yizkor books, *Yizker-bukh Khelm* (Johannesburg: Khelmer Landsmanshaft, 1954) and *Sefer ha-zikaron li-ḳehilat Ḥelm* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Helm be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1980 or 1981), contain survivor testimonies, with the first including originals and translations of many of the Polish-language testimonies from the AŻIH 301 collection. Gitla Libhaber's testimony is available in the English translation of the yizkor book available at jewishgen.org. The chapter devoted to Chełm in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 69–88, includes excerpts of memoirs from the AŻIH 302 collection, with the Yiddish-language testimony of Joel Ponczak (Ponczek) appearing there in Polish translation.

Letters sent from Chełm to Warsaw, found in the Ringelblum Archives, appear in their original language, and when appropriate in Polish translation, in *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 1, Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Listy o zagładzie* (Warsaw: ŻIH and PWN, 1997), pp. 87–89, 160–163 (both Ring I/568). Scanned images of some Jewish Council proclamations are available electronically at the Digital Library of Chełm. Contemporary press coverage includes "Chełm," *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 11, 1941, no. 20, p. 29. *Chelmer Narichten*, a bilingual German-Polish newspaper, also is an important source.

David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 176–180, summarizes the ghetto lists submitted in September 1941 by the Kreishauptmänner of Distrikt Lublin.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Chełm Jewish community during the war includes APL (e.g., 43/0 [830, 498 (273)]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/293, 211/284-294, 301 [666, 2072, 2192, 3039, 3058, 3067, 3322, 3385, 3622, 4384, 4392, 4979, 5368, 5373, 5408], 302 [104, 119, 306, 308], Ring [I/568, (707) I/817, (708) I/818, (709) I/1006, (1144) I/3]); BA-MA (RS 4/540, p. 51); FVT (HVT [416, 419, 570, 1301, 1304, 2234]); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 3/71/Ch/1-3, 98/67/1-5, 378/67/1-2, 396/67/1- 2, SOL [22, 61, 65]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211], Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210], RG-15.079M [AŻIH Ring], RG-50.042*0023, RG-50.030*0069, RG-50.030*0184); VHF (e.g., # 446, 8994, 11205, 15999, 16311, 18144, 21900,

27965, 28827, 34801, 43591, 46050, 47692); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E [494, 1463, 1527], O-3 [409, 1169, 4138]).

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Compare AŻIH, 302/104, testimony of Joel Ponczak, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 73, and AŻIH, 301/4384, testimony of Abram Cytryn, pp. 1–3.
2. AŻIH, 301/3039, testimony of Brucha Sznajer, p. 1.
3. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), (709) I/1006, pp. 1–3; AŻIH, 301/2072, testimony of Szlojme Klajman, pp. 1–3, 301/5441, testimony of Hersz Furleiter, p. 2.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/286, p. 30.
5. Ibid., RG-15.079M, (707) I/817, pp. 1, 4.
6. AŻIH, 302/306, testimony of Lipman Sznajder, p. 7; 302/119, testimony of Aurelia Jaworska, pp. 24, 31, 33.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/287, p. 24.
8. Ibid., 211/288, pp. 57–58.
9. AŻIH, 302/306, p. 11, 302/119, p. 26.
10. Ibid., 301/3039, p. 1; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/288, pp. 65–66.
11. AŻIH, 302/119, pp. 2, 3, 6, 38–39; 302/306, pp. 10, 14–15.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/288, p. 50; 211/289, pp. 37–38.
13. Ibid., 211/293, pp. 30–31, 34; 211/294, p. 24.
14. AŻIH, 301/4384, p. 6.
15. Ibid., 301/2192, testimony of Gitla Libhaber, p. 5; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1124, pp. 8, 23.
16. AŻIH, 301/4384, p. 2.
17. Ibid., 301/458, testimony of Zelda Metz, p. 1.
18. AŻIH, 302/104, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 74.
19. AŻIH, 302/119, pp. 14, 41.
20. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/294, p. 35.
21. Ibid., RG-15.079M, I/568, pp. 1–2.
22. Compare AŻIH, 302/306, pp. 14–20, 23, and 302/104, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 75, and AŻIH, 301/2192, p. 5.
23. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/294, p. 45.
24. AŻIH, 302/306, p. 40.
25. Ibid., 301/4384, p. 7; 301/5407, testimony of Stanisław Niedźwiński, p. 1.
26. Ibid., 301/666, testimony of Mosze Kornfeld, pp. 4–16; 301/5368, testimony of Mottel Samet, p. 1.
27. Ibid., 301/3067, testimony of Marek Stock, p. 1; 301/3385, testimony of Henryk Bergman, pp. 2–3; 302/306, pp. 33–122.
28. Ibid., 301/3622, testimony of Chana Falkiewicz, pp. 1–2.

CHODEL

Pre-1939: Chodel, village, Lublin powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Opole Lubelskie powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Chodel lies 39 kilometers (24 miles) by road southwest of Lublin. In August 1939, 776 Jews were residing there.

A Wehrmacht unit had occupied Chodel by September 16, 1939. By January 1940, a 13-person Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been established. Chil Grinberg, its first chair, was replaced in mid-August by Icek-Mendel Erlich.[1]

In the spring of 1940, 102 Chodel Jews were interned at local labor camps established for agricultural and carpentry work. Another 100 were inmates of a camp in Józefów (nad Wisłą). In mid-August, the SS conscripted 50 Jews for fortification labor at Bełżec. In the fall, 13 Jews were ordered to a winter camp in Sawin.[2] By then, Chodel had filled with Jewish refugees, including deportees from Łódź, expellees from Puławy, and voluntary refugees from Warsaw.[3] Judith Tenia Reuven (née Teresa Wasserman), the daughter of Puławy expellees, recalls that the forced labor drafts and increasing incidents of arbitrary violence by German officials required her parents to flee Chodel (for Gniewoszów) in late 1940.

On December 3, 1940, Emil Ziegenmeyer, Kreishauptmann of Lublin-Land, recognized a Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) delegation for Chodel. Szmul Wolman, head of the JSS in Kreis Lublin-Land, speculated that the handwritten directive, issued while Ziegenmeyer was visiting Kraków, indicated he had agreed to accept additional deportees from that city.[4] Physician Otto Bornstein initially headed the Chodel JSS. A refugee from Bielsko and a Jewish Council member, Bornstein also directed Chodel's Jewish medical clinic and 10-bed quarantine facility.[5] He oversaw the resettlement of 203 Kraków expellees (deported on March 6 and 7, 1941).[6]

Ziegenmeyer also designated Chodel, along with Bełżyce (and probably Bychawa) as the localities in Kreis Lublin-Land to receive some of the 15,000 Jews expelled from Lublin to establish a small ghetto on March 27, 1941, in the city's old Jewish neighborhood. (Most Lublin expellees were deported to more distant localities in Kreis Cholm and Kreis Radzyn.) On May 1, 1941, 1,738 Jews, including 947 refugees, were residing in Chodel. Among the refugees were at least 300 Lublin deportees.[7]

On September 19, 1941, Ziegenmeyer included Chodel on a list of ghettos in his Kreis but designated it, Bychawa, and Bełżyce as *Judensammelorte* (Jewish assembly places). Ziegenmeyer may have established the *Sammelorte* in response to a January 17, 1941, recommendation by Ernst Zörner, governor of Distrikt Lublin, for Kreishauptmänner to designate a few communities in which to concentrate Jews (to curtail illicit Jewish trade and thereby better control smuggling). Because Ziegenmeyer did not use the term for other Jewish communities, including Biskupice, Piotrowice, and Trawniki, which had more than doubled in size from the resettlement of Kraków deportees, he may have used "Sammelorte" to identify the places in which Jews expelled from Lublin could reside. Ziegenmeyer also may have used the term to indicate localities where he was willing to resettle additional Jews. (The lists in part were a response to a Reich Interior Ministry inquiry about available space for incoming Jews.) Ziegenmeyer suggested Poles would need to be evacuated from Chodel, Bełżyce, Bychawa, and Piaski to make room for new Jewish arrivals.

Historians Bogdan Musial and David Silberklang take Ziegenmeyer at his word and maintain no formal ghetto existed in Chodel, Bychawa, or Bełżyce. The author of the relevant entry in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* does not mention Ziegenmeyer's list but believes the arrival of hundreds of deportees resulted in the establishment of an open ghetto in Chodel's pre-war Jewish neighborhood. He reports the resulting "congestion" increased mortality rates, leaving just 1,398 Jews in Chodel by May 1942.

Unfortunately, the documentation available says little about restrictions on Jews residing in Chodel. In April 1941, some 550 new arrivals temporarily received free lodging in private homes and at the synagogue. According to Bornstein, the wójt, or head, of the Chodel administration had located housing for other deportees. In November, the JSS winterized the mass housing (presumably the synagogue) for homeless deportees.[8]

The most immediate crisis the Chodel Jews faced was food shortages. Because of local supply problems, deliveries of rye flour were nonexistent at times, as in February 1941, and almost 40 percent short from May. As a result, nonworking Jews received daily 40 to 50 grams (1.4 to 1.8 ounces) of bread, instead of the allotted 100 grams (3.5 ounces). A JSS community kitchen daily provided 300 breakfasts and lunches to 600 deportees. However, the arrival of Wehrmacht troops in Distrikt Lublin, in anticipation of Germany's invasion of the USSR in June, made kasha and potatoes exorbitantly expensive and often impossible to obtain. The price spikes and shortages forced the JSS to close the kitchen on June 20.[9] "For the past two weeks," Bornstein explained, "the deportees have been sentenced to starvation and to begging from house-to-house, most often times unsuccessfully."[10]

In early July 1941, when the kitchen reopened, an absence of Jewish Council funding and a typhus outbreak required the JSS to stop providing meals to the expellees and to serve instead 80 typhus patients and children, as well as the elderly recovering from the disease. That month, one Jew perished from typhus. Another 288 expellees voluntarily departed Chodel, bringing its Jewish population to 1,450.[11]

Claims that the JSS and Jewish Council members were responding inadequately to the deportees' plight led to several leadership changes. Shortly after June 25, 1941, Dawid Akerman replaced Bornstein as JSS head. Erlich, the Jewish Council chair, was named to the JSS delegation.[12] Josef Siegfried, the deputy director of the JSS in Distrikt Lublin and a Lublin Jewish Council member, reported that during an August 25 visit to Chodel, the wójt had met with him personally before reorganizing the Jewish Council to recommend candidates more amenable to the needs of the refugees and the locally impoverished.

In September 1941, when the rye flour shortages were overcome, the Jews received full bread rations for the first time.[13] From November, Ziegenmeyer permitted the JSS to purchase and sell to Jews a limited supply of potatoes and kasha from cheaper government stores. The JSS could retain 80 groszy from each cubic meter of potatoes it sold. In the meantime, Hans Frank had permitted JSS organizations throughout the Generalgouvernement to keep 50 groszy from each locally sold bread-ration card. The Chodel JSS used the revenue to expand its kitchen to feed 200 to 250 impoverished Jews. On November 1, the Jewish population stood at 1,446.[14] It is unknown whether the decline was due to the typhus epidemic or to individuals responding to rumors that Jews throughout Distrikt Lublin (and in the Generalgouvernement as a whole) soon would be forbidden to leave the borders of the places where they resided.

In late 1941, some 32 craftsmen worked as tailors, shoemakers, and masons. Another 148 Jews worked in forestry labor. On June 23, 1942, the JSS reported 450 (of 1,300) men and women had been employed from March as agricultural laborers at several nearby estates, including in Ratoszyn and in a number of villages.[15]

On May 19, 1942, Ziegenmeyer recommended the Chodel Jewish community, then numbering 1,398, and five other communities for immediate resettlement. Shortly thereafter, some 100 young men were transferred to the Opole ghetto and probably sent from there to the Poniatowa labor camp. On June 28, deportees from Saxony (mainly Leipzig) and Thuringia, expellees in May to Bełżyce, arrived in Chodel.[16] In mid-July, German authorities renewed labor camp conscription.[17]

On either Yom Kippur or Hoshana Raba (September 21 or October 2, 1942), the Jews were expelled from Chodel. Like almost all the Jews in the southern part of Kreis Lublin-Land, save those living near Piaski, the deportees probably first were consolidated in Bełżyce. From there, they were transported to the railway station in Niedrzwica Duża and forced onto trains destined for either the Sobibór or Bełżec extermination center. Gołda Teich recalls many Chodel Jews hid in Bełżyce but indicates almost all were swept up in an Aktion the next morning, during which a large group of Jews was sent to the Majdanek concentration camp.[18] Some Jews likely were held back from the deportation for labor in Chodel. The Chodel gmina Web site reports Jews remained in Chodel until 1943, when they were deported to the Poniatowa forced labor camp.

A handful of Chodel Jews survived the German occupation.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the World War II history of the Chodel Jewish community include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 220–221; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 87–88. Survivor Judith Tenia Reuven touches briefly on Jewish life in Chodel during the occupation's first year in a testimony available in an English-language transcript on the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by the Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich. Contemporary press documentation appears in "Chodel pow[iat] lubelski," *Gazeta Żydowska*, March 27, 1942, no. 37, p. 5.

A discussion of the ghetto lists compiled in September 1941 by Kreishauptmänner in Distrikt Lublin appears in

Dieter Pohl, *Von der "Judenpolitik" zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 92–94; Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 137, 222–223; and David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 176–180. A German-language transcription of Ziegenmeyer's May 19, 1942, recommendation to deport the Chodel community is available in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: CŻKHwP, 1946), pt. 1, pp. 52–53.

Two deportation dates appear in the entry because Bełżyce survivors Gołda Teich and Noach Becer, in AŻIH, 301/1812 and 222, respectively, recall different dates for the second Bełżyce Aktion, or the second Majdanek deportation, with Teich specifically remembering that the deportation occurred the day after the Chodel Jews were sent to their deaths. Ewa Kurek, *Poza granicą solidarności: Stosunki polsko-żydowskie 1939–1945* (Kielce: Wyższa Szkoła Umiejętności, 2006), pp. 222–223, 276n.387, offers some coverage of Jewish survivors from Chodel.

Archival documentation includes APL (e.g., 43/0/[830], 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/298-299; 211 [138, pp. 48, 76; 647, pp. 15–16, 22–23; 648, pp. 5, 16–18, 24, 30, 39; 649, pp. 34–39; 650, pp. 14, 17; 651, pp. 4, 7, 16, 18, 21–24, 28, 33, 36; 652, pp. 16, 18–19, 25; 653, pp. 6, 10, 16, 18; 654]; 302 [1514, 1812]); IPN; IPN-Lu (e.g., 174/67/1-4); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]); VHF (e.g., # 37348); and YVA.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/298, pp. 3, 21–22, 25ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 31, 36, 44; 210/299, p. 3.
3. Ibid., 210/299, pp. 1–2.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/647, pp. 15–16.
5. Ibid., pp. 22–23.
6. Ibid., 211/649, pp. 34–39; 211/650, p. 14.
7. Ibid., 211/305, p. 9; 211/651, p. 18.
8. Ibid., 211/305, pp. 8, 11, 67.
9. Ibid., pp. 15, 40a, 41, 43.
10. Ibid., p. 43.
11. Ibid., pp. 25, 44–46.
12. Ibid., 211/651, p. 33; 211/652, p. 19.
13. Ibid., 211/305, p. 51.
14. Ibid., pp. 61, 65; 211/306, p. 23.
15. Ibid., 211/305, p. 61; 211/306, p. 18.
16. Ibid., 211/306, p. 27.
17. Ibid., p. 21.
18. AŻIH, 301/1812, testimony of Gołda Teich, p. 4.

CIESZANÓW

Pre-1939: Cieszanów, village, Lubaczów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Cieszanow, Kreis Zamosc, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Cieszanów, town, Lubaczów powiat, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Cieszanów lies 142 kilometers (88 miles) south-southeast of Lublin. Nearly 1,000 Jews resided there on the eve of World War II.

German forces occupied Cieszanów on September 12, 1939, but soon ceded it to Soviet occupation. After Soviet-German negotiations, concluded on September 28, returned Cieszanów to Germany, the local Red Army commander informed the Cieszanów Jews of the impending frontier shift and recommended they join the Soviet military evacuation.[1] The Jews almost all heeded his advice, with at least some relocating to Lwów.

Upon reoccupying Cieszanów in early October 1939, the Germans probably forced the remaining Jews across the border, located just outside of Cieszanów, expelling them south near Lubaczów into Soviet-occupied territory. In March 1942, Mieczysław (Mendel) Garfinkel, the head of the Jewish Council in Zamość and of the committee that oversaw the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in the Kreis, reported that because of "the complete absence of Jews," neither a Jewish Council nor a JSS office had ever been created for Cieszanów.[2]

When, in May 1940, as many as 3,800 Jews, most from Distrikt Radom, were interned at a forced labor camp established in Cieszanów in May 1940, they, too, discovered no native Jews resided there.[3] Survivor Hymie Kirsch, from Wolbórz, recalls he and many other prisoners were ordered to live in the Jews' abandoned, vandalized homes.[4] The inmates, officially beginning in August, were part of a subcamp of the Bełżec forced labor camp and built border fortifications and a fence along the frontier. They also may have expanded a 28.6-kilometer (17.8-mile) stretch of the main road, which at Żuków connected Cieszanów, via Narol, to Bełżec. (Conscripts on the last project, completed by early spring, ground up *matzevot* (gravestones) from the Cieszanów and Narol Jewish cemeteries to use as paving material.) In mid-October, the SS closed the camp. Some inmates were transferred to Bełżec and to a camp located in Dzików Stary. The majority of prisoners were escorted to the railway station in Tomaszów Lubelski and sent home.[5]

Local officials responsible for completing Polish postwar Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation nonetheless reported a ghetto was established in Cieszanów in December 1941.[6] The first Jews known to have lived in the ghetto were some 700 to 817 deportees expelled from Tomaszów Lubelski on February 25, 1942.[7] Another 465 to 500 expellees, among 2,000 Jews from Mielec to arrive in Zamość on March 16, were transferred by sled to Cieszanów. (The transport's remaining Jews were destined for localities in Kreis Hrubieszow.)[8]

The arrival of the expellees prompted Helmuth Weihenmaier, the Kreishauptmann of Zamosc, to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat) for Cieszanów. The council was chaired by Filip Floh. On March 29, 1942, Floh became the head of the Cieszanów branch of the JSS. Pejsach Franblau and Srul Fajfer also served on the JSS delegation.[9]

Though historians consider the Cieszanów ghetto a transit or collection ghetto, a place in which deportees temporarily were consolidated to facilitate mass killing operations at nearby extermination centers, contemporary observers offered conflicting interpretations for the repopulation of Cieszanów with Jews and by extension the ghetto's establishment. In fretting about the new arrivals' welfare, Garfinkel suggested the ghetto may have been created to protect Jews from local non-Jews: "The native population, both urban and rural, is Ukrainian, preeminently hostile to Jews generally, and to Jewish settlers in particular."[10] An article in *Gazeta Żydowska*, published on April 22, 1942, indicated that German authorities had decided to resettle Jews in Cieszanów to provide non-Jews access to artisanal services and agricultural labor. The article noted the Tomaszów Lubelski expellees almost all were craftsmen; their Mielec counterparts, mainly from rural areas, were farmers.[11]

The article's publication also coincided with the murder, at the Bełżec extermination facility, of the first large transports of Jews, including, in March 1942, from Lublin, Piaski Luterskie, Izbica, Opole, and Lwów and, in April, from Rejowiec, Zamość, Kraśnik, Lublin, and communities in eastern Galicia. Because of Cieszanów's proximity to Bełżec, the article unintentionally may have provided the false impression that deportees were being resettled in the pre-June 1941 German-Soviet borderlands.

The Cieszanów ghetto encompassed the former Jewish residences located along the part of Skorupka Street by the synagogue and leading to the main market square and most of the houses fronting the square. (German and ethnic German settlers occupied the residences located along half of one side of the square.) The only building on another side of the square was the police station, at which a Sonderdienst unit, composed of ethnic Ukrainians, was stationed. The *Gazeta Żydowska* article reported that 1,200 Jews resided in Cieszanów.

Though the ghetto was unfenced, its inmates were forbidden to move beyond the square and synagogue. The death penalty was imposed on Jews found outside the ghetto's borders. Many were shot for disobeying the orders.[12]

Conditions in the ghetto were poor. The ghetto residences, the vandalized homes of the pre-war Jewish community, lacked doors, window glass, stoves (furnaces), and furniture. Most inmates slept on blankets spread out on the floor. Several families were crowded into each room, with even larger numbers living together in former stores, bars, and restaurants.[13]

On March 16, 1942, Garfinkel reported to JSS leaders in Kraków that he twice had purchased 800 kilograms (almost 1,764 pounds) of flour and 10,000 kilograms (about 22,046 pounds) of potatoes for the Cieszanów expellees. Floh pleaded for additional assistance, reminding officials of the catastrophic material conditions in which the Cieszanów Jews lived. By April 28, Kraków officials had sent 4,000 złoty in aid.[14]

Survivor Ira Mechlowitz recalled that peasants were permitted to come to the market square once a week to sell food to ghetto inmates, the only time Jews were permitted to mingle with the local population. However, most Jews had few possessions to barter. The half loaf of bread distributed daily to each ghetto resident was insufficient to stave off hunger. By early May, as the ghetto residents hovered on starvation's brink, many Jews illicitly left the ghetto to beg for food. Mechlowitz's mother appealed to the small number of Cieszanów Poles for potato peels and the water in which the potatoes had been boiled. Some ghetto residents died of diseases related to starvation. Others perished from typhus.

In April 1942, local authorities permitted children and younger adolescents to leave the ghetto to work as cow herders, shepherds, agricultural laborers, and domestic servants for peasants in nearby villages. The children were paid in food. Craftsmen, according to the *Gazeta Żydowska* article, were employed at several nearby estates. The SS sought volunteers for conscription at a labor camp located in Lubaczów. Because of the poor conditions in the ghetto, many inmates, perhaps half the population, fled to Tomaszów Lubelski.[15]

In May or perhaps in mid-June 1942, the Jews were expelled from the Cieszanów ghetto and sent to their deaths at Bełżec. (Though most scholars believe the deportation occurred contiguous with the May 22, 1942, deportation to Bełżec of almost all the remaining Jews in Tomaszów, Mechlowitz recalls the ghetto liquidation took place three months after the Mielec Jews arrived in Cieszanów.)

The Cieszanów ghetto probably was "restocked" with new expellees when the gas chambers were reconstructed at Bełżec from about June 20 to July 1942 or killing operations bogged down. The ASG documentation notes some 5,000 Polish Jews passed through the ghetto. Because Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Higher SS and Police Leader of the Generalgouvernement, excluded Cieszanów from his October 28 list of the places where Jews living outside of labor camps legally could reside, the Security Police by then may have considered the ghetto a subcamp of Bełżec.

According to an unverified source, in May 1943, the SS assembled the Jews still resident in the ghetto, marched them to Wierzbica, and executed them.

The survivors of the Cieszanów ghetto, a handful in number, almost all were Mielec deportees.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the Cieszanów Jewish community during the war include the relevant entry in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 450–451. Testimonies from Cieszanów survivors appear in the yizkor book David Ravid, ed., *Sefer zikaron de-kehilah kedoshah Tsieshinov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Tsyeshinov be-Yisrael, [1969 or 1970]), available in English translation as *The Cieszanow Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Salomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: Jacob Salomon Berger, 2006). Contemporary press coverage includes "Cieszanów," *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 22, 1942, no. 47.

Documents pertaining to the fate of the Cieszanów Jews and the ghetto established in Cieszanów can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 211 [141, pp. 86–87; 142, pp. 1–3, 12–13, 26, 45; 143, pp. 2–4, 38, 54, 61–62; 277; 1152,

p. 20]; IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Rz; USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 17, 58/102]); VHF (e.g., #2418, 13077, 47545); and YVA.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. VHF, # 38058, testimony of Leon Nebyl.
2. See USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/143, p. 3.
3. Compare with AŻIH, 301/60, testimony of Tejwie Frydman, p. 6.
4. VHF, # 27539, testimony of Hymie Kirsch.
5. AŻIH, 301/1691, testimony of Chaim Szaja Rywynowicz-Lisoprawski, p. 1.
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 17, 58/102.
7. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/141, pp. 86–87; 211/142, pp. 1–3, 12–13, 45; 211/1152, p. 20.
8. Ibid., 211/1152, p. 20; 211/142, p. 29; 211/143, p. 38.
9. Ibid., 211/143, p. 61.
10. Ibid., p. 3.
11. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 22, 1942, no. 47, pp. 3–4.
12. VHF, # 13077, testimony of Ira Mechlowitz.
13. Ibid.
14. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/143, pp. 3, 54; 211/277, p. 1.
15. VHF, # 13077.

DUBIENKA

Pre-1939: Dubienka, town, Hrubieszów powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Hrubieszow, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: village, Chełm powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Dubienka is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-southeast of Lublin. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 1,204, out of a total population of 2,964. On the eve of World War II, there were 2,160 Jews residing in the town.

Dubienka was initially occupied by the Soviet army, which invaded Poland on September 17, 1939. However, with the implementation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Bug River became the border between the German- and Soviet-occupied zones. At the end of September, Dubienka was transferred into German hands. A few, mostly young and impoverished Jews left the town with the Soviet forces, but most stayed put.[1]

The abuse of the Jewish population began immediately, including the kidnapping of Jews for forced labor and many forms of harassment. German troops stormed the synagogues and forced the worshipers into the street, cutting off their beards and side locks.[2] Jewish survivor Sam Szor recalls that in the first weeks some Jewish families, including his own, were evicted on only three hours' notice from the better houses on the main streets to make way for German officials. The evicted Jews had to move in with other Jewish families. He was also no longer permitted to go to school. Szor remained in Dubienka until 1941 and notes that during that period at least the Germans did not establish a ghetto.[3]

The Germans ordered the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), but initially no one volunteered. A second order required people who had worked for the community to serve, and a council of 12 members was organized. The chairman was Moishe Helfman. The other members were Velvel Vinek, Yoni Pines, Itzik Sobel, Shepsil Bernstein, Itzi Danziger, Aaron Mastbaum, Bunish Krempel, Yitzhak Segal, Chaim Lemberger, Avrum Mandel, and Yonah Zuckerman (Jona Cukierman, who survived).[4] Subsequently Mandel became the chairman.

The Judenrat was instructed to provide a daily quota of forced laborers and to turn over furs and other valuables. On December 1, 1939, German soldiers ordered all Jews into the market square, where they were surrounded. The younger and stronger men were sent off to Hrubieszów. Many were shot and killed along the way. Upon arrival they were forced into the town square, which was surrounded by barbed wire, along with several hundred local Jews. From there they were force-marched to the Soviet border on December 2. This became a death march, as half of the Jews were murdered en route. Those who reached the Bug River were forced into the water and told to swim to the Soviet side. A large number drowned, and only a few managed to get across.[5]

At the start of 1940, refugees from Wieliczka, near Kraków, were resettled in Dubienka. The Jews were forced to work on German-managed farms in the vicinity and at a brick factory in Białopole. In 1940, all Jews aged 10 and above were ordered to wear armbands with a blue Star of David. The Germans also prohibited Jewish prayer, destroyed the large synagogue and study center, and burned the Torah scrolls. In the spring of 1940, hundreds of Jews aged 17 and above were sent to labor camps around Bełżec. They stayed there until the spring of 1941, building fortifications.

In the spring of 1941, the Jews of Dubienka became aware of German preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union, as the town was only a couple of miles from the Soviet border. At this time the Jews suffered economic hardship, as most stores were closed, and many people were dependent on welfare support from the Judenrat. The Judenrat also had to collect any remaining valuables from the Jews, to meet onerous contributions demanded by the German authorities.[6] In November 1941 about 100 Jews from Kraków were deported to Dubienka, as part of a larger group expelled into Kreis Hrubieszow.

In March 1942, another 843 Jews arrived from Mielec, composed almost completely of women and children. They were transported by Polish cart drivers from the nearby town of Hrubieszów.[7] Among them was Eda Lichtman. She reports: "At Dubienka, we were lodged in synagogues where the Jewish community gave us food and straw. Some days later we were housed with families, and compelled to work on Aryan properties. A group of Jews wearing their prayer shawls were led towards a hill, and told to tread and dance on holy books. Nobody returned alive."[8]

Lichtman notes also that senior German officers, accompanied by Ukrainian volunteers, often visited the "ghetto" to

steal from the Jews, leaving behind a trail of wounded and dead. Some secondary sources also refer to the existence of a ghetto in Dubienka; most primary sources, however, do not refer to a formal ghetto existing in Dubienka at this time.[9]

In May 1942, the German authorities reported that there were 2,907 Jews in Dubienka, who "needed to be resettled."[10] Another Mielec survivor, Szaje Altman, in Dubienka recalls that in May a number of Jews were selected at the main square and sent to labor camps in the area. According to a letter from Dubienka, preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, there was a further Aktion on May 22 during which a number of Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery. As this correspondence reveals, several of the Mielec Jews remained in postal contact with relatives elsewhere within the Generalgouvernement. Several were able to escape from Dubienka, some even subsequently joining a sizable group of Mielec Jews in the Połaniec ghetto, in Distrikt Radom.[11]

At the end of May, or on June 1, 1942, up to 40 Jews from the nearby village of Skryhiczyn were rounded up by German police and transferred to Dubienka.[12] By then, orders had been issued to the Judenrat that no Jews were permitted to leave Dubienka during the three days leading up to June 2, 1942. The Jews were informed of their impending resettlement and that they could take with them only up to 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of luggage and food for three days.[13]

On June 2, 1942, the Germans conducted a deportation Aktion. The Judenrat was informed that the Jews would be sent on a labor assignment near Pińsk. On that morning about 400 local farmers came to town with horses and wagons. SS men and auxiliary police dragged 2,670 Jews from their houses for transport on horse-drawn carts to Hrubieszów. On arrival, they were placed in an area surrounded with barbed wire and held for two days with almost no food or water. A number of elderly and exhausted Jews were shot. Then the remaining Jews were loaded onto freight trains and sent to the Sobibór extermination camp. A few managed to escape to the forests, but most of these people were turned in by local farmers.

The Germans retained in Dubienka just over 200 Jews, who had been issued with special cards because of their work skills.[14] According to postwar German investigative sources, the retention of the laborers was partly on account of the intervention of the Ukrainian mayor, who was concerned about the economic impact of removing all the Jews.[15] Only scant information is available about the living conditions for these Jews. It is likely that some form of remnant ghetto or artisans' camp was established for them, as was the case in the nearby towns of Hrubieszów and Grabowiec, where ghettos were set up for the remaining workers after deportation Aktions in June 1942.[16]

According to records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), in August 1942, there were 247 Jews registered in Dubienka. Of these, 161 were craftsmen and 86 were laborers. Fifty of these Jews were employed at various German offices, and another 40 were in a labor camp.[17] On August 15, 1942, the remaining craftsmen and specialists in Dubienka were transferred to the Hrubieszów ghetto, which was liquidated in turn on October 22, 1942. A group of about 17 Jews who had gone into hiding in Dubienka, but had been captured by local police forces, was executed at the Jewish cemetery in Dubienka in October.[18] Of the group of craftsmen retained after June 2, only 15 people are known to have survived.

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jewish population of Dubienka during the Holocaust include the following: "Dubienka," in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 129–130; its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 94–95; and the yizkor book, Gershon Shahar, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehillot Dubyankah, Skaritsin, Dorohusk* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Dubienka, Skariczyn, and Dorohusk in Israel and the United States, 1994).

Published testimonies and memoirs by Jewish survivors with information concerning the fate of the Jews in Dubienka include Miriam Novitch, ed., *Sobibor: Martyrdom and Revolt: Documents and Testimonies* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1980); and Mark Verstandig, *I Rest My Case* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2002).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/372 [JSS]; 301/2973, 4471 [Relacje]; Ring I/568 and 812); BA-L (B 162/4329); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH, Ring]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF (e.g., # 21057); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [707, 846], M-1/E/754).

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NOTES

1. Shahar, *Sefer zikaron le-kehillot Dubyankah*, p. iv (in English).
2. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 129–130.
3. VHF, # 21057, testimony of Sam Szor (born 1924), 1996.
4. Shahar, *Sefer zikaron le-kehillot Dubyankah*, p. v (in English).
5. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 130; see also M. Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah. Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt, 2005), p. 51.
6. VHF, # 21057.
7. Bericht von Türk, Leiter der Abteilung für Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge im Amt des Distrikts Lublin für März 1942, Lublin, April 7, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 271; Verstandig, *I Rest My Case*, pp. 139–140.
8. "From Mielec to Sobibor," testimony of Eda Lichtman, in Novitch, *Sobibor: Martyrdom and Revolt*, p. 54.
9. Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 163. The only primary source given here is an unspecified reference to the ITS archives.

10. KH Busse an U-Abt. Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge in Lublin, May 22, 1942, published in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, eds., *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani, 1955), p. 196.

11. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 130; AŻIH, 301/2973, testimony of Szaje Altman; Ring I/568, letter dated May 23, 1942; Verstandig, *I Rest My Case*, p. 147.

12. BA-L, B 162/4329 (208 AR-Z 91/61), closing report of Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 369/62, in the case against Max Stöbner (crime location: Hrubieszów), April 15, 1965, p. 122. See also Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 209–210, which dates the expulsion on November 22, 1941.

13. Shahar, *Sefer zikaron le-kehillot Dubyankah*, p. vi (in English).

14. AŻIH, Ring I/568; see also 301/4471, testimony of Jona Cukierman, who puts the number of craftsmen at 150.

15. BA-L, B 162/4329, closing report of Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 369/62, April 15, 1965, pp. 122–123.

16. See Baruch Kaplinsky, ed., *Pinkas Hrubieshov: Memorial to a Jewish Community in Poland* (Organization of Former Jewish Inhabitants of Hrubieszow in Israel, 1962), p. xvi; and Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer ha-zikaron li-kehilat Grabovitz* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Grabovits be-Yisrael, 1975), p. 19.

17. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/372, p. 48.

18. BA-L, B 162/4329, closing report of Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 369/62, April 15, 1965, pp. 149–150, 298, 306–310.

GRABOWIEC

Pre-1939: Grabowiec (Yiddish: Grabovitz), town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Hrubieszow, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lublin województwo, Poland

Grabowiec is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) east-southeast of Lublin. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,721 (in a total of 2,750). It is estimated that in 1939 the Jewish population was about 2,400.

As news of the German invasion reached Grabowiec on September 1, 1939, the local Jewish population feared the worst. Although the majority of Polish inhabitants did not turn hostile, the Jews were apprehensive of a possible outburst of Polish or Ukrainian antisemitism. Rumors of Nazi atrocities reached the town with the first Jewish refugees. Although four Polish policemen remained in the city, they were powerless to stop local hooligans from looting Jewish shops. Witnesses recall favorably the influence of the local Catholic priest, who urged his flock not to plunder the Jews or attack them.

The arrival of the Red Army brought order and a semblance of security on September 20, 1939. The Soviets organized a mixed Jewish-Polish militia, a move welcomed both by the Jewish inhabitants of Grabowiec and by Polish Communists. After two weeks, however, the Red Army withdrew, and several hundred Jews left with them as German forces occupied the town.[1]

With the creation of the Generalgouvernement in October 1939, the German military handed authority over to a civil administration. Grabowiec became a town in Kreis Hrubieszow, in Distrikt Lublin. Dr. Behrend was the first Kreishauptmann in Hrubieszów, from October 1939 to June 1940. He was succeeded by Karl Heinrich Franke, from June 1940 to February 1941, and then by Otto Busse, from March 1941 to July 1944.

Once the Gestapo had established its headquarters (a Grenzpolizeiposten or office of the Border Police) in Hrubieszów on November 13, 1939, the harsh anti-Jewish measures were accompanied by Gestapo raids that sometimes entailed random shootings of Jews on the streets of the town.[2] Soon after the start of the occupation, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Grabowiec, headed by Jankiel Szlajer, which was obliged to supply a number of forced laborers every day. All those over 12 years old were deemed able to perform forced labor, although sometimes replacements were sent for those who were sick. The tasks were mostly arduous manual labor, such as cleaning streets, or cleaning toilets. The labor initially was unpaid, and the workers were often beaten by the German and non-German overseers. The Germans also set up a forced labor camp some 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the town. Young people from Grabowiec were sent to this and other camps, and the Judenrat attempted to supply them with food and even obtain their return, sometimes with the aid of bribes.[3]

During the first months of German occupation a number of anti-Jewish measures were implemented. Jews were forced to wear patches on their clothes 10 centimeters (about 4 inches) across bearing a Star of David 8 centimeters (3 inches) across, and some Jewish businesses were closed down. Initially Jews were ashamed to be seen wearing these patches on the street. Due to the economic hardship, Jews sold their last remaining possessions to feed their families. They were able to continue trading with the local peasants, as the restrictions on leaving the town were not strictly enforced. The German authorities also imposed heavy "contributions" on the Jewish community, which had to be collected by the Judenrat by a certain date. The Jews somehow managed to scrape together the large sums demanded by tapping their last reserves.[4]

The news from former inhabitants of Grabowiec who had left with the Soviets was not that encouraging, as people there described the many hardships that befell them. A number of refugees arrived in Grabowiec during 1940 and 1941, from Lublin, Warsaw, Kraków, and other places, including Germany, which intensified the overcrowded conditions and impoverishment among the Jewish community. The Jewish population of the town rose from 1,500 in April 1941 to 1,758 in October 1941. To assist the new arrivals, the Judenrat set up a soup kitchen that served up to 200 meals per day.[5]

Some time after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Germans conducted a first Aktion. Following the murder of a German officer by partisans nearby, the Germans ordered all the Jews of Grabowiec to assemble on the marketplace (Targowica Square). They then selected 20

Jews, escorted them out of the town, and shot them as a "reprisal" for the murder. This incident was known among the Jews as "black Wednesday." The German authorities subsequently requested the Jewish Council to bury the bodies.[6]

In response to an inquiry by the Interior Department of the Generalgouvernement administration in Hrubieszów about the progress of ghettoization, Kreishauptmann Otto Busse responded on September 27, 1941, that he was planning ghettos or camps in Hrubieszów and Grabowiec.[7] The end of 1941 saw a tightening of Gestapo control, and new economic restrictions were imposed on the Jews, causing further impoverishment and pushing them to the verge of starvation. At the same time, the Nazi terror intensified, as they arrested many Jews on the pretext of alleged Communist sympathies.

On May 1, 1942, the German authorities in Hrubieszów resettled several hundred Jews living in Miączyn, Werbkowice, and Mołodziatycze to Grabowiec. Shortly afterwards they began to issue special passes to those Jews urgently needed as workers.[8] Then on May 22, 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Hrubieszów, Otto Busse, reported to the department for population and welfare of the Distrikt Gouverneur, Ernst Zörner, in Lublin that there were 2,026 Jews in Grabowiec, "whose resettlement appeared necessary."[9]

At the beginning of June 1942, the remaining Jews from surrounding villages were concentrated in Grabowiec. Some of them were shot on the way, revealing the murderous intentions of the Germans. A letter from one of the Jews brought into Grabowiec, dated June 5, 1942, reflects the mood at this time: "Here we are confronted with death. An order has been issued that we must leave the town within seven days. We live in anxious fear of a major disaster! Either we will be sent further on a senseless march, to a labor camp, or to our deaths."[10] Then on June 8, 1942, the deputy Kreishauptmann in Hrubieszów, Josef Fieback, organized a deportation Aktion in Grabowiec. The Jews were gathered on the marketplace and kept there throughout the night. Money and valuables were taken from the Jews. Some of the old and sick Jews as well as children were killed on the spot during the roundup. Then the remaining old and sick persons were piled onto peasant's carts, while the able-bodied Jews were marched on foot to the train station at Miączyn, 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Grabowiec. At the Miączyn station, the Jews were placed in an area surrounded with barbed wire, where a selection was conducted and about 800 Jews fit for work were sent back to Grabowiec. The others (about 1,200) were packed into overcrowded freight cars and transported to the Sobibór extermination camp under the guard of the auxiliary police (Trawniki men).[11]

Those men who were escorted back to Grabowiec were forced to live in a "ghetto," which was established between the bathhouse and the house of Neta, the tailor.[12] The emptied Jewish houses were soon robbed by the local Polish population. Every day the Jews were taken to perform forced labor. Food was scarce and difficult to obtain, but the Jews continued to sell their few remaining belongings to the peasants illegally in exchange for food. Reports of the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) from July 1942 indicate that there were 850 Jews in Grabowiec. After the resettlement, those who remained were all workers.[13]

After four months, the inhabitants of the ghetto were called to assemble at the market square again, and from there they were all escorted to Hrubieszów. On arrival there, they were subjected to another Aktion on October 21, 1942, that targeted the Jews of Hrubieszów and the surrounding area. Most of the Jews were loaded onto crowded cattle cars and sent to the Sobibór extermination camp. At least one of the men from Grabowiec, Ben Zion Fink, managed to escape from the train during the journey. However, on his way back to Grabowiec he was stopped by a local peasant and taken to the police. He was subsequently sent to the forced labor camp in Budzyń but survived the war in a number of different concentration camps.[14]

Some Jews from Grabowiec participated in the fight against the German occupiers as partisans. Most of the Jews who had fled to the Soviet Union in the fall of 1939 survived the war, but only a small number of those who came under German occupation managed to survive in hiding, in the forests, or in the camps.

SOURCES Much of the information collected for this article was taken from the yizkor book, Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer hazikaron li-kehilat Grabovitz* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Grabovits be-Yisrael, 1975), which also includes a short section in English. There is also a short article on the town in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 122–124. The Grabowiec ghetto is also mentioned in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 189; and in *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 65.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Grabowiec can be found in the following archives: APL (GDL, 270); AŻIH (e.g., 211/425-427; 301/1297); BA-L (B 162/4329 [208 AR-Z 91/1961]); IPN (ASG); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF; and YVA (e.g., TR.11/02138).

Ksenia Krimer, Adam Kopciowski, and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ben Zion Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," in Kanc, *Sefer ha-zikaron li-kehilat Grabovitz*, pp. 16–22, here pp. 16–18. The research of Adam Kopciowski indicates that probably considerably more than the 200 Jews mentioned by Fink left with the Soviets. See Adam Kopciowski, "Żydzi w Grabowcu" (MSS, March 2007).

2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 674, p. 175; Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," p. 18.

3. Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," pp. 18–19; Yita Kaplan-Shisler, "Teg, Yorn fun Pein un Umkum," in Kanc, *Sefer ha-zikaron li-kehilat Grabovitz*, pp. 316–324, here pp. 318–319.

4. Kaplan-Shisler, "Teg, Yorn fun Pein un Umkum," pp. 318–319.

5. Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," pp. 18–19; Kopciowski, "Żydzi w Grabowcu."

6. Kaplan-Shisler, "Teg, Yorn fun Pein un Umkum," p. 321. Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," p. 19, gives a somewhat different account of this "first Aktion."

7. APL, Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin, 270, Letter of Busse to U-Abt. Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge in Lublin, September 27, 1941.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 27, Lfd. Nr. 674, pp. 176–177.

9. KH Busse an U-Abt. Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge in Lublin, May 22, 1942, published in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, eds., *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani, 1955), p. 196. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/427, p. 25, indicates that there were 1,808 Jews in the town of Grabowiec in May 1942.

10. Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2006), p. 310.

11. AŻIH, 301/1297, testimony of Sala Zylberman; BA-L, B 162/4329 (208 AR-Z 91/61), Closing report of Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 369/62, in the case against Max Stöbner (crime location: Hrubieszów), April 15, 1965, pp. 118–121; Kanc, *Sefer ha-zikaron li-kehilat Grabovitz*, pp. 321–323, 326, 349–350.

12. Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," pp. 19–20. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 124, mention the existence of a ghetto from early in 1941, which was enclosed during the fall of 1941, but this is not confirmed in eyewitness testimonies.

13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/427, pp. 30–33.

14. Fink, "Under Bloodthirsty Rule," pp. 20–22.



A religious Jew in Hrubieszów suffers the humiliation of having his beard cut off, 1939–1941.
USHMM WS #06213, COURTESY OF RAPHAEL ARONSON

HRUBIESZÓW

Pre-1939: Hrubieszów, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Hrubieszow, Kreis center, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Hrubieszów, Lublin województwo, Poland

Hrubieszów is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Lublin. In 1921, there were 5,679 Jews living in Hrubieszów (59.35 percent of the total population). In 1939, prior to the start of World War II, there were about 7,500 Jews living in the town.

German armed forces occupied the town on September 14, 1939. On September 17, 1939, the German forces withdrew, handing the town over to the Red Army as originally agreed under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. On October 3, 1939, however, the town again changed hands and was occupied by German forces as a result of a subsequent agreement. As the Red Army retreated, part of the Jewish population evacuated to the east, especially young Jewish men.

With the creation of the Generalgouvernement on October 26, 1939, Hrubieszów became a Kreis center within Distrikt Lublin. Dr. Behrend became the first Kreishauptmann in Hrubieszów, from October 1939 until June 1940. He was succeeded by Karl Heinrich Franke, from June 1940 to February 1941, and by Otto Busse, from March 1941 to July 1944. The Germans set up a Border Police post (Grenzpolizeiposten) and a Gendarmerie post. Serving under these offices in Hrubieszów were an auxiliary police unit (Sonderdienst) composed of a number of local German speakers and also units of Ukrainian and Polish police.

In 1939–1941, the German occupying authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish policies in Hrubieszów. Much of Jewish property was confiscated; all Jews were registered and had to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David; Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town; and they were obliged to pay large "contributions" to the German authorities. In November 1939, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 12 men, with Szmuel Brand at its head and Joel Rabinowicz as his deputy. The Judenrat was tasked with organizing Jews for forced labor and was made personally responsible by the occupying authorities for ensuring the implementation of the anti-Jewish regulations. It was assisted in its task by a Jewish police force.

On December 2, 1939, the first Aktion took place. On the day before, December 1, the 5th Squadron of the 1st SS-Reiterstandarte had picked up 1,018 Jews in Chełm and forcemarched them under brutal conditions to Hrubieszów. On

the road, the SS shot 440 Jews "for attempting to escape." Then in Hrubieszów, over 1,000 Jewish men were added to the 578 survivors from Chełm, and the German police drove them up to the demarcation line at the Bug River, with the aim of forcing the Jews across into Soviet territory. However, the Soviet guards across the border did not permit the Jews to enter, and the German plan did not work. During the attempted border crossing, which lasted more than nine hours, a number of Jews were murdered, others drowned in the Bug River from exhaustion, and a small group successfully crossed into Soviet territory. The remaining Jews returned to Hrubieszów.[1]

A number of refugees arrived in Hrubieszów during 1940 and 1941 from western Poland and other places, including Germany, which increased the pressure on limited resources within the Jewish community. The Judenrat took on the task of finding shelter for the new refugees and attempting to provide a minimum level of support.[2] On August 13, 1940, a second Aktion was carried out. German and Polish policemen arrested 800 Jews, and after three days, 600 of them were deported to forced labor camps near Bełżec for the construction of fortifications. Half of these Jews died in the camps from hunger and disease, and the remaining Jews in Hrubieszów lived in great fear of being sent to these camps.[3] A registration conducted in October 1940 indicated there were 4,858 Jews in Hrubieszów.

According to some sources, a form of open ghetto was established in Hrubieszów close to the marketplace at some time between the summer of 1940 and June of 1942. This area had previously been inhabited mainly by Jews; the Poles and Ukrainians who lived there had to move out, while all the Jews residing outside the demarcated area had to move in.[4] Contemporary documentation indicates that in October 1940 the Jews could only use certain streets if issued with special passes by the Judenrat.[5] In response to an inquiry by the Interior Department of the Generalgouvernement administration in Kraków about the progress of ghettoization, Kreishauptmann Otto Busse responded on September 27, 1941, that he was planning ghettos or camps in Hrubieszów and Grabowiec.[6] However, the report of the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), dated April 1, 1942, indicated that at that time there was no Jewish quarter (*dzielnica żydowska*) in Hrubieszów.[7]

In September 1941, after the return of many Jews from the labor camps, the total Jewish population had risen to around 5,500 Jews. In April 1942, the JSS reported that there were 5,849 Jews in the town, including 1,194 refugees and deportees.[8]

The JSS records indicate that a surprisingly large number of newcomers in Hrubieszów had arrived from Warsaw in 1940 and 1941. Among them were many Zionist activists, from groups such as Dror and Betar, who came to the Hrubieszów area to work on farms, which served also as Zionist training camps. Some of these Zionist activists remained in postal contact with other activists in the Warsaw ghetto. A few of the activists even returned to Warsaw to take part in the resistance there, following the deportations from Hrubieszów in the summer and fall of 1942.[9]

In Kreis Hrubieszow, the Jews from many surrounding villages were ordered in mid-April 1942 to relocate to Hrubieszów by April 30, 1942.[10] Then in May 1942, the German authorities in Hrubieszów began to issue special passes to those Jews urgently needed as workers.[11] On May 22, 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Hrubieszów, Otto Busse, reported to the department for population and welfare of the Distrikt Gouverneur in Lublin that there were 5,690 Jews in Hrubieszów, "whose resettlement appeared necessary first." For the whole Kreis he reported that 1,233 Jews were to be kept as skilled workers, and the remaining 14,188 Jews were to be deported.[12]

Between June 1 and June 10, 1942, the Kreishauptmann assisted by the German police organized the first deportations from Kreis Hrubieszow. The Jewish Council in Hrubieszów was ordered to assemble those Jews not registered as skilled workers in the marketplace on June 1, 1942. They would be permitted to take with them only 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of personal possessions. When it was clear that not all Jews had responded, the German head of the local section for police affairs in Hrubieszów, Meyer, ordered the Gendarmerie, the Sonderdienst, a squad of Trawniki men, and the Jewish Police to collect additional Jews from the ghetto. From the marketplace the Jews were then loaded onto trains. A second Aktion was carried out about a week later, and because many Jews hid on this occasion, the auxiliary police forces, especially the Sonderdienst, applied considerable brutality in pulling Jews from the houses and driving them to the railway station, murdering a number on the way. During the process, most Jews with work passes were selected out and retained in the town. More than 5,000 Jews were deported by train from Hrubieszów to the extermination camp at Sobibór by June 10, 1942. In the searches for Jews in hiding in the days that followed, several hundred Jews were uncovered, and the Germans and their collaborators shot them at the Jewish cemetery. The Jewish Council was instructed to organize a team of about 30 "specialist workers" to bury these Jews.[13]

On June 15, 1942, the remaining 2,600 or so Jews were moved into a reorganized smaller remnant ghetto comprising the streets of Metalowa, and Nowy Rynek and the alleys leading towards the Jewish cemetery. The ghetto served mainly to dupe the Jews into believing they would be kept alive as useful workers and thereby reduce their willingness to offer resistance.[14] In October 1942, a number of Jews were brought to Hrubieszów from Grabowiec and Uchanie, signaling a further deportation Aktion. On October 22, 1942, the third deportation Aktion took place. This time, around 3,000 Jews were deported to the extermination camp at Sobibór. On November 16–18, 1942, a few hundred Jews, mostly those found in hiding, were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Hrubieszów.[15] About 200 Jews remained in the town to sort through the belongings of those who had been deported and assist with burying those who had been shot. These Jews were housed in what became known as the Jatkowa camp.[16] One Jew who emerged from hiding described the doors standing open and smashed windows he found in the empty ghetto area. He then

joined the Jatkowa camp laborers and worked 12 hours "muscling furniture down flights of stairs and into trucks, yanking down draperies, piling up pots and pans, dishes, utensils, linens, and lamps, dumping out drawers of shirts, socks, underwear, and baby clothes. He felt ashamed as he and the others handled, even evaluated, the personal belongings of their faceless owners."[17] In May 1943, most of the Jews that remained in Hrubieszów (about 450) were sent to the labor camp at Budzyń, although some were shot on the spot.

On May 3, 1968, a local court (Landgericht) in Hildesheim, Germany, sentenced Johann Demant, who had served as a Kriminalsekretär at the Grenzpolizeiposten in Hrubieszów, to life in prison. In 1942, he participated in the shooting of more than 100 Jews from Hrubieszów at the time of the deportations to Sobibór.[18]

SOURCES Publications dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Hrubieszów include the following: Baruch Kaplinsky, ed., *Pinkas Hrubieshov: Memorial to a Jewish Community in Poland* (Organization of Former Jewish Inhabitants of Hrubieszow in Israel, 1962); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 28 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 674a and 674b; *Shorashim shelanu: Le-zekher kedoshei Hrubieszow, 1939–1945*, 5 vols. (Tel Aviv: Organization of Former Jewish Inhabitants of Hrubieszow in Israel, 1990–1995); and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 147–152.

Published memoirs relating to Hrubieszów include the following: Henry Orenstein, *I Shall Live: Surviving Against All Odds, 1939–1945* (New York: Beaufort Books, 1988); Meyer Megdal, *My Holocaust Testimony* (Van Nuys, CA: Meyer Megdal, 1994); and Michael Korenblit and Kathleen Janger, *Until We Meet Again* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1983).

Documents on the extermination of the Jews in Hrubieszów can be found in the following archives: APL (GDL, 270, 283); AŻIH (211/445 [JSS]; 301/649, 1129, 1134, 2182, and 4333 [Relacje]; 302/125; and Ring I/550, 810, 811, 814, 815, 1132); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 91/1961); FVA (# 9, 942, 943, 944); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, JSS]; RG-15.019M; RG-15.079M [AŻIH, Ring]; RG-15.084 [AŻIH, Relacje]); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/2140, 3135, 4237, 4238, 4328, 7158, 10488, and M.10.AR1/814).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RS 4/540, reports of 5th Squadron on December 1, 2, and 6, 1939; M. Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah. Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt, 2005), p. 51; AŻIH, 301/2182, testimony of Motel Kaufman.
2. Megdal, *My Holocaust Testimony*, p. 11.
3. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 151.
4. *JuNS-V*, vol. 28, Lfd. Nr. 674a, p. 176, dates the formation of the "ghetto" in the late summer of 1941; Megdal, *My Holocaust Testimony*, p. 11, dates it in the summer of 1940; AŻIH, 301/2182, dates it shortly before the deportation Aktion in June 1942, which appears to be most likely.
5. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/1132 [767].
6. APL, Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin, 270, letter of Busse to U-Abt. Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge in Lublin, September 27, 1941.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/445, p. 29.
8. T. Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957), table 5.
9. On Zionist activity in the region, see, for example, David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 170–172; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/550 [771.]; Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*, trans. Emma Harris (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 762, referring to members of Betar.
10. YVA, M.10.AR1/814, "Hrubieszów—spichrz Polski," June 30, 1942.
11. *JuNS-V*, vol. 28, Lfd. Nr. 674a, pp. 176–177. A copy of one of these work certificates dated May 12, 1942, is reproduced in Kaplinsky, *Pinkas Hrubieshov*, p. 17.
12. KH Busse an U-Abt. Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge in Lublin, May 22, 1942, published in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani, 1955), p. 196; APL, GDL, 893.
13. AŻIH, 301/2182; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring I/810 [768], Ring I/811 [769], Ring I/814 [770], Ring I/815 [774].
14. Kaplinsky, *Pinkas Hrubieshov*, pp. 107, 16.
15. Ibid., p. xvi; Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," pp. 281–282. Orenstein, *I Shall Live*, pp. 108–109, dates the Aktion on October 20, 1942.
16. AŻIH, 301/2182; Megdal, *My Holocaust Testimony*, pp. 17–19.
17. Korenblit and Janger, *Until We Meet Again*, p. 85.
18. *JuNS-V*, vol. 28, Lfd. Nr. 674a and 674b, pp. 211–212, 215–218.

IRENA (DĘBLIN-IRENA)

Pre-1939: Irena (Yiddish: Modzhitz), town, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: initially Kreis Garwolin, Disrikt Warschau, then Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Dęblin, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Irena was located 68.7 kilometers (42.7 miles) northwest of Lublin. In 1953, it was incorporated into neighboring Dęblin. The two settlements popularly were long considered one, partly because Irena was established for civilians to provide services to the military stationed in Dęblin. In 1927, Dęblin-Irena's civilian population of 4,860 included 3,060 Jews.

Luftwaffe bombardment, from September 2 to 7, 1939, forced civilians to flee before the Wehrmacht occupied Irena on September 12. Ordered by regional military authorities to return, the Jews discovered their residences and businesses plundered. Military authorities fined the Jews 20,000 złoty

and mandated forced labor, initially clearing devastation and reconstructing the air base's landing fields.

In late 1939, the Germans ordered the Jews to wear armbands and to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its first chair was Leizer Teichman (Tajchman). He and subsequent council chairs softened German demands, mainly by establishing relations with the local Polish administration. Its members sometimes forewarned of searches and permitted some activities, including kosher slaughter, to continue illicitly for a while. An internal border shift resulted in Irena's incorporation, on April 1, 1940, into Distrikt Lublin. That summer, the Jewish Council sent conscripts to labor camps in Janiszów, Bełżec, and Pawłowice.[1]

Most survivors date the Irena ghetto's establishment to the winter of 1941. Kalman Fris (Fries) attributed ghettoization to the arrival in January 1941 of Kurt Lenk, the newly appointed Landkommissar of Dęblin and Ryki.[2] Maria Abramowicz-Rozencweig and Zvi Eichenbrenner remembered Lenk first ordering Jews evicted from certain streets before formally establishing the ghetto.[3] Eichenbrenner recalled Lenk initially banned Jewish residence between Warszawa and Sochacki Streets and then from all but the northern edge of the market square. Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) and American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) correspondence also suggest the formal ghettoization decree was issued ex post facto, shortly after March 20, 1942.[4] Because Jews initially were banned from the neighborhoods closest to roads leading to the two military bases and from the business district, the ghetto's establishment likely was related to the quartering of Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe soldiers in Dęblin prior to the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June. Placards, demarcating the ghetto's external borders, warned: "Typhus Danger! Strictly forbidden for Germans to enter!"[5]

Teichman oversaw the Jewish community for only part of the ghettoization process, as the JSS documentation notes the Jewish Council's membership was changed between January 20 and March 24, 1941.[6] Survivors report he and Karynfogel, the council secretary, were banished with their families to Wąwolnica for bribing several Gendarmes to expel from Irena an inebriated Kreis official searching a Jewish-owned house for textiles.[7] In late spring, Lenk was transferred to Kraśnik. Osternak, the Landkommissar in Chełm, was moved to Dęblin. Kalman Fris, appointed Jewish Council chair by Lenk, served a few months before arranging under Osternak to resign. He was succeeded in August by Vevel Shulman. In September, Drayfish, a refugee from Konin, replaced Shulman.

The Irena ghetto consisted of about six streets in the so-called Starówka (in colloquial Polish, Old Town) neighborhood, near Staromiejska Street. Its internal boundaries were composed of the part of Okólna Street just above the square, the Irenka River, Bankowa, and Staromiejska Streets. In September 1942, Staromiejska Street was excluded from the ghetto. Its residents were resettled on Bankowa Street. The ghetto was not fenced. Signs warned that the penalty for Jews leaving the ghetto without authorization was death.[8]

A Jewish police force guarded the ghetto from the inside. Gendarmes from the Dęblin post, commanded by Franz Filippi, were responsible for its external borders. In practice, members of a Sonderdienst unit, subordinated to the Gendarmerie, physically guarded the ghetto. Composed initially of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), the unit was reinforced with Ukrainians. A Polish auxiliary police force, mostly local pre-war policemen, assisted. German Gendarmes Rudolf Knappheider (Knapheide, Knapajder) and Johann Peterson and local resident Edward Brok (Brokov), the Sonderdienst's *Volksdeutsche* commander, were noted for humiliating, beating, and killing a number of ghetto residents.[9]

In March 1941, the ghetto population stood at 3,750. It included 565 refugees, mostly expellees from Puławy and the Warthegau and family of Dęblin-Irena natives who had fled ghettoization in Warsaw. In October, 85 families from nearby villages were resettled in the ghetto.[10] Overcrowding forced 7 to 15 people to share a room. Because Poles could enter the ghetto and Zaheva Amitz remembers some even residing there, the Jews survived by exchanging material goods with them for food. A secular school established by Aida Milgroijm-Citronbojm instructed (in Polish) 70 to 100 children.

Some ghetto conscripts worked for private German and Austrian firms, including the Schultz, Schwartz, and Hochtief construction companies, which oversaw various phases of the Warsaw-to-Lublin railway expansion. Most, though, labored either for the Wehrmacht or Luftwaffe. Women and children grew food for military canteens at the former agricultural school. Women and men unloaded coal from rail cars or cleaned the cars at the Wehrmacht's Dęblin railway inspectorate. About 200 to 300 male Jews conscripted by the Wehrmacht reported daily to the fortress. Another 200 to 400 worked at the air base repairing radios, altering airmen's uniforms, shoveling coal, and cutting wood. (Some conscripts were sent to work in similar capacities at smaller Luftwaffe bases, including in Ułęż and Zamość.) Until late in 1942, Jewish conscripts at the above work sites earned forced labor wages. Those conscripted for municipal tasks, such as street cleaning and snow clearing, received no remuneration.[11]

In May 1941, about 1,000 Jews from the Warsaw, Częstochowa, and Opole ghettos arrived in Dęblin to work at various work sites, including at the Luftwaffe air base, where 500 to 600 Warsaw Jews and a smaller number of Viennese deportees to Opole leveled land. When the camp closed in October, the Warsaw Jews were ordered to the Irena ghetto, and the Jews from Opole returned to their ghetto. (The Viennese paid bribes to remain at the camp.) In late December, another camp, established on the same site, interned 300 nonnative Jews to expand the air base's fuel storage facilities. The Viennese deportees provided the camp's Jewish administrative cadre.[12]

Conditions deteriorated in the ghetto from the winter of 1941–1942. The Germans requisitioned winter clothing, curtailed fuel rations, and suspended the use of stoves. Orders banning Poles from the ghetto resulted in waste collectors suspending services there. Latrines overfilled and trash piled

up. Dysentery and typhus outbreaks followed. The sick received treatment at an isolation facility and a 30-bed hospital, headed by Konin refugee Dr. Isaar Kawa. As black market trade dwindled, many left the ghetto to find food and fuel. Some 20 women caught outside the ghetto foraging were executed. Another 20 unregistered ghetto residents, all Warsaw ghetto escapees, met the same fate.[13] In April 1942, Drayfish, among a group of local Jews sent to a penal camp in Kazimierz Dolny reportedly for registering complaints with the Pulawy Kreishauptmann's office, was shot. Timber merchant Yisrael Weinberg replaced him. A fire left 50 families homeless.[14]

On May 6, 1942, German-led security forces arrived to order the Jews assembled by 9:00 A.M. at the market square. Jews still living in several nearby villages, including Bobrowniki, also were marched there. Surrounded by an armed guard of German and Ukrainian police, a small German SS contingent, and a force of SS Ukrainian auxiliaries, the Jews waited hours, likely because a Luftwaffe officer was obtaining permission to expand the construction camp's inmate population to 1,200.[15] At 2:00 P.M., about 1,000 conscripts and labor camp inmates were marched from work sites to the square and ordered into a separate line. Local employers' representatives began designating about 200 to 500 others to remain in Irena. The "resettlement" lines became composed overwhelmingly of the sick, the elderly, mothers and their infants and dependent children, and those left homeless by the fire. About 42 to 50 people were killed, mainly trying to join the laborers' line. At about 6:00 P.M., the Ukrainian auxiliaries marched 2,300 to 2,500 Jews to the Dęblin train station. From there, the deportees were sent to the Sobibór extermination facility.[16]

On May 13–14, 1942, 2,042 deportees from Prešov, Slovakia, were resettled into the ghetto. In August, the JSS noted 5,800 Jews were residing in Irena: 1,800 native and 4,000 nonnative Jews. Many of the additional 2,000 residents had been designated for labor in Dęblin-Irena during their communities' expulsions. This group included about 200 people from Ryki, 300 from Gniewoszów and Zwoleń (100 of which were sent to a labor camp in Staw and the remainder assigned to work for the Schultz firm in Dęblin), and a similarly sized group from Stężyca. Others were fugitives from deportations in Baranów nad Wieprzem, Ryki, Gniewoszów, and from October, Adamów.[17]

Because local Jews were convinced only the employed would survive another deportation, they filled the best available jobs, leaving 200 Prešov deportees positions as unpaid municipal conscripts. About 180 to 200 Slovaks were included in a quota expansion at the Schultz firm. Some skilled Slovaks found work at the Luftwaffe construction site camp, where, in late May, 400 locals and 300 Prešov, Viennese, and Warsaw deportees worked.[18] Unaccustomed to the ghetto's poor sanitation, many Slovak deportees contracted typhus and perished.

By May 31, 1942, about 900 ghetto residents, including 250 from Prešov, 350 from Ryki, and 300 from Dęblin-Irena, were ordered to reside permanently at their work sites and officially forbidden to leave them. JSS officials reported all ghetto inhabitants soon would be required to live similarly, but in July it noted only 1,000 presently did so, because barracks had not been constructed at most work locations.[19]

On October 15, 1942, members of the German Gendarmerie, police auxiliaries, airfield Luftwaffe troops, and SS-Obersturmführer Grossman, commander of the Puławy SD, arrived to clear the ghetto. Some 215 to 500 people, mostly Prešov deportees still packing their belongings, were shot dead during house-to-house searches. About 2,000 to 2,500 Jews, mainly Slovak expellees, were sent to the Treblinka extermination facility. Ordered the previous evening confined to workplaces, approximately 2,500 to 2,700 laborers, including the 1,000 labor camp inmates, were retained. Another 100 people, mostly Judenrat members, Jewish Police, and their families, were designated to clear the deportees' belongings from the ghetto.[20] Many evaded deportation including by attempting to enter the Luftwaffe camp. Some were shot dead at the camp's gates. About 500 people, including 60 to 90 children (under age 12) and laborers from other work sites without barracks, entered the camp, usually in exchange for bribes.

The ghetto ceased to exist on October 28, 1942, when the Jewish Police, Judenrat members, and their families were marched to the Schultz camp and the approximately 2,800 remaining Jews were ordered to reside permanently at their work sites (now all labor camps). A third deportation, either that same day or about two weeks later, encompassed about 1,000 people, including the Wehrmacht conscripts from the fortress and 200 to 500 of the 1,500 Luftwaffe camp inmates. The deportees were murdered, most likely at Treblinka. In May or perhaps July 1943, most surviving inmates at the railway inspectorate, or Ostbahn camp, were sent via Końskowola to the Poniatowa labor camp.[21] The deportees likely were mostly railway construction laborers as Stamphian Fidelis remembers the camp's remaining inmates, those assigned to the railway inspectorate, being deported in the fall of 1943.

The last deportation left 1,000 to 1,200 Jews in Dęblin-Irena, all inmates at the Luftwaffe construction camp, one of the longest-lived Jewish labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.[22] On July 22, 1944, the day the Red Army liberated Lublin, the camp's 800 to 900 surviving inmates, including 400 to 600 Dęblin-Irena Jews, were evacuated to Częstochowa. Incarcerated initially at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) camps, about half the deportees, including all but about 20 children, survived the war.

SOURCES Published testimonies from survivors are in the yizkor book, David Sztokfisz, ed., *Sefer Demblin-Modz'its* (Tel Aviv: Irgune Demblin-Modz'its ba-Arets uve-ḥul, 1969), which has appeared in English translation as *Demblin-Modzjitz [Memorial] Book* (Tel Aviv, 1994). The second is available electronically at the Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, and at jewishgen.org.

Published autobiographies or memoirs by survivors include Ignatz (Yisrael) Bubis, *Ich bin ein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens: Ein autobiographisches Gespräch mit Edith Kohn* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1993), pp. 51–64, 67; Stanley Hochmann, *Mr. Fate, or, My Personal World War II Memoirs* (Toronto, 1998); Charles Schulman, *Ne dis jamais que*

tu vas ton dernier chemin, 2nd ed. (Paris: Publieur, 2003); and for a juvenile audience, Samuel R. Harris, *Sammy: Child Survivor of the Holocaust*, ed. Cheryl Gorder (Mesa, AZ: Bluebird, 1999). Hermann Wenkart, *Befehlsnotstand Anders Gesehen: Tatsachenbericht eines jüdischen Lagerfunktionärs* (Vienna, 1969), by the Austrian deportee to Opole who served as the Jewish "commander" of the Dęblin-Irena Luftwaffe construction camp, is controversial.

Secondary works include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999); Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007); and Josef Edmund Lucinski, *Homoe-Homini: Czyli martyrologia* [*sic*] *Żydow w Dęblinie* (Association of Friends of Deblin, 1987), a work available at some libraries but an archival holding at USHMM, listed at RG-03.003*01, which draws on survivors' recollections to map the location of the ghetto, the labor camps, the two Soviet POW camps in Dęblin, and the mass graves of World War II victims.

Important tables, contextualizing the first two Dęblin-Irena deportations, appear in Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 76; and David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), pp. 261, 271, 280, 344–347.

Documentation on the fate of the Dęblin-Irena Jewish community during World War II can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/318, 211 [141, pp. 47, 49, 71, 73; 450–451; 646, pp. 23, 26], 301 [112, 639, 789, 1168, 1443, 1444, 1447, 3682, 4389, 4488, 4498, 4886, 5099]); BA-L (B 162/5939); FVA (e.g., HVT [# 648, 717, 1065, 1366, 1888, 3164, 3870]); IPN (Ankiety, ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., S-57/09/Zn); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1995.A.0249; Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-02.163; RG-03.003*01; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 6, 61/43, 46, 47]); VHF (e.g., # 3071, 3600, 3910, 14342, 18951, 23790, 43083); YVA (e.g., M-1/E [874, 1327, 1328, 1372, 1627]; O-3 [2951, 9077, 9295]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH, JSS), 211/450, pp. 11–12.
2. BA-L, B 162/5939, p. 854 (deposition, Kalman Fris).
3. AŻIH, 301/1443, p. 1.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/450, pp. 13, 40; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC), 210/318, p. 44.
5. Quoted by Z. Eichenbrenner in *Demblin-Modzjitz*, p. 342.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/450, p. 13.
7. Compare *Demblin-Modzjitz*, pp. 402–403, 517–521 (testimonies, respectively, of Binyamin Stamler and Kalman Paris).
8. AŻIH, 301/1444, testimony of Josek Rosenblum, p. 2.
9. BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 856, 860–861, 864–865 (respectively, depositions of Fris, Awraham Abenstein, and Jakow Malchi); AŻIH, 301/1168, testimony of Majer Salzman, pp. 1–2.
10. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/318, pp. 1, 2, 11, 14, 44; and Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/450, pp. 2, 11, 44, 46.
11. AŻIH, 301/112, testimony of Izak Fischfeld, p. 10; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/451, p. 38.
12. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/450, pp. 22, 26; AŻIH, 301/112, pp. 4–6.
13. BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 854–855, 1024 (depositions, Pesia Konner and Fris, respectively).
14. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/451, pp. 25–26, 29, 30.
15. AŻIH, 301/112, pp. 6–7.
16. Deportation figures from USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 211/451, pp. 32, 30, 38.
17. AŻIH, 301/4137, testimony of Mojżesz Zilberszpan; 301/18, testimony of Perec Szapiro, pp. 6–7; 301/1447, testimony of Zygmunt Motek, pp. 1–2; and 301/639, testimony of Rubin Rosenberg, pp. 1–2.
18. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 211/451, pp. 30, 32.
19. Ibid., pp. 32–33, 38, 53–54.
20. AŻIH, 301/1444, pp. 2–3.
21. Ibid., 301/4488, Sztanbuch testimony, pp. 2–3; 301/3682, testimony of Ber Zalcman, p. 3.
22. Ibid., 301/112, pp. 9–10.

IZBICA (NAD WIEPRZEM)

Pre-1939: Izbica (nad Wieprzem), town, Krasnystaw powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Krasnystaw, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Krasnystaw powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Izbica (nad Wieprzem) is located 58 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Lublin. The last census taken before World War II recorded around 4,500 Jews living in Izbica (92 percent of the total population).

The Germans first occupied Izbica on September 15, 1939. Immediately on entering the town, they seized goods from Jewish shops as a tribute. After a few days, the German army withdrew, permitting the Soviet army to occupy part of the Lublin region for several days. The Jewish residents of Izbica welcomed the Soviets as liberators. On September 28, 1939, the Soviet army retreated from Izbica under the revised terms



Jewish men are forced to load a munitions train under German supervision near Izbica (nad Wieprzem), July 3, 1941.
USHMM WS #07713, COURTESY OF NARA

of the Nazi-Soviet agreement. Some Jewish residents, mainly young men, left with the Soviet army. In the brief period after the Soviets left and before the Germans reentered, a group of local Poles threw stones at some Jews who had allegedly collaborated with the Soviets, killing one person and wounding several others.[1]

By early October 1939, German forces again had occupied Izbica. Another wave of looting ensued, in which the Jews were especially badly affected. At the end of 1939, the German authorities prohibited the Jews from engaging in trade and also from leaving the town to barter with the surrounding population. Nevertheless, an illicit trade continued between Jews and Christians. Since Jewish children under the age of 14 were not required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David, they sneaked out to exchange goods and personal possessions for food.[2]

From the end of 1939, the Germans began resettling Jews into Izbica from Polish towns further to the west that had been incorporated into the Third Reich, including Koło, Kalisz, and Łódź. In March 1941, more than 1,000 Jews from Kreis Konin were deported via Łódź to Izbica.[3] By August 1941, around 7,000 Jews were living in Izbica, including nearly 2,000 refugees and expellees.[4] As one survivor recounts, "[D]ozens of people lived in every Jewish residence. Fifteen people, including small children, were compressed into one room with my family. It was impossible to get anything to sleep on. Everyone lay on the bare floor. There was no fuel for heating; there was only hunger and filth. An epidemic of typhus fever broke out."[5]

At the start of 1940, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in Izbica. Abraham Blatt was appointed as its head, and his deputy was a merchant named Schneidermesser. Other members of the Judenrat were Mosser Sznajd, Milsztajn, Zylberberg, Bron, and Klajner.[6] In the view of some Jews who survived, chairman Blatt and his deputy Schneidermesser collaborated with the occupying authorities rather too eagerly.[7] At first, the main task of the Judenrat in Izbica was to select people for labor, so its members put together a list of able-bodied men and women. Assisted by the Judenrat, the Germans established a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), which at its inception had 40 members.[8]

In November 1939, the Nazis installed a civil administration in Izbica. Its local representative was the ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) Johann (Jan) Schulz, who had been an assistant to a Jewish watchmaker before the war. From the start, he issued a series of regulations severely restricting the rights of Jews and Poles. At the end of 1940, an SD detachment was established in Izbica, headed by Kurt Engels; his deputy was Ludwik Klemm. The detachment served the entire Kreis Krasnystaw, arresting and carrying out other punitive measures against Jews and Poles.[9]

Besides the Judenrat, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization also functioned in Izbica. It managed a communal kitchen and a makeshift Jewish hospital, which was located in the synagogue. The hospital had to serve the entire Kreis Krasnystaw but was only capable of treating around 40 patients at a time.[10]

From the start of the German occupation, Jews were forced to perform heavy labor in the town. The work tasks included street cleaning. In the spring of 1940, a few hundred Jews were sent off to labor camps located within Distrikt Lublin. Some went to Szczepanów, others to Ruda-Opalin (close to Chełm). The largest group was deported to Bełżec, the largest camp in the Distrikt. There Jews had to work digging trenches close to the German-Soviet border.[11]

The last wave of Polish Jews who were resettled into Izbica came in March and April 1941 when the Germans resettled around 1,000 people from the city of Lublin. A closed ghetto did not exist in Izbica at the time. However, Jews were not allowed to leave the designated borders of the town, and this regulation has led some observers to conclude that the entire town resembled a large "open ghetto." It was bordered on three sides by hills and, on the fourth (Tarnogór) side, by the Wieprz River. Jews could not even move freely within the town. However, Izbica was not listed as a ghetto in the report of Kreishauptmann Schmidt to Distrikt-level authorities in September 1941, although it was clearly viewed as a *Judenstadt* (or place of Jewish concentration) by German authorities.

Despite the restrictions, a few Jewish groups carried on clandestine exchanges of goods with the help of Poles, for example, at a local tannery, where the Jews prepared hides for sale.[12] At the end of 1941 and in early 1942, the Germans confiscated furs and woolen goods from the Jews in Izbica for the Wehrmacht.

After the Wannsee Conference in January 1942, Izbica became the initial destination for Jews deported from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (the Theresienstadt ghetto), Germany, Austria, and Slovakia. The choice of Izbica reflected its location on the main line between Lublin and Bełżec, where the Nazis established an extermination camp in November 1941.

The first transport to Izbica arrived on March 13, 1942. It carried 1,001 Czech Jews who had been deported from Theresienstadt. In total, there were 16 transports scheduled to reach Izbica, although some of these Jews were soon sent on to other locations. The last transport arrived in early June 1942.[13] The following table (see next page) indicates the scheduled deportations to Izbica from German documentation.[14]

Since the foreign Jews arrived in Izbica while there were still Polish Jews in the town, overcrowding was severe, and there was no space for the deportees. The German authorities simply crammed them into the houses occupied by Polish Jews. As one survivor recalled: "First they ordered us to stand up. Then they pushed us into one house. Thirty people were crammed together into one place. Sheets of paper were glued over the broken windows. It was impossible to breathe. We could not sit. We were packed so tightly that we had to stand up all day and all night."[15]

After a few days, the first mass deportation Aktion was carried out. The Germans took some of the Polish Jews "abroad" to an unknown location. As further transports arrived in Izbica, the new arrivals had to wait for an available place to stay, and all the buildings were overcrowded. Living and especially hygiene conditions were appalling. The deport-

Date of Transport's Arrival in Izbica (Where Known)	**Number of Persons**	**Place of Origin for Those Deported**
March 13, 1942	1,001 (500 Jews from this transport were sent on to Kraśniczyn)	Theresienstadt
March 19, 1942	1,003 (500 Jews from this transport were sent on to Krasnystaw and 500 to Gorzków)	Theresienstadt
March 25, 1942	955	Germany (probably Aachen, Koblenz, Kassel)
March 27, 1942	1,008 (part may have been sent to Kraśniczyn)	Germany (Franconia: Nürnberg, Würzburg, Bamberg, Fürth)
Departed Vienna April 9, 1942	998	Austria (Vienna)
Departed Breslau (Wrocław) April 13, 1942	1,000	Breslau
April 24, 1942	942	Germany (Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Essen, Krefeld, Oberhausen, Wuppertal, Mönchengladbach)
April 29, 1942	628	Germany (Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart)
April 30, 1942	600 (transport underwent a selection process in Lublin)	Theresienstadt
May 9, 1942	784 (transport underwent a selection process in Lublin)	Germany (Frankfurt am Main)
May 15, 1942	1,001	Austria (Vienna)
May 18, 1942	1,006	Austria (Vienna)
May 26, 1942	835 (transport underwent a selection process in Lublin)	Germany (Frankfurt am Main)
May 29, 1942	1,052 (transport underwent a selection process in Lublin)	Slovakia (Spišska Nová Ves)
May 30, 1942	1,000 (transport underwent a selection process in Lublin)	Slovakia (Poprad)
June 5, 1942	1,001	Austria (Vienna)

ees also suffered severely from hunger. Not until the summer of 1942, when Jews were being sent to the extermination camps, did the occupation officials provide rations for the Jews. The situation was scarcely ameliorated by the actions of the JSS. The majority of the deportees were women, children, and the elderly. Many of them had left all their possessions in Lublin and had nothing to live on in Izbica. Deaths from starvation and exhaustion occurred daily. Only a few people were more fortunate, managing to obtain food and survive by working on estates in Tarnogór or in one of the two labor camps close to Izbica at Augustówka and Bzite.[16]

Cultural conflicts were common between the Polish Jews and the Jews who arrived in Izbica from other countries. A majority of the non-Polish Jews was assimilated, had liberal attitudes towards religion and tradition, and did not speak Yiddish. The conflict was exploited and deepened by the Germans, who deliberately set the groups against each other. In 1942, they set up one Judenrat for the Polish Jews and one for the Jews transported to Izbica. Only the members of the non-Polish Judenrat are known: Dr. A. Lob Pauner, Ludwig Wienheber, Dr. Nathan Rosenthal, and Hugo Kolb.[17] Separate branches of the JSS for each group were established. During the course of the various Aktions the non-Polish Jewish policemen arrested Polish Jews, and vice versa.[18]

The first deportation Aktion in Izbica took place on March 24, 1942. Around 2,200 Polish Jews were deported to the extermination camp at Bełżec. Several dozen Jews were also shot on the spot, mainly by the local SS officers Kurt Engels and Ludwik Klemm. The bodies of those who were shot were taken to the Jewish cemetery and buried there.[19] The deportations were supervised by officers from the SS training camp (SS-*Ausbildungslager*) in Trawniki and by the Gendarmerie from Krasnystaw, with the assistance of the Polish (Blue) Police.

The next Aktion took place on May 12–15, 1942. The Germans organized a mass deportation Aktion for Kreis Krasnystaw. First, several hundred Jewish men—both Polish and non-Polish—were taken from Izbica to the concentration camp in Majdanek. A second group consisting of around 400 people was deported to the extermination camp in Sobibór.[20]

After a short time, the Polish Jews began to comprehend the fate of the deportees to Bełżec. During subsequent Aktions, many people tried to escape and hide in Izbica or in the nearby forests. Most of the non-Polish Jews at this time obediently assembled on the Izbica marketplace, then were led

away in columns to the Izbica railway station. These Jews only recognized more slowly the fate of those deported.[21]

On June 8, 1942, another deportation Aktion took place, this time directed against those deemed unfit for work. There were many Jews in Izbica who fell into this category. Around 2,000 Polish and non-Polish Jews were deported, probably to Bełżec.[22]

On July 6–7, 1942, the Germans rounded up Jews found hiding in Izbica. Many Jews had been hiding with families. On July 8, an unknown number were discovered and deported to Sobibór.[23]

From mid-July until the fall of 1942, the situation in Izbica was relatively calm. No further deportations were carried out. But within the town, mainly in the meadows and in the area where the Jewish cemetery was located, Jews were arrested by the SD. There were several executions of Jews ordered personally by Kurt Engels and Ludwik Klemm. The executions were carried out on the grounds that Jews were trading illegally, having contacts with Poles, storing weapons, or corresponding with co-religionists. This last accusation was commonly made against the non-Polish Jews after May 1942.[24]

An example of such clandestine correspondence is the letter sent by Ernst Krombach in Izbica to his fiancée back in Germany, dated August 22–23, 1942. Uncensored, Krombach provides a uniquely frank and detailed description of conditions in Izbica. He notes: "Everything is forbidden; the penalty as above [death]. Leaving the ordained district [*Verlassen des vorgeschriebenen Quartiers*] before 7:00 A.M. or after 7 P.M. Bartering, buying or selling or speaking to Polish Aryans. . . . Sending letters or other messages. Leaving the city limits." This seems to imply that a separate Jewish quarter (open ghetto) with its own curfew rules existed by this time, in addition to the law confining Jews to the town.

Krombach notes also the previous deportations: "Many transports have left here. Of the approximately 14,000 Jews who arrived, only 2,000 to 3,000 are still here. They go off in cattle trucks, subject to the most brutal treatment." Even though these deportations had by then ceased for a while, things were not all rosy or calm: "We have become used to shootings. No week goes by without something happening: evacuation, roundups of people on the street for work in the vicinity, visits from outside SS, house searches, confiscation of particular items, etc." Regarding living conditions: "'Hygiene' is a joke. Everything is filthy, lice (particularly clothes lice that spread typhus), fleas, bugs. There are few latrines. Sewage flows through unpaved streets (stench, illness)."[25]

The last wave of forced resettlement into Izbica and deportations from there to the concentration and extermination camps took place in the fall of 1942. Starting in October 1942, Izbica became the central (or collection) ghetto for Polish Jews in Kreis Krasnystaw. Several thousand Jews were brought to Izbica from Krasnystaw, Żółkiewka, and Turobin and also from places within the Zamość district. The last Jews from Zamość and Krasnobród were driven to Izbica on foot. It is not known exactly how many Jews were in Izbica at that time, but one may estimate that around 6,000 Jews came to Izbica from the surrounding towns.[26] The Judenrat was also reorganized. Chairmen and representatives from other Judenräte now became part of the Judenrat in Izbica.[27]

On October 19, 1942, more than 5,000 Jews were deported from Izbica in the largest of the "resettlement" Aktions. The operation was directed by the Security Police from Izbica, Zamość, and Lublin. The German civil administration from Krasnystaw also took part. The Germans used the Polish (Blue) Police to round up the Jews. The policemen received monetary rewards for finding Jews in hiding. This Aktion was particularly bloody. At least 500 Jews were shot on the platform of the railway station in Izbica. The Germans liquidated the orphanage in Izbica and shot all the children there. The Jews who remained alive were transported to Bełżec and Sobibór.[28]

During the Aktion, many Jews escaped from Izbica, hiding in the nearby fields. Afterwards they returned and fell into the German trap. On November 2, 1942, more than 4,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec and Sobibór. The trains for the resettlement shuttled back and forth nonstop. Those for whom there was no space in the wagons, or who were captured while in hiding, were taken into a barn by the guards. After a few days they were taken to the Jewish cemetery, where under the supervision of Kurt Engels they were shot. More than 1,000 Jews were killed in this fashion.[29] At the end, Engels personally shot the chairman of the Judenrat, Abraham Blatt, and his deputy, Schneidermesser.

On October 28, 1942, the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, ordered the creation of a remnant ghetto (*Restghetto*) in Izbica. All those Jews who had managed to survive the last deportation were collected in this ghetto, namely, those found hiding in Izbica or the nearby wooded areas and also the Jews who had escaped from other ghettos. The ghetto consisted of several buildings near the Altmanów Tannery on Stokowa and Cicha Streets, near the former brick factory at Kulik Street. The remnant ghetto was also an open ghetto. Jews worked there in the tannery and the brick factory. A new Judenrat was formed, and it was headed by Leon-Lejb Blatt and Tadeusz Cwekin. Its purpose was to attract Jews who were hiding elsewhere in the region.[30]

In January 1943, 700 Jews were deported from this ghetto to Sobibór. The final liquidation of the ghetto took place on April 28, 1943. The last 200 Jews were packed onto trucks and sent to Sobibór.[31]

Between 1940 and early 1943, more than 20,000 Polish and non-Polish Jews passed through the Izbica ghettos. From Izbica itself, a mere 14 Jews managed to survive the war in hiding.[32]

Although Kurt Engels and Ludwik Klemm were arrested, they were never tried. Following their arrests, in Hamburg and Limburg, respectively, they both committed suicide. The main German trial record concerning Izbica was the case before the regional court in Kassel (LG-Kass, 3a Ks 1/51), which resulted in an acquittal in 1952.

SOURCES Until recently there were no publications about the ghetto in Izbica. Robert Kuwałek has published two articles: "Getta tranzytowe w dystrykcie lubelskim," in D. Libi-

onka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), pp. 138–160; and "Das Durchgangsghetto in Izbica," in J. Milotova, U. Rathgeber, and M. Wörgebauer, eds., *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente* (Sefer: Prague, 2003), pp. 321–352. Information on the Izbica ghetto can also be found in the memoirs of a survivor of Sobibór who originally came from Izbica, Thomas-Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, IL, Northwestern University Press, 1997); and in David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003). The book by Mark Roseman, *A Past in Hiding: Memory and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New York: Metropolitan, 2001), also contains valuable information on the Izbica ghetto from the perspective of the German-Jewish deportee, Ernst Krombach, who wrote two detailed letters to his fiancée, Marianne Ellenbogen (née Strauss).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., GDL, 897-898; and RZ, 169); AŻIH (301/10, 29, 1518, 5953 [Relacje]; 211/138 and 607 [JSS]); IPN-Lu (OKL, 252/46; and OKL/Ds. 3/67); USHMM (Acc. 1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF; YVA (e.g., JM/10454); and ŽmP.

Robert Kuwałek and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. R. Adamski, "Izbica nad Wieprzem" (memoir), MSS in the collection of the Bełżec Memorial Museum, p. 44.
2. AŻIH, 301/1518, testimony of Henoch Nobel, p. 4.
3. APL, RZ, 169; and GDL, 897-898, as cited by Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," p. 140.
4. AŻIH, 211/138, report about the situation in Izbica, August 16, 1941, pp. 24–25.
5. Ibid., 301/1518, p. 4.
6. Ibid., p. 3.
7. Ibid., 301/10, testimony of Salomon Podchlebnik, p. 3.
8. Ibid., 301/1518, p. 3.
9. J. Janeczek, "Zbrodnicza działalność Kurta Engelsa i Ludwika Klemma na terenie powiatu krasnostawskiego w okresie okupacji niemieckiej w latach 1941–1943," in *Byliśmy sercem wsi. Materiały z sesji popularnonaukowej w Krasnymstawie 19 września 2003* (Warsaw: Ludowe Towarzystwo Naukowo-Kulturalne Oddział LTN-K w Krasnymstawie, Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego w Warszawie, 2004), pp. 67–68.
10. AŻIH, 211/138, p. 24.
11. Ibid., 301/1518, pp. 3–5.
12. Ibid., 301/5953, testimony of Stefan Sendłak: "Ostatni etap przed śmiercią," pp. 3–4; PARK, testimonies of Janina Kić and Halina Błaszczyk.
13. Kuwałek, "Getta tranzytowe w dystrykcie lubelskim," pp. 143–144.
14. The table is based on Kuwałek, "Das Durchgangsghetto," pp. 326–327; and *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 2006), vol. 4, pp. 18–19.
15. ŽmP, Collection of Memoirs, Tape no. 162, interview with Hela Danielova (née Troller).
16. For further details about conditions in Izbica, see Kuwałek, "Das Durchgangsghetto," pp. 328–332; about labor camps for the Jews in Augustówka and Bzite, see AŻIH, 211/607, letter of the members of the Camp Council in Augustówka, June 24, 1942.
17. AŻIH, 301/29, testimony of Chaskiel Menche; A. Müller, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg 1146–1945* (Nürnberg: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, 1968), p. 288.
18. PARK, interview given by Thomas-Toivi Blatt to the author, 2000.
19. T. Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 70; IPN-Lu, OKL/Ds. 3/67, statement of Irena Pańko.
20. Z. Leszczyńska, *Kronika obozu koncentracyjnego na Majdanku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1983), p. 76; Y. Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka. The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 390.
21. PARK, interviews with Thomas-Toivi Blatt, 2000, and Janina Kić and Halina Błaszczyk, 2003.
22. Berenstein, "Martyrologia," p. 70; PARK, interview with Thomas-Toivi Blatt, 2000.
23. AŻIH, 301/29, p. 2.
24. Kuwałek, "Das Durchgangsghetto," p. 334.
25. For the full translated text (in English), see Roseman, *A Past in Hiding*, pp. 186–197. For other examples of correspondence from Izbica, see Karl H. Mistele, *The End of a Community: The Destruction of the Jews of Bamberg, Germany, 1938–1942*, trans. Jacob Feuchtwanger (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1995), pp. 164–168.
26. AŻIH, 301/72, testimony of Leon Feldhendler. According to Feldhendler, the Kreishauptmann wanted the (collection) ghetto in Krasnystaw. The Gestapo wanted to create the Judenstadt in Izbica. In the end the compromise was that a ghetto was established in the Judenstadt of Izbica. From Zamość alone, some 3,000 to 4,000 Jews were forcibly transferred to Izbica.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 9 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1972), Lfd. Nr. 316a, LG-Kass, 3a Ks 1/51 (trial of R., former official of the German Kreishauptmannschaft in Krasnystaw, other mass destruction crimes at Izbica near Lublin), pp. 607–618.
29. AŻIH, 301/72 (Feldhendler was deported at that time to Sobibór); PARK, interviews with Janina Kić and Halina Błaszczyk, 2003.
30. Adamski, "Izbica nad Wieprzem" p. 64; PARK, interview with Thomas-Toivi Blatt, 2000.
31. T. T. Blatt, *Sobibor: The Forgotten Revolt—A Survivor's Report* (H.E.P. Issaquah, 1998), p. 31.
32. PARK, interview with Thomas-Toivi Blatt, 2000.

JANÓW PODLASKI

Pre-1939: Janów Podlaski (Yiddish: Yanov), town, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Janow Podlaski, Kreis Biala Podlaska, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post–1998: Janów Podlaski, village, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Janów Podlaski, now located on the Polish border with the Republic of Belarus, lies by road some 143 kilometers (89 miles) northeast of Lublin. In 1938, the larger Janów Podlaski gmina

counted 4,010 inhabitants, including 1,947 Jews. In August 1939, 1,713 Jews resided in the town of Janów Podlaski.[1]

In September 1939, the first month of World War II, Red Army forces occupied Janów. Because of the territorial provisions in the September 28 German-Soviet treaty, the soldiers abandoned the town to German forces on October 9 and joined the larger Soviet withdrawal behind the Bug River, located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) east of Janów. Some 200 to 400 Janów Jews followed the soldiers.

Polish-Christian eyewitness Franciszka Olesiejuk (née Iwaniuk) recalled that the Germans, upon occupying Janów, ordered Jews and Christians separated from one another. She suggested that Jews from nearby villages were ordered to reside in Janów at this time. Survivor Mosheh Pakman described the Germans as imposing numerous housing restrictions on the Jews.[2] In late 1939, the Germans ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) established. Its chair was Maks Kaminer.[3]

The arrival of German Border Police (Grenzpolizei), concerns about border security, and the Wehrmacht's decision to send veterinarians and equine specialists to reestablish the renowned Arabian horse breeding program on the nearby farm in Wygoda (pre-war Biała Podlaska powiat) all likely contributed to the early establishment of a ghetto in Janów. In April 1942, Josel Pinkus, the head of the Janów Podlaski Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), reported the ghetto had existed since 1940. He described it as a Jewish quarter (*dzielnica żydowska*) or an unfenced open ghetto. The ghetto included 121 residential buildings, comprising 420 rooms. Its population of 2,011 included 300 refugees.[4]

Overcrowding posed less of a health risk than in some ghettos. On average, five people resided in each room in the ghetto. Contamination of the ghetto's only water source required residents to boil water before drinking.

From the spring of 1940, local inhabitants could contract Jewish labor. Young children working as shepherds or cow herders were permitted to live outside the ghetto with their non-Jewish employers.[5] Few opportunities other than unpaid forced labor, including at the Wygoda horse farm, likely existed for adult wage earners. In September 1940, the JSS's organizational predecessor reported: "Jewish residents are denied any possibility of earning."[6] With the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, a large number of male craftsmen, mostly shoemakers and tailors, were ordered to a labor camp established in Biała Podlaska to provide services to Wehrmacht troops stationed there.[7]

In August 1941, Kreis-level JSS officials sought permission from the Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann for the Janów dentist Hendla Poswonska and dental laboratory worker Mordko Listgarten to travel beyond the ghetto to care for Jews in communities such as Konstantynów (nad Bugiem), located along the road to Biała Podlaska.[8] After several dozen Jews contracted typhus in the winter of 1940–1941, the Jewish Council arranged for a physician, an expellee from Vienna, to settle in Janów. He likely arrived in late 1941.[9]

Because it could not afford to purchase food on the free market, the JSS established a community kitchen, but only after Herbert Kühl, appointed Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann in December 1941, allotted the charity winter rations from cheaper government stores. In January 1942, the first month of kitchen operations in Janów, the charity used its 2,700-kilogram (5,953-pound) potato ration to provide subsidized daily meals to 300 of the most impoverished ghetto residents, including 90 children (about 22.5 percent of all Jews were under 18 years of age). Twice as many people qualified for the meals.[10]

In May 1942, the SS ordered a large group of Jewish men to the Wehrmacht camp in Biała Podlaska and to camps the Luftwaffe had established in and around Małaszewicze Duże for airfield expansion projects. The labor drafts were part of a coordinated regional effort by German civilian, military, and SS authorities to retain a small number of "useful Jews" for labor before the liquidation of the Jewish communities of Kreis Biala Podlaska.

The June 8–11, 1942, deportation of some 3,000 Jews in the Biała Podlaska ghetto to the Sobibór extermination center likely prompted a Janów ghetto resident, probably surnamed Hirszberg, to bid written farewell on June 11 to his son and brothers in the Warsaw ghetto. He and his sister's family, he explained, would soon move from Janów to a still unknown address.[11]

On September 19, 1942, an SS commander, perhaps Gett (Glatt), the head of the Gestapo in Kreis Biala Podlaska, ordered all Jews working outside of Janów Podlaski to report to the ghetto on September 23–24. Over the course of those two days, the Jews were marched and driven in peasant carts to the ghetto in Biała Podlaska. Beginning on September 25, the deportees were transferred to the ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski. Some Jews, perhaps those on carts, were transported directly to the Międzyrzec ghetto.[12] On October 6 and 9, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 cleared the Międzyrzec ghetto, sending its inmates, including almost all the Janów Podlaski Jews, to be gassed at the Treblinka extermination facility.

David Guterman, Mosheh Pakman, and Dwora Zielona are some of the Janów Jews known to have evaded the Treblinka deportation by hiding in the Międzyrzec ghetto. Upon the ghetto's final liquidation in the spring of 1943, the three were among a group of Międzyrzec inmates sent first to the Majdanek and then to the Auschwitz concentration camps. From early December, Gendarmes also sent to Majdanek almost all the prisoners at the Biała Podlaska labor camp. On November 3, 1943, the SS shot the Jewish inmates at Majdanek, as part of Aktion Erntefest (Operation Harvest Festival).

A relatively large number of Janów Jews fled from the liquidation of the region's ghettos or from nearby labor camps and sought shelter with local Christians. Perec Rydlewicz, Szaja Ruzal (born 1925), and Chaim Blusztajn, all Janów escapees from the Biała Podlaska labor camp, were aided first by Józef Janulewicz, then likely by Paulina Brzeska, both in Janów Podlaski, before finding permanent shelter with the Misiejuk family in Bubel Granna village.[13] Mikołaj Iwaniuk and his daughters Franciszka and Paulina, residents of

Romanów (pre-war Biała Podlaska powiat) village, are attributed with contributing to the survival of 60 Jews, mainly from Janów and Biała Podlaska.[14] Iwaniuk and the family of his sister Juliana Mironiuk, including her son Józef and daughters Marianna and Weronika, sheltered 11 Jews from both towns in Jakówki village. Those aided included Wolf Englender, Herszko Goldberg, Noach Rodzynek (from Biała), Mendel Rybkowski, Gedali Rydlewicz (Perec's uncle, from Biała), Perła Goldszeft, and her brothers Motel and Szloma. The Goldszeft brothers had escaped from one of the Małaszewicze labor camps as the SS began executing many of its inmates in the fall of 1943. Because of the efforts of the Iwaniuk and Mironiuk families to locate hiding places for Jewish fugitives, residents from villages near Janów Podlaski sheltered about two thirds of the 116 survivors, including 61 locally born Jews, officially registered as residents of the postwar Biała Podlaska powiat in August 1945.

However, Oscar Pinkus, a fugitive from the ghetto liquidation in Łosice and also hidden by a family near Janów Podlaski, reports many Jews perished in local villages and forests, particularly as parts of the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK) openly hunted for Jews from early 1944. Unfortunately, the postwar Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation, which details the wartime deaths of just 16 Janów Jews, lists as perpetrators only local German collaborators (almost all of whom perished during the war). It, for instance, attributes to Hetmański, a local ethnic German, the December 1942 shooting deaths in a Janów field of brothers Szaja (born 1906), Szloma, and Aron Ruzel. It notes that in April 1943 Zenon and Benedykt Kalichowicz, members of the Janów Schutzpolizei (Schupo), shot Szyja, Jankiel, and Dawid Grubman and 3 other Jews in the woods on the Cieleśnica estate near Kajetanka village.[15]

The exact number of Janów Podlaski survivors is unknown.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the history of the Janów Podlaski Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entries in M.J. Fajgenbaum, *Podliashe in umkum: Noṭitsn fun ḥurben* (Munich: Aroysgegebn fun der Tsentraler Historisher Komisye baym Ts. K. fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland, 1948), pp. 21–27; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 265–266. English translations of the latter appear on jewishgen.org; and in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 121–122.

"Dwojra Zielona," a chapter in the important work by Zofia Nałkowska, *Medaliony* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1946), available in English as *Medallions*, trans. Diana Kuprel (Northwestern, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2000), pp. 29–34, provides an account of the Janów Podlaski ghetto liquidation.

A transcript of a joint interview conducted with Iwaniuk and Mironiuk family members appears in both Polish and English translation, under the persons tab, on Światło w ciemności. Sprawiedliwi wsród narodów świata, a Web site sponsored by Ośrodek Brama Grodzka, Teatr NN in Lublin, http://sprawiedliwi.tnn.pl/index.php. Interviews with Józef Mironiuk are located on the Web site of the Organization of Polish Righteous; in the bilingual (Polish-English) work *Polscy bohaterowie.Ci, którzy ratowali Żydów* (Kraków: Muzeum Galicja, Centrum Żydowskiew Oświęcimiu, Polish American Jewish Alliance for Youth Action, 2006); and in Bill Tammeus and Jacques Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland during the Holocaust* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), pp. 183–187.

Archival documentation about the Janów Podlaski Jewish community during World War II includes: AŻIH (e.g., 210/373, 211 [201, pp. 57, 87; 202, p. 12; 203, pp. 10, 30, 34–35; 204, p. 50; 205, p. 19; 206, p. 44; 208, p. 71; 463, pp. 1–43], 301 [1827, 1871, 4477, 5423], Ring I/578); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 94/69/BP/1-2; 055/11/14); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 4, 12/20, 43-44, reel 15, 49/1, 3-5]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH Ring]); VHF (# 16819, 19251, 50786); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/463, p. 40.
2. VHF, # 19251, testimony of Mosheh Pakman.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/373, p. 3.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/463, p. 40.
5. AŻIH, 301/1827, testimony of Basia Ogórek, p. 1.
6. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/373, p. 9.
7. VHF, # 16819, testimony of David Guterman.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/204, p. 50.
9. Ibid., 211/463, pp. 30–31, 33–34, 36.
10. Ibid., pp. 42, 37–38.
11. Ibid., RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/578, pp. 1–2.
12. AŻIH, 301/5423, testimony of Dwora Zielona, p. 3.
13. Ibid., 301/466, testimony of Gedali Rydlewicz, p. 5; 301/1871, testimony of Grzegorz Misiejuk, p. 1.
14. Ibid., 301/466, pp. 5–7.
15. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 4, 12/20, 43.

KAZIMIERZ DOLNY

Pre-1939: Kazimierz Dolny (Yiddish: Kuzmir), town, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kazimierz, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kazimierz Dolny, Lublin województwo, Poland

Kazimierz Dolny lies 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Lublin. Its pre-war 1939 population of 4,641 included about 1,800 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit, which occupied Kazimierz before September 13, 1939, commandeered all its Jewish-owned hotels and boarding houses. In late 1939, the Germans ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force established. Chaim Fajersztajn led the council from 1940.[1]

In December 1939, 80 SS men on rest-and-recreation leave assembled the Jews and then beat several dozen men severely. The beatings may have been inflicted to expose fugitives fleeing the expulsion of the Jewish community of Puławy to

Opole.[2] From 1940, Jewish forced laborers removed *matzevot* (gravestones) at the two cemeteries for use as a walkway around the German civil administration and the SS headquarters, located at the pre-war Franciscan monastery.

Kazimierz's use for military leave and its strategic location on the Vistula River border with Distrikt Radom likely contributed to orders in early 1940 banning Jews from the main square and establishing a ghetto in March. The December 17, 1940, issue of *Gazeta Żydowska* mentioned the ghetto in explaining the Kazimierz Jewish Council's decision to use the synagogue to house a school, which it had just received permission to establish.[3]

The ghetto's initial internal boundaries stretched from one side of Nadrzeczna Street to Lubelska Street (including Nadwiślańska Street). The ghetto was not fenced. However, Jews were forbidden to leave its borders without permission. Poles and Germans initially could enter the ghetto to order finished goods from Jewish craftsmen.[4]

About 50 to 60 ghetto residents had to report to labor camps in Puławy. An equal number were imprisoned at a Kazimierz labor camp established in 1940 at the former Elbaum works on Puławy Street. The inmates dug rock from the hillsides, cut them at a quarry in Bochotnica village, transported them to Kazimierz, and loaded them onto barges. Gravel was reserved for local road improvement projects, which depended on the forced labor of Kazimierz Jews, conscripts from nearby Jewish communities, including Józefów (nad Wisłą), and about 100 Warsaw Jews.[5] Another 100 to 200 ghetto residents daily swept and cleared streets of snow or worked for the Wehrmacht or the SS, cleaning stables, cutting wood, and performing other tasks. Though uncounted in the labor quota, women conscripts prepared meals at the military canteen and cleaned the offices and residences of the Germans. Because craftsmen maintained workshops in the ghetto, the council established a substitution system to enable another person, typically a family member, to fill the place of someone designated for forced labor.[6]

In March 1941, the ghetto's existence was threatened by plans of Puławy Kreishauptmann Alfred Brandt to transform Kazimierz into a spa town for German soldiers. (Jews in Kreis Pulawy were banned from such resorts.) Brandt ordered a newly appointed mayor to expel the Jews. To forestall complete eviction, the Jews offered Horst Göde, Pulawy's deputy Kreishauptmann and subsequently Landkommissar of Opole and Kazimierz, a half kilogram (1.1 pounds) in gold.[7] On March 10, 200 to 500 newcomers were expelled to Józefów. In April, Kurów refugees were returned home. In March 1942, Fajersztajn mentioned that the same mayor a year before had established a "separate district" for the Jews.[8] Because the ghetto already existed, the comment likely indicates the timing of orders prohibiting Poles and Germans from entering the ghetto.

In July 1941, a new mayor, an ethnic German from Silesia, perhaps surnamed Sierądzki or Szaniowski, again threatened to dissolve the ghetto. J.F. Listig, head of the Kazimierz Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), held the new mayor responsible for previously expelling the Jews from Puławy and Nałęczów. On Brandt's orders, Sierądzki gave the Jews 24 hours to leave Kazimierz. A kilogram (2.2 pounds) in gold, paid again to Göde, enabled 1,000 Jewish craftsmen, labor camp inmates, who had been conscripted by the Wehrmacht and the SS, to remain in Kazimierz with their families. After Sierądzki's departure several months later, many expellees returned, bringing the ghetto population to 1,400 by early March 1942.[9]

With each eviction, the ghetto area likely was reduced. In December 1941, Listig described the Jews as several times experiencing "re-housing" or "transplantation" (*przesiedlenie*).[10] The smallest ghetto area coincided with the boundaries of the historic Jewish quarter (*rewir*), known in Polish as the *na tyłach* (at-the-rear) neighborhood, for its location behind the main square.

Conditions deteriorated in the ghetto in the winter of 1941–1942. The Germans cut heating rations. The collaborationist Polish town council refused to sell the JSS food at government prices or to include Jews in soap rations. As a result, the community kitchen served only 50 to 60 dinners, three times weekly, in October 1941. Monetary aid from the JSS and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) enabled it to prepare 100 meals, six times weekly, by February 1942. By then, 680 to 800 Jews required nutritional assistance.[11] Overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and the poor diet contributed in December 1941 to a typhus epidemic, which claimed many lives.[12] Several local residents were among 36 Jews shot by the Kazimierz-based SS in mass graves at the new cemetery on Czerniawy Street or in the monastery gardens.[13]

Because Sierądzki returned to Kazimierz in the late winter of 1941–1942, supposedly determined to secure spa town status, the Jews were forewarned that all but 100 local labor camp inmates in early spring would be resettled to the ghetto in Opole. (Paradowski, a local artist, secretly told the Jewish Council about the plans.)[14] On March 6 and 11, Fajersztajn asked regional JSS leaders for help to stop the expulsion. On March 11, Marek Alten, head of the JSS in Distrikt Lublin, appealed to Richard Türk, chief of Distrikt Lublin's Abteilung für Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsoge (Population and Welfare Department, BuF). Involved in planning the deportation of Distrikt Lublin's Jews, Türk informed Alten on March 14 that he could do little, because "unofficially" he had learned that Ernst Zörner, Governor of Distrikt Lublin, had recognized Kazimierz as a spa town. Since Brandt would make the announcement, Türk advised the Kazimierz Jewish Council to appeal to him to soften the expulsion order.[15]

On March 24, 1942, Fajersztajn convened a secret meeting of representatives from all families in Kazimierz to discuss the impending expulsion. Following the meeting, many Jews escaped from the ghetto. Some found refuge in other ghettos in Distrikt Lublin. Others paid guides to navigate (on foot and by boat) the melting Vistula River and made their way to Janowiec, Zwoleń, Gniazdków, and Chotcza.[16]

Two days later, members of the local SS detachment marched about 300 to 400 Kazimierz Jews to the Opole ghetto. A similar-sized group departed for Opole on March 29. Those who

could afford the 200-złoty fare traveled in peasant carts.[17] On March 30, the Kazimierz deportees and other expellees consolidated in Opole, including some from Wąwolnica, were sent mainly by narrow gauge railway to Nałęczów. That same day, the SS marched another approximately 500 Kazimierz Jews directly to Nałęczów. Transferred there onto larger trains, the 2,400 Jews, including the Kazimierz expellees, left at 5:00 A.M., on March 31, destined for the Bełżec extermination camp.[18] The deportees were gassed on arrival.

On April 9, 1942, Listig, retained for labor in Kazimierz, appealed to regional JSS leaders for help locating the families of the 100 or so Kazimierz camp inmates: "We are all broken hearted because despite the passage of 11 days, we do not know where our families were sent."[19] Listig made similar appeals on April 24, May 5, and May 6. JSS leaders initially requested more information but on May 9 admitted they, too, had been unable to discover the expellees' whereabouts.[20] These were among the last communications in the JSS files from Listig. A Warsaw survivor who had contact with the Kazimierz inmates recalled that they were sent to the Majdanek forced labor camp where they all perished. Postwar Polish documentation mentions only that the camp's inmates (including about 50 Slovak deportees brought from Opole in late April) were marched in October to an unknown destination.[21]

Fewer than 20 Kazimierz Jews survived the war. In Distrikt Radom, Paul Schneiderman was deported from Zwoleń to the Skarżysko-Kamienna forced labor camp. Moshe Kershenbaum fled the Janowiec expulsion and was sheltered there by the Andzelm family. In Distrikt Lublin, Max Buchbinder and five family members, fugitives from the Bełżyce ghetto liquidation, were hidden near Kazimierz by Wiktor Górecki. Bolesław Cytryn (Zieliński), an escapee from the October 1942 liquidation of the collection ghetto in Końskowola, found shelter in Warsaw.

SOURCES Secondary sources include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 485–488; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 130–139; and Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 57–58. Also important are Sebastian Piątkowski, "Żydzi Janowca, Kazimierza i Puław w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1945)," in Filip Jaroszyński, ed., *Historia i kultura Żydów Janowca nad Wisłą, Kazimierza Dolnego i Puław: Fenomen kulturowy miasteczka—sztetl. Materiały z sesji naukowej 'V Janowieckie Spotkania Historyczne' Janowiec nad Wisłą 28 czerwca 2003 roku* (Janowiec nad Wisłą: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Janowca nad Wisłą, 2003), pp. 189–214.

A March 29, 1942, letter from Pesach Goldbaum, a Kazimierz expellee to the Opole ghetto, cited below at AŻIH, [943.] Ring I/587, appears in its original Yiddish and Polish translation in *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 1, Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Listy o Zagładzie* (Warsaw: ŻIH and PWN, 1997), pp. 136–141. Contemporary press coverage includes "Kazimierz Dolny" and "Opole Lubelskie," in *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 17, 1940, no. 48, and April 10, 1942, no. 42, respectively; and "Kazimierz," *Warschauer Zeitung*, April 8, 1942. Memoirs from survivors appear in the yizkor book, David Sztokfisz, ed., *Pinkas Kozamyer* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ḳozamyer bi-Medinat Yisrael uva- tefutsot, 1970).

Archival materials documenting the fate of the Kazimierz Dolny community during the Holocaust includes: APL (e.g., 498/0/270); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 211 [137, pp. 70, 74–75; 142, pp. 22–24, 30; 528), 301 [1513, 1812, 2275, 2915, 4420], [943.] Ring I/587); IPN (e.g., Ankiety, ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 2/67/1-6, 585/67/1-2, 3284/471); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH Ring]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6, 16/775-776, 780-781; reel 15, 49/98-100]); VHF (e.g., # 991, 2277, 3909, 12221, 18805, 21805, 44230); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/396, p. 3.
2. Compare AŻIH, 301/4420 and 1912, respectively, testimonies of Bolesław Cytryn (Zieliński), p. 1, and Gołda Teich, p. 2.
3. *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 17, 1940, p. 4.
4. VHF, # 3909 and 991, respectively, testimonies of Max Buchbinder and Paul Sznaidermann.
5. AŻIH, 301/4420, p. 1; VHF, # 2277, testimony of Fred Gilbert.
6. VHF, # 3909, 991, 12221, testimony of Esther Engelhardt.
7. AŻIH, 301/4420, pp. 1–2.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/142, p. 24.
9. Ibid., 211/528, pp. 41–42, 44–45.
10. Ibid., p. 14.
11. Ibid., pp. 13–24, 36, 39.
12. Ibid., pp. 25, 29; VHF, # 991.
13. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/100, reel 6, 16/776.
14. AŻIH, 301/4420, p. 2.
15. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/142, pp. 22–24; 211/528, pp. 44–45.
16. AŻIH, 301/2275, testimony of Lucjan Majraniec (Kowalski), pp. 4–5; 301/4420, pp. 2–3; 301/1513, testimony of Gerszon Edelman, p. 4.
17. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 10, 1942, p. 5; USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), [943] Ring I/587, pp. 1–4.
18. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/528, p. 47.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp. 49, 50, 51, 53, 57.
21. AŻIH, 301/2275, p. 5; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 6, 16/775, reel 15, 49/98.

KOCK

Pre-1939: Kock (Yiddish: Kotsk), town, Łuków powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Radzyn, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lubartów powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Kock is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Lublin. In 1937, its population of 4,463 included 2,213 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied the town on October 9, 1939. In November, the Germans burned the synagogue. In December, the Jews were ordered to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

In November 1939, Landrat Hennig von Winterfeld, the Radzyn Kreishauptmann, effectively transformed Kock and Ostrów Lubelski into ghettos by announcing that almost all of the Kreis's 32,430 Jewish inhabitants would be expelled there. (Only a few craftsmen were to reside outside the two towns.) Winterfeld designated Kock for Jews from the northern part of the pre-war Lubartów powiat, an area incorporated into Kreis Radzyn. The first deportees, from Firlej, could bring with them only 150 złoty and limited quantities of clothing and bedding. The expulsions ebbed in December, when the SS unit involved, presumably the 1st SS-Reiterstandarte, was called away to expel Jews from Chełm and Hrubieszów.

By then, 2,000 local expellees may have resided in Kock. Among them was a large part of the community of Lubartów, ordered to Kock in December 1939. Though an expulsion order, issued for the town of Radzyń, specifically banned Jews from moving to Kock, many nonetheless reported there. In December 1939, transports carried to Kock some 1,200 to 3,000 Jews expelled from Nasielsk, Serock, Suwałki, and other localities attached to the Reich. By early December, the Kock Jewish population stood at 8,000.

As war devastation and overcrowding forced several dozen Jews to reside in a single room, the resulting poor sanitation led to a typhus epidemic. Local villagers, fearing they would contract the disease, banned Jews from seeking food or finding work in their localities. The bans effectively confined the Jews to Kock. Mojżesz Apelbaum reports many Jews, particularly children, perished from typhus or starvation.

In early 1940, Winterfeld offered to permit some Jews in Kock to return home in exchange for a 2-kilogram (4.4-pound) gold payment.[1] In early 1940, German authorities appointed a new Jewish Council. Its chair, Saperstein, was a refugee from Poznań. The new council organized a Jewish police force. By April 1941, the Jewish population had declined to 3,191 (775 families), including 814 refugees. Newcomers included 100 deportees from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki.[2]

Many Jews were resettled in the old Jewish neighborhood, mostly in residences on Żydowska Street. Some 60 people became ill during a March 1941 typhus outbreak. Another 55 contracted tuberculosis that year.[3] By December 1941, decrees imposed the death penalty on Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement whom the Germans found outside their places of registration without permission. In April 1942, Szlomo Topel, Lejb Rubinstein, and Moszek Oberklajd, the leaders of the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization, reported on the charity's ghetto questionnaire that neither an open nor a closed ghetto existed in Kock.[4]

In the winter of 1941–1942, SS from Radzyń arrived to order the Jews to surrender fur coats. Cobbler Abram Wodyński was killed in a subsequent search for hidden coats. The Jews were conscripted for forced labor, including draining local swamps, hewing trees, and cutting timber at a sawmill in Poizdów village. By May 1942, 158 Kock Jews were among the 407 inmates of a labor camp established in Ossowa for water irrigation work.[5]

The JSS established a community kitchen to feed the impoverished. Dr. Fritz Schmiege, the Radzyn Kreishauptmann from August 1940 until December 1941, permitted the Kock organization to purchase weekly from cheaper government stores just a dozen eggs and 20 liters (21.1 quarts) of skim milk. In August 1941, the kitchen closed because its organizers could no longer afford to buy food at free market prices for the 689 people, mostly refugees, under its care.[6] After a new Kreishauptmann, Ludwig Stitzinger, released potato and heating fuel rations to the Kock organization in January 1942, a reopened kitchen served daily meals to 1,200 people. In July, Saperstein reduced working Jews' 120-gram (4.2-ounce) daily bread ration to establish a supplemental bread allotment for 425 impoverished children.[7]

With the May and June 1942 expulsion to extermination camps of almost all the Jewish communities in neighboring Kreis Pulawy, Security Police from Radzyń regularly searched Jewish residences in Kock for fugitives from Baranów nad Wieprzem, Markuszów, and Michów. During a May search, 27 Jews were shot dead. Between August 16 and 19, 1942, the Jewish Council designated 100 families (400 to 500 people), mostly refugees, for immediate transfer to Parczew. The deportees were sent to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp during the Parczew expulsions on August 19–20 and October 8.[8]

Members of the 2nd Platoon of Reserve Police Battalion 101, stationed in Kock to provide manpower during the deportations, likely oversaw the expulsion of another 1,700 Jews. One such deportation probably occurred on September 10, 1942, the date on which Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) (Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos, ASG) documentation notes members of a Schupo unit assigned to Kock shot 10 Jews dead.[9] Survivor Harry Jacobs recalls German soldiers, probably the reserve policemen, almost daily designated hundreds of men for internment in various labor camps.[10] Hundreds more Jews were transferred to the ghetto in Łuków after October 8.

A remnant ghetto of several streets for Jews designated for labor in Kock was established during the expulsions. The ghetto was located in the area now bounded by 1 Maja Street and parts of Warszawa Street and Wojska Polskiego Alley. It included Żydowska and Polna Streets. The ghetto was not fenced. Its inhabitants mainly cleared and sorted Jewish property or worked at the Poizdów sawmill. Deprived of rations, the inmates left the ghetto nightly to search deportees' houses for food.

Susan Weiss remembered that the reserve policemen stormed the ghetto one day, rounded up hundreds of nonworking Jews, and shot them dead.[11] Weiss likely was recalling the mass killing of 161 to 189 Jews on September 26, 1942. Major Wilhelm Trapp, the commander of Reserve Police Battalion 101, ordered the execution in retaliation for the

murder of one of his men in Talczyn village. After his men shot dead 78 to 81 Poles in Talczyn, including six large refugee families, he decided not to alienate the Polish-Christian population further, accused the Kock Jews of complicity in the crime, and ordered the rest of the 200-victim retaliation quota be filled with Jews from the ghetto.[12] After the execution and the October transfers to Łuków, the ghetto population likely stood at 400 to 500.

On November 6, 1942, members of the 2nd Platoon of Reserve Police Battalion 101 began liquidating the Kock ghetto. The policemen likely transferred some 200 Jews to a labor camp established at the Poizdów sawmill. They then marched 120 to 500 inmates to the Łuków ghetto. Reportedly because so many Jews fled along the road to Łuków, Sergeant Jurich shot Saperstein dead. Several days later, the last ghetto residents—the clearing crew—were sent by train to Parczew to sort Jewish property.[13]

The Kock deportees in the Łuków ghetto were sent to their deaths at Treblinka in the Łuków deportations of October 26–27 and November 7–10, 1942. In early January 1943, the clearing crew in Parczew was shot dead. On November 30, 1943 (or more likely, 1942), 200 laborers at the Poizdów sawmill were executed. Among the victims were Dr. Frihofer (Friehofer) and Moszek Kleinbaum.[14] Others escaped execution by fleeing to the forest a day earlier.

Fewer than 30 Kock Jews survived the German occupation. Before her death, Apolonia Świątek-Machczyńska gave false identity papers to 11 Kock Jews, including survivor Ryfka Goldfinger, and arranged their transfer to her in-laws' house in Warsaw. In Wola Skromowska village, Kaznecka and her husband Czesław sheltered Grzebień, Arye Goldman, and Izrael Rozenblat. Gedalia Grosman mentions local villagers sheltered at least another 6 Kock Jews.[15] Chai Rybarczuk Liss, among the survivors, was killed shortly after Kock's liberation in July 1944 while retrieving possessions she had hidden with another villager.[16]

In 1948, a Polish court convicted 4 former members of Reserve Police Battalion 101. Wilhelm Trapp was sentenced to death and executed for ordering mass killings of Polish civilians, including the Talczyn executions, and of Soviet prisoners of war. Gotthelf Heinz Bumann (aka Buchmann) received an eight-year sentence for commanding the platoon and participating in the mass executions in Talczyn. Helmut Kadler (aka Kammer) received a three-year sentence for arresting Polish civilians and participating in mass executions. A fourth man was tried for crimes in Łódź.[17] In 1967, a West German court tried 11 former members of the same unit for crimes committed during the liquidation of Jewish communities in Kreise Cholm, Biala Podlaska, and Radzyn. None of the 5 men found guilty were convicted of committing crimes in Kock.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the Kock Jewish community during the German occupation include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 477–480; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 134–139; Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 2, p. 768; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo lubelskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), pp. 96–97, 197–198.

For another perspective on the killings in Kock, see Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996); Hannah Krall, "Pola," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 11, 1997.

The yizkor book *Sefer Kotsk* ([Tel-Aviv]: Vaad Irgun yots'e Kotsk be-Yisrael, [1961]) includes testimonies from survivors. An interview with Leonarda Kazanecka is available in Polish and English translation at http://sprawiedliwi.tnn.pl/persons.php.

Archival documentation about the Kock Jewish community during the war includes APL; AŻIH (211 [134, p. 56; 542; 646, pp. 25–26; 885, p. 14; 887, p. 91; 888, pp. 17, 30, 37; 889, pp. 3, 11; 890, pp. 5, 13, 17, 22, 46, 54, 71; 891, pp. 39, 48), 301 [2013, 3363]); BA-L; FVA (HVT [e.g., # 2270]); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOS BP 41-45); IPN-Lu (e.g., 129/67/1-2, 131/61/1-57); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 5 (16/660, 672, 697-698, 700, 814)]); VHF (e.g., # 15478, 16686, 48207); and YVA.

Of the communities mentioned in the entry but not covered elsewhere in this volume, no entry appears for Firlej because Mojżesz Apelbaum explicitly states in his testimony, at AŻIH, 301/2013, p. 10 (typescript), that no ghetto was established there. There is, however, an entry for the other Firlej in Distrikt Radom.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2013, testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, pp. 1–2.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/542, pp. 2, 51; 211/888, p. 37; 211/887, p. 91.
3. Ibid., 211/542, pp. 2, 52.
4. Ibid., p. 51.
5. Ibid., 211/890, p. 54.
6. Ibid., 211/646, pp. 24–25; 211/884, p. 15; 211/885, p. 14; 211/888, pp. 17, 30; 211/890, p. 5.
7. Ibid., 211/542, pp. 40, 53; 211/888, p. 34; 211/890, p. 46.
8. AŻIH, 301/2013, p. 11.
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 5, 16/697.
10. VHF, # 16686, testimony of Harry Jacobs.
11. Ibid., # 48027, testimony of Susan Weiss.
12. USHMM, RG-15.019M, 16/672, 698.
13. VHF, # 48027.
14. Ibid., USHMM, RG-15.019M, 16/814.
15. *Sefer Kotsk*, p. 176 (Gedalia Grosman testimony).
16. AŻIH, 301/3363, testimony of Marysia Liss, p. 2.
17. IPN, SOS BP, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.

KOMARÓW

Pre-1939: Komarów, village, Tomaszów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Komarow, Kreis Zamosc, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Komarów-Osada, Tomaszów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Komarów is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Lublin. In 1921, its 2,895 residents included 1,752 Jews.

Germans troops occupied Komarów on September 13, 1939. About two weeks later, they ceded it to advancing Soviet forces. After the September 28 German-Soviet border renegotiation returned Komarów to Germany, 500 to 800 Jews joined the October 8 Soviet evacuation behind the Bug River.

Upon reoccupying Komarów several days later, the Germans appointed a *wójt* (head) to lead a local Polish collaborationist administration. Members of a German Gendarmerie post in Tyszowce, some 15 kilometers (9 miles) away, and Polish auxiliary police, stationed in Komarów, exercised local police authority. Ernst Schulz, assigned to the Tyszowce post before Christmas 1940, was named post commander in June 1941.

In late 1939, German civilian authorities ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established. Abram Elbaum was its chair. From April 1941, Elbaum also headed the Komarów branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization. In July, Keilman Fogiel assumed the JSS chairmanship. A Jewish police force was recruited.

The *shochet*, arrested for violating prohibitions on kosher slaughter, perished from beatings in a Zamość prison. Twenty children attended an illegal *cheder*, probably organized by Rabbi Szyja Alterman.[1] From the spring until late October 1940, 350 men were interned in labor camps, including at Narol, a subcamp of the Bełżec extermination camp, and a water drainage camp in Bortatycze.

From 1940, about 200 Jewish expellees from in or around Włocławek, Koło, Sierpc, and Częstochowa (mainly deportees from Płock) were ordered to Komarów. Local Jews, rendered homeless during September war operations, mostly from Krasnobród, Tyszowce, Łaszczów, and Tomaszów Lubelski, also resettled in Komarów.[2] As part of the German plan to reduce the Jewish population of Lublin to create a small ghetto there, about 200 Jews arrived from that city in March 1941. On April 5, the SS forcibly expelled to Komarów some 400 Jews considered too impoverished to pay rents in the soon-to-be-established Zamość ghetto. The expellees almost all were December 1939 deportees from Łódź, Włocławek, and Koło.[3] On May 1, the SS transferred to Komarów 250 Jews who had refused to report to the Zamość ghetto. In September, Fogiel noted 3,000 Jews resided in Komarów: 1,200 expellees and 1,800 permanent residents. The latter included displaced locals and about 1,000 native Jews. Several hundred Warsaw ghetto fugitives, unable to legalize their residency, went uncounted.[4]

On October 1, 1941, Kreis Zamosc Kreishauptmann Helmuth Weihenmaier reported that 1,800 Jews resided in Komarów.[5] Because the Kreishauptmann in May had extended to nonworking and impoverished expellees in Komarów (and Krasnobród) rations from the city of Zamość, he probably included them in the Zamość Jewish population. Weihenmaier likely provided the rations to keep Warthegau deportees from returning to Zamość. In November 1940, the Zamość Landwirt had refused similar rations to Jews living outside the city.[6]

Feldman, an ethnic German settler and beneficiary of the 1940 expropriation of Jewish businesses, employed Jewish craftsmen at his Komarów tannery. Others worked on the Komarów-to-Zamość road construction project, completed before Germany's June 22, 1941, invasion of the Soviet Union. Some 1,000 Jews daily traveled to work sites near and in Zamość; some worked at a sawmill. Most worked for two Czech construction firms, the recipients of Air Force Construction Office (Bauleitung der Luftwaffe) contracts to build airports in Łabunie and Mokre. Many Komarów (and Zamość) Jews subsequently worked at the Luftwaffe base in Łabunie or were interned there or in Zamość at Bauleitung der Luftwaffe labor camps. In the spring of 1941, children departed Komarów to work for Polish and Ukrainian villagers as domestic and farm servants. They returned home on Saturdays, usually with food their employers provided to supplement wages they paid to the Arbeitsamt (labor office).

In the spring of 1941, Schulz shot dead 19-year-old Mordechai "Motel" Temper, remembered by Zvi Sohar (Tsevi Zohar) as the first Jewish fatality of German violence in Komarów.

Because of tight housing, ethnic German newcomers to Komarów were assigned rooms in the homes of the wealthiest Jewish families.[7] Required in September 1941 to inform Distrikt-level authorities about the locations of ghettos in his Kreis, Weihenmaier excluded Komarów from his list. In November 1941, Hans Frank imposed the death penalty on Jews in the Generalgouvernement found without permission outside their places of registration.

As the Jewish Council assigned two to three families to live in the homes of native Jews, overcrowded conditions contributed to a May 1941 typhus outbreak. A September-to-November epidemic claimed many lives. In October, the JSS established a 30-bed hospital and isolation ward. JSS officials transferred a physician to Komarów to oversee the facilities. In November, the Jewish Council mandated regular bathing; the JSS paid to heat the *mikveh*. The measures ended the epidemic but failed to prevent another outbreak in January 1942.

Two transports carrying some 2,000 Jews from the Theresienstadt ghetto arrived in Zamość on April 30 and May 2, 1942. On May 2, 729 deportees from the first (Theresienstadt-As) transport were transferred to Komarów. The newcomers, mainly Czechs from Prague and Vienna, established a welfare committee and a Jewish police force.[8]

On May 20 or 23, 1942, Gendarmes and SS surrounded Komarów and ordered the Jews all to report to the marketplace. The Germans probably relied on the Jewish-Czech police to search for fugitives. (A unit of Czech deportees, believed from Komarów or Izbica, provided similar assistance in Tyszowce.)[9]

Those employed by the Germans and most Czech newcomers were excluded from the expulsion. The elderly, children, women with dependent children, and the unemployed were ordered onto wagons and escorted by German police to Zamość. Imprisoned in barracks at a railway cargo loading dock (the so-called beet platform), located between Peowiak and Orlicz-Dreszer Streets, the expellees on May 27 were sent together with Zamość deportees to be gassed at the Sobibór extermination camp. In Komarów, Gendarmes, led by Schulz, in June rounded up and executed all Jews without a work permit (*Ausweis*) and the Jewish Council members.[10]

The postwar Polish Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation reports a remnant ghetto was established in June 1942 for those retained for labor. The 1,500 square-meter (1,794 square yards) unfenced, open ghetto was located along one side of the Zamość-to-Tyszowce road.[11] On July 5, Fogiel informed JSS officials about "the new ghetto" (*dzielnica żydowska*). Its 1,723 inmates included 650 Czech deportees. Fogiel reported 7 ghetto inmates already were sick with typhus. Two Czech physicians anticipated an epidemic, as the Jews were forbidden to bathe because the mikveh was located beyond the ghetto's borders.[12] Peasants were forbidden to enter the ghetto to sell Jews food. Some inmates died from diseases related to starvation.[13]

The Jews sustained beatings, especially from Schulz. One day, he ordered about 50 young men and women to the square for municipal cleaning duties. Surrounded there by a Gestapo unit, the Jews were executed.[14] Zygmunt Klukowski may have related the same incident in his diary, noting on October 5, 1942, that the Germans had retaliated for an ethnic German's murder by executing 50 Jews (and 50 Poles) in Komarów.

On October 15, 1942, Gendarmes from Tyszowce and German police units from Zamość surrounded the ghetto. The ASG documentation reports that between October 15 and 31, 1942, Gendarmes, Gestapo, and SS shot the ghetto inmates as part of a larger group of 2,500 Jews executed in mass graves located just outside of Komarów. (The victims included Jews rounded up from nearby villages and some brought from Tyszowce.)[15] However, a Polish-Christian eyewitness recalls the old, young, and sick were shot; the remaining Jews from Komarów (and Tyszowce) were expelled, probably on October 15, to the ghetto in Izbica.[16] The Komarów deportees were sent to their deaths at Bełżec and Sobibór, most likely on October 19, during what survivors remember as the great deportation, so named because 5,000 Jews, mainly from the Zamość region, were cleared that day from the ghetto.

In Komarów, several days after the October 15, 1942, expulsion, Jews in nearby villages were ordered to report to the Tyszowce Gendarmerie post. At least 12 young Komarów Jews, working for peasants at the time of the deportation, fled. Their survival was made difficult by the expulsion from late December 1942 of some 110,000 Poles from 197 localities in the Zamość region, including from villages near Komarów. Rounded up during the expulsions, Abram Sztybel passed as one of the 30,000 Polish children orphaned during the expulsions and was among those transported to Siedlce.

Counted among the handful of Komarów survivors are several young natives; Moshe Bahir, originally from Płock, a May 1942 deportee to Sobibór and participant in the October 1943 uprising, and five deportees from the Theresienstadt-As transport.

Tried in 1964 in Ellwangen (Jagst), West Germany, for the shooting deaths of 12 Komarów Jews, including Temper, Schulz received a life sentence.

SOURCES Secondary works touching on the history of the Komarów Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 467–468. For the arrival of the Theresienstadt deportees, see Adam Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2005), pp. 58–64. Details about survivors from the April 30, 1942, transport appear in Jan Osers, "Flucht aus Zamosc," *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, no. 5 (1998): 288–321.

Moshe Bahir's testimony at the 1961 Eichmann trial, a transcript of which is widely available online, provides the destination of the first Komarów (and second Zamość) deportation. The testimony of Abram Sztybel, cited in the entry as AŻIH, 301/3683, hitherto used by all scholars to date the Komarów ghetto's establishment, has been beautifully translated into English, Adam Shtibel, *Testimony of a Survivor* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies [MIGS], 2002) and also is available online at the MIGS Web site. Other published accounts by survivors include Tsevi Zohar, *Me-ofel le-or: Toldot hayim* ([Israel], 2003), available in English as Zvi Sohar, *From Darkness to Light: My Life Story*, trans. Judy Grossman ([Israel]: Zvi Sohar, 2009); the testimonies in the yizkor book, Frida Kaplan-Shulman, ed., *'Edut me'uheret* (Haifa: Kovets zikaron shel yots'e Komarov Lubelski, Polin, 1995); Moshe Bahir with David Avidan, *ha-Mered be-ya'ar-ha-yanshufim* (Tel Aviv: Sifre ha-me'ah ha-sheloshim, 1983); and Bahir's testimony in Miriam Novitch, ed., *Sobibór, Martyrdom, and Revolt: Documents and Testimonies* (New York: Holocaust Library and Schocken Books, 1980).

Important for its chronology for the deportations of Jews from the Zamość region and its reporting of some events in Komarów is Zygmunt Klukowski, *Dziennik z lat okupacji Zamojszczyzy (1939–1944)* (Lublin: Lubelska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1958), available in English as *Diary from the Years of Occupation, 1939–1944*, trans. George Klukowski (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 575, provides coverage of the postwar investigation and trial of Ernst Schulz.

Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/417, 211 [553-554; 1147, pp. 8, 11; 1148, pp. 6–7, 38–39, 50; 1149, pp. 17, 27–28; 1150, pp. 11, 14; 1152, p. 34], 301/3683); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 44/67/1-3); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124

[AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 6 (18/1089), reel 15 (49/177-178)]); VHF (e.g., # 4997, 15595, 27270, 27659, 43782); and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q/531, O-3/3109).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3683, testimony of Abram Sztybel, pp. 1–4.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/417, pp. 8–9, 17, 19.
3. Ibid., pp. 32, 35; Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/553, pp. 1–4, 30.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/553, pp. 8, 23; 211/554, p. 26.
5. APL, GDL, 260, pp. 23–24.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1149, pp. 11–12.
7. VHF, # 43782, testimony of Szymon Frydliński.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1152, p. 34; 211/554, pp. 38, 41–43, 45.
9. AŻIH, 301/5836, testimony of Augustyn Dudziński, p. 2.
10. Ibid., 301/3683, pp. 8–10.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), 49/177-178.
12. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/554, pp. 45–48.
13. VHF, # 15595, testimony of Adam Shtibel.
14. Sohar, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 49.
15. USHMM, RG-15.019M, 18/1089.
16. AŻIH, 301/5836, p. 2. See also AŻIH, 302/81, Mojżesz Frank, p. 8.

KOMARÓWKA PODLASKA

Pre-1939: Komarówka Podlaska, *village*, *Radzyń powiat*, *Lublin województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1944: Komarowka Podlaska*, *Kreis Radzyn*, *Distrikt Lublin*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Komarówka*, *village*, *Radzyń powiat*, *Lublin województwo*, *Poland*

Komarówka Podlaska lies some 80 kilometers (50 miles) by road north-northeast of Lublin. Its 1921 population of 1,038 included 412 Jews.

Luftwaffe bombardment in the first weeks of World War II sparked fires, which left 120 Jews homeless. After a brief occupation by Soviet forces, a Wehrmacht unit arrived in Komarówka in October 1939. By January 1940, German civilian authorities in Kreis Radzyn had ordered Jews to wear white armbands, with Blue Stars of David, and to establish Jewish Councils. Szama Lonszajn (Lonschein) served as the Komarówka Jewish Council chair.[1]

Because the Komarówka Jews were permitted to remain in their homes and to work in their pre-war occupations, 476 newcomers, mostly expellees from Radzyń Podlaski, settled there. Most returned to Radzyń when the expulsion orders were rescinded in April 1940. In May 1941, another "mass" of new arrivals brought the refugee population to 175. A group of widows and orphans appeared in January 1942. By July 1942, some 623 Jews were residing in Komarówka.[2]

In March 1940, a Warsaw refugee and eight witnesses complained to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Warsaw about the 12 members of the Jewish Council, the wealthiest men in Komarówka, dividing charity food allotments between themselves and overrepresenting monetary aid distributed to refugees. Mojżesz Apelbaum, the former head of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Firlej, subsequently attributed such shortfalls to the Gestapo regularly ordering the Kreis Radzyn JSS to surrender a part of each charity allotment.[3]

In the spring of 1941, Komarówka authorities ordered Jewish-owned businesses transferred to non-Jews. Almost 80 percent of the approximately 200 Jews conscripted for forced labor worked at a Wehrmacht base near Komarówka. Others performed agricultural labor on a nearby estate.[4] By September, 20 Jews were interned at a labor camp established in Ossowa for canal work on the Białka River. The Komarówka Jews provided food and clothing to the approximately 407 camp inmates.[5] In July 1941, a small SS contingent arrived to terrorize the Jews. The SS shot dead some 25 people, including Szama Zunszajn.[6]

Dr. Fritz Schmiege, Radzyn Kreishauptmann from August 1940 to October 1941, and his successor Ludwig Stitzinger provided monthly (until May 1942) 5,000 to 12,000 złoty in relief for impoverished Jews and permitted all Jews access to limited rations from cheaper government stores. In October 1941, working Jews could purchase monthly 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of potatoes, 4.35 kilograms (9.6 pounds) of bread, 400 grams (14.1 ounces) of sugar, and 400 grams of meat. Nonworking Jews were limited to 50 kilograms of potatoes and 1.6 kilograms (3.5 pounds) of bread. From January 1942, the Komarówka JSS received permission to purchase daily 10 to 20 liters (10.6 to 21.1 quarts) of skim milk (depending on the season). The cheaper rations and absence of a ghetto likely contributed to the relative health of the Komarówka community. In March 1942, JSS leaders reported there had been no outbreaks of any infectious diseases since the beginning of the war.[7]

From the winter of 1941–1942, increasing numbers went hungry because the Komarówka agronomist cut potato rations to 30 and 25 kilograms (66.1 and 55.1 pounds) for working and nonworking Jews, respectively.[8] Continuing shortages brought a suspension in the ration. By August 1942, local authorities also had reduced bread rations to 2.6 and 1.3 kilograms (5.7 and 2.9 pounds), respectively, for working and nonworking Jews. From June 1941 to June 1942, the number of people needing JSS food assistance grew from 140 to 200.[9]

Some survivors recalled that the Germans expelled almost all the Komarówka Jews in June or July 1942. However, postwar officials in Komarówka remembered the expulsion occurred either in August or September. An August JSS report, submitted by local officials on September 6, supports the second version of events, as it notes 615 Jews resided in Komarówka.[10]

The postwar officials in Komarówka also described how the Germans expelled about 600 local Jews south to the

ghetto in Parczew and then several weeks later marched the same expellees north (via Komarówka) to the transit ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski. However, several members of the 2nd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 101 remembered escorting the Komarówka Jews in late September directly to Międzyrzec. There, they joined expellees from the Biała Podlaska and Parczew ghettos. The Biała deportees included about 3,000 Jews from Janów Podlaski and Konstantynów. The Parczew expellees mainly were Jews consolidated there from Wohyń and Czemierniki. The Międzyrzec ghetto was cleared on October 6 and 9. Its residents were sent to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp.

A small number of Komarówka Jews, mostly Wehrmacht laborers, were retained for a remnant ghetto in Komarówka. Icek Lerner remembered the detainees were ordered to a ghetto: a single house, surrounded by barbed wire.[11] Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) researchers, led by Czesław Pilichowski, describe the ghetto as located in an *olejarnia*, or mill, for cooking oil production. Józef Juszczyński, a non-Jewish Pole, remembered the ghetto occupying a formerly Jewish-owned mill located some 4.8 kilometers (3 miles) south of Komarówka, near where the Parczew road turned east to Wisznice. He recalled the SS (likely members of Reserve Police Battalion 101) initially guarded the ghetto. Its inmates were assigned small 2-meter-by-2-meter (6.6-foot-by-6.6-foot) cells, in which entire families resided.

Lerner estimated that fewer than 25 people lived in the ghetto.[12] The IPN researchers maintain its population stood at 600. The discrepancy may stem from the researchers imposing their timing of the first expulsion on Lerner's memory of the ghetto being established in mid-1942.

On November 30, 1942, Gendarmes surrounded the Komarówka ghetto and ordered its inhabitants onto waiting peasant carts. The expellees were taken to the Międzyrzec ghetto.

A large number of Jews escaped from the first and second Komarówka expulsions. Juszczyński recalled many joined partisan groups in the nearby forests. However, Lerner described escaped Soviet prisoners of war hiding there as antisemites, who robbed Jews of their possessions and attempted to drive many to an execution site deeper in the forest. Many Jewish fugitives as a result sought refuge in the Międzyrzec ghetto, where some, including Lerner's brother-in-law Josef Zylberstein, decided to tie their families' fates to future German "resettlement" orders.[13] Other escapees, including Lerner and Estera Rybak, secured false identity papers. Assisted by Piotr Kapczuk, the two found shelter in Warsaw after the second deportation. Rybak also paid Kapczuk 10,000 złoty for his father and brother, residents of Rudno village, to shelter her almost three-year-old daughter.[14]

Still other Komarówka Jews escaped the final liquidation of the Międzyrzec ghetto in April 1943 by hiding in bunkers or by jumping from trains carrying the deportees to the Majdanek concentration camp. Among the fugitives were six members of Lerner's family (and two Międzyrzec natives), who were offered shelter in exchange for money by Jan Sadowski.[15]

Kapczuk and Sadowski enlisted family and friends to murder the Jews they had promised to protect. Before the 1943 New Year, Kapczuk, his father, and brother reportedly had murdered Rybak's daughter. In July, Kapczuk paid Rybak's aid provider to murder her and Lerner. Rybak perished. Left for dead, Lerner fled to the apartment of Natalja Konarzewska, a distant cousin of Kapczuk, with whom he initially had lived in Warsaw.[16] In October, Sadowski and four other Poles, including Franciszek Uzdowski, the owner of the farm in Przegaliny colony where the Lerner family bunker was located, ordered the Jews to reveal the hiding places of their remaining valuables. When they refused, Sadowski and his thugs attempted to solicit the information by torturing one Jew after another to death. Sadowski next offered Konarzewska 100,000 złoty to surrender Lerner, but she refused.

As a result of the attacks, Lerner and Szloma Zysman were two of the only known Komarówka survivors. Around November 1944, about five months after Komarówka was liberated by Soviet forces, Sadowski allegedly murdered Zysman to prevent him from helping Lerner obtain justice for the wartime loss of his family members.[17]

Lerner thrice filed police reports in Poland before immigrating to Sweden. In Stockholm, he submitted two additional affidavits to the Polish consulate in Stockholm before departing for Palestine. Lerner's allegations were investigated, but Polish prosecutors believed the evidence insufficient to charge the suspects. After Lerner died in 2004, his son Rony visited Poland and discovered the copies of his father's two affidavits at the Jewish Historical Institute (ŻIH) archives. He hired researchers and a film crew to locate and interview a 92-year-old man, alleged to be the last surviving perpetrator of the Przegaliny murders. In 2006, the Israel office of the Simon Wiesenthal Center requested that IPN investigate the murders. Prosecutors at IPN—Lublin branch (IPN-Lu) discontinued the investigation in December 2007 upon the death of the last known suspect.

SOURCES Secondary sources about the Komarówka Podlaska Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 468; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 141–142; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 239.

Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH* no. 21 (1957): 80, depends on the questionnaire submitted by postwar Polish officials in Komarówka, cited below as AŻIH Ankiety, to conclude some 600 Komarówka Jews were expelled via the Parczew ghetto to Międzyrzec. Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 91, 105, 108, 154,

157, relies on postwar depositions from former members of the 101st Police Battalion, including some stationed in Komarówka from July to late September 1942, to describe a direct expulsion to the Międzyrzec ghetto. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), case no. 670, provides an overview of the postwar West German investigation and trials used by Browning.

Józef Juszczyński's testimony is available under the Komarówka Podlaska section of the virtual oral history archive at the Lublin: Pamięć Miejsca Web site, created by the Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN" (Grodzka Gate—NN Theatre Centre). The electronic English translation of a part of the Juszczyński testimony available on several different Web sites is inaccurate.

Rony Lerner's investigation into his relatives' murder is the subject of numerous journal and newspaper articles, including Laurie Copans, "Seeking Jewish Family's Fate in Rural Poland," *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 2006; Aharon Granot, "Quest of a Lifetime," *Mispacha*, no. 108, May 17, 2006, pp. 22–27; and Paweł P. Reszka, "Kto zabił rodzinę Lernerów?" *Gazeta Lublin*, January 21, 2008, which summarizes the IPN investigation. The film footage was used in a 2007 documentary, *Lerner's Revenge*, directed and produced by Gilad Tocatly and distributed in the United States by Digibeta.

Primary documentation pertaining to the Komarówka Jewish community in World War II includes APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 210/416, 211 [555, pp. 1–59; 885, pp. 22, 35–36, 47; 887, pp. 49, 77, 83, 85, 91; 888, pp. 23–25; 890, pp. 12, 26, 28, 42, 54, 56; 891, pp. 14–15, 30, 48, 39, 58], 301/2802-2803); BA-L (e.g., 8 AR-Z 236/60, AR-Z 26/62); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 284/466/1-3); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/416, pp. 4, 15.
2. Ibid., p. 12; Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/555, pp. 8, 12; 211/888, p. 24; 211/891, p. 48.
3. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/416, pp. 13–14; AŻIH, 301/2013, testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, p. 6.
4. AZIH, 301/2803, testimony of Icek Lerner, pp. 5–6; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/555, pp. 12, 55.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/885, p. 35; 211/555, p. 21; 211/890, pp. 54–55; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/416, p. 28.
6. AŻIH, 301/2802, testimony of Icek Lerner, p. 2.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/887, p. 77; 211/890, p. 5; 211/891, p. 71; 211/555, p. 38.
8. Ibid., 211/555, p. 28; 211/888, p. 24; 211/886, p. 36.
9. Ibid., 211/555, pp. 12, 55; 211/891, p. 30.
10. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.01, 211/555, pp. 55–56.
11. AŻIH, 302/2803, p. 7.
12. Ibid., 301/2802, p. 3.
13. Ibid., pp. 4–5; 301/2803, pp. 9–10.
14. Ibid., 301/2802, pp. 2–3.
15. Ibid., 301/2803, pp. 1–2, 7–10.
16. Ibid., 301/2802, pp. 5–14.
17. Ibid., 301/2803, pp. 1–3, 11–18.

KOŃSKOWOLA

Pre-1939: Końskowola, village, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Konskowola, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Końskowola, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Końskowola lies about 42 kilometers (26 miles) northwest of Lublin and 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) east of Puławy. Its pre-war 1939 population, of around 2,500, included approximately 1,100 Jews.

On September 15, 1939, German troops occupied Końskowola. The German military command immediately imposed forced labor obligations on the Jews. By January 1940, German authorities had ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) established. In the fall of 1941, its chair was Abraham Pomeranz. The Germans also established a 12-man Gendarmerie post and a Polish auxiliary militia. Both units were commanded by Gendarmerie Oberleutnant Jammer. A collaborationist municipal council, administered by local Poles, also was formed. It was subordinate to Kreishauptmann Oskar Ulrich (replaced in 1940 by Alfred Brandt).

During the first months of the occupation, the Jews moved relatively freely beyond Końskowola's borders to barter with Poles for food. In late December 1939, many Jews expelled from Puławy, the Kreis administrative center, arrived in Końskowola, fleeing forced resettlement in Opole.[1]

Because ghettoization occurred in stages, through a series of decrees issued by Brandt over many months, scholars offer a variety of dates, ranging from late 1940 to late 1941, for the establishment of an open ghetto in Końskowola. By the fall of 1940, owners of houses inhabited by Jews were required to paint large Stars of David on their exteriors. Końskowola resident Joanna Dylewicz recalled her parents pleading with their Jewish tenants to move, because they feared visiting German authorities would confuse them for Jews if they marked their house. The tenants moved to the Jewish neighborhood located



Jewish men are forced to carry sections of barbed-wire fencing along a road in Końskowola, n.d.
USHMM WS #18599, COURTESY OF IPN

roughly between the market square and Starowiejska Street, including Kurowska Street.[2] In late 1940, more Jews were concentrated in a smaller section of the neighborhood after German authorities ordered Jews expelled from residences on Ogrodowa Street, in order for the German firm Baumer and Loesch to use their houses for a labor camp to hold Jews brought from outside of Końskowola to work on road construction projects. In early 1941, the camp's prisoners included a Jewish labor brigade from Warsaw.

In 1941, Brandt several times forbade Jews in Kreis Pulawy from leaving their places of registration without permission. Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) officials in Baranów nad Wieprzem mention Brandt forbade Jews throughout the Kreis from leaving their places of registration for three months in late July. The orders were made permanent in October, when Hans Frank issued similar orders to all Jews in the Generalgouvernement. In January 1942, 1,400 Jews resided in Końskowola.[3]

From the spring of 1940, the Jewish Council filled forced labor quotas for local road construction projects and agricultural labor on a number of nearby estates confiscated by the Germans and also sent hundreds of conscripts daily to Puławy to complete tasks that remained unfinished because of the expulsion of that city's Jews. Pomeranz noted that the high quotas required all adult Końskowola Jews, both men and women, from 12 to beyond 60 years old, to work daily at forced labor. (Jewish Council members also worked.) Because craftsmen were unable to engage in the types of private enterprise tolerated by the authorities elsewhere in Distrikt Lublin, Pomeranz believed the Końskowola Jews stood apart from other Jewish communities in Distrikt Lublin as they early on had been forced to survive exclusively on the meager wages paid for forced labor. The highest hourly wage was 52 groszy.[4] To fill quotas for nonremunerated municipal labor, including street cleaning and snow clearing in Puławy, the council recruited young children and elderly women by offering them free meals.

The provisioning office in Puławy refused to sell the Jewish Council food and heating materials, which were difficult for most Jews to obtain because of proscriptions on movement beyond Końskowola.[5] From January 1941, the council was required to surrender 3,000 złoty monthly on 179 local pre-war Jewish society loans.[6] The arrival, in March, of 267 Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) from Stalag II-B in Hammerstein placed additional pressures on the council. Many deportees were sick with typhoid. None had adequate shoes or clothing. The council transported 14 men to the infectious disease hospital in Puławy. However, it refused to feed the deportees because they were interned at the labor camp, which was operated under a separate Jewish administration.[7] By July, the provisioning office provided rations to the prisoners but still refused to offer them to the council.[8]

Because of the absence of provisions, the Jewish Council initially could not establish a community kitchen to feed the impoverished. Instead, it divided all the JSS charity monies it received among the needy.[9] In October and November 1941, 1,000 Jews required assistance, but the council lacked resources even to feed or to provide clothing to the 150 to 200 laborers sent daily to clean Puławy's streets.[10] By January 1942, the first German food allotments enabled the Jewish Council to establish a community kitchen to feed daily 850 of the most impoverished. The kitchen initially provided double portions to heads of households with more than 5 people, because large families with young children were starving.[11]

On May 1, 1942, German Gendarmes arrested the members of the Jewish Council. They are presumed to have been executed. On May 8, the Gendarmes, assisted by Ukrainian militia, evacuated almost the entire Końskowola Jewish community, together with the Jews from several nearby villages, including Starowiejska, to Puławy. About 300 to 600 Jews were retained for labor in Końskowola. Another 10 Jews were shot dead during the evacuation. In Puławy, the Jews, about 800 to 1,100 people, were ordered onto trains, destined for the extermination camp in Sobibór. On May 20, a new Jewish Council chair, Israel Goldberg, a pre-war expellee from Munich, informed the regional JSS leadership about the deportation.[12]

Shortly after May 20, 1942, 1,025 Jewish expellees from Slovakia, including 700 elderly and children, were resettled in the vacated Jewish houses in Końskowola. The arrival, by June 2, of another 1,630 Slovak Jews expanded the ghetto population to more than 2,500. The Slovaks mostly were from Medzilaborce, Borov, and Bardejov.[13]

From the late summer of 1942, the Germans used Końskowola as a regional collection ghetto, though Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Höherer SS und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader, HSSPF) for the Generalgouvernement, designated it one of eight remaining Jewish residential areas (*Judenwohnbezirke*) in Distrikt Lublin only on October 28. A number of fugitives from the May 8–9, 1942, deportations of the Baranów, Kurów, and Markuszów Jewish communities recalled German authorities in the places to which they had fled, mostly in Kreis Radzyn, ordering their expulsions and suggesting they report to Końskowola.

Bolesław Cytryn (later Zieliński), a Kazimierz Dolny fugitive, remembered the desperate conditions in Końskowola from the late summer of 1942. The Slovak Jews, employed mostly in agriculture, were swollen and dying from hunger. Several times, the SS arrived from Puławy for ghetto inspections and punished Jews for the poor sanitation by rounding up ghetto inmates and shooting them dead.[14] Hela Arbeiter, a Baranów fugitive ordered from Adamów to Końskowola in early fall, mentions five people shared a single bed. The only food available was ersatz coffee. A typhus epidemic claimed tens of lives daily.[15] Cytryn, Arbeiter, and Pinchas Zając (Ziontz), another Baranów fugitive, all recall fleeing Końskowola after rumors circulated in the first days of October of German plans to liquidate the ghetto.[16]

In early October 1942, the three platoons of the 3rd Company, 101st Reserve Police Battalion, led by Hauptmann Wolfgang Hoffmann, arrived to clear the ghetto. The police received assistance from Jammer's Gendarmerie; a roving motorized Gendarmerie unit, commanded by First Lieutenant Messmann; 3 members of the Lublin Gestapo; and about

100 Ukrainian auxiliaries from the SS Trawniki training camp. The Jews were ordered assembled at the square. Members of the 3rd Company and Messmann's unit shot dead 100 to 500 people, including all 40 to 50 patients at the ghetto hospital, because they were too weak to proceed to the assembly point. Between 500 and 1,000 craftsmen and skilled workers, almost all men, were marched to Puławy. Some 100 people were shot on the way there. The survivors were sent by train to labor camps in Distrikt Lublin. The 800 to 1,100 remaining Jews, mostly women, children, and elderly men, including Goldberg, were marched off the square in small groups to a small birch forest, located just off the road to Rudy village. Messmann's Gendarmerie and the 3rd Company's 1st Platoon, led by Lieutenant Oscar Peters, executed the Jews in several ravines.

Survivor Avigdor Mandelbaum's Yad Vashem testimony on behalf of his Polish aid givers indicates a small number of Jews, likely all labor camp inmates, were excluded from the deportations and executions. Evidence also indicates the Germans in the early spring of 1943 transformed the Końskowola labor camp into a transit ghetto, to hold Jews deported from Warsaw, and a collection ghetto, to assemble local Jewish survivors of forest manhunts in the winter of 1942–1943. The Końskowola entry in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* notes that during the Warsaw ghetto uprising in April, the Germans deported about 1,100 Warsaw Jews to Końskowola before sending them to their deaths. Helen Kotlar (Kotlarz), a Kurów survivor, remembers local German authorities some time around Passover 1943 announcing to Poles that Jewish fugitives could report safely to the labor camp in Końskowola.[17] The postwar Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation also suggests the labor camp was used subsequently as a ghetto, in noting some 6,000 Jews passed through the Końskowola collection ghetto before its final liquidation in the summer of 1943.[18] Mandelbaum's testimony and the depositions of Polish Christians, collected by Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) after the war, date the ghetto's (and the labor camp's) final liquidation to May, when Gendarmes executed its 18 remaining inmates.

A handful of native Końskowola Jews survived the war. Avigdor and Faiga Mandelbaum were sheltered by Aleksander and Helena Wiejak. Aleksander was executed in May 1944 on suspicions he was hiding Jews. A relatively larger group of Jews from several nearby communities and labor camps also are counted as survivors because they lived for a short time in one of the two collection ghettos established in Końskowola.

SOURCES Some German documentation for Końskowola, including Krüger's October 26, 1942, orders establishing the Judenwohnbezirke in the Generalgouvernement, can be found in German transcription and Polish translation in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), pp. 311–314; and the German-language edition, by the same authors, *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Frankfurt: Röderberg-Verlag, 1960), pp 342–344, containing the same documentation but unfortunately erring editorially in explaining the order was issued in 1939, though the second work also includes (on p. 438) Brandt's May 13, 1942, assessment of the number of Jews remaining in Kreis Pulawy, with 500 to 600 noted for Końskowola.

There is no yizkor book or other published testimonies from native Końskowola survivors. Two testimonies from Polish Christians describing the wartime fate of the Jewish community can be found under the Końskowola section of the Lublin: Pamięć Miejsca Web site, an oral history archive created by the Ośrodek 'Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN' (Grodzka Gate—NN Theatre Centre), at www.tnn.pl/pamie.php. Helen Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave* (New York: Shengold, 1980), provides information about local German authorities using the Końskowola ghetto as a collection ghetto.

Secondary sources touching on the Końskowola Jewish community during the Holocaust include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 471–474; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 143–146; and Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 2, pp. 864–865, for the Mandelbaum and Wiejak families.

Some coverage of the German and to a lesser extent the Polish administration in Końskowola is provided by Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernment: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), includes in chapter 13 coverage of the October 1942 liquidation of the collection ghetto; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), vols. 27 (2003, case no. 670) and 37 (2007, case no. 772), provides an overview of the postwar investigation and trials on which most of Browning's research is based. Early postwar IPN witness depositions describing German executions of pre-war Polish citizens in Distrikt Lublin are listed in Leszek Semion, "Egzekucje na Lubelszczyźnie," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 3 (1969): 154–212.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Końskowola can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., 498 [68, 88, 273, 749]; AŻIH (e.g., APL 498 [891-93, 895], 210/421, 211/566-67, 301 [272, 996, 4420]); BGH (700407, 730313); FVA (1513, 3084); IPN; IPN-Lu (2/67/1-6, 85/67/1-3); LG-Hamb (680408, 720424); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH] 211/566-67; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH] 210/421; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 15, 49/102]; RG-50.120*0181); VHF (e.g., # 722, 18373, 31126, 31584, 33048, 35421); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), ŻSS, 211/567, p. 2.
2. Lublin: Pamięć Miejsca, testimony of Joanna Dylewicz.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/567, p. 2.
4. Ibid., 211/566, pp. 42–44.

5. Ibid., pp. 27, 44.
6. Ibid., pp. 1–8, 211/567, p. 7.
7. Ibid., 211/566, pp. 12–14.
8. Ibid., p. 27.
9. Ibid., pp. 18–24, 27–28.
10. Ibid., pp. 39–40, 42–45.
11. Ibid., 211/567, pp. 1–2.
12. Ibid., p. 14.
13. Ibid., pp. 14, 17–18, 21.
14. AŻIH, 301/4420, testimony of Bolesław Cytryn (Zieliński), pp. 3–4.
15. Ibid., 301/272, testimony of Hela Arbeiter, pp. 5–6.
16. USHMM, RG-50.120*0181, testimony of Pinchas Ziontz.
17. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 78–80.
18. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 15, 49/102.

KONSTANTYNÓW (NAD BUGIEM)

Pre-1939: Konstantynów (Yiddish: Kostentin), village, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Konstantynow, Kreis Biala Podlaska, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Konstantynów, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Konstantynów lies about 145 kilometers (90 miles) by road north-northeast of Lublin and 9.2 kilometers (5.7 miles) west of Janów Podlaski. Approximately 1,150 Jews resided there in August 1939.

In World War II, Soviet forces initially occupied Konstantynów but abandoned it on October 9, 1939, to German occupation. Worried about the Germans' impending arrival, many Jews crossed the Bug River, located just east of Janów Podlaski, into Soviet-occupied territory.

In late 1939, the Germans ordered a four-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) established. Its chair was Monko (Mosze) Rojzman.[1] A March 1940 list of 96 families (432 people) ruined as a result of the war indicates German civilian authorities circumscribed the public practice of Judaism and confiscated Jewish-owned businesses. Those deprived of livelihoods included the families of Jankiel Szejnkind (Jacob Scheinkind), the rabbi of Konstantynów, two *shochtim*, and a community religious teacher. Among the dispossessed were Jankiel Goldryng (Goldring), holder of the local vodka concession, and three nearby mill owners ordered to reside in Konstantynów.[2]

In December 1939, the Germans deported to Konstantynów 245 Jews from Błaszki, near Łódź. By January 1940, another 105 Jewish newcomers included voluntary refugees from Warsaw and expellees from Łódź, Włocławek, and Suwałki.[3] By May 1941, the Konstantynów Jewish population stood at 1,102, including 190 refugees.[4]

Concerns about border security caused German authorities to assume more direct responsibility for administering Konstantynów. In January 1940, the SS arrested and sent Prince Plater-Zyberk, Konstantynów's noble landowner, to a concentration camp. His estate (and palace) likely were assigned to the local Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) commander. The SS (or perhaps the border guards) ordered the local auxiliary Polish (Blue) Police to arrest several Jewish families for recrossing the Bug River and returning to Konstantynów. Sent to the Neuengamme concentration camp, the Jews perished. The Luftwaffe built an observation tower and stationed a small contingent in Konstantynów to spot Soviet aircraft. A Gendarmerie post also was established.

Ongoing border security concerns probably played a role in the establishment of the ghetto. Jakób Dobrysz, the head of the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), indicated the ghetto was created in January 1941. He listed its establishment as the reason for the Jewish Council providing the JSS just 48 złoty in subsidies that month.[5] It would seem likely the ghetto occupied only a small part of Konstantynów because Dobrysz, on May 20, held overcrowding in the ghetto responsible for a precipitous decline in hygiene standards.[6] The ghetto was an unfenced, open ghetto or what Dobrysz called a Jewish quarter (*dzielnica żydowska*).

German authorities may have hesitated to officially designate the Jewish quarter a ghetto. After May 20, 1941, Dobrysz never again mentioned the ghetto. Instead, he referred to the increasing impoverishment of the Konstantynów Jews and from January 1942 to decrees, issued in November and December 1941, forbidding Jews on penalty of death from leaving their places of registration without permission.[7] Hubert Kühl, the Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann, also excluded Konstantynów from a list of ghettos he submitted in October 1941 to Richard Türk, the head of the Population and Welfare Department (BuF) for Distrikt Lublin.

Upon the ghetto's establishment, German authorities imposed much higher forced labor quotas, which required the daily conscription of almost all adult male Jews.[8] Most conscripts hewed trees in the Konstantynów forest and transported them to nearby sawmills, at which Jewish laborers also worked. About 200 agricultural laborers worked in local villages, including Serpelice. Hundreds more agricultural laborers toiled on the grounds of the Konstantynów (Plater-Zyberk) Palace.[9] SS (or perhaps border guards) and Gendarmes overseeing Jewish labor gangs in the forest and on the estate routinely beat their charges. In the summer of 1941, ghetto inmates also worked on road construction projects.[10]

The Jewish Council devoted its financial resources to provisioning Jews it sent to labor camps and to supporting their families in the ghetto. Most Konstantynów Jews were interned at a local labor camp established in Leśna Podlaska for flood control projects on the Klukowa River and for forestry and agricultural labor on the estate in Worgule village. In 1941, almost all the Leśna inmates were transferred to a camp established in Rogoźnica. Some Konstantynów Jews were interned in labor camps in Lublin.[11]

From August 1941, the JSS reported that "nearly all the refugees here and the greater part of the local Jewish inhabitants walk around almost barefoot and naked as a result of forced labor."[12] In May 1941, a community kitchen could

provide subsidized or free daily meals to just 300 people, mostly to refugees.[13] When Kühl in October permitted the JSS in Kreis Biala Podlaska to purchase from cheaper government stores a limited number of potatoes for its community kitchens, the Konstantynów JSS reported a 1,000-złoty debt made it impossible to buy its 2,700-kilogram (5,952-pound) allotment. The JSS in Kraków sent 1,600 złoty for the purchase.[14]

Overcrowding and the resulting poor sanitation in the ghetto sparked a typhus outbreak in the winter of 1941–1942. By December, 80 Jews had contracted the disease. Another 56 were ill by February. In mid-January, Dobrysz reported that a local Christian doctor's refusal to treat sick Jews had contributed to the death of 10 young people. JSS officials in Kraków sent medicine and money to help establish a pharmacy and an isolation facility and may have arranged for a physician to treat the sick.[15]

In May 1942, an SS unit ordered all male Jews between 15 and 65 years of age to assemble at the main market square. Assisted by the local Polish (Blue) Police, the SS chose about 100 men for immediate deportation to the Rogoźnica labor camp. A second draft, also in May, sent an additional 20 men to what JSS officials described only as a nearby labor camp. The Jewish Council was required to send weekly 70 kilograms (154 pounds) of bread and other food items to help provision the second camp. To meet the requirements, or perhaps because, as JSS leaders reported on May 29, German authorities had informed them that all the Jews soon would be transferred to the same camps, the JSS and Jewish Council sent almost all their food stores along with the deportees.[16]

In June, local authorities in Konstantynów withdrew an offer to sell supplementary potato rations to the JSS, announced that only working Jews would receive ration cards, and threatened to deport nonworking Jews. Women and children joined the forced labor pool but discovered a day of labor entitled them to just 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread (previously the ration for nonworking Jews).[17] Though nearly 75 percent of the Jews were starving, an insolvent JSS closed its community kitchen on August 11, 1942.[18]

On September 22, the day after Yom Kippur, a German official from Biała Podlaska gave the Konstantynów Jews until September 25 to report to the ghetto in Biała Podlaska. Oskar Pinkus, a fugitive from the August 1942 ghetto liquidation in Łosice, described the Konstantynów Jews voluntarily reporting to the railway station to be transferred to the ghetto.[19] On September 25, the Jews still in Konstantynów probably were marched together with the remaining Jews in Janów Podlaski to the Biała Podlaska ghetto.

Between September 26 and October 1, a combined German security force composed of local Gendarmes, SS from Kreis Biala Podlaska and Kreis Radzyn, and members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 liquidated the Biała Podlaska ghetto. Small groups of "useful Jews" were sent to labor camps, mostly to the camps in Kobylany and Małaszewicze Duże. At least 1,000 others deemed unfit for labor (mostly the sick, elderly, and young children) were executed at the Jewish cemetery. In the last week of September (mainly on September 26), members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 marched the remaining Jews to the nearly empty ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski.

On October 6 and 9, 1942, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 cleared the Międzyrzec ghetto, sending its inmates, including almost all the surviving Konstantynów deportees, by rail to the Treblinka extermination facility. The SS shot dead the surviving prisoners at the Małaszewicze and Kobylany camps in February and May 1944. On March 15, partisans liberated the Rogoźnica camp, enabling some of its 400 prisoners to flee before the SS arrived and ordered the remaining inmates to march to an unknown destination.[20]

A number of Konstantynów Jews evaded the expulsion Aktions, jumped from the deportation trains to Treblinka, or escaped from either the final liquidation Aktions in the Międzyrzec ghetto in the spring and early summer of 1943 or the labor camps, to which they had been sent. The fugitives almost all were rounded up and killed. In June 1944, the nascent Polish anti-Communist underground murdered three Konstantynów Jews hidden in a forest bunker. Only a handful of Jews were alive upon Konstantynów's liberation in July. Most of the approximately 30 Konstantynów survivors spent the war in the Soviet interior.

SOURCES Secondary works touching on the history of the Konstantynów Jewish community during the Holocaust include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 547–548; which appears in English translations in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 142–143; and on jewishgen.org. Meir Garbarz Gover, the translator of the JewishGen account, has added explanatory footnotes, based in part on interviews he conducted with survivors from Konstantynów and nearby communities. Some coverage of Konstantynów also appears in M.J. Fajgenbaum, *Podliashe in umkum: Notitsn fun ḫurben* (Munich: Aroysgegebn fun der Tsentraler Historisher Komisye baym Ts. K. fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland, 1948), pp. 21–27, 46.

The published memoir by Łosice survivor Oscar Pinkus, *The House of Ashes* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1964), provides an account of Jewish life in Konstantynów in late August and September 1942 and depicts the struggle of Jews hidden in forests and villages near Konstantynów to survive after the liquidation of the region's ghettos. A contemporary press account appears in "Konstantynów n/B.," *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 22, 1942, no. 60, p. 5.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Konstantynów Jewish community during World War II includes APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/419, 211 [201, pp. 57, 87; 207, p. 42; 208, p. 63; 557-559]); IPN (ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 12/70/BP/1-2, 24/67/1-2, 39/67/1-3, 247/67/1-2, 270/69/BP/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG], reel 15 [49/3-5, 14-15, 130]); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E [1281, 3371]; O-3 [2181, 2230, 2723]).

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NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 22, 1942, no. 60, p. 5.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/419, pp. 5–8.
3. Ibid., pp. 9–12.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/557, pp. 26–27.
5. Ibid., p. 12.
6. Ibid., p. 20.
7. Ibid., pp. 35–36; 211/559, p. 2.
8. Ibid., 211/557, pp. 12, 20.
9. Ibid., p. 23; 211/559, p. 13; Pinkus, *The House of Ashes*, pp. 97–99.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/558, p. 2.
11. Ibid., pp. 33–34.
12. Ibid., p. 2.
13. Ibid., 211/557, pp. 20, 23, 27.
14. Ibid., 211/558, pp. 20–22, 24, 27, 30–31, 35; 211/207, p. 42.
15. Ibid., 211/559, pp. 2–3, 8–10, 15–24.
16. Ibid., pp. 38, 45.
17. Ibid., pp. 44–45.
18. Ibid., pp. 49, 53.
19. Pinkus, *The House of Ashes*, p. 100.
20. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/130.

KRAŚNIK

Pre-1939: Kraśnik (Yiddish: Krashnik), town, Janów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Krasnik, Kreis Janow Lubelski, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kraśnik, Lublin województwo, Poland



A Jewish man, wearing an armband, carries a large piece of furniture on his back in Kraśnik, n.d.
USHMM WS #18602, COURTESY OF ŻIH IMIENIA EMANUELA RINGELBLUMA

Kraśnik lies 50 kilometers (31 miles) south-southwest of Lublin. In August 1939, its 16,747 residents included 5,132 Jews.

The Germans occupied Kraśnik on September 15, 1939. With the October 10 appointment of Otto Stössenreuther as Kreishauptmann of Janow Lubelski, the task of establishing a civilian administration for Kraśnik was almost complete. In August 1940, Stössenreuther was succeeded by Hennig von Winterfeld; then in October 1940, by Hans-Adolf Asbach; and finally in August 1941, by Kurt Lenk.

In December 1939, the Germans ordered a 12-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) established. Its chair in the spring of 1942 was Jankiel Wajsbrot. A 12-member unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was recruited.

Hundreds of Jews displaced by war devastation, mainly in Janów (Lubelski), resettled in Kraśnik. In December 1939, 1,230 Jewish expellees arrived from Łódź. By January 1941, 6,300 Jews, including 800 refugees, were residing in Kraśnik.

Plans to concentrate German troops in Kraśnik, for the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, saw Asbach reduce, rather than ghettoize, the Jewish population. On January 23, the Kreishauptmann ordered 1,000 Jews expelled to Radomyśl nad Sanem, whose 350-member Jewish community already had swelled to 550 in September and October 1939 with the arrival of San River expellees, including Jews from Tarnobrzeg, Rozwadów, and Nisko. Between February 1 and 10, 1941, Polish (Blue) Police transferred 700 Kraśnik Jews to Radomyśl. Most expellees (90 percent) were Łódź deportees. Conditions were dire. Some 600 expellees slept in the synagogue, on wooden bunks built one atop another. During the final February 20 transport, several hundred deportees fled. The police arrived with fewer than 50 people.[1]

Upon becoming Kreishauptmann, Lenk demanded the police close 66 private Jewish enterprises and insisted German firms mobilize Jewish labor directly. The orders and the decision to transfer the Kreis administration from Janów to Kraśnik translated into a plan for the Schmitt & Junk construction firm to harness Jewish labor to build and refurbish buildings required for the move. By the late summer of 1941, the Heinkel Company mobilized additional Jews to convert a pre-war munitions factory in Dąbrowa-Bór, just north of Kraśnik, into an airplane repair facility. Other Jews built forestry service barracks and stables in the woods by Dąbrowa. When, in the summer of 1942, Odilo Globocnik, SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) for Distrikt Lublin, decided to transform the site into the Budzyń forced labor camp, Kraśnik Jews were mobilized to build the camp.

Probably because Lenk wanted to create residential living space for officials slated to be transferred to Kraśnik, the Jewish community was the first in the Kreis impacted by the deportations. In early April 1942, the Arbeitsamt (labor office) ordered Jews employed by German firms to have their work cards restamped. On April 12, the Gestapo, led by Gestapo chief Erich Augustin, and Gendarmes, assisted by Sonderdienst and Polish (Blue) Police units, forced the Jews to assemble at the market square. About 2,040 Jews without the stamps—mainly the elderly, children, and mothers with dependent children—were marched to the railway station and sent to be gassed at the Bełżec extermination facility. Another 500 Jews were shot in Kraśnik.[2] Some 2,671 Jews survived the deportation Aktion.

In late May 1942, Schmitt & Junk established the first closed labor camp in the Kreis at several buildings near the synagogue. The camp's 180 inmates, all artisans, were selected from throughout the Kreis to build furniture for the new offices of the Kreis administration. By July, 250 craftsmen were interned at the camp.[3] In late September, Schmitt & Junk opened another closed labor camp, for 300 Jews mainly from Kraśnik. The inmates built fuel storage tanks near the railway station.

In late September 1942, the SS transformed the artisans' camp into a ghetto.[4] Triangular in size, the ghetto included Bóżnicza, Szkolna, Strażacka, Ogrodowa, and Gęsia Streets. To secure the area, a unit of Ukrainian SS auxiliaries took over a building on Olejna Street, opposite the ghetto.[5] The artisans for whom the camp was constructed lived for most of September and October outside the ghetto, in private homes. (The Kraśnik Jews most impacted initially by the establishment of the ghetto were those whose residences were located behind its fence.)

The ghetto was used first to consolidate Jews from other parts of Kreis Janow Lubelski. The first Jews to arrive in late September were the residents of the expanded wartime Radomyśl nad Sanem gmina.[6] Though Radomyśl was located much closer to a similar collection ghetto established in Zaklików, the Radomyśl Jews probably were ordered to Kraśnik because of the 400 Kraśnik expellees still residing there. The Gestapo also may have treated the gmina differently, as Lenk had used it from the spring of 1941 to resettle Jewish deportees to the Kreis, including in November some 384 expellees from Kraków, ordered to live in Radomyśl, Antoniów, and Chwałowice.[7]

Almost all the remaining Jews consolidated in the ghetto came from the northern half of the Kreis, defined roughly by an axis running east from Annopol (Annopol-Rachów) to Batorz. In Annopol, a Jewish community numbering 1,814 in August 1941, some 200 men were retained for labor at the Janiszów and Gościeradów labor camps before the October 15, 1942, expulsion. The Jewish residents of the neighboring Gościeradów and Kosin gminy probably were ordered to the ghetto at the same time.

In the Zakrzówek gmina, the approximately 1,100 Jews, mainly living in Zakrzówek, Bystrzyca, Studzianki, and Rudnik, learned on October 13, 1942, that they were to report to the ghetto by October 15. Adam Ulrich, the Polish technical director and site manager (Bauleiter) of the water melioration camp in Zakrzówek, reminded Arbeitsamt officials in Kraśnik of paperwork filed to retain the Jews for labor. The officials claimed they had never received it. Ulrich left for Lublin to procure the authorization. The Jews opted to wait, rather than report to the ghetto as ordered.[8]

As several dozen people crowded together in a single room in the ghetto, the Security Police began using the not-yet-opened Budzyń forced labor camp as a second collection ghetto for the Jews living in settlements north of Kraśnik, including in the Urzędów (375 Jews) and the Dzierzkowice (146 Jews) gminy. At Budzyń, men, destined to be the first inmates at the camp, and a few women resided in the stables. The remaining Jews, slated for deportation, lived at a heavily guarded family camp or ghetto established in another set of barracks.[9]

The SS began sending the Jews consolidated in the Kraśnik ghetto to their deaths at Bełżec around October 15, 1942. (Nuchim Rozenel mentions the deportations began in late September; Hersz Broner dates them to October 17.) All the Jews from the provinces were enveloped in the deportations, about which little is known. Immediately after the deportation, the Dzierzkowice and Urzędów Jews, imprisoned in the family ghetto in Budzyń, were brought (on truck and by foot) to the Kraśnik ghetto. They were sent the next day to their deaths at Bełżec.[10]

The Zakrzówek Jews were forcibly transferred to Kraśnik late on October 16, 1942. Upon returning the next day, Ulrich discovered the 250 Jews that Lublin officials had promised would be retained at the Zakrzówek camp had been imprisoned instead at Budzyń. The remaining Jews had been sent to the Kraśnik ghetto. Kazimierz Cieślicki, a Polish-Christian, recalled the SS executed all the Zakrzówek Jews for defying orders and arriving in the ghetto late.[11]

After the execution, Kraśnik Jews living at work sites and in other places in town were ordered to reside permanently in the ghetto.[12] On November 1, 1942, Lenk invited 300 Jews, mainly the artisan camp inmates, to meet at a local school. The invitees were held captive for 24 hours while German Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police, or Sipo), under the leadership of Hantke, organized the final deportation. Hantke ordered the remaining ghetto inmates, mainly the wives and children of the school captives, to report to the *mikveh* (ritual Jewish bath) for showers and inoculations. The German police drove their half-naked victims from the building and forced them onto peasant carts waiting on the other side. Transported to Zaklików, the Jews were sent several days later to be gassed at Bełżec.[13]

As part of the expulsions, SS-Unterscharführer Otto Hantke, commandant of the Budzyń forced labor camp, chose about 150 Jewish men to be incarcerated at the camp but then sent 50 back to be expelled to Zaklików. He shot dead others, such as teenager Baruch Krumholz.[14] Some 30 women, mainly the daughters and wives of Jewish Council members and Jewish policemen, probably also were transferred to Budzyń at this time.[15] Removed from Budzyń by truck several weeks

later, the women were sent to the Lublin airfield camp, by then used as the off-loading ramps for the Majdanek concentration camp.

In Kraśnik, Hantke announced that unemployed Jews defying orders to report to Zaklików would be shot. The Germans and Ukrainian SS auxiliaries rounded up Jews, including 6 women employed at the Społem food wholesaler, and executed them at the Jewish cemetery. Hundreds tried to escape. Those caught were imprisoned at the synagogue. On November 4, 1942, some 120 prisoners, including 25 female servants of German officials added to the group, also were shot at the cemetery.

Lenk required construction laborers in Kraśnik to finish the German police and trade association building on Piłsudski Street. On November 15, 1942, Hantke ordered the laborers and a ghetto-clearing crew assembled at the square. Some 500 men were marched to Budzyń. The 230 remaining Jews, imprisoned at the synagogue, were shot the next day at the Jewish cemetery.[16]

By late November 1942, 300 Jews officially remained in Kraśnik, including about 200 mainly artisans confined to the former ghetto. On November 23, the SS in Lublin assumed control of the ghetto, which officially became a forced labor camp. In late June 1944, the 295 surviving Jews in Kraśnik's two labor camps were sent to the Płaszów concentration camp.

Of the approximately 7,500 Jews who passed through the Kraśnik ghetto, 400 to 500 survived. Almost all were native or wartime residents of Kraśnik.

A West German court convicted Hantke of many crimes, including murders committed during the Kraśnik deportations. In 1974, he received a life sentence.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the wartime history of the Kraśnik Jewish community include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 519–523; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 153–158.

Among the few published testimonies from survivors are Fiszel Swerdszarf, *Testimonio* (La Paz: Círculo Israelita, 1988); and those published in the yizkor book, David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Krasnik* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Krashnik be-Medinat Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1973). Part of the book, translated in English on jewishgen.org, is a scholarly survey by Tatiana Berenstein, particularly valuable for those interested in Jewish life in Kraśnik before the establishment of the ghetto in September 1942.

Contemporary wartime press documentation includes a discussion of the April 1942 deportation in "Jüngste Kreishauptstadt im GG," *Krakauer Zeitung*, May 5, 1942. Verdicts of postwar German trials can be found in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1005; and in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1972, 2008, 2009), vols. 8, 39, and 40, Lfd. Nr. 289, 812 (for Hantke), and 813.

Additional documentation on the fate of the Kraśnik Jews and of the Jews from the communities consolidated in the Kraśnik ghetto can be found in the following archives: APL; APL-Kraśnik; AŻIH (e.g., 210/435, 211 [459, pp. 2, 8, 13, 16–20, 25, 42, 63, 66, 77; 460, pp. 8–9, 20–23, 31, 34, 38; 461, pp. 1–3, 6, 12, 15, 32–33, 37, 40–43; 462, pp. 2, 34, 41; 608-610], 301 [275, 542, 1292, 1516, 2221, 2544, 2845, 3324, 4348, 4399], 302/277); BA-BL (R 52III/30); BA-L (208 AR-Z 74/60, 8 AR-Z 384/61); IfZ (Gm 07.94/9; Ga 02.05; Gy 35; Gh 02.38/2; Gh 02.45/1+2); IPN (e.g., ASG, SAL [107-108, 185], SOL 171, SSKL 292); IPN-Lu (e.g., 34/67); LG-Hamb (147 Ks 2/72, 147 Ks 1/74, 147 Ks 3/72, [50] 23/73); LG-Mü I (1 Ks 2/51); Sta. Amberg (2 Js 930/64); Sta. München (116 Js 2/67); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]); VHF (e.g., # 1861, 24001); and YVA (e.g., M-49/1516; O-3 [2184, 2780, 2941, 3603, 4242, 4245, 4312, 5004, 5224]).

Of the Jewish communities mentioned in the entry and located during the war in Kreis Janow Lubelski but not receiving coverage elsewhere in this volume, in Zakrzówek, leaders of the local branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) reported on the organization's April 1942 ghetto questionnaire that no ghetto, either open or closed, existed anywhere in the gmina. Here, see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1145, p. 48. The evidence is insufficient to determine whether ghettos were established in Batorz, Kosin, or Gościeradów, communities for which almost no documentation has survived.

The JSS in Annopol-Rachów did not return a ghetto questionnaire, but scholars have long held that an open ghetto existed there, based on the testimony of Eli Fishman in the Annopol yizkor book, Shemu'el Nitsan, ed., *Raḥov-Annopol: Pirḳe 'edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Raḥov-Annopol vehasevivah, 1978), available in a complete English translation at jewishgen.org. However, the reference probably was added by the editor, as Fishman in a subsequent testimony, at VHF, # 14967, went out of his way to emphasize that the Jews in Annopol were not confined to a ghetto but rather were subjected to limitations on movement, which applied to Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement from November 1941. After surveying all the available Jewish documentation for Annopol in the USHMM and VHF collections and finding no mention of a ghetto, the editors decided to exclude it from this volume.

The documentation is more mixed for Radomyśl nad Sanem. On one level, Lenk, upon ordering the November 1941 Kraków expellees resettled there, also dispersed the new arrivals and a part of the Kraśnik expellees among the three major Jewish communities (Radomyśl, Antoniów, and Chwałowice) in the expanded wartime Radomyśl nad Sanem gmina. The arrival of so many Jews in the smaller communities may have resulted in ghettoization orders, as Henryk Proper notes occurred in Antoniów, in the testimony at AŻIH, 301/2544, pp. 1–2. Unfortunately, the Radomyśl JSS, which represented the Jews in the entire gmina, never once mentioned any ghettos existing there and did not return the organization's April 1942 ghetto questionnaire. In the absence of corroborating testimonies from survivors or German documentation mentioning the presence of a ghetto, the editors had little choice but to conclude the evidence insufficient at this point to include entries for Radomyśl, Antoniów, and Chwałowice.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/284, pp. 5–8; Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/870, pp. 8–20, 27.
2. AŻIH, 301/2221, testimony of Nuchim Rozenel, p. 2; 301/1516, testimony of Abraham Olender, p. 2; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/608, p. 34.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/610, pp. 16, 30, 34.
4. AŻIH, 301/3324, testimony of Hadasa Mincberg, p. 4.
5. Ibid., 302/277, testimony of Kazimierz Cieślicki, p. 33.
6. Ibid., 301/2544, testimony of Henryk Proper, p. 2; 301/4399, testimony of Szulim Garen, p. 1.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/871, p. 49.
8. AŻIH, 301/2845, testimony of Adam Ulrich, p. 18.
9. VHF, # 1861, testimony of Gary Flumenbaum.
10. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/2221, pp. 2–3; 301/275, testimony of Hersz Broner, p. 1.
11. AŻIH, 302/277, p. 34; VHF, # 24001, testimony of Abraham Ehrenberg.
12. AŻIH, 301/275, p. 1.
13. Ibid., 301/3324, pp. 2–3; 301/2221, p. 3.
14. IfZ, Gh 02.38/2, verdict of LG-Hamb, (50) 23/73, pp. 43–44, 144ff.
15. AŻIH, 301/1516, p. 4.
16. Ibid., 301/2221, pp. 3–4.

KRASNYSTAW

Pre-1939: Krasnystaw (Yiddish: Krasnistov), town, Krasnystaw powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Krasnystaw, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lublin województwo, Poland

Krasnystaw lies 54 kilometers (33.5 miles) southeast of Lublin. In August 1939, its approximately 10,000 residents included about 2,500 Jews.

The Germans occupied Krasnystaw after combating Polish troops on September 18, 1939. Seven Jews were blamed for this resistance and hanged. When the Poles renewed hostilities the next day, the German military commander placed 40 Jewish hostages on the German front line. Thirteen were killed; many more were wounded. Around September 26, the Germans ceded Krasnystaw to Soviet forces. After a border demarcation returned the town to Germany, almost 1,000 Jews joined the Soviet military evacuation. Before the last Soviet troops crossed the Bug River on October 7–8, the Germans had reoccupied Krasnystaw.



Jews are forced to stack munitions under German army supervision in Krasnystaw, July 4, 1941.
USHMM WS #81512, COURTESY OF NARA

Krasnystaw became the center of the German civilian administration for Kreis Krasnystaw. From October 1939, Hartmut Gerstenhauer was the Kreishauptmann. In October 1940, Hennig von Winterfeld succeeded him, then Claus Volkmann in April 1941, and Adolf Schmidt in August 1941. In November 1940, 13,500 to 14,500 Jews resided in the Kreis. The Krasnystaw Jewish community, numbering 1,200 to 1,500, was the third or fourth largest, behind Izbica (5,000 to 6,000), Turobin (2,600), and perhaps Żółkiewka (1,400).

In January 1940, Gerstenhauer ordered that Jewish Councils (Judenräte) were to be established. Lipa Rajchman and Dawid Zylbercan served as the chair and deputy chair of the Krasnystaw Jewish Council. The council organized forced labor conscription and collected contributions demanded by German authorities. Gerstenhauer also ordered Jews throughout the Kreis to Germanize their surnames. In a September 10, 1940, situation report, he explained to Hans Frank that the change, made to simplify record keeping, did not jeopardize German interests, for "when they go to Madagascar after the war, the Jews can get themselves Madagascan names there."[1]

On August 9, 1940, Gerstenhauer gave the Jews three days to report to a ghetto located in the Grobla neighborhood. Known for its small wooden homes and absence of electricity and central plumbing, Grobla was the poorest Jewish neighborhood in Krasnystaw. Gerstenhauer limited the items the Jews could bring to small quantities of clothing and bedding.[2]

The unfenced, or open, one-street ghetto was among the earliest established in Distrikt Lublin. It was more isolated than most, because the Wieprz River separated Grobla from the rest of the town. Gerstenhauer gradually restricted the Jews to the ghetto. In the aforementioned situation report, the Kreishauptmann explained he had banned Jews from his offices, because the German administration was "besieged . . . with Jews naturally excited about the relocation of the Jews to the ghetto."[3] Gerstenhauer soon prohibited Jews from entering central Krasnystaw, except for work.

There were not enough residences in the ghetto to accommodate all the Jews. The homeless crowded into the synagogue or slept outside. No place existed for the Jewish Council to reestablish its medical clinic. Conscripted for forced labor, the ghetto inmates cleared war devastation, reconstructed burned-out buildings, and rebuilt a bridge over the Wieprz. Zylbercan admitted more than half the Jews did not have a crumb of bread to eat. Rather than establish welfare institutions, the Jewish Council from October 1940 protested and delayed until late April 1941 the appointment of Michał Szolsohn, a popular Talmud Torah activist, to head the Krasnystaw branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization.[4]

In a February 11, 1941, report in *Gazeta Żydowska*, the Jewish Council avoided mentioning the ghetto, while nonetheless indicating one existed. The report noted the Jews "had taken up residence in Grobla, where a Jewish ghetto [*getto*] was located many centuries ago."[5] Readers familiar with Polish history would recognize that bans on Jewish residence from 1569 to 1862 meant no Jewish quarter (*rewir*) ever had existed in Krasnystaw. The use of the word *getto*, rather than the more historically accurate *rewir*, presumably was intended.

Changes in German policies likely necessitated the bending of history. Generally, German authorities in Distrikt Lublin were required to provide Jews in ghettos limited rations. From December 2, 1940, they also could exclude Jews from the ration pool. Gerstenhauer and his successors chose the second option for the unemployed. Only from November 1941, when Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement were confined, on pain of death, to their places of registration, did the Kreishauptmannschaft (Kreis authorities) permit the 15,708 unemployed Jews (out of an expanded population of 18,493) to purchase potatoes (once) and very small amounts of bread (or flour) and sugar (regularly) from cheaper government stores.[6]

Though the *Gazeta Żydowska* report mentioned the community soon would be allowed to return to central Krasnystaw, Kreishauptmann Claus Volkmann permitted only a few Jews, probably craftsmen, to live in some buildings on May Third Square and just outside the ghetto on Mostowa and Kolejowa Streets.[7] The Jews probably provided services to the local population and to Wehrmacht troops, concentrated in Krasnystaw before the June 22, 1941, invasion of the Soviet Union. On May 6, Volkmann ordered 950 to 1,250 ghetto inhabitants resettled in 15 villages in the Zakrzew gmina, located on the southwestern border of the Kreis, some 47 kilometers (29 miles) from Krasnystaw. Attacks on Jews by German soldiers and the burning of the synagogue probably provided the public rationale for the expulsions. By mid-June, just 250 to 300 Jews were residents of Krasnystaw.[8]

The Krasnystaw JSS provided services to the larger community, known as Zakrzew-Krasnystaw.[9] Discovering subsistence difficult in Zakrzew, a gmina hitherto home to 30 Jews, the Krasnystaw expellees almost all departed just before the November 1941 orders permanently consigned Jews to their places of registration. About a fourth moved to Wysokie (koło Krasnegostawu). The rest settled closer to home, mainly in Kraśniczyn and Gorzków. By March 1942, just half the 200 Jews in the Zakrzew gmina were Krasnystaw expellees.[10]

By February 1942, 800 Jews were living in Krasnystaw. The fact that they received almost no charity assistance suggests only that the employed were permitted to reside with their immediate families in the ghetto. Some Jews worked for the municipal administration. Others labored at a munitions depot the Wehrmacht established outside of Krasnystaw by the Borek Woods.

On April 12, 1942, as many as 600 Krasnystaw Jews were expelled to Izbica together with Jews from nearby communities. Some 272 (of 435) Jews from the Siennica Różana gmina, 200 (of 378) in the Rybczewice gmina, and 556 (of 715) in Kraśniczyn were among the expellees. On April 16, Szalomon Griffen, head of the JSS in Fajsławice, reported the 220 Jews in his gmina, half of them employed at a German estate, were unscathed by a deportation, which had impacted Jews in every town and settlement in the Kreis and in the neighboring Łopiennik Górny and Rybczewice gminy.[11] The expellees probably were marched directly to the Izbica railway station and then sent to be gassed at the Bełżec extermination center.

Objections Kreishauptmann Schmidt raised to a March 1942 proposal by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Höfle, one of the main architects of Operation Reinhard, to use Izbica to resettle Reich and Protectorate Jews help explain the early (for Distrikt Lublin) timing of the Krasnystaw deportations and perhaps why Jews in some places, most notably Krasnystaw and Kraśniczyn, almost all were murdered by April 1942. To overcome Schmidt's protests, Höfle promised to create room for the newcomers by first "relieving" certain localities of native Jews.[12] Höfle at least initially responded to Schmidt's concerns about overcrowding in Izbica by ordering thousands of the first Reich and Protectorate arrivals to several locations where most native Jews had been sent to their deaths.

After the April 1942 expulsions, 150 to 200 Jews remained in Krasnystaw. Probably at this time, the ghetto and the Wehrmacht armory were fenced with barbed wire. The latter was designated a Jewish labor camp.

In late April 1942, the Germans ordered 23 Reich Jews from Izbica to Krasnystaw. On April 28, a transport of 853 to 1,000 Reich Jews, officially destined for Izbica, arrived in Krasnystaw. The passengers—Jews from Bamberg (103 people), Fürth, Nuremberg, Schweinfurt, and Würzburg—were resettled instead in Kraśniczyn. On May 3, another Krasnystaw transport of 1,000 Reich Jews was ordered to Kraśniczyn. In late April, 250 German expellees, some from Breslau, were transferred from Izbica to Kraśniczyn. They joined 500 Czech and Slovak Jews, from a March 13 Terezín transport to Izbica, ordered to Kraśniczyn on March 18. Some 400 Czech and Slovak Jews probably were imprisoned at the Wehrmacht camp outside of Krasnystaw. On May 7, Schmidt ordered the Krasnystaw JSS to establish a kitchen for workers, including 40 Reich deportees.[13]

Before May 12, 1942, the Gestapo established a fenced collection, or transit, ghetto in Krasnystaw. Abutting the Grobla ghetto, the collection ghetto included an unfinished school and barracks for railway laborers.

On May 13, the Gestapo, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, Polish police and civilian guards, local Jewish Police, and Czech Jewish Police reinforcements (probably from Izbica) transferred most of the Jews from the southern part of the Kreis to the collection ghetto.[14] Survivor Dov Freiberg, among 2,000 (of 3,500) expellees from Turobin, recalls first marching to Wysokie to pick up the Jewish community (approximately 800 people), then to Żółkiewka, where some 1,300 (of approximately 2,200) Jews were joined to the column. Among the latter were the remaining 178 to 200 Jews from Rybczewice ordered to Żółkiewka on May 7. In Gorzków, 1,000 (of 1,800) Jews were added to the march. Some 248 Jews from

the Rudnik gmina, 200 from the Zakrzew gmina including 100 Krasnystaw expellees, and all the Jews in the Łopiennik Górny gmina also were expelled to the ghetto.

Almost all the approximately 5,800 Jews imprisoned in the collection ghetto slept outside. The next day, on May 14, 1942, the Gestapo chose some 600 to 700 inmates for deportation to the Majdanek concentration camp.[15] The remaining 5,100 to 5,200 Jews were sent to be gassed at Sobibór on May 14 and 15.

Among the May 15 deportees were Michał Szolsohn and his wife, added to the fifth Sobibór transport in an act of "personal retribution." Szolsohn's son defied a gag order and sent two telegrams that day, appealing to JSS leaders in Kraków to obtain his parents' release.[16] The JSS could do little, as the Szolsohns were gassed on arrival. Postal officials in Krasnystaw, moreover, sent the second telegram, in which Sobibór was listed as the couple's destination, only on May 31. The telegram nonetheless is historically significant as it is the first time Sobibór was named as the place of deportation for the Krasnystaw Jews. It also is the earliest known direct reference to the killing center in any Polish-language documentation.

After the Jews were sent to their deaths, the SS consolidated in the collection ghetto almost all the Jews from Kraśniczyn. (Several hundred Jews were retained for labor at an estate in Bończa; 300 Reich and Protectorate deportees were interned at the so-called Augustówka labor camp, actually located in Surhów and Małochwiej Duży.) Some 1,000 Czech and Slovak Jews, transferred from Izbica to Gorzków in mid-March 1942, were included in the expulsion.[17] The approximately 3,000 to 4,000 Jews were sent to their deaths at Sobibór.

On June 18, 1942, Szolsohn's deputy reported to JSS leaders in Kraków that no Jews remained in Kraśniczyn, Wysokie, and Rudnik or in the Łopiennik, Rybczewice, and Zakrzew gminy. Of the 8,000 Jews held back from the expulsion residing outside of labor camps, 45 percent were Reich or Protectorate deportees (3,500 in Izbica and 70 in Krasnystaw).[18] In Krasnystaw, Turobin, Żółkiewka, and Gorzków, only remnant native communities remained. The 221 Jews in the Fajsławice gmina were untouched by the deportation. Some Jews remained in the Siennica Różana gmina. Approximately 4,500 surviving Jews were employed.[19]

Following the deportation, the Krasnystaw Jews mainly cleared possessions from the ghetto. Some clearing crew laborers were sent to the Trawniki labor camp, probably in late August 1942, during the next major expulsion (mainly of agricultural laborers to Sobibór).

In October, the Krasnystaw ghetto was liquidated. All Jews in the Kreis living outside of labor camps were ordered to the Izbica ghetto. From there, the Jews were sent to be gassed, mainly at Bełżec but also Sobibór. A small group, including former Jewish Council members Leon Feldhändler (from Żółkiewka) and Moszek Merenstein (from Gorzków), were retained for labor at Sobibór.

A handful of Jews survived the Krasnystaw ghettos. Almost all the Grobla survivors were spring 1941 expellees who never reported to the Krasnystaw collection ghetto. The survivors of the Krasnystaw collection ghetto mainly were men, such as Dov Freiberg, retained for labor at Sobibór, who joined the October 1943 prisoners' uprising.

SOURCES Secondary sources with coverage of the Krasnystaw Jewish community and the communities consolidated in the Krasnystaw collection ghetto include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 515–518 (Krasnystaw), pp. 118–119 (Gorzków), pp. 169–179 (Wysokie), pp. 196–198 (Żółkiewka), pp. 241–244 (Turobin), all available in English translations, by Morris Gradel, at jewishgen.org, and pp. 518–519 (Kraśniczyn).

A contribution by Robert Kuwałek about the Krasnystaw ghetto is located on the Web sites of the Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team and the Aktion Reinhard Camps (ARC). Kuwałek provides an overview of the Reich and Protectorate Jews expelled to Distrikt Lublin in "Getta tranzytowe w dystrykcie lubelskim," in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), pp. 138–160, with the book also available in a German translation. It is best read together with the relevant table in Tatiania Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH* no. 21 (1957): 70–72.

A published English-language testimony from survivor Maria Binder Greber can be found in Wiktoria Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*, trans. Julian and Fay Bussgang (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. 75. The most compelling account of the Krasnystaw collection ghetto can be found in the memoir of Turobin survivor Dov Freiberg, *To Survive Sobibor* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2007). Additional testimonies from Krasnystaw survivors can be found in the yizkor book, Aryeh Shtuntsaiger, ed., *Yizker tsum ondenk fun di kedoyshey Krasnistov* (Munich: Farlag "Bafrayung" baym Ts. K. "Po'ale-Tsiyon," 1948); and also include Mordechai Puterman, *Lebnsgeshikhte fun a pshutn Yid* (Tel Aviv: H. Leyvik-Farlag, 1983). There also is a yizkor book for Turobin: Me'ir Shim'on Geshuri, ed., *Sefer Turbin: Pinkas zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turbin be-Yisrael).

Published documentation includes in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: CŻKHwP, 1946), pt. 1, p. 51, an April 16, 1942, telegram from officials at the Department of Population and Welfare (BuF) in Kraków to the Krasnystaw Kreishauptmann and the Governor of Distrikt Lublin outlining ground rules for better communication between the SS and civilian officials during future expulsions, which scholars use to date the deportation to Bełżec of a large part of the Krasnystaw Jewish community. Contemporary press coverage includes "Krasnystaw," *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 11, 1941, no. 12, p. 7.

Additional documentation for the Krasnystaw Jewish community and the Jewish communities consolidated in the Krasnystaw collection ghetto can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., GDL 273, p. 19); AŻIH (e.g., 210 [433 (Krasnystaw), 347 (Gorzków), 434 (Kraśniczyn), 605 (Rybczewice)], 211 [600-607 (Krasnystaw and Kreis Krasnystaw), 381-382 (Fajsławice), 423 (Gorzków), 597 (Kraśniczyn), 914

(Rybczewice), 954 (Siennica Różana), 1047 (Turobin), 1134-1136 (Wysokie), 1187-1188 (Żółkiewka)], 301 [e.g., 1303, 1885, 5390 (Krasnystaw), 2785 (Gorzków), 11 (Turobin), 72, 104, 1204 (Żółkiewka)]); BA-BL (R 52III/23, pp. 76–81); IPN (e.g., ASG, SAL [12 (Żółkiewka, Poperczyn), 112 (Zakrzew gmina), 118 and 177 (Krasnystaw, Jaślików), 130 (Turobin), 148-149 (Łopiennik Górny), 164 (Kraśniczyn, Brzeziny)], SOL [62 and 76 (Krasnystaw), 114 (Żółkiewka), 149 (Łopiennik Górny)]); IPN-Lu (e.g., 98/67/1-5 [Krasnystaw], 192/67/1-3 [Krasnystaw collection ghetto], 245/67/1-2 [Fajsławice], 414/67/1-2 [Łopiennik Górny], 286/67 [Rudnik], 258/67 [Rybczewice gmina, aka Pilaszkowice], 348/67/1-2 [Siennica Różana aka Wierzchowiny], 19/67/1-2 [Surhów-Augustówka], 369/67 [Turobin], 297/67/1-2 [Żółkiewka]); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]); VHF (e.g., # 5789, 10690, 12282, 25543, 31407, 32182 [Krasnystaw], 40445 [Gorzków], 27443 [Siennica Różana], 7829, 12564, 25359, 45226 [Turobin], 1609 [Żółkiewka]); and YVA (e.g., O-16/1885 [Krasnystaw], O-3 [2923, 2940] [Turobin], O-3 [230, 11687, 2309, 2940], and O-16 [464, 1204] [Żółkiewka]).

Of the Krasnystaw communities mentioned in the entry but not accorded separate treatment in this volume, most survivors agree that no ghettos were established prior to the May 1942 deportations in Turobin, Żółkiewka, Gorzków, and Wysokie. Icek Lerer is an exception. In VHF, # 1609, he reports the November 1941 proscriptions on movement transformed all of Żółkiewka into an open ghetto. The Jews in Siennica Różana, Fajsławice, and Zakrzew lived dispersed across the three gminy and were never consolidated in ghettos. In Fajsławice, Szalomon Griffen responded negatively on the April 1942 JSS ghetto questionnaire, at USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/382, p. 35. Little is known about the specific conditions in which Jews lived in the Rudnik and Łopiennik Górny gminy prior to the May expulsions.

Though it seems likely remnant ghettos were established in communities such as Żółkiewka, Gorzków, and Turobin, where small numbers of Jews were retained for labor after the May 1942 expulsions, Leon Feldhändler and Moszek Merenstein do not recall such ghettos existing in either Żółkiewka or Gorzków. Feldhändler, the former head of the Jewish Council in Żółkiewka, in a testimony at AŻIH, 301/72, written shortly before his murder in Lublin in March 1945, noted: "The Jewish Council negotiated with officials from the Kreishauptmann's office to overcome the threatening insecurity of a ghetto." Merenstein, in his testimony at AŻIH, 301/2785, reported he resided and worked at Baranica (his former estate outside of Gorzków) until the Jews in the Kreis were ordered to Izbica in October 1942. There are no testimonies from survivors of the Turobin remnant community. Given the absence of documentation for Turobin and of corroborative documentation for Feldhändler's and Merenstein's claims, the editors of the volume concluded the evidence at this point insufficient to determine that remnant ghettos were established in Żółkiewka, Gorzków, and Turobin.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, R 52III/23, p. 81.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC), 210/433, pp. 35–36.
3. BA-L, R 52III/23, p. 81.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH, JSS), 211/601, pp. 1–2, 5–8, 12–14, 25–26, 70; 211/602, p. 1.
5. "Krasnystaw," *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 11, 1941, no. 12, p. 7.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/600, pp. 18–19; 211/601, p. 39; 211/604, pp. 6, 26; 211/605, pp. 1, 6, 8, 26–27; 211/606, p. 9.
7. Ibid., 211/602, p. 15.
8. Ibid., pp. 5, 9–10, 39–40, 62–63.
9. Ibid., p. 67.
10. Ibid., 211/954, p. 2; 211/606, pp. 69–70.
11. Ibid., 211/606, pp. 65, 73, 88; 211/382, p. 20.
12. APL, GDL, 273, p. 19, Richard Türk BuF Lublin notes, "Removal of Jews" (Judenaussiedlung), March 20, 1942, cited in Kuwałek, "Getta tranzytowe," p. 142.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/606, pp. 31 66, 73, 84, 86, 88.
14. Ibid., 211/1188, p. 21a, for date.
15. AŻIH, 301/1204, testimony of Icek Lichtmann, p. 1.
16. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/606, p. 89; 211/607, pp. 4, 27–28.
17. Ibid., 211/606, pp. 33, 40; 211/607, pp. 10, 40–41.
18. Ibid., 211/607, pp. 3, 15.
19. Ibid., 211/382, pp. 20, 23, 27.

KURÓW

Pre-1939: Kurów (Yiddish: Koriv), village, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kurow, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Kurów, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Kurów lies 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) northwest of Lublin. Its pre-war 1939 population of 4,635 included 2,571 Jews.

On September 9, 1939, fires sparked by Luftwaffe bombardment destroyed about 120 (all but 3) Jewish-owned buildings in Kurów. Left homeless, the Jews fled to a number of towns and villages, including Wąwolnica, Kazimierz Dolny, Ryki, Opole, and Lublin. On September 15, a Wehrmacht unit briefly occupied Kurów. The soldiers compelled the few Jews remaining there to clear rubble. Some local Poles helped the soldiers search devastated Jewish homes for valuables.

Some 300 Jewish families never returned to Kurów. However, from January 1940, local officials in several localities began to order the Kurów refugees home. Former Kurów residents made up almost all the 40 Jewish families expelled from Wąwolnica and Kazimierz Dolny to Kurów in April 1941. A few families from Lublin were also among the April expellees.[1] The wealthiest among the early returnees purchased abandoned stables from peasants, salvaged the lumber, and built wooden sheds in which to live. Most Jews lived in the cellars of burned-out houses or in holes dug in fields.

A German civil administration was established for Kurów, perhaps not until January 1940. It was headed by Ulrich, a local ethnic German. Also in January, the Jews were ordered to form a six-member Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Abraham Goldberg.

The Judenrat collected taxes and contributions demanded by German authorities. From June 1940, it was ordered to organize forced labor brigades to raze central Kurów and to pulverize bricks from the war-devastated structures, including the synagogue and ultimately the *matzevot* (gravestones) from the Jewish cemetery. The materials were used to pave the road from Kurów to Klementowice and to improve the railway track bed near Klementowice. In June 1940, the Judenrat conscripted laborers for a *Judenlager* in Janiszów (pre-war Janów powiat), on the Vistula River, to dig trenches for a flood control project. In June 1941, the council was required to send 28 men to a labor camp in Lublin. Thirteen of the conscripts were the most impoverished Jews in Kurów.[2]

Restrictions imposed on Jewish movement beyond Kurów in the early spring of 1941, probably several months before the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, effectively transformed Kurów into an open ghetto. The orders forbade Jews from leaving Kurów without permission. Moty Glazer was shot for disobeying the order.

With the arrival of more than 1,000 deportees from Warsaw in July 1941, a Jewish quarter was established. The Warsaw Jews more than tripled the Jewish population to 1,522 in September and 1,700 by October.[3] They likely were resettled in Kurów for road and railway labor. The expellees were confined to a specifically designated neighborhood set apart from the Polish neighborhood. It was composed of just a few streets. The absence of housing likely provided a reason for establishing the ghetto. The Jewish Council received permission in November to construct additional shelter for a number of homeless deportee families.[4] Some Kurów Jews also resided in the Jewish quarter. Survivor Helen Kotlar (Kotlarz), for example, remembers local Jews sneaking out in late summer and early fall of 1941 from what she described as the "prescribed area" to form *minyanim* at her house on the outskirts of Kurów and to say Kaddish for her mother-in-law.[5] Kotlar's remarks indicate ghettoization was not total; some native Jews continued to live outside the ghetto.

Many of the Warsaw Jews had contracted typhoid fever during the deportations. Several died within days of resettlement. To curb the spread of the disease, the Jewish Council established a quarantine facility for new arrivals in July 1941.[6] Hundreds of Jews, including many native Kurów Jews, nonetheless became ill. The Kurów Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) provided free medicines to treat the sick. Because Kurów's only physician was banned from seeing Jews, the JSS secured permission and paid to transport the most critical patients to an infectious disease hospital in Puławy. As scores perished, the JSS ended the practice of financially assisting local families to feed the most impoverished refugees. From the late fall of 1941, a communal kitchen offered reduced-cost dinners for the sick and indigent. In February 1942, the kitchen served 5,750 subsidized meals.[7]

By the winter of 1941–1942, a tannery and a workshop established by Ulrich to transform rabbit skins into winter coats and gloves for the Wehrmacht employed about 20 Kurów Jews. (These workshops employed mostly non-Jews.) Almost all the Jewish tannery laborers from Kurów were family members of Judenrat officials.[8] Kotlar remembers Ulrich appointing a Lubliner Jew, who had saved his life during World War I, to head the tannery, which employed another 20 Jews from Lublin.[9] Conscripted to remove snow from the road from Kurów to Markuszów, a part of the main highway leading from Warsaw to Lublin, the ghetto inmates were subjected to exhausting work while being humiliated and beaten by the German soldiers supervising the work.

Denunciations by local Poles led to the arrest of several Jews for bartering material goods for food. German Gendarmes searched the lean-to of Mirl Merimberg, a woman with an illicit shoemaking workshop, confiscated her tools, and beat her severely. In late March 1942, on the eve of Passover, orders forbade Jews from baking matzot, which was a "privilege" accorded to Jews in Kreis Lublin. A Pole offered his oven to Jewish women to bake the unleavened bread illicitly. The women sneaked over to his house after midnight to cleanse the oven. Several Poles assisted in baking the matzot.[10]

On April 8, or perhaps May 8, 1942, a small SS contingent, including Ukrainian auxiliaries, arrived in Kurów to liquidate the ghetto. (Most Jewish survivors remember the expulsions as occurring in April, during Passover.) The Jews were ordered to assemble in front of the Judenrat building for "resettlement." About 32 people, including 20 Kurów Jews, were retained for labor at the tannery. Only 1 woman, a cook, was held back from the expulsion. The remaining Jews were marched to Końskowola, about 9.6 kilometers (6 miles) west-northwest of Kurów.[11] About 20 people were murdered during the march. Imprisoned overnight in wooden barracks in Końskowola, the Kurów Jews were marched to the train station (located closer to Puławy) the next morning and forced onto trains destined either for the Sobibór or the Bełżec extermination camp.[12]

In July 1942, the 32 Jews officially held back for labor were ordered to reside in a closed ghetto. The postwar Polish Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation on ghettos describes the ghetto as located in a small house on Bóżnicza (Synagogue) Street on a fenced property measuring 12 by 8 meters (39.4 by 26.2 feet). Kotlar remembers the ghetto including several residences.[13] Ulrich permitted Jews who had evaded the liquidation Aktion to report to the remnant ghetto, in exchange for a bribe, or entrance fee, of approximately 500 złoty. Some 20 to 30 Jews paid the fee to legalize their status and to enter the ghetto. Among the fugitives were the wives and children of several inmates. Many others lived illicitly outside the ghetto.[14]

The 45 to 50 ghetto inmates could leave the ghetto only for work, mostly at the tannery.[15] Contacts with local Poles and with Czech or perhaps Slovak Jews imprisoned at a larger, neighboring camp were forbidden.

On November 13, 1942, a small SS contingent of about 12 men—6 Germans and 6 Ukrainian auxiliaries—arrived from Końskowola to liquidate the ghetto.[16] Some Jews managed to flee. The SS rounded up another 36 Jews and executed them at the Jewish cemetery.[17]

A local tax collector denounced 25 Jewish fugitives hidden in an abandoned cellar. On December 19, 1942, the Germans, perhaps Gendarmes from the Michów and Puławy posts, executed the Jews in their hiding places. (Local Poles were ordered to bury the bodies at the Jewish cemetery.)[18] Another large group of fugitives was hunted down and executed during a two-month encirclement of the forested areas surrounding Klementowice, Markuszów (Borek Woods), and Wola Przybysławska (Garbów Forest), beginning in early December 1942.[19] Several Jewish partisans from Kurów were among the victims. Others reported to a collection ghetto in Końskowola 1943.[20]

Local Poles sheltered approximately 10 Kurów Jews. Andrzej and Katarzyna Zarzycki, recognized in 1978 as Righteous Among the Nations, were two of at least six aid givers of the Kotlar family. A handful of Kurów Jews survived the liquidation of ghettos subsequently established in the towns and villages in which they found refuge after the 1939 bombardment of the village.[21] Survivor Simcha Ritzer (Sam Rice) exploited the confusion during the attack to claim a false identity as a Polish Christian to evade ghettoization.[22]

SOURCES Published testimonies from survivors, in the yizkor book Moisheh Grosman, ed., *Yizker-bukh Koriv. Sefer yizkor, matsevet-zikaron le-ayaratenu Koriv* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Ḳoriv in Yisroel, 1955), include a long contribution by Helen Kotlar, "Un dokh bin ikh geblibn lebn," which was translated and published subsequently in English as *We Lived in a Grave* (New York: Shengold, 1980).

Secondary sources include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 480–482; its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 159–162; and the extensive entry for Kurów in Polish at the Wirtualny Sztetl, on the Web site of the Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich (Museum of the History of Polish Jews), www.sztetl.org.pl. Some coverage also appears in Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 2, p. 925.

David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2003), p. 272, notes all the Kurów Jews were expelled to Końskowola on May 8, 1942, a point that challenges several long-held assumptions of Polish scholars and IPN investigators about the Kurów expulsions, including the belief they occurred on April 8, exactly a month earlier. The second date comes from the testimonies of Jewish survivors and local Polish police authorities interviewed by Polish investigators immediately after the war.

Much confusion exists about whether the remnant ghetto in Kurów was a ghetto or a labor camp, with the cited ASG documentation for ghettos describing it as both a ghetto and a camp. Non-Jews, including Helena Boguszewska, in *Nigdy nie zapomnę* (Warsaw: Wiedza, 1946), p. 145, describe the ghetto as the "small camp," as do some survivors. The same confusion marks the academic literature: Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH* no. 21 (1957): 77, mentions a ghetto in Kurów; Edward Dziadosz and Józef Marszałek, "Więzienia i obozy w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939–1944," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 3 (1969): 25, 67, 113, 197, call it a labor camp; and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 262, list the Kurów ghetto twice, first as a ghetto and then as a labor camp.

Archival documentation for the Kurów Jewish community during World War II includes APL (e.g., 498/0/270); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 210/608, 211/631, 301/4398); FVA (1065); IPN-Lu (e.g., Ds-2/67/1-6); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH] 211/631; Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AŻIH] 210/608; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 6, 16/789, 792, 786, and reel 15, 49/103]; RG-50.002*0051); VHF (# 23, 700, 2062, 5342, 21629, 22297, 22674, 27633); and YVA (e.g., 0-3/3555).

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NOTES

1. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 9–17, 23–26, 31, 36; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), ŻSS, 211/631, pp. 3, 8.
2. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 26–29, 33; USHMM, 50.002*51, testimony of Joseph Weinbuch; Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/631, p. 23.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/631, pp. 23, 26.
4. Ibid., p. 38.
5. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 27, 38.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/631, p. 24.
7. Ibid., pp. 23–24, 50, 55.
8. Ibid., RG-50.002*51.
9. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 42–44.
10. Ibid., pp. 31–32, 41–44.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 15, 49/103, p. 1; VHF, # 21629, testimony of Joseph Chanesman; Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 44–47.
12. USHMM, RG-50.002*51.
13. Ibid., RG-15.019M, 49/103, p. 1; Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 50–52, 54.
14. USHMM, RG-50.002*51.
15. Ibid., RG-15.019M, 49/103.
16. VHF, # 21629.
17. USHMM, RG-15.019M, 49/103.
18. Ibid., reel 6, 16/789.
19. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 46–47; USHMM, RG-50.002*51; RG-15.019M, reel 6, 16/792, 796.
20. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 78–80.
21. VHF, # 2062, testimony of Nachemia Wurman.
22. Ibid., # 5342, testimony of Sam Rice.

ŁĘCZNA

Pre-1939: Łęczna (Yiddish: Lentcha), town, Lubartów powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lentschna bei Lublin, Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łęczna, Łęczna powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Łęczna lies on the confluence of the Wieprz and Świnka Rivers, some 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) east-northeast of Lublin. Its 1935 population of 4,162 included 2,273 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Łęczna around September 18, 1939. By January 1940, the Germans had established a civil administration, led by Mayor Schulter, an ethnic German. The Polish (Blue) Police and a Sonderdienst unit were recruited. The latter unit was composed of local ethnic Germans and Ukrainians.

On September 23, 1939, the Day of Atonement, uniformed Germans evicted Jews from the synagogue. Several people were shot dead; many more were severely beaten. Two weeks later, the Germans arrived to order 200 Jews to remove the Torah and Holy books from the synagogue and Bet Midrash. The Germans set the works on fire.[1] Abraham Rachil Bromberg, the rabbi of Łęczna, died in late 1939, and Hugo "Ogen" Alter, a refugee from Warsaw, suggests the Germans drowned him in the Wieprz.[2] Jews were also rounded up for forced labor. In January 1940, a 12-person Jewish Council was established. Its chair, Icek Chaim Frochtman, was a 50-year-old tailor. That month, a decree required Jews to wear a yellow patch on the chest. Six months later, the order was changed to white armbands with a blue Star of David.

Icek Zylbersztajn, the head of the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), reported on the charity's April 1942 ghetto questionnaire that an unfenced open ghetto (*dzielnica żydowska*) had been established in Łęczna on January 1, 1940.[3] A February 7, 1941, article about Łęczna in *Gazeta Żydowska* mentioned the Jewish Council's first duty in January 1940 was to house "several tens of Jewish families" expelled from "several Aryan streets."[4] The ghetto may have been established because Emil Ziegenmeyer, the Kreishauptmann of Lublin-Land, claimed the estate at Łęczna as his home.[5]

Situated in the old Jewish neighborhood in northwestern Łęczna, the ghetto was composed of all the streets surrounding II, III, and Zielony squares. It also included the area south of the synagogue bounded by what now are Bożniczna (Synagogue), Partyzantka, and 11 Listopada Streets. In May 1941, some 150 refugees, mainly voluntary transplants, resided in the ghetto. In April 1942, the ghetto population stood at 2,250.[6]

Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without permission. Survivor Hersz Zylbersztajn (Icek's brother) notes everyone ignored the restrictions but admits that those found illicitly outside the ghetto were beaten severely.[7] As six people crowded into each of the ghetto's 400 rooms, hygiene standards declined. In May 1940, the Jewish Council established an eight-person sanitation force. A typhus epidemic erupted in December 1942.[8]

Ghetto inmates were conscripted for forced labor, including agricultural work on the Kreishauptmann's estate, at a quarry in Karolin (pre-war Lubartów powiat), and at the Fischereigenossenschaft (fisheries' cooperative). In the summer of 1941, the Arbeitsamt (labor office) permitted Poles to contract Jews as agricultural laborers. Some 65 tailors and shoemakers received concessions to maintain small craft workshops.

In August 1940, the SS arrived in consecutive weeks to conscript Jewish men for labor in camps. Local ethnic Germans, led by Becker and Milke, rounded up conscripts during the first raid in which they were marched to a nearby labor camp, likely in Milejów, established for road construction work. In the second raid, carried out in Jewish communities throughout Distrikt Lublin on August 12–13 and 13–14, on the orders of SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) Odilo Globocnik, an SS contingent at 1:00 A.M. rounded up conscripts for the Bełżec forced labor camp. The Polish police surrounded the ghetto to prevent escapes. A handful of Łęczna conscripts survived to be released in November.[9] In the spring of 1941, additional conscripts were interned at a Lublin labor camp, known by Łęczna survivors as Plage-Laśkiewicz (for the pre-war airplane manufacturer on whose grounds the camp was established) but better known today as the *Flugplatz* (Airfield) camp. In May 1941, Icek Zylbersztajn reported that labor camp conscription made it impossible to maintain a JSS delegation or to assist the impoverished.[10]

By early 1941, the Germans had established a labor camp in Łęczna, probably by designating a block of ghetto residences on Bożniczna and Partyzantka Streets for the camp. The *Gazeta Żydowska* article reported Łęczna Jews provided clothing and shoes to inmates at the neighboring camp. Among the inmates were Jewish deportees from Slovakia.[11] These Jews arrived some time after March 1942, when deportations from Slovakia commenced.

In late February or early March 1941, an SS contingent, perhaps led by Goldfarb, executed 30 young Jews on an escarpment overlooking the Wieprz. (A few victims, only lightly wounded, fell into the river and drowned.) Zylbersztajn remembers conditions deteriorated after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June: "There constantly were repressive measures against Jews. There constantly were sacrifices in human lives."[12] The Germans raided homes at night, pulled men from their beds, and shot them dead in a gully by the synagogue.

Before July 1941, the JSS established a community kitchen. It provided a daily meal to 682 impoverished ghetto residents.[13] In autumn, the Jewish Council established a 25-person unit of Jewish Police. Its commander was Szmul Puterman. In December, the police and the Jewish Council collected fur coats the SS ordered surrendered. Zylbersztajn recalls in early 1942 that an SS contingent from Lublin and Lubartów beat some Jews to death and shot others dead. Alter may be describing the same event relating that the SS took 21 hostages and then summoned the Jewish Council. When council members did not appear, the hostages were tortured. A 100,000 złoty contribution failed to save the surviving hostages' lives.[14] Between August 19 and 22, 1942, a delegation described by Zylbersztajn as from the Landwirtschaftskommissariat, led by Wilczek, but also including members of Gendarmerie Battalion I (motorized) commanded by Major Erich Schwieger, randomly chose every tenth person from a brigade of agricultural conscripts. The 12 victims were shot dead atop the gully near the synagogue in a larger Aktion during which the police were ordered to round up partisans, their helpers, and "wandering Jews."[15]

On October 25, 1942, an SS contingent, led perhaps by Kurt Engel, then head of the SS in Kreis Cholm, and SS

Ukrainian auxiliaries from Trawniki, liquidated the ghetto. The Jews were ordered to assemble on square II. The Jewish Council then designated 400 individuals to be held back for labor. Zylberstajn and Izaak Rozengarten recall some 3,000 deportees were marched to Piaski Luterskie. From there, the expellees were sent to the Sobibór extermination facility, where they were gassed on arrival. Jaczyński, an eyewitness cited in some secondary accounts, remembers the SS ordered young couples separated from their children and shot dead mothers who refused to relinquish children. The children, elderly, and others considered unfit for labor were marched to Piaski and from there sent to Sobibór. The other deportees were taken to the Trawniki forced labor camp.[16]

In Łęczna, the Jews retained for labor resided at the labor camp, which was fenced with barbed wire. Some have called the camp a closed ghetto, because about 100 Łęczna fugitives, including entire families, entered the camp and all the Jewish Council members and Jewish policemen also were inmates there. Another 300 Jews retained for labor in Lubartów and other localities were interned at the camp. Some 500 to 800 of the camp's 1,200 to 1,500 inmates were unregistered fugitives from the liquidation of nearby Jewish communities.[17]

On November 11, 1942, the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries stationed in Piaski liquidated the camp. The SS executed 970 to 1,200 Jews in the synagogue gully. The next day, 23 Jews found hiding in the dairy on Kanałowa Street and another 50 discovered in bunkers on Łancuchowska Street were shot dead.[18] The camp's prisoner census, reduced to 120, soon rose to 300 as fugitives from the November 9, 1942, liquidation of the Majdan Tatarski ghetto arrived in Łęczna.[19] On April 29, 1943, the camp was liquidated. Some 120 inmates were removed to Trawniki. The remaining prisoners were sent to their deaths at Sobibór.

On November 3, 1943, SS and police units shot dead all the Trawniki inmates during Aktion Erntefest (Harvest Festival). Hersz Zylbersztajn, Izaak Rozengarten, and Szajner and his son escaped before the mass killing. The Szajners joined a partisan unit. After his son perished, Zelman hid at a local villager's farm.[20] Wiktoria Choma and her husband Feliks sheltered Zylbersztajn and Rozengarten in Ostrów Nadrybski village. Sara and Rachela Rajs (Reiss) escaped a roundup of seven family members and the Marciniak family, their aid givers, in Rachów village. A couple in Łańcuchów village sheltered Rachela; the Cyganiewicz family in Abramów (prewar Lubartów powiat) hid Sara. A handful of Łęczna ghetto inmates survived the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources with coverage of the history of the Łęczna Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 287–289; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 169–171; Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 142–143, 152; and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo lubelskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP, 1985), p. 149.

Because Łęczna today is home to the Lublin województwo's most well-preserved synagogue, now the Regional Museum in Łęczna, with a permanent exhibition documenting Jewish life in the town, a large number of articles, almost all by well-known historians, have appeared in *Merkuriusz Łęczyński*, the journal of the local cultural and historical society, on Jewish life during the war. See, for example, Janina Kiełboń, "Z dziejów łęczyńskich Żydów" and Emil Horoch, "Łęczna—spojrzenie w przeszłość miasta," in *Merkuriusz Łęczyński*, respectively (1993), (1997), no. 10. Still valuable is Józef Marszałek, "Łęczna w latach wojny i okupacji," in Emil Horoch, ed., *Łęczna—studia z dziejów miasta* (Łęczna, 1989). The extensive coverage provided on the Łęczna homepage at the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by the Museum of Polish Jews in Warsaw, is drawn from these publications and another 25 sources cited in the bibliography, all of which remain difficult to find in the United States. The author of the Polish-language entry for Łęczna on the Światła w ciemności—Sprawiedliwi wsród narodów światta Web site, available at http://sprawiedliwi.tnn.pl/index.php, established by the Ośrodek Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN in Lublin, relies mainly on unpublished testimonies from Jewish survivors, cited below at AŻIH 301.

Unfortunately, no yizkor book or other published work with survivors' accounts has appeared for Łęczna. Krystyna Modrzewska, a Lublin survivor who lived and worked under a false identity in nearby Mełgiew, relates the story of a young Łęczna fugitive, rescued by a Polish policeman, in the second part of her diary published in *BŻIH* (1959), nos. 31 and 32, and in English in the translation of Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earlscourt Publications, Ltd., 1969), pp. 145–146. The Światła w ciemności Web site includes interviews in Polish and English translation with Weronika Choma and Edward Cyganiewicz, both recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. Contemporary press coverage appears in "Łęczna Lubelska," *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 7, 1941, p. 7.

Archival documentation for Łęczna includes APL; AŻIH (e.g., 211/668; 301 [1, 2018, 2183, 2184, 4879]; IPN (e.g., ASG, Kommandeur der Gendarmerie Lublin [KdGL] records); IPN-Lu (e.g., 42/67, 162/67/1-2, 174/67/1-4, 199/67/1-2, 282/67); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG15.011M [IPN, KdGL] [reel 21, 276, p. 135]); RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 5 (14/467-470), reel 15 (49/56)]); VHF (e.g., # 8764, 28343, 35072); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2183, testimony of Hersz Zylbersztajn, p. 1.
2. Ibid., 301/1, testimony of Hugo "Ogen" Alter, p. 1.
3. Misfiled in USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/469, p. 8.
4. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 7, 1941, p. 7.
5. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/56.

6. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/469, pp. 5, 8.
7. AŻIH, 301/2183, p. 3.
8. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/469, p. 8.
9. AŻIH, 301/2183, pp. 2–3.
10. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/469, p. 3.
11. Ibid., RG-15.019M, 49/56.
12. AŻIH, 301/2183, p. 4.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/668, p. 4.
14. AŻIH, 301/1, p. 1.
15. Ibid., 301/2183, p. 4; USHMM, 15.011M (IPN), reel 21, 276, p. 135.
16. AŻIH, 301/1817, repeated at 4879, testimony of Izaak Rozengarten and Hersz Zylbersztajn, p. 1.
17. Ibid.
18. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 5, 14/468-70; but date from AŻIH, 301/1817, p. 1.
19. AŻIH, 301/2184, testimony of Zelman Szajner, p. 5.
20. Ibid.

ŁOMAZY

Pre-1939: Łomazy (Yiddish: Lomaz), village, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lomazy, Kreis Biala Podlaska, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łomazy, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Łomazy lies 17 kilometers (11 miles) south of Biała Podlaska and 107 kilometers (66 miles) northeast of Lublin. In August 1939, some 1,152 Jews resided there.[1]

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Łomazy on September 13, 1939, but quickly abandoned it to Soviet occupation. Tensions between Jews and Poles erupted during the time that the Soviets occupied the town and afterwards, leading to at least two Jewish deaths and prompting many Jews to flee to Parczew or Soviet-occupied territory.[2]

On reoccupying Łomazy on October 15, 1939, the Germans appointed Bronisław Zdancewicz head (wójt) of a local, Polish collaborationist administration. A force of Polish (Blue) Police was recruited. The Polish administration and police were subordinated to German authorities in the Biala Podlaska Landkommissariat. In March 1942, Łomazy was transferred to the Wisznice Landkommissariat, then overseen by Landkommissar Klemmer.



Jews are held on a sports field in Łomazy, August 18, 1942, as part of a round-up by Reserve Police Battalion 101 in preparation for a shooting Aktion.
USHMM WS #57621, COURTESY OF STA. HAMBURG

In late 1939, the local administration ordered the Łomazy Jews to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Josel Sklarz.[3] A Jewish police force was established.

From late 1939, German authorities designated Łomazy to receive expellees from territories soon to be attached to the Reich. By April 1940, 404 Jewish newcomers had arrived, mainly from Jeleniewo (near Suwałki), Serock, Suwałki, and Wiśniowa Góra (near Łódź).[4] In May 1942, *Gazeta Żydowska* reported that 45 percent of the 1,461 Jews in Łomazy were expellees.

A survivor remembers "ghetto conditions" being established in Łomazy in early 1940. The "ghetto" was not surrounded by a fence, but the Germans imposed a strict curfew. They forbade Jews from leaving their residences, except for work, to prevent them from trading or speaking with their non-Jewish neighbors.[5] The *Pinkas ha-kehilot* entry for Łomazy, in contrast, mentions that the Germans from early 1940 expelled Jews from their homes and required them to live in a distinct residential area, which subsequently was designated the ghetto.

An unknown number of Jews were evicted from their homes, mainly to make way for Polish-Christian expellees from Kujawy and Pomorze. The Jews were concentrated in residences located on Małobrzeska Street, but other Jews continued to reside in their pre-war houses. Jewish residents of Szkolna, Wisznice, and Kościuszko Streets, moreover, lived amid new Polish-Christian neighbors, the beneficiaries of the anti-Jewish eviction policies.[6] Because the process of ghettoization was partial, Łomazy was excluded from a list of ghettos Hubert Kühl, the Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann, submitted in December 1941 to Richard Türk, head of the Population and Welfare Department (BuF) for Distrikt Lublin. Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) officials also never used the word *ghetto* to describe living conditions in Łomazy. Instead, they mentioned restrictions (from November and December 1941), which imposed the death penalty on Jews in Kreis Biala Podlaska found outside their places of registration without permission.[7]

A number of Łomazy Jews worked as domestics or agricultural laborers for their Christian neighbors. Antoni Kutnik, employed as a translator for the Łomazy administration from March 1942, paid wages (likely to the Wisznice labor office [Arbeitsamt]) for his servant Sala Goldwasser. He also provided Goldwasser a daily meal and permitted her to take leftovers home to her parents.[8]

From the spring of 1940, the Luftwaffe drafted 112 Łomazy Jews for a nearby construction project (probably reconstructing landing fields at the airplane manufacturing plant near Biała Podlaska).[9] In July, another 107 Jews were sent to a labor camp established by the Biała Podlaska Water Regulation

Authority (Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion) in Szenejki, near Studzianka village.[10] Shortly after March 1942, the Szenejki inmates were forced to grind the *matzevot* (gravestones) from the Łomazy cemetery for use in a cement overcoat for nearly finished construction projects, including a bridge over the Zielawa River and a dyke. The Łomazy Jews probably also were conscripted for local road improvement projects. (Kutnik hints of such projects in describing the administration subsequently using its road construction wagons to transport and consolidate the Jews' belongings.)

On May 2, 1942, the local Polish administration received orders to prepare for the "resettlement" of the Łomazy Jews. Though secret, the Jews learned of them immediately. Klemmer exempted 12 craftsmen and their families from deportation by ordering them transferred to Wisznice to work for the German civilian administration.[11]

After the SS retracted the resettlement orders, Zdancewicz, on May 19, 1942, ordered a formal ghetto established. The Jewish Council paid more than 12,000 złoty to postpone the decree's implementation by one year. Enraged because Zdancewicz had acted without authorization, Landkommissar Klemmer demanded the money be turned over to the German administration.[12]

On June 13, 1942, Gendarmes from Wisznice and Sławatycze expelled to Łomazy some 200 Jews from Rossosz, 250 from Opole-Podedwórze, and another 200 from Sławatycze.[13] The deportees mainly were women, the elderly, children, and other "nonuseful" Jews.

On July 22–23, 1942, a unit from the Peasants' Battalions (Bataliony Chłopskie), a Polish underground group, raided the Polish police post, the local administration office, Zdancewicz's home, and the dairy. A roving Gendarmerie unit retaliated the next day by shooting 30 Jews at the Szenejki camp. On August 8, an SS officer from Biała Podlaska arrested additional Jews for Bolshevism. The arrestees were shot dead near a shrine on the road to Biała Podlaska.

After the raid, a succession of German police forces was stationed at the pre-war public school, including a 15- to 18-man squadron from the 2nd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 101 brought to liquidate the Jewish community on August 13, 1942. The day after arriving, the policemen pulled 30 Jews from their homes, forced them to perform hours of exhausting physical exercises in front of the administration building, and then executed the captives at the Jewish cemetery.[14]

At 4:00 A.M. on August 17 or 18, 1942, the entire 2nd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 101, Gendarmes from the Wisznice and Sławatycze posts, a small SS contingent from Biała Podlaska, and eventually a contingent of Ukrainian SS auxiliaries from Trawniki began rousting Jews from their residences. As the policemen drove the Jews towards the school grounds, they shot dead those too old or frail to walk there unaided. Once assembled, the 2,187 Jews sat for hours waiting. Shortly after 7:00 A.M., a number of officials, including the deputy Kreishauptmann, the Wisznice Landkommissar, and the chief of the Biała Podlaska Gestapo, arrived to breakfast with Poles from the local administration. (The Poles reportedly had not been forewarned about their arrival or of the impending Aktion.) After breakfast, the Biała Podlaska SS chief asked Zdancewicz for shovels and the August 1 Jewish registration list.[15]

At the school, the police chose a labor brigade to dig three mass graves in the Hały Woods. After they were completed, the reserve policemen marched the Jews in small groups to the edge of the Woods, where they were separated by sex and sent on to collection points to surrender valuables and undress. Driven from there into the pits, the victims were shot by the SS auxiliaries and the policemen. About 100 Szenejki inmates also were executed at the same killing site. The inmates were brought there either that same day to help dig the graves and to clear dirt from three sides of the pits to fulfill a plan proposed by one of the policemen to facilitate the killing Aktion or early the next morning to remove the dirt surrounding the graves.

Baruch Goldszer, a Szenejki inmate from Łomazy, was the only person to escape from the forest.[16] A day after the killings, the German reserve policemen still in Łomazy searched for Jews hiding in their homes. Kutnik reports they found several scores of fugitives. Postwar German court testimony places the number at 20 to 30. Held overnight at the school, the Jews were marched the next day by German and Polish police to the forest and executed. In the fall of 1942, the Szenejki camp's 32 remaining prisoners were shot dead.[17]

Only a handful of Łomazy Jews, mainly those who had fled to other localities at the war's outset or escaped subsequently from labor camps, survived the German occupation. Another approximately 100 Łomazy Jews were repatriated from the Soviet Union after the war.

In 1967, the Office of the State Prosecutor in Hamburg indicted 14 former members of the Reserve Police Battalion 101 for a large number of crimes related to the liquidation of Jewish communities in Kreise Cholm, Biala Podlaska, and Radzyn. Among the 11 men tried in April 1967, 5 were found guilty, including the leader of the squadron stationed in Łomazy in August 1942. A lengthy appeals process, concluded in 1972, upheld his guilty verdict but resulted in no prison time.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the history of the Łomazy Jewish community during the World War II German occupation include the relevant entries in M.J. Fajgenbaum, *Podliashe in umkum: Noṭitsn fun ḥurben* (Munich: Aroysgegebn fun der Tsentraler Historisher Komisye baym Ts. K. fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland, 1948), pp. 114–121; and Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 273–274. An English translation of the latter is available at jewishgen.org; and in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 172–179.

The yizkor book, Yitzhak Alperowitz and Simcha Appelbaum, eds., *Sefer Lomaz: 'Ayarah be-ḥayehah uve-khilyonah* (Tel Aviv: Irgune Lomaz be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1994), includes testimonies from survivors. "Łomazy pow. Biała Podl.," *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 24, 1942, no. 61, p. 4, offers contemporary coverage.

The murder of the Łomazy Jewish community is detailed in Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 78–87; and in the diarylike memoir by Antoni Kutnik, now available uncensored as "Miasto i powiat Biała Podlaska podczas II wojny światowej," *Podlaski Kwartalnik Kulturalny (PKK)*, 9 (1996), no. 2, pp. 3–25, no. 3, pp. 3–11, no. 4, pp. 3–18; 10 (1997), no. 1, pp. 18–30, no. 2, pp. 50–61, no. 3, pp. 57–72, no. 4, pp. 16–32; 11 (1998), no. 1, pp. 76–82, no. 2, pp. 57–69. The first work dates the murders to August 17, 1942; the second, a day later. The memorial, erected at the killing site in 1989 by a group of survivors, their descendants, and the Union of Jews in Poland, uses the date of August 18–19 because of the chronology in the latter work, the yizkor book testimonies, and the research of Romuald Szudejko, most recently presented in "Społeczność żydowska w Łomazach—przyczynek do dziejów," *BŻIH*, no. 188/4 (December 1998): 79–90.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Łomazy Jewish community during the German occupation includes: APL AŻIH (e.g., 301 [167, 987, 2327, 4419, 5680], 302/1, 210/470, 211 [206, pp. 19–24, 64; 209, pp. 34, 37, 50–51, 53, 64; 663-665]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14281-14282); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOS BP [23, 41, 43, 45]); IPN-Lu (e.g., 24/67/1-2, 131/67/1-57, 219/67/1-2, 284/204/1-2); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 4 (12/31-35), reel 15 (49/6)]); VHF, # 5517; and YVA (e.g., TR-10/764; 0-16 [201, 389]).

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NOTES

1. *Gazeta Żydowska*, May 24, 1942, no. 61, p. 4.
2. Testimony of Abraham Wunderbojm, in Alperowitz and Appelbaum, *Sefer Lomaz*, p. 38; VHF, # 5517, testimony of Adam Winder (Abraham Wunderbojm).
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/206, pp. 19–24, 64.
4. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/470, pp. 5–19.
5. Alperowitz and Appelbaum, *Sefer Lomaz*, pp. 167–170.
6. Kutnik, "Miasto," *PKK*, 10 (1997), no. 2, pp. 55, 59.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/665, p. 39.
8. Kutnik, "Miasto," *PKK*, 10 (1997), no. 2, p. 61.
9. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/663, p. 14.
10. Ibid., pp. 36–39.
11. Kutnik, "Miasto," *PKK*, 10 (1997), no. 2, p. 58.
12. Ibid., p. 59.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/665, p. 52, 211/209, pp. 45, 53.
14. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 4, 12/35, 31.
15. Kutnik, "Miasto," *PKK*, 10 (1997), no. 3, pp. 62–64.
16. AŻIH, 301/167, testimony of Baruch Goldszer, pp. 1–2.
17. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/6.

LUBARTÓW

Pre-1939: Lubartów (Yiddish: Levertov), town, Lubartów powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lubartow, Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lubartów, Lublin województwo, Poland

Lubartów is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of Lublin. In 1939, 3,411 Jews were residing in Lubartów. In total, there were 8,121 persons inhabiting the town.[1]

The Germans invaded Lubartów on September 19, 1939. The majority of the Jews did not evacuate but remained there waiting vainly for the Soviet army to arrive. Only a small number of Jews escaped from Lubartów before the Nazi occupation began.



Born in the Lubartów ghetto in April 1942, Elke Plech (later Elke Bozena, now Ellen Echeverria) is pictured with her rescuer, Janina Wysocka, during an Easter holiday event, April 1946. Plech's mother, Maria, entrusted the baby to Wysocka before fleeing the ghetto and assuming a Polish identity.
USHMM WS #30781, COURTESY OF ELLEN W. ECHEVERRIA

From the start of the occupation, German forces plundered Jewish shops. They forcibly cut off the beards and side locks (*payot*) of religious Jews on the streets. At first these actions were taken by soldiers of the Wehrmacht on an individual basis. But on October 12, 1939, German soldiers carried out an organized mass Aktion. The Germans ordered all the Jews of Lubartów to assemble at the first marketplace square (Rynek I). The soldiers then surrounded the Jews and held them captive. The Jews remained in this state all day long, while at the same time other German soldiers plundered their homes and shops, taking anything of value. During this Aktion, many Jewish houses were demolished.[2]

Shortly after this mass looting, another act of persecution took place, which would have an even greater effect. One source recounts that this took place on October 20, 1939, while another notes the date as sometime in early November. The local German authorities ordered most of the Jews of Lubatów to leave the town. After the forced removal, only 818 Jews were left in Lubartów. They were assigned to different forms of labor for the Germans in the town. Meanwhile, 850 persons were forcibly resettled to Ostrów (Lubelski), 634 were taken to Parczew, and small groups were brought to Kamionka (Lubartów powiat) and Firlej. All of these places were not far from Lubartów. The Jews of Lubartów remained in these places until September 1940, although some bribed their German captives and thereby succeeded in escaping and returning to their hometown. The details of how this happened are not known, but it may have been a local initiative by the German authorities.[3] Some Jews attempted to return to Lubartów illegally, but the German police checked documents frequently. In the best case, persons in Lubartów illegally were simply sent back to where they had come from. In the worst case, they were arrested and sent to prison at the castle (*zamek*) in Lublin.[4]

For those Jews who remained in Lubartów, at the start of 1940 a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Mosze Joel Edelman was appointed as its chairman, and Szlomo Ber Cieśla was his deputy. The Germans also named other members of the Judenrat, including Moszek Srul Danemark, Jakub Lichtenfeld, Szlomo Rubinstein, Menasze Kassman, Srul Reinsilber, Ber Reichnudel, Pinkwas Duman, Szyja Suchowolski, and Chil Weinberg.[5] The Judenrat of Lubartów was reorganized several times. For instance, in November 1941 Dawid Peretz resigned as vice-chairman.[6] In 1940, an 11-person Jewish police force was established.

In September 1940, the Kreishauptmann in Janów Lubelski, Winterfeld, was assigned to Kreis Krasnystaw and replaced by Fritz Schmiege. In consequence, about half of the Jewish families expelled from Lubartów were able to return to their native town. The Judenrat started a kitchen to provide hot meals to the Jewish residents, which was supported by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) until 1941. It served not only the local poor but also many refugees and evacuees whom the Germans had resettled in Lubartów in 1940 and 1941.

On December 16, 1940, more than 1,000 additional Jews arrived in Lubartów from Mława in Regierungsbezirk Zichenau. A visit by an official of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), Naftali Birnheck, in late December, noted the existence of an open ghetto in Lubartów at this time:

> This small town presently counts 350 Jewish families. At the beginning of the war, 80 percent of the Jewish population was evacuated and their apartments in part occupied. After two months, 170 families managed to return, some legally, a part are here illegally. None of the re-emigrants secured their apartments and they are living in overcrowded streets designated as the Jewish quarter [or ghetto, i.e., *dzielnica żydowska*]. To this place [meaning the ghetto] have been sent 1,028 deportees from Mława.[7]

In March 1941, a few hundred Jews were resettled from Lublin to Lubartów.[8] Lubartów was one of the first places in the Lublin region from which the Germans started to deport the Jews in 1942. In April 1942, 250 Jews were removed from Lubartów and resettled in Kamionka, Ostrów, and Firlej. It is unclear if this happened before or after the first mass deportation Aktion.[9]

The first deportation Aktion against the Jewish population began on April 9, 1942. The local German Gendarmerie seized all the Jews and brought them to a synagogue, where the process of selection began. Some Jews were allowed to remain in Lubartów to carry out work for the Germans. The German authorities selected 814 people for transport and sent them to the railway station. The Germans loaded them onto wagons all through the night and sent them to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[10]

Three days later, large groups of Slovak Jews started to arrive in Lubartów. On April 13, 1942, 900 persons arrived; on April 15, 1942, 680 persons arrived; and on May 7, 1942, 841 persons arrived, bringing the total to 2,421 Slovak Jews.[11] Initially they were made to live in the synagogue and a military barracks, essentially a stables built by the Germans on the grounds of the Jewish cemetery. As one witness recalls:

> They differed from our Jews. They did not wear traditional headgear and yarmulkes. Their women had wavy hair and instead of wigs, wore hats. They were dressed in fashionable, woolen costumes and their husbands in suits. They did not put on armbands with the blue star, but they had stars made from yellow material on their breasts. Despite being forced to sleep in the dirty straw left by the horses, every morning they went from the barrack clean and neat. The Poles from Lubartów as well as the local Jews were very interested in them. And, the Jewish policemen, armed with sticks and quite often brutal toward the Lubartów Jews, lost self-assurance when meeting with the Slovak Jews. The inhabitants of

> the barrack on Legiony Street [Jews from Slovakia] were not in Lubartów for very long. Suddenly they disappeared.[12]

After their arrival, the Slovak Jews were resettled again from Lubartów to other nearby places, mainly to Firlej and Ostrów.

Because Jews could not leave Lubartów to obtain food, hunger quickly ensued. The Germans organized teams to perform heavy labor within the town. This went on until October 1942, when another general resettlement of the Jews of Lubartów was ordered. This second cleansing operation took place on October 11, 1942. The Jews from Kamionka, Firlej, Ostrów, and Tarło were brought to Lubartów. In total there were about 6,000 or 7,000 Jews, counting the ones already in Lubartów. According to one account, "[T]he people stood four abreast on Lublin Street and were taken to be loaded onto the train. Then the Jews, arranged like a troop of soldiers, were driven from the first zone of the marketplace [Rynek I] to the railway station. Those people were compressed into freight cars, in which they could not breathe. When the wagons were full, the Germans shot anyone left stranded on the platform."[13]

The transport then brought the Jews to the extermination camp in Treblinka.[14] During this mass "resettlement" the Germans continued with the mass murder of any Jews who remained in their homes or on the streets of Lubartów. Some 300 unfortunate people, including the elderly and children, were shot on the grounds of the new Jewish cemetery. The Jews who were shot on the streets and by the railway platform were also taken to the cemetery and buried in a mass grave. The Jewish Police and sanitation workers dug the graves. Several days later, in spite of German guarantees that there would be no more Aktions, another several hundred Jews were deported to the ghetto in Piaski Luterskie and taken from there to the extermination camp in Sobibór. The members of the Judenrat in Lubartów were also resettled into the ghetto in Łęczna.[15]

In the town of Lubartów, a few hundred Jewish craftsmen initially were spared. They worked for the local Gendarmerie. On January 29, 1943, they were shot at the new Jewish cemetery in Lubartów.[16]

Along with the annihilation of the Jewish community, the Germans destroyed the buildings and all traces of Jewish presence. The synagogue was converted into a stable. The cemeteries were devastated. The old Jewish cemetery in the center of the city became a gallows, where Germans carried out public executions of Jews from Kamionka and other places. The tombstones from both cemeteries were taken to be sorted for building purposes in the school, where Wehrmacht soldiers were stationed.[17]

Only 40 Jews from Lubartów survived the Nazi occupation. They did so mainly by hiding in the villages around the town. In the town itself, two Polish families saved the lives of 5 Jews.[18]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Lubartów can be found in the yizkor book, Barukh Tshubinski, ed., *Hurben Levertov: A matseyve Levertov un Levertover kdoyshim* (Paris: fun di fraynt fun Levertov, 1947). Further information can be found in an article by J. Kiełboń, "Martyrologia ludności Lubartowa w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," in *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska* (Lubartów: Lubartowskie Towarzystwo Regionalne, 1993), and in R. Kuwałek and P. Sygowski, "Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej w Lubartowie," in *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska* (Lubartów: Lubartowskie Towarzystwo Regionalne, 2000). A number of articles, including accounts by Polish witnesses who lived in Lubartów during the occupation, have also been published since 1990 in the local daily press in Lubartów.

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Lubartów under Nazi occupation can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., GDL; and Kreishauptmannschaft Lublin-Land); AŻIH (211/646 [JSS]); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.076M; RG-50.030*0185); and YVA.

Robert Kuwałek
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kiełboń, "Martyrologia," p. 224.
2. Tshubinski, *Hurben Levertov*, p. 7.
3. Ibid., pp. 7–8; Kiełboń, "Martyrologia," p. 224.
4. APL, Polizei Batallion Zamość, 104.
5. Ibid., Kreishauptmannschaft Lublin-Land, 111, p. 4. This list of Judenrat members is from November 1941.
6. Ibid.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/646, p. 47.
8. Kuwałek and Sygowski, "Z dziejów społeczności," pp. 81–82.
9. Ibid.
10. Tshubinski, *Hurben Levertov*, p. 7; Kuwałek and Sygowski, "Z dziejów społeczności," p. 82.
11. APL, Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (GDL), 749, 893; Kreishauptmannschaft Lublin-Land, 141, pp. 114, 137.
12. M. Derecki, "Kromka chleba," *Gazeta Lubelska*, April 23, 1993, p. 5; translation cited as in Robert Kuwałek, "Lubartow Ghetto," on holocaustresearchproject.org Web site.
13. Tshubinski, *Hurben Levertov*, p. 34.
14. Chiel M. Rajchman survived from this transport and the extermination camp in Treblinka. He was deported from Ostrów via Lubartów to Treblinka. See his oral history interview: USHMM, RG-50.030*0185.
15. On the mass shootings at the new Jewish cemetery in Lubartów, see M. Danielkiewicz, "Oczy pełne łez," *Dziennik Lubelski*, July 30, 1990, p. 5; Derecki, "Kromka chleba"; on the fate of the Jews in the town after the deportation, see Tshubinski, *Hurben Levertov*, pp. 7–8.
16. Tshubinski, *Hurben Levertov*, p. 8.
17. Testimonies of Halina Domańska and Janina Stelmaszenko in the private collection of Paweł Sygowski.
18. In Lubartów, in the shelter prepared by the Czekański family, Josef Honigsblum and his wife Bluma survived. The Sienkiewicz family rescued Debora Erlich and her five-year-old son Michał and her sister-in-law Noemi Erlich. Others were rescued by Polish families in neighboring villages or survived in hiding places in the forests; see Tshubinski, *Hurben Levertov*, pp. 8–9.

LUBLIN

Pre-1939: Lublin, city, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lublin województwo, Poland

Lublin lies about 160 kilometers (99 miles) southeast of Warsaw. In August 1939, around 37,000 Jews were living there among a total population of some 122,000.

In September 1939, following the German invasion, thousands of Jewish refugees fled to Lublin. The aerial bombardment of the city was quite heavy, resulting in around 1,000 civilian deaths and leaving thousands more homeless. German forces reached Lublin on September 17. Soon after their arrival they started to seize Jews for forced labor and rob Jewish property. In the fall of 1939, the Jewish community was required to pay several very large contributions to the German authorities. Initially the Jews were forced to wear yellow stars on their clothing, but in December 1939, these were replaced with white armbands bearing a blue Star of David.[1]

At the end of 1939, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). It consisted of 24 members, headed by Henry Becker. Under him served two deputies, Dr. Marek Alten and Shlomo Kastenberg. The German authorities confirmed its membership in January 1940. Subsequently Alten became the dominant figure within the Lublin Judenrat.

During the winter of 1939–1940, a number of Jews were evicted from their apartments, especially near the city center, and were resettled into the worst neighborhood. Starting in the spring of 1940, a number of Jews were rounded up and sent to work at various forced labor camps in Distrikt Lublin.[2] In December 1940 and January 1941, more than 3,000 Jewish-Polish prisoners of war (POWS), who could not be released as they came from parts of Poland then still occupied by the Soviet Union, were transferred to Lublin and confined within a POW camp at Lipowa Street no. 7. Some of these prisoners were used subsequently to help construct the Majdanek concentration camp.



Deportation from the Lublin ghetto, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #02597, COURTESY OF JERZY FICOWSKI

On or just before January 11, 1941, the five-man presidium of the Jewish Council in Lublin met with Dr. Walter Bausenhardt, the head of the Housing Department within the German administration of Distrikt Lublin. The meeting was to discuss a "voluntary" transfer of Jews out of Lublin, in preparation for placing the remaining Jews into a ghetto.[3]

In March, however, the Germans resorted to force to reduce the city's Jewish population. Between March 10 and March 13, 1941, around 12,000 Jews were rounded up and resettled from Lublin to at least 11 separate localities within the Distrikt, including Bełżyce, Chodel, Lubartów, Rejowiec, Siedliszcze, and Sosnowica. The transfer was conducted to make space for the Wehrmacht in the city, as Poles were then moved into the former Jewish areas, as well as reducing the Jewish population to be moved into the ghetto in Lublin. Smaller deportations continued into April, but most of the subsequent transfers were voluntary, in connection with the ghetto's establishment.[4] At this time the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was established in Lublin, initially consisting of 10 officers but later increasing to more than 100.

On March 24, 1941, Gouverneur Ernst Otto Zörner, as the head of Distrikt Lublin, issued a proclamation concerning the establishment of a consolidated Jewish residential area (*geschlossener jüdischer Wohngebiet* [ghetto]) in the city of Lublin. The proclamation included a plan of the ghetto area. All Jews were to reside inside the ghetto. Non-Jews living there were given until April 10 to move out. Jews living outside the ghetto boundaries had to leave their residences by April 15, with the exception of those in the Kalinów and Sieraków neighborhoods, who had until May 1. Jews failing to make these deadlines were to be forcibly expelled from the city of Lublin.[5]

At a meeting on March 31, Zörner noted that to force an additional 15,000 Jews to leave the city voluntarily, some pressure needed to be exerted. It was reported that so far only about 2,500 Jews had registered for resettlement. Regierungsrat Bausenhardt therefore declared that he would attempt again to get the military to lift their opposition to the resettlement of Jews to a number of locations within the Distrikt.[6]

To encourage more Jews to leave, those who left were permitted to take all of their belongings, while those moving into the ghetto could bring in only 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of possessions. The ghetto was situated in the old Jewish quarter, where many Jews already were living, but the small area assigned only had room for some 20,000 people. Nevertheless, a new housing department established by the Judenrat had to find space in the ghetto for at least 6,000 additional Jews, and the actual number that moved in was almost 10,000 more, as only a few thousand decided to leave.[7] In mid-April, the deadline for Jews to move into the ghetto was extended by a few days until April 24. Living conditions continued to deteriorate, as additional Jews came into the ghetto after its establishment, including some who returned after the initial resettlement.

Initially the Lublin ghetto remained an open ghetto. On May 1, 1941, Zörner imposed a strict curfew on the ghetto between 9:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. Outside the ghetto, the

curfew applied to the Jews at 7:00 P.M.[8] The Germans changed the boundaries of the ghetto several times followings its establishment. Subsequently, probably in early 1942, the ghetto was surrounded by a fence, and two guarded gates were established to control exit and entry.

In July 1941, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) received 24,000 applications for welfare support; but it was only possible to help 15,063 people. In that month, more than 78,000 meals were served, some 22,000 of them free of charge and the rest at a subsidized rate. At this time there were 34,149 Jews living in the ghetto. Daily rations consisted only of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person, half that of the Polish population.[9] Religious services were banned, as was schooling for Jewish children, but both were continued on a smaller scale clandestinely inside the ghetto.

Starting in May 1941, there was a serious outbreak of typhus in the Lublin ghetto. In July, the German authorities ordered 87 buildings (out of 348 in the ghetto) to be quarantined. At this time the Jewish hospital for infectious diseases was moved into the ghetto and expanded. The Jewish Council also had to find new sources of revenue, including even a 50 groszy fee for ration cards, to cover the extra expenses involved. By October, the quarantine hospital had some 380 beds, but this remained inadequate to deal with the more than 500 new cases per month at the peak of the epidemic. One survivor, who arrived in the ghetto in November, noted that people were dying of hunger, cold, and exhaustion in the streets. In December, there were 1,000 Jews sick with typhus, and all three available hospitals were overflowing.[10]

On December 9, 1941, on account of the typhus epidemic, Zörner announced that any Jew caught outside the ghetto or their assigned labor camp without permission would face the death penalty. Non-Jews were also forbidden to enter the ghetto, except for necessary official tasks.[11] At this time, about 7 percent of the Jewish population, mainly doctors, members of the Judenrat, and other privileged people, were still living outside the ghetto. In December 1941, the Jews learned of German plans to split the ghetto into two sections: Ghetto A and Ghetto B.[12] At the end of December 1941, the Germans demanded that the Jews surrender their furs and other items of warm clothing. Several members of the Judenrat were taken hostage to ensure that additional German demands for wool and woolen garments were also met.

At the end of February 1942, the extension of the Lublin ghetto by the establishment of a separate Ghetto B section was implemented.[13] The newly created Ghetto B was separated from Ghetto A by barbed wire, and Jews from the two ghettos were not permitted to visit each other.

On March 16, 1942, German forces subordinated to the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Distrikt Lublin, Odilo Globocnik, assisted by several SS and police detachments (including more than 200 non-German Trawniki men), started the liquidation of the Lublin ghetto. The deportation of most of the Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp also marked the beginning of the state-organized mass murder of the Jews in the Generalgouvernement. Among the officers assigned to conduct the ghetto liquidation, SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Worthoff played an especially active role. Shortly after the start of the Aktion, the Judenrat was informed that selections would be conducted in the synagogue and only Jews with a Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police, Sipo) work stamp would be transferred to Ghetto B, while the others would be deported by train. Jews found in apartments after they had been cleared were to be shot. Security Police instructions for the Aktion indicated also that the elderly, sick, and disabled were to be shot on the spot. The Germans planned to deport 1,400 Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp each day.[14] The deportations were conducted with great brutality, especially by the Trawniki men, who drank too much and also seized Jews with valid Sipo work stamps. Hundreds of Jews were left dead on the streets. On March 24, around 200 children from the orphanage at Grodzka Street no. 11 were murdered at a pit prepared on the northern edge of town.[15] Two hospitals and an old-age home were liquidated between March 24 and March 27, with the patients shot nearby.

On March 29, there was a brief break in the Aktion. Rumors spread that the Germans would stop the deportations in return for a large ransom payment. The Judenrat soon organized 500,000 złoty in gold and delivered it to Worthoff. However, the Germans took the money and shot the 2 Judenrat members who delivered it. Then on March 31, Worthoff ordered a special meeting of the Judenrat. At the meeting, he announced that the Judenrat would be reduced from 24 members to 12, and he added 6 new, more compliant members, such that 16 former members and their families were now added to the deportees. At the same time, the Jewish Police was reduced in size from 113 to 78 men, with the others subject to deportation. It was also announced that henceforth only those Jews with a "J" permit would remain, as opposed to the Sipo work stamps, used for the selections up to this point. Far fewer Jews had these J permits, which had only been issued in March.[16] The deportation Aktion continued until April 16, 1942. Many more Jews now went into hiding, and even more brutality was employed to extract them. In total, at least 25,000 Jews were murdered during the entire period of the Aktion.

The Jews remaining in Ghetto B, about 3,000 to 4,000 people with so-called J permits, and almost as many "illegals" were transferred on April 17–19, 1942, to the remnant ghetto in Majdan Tatarski, which was surrounded by a fence.[17] Then on April 20, a roll call was conducted and almost 4,000 Jews were permitted to return to the camp, but some 3,000 Jews found to be without J permits were sent to the Majdanek concentration camp, where they were killed shortly afterwards.[18]

Conditions for the surviving Jews in the Majdan-Tatarski ghetto were somewhat better than in the former ghetto area. Officially it was described as an "exemplary Jewish estate" and was located in a suburb of the city, from which all the Poles had been removed. Each house had a small garden, which the Jews used to grow vegetables. However, it was also overcrowded, with some 8 to 10 people sharing each room.[19] Two hospitals functioned within the ghetto. Everyone living in the ghetto was supposed to be working. Some worked at various

sites in Lublin, a few became domestic servants for the Germans based nearby, and others worked in the ghetto. The Germans searched the ghetto frequently, looking for illegal Jews and killing those they discovered.

Three transports, two from Terezín and one from towns in the Reich, including Weimar, arrived in Lublin in May 1942, carrying some 3,000 Jews.[20] Many were sent to the Majdan Tatarski ghetto, but some may have been transferred to other camps, such as Majdanek. Laura Hillman, who arrived in the ghetto from Weimar, recalled that some of the Jews were nicely dressed, while others wore only rags and appeared hungry and defeated. Nonetheless, she saw children carrying books and singing Hebrew songs that raised her spirits. She also recalled that the ghetto had its own currency and that it was possible to buy food from a store with this money that resembled play money. Near the store there was a crowd of people bartering their clothes for food.[21] Hillman and other survivors note that there were frequent roundups in the ghetto as well as new arrivals. However, between May and September 1942, the number of Jews receiving rations in the Majdan Tatarski ghetto remained fairly stable at around 4,000 people.

On September 2, 1942, the Germans surrounded the ghetto and conducted a selection. Around 500 elderly men, women, and children were sent towards Majdanek and killed on the way. Another 500 were sent to various labor camps. Another selection on October 25 saw around 1,000 Jews transferred to the Majdanek concentration camp, including some of those with work cards. Following the announcement of eight remnant ghettos in Distrikt Lublin by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, on October 28, which did not include Lublin as a place where Jews were permitted to reside, the Jews feared another Aktion would soon follow. On November 7, the Germans demanded that the Jewish Police participate in the ghetto's liquidation, offering to protect the policemen and their families.[22] Two days later, the elderly, the sick, and any children were deported to Majdanek and killed, while some able-bodied Jews were transferred to labor camps. At this time the head of the Judenrat, Dr. Alten, and the head of the Jewish Police, Moniek Goldfarb, were both murdered. The "protected" policemen were also shot or deported to Majdanek. Some Jews were kept alive to clean out the ghetto area until the end of the month, when they in turn were killed.

During the Aktion to liquidate the first ghetto in April and again during the Aktions against the Majdan Tatarski ghetto in the fall of 1942, many Jews knew what to expect and went into prepared hiding places or tried to escape to the Aryan side.[23] Due to the detailed searches of the ghetto area and draconian punishments for anyone caught hiding a Jew, only some of those who evaded capture during the Aktions managed to survive. A few of those who escaped fled from Lublin and survived in the Warsaw suburbs or in the countryside. Among the non-Jews who risked their lives to help Jews escaping from the ghetto was Zofia Młodawska-Socha, who smuggled two children out of the first ghetto, just before the transfer to Majdan Tatarski. Ryszard Postowicz, a member of the Polish underground, also assisted 2 Jews to find a safer hiding place outside the city, after they had fled from the Majdan Tatarski ghetto.[24] One estimate is that only about 230 Jews from Lublin returned at the end of the war, including a number who had escaped to the Soviet Union in 1939.



The furnishings of Jewish homes are collected and unloaded in a public square in the Wieniawa district after the liquidation of the Lublin ghetto, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #73202, COURTESY OF IPN

SOURCES Secondary sources regarding the fate of the Jewish community of Lublin during World War II include the following: Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 13–38; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 14–52; Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), pp. 275–276; Dieter Pohl, *Von der "Judenpolitik" zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 92–94; Tadeusz Radzik, *Zagłada lubelskiego getta* (Lublin: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2003); and David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003).

The yizkor books for Lublin—M. Lerman, ed., *Dos bukh fun Lublin: Zikhroynes, gvies-eydes un materyaln ibern lebn, kamf un martirertum fun Lubliner Yidishn yishuv* (Paris, 1952); and N. Blumenthal and M. Korzen, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Poland Series—Lublin Volume* (Jerusalem, 1957) [in Hebrew]—contain accounts concerning the ghetto and some relevant documents.

Published sources include Nachmun Blumenthal, ed., *Te'udot mi-geto Lublin: Yudenrat le-lo derekh* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1967); Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986); and Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto,*

Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961) (hereafter cited as *FGM*). Among the personal memoirs of survivors, there is: Laura Hillman, *I Will Plant a Lilac Tree: A Love Story amidst the Destruction of the Holocaust* (New York: Writers' Club, 2003). The verdicts of three relevant West German trials can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 38, 40, 41 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008–2009), Lfd. Nr. 790, 826, and 833.

Relevant archival documentation includes APL (Fond 22); AŻIH (e.g., 211/644-654; 301/801, 1291, 1295, 2184, 2232; 302; Ring II/305 and 307); IPN (e.g., ASG; Fond 185); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.019M [IPN, ASG]; RG-15.034M [IPN, Fond 185, Records of the KdS Lublin]; RG-15.075M [APL, Records of the City of Lublin]; RG-15.079M [Ring]; RG-15.101M [Jewish Council in Lublin, 1939–1942]); VHF (e.g., # 14326, 43812, 45132); and YVA (e.g., O-3).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1295, testimony of Franciszka Mandelbaum.
2. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring II/305, as cited in Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 181–188.
3. Blumenthal, *Te'udot mi-geto Lublin*, p. 211.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/649, pp. 26–29; 211/650, p. 14; Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, eds., *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 338.
5. *Krakauer Zeitung*, no. 73, March 30–31, 1941, p. 3.
6. Note of a meeting with the Gouverneur of Distrikt Lublin, Zörner, March 31, 1941, in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, pp. 123–124.
7. Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," pp. 155–156.
8. Bekanntmachung reprinted in Blumenthal and Korzen, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora*, p. 700.
9. USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/652, p. 2.
10. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 167–169; Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," p. 162; AŻIH, 301/801, testimony of Bolesław Kopelman; USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/654, p. 39.
11. USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, 211/654, p. 5.
12. Ibid., pp. 39–40; AŻIH, 301/1295.
13. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 27, 1942, no. 25, p. 5.
14. *JuNS-V*, vol. 41, Lfd. Nr. 833a, pp. 258–259.
15. Berenstein et al., *FGM*, pp. 272–273.
16. Blumenthal, *Te'udot mi-geto Lublin*, pp. 314–318; *JuNS-V*, vol. 41, Lfd. Nr. 833a, p. 256.
17. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 19, 1942, no. 46, p. 8; *JuNS-V*, vol. 41, Lfd. Nr. 833a, p. 260.
18. AŻIH, 301/1291, testimony of Anna Bach; 301/2184, testimony of Zelman Szajner.
19. Ibid., 301/2232, testimony of Mina Beinsdorf.
20. *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 2006), vol. 4, p. xix.
21. Hillman, *I Will Plant a Lilac Tree*, pp. 29–35. VHF, # 45132, testimony of Kitty Hart-Moxon, 1998, also mentions the ghetto currency.
22. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger, October 28, 1942, in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, pp. 342–344; USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring II/307 [353.].
23. VHF, # 43812, testimony of Nechama Tec, 1998; # 14326, testimony of Victor Cynamon, 1996.
24. Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 524, 635–636.

ŁUKÓW

Pre-1939: Łuków (Yiddish: Lukov), town, Łuków powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Lukow, Kreis Radzyn, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Łuków, Łuków powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Łuków lies 90 kilometers (56 miles) north-northwest of Lublin. In August 1939, its Jewish population stood at around 6,000.

On September 17, 1939, a Wehrmacht unit occupied Łuków. In retaliation for Polish soldiers ambushing a reconnaissance patrol, its military commander ordered 70 Jews executed and some 1,000 Jewish and Christian men marched to a penal camp located near Ostrów Mazowiecka. By the time of the prisoners' September 29 release, the Germans had ceded Łuków to Soviet occupation. However, a border negotiation, concluded the previous day, had assigned the town to Germany. On October 4, 500 Jews joined the Soviet evacuation behind the Bug River. Upon reoccupying Łuków, the Germans devastated the synagogue, humiliated Jews, and compelled them to clear rubble from the fighting.

In October 1939, the Łuków powiat was incorporated into Kreis Radzyn. A German became Landrat of Łuków. Gendarmerie and Eisenbahnpolizei (Railway Police) posts were established. The Polish (Blue) Police and an ethnic German Sonderdienst unit were recruited. The Lublin SS established



Members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 publicly humiliate a group of religious Jewish men in Łuków, 1942. Two of the men are forced to pose in their prayer shawls in a crouching position with their hands up. Among those pictured is Motl Hershberg (with white beard).
USHMM WS #49189, COURTESY OF YIVO

a Kreis-level branch office, under SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Fischer, and claimed the Polish army base (with railway station) in suburban Łapiguz. In May 1940, the SS moved its office to Radzyń but left some six employees behind to secure its Łapiguz warehouses.[1]

In November and December 1939, 5,000 Jewish deportees arrived from Suwałki, Nasielsk, and Serock. On December 7, between 850 and 1,000 newcomers were forcibly expelled to Kock.[2] By December 31, 3,550 Jewish deportees were residing in Łuków.

In December 1939, Landrat Fischel appointed a 12-person Jewish Council (Judenrat). He named kehillah president Mosze Aron Wajntraub (Weintraub) its chair. In November 1940, when the SS arrested Wajntraub, Hersz Lejzor Lendor became council chair. The council established a Jewish police force, commanded by Salomon "Salek" Cukierman.

Jewish forced labor conscripts reconstructed the war-damaged railway station. From the fall of 1940, 1,000 laborers employed by the Reckmann construction firm cleared an interior section of a forest near Łapiguz, extended railway tracks there, and built a concealed armory.[3] Craftsmen added barracks to the Łapiguz base. In April 1941, German troops, amassed in Distrikt Lublin for the June invasion of the USSR, were billeted there.

Łuków's militarization likely prompted authorities in May 1941 to establish a ghetto. Local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) leaders noted the unfenced, open ghetto (*dzielnica żydowska*) occupied a pre-war Jewish neighborhood but described its boundaries as fluid.[4] Maps show the ghetto encompassed most of the area within Staropijarska, Pastewnik, Kanałowa, Browarny, and Szopen Streets. To retain access to the magistrate's office and to permit traffic along major arteries, all but a block on the western side of Międzyrzec Street and what now is Wyszyński Street were excluded from the ghetto. As a result, the ghetto was composed of three separate areas.

Initially, the Jews were permitted much freedom of movement but were required to return to the ghetto by curfew. From the summer of 1941, the mayor forbade Jews from leaving Łuków. Some were shot for violating the order.[5] Because the ghetto was overcrowded, many refugees departed for nearby villages.[6] In April 1942, the ghetto population stood at 8,093. On May 8–9, 1942, 2,031 Jews (many of them identifying themselves as Hungarian Jews) arrived from Slovakia.

Jewish conscripts unloaded and loaded cargo at the railway station, the armaments depot, and the SS warehouses. They extended municipal water lines and built a locomotive repair facility for Reckmann. Craftsmen worked for the SS, the Gendarmerie post, and the municipal administration. Women labored at the Dietz (Dieter) poultry firm, preparing chickens for shipment to the Eastern Front. In the spring of 1941, 1,500 Jews became prisoners at water irrigation camps in Rogoźnica and Zarzec Ulański and at a wood-cutting camp in Łapiguz. Some Łapiguz inmates worked at a nearby sawmill.

The 2 złoty Reckmann paid Jews for 10 hours of labor was insufficient to purchase a loaf of bread. During Passover 1942, the JSS doubled (to 882) the families served by its community kitchen. In March, a day-care program provided 300 children (under 14) free daily meals, with milk, and religious instruction.[7]

In March or April 1942, police from the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) Radzyń branch office, killed between 15 and 47 Jews during a search for fur coats. Among the victims was Mr. Węger, shot by Anton Neumann, an ethnic German SS recruit from nearby Łazy. Josef Bürger, assigned from October 1939 to KdS Radzyn, and Neumann, his translator, planned a raid, in some accounts in April and in others in June or July, during which Security Police and local ethnic Germans killed between 44 and 89 ghetto residents. The next morning, Fischer threatened to murder half the ghetto population if he did not receive 20 kilograms (44 pounds) in gold. When the Jews could not raise the sum, Fischer agreed to a down payment of half as much.[8]

In June 1942, as part of Operation Reinhard, the Security Police assumed control of the ghetto. Bürger became the ghetto's SS administrator (or commandant). Neumann was his deputy. In late July, a part of the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 101 was moved to Łuków to assist in the impending ghetto liquidation.

To shield "useful" Jews from deportation, many newly arrived Slovak deportees were interned at Łapiguz. In the summer of 1942, conscripts from Łuków and the Stanin gmina were sent to the Hochtief camp in Dęblin to work on constructing a railway bridge over the Wieprz River. Reckmann also transferred some laborers to its Dęblin construction site.[9] In Łuków, most Jewish laborers were required to reside at work sites.

From the summer of 1942, ghetto inmates realized that the Germans were sending Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp; however, they mistakenly believed it was a place of resettlement beyond the Bug River. Because Polish railway workers had described German mass killings of Jews in Ukraine, most nonetheless feared deportation.[10] On August 25, an empty train pulled into the railway station but soon departed for Międzyrzec Podlaski to transport Jews from there to Treblinka. Shortly thereafter, Lender announced that the authorities had informed him that the Łuków Jews would be spared deportation, as some 80 percent worked for German employers. In mid-September, the Security Police ordered the ghetto surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. When, on October 1, transports to Treblinka resumed in Kreis Radzyn, with the deportation of 2,000 Jews from Radzyń, many Łuków Jews prepared to evade expulsion.

Early on October 5, 1942, the ghetto was surrounded by Security Police from Radzyń, members of the Reserve Police Battalion 101, SS auxiliaries (Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Latvians), Gendarmes, and local ethnic German and Polish police units. After ordering the Jews assembled at the trading square on Międzyrzec Street, the German police and SS auxiliaries entered the ghetto and shot dead the patients and staff at the hospital and those who refused to leave the ghetto. At the square, men able to work were separated from women, the

elderly and children from those able to work. German employers read lists of those exempted from deportation. Eleven Jewish Council members were shot. They were among 500 Jews murdered on that day. Some 4,000 mainly women, children, and the elderly were marched to the railway station and sent from there to be gassed at Treblinka.[11]

Trains carrying Jews to Treblinka, from Parczew and Irena-Dęblin, stopped to pick up those located during searches of the ghetto and lured from hiding on October 8, 1942, by promises of permanent work.[12] Some 640 of 2,000 deportees may have been retained to dig mass graves at a clearing near Malcanów, where they, too, were executed.[13] During the searches, Bürger shot dead older and child fugitives he uncovered. He ordered others to form a fire brigade to help the Polish (Blue) Police guard and clear houses of the deported and a sanitation force to assist Jewish Police and Chevra Kadisha (Burial Society) members to bury the dead at Malcanów. Some 2,000 to 3,000 Jews evaded expulsion.

The ghetto was reduced in size to Kanałowa, Jatkowa, and Międzyrzec Streets. Some 2,500 to 3,500 Jews from the Lukow Landkommissariat then were consolidated there. The consolidations, completed by October 25, 1942, included as many as 1,300 to 1,700 Jews from the Gułów gmina, mainly from Adamów, Okrzeja, and Wola Okrzejska; almost 460 from the Stanin and Mysłów gminy, including in the latter from Kamień, Wandów, and Wandów-Antoniówka; 350 from the Tuchowicz gmina, including from Anonin, Kij, Celiny, and Tuchowicz; and 432 from the Ulan gmina, where in the spring of 1942 Jews had lived in Kępki, Paskudy, Sętki, Sobole, Stok, Ulan, Wierzchowiny, Zakrzew, Zarzec, and Żyłki.

An unstudied September 1942 mass killing in Wojcieszków makes it impossible to determine how many of the gmina's 214 Jewish residents were consolidated in the ghetto.[14] Some September executions, including 98 Jews in Okrzejska by SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries responsible for sawmill operations in Korwin, targeted fugitives from deportations in Żelechów and Kreis Pulawy. However, Reserve Police Battalion 101's September 22 mass killing of 200 to 300 Jews from Serokomla and Charlejów left a handful of the Serokomla gmina's 295 Jewish residents to transport to Łuków.[15] An execution in Krzywda, that day or on September 29, in which 125 railway conscripts perished, also murdered most Jewish inhabitants from the pre-war Radoryż gmina.[16] A volunteer civilian guard rounded up and transported the Jewish residents of Trzebieszów to Łuków.[17] On October 10, another 70 of the Trzebieszów gmina's 142 residents were shot in Grochówka. Only in Stanin and Wola Okrzejska were some Jews retained for work outside a labor camp.

On October 27, 1942, the Security Police, Reserve Police Battalion 101, and their collaborators again cleared the Łuków ghetto. Approximately 2,000 newcomers were sent to their deaths at Treblinka.

The next day, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement, named Łuków one of the eight Jewish residential areas where Jews in Distrikt Lublin legally could reside. Near Łuków, Krüger's orders sparked searches for fugitives from the ghetto consolidation. Some 25 Adamów Jews located during an October 30 search in forests near Burzec village were shot. Another search occurred on November 5 in Siedliska village.[18] On November 6, Reserve Police Battalion 101 transferred 600 Jews from Kock to Łuków.

On November 5 and 7, 1942, the Łuków ghetto again was cleared. The November 5 expulsion targeted ghetto residents. The November 7 deportation enveloped some 3,000 Jews, including hundreds of Łuków laborers marched directly from work sites to the deportation train. These Jews were later gassed at Treblinka.

The German police and their collaborators once more searched the ghetto for those in hiding. They offered Polish civilians sugar and vodka to locate fugitives outside of Łuków. A "peasant gang" gathered some 250 train jumpers by the railway tracks and forced the captives to surrender their clothing and shoes before requesting that the railway police claim the prisoners.[19] Captives were incarcerated in the prison at the magistrate's office, the synagogue, and the Łapiguz barracks. Late on November 7, 1942, Bürger and another German executed 80 to 200 children (all central prison inmates under age six) in the inner courtyard of the magistrate's office.[20] The remaining captives were shot in groups of 200 at Malcanów, with the last central prison inmates, all men, killed on November 10.[21] A yizkor book testimony, describing the Chevra Kadisha's activities, estimates the society's members buried 1,500 to 2,000 victims.[22]

About 10 to 17 days later, the ghetto's fence, dismantled during the expulsion, was reconstructed. The remaining Jewish laborers, mainly at Dietz, Reckmann, and the SS warehouses, were ordered to reside permanently in the ghetto. The Stanin Jews probably were marched to the ghetto at this time. Upon the Reckmann laborers' return from Dęblin in January 1943, Łuków natives composed 20 to 30 percent of the approximately 3,000 to 4,000 ghetto residents. Ryszka Huberman-Iwan recalls Slovak and Hungarian deportees formed a significant part of the population.[23] However, most survivors report the majority of the ghetto's inmates came from nearby villages and towns.

Conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded. Some 15 to 25 people lived in a room. The ghetto's only pump frequently broke, and rations were practically nonexistent. In late winter 1942–1943, unsanitary conditions caused a typhus epidemic.

Some Jews worked at Dietz or Reckmann. Others likely dismantled 100 mostly Jewish residences located outside the ghetto.[24] Most survived by sneaking from the ghetto to barter material possessions for food. Water became more plentiful after Jewish craftsmen began repurposing the *mikveh*, located opposite the ghetto. The construction site also became an illicit market, at which Jews and non-Jews intermingled with laborers to exchange goods.

Bürger shot tens of people dead, including a Łuków teenager surnamed Rybak, found outside the ghetto, and venders and water carriers at the mikveh.[25] Construction firm owner Richard Reckmann asked Security Police from Radzyń,

including his brother, to enforce labor discipline. In 1942, at least 20 conscripts, many too sick to report to work, were shot. In December, Bürger ordered 500 to 600 Jews executed in Malcanów. In Wola Okrzejska, an execution, on December 28, overseen by the SS and Ukrainian and Lithuanian auxiliaries, claimed 36 victims, mainly children and women older than 39.[26]

On May 2, 1943, the Łuków ghetto was liquidated. To force Jews from hiding, SS and SS Ukrainian auxiliaries set many buildings afire. Hundreds fled to nearby forests. The remaining 2,000 to 3,000 Jews were sent to their deaths at Treblinka. On learning of the ghetto liquidation, the 40 surviving Jews in Wola Okrzejska escaped to the forest.

Upon Łuków's liberation in July 1944, 60 survivors returned to the town.

In 1970, Josef Bürger received a life sentence for the shooting deaths of individual Jews before, during, and after the Łuków ghetto liquidation.

SOURCES Secondary sources providing coverage of the World War II history of the Łuków Jewish community and of the other Jewish communities consolidated in the Łuków ghetto include Krzysztof Czubaszek, *Żydzi Łukowa i okolic* (Warsaw: Danmar, 2008); and the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 39 (Adamów), pp. 67–68 (Okrzeja), pp. 275–280 (Łuków), p. 347 (Stok), pp. 349–350 (Stanin), p. 378 (Serokomla), pp. 477–448 (Kock); and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 52–53 (Adamów), pp. 134–139 (Kock), pp. 183–190 (Łuków).

An English translation of a testimony authored by two Finkelsztajn siblings describing the fall 1942 Łuków ghetto liquidation, cited in the entry as AŻIH, Ring [352] II/306, is available as "The Destruction of Łuków," in Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 210–213. Though used by almost all scholars to date the Łuków deportations, the testimony unfortunately contains a calendar error in recalling the deportation on Saturday, November 8. In 1942, Saturday fell on November 7. This entry used the November 7 date because survivors and other eyewitnesses report the deportation occurred on a Saturday.

Memoirs and testimonies from survivors include Eta Wrobel, with Jeanette Friedman, *My Life My Way: The Extraordinary Memoir of a Jewish Partisan in WW II Poland* (New Milford, NJ: Wordsmithy LLC and Yad Vashem, 2006); the transcript of Lily Fenster's testimony, accessible electronically at the Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan, Dearborn; Sonia Hurman and Abram Hurman, with Halina Birenbaum, *Pod osłoną nocy. Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945* (Kraków and Oświęcim: Fundacja Instytutu Studiów Strategicznych and Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, 2007), which provides coverage of the fall 1942 Łuków ghetto consolidations through its treatment of the experiences of the Jewish communities of Okrzeja and to a lesser extent of Stanin. Additional testimonies can be found in the yizkor book Binem Heller, ed., *Sefer Lukov: Geheylikt der horev-gevorener kehileh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Lukoy be-Yisrael un der Lukover Landsmanshaṭ in di Fareynikṭe Shtatn, 1968), available in a French translation by Alain Zylbering and Françoise Rudetzki, *Le Livre de Lukow, 1200–1945* (Paris, 1987). The above-cited Czubaszek *Żydzi Łukowa* work contains a 150-page document appendix that includes Polish translations of Yiddish-language testimonies from AŻIH 301; depositions, memoirs, and letters from survivors to the IPN and the Regional Museum in Łuków (Muzeum Regionalne w Łukowie); and testimonies from Jewish survivors, their descendants, and local Polish Christians collected by the author during his research. The book also includes photographs of a map of the ghetto, in the collections of the Regional Museum in Łuków.

Excerpts from the diary of Stanisław Żemiński, the Polish-Christian chronicler of the fall 1942 Treblinka deportations, first appeared in publication as "Kartki dziennika nauczyciela w Łukowie z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH*, no. 27 (1958): 105–112, with an English translation widely available on the Internet; however, the excerpt in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 108–111, may be more valuable, as it appeared after the collapse of communism in Poland and therefore was not subject to censorship.

An overview of Polish IPN research into murders perpetrated by German forces in and around Łuków is provided in the relevant volumes of *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and IPN, 1985–), with the volume for the Siedlce (siedleckie) województwo covering the largest part of the region. Christopher R. Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992) and Daniel J. Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996) discuss the role members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 played in the liquidations of the region's Jewish communities, including in the fall of 1942 in Łuków. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 34 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), Lfd. 737, discusses the criminal investigation and trial of Josef Bürger.

Additional documentation for the Jewish community of Łuków is located in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/477, 211 [675-677; 885, pp. 43, 53–55; 886, pp. 31, 43, 56, 62; 887, pp. 56–57, 91, 99; 888, pp. 12, 26, 38, 48–49, 51; 889, pp. 10, 15, 22–27, 43, 51, 62, 64; 890, pp. 21, 25, 46, 59, 72], 267, 301 [43, 44, 789, 1198, 3880, 4265, 4747, 5628, 6242], 302/30, 310/Ł, 303/V/709, Ring [352] II/306); BA-L (B 162/2188-2190, e.g., pp. 1029–1035, 1169–1177, 1283–1296, 1321–1332, 1380–1422, 1461–1483); FVA (HVT [e.g., 265, 717, 721, 733, 734, 1366]); IPN (e.g., ASG, SAL [76, 144, 153, 165, 173-174, 179, 188]); IPN-Lu (e.g., 05-142, 98/67/1-5, 131/67/1-57, 151/67/1-5, 284/436/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6 (16/684, 688-689, 703, 724, 738, 742), reel 15 (49/83)]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH Ring]; RG-50.120*0201); VHF (# 1642, 3210, 5897, 6118, 6146, 8327, 9775, 10911, 10912, 11663, 11932, 13813, 17693, 23342, 24067, 24208, 26955, 27870,

32079, 36916, 41057, 42816); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [1649, 2860, 3153, 4052], O-33/1315). The Holocaust Memorial Center Zekelman Family Campus, Farmington Hills, MI, includes in its collections the Klein-Biegel oral history, one of the only known testimonies from a Slovak deportee to the Łuków ghetto.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. VHF, # 11663, testimony of Hershel Prengler; BA-L, B 162/2188-2190 (208 AR-Z 236-60), pp. 1029–1030 (Jakob Keselbrener deposition).
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/477, p. 2.
3. AŻIH, 301/3880, testimony of Abram Sylbersztein, p. 1.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/677, p. 17.
5. AŻIH, 302/30, testimony of Stanisław Żemiński, p. 2.
6. Ibid., 301/4265, testimony of Pinia Fuksman, pp. 1–3.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/677, p. 14; 211/890, p. 46.
8. BA-L, B 162/2188-2189 (208 AR-Z 236-60), p. 1031 (Keselbrener), and pp. 1284–1290 (Sol [Szloma] Prengler deposition).
9. AŻIH, 301/4265, pp. 4–5; VHF, # 11663.
10. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring II/306, p. 1; VHF, # 11663.
11. *Le Livre*, pp. 40–43 (Laibish [Lajbisz] Barn testimony).
12. AŻIH, 302/30, p. 3. See also USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring II/306, p. 3.
13. BA-L, B162/2189 (208 AR-Z 236-60), p. 1285.
14. Czubaszek, *Żydzi*, pp. 173–174.
15. Hurman et al., *Pod*, pp. 33–37; Marianna Kurchand-Adameczek testimony, in Czubaszek, *Żydzi*, pp. 231–233.
16. AŻIH, 301/1198, testimony of Mała Połosecka, p. 2.
17. Ibid., 302/30, pp. 4–5.
18. Ibid., pp. 6, 8.
19. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring II/306, p. 4.
20. BA-L, B 162/2190 (208 AR-Z 236-60), p. 1482 (Anszel Kac deposition).
21. USHMM, RG-15.079M, Ring II/306, p. 5.
22. *Le Livre*, p. 104.
23. Ibid., pp. 53–71.
24. *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, April 16, 1943, p. 3.
25. BA-L, B 162/2189 (208 AR-Z 236-60), pp. 1321–1322 (Mosze Grajcer deposition).
26. Hurman, in Czubaszek, *Żydzi*, pp. 239–240.

MARKUSZÓW

Pre-1939: Markuszów (Yiddish: Markushov), village, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Markuszow, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Markuszów, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Markuszów lies 27 kilometers (17 miles) northwest of Lublin. Its pre-war 1939 population of approximately 3,000 included some 2,000 Jews.

Luftwaffe bombardment on September 8, 1939, sparked fires that destroyed all but eight houses in central Markuszów, a neighborhood inhabited exclusively by Jews. On September 11, the Germans occupied the town.

The local military commander immediately imposed forced labor obligations on the Jews. Within a few weeks, German authorities mandated the wearing of white armbands, with a blue Star of David. By early 1940, the Germans ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) established. Its chair was Shlomo Goldwasser. The council created a Jewish police force to help organize forced labor conscription.

In the several months it took to establish a German civilian administration, many homeless Jews moved to Opole and other places. Twelve Jews, mostly from even more war-devastated Kurów, settled permanently in Markuszów. In July 1940, the Jewish population stood at 1,320. By late fall 1940, it topped 1,500, mainly because Jews from Warsaw with ties to Markuszów fled there rather than report to the Warsaw ghetto, which had been established during October.[1] In March 1941, the Jewish population crested at 1,643, including 133 refugees.

Because of the war devastation in Markuszów, the local German administration established its offices in Garbów. A wójt (head), surnamed Spolck, oversaw affairs in Markuszów. A locally recruited unit of Polish (Blue) Police exercised day-to-day police authority. Wehrmacht units occasionally were billeted in Markuszów.[2]

Some survivors mention that because local German authorities did not initially ban Jews from engaging in trade, many Markuszów Jews began, during the first months of the German occupation, to rebuild their houses and a large part of their pre-war lives. To assist them, the Jewish Council paid bribes for an informal suspension of orders forbidding Jews from moving more than 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) beyond Markuszów's borders.[3]

Anti-Jewish decrees became harsher from the spring of 1940. The Jewish Council filled SS-imposed quotas for labor at camps in Janiszów, for flood-control projects on the Vistula River, and in the summer in Bełżec, for building border fortifications. From July on, the council had to organize between 300 and 360 Jews daily for local forced labor: 120 for road construction projects under Kreis administration; 100 to widen the Kurów-Markuszów-Garbów stretch of the Warsaw-to-Lublin highway, and 100 for projects organized by the local German administration, including at the Garbów sugar refinery and for clearing snow on the Markuszów-to-Garbów road.[4] German authorities suspended Jewish home building, ordering the council by autumn to erect wooden barracks for 650 still homeless Jews.[5]

Leopold Lind, a Jewish physician from Lublin who was resettled in Markuszów in June 1940 to treat a typhoid epidemic, describes local German authorities placing endless demands on the Jews, including orders for the Jewish Council to surrender a long list of goods ranging from butter and chickens to a large number of luxury items.[6] In December 1941, the Jews were required to turn over their fur (or winter) coats.[7]

Sources vary on the date an open ghetto was established in Markuszów. The *Pinkas ha-kehilot* entry notes it was created in May 1941. Lind remembered authorities issuing the orders forbidding Jews from leaving Markuszów that same year, but

in October. He recalled the Germans, the day after establishing the ghetto, shooting dead Goldwasser's mother for being 0.5 kilometer (0.3 mile) outside of Markuszów.[8]

The orders limiting the Jews to Markuszów created immediate food supply problems. The ability to locate food narrowed further from the summer of 1941, when another 100 Jews were imprisoned at a labor camp established in Kłoda to gather and pulverize stones for the ongoing highway construction projects.[9] From time to time, Horst Göde, the deputy Kreishauptmann, and from 1942 the Opole Landkommissar, arrived to impose contributions. At assemblies, Göde ordered Jews, including children, humiliated, beaten, and sometimes shot dead.[10] Lind also describes local German authorities beating Jews during frequent visits to Markuszów, ostensibly for hiding from them. In April 1941, inebriated German soldiers broke into a Jewish residence and attempted to rape several young women. After the women escaped, the soldiers opened fire on the house's residents, killing one girl's brother and injuring several others, including a Polish medical assistant aiding the wounded.[11] Poor sanitary conditions, compounded by overcrowding, provoked a typhus epidemic in April 1942.

Survivors describe a two-stage liquidation of the Markuszów ghetto.[12] In April 1942, the SS deported about 500 Jews, mostly the elderly and the sick. Assisted by the local Polish (Blue) Police, the SS ordered the Jews into marching formation. A group of elderly Jews was shot dead for refusing the orders. The remaining expellees were marched to Nałęczów, about 12.9 kilometers (8 miles) south of Markuszów, and there ordered onto trains, most likely destined for the Bełżec extermination camp. (The *Pinkas ha-kehilot* entry for Markuszów suggests the expellees were sent to the extermination camp in Sobibór; however, deportations to Sobibór did not begin in Distrikt Lublin until May 1.) The SS limited the residence of the Jews remaining in Markuszów to Lubelska Street.

Five trucks of German Gendarmes, SS, and SS Ukrainian auxiliaries arrived in Markuszów on May 8, 1942, to expel the rest of the Markuszów Jewish community. After Goldwasser was ordered to surrender a list of Jewish residents, he urged all those who were able to flee to the forest. Only a few hundred people reported the next day to the market square for "resettlement." About 70 men were held back for labor at camps in Kłoda, Kurów, and Końskowola. Survivors are divided over whether the rest of the Markuszów Jews were sent to their deaths at Sobibór from the train station in Nałęczów or spent the night in the empty ghetto in Końskowola, about 14.7 kilometers (9 miles) north-northwest of Markuszów, before being sent to Sobibór the next morning from the railway station in Puławy.

In late May 1942, a labor camp, also referred to as a ghetto in postwar Polish Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation, was established for approximately 100 to 150 Slovak Jews brought to Markuszów to dig up stones in local fields to use in road construction projects. The camp was liquidated on September 2, 1943. Its prisoners were marched to the train station in Nałęczów. Nothing is known of their precise fates.[13]

Almost all the Markuszów fugitives from the Sobibór deportation were rounded up and killed. Two days after scores of Markuszów escapees arrived in Bełżyce, the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries surrounded the settlement and then oversaw the deportation of about 50 unregistered Markuszów Jews to the labor camp in Majdanek.[14] Another group, of about 60 Markuszów Jews, led by Mordechai Kierstzenbaum and brothers Jerucham (or Jankiel) and Jacob Gothelf, had obtained arms before the expulsion and were determined to protect the more than 1,000 Jews, including hundreds from Markuszów, hidden in the Wola and Borek Forests. Joined subsequently by escaped Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and fugitives from the deportations of the Garbów and Kamionka Jewish communities, they formed three partisan units. However, the partisans mostly were in forests closer to Lublin in December 1942, when a large group of SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries arrived to search the two forests closer to Markuszów for hidden Jews. On December 2, the first day of the search, about 400 Jews were killed. Another 600 perished before the sweep ended on January 20, 1943.[15]

The Adamczyk family, in Wola village, a forest gateway, was determined to assist Dora Wasserstrum after discovering her sister among the Jews murdered in the forest. (Like many Wola families, the Adamczyks belonged to the Polish underground Bataliony Chłopskie, an organization that assisted the Jewish partisans.) However, on December 10, 1942, and February 18, 1943, the Germans executed at least 14 Wola Poles for aiding Jews. Four others, similarly accused, disappeared without a trace.[16] Unfortunately, the postwar documentation is ambiguous for Jan Nalewajek and Aniela Kamińska, two villagers mentioned as among the murdered in the Markuszów yizkor book. On December 22, 1942, Nalewajek was shot along with 5 other Poles, accused mostly of Polish patriotism. No reason is provided for the June 1943 executions of Kamińska, her husband, son, and 5 other Poles.[17] After the executions, many Poles ordered Jews they were protecting to find other hiding places. Most ended up in the forests and fell victim to subsequent forest sweeps, including in the Borek Forest during the winter of 1942–1943, which claimed the lives of 42 Jews.[18]

Fewer than 30 Markuszów Jews survived the war. They included Wasserstrum; a few of the approximately 40 partisan survivors; and Leopold Lind, his wife Janina, and their children, Robert and Kamila. The Linds, who fled to Warsaw, were aided by Zofia Sokołowska, a friend, and Zofia Socha (later Młodawska), their nanny, who lived with the family until the war's end.[19]

SOURCES The yizkor book, David Sztokfisz, ed., *Hurbn un gvure fun shtetl Markushov* (Tel Aviv: Farayn fun Markushoyer landslayt in Yisrael, 1955), includes many testimonies by survivors. It has been translated into Hebrew, *Hurbanah u-gevuratah shel ha-'ayarah Markushov* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Marḳushov, 1989).

Secondary accounts touching on the Markuszów Jewish community under German occupation and the ghetto include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 315–317; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 190–192.

On the partisan movement, see Shmuel Krakowski, *The War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944*, trans. Orah Blaustein (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1984); and Adam Puławski, "Postrzeganie żydowskich oddziałów partyzanckich przez Armię Krajową i Delegaturę Rządu RP na Kraj," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, no. 2 (4) (2003): 271–300.

Of the communities mentioned in the entry but not given their own entry, the documentation is too sparse to determine whether a ghetto existed there. Garbów, a gmina, in November 1940 was home to 110 Jews (30 families). Here, see the letter from the Garbów Jewish Council chair in the Markuszów AJDC documentation at USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/486, p. 21. A discussion of Jewish life in Garbów after the deportations appears in IPN-Kat, S 61/01/ZK, pp. 2156–2173, 2316–2327, a controversial case involving the immediate postwar activities of the partisan and Garbów survivor Salomon Morel.

Archival documentation pertaining to the history of the Markuszów Jewish community during World War II includes APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/486, 211/685, 301/1478); IPN (e.g., Ankiety, ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 2/67/1-6, 284 [394/1-2, 397/1-2, 469/1-2, 473/1-2]); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG]; RG-15.084 [AŻIH 301]); VHF (# 28528, 31955); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, AJDC, 210/486, pp. 24, 27, 58.
2. Ibid., p. 27; Sztokfisz, *Hurbn*, p. 163.
3. Sztokfisz, *Hurbn*, pp. 163–164.
4. Ibid., pp. 163, 257; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/486, p. 27.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/486, pp. 3, 57.
6. AŻIH, 301/1478, p. 4 (typescript).
7. Sztokfisz, *Hurbn*, p. 258.
8. AŻIH, 301/1478, p. 4.
9. Sztokfisz, *Hurbn*, p. 257.
10. AŻIH, 301/1478, pp. 4–5.
11. Ibid., p. 4.
12. Sztokfisz, *Hurbn*, pp. 258–259.
13. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 15, 49/104.
14. Sztokfisz, *Hurbn*, p. 260.
15. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 6, 16/796.
16. Ibid., 16/794-95.
17. Ibid., 16/797 and 16/793, respectively.
18. Ibid., 16/792.
19. VHF, # 31955, testimony of Zofia Młodawska.

MIĘDZYRZEC PODLASKI

Pre-1939: Międzyrzec Podlaski (Yiddish: Mezritch or Mezrych), town, Radzyń Podlaski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Meseritz, Kreis Radzyn, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Międzyrzec Podlaski, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Międzyrzec Podlaski lies 100 kilometers (62 miles) north of Lublin. The town's August 1939 population of around 16,000 included 12,000 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Międzyrzec on September 13, 1939, but soon abandoned it to Soviet occupation. Soviet forces arrived on September 25, 1939. Ten days later, they joined the regional Soviet evacuation behind the Bug River. Approximately 2,000 Międzyrzec Jews followed them. On October 9, the Germans reoccupied Międzyrzec.

From the occupation's outset, German authorities evicted Jews from the wealthiest neighborhoods in central and northern Międzyrzec.[1] The evictees almost all were resettled in the poorest Jewish neighborhood, known as Szmulowizna. Located in eastern Międzyrzec, the neighborhood stretched from Brzeska Street to the Krzna River. About 1,800 of the town's Jews were relocated there.

The residents of Szmulowizna also sheltered thousands of Jewish deportees. By April 1940, 3,500 expellees—from Nasielsk, Gdynia, Kalisz, Łódź, Pułtusk, Rybnik, and Serock—resided in Międzyrzec. In November 1940, 350 deportees arrived from Kraków and another 1,400 from Mława. In January 1941, the SS brought 300 former prisoners of war (POWs) to Międzyrzec. By then, Międzyrzec was home to some 4,000 Jewish newcomers, both voluntary refugees and expellees. After the arrival of 780 expellees from Mielec on March 14, 1942, the Jewish population of 16,555 included 5,480 refugees. The Jewish population crested at 17,546 with the May arrival of 1,025 Slovak deportees.[2]

Because so many Jews were concentrated in Szmulowizna, many survivors believe an open ghetto existed in Międzyrzec



A section of the Międzyrzec Podlaski ghetto, as seen through the barbed-wire fence surrounding it, October 1942 to May 1943.
USHMM WS #46319, COURTESY OF STA. HAMBURG

from the early fall of 1940. However, Gitel Donath, a September 1941 voluntary arrival from Siedlce, recalls that some Jews, including wealthier deportees, lived in southern neighborhoods in Polish-owned and -occupied buildings. In April 1942, moreover, Jewish charity officials reported on the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) ghetto questionnaire that neither an open nor a closed ghetto existed in Międzyrzec.[3] (In Distrikt Lublin, open ghettos were defined territorially, rather than by Hans Frank's November 1941 orders imposing the death penalty on Jews found outside their places of registration without permission.)

Officially, a ghetto was established in Międzyrzec only after the first deportation Aktion on August 25–26, 1942. During the Aktion, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries from Trawniki, local Gendarmes, and SS from Radzyń, rounded up and forced 8,000 to 11,000 Jews onto trains destined for the Treblinka extermination camp. A surviving railway schedule indicates the deportation train of 50 wagons departed Międzyrzec at 9:30 A.M., only to return at 9:42 P.M. for another trip to Treblinka the next morning.[4] Almost all the deportees were gassed on arrival. Another 960 to 1,800 Jews were shot dead in Międzyrzec. The victims accounted for one third to more than one half of the 3,000 Jews killed in Międzyrzec during the deportations.[5]

An enclosed ghetto immediately was created for approximately 6,000 to 7,000 Jews retained for work outside the labor camp system. The ghetto encompassed 6 hectares (14.8 acres) of land, including the Szmulowizna neighborhood and some of the Polish neighborhood, near Jatkowa and Warszawska Streets.[6] Most survivors recall its sole residents initially were members of the Jewish Council, led by Szymon Klarberg, and the Jewish Police. Ordered to sleep at work sites during the deportation, the remaining Jews were ordered to the ghetto only in early September.

A barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto. Initially, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries guarded the fence from the outside; local auxiliary Polish (Blue) Police soon replaced them.[7] The Jewish Police maintained security inside the ghetto. Inmates left for work under Jewish Police escort through two gates, including one on Brzeska Street. Otherwise, Jews were forbidden, under penalty of death, to leave the ghetto. SS-Untersturmführer Franz Adolf Fischer, head of the Radzyń office of the Security Police, was responsible for the ghetto. In practice, Kurt Heine and Karl Leiter, two junior officers, oversaw its day-to-day operations. Members of the Międzyrzec Gendarmerie post, most notably Franz Bauer, also exercised considerable authority.[8]

After several Treblinka escapees returned to Międzyrzec, the ghetto inmates learned that the deportees had been murdered. Some fell into deep despair. Others, determined to evade a future deportation, constructed elaborately concealed hiding places. Most inmates labored in their previous jobs, including at a tannery and a brush-making workshop in Międzyrzec, on local road construction crews, as agricultural laborers on an estate in Aleksandrówka, digging and drying peat at a farm in Wysokie, in water irrigation labor in Rogoźnica, hewing trees in forests near Sokule, and cutting the timber at local sawmills and loading it onto trains. Others worked as domestic or agricultural servants for local ethnic Germans and Poles. About 40 inmates, mostly craftsmen, maintained the Gendarmerie post. Others staffed a kitchen at a canteen established for the members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, stationed in Międzyrzec from September to liquidate the Jewish communities of Kreise Biala Padlaska and Radzyn.

The Międzyrzec ghetto also served as a collection and transit ghetto. Between September 26 and 29, 1942, members of Police Battalion 101, the SS auxiliaries, Security Police, and Polish police transferred to the ghetto almost all the approximately 12,300 surviving Jews of Kreis Biala Podlaska, except those incarcerated in labor camps.[9] Imprisoned at the synagogue (and probably other buildings), the 5,000 to 6,000 expellees, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were sent to Treblinka on October 6. Another 150 were killed at the Jewish cemetery.

That same day, around the midday meal, security forces rounded up nonworking women, children, and the elderly from the Międzyrzec ghetto and imprisoned them at the synagogue. Laborers from the sawmill and some road construction crews also were brought there. The prisoners were held under Jewish Police and armed SS auxiliary and German police guard.[10] On October 7 or 8, almost all the Jews from smaller communities in northern Kreis Radzyn (consolidated earlier in Parczew) were transferred to Międzyrzec. On October 9, the synagogue prisoners and the Parczew deportees were sent to Treblinka. The October 7–9 deportation included about 7,000 Jews in Międzyrzec. (The overall number probably was greater. Biała Podlaska survivor Mojsze Fajgenbaum recalls the October 6 train originated at that town's railway station, where mainly labor camp inmates were forced onto the wagons.)[11]

Because hundreds had evaded the deportations or jumped from the trains, the ghetto population, which likely stood at 5,000 to 7,000, included a significant number of women and children from Międzyrzec and fugitives from the Kreis Biala Podlaska and Parczew deportations. The ghetto area was then reduced by half, forcing some 10 to 25 people to reside in a single room. Rations were suspended. Some 30 people perished daily, mainly from illnesses related to starvation and from typhus.[12] The Gendarmes and Polish (Blue) Police shot Jews found illegally outside the ghetto bartering material possessions for food. Labor crews were established to clear and sort the belongings of the deported.

In mid-October 1942, 219 older family members and children of agricultural laborers in Wohyń were transferred to Międzyrzec.[13] Between October 14 and 16, another 1,000 to 2,000 Jews arrived from Radzyń. The expellees were imprisoned at the synagogue and in buildings outside the ghetto. Late one night, inebriated Gendarmes, including Bauer, Heine, and a group of ethnic Germans, opened fire on one makeshift prison, a barracks at a sawmill, killing more than 100 Radzyń deportees. The next morning, Fischer promised to spare the lives of survivors, if they came out of hiding, by marching them to the ghetto.[14] On October 27, members of Reserve Police Battalion

101 and an SS contingent led by Heine sent the Wohyń expellees and almost all the other Radzyń deportees to their deaths at Treblinka, in the third Międzyrzec deportation.

The next day, on October 28, 1942, Wilhelm Krüger, the Higher SS and Police Leader of the Generalgouvernement, named Międzyrzec one of eight Jewish residential areas in Distrikt Lublin. Around October 30, additional Jews arrived in Międzyrzec under armed escort. The deportees included children of labor camp inmates in Suchowola and others, presumably members of property clearing crews and labor camp inmates from a geographic area spanning from Łuków to Terespol.[15] Incarcerated at the synagogue and in abandoned Jewish properties just beyond the ghetto, many deportees, deprived of food and water, perished before members of the Reserve Police Battalion 101 cleared the buildings on November 7–9 by sending the survivors to their deaths at Treblinka.[16] Some of the Międzyrzec ghetto inmates were included in the deportation, which aimed to retain just 1,000 young, male inmates for labor.[17] Because so many hid, the ghetto population likely stood closer to 3,000.

After the deportation, the ghetto was again reduced to half its size. A seven-month period of relative calm encouraged a large number of fugitives hiding in forests or among the local population to enter the ghetto voluntarily. Jews from some 70 different localities resided there. The Jewish Council restored a tiny part of its extensive preghetto welfare institutions, including a sanitation commission and medical clinic.

In late December 1942, German officials from the Trawniki concentration camp established a temporary registration office to recruit Jews for "voluntary" deportation. An SS officer overseeing the road construction crews informed ghetto residents that Trawniki offered the only hope for survival.[18] Some 500 to 550 employees of the brush-making workshop, whose industrial plant was disassembled and sent to Trawniki, were given three days to register for deportation. Included in the December 30, 1942, voluntary resettlement were a number of involuntary deportees, including the remaining Jews in Wohyń (save for about 50 killed during the deportation). The next day, New Year's Eve 1942, inebriated Security Police from Biała Podlaska "celebrated" the holiday by dragging ghetto residents from their beds and shooting them. Some 56 to 65 people were killed. Scores more were wounded.

On May 1–4, 1943, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, and the Radzyń SS renewed deportations from Międzyrzec. The Germans and Ukrainians surrounded the ghetto, relied on informants to locate ghetto bunkers, and demolished walls to uncover hidden Jews. All the Aleksandrówka and Suchowola labor camp inmates were included in the expulsion.[19] Most of the 2,000 to 3,000 deportees were gassed at Treblinka. A small group was sent to Majdanek. Some 200 to 800 Jews were executed at the Jewish cemetery. (The figures vary in survivors' accounts.) Among the victims were the Jewish Council members and most of the Jewish Police.

After the Aktion, the ghetto was reduced to about two streets. Many more of its approximately 1,500 inmates worked for the office of property liquidation sorting "abandoned" Jewish belongings at the synagogue. Lubicz, a longtime SS informant, now named the Jewish "ghetto commander," recruited a Jewish police force. Most survivors blame him for turning over unregistered fugitives to the Gendarmerie. (These Jews were shot.) Survivor Lejb Goldberg maintains Lubicz suggested the Germans rely on chicanery, which left inmates unprepared for another deportation on May 26, 1943, and institute strip search (ostensibly for property stolen from the synagogue) at a railway station barracks.[20] That day, some 700 to 1,000 Jews arrived nearly naked at Majdanek.

Officially, only 300 Jews—a small clearing crew and the Jewish Police—remained in the ghetto. (The actual population was probably double.) On July 17 or 18, 1943, the Polish underground killed two Germans. Maintaining the Jews also were responsible for the murders, Leutnant Dreyer, a member of the Schutzpolizei unit assigned to Międzyrzec, ordered the ghetto liquidated.[21] Some 23 to 35 ghetto inmates were killed during the Aktion. Four German policemen transported (by truck) another 120 to 179 Jews and 3 Polish-Christian suspects to Piaski, a local livestock burial ground, and killed them.[22]

Only a small part of the Międzyrzec deportees retained for labor at Majdanek were transferred to other camps (mainly Skarżysko-Kamienna and Auschwitz) before November 1943, when the Germans shot dead the Jewish inmates of Majdanek and Trawniki during the "Aktion Erntefest" massacres. A smaller group of fugitives attempted to survive by adopting false identities as Polish Christians and working as forced laborers in the Reich or by hiding locally, some with Poles, but many more in vacated Jewish residences in Międzyrzec or in nearby forests. Many local fugitives perished in forest raids organized by the Germans, as a result of denunciations by the local population, and at Polish hands. Of the at least 30,000 Jews who passed through the Międzyrzec ghetto, only 300 survived the war.

At least 16 Germans, 6 Poles, and 1 Jew suspected of contributing to the liquidation of the Międzyrzec Jewish community or the ghetto were tried after the war in either Poland or West Germany, though in four cases for mass killings of non-Jews. Ten Germans were found guilty. Most served little or no prison time. Three of the 5 suspects tried in Poland, including Franz Fischer and Wilhelm Trapp, the commander of the Reserve Police Battalion 101, received death sentences. Trapp, though, was convicted of mass killings of Poles in Talcyn and of Soviet prisoners of war. He was executed in 1948.[23] Fischer, convicted of numerous mass killings, including of Jews in Międzyrzec, was hanged in 1949. The outcomes of the Polish collaborators' trials are largely unknown.[24] A 10-person court appointed by Jewish survivors sentenced 1 Pole to death for murdering a fugitive from the ghetto liquidation. It submitted to Polish prosecutors its findings for 3 Jewish suspects. Two of the men, Lubicz and Szymon Tob (Topf), a former Jewish policeman, were arrested but escaped from prison in 1946 and joined the third suspect abroad.[25] Because Tob disappeared during his trial, a Polish court waited six months before resuming the proceedings without

him in July. In January 1949, Tob was sentenced to death for revealing to the Gestapo the hiding places of Jews during the deportations.[26]

SOURCES Secondary sources about the Międzyrzec Jewish community during the German occupation or about the collection and transit ghetto of Międzyrzec include the relevant parts of Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); Artur Domański, *Żydzi w Międzyrzecu Podlaskim* (Międzyrzec Podlaski: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Międzyrzecu Podlaskim, 2009); M.J. Fajgenbaum, *Podliashe in umkum: Noṭitsn fun ḥurben* (Munich: Aroysgegebn fun der Tsentraler Historisher Komisye baym Ts. K. fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner Zone in Daytshland, 1948); H. Rylski, "Międzyrzec in the Period of the Hitlerite Occupation," *Bleter far Geszichte* 9:3–4 (1955); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 305–310; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 194–200.

Survivors contributed memoirs to all four Międzyrzec yizkor books, among them, Yosef Horn, *Mezriṭsh: Zamlbukh in heylikn ondenk fun di umgekumene Yidn in undzer geboyrn-shtot in Poyln* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn fun Mezritsher landslaytfarayn in Argentine, 1952); and Nathan Livneh, ed., *Pinḳas ha-ḳehilah Mez'iriṭsh* (Tel Aviv: Hutsa le-or 'al yede Va'ad yots'e Meziriṭsh be-Yisrael, 1973). Additional memoirs include Moshe Brezniak and Naphtali Brezniak, *'Atse ha-livneh ha-zekufim: Lohem Yehudi ba-tsava ha-Polani, be-Geto Mezerits' uva-maḥanot* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003); the testimony of Lejb Goldberg, in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 113–118, a translation of part of the 68-page Yiddish-language testimony cited below at AŻIH, 302/95; Joe Rosenblum, with David Kohn, *Defy the Darkness: A Tale of Courage in the Shadow of Mengele* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001); Rywka Rybak, *A Survivor of the Holocaust* (Cleveland, OH: Tricycle Press, 1993); Gitel Donath, *My Bones Don't Rest in Auschwitz: A Lonely Battle to Survive German Tyranny* (Montreal: Kaplan Publishing, 1999); and "Irena (Agata) Bołdok (Likierman)," in Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*, trans. Julian Bussgang and Fay Bussgang, 2 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 27–35.

For memoirs and published interviews by survivors from communities consolidated in the Międzyrzec transit ghetto or by those who sought temporary shelter there, see, among others, Oscar Pinkus, *The House of Ashes* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1964); Joseph Schupack, *Tote Jahre: Eine jüdische Leidensgeschichte* (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1984), in English translation as *The Dead Years*, trans. Paul Kleinbart (New York: Holocaust Library, 1986); and "Dwojra Zielona," in Zofia Nałkowska, *Medaliony* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1946), available in English as *Medallions*, trans. Diana Kuprel (Northwestern, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2000), pp. 29–34.

Relevant German trial verdicts can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 670, and vol. 41 (2009), Lfd. Nr. 833.

Contemporary press coverage includes from *Gazeta Żydowska*, December 20, 1940, no. 44, p. 4; October 17, 1941, no. 99, p. 2; November 19, 1941, no. 113, p. 2; February 11, 1942, no. 18, p. 3; March 6, 1942, no. 28, p. 4; March 18, 1942, no. 33, p. 3; March 22, 1942, no. 35, p. 4. Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann Hubert Kühl's directive forewarning that Jews throughout the Kreis were to be deported to Międzyrzec between September 25 and 29, 1942, can be found in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: CŻKHwP, 1946), pt. 1, pp. 57–58.

Archival documentation includes AŻIH (e.g., 210/492, 211 [132, pp. 7, 50; 142, pp. 19, 27, 29, 32, 49–55; 143, pp. 25–26; 646, pp. 49, 51; 699; 886, p. 29; 890, pp. 14, 21, 59, 66, 72; 891, pp. 30, 45, 48, 81, 88–91, 94], 214, 301 [71, 1946, 2019, 2091, 2236, 2397, 2404, 2940, 3237, 3502, 4371, 4477, 4516, 5423], 302/95); BA-L (e.g., B 162/2190 [ZStL, 208 AR-Z 236/60, vol. 8]); FVA (HVT [730, 1638, 1721, 1869, 2751, 3237, 3502]); IPN (e.g., ASG, SAL [72, 139], SOS BP [12, 15, 15a, 15b, 16-19, 20, 20a, 23, 41, 43-45]; IPN-Lu (e.g., 131/61/1-57, 415/67/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc. 1996.A.0227 [AŻIH 214]; Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.006 [IPN]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 5, 12/888-891, reel 15, 49/6-8, 14-15, 125, 129-130]; RG-50.030*0073; RG-50.120*0218); VHF (e.g., # 214, 401, 479, 677, 2964, 9390, 13752, 17927, 51694, 12734, 13741, 14339, 16395, 17006, 18103, 30275, 30422, 49629); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Rosenblum, *Defy the Darkness*, pp. 12–15.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/132, p. 50; 211/142, pp. 25–26, 49–55; 211/891, p. 48; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/492, p. 1.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/699, p. 11.
4. Ibid., RG-15.006 (IPN), pp. 139–140.
5. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 5, 12/888.
6. Ibid., reel 15, 49/125.
7. VHF, # 14339, testimony of Dora Abend.
8. BA-L, B 162/2190, pp. 1438–1443 (deposition, Edward Bleiweiss).
9. Kermisz, *Dokumenty*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 57–58.
10. AŻIH, 301/2019, testimony of Elias Magid, pp. 6–7; Lejb Goldberg testimony, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, pp. 113–114.
11. AŻIH, 301/71, testimony of Mojsze Josef Fajgenbaum, pp. 3–4, 6.
12. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/125.
13. AŻIH, 301/2091, testimony of Halina Petruszka, p. 1.
14. Ibid., 301/2019, pp. 7–8; Goldberg, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 114.
15. AŻIH, 301/2767, testimony of Michał Himmelblau, p. 3; 301/2019, p. 8.
16. Goldberg, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, p. 114.
17. AŻIH, 301/2019, pp. 8–9.
18. Donath, *My Bones*, pp. 121–123; Goldberg, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, pp. 114–115.

19. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/129; AŻIH, 301/2767, p. 3.
20. AŻIH, 301/3502, testimony of Lejb Goldberg, pp. 1–2.
21. Ibid., 301/2019, pp. 9–10.
22. Goldberg, in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie*, pp. 116–117; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 5, 12/889.
23. IPN, SOS BP, 15-19.
24. Ibid., 12, 20, 20a, 23; SAL 72, 139.
25. AŻIH, 301/3502, pp. 3–4.
26. IPN, SOS BP, 15, 15a, 15b.

OPOLE

Pre-1939: Opole (Yiddish: Apla), town, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Opole Lubelskie, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Opole lies 51 kilometers (32 miles) southwest of Lublin. In 1939, its pre-war population of 6,500 included 4,325 Jews.

On occupying Opole in mid-September 1939, the Germans ordered Jews to surrender a monetary "contribution." They released 20 to 50 hostages on its receipt.[1] Additional anti-Jewish decrees mandated wearing white armbands and forced labor. Jews fleeing war devastation in Kurów and Markuszów settled in Opole.[2]

The Germans ordered a Judenrat established before April 1940. Jakob Nussbaum was its first chair.[3] The 18-person council organized a Jewish police force, composed of 30 men, to help organize labor conscription.

On December 29–30, 1939, the Jewish community from Puławy, the Kreis center, and some 300 Jews (150 families) from Józefów nad Wisłą were expelled to Opole. In May 1940, 847 of the 1,965 Jewish refugees in Opole were Puławy expellees.[4] The refugees included many Nałęczów expellees. Nałęczów youth, ordered to a labor camp in Antopol (Puławy powiat), joined their families in Opole in the fall of 1940.[5] On February 15 and 26, 1941, 2,006 mostly elderly Jews arrived from Vienna.



Jews line up to receive packages at the post office in Opole, shortly before the ghetto's enclosure, May 1941.
USHMM WS #45836, COURTESY OF LILLI SCHISCHA TAUBER

The Viennese Jews' arrival prompted Pulawy Kreishauptmann Alfred Brandt to order a ghetto established in Opole. Survivor Zrubawel Werba remembers his parents trading apartments with a Pole living in western Opole, the area designated for the ghetto, and moving their belongings there.[6] On March 15, 1941, local German authorities gave Poles still living in the ghetto 24 hours to vacate their residences and Jews several hours to relocate there.

The ghetto, roughly a rectangular shape, spanned 121,500 square meters (30 acres), bounded in the west by Nowa Street, in the south by Józefów, Nowy Rynek, and Stary Rynek Streets, and in the east by Lublin Street. In June 1941, a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-feet-high) wooden fence replaced the barbed wire surrounding the ghetto. The fence's three gates were on Józefow and Nowa Streets, at the corner of Stary and Nowy Rynek Streets, and on Długa Street. In May 1941, the *Krakauer Zeitung* maintained the Opole ghetto's establishment had furthered the Germanization and "beautification" of Distrikt Lublin.[7] That month, regional Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) authorities listed the ghetto's population at 8,000: 4,500 native Jews and 3,500 refugees, including 2,000 Viennese.[8]

Horst Göde, from 1942 the Opole Landkommissar, served as the German ghetto "commissar." The *Krakauer Zeitung* lauded him as a model National Socialist administrator who cut bureaucratic red tape and sent Jews to work for a "useful purpose."[9] However, Jewish survivors recall Göde demanding craftsmen remodel the palace in Niezdów for his personal residence, ordering valuables surrendered, and organizing attacks, including the July 1941 execution of 30 ghetto hospital patients, and in 1942, the kidnapping, rape, and murder of young Jewish teenagers. Survivors remember German Gendarmes, Ukrainian Sonderdienst, and the Polish auxiliary police at various times guarding the ghetto and its gates from the outside. The Jewish Police patrolled the same areas from inside the ghetto.

Ghetto residents were conscripted for numerous forced labor projects, including in Opole for road construction, train station labor, and sugar refinery work. Women cleaned the residences and offices of German authorities and cooked at SS and police mess halls. Some conscripts worked at agricultural or forestry labor in villages near Opole. Many male Jews were sent to labor camps, including in Gołąb (Puławy powiat) for railway construction, outside of Józefów nad Wisłą for quarry labor, and in Józefów for a dam building project on the Wyżnica River.[10]

Overcrowding forced between 7 and 10 people to live in each of the 950 rooms located in the ghetto's 300 residential dwellings. Because the Viennese had been permitted only 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of luggage each and were stripped of their German currency and issued just 40 złoty on arrival, half could not pay to rent rooms in the ghetto. The Jewish Council provided materials for them to construct wooden

barracks in which to live.[11] Photographs sent in June and July 1941 to Lilli Schischa Tauber by her parents show families sleeping in double- and triple-tiered wooden bunks.[12]

The overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions created by the lack of indoor plumbing and the presence of just two wells resulted in a typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941–1942. "H.E.," a deportee from Vienna, reported that some 300 inhabitants had died from typhus by mid-November 1941.[13] Another 200 people perished before the epidemic was controlled.

Meager rations required ghetto residents to develop illegal trading networks to survive. Initially, Poles, permitted to enter the ghetto to seek the services of Jewish craftsmen, smuggled food to barter. However, in June 1941, orders forbade Poles entrance to the ghetto. A drastic decline in ghetto living standards followed, forcing almost all families to find other means to barter material possessions or services for food. Some survivors note it was relatively easy to escape from the ghetto because the Polish and Ukrainian guards accepted bribes, though they acknowledge hundreds were shot dead for taking similar risks.[14] Bribes also enabled Poles to barter food at openings in the ghetto fence. However, as hunger among the Jewish population intensified, food prices also increased.[15]

The Viennese refugees' situation was particularly dire. Lacking local connections, they depended on the most expensive forms of black market trade for survival. One evacuee estimated she needed 45,000 złoty per month to subsidize her daughter and herself.[16] As many as 200 younger Viennese escaped from the ghetto in small groups in the summer of 1941 and attempted to return home. Most were arrested. After serving brief prison sentences for possessing sums in Polish złoty, considered for them a foreign currency, those under the age of 18 were sent to forced labor camps in Distrikt Krakau. The others were returned to Opole.[17]

In Opole, the needs of the Viennese refugees limited the Jewish Council's and the local JSS's assistance to local refugees and impoverished Jews. From June to August 1941, the organizations spent 77,271 złoty to provide the Viennese blankets, bedding, and two daily meals; to build barracks; to outfit a kitchen and a 25-bed medical clinic; and to bury the dead. Because the JSS and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) covered just 7,300 złoty in costs, the organizations financed the projects by suspending aid to 1,500 local refugees and using funds designated for a community kitchen for all ghetto residents.[18]

From the spring of 1942, the SS consolidated in the ghetto Jews from the southern and western parts of the Kreis to facilitate their expulsion to extermination camps or to the forced labor camp in Poniatowa. (A narrow-gauge railway ran from Opole to Poniatowa and to Nałęczów. The latter was the transfer point to the main railway leading to the extermination camps in Bełżec and Sobibór.) From March 19–26, 200 labor camp inmates from near Nałęczów, 900 to 2,000 Jews from Kazimierz Dolny, and 800 to 1,000 Wąwolnica Jews were brought to the ghetto. In April, Jews arrived from small villages around Opole, including Lubomirka and Wólka Kątna.[19] That month, a report in *Gazeta Żydowska* placed the Opole ghetto population at 11,200.[20] On May 7, 1,400 to 2,000 Jews from Józefów were marched to the ghetto; about 100 were killed on the way. Between April 22 and May 25, five transports carried 4,302 Slovak Jews to Opole. Some Polish eyewitnesses also recall French Jews arriving in the ghetto during the same period; however, the only documentation for French transports to Distrikt Lublin is from 1943. Most Slovak Jews were sent to labor camps; some 1,400 were consolidated in the ghetto.

Most new ghetto arrivals were sent within weeks to their deaths. On March 30, 1942, the first 1,950 Jews, including all the Kazimierz Dolny deportees, were held prisoner overnight in three barracks located about a kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the ghetto. The next day, they were expelled to Nałęczów: women and children via the railway and men on foot. There, they were ordered onto trains destined for Bełżec. On May 25, 2,000 more Jews were expelled to Nałęczów. Because no trains were waiting there, the expellees were imprisoned for two days at a transit camp, located in Strzelce, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of Nałęczów, before being sent to Sobibór.[21] The deported included the Józefów Jews, those from smaller nearby villages, and longer-term ghetto residents without work documents. On October 15, some 600 ghetto inmates were sent to the Poniatowa labor camp. From October 24–26, almost all the remaining 8,000 ghetto inhabitants were ordered to the Strzelce transit camp: women and children in peasant carts and men on foot. The deportees were sent to their deaths at Sobibór. Several hundred Jews were held back for labor at Poniatowa.

Historian Bogdan Musial maintains Brandt rejected SS support to liquidate the ghetto; instead, he relied on Göde and German and Polish (Blue) Police. However, survivors recall Ukrainian forces playing a major role and maintain the SS shot 500 people dead in searches for hidden Jews during the final ghetto liquidation. The bodies were packed into the deportation barracks and incinerated.

The number of Opole ghetto survivors is unknown. Of the approximately 100 Opole Jews retained for labor at Sobibór, only 2, Hersz Cukierman and his son, survived until the uprising in October 1943 and lived to see the war's end. Almost all other Opole survivors had sought shelter with Poles on the eve of the ghetto liquidation. The family of forester Stanisław Stankiewicz assisted 65 Opole Jews hidden in four forest bunkers and on their property in the Głodno Woods; however, a denunciation led to the murder of those in the bunkers. Six fugitives, including Jan Śmulewicz, concealed in the family's outbuildings, survived the war. A number of Opole Jews fled to Warsaw, where they contributed militarily to the August 1944 Polish insurrection against German rule.

In 1943, a Nazi Party Court in Lublin convicted Göde of murdering two Polish women. He received an 18-month prison term. The Russians killed Brandt in 1945 at Stolp (now Słupsk, Poland).

SOURCES Most of the JSS materials document the Viennese refugees. The photography collections at USHMMPA and

YVA also are from Viennese refugees. Photographs taken by members of the Werba family, from Opole, appear in Zrubawel Werba's VHF testimony. (Because the Germans arrested the only Polish photographer in Opole, the Werba family received a concession to provide limited photographic services in the ghetto to local German officials.)

Several contemporary press articles appeared on the Opole ghetto, including "Die Stadt Opole schuf Judenghetto: Um den alten Marktplatz gelegen—Verschönerung des Stadtbildes im Gange," and G[ustav] A[ndraschko], "'Verlängerter Arm' der Verwaltung: Beim Landkommissar von Opole—Die 'Stadt im Grünen'—Gemüseanbau im Ghetto," *Krakauer Zeitung* (hereafter cited as *KrZ*), May 16, 1941, and April 26, 1942; "Opole Lubelskie," *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 10, 1942, p. 5. Some German documentation for Opole can be found in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Frankfurt: Röderberg-Verlag, 1960), pp. 62–63, 271–272.

The yizkor book, David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Opolah-Lubelski* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Opolah bi-medinat Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1977), includes testimonies from survivors, including Werba. Letters from expellees to the ghetto can be found in Else Behrend-Rosenfeld and Gertrud Luckner, eds., *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski: Briefe Deportierter aus dem Distrikt Lublin 1940–1943* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1970), pp. 132–141, for Viennese refugees; *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 1, *Listy o Zagładzie*, ed. Ruta Sakowska (Warsaw: ŻIH and PWN, 1997), pp. 136–141, from a Kazimierz Dolny expellee; and the AJDC documentation for Opole, cited above, for correspondence from Puławy refugees.

Secondary sources for the Opole ghetto include Eugeniusz Kosik, "Martyrologia i zagłada Żydów w Opolu Lubelskim," *BŻIH* 150:2 (1989): 73–83, with a synthesized English translation by Opole Lubelskie schoolchildren available on the Web site of the Foundation of the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland (Fundacja Ochrony Dziedzictwa Żydowskiego); and the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 64–67, available in English translation on Jewishgen, at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00064.html; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 205–208.

Horst Göde's publicity while Landkommissar is discussed in Lars Jockheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement: Die NS-Besatzungspresse für Deutsche und Polen 1939–1945* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2006). Additional information, particularly about the careers of Brandt and Göde, is in Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin, 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

Of the towns and villages mentioned in the entry but not treated independently in this volume, confusion exists about whether a ghetto existed in Józefów nad Wisłą. Because Józefów was destroyed by fire during war operations in September 1939, some 1,168 homeless Jews (258 families), in January 1940, mostly were accommodated in the synagogue and Bet Midrash. In April 1940, they became the first inmates of a labor camp established there. ITS researchers refer to the camp, which averaged about 800 inmates, as a ghetto. The IPN, ASG documentation, available too at USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/117-118, and reel 6, 16/824-25, is similarly confusing, with the first group of questionnaires containing no documentation for a ghetto in Józefów but instead noting the synagogue and Bet Midrash were designated one of two Jewish forced labor camps, but the second group, the records for mass graves, documenting 7 Jews executed on two different dates in March 1943 (more likely in 1942), for escaping from the Józefów ghetto. Why some accounts maintain the Józefów Jews were sent to the extermination camps via the Dęblin ghetto, rather than Opole, is unknown. Further documentation for Józefów includes AŻIH (e.g., 210/390, 301/4985); with copies available at USHMM.

No ghetto existed in Nałęczów, because its German mayor used Nałęczów's status as a resort town to expel its Jewish residents before the start of the 1940 tourist season. The ban probably was related to using the Nałęczów railway station from June 1940 to off-load 5,007 Polish (non-Jewish) expellees from the Warthegau and another 991 from lower Silesia. The first rationale was more important than the second in determining ghetto policy elsewhere in the Kreis, most notably in Kazimierz Dolny. Survivors do not mention ghettos existing in either Lubomirka or Wólka Kątna. For Jewish life in the three places during the war, see the testimonies, cited below, respectively, of Rose Welner, Fajn Brandla, and Hersz Cukierman.

Documentation pertaining to the history of the Opole Jewish community during World War II includes APL (e.g., 498 [273, pp. 21–23]); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 210/527; 211 [134 (pp. 2–3, 10, 20), 135 (pp. 21, 55, 59, 64, 68), 136 (pp. 1, 3, 6, 12, 33–35, 38, 40–41, 47, 49, 97–98), 137 (pp. 3, 25, 44), 138 (pp. 7, 13–15, 18, 42, 64–65, 76, 82–87), 139 (pp. 6, 17, 21, 43), 140 (pp. 41, 43, 48–49), 141 (pp. 10, 34, 36, 47, 49, 53–55, 79–81, 89–90, 95), 142 (pp. 35, 37), 143 (p. 109), 646 (pp. 23, 43), 650 (pp. 1–8), 651 (pp. 38–39), 653 (p. 20)]; 301 [14, 1187, 58.18, 5817, 5819]; [943.] Ring I/587); BA-BL (BDC, Akte Göde); ITS (1.2.1.1, VCC 148, Ord. 28); FVA (HVT-78); IPN; IPN-Lu (i.e., 2/67/1-6, 85/67/1-3); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH, Ring]); USHMMPA (WS [18349-50, 18624-27, 27119, 45836-44, 77558]; VHF (e.g., # 751, 10209, 18373, 18896, 29824, 31584, 39945, 42114, 51744); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [3554, 4847]; O-16 [1815, 5817]).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 39945, testimony of Morton Berman.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), AJDC, 210/527, pp. 5, 105.
3. Ibid., p. 26.
4. Ibid., pp. 4, 17, 56–63.
5. VHF, # 31584, testimony of Rose Welner.
6. Ibid., # 51744, testimony of Zygmunt Werba.
7. *KrZ*, May 16, 1941.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), JSS, 211/136, pp. 3, 47.
9. *KrZ*, April 26, 1942.
10. VHF, # 18373, testimony of Ervin Greenwood.

11. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/527, p. 105.
12. USHMMPA, WS # 45840, 45837.
13. H.L. letter, November 19, 1941, in Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen*, p. 140.
14. VHF, # 39945 # 51744.
15. Ibid., # 31584.
16. J.E. letter, February 21, 1941, in Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen*, p. 137.
17. VHF, # 751, testimony of Regine Cohen.
18. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/527, pp. 105, 109–115; and Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/138, p. 65; 211/141, pp. 47, 49, 53–55, 79–81, 89–90.
19. AŻIH, 301/1300, testimony of Fajn Brandla, p. 2; and 301/14, p. 1, testimony of Hersz Cukierman, p. 1.
20. *Gazeta Żydowska*, April 10, 1942, p. 5.
21. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/110, pp. 1–2, reel 6, 16/808, pp. 1–2.

OSTRÓW

Pre-1939: Ostrów (Yiddish: Ostruv), town, Włodawa powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Ostrow, initially Kreis Radzyn then Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Ostrów Lubelski, Lubartów powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Ostrów lies 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) northeast of Lublin. In July 1939, its 5,034 inhabitants included 1,994 Jews.

On September 22, 1939, the Red Army occupied Ostrów. With the September 28 demarcation of the Soviet-occupation zone east of the Bug River, the soldiers (and many Jews) abandoned Ostrów. The Germans occupied Ostrów shortly thereafter. In October, German civilian authorities ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) established.

That month, Landrat Hennig von Winterfeld, the Kreishauptmann of Radzyn, began establishing a so-called Jewish reservation (*Judenreservat*) in Ostrów (and Kock) for the Kreis's 32,430 Jewish inhabitants.[1] On October 20, 850 Jews from Lubartów were expelled to Ostrów. On December 15, 851 (of 1,500) Jews arrived from Poznań, including the residents of the Jewish home for the aged.[2]

Winterfeld appointed Poznań refugee Isidor "Józef" Flanter (or Flatner) the new Jewish Council chair.[3] By 1941, a 13-member Jewish police force also had been established. Its commander was Mendel Zyman. Emil Hecht, another Poznań deportee, headed the Ostrów branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS). In October 1938, he had organized relief for the 17,000 German-Polish Jews expelled by the Germans across the border to Polish Zbąszyń.[4]

Mojżesz Apelbaum, a survivor from Firlej, recalled the German authorities established the Ostrów ghetto just before the Poznań expellees arrived. On the April 1942 JSS ghetto questionnaire, Hecht reported an unfenced open ghetto (*dzielnica żydowska*) "always" had existed in Ostrów.[5]

The ghettoization order limited new arrivals to 295 residences in the pre-war Jewish neighborhood, located in southwestern Ostrów, including on the market square, Plac Wolności, and Floriańska, Garbarska, Lubartów, 3 Maja, Minister Pieracki, and Żaba Streets. Before the war, 1,817 Jews had resided there. Apelbaum recalls a simultaneous decree forbade Jews from leaving Ostrów. To reinforce the order, a German Gendarme soon shot a Jew outside the town and then ordered Flanter to dig the man's grave. When the victim regained consciousness, the Gendarme demanded that Flanter bury the man alive.

By early summer 1940, Winterfeld permitted local expellees to leave Ostrów. About 500 Lubartów Jews and 500 Poznań deportees remained. In April 1941, Hecht reported 200 "voluntary deportees" from Lublin, among that city's poorest residents, had arrived so infested with lice and scabies that native Jews had refused them accommodation. The JSS housed the deportees in two large halls. Immediately after the Lublin Jews' arrival, the town council ordered the Jewish Council to establish in a separate building a medical clinic to accommodate 50 sick, elderly, and "incompetent" (*niedołężni*) deportees and a separate quarantine facility for new arrivals. By August 1941, 3,249 Jews inhabited the Ostrów ghetto's 572 rooms.[6]

In a May 1941 report, Hecht noted 2,441 (of 3,333) ghetto residents were unemployed. Another 830 workers probably were interned in labor camps. (Hecht mentioned 668 Jews were inmates of local labor camps and another 162 were interned at more distant camps.) Another 40 tailors and shoemakers had received concessions to work as craftsmen. Some 50 others officially recognized as craftsmen were denied the concessions.[7]

Chiel (Chil) M. Rajchman mentions living conditions in Ostrów were still tolerable upon his legal transfer from the Warsaw ghetto after the summer of 1941. To survive, he and his sister bartered their possessions with local Poles for food.[8] Because only the employed received daily rations of 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread, many Jews by then had few possessions left to trade. In August, at a school the Germans had permitted the Jews to establish the previous year, one third of the 400 pupils were too malnourished or poorly clothed to register for the new term.[9]

By May 1941, three nutritional centers, a community kitchen, and several additional welfare programs aided all 1,842 of the elderly, sick, young, and unemployed seeking assistance. In August, 130 (of 800) children from age four to seven received two daily meals, including for breakfast a piece of bread with cheese, a glass of milk, and fruit (when available). The kitchen served 600 to 700 adults daily meals. The relatively large welfare program depended on subsidies from Jewish charity organizations and from the German authorities. From October 1940, the Kreislandwirt permitted the Ostrów JSS to purchase monthly from cheaper government stores at least 700 kilograms (1,543 pounds) of kasha and potatoes.[10]

Ostrów's September 1, 1941, transfer to Kreis Lublin-Land dismantled the welfare programs, because Kreishauptmann Emil Ziegenmeyer refused to provide the same access to cheaper food sources. An October outbreak of a virulent form of typhus quickly became an epidemic in which initially half the sick perished. Describing the epidemic as "catastrophic," Marek Alten, the head of the JSS in Distrikt Lublin,

secured a 750-złoty subsidy to help pay for medicines. Because the ghetto residents had no access to pharmaceuticals, Hecht asked JSS officials in Kraków to purchase and send a long list of medicines. New sanitary measures forbade Jews to gather. From mid-January 1942, Hecht distributed meals house to house twice daily but could afford to feed just 200 adults and 32 children. In February 1942, 34 new cases of typhus were reported, but the death rate had substantially decreased. Overall, the epidemic likely claimed 75 to 100 lives. In April, some 2,778 Jews resided in the ghetto.[11] (Because of the impending deportations, 300 to 400 ghetto residents likely had been interned permanently at labor camps.)

In March 1942, with Operation "Reinhard" tentatively under way in Distrikt Lublin, German authorities consented to several JSS proposals to finance the Ostrów organization's welfare programs. Ziegenmeyer permitted the JSS to collect a 2-złoty room tax. The Ostrów mayor agreed to an additional income tax, of between 0.25 and 1 złoty weekly, for medical and sanitation costs. That month, Hans Frank's office began remitting to JSS organizations throughout the Generalgouvernement 50 groszy from each prepaid bread ration card. The Ostrów JSS used the money to restore its welfare programs and to supplement its nutritional programs by purchasing ration cards (available to nonworking Jews after the transfer to Kreis Lublin-Land) for all those in its programs.

On April 13 and 15, 1942, as part of Operation Reinhard, 307 Slovak Jews—mainly women and small children—were deported (via Lubartów) to Ostrów. Another 200 of 300 Slovak deportees on the May 27 and 29 Lubartów transports subsequently arrived in Ostrów.[12] On May 19, Ziegenmeyer designated Ostrów, then with 3,062 Jews, among six Jewish communities that could be "resettled" (murdered). In September, German officials noted 3,250 Jews resided in Ostrów. On September 15, Jews in Distrikt Lublin again were prohibited from corresponding with residents of the Reich, the Protectorate, or abroad. JSS officials in Kraków, not covered by the ban, forwarded 50 postcards on behalf of the Slovak deportees.[13]

On October 7 or 10, 1942, a group of SS, SS Ukrainian auxiliaries, and German Gendarmes ordered the Jews assembled at the market square. A ghetto-clearing force went house to house, searching for those hiding. The postwar Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation indicates 50 people were killed for refusing to heed the assembly order.[14] About 30 deemed too frail to march to Lubartów were brought to the synagogue to await transfer by peasant cart. In Ostrów, the SS shot dead the Jews at the synagogue. According to Rajchman, on October 10, the surviving expellees were forced onto transports destined for the Treblinka extermination center. Some 105 men, including Rajchman, were retained for labor at Treblinka. The remaining deportees were gassed. In a yizkor book testimony, Mechi (Mischa) Eckhaus describes another survivor telling him that some Ostrów deportees, including Eckhaus's two brothers, were sent to the Majdanek concentration camp.

Before the ghetto's liquidation, a number of Ostrów Jews escaped to the Parczew Forest. Only a few survived the more than 18 searches the Germans conducted in the forest beginning in November 1942. Most joined the Parczew partisans, a Jewish partisan and family group subsequently associated with the Polish Communist underground's Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard). The partisan Josef Cynowiec mentions in a frequently cited Yad Vashem testimony that the antisemitism of prominent Ostrów Poles, including the local Roman Catholic priest, diminished chances for Jewish survival. Perhaps for this reason and also likely too because the Germans retaliated against the local population for aiding the partisans, most notably in Białka village, where all 96 men were killed in December 1942, and for partisan attacks, Ostrów's Roman Catholics sheltered just a few Jewish children.[15] Rajchman escaped from Treblinka during the August 1943 uprising. On July 19, 1944, the Parczew partisans unsuccessfully fought Wehrmacht forces for control of Ostrów.[16] Four days later, when Soviet forces liberated the town, a handful of former Ostrów ghetto residents were alive.

SOURCES Secondary sources pertaining to the history of the Ostrów Jewish community during the World War II German occupation include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 50–52; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 209–211; and the more detailed contributions by Isidore Last, "History of Ostrow-Lubelski," in the yizkor book, David Sztokfisz, ed., *Sefer-yizkor Ostrov-Lubelski* ([Israel]: Irgun yots'e Ostrov-Lubelski be-Yisrael, [1987]); Janina Kiełboń, "Ostrów Lubelski w latach II wojny światowej," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska* 11 (1990): 59–78; Janina Kiełboń, "Ostrów Lubelski w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Ryszard Szczygieł, *Dzieje Ostrowa Lubelskiego* (Ostrów Lubelski: Multico, 1998), pp. 225–270; and Robert Kuwałek, "Społeczność żydowska w Ostrowie Lubelskim," available on the Żydzi w Lublinie—Jews in Lublin Web site, at www.jews-lublin.pl/?page_id=154, a particularly important contribution because it summarizes Kiełboń's works, which remain virtually unobtainable in the United States.

The aforementioned yizkor book also contains testimonies from survivors. Unfortunately, the only two available in English translation on the Nizkor Project Web site are by Mechi (Mischa) Eckhaus and Bronya Wasserman-Eckhaus, who both fled Ostrów in 1939 for then Soviet-occupied Kowel. Particularly important is the brief coverage accorded Ostrów in the published accounts by Chil Rajchman, including *Un grito por la vita: Memorias* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1997); *Je suis le dernier juif: Treblinka (1942–1943)* (Paris: Arènes, 2009), forthcoming in English translation as *The Last Jew of Treblinka: A Memoir* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 2011); and Rajchman's March 1987 testimony at the trial of John (Ivan) Demjanjuk, with English-language transcripts widely available online, which provides the most specific date for the Ostrów community's expulsion to Treblinka.

Primary documentation for the Ostrów Jewish community includes APL (e.g., 43/0/[830, 833], 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/531, 211 [139, p. 59; 650, p. 2; 653, pp. 35, 45–50; 654, pp. 20–22; 766–768, 887, p. 20], 301 [5567, 2013]); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 174/67/1-4, 283/67/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6, 18/1174, 1195-1198]; RG-15.076M [APL 35/43/0/833]; RG-50.030*0185); VHF (e.g., # 5, 16316); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [2937, 3009]).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2013, testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, pp. 1–3.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/766, pp. 2, 15.
3. AŻIH, 301/2013, p. 5.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/653, pp. 46–47.
5. Ibid., 211/768, p. 42.
6. Misfiled in USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/531, p. 23.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/766, pp. 14, 39; 211/768, p. 23.
8. Ibid., RG-50.030*0185, testimony of Chiel (Chil) Rajchman.
9. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/766, p. 39; 211/767, p. 11.
10. Ibid., 211/766, pp. 14, 37; 211/767, p. 10.
11. Ibid., 211/768, p. 42.
12. Ibid., pp. 44, 63, 73.
13. Ibid., pp. 99–105.
14. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 6, 18/1197.
15. Ibid., 18/1174, 1195.
16. AŻIH, 301/5567, testimony of Marek Dworecki, pp. 1–12.

PARCZEW

Pre-1939: Parczew (Yiddish: Partchev), town, Włodawa powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Radzyn, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Parczew powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Parczew lies almost 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) northeast of Lublin. Its pre-war 1939 population of about 10,200 included some 5,000 Jews.

German forces occupied Parczew in early October 1939. In late December, the German civil administration for Kreis Radzyn ordered Jews to wear white armbands and to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Parczew Jewish Council members included L. Mandelkiern, M. Elkenbaum, and Szlomo Fuks. A Jewish police force was also established. Its commander, Rudy Kresch from Berlin, was a 1938 expellee to Poland.

In November 1939, an SS contingent demanded the Jews pay 60,000 złoty to construct a prison. In February 1940, a commander of an antitank unit ordered the Jewish Council to transform the Elbaum (Öhlbaum) house into a brothel, to pay for the services its prostitutes provided German soldiers, and to pay Jewish workers to clean the facility. An SS unit stationed at an estate in Jabłoń demanded the council send and pay the wages of 60 women laborers. In August, the same unit ordered the wealthiest Jews to a forced labor camp in Bełżec. The council paid bribes to secure the men's release.[1] In February 1940, the council raised a large gold payment, the price an SS commander had demanded for permission to bury 200 to 350 Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) shot dead by his men. (About half the victims were executed in Juliopol.)[2]

In January 1940, nearly 1,000 Jewish refugees had settled in Parczew, including 604 expellees from Lubartów, 30 from Radzyń, and many fleeing ghettoization in Wisznice.[3] Most local refugees returned home in the spring of 1940. The refugee population nonetheless remained constant because newcomers continued arriving, including expellees from Suwałki, Łódź, Kalisz, Poznań, and other territories attached to the Reich by August of 1940. In late December, 425 deportees from Mława spent a month in Parczew awaiting transportation to Wisznice. Many subsequently returned to Parczew.[4] In March 1941, some "voluntary" Lublin refugees ordered to Sosnowica fled instead to Parczew. That month, the Lubartów Jewish Council expelled 200 Lublin Jews to Parczew. In April, the Biała Podlaska Jewish Council sent 70 Suwałki refugees.[5] In November 1941, 6,200 Jews (1,550 families) were residing in Parczew.[6]

During this same period, orders banning Jews from living on specific streets gradually resulted in their concentration in Parczew's old Jewish neighborhood.[7] Bounded by the Konotopa and Piwonia Rivers, the neighborhood included Bóżniczna, November 11, Koński Rynek, Kościelna, Nadwalna, Nowowiejska, Piłsudski, Piwonia, Szeroka, Warsaw, Żabia, and Żydowska Streets. In April 1942, the Parczew Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) reported that neither an open nor a closed ghetto had been established for the town's 6,316 Jews.[8]

The Jews nonetheless experienced declining material conditions. In the spring of 1940, Jewish-owned businesses in Kreis Radzyn were ordered transferred to non-Jews, and forced labor quotas were increased. In Parczew, 100 to 200 of the 2,000 forced labor conscripts hewed trees in the Parczew Forest. Others worked at a sawmill in Pohulanka village or on various projects for municipal authorities, including "paving" sidewalks with *matzevot* (gravestones). From September 1940, 180 Parczew Jews were interned at a labor camp established in Ossowa. In May 1942, the Jewish Council was required to send 600 men to camps in Ossowa, Suchowola, and Romaszki.[9]

Poor sanitation from overcrowding caused numerous typhus outbreaks, including an epidemic in January and February 1941. Dr. Josef Hechter cared for the sick in a two-room, 35-bed hospital. In the winter of 1941–1942, accounting errors and shortfalls in winter potato rations forced JSS administrators to suspend operations at the community kitchen for days at a time, leaving 1,200 of the poorest Jews (mainly refugees) with nothing to eat. Because of complaints about the kitchen, Kreis-level JSS leaders conducted a surprise inspection in late November. In April 1942, Müller, the Jewish Affairs Officer in the Kreis Radzyn Population and Welfare Department (BuF) admonished JSS leaders in Parczew,

warning them that if it were not for the heavy burdens under which they operated, he would have sent them to forced labor camps.[10] By early 1942, many refugees were sick and some had died from diseases related to starvation.[11] In January, the JSS opened an orphanage for 17 (of 30) children of deceased refugees. It provided 200 of the most impoverished children free daily breakfasts, typically 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a quarter to a half liter (1 to 2 cups) of milk or sweetened coffee. In February, another 100 children were included in the program.

In the winter of 1941–1942, some refugees arrived after fleeing the liquidation of many ghettos in the Wilno region. On May 1, 1942, German authorities executed 12 leftists, including the female Bundist leader Sternówna. Many Jews began constructing hiding places to evade a future roundup. Leftists discussed resistance but concluded it was wiser to join Jews volunteering for forestry labor and to flee deep into the Parczew Forest. Chaim Szczeplicki (Pszeplikier) had helped a group of escaped Soviet POWs there to purchase arms. He likely convinced the unit's commander, Lieutenant Fyodor Kovalev (Kovalyov), to establish a separate Jewish unit for the fugitives, known as the Pushkin group. After 400 young Jews disappeared into the forest, the SS began taking some of their parents as hostages and executing them when the children failed to return to Parczew.[12]

On August 18, 1942, the commander of the Gendarmerie post in Parczew ordered the Jewish Council and Jewish Police to assemble the Jews the next day on the market square for "resettlement." On August 19, the 1st and 2nd Companies of Reserve Police Battalion 101 and a unit of Trawniki auxiliaries arrived to oversee the expulsion. During a two-day Aktion, the 1st Company and the Trawniki men extricated Jews from hiding places and killed the sick and elderly in their beds. Several Poles searched for Jewish neighbors or informed the Trawnikis of their absences.[13] Some 400 Jews were killed during the searches. Another 3,000 to 4,000, including all but two Jewish Council members, were sent from the Parczew railway station in two transports, on August 19 and 20, to the Treblinka extermination facility. A relatively large number of Jews jumped from the trains and returned to Parczew.[14]

After the expulsions, an open ghetto was established for 700 to 800 Jews retained for labor in Parczew. Survivor Nuchim Perelman reported it was located "on a few of the worst streets."[15] Authorities appointed Kresch, the police commander, the Jewish Council chair.

From late August, residents of nearby localities were consolidated in the ghetto. The new arrivals included about 800 deportees from Wohyń, 100 mostly refugee families from Kock, 600 deportees from Komarówka Podlaska, 1,030 expellees from Czemierniki, and the Jews from smaller villages surrounding these settlements. Most expellees were required to pay wagon drivers to transport them to Parczew. They could bring with them their remaining possessions, except for furniture.[16] Michał Himmelblau recalled that authorities informed the Czemierniki Jews on October 2 that they were being sent to the ghetto to shield them from future expulsions, as Parczew soon would be named a "Judenstadt" (Jewish town), one of a few places in Kreis Radzyn where Jews would be permitted to live.[17]

With the arrival of 3,000 to 4,000 Jews, more than 25 people were crowded together in a single room in the ghetto. Because of violence during the first expulsion, almost all the ghetto houses lacked window glass and doors. In late September, members of the 3rd Platoon of the 2nd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 101 renewed their anti-Jewish violence. They surrounded groups of Jewish laborers at workplaces, including about 200 forestry conscripts, and deported them (by truck and peasant cart) to the ghetto in Międzyrzec. The same unit joined by members of the Gendarmerie executed 108 Jews in Parczew by October 2. The victims were shot in small groups over several days. Many Jews purchased false identity papers, sold by either a local Polish Socialist-Party (PPS) activist or a Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir youth from Częstochowa, and fled from the ghetto.[18] The fugitives mostly attempted to reach Warsaw.

Late at night, on October 7, 1942, German forces, commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Fischer, head of the Security Police in Kreis Radzyn, surrounded the ghetto and ordered its residents assembled at the square. The 2,000 to 3,000 Jews were required to kneel and hold their arms above their heads for hours on end. The Germans shot 300 to 800 dead, mostly for defying the orders. On October 8, the surviving Jews were sent to their deaths at Treblinka.[19] On October 6 and 9, the expellees in Międzyrzec also were deported to Treblinka.

Three days after the expulsion, the Gendarmerie commander ordered members of the Polish auxiliary police and the fire department to search the ghetto for Jews still hiding. The 1,000 people they discovered were ordered to bury the dead, to bring the belongings of the deported to the Piwonia Street synagogue, and to repair vacated houses. Between October 9 and 16, 1942, German security forces shot 50 to 120 Jews dead, mainly for shirking work. Almost all the Jews were soon transferred to labor camps, including Suchowola, or to the ghetto in Międzyrzec. When German authorities declared Parczew a *Judenwohnbezirk* (Jewish residential area) in late October, only a 150 to 200 person cleanup crew remained in the ghetto. Its members brought Jewish property from nearby localities to the synagogue and sorted and packed it for shipment to the Reich. The ghetto, reduced in size, occupied six houses by the synagogue.[20]

In early 1943, the Parczew Gendarmerie commander forewarned the Jews the ghetto was to be liquidated and they were to be deported the next day. Most fled to the forest rather than gather at the synagogue as ordered. Those who did appear were executed.[21] In May, the Międzyrzec ghetto and the Suchowola camp were liquidated. Their inmates were transferred to the Majdanek concentration camp. Only a handful of Parczew deportees were sent on to other concentration camps before Majdanek was liquidated in November 1943.

More than 400 Jews from Parczew perished during the more than 18 searches the Germans conducted in the Parczew

Forest beginning in November 1942. The Pushkin group's ranks were decimated in the Easter 1943 search. The survivors mainly joined the Parczew partisans, the best-known Jewish partisan group in Distrikt Lublin. (Named for the forest, the unit was led by Jews from Włodawa and Sosnowica.)[22]

Another approximately 20 Jews survived on false identity papers, including 8 of 9 people assisted by Parczew native Ludwik Golecki in Warsaw. In Parczew, Jan and Juliana Szwaj successfully sheltered 4 members of the Farbsztajn family. The Kowalski family hid 5 members of the Krelenbaum family.[23] About 100 Jews from Parczew and 25 to 40 Jews from the localities consolidated in the ghetto lived to see the Red Army liberate Parczew in July 1944.

SOURCES Published memoirs by Parczew survivors include the contributions to the yizkor book, Shelomh Zunnshin et al., eds., *Partsev: Sefer zikaron li-ḳedoshe Partsev ṿeha-sevivah* (Haifa, Israel, 1977); and Benjamin Mandelkern, *Escape from the Nazis* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1988). The second account is complemented by a testimony from Marek Golecki, the son of Ludwik, available in Polish under the Parczew section of the Lublin: Pamięć Miejsca Web site, an oral history archive created by the Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN" (Grodzka Gate—NN Theatre Centre), and in a truncated English translation on the "Polish Righteous" section of the Web site of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews. Though about the partisan movement, the relevant memoirs and documents in Zygmunt Mańkowski and Jan Naumiuk, eds., *Ruch oporu na Lubelszczyźnie*, vol. 1, *Gwardia Ludowa i Armia Ludowa na Lubelszczyźnie, 1942–1944. Źródła i materiały do dziejów ruchu oporu na Lubelszczyźnie (1939–1944)* (Lublin, 1960) nonetheless provide insight into the complex relationships between Jews in Parczew and escaped POWs (both Jewish-Polish and Soviet soldiers) before and after the ghetto's liquidation.

Secondary sources focusing on the various communities consolidated in the Parczew ghetto include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 155–156 (Wohyń), pp. 408–412 (Parczew), pp. 421–422 (Czemierniki), p. 468 (Komarówka Podlaska), pp. 477–480 (Kock); Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 88–89 (Czemierniki), pp. 134–139 (Kock), pp. 141–142 (Komarówka Podlaska), pp. 211–215 (Parczew), pp. 305–306 (Wohyń); and the Polish-language entry for Parczew at the Wirtualny Sztetl, on the Web site of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, which offers the earliest date (March 1941) for the ghetto's establishment. For the question of assistance by non-Jews from Parczew, see Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 243–244, pt. 2, pp. 798–799.

More general overviews of the region or of the perpetrators—including by Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 32, 41–43, 51, 79–81; David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), p. 280; and Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 88–90, 95, 104–105, 107, 123–124, 133—provide conflicting accounts of the timing and direction of the second Parczew expulsion and ultimately the date for the ghetto's liquidation. Shmuel Krakowski, *The War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944*, trans. Orah Blaustein (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1984), describes the challenges Jewish fugitives encountered in the Parczew Forest in a chapter surveying the accomplishments of the Pushkin group and of the Parczew partisans.

The extant archival documentation suggests no ghetto was established in Czemierniki. The documentation for Wohyń is too sparse to draw a definitive conclusion. Even more difficult to discern are the specific fates of the 300 Jewish residents from small villages west and north of Parczew, including in the Biała, Jabłoń, Milanów, Siemień, and Suchowola gmina, communities that geographically should have been among those consolidated in August 1942 in the Parczew ghetto. In September and October 1941, the head of the JSS in Siemień informed Kreis-level JSS leaders in Radzyń that the Jewish residents in the five gminy had been expelled from their homes but did not mention whether they were ordered to reside in a ghetto. Here, see USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/885, p. 66; 211/887, pp. 27–28.

Archival documentation pertaining to the World War II history of the Parczew Jewish community includes APL; AŻIH (210/539-540, 211 [134, p. 53; 135, p. 60; 142, pp. 8–9, 18–19, 25, 29; 646, pp. 47–48; 780–783; 884, p. 56; 886, pp. 3–4, 19, 32, 46–48; 887, pp. 91, 98–101; 888, pp. 9–10, 17; 890, pp. 10, 13, 17, 21–22, 34–39, 44, 46–48, 54, 71; 891, pp. 14–15, 24, 29–30, 48], 301 [103, 514, 608, 757, 1165, 2013, 2327, 2372, 2767]); FVA (HVT [# 18, 2270]); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 37/67/1-4, 73/07/Zn, 131/67/57, 141/67/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH, 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH, 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6, 18/1199–1201]); VHF (e.g., # 1923, 7289, 13378, 25669, 36330, 37873, 48207); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [1824, 2019, 2080], O-33/24).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/608, testimony of Nuchem Perlman (Nuchim Perelman), pp. 1–2.
2. Ibid., 301/757, testimony of Zurech Piekarski, pp. 1–3.
3. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/539, p. 3; Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/646, pp. 47–48.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1099, p. 8; 211/780, pp. 3–20, 24–29, 34–45.
5. Ibid., 211/781, pp. 17–18, 34–35.
6. Ibid., 211/887, p. 91.
7. VHF, # 13378, testimony of Isadore Farbstein.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/783, p. 41.
9. Ibid., 211/890, p. 54; 211/783, p. 34.
10. Ibid., 211/782, pp. 30, 40; 211/886, p. 3; 211/888, pp. 9–10; 211/890, pp. 10, 34–40.
11. AŻIH, 301/2327, testimony of Nuchim Perelman, p. 4.
12. Ibid., 301/2372, testimony of Józef Perelman, pp. 1–8.
13. Ibid., p. 9.
14. Ibid., 301/608, pp. 3–4; VHF, # 13378.

15. AŻIH, 301/2327, p. 3.
16. Ibid., 301/ 2013, testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, p. 11.
17. Ibid., 301/2767, testimony of Michał Himmelblau, p. 2.
18. Compare Ibid., 301/608, p. 5, with 301/2327, p. 6.
19. Ibid., 301/2767, pp. 2–3; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 6, 18/1201.
20. VHF, # 48207, testimony of Susan Weiss.
21. AŻIH, 301/608, p. 5.
22. Ibid., 301/1165, testimony of Chuna Sobol, p. 1.
23. VHF, # 37873, testimony of David Krelenbaum.

PIASKI LUTERSKIE

Pre-1939: Piaski Luterskie, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Piaski, Kreis Lublin-Land, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Piaski Luterskie, Lublin województwo, Poland

Piaski Luterskie is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Lublin. When the Germans and Soviets invaded Poland in September 1939, Piaski had 4,165 Jews, but many fled at the time of the invasion and the brief Soviet occupation. An average of 4,000 to 5,000 Jews inhabited the Piaski ghetto during its existence.[1]

The history of the Jews in Piaski and the ghetto may be subdivided into five partially overlapping phases: (1) initial arrivals of deportees and Jewish Council (Judenrat) organization; (2) open ghetto; (3) closed ghetto; (4) "transit" or collection ghetto; and (5) liquidation, establishment of the remnant ghetto and forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ).

During the first phase, from February to December 1940, Piaski Luterskie was a destination with Głusk and Bełżyce for the expulsion of Pomeranian Jews. In mid-February 1940, the German authorities removed approximately 1,000 Jews from Stettin (after 1945: Szczecin) to Lublin-Land. Although earlier studies blamed this deportation on Pomerania's Gauleiter, Franz Schwede-Coburg, historian Götz Aly argues that it was part of the ongoing Baltic German resettlement to Stettin. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler and Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD Reinhard Heydrich initiated the deportation. In a speech in Berlin on February 29, 1940, Himmler attempted to stave off his Nazi audience's "false hopes," dismissing the possibility that this step was the first in the overall removal of Greater Germany's Jews.[2] A smaller transport of Jews from the Pomeranian city of Schneidemühl took place in March 1940. The original Piaski Judenrat was also organized in this phase. The Judenrat's director (Obmann) from 1940 to 1942 was Mandel Polisecki.[3]

In letters to relief workers, friends, and family, the Pomeranian Jews documented life in Piaski between the first and fourth phases. Among them was Frau A.G., a mother who converted to Judaism upon marrying her husband, Arthur. Her daughter, a practicing Christian, had already been imprisoned at Ravensbrück for "defilement of the race" (*Rassenschande*), then released, and had emigrated by the time Frau A.G. was deported to Piaski with her ailing husband and son Adolf. In letters written in the spring and summer of 1940 to Margarethe Lachmund, a Quaker who arranged relief for the Stettin deportees, Frau A.G. wrote that "the circumstances here are so bitter" and complained about sharing a domicile with 10 other people.[4] Her son was separated from the family for weeks at a time, performing forced labor.[5] In November 1940, in an indication that Piaski was still not yet a ghetto, Bełżyce ghetto inhabitants Erich and Cläre Silbermann happily reported to Lachmund that the Stettin synagogue's cantor, Rainowitz, then in Piaski, participated in religious services in Bełżyce.[6]

During the second phase, from December 31, 1940, to early June 1941, Piaski became an open ghetto on the order of the Kreishauptmann of Lublin-Land, Emil Ziegenmeyer.[7] For the Jews, the change initially meant their residential confinement to the area around the synagogue, already overcrowded because of the Pomeranian deportations. Travel outside the ghetto was still possible, as evidenced by a letter from Max and Martha Bauchwitz, which mentioned that the sick originally could be bussed to Lublin for care but by May 1941 were dispatched by straw-covered wagons.[8] At this time, an epidemic of louse-borne typhus had already broken out in Piaski. Max Bauchwitz, a dentist, alongside several Jewish doctors, treated typhus patients in the ghetto's hospital and two medical clinics. In June 1941, Piaski numbered 4,803 Jewish inhabitants, including 852 expellees, some having come from Kraków, as well as those from Stettin.[9]

During the third phase, from June 11, 1941, to March 1942, Piaski became an enclosed ghetto. On Ziegenmeyer's orders, the ghetto was enclosed with barbed wire, and a second closed ghetto was opened opposite the first on Lublin Street.[10] Piaski's limited water sources were found in the first ghetto near the synagogue.[11] The second ghetto's inhabitants thus had to cross the street to secure water and other necessities, but the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) only permitted crossings every two hours until curfew.[12] The Piaski Judenrat supervised both parts of the ghetto. A Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) report indicated that just over 10 percent of the Jews (496) were described as skilled or unskilled workers or as professionals.[13] In September 1941, Dr. Siegfried of the Jewish Aid Committee (Jüdisches Hilfskomitee) Lublin-Land reported that, for the 4,900 Jewish inhabitants, Piaski's available space amounted to 5,887 square meters (63,367 square feet), or 1.1 square meters (11.8 square feet) per inhabitant, as historian Bogdan Musial has noted.[14] In October 1941, a small group of Jews from Kraków was deported to Piaski. Twenty-seven of them sent a letter to the JSS headquarters in Kraków, signed "The Evacuees from Kraków to Piaski," importuning Jewish welfare authorities to send winter clothing as soon as possible, because they had none.[15] Overcrowding and chronic hunger made the ghetto vulnerable once more to epidemics. Between October 1941 and January 1942, louse-borne typhus overwhelmed Piaski's resources. A JSS Piaski member, Szaje Lindner, repeatedly requested medication and disinfection agents from JSS Kraków for combating the epidemic.[16] A list of 3 Jews from the Reich who

died in Piaski during the month of January 1942 included 2, one male and one female, who succumbed to typhus. Altogether, perhaps as many as 1,500 Jews in Piaski perished in epidemics.[17]

The ghetto's fourth phase lasted from the end of February to November 1942. As part of Operation Reinhard, the annihilation of Jews in the Generalgouvernement, Piaski, Izbica (nad Wieprzem), Krasnystaw, Rejowiec, and other places in Distrikt Lublin, functioned as collection points (referred to by some historians as "transit ghettos") for German, Austrian, Czech, and Slovak Jews. The head of Lublin's Population and Welfare Department (BuF), Richard Türk, ordered that Jews from the Old Reich and the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia replace the ghettos' Polish and Pomeranian Jewish populations, which were being dispatched to the Bełżec killing center. In a file note, Fritz Reuter of BuF quoted an order from SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Höfle: "Piaski will be made free of Polish Jews and become the assembly point for Jews coming from the Reich."[18]

The first deportation from Piaski took place shortly after March 16, 1942, probably to make room for a scheduled new influx of Jews from the Reich. Around 2,500 Polish and Stettin Jews, who had been selected as incapable of work, were marched to Trawniki, where they were held overnight in a barn at the sugar refinery together with some Jews from Biskupice. Several hundred of these people died of suffocation overnight (perhaps resulting from a gassing experiment). The next day the corpses were loaded onto a train along with the survivors, to be sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[19] Around this time, all the native Jews of Trawniki were also removed.

The wave of transports from the Reich to Piaski began on March 23, 1942, when around 1,000 Hessian Jews (from Mainz and Darmstadt) entered Piaski. According to Martha Bauchwitz, this transport arrived penniless.[20] Then on March 28, 1942, 985 Jews arrived from Berlin.

On April 1, 1942, 1,000 Jews arrived in Piaski from Theresienstadt. Working-age Jews from this and the March transports, such as Kurt Ticho Thomas, originally from Boskovice, Czechoslovakia, were deployed as agricultural laborers on nearby farms.[21] The deportations from Piaski to the extermination camps via Trawniki resumed on April 6, 1942. One ghetto inhabitant, Frau E. Sch., wrote Frau Luise Lotte Hoyer-Bauchwitz on April 11, 1942, that her parents, the Bauchwitzes, "have left with many other beloved people from Piaski."[22] On the same date, the German Security Police Transfer Office Piaski (Sicherheitspolizei Transferstelle Piaski) itemized property seized from Jews recently dispatched to Bełżec, including 8,300.54 złoty, 85 gold rubles, and five wedding rings, as well as 45 men's vests, two fur pelts, nine pairs of children's mittens, and other goods.[23] According to official German records, there were further transports to Piaski on April 6, when 989 Jews arrived from Munich; and on April 25, when another 1,000 arrived from Theresienstadt. However, more than 200 of the able-bodied men on each of these transports were selected in Lublin, probably for the Majdanek concentration camp.[24] On May 19, 1942, Ziegenmeyer reported that 6,166 Jews from Piaski had been "resettled" (murdered).[25]

The deportations necessitated the reconstitution of Piaski's Judenrat and Jewish Police. Polisecki remained Obmann, and the Judenrat had two more long-standing members, Moses Drajblat and Josef Aschmann. The nine replacements had arrived on the recent transports. They were Moritz Israel Fried, Ernst Schlösser, Siegfried Kugelmann, Fritz Sänger, Hugo Railing, Kurt Hirschmann, Ernst Böhm, Walter Guttsmann, and Friedrich Wilhelm Kempner.[26] Three members were from Hessen, two from Berlin, two from Bavaria, one from Jägerndorf (Protectorate), and one from Vienna. The occupations of the three Hessian members, Fried, Schlösser, and Kugelmann, were described, respectively, as a businessman, retired official (*Amtmann i. R.*), and bank officer, suggesting that Piaski's Judenrat was probably middle class.[27] The age range of the new Judenrat members was from 28 to 62 (with an average age of 48.6).[28] The Jewish Police was also reorganized, with Stefan Reinemann replacing the deported Alfred Stapler as chief. Reinemann oversaw 30 Reich and Protectorate Jews, including 1 woman, Bela Trattner.[29]

Fanni and Jakob Liebschütz from Allgäu, Germany, and Arnold Hindls from Brno, Czechoslovakia, described Piaski's worsening situation in the spring of 1942. In a letter to her cousin on April 13, 1942, Fanni Liebschütz recounted: "We are here since the end of March and are cleaning out the ghetto. One drowns in dirt without boots. Toilet in field and pasture; manure piles in front of the houses. Sleeping, living, and cooking facilities for 16 in an old prayer hall." But she added, hopefully: "We are all Swabians and have gallows humor. It will pass."[30] Hindls described the inflated food prices. Selling his wedding ring for 120 złoty, he was able to augment the community kitchen's slim provisions by trading with Polish farmers. A kilogram (2.2 pounds) of dark bread cost 12 złoty; a kilogram of white bread, 18 złoty; a kilogram of potatoes, 2 złoty; butter, 100 złoty; a liter (1 quart) of milk, 4 złoty; and one egg, 1 złoty. After spending all his money on food, another problem arose: firewood cost 2 złoty and brown coal, 6 złoty.[31]

On May 15, 1942, the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) banned Jews in the Generalgouvernement from corresponding with relatives in the Reich or elsewhere, effectively cutting Piaski off from the world, apart from JSS Lublin-Land's cursory replies to relatives' inquiries. In June 1942, Fanni Liebschütz's mother received a detailed reply from JSS Lublin-Land, claiming that the family was well and congratulating their son, Werner, who lived with her while studying in Davos, Switzerland, on his Bar Mitzvah.[32] A second reply, dated July 20, 1942, to Liebschütz's cousin, suspiciously addressed Lublin-Majdanek, was the last word the family received about them.[33]

By June 1942, direct deportations of Western European and German Jews to the Bełżec and Sobibór killing centers obviated the need for collection ghettos as intermediary stations, thereby inaugurating the liquidation (fourth) phase, which lasted until November 8, 1942. By this time most of Piaski's Jews were sent to their deaths at Sobibór, but between

1,000 and 2,000 were shot in the neighboring Jewish cemetery in November 1942, after which the German authorities razed the ghetto.

Piaski's fifth and final phase, from October 1942 to March or April 1943, overlapped with its liquidation. The main deportation Aktion occurred on or around October 22, 1942, when several thousand Jews were rounded up and escorted to Trawniki by Gestapo, Gendarmerie, SS Ukrainian auxiliaries from the Trawniki training camp (SS-*Ausbildungslager*), and Polish (Blue) Police. From Trawniki they were soon deported on to the Sobibór extermination facility. Around this time, some 3,000 Jews from the Łęczna ghetto were marched to Piaski Luterskie and then from there shipped to Sobibór via Trawniki.[34]

In October 1942, Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, designated Piaski one of just a few locations were Jews were permitted to reside in "Jewish residential districts" (remnant ghettos) in Lublin-Land, in the hopes of luring the remaining Jews from hiding for resettlement.[35] In late October 1942, Krüger inspected Piaski in connection with its use as a residential district.[36] Whether this deception worked is unclear, but starting in November 1942, a small forced labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) operated at Piaski. Its inmates were removed to Trawniki in March or April of 1943.

On October 13, 1943, Kurt Ticho Thomas, who escaped from Sobibór, returned to the Piaski area and hid with the Polish farmer for whom he had worked before deportation, Stanisław Podsiadły. The Podsiadły family protected him until the Red Army's arrival in July 1944. In 1986, Yad Vashem recognized the Podsiadły family as Righteous Among the Nations.[37]

SOURCES The most important secondary source for the Piaski Luterskie ghetto, including statistical information on the deportations to the killing centers, is Robert Kuwałek, "Die Durchgangsghettos im Distrikt Lublin (u.a., Izbica, Piaski, Rejowiec, und Trawniki)," in Bogdan Musial, ed., *"Aktion Reinhard": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement, 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2004), pp. 197–232. Additional information, including some biographical details on Ziegenmeyer and Türk, may be found in Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin, 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). Helpful information on some Stettin deportees may be found in Jacob Peiser, *Die Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde zu Stettin*, 2nd, expanded ed. (Würzburg: Holzner, 1965). Details on the Hessian transport may be found in Renate Dreesen and Christoph Jetter, eds., *Die Deportationslisten: Veröffentlichung der vollständigen Namenslisten der 1942/43 aus dem ehemaligen Volksstaat Hessen deportierten Juden* (Darmstadt: Initiative "Gedenkort Güterbahnhof Darmstadt," 2004), pp. 1–54. Background information on the town of Piaski Luterskie, some of which is contradictory, may be found in Andrzej Trzciński, *A Guide to Jewish Lublin and Surroundings* (Warsaw and Lublin: Jewish Information and Tourist Bureau, 1991), pp. 53–54; "Piaski Luterskie," JHI Education, www.jewishinstitute.org.pl; and "Piaski Luterskie," in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 384–387 (a translation by Jonathan Moss is reproduced at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00384.html).

Published primary sources on the Piaski ghetto include German documents in *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, 3 vols. (Łódź, 1946), vol. 2, pp. 194–195; and Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961). The names of the reconstituted Judenrat may be found in a document reproduced at www.deathcamps.org. The provenance of this document is uncertain, but internal evidence from it is consistent with other sources. A valuable collection of letters from Pomeranian deportees in the Lublin-Land ghettos is Else Behrend-Rosenfeld and Gertrud Luckner, eds., *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski: Briefe Deportierter aus dem Distrikt Lublin 1940–1943* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1970). The published memoir of Czechoslovak deportee Arnold Hindls, *Einer kehrte zurück: Bericht eines Deportierten* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1965), has detailed information on the ghetto in the spring of 1942. Anonymous but informative reports on the situation in Piaski and the Stettin deportation are found in *Testaments to the Holocaust at the Wiener Library*, P.II.a No. 625, Anon., "Die politische Situation in Deutschland und in den Nachbarstaaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Judenfrage," ca. 1940; and P.III.c No. 622, Anon., "Evakuierung der Juden aus Stettin," September 1, 1941.

Unpublished documentation may be found at ITS ("Namen von Personen jüdischer Religion, gekommen aus Deutschland, verstorben in der Zeit vom 1.–31.1.42 in Piaski und auch dort beerdigt," KL Lublin-Majdanek OCC 13 / 200, Ord. 12, copied from the Jewish Museum, Warsaw); the Piaski "ghetto questionnaire" may be found in USHMM, RG-15.019M, AGK-IPN, "ASG, 1945," woj. lubelskie, reel 15, p. 74. An unpublished and translated collection of letters from Piaski is USHMM, RG-02.212, Werner J. Lipton, "Toward the Abyss: Cards and Letters; Mindelheim-Lublin, 1941–1943," trans. Werner Jacob Lipton (Liebschütz). Informative reports from JSS Piaski to JSS Kraków, in German and Polish, may be found in USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, JSS, 1939–1944, reel 38, 211/651, 786-788. A photograph of HSSPF Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger inspecting Piaski may be found at USHMMPA, WS # 33474. A detailed series of oral testimonies on Piaski and the aftermath is USHMM, RG-50.030*0233, Oral History Interview of Kurt (Ticho) Thomas, November 9, 1990 (interviewed by Linda Gordon Kuzmack); and USHMM, RG-50.549.02*0048, Oral History Interview of Kurt (Ticho) Thomas, June 19 and 23, 1999. Other archival sources include APL (GDL, 270, 282) and AŻIH, 211/651, p. 16.

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NOTES

1. "Kwestionariusz o obozach" (Piaski), USHMM, RG-15.019M, IPN, ASG, 1945," woj. lubelskie, reel 15, p. 74.

2. Heinrich Himmler, *Geheimreden 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen*, ed. Bradley F. Smith and Agnes F. Peterson,

intro. by Joachim C. Fest (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen Verlag, 1974), p. 139.

3. JSS Kraków to Mandel Polisecki et al., May 2, 1941, USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, JSS, 1939–1944, reel 38, 211/786, pp. 28–30; "Der Judenrat in Piaski an Kreishauptmann Lublin-Land," April 27, 1942, Tagebuch (Tgb.) Nr. 49/42, p. 36, reproduced at www.deathcamps.org.

4. Frau A.G. to Margarethe Lachmund, April 11, 1940, in Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*, p. 82.

5. Frau A.G. to her daughter, July 20, 1940, in ibid., p. 83.

6. Cläre Silbermann to Margarethe Lachmund, November 1940, in ibid., p. 113.

7. Kreishauptmann Ziegenmeyer an der Chef des Amtes in Lublin, September 19, 1941, in APL, GDL, 270, p. 18, cited in Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, p. 131.

8. Max and Martha Bauchwitz to Luise Lotte Hoyer-Bauchwitz, May 11, 1941, in Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*, p. 59.

9. Max and Martha Bauchwitz to Luise Lotte Hoyer-Bauchwitz, May 27, 1941, in ibid., pp. 60–61; AŻIH, 211/651, p. 16.

10. Ziegenmeyer an Abteilung Wirtschaft im Amt des Chefs des Distrikts Lublin-Land über Zuteilung von Materialen für den Gettobau, June 11, 1941, in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord (FGM)*, Doc. 61, pp. 126–127.

11. Hindls, *Einer kehrte zurück*, p. 17.

12. Transcript of USHMM, RG-50.030*0233, Oral History Interview of Kurt (Ticho) Thomas, November 9, 1990, p. 15.

13. JSS Piaski, "Bericht für die Zeit vom 1. Juli bis 31. Juli 1941," in ibid., Acc. 1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/787, p. 16.

14. Siegfried Besuch, September 14, 1941, APL, GDL 282, p. 565, cited in Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, p. 174.

15. Die Aussiedler aus Krakau in Piaski an die JSS in Krakau, October 3, 1941, in USHMM, Acc. 1997.A.0124, reel 38, 211/787, n.p.

16. See, for example, JSS Piaski to JSS Präsidium, Krakau, in ibid., reel 38, 211/787, p. 57.

17. ITS, KL Lublin-Majdanek OCC 13/200 Ord. 12, "Namen von Personen jüdischer Religion, gekommen aus Deutschland, verstorben in der Zeit vom 1.–31.1.1942 in Piaski und auch dort beerdigt," p. 1; "Kwestionariusz o obozach" (Piaski), RG-15.019M, reel 15, p. 74.

18. Fritz Reuter, Vermerk, Lublin, March 17, 1942, in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, Doc. 202, p. 269.

19. See www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007397.

20. Martha Bauchwitz to Luise Lotte Hoyer-Bauchwitz, March 25, 1942, in Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*, p. 75.

21. Thomas interview transcript, p. 17.

22. Frau. E. Sch. to Luise Lotte Hoyer-Bauchwitz, April 11, 1942, in Behrend-Rosenfeld and Luckner, *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*, p. 78.

23. Sipo Transferstelle Piaski to KdS für den Distrikt Lublin z.H. [zu Händen] von SS-Obersturmführer Worthoff, Lublin, April 11, 1942, Betr.: "Judenaktion in Piaski," in *Dokumenty*, vol. 2, p. 194.

24. *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933–1945*, 2., *wesentlich erweiterte Auflage* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 2006), vol. 4, pp. 18–19. Kuwałek, "Die Durchgangsghettos," p. 207, gives different dates and figures, noting the selections in Lublin.

25. Kreishauptmann in Lublin-Land, Amt für Innere Verwaltung an die Herrn Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin, Unterabteilung BuF, Betr.: "Aus- und Umsiedlung von Juden," May 19, 1942, in Berenstein et al., *FGM*, Doc. 211, p. 277.

26. Der Judenrat in Piaski to Kreishauptmann Lublin-Land, April 27, 1942, Tgb. Nr. 49/42, p. 36.

27. The Judenrat members are listed as numbers 617, 737, and 898 on the Darmstadt transport in Dreesen and Jetter, *Die Deportationslisten*.

28. Calculation based on birthdates given in "Der Judenrat in Piaski to Kreishauptmann Lublin-Land," April 27, 1942, Tgb. Nr. 49/42, p. 36.

29. APL, KH L-L, sygn. 139, Judenviertel in Piaski, Verzeichnis der jüdischen Polizisten im Ghetto Piaski, May 20, 1942, pp. 147, 150, as cited in Kuwałek, "Die Durchgangsghettos," p. 224 n.66.

30. Fanni Liebschütz to Viktor Bollag, April 13, 1942, USHMM, RG-02.212, Werner J. Lipton, "Toward the Abyss: Cards and Letters; Mindelheim-Lublin, 1941–1943," trans. Werner Jacob Lipton (Liebschütz).

31. Hindls, *Einer kehrte zurück*, p. 23.

32. JSS, Jüdisches Hilfskomitee, L-L, to Jenny Gundelfinger, postmarked June 18, 1942, USHMM, RG-02.212, "Toward the Abyss."

33. JSS, Jüdisches Hilfskomitee, L-L, to Viktor Bollag, July 20, 1942, in ibid.

34. Testimony of Mordechai Goldfarb, May 31, 1978, published in Towiah Friedman, ed., *Sobibór: Ein NS-Vernichtungslager im Rahmen der "Aktion Reinhard": Eine dokumentarische Sammlung* (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, 1998), n.p., which dates the Piaski Aktion on October 22, 1942, as does *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 41 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), Lfd. Nr. 833a, p. 387; AŻIH, 301/1817, testimony of Izaak Rozengarten and Hersz Zylbersztajn, p. 1, dates the Łęczna Aktion on October 25—but the two Aktions may have occurred at the same time, as Goldfarb mentions some 12,000 Jews being deported together from Trawniki.

35. Berenstein et al., *FGM*, Doc. 266, p. 342.

36. USHMMPA, WS # 33474, Courtesy of GFH.

37. Thomas interview transcript, pp. 58–65; USHMM, RG-50.549.02*0048, Oral History Interview of Kurt (Ticho) Thomas, June 19 and 23, 1999, Tape 2, Side A.

PUŁAWY

Pre-1939: Puławy (Yiddish: Polav or Pulav), town, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Pulawy, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Puławy, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Puławy lies almost 48 kilometers (about 30 miles) by road northwest of Lublin. Just prior to the German invasion of Poland, on September 1, 1939, about 3,600 Jews (30 percent of the overall population) were living in Puławy.[1]

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Puławy in mid-September 1939. The Jewish population immediately was confronted with violence and plunder, initially carried out by individual German soldiers. Survivor Moshe Blojstein (Blustein) recalled Polish residents often assisting German officers to identify Jews. German soldiers entered Jewish houses at night and took whatever valuables they could find. They brutally beat Jews they found on the streets. Jews taken for forced labor often were humiliated. Women, for example, were ordered to take off their clothes and use them to clean the floors in German offices. Elderly Jewish men were driven from the synagogue in their prayer shawls on Shabbat and compelled to clean toilets with their bare hands. German soldiers also tore out the beards of Jewish men.[2]

Henryk Adler, the chairman of the kehillah and a public school director, was named head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). Dr. Benjamin Honigsfeld, Kleinbaum, Edelstein, and Moshe Rubinstein, the pre-war secretary of the kehillah, were among the council members. The German authorities required the Judenrat to raise large "contributions."[3]

By the end of October 1939, the German administration had ordered the Jews to move to a specially designated quarter, located in a pre-war neighborhood inhabited mostly by impoverished Jews. The ghetto spanned an area comprising about 20 percent of Puławy.[4] Its streets included Piaskowa, Polna, Gdańsk, and Niemcewicz and two courtyards. Because bombardment and shelling during the first weeks of the war had destroyed many buildings in the ghetto area, Jews were ordered to live only on the undamaged sides of Gdańsk and Piaskowa Streets.[5]

The war damage in Puławy may have been among the reasons for the early establishment of the ghetto, the first in Distrikt Lublin and among the earliest ghettos created in the Generalgouvernement. Unfortunately, scholars only can speculate about why local German authorities ordered the ghetto established so early, as no documentation has survived to explain their decision.

Because the only available information about the ghetto comes from several survivor testimonies, it also is not always possible to give the exact dates for events, including the date on which Jews were required to report to the ghetto. Generally, survivors recall posters hanging throughout Puławy in early November 1939, containing orders for the Jews to report to the ghetto. The posters explained ghettoization was required because the Jews were "a destructive element," harmful to society. One survivor recalls the Germans issued an order on November 4, hours before the Jews began reporting to the ghetto, expropriating all Jewish-owned businesses.[6]

Conditions in the ghetto were poor. There was no sewage system. There also was no electricity in the ghetto or more generally in Puławy. (German bombardment had destroyed the power plant in the first weeks of the war.) The designated ghetto area was far too small for its nearly 4,000 inhabitants. (Fewer than 3,000 people had lived in the same neighborhood before the war.) German robbers exploited the defenseless and outlawed status of the Jews by organizing nighttime raids on the ghetto to plunder Jewish residences in a search for jewelry and other valuables. Brutal beatings often accompanied the raids. The Jews had no recourse, even to flee outside, as the penalty imposed on Jews found violating the 5:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. curfew was to be shot on the spot.[7]

The Jewish population was reduced every day, as many people, especially the young, escaped to nearby villages and towns, because they believed the situation would be better in places where Jews were not yet been ordered to reside in ghettos. Many also tried to escape to Soviet-occupied territory. Such movement was still possible because the Puławy ghetto was an open ghetto, without a wall or a fence. Jews also were permitted to leave the ghetto for two hours every day.[8] Perhaps for this reason, postwar Polish documentation notes a ghetto population of around 2,000.[9]

Puławy was the first ghetto ordered dissolved in Distrikt Lublin. Survivors almost all remember posters hanging throughout the Jewish quarter, on December 26, 1939, giving the Jews 48 hours to pack their belongings in preparation for resettlement. Because the temperatures hovered below freezing, the Jewish Council offered local German authorities a bribe to postpone the expulsion Aktion until the spring. Its members were ordered to return to the ghetto. A similar appeal from a group of Jewish women with young children also failed.[10]

The Jews did not get the "promised" 48 hours, as the Germans started the Aktion on the night of December 27–28, 1939. German police forces, likely from nearby Kazimierz Dolny, stormed the ghetto.[11] They searched Jewish homes with their dogs, ordered men from their beds onto the streets, and commanded women to pack up belongings. As survivors recalled, the expulsions were accompanied by much beating and screaming. The policemen ordered the men to stand in a row on Lublin Street, the main street in Puławy, facing the buildings with their arms up, and to sing in the freezing cold until morning. Because they had been dragged from their beds, many were dressed only in nightclothes. The German guards beat them mercilessly. SS men standing nearby photographed the beatings.[12] The policemen locked the infirmed and physically handicapped in the unheated synagogue, where they almost all froze to death.[13]

The resettlement did not begin until the next morning. At 8:00 A.M., the men held captive along Lublin Street were marched together to Opole. Along the way, some of the German guards brutally beat them. The women were given until noon to vacate Puławy.[14] Most were forced to walk the 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) to Opole with their luggage, as only a few managed to hire wagons. Many infants died from exposure along the road. As many as 2,500 Puławy Jews arrived in Opole. However, many others decided to flee to nearby towns and villages, including Wąwolnica, Kazimierz Dolny, and Bełżyce. After German police forces surrounded Kazimierz early on December 29, likely to drive unregistered Jews from the town, most Puławy fugitives there were forced to flee across frozen fields to Bełżyce.[15]

After the expulsions, the only Jews officially permitted to live in Puławy were about 350 Jewish prisoners of at least four

Judenlager (Jewish camps) established between 1940 and 1942 for forced laborers. The prisoners cleaned streets, repaired railway tracks, worked on road construction, and hauled lumber at the pre-war state-owned sawmill. The camps were liquidated in 1943. Almost all the inmates were shot.[16]

From late 1942, some Puławy Jews fought as partisans, but this was long after the clearance of the Puławy ghetto.[17] The precise number of Puławy survivors is not known.

SOURCES The yizkor book, Mordechai Wolf Bernstein (Bernshteyn), ed., *Yizker bukh Polav* (New York: Polaver Yizker bukh komitet, 1964), includes testimonies from several survivors. An English translation of its table of contents and of two testimonies, including the lengthy contribution by Moshe Blojstein (Blustein) about the establishment of the ghetto, are available at jewishgen.org.

Recollections from non-Jewish Poles about the war and the Jewish community of Puławy can be found in Michał Strzemski, ed., *Nasze Puławy. Kolekcja wspomnień* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1986); and in the oral history section of Filip Jaroszyński, ed., *Historia i kultura Żydów Janowca nad Wisłą, Kazimierza Dolnego i Puław: Fenomen kulturowy miasteczka—sztetl. Materiały z sesji naukowej "V Janowieckie Spotkania Historyczne," Janowiec nad Wisłą, 28 czerwca 2003 roku* (Janowiec nad Wisłą: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Janowca nad Wisła, 2003), pp. 290–302.

Secondary sources include Sebastian Piątkowski, "Żydzi Janowca, Kazimierza i Puław w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1945)," in Jaroszyński, *Historia i kultura Żydów*, pp. 199–214; and the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 480–482; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 223–225. Edward Dziadosz and Józef Marszałek, "Więzienia i obozy w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939–1944," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 3 (1969): 117, provide coverage of the return of a small number of Jewish forced laborers to Puławy in 1940.

Documentation for the history of the Puławy Jewish community during World War II can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 301 [1512, 1513, 1812, 1815]); IPN (e.g., Ankiety); IPN-Lu (e.g., Ds [2/67/1-6, 85/67/1-3]); USHMM (RG-15.066M [IPN]; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 6, 16/812-815, and reel 15, 49/111-112]); VHF (# 4283, 5865, 5866, 6066, 7762, 21805, 22787, 38562, 45387); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Mordechai W. Bernstein (Bernshteyn), "Di geshikhte fun Yidn in Polav," and Moshe Rubinstein, "Undzer Haymshtot Polav," in Bernstein, *Yizker bukh Polav*, pp. 18 and 64–75, respectively.
2. Moshe Blojstein, "Khronik fun khurbn un navena'd," in ibid., pp. 318–321.
3. VHF, # 38562, testimony of Gershon Edelman; AŻIH, 301/1513, testimony of Gerszon (Gershon) Edelman, p. 1; 301/1812, testimony of Gołda Teich, p. 1.
4. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 15, 49/112, p. 1.
5. Testimony of Stanisław Zadura, in Jaroszyński, *Historia i kultura Żydów*, p. 300.
6. Blojstein, "Khronik," pp. 321–322.
7. Ibid., pp. 322–324, 327.
8. Ibid., pp. 331–335; AŻIH, 301/1513, p. 1.
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M, 49/112, p. 1.
10. AŻIH, 301/1815, testimony of Eta Brifman, p. 1.
11. Ibid., 301/1812, p. 1; and 301/1512, testimony of Gołda Pajek-Kupfer, p. 1.
12. Ibid., 301/1512, p. 1; 301/1815, pp. 1–2; 301/1513, pp. 1–2.
13. Ibid., 301/1513, p. 2.
14. Ibid., 301/1512, p. 1.
15. Ibid.; 301/1812, pp. 1–2.
16. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/114-116, reel 6, 16/813-815.
17. M. Zeldin, "Der yidisher ontoyl in di partizaner-kampfn in Polaver gegnt," in Bernstein, *Yizker bukh Polav*, pp. 372–381.

RADZYŃ PODLASKI

Pre-1939: Radzyń Podlaski, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Radzyn, Kreis center, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Radzyń Podlaski, Lublin województwo, Poland

Radzyń Podlaski is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) north of Lublin. In the 1930s, the general economic crisis was accompanied by an antisemitic boycott of Jewish trades and crafts. On the eve of World War II, about 3,000 Jews were living in Radzyń.[1]

At the start of World War II, it was unclear whether the area would be under Soviet occupation, but by mid-October 1939 the Germans had taken control of Radzyń. Many of the younger Jews fled eastward. During the first weeks the Jewish population of the town was confronted with violence and plundering. Germans came to Jewish houses and, as Nuchim Perelman recalls, beat the inhabitants, ordering the women to undress and dance on the tables. They plundered valuables. The center of town was used for housing soldiers; the two great synagogues served as horse stables. As Joseph Schupack recalls:

> The furnishings of the synagogues had been desecrated and demolished beforehand. Every new unit that marched into town seemed obligated to vandalize and destroy. After demanding contributions, seizing hostages and plundering Jewish stores, the German occupation troops established themselves. The German authorities tightened the screws on us Jews increasingly tighter. . . . Many Jews with beards wore bandages on their faces, pretending to be wounded already."[2]



View of a street in the Radzyń Podlaski ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #57697, COURTESY OF STA. HAMBURG

On December 6, 1939, a great part of the Jewish population of Radzyń was driven from the town, but they returned the following April from the village of Sławatycze on the River Bug. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was founded, consisting of 12 members, with David Lichtenstein, a well-known and respected person in town, as chairman. The Jewish Council had to organize Jewish life in the town but was also responsible for sending Jews to different kinds of forced labor. Shimon Kleinboim, a former representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in Poland, became responsible for matters of welfare. There were also "calm" periods, when life began to "normalize." But increasing restrictions made Jewish life in Radzyń more difficult. The removal of Jews from the economy left most of them without any means of subsistence.[3]

Radzyń was the capital of Kreis Radzyn, so the Kreishauptmann resided there: from October 1939 to August 1940, this was Hennig von Winterfeld; from August 1940 to October 1941, Dr. Fritz Schmiege; and after that until July 1944, Ludwig Stitzinger. The chief of the Gestapo in Radzyń was a man named Fritz Fischer.[4] In the building of the former municipality there was a new prison that became infamous for the murder and torture of prisoners.[5]

Although there was no sealed-off ghetto, the Jews were driven out of their houses in the better parts of town and around the marketplace, and a Jewish quarter was set up in 1940 in one of the most run-down areas, where before the war the poorest part of the Jewish population had lived. It consisted of Kozia, Szkolna, Kalen, and several smaller streets.[6] When those Jews who had been driven out of town in December 1939 returned in the spring of 1940, some of them had lost their homes, as they were not in the designated area, as Yehoshua Ron recalls: "My father hired a peasant wagon and travelled from Sławatycze to Radzyń and back to us. He returned on a frosty and snowy evening with the unhappy news. The head of the Judenrat who had been appointed in Radzyń in the meantime was not too enthusiastic to take us back. The house we had built, so he claimed, the house we had initiated on Passover in 1939, was outside the confines of the ghetto."[7]

As Joseph Schupack recalls: "Although Radzyń was not a fenced-in ghetto with barbed wire, hardly anyone dared to leave the Jewish section. Venturing outside always brought trouble, risks and even danger to one's life."[8] The Kreishauptmann reported in September 1941 that there were no sealed-off ghettos in the whole Kreis, only Jewish quarters, but that some of the Jews were still living outside of these quarters due to the lack of living space inside. But even if there was no sealed-off Jewish quarter, in Distrikt Lublin from February 1941, Jews were no longer allowed to leave their places of residence, and from October 1941, the punishment for leaving the town without official permission was the death penalty.[9]

The process of ghettoization in Radzyń does not appear to have been completed until the spring of 1942. According to an article titled "Ghetto in Radzyń" published in the regional newspaper, *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, in mid-April 1942: "In the last weeks, a special Jewish quarter [a ghetto] was created in Radzyń into which all Jews, who still live beyond it, soon will be moved." Among the motivations for the German authorities was the effort to reduce black market activity, which was blamed on "corrupt Jews."[10]

Regarding the reaction of the local Polish population, there are hardly any documents on Radzyń itself. As Joseph Schupack recalls, there were some Poles who wanted to help, but many of them just wanted to get their hands on Jewish possessions, and therefore they offered to look after such items until the end of the occupation.[11]

Jews had to work for the Germans. The workers met early in the morning in front of the building of the Jewish Council on Kozia Street and were escorted to their working places. The Jewish Council tried to organize this work as effectively as possible to prevent German terror. Some Jews were forced to work; others were very poor and tried to find work to have something to eat.[12] The German employment office in Radzyń assigned Jews of the entire Kreis to various workplaces; among the most important was the Water Regulation Authority (Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion) in Biała Podlaska. From the autumn of 1940, among the most important workplaces were construction sites of military airfields; the employment office

had to request Jewish workers from Lublin, as there were not enough workers in Radzyń.[13]

In Radzyń there was a group of young members of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir and other Zionist organizations who met regularly and were in contact with Jews from surrounding towns, such as Międzyrzec Podlaski. Their main task was organizing escapes, and some Jews fled from Radzyń to the surrounding forests, trying to reach a group of partisans. Some Jews from Radzyń were active in partisan groups later on. One of the people supporting these escapes was Rabbi Shmuel Shlomo Leiner. After he had been betrayed in June 1942, the Gestapo arrested him and he was executed in front of the synagogue. In his poem "The Song about the Radzyner," Yitzchak Katzenelson commemorated this event.[14]

In August 1942, about 6,000 Jews were living in Radzyń. In October 1942, 4,000 to 5,000 Jews were deported either directly to the extermination camp in Treblinka or to the ghetto in Międzyrzec, which functioned as a collection point, from which the transports to the extermination camps were organized. Many Jews were shot in Radzyń during the Aktions. On October 1, the Germans deported 2,000 Jews from Radzyń directly to Treblinka. The final liquidation of the Jewish quarter was carried out between October 14 and 16, when the last 2,000 or so Jews were brought to Międzyrzec, and from there, on October 27, they were deported to Treblinka and killed.[15] Joseph Schupack describes one of the deportation Aktions in Radzyń:

> The ones who were driven together at the collection place were encircled by the SS and the police. Older people who could not walk were shot on the spot. Screaming women were beaten with rifle butts, and some children standing in the way were shot. Only a few Jews had suitcases, blankets, or coats. Watching the moving lips of some, one knew that they were reciting their last prayer. . . . That day marked the end of the Jews of Radzyn.[16]

SOURCES Joseph Schupack, a survivor from Radzyń, has published his memoir, which is the most detailed source of information on Radzyń itself: Joseph Schupack, *The Dead Years* (Holocaust Library, 1986). The original version is in German: Joseph Schupack, *Tote Jahre: Eine jüdische Leidensgeschichte* (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1984). Probably the most important source for the history of the ghetto in Radzyń is the yizkor book, which includes testimonies concerning the short history of the Jews in Puławy under German occupation: Yitzcak Zigelman, ed., *Sefer Radzin: Yizkor-bukh* (Tel Aviv, 1957). There is also an article on Radzyń in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 543–547. On Kreis Radzyn there is an article by the author: "Zwischen Untergang und Selbsthilfe: Juden im Kreis Radzyn während des Zweiten Weltkrieges," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 8 (2005): 716–735.

There are testimonies of Jewish survivors from Radzyń in the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH) in Warsaw. Some statistical material can be found in the records of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in the Generalgouvernement, which are also located in AŻIH. Both the testimonies and the documents of the JSS frequently deal with the Jews of the Kreis and not just in the town of Radzyń. In Yehoshua Ron's personal memoir (Yehoshua Ron, "To Survive in the Hell: Between the Two Ghettos Radzyn Podlasky, and Mezerich," USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0224) there is only scant information on Radzyń. Contemporary German documentation can be found in the State Archives in Lublin (APL), where the collection "Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin" (see also USHMM, RG-15.066M) holds some information about Jews in the region. Relevant German criminal investigations concerning Nazi crimes in Radzyń can be found in BA-L (B 162/2183-94, 4696, and 14423).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, JSS, 211/883, p. 17.
2. Ibid., 302/2327, testimony of Nuchim Perelman, p. 1; Schupack, *The Dead Years*, p. 14. See also Rachel Salzman-Freter, "In di ershte tsaytn fun umglik," in Zigelman, *Sefer Radzyn*, pp. 223 ff.
3. Schupack, *The Dead Years*, p. 33; Ron, "To Survive in the Hell," pp. 3–4.
4. Schupack, *The Dead Years*, p. 47.
5. Ibid., p. 53.
6. Ibid., p. 30.
7. Ron, "To Survive in the Hell," p. 4.
8. Schupack, *The Dead Years*, p. 27.
9. Löw, "Untergang," pp. 723–724.
10. "Getto w Radzyniu," *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, no. 85, April 15, 1942, p. 3, quoted in Krzysztof Czubasek, *Żydzi Łukowa i okolic* (Warsaw: Danmar, 2008), p. 186.
11. Schupack, *The Dead Years*, pp. 37–39.
12. Ibid., pp. 33–35.
13. Ibid., pp. 56–57; Löw, "Untergang," pp. 721–722.
14. Schupack, *The Dead Years*, p. 74; Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, pp. 543–547; Yitzchak Katzenelson, *Dos lid vegn Radziner* (Tel Aviv, 1964).
15. Löw, "Untergang," pp. 733–734; BA-L, ZStL 208 AR-Z 236/60 (Erich Langer), p. 5; Schupack, *Gestohlene Jahre*, pp. 79–81.
16. Schupack, *The Dead Years*, p. 82.

REJOWIEC

Pre-1939: Rejowiec (Yiddish: Rayvitsh), town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Cholm, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: village, Lublin województwo, Poland

Rejowiec lies 52 kilometers (32 miles) east-southeast of Lublin. Its August 1939 population included about 2,600 Jews.

In the second half of September 1939, Rejowiec was initially occupied for about one week by the Red Army before these forces withdrew and the town came under German occupation. Some Jews exploited the opportunity and retreated

eastward with the Soviets. During the first 21 months of occupation until June 1941, the Germans conducted only "small-scale" Aktions against the Jews. They demanded contributions, seized people for forced labor, or suddenly came into town and shot 1 or 2 Jews. Only about 10 Jews were murdered during this period. Wealthier Jews were able to pay for substitutes to conduct forced labor for them.

The Jews of Rejowiec received ration cards, but very little food could be obtained with these pieces of paper. Instead, most Jews traded with local peasants who lived in the surrounding countryside, and people did not suffer from hunger.[1] Between the end of 1939 and May 1941, more than 1,000 Jewish refugees, mostly expelled from Lublin (in March 1941) and also from Kraków reportedly arrived in Rejowiec, increasing the pressure on the local Jewish social welfare institutions. Some, however, may have moved on to other locations or were recruited for forced labor camps, as in August 1941 there were 2,345 Jews residing in Rejowiec.[2]

The first large-scale Aktion against the Jews of Rejowiec took place on April 7, 1942. A large number of German police suddenly arrived in town, creating a very tense atmosphere. After several hours, the Judenrat instructed all Jews to assemble at the marketplace. About 80 percent of the Jews obeyed these instructions, and the rest hid in various places of concealment. Once assembled, the Jews were surrounded by Gendarmes, and after separating out the Judenrat chairman, the remaining Jews were herded away towards the railroad station, to be deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. Anyone who fell behind the column was shot. Babies were seized from their mothers and killed. Altogether about 200 of the Jews were murdered on the way, and the rest were loaded onto cattle cars. The next day, the Germans scoured the town for those in hiding. About 200 Jews were uncovered, and after being beaten, they were sent to the labor camp at Krychów, including members of the Judenrat. Many of these people were killed subsequently at the nearby Sobibór extermination camp. A few days later the Polish Community Council in Rejowiec spread word that all remaining Jews must register immediately, or they would be shot on sight if spotted. In response, about 140 more Jews crawled out of their hiding places. According to a report preserved in the Ringelblum Archive, these Jews were imprisoned for six days and then sent on carts to Chełm, where they were released. Other sources indicate that a number of Jews were retained in Rejowiec as needed laborers or returned after the Aktion from nearby labor camps, including Krychów.[3]

A remnant ghetto was then created in Rejowiec soon after this first Aktion. The ghetto consisted of two rows of houses along one of the streets on the edge of town, into which the 400 or so remaining Jews were concentrated. According to postwar testimony given to the German court in Verden, at some time in 1942, probably already in the summer, the ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire.[4]

On April 25, 1942, the Judenrat in the Rejowiec ghetto wrote to the aid committee in Kraków concerning around 1,800 Jews in extreme need, who had recently arrived from Slovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The first Slovak transport had arrived on April 17. The Jews were unloaded in Lublin, and the men and women were separated. All the women were sent to Rejowiec, but the men and all the luggage went to another destination. The transport from the Protectorate was segregated in Rejowiec: youths capable of work were sent to a labor camp, and only women, children, and the elderly (people incapable of work) remained behind. The Judenrat appealed urgently for aid in the form of food, money, bedding, and medication to assist the women and children who were suffering from starvation. Children had to sleep on the bare ground, and 1 person had died from hunger already. Tools were also needed to repair the buildings in which the Jews were accommodated.[5] Just prior to this, around April 20, a newly constituted Judenrat, headed by a man named Blatt, containing both Polish Jews and some recently arrived Jews was formed, which was subordinated to Majer Frenkiel, the head of the Kreis Judenrat in Chełm.[6]

According to the historian Robert Kuwałek, the following transports into Distrikt Lublin included Jews primarily destined for Rejowiec: April 16–17, 1,040 Slovak Jews from Nitra (of whom about 200 men were selected in Lublin for the Majdanek camp); April 18, 1,000 Czech Jews from Theresienstadt (probably also subject to selection in Lublin); April 20, 1,030 Slovak Jews from Nitra; May 5, 1,000 Jews; May 23 (or 27), 1,630 Slovak Jews from Sabinov and Prešov (the men were selected out and sent to Majdanek); May 24 (or 28), 1,022 Slovak Jews from Stropkov and Bardejov; May 25, 1,000 Slovak Jews from Poprad. It is estimated that at least 5,000 Jews of these transports passed through the Rejowiec ghetto altogether.[7]

The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) records do not confirm the arrival of all of these transports, nor do they mention exactly how many Jews arrived. However, the arrival of the third and fourth transports in Rejowiec are confirmed in a report dated May 8, 1942. The new leader of the JSS delegation in Rejowiec, Elżbieta Friedmann, described the terrible conditions for the Jewish deportees in Rejowiec and received 300 złoty in cash to buy medicine from the Kreis JSS in Chełm.[8]

The Rejowiec ghetto served for many of the Slovak and Czech Jews only as a transit ghetto, where they were held for a short time before being deported on to labor camps or one of the extermination camps.[9] Precise information is not available, but, according to the historian Yehoshua Büchler, at the end of April already, some of the Jews of Nitra together with local Jews were sent away to labor camps, including those in Hańsk, Sawin, and Osowa (Ossowa), while others were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[10]

Pola Ajzensztajn reports that the Jewish Police at this time consisted mainly of Slovak and Czech Jews. In the summer of 1942, there was a confrontation between the Jewish Police and the Polish (Blue) Police, who then denounced their Jewish counterparts to the Germans. The Jewish policemen, together with other Czech and Slovak Jews, at least 24 people in total, were then executed as alleged Communists.[11]

According to a report of the JSS for Kreis Cholm, on a June 18 visit, the Jewish population of Rejowiec numbered

2,449 people, including 830 children under the age of 14 and 409 men and 1,210 women over that age. Of these people, 185 men and 223 women were working for the Water Administration Office (Wasserwirtschaftsamt), for which they received full rations and payment in cash. A public kitchen was serving 1,300 people a breakfast (of coffee) and a lunch (of soup) every day—bread was not distributed. There was a division within the Judenrat between local Polish Jews and the recently arrived Slovak members, which was further complicating the administration of the JSS branch in Rejowiec.[12]

At some time in the summer of 1942, there was at least one more major deportation Aktion. The Jews were assembled on the market square and were then marched out of town. According to Ajzensztajn, who dates the Aktion in June 1942, a high-ranking Nazi then approached the column of Jews and ordered that those in possession of red labor cards were to return to Rejowiec, as they were needed laborers.[13] Büchler, however, cites Slovak survivors who describe similar events taking place on August 9, 1942. About 2,000 (mostly Slovak) Jews were rounded up for deportation, of which some 700 were killed in and around the town. The rest were deported to the Sobibór extermination camp by train. Of these about 100 men and 50 women were selected for the Krychów labor camp on arrival at Sobibór, while the others were gassed.[14] Probably around 300 Jews remained in the Rejowiec ghetto after the Aktion.

A number of Jews from the Rejowiec ghetto worked daily at the Budny estate (aka the Ossoliński Palace), about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town. The estate was used by a Remonteamt (horse procurement office) of the Waffen-SS, composed of about 50 to 100 men, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Herbert Schönfeldt. Jews were collected every day from the ghetto and escorted to the Budny estate. Other Jews worked in Rejowiec at the distillery or on road construction. The Jews were also tasked to dismantle the synagogue.

In the fall of 1942, a female Jew named Fuhrer was shot by an SS man named Gustav Jeske, also known among the Jews as the "commandant of the Ghetto." Jeske shot her for leaving the ghetto to obtain food by barter for her sick sister. Jeske was often responsible for overseeing the daily convoy of Jewish workers from the ghetto to the Budny estate. He was succeeded in this position by another SS man, Ostapeter.[15] In the period from the summer of 1942 until the spring of 1943, a number of Jews who had escaped from the Chełm ghetto and other places made their way to the collection ghetto in Rejowiec. The Jews in Rejowiec were scared to let them in, as Jeske sometimes combed the ghetto, looking for strangers to kill.[16] In November 1942, the local JSS officials reported that there were 290 Jews in Rejowiec working at various German labor sites and another 385 were assigned to forced labor camps (presumably outside the town).[17]

In the spring of 1943, most of the remaining Jews were working at the Budny estate. At this time, the SS surrounded the Jews and informed them that they would be taken to the Trawniki labor camp. Instead, however, they were rounded up and sent to the Majdanek concentration camp. The men were separated from the women on the way.[18]

In 1972, Gustav Jeske was tried by a German court in Verden for the alleged shooting of two Jews in Rejowiec in 1942. He was acquitted due to insufficient evidence.

Three Czech Jews—Gerda Piesenová (later Steinerová), Lucie Pollaková, and Zuzana Perelesová—are known to have survived from the April 1942 Theresienstadt deportation to Rejowiec.[19]

SOURCES Secondary sources regarding the fate of the Jews in Rejowiec during World War II include Gad Zaklikowski, ed., *Rayvitsers in Medinas Isroel* (Tel Aviv, 1958)—a translation by M. Porat is available via jewishgen.org; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 548–550; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 229–231; David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003); Yehoshua Büchler, "The Deportation of Slovakian Jews to the Lublin District of Poland in 1942," *HGS* 6:2 (1991): 151–166; and Robert Kuwałek, "Die Durchgangsghettos im Distrikt Lublin (u.a. Izbica, Piaski, Rejowiec und Trawniki)," in Bogdan Musial, ed., *"Aktion Reinhard": Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement, 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2004), pp. 197–232.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Rejowiec Jewish community during the war includes AŻIH (e.g., 210/593; 211/294, 898-900; 301/809, 1885, 3622; Ring I/29 [414], I/317 [34], I/811 [769], II/102 [225]); BA-L (B 162/14475); IPN; MA (D.1, 1266, 1288); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH, Ring]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); VHF (e.g., # 12282, 18709, 25879); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Israel Shpayzman, "The Destruction," trans. M. Porat, from Zaklikowski, *Rayvitsers in Medinas Isroel*, pp. 205–208.
2. AŻIH, 210/593; and 211/899, p. 39, Sprawozdanie, August 31, 1941.
3. Ibid., Ring 1/317 [34], as cited in Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 117–118; AŻIH, 301/1885, testimony of Pola Ajzensztajn, 1946; VHF, # 25879, testimony of Simon Dobner (born 1919), 1997.
4. AŻIH, 301/1885; 211/293, p. 61, notes of a telephone conversation on April 23, 1942; BA-L, B 162/14475 (LG-Ver, 2 Ks 2/68, verdict against Gustav Jeske, December 21, 1972), pp. 3, 17–19.
5. AŻIH, 211/900, pp. 23–25, Judenrat Rejowiec to JSS Kraków, April 25, 1942.
6. Ibid., 211/294, p. 19, Kreishauptmann Cholm, Bescheinigung, April 20, 1942.
7. Kuwałek, "Die Durchgangsghettos," pp. 208, 216, 232; Büchler, "The Deportation of Slovakian Jews," p. 156.

8. AŻIH, 211/294, p. 9, JSS Kreis Cholm report, May 8, 1942.
9. BA-L, B 162/14475, p. 3.
10. Büchler, "The Deportation of Slovakian Jews," p. 158, citing MA, D.1, 1266.
11. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/1885.
12. AŻIH, 211/294, pp. 49–50, JSS Kreis Cholm to JSS Delegatur in Rejowiec, June 28, 1942.
13. Ibid., 301/1885.
14. Büchler, "The Deportation of Slovakian Jews," p. 158.
15. BA-L, B 162/14475, pp. 8–16.
16. AŻIH, 301/3622, testimony of Chana Falkiewicz, pp. 1–2; VHF, # 12282, testimony of Nettie Adelsberg (born 1925), 1996.
17. AŻIH, 211/900, p. 74, Sprawozdanie, November 4, 1942.
18. Ibid., 301/1885; BA-L, B 162/14475, p. 8.
19. Database of the Terezín Initiative Institute.

ROSSOSZ

Pre-1939: Rossosz, village, Włodawa powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Rossosch, Kreis Biala Podlaska, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Rossosz, village, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Rossosz lies approximately 23.5 kilometers (14.6 miles) south of Biała Podlaska and almost 95 kilometers (59 miles) by road northeast of Lublin. In 1939, 302 Jews resided there.[1]

In September 1939, the first month of the war, Red Army soldiers briefly occupied Rossosz. As a result of the September 28 German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Demarcation, Soviet forces in the region, including in Rossosz, began evacuating behind the Bug River. On October 7, the last troops crossed the bridge in Sławatycze. In early November, German representatives from the office of the Landkommissariat in Wisznice arrived in Rossosz to establish a local collaborationist civilian administration. The same men returned several days later to register Jewish families. At the end of the registration assembly, the Germans ordered the Holy Ark and Torah in the Bet Midrash desecrated and then destroyed the building. Following the violence, some Jews fled to Soviet-occupied Poland.

In November 1939, German authorities ordered the Rossosz Jews to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Szmul Teperman, its chair, soon moved to Biała Podlaska but regularly traveled to Rossosz to fulfill his obligations. However, in December 1941, Hubert Kühl, the newly appointed Biala Kreishauptmann, ordered the death penalty imposed on Jews found outside their places of registration. Stranded in Biała Podlaska, Teperman resigned.[2]

By then, about 150 Jews had arrived in Rossosz. Most newcomers were March 1941 deportees from Kraków or voluntary refugees with pre-war ties to Rossosz. By May, 466 Jews, including about 150 expellees, resided in Rossosz.[3]

In January 1942, I. Rubinsztejn and Menachym Wajntraub, local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) officials, informed the charity's leaders in Kraków about the existence of a Jewish quarter (*dzielnica żydowska*) in Rossosz. Since the men were responding to an inquiry about the possibilities of using rural villages to train Jews in agriculture, they did not include the date on which the ghetto was established but instead described physical conditions in the ghetto. They reported that the ghetto encompassed 45 pre-war Jewish houses, which were grouped together and straddled the main roadway leading from Biała Podlaska, via Łomazy in the north, and through Rossosz to Wisznice in the south.[4] As with almost all ghettos in Kreis Biala, the Rossosz ghetto was not fenced. However, the Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without official permission.[5]

Because Rossosz did not appear on a list of ghettos Kühl submitted in October 1941 to Richard Türk, the head of the Population and Welfare Department (BuF) for Distrikt Lublin, its establishment may have been an unreported local initiative of Wisznice Landkommissar Werner. Believing Jews threatened the security of the vast territory he administered, Werner had instituted a number of anti-Jewish policies without Kühl's knowledge, such as, in January 1942, ordering 287 Jews from six other villages without ghettos consolidated in the Wisznice and Sławatycze ghettos.[6]

The establishment of the Rossosz ghetto ironically enabled native residents to return to their primary pre-war occupations as farmers raising vegetables and potatoes in fenced plots behind their houses. The gardens were some 120 meters (about 394 feet) long by 12 to 20 meters (39 to 66 feet) wide.[7] Though arable land was included in the spring of 1940 confiscation of Jewish-owned property in Distrikt Lublin, local officials in a specific locality almost always permitted Jews to cultivate pre-war Jewish-owned land located within ghettos even after the designated Kreishauptmann had rejected an identical request, as had occurred in Radzyń.[8]

During the summer of 1941, some 60 young people, between 16 and 24 years old, officially left the Rossosz ghetto to work at nearby farms as paid laborers, mainly as plowmen and herders.[9] From the summer of 1941, 30 Jews were sent to labor camps organized by the Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion (Water Regulation Authority) in Romaszki and Rossosz (at the school building) on the Muława River.[10] After the Rossosz camp closed for the season in October, four ghetto residents were ordered to report to an unspecified labor camp located beyond the pre-war Rossosz gmina.[11]

Because most refugees had no source of livelihood, the JSS established a community kitchen in late December 1941, to provide 130 of the most impoverished Jews a daily meal for the nominal cost of 10 groszy. Directed by Wigdor "Wolf" Lejzerzon, the kitchen expanded its operations by mid-February 1942 to serve daily meals to 200 people, including some pre-war residents. Two allotments of potatoes in the winter of 1941–1942, totaling 1,800 kilograms (3,968 pounds), which Kühl allowed the Rossosz JSS to purchase from cheaper government stores, were sufficient to prepare meals through late February. For the remainder of the winter, the kitchen depended on the benevolence of local Jews for its supplies.[12]

Unsanitary conditions from overcrowding in the ghetto were exacerbated by Landkommissar Werner's June 1941 decision to suspend soap rations to Jews.[13] In 1941, 52 Jews in Rossosz contracted typhoid (enteric) fever; 68 developed typhus. A second typhus outbreak in January 1942 infected 35 people by March.[14]

On March 3, 1942, Werner ordered the confiscation of records and correspondence of the Jewish Council and the JSS in Rossosz.[15] On April 23 and 25, representatives from the Wisznice Arbeitsamt, accompanied by Gendarmes from the Wisznice and Sławatycze posts, arrived to order all male Jews between 15 and 60 years old immediately transferred to labor camps located near Terespol.[16] The expellees likely were sent to one of the two Luftwaffe camps just established for airport expansion projects in Małaszewicze Duże and Kobylany and to a Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion camp located in Terespol.

The deportation left just 10 adult men in the Rossosz ghetto and reduced its overall population to about 200.[17] On May 13, Kreis-level JSS leaders appealed to Kühl to release Wajntraub, Lejzerzon, and 18-year-old Kisiel Żelazo, three Rossosz JSS officials swept up in the labor camp expulsion.[18] By early June, the men had returned to Rossosz.

On June 13, 1942, almost all the remaining Jews in Rossosz were expelled to the ghetto in Łomazy. The expulsion was part of an area-wide deportation overseen by Gendarmes from the Wisznice and Sławatycze posts and ordered by the Landkommissar of Wisznice. A telegram, sent on June 14 by the Łomazy JSS delegation to leaders of the charity in Kraków, indicates that expellees from Rossosz, Sławatycze, and the joined communities of Podedwórze and Opole (aka Podedwórze-Opole) had arrived almost simultaneously in Łomazy.[19] On August 17 or 18, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 ordered the Jews in Łomazy, including the Rossosz, Podedwórze-Opole, and Sławatycze deportees, to assemble at the school yard. Marched from there to several collection points closer to the Hały Woods, the Jews were executed in small groups in two predug mass graves by Ukrainian SS auxiliaries and the policemen.[20]

In early July, a small number of Jews left behind in Rossosz's remnant ghetto appear to have been threatened with consolidation into a larger ghetto if they failed to abide by a directive Kühl had issued in March 1942 for Jewish communities to establish pharmacies, isolation facilities, and infirmaries to treat those sick with infectious diseases. The JSS leadership appointed Żelazo the head of a pharmacy and then pleaded with JSS officials in Kraków to send a list of medicines, warning "unfortunate consequences" would befall the Jews if they could not establish medical-care facilities in Rossosz. On July 17, a JSS official in Kraków explained he could not legally send medicines before receiving proof of Żelazo's pharmacy qualifications.[21]

The Rossosz ghetto was liquidated between September 26 and 29, 1942, when its inmates were transferred to the ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski. Postwar Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation for Rossosz indicates Gendarmes from the Wisznice post oversaw the expulsion. The documentation describes Gendarmes Giering (Gering), Messal, and Pudel shooting dead five Jews, including Moszko Gimelfarb (Gimerfarb) and his son Szulim, in the field behind the Gimelfarb house, also subsequently the victims' burial place.[22] Members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 undoubtedly played an important role in the larger four-day expulsion Aktion, during which all Jews still in the Kreis, but not confined to labor camps, were marched to the Terespol-to-Międzyrzec road and escorted from there to the collection ghetto in Międzyrzec.[23]

On October 6 and 9, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 cleared the Międzyrzec ghetto. The policemen marched the ghetto inmates, including the Rossosz deportees, to the railway station and forced them onto railway cars destined for the Treblinka extermination facility. In February 1944, the SS executed the surviving prisoners at the Małaszewicze camp, including hundreds of Czech and Slovak Jews subsequently imprisoned there. In May, the SS shot the approximately 850 inmates of the Kobylany camp. The latter victims were murdered in two mass graves located by the Terespol-to-Międzyrzec road in Kobylany.[24]

There are no known survivors of the Rossosz ghetto.

SOURCES Almost all secondary sources mentioning the Rossosz Jewish community during World War II appear to base their accounts on the absence of an entry for a ghetto in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), and therefore conclude no ghetto existed in Rossosz. Here, see among others the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 547–548; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 232–233.

The two-page description of Jewish life in Rossosz, including the mention of the open ghetto, which served as the basis for the community's inclusion here, is located at USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/906, p. 57 (one leaf). Coverage of some of the more important issues raised in the entry is elucidated more clearly in the second JSS file for the Jewish community of Piszczac, 211/806, pp. 7, 21, and p. 48, respectively, for Kreishauptmann Kühl's March 1942 orders on medical facilities and on the Jewish labor camp in Małaszewicze, provisioned by the Piszczac Jewish community.

Kühl's discovery of Werner's January 1942 transfer of Jews to Wisznice and Sławatycze and a stenographic record of the Kreishauptmann's September 26, 1942, telephone directive naming the Międzyrzec ghetto as the collection ghetto for Jews still remaining in Kreis Biala Podlaska and describing the deportation route appears in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: CŻKHwP, 1946), pt. 1, pp. 5–7, 57–58, respectively.

Additional archival documentation pertaining to the Rossosz Jewish community during World War II can be found in APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/598, 211 [201, p. 87; 206,

pp. 38–38a, 63–65, 70, 75; 207, pp. 7, 48–49; 208, pp. 17, 67, 78–81; 209, pp. 2, 5–6, 47; 665, p. 52; 906]); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 284/432-433); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 4 (12/27-28, 32, 47-48) and reel 15 (49/7-8)]); and YVA.

Documentation is insufficient to determine if ghettos existed for several communities mentioned in the entry. Because no Jews from Podedwórze-Opole are believed to have survived under the German occupation, knowledge of Jewish life there comes mainly from JSS records. The documentation indicates the 14 extended Jewish families (126 people) in Podedwórze-Opole were overwhelmed by the arrival in March 1941 of 530 to 600 Jewish deportees. The local Jews accommodated as many as 65 expellees in their houses and still other deportees in their barns and cowsheds. However, the Podedwórze-Opole JSS correspondence, which notes the Jewish population had fallen to 383 by October 1941, never mentions the existence or absence of a ghetto. Here, see, for example, USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/134, pp. 46, 48, 211/811, with the Łomazy deportation covered in 211/209, pp. 34, 37, 45, 49, 51, 53, but no precise figure of expellees provided.

In Terespol, another community in which no Jews are believed to have survived under the German occupation, an April 1940 list of Jewish inhabitants indicates that as about 1,500 Jews departed voluntarily for Soviet-occupied Poland or were forced across the border in a January 1940 Aktion in which 29 perished, the 289 Jews remaining in Terespol were concentrated together in a few houses located close to each other but on a handful of noncontiguous streets. Here, see USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/687, pp. 1–10, and p. 22, for the April 1942 JSS ghetto questionnaire, mistakenly placed in the same file, which reports that neither an open nor a closed ghetto existed in Terespol. The JSS file for Terespol, at USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/1028, p. 66, suggests 78 Terespol Jews were transferred to labor camps in August, a month before the community was sent to the Międzyrzec collection ghetto.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/906, p. 2.
2. Ibid., pp. 48–49, 55, 64.
3. Ibid., 211/906, p. 2.
4. Ibid., p. 57.
5. Ibid.
6. Kermisz, *Dokumenty*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 4.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/906, p. 57.
8. Ibid., 211/890, p. 62.
9. Ibid., 211/906, p. 57.
10. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/7-8.
11. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/906, pp. 8, 17, 21, 39.
12. Ibid., pp. 51, 60, 63; and 211/207, p. 42.
13. Ibid., 211/906, p. 8.
14. Ibid., p. 62.
15. Ibid., 211/208, p. 17.
16. Ibid., 211/906, p. 67.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 69; 211/208, p. 78; 211/209, pp. 2, 5–6.
19. Ibid., 211/665, p. 52.
20. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 4, 12/32.
21. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/906, pp. 71–75.
22. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 4, 12/47.
23. Kermisz, *Dokumenty*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 57–58.
24. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/4-5.

RYKI

Pre-1939: Ryki (Yiddish: Riki), village, Garwolin powiat, Warsaw województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: town, Ryki powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Ryki lies 64 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Lublin, on the main railway line to Warsaw. Its pre-war 1939 population of 4,500 included 3,000 Jews.

On September 10 and 12, 1939, Luftwaffe bombardment killed 500 Jews, destroyed 169 Jewish-owned houses, and left 169 Jewish families (869 people) homeless. Jews fleeing greater devastation in Kurów and Garwolin nonetheless settled in Ryki.[1]

Upon occupying Ryki on September 17, 1939, the Wehrmacht established a small military garrison (Stadtkommandantur).[2] Captain Falke, its commander, imposed forced labor quotas on the Jews. Some 400 men were marched to Dęblin to unload armaments from Polish military warehouses. Others cleared rubble in Ryki. Several Jews perished during German searches for valuables; Jewish shops and homes were vandalized. On Yom Kippur (September 23), German soldiers humiliated Jews in the synagogue. Some Poles robbed Jews at night, despite a curfew from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.[3]

After the military's departure, a Sonderdienst unit, composed of ethnic Germans and some Ukrainians, and a unit of Polish (Blue) Police, recruited mainly from local pre-war Polish policemen, exercised authority in Ryki. Both were subordinated to the Gendarmerie post in Dęblin. Landwirtschaftskommissar Wagner, supervisor of agricultural estates around Ryki, also implemented anti-Jewish policies, initially demanding the Jews furnish his new residence, a palace in Ułęż.[4]

In January 1940, authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a 10-member Jewish police force.[5] Shmuel Gutwajder, the first council chair, ameliorated the plight of Ryki Jews who had to report to labor camps. That summer, he negotiated a reduction from 200 to 45 men in an SS-imposed quota for the labor camp in Bełżec. On an official visit there, he secured the Ryki prisoners' release.[6] Gutwajder died of a heart attack in early May 1942. Mojsze Wajsfisz succeeded him.

Survivors date the Ryki ghetto's establishment to early 1941, with January or February the most frequently cited months.[7] Barbara Kwiatkowska, a historian of Ryki, believes the ghetto was established in March. The order probably came about because of the decision to settle 889 Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) from Stalag II B Hammerstein in Ryki; nearly half of them arrived in March.[8] The quartering of Hungarian troops

in Ryki, in preparation for the German invasion of the Soviet Union, also may have played a role.

The ghetto was located in the most devastated part of Ryki: the old Jewish neighborhood surrounding the main square. Its borders stretched from 11 Listopad Street to before the Buks Resevoir and included Kanał, Kapitulna, and Łuków Streets. Initially, it was not fenced. However, Jews were forbidden, on penalty of death, from leaving its borders without permission or being on its streets after curfew. Several were shot for violating the orders.[9]

By the spring of 1941, about 370 Jews left the ghetto daily to fulfill forced labor quotas: 100 for projects organized by the Ryki administration, 90 for agricultural labor on Wagner's estate, 30 at the train station to load timber for a private German lumber company, and 150 for Organisation Todt (OT) projects. Another 300 to 500 men were interned weekly in local labor camps: 200 to 300 at a camp established by the Schalinger Company just outside Ryki; and 100 to 200 from late June 1941 at a Wehrmacht camp organized at an armaments depot in Stawy. Another 100 men were rotated monthly through an SS camp established in Janiszów (pre-war Janów Lubelski powiat), on the Wisła River, for flood-control projects.[10] Because of the labor camp drafts, the ghetto population in late September 1941 stood at 2,920.[11]

Gendarmes from Dęblin and Gestapo officials from Puławy entered the ghetto to terrorize and rob the Jewish population. Accompanied by the Gendarmes, Wagner ordered the Jewish Council to surrender contributions and oversaw the executions of Jews for refusing to turn over goods, including leather. Two *shochtim* were executed for practicing kosher slaughter.[12]

The extensive fire damage and the ghetto's small size required about 40 families to live together in each of its habitable structures. The resulting poor sanitation led to a typhus epidemic in April 1941. The Judenrat ordered the Bet Midrash transformed into a 24-bed medical clinic (officially a quarantine facility), directed by Dr. Rafał Kestenbaum. At least 50 people perished.[13] In August, a trachoma outbreak reached epidemic proportions.[14]

Quarantine orders prevented the resettlement of additional refugees in the ghetto. From May 1941, the Ryki Jewish Council was required to pay to transport newly arrived refugees to other towns and villages.[15]

Tighter quarantine procedures likely included fencing the ghetto. On July 28, 1941, Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) leaders in Ryki reported that because of the epidemic, officials temporarily had "close[d] the Jewish quarter a few weeks prior" and were now threatening to close it off permanently.[16] The barbed-wire fence, a quarantine measure, was erected around the three sides of the ghetto bordering the non-Jewish residential area. The side of the ghetto bordering the reservoir initially was not fenced. The ghetto's gate was guarded externally by members of the Sonderdienst.

In an unsuccessful bid to suspend the closure orders, the JSS and Judenrat stopped food assistance to the indigent in August and September 1941 and instead channeled its charitable resources into purchasing medicines. The Judenrat appealed to wealthier Jews to purchase talons, which poorer Jews could exchange for a bowl of soup and a small piece of bread at one of the private restaurants in the ghetto.[17] The aid was too little; survivors all remember hunger as an endemic problem of ghetto life.

From early 1942, the poor material conditions and rumors of the community's impending evacuation provoked many to flee to the ghetto in Żelechów. To secure the fugitives' return, the Sonderdienst began taking their family members as hostages.[18] One survivor suspects the new Jewish Council chair was arrested and executed on May 6, 1942, for sending his family to Żelechów. Others believe he was killed to secure the community's compliance to the impending ghetto liquidation orders.[19]

The next day, on May 7, 1942, at 5:00 A.M., Gendarmes from Dęblin, representatives from the Pulawy Kreishauptmann's office, including Bartel, head of its criminal division, and Wagner arrived to oversee the liquidation of the ghetto. Jakow Mandelbaum remembers Obersturmführer Grosser, the head of the Pulawy Gestapo, joining Bartel and Wagner to supervise the expulsion of the Ryki Jewish community. Symcha Wajnberg also recalled substantial SD participation. Local police forces—including the Sonderdienst and Polish (Blue) Police—assisted in clearing the ghetto.[20]

The Germans ordered the Jews to assemble on the market square and then, on pain of death, to surrender their watches, rings, and gold and silver items. Some were beaten or shot for refusing to comply.[21] About 30 to 70 men had to remain behind to work for Schalinger. After the elderly and small children were loaded onto peasant wagons, the remaining Jews were ordered into marching formation behind the wagons. During the 13-kilometer (8-mile) trip to Dęblin, about 150 stragglers (80 men, 50 women, and 20 children) were shot dead.

At the train station, Arbeitsamt officials from Dęblin held back another 200 mostly young, male Jews for labor at a local Luftwaffe camp, located at the airport. The rest of the Ryki Jewish community, some 1,500 to 2,466 people, were ordered onto trains destined for the Sobibór extermination camp. Some Ryki Jews assigned to Stawy, but not interned there, had evaded the deportation, because they had left for work before the Germans arrived to liquidate the ghetto. On May 8, in Stawy, the SS retained a group of men for labor and sent the remaining Jews to their deaths at Sobibór.[22] In late May 1942, the 30 to 60 Jews working for Schalinger were transferred to the Stawy camp. Upon the liquidation of the Żelechów ghetto in September 1942, some Ryki Jews fled to Dęblin and entered the camps there.

On July 22, 1944, the day the Red Army liberated Lublin, the Jewish inmates of the Luftwaffe camp in Dęblin, including a number of former Stawy inmates consolidated there, were evacuated to labor camps in Częstochowa. Some 50 to 70 Ryki Jews survived the war.

SOURCES Some APL documentation has appeared in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen*

während des zweiten Weltkrieges (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 438.

Published survivor testimonies can be found in the yizkor book, Shimon Kants, ed., *Yisker-bukh tsum fareybikn dem ondenk fun der khorev-gevorner yidisher kehile Ryki* (Israel: Irgun Yotz'e Ryki, 1973). The Jakob Handsztok contribution appears in English translation as Jakov Handshtok, "In the Tracks of the Jewish Life That Disappeared," in Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., *From a Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press and USHMM, 1998), pp. 262–266. An almost complete Polish translation of the Holocaust sections of the yizkor book, by Andrzej Cieśla, is available at jewishgen.org. Based on an earlier Czech translation by Judith Dunayevsky and Michael Dunayevsky, it also served as the basis for the English-language translation of the B. Brankacz (or Bronkacz) yizkor book contribution on JewishGen. Interviews with Ryki survivor Szlomo Judensznajder (Solly Irving) appear in Martin Gilbert, *The Boys: Triumph over Adversity* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996).

Secondary accounts include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 550–553, in English and Polish translations on JewishGen, with a second English translation in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 233–236; and Barbara Kwiatkowska et al., eds., *Historia—kultura—tradycje: Żydzi w Rykach* (Ryki: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ryk, 2006), pp. 31–37, with an English translation available at the Wirtualny Sztetl, on the Web site of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, www.sztetl.org.pl.

The Jewish POWs resettled in Ryki and Biała Podlaska from Stalag II B Hammerstein are discussed by Janina Kiełboń in *Migracje ludności w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939–1944* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1995) and "Deportacja Żydów do dystryktu lubelskiego (1939–1943)," in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), pp. 161–175, with the number of Jewish prisoners drawn from German documentation at APL; *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945. Województwo lubelskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and IPN, 1985), pp. 218–221, outlines the scope of anti-Jewish violence during the expulsion to Dęblin. Though Tatiana Berenstein reports more than 2,000 Slovak Jews arrived in the Ryki ghetto on May 15, 1942, in "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 79, postwar German documentation, cited by Kiełboń above, and survivors' testimonies note the 2,008 expellees, from Prešov, arrived in two transports on May 13–14 in Dęblin and were transferred to labor camps in Dęblin and Stawy. Here, see, among others, AŻIH, 301/1443, testimony of Maria Abramowicz-Rozencweig, p. 2, and the testimonies from Ryki survivors, cited in the notes below.

Documentation about the fate of the Ryki Jewish community during World War II can be found in the following archives: APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., 210/608, 211/916, 301/1298); BA-L (B 162/5939); IPN; IPN-Lu (e.g., 57/09/Zn); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 12, 41/284]); VHF (# 1434, 3910, 23790, 30406, 43083); and YVA. Contemporary press coverage appears in "Ryki (powiat puławski)," *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 4, 1941, no. 10, p. 7, and in the May 29, 1942, edition of the publication known as the *Bulletin* (Polish *Biuletyn*) of Oneg Shabat, with this particular edition, titled *Di megile fun payn un oysrotung*, available at AŻIH and USHMM, on C-D, in Ring I/1062/1 (1381).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), AJDC, 210/608, pp. 1, 3, 7–8, 20–27.
2. BA-L, B162/5939, p. 847 (deposition, Rafał Kestenbaum).
3. Kants, *Yisker-bukh Ryki*, pp. 411–412, 436 (testimonies, respectively, Jakow Mandelbaum, B. Brankacz).
4. BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 847–849, 835–836, 875–876 (depositions, Kestenbaum, Jakow Mandelbaum, Jeremiahu Handsztok, respectively).
5. *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 4, 1941, p. 7.
6. Kants, *Yisker-bukh Ryki*, pp. 413–414 (Mandelbaum).
7. BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 891 (deposition, Symcha Wajnberg), 847, 836.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), ŻSS, 211/916, p. 13.
9. BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 836, 891.
10. See, among others, all testimonies from Ryki survivors at BA-L, B 162/5939; Kants, *Yisker-bukh Ryki*, pp. 419–422, 414–415 (testimonies, Jakob Handsztok and Mandelbaum, respectively); *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 4, 1941; USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/916, pp. 1–6; AŻIH, 301/1298, testimony of Hersz Suchodolski, p. 1.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/916, p. 57.
12. Kants, *Yisker-bukh Ryki*, p. 438 (Brankacz); BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 848–849, 876, 831–832 (deposition, Dow Blizinski).
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/916, pp. 23–24, 28–32, 37–38.
14. Ibid., pp. 49–52.
15. Ibid., p. 13.
16. Ibid., p. 28.
17. Ibid., pp. 58, 75.
18. Kants, *Yisker-bukh Ryki*, pp. 430–431 (Mosze Openhajm testimony).
19. Compare in ibid., pp. 438–439, 415 (Brankacz and Mandelbaum, respectively).
20. BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 837, 892–893.
21. Kants, *Yisker-bukh Ryki*, p. 416 (Mandelbaum).
22. Ibid., pp. 434–435 (testimony, B. Lajtman); BA-L, B 162/5939, pp. 838–839 (Mandelbaum).

SŁAWATYCZE

Pre-1939: Sławatycze (Yiddish: Slavatitch), town, Włodawa powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Slawatycze, Kreis Biala Podlaska, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Sławatycze, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Sławatycze, now located on the Polish border with the Republic of Belarus, lies on the Bug River, some 111 kilometers (69 miles) by road northeast of Lublin. In August 1939, some 1,600 Jews resided there.[1]

The Germans occupied Sławatycze on September 21–22, 1939, but soon abandoned it to Soviet occupation. Soviet forces arrived before September 25. With the demarcation, on September 28, of the Soviet-occupation zone as east of the Bug River, the Red Army began evacuating troops through Sławatycze, leaving the settlement last, on October 7. Many Jews followed the soldiers. On October 5–9, a Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Sławatycze.

German authorities established a local Polish collaborationist administration. It was subordinated to the Landkommissariat of Wisznice, led, from at least late 1941, by a German surnamed Klemmer. German Gendarmerie and Border Police posts were established. The Gendarmerie post was subordinated to its sister post in Wisznice. A Sonderdienst force, composed mainly of local Ukrainians, and a unit of auxiliary Polish (Blue) Police assisted the Gendarmes. In November 1939, the Sławatycze Jews were ordered to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat). On December 1, the Jews were required to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David.

Jewish refugees, hoping to cross into Soviet-occupied territory, flooded Sławatycze initially. In November 1939, the town also served as a place of resettlement for Jewish expellees from Lubartów and Radzyń Podlaski, towns in which the only authorized Jewish residents were craftsmen and their families. By February 1940, 1,168 Jewish newcomers had arrived in Sławatycze. They included 457 Radzyń expellees, 185 Lubartów deportees, expellees from Puławy, and some 500 unregistered refugees.[2]

In February 1940, a German unit executed 41 to 50 Jews, including 3 Radzyń expellees. Radzyń native Yehoshua Rosencrantz believes the victims were killed because the Border Police suspected them of smuggling goods and people across the Bug River. Henry Gitelman, a Sławatycze native, reported that the executions targeted the most prominent Sławatycze Jews, including his grandfather and uncle.[3]

The killings and the Radzyn Kreishauptmann's spring 1940 decision to permit expellees to return home resulted in the refugees' mass departure. By April 1940, only 192 remained. In May 1941, some 50 Jewish deportees from Kraków (expelled first to Terespol and Kodeń) were resettled in Sławatycze. By the end of 1941, the Jewish population stood at 1,326.[4]

Sources give differing dates for the establishment of the ghetto in Sławatycze. Survivor Chaim Lerer asserts the Germans established a ghetto a few months after occupying Sławatycze.[5] Henoch Lisak (Henryk Piekarski) recalls that by the summer of 1941 most Jews already were living on one or two streets located along the Bug River.[6] However, the residential concentration and orders from November and December imposing the death penalty on Jews found without permission outside their places of registration were insufficient reason for Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann Herbert Kühl to include Sławatycze on a list of ghettos he compiled in December. Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) researchers, led by Czesław Pilichowski, report the ghetto was created in January 1942. They likely chose the date because Wisznice Landkommissar Klemmer that month ordered about 150 Jews from nearby Hanna, Dołhobrody, and Holeszów villages expelled to Sławatycze.[7] Klemmer, moreover, explained to Kühl that he had ordered the expulsions to Sławatycze (and Wisznice) in part because his experience with a closed ghetto in Wisznice had demonstrated that Jews worked more efficiently when confined to a Jewish quarter.[8] Others believe the ghetto was established in mid-June 1942.

Overcrowding posed problems from 1941 on, as 14 or 15 people lived in a single house, with most sleeping 4 or 5 per bed.[9] Lisak, a summer 1941 arrival from the Warsaw ghetto, mentioned that the tile maker with whom he lived held a concession to produce and sell finished goods but found his work impeded by weather conditions at the river bank and directives limiting Jews' access to heating fuel and raw materials. A Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) report, from July 1941, notes 24 tailors and shoemakers held such concessions. Another 215 Jews were conscripted for forced labor.[10] Because of food shortages, Lisak found work as an agricultural laborer in a nearby village. On a Sunday visit, he learned a local ethnic German had falsely denounced a large group of Jews, including the tile maker and his wife for stealing. The Jews were executed, perhaps behind the public school, where Ariê Flaksberg remembers the police shooting 45 to 50 Jews in November or December 1941.

Flaksberg describes an SS officer, an ethnic German from Poznań, arriving on May 3 or 4, 1942, to order young men immediately interned at a nearby labor camp. Among the conscripts were his two older brothers. JSS records indicate the labor camp roundups, which began in Sławatycze in late April and continued through mid-May, enveloped even the organization's officers, individuals officially exempt from forced labor conscription.[11]

In June 1942, an Aktion reduced the size of the Jewish community. Scholars associated with the museum established after the war on the site of the Sobibór extermination camp maintain that German records document the arrival that month of a transport of some 1,000 Sławatycze Jews. The deportation probably occurred between June 11 and 14, the dates on which JSS leaders reported a "resettlement" Aktion had impacted the entire Kreis, including the town of Biała Podlaska proper, from whence, on June 11, more than 3,000 Jews went to Sobibór.[12]

Two prominent Polish-Jewish historians reject the claim of a Sobibór deportation. The first, Tatiana Berenstein, examined JSS records and concluded a small group of Sławatycze Jews was expelled to Łomazy on June 13, 1942. A June 14 telegram from Łomazy records JSS leaders requesting immediate assistance for deportees (about 650 in number) who just arrived from Sławatycze, Rossosz, and Podedwórze-Opole which indicates some part of the community was expelled there.[13] The second historian, Sławatycze native Michał Grynberg, after interviewing Jewish survivors and Polish-Christian eyewitnesses,

concluded the June Aktion had devolved into a mass killing, as local Polish and Ukrainian police held the Jews captive at the market square, stripped them of valuables, selected victims for execution, and offered, for enormous sums, to release those slated for death. The Germans overseeing the Aktion killed hundreds of victims at the Jewish cemetery. Hundreds more were shot dead fleeing the roundup or during the three-day search for those in hiding. Some 600 to 1,000 Jews perished during the violence.

A remnant ghetto was established on Pielwaki [*sic*] Street for those held back from execution. The unfenced ghetto was heavily guarded day and night. Because the three interpretations of the June Aktion at present are mutually exclusive, the overall ghetto population is difficult to ascertain. It stood somewhere between 300 and 1,200.

On August 17 or 18, 1942, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 shot almost all the 2,187 Jewish inhabitants of Łomazy, including the Sławatycze expellees.

On September 26, 1942, Kühl informed civilian authorities that all Jews in Kreis Biala Podlaska not interned in labor camps would be brought to the ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski some time between September 25 and 29.[14] Grynberg and Krzysztof Gruszkowski describe the local Polish (Blue) Police overseeing the Sławatycze expulsion. Gendarmes from the Sławatycze and Wisznice posts, and members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, temporarily stationed in Wisznice, and a number of other nearby localities to provide manpower during the expulsions, likely played some role. At the market square, the main assembly point, women and children were ordered onto peasant carts. Likely to reduce escape attempts along the 77-kilometer (48-mile) route, the men were compelled to walk barefoot to Międzyrzec. Those who fell behind along the way were shot dead. Once in Międzyrzec, the surviving Jews were imprisoned at the synagogue. On October 6–9, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, SS Ukrainian auxiliaries from Trawniki, and members of the SS office in Radzyń marched the prisoners to the railway station and forced them onto wagons destined for the Treblinka extermination camp. The deportees were gassed on arrival.

Though many Jews evaded deportation, most fugitives were rounded up and executed in the months following the ghetto's liquidation. Twelve-year-old Philip Garen is the only person from a group of forest fugitives to have survived German-ordered searches of the forest and the denunciations of the local population. A few local Poles assisted the fugitives. Lisak, working outside the ghetto at the time of the expulsion, was sheltered first by his Polish employers and then by the Artecki family in Piszczac. Just outside of Sławatycze, Anna and Dominik Parczewski sheltered Wewe (Wewel) Grynszpan (Greenspan) and his son Chaim-Joszke (later, Henry). Marianna and Józef Krzymowski, from Liszna, hid Chaja Szumacher. Lerer fled east and made his way to Soviet forces.

Less than 10 former residents of the Sławatycze ghetto survived the war. Counted among them is Wewe Grynszpan, whom unknown Polish assailants murdered in Sławatycze less than a year after the July 1944 liberation.

SOURCES Secondary sources with coverage of the history of the Sławatycze Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 355–356; its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 256–257; Michał Grynberg, *Sławatycze, Domu mój: O życiu i zagładzie Żydów w Sławatyczach: Losy autora* (Warsaw: KiW, 2000), which is part history and part memoir and serves as the basis for Krzysztof Gruszkowski, "Sławatycki okręg bóżniczy," on the Sławatycze homepage on the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by the Museum of Polish Jews, and Krzysztof Bielawski, "Sławatycze," on the Cmentarze Żydowskie w Polsce (Jewish cemeteries in Poland) Web site, at www.kirkuty.xip.pl/slawatycze.htm. At present, the last source is the only widely available English-language summary of Grynberg's work.

Also important for understanding historians' interpretations and the context of events in Sławatycze are Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 456; Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 40, 59; and Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

A number of memoirs are available from survivors, including Henry Gitelman, "Drenched in the Dew of Childhood, a Shtetl Called Sławatycze," available on the Sławatycze homepage of the Wirtualny Sztetl; Michał Grynberg testimony, in Marian Turski, ed., *Losy żydowskie: Świadectwo żywych*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Stowarzyszenia Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 1996), pp. 231–235; "Henoch Rafael Lisak," in Wiktoria Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*, trans. Julian Bussgang and Fay Bussgang (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 99–104; and the reminiscences in speeches given during the 2008 rededication of the Sławatycze Jewish cemetery, available in English on the Slawatycze Landsmanschaft Web site, www.slawatycze.org. Gitelman is the author of an unpublished yizkor book, "The Personal Memoirs of Descendants of Slawatycze," and is completing an English translation of Grynberg's book. Coverage of the first months of the German occupation is provided in the accounts of survivors Yehoshua Rosencrantz and Sarah Bashe Voyazsher (Wojażer) in the Radzyń yizkor book, Yitsḥaḳ Zigelman, *Sefer Radzin* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad yots'e Radzin (Podlaski) be-Yisrael, 1957), pp. 227–244 and 245–248, respectively. The book's Holocaust sections are available in English translation on jewishgen.org.

Published German documentation can be found in Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: CŻKHwP, 1946), pt. 1, pp. 5–7, 57–58.

Archival documentation for the Jewish community of Sławatycze includes APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/637; 211 [204, pp. 8, 32–33; 205, p. 19; 206, pp. 4, 38, 38a; 207, p. 51; 208, pp. 11, 78, 80–81; 209, pp. 3, 5–6, 37, 64; 665, p. 52], 301 [2327]); FVA

(HVT-1638); IPN-Lu (i.e., 362/67/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]); VHF (e.g., # 3894, 3924, 20493, 33524, 46024); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/970, p. 58.
2. AŻIH, 301/2327, testimony of Nachum Perelman (Perlman), p. 2; USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/637, pp. 2, 8, 33.
3. Zigelman, *Sefer Radzin*, pp. 231–232; Gitelman, "Drenched," p. 38.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/970, pp. 31, 33, 61.
5. VHF, # 3924, testimony of Chaim Lerer.
6. Ibid., # 20493, testimony of Henryk Piekarski.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/970, p. 69.
8. Kermisz, *Dokumenty*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 5–7.
9. VHF, # 33524, testimony of Ariê Flaksberg.
10. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/970, p. 44.
11. Ibid., 211/208, pp. 78, 80–81; 211/209, pp. 3, 5–6.
12. Ibid., 211/209, p. 17.
13. Ibid., 211/665, p. 52.
14. Kermisz, *Dokumenty*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 57–58.

SZCZEBRZESZYN

Pre-1939: Szczebrzeszyn (Yiddish: Shebreshin), town, Zamość powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: initially Kreis Zamosc then Kreis Bilgoraj, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Zamość powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Szczebrzeszyn lies 85 kilometers (53 miles) south-southeast of Lublin. In August 1939, its 7,496 inhabitants included about 3,200 Jews.

German forces occupied Szczebrzeszyn from September 13–26, 1939, before relinquishing it to Soviet occupation. After a border renegotiation returned Szczebrzeszyn to Germany's sphere of influence, 500 to 800 Jews joined the October 5–6 Soviet military evacuation. On October 8, the Germans reoccupied Szczebrzeszyn.

On October 14, 1939, Major von Bassewitz-Behr, military commander of Szczebrzeszyn for 10 days, appointed a local collaborationist administration. He named 60 Poles members of an auxiliary police force (Hilfspolizei). A civilian Gendarmerie post was established shortly before Szczebrzeszyn's transfer on March 16, 1940, from Kreis Zamosc to Kreis Bilgoraj.

On November 15, 1939, German soldiers torched the synagogue and set Jewish residences afire. Blamed for the arson attacks, the Jews were fined 20,000 złoty.

A council of Jewish elders, established during the fires, was transformed into a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in April 1940. Cudyk Mejler became its chair. The Jewish Council raised "contributions" demanded by the authorities and organized forced labor conscription. From the spring of 1940, it ordered more than 500 men to labor camps, including some 300 to Bełżec in mid-August.



Luftwaffe troops publicly humiliate a group of elderly, religious Jews in Szczebrzeszyn, n.d.
USHMM WS #18828, COURTESY OF IPN

Some 300 local Jews displaced by war devastation in Frampol (149 people), Biłgoraj, and Janów (Lubelski) moved to Szczebrzeszyn. In December 1939, 210 expellees arrived from Włocławek (180) and Łódź (30). On January 15, 1940, 126 Włocławek men, imprisoned in Zamość, were expelled to Szczebrzeszyn. By September, 2,800 Jews, including 400 refugees and deportees, were residing in Szczebrzeszyn.[1]

From late August 1940, a ghetto gradually emerged in the so-called Zatyłny neighborhood. It began at the rear cellar apartments of the buildings fronting the market square on Zamość Street and stretched back to Targowa Street and the Wieprz River.

The need to house 1,000 Polish-Christian Warthegau deportees from Gostynin expelled to Szczebrzeszyn in late July 1940 likely sparked the first consolidation of Jews in the future ghetto. On August 22, Jews were expelled from front-facing apartments on Zamość Street. On August 29, Jewish businesses were auctioned. As Mejler explained to American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) officials in Warsaw in September, while most Jewish men were interned in labor camps, authorities had expropriated their businesses, ordered their families to move to residences on rear streets, and permitted the new Polish business owners to take over the evicted Jews' homes.[2]

Halina Witting, a Polish-Christian expellee from Poznań, recalls the ghetto was established after she arrived in Szczebrzeszyn in the winter of 1940–1941. The Kawerszbok family, required to report to the ghetto, offered Witting their fabric store, 1 of 35 Jewish shops still open, in exchange for promises of material assistance.[3] The timing suggests preparations for the German invasion of the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), and the garrisoning of Luftwaffe troops in Szczebrzeszyn on April 3 may have contributed to the ghetto's formation. The Polish physician Zygmunt Klukowski, director of the Szczebrzeszyn hospital, first used the word ghetto (*dzielnica żydowska*) in his diary on July 8, noting a German airman had shot dead a 21-year-old Jewish woman in the ghetto. Before Witting's arrest (for underground activities)

in the summer of 1941, a wall was erected on one side of the ghetto.

Required in September 1941 to report on ghettos in Kreis Bilgoraj, Kreishauptmann Werner Ansel excluded Szczebrzeszyn from the list. Survivor Dworja Flajszer mentions a small number of Jews continued to live outside the ghetto mainly on Zielona Street and in a few buildings fronting the square by the church.[4] These Jews included families of medical personnel (such as dentists Natan Bronsztein and his wife) and some of the 109 Jewish craftsmen permitted to operate 94 workshops to provide services to the non-Jewish population.[5]

From October 1940, several hundred Jews labored for the Luftwaffe at airfield construction sites in Klemensów and Mokre, earning 3 to 4 złoty a day. Determined to finish the projects, the Luftwaffe from May 1941 conscripted daily from the Szczebrzeszyn, Sułów, and Radecznica gminy some 4,000 Jews (and Christians) at Klemensów. During the summer, Szczebrzeszyn Jews were interned at a Water Regulation Authority (Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion) camp in Bortatycze.

Barracks were erected in the ghetto for the homeless. Poor sanitation contributed to typhus epidemics in October 1941 and January 1942. Permitted to leave the ghetto during the day, the Jews had relatively ready access to food.[6] From October 1941, when Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement were subject to the death penalty for leaving their places of residence, villagers arrived to barter with the Jews.

Witting remembered the Jews permitting Poles wanted by German authorities to hide in ghetto bunkers. By the spring of 1942, Klukowski noted Poles cultivated relationships with Jews mainly for material gain. On March 25, he reported villagers came to Szczebrzeszyn to sell food specifically to Jews, because the restrictions on Jewish movement meant they would pay exorbitant prices. In April, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization provided a daily meal to 340 impoverished at a community kitchen.[7]

Anti-Jewish violence intensified from late December 1941. By February 18, 1942, Jews had been killed for refusing to surrender furs, leaving town, not wearing armbands, and smuggling livestock into the ghetto. On April 8, paid informants (probably Polish railway men) confirmed rumors circulating from March 26 that Jews from Lublin and Izbica (nad Wieprzem) had been gassed at the Bełżec extermination facility.[8]

Shortly thereafter, a more formal ghetto was established on Targowa Street.[9] It probably was created around April 12, 1942, the day Klukowski noted local antisemites descended on Szczebrzeszyn in anticipation of a deportation. When none materialized, they plundered abandoned Jewish residences.

On April 22, 1942, the Jewish Council organized an eight-member Jewish police force probably to meet increased labor camp conscription quotas. On April 24, just 63 of 350 conscripts reported for a Wasserwirtschaftsinspektion camp in Kulików. With the quota still unmet, the Gestapo on May 7 ordered 13 prominent Jews arrested. On May 8, Bronsztein, his father, and 5 other prisoners were shot dead fleeing a transport carrying them to Zwierzyniec for execution. That afternoon, the Gestapo gave the Jewish Council one hour to locate 100 Kulików conscripts. Before the deadline had passed, the Gestapo and Gendarmes began rounding up and shooting about 100 Jews. The next morning, 60 Kulików conscripts reported. The Gestapo required the Jews to pay 2,000 złoty and 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of coffee for the ammunition used in the massacre.[10]

On June 22, 1942, the Gestapo marched conscripts to a labor camp at the Klemensów airfield and then returned to arrest 53 additional Jews. On June 23, Gendarmes shot 20 to 26 of the oldest prisoners at a vacant lot on Frampol Street.[11]

In early August 1942, the Jewish Council was required to submit a list of 2,000 people for deportation supposedly to Reichskommissariat Ukraine. From 1:00 A.M., on August 8, the Gestapo, Gendarmes, Sonderdienst (ethnic German and Ukrainian police), Polish (Blue) Police, and Jewish Police began arresting the Jews on the list and imprisoning them at the trading hall on the square. Most evaded arrest; German police shot 13 others. At 8:00 P.M., 280 deportees were marched to the train station, locked into wagons with 170 Jews from Zwierzyniec, and sent the next day to Bełżec.

To root out fugitives, the Gestapo prohibited Christians from harboring Jews or selling them food. As the police rounded up and shot Jewish fugitives, the Jews officially retained for labor soon hovered on starvation's brink.[12] On September 29, 1942, 400 Jews from the Radecznica gmina (mainly from Radecznica and Gorajec villages) were expelled to Szczebrzeszyn.

On October 21, 1942, from 6:00 A.M., SS, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, Gendarmes, Sonderdienst, and Polish police began expelling Jews from the ghetto. Ordered to search for fugitives, Jewish Council member Hersz Gercel Hochbaum committed suicide. Some 500 Jews were killed during the Aktion. Mayor Andreas Kraus reported 934 Szczebrzeszyn Jews, imprisoned overnight at the Alwa (Waligóra) factory in Brody Małe, were sent (together with Zwierzyniec deportees) to Bełżec on October 22.[13]

Over the next two weeks, 1,000 Szczebrzeszyn Jews, all fugitives from the deportation, were hunted down by police and Polish civilian volunteers, such as Jan and Władysław Małysz. Most were shot at the cemetery by Gendarmes, including Gendarme Sering (Syring), and Polish auxiliary policemen, including (Stanisław) Hajduczak (Germanized, Haik) and Jan, Tadeusz, and Michał Gołębiowski.[14] Gestapo assistant Stanisław Majewski (a Pole from Biłgoraj), Szczebrzeszyn Gendarmerie commander Freimeier (Frymer), and Polish police commander Marunowski oversaw the executions.[15]

Sering, sentenced to death by a postwar Polish court, was hanged in Zamość in 1945.[16] The aforementioned Polish policemen (except Majewski) and civilians also were tried: the latter, for signing the German nationality list and taking actions, including murder, harmful to Polish citizens, the former, for extricating Jews from hiding places.

Released from Warsaw's Pawiak prison in the summer of 1942, Witting settled in Otwock. There, she and her husband sheltered Maria, Aleksandra, and Ryszard Spielrein. In 1987,

Yad Vashem recognized the couple as Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the history of the Szczebrzeszyn Jewish community during the Holocaust include the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 577–580, available in an English translation by Morris Gradel at jewishgen.org.

The yizkor book, Dov Shuval, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Shebreshin* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Shebreshin be-Yisrael uvatefutsot, 1984), available in an English translation by Jacob Salomon Berger as *The Szczebrzeszyn Memorial Book* (Mahwah, NJ: Jacob Salomon Berger, 2005), contains testimonies from survivors. Correspondence between Fryd and Ester Fiszel, from Szczebrzeszyn, and Moszek Wulf, in the Warsaw ghetto, found after the war in the Ringelblum Archive, now at AŻIH, Ring, I/545, appears in a Polish translation in Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 1, *Listy o zagładzie* (Warsaw: ŻIH and PWN, 1997), pp. 89–96.

The diary of Zygmunt Klukowski has appeared in various forms, with the passages pertaining to Jews extracted and first published in Yiddish translation in *Bleter Far Geschichte* 45:4 (1951) and subsequently in the yizkor book. A Polish-language equivalent, "Niedola i zagłada Żydów ze Szczebrzeszyna (Kartki z pamiętnika z okresu okupacji)," *BŻIH*, nos. 19–20 (1956): 207–241, preceded the publication of the full chronicle, *Dziennik z lat okupacji zamojszczyzny 1939–1944* (Lublin: Lubelska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1958), which also has appeared under the title *Zamojszczyzna*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: Karta, 2007). The diary is available in English as *Diary from the Years of Occupation 1939–44*, trans. George Klukowski (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), but the translation at times is uneven.

Of the Lublin-area Jewish communities mentioned in the entry but not covered elsewhere in this volume, little is known about the specific World War II experiences of Jews from the villages of Radecznica and Gorajec. Klukowski provides the most information for Gorajec, and when seen from the larger local context, it may suggest a ghetto existed there. In a June 3, 1941, diary entry, he notes the SS unleashed a pogrom on the Christian feast of Pentecost (Whitsun), during which 3 Jews were killed. On December 31, 1941, he mentions Jews were expelled from their homes, which were turned over to (Christian) deportees, presumably to some of the at least 2,240 Warthegau expellees resettled in the Szczebrzeszyn area. Though a pogrom that same day in Zwierzyniec and evictions in Szczebrzeszyn, probably at around the same time, gave rise to ghettos in both localities, Klukowski does not say whether almost identical actions culminated in the creation of a ghetto in Gorajec. He does report on January 27, 1942, that the Gorajec Jews were forbidden to move 10 meters (33 feet) beyond their residences, a point worth noting because the movement restrictions were the stiffest known to have been imposed on any Jewish community in Distrikt Lublin. Survivor Hayim Gorkah, born in Gorajec, does not mention a ghetto existing there in his testimony at VHF, # 33370.

Documents pertaining to the Szczebrzeszyn, Gorajec, and Radecznica Jewish communities can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/672, 211 [e.g., 219, pp. 7, 10, 18; 220, pp. 1, 58, 76–77, 81; 221, pp. 20, 32, 47, 58, 64; 222, pp. 1, 11, 20, 37–38, 44, 53–54; 224, pp. 1, 28–30, 54, 55; 1000, pp. 1–4], 301/5503, Ring I/545); IPN (e.g., ASG, SAL 121-124, SOZ [6, 50]); IPN-Lu (e.g., 142/68); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG], reel # 6 [19/1331-1332]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH Ring]); VHF (e.g., # 32877, 33370, 48035, 48383); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [3082, 3052]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/672, pp. 1–12, 12–18, 24, 27, 41, 61.
2. Ibid., p. 40.
3. VHF, # 32877, testimony of Halina Witting.
4. Dworja Flajszer, "Szczebrzeszyn," in *Szczebrzeszyn*, p. 151.
5. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/222, p. 44.
6. Ibid., 211/221, p. 47.
7. Ibid., 211/224, p. 28.
8. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, pp. 238, 243, 248, 251–256.
9. AŻIH, 301/5503, testimony of Zofia Skoczek, p. 2.
10. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, pp. 257, 259–260; Itcheh Shtemmer, "Between Life and Death," in *Szczebrzeszyn*, p. 91.
11. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, pp. 270–271; Flajszer, "Szczebrzeszyn," p. 153.
12. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, pp. 277–279, 285–288; Flajszer, "Observations on Klukowski," in *Szczebrzeszyn*, pp. 147–148.
13. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, p. 294.
14. IPN, SOZ 59.
15. IPN, SAL 121-124; AŻIH, 301/5503, p. 3.
16. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, pp. 292–293.

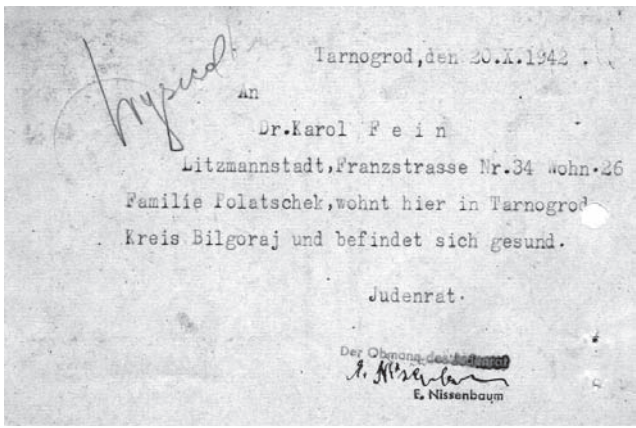
TARNOGRÓD

Pre-1939: Tarnogród, town, Biłgoraj powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Tarnogrod, Kreis Bilgoraj, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tarnogród, Biłgoraj powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Tarnogród lies 105 kilometers (65 miles) south of Lublin. In August 1939, its 5,016 residents included 2,515 Jews.

Upon occupying Tarnogród on September 15, 1939, a Wehrmacht unit set the local administration (gmina) building on fire, blamed the Jews for recent combat losses, and threw 16 Jewish hostages into the blaze. Some 35 Jewish-owned structures were incinerated.[1] About 10 days later, the Germans ceded Tarnogród to advancing Soviet forces. After September 28 German-Soviet border negotiations returned the settlement to German occupation, approximately 400 Jews joined the Red Army on October 5 in evacuating behind the Bug River. Shortly thereafter, the Germans reoccupied Tarnogród.

The Germans appointed a local collaborationist administration. Polish and Ukrainian police forces were recruited. From April 1941 to mid-October 1943, a German detachment of Gendarmerie was stationed in Tarnogród. Lieutenant Michael (Karl) Gerhard was the post commander. The jurisdiction


Tarnogrod, den 20.X.1942 .

An

Dr. Karol F e i n

Litzmannstadt, Franzstrasse Nr. 34 wohn. 26

Familie Polatschek, wohnt hier in Tarnogrod

Kreis Bilgoraj und befindet sich gesund.

Judenrat.

Der Obmann des Judenrat

E. Nissenbaum

Postcard from the Obmann of the Tarnogród Judenrat, E. Nissenbaum, to Dr. Karol Fein, Litzmannstadt, October 20, 1942. The note reads: "The Polatschek family lives here in Tarnogród, Biłgoraj District, and is healthy."
COURTESY OF EDWARDVICTOR.COM

of the Gendarmes extended approximately 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) beyond Tarnogród.

On November 23, 1939, the Jews were required to wear armbands with a Star of David. In late December, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Hersz Blutman became its chair.

In December 1939, 371 expellees arrived from Łódź and Kalisz. In April 1940, just 166 of these expellees remained. By the summer of 1941, additional December 1939 expellees, from Włocławek and Kalisz, brought the total number of Warthegau deportees to 250. Local Jews displaced by war devastation arrived, including by April 1940 some 327 burned out of residences in Biłgoraj, 99 in Frampol, and 61 in Janów Lubelski. In June 1941, the local Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization reported 2,730 Jews were living in Tarnogród.[2]

In the winter of 1940–1941, the Jews, including children, were ordered to clear snow from roads. From the early spring of 1941, Jewish men repaved the road from Tarnogród to Różaniec. Gravestones (*matzevot*) from the cemetery were used for the project. In August, 98 Jews were interned at a labor camp, probably at the Luftwaffe camp near Biłgoraj, some 21 kilometers (13 miles) away. Others worked in agricultural and forestry labor on a nearby estate under Forestry Service administration.[3] Many children worked as farm help for local Poles and Ukrainians. That fall, Wehrmacht troops mobilized Jews to bring in the harvest and to gather hay. Because the settlement had sustained relatively little war devastation, the initial 300-gram (10.6-ounce) daily bread ration was three times greater than elsewhere, and agricultural labor provided access to additional food, Boruch (Bronisław) Fabrykant, the head of the JSS in Kreis Bilgoraj, named Tarnogród in July 1941 the second-most livable place for Jews in the Kreis.[4]

In September 1941, Werner Ansel, the Bilgoraj Kreishauptmann, excluded Tarnogród from a list of ghettos he submitted to authorities in Lublin. In October 1941, Hans Frank imposed the death penalty on Jews throughout the Generalgouvernement found without permission outside their designated places of residence.

On October 16, 1941, young shepherds, both Christians and Jews, accidentally ignited a large stockpile of hay. The Gestapo blamed the fire on 12 Jewish shepherds, ordered the Jews to pay a 40,000-złoty fine, and seized 15 adult hostages, including several Jewish Council members. On October 18, the community surrendered the sum, but the Gestapo never released the hostages.[5] The Germans replaced the entire Jewish Council. Syna Gruer succeeded Blutman as chairman. By October 1942, E. Nissenbaum had succeeded Gruer.

After a late June 1941 typhus epidemic, German authorities ordered a medical clinic established. They appointed Dr. R. Polatschek, a Viennese physician expelled in March 1941 to Modliborzyce, its director. In October, during another epidemic, Polatschek, by then also a Jewish Council member, organized a 5-person sanitation force to help contain the disease.[6] In late December, the JSS established a community kitchen to serve the impoverished. When 600 people qualified for the program, the JSS limited the daily meal to 250 elderly and children.[7]

On March 22, 1942, Kreishauptmann Ansel ordered the 57 most impoverished Jewish families (221 people) in Biłgoraj evicted to Tarnogród. Security Police, a Sonderdienst (ethnic German police) unit, and members of the Biłgoraj Jewish sanitation force oversaw the expulsion. The Biłgoraj JSS provisioned the deportees and paid for Poles to transport them on carts. Though the JSS provided an additional 1,000 złoty in assistance, 4 expellees had perished by April 5 from diseases related to starvation.[8]

Some sources report the Tarnogród ghetto was established in May. JSS leaders in Biłgoraj, in reports about the expellees, never mentioned its existence. Documentation from other parts of southern Kreis Bilgoraj, specifically from Krzeszów, indicates that Jews, still needed for agricultural labor, continued to live outside of ghettos. However, by April 1942, restrictions on nonworking Jews leaving Tarnogród, additional fines, the absence of paid winter work, and the arrival of the Biłgoraj deportees had transformed the Jewish community into the most impoverished in the Kreis.[9]

In May or June 1942, at 1:00 A.M., members of the provincial Gestapo office in Biłgoraj arrived to order Lieutenant Gerhard and his men to help pull male Jews from their homes. At 5:00 A.M., the Security Police and the Gendarmes shot 40 to 49 of the captives in pits at the Roman Catholic cemetery.[10]

In early August 1942, the Judenrat was ordered to prepare two lists: the first of 1,500 Jews, supposedly for deportation to a labor camp in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the second, of those exempted from expulsion, including craftsmen, Jewish Council members, and those with certificates of employment. On August 9, members of the first and second platoon of the 3rd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 67 expelled the Jews on the deportation list. The expellees were transported to Biłgoraj on peasant carts. From there, they were joined to a large group of Biłgoraj Jews and taken to the railway station in Zwierzyniec. Forced onto cattle wagons,

the Jews were sent to be gassed at the Bełżec extermination camp.[11]

In Tarnogród, a ghetto was created to contain the approximately 1,000 Jews retained for labor and to consolidate the Jews living in as many as 50 different villages under the jurisdiction of the Gendarmerie post. The existing documentation does not indicate precisely where the Jews lived. It notes only that from September 1942 Jews were ordered to the ghetto from the following gminy: Wola Różaniecka, Księżpol, Łukowa, Babice (including Obsza, Olchowiec, and Zamch villages), Potok (Górny), and Biszcza.[12] (Though some of the gminy no longer exist, each was named for a village within it.) The 50 Jewish families living in 7 different villages in the pre-war Kuryłówka gmina probably also were ordered to the ghetto.[13] Whether Jews from the Dzików Stary gmina were consolidated in the ghetto is unknown. Some 500 to 800 Jews were covered by the expulsion order, bringing the total ghetto population to around 1,800.

The ghetto consisted of the area surrounding the main market square between Luchów, Różaniec, and Rynek Streets. The ghetto was not fenced, but the movement of Jews was restricted to the square.[14]

The Jews experienced overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, food shortages, and a high death rate. Gendarmes Wittmark and Franz Hilsche particularly were noted for terrorizing the ghetto residents. Wittmark reportedly boasted of daily killing a Jew to work up an appetite for breakfast.[15]

On November 2, 1942, Gendarmes, SS stationed in Biłgoraj, and members of the 3rd Company of Reserve Police Battalion 67 arrived before 7:30 A.M. to liquidate the ghetto. The expulsion turned bloody after a Jew, pulled from hiding, attacked a German. Hundreds of corpses piled up on the streets and in the fields.[16] Members of Reserve Police Battalion 67 and Gendarmes, including allegedly Reinhold Witt, shot another 300 Jews on the march to Biłgoraj. The victims were among 500 to 1,000 Jews believed killed during the ghetto liquidation.[17] On November 3, the surviving Jews were marched from Biłgoraj to the railway station in Zwierzyniec and sent from there to be gassed at the Bełżec extermination facility.

Some local Christians, including the Hałaś family, sheltered a handful of fugitives from the deportation. Others helped Jews procure false identity papers and to volunteer as Poles for forced labor in the Reich.[18] A few fugitives subsequently joined the partisans.

At a postwar trial in Hannover, Witt was found not guilty of participating in the November 1942 deportation of 1,000 Tarnogród Jews to Bełżec. The legal proceedings of Gerhard were suspended. Little is known about the case against the commander of the Potok (Górny) Polish auxiliary police force, investigated and tried in Zamość for crimes related to the liquidation of the larger Tarnogród Jewish community.[19]

SOURCES Secondary sources providing coverage of the destruction of the Jewish community of Tarnogród during World War II include the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 250–253.

Published memoirs from survivors include Mala Kacenberg, *Alone in the Forest* (New York: C.I.S. Publishers, 1995); and Joseph Schorer and Sheldon Schorer, *A Dream Fulfilled: Return to Tarnogrod* (Israel: Joseph Schorer, 1989), originally published in Hebrew, which contains several valuable eyewitness accounts, most notably the transcript of the taped interview with the local Polish Christian Józef Szunert. Additional accounts by survivors presumably can be found in the yizkor book edited by Shimon Kanc, available in Hebrew as *Sefer Tarnogrod: Le-zikhron ha-kehilah ha-Yehudit she-nehrevah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ṭarnogrod ṿeha-sevivah be-Yisrael, be-Artsot ha-berit uve-Anglıyah, 1965) and in Yiddish as *Yizker-bukh: Nokh der horev-gevorener yidisher kehile Tarnogrod* (Tel Aviv: Ṭarnogroder Landslayt in Yisrael, 1966), neither of which is available online at the Dorot Division, New York Public Library, or in the USHMM collections.

Published contemporary documentation includes an April 1942 German memorandum about the expulsion (the previous month) of the Biłgoraj impoverished to Tarnogród, in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), p. 271; and Tatiana Berenstein, "Tarnogród," *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 6, 1942, no. 16, p. 2.

The verdicts of the West German trials of Michael Gerhard and Reinhold Witt can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 42 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), respectively, Lfd. Nr. 844 and Lfd. Nr. 845.

Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 211 [219, pp. 7, 9, 14, 18; 221, pp. 12, 47, 64; 222, pp. 7–8, 11, 19, 27, 29; 223, p. 44; 224, pp. 7, 11–12, 15, 22–23, 28, 30, 40, 49, 55, 57], 301 [5542, 5504]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14192); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOZ 99); IPN-Lu (e.g., 4/71/Bi/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.2005.121.1; Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 5, 12/81-83, 85, 145, 157]); VHF (e.g., # 5987, 10269, 24479, 29403, 47568, 50876); and YVA (e.g., O-16 /4616, 5504).

Of the Distrikt Lublin Jewish communities mentioned in the entry but not covered elsewhere in this volume, the evidence is insufficient to determine whether similar remnant/collection ghettos were established in either Frampol or Krzeszów. Frampol was almost entirely obliterated by Luftwaffe bombardment on September 13, 1939. Because only one Jewish-owned house was left standing, its approximately 538 Jews were dispersed across the gmina, with fewer than 100 renting rooms from Roman Catholics (presumably Poles) in Frampol and the remaining Jews living similarly in seven other villages in the gmina. See, among others, USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/331, pp. 17–18, and Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/220, p. 60; 211/221, p. 47. It is unknown whether a collection ghetto, similar to the Tarnogród ghetto, was established for the Jews in and around Frampol on the eve of their expulsion on November 2, 1942, to the Bełżec extermination camp.

In Krzeszów, a community numbering 434 Jews in July 1942 (and not subject to an earlier expulsion), JSS officials reported that the consolidation orders were issued shortly before September 25, 1942, and that by then some 208 Jews had arrived from nearby localities. The authors of the report did

not mention whether a ghetto was established. Here, see AŻIH, 211/625, p. 43. Jewish survivors, almost all fugitives from the earlier liquidation of other communities, also did not subsequently recall either consolidations or a ghetto in Krzeszów. See, for example, VHF, # 50640, testimony of Meyer Zinn.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5504, testimony of Franciszek Hułaś and Leon Rak, p. 1.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/684, pp. 33–36, 40, 55, 92.
3. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1016, p. 3; 211/224, p. 30.
4. Ibid., 211/221, p. 47.
5. Ibid., 211/222, pp. 7–8, 19, 27; Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/684, p. 59.
6. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/221, p. 12; 211/222, pp. 11, 29.
7. "Tarnogród," *Gazeta Żydowska*, February 6, 1942, no. 16, p. 2.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/224, pp. 11–12, 15, 30.
9. Ibid., 211/224, p. 29; *JuNS-V*, vol. 42, Lfd. Nr. 845, p. 474, argues that the Jews of Tarnogród were forced to move together into an open Jewish quarter (*Judenwohnviertel*) at some time between September 1940 and the summer of 1942.
10. BA-L, B 162/14192, pp. 53–56, 58, 60; AŻIH, 301/5504, p. 3.
11. BA-L, B 162/14192, pp. 16, 39–40.
12. AŻIH, 301/5504, p. 2.
13. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/220, pp. 3–4.
14. AŻIH, 301/5504, p. 2.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., pp. 3–4; Józef Szunert deposition, in Schorer and Schorer, *A Dream*, pp. 242–248.
17. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), 12/145, 147; AŻIH, 301/5504, pp. 4–5.
18. AŻIH, 301/5504, pp. 5–6.
19. IPN, SOZ 99, pp. 1–395.

TOMASZÓW LUBELSKI

Pre-1939: Tomaszów Lubelski (Yiddish: Tomashov Lubelsk), town, Tomaszów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Tomaszow, Kreis Zamosc, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tomaszów Lubelski, Lublin województwo, Poland

Tomaszów Lubelski is located 123 kilometers (76 miles) southeast of Lublin. In 1931, its 10,403 inhabitants included 5,669 Jews. By August 1939, 6,000 to 7,000 Jews were residing in Tomaszów, then a town of around 13,000.

On September 7 and 9, 1939, more than 200 Jews perished in fires from a Luftwaffe bombardment. A Wehrmacht unit occupied Tomaszów on September 13. The soldiers incinerated another part of the town to drive out Polish soldiers hiding there. Some 500 Jewish-owned residences were destroyed. The German military commander ordered a large group of Jewish men rounded up. He held them responsible for German combat casualties; some were killed immediately and others were marched (together with as many as 20,000 Polish combatants) to a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp near Sieniawa.[1]

In Tomaszów, German soldiers subjected the Jews to humiliations before ceding the town on September 25 to advancing Soviet forces. After the September 28 German-Soviet border renegotiation returned Tomaszów to German occupation, the war devastation and earlier German violence prompted 4,000 to 5,000 Jews to join the Red Army's October 8 evacuation to Rawa Ruska. Others moved to less devastated German-occupied localities, including Komarów and Zamość, and to many smaller places, such as Majdan Górny, Rachanie, Wożuczyn, Michałów, and Jarczów.

On reoccupying Tomaszów, the Germans ordered the Jews to wear armbands with the Star of David. By early 1940, civilian authorities had appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by Szyja Fiszelzon. A Jewish police force was never established. In October 1940, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization estimated that 1,000 to 2,000 Jews were residing in Tomaszów.[2]

In 1940, the Germans destroyed the fire-devastated synagogue, imposed the first of several contributions, and expropriated Jewish-owned businesses. Jews were conscripted for forced labor, including clearing war damage, building border fortifications, and improving the road to Bełżec, located 8.1 kilometers (5 miles) south-southeast of Tomaszów. Survivor Chana Wajsleder-Szpicrajzen reports that the conscripts used *matzevot* (gravestones) from the cemetery for the last project. A number of Jews were employed by the municipal administration. Some tailors and shoemakers worked for the Gestapo, which opened a branch office in Tomaszów. The Jewish Council assigned foster parents for the youngest orphaned by war devastation. Older orphans, aged 12 to 14, lived together in several vacated residences.[3]

As thousands of Jews from Distrikt Lublin, Radom, and Warsaw were sent in the spring and summer of 1940 to the Bełżec forced labor camp to build the Eastern Rampart of the Otto Line, the Germans required the Tomaszów Jewish Council to care for inmates sick with infectious diseases. The council picked up some 20 to 30 prisoners daily in a horse-drawn wagon. The majority died. The council buried them at the Jewish cemetery.

The October 1940 population count occurred as the surviving Bełżec inmates were returning home, via the Tomaszów railway station. It therefore notes 9,306 Jews present in the town. Some former Bełżec inmates, mainly from Warsaw, remained in Tomaszów. However, by March 1941, no more than 215 Jewish refugees resided there. Some refugees, moreover, were Warthegau deportees from Włocławek, Łódź, and Koło transported to Zamość and Izbica (nad Wieprzem) in December 1939. In February 1941, Fiszelzon reported 1,400 Jews residing in Tomaszów.[4] The 100 to 200 remaining newcomers probably were returnees from the Soviet-occupied territories.

On a certain Saturday, probably in the early spring of 1941, several different German police units arrived to arrest the

Jewish (and Christian) mentally and physically handicapped. After imprisoning the Jewish arrestees in a basement, the Germans rounded up 10 Jews and ordered them to flood the cellar until the victims drowned.[5]

In September 1941, Helmuth Weihenmaier, the Zamosc Kreishauptmann, excluded Tomaszów from a list of ghettos he was required to submit to Distrikt-level authorities. In November, Hans Frank imposed the death penalty on Jews in the Generalgouvernement found without permission outside the borders of their designated places of registration. Wajsleder-Szpicrajzen notes that at the time of Frank's orders a ghetto had yet to be established in Tomaszów. The survivor further indicates that no ghetto existed through mid-May 1942, the month Matuszkiewicz, a notorious Gestapo informant, began proceedings to expropriate her home. Matuszkiewicz's murder stopped the expropriation. After a Polish neighbor informed police that Wajsleder-Szpicrajzen had pleaded with Matuszkiewicz on the day he was killed not to evict her family, she was imprisoned on suspicion of murder.[6]

On February 25, 1942, in preparation for the first large-scale gassings of Jews at the Bełżec killing center, 700 to 817 Tomaszów Jews were evacuated to Cieszanów.[7] Officially, all Jews older than 32 and their dependent family members were removed from Tomaszów. The transfer probably aimed to reduce the Jewish population along the main railway line into Bełżec. The Gestapo frequently searched for fugitives from the Cieszanów deportation. Unregistered Jews found during the searches were shot.[8]

The Jews in Tomaszów realized immediately that the Germans were killing Jews at Bełżec.[9] Mieczysław (Mendel) Garfinkiel, the Zamość Jewish Council chair, recalled that in March 1942 Jewish officials in Tomaszów (and several other nearby places) had informed him that the Germans murdered the 10,000 to 20,000 Jews daily arriving at Bełżec, including 18,000 Lublin deportees sent there between March 17 and 28.[10]

In May 1942, Fiszelzon was executed by the Gestapo for refusing to submit a list of prospective Tomaszów deportees. Aba Bergenbaum became the Jewish Council chair. On May 22, Gestapo from branch offices in Tomaszów and Zamość ordered the Jews assembled on the square. As local Polish auxiliary policemen guarded the Jews, the Germans killed the lame, sick, and elderly. Some 200 young men and women were retained for labor. The remaining Jews were loaded onto trucks, transported to Bełżec, and gassed on arrival.

The Jews retained for labor in Tomaszów were ordered to reside in an unfenced, open ghetto. The ghetto included Piekarska Street and probably the part of neighboring Lwów Street, which paralleled Piekarska and ran north around the square where it became Zamość Street, some of which also was within the ghetto's boundaries.

Some ghetto inhabitants worked for the Gestapo or for the Gendarmerie. Others left the ghetto to labor and live on the largest farms and estates of German colonists, including in Werachanie. In Tomaszów, conscripts cleared the houses of the recently deported, bringing furniture, clothing, and bedding to a large, fenced square. Peasants were forbidden to enter the ghetto to offer food for barter.[11]

In mid-August 1942, the Polish auxiliary police transferred to Tomaszów the permanent Jewish residents of Bełżec, not imprisoned at the camp. The deportees were held at the Tomaszów prison. According to Janusz Peter, a Polish-Christian resident of Bełżec and director of the Tomaszów hospital, a few dozen of the Bełżec prisoners escaped from jail.[12] In late September, in anticipation of an impending expulsion, the Gestapo promised to stop killing unregistered Jews, ordered all fugitives to report to the ghetto, and designated for the new arrivals six vacant houses on Piekarska Street.[13]

On October 27, 1942, Gendarmes and the Polish auxiliary police liquidated the Tomaszów ghetto. Some 100 Jews were shot either for fleeing or for evading the roundup.[14] Walter Panzer, the Tomaszów Landrat, personally pursued Bergenbaum, hidden in the basement of the magistrate's office, and shot him.[15] The agricultural laborers were executed in Werachanie that same day.[16] The Jews on the square were transported to the Bełżec killing center. The Bełżec Jews incarcerated at the Tomaszów prison also were transferred to the extermination camp.[17] The Jews were gassed on arrival.

Most fugitives were killed in the months following the ghetto's liquidation, some by local residents. The victims included Shava Kempinsky-Krieger's husband and three children killed by "six gentile hooligans."[18] Sholom Licht's yizkor book summary mentions the deaths, at Polish hands, of partisans Szymon Goldsztajn and Meir Kalachmacher (Korenwercel). Provided false identity papers by Bazyli Chmielewski and sent to live with an acquaintance in Skarżysko-Kamienna, Klara Post worked as a Polish laborer at the Hugo Schneider AG (HASAG) factory to supply partisans with the ammunition manufactured there.

Chmielewski assisted another 11 Jews in Rawa Ruska and Tomaszów, including Dawid, Abram, and Abisz Post. Elżbieta Ważna, incarcerated for illegal butchering, befriended Wajsleder-Szpicrajzen in prison, abetted her escape, and provided her shelter. The Czechoński family hid seven-year-old Szlomo Gorzyczański, a Łódź deportee, whose father had been born in Tomaszów. Three Eizensztejn family members lived outside the ghetto on false identity papers. One, an engineer, was killed shortly after Tomaszów's liberation on July 21, 1944.[19]

Fewer than 15 Tomaszów ghetto residents survived the war.

SOURCES Secondary works covering the World War II history of the Tomaszów Lubelski Jewish community include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 237–241, with an English translation available at jewishgen.org; and the accounts, available in English translation, on the Tomaszów Lubelski homepage at the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich.

Testimonies from survivors, including from a number who survived in and around Rawa Ruska, can be found in the yizkor book *Tomashover Lub*[*elsk*] *yizker bukh* (Brooklyn, NY:

Tomashover Relief Committee, 1965), which has been translated into Hebrew and English, with the latter prepared and published by Jacob Solomon Berger as *The Tomaszow-Lubelski Memorial Book* (Mahwah, NJ, 2008). Testimonies from Bazyli Chmielewski and Szlomo Gorzyczański are available in Polish and English translation at Światło w ciemności. Sprawiedliwi Wśród Narodów Świata, a Web site sponsored by Ośrodek Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN in Lublin.

Additional primary documentation is located in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/689; 211 [141, pp. 86–87, 95; 142, pp. 1–3, 12–13, 26, 45; 1143, pp. 2–4; 1147, pp. 6, 8, 10–11; 1148, pp. 6–7, 38, 46, 50; 1149, pp. 27–28; 1150, pp. 11, 36; 1151, pp. 34, 65, 68; 1152, pp. 8, 14–15, 20]; IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 36/67/1–2, 275/67/1–2); VHF; USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6, 18/1165–1168]; RG-15.084M [Relacje]; RG-50.488*0015); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2098, 2969).

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NOTES

1. *Tomaszow-Lubelski*, pp. 362–371 (Asher Herbstman testimony).
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH, JSS), 211/1147, p. 8.
3. AŻIH, 301/4139, testimony of Chana Wajsleder-Szpicrajzen, p. 1.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1150, p. 11; Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH, AJDC), 210/689, pp. 1, 5.
5. *Tomaszow-Lubelski*, p. 375 (Shmuel Ehrlich testimony).
6. AŻIH, 301/4139, p. 5.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1152, p. 20; 211/141, pp. 86–87; 211/142, pp. 1–3, 12–13, 26, 45; 211/143, pp. 2–4.
8. *Tomaszow-Lubelski*, pp. 376–380 (Sheva Kempinsky [Kempińska]-Krieger testimony).
9. AŻIH, 301/4139, p. 3.
10. Ibid., 302/122, testimony of Mieczysław Garfinkiel, pp. 34–35.
11. Ibid., 301/4139, pp. 2–3.
12. Ibid., 302/221, testimony of Janusz Peter, p. 33.
13. *Tomaszow-Lubelski*, p. 377.
14. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), 18/1167–1168.
15. *Tomaszow-Lubelski*, pp. 450–451 (Maria Kopiecka deposition).
16. AŻIH, 301/4139, p. 5.
17. Ibid., 302/221, p. 33.
18. *Tomaszow-Lubelski*, p. 378.
19. AŻIH, 302/221, p. 33; 301/4149, p. 3.

TYSZOWCE

Pre-1939: Tyszowce (Yiddish: Tishivits), town, Tomaszów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Zamosc, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Tomaszów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Tyszowce is located 125 kilometers (78 miles) southeast of Lublin. In 1939, its 7,548 inhabitants included 3,311 Jews.

Luftwaffe bombardment on September 12–13, 1939, sparked fires that destroyed about 60 percent of Tyszowce. The Germans occupied the town on September 17 but eight days later ceded it to Soviet forces. The extensive fire damage and Tyszowce's anticipated return to German occupation, the result of the September 28 German-Soviet border renegotiation, prompted some 2,000 Jews to join the Red Army's October 8 evacuation behind the Bug River.

Upon reoccupying Tyszowce days later, the Germans appointed a Polish collaborationist administration, initially headed by Józef Zarębski, the pre-war *wójt* (mayor). A Polish auxiliary police force also was appointed. Little is known of its activities. A Gendarmerie post was established. Ernst Schulz, assigned there shortly before Christmas 1940, was named the post's commander in June 1941. Between 1942 and 1943, Robert Golka also was assigned to the post.[1]

By February 1940, Zarębski had appointed Zylo (Zelig) Cukier head of a Jewish Council. Cukier also led the Tyszowce branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization.[2] A Jewish police force was recruited. It was commanded by Meier Szek, a restaurateur and co-owner (with a local Polish-Christian) of the pre-war cinema.

Jews burned out of their homes were permitted to rent rooms from local Poles. (Whether they could rent from the town's numerous ethnic Ukrainians is unknown.) Survivor Berko Finger (Berisz or Tsvi Fingier) complained that the Poles charged inflated rents. However, he and others acknowledge Zarębski ameliorated some of the German authorities' anti-Jewish decrees, for example, by refusing to ban the Jewish community from access to cheaper food rations and municipal funding. They believe these efforts were why Zarębski and Józef Piprowski, the gmina secretary, were sent to the Dachau concentration camp in May 1940.[3]

In the spring of 1940, hundreds of Tyszowce Jews joined the thousands of Jews from throughout the Generalgouvernement interned at the Bełżec forced labor camp and its 10 or more subcamps to build the Eastern Rampart of the so-called Otto Line, the 140-kilometer-long (87-mile-long) trench the Germans ordered constructed between the Bug and San Rivers. The Tyszowce Jews were interned at the subcamp located closest to Lubycza Królewska (at that time in Soviet-occupied territory). Another 120 Tyszowce Jews were imprisoned at a labor camp established in Zamość for water melioration work.[4] Others were interned at a second water drainage camp, established in the spring of 1940 in Mikulin, which from late June 1941 became a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[5] A smaller number of Jews left Tyszowce to live and labor on an estate in Miętkie, the wartime property of a German named Reimack.[6]

In the spring of 1940, German authorities ordered the Jewish Council in Lublin to finance a forced labor camp in Tyszowce. The camp was located at a large burned-out mill on the outskirts of southeast Tyszowce, opposite the school on Kościelna Street. Its initial 600 inmates, mainly from Lublin, Otwock, and Warsaw, worked on road construction and drainage projects designed to regulate the Huczwa River.[7] After the prisoners were returned home in the fall of 1940, the Tyszowce inmates in Zamość were transferred to the camp. The camp closed in the fall of 1941.[8]

As some former camp inmates opted to remain and many voluntary refugees escaping ghettoization in Warsaw arrived, the Jewish population increased. By November 1940, more than 2,000 Jews resided in Tyszowce.[9]

In 1941, Cukier informed American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) officials that the Jewish Council the previous year had devoted half its 19,000 złoty in financial resources to providing food, shoes, and other welfare assistance to local Jews interned at labor camps.[10] Finger recalls the JSS organized a kitchen in Tyszowce to feed the most impoverished. Because Cukier and his associates sold the kitchen's flour allotments and retained the profits, the kitchen distributed only a watery soup made from a few cabbage leaves.[11] Unfortunately, no JSS files have survived for Tyszowce, making it impossible to confirm or deny Finger's claims.

At midnight on May 22 or 24, 1942, German Gendarmes, led by Schulz, informed the Jewish Council that the Jews were to be expelled that day. Security Police and SS Ukrainian auxiliaries soon arrived to oversee the Aktion. They may have brought from Komarów a Jewish police unit, composed of Czech Jews.[12] Some 800 to 1,000 Tyszowce Jews were transported by peasant cart to a railway loading dock in Zamość, from where they were sent by train to the Sobibór extermination camp. Another 200 Jews, considered too old or feeble to make the trip or who refused to comply with orders to assemble on the square, were shot on the spot. Included among the victims were all the members of the Jewish Council.[13] Several hundred Jews evaded expulsion. Another 500 were retained for labor in Tyszowce.

A remnant ghetto was established for the Jews held back from expulsion. It was located in a few homes by the river, probably near the site of the former labor camp. The ghetto was an unfenced, open ghetto. However, its inmates were permitted to walk only a few yards beyond the houses in which they lived.[14]

The ghetto residents included a few dozen Czech Jews and probably some German Jews, mainly from Dortmund and its environs. The Protectorate and Reich Jews, who had arrived in Zamość on April 30 and May 2–3, 1942, were among some 700 newcomers transferred from May 2 to Komarów, located some 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) from Tyszowce.[15] It is unknown when, precisely, the expellees arrived in Tyszowce.

Immediately after the expulsion, a new Jewish Council was appointed. It was led by Markus Fischleiber, a German Jew.[16] Within a few hours, Jews who had evaded deportation were permitted to report to the newly established ghetto. Fischleiber required that the fugitives pay an exorbitant fee to legitimize their residence. Some days later, the SS raided the ghetto and shot some 47 to 60 still unregistered ghetto residents.[17]

Between 10 and 14 people lived in each of the rooms in the ghetto. The overcrowding increased incidents of illness, including typhus.[18]

At around the time of the October 16, 1942, liquidation of the Zamość ghetto, Gendarmes and SS, probably auxiliaries from Rachanie, also liquidated the Tyszowce ghetto. They mobilized local Poles and Ukrainians to help round up Jews attempting to flee.[19] About 100 Jews were shot. Fischleiber, his mother, and sister committed suicide. Another 480 Jews evaded expulsion by hiding in bunkers in forests near Miętkie (in the so-called Mikucki Woods). A Christian eyewitness reports that most of the 500 Jews assembled on the square were expelled. Likely consolidated in Komarów, the expellees were marched together with Jews from Komarów to the ghetto in Izbica (nad Wieprzem), where, on October 19, they were sent to their deaths at Bełżec and Sobibór. However, postwar Polish Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) documentation also suggests that a part of the Tyszowce Jews may have been shot nearby. It notes that between June 16, 1942, and the end of 1943, Gendarmes, commanded by Schulz, and members of a Rachanie-based Schutzpolizei unit, led by SS surnamed Olszewski and Rogalski, shot some 1,000 Jews from Tyszowce and nearby villages.[20]

Most Tyszowce fugitives perished during German searches of the forests, expelled (by what Finger recalls as Soviet, but may have been Ukrainian) partisan groups operating there or denounced by the local population.[21] By April 1943, only 15 of the 480 forest fugitives were still alive. A group of the survivors, including Finger, escaped to Hrubieszów, where Jewish inmates at the forced labor camp hid them until October. Fearing Security Police soon would liquidate the camp, Finger and his companions escaped to Kraśnik and entered the concentration camp in Budzyń. Another 8 fugitives, including 6 members of the Szakmajer family, Ester Singer, and her child, perished in 1944 after the neighbors of Jakub Kopytko, their aid giver, informed Gendarmes of the Jews' hiding place. Kopytko's wife died several weeks later. When Kopytko evaded arrest, frustrated Gendarmes ordered his neighbors to dismantle all the structures on his property.[22]

A handful of Tyszowce ghetto residents survived the war. Among them was Jeszajahu Sztengiel, murdered a month after the Red Army's liberation of Tyszowce in July 1944.[23]

Schulz, tried in 1964 in Ellwangen (Jagst), West Germany, for the shooting deaths of 12 Jews in Komarów, received a life sentence.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the history of the Tyszowce Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 244–247, an English translation of which can be found at jewishgen.org. A similar entry, available on the Tyszowce homepage of the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by the Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich (Museum of the History of Polish Jews), also incorporates Polish-Christian eyewitness testimonies from Robert Horbaczewski, *W blasku świec: Opowieści tyszowieckie* (Lublin: EL-Press, 2005). The yizkor book *Pinkas Tishivits* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ṭishiviṭs be-Yisrael, 1970) includes memoirs from survivors. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 575, pp. 217–247, describes the investigation and trial of Ernst Schulz.

Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 210/695, 211 [1147, pp. 8, 11; 1148, pp. 9, 41–42, 50; 1149, p. 27; 1150, p. 11; 1151, pp. 34, 40, 51; 1152, pp. 24, 50], 301 [2535A, 2926, 2985, 4333, 5836]); FVA (HVT-1963); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOZ [76, 85], SSKL 225); IPN-Lu (e.g., 111/67, 1-2, 346/67/1-2); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 15 (49/185-187), reel 6 (18/1089, 1172)]); RG-50.120*0111); VHF (e.g., 3400, 9322, 13951, 19229, 25544, 32094, 36193); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2780).

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NOTES

1. IPN, SOZ 76, pp. 1–286.
2. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/1148, p. 9.
3. AŻIH, 301/2985, testimony of Berko Finger, pp. 1–2. See also 301/5836, p. 1.
4. Ibid., 301/2985, p. 1.
5. Ibid., 301/5836, p. 2; USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), 49/185.
6. AŻIH, 301/2535a, testimony of Jakub Cukier, p. 1.
7. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1147, p. 8.
8. Ibid., RG-15.019M, 49/187.
9. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1147, p. 11.
10. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/695, p. 4.
11. AŻIH, 301/2985, p. 1.
12. Ibid., 301/5836, testimony of Augustyn Dudziński, p. 2.
13. Ibid., 301/2535a, p. 1.
14. Ibid., 301/2985, p. 2.
15. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1152, p. 34.
16. Ibid., p. 50.
17. AŻIH, 301/2985, p. 2.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 301/5836, p. 3.
20. USHMM, RG-15.019M, 18/1172.
21. IPN, SSKL 143, pp. 1–42; SOZ 85, pp. 1–614.
22. AŻIH, 301/5836, p. 2; 301/2926, testimony of Jakub Kopytko, p. 1.
23. Ibid., 301/5836, p. 1.

UCHANIE

Pre-1939: Uchanie (Yiddish: Uchan), town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Hrubieszow, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lublin województwo, Poland

Uchanie is located about 88 kilometers (55 miles) southeast of Lublin. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 1,010. On the eve of war in August 1939, between 1,450 and 1,700 Jews were residing in Uchanie.

After the September 1939 campaign, in early October, the Germans consolidated their occupation of Uchanie, following the withdrawal of the Red Army from the region.

By early in 1940, the German authorities had established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Uchanie, which had to supply a quota of forced laborers each day. Some of the Jews worked in agriculture, and others worked for German military units or other German offices in the region. In addition, the Judenrat had to meet repeated German demands for specific amounts of silver, gold, and other valuables.

Evidence for the existence of an open ghetto in Uchanie comes mainly from survivor testimony. For example, the family of Czesława Serafin, together with four other Jewish families, was living in the village of Staszic Kolonia, a few kilometers to the south of Uchanie, during the winter of 1939–1940. In April 1940, they received an order from the sołtys (village head) that they had to move to Uchanie. In Uchanie, Serafin's family moved in with their uncle; they were unable to find another apartment, because all the Jews from the neighboring villages had also been ordered to move to Uchanie.[1]

Czesława Serafin notes that the local peasants, when they made their prescribed deliveries to the Germans in Uchanie, also risked bringing in some additional food products (e.g., bread, milk, potatoes, kasha, and eggs), which they traded with the Jews in exchange for possessions, such as shoes, sheets, and clothing. Czesława and her husband, because of their good contacts, supplied all their relatives (more than 20 people) with food, mainly from her village of Staszic Kolonia.

According to Czesława, in January 1941, the Germans issued an order that the Jews in Uchanie had to move from their houses on the main streets to just three other streets: Cerkiewna, Cmentarna, and the *Rynek* (main square). This in effect established a Jewish residential area (or open ghetto) in Uchanie.[2]

This testimony is corroborated by Rubin Shafran, a native of Uchanie, who recalls that in 1941 the Germans brought in the Jews from the surrounding small towns and villages and created a ghetto in Uchanie. The ghetto was not enclosed—there was no barbed-wire fence—but the Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, with three or four families to each apartment. The Jews were only permitted to leave the ghetto to go to work.[3]

In June 1941, there were 1,253 Jews residing in Uchanie. Just prior to the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a number of Jews were conscripted to work for the Wehrmacht forces concentrated along the nearby border to the Soviet Union.

In late November 1941, around 100 Jewish expellees from Kraków arrived in Uchanie. These impoverished Jews received some meager financial support over the ensuing months from the headquarters of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Kraków.[4] In January 1942, there were 1,290 Jews in the town. In March or April 1942, several hundred men (aged 25 to 45 years old) were sent to the Jewish forced labor camp in Trawniki.[5]

In May 1942, around 680 Jews from the village of Horodło arrived in Uchanie. Their arrival is noted in the JSS records, but no reference is made as to where they had come from. At this time there was no community kitchen, but some cash was distributed to the new arrivals as welfare support.[6] The account in the Horodło yizkor book, however, confirms that the Jews of that village and several surrounding places, including Strzyżów, were transferred to Uchanie around this time, where they were held in a sheep pen with very little to eat for some two weeks before most were deported to the railway station at

Miączyn, 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Grabowiec.[7] Also at some time in May 1942, a group of about 300 young women and 100 men reportedly were sent to the Majdanek concentration camp.[8]

The JSS report for May 1942 states that there were 1,950 Jews in Uchanie. Of the 575 Jews requesting assistance, 420 were receiving it. The same report indicates that 43 Jews had died during that month but does not state the cause.[9] At the end of May or in early June 1942, German forces assisted by the local auxiliary police rounded up more than 40 Jews in Uchanie and shot them. The Jews were buried in a mass grave between the Jewish and Polish cemeteries in Uchanie. Sara Mostysser, who recalls arriving in the Uchanie ghetto from Strzyżów in May 1942, is among those who described this incident. She claims that the expulsion of the Jews took place only about two weeks after her arrival in Uchanie.[10]

German forces deported the Jews from Uchanie just before or on June 10, 1942. According to JSS records, 1,650 Jews were taken in wagons and on foot to the railroad station at Miączyn.[11] Just prior to the roundup, signs were posted all over the ghetto informing the Jews that they would be deported. They were permitted to take with them only 25 kilograms (55 pounds) of personal belongings.[12] Some of the Jews were shot by the guards during the transport to Miączyn.[13]

At the Miączyn station, the Jews were placed in an area surrounded with barbed wire, where a selection was conducted. A number of able-bodied Jews from the Uchanie ghetto were sent to a forced labor camp at Staw (about 30 kilometers [19 miles] from Uchanie), and another 350 or so remained in Uchanie (or were sent back there) as needed laborers or to clear out the ghetto area. From Miączyn, the remaining Jews were sent by train to the extermination camp in Sobibór.

The Jews that returned to Uchanie remained there until October 1942. At the end of August, the number of Jews registered there was 382. At this time the local JSS branch reported that it was still sending food and clothing to support the Jews who had been transferred to the forced labor camp at Staw. According to testimony given in West German criminal investigations, a number of Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Uchanie by members of the Gestapo from Hrubieszów on their regular visits between June and October 1942. Among the victims were a women and her child who had broken the curfew and about 30 elderly Jews who were shot as a group. Four days before the remaining Jews were transferred to the ghetto in Hrubieszów in October 1942, the grandfather of Jewish survivor Benito Mehl was also shot. The ghetto in Hrubieszów was liquidated in turn on October 22, 1942.[14]

Rubin Shafran managed to escape from Uchanie before the transfer to Hrubieszów and found refuge on a Polish farm. Czesława Serafin learned later that her aunt and two cousins (Pesia Goldfarb, Sura Rajchman, and Stel Lerner) had escaped from the deportation transport to Miączyn and hid for about a year, mostly in the forest. However, subsequently they were caught by the SS and shot in the Jewish cemetery in Uchanie.[15] There were only a few survivors from the Uchanie ghetto.

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jewish population of Uchanie during the Holocaust include "Uchanie," in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), p. 44—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; see also Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), p. 107 (Horodło) and p. 290 (Uchanie); Yosef Hayim Zavidovitsh, ed., *Di kehileh fun Horodla: Yizker-bukh nokh di kdoyshim fun Horodla (Poyln) un di kdoyshim fun di noente derfer* (Tel Aviv: Va' ad yots'e Horodlah be-Yisrael, 1966); and Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 65–66.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (210/696 [AJDC]; 211/140, 1051 [JSS]; 301/5779 [Relacje]); BA-L (B 162/4329); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AJDC]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]); and VHF (# 9561, 13068, 25227).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5779, testimony of Czesława Serafin.
2. Ibid. Serafin does not say that there was a ghetto, only that the Jews could live only on these three streets.
3. VHF, # 25227, testimony of Rubin Shafran (born 1927), 1997.
4. AŻIH, 211/140, p. 38; 211/1051, pp. 2, 5, 7, 11, 15.
5. Ibid., 301/5779.
6. Ibid., 211/1051, p. 19, report of JSS Uchanie, May 12, 1942.
7. Zavidovitsh, *Di kehileh fun Horodla*, pp. 185–186; see also Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, *District Lublin*, p. 107.
8. AŻIH, 301/5779. This may, however, be a mistaken reference to the transfer of Jews to the labor camp at Staw, as it is not mentioned in other sources.
9. Ibid., 211/1051, pp. 19, 22, 24.
10. VHF, # 25227; # 13068, testimony of Sara Mostysser (born 1924), 1996; AŻIH, 301/5779.
11. AŻIH, 211/1051, p. 26.
12. VHF, # 25227. Shafran dates the expulsion on June 8.
13. BA-L, B 162/4329 (208 AR-Z 91/61), Closing report of Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 369/62, in the case against Max Stöbner (crime location: Hrubieszów), April 15, 1965, p. 117.
14. Ibid., pp. 149–150, 298.
15. AŻIH, 301/5779.

URZĘDÓW

Pre-1939: Urzędów, village, Janów Lubelski powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Urzedow, Kreis Janow Lubelski, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Urzędów, Kraśnik powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Urzędów lies 55 kilometers (34 miles) southwest of Lublin. In August 1939, almost 250 of the gmina's 326 Jewish inhabitants resided in Urzędów. The remaining Jews lived in smaller villages.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied the gmina on September 15, 1939. By October 10, a German civil administration had been established for Kreis Janow Lubelski, including Urzędów.

In late December 1939, the Urzędów Jews were ordered to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Moszek Rychtenberg. A Kraśnik native commanded a 10-member Jewish police force. Manis Szajnbrun, an Urzędów confectioner named deputy police commander, used brutality to requisition gold, silver, bicycles, and other items demanded by the German authorities.[1] A December decree required Jewish Council representatives throughout the Kreis to sell white armbands with a blue Star of David for 2 złoty and for adult Jews to wear them by January 5, 1940.

The arrival of 40 newcomers, mainly December 1939 expellees from Łódź and voluntary refugees from Warsaw, increased the Jewish population to 402 by April 1941. The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch, led by Moszek Wajngarten, rented rooms in Polish-Christians' homes for 9 impoverished refugee families (37 people). On May 4, Jewish expellees arrived from Wąwolnica. Most originally were from Janów Lubelski and Puławy, plus some Viennese Jews, deported to Opole in February. Additional expellees arrived from Lublin the next day. On May 28, 60 Jewish refugees (including deportees) were residing in the gmina.[2]

The expropriation of businesses, escalating food prices with the massing of troops in Distrikt Lublin in the spring of 1941 in preparation for Germany's June invasion of the Soviet Union, and a decree confining Jews to their places of residence (from March 1 to July 1) rapidly impoverished the community. In July, the JSS asked wealthier Jews to prepare daily meals for 156 (of 220) impoverished Jews. The wealthy included 10 craftsmen permitted to operate workshops and nine business licensees, such as Jewish Council member Hersz Ajdelsztejn and Viennese refugee Dr. Laschke. Ajdelsztejn opened a bakery; Laschke established a dental practice.[3]

By August 1941, 40 Jews reported daily for forced labor in Urzędów; 71 others worked on unfinished construction projects at two pre-war building sites straddling the road between Urzędów and Kraśnik. The construction laborers initially worked at a residential building site (from 1954, Kraśnik Fabryczny), planned by the pre-war Polish government to house employees of its new ammunition factory in Dąbrowa-Bór. From July 1941, they also built foresters' barracks and stables near the woods at Dąbrowa. When, in the summer of 1942, Odilo Globocnik, the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Distrikt Lublin, decided to establish the Budzyń forced labor camp there, these structures became part of the camp. From the late summer of 1941, Urzędów labor crews, supervised by Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) from the Lipowa 7 camp in Lublin, retrofitted the ammunition factory for the Heinkel Company (Heinkel Werke), which in early 1942 established an aircraft repair facility (Heinkel Flugzeugwerke). Some Urzędów Jews worked at the facility.[4]

The need for an immediately accessible labor pool probably led Hans Lenk, the Janow Lubelski Kreishauptmann, from August of 1941, to order Jews from villages in the Urzędów gmina concentrated into a ghetto. On September 4, Wajngarten noted: "The location for the ghetto [*dzielnica żydowska*] already has been chosen; the state of housing is so wretched, it is impossible to imagine."[5] The ghetto was unfenced. On May 14, 1942, Maks Kaminer, the JSS chief for Kreis Janow Lubelski, noted that no closed ghettos existed in the Kreis.[6]

Whether all 143 Jewish residents of Bęczyn, Boby, Ewunin, Moniaki, Ostrów (pre-war Janów Lubelski powiat), Popkowice, and Zadworze reported to the ghetto on October 1, 1941, as ordered is unknown.[7] Wajngarten always had included them in gmina population figures. The Urzędów Jewish population peaked in late October. However, the increase came after the JSS extended aid to the 146 Jews in the Dzierzkowice gmina (the location of the construction projects), including meals for the Lipowa 7 POWs at Heinkel. To impress on JSS leaders the organization's new responsibilities, Wajngarten included the Dzierzkowice Jews within the Urzędów population and thus noted an expanded Jewish population for the pre-war Urzędów gmina of 466 and of 549 for October 1941. A Jewish Council, led by Hersz Fogiel, continued to represent the Dzierzkowice Jews through at least late November.[8]

Most ghetto inmates arrived with few personal belongings. Inadequate clothing and housing, primitive conditions at the work sites, and November 1941 orders forbidding Jews in the Generalgouvernement from leaving the area of their places of residence without permission increased incidences of frostbite, typhus, and hunger-related illnesses. Cold and hunger claimed the lives of 6 Urzędów Jews in November. Another 18 were patients at Jewish hospitals in Lublin, Janów Lubelski, and Kwiatkowice. Two Jews sent to Lublin arrived with such severe cases of frostbite that they died of complications from gangrene.[9]

From mid-October 1941, the JSS raised funds from nonghettoized Jews in Urzędów to buy materials to transform one ghetto residence into a winterized, heated shelter.[10] Because Hans Frank, by December, had ordered the death penalty imposed on Jews found violating the proscriptions on movement, JSS leaders seized an opportunity created by Kreishauptmann Lenk's October extension of potato and kasha rations to nonworking Jews to establish a community kitchen. It opened on January 1, 1942. However, after Lenk suspended rations to nonworking Jews (and Poles) in February, the JSS, forced onto the free market, could afford to feed only 30 people daily.[11] To provide the impoverished access to food, the Jewish Council in April arranged agricultural employment on a nearby estate for some 70 to 100 children, women, elderly, and unemployed.[12]

The Jewish Council likely believed the labor, which began on around April 15, 1942, might shield the community from a selective deportation, as had occurred in Kraśnik three days before, during which 2,040 mostly elderly, children, and unemployed were sent to Bełżec. Helen (Ajdelsztejn-) Erlich recalls that the Lipowa 7 POWs, regular guests at her house, informed the Jewish Council that the Germans were killing Jews at Bełżec. As a result, Ajdelsztejn's father purchased false

identity papers for her and arranged in October for the POWs to smuggle her to Lublin to find work.[13]

With the extension of Operation Reinhard into Kreis Janow, the Arbeitsamt (labor office) in Lublin increased labor camp quotas to retain "useful" Jews. On May 25, 1942, it ordered 30 Urzędów Jews to a water irrigation camp in Janiszów (Janów Lubelski powiat). Upon the establishment in Kraśnik of the town's first closed labor camp (the artisans' or synagogue camp) that same week, some 12 Urzędów Jews were among 180 craftsmen (mainly carpenters) ordered interned there. The inmates initially completed construction projects and built furniture for the Schmitt & Junke firm, which held the contract to erect an office building and to refurbish other offices needed for the Kreis administration's planned move to Kraśnik. Another 35 Urzędów Jews were sent that month to more distant labor camps.[14]

In mid-October, likely on October 14, 1942, the German authorities ordered the Jews to assemble the next morning on the square. A large number failed to appear. Because survivors' accounts diverge, the two SS men at the square probably ordered the Heinkel workers and construction laborers to report with their families to the recently completed Budzyń camp and the remaining Jews to the ghetto in Kraśnik.[15] The following day, the SS marched the Urzędów Jews in Kraśnik (together with Jews ordered there from other nearby communities) to the railway station and forced them onto trains destined for Bełżec. The Jews were all gassed on arrival.

One or two days later at Budzyń, the SS retained the Urzędów construction laborers, the Heinkel workers, and a number of others, including young women, as camp inmates. The prisoners' families were ordered to sleep in a group of barracks, designated a "special camp." Several days later, the SS marched the inmates' families to the Kraśnik railway station and sent them to their deaths at Bełżec.[16] Within a few weeks, the women inmates were ordered onto trucks, driven to the Kraśnik railway station, and also sent to Bełżec.[17]

Most fugitives were killed in the months immediately following the deportations.[18] Only a few found shelter with the local Polish population or survived on false identity papers as forced laborers in the Reich.[19] More than half of the approximately 15 Urzędów Jews who survived the war under the German occupation had been inmates of Budzyń—or of camps, such as Janiszów, whose prisoners subsequently were sent to Budzyń—or of the Kraśnik artisans' camp. None appear ever to have lived in the Urzędów ghetto.

SOURCES Secondary sources providing coverage of the Urzędów Jewish community during World War II include the relevant entries in Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 42–44; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 290–292. The Urzędów homepage on the Wirtualny Sztetl, a Web site sponsored by the Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich, contains a secondary account, available in English translation, and a large bibliography of Polish-language works.

Published eyewitness accounts, available only from Polish Christians, include in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 118–126, excerpts from AŻIH, 302/277, testimony of Kazimierz Cieślicki; and "Wspomnienia Aleksandra Marciniaka," *Głos Ziemi Urzędowskiej—Czasopismo Towarzystwa Ziemi Urzędowskiej* (Urzędów, 2003), a series of letters written by Aleksander Marciniak, a wartime deportee from Poznań. The second account is most accessible in its complete form on the Web site of the Urzędów gmina, at www.urzedow.pl. A transcription of the specific letter in which Marciniak recalls Dr. Laschke and postal carrier Josek Weinman can be found at the Wirtualny Sztetl. The published accounts are better considered together with the oral testimonies of Jewish survivors Helen (Ajdelsztejn-) Erlich and Gary Flumenbaum, at VHF, respectively, # 11358 and # 1861, as the authors' memories considerably diverge, particularly when it comes to Laschke and the Ajdelsztejn family.

Unfortunately, none of the above works discuss the ghetto, for which coverage, outside of this entry, so far is known to exist only in archival documentation, specifically in the second JSS files for Urzędów, located at AŻIH, 211/1064. Additional documentation for the Urzędów Jewish community can be found in the following archives: APL; APL-Kraśnik; AŻIH (e.g., 210/701; 211 [140, pp. 64–66, 71; 141, pp. 31, 33, 34; 142, pp. 21, 46; 460, pp. 23–24, 31; 462, pp. 7–8; 1063; 1065]; 301 [426, 4348, 4403]); IPN (e.g., SOL 65, 107-108); IPN-Lu (e.g., 357/67/1-3); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 302/277, testimony of Kazimierz Cieślicki, pp. 11, 20–21.
2. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 211/1063, pp. 8, 11, 13, 19–20, 26.
3. Ibid., 211/1064, pp. 17–18, 20; VHF, # 11358, testimony of Helen (Ajdelsztejn-) Erlich.
4. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 211/1064, p. 29; VHF, # 1861, testimony of Gary Flumenbaum; # 11358.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 211/1064, p. 32.
6. Ibid., 211/462, p. 34.
7. Ibid., 211/1064, p. 37.
8. Ibid., 211/1064, pp. 56–57; 211/460, p. 23; 211/461, p. 49; VHF, # 11358.
9. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 211/1064, pp. 58–59.
10. Ibid., 211/1064, p. 51.
11. Ibid., 211/1065, pp. 5–6, 27–28, 38.
12. Ibid., pp. 32–33.
13. VHF, # 11358.
14. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0154, 211/1065, pp. 37, 41; 211/462, p. 41.
15. Compare VHF, # 1861, and AŻIH, 301/4403, testimony of Icek Mandelbaum, p. 1.
16. VHF, # 1861.
17. AŻIH, 301/4403, p. 1.
18. Ibid., 302/277, pp. 23–29.
19. Ibid., 301/436, testimony of Sydzia Konis, pp. 1–8.

WĄWOLNICA

Pre-1939: Wąwolnica (Yiddish: Vonvolitz), village, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Wawolnica, Kreis Pulawy, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wąwolnica, Puławy powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Wąwolnica lies 35 kilometers (22 miles) northwest of Lublin. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, almost 900 Jews resided there.[1]

A Wehrmacht unit briefly occupied Wąwolnica from September 15, 1939. A small contingent of Austrian soldiers left behind to establish a local German civilian administration did not humiliate the Jews or conscript them for labor. The new mayor, Anton Müller, a writer and local ethnic German, initially permitted the Jews to carry on their pre-war occupations and to observe the Sabbath. Few German troops arrived to harass the Jews, perhaps because of Wąwolnica's location, atop a steep hill, a distance away from the highway connecting Warsaw to Lublin.[2]

Because it was considered a relative "safe haven" for Jews, Wąwolnica became flooded with Jewish refugees. Among the 800 Jewish refugees residing in Wąwolnica in January 1940 were hundreds of Jews from war-devastated Kurów.[3]

The relative peace ended in 1940 when the local administration in January created registration requirements for Jews and forbade them from engaging in trade. Before March, the Jews were ordered to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Naftalia Rozenperł.[4] On a Sabbath that year, a group of Germans stormed the synagogue to beat and humiliate the Jews they found there. In early spring, another group of soldiers searched Jewish homes for valuables. A third contingent of Germans entered Wąwolnica on a summer night to conscript Jews for local forced labor assignments. The Germans compelled the conscripts to run sprints up and down the Wąwolnica hill.[5]

In the early spring of 1940, the local administration reordered residential patterns in Wąwolnica by expelling Jews from Christian-owned residences. Whether the Jews were required to mark their houses is unknown. Survivor Helen Kotlar, a refugee from Kurów, only recalls the *shochet* among those expelled from his residence, which was ordered returned to its non-Jewish owner.[6]

A more formal 2-square-kilometer (494-acre) Jewish quarter was subsequently established in Wąwolnica. The sources differ on the date of its creation. The Polish official responsible for completing the postwar Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) questionnaire on camps and ghettos reported that the Wąwolnica ghetto was established in April but erred in reporting the year as 1942. (By then, almost all of the 2,000 Jews listed as inmates of the ghetto already had been sent to their deaths.) A Polish researcher at the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) later claimed the ghetto was created in February 1942.[7]

Local officials imposed new anti-Jewish decrees from the early spring of 1941, probably to pressure local refugees to return home. On March 15, they suspended all food rations to Jews.[8] (Prior to the announcement, every adult Jew in Wąwolnica had been allotted 120 grams [4.2 ounces] of bread daily, 200 grams [7 ounces] of sugar monthly, and 200 kilograms [about 441 pounds] of potatoes yearly.) In April, all the remaining Kurów refugees were expelled.[9]

The Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) and the Judenrat established a communal kitchen to provide a daily meal to every Jewish inhabitant of Wąwolnica. In July, 1,200 people paid for the dinners, 60 received subsidized meals, and another 440, the most indigent, were provided free meals. In July, the sugar ration was restored. On August 31, officials announced a 100-gram (3.5-ounce) daily bread ration.[10]

By then, the poor sanitary conditions bred by overcrowding and the absence of food had contributed to the outbreak of a typhus epidemic. On May 31, 1941, 525 Jews (40 percent) were ill. Quarantine procedures, mandated by German authorities in Puławy for Jews sick with typhus, may have given rise to the existence of a de facto Jewish quarter, or ghetto, as they required sick Jews be separated from the non-Jewish population in a designated building or cluster of residences.[11] However, the evidence is too sparse to say for certain why some local Poles believed a ghetto existed in Wąwolnica by April.

From June until September 1, 1941, 280 Wąwolnica Jews were interned in labor camps located in the pre-war Wąwolnica gmina, mostly at a brick-making concern in Łopatki and at a camp established for agricultural labor in Błonice. Some 70 others were sent to camps outside the pre-war gmina, mostly in Puławy. During this same period, the Judenrat was required to provide an additional 200 Jews daily for forced labor in Wąwolnica. About 25 craftsmen labored at a shoemaking workshop established in the ghetto.[12]

On March 22 or 24, 1942, an SS unit stormed the Wąwolnica ghetto, rounded up 120 Jews, including several Judenrat members, and executed them at the Jewish cemetery. According to the *Pinkas ha-kehilot* entry for Wąwolnica, the Jews were murdered in reprisal for the killing, probably by the Polish underground, of a local ethnic German employed in the Wąwolnica civil administration. However, reports in the Underground Archives of the Warsaw Ghetto note the Jews were killed during a "resettlement" Aktion.[13] Unfortunately, German sources, which report 80 Jews were shot in Wąwolnica on March 24, do not indicate the reason for the shootings.[14]

Generally, scholars who maintain that the March 1942 killings were unrelated to the expulsion of the Jews believe an SS unit returned to Wąwolnica on March 29, 1942, to liquidate the ghetto. The Germans, joined by Ukrainian auxiliaries, expelled the entire Jewish community—some 2,000 people—to the ghetto in Opole, located 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Wąwolnica. A March 29 letter, from Mosze Goldbaum, an expellee to the Opole ghetto from Kazimierz Dolny, appears to corroborate this version of events in stating that "all of Wąwolnica today was chased to Opole."[15] On either March 30 or 31, the Wąwolnica Jews were marched from Opole (via Wąwolnica) to the Nałęczów railway station

and ordered onto trains destined for the Bełżec extermination camp.[16]

Others maintain the killings were part of a two-stage liquidation of the Wąwolnica ghetto. In this version of events, on March 24, 1942, the day of the executions, the SS expelled those Jews—about 1,450 people—whom they deemed unfit for labor. The expellees were placed on peasant carts and transported directly to the railway station in Nałęczów, located 5.8 kilometers (3.6 miles) east of Wąwolnica. There, they were forced onto trains and sent to Bełżec. On March 29, the SS returned to Wąwolnica to march the approximately 800 Jews predesignated for labor to the Opole ghetto. From there, the expellees were sent to the Poniatowa labor camp. Unfortunately, the existing German documentation, a March 30 memo about the ongoing *Juden Umsiedlungsaktion* (Jewish Resettlement Action), does not corroborate either version of events completely, as it notes only that 1,950 Jews from Wąwolnica and Opole had already been resettled via the Nałęczów railway station.[17]

A small number of Jews—perhaps 40 to 50 people—were held back from the deportations for a remnant ghetto in Wąwolnica. Tatiana Berenstein maintains the ghetto was liquidated in May 1942, when its inmates were sent outside of Wąwolnica for seasonal labor, including to the brickworks in Łopatki and for agricultural labor in Buchałowice. In October 1943, as part of the larger Aktion to murder almost all the surviving Jews in Distrikt Lublin, a small SS contingent from Lublin shot the laborers in front of mass graves located just outside the villages where they worked. Documentation for Łopatki, for instance, describes the October 1943 execution of 14 Jews who had been brought from Wąwolnica five months earlier for labor at the brickworks. Similar documentation for Buchałowice provides the location of the mass grave of 16 to 30 Wąwolnica Jews executed in the forest, just outside the village.[18]

Documentation for the village of Rogałów suggests some Jews may have remained in the Wąwolnica ghetto until October 1943. It describes the SS bringing nine Jews that month from Wąwolnica to Rogałów and executing them there as part of the liquidation of the remaining Jews in Distrikt Lublin.[19]

The precise number of Wąwolnica survivors is unknown. Although some adults did survive the war, only the youngest later recorded testimonies detailing their wartime experiences. Barbara Hofman was under a year old when her father Abraham left her on the doorstep of Maria Połkowska on Christmas Eve 1942.[20] The parents of eight-year-old Hela Szternblic instructed her to find shelter with their Polish friends, Wiktor and Pelagia Dobraczyński. Also counted among Wąwolnica survivors are Danuta Winnik and her son, Eugeniusz, refugees from Warsaw, aided by Józef Gorajek, a priest at St. Wojciech Church in Wąwolnica.

SOURCES Some documentation has appeared in publications such as Rutka Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, vol. 1, *Listy o Zagładzie* (Warsaw: PWN, 1997), pp. 136–141 (AŻIH, Ring [943] I/587/b, photostatic copy, Yiddish orig., Yiddish transcription, Polish trans.); Joseph Kermesh, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor! Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 116–120 (AŻIH, Ring [23] I/259, English trans.); and Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1957), pp. 282–283 (APL, 498/0/273, Vermerk to Türk, March 30, 1942, German transcription and Polish trans.). The latter document also appears in the German-language edition of the same collection, Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961).

Because Helen Kotlar initially sought refuge in Wąwolnica, her testimony, "Un dokh bin ikh geblibn lebn," in the Kurów yizkor book, Moisheh Grosman, ed., *Yizker-bukh Koriv. Sefer yizkor, matsevet-zikaron le-ayaratenu Koriv* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ḳoriv be-Yisrael, 1955), touches on Jewish life in Wąwolnica during the first months of the war. It has been translated and published in English as *We Lived in a Grave* (New York: Shengold, 1980).

Most secondary works maintain the Wąwolnica ghetto was established in February 1942, likely because it is the date cited in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 558. The IPN research presented for Wąwolnica in *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945. Województwo lubelskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and IPN, 1985), pp. 256–257, is confusing and at points contradictory.

Secondary accounts suggesting a single-stage ghetto liquidation include David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2003), p. 272; Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 165–167; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 291–294. Tatiana Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH*, no. 21 (1957): 78, however, outlines a two-stage liquidation and a remnant ghetto.

Also helpful are Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pp. 176–177, 246, 630–631; Bob Pool, "Holocaust Hero—Jews Honor Polish Priest for Saving Lives in World War II," *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1988; and Ewa Czerwińska, "Mój sprawiedliwy wujek z Wąwolnicy," *Kurier Lubelski*, March 11, 2006.

Archival sources documenting the history of the Wąwolnica Jewish community during World War II include AAN (e.g., Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraju, 202/II-29, pp. 17–19 (Ring [38] I/1220 [complete]); APL (e.g., 498 [273]); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, Ring [23] I/259, [24] I/262, [38] I/1220); 210/707; 211/1089); IPN (Ankiety [e.g., ASG]); IPN-Lu (e.g., Ds-2/67/1-6); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH] 211/1089;

Acc. 1999.A.0154 [AŻIH] 210/707; RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 6, 16/838, 840, 845, and reel 15, 49/120]); VHF (# 41853); and YVA (e.g., O-53/82 [APL 498]).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), ŻSS, 211/1089, pp. 8, 12.
2. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 16–18.
3. USHMM, Acc. 1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), AJDC, 210/707, p. 8.
4. Ibid., pp. 8, 47.
5. Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave*, pp. 19–21, 24.
6. Ibid., pp. 22–24.
7. Compare USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 15, 49/120, p. 1; with Pilichowski et al., *Obozy*, p. 558.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1089, pp. 8, 10.
9. Ibid., pp. 2, 6.
10. Ibid., pp. 9, 12, 14, 17, 18.
11. Ibid., p. 8.
12. Ibid., pp. 12, 17, 23–24.
13. Ibid., RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring [24] I/262, [38.] I/1220, [23] I/259, respectively, *Wiadomości*, April 3 and 12, 1942, and *Mitteylungen*, May 5–6, 1942.
14. APL, 498 (Urząd Okręgu Lubelskiego [Amt des Distrikts Lublin—Landamt]), 0/273 (Judenaussiedlung, 1941–1942), p. 47, as cited in *Rejestr miejsc. Województwo lubelskie*, p. 256, for 80 victims.
15. USHMM, RG-15.079M, [943] Ring I/587, Mosze Goldbaum to Josel Goldbaum, March 29, 1942.
16. Latest expulsion date from Silberklang, "The Holocaust," p. 271.
17. APL, 498/0/273, Vermerk to Türk, March 30, 1942.
18. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 6, 16/838, 16/840.
19. Ibid., 16/845.
20. VHF, # 41853, testimony of Barbara Jenkins.

WISZNICE

Pre-1939: Wisznice (Yiddish: Vishnitza), village, Włodawa powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Wischnitze, Kreis Biala Podlaska, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Wisznice, Biała Podlaska powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Wisznice lies on the Zielawa River, almost 89 kilometers (55 miles) northeast of Lublin. Some 1,100 Jews resided there on the eve of World War II.[1]

The Germans occupied Wisznice on September 21–22, 1939, but immediately abandoned it to Soviet occupation. Red Army forces, which arrived on September 25, left on October 6, in the larger Soviet evacuation behind the Bug River. As many as 269 Wisznice Jews followed them.[2] A Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Wisznice on October 7–8. The soldiers cut off the beards of older Jews and rounded up younger Jews for forced labor. On October 11, the soldiers departed Wisznice. Two days later, a sapper unit arrived to repair the bridge over the Zielawa. In November 1939, the German civil administration ordered Jewish Councils (Judenräte) established in Kreis Biala Podlaska. By early 1940, Jews throughout the Kreis were required to wear white armbands.



A group of Jews poses in front of the Wisznice ghetto entrance, 1942. The sign above the gate, written in German and Polish, reads, "Jewish quarter, non-Jews forbidden entry." In the lower righthand corner, a legible portion of the placard attached to the sign reads, "Spotted Typhus." USHMM WS #03839, COURTESY OF ELIEZER AND JENELLY ROSENBERG

In Wisznice, Jan Michalczuk, a local Pole, was appointed sołtys. In early summer, the Germans designated Wisznice for future Ukrainian resettlement and invited several ethnic Ukrainians (pre-war Polish citizens) to form a municipal council under Mayor (wójt) Teodor Bahdaj. German authorities elevated Wisznice to an administrative center within Kreis Biala Podlaska, by establishing a Landkommissariat (Rural Administration) and an Arbeitsamt (labor office) there. Wisznice Landkommissar Klemmer's administration covered the parts of the pre-war Włodawa powiat incorporated into Kreis Biala Podlaska and included localities with significant Jewish populations such as Podedwórze-Opole, Rossosz, and Sławatycze. To police the territory, Gendarmerie posts were established in Wisznice and Sławatycze. Leutnant Buchholtz, the first commander of the Wisznice post, subsequently was replaced by Leutnant Schruck (Sruk). Gendarmes assigned to Wisznice included men surnamed Gering, Messal, and Pudel. A Sonderdienst force, composed mainly of local Ukrainians, and a unit of auxiliary Polish (Blue) Police assisted the Gendarmes.

In November 1940, Bahdaj and the town council ordered the Jews confined to an enclosed ghetto. The ghetto was located about 100 meters (328 feet) north of the market square on 2 hectares (about 5 acres) of land between what now are Kościelna, Fabryczna, and Polna Streets.[3] Among the earliest ghettos and the first enclosed ghetto established in Distrikt Lublin, the Wisznice ghetto was surrounded by a 2-meter-wide (6.6-feet-wide) ditch and a barbed-wire fence. A sign above the fence's only gate forbade non-Jews entrance to the Jewish quarter. Jews with resources evaded ghettoization by moving from Wisznice. About 70 of the most impoverished families (466 to 500 people) reported to the ghetto. They resided in 22 to 26 mostly one-room houses.[4]



Six members of the Jewish Council pose on a snow-covered street in the Wisznice ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #03842, COURTESY OF ELIEZER AND JENELLY ROSENBERG

To oversee the ghetto's day-to-day administration, the Gendarmerie commander appointed a local Ukrainian "commissar" of the ghetto. The commissar replaced the Jewish Council with a three-person Jewish ghetto administration and established a Jewish police force.[5]

When 925 to 970 expellees from Mława arrived in Wisznice in mid-December 1940, local authorities released the Wisznice Jews from the ghetto and designated it instead for the new arrivals. The native Jews were confined to an open ghetto of 20 mostly two-room houses, situated in a Jewish neighborhood just beyond the enclosed ghetto's fence.[6] Because the houses there had sustained extensive devastation while the Jews were imprisoned in the enclosed ghetto, most lacked doors and window glass.[7]

Naftali Birnhack, a member of the Kraków city Jewish Assistance Committee sent by Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) leaders in late December 1940 to visit refugees resettled in 15 localities in Distrikt Lublin, was most appalled by the plight of the Mława deportees in the enclosed Wisznice ghetto. He reported that they lacked the most primitive of utensils, bedding, and furniture. Those who could not be accommodated in ghetto housing slept directly on the ground in 35 earthen pits. Birnhack accused the Jewish ghetto administration of colluding with the ghetto's Ukrainian commissar to redirect relief earmarked for the refugees to native Jews and to torment the Mława expellees. He noted some 350 refugees had fled persecution in the ghetto. The 550 remaining inmates were mainly children (two thirds of the ghetto population) and elderly, left as hostages by family members unable to pay the Jewish authorities for "permission" to leave the ghetto. The Jewish ghetto administration required 350 underage children (girls younger than 14 and boys younger than 12) and the elderly to fulfill the forced labor obligations of their absent family members. Birnhack secured promises from the German Arbeitsamt director and the non-Jewish ghetto commissar to end the practice. They also "unofficially" agreed to permit the JSS to transfer children, the sick, and the elderly from the ghetto.[8]

Likely because the Wisznice JSS reported the "obligation" to assist the refugees was "too great," as most native Jews were freezing, had nothing to eat, and were ineligible for assistance, Birnhack asked the Sławatycze Jewish community to fill the void. By February 1940, the Sławatycze Jews had purchased and paid to transport to the ghetto some 2,100 kilograms (4,630 pounds) of potatoes, 640 kilograms (1,411 pounds) of bread, 436 kilograms (961 pounds) of kasha, 227 used pots, pans, and kitchen utensils, and 300 pieces of donated clothing.[9] Birnhack organized in Parczew three JSS relief committees to aid the refugees in Wisznice. The Parczew JSS received American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) and JSS funding to establish a community kitchen in the ghetto. It daily served a free meal to all 500 Mława refugees.[10]

Kreis-level JSS leaders visited the refugees on January 22, 1941, but mainly attempted to obtain permission from the Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann for a release from the ghetto of the children, women, and elderly among the Mława refugees. JSS leaders in Biała Podlaska and Parczew indicated that the Kreishauptmann supported a proposal to transfer children and women from the ghetto, but the existing documentation does not indicate whether he officially permitted their departure. In mid-January 1941, the Wisznice ghetto commissar met with Kreis-level JSS leaders in Biała Podlaska to establish the terms of the inmate release.[11] Though the JSS never acknowledged an agreement, 150 inmates left the ghetto in February 1941.[12]

On February 14, 1941, hundreds more deportees from Kraków were resettled into the enclosed Wisznice ghetto.[13] The Gendarmes began imposing death sentences on Jews in the two Wisznice ghettos. Three native Jews were executed in February 1941, likely for being found outside the open ghetto's borders without permission. In April, the Gendarmes executed another eight Jews from the enclosed ghetto for not reporting for forced labor.[14] That month, the most corrupt JSS members resigned, enabling JSS leaders to restore funding directly to Wisznice.

Typhus epidemics in June and July 1941 and again in October infected at least 400 people and claimed more than 20 lives.[15] Between May and October, 168 to 172 Jews were interned at labor camps. All but 16 were imprisoned at camps located in the pre-war Wisznice gmina, including at a camp established in Horodyszcze (pre-war Wisznice gmina, Włodawa powiat) to dig water retention and irrigation ditches for flood-control projects. The remaining Jews were required to perform forced labor, including street cleaning and building barracks for German policemen, SS, and soldiers sometimes billeted in Wisznice. How these obligations were shared between Jews in the open and enclosed ghettos is not known.

On January 28, 1942, Landkommissar Klemmer ordered 138 Jewish residents from nearby villages, including Rozwadówka, Motwica, and Czeputka, to consolidate in the enclosed ghetto. Accompanied to Wisznice by local Gendarmes, the expellees arrived naked and barefoot. Twenty died the next day.[16] In April, the Wisznice ghetto populations crested at 1,020, including 463 refugees and about 120 local expellees

in the enclosed ghetto. In September 1942, 10 Jews were shot dead in two executions in the neighboring Wisznice colony. At least 4 of the victims were killed for escaping from the ghetto.[17]

The Germans liquidated the two ghettos in Wisznice in late September 1942. German security forces, including the Gendarmes and members of the 2nd Platoon of Reserve Police Battalion 101, stationed in Wisznice since late July, marched almost all the Jews some 51 kilometers (32 miles) to the ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski. Because of the distance, the deportees likely spent the night in Komarówka Podlaska. On October 6 and 9, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101 cleared the Międzyrzec ghetto, sending its inmates, including as many as 1,000 Wisznice deportees, to be gassed at the Treblinka extermination camp.

The 20 to 120 Jews retained for labor in Wisznice were held in a remnant ghetto, just a single house located just beyond the enclosed ghetto's gates.[18] Mostly craftsmen, the inmates provided services to the German authorities. In November 1942, the Gendarmes and a small SS detachment liquidated the ghetto. The 108 inmates were executed, some in a mass grave near the Zielawa River in Dubica Górna and others at the Jewish cemetery in Wisznice.[19]

No inhabitants of the Wisznice ghettos are believed to have survived the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources touching on the history and destruction of the Wisznice Jewish community during World War II include Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 174–176; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 298–300. IPN research into the German executions of Jews in and around Wisznice is summarized by Kazimierz Leszczyński, "Eksterminacja ludności na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945," *Biuletyn GKBZHwP* (Warsaw) 9 (1957): 223, 245.

The Web site of the Wisznice gmina, located at www.wisznice.pl, contains a local history section, titled "Dzieje Wisznic," with the World War II coverage found under the "II wojna światowa w Wisznicach" (World War II in Wisznice) and "Pamiętniki" (Memoirs) links. The latter includes, under "Pamiętnik z II wojny światowej" (Memoir from World War II), a chronicle of the first and last days of the war written by the then-17-year-old Marian Romanowicz. The former contains an outline of the German administration in Wisznice, a brief history of the ghetto, and a link to a gallery of 17 photographs documenting the ghetto and Jewish life in and around Wisznice. Many of the same photographs appear on the Yad Vashem Web site. They also are available at USHMM, RG-05.006*01. The USHMM documentation includes captions for the photographs and a list, compiled in the fall of 1940 on the orders of sołtys Jan Michalczuk, of the names of the 834 Wisznice Jews slated to enter the ghetto. Józef Kermisz, ed., *Dokumenty i materiały do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 2, *Akcje i wysiedlenia* (Łódź: CŻKHwP, 1946), pt. 1, pp. 5–7, contains an exchange between the Wisznice Jewish ghetto administration and the Jewish Affairs Officer in the Kreis Biala Podlaska BuF about the conditions under which Jews from nearby villages were consolidated in the ghetto and the responses of the Wisznice Landkommissar and the Biala Podlaska Kreishauptmann to Jewish authorities' claims the deportees were mistreated.

Documentation pertaining to the Wisznice ghetto can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (210/721, 211 [132, pp. 45–47; 133, p. 36; 201, pp. 87, 91–92, 98, 100–101; 202, pp. 3–7, 13, 19–21, 23, 26, 27, 35–36, 42, 47–48, 52, 60, 66, 69; 203, pp. 19, 25, 43, 61; 204, pp. 31, 58; 205, p. 41; 206, pp. 38–38a, 79; 207, pp. 11, 42, 51, 90; 208, pp. 11, 44, 66, 72, 79; 646, p. 48; 970, pp. 1–24; 1099], 301/4417); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Lu (e.g., 124/67/1-2, 126/67/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-05.006*01; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6 (18/1223-1225, 1233-1235, 1241), reel 15 (49/199)]); VHF; and YVA. The JSS materials mainly document the assistance rendered to Mława deportees in the Wisznice ghetto during what likely was the largest grassroots effort by Jews in Distrikt Lublin to assist deportees. Though the VHF index lists testimonies from survivors of the Wisznice ghetto, in fact they are almost all from survivors of Nowy Wiśnicz.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/1099, p. 13.
2. Ibid., RG-05.006*01, pp. 1–11.
3. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 15, 49/199.
4. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154 (AŻIH), 210/721, pp. 20–21.
5. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/646, p. 48.
6. Ibid., 211/1099, p. 21.
7. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/721, pp. 20–21.
8. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/646, p. 48.
9. Ibid., 211/970, pp. 1–24.
10. Ibid., 211/780, pp. 3–20, 24–28, 34–38, 43–50, 65–72.
11. Ibid., pp. 18–19; 211/202, pp. 13, 20, 23, 211/970, p. 12.
12. Ibid., Acc.1999.A.0154, 210/721, p. 27.
13. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/202, p. 69.
14. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 6, 18/1241, 18/1233.
15. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1099, pp. 7, 21; 211/205, p. 41.
16. Ibid., 211/207, p. 51.
17. Ibid., RG-15.019M, reel 6, 18/1234-1235.
18. AŻIH, 301/4417, testimony of Icchak Frydman, pp. 1–2.
19. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 6, 18/1225, reel 15, 49/199.

WŁODAWA

Pre-1939: Włodawa, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Wlodawa, Kreis Cholm, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Włodawa, Lublin województwo, Poland

Włodawa is situated on the current Polish border with Belarus, about 100 kilometers (62 miles) northeast of Lublin. On the eve of World War II, there were 5,650 Jews living in the town.

After heavy bombing at the start of the war, German forces occupied Włodawa in mid-September 1939. Soon German

security forces rounded up hundreds of Jewish men and herded them into the Great Synagogue, threatening to burn it down. However, the men were released the next day in exchange for a selected group of hostages, who were also released after a beating, as the German forces suddenly retreated.[1] The Red Army then occupied Włodawa for a few days before withdrawing again behind the Bug River in accordance with the revised terms of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. This brief interlude gave some Jews the opportunity to flee into the Soviet-occupied zone.

The Germans reoccupied the town in October, setting up a civil administration several weeks later. With the establishment of the Generalgouvernement, the town lay within Kreis Cholm, Distrikt Lublin. The Kreishauptmänner were Werner Kalmus (October 1939 to February 1940), Gerhard Hager (May 1940 to July 1941), Hans Augustin (September 1941 to March 1942), Dr. Werner Ansel (April 1942 to November 1942), Claus Harms (December 1942 to May 1944), and once more Werner Ansel (July 1944). By 1941 a Landkommissariat (local outpost) of the Kreishauptmannschaft had been established in Włodawa.[2] Furthermore, there was a Grenzpolizeiposten (Border Police post), which was subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Lublin. From late 1939, the Włodawa Border Police post was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Nitschke; his deputy from January 15, 1942, was SS-Oberscharführer Schönborn. They were responsible for the town and its surroundings, up to the village of Sobibór 11 kilometers (7 miles) to the south.[3]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established by the German authorities in October 1939. Members of the committee were Szyja Somer (president), Abram Kahan (vice president), Szyja Lichtenberg, Rabbi Mendel Morgenstern (only for a short period), Mejr Borensztejn, Jankiel Richtman, Ignacy Bransztäter, Dr. Springer, Hersz Buchbinder, Hersz Bober, and Antoni Gruber.[4] The Judenrat and its small Jewish police force were responsible not only for collecting money but also for providing German officials with jewelry, leather boots, furs, and other luxury items, which of course were available only on the black market.[5]

The Germans immediately instituted a series of economic measures against the Jews. In the spring of 1940, all Jewish stores were expropriated or placed under trusteeship. Thus, the Nazis rapidly proceeded with the elimination of the Jews from economic life. The Jews were also subjected to extortion: in October 1939, the community had to raise a "contribution" of 50,000 złoty within 24 hours.[6] Early in 1942, the Kreishauptmann demanded 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of gold from the Włodawa Judenrat to avert a planned "resettlement Aktion." The Jews collected the required gold, apparently delaying the Aktion by several months.[7]

At some point early in the occupation, possibly in late 1939, the Jews were removed from some of the main streets in the town and were given only 10 minutes to leave. Jewish survivor Sara Umelinsky recalls that her family had to move in with another family in a district that became the "Jewish quarter," but she does not call it a ghetto. Other survivors also mention the existence of a Jewish quarter but do not give any details.[8] However, in a report from May 1942, the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) branch in Włodawa replied negatively to a questionnaire asking whether a Jewish residential area (*dzielnica żydowska*) existed in the town.[9] The survivor accounts in the yizkor book do not mention the existence of a ghetto in Włodawa until the fall of 1942.

Several waves of Jewish deportees were sent to Włodawa, which is described in at least one account as a "Judenstadt" or collection point for Jews.[10] In December 1939, several hundred Jews deported from Kalisz arrived in Włodawa, where the local community had to provide them with assistance. In mid-March 1942, another train with 785 Jews (515 female and 270 male, including 283 children) arrived from Mielec in Distrikt Krakau, where the local Jewish population had been completely resettled.[11] A further transport saw Jews from Vienna arriving at the Bug River. The train had left Aspang station near Vienna on April 27, 1942, with 1,000 men, women, and children. Only 3 of them are known to have survived the Holocaust.[12]

The Nazi administration had a strong interest in the workforce of the local population and thus established an Arbeitsamt (labor office) soon after the conquest of Włodawa, under the supervision of Gutsche and Gröh. The office was also in charge of the Jews—or, rather, handed the responsibility for supplying workers on to the Judenrat, where Brettmehl was responsible.[13] The Jewish Council also had to pay meager salaries and distribute food rations among the Jewish workers. Moreover, with the money received from "hiring" out ghetto inhabitants to interested companies, the council was able to organize food for the ghetto inhabitants.[14] Possible jobs besides cleaning and housekeeping for Germans existed mainly at the many formerly Jewish handicraft businesses and stores, which could not easily be operated without their former owners and employees.

The largest employer in town was the German company Rohde, which conducted drainage projects for the Wasser-



Three young Jews pose at a sawmill near the Włodawa ghetto, May 20, 1942. Pictured from left to right are Ester Rajs, Isaac Ejber, and Jacob Rajs. Ester perished at Sobibór; Isaac and Jacob were resistance fighters who were killed in Adampol.
USHMM WS #07784, COURTESY OF RACHEL EJBER BIRNBAUM

wirtschaftsamt (Water Administration Office) Chełm;[15] the local executive was Bernhard Falkenberg. First, he employed 180 Jews, but by 1942 their number had increased to some 1,500. They still lived in the Jewish section of town and walked to the work site southwest of Włodawa in the morning.[16] At the site, Falkenberg was known for his generosity in providing food for the Jews and especially for protecting them against abuses. The labor camp had many more Jews than were really needed for the workload there. Thus, Falkenberg was honored as a Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem in 1969 for his humane treatment of the Jews working for him.[17]

Between May 18 and 23, 1942, Kreishauptmann Werner Ansel ordered the first anti-Jewish Aktion in Włodawa.[18] About 1,300 Jews who were unable to work were forced by the German police and Ukrainian auxiliaries to assemble by the Kino Zachęta (cinema) at gunpoint. Then they were escorted to the railroad station and deported to the nearby Sobibór extermination camp, which had been erected with the assistance of 150 Jews from Włodawa.[19] During the deportation Aktion, the Germans and their collaborators staged a massacre in the town, which claimed an even larger number of Jewish victims. Roughly one week later, some of the survivors wrote a coded letter to the "Oneg Shabbat" archive in Warsaw filled with biblical allusions regarding the recent deportation.[20]

A further deportation Aktion in the summer of 1942 targeted children aged between 10 and 14. With severe violence, several hundred children were separated from their parents and transported to Sobibór. To calm them down, Rabbi Mendel Morgenstern accompanied them and went to his death with the children.[21]

In late October 1942, the Germans conducted another large-scale Aktion against the Jews of Włodawa. About a week before the Aktion, Nitschke ordered that the Jews from the surrounding villages, including Hańsk and Suchawa, and some from nearby work camps (including many malnourished German-speaking Jews) be brought to Włodawa. The town became so full that many Jews were sleeping outside in the rain. Then early in the morning of October 24, members of the SD, the Gendarmerie, Schutzpolizei, and mostly non-German auxiliaries from the Trawniki camp started arresting the Jews. They were collected in the sports stadium and then taken to the station. Only about 500 workers were exempted and allowed to remain, most of them working for Falkenberg; more than 7,000 Jews were transported to Sobibór and gassed there on arrival. At this time, more than 2,000 Jews from Chełm were marched to Sobibór via Włodawa.[22]

At the end of October, the German authorities announced that Włodawa would be one of the few remaining towns in Distrikt Lublin where Jews would be permitted to reside in a "Jewish residential area" (*Judenwohnbezirk*). However, the purpose of this announcement was mainly to lure Jews back out of hiding.[23] A remnant ghetto was created in Włodawa, which consisted of only two streets, Wyrykowska and Jatkowska. It was directly next to a new camp that had been established to hold the more than 500 remaining Jews with work permits (craftsmen). Both camps were surrounded by high barbed-wire fences. The ghetto gradually filled up with hundreds of Jews who emerged from hiding. In one or two further Aktions at the end of October or early November, the Germans rounded up several hundred more Jews from the ghetto and deported them to Sobibór. The SS already murdered some of them at the station due to insufficient space in the railcars.[24]

After this Aktion the Jews in the labor camp received larger monthly food rations consisting of 7.5 kilograms (16.5 pounds) of bread, 400 grams (14 ounces) of semolina, 400 grams of sugar, 400 grams of Polish poppy-bread, 200 (7 ounces) grams of jam, and 500 grams (17.6 ounces) of horsemeat. They were subjected to heavy forced labor for the Water Administration Office; getting to work required a march of 10 to 16 kilometers (6 to 10 miles). A small number of Jews were permitted to practice their old trades, but their rations were much smaller. The ghetto on Jatkowska Street continued to exist as a holding place for Jews brought in from the countryside, but conditions there were much worse. On April 30, 1943, the camp and ghetto were both liquidated, and most of the remaining Jews were deported.[25] Of 50 Jewish girls who were retained to sort out Jewish property from the ghetto after the Aktion, some escaped to a nearby manor, and the rest were killed on the spot shortly afterwards. Jewish Włodawa had ceased to exist. Only a few Jews managed to evade the roundups and flee to join partisan groups, for instance, the group led by Mosze Lichtenberg.[26] When the Red Army liberated the town in July 1944, no Jews were living there.

SOURCES There is only limited literature specifically on Włodawa during the Holocaust. Several detailed accounts of the fate of the Jewish community can be found in the yizkor book: Shimon Kants, ed., *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Vlodovah veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1974), which is mostly in Yiddish, with a shorter section in English. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 582, contains the judgment of Landgericht Hannover issued on October 29, 1964, focused on the deportations from Włodawa.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Włodawa can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/277, 2202, 2426, and 2766; 211/1109-1113); LG-Hamb (147 Ks 1/72); LG-Hann (2 Js 165/61 and 2 Ks 4/63); OKBZpNPL (Ds 16/67); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS]; RG-15.084 [Relacje]; RG-50.120 # 160); VHF; and YVA (e.g., TR.11/01238; M.10.AR.1/563).

Stephan Lehnstaedt

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.120 # 160, oral history with Sara Umelinsky; Kants, *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (English section), p. 53.

2. Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement. Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), p. 93.

3. *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 582, pp. 531–532.

4. AŻIH, 301/2202, testimony of Motel Rabinowicz, p. 2; Kants, *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (English section), p. 33.

5. AŻIH, 301/2202, p. 2.
6. Ibid., p. 2, dates this in October 1939; Kants, *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (English section), p. 33, dates this in December.
7. OKBZpNPL, Ds 16/67, interview with Bernhard Falkenberg, July 16, 1965, pp. 19–20.
8. USHMM, RG-50.120 # 160; see also AŻIH, 301/2202.
9. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/113, p. 20.
10. AŻIH, 301/2202, p. 7.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/113, pp. 16, 20.
12. See the doew Web site (www.doew.at/projekte/holocaust/shoah/wlodawa.html). For the transport from Vienna, see also AŻIH, 301/2202, p. 6. About 400 of these Viennese Jews were sent across the Bug to perform forced labor in Reichskommissariat Ukraine and were shot there together with other local Jews; see BA-L, B 162, II 202 AR-Z 472/67 (Hecht investigation), Bd. I, pp. 31–38, statement of Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.
13. AŻIH, 301/2766, testimony of Leon Lemberger, September 19, 1947, p. 1. See also *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 582, p. 582.
14. AŻIH, 301/2202, p. 2.
15. This kind of work is described in AŻIH, 301/277, testimony of Jecheskiel Huberman, pp. 1–2; see also 301/2766, p. 1.
16. *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 582, p. 582. Falkenberg's assistance to Jews is mentioned, for instance, in AŻIH, 301/2766, testimony of Leon Lemberger, p. 2.
17. Daniel Fraenkel and Jakob Borut, eds., *Lexikon der Gerechten unter den Völkern. Deutsche und Österreicher* (Göttingen, 2005), p. 109; and Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, pp. 274–275.
18. David Silberklang, "Die Juden und die ersten Deportationen aus dem Distrikt Lublin," in Bogdan Musial, ed., *"Aktion Reinhardt." Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2004), pp. 141–164, here p. 157; and Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, p. 257. For detailed descriptions of the deportation, see *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 582, pp. 532–549; and Kants, *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave*, pp. 33–38.
19. AŻIH, 301/2766, p. 1.
20. YVA, M.10.AR.1/563, letter from Włodawa to Warsaw, June 1, 1942. For a printed German version of the letter, see Silberklang, "Die Juden und die ersten Deportationen," p. 157; Hebrew and Polish versions can be found in *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 1, *Listy o zagładzie* (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 152–155.
21. AŻIH, 301/2766, p. 1. The number of deported children differs from between "at least 100" (*JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 582, p. 534) and 700 (Kants, *Yizker-bukh tsu Vlodave*, p. 36). Compared to the overall number of inmates, 200 to 300 seems more realistic.
22. Kants, *Yizker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (English section), pp. 35–37; USHMM, RG-50.120 # 160; *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 582, pp. 537–538.
23. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, October 28, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 342–344; see also Kants, *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (English section), p. 38.
24. AŻIH, 301/2202, pp. 8–9.
25. Ibid., pp. 9–10; and Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, pp. 274–275.
26. AŻIH, 301/2766, p. 2. For information on the partisans, see also Kants, *Yisker-bukh tsu Vlodave* (English section), pp. 27–32, 79–88.

ZAKLIKÓW

Pre-1939: Zaklików, town, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Zaklikow, Kreis Janow Lubelski, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Zaklików, Stalowa Wola powiat, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Zaklików is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) south-southwest of Lublin. In 1921, the Jewish population of Zaklików was 1,403.[1] Before the war, most of Zaklików's Jews lived together in the area surrounding the town's marketplace. However, some Jewish residents shared a mixed residential area bordering the forest with Poles.[2]

In mid-September 1939, German airplanes bombed Zaklików, inflicting several casualties. On September 18, the first German units entered the town, encountering only token resistance from 10 Polish soldiers stationed there. In reprisal for this attempted resistance, however, the Germans burned down part of the Jewish shtetl.[3] Later that day soldiers of the Wehrmacht forced the Jewish population to assemble in an empty lot. They held the Jews prisoner there for several hours with their hands on their heads. The Germans killed several Jews on this occasion, chosen more or less at random. Dozens of Jews from Zaklików, mostly single males, sought refuge from the Nazis in Soviet-occupied territory during these initial days.[4]

Those who remained in Zaklików were soon subjected to a series of anti-Jewish measures. Anything of value was confiscated by the Germans and stored in the study house, then shipped to Germany. Jewish freedom of movement was severely restricted: no Jew could go out after sunset or leave the town limits; and armbands bearing the Star of David had to be worn at all times. Soon after they arrived, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The community chose 12 representatives who became responsible for the enforcement of German decrees and demands. The Judenrat also organized a labor office (Arbeitsamt), which had the task of selecting able-bodied men for work in the town's lumber mills and in labor camps, such as that at Janów Lubelski. The Judenrat was perceived by many Jews to be actively collaborating with the Nazi regime, but one of its members also worked for an underground resistance organization. Zalman Kuperschmidt exploited his position in the Judenrat to issue forged identity papers, which helped a number of Jews from Zaklików to survive.[5]

There was also a unit of Jewish Police, which assisted the Judenrat in meeting the quota of forced laborers and in collecting the onerous "contributions" imposed on the Jewish community by the Germans. The Jewish Police wore armbands

marked "Ordnungsdienst" and applied pressure on the wealthier and more reluctant members of the community to ensure they paid their share.[6]

During 1941, Zaklików became a destination for Polish Jews driven out of other towns, considerably worsening overcrowding and living conditions. In March 1941, 400 refugees from other places in Distrikt Lublin arrived in Zaklików.[7] On November 14, 1941, members of the Sonderdienst (ethnic German police) escorted a group of 584 Jews that came from Kraków to Zaklików and Radomyśl nad Sanem. About 200 of these deportees remained in Zaklików.[8] By the end of 1941, there were around 2,200 Jews residing in the town.[9]

On March 15, 1941, a forced labor camp was established next to the rural settlement of Łysiaków. Poles as well as Jews from Polish territories were exploited there as forced laborers. The camp, which was headed initially by a man named Müller and later by his deputy Klau, held about 160 prisoners; during its existence nearly 700 inmates passed through it. The prisoners lived in poor conditions with no medical care. Many prisoners suffered from typhus. When it was liquidated on April 20, 1943, the Germans transferred the Polish workers, but the Jews were taken to an unknown location and murdered. The Germans then dismantled the camp.[10]

In Zaklików, limited rations were issued to those Jews who performed work, but these were inadequate to survive. Therefore, Jews traded remaining possessions with local Poles from the surrounding villages to obtain extra food, but "the peasants demanded exorbitant prices for their produce."[11] This trade was facilitated by the fact that no fence or wall was constructed in Zaklików to contain the Jewish population. Ben Peltzman, a survivor, mentions that from October 1941 Jews who left the town without permission faced the death penalty, but he does not mention the existence of a ghetto.[12]

Under German occupation, Zaklików became part of Kreis Janow, which from August 1941 was under the control of Kreishauptmann Kurt Lenk. The main force responsible for implementing German control in Zaklików, however, was the local Gendarmerie post, headed by a brutal Gendarme named Becker. Becker frequently entered Jewish houses and took what he wanted or murdered Jews personally. The German murder and deportation of the Jews of Kreis Janow commenced in the fall of 1942. As it was located on a railway line, Zaklików, together with Kraśnik, was intended as a place where Jews were concentrated briefly from throughout the Kreis prior to their deportation by rail.[13]

On or around October 15, 1942, German SS forces assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries entered the town and with the help of the Gendarmerie gathered all the Jews in the marketplace. Children, the sick, and the elderly were brutally murdered on the spot, as were those found in hiding. Altogether, at least 500 people were killed in and around Zaklików, and at least 1,000 were deported to be gassed at the Bełżec extermination camp.[14] Excluded from the deportation were up to 500 privileged Jews, including members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police and some craftsmen, who then had to clear the streets of corpses. At least 200 others concealed themselves successfully and emerged from hiding shortly after the Aktion. The Germans allowed them to return to their homes, granting them a very brief respite. According to Hersh Croin's testimony, the selection of people to remain in Zaklików "was a trick to fool the local Jews who had hidden during the expulsion Aktion."[15]

The German authorities announced throughout the Kreis that Zaklików would be one of two remnant ghettos along with Kraśnik, as recalled by several survivors. For example, Chaim Icek Hirszman of Janów recalled that on October 18, 1942, an order was given that the entire Janów area was to be *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). All Jews had to report to Zaklików, which was to be designated a "Judenstadt."[16] Another Janów surviovor recalled: "Then, all Jews were ordered to leave Janów. They were permitted to make their way either to Kraśnik or to Zaklików. I, together with my family, went to Zaklików. In Zaklików, a selection took place. Men capable of labor were separated out from the women, children, the elderly, and those recognized as incapable of work. . . . [I joined] my wife and 6-month-old son. . . . They loaded us onto a train and [we] were taken to Bełżec."[17] Peltzman recalled that the Jews of Janów were sent to Zaklików with the promise that they could create a new community there. He dates this prior to the first Aktion and gives high figures for the number deported. It is likely that Jews from Modliborzyce, where according to Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) records also no ghetto was established, were deported to Bełżec via the Zaklików railway station around this time.[18]

On October 28, 1942, Zaklików was listed as the only remaining Jewish "residential area" (*Judenwohnbezirk*) or remnant ghetto in Kreis Janow, in an order issued by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger. This served to reinforce the (false) assurances given earlier to Jews living in the Kreis that they would not be deported.[19]

Shortly afterwards, however, on November 2, 1942, nearly 1,500 Jews were sent to Zaklików from Kraśnik. Then on November 3, 1942, 2,000 people were deported from Zaklików by train to the Bełżec extermination camp.[20] These comprised about 300 people from Zaklików, together with those just arrived from Kraśnik.[21] During this Aktion, a number of those who tried to escape were shot immediately and subsequently buried in the Jewish cemetery; the others were loaded onto cattle cars and sent to their deaths. About 150 young and healthy Jews were selected and sent to the labor camp of Budzyń near Kraśnik. This was subsequently converted into a concentration camp, and only about 20 of these people survived.[22]

Following this deportation, Zaklików was officially declared to be cleansed of Jews, and it appears no "remnant ghetto" was formed in the town.[23] Rather, Zaklików served only as a collection and selection point for the Kreis within the destruction process. Nevertheless, the Germans continued to search for Jews in hiding. For example, later in November 1942, the Gendarmerie killed M. Magier, a Jew who had been able to hide until that point. His remains were buried in the forest close to the town.[24]

In 1947, only about 200 Jews from Zaklików remained alive, most of them having fled to the interior of the Soviet Union in 1939–1941. More than 30 survived the German occupation in Budzyń and various other forced labor and concentration camps. Nearly all of the survivors left Poland shortly after the war to start a new life in Israel or other countries in the West.

SOURCES Information regarding the history of the Jewish community of Zaklików can be found in the following publications: Joshua Laks, *I Was There*: *Zaklików*, *a Small Town to Remember* (Tel Aviv: Y. Laḳs, 2005); Abraham Wein, Bracha Freundlich, and Wila Orbach, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), pp. 213–215; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 2, *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), pp. 308–310.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community of Zaklików can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/27, 275, 1476, 2544, 3050; 211/704, 1142); BA-BL (R 102II/31); CAHJP (HM/6709-11); IPN (ASG; Ankieta OK Lublin, Ds 224/70/Kraś.); ITS; USHMM (RG-15.019M, reel 15; Hersh Croin Memoir: "The Last Act," 2005.341; Larry Rosenbach papers, 2005.169.1); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1630; O-53/82; O-3/4242).

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NOTES

1. Laks, *I Was There*, p. 18.
2. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
3. AŻIH, 301/3050, testimony of Ben Peltzman.
4. Laks, *I Was There*, pp. 293–295.
5. Ibid., pp. 297–300; and AŻIH, 301/3050.
6. Laks, *I Was There*, p. 301; and AŻIH, 301/3050.
7. Wein, Freundlich, and Orbach, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 7, *Lublin and Kielce*, p. 215.
8. BA-BL, R 102II/31, Gendarmerie Post Zaklików to Kreishauptmann Janow Lubelski, November 15, 1941, and Kreishauptmann Janow Lubelski to Main Department Internal Administration, BuF, November 18, 1941.
9. Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 309.
10. RG-15.019M, reel 15, p. 54.
11. Laks, *I Was There*, pp. 303–307. A ration card is reproduced on p. 303.
12. AŻIH, 301/3050; see also Verordnung des Generalgouverneurs Frank, Warsaw, October 15, 1941, *Verordnungsblatt GG* (1941) Nr. 99, p. 595, reprinted in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 128–129. Rubin, *The Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, p. 309, also states there was no ghetto in Zaklików.
13. Laks, *I Was There*, pp. 309–313; Becker was subsequently murdered by the partisans on one of his regular visits to Kraśnik. AŻIH, 301/2544, testimony of Henryk Proper; 301/1476, testimonies of Chaim and Pola Hirszman, indicates that Jews from Janów Lubelski were deported via Zaklików.
14. Laks, *I Was There*, pp. 316–319. AŻIH, 301/3050, appears to give the figure of 2,000 people deported. Also see David Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, February 2003), p. 280.
15. Laks, *I Was There*, pp. 321–322; USHMM, 2005.341, Hersh Croin Memoir: "The Last Act."
16. AŻIH, 301/27, testimony of Chaim Icek Hirszman; see also 301/3050.
17. Ibid., 301/1476.
18. Ibid., 301/3050. 211/704, p. 22, the local JSS branch reported in April 1942 that there was no ghetto in Modliborzyce, noting also that 670 Jews from Vienna arrived there on March 7, 1941, raising the Jewish population to 2,218 in April 1942. RG-15.019M, reel 5, p. 436, refers to Jews from Vienna, Modliborzyce, Janów, and other surrounding towns being shot and buried at the Jewish cemetery in Zaklików in early October 1942 [*sic*]—this probably refers to the Aktions in mid-October and early November.
19. Polizeiverordnung des Höheren SS- und Polizeiführers Krüger über die Errichtung von Judenwohnbezirken, October 28, 1942, published in Berenstein et al., *Faschismus*, *Getto*, *Massenmord*, pp. 342–344.
20. Silberklang, "The Holocaust in the Lublin District," p. 281.
21. Laks, *I Was There*, p. 319.
22. AŻIH, 301/3050.
23. This is the opinion of Dieter Pohl, *Von der "Judenpolitik" zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 136. Remnant ghettos were formed in the other places listed on the October 28 order.
24. IPN, Ankieta OK Lublin, "Egzekucje," Zaklików, pow. Kraśnik: OK Lublin, Ds 222/70/Kraś.

ZAMOŚĆ

Pre-1939: Zamość (Yiddish: Zamoshtsh), *town*, *Zamość powiat*, *Lublin województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1944: Zamosc*, *Kreis center*, *Distrikt Lublin*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Zamość*, *Lublin województwo*, *Poland*

Zamość lies 85 kilometers (53 miles) southeast of Lublin. Before World War II, its 12,531 Jews formed the third largest Jewish community in the Lublin region.

On September 13, 1939, a Wehrmacht unit occupied Zamość but ceded it after 12 days to advancing Soviet forces. After a September 28 border renegotiation placed Zamość under German occupation, 7,000 to 8,000 Jews joined the Red Army's October 5–6 evacuation behind the Bug River.

Upon reoccupying Zamość on October 8, 1939, Wehrmacht soldiers humiliated, robbed, and terrorized Jews. German police desecrated the two synagogues and several prayer houses. The violence ebbed from October 12, when military authorities ordered stores reopened. The Jews were subject to forced labor, made compulsory on October 26. Marking decrees, first issued in late November, required adult Jews by December to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David. From December, a series of Distrikt-wide and local orders confiscated Jewish businesses and property.

In mid-October 1939, the local Gestapo office and the German mayor ordered a Jewish Council of Elders established. In January 1940, it was transformed into a 24-member Jewish Council (Judenrat). Attorney Mieczysław (Mendel) Garfinkiel served as council chair. The council established eight departments: food supply, post office, registration office, labor, welfare services for labor camp inmates, taxes, vital statistics, and finance. It recruited a group of so-called strong arms (*shtarken*) to round up forced laborers and to confiscate property that the Germans demanded, including by early 1940 some 235,000 złoty.[1] In mid-1941, the council organized a 10-person Jewish police force. Dawid Garfinkiel, its first commander, was the Jewish Council chair's brother.

On December 19, 1939, some 556 Jewish expellees arrived from Włocławek. Helmuth Weihenmaier, the Kreishauptmann of Zamosc, ordered 150 men from the transport imprisoned, pending an expulsion to Soviet-occupied Poland. Around January 15, 1940, the prisoners were resettled in Szczebrzeszyn. Seventeen expellees, returning to Zamość to join their families, were arrested the next day, probably by a unit commanded by Sturmbannführer Fritz, the head of the local SS office. The men were murdered outside the SS barracks, located at the former agricultural school in Janowice Małe, a western Zamość suburb. Garfinkiel recalled the killings were the first great tragedy to befall the Jewish community during the German occupation.[2]

The January 1, 1940, census counted 5,000 Jews, including 1,000 refugees. Among the latter were expellees from Włocławek, Koło (175), and Łódź (100). By January 1941, the Jewish population had expanded to 7,626, as natives returned home; locals displaced by war devastation moved from Biłgoraj, Frampol, Janów Lubelski, Krasnobród, Tyszowce, and other devastated places; and refugees arrived from farther away, including from Częstochowa, Łódź, and Warsaw.

Most Jews fulfilled forced labor obligations by reporting daily to what ultimately were 10 different labor camps. (Hundreds of other Jews were interned at many of these same camps.) From June until November 1940, the Zamość Water Regulation Office (Wasserwirtschaftsamt) interned 550 men at two labor camps: 250 in Bortatycze (also called the Białobrzegi camp) and 350 at the cavalier (*kawaler*), located in Zamość's pre-war garrison. The SS ordered another 150 conscripts to report to Janowice to retrofit its barracks. In the fall of 1940, the Luftwaffe, in preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), opened the Air Force Construction Office (Bauleitung der Luftwaffe) and a Jewish labor camp. In mid-October 1940, it moved the camp to the Planty neighborhood, expanded the inmate population from 300 to 800, and assumed control for all Jewish labor in Zamość and at its airfield and hangar construction sites in Mokre (150 Zamość laborers), Łabunie (200 to 300), Klemensów, and Oszczów. Though Luftwaffe authorities set labor priorities, the SS and their collaborators exercised day-to-day authority at the camps, with the exception of a Planty-area camp the Werhrmacht had established in November.[3]

In early April 1941, the city was placarded with posters ordering the Jews to move by May 1 into a ghetto in the New Town (Nowa Osada), the poorer of Zamość's two Jewish neighborhoods. Because many Jews already resided there, the orders in practice required residents of the wealthier Old Town (Stare Miasto) Jewish neighborhood and a few hundred Jews in other neighborhoods to report to the ghetto.

Before the ghetto's establishment, German authorities expelled most of the Warthegau deportees from Zamość. On April 5, the SS transferred 400 expellees to Komarów. On April 8, Polish (Blue) Police escorted another 248 expellees to Krasnobród. The head of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Komarów reported the expellees, from Włocławek, Koło, and Łódź, had been cleared from the New Town to make room for wealthier native Jews. On May 1, the SS transferred to Komarów another 250 Jews who had refused to report to the ghetto.[4]

The Zamość ghetto was an unfenced open ghetto. A June 11, 1941, curfew order established the railway line on Lwów Street as the boundary separating the ghetto from the adjoining Old Town.

Because the neighborhood's Polish inhabitants were not expelled and could come and go as they pleased, food was more plentiful and cheaper than in most ghettos. To sell rations to the 7,500 to 8,000 Jews in the ghetto and to finance some of its undertakings, the Jewish Council opened five bakeries, three food distribution points, and a butcher's shop. German authorities permitted some 50 to 64 Jewish enterprises. Those established in the ghetto were mainly restaurants, where the wealthier could supplement rations, limited to potatoes, bread (3.1 kilograms [6.8 pounds] for July 1941), and occasionally sugar. A restaurant opened by the wife of SS informant Herman (Hilel) Goldhamer became legendary for its offerings of unobtainable meats and fish. The Jewish Council sometimes met there.[5] Unable to afford such luxuries, most Jews bartered their possessions for food, usually with Polish acquaintances in the ghetto.

The ghetto's mainly wooden houses lacked indoor plumbing. Most had no outdoor latrines. There was nowhere to bathe, as the *mikveh* located within the ghetto's borders had been destroyed in a pre-war fire. From May 1941, Garfinkiel attempted to renovate the structure. Only in late August did authorities consent to purchases of necessary plumbing materials.[6]

As renovations were under way, a late summer typhus outbreak became an epidemic by October 1941. To treat the sick, the Jewish Council, on September 26, opened a 60-bed hospital for infectious diseases. By October 22, the Kreishauptmann forbade Jews from leaving the ghetto and non-Jews from entering. Posters on the ghetto's outskirts warned: "Typhus! Entry Forbidden!"[7] Some 16 of 279 hospital patients perished, including two Jewish Council members. The overburdened local JSS organization, led also by Garfinkiel, shuttered its community kitchen on September 18, leaving some 1,000 impoverished without a daily meal.

The completion of the bathhouse in November 1941, shipments of medicine from JSS headquarters in Kraków, and the

Kreishauptmann's onetime consent for the Jewish Council to retain 2,000 złoty in rent payments to purchase medicine and disinfection products controlled the spread of the epidemic by December, when the ghetto reopened.[8] The community kitchen also was reestablished. In November, the JSS increased from 120 to 130 the number of impoverished children enrolled and fed at a day-care center, established in June. The children daily received for breakfast milk or milky coffee and bread with marmalade or artificial honey and the community kitchen's daily midday meal.

The Luftwaffe expanded the Jewish labor force, mainly by doubling the number of seasonal Wasserwirtschaftsamt (Water Regulation Office) camps and sending women there to cultivate and harvest vegetables for German military units stationed in the area.[9] In Zamość, about 200 artisans (40 percent of the pre-war figure) received licenses to work in their trades. Some 60 craft workshops operated. Most were tailoring and shoemaking enterprises. From July 1941, the SS expected the Jews to finance and to transform its Janowice compound into an opulent equestrian and driving school. The Jewish Council requisitioned sequestered building supplies from ghetto residents, purchased other materials, and paid 4 złoty daily to hundreds of Jewish laborers and craftsmen and higher wages to non-Jewish masons it also employed. The 1.5 million złoty the council spent for the project by October 1942 was one of the largest Jewish property expropriations to occur during the ghetto's existence.[10]

About 300 to 500 additional Jews were resettled in the ghetto. In May 1941, 78 deportees arrived from Częstochowa.[11] On November 10, the entire Jewish population of Wysokie was expelled to the Oszczów labor camp and transferred from there in mid-December to the ghetto. Because the Wysokie Jewish Council oversaw some 200 Jewish residents (60 families) living in areas bordering Zamość (specifically in the pre-war Wysokie, Stary Zamość, and Skierbieszów gminy), the expulsion in practice cleared all Jews from northern and northwestern villages located within an approximately 10- to 20-kilometer (6- to 12.5-mile) radius of the city.[12]

In late 1941, a cryptic letter received by a ghetto resident indicated the remaining Jews in Koło had been gassed at the Chełmno extermination center.[13] When 18,000 Jews from Lublin were sent to the Bełżec extermination facility between March 17 and 28, 1942, Jewish Council members from Lublin called Garfinkiel to inquire about their fates. Garfinkiel discovered from Jewish officials in localities closer to the railway line used for the transports that 10,000 to 20,000 Jews daily arriving at Bełżec perished in "mysterious" circumstances. Garfinkiel facilitated the return to Lublin of some Bełżec escapees. However, he did not believe the reports, even subsequently from a Zamość eyewitness, and kept his discovery quiet.[14]

On April 11, 1942, at around 1:00 P.M., local Gestapo staff, led by Hauptsturmführer Gotthard Schubert, demanded the Jewish Council immediately assemble for deportation some 2,500 people at the New Town market square. Late that afternoon, the German military police and the Gestapo, including Fritz's cavalry unit, joined the Jewish Police and some Judenrat members in rounding up expellees. At about 9:00 P.M., the Jews were marched to the cargo railway dock (the so-called beet platform), located between Peowiak and Orlicz-Dreszer Streets (by the Luftwaffe Construction Camp), and locked into railway cars. At midnight, the expellees were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. Approximately 250 to 520 Jews were killed during the Aktion. Another 2,000 to 2,900 were gassed at Bełżec.[15] After the deportation, some 4,000 Jews remained in the ghetto.

On April 30 and May 2, 1942, about 2,000 Czech Jews, mainly from Prague, arrived in two transports from the ghetto in Terezín (Theresienstadt). On May 3, some 800 deportees were escorted to Komarów. That day, another 800 German Jews arrived from the Dortmund and Düsseldorf areas.[16] Transport leader Alwin Lippman, a decorated World War I officer and pilot who had served with Göring in the Richthofen squadron (officially, Fliegerabteilung 69), replaced Garfinkiel as the commander of the Jewish Police. The force was doubled to 20 men.

On May 17, 1942, the Jewish Council required that the elderly be "resettled" in what survivors remember as the "Old People's Aktion."[17] That day, the Jewish Police began rounding up the elderly from lists and incarcerating them in makeshift prisons. As the Aktion was ongoing, the Arbeitsamt on May 24 ordered all Jews to stand before a German civilian commission to determine their fitness for labor. Jewish-Czech Police from Izbica (nad Wieprzem) assisted the commission. Some 400 to 500 people deemed unable to work (mainly women and children) were imprisoned. Among the growing inmate population were some 950 Reich and Protectorate expellees.[18] Deportees from Komarów, Tyszowce, Krasnobród, and other nearby localities were brought to Zamość and similarly imprisoned. On May 27, some 5,000 Jewish prisoners were subdivided into groups, marched separately to the beet platform, and loaded onto a train, which made three trips to transport the expellees to the Sobibór killing center.

On August 11, 1942, members of the Lublin Gestapo, commanded by Amon Göth, ordered some 2,000 Jews expelled from the ghetto. After just 250 people appeared, Göth ordered assembled instead inmates from the city's labor camps and Jewish Council and Judenrat employees. Garfinkiel bribed Göth to cease the Aktion. That day, 70 Jews were shot on the spot. Another 350 were sent to Majdanek.[19]

On September 1, 1942, the Jews were confined to five streets in the New Town, from which Poles were expelled. To stave off deportation, the Jewish Council secured consent to transform the ghetto into a closed labor camp.[20] The council ordered fencing, and laborers started enclosing the ghetto. In early September, some 400 nonregistered ghetto residents were sent to their deaths at Bełżec.

On October 16, 1942, the ghetto liquidation began. Gestapo members Kolb and Lagenkampfer shot dead 60 patients and personnel at the hospital. The approximately 2,000 surviving ghetto residents were informed that Zamość soon would be transferred to SS authority and ghetto residence

limited to the organization's urban conscripts, mainly craftsmen. The remaining Jews, including all the surviving Jewish Council members, were to be marched immediately to Izbica, where the Wehrmacht would establish a labor camp.[21] Some 150 Jews were murdered during the march. In Izbica, the Zamość deportees, except for those who hid or fled, were enveloped by the October 19 deportation, during which some 5,000 Jews were sent to Bełżec and Sobibór.[22]

Almost all 300 Jews left behind in the Zamość ghetto were executed on November 20, 1942. In mid-March 1943, the ghetto, by then a single house, was liquidated. Its residents were interned at the Luftwaffe Construction Camp. On May 31, the camp's 400 inmates (including 53 women) were sent by truck to Majdanek.

About 70 Jews survived the Zamość ghetto. Among them were Mieczysław and Dawid Garfinkiel; Roszia Luft (Rose Warner) and Mordechaj Sztrygler, transferred, respectively, in August 1942 and May 1943 to Majdanek; Lea Reisner, a survivor of the October 1943 Sobibór uprising; and about 20 Czech deportees.

At a postwar trial in Wiesbaden, Schubert was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

SOURCES Adam Kopciowski, the coauthor of this entry, has written *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2005), a history of the Jews in Zamość during the German occupation. The work contains an impressive multilingual bibliography. Kopciowski also has authored several smaller English-language summaries, including one published in the introduction to *Everlasting Name: Zamość Ghetto Population List, 1940*, 2nd ed. (Tel-Aviv: Israeli Organization of Zamość Jewry & Their Descendents, 2007). The list mentioned in the title was from the January 1940 census of the Zamość Jewish population. The book's front pieces include an English translation of the testimony of Fiszelson, a former Zamość ghetto resident, found after the war in the Ringelblum archives, from AŻIH, [1059] Ring I/946, pp. 1–12.

English-language testimonies published by survivors include Moshe Frank, *To Survive and Testify: Holocaust Traumas of a Jewish Child from Zamosc*, trans. Shaul Rosner (Tel Aviv: ha-Kibuts ha-me'uhad, [1998]), originally published in Hebrew as *Le-hiśared ule-haid teraumat ha-Shoah shel yeled Yehudi mi-Zamoshets* (Tel Aviv: Bet loḥame ha-gẹtaot, 1993); Gary Keins, *A Journey through the Valley of Perdition* (Gary Keins, 1985); "Henryk [Garfinkiel] Lewandowski," in Wiktoria Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*, trans. Julian Bussgang and Fay Bussgang (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 97–99; and the testimony of Lea Reisner-Bialowitz, in Miriam Novitch, ed., *Sobibór, Martyrdom, and Revolt: Documents and Testimonies* (New York: Holocaust Library and Schocken Books, 1980). The testimony of Sara Rozen is available electronically, under her married name Christine Damski, on the Web site of the Humboldt State University as part of a larger project titled "To Save a Life: Stories of Holocaust Rescue."

The yizkor book, Mordechai W. Bernstein, ed., *Pinkes Zamoshtsh: Yizker-bukh nokh der farshnitener durkh di natsis* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-komitet far Pinkes Zamoshtsh, 1957), also contains testimonies from survivors. Important too are Grzegorz Pawłowski (Szepsel "Zvi" Jacob Hersz Griner), "Moje życie," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, nos. 15–16 (1966) and no. 11 (1967); and the substantial excerpts of the AŻIH 302 testimonies from Moshe Frank and Mieczysław Garfinkiel published in the chapter devoted to Zamość in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich, 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), pp. 134–159. Testimonies from Czech deportees include those published by Jan Osers, "Flucht aus Zamosc," and Lukáš Přibyl, "Die Geschichte der Flucht von 'As 232' und 'As 233' aus Zamość," both in *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, respectively, no. 5 (1998): 288–321 and no. 9 (2002): 252–271. Information about Alwin Lippman comes from the memoir of the Izbica ghetto survivor Thomas Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1997), pp. 59–62.

Contemporary press coverage includes "Zamość," *Gazeta Żydowska*, October 26, 1941, no. 103, p. 2.

Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, vol. 38 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), Lfd. Nr. 790, covers the postwar investigations and trials of several former Gestapo members assigned to Zamość during the deportations, including most notably Gotthard Schubert. This same material is covered archivally in the entry through the documentation held by Polish investigators, located at IPN-Lu, 3/67.

Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: APL (RŻwZ); AŻIH (e.g., 210/741, 211/1147-1152, 301 [111, 1297, 2284, 4605, 5391, 5404, 5581, 5785, 5951, 5953, 5965], 302 [81, 122], Ring [(1199) I/378, (1481) I/596 a f g, (1482) I/583 a]); BA-L (LG-Wies, 8 Ks 1/70); FVA; IPN (e.g., 2-ob [Bełżec, Mieczysław Garfinkiel deposition], 188, ASG, SOZ [41, 96]); IPN-Lu (e.g., 3/67/1-10, 51/67/1-2, 98/67/1-5, 265/67/1-2, 284/383/1-2, 328/67/1-2, 354/67/1-2, 399/67/1-3, 400/67/1-2, 401/67/1-2); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]; Acc.1999.A.0154 [AŻIH 210]; RG-15.019M [IPN ASG] [reel 6 (18/1336, 1339-1340, 1346, 1347-1348), reel 15 (49/201, 203, 207-208)]; RG-15.056M [APL RŻwZ]; RG-15.068M [IPN 188]; RG-15.079M [AŻIH Ring]; RG-50.030*0270; RG-50.549.02*58); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1287, O-3/2985).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 302/122, testimony of Mieczysław Garfinkiel, pp. 4–5.
2. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
3. Ibid., 301/5404, anonymous testimony, p. 1.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/553, p. 1; 211/135, p. 42; Bernstein, *Pinkes Zamoshtsh*, p. 943 (testimony of Y. Tsvilikh); AŻIH, 302/122, pp. 10–12.
5. Bernstein, *Pinkes Zamoshtsh*, pp. 936–937, 946 (Tsvilikh).
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1150, pp. 32–34, 38, 41.
7. Ibid., 211/1151, pp. 16, 28, 35; AŻIH, 302/122, p. 18.
8. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124. 211/1151, pp. 14, 35, 47–48.
9. AŻIH, 301/4605, testimony of Lejzor Rochman, pp. 1–2; 301/5581, testimony of Franciszka Srebnogórska (Frajda Fink), p. 2.

10. Ibid., 302/122, pp. 27–29; IPN, 2-ob (Bełżec), Mieczysław Garfinkiel deposition, p. 4; YVA, O-3/2985, testimony of Hedda (Rubinsohn) Arnold, pp. 24–25.
11. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1149, p. 11.
12. Ibid., 211/1151, pp. 46, 64; 211/1152, p. 5; 211/1137, p. 3.
13. YVA, M-1/E/1287, testimony of Boruch Wilder, pp. 12–13.
14. AŻIH, 302/122, p. 34; IPN, 2-ob (Bełżec), Garfinkiel, p. 1.
15. AŻIH, 302/122, pp. 35–38; Bernstein, *Pinkes Zamoshtsh*, pp. 949–951 (Tsvilikh); IPN-Lu, 3/67, pp. 39, 69.
16. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1152, p. 34.
17. Bernstein, *Pinkes Zamoshtsh*, pp. 951–953 (Tsvilikh).
18. AŻIH, 301/5404, pp. 2–3; 302/122, p. 41.
19. Ibid., 302/122, pp. 42–43.
20. Ibid., 301/5581, p. 5.
21. Ibid., 301/5404, pp. 4–5; 301/4605, pp. 2–3.
22. Ibid., 302/122, pp. 44–46; 301/5953, testimony of Stefan Sendlak, p. 8.; Bernstein, *Pinkes Zamoshtsh*, pp. 961–962 (Tsvilikh).

ZWIERZYNIEC

Pre-1939: Zwierzyniec, town, Zamość powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland; 1939–1944: Kreis Bilgoraj, Distrikt Lublin, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Zamość powiat, Lublin województwo, Poland

Zwierzyniec lies about 94 kilometers (58.4 miles) south-southeast of Lublin. In August 1939, some 2,050 Jews lived in Zwierzyniec (total population, approximately 4,000) and the neighboring village Rudka.

On September 18, 1939, a Wehrmacht unit occupied Zwierzyniec for less than a day before moving on to confront Polish forces near Tomaszów Lubelski. Shortly thereafter, Soviet forces occupied Zwierzyniec. When a September 28 border renegotiation returned Zwierzyniec to German occupation, as many as half the Jewish residents of Zwierzyniec and Rudka joined the October 5 regional Soviet military evacuation behind the Bug River.[1] A few days later, the Germans reoccupied Zwierzyniec.

In early 1940, Zwierzyniec was attached to Kreis Bilgoraj, headed from October 1939 until March 1942 by Kreishauptmann (and Landwirt of Bilgoraj) Werner Ansel. In April, Hans Augustin, previously the Cholm Kreishauptmann, succeeded Ansel. In Zwierzyniec, the Germans appointed a local Polish collaborationist administration, led by Józef Paszkowski, the pre-war *wójt* (mayor). In practice, a trustee or manager (*Treuhänder*) appointed by the Governor of Distrikt Lublin oversaw the Zamoyski properties and exercised day-to-day authority. In December 1941, Ernst Streit, the first Treuhänder of the holdings, was arrested. Walter Bünsch replaced him. Deprived of almost all his properties, Zamoyski soon organized and chaired what the Germans, in January 1940, officially recognized as the Polish Welfare (Assistance) Councils for Zamość, then from February 1940, for Biłgoraj powiaty. (That same month, the Germans banned Jewish participation on the councils and Polish-Christian Council members from providing food assistance to Jews.)

The Germans transformed Zwierzyniec into a retreat for high-ranking military officers and for the visiting Nazi elite. The hunting lodge was designated an officer's club. Some buildings on the estate were used for a German hospital and medical clinic. From January 1940, Nazi leaders, including Hans Frank, the head of the Generalgouvernement, arrived to hunt the rare pheasants and other birds at the preserve.[2]

The prominent officials and military personnel living at and visiting the estate probably were responsible for the Jewish residents of Zwierzyniec being confined to a ghetto. The Zwierzyniec ghetto may have been the only officially recognized ghetto in Kreis Bilgoraj before April 1942, the date by which the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization expected its local branches to return a ghetto questionnaire. Zwierzyniec was the only JSS branch in the Kreis known to have responded positively on the questionnaire.[3] (Not all the records of the various branches have survived intact.) In September 1941, Kreishauptmann Ansel nonetheless excluded Zwierzyniec from a list of ghettos he was required to submit to Distrikt-level authorities in Lublin. Ansel, in fact, claimed no ghettos existed in Kreis Bilgoraj. He maintained that only in Biłgoraj proper was Jewish residence limited to several streets. Because the list was prepared in response to a Reich Interior Department inquiry about available space for incoming Jews, Ansel (and Bünsch) may have excluded Zwierzyniec to prevent additional Jews from being resettled there.

Unfortunately, neither physician Leopold Reidler nor (Mordecai) "Mordka" Erbesfeld, the leaders of the Zwierzyniec JSS, provided a date for the ghetto's establishment on the questionnaire. The first known reference to the ghetto (*dzielnica żydowska*) in JSS records comes from July 1941.[4] The ghetto may have been established during what diarist Zygmunt Klukowski described as a pogrom, launched by an SS unit on June 1, 1941, the Christian feast day of Pentecost (Whitsun), against Jews in neighboring Rudka. That day, the SS killed three Jews, beat several scores more, and destroyed or confiscated all the possessions of the Rudka Jews.[5] Unfortunately, Klukowski did not recall whether the Rudka Jews were evicted to a newly established ghetto in Zwierzyniec.

Erbesfeld described the Zwierzyniec ghetto as an unfenced, open ghetto. He did not provide its exact location. He only noted the ghetto occupied a pre-war Jewish neighborhood. JSS financial records, for March, suggest the *mikveh* was located within the ghetto's boundaries.[6] In July 1941, the ghetto population stood at 544, including at least 73 refugees. Among the latter were December 1939 deportees from Kalisz, Katowice, Łódź, and Poznań. The ghetto population also included a number of voluntary transplants from Lublin, Pruszków, and Warsaw.[7]

Little is known about the Jewish administration in the ghetto. Reidler described the Jewish Council (Judenrat)

members as belonging to the pre-war Zwierzyniec elite, all merchants, known neither for their charity nor moral virtue.[8] In response to a mid-March 1942 mandate from the county medical director, the JSS established a sanitation force to maintain hygiene standards.[9]

On July 26, 1941, JSS officials in a telegram reported a fire, the previous night, had destroyed part of the ghetto and appealed to charity leaders in Kraków for immediate assistance for 80 to 200 people left homeless after 15 homes burned down.[10] The fire makes it difficult to ascertain the number of residences included in the ghetto. Erbesfeld on the questionnaire described the ghetto as composed of 20 homes (60 rooms), making it likely that 35 residences initially were designated for the ghetto. Though 6 people on average lived in each available room, Reidler reported just 10 cases of typhus in 1941 and none in the first quarter of 1942.[11]

The Zwierzyniec ghetto inmates were conscripted for labor at the sawmill and lumber yard on the former Zamoyski estate.[12] Others repaired and expanded the roads leading from Zwierzyniec to Biłgoraj and to Szczebrzeszyn. Most *matzevot* in the cemetery were used on the project. The road construction crews worked for Organisation Todt (OT), which in the spring of 1940 established an encampment (initially mostly for German employees) in the Zamoyski (Zwierzyniec) Forest. The Jewish road construction crews eventually were housed in two of six barracks erected at the camp. In June 1941, some 280 ghetto residents were interned at labor camps established in the pre-war gmina, including at the OT camp, in barracks at the lumber yard and sawmill, and at several camps the Luftwaffe established on former Zamoyski properties to build air bases and a flight training school. Another 16 Jews worked as craftsmen, mainly at four workshops established in the ghetto for painting, carpentry, tailoring, and shoemaking. Each workshop employed no more than 4 people.[13]

From the spring of 1942, several small groups of Jews, usually of two or three, were arrested and executed at the Jewish cemetery or at a mass grave located in the so-called Borek Woods.

By mid-May, the ghetto population had experienced a 172-person decline. As the postwar Polish Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos (ASG) records for Zwierzyniec indicate, relatively small numbers of Jews were executed, and an intermediate deportation probably occurred, perhaps in conjunction with the May 1942 expulsion of part of the Szczebrzeszyn Jews to the Bełżec killing center.[14] Because French prisoners of war (POWs), transferred in the spring of 1942 from Stalag 325 in Rawa Ruska and housed at the OT camp, filled the places of Jewish labor conscripts at the lumber yard, the sawmill, and on road construction crews, the 372 Jews held back for labor in Zwierzyniec probably were mainly craftsmen, their families, and others providing services deemed essential to estate operations. Another deportation occurred on August 9, 1942, with the expulsion of 500 to 1,000 Jews from Biłgoraj to the Zwierzyniec railway station and their deportation from there to Bełżec. Stanisław Bohdanowicz, a local Polish-Christian, recalled that the Germans also ordered the Zwierzyniec Jews deported that day. However, the Jewish Council staved off a total expulsion by offering a bribe of gold. Some 52 Zwierzyniec Jews were added to the Biłgoraj expulsion.

On October 21, 1942, Security Police stationed in Biłgoraj and SS Latvian and Lithuanian auxiliaries liquidated the ghetto. They ordered the 300 to 320 Jews immediately assembled at the square. Many Jews were killed attempting to evade expulsion. Another 100 were shot during the march to Szczebrzeszyn. Upon arrival, at around 9:00 P.M., the survivors were imprisoned in the buildings of the Alwa factory, along with most of the remaining Jews in Szczebrzeszyn. At noon, on October 22, the Jews were marched to the railway station, forced onto wagons, and transported to Bełżec, where they were gassed on arrival.[15]

There are believed to have been no survivors of the Zwierzyniec ghetto.

SOURCES No secondary work has ever before mentioned the Germans confining the Jewish community of Zwierzyniec to a ghetto. Unfortunately, secondary sources providing coverage of the fate of the Zwierzyniec community during World War II remain limited to Polish-language sources including the larger survey of the war offered by Krzysztof Czubara, "Zwierzyniec w latach II wojny światowej (1939–1944)," *Zamojski Kwartalnik Kulturalny*, no. 3 (92) (2007): 17–29, which is available electronically at the journal's Web site.

Stanisław Bohdanowicz, "Likwidacja Żydów ze Zwierzyńca," in Zygmunt Klukowski, ed., *Wydawnictwo materiałów do dziejów Zamojszczyzny w latach wojny 1939–1944*, vol. 2, *Zamojszczyzna w walce z Niemcami* (Zamość: N.p., 1946), pp. 77–86, is from a Polish-Christian eyewitness of the Zwierzyniec expulsions. Historian Martin Gilbert had a part of the Bohdanowicz testimony translated into English and published it subsequently in *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War* (New York: Henry Holt and Company 1986), pp. 408–409, but did not realize its origins and therefore improperly attributes it. Klukowski, the editor of the document collection containing the Bohdanowicz testimony, also is the author of *Dziennik z lat okupacji Zamojszczyzny (1939–1944)* (Lublin: Lubelska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1958), available in English as *Diary from the Years of Occupation, 1939–1944*, trans. George Klukowski (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), an indispensible wartime source for events in the larger Zamość region, including in Zwierzyniec.

Primary documentation can be found in the following archives: APL; AŻIH (e.g., 211 [219, pp. 7, 10, 19; 220, p. 78; 221, pp. 47, 58, 64; 222, pp. 5, 44, 66–67; 223, p. 19; 224, pp. 1, 28; 1162-1164]); IPN; IPN-Lu; USHMM (e.g., Acc.1997.A.0124 [AŻIH 211]); VHF (e.g., # 16536, 19996, 47064); and YVA.

Laura Crago

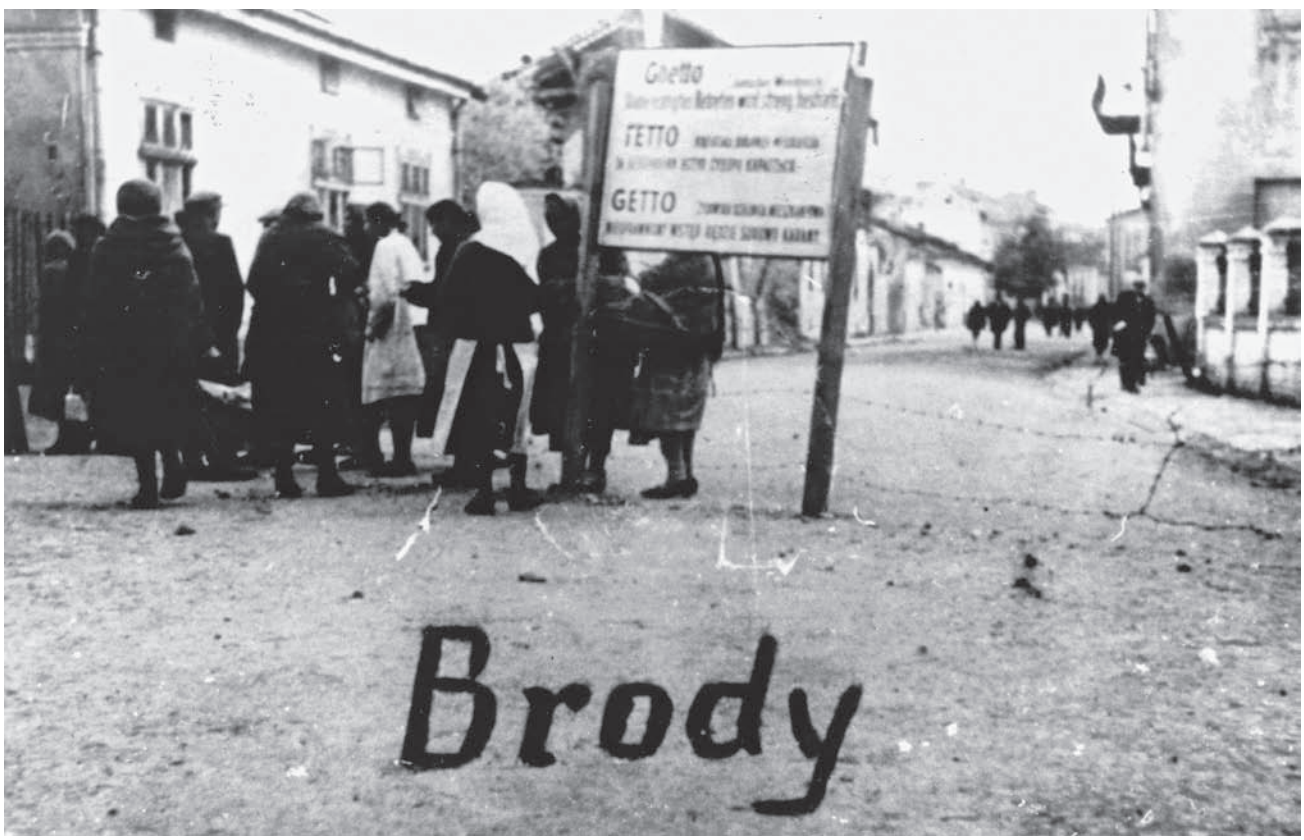
NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (AŻIH), 211/1162, p. 2.
2. Klukowski, *Diary*, pp. 67–68, 71, 73–74, 105.

3. AŻIH, 211/1162, p. 46.
4. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, p. 56.
5. Klukowski, *Diary*, p. 155.
6. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124, 211/1162, pp. 41–42; 211/222, p. 66.
7. Ibid., 211/1162, pp. 10–11.
8. Ibid., pp. 30–31.
9. Ibid., 211/224, pp. 16, 28.
10. Ibid., 211/1162, pp. 4, 11, 14.
11. Ibid., p. 38.
12. Ibid., 211/220, p. 78.
13. Ibid., 211/1162, pp. 2, 10, 36.
14. Ibid., 211/1160, p. 46.
15. Klukowski, *Diary*, pp. 219–220.

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EASTERN GALICIA REGION



A group of Jewish women at the entrance to the Brody ghetto in Eastern Galicia, 1942. The sign is written in German, Ukrainian, and Polish.

USHMM WS #23380, COURTESY OF EUGENIA HOCHBERG LANCETER

EASTERN GALICIA REGION (DISTRIKT GALIZIEN)

Pre-1939: Lwów, Stanisławów, and Tarnopol województwa, Poland; 1939–1941: Drogobych, L'vov, Stanislav, and (most of the) Ternopol' oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: L'viv, Ivano-Frankivs'k, and (most of the) Ternopil' oblasts, Ukraine

Distrikt Galizien was established and added to the four existing Distrikte of the Generalgouvernement in August 1941, just six weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The Distrikt included the pre-war Polish Lwów, Stanisławów, and Tarnopol województwa. In Distrikt Galizien, the German authorities initially created 17 Kreise, governed by Kreishauptmänner. On April 1, 1942, these were consolidated into 14 Kreise: Brzezany, Czortkow, Drogobytsch, Kalusz, Kamionka-Strumilowa, Kolomea, Lemberg-Land, Rawa Ruska, Sadowa Wisznia, Sambor, Stanislau, Stryj, Tarnopol, and Zloczow. In addition, there was a Stadthauptmann in Lemberg. The governor of Distrikt Galizien was Otto Wächter. The SS- und Polizeiführer (SS and Police Leader, SSPF) was Friedrich Katzmann. At the start of the German occupation, approximately 540,000 Jews were living in the area of Eastern Galicia.

The chronology of German ghettoization was somewhat different in Distrikt Galizien than in most other regions. Many of the more than 50 ghettos were not established until the fall of 1942, some only in December, quite late in the process of concentration, deportation, and destruction. A few ghettos, some of them open ghettos, were established earlier, starting in August 1941. Accompanying the entire process was the progressive concentration of the Jews from the smaller towns and villages into the larger towns, where most of the ghettos were established. This proceeded in a series of waves up until the fall of 1942, accompanied also by large-scale killing Aktions (such as that conducted in Stanisławów in October 1941) and mass deportations, mostly to the extermination camp in Bełżec (from March 1942 onward). A number of different types of forced labor camps also existed alongside the ghettos in this region. This combination of local mass murder, deportation, and ghettoization, spread over a period of more than 18 months, gave the Holocaust a somewhat unique character in Distrikt Galizien, combining key elements both from the rest of the Generalgouvernement and from the occupied Soviet territories (e.g., Reichskommissariate Ostland and Ukraine).

Operation Barbarossa commenced in Eastern Galicia with a wave of killings, conducted mainly by the German police and Ukrainian militias. In Lwów, and other places, the Einsatzgruppen exploited outrage at the discovery of People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) murders in order to conduct mass shootings of adult male Jews and suspected Communists. A wave of anti-Jewish pogroms and brutal murders, carried out primarily by local Ukrainians, swept the region during the summer of 1941, causing some Jews to flee the villages to larger towns for security. More than 20,000 Jews were murdered throughout the summer.

Despite a provisional ban on further ghetto creation, announced by Generalgouverneur Hans Frank in July 1941, in expectation that the Jews would soon be deported to the east, the new civil administration in Distrikt Galizien began setting up a few ghettos almost immediately. A Jewish residential district (open ghetto) was created in Rohatyn in August 1941, and the open ghetto established in Tarnopol in September was then enclosed in December.[1] Planning for ghettos also started in the fall for several larger cities, including Lwów and Stryj. Among the motivations for German administrators was a desire to isolate the Jews from the rest of the population and the need to acquire space in towns.



The public humiliation of a Jew in the Stryj ghetto, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #63411, COURTESY OF YIVO

The pattern of destruction intensified in October 1941 when the Security Police in Stanisławów began the systematic mass shooting of Jewish men, women, and children in pits, shortly after the murder of more than 23,000 Jews (including 11,000 recently expelled from Hungary) in neighboring Kamenets-Podolskii to the east. The presence of many Jewish expellees from Hungary in and around Stanisławów was probably a contributory factor in this escalation. After a trial run in Nadwórna on October 6, when 2,000 Jews were killed, on October 12, 1941, "Bloody Sunday," Hans Krüger, head of the Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, GPK) Stanislau, and his men murdered around 10,000 Jewish men, women, and children in a most brutal fashion. Having reduced the city's Jewish population, a ghetto was then established in Stanisławów. It was officially pronounced a closed ghetto on December 20, 1941, and surrounded by a wooden fence. In this southeastern corner of Distrikt Galizien, the German authorities had conducted mass killings of Jews, also accompanied by ghetto formation in Horodenka, Kołomyja, and Kosów by December 1941. In Lwów, however, attempts to establish a ghetto in November and December 1941 proved too chaotic and were broken off in the face of a rampant typhus epidemic.

The usual array of anti-Jewish measures was introduced in Eastern Galicia in the second half of 1941, affecting also the bulk of Jews who had not yet been ghettoized. Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, they could not leave the town limits without permission, food was generally rationed, and trading with non-Jews was forbidden or severely restricted. The German authorities established Jewish Councils (Judenräte), which had to collect "contributions" in money and kind and supply quotas of forced laborers, and were assisted by the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). Judenrat members were held personally responsible for the implementation of German demands, and a number were murdered.

By the winter of 1941–1942, the systematic recruitment of able-bodied Jews to work in a variety of forced labor camps had commenced. Many of the camps were built to support the German Durchgangsstrasse (highway, DG) IV road construction project and were subordinated to SSPF Katzmann. Jewish forced laborers were also exploited in the oil fields around Drohobycz and Borysław, on plantations for the extraction of synthetic rubber, and for a time, in villages in the Carpathian Mountains. Some Jewish Councils were obliged to supply food and clothing to Jews sent to the camps from their communities. Living conditions in the camps were brutal, and many of the inmates died. Subsequently, the Janowska Street camp in Lwów became not only a place of forced labor but also a mass killing site.



A public hanging on Zolkovkoy Street in Lwów, 1942.
USHMM WS #37247, COURTESY OF NARA

At the end of 1941, Jews were ordered to surrender their fur items of clothing for the use of the German army, and searches conducted to enforce this demand resulted in a number of people being shot. During the winter, many Jews died of disease and starvation in Eastern Galicia. By early in 1942, the Bełżec extermination camp, just across the border in Distrikt Lublin, was preparing to receive its first victims. In response, the authorities in Distrikt Galizien began registering Jews in three separate categories, to facilitate the subsequent deportation and murder of those incapable of work. The killing of Jews in mass-shooting Aktions continued in Lwów, Kołomyja, Tarnopol, and other places in the first months of 1942. Then from mid-March, rail transports to Bełżec from Distrikt Galizien commenced. German Security and Order Police units conducted the first Aktion in Żółkiew, deporting 700 Jews "incapable of work." However, 2 Jewish women, Mina Astmann and Mala Thalenfeld, managed to escape from Bełżec and returned to Żółkiew, spreading news of the new techniques of mass murder there.[2]

A renewed wave of concentration and ghetto formation accompanied the start of deportations. In April 1942, ghettos were established in Borszczów, Tłumacz, and Tyśmienica. At this time some entire Jewish communities were dissolved: in March 1942, the Jews of Husiatyń were transferred, temporarily, to the small town of Probużna, before being consolidated again, in October, in the Kopyczyńce ghetto. Following the murder of about half the Jews of the short-lived open ghetto in Gwoździec in April, the remainder were relocated to the ghetto in Kołomyja. The number of Jews living in smaller towns and villages declined steadily throughout 1942, although exemptions were permitted for doctors and certain other categories of skilled workers.

In a few towns, however, the process of ghettoization remained gradual. In Stryj, Kreishauptmann von Dewitz had ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in early October 1941, but in January 1942, 2,000 Jews were still living outside the ghetto area, and only in July did the last non-Jews move out. Even then, doctors, members of the Judenrat, and some craftsmen still resided outside the ghetto to facilitate their work, although they could not leave the town.[3]

On July 19, Heinrich Himmler ordered the liquidation of all the Jews in the Generalgouvernement by the end of 1942.[4] In the last five months of 1942, the German authorities murdered more than 250,000 Jews in Distrikt Galizien,

most following deportation to Bełżec. After the murder of about 40,000 of Lwów's Jews through local massacres and deportations within two weeks in August, with the active participation of the Ukrainian police, a closed ghetto was created there in early September. Now that Bełżec was operating at full capacity, the process of concentration, deportation, and where necessary, ghetto formation became more closely synchronized.

In some cases, Jews were informed that they were being transferred to a ghetto but then were deported by train almost immediately on arriving in the larger town. According to the yizkor book, this was the case in Turka, where Jews were concentrated on August 1, 1942, but it appears that no ghetto was actually established, as most Jews were deported within a few days.[5] Jews brought from the village of Stojanów to Radziechów in mid-September 1942 sat at the railway station for two days without food and then were packed into railroad cars and deported without entering the Radziechów ghetto.[6]

In early September 1942, the Security Police conducted a wave of mass deportations to Bełżec from Kreis Stryj. Two weeks later, the Kreishauptmann issued instructions for the Jews of the Kreis to be concentrated in Stryj, Bolechów, Chodorów, Skole, or Żurawno. Then, by the end of September, most of the remaining Jews had been further concentrated in the Stryj ghetto for deportation. However, even after a further wave of deportations in October, remnant ghettos were established in some places, such as Chodorów and Żurawno, as all Jews who remained exempted for labor were "under all circumstances to be housed in barracks." In Chodorów this comprised a group of some 800 people, performing a variety of tasks, who were moved to a separate Jewish quarter by the end of 1942.[7]

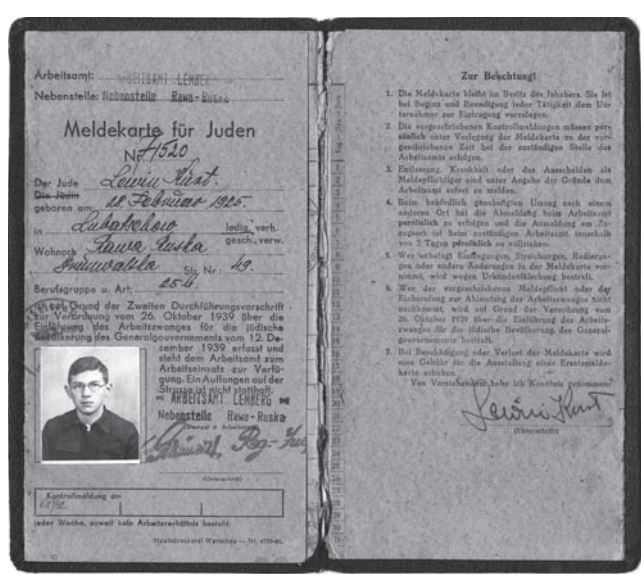
The main wave of ghettoization in the region is documented in the order of Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, issued on November 10, 1942. It proclaimed the confinement of Jews to just 32 ghettos in Distrikt Galizien by December 1, 1942.[8] Some of these places already had ghettos, and others were created in November and December, such as those in Kozowa, Busk, Jaryczów Nowy, Rudki, and Żółkiew. In fact, in December the number of ghettos slightly exceeded the 32 officially recognized. A few remained open, marked only with signs, despite Krüger's instructions for their enclosure.

The order's intent was to clear the entire region of Jews except for those concentrated in the official ghettos or labor camps. Any Jew caught outside of these places would be shot. In view of the massive wave of deportations from the region that had been proceeding since July 1942, the remaining Jews in the smaller towns were considerably unnerved by the demand to move into the ghettos. The Jewish Council of Gliniany tried to bribe German officials in Złoczów for permission to establish a ghetto in their town, to avoid the cruel fate of resettlement. This was denied, and when the Jews left Gliniany for nearby ghettos, Ukrainians robbed them of almost everything on the way.[9]

Mass deportations of Jews, accompanied by the shooting of those unfit for travel or attempting to hide or escape, continued on a horrendous scale through the fall of 1942 into December; those who remained were Jews registered for work. People desperately sought work cards and, in some places, special armbands, which offered a measure of protection against deportation. The Germans repeatedly insisted that the Jewish Councils and Jewish Police assist in the roundups for forced labor and deportation (or be deported themselves), creating bitter divisions among the Jews. A good number of Jews created hiding places, obtained Aryan papers, or fled to the countryside in the hope of surviving a while longer. Hundreds of Jews jumped from the deportation trains, but even if they survived the ensuing manhunts, many simply returned to the ghetto they had just left to reunite with family or to exploit local contacts and resources, as seemingly their best chance of survival.

Living conditions in the ghettos deteriorated as the last reserves were used up, and being enclosed further limited their access to food and other resources. In some places, such as Skałat, the deportations were accompanied by reductions in the ghetto area, which increased overcrowding. Remaining Jews demolished the empty Jewish houses and sorted Jewish property for the Germans as part of a salvage operation.[10] Lack of space, malnutrition, and poor sanitation led to the spread of disease in the ghettos. In Rawa Ruska, SSPF Katzmann used the severe typhus epidemic there as a pretext for liquidating the ghetto in December 1942, using police personnel who had been vaccinated to clear out the ghetto.[11]

Despite the existence of many ghettos in Distrikt Galizien for at least six months or more, comparatively little evidence has survived about social life in these ghettos, beyond the naked struggle for survival. Some religious observances,


Arbeitsamt: ARBEITSAMT LEMBERG
Nebenstelle: Nebenstelle Rawa-Ruska

Meldekarte für Juden
Nr. 1520

Der Jude / Die Jüdin Lewin Kurt
geboren am 28. Februar 1925.
in Lubaczów Kreis, verh. / geschieden, verw.
Wohnort Rawa Ruska Str. Nr.: 49
Judenstraße 25 b.
Berufsgruppe u. Art:

Auf Grund der Zweiten Durchführungsvorschrift zur Verordnung vom 26. Oktober 1939 über die Einführung des Arbeitszwanges für die jüdische Bevölkerung des Generalgouvernements vom 12. Dezember 1939 erfasst und steht dem Arbeitsamt zum Arbeitseinsatz zur Verfügung. Ein Auffangen auf der Strasse ist nicht statthaft.

ARBEITSAMT LEMBERG
Nebenstelle Rawa-Ruska

Kontrollmeldung am
jeder Woche, soweit kein Arbeitsverhältnis besteht.

Zur Beachtung!

1. Die Meldekarte bleibt im Besitz des Inhabers. Sie ist bei Beginn und Beendigung jeder Tätigkeit dem Unternehmer zur Eintragung vorzulegen.
2. Die vorgeschriebenen Kontrollmeldungen müssen persönlich unter Vorlegung der Meldekarte zu der vorgeschriebenen Zeit bei der zuständigen Stelle des Arbeitsamts erfolgen.
3. Entlassung, Krankheit oder das Ausscheiden als Meldepflichtiger sind unter Angabe der Gründe dem Arbeitsamt sofort zu melden.
4. Beim beabsichtigten tatsächlichen Umzug nach einem anderen Ort hat die Abmeldung beim Arbeitsamt persönlich zu erfolgen und die Anmeldung am Zuzugsort ist beim zuständigen Arbeitsamt innerhalb von 3 Tagen persönlich zu vollziehen.
5. Wer vorsätzlich Eintragungen, Streichungen, Radierungen oder andere Änderungen in der Meldekarte vornimmt, wird wegen Urkundenfälschung bestraft.
6. Wer der vorgeschriebenen Meldepflicht oder der Einberufung zur Ableistung des Arbeitszwanges nicht nachkommt, wird auf Grund der Verordnung vom 26. Oktober 1939 über die Einführung des Arbeitszwanges für die jüdische Bevölkerung des Generalgouvernements bestraft.
7. Bei Beschädigung oder Verlust der Meldekarte wird eine Gebühr für die Ausstellung einer Ersatzmeldekarte erhoben.

Von Vorstehendem habe ich Kenntnis genommen.
Lewin Kurt
(Unterschrift)

A Jewish forced labor card issued to Kurt Lewin while in Rawa Ruska. Lewin subsequently escaped from the Lwów ghetto.
USHMM, ACC.1997.A.0076

including the burial of the dead, were maintained, and a few contemporary letters and diaries give insights into the Jews' awareness of their likely fate and their effort that went into surviving.[12] Jews bartered their last remaining possessions for food and sought any kind of employment that might offer the chance to obtain an extra crust of bread. In the Borszczów ghetto, some inmates wrote poems and songs, but few manifestations of cultural life in the ghettos have survived.

Among the strategies pursued by the Jewish Councils, bribing German officials was very widespread, but ultimately it offered no real protection. In 1942, the Jewish Social Self-Help (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe, or JSS) set up branches in a number of towns in Distrikt Galizien, which helped support soup kitchens and provided additional assistance, but all these efforts to aid the large numbers of destitute Jews remained woefully inadequate. In the Bursztyn ghetto, Dr. Shumer describes Jews swollen with hunger and children with skinny legs from malnutrition. Many Jews died of starvation, and their bodies were left lying in the streets for days.[13]

At the end of 1942, around 160,000 Jews remained alive in Distrikt Galizien, interned either in labor camps or the remaining ghettos, many of which now closely resembled labor camps. In some places, such as Tarnopol, new labor camps were established outside the ghetto, and the able-bodied Jews were sent to these camps. In Lwów, the remnant of the ghetto was renamed the *Judenlager* (Jewish camp) and converted into a labor camp for Jews. In Bolechów, the short-lived ghetto had been dissolved by December 1, but groups of Jewish laborers were still housed in several barrack camps close to their workplaces for several months more. For some locations, such as Podwołoczyska and Leszniów, the available primary evidence is insufficient to confirm the existence of a ghetto, but it can be assumed that the few Jews retained, after the main wave of deportations in the fall of 1942, were exploited for labor.[14]

Following the closure of the Bełżec extermination camp at the end of 1942, SSPF Katzmann resorted to mass shootings to murder all the remaining Jews in the ghettos in the first half of 1943. A few ghettos were reduced in size or completely liquidated in brutal Aktions between January and March. Then from April to June 1943, almost all remaining ghettos were liquidated, although in a few locations the ensuing cleanup operations continued into July. Finally, most of the remaining forced labor camps were liquidated and their inmates shot during the summer of 1943.

In a number of ghettos and labor camps in the region, Jews offered armed resistance to the Germans and their collaborators, some even using guns bought from Italian soldiers stationed in the region. For example, a group of Jews from the Czortków ghetto obtained arms and escaped to the forest in the spring of 1943, but most members of the group were killed in subsequent clashes with the German and Ukrainian police. After the liquidation of the Tarnopol ghetto, Jews that went into hiding defended themselves with grenades and other weapons when the Nazis and their collaborators came to drive them out. The liquidation of the remnants of the Lwów ghetto (Julag) in June 1943 also encountered stiff armed resistance, and some Jews escaped into the sewers of the city. An idea of the bitter nature of these last clashes, as the Germans and their Ukrainian police collaborators sought to root out every last Jew, can be found in SSPF Katzmann's concluding report on the ghetto clearances:

> [D]uring the Aktions, there were many other enormous difficulties, since the Jews attempted under all circumstances to evade resettlement. They not only tried to flee, but also concealed themselves in the most inconceivable corners, in sewers, in chimneys, even in cesspits &c. . . . They barricaded themselves in underground passages, in cellars converted into bunkers, in holes in the ground, in sophisticated hiding places in attics and shacks, inside furniture, and so forth.[15]

Even after the ghetto liquidations, German Gendarmes and the Ukrainian police regularly combed the surrounding countryside in search of any remaining Jews; those captured were generally shot on the spot. Rewards were paid to those denouncing Jews, and the death penalty was threatened and sometimes implemented against anyone caught hiding escaped Jews. Ukrainian nationalist partisans posed an additional danger to fugitive Jews in the forests.

Despite the German threats, a number of righteous people risked their lives to save Jews in Distrikt Galizien. In Tarnopol, several individuals of Polish ethnicity, including Dr. Kolczycki and Karola Pietroszyńska, actively assisted Jews. In Borysław, many Jews were saved through the intervention of Berthold Beitz, a German manager with the "Karpathen" oil company. In Lwów, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, head of the Greek-Catholic Church, led an operation that hid around 150 Jews. Many Jews survived in the countryside, aided by local peasants; others survived with the aid of forged Aryan papers or made their way across the border into Romania or Hungary.

Among the most important German trials dealing with the perpetrators of the Holocaust in Eastern Galicia were those of Hans Krüger (head of the GPK in Stanisławów), who was sentenced to life in prison by a court in Münster in 1968, and also of Paul Raebel and Hermann Müller (Sipo Tarnopol), both sentenced to life in prison by a court in Stuttgart in 1966.[16] Other trials of perpetrators were conducted in Soviet Ukraine, Poland, and East Germany.

SOURCES Among the most useful publications with regard to the Holocaust in Eastern Galicia are the following: Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967); Jakob Honigsman, *Juden in der Westukraine: Jüdisches Leben und Leiden in Ostgalizien, der Bukowina und Transkarpatien 1933–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2001); A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001); A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996); Dieter Pohl, "Hans Krüger and the Murder of the Jews in the Stanislawow

Region (Galicia)," *Yad Vashem Studies* 26 (1998): 239–265; and Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996).

Of assistance in identifying the ghettos in the region are *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980); Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; AŻIH (e.g., Collections 211, 229, 301, and 302); BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; CDJC; DAI-FO; DALO; DATO; FVA; GARF; GASBU; GASBU-L; IfZ; IPN; MA; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM (e.g., RG-31.003M); VHF; YIU; YIVO; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-75-105, pp. 4–5.
2. BA-L, B 162/2100, pp. 95–100.
3. DALO, 1952-1-62.
4. BA-BL, NS 19/1757.
5. J. Siegelman, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Turka al nehar Stryj ve-ha-seviva* (Haifa: Former Residents of Turka [Stryj] in Israel, 1966), p. 241. *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)*, p. 75, indicates the existence of a ghetto in Turka, but this is not corroborated by other available sources, including several survivor testimonies; see, e.g., AŻIH, 301/4974 and 4975.
6. Eichmann Trial, Session No. 23, May 2, 1961, as cited on www.nizkor.org.
7. DALO, R 1952-1-62, pp. 92, 97; AŻIH, 301/2574, testimony of Juda Kneidel.
8. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
9. *Ḥurbm Glinyane: Lezikoren unzere ḳdoyshim* (New York: Emergency Relief Committee for Gliniany and Vicinity, n.d.), pp. 260–261.
10. Abraham Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl* (USA, 1995), pp. 12, 20, 29, 32.
11. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (*TMWC*), vol. 37 (Nuremberg, 1948), pp. 404–405, Doc. L-018.
12. See, for example, for Przemyślany Wendy Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard and the Holocaust in Galicia* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2011) or the contemporary correspondence published in A. Zilberman, ed., *Yizkor Bukh Zborov* (Israel: Landsmanshaft Zborov un Umgebung in Israel, 1975).
13. Dr. Lipa Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn un peyn," in Shimon Katz et al., eds., *Sefer Bursht*in (Jerusalem: Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1960), p. 371.
14. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 305–306, indicates that an enclosed ghetto was established in Leszniów on November 2, 1942. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 185, however, indicates that 250 Jews were transferred from Leszniów to Brody in November 1942. Podwołoczyska is described as a ghetto in Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, pp. 605–606, but the yizkor book for the town makes no mention of the ghetto, whereas many sources describe the labor camp there, also known as Kamionka (III).
15. *TMWC*, vol. 37, p. 405, Doc. L-018.
16. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 634, and vol. 28 (2003), Lfd. Nr. 675.



Borders as of 1942

BÓBRKA

Pre-1939: Bóbrka (Yiddish: Boiberke), town, powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Bobrka, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: initially Kreis Lemberg-Ost then Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Bibrka, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Bóbrka is located 31 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Lwów. According to the Polish census, 1,480 Jews resided in Bóbrka in 1921, comprising 33.7 percent of the total population. By 1931, the Jewish population of Bóbrka had increased to 1,833.[1] By mid-1941, including refugees, there were probably in excess of 2,000 Jews living in the town.

Bóbrka was occupied on June 30, 1941, by units of the 257th Infantry Division, which was part of the German 17th Army. In July 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. On August 1, 1941, Eastern Galicia was transferred to a civil administration and became part of Distrikt Galizien in the Generalgouvernement. This region was initially divided into 17 Kreise; but from April 1, 1942, following its reorganization, there were only 14 Kreise. Bóbrka formed part of the Kreis Lemberg-Ost, which became Kreis Lemberg-Land after its unification with Kreis Lemberg-West in April 1942. The Kreis was governed by a Kreishauptmann. Wilhelm Stockheck held the position of Kreishauptmann until mid-September 1941, then Otto Bauer until March 1942, Dr. Werner Becker until early 1943, and finally Baron Joachim von der Leyen. Each Kreis was divided into Landkommissariate, led by a Landkommissar. The Bóbrka Landkommissar was von Dohomeranski. There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Bóbrka, a Criminal Police (Kripo) post, and a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), which was organized initially as a militia within a few days of the German arrival. The anti-Jewish Aktions were generally carried out in the town by a team of Security Police from Lwów with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

On July 2, 1941, a pogrom took place in Bóbrka. The cause of the pogrom was the discovery of the bodies of 16 victims of the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Their murder was blamed on the Jews, and antisemitic Ukrainian nationalists organized a "bloodbath" in revenge.[2] Bands of Ukrainian peasants came to town from the surrounding villages and dragged the Jews from their hiding places, beating them with sticks. Several dozen Jews were killed.[3]

On July 10, 1941, by decree of the military authorities, all Jews older than 14 years were obliged to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. Jews also had to be registered and were compelled to engage in forced labor. The military commandant's headquarters (Ortskommandantur) and the local Ukrainian administration implemented these orders with the aid of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which consisted of 12 members and was created on the same day. Its first chairman was O. Miller.[4] The next day the Ortskommandantur ordered the Judenrat to collect a "contribution" of 2,000 Reichsmark (RM) within 24 hours. Subsequently, Jews were made to surrender articles of clothing and furniture. As Jews were forbidden from doing business or interacting with the non-Jewish population, they were forced to live off their savings.

In October 1941, the commandant of the Kurowice labor camp made a demand for 20 Jewish laborers. The Judenrat asked young unmarried people to volunteer and offered bread to the volunteers' parents as an incentive.[5]

By the summer of 1942, hunger among the Jews of the town was very serious: people were reduced to eating thorns and grass, and a few people died of hunger each day. Some food was obtained from the local population secretly by barter.

In early August 1942, the Jews of the surrounding villages (Mikołajów, Podhorodyszcze, and others) were brought into Bóbrka, together with 180 Jews from Szczerzec and all the Jews (1,252 people) from Strzeliska Nowe. Consequently, there were some 3,200 Jews gathered in Bóbrka. Conditions in the town became very overcrowded, with three or four families sharing each apartment.

On August 12, 1942, a team of Security Police from Lwów, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, deported 1,260 Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp. Some people hid in bunkers, and the German forces killed on the spot approximately 200 Jews, who were disabled or who tried to escape. The Judenrat and Jewish Police were asked to help search for those in hiding; some refused and the Germans killed them too. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 1,900 Jews remained in the town after this Aktion.[6]

On December 1, 1942, a ghetto was created in Bóbrka following instructions issued by the German administration in November.[7] On December 8, 1942, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in the ghetto. Again some Jews hid in bunkers. Most of the several hundred Jews rounded up for deportation to Bełżec were among those who had arrived recently from the surrounding villages. Among those Jews killed on the spot on this occasion were three Jewish doctors who "died suddenly," while two others together with the Judenrat and the Jewish Police were reportedly among those deported. After being loaded onto the train, a few people managed to jump from the moving railway wagons.[8]

Thereafter, the poor hygienic conditions in the ghetto meant that many people became sick. In the period up to April 13, 1943, approximately 300 Jews died of hunger and typhus in the closed ghetto. Some non-Jewish acquaintances advised Jews to escape, but most were too afraid to offer shelter themselves.[9]

On April 13, 1943, a squad of Security Police from Lwów, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, surrounded the ghetto to help in its liquidation and the shooting began. The German authorities, aided by the Jewish Police, attempted to gather all the residents of the ghetto on the square by the synagogue. The assembled Jews were ordered to deposit all valuables, including photographs, into boxes. Ten healthy Jews were escorted in the direction of Wołowe to dig the graves. The Germans also selected a group of 159 able-bodied Jews destined for work. The

remaining Jews (more than 1,000 elderly, children, and the sick) were transported to the killing site, where they were forced to undress and were shot on the edge of the pit with machine guns. A Jewish hospital containing 50 patients was also burned down. The selected group was then loaded into cattle cars on top of the clothing of those just murdered near Wołowe, and they were sent to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów. According to Avraham Fisher, only 4 of the 159 survived the war. One survivor, Moses Erlich, recalls that two militiamen searched the bloody clothing during the journey, looking for any money and valuables.[10]

In Bóbrka several hundred Jews managed initially to survive the ghetto liquidation by hiding, but almost all of them were later caught and killed.[11] After Soviet troops had recaptured Bóbrka, some Jews who had hidden in the nearby woods, especially the Świrz Forest, returned to the town and met up with others who had remained hidden with non-Jews during the occupation. Approximately 40 Jews returned to Bóbrka in total.

SOURCES Articles on the extermination of the Jews of Bóbrka and its surrounding area can be found in the Bóbrka yizkor book, Sh. Kallay, ed., *Le-zekher kehilat Bobrka u-benoteha* (Jerusalem: Association of Former Residents of Bobrka and Vicinity, 1964); and in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980).

Documents regarding the extermination of Bóbrka's Jewish community can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1247 and 1316); DALO (R 24-3-156); GARF (7021-67-84); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. N.M. Gelber, "History of Boiberke," in Kallay, *Le-zekher kehilat Bobrka u-benoteha*, pp. 11–16 (abridged English translation).
2. BA-MA, RH 26-257/35, Activity Report of 257th Infantry Div./Ic, July 3, 1941; RH 26-257/8, already reported on the evening of July 2, 1941, in the War Diary (KTB) of the 257th Infantry Division.
3. According to the testimony of Chaim Gimpl, 63 Jews were killed; see AŻIH, 301/1316. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, there were 30 people (GARF, 7021-67-84, p. 7). Mordechai (Moses) Erlich, "Our Town's Experiences," in Kallay, *Le-zekher kehilat Bobrka u-benoteha*, pp. 187–198, indicates 42 were killed.
4. Erlich, "Our Town's Experiences," pp. 187–198.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.; and AŻIH, 301/1316.
7. DALO, R 24-3-156, Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land an die Landkommissare, November 25, 1941, Betr.: Bildung von Judenwohnbezirken.
8. Ibid., R 24-3-283, p. 16, Kreisarzt Bobrka an Hauptkreisarzt, December 11, 1942. According to the ChGK report for Bóbrka, in December 1942, 1,200 Jews were deported to Bełżec from the town (GARF, 7021-67-84, p. 7)—this figure is probably too high. Also see Erlich, "Our Town's Experiences," pp. 187–198.
9. Yosef Vogel, "The Last Struggle," in Kallay, *Le-zekher kehilat Bobrka u-benoteha*, p. 199.
10. M. Erlich, "Escape from the Death Camp," in Kallay, *Le-zekher kehilat Bobrka u-benoteha*, p. 204; see also AŻIH, 301/1247, testimony of Moses Ehrlich (in Polish).
11. GARF, 7021-67-84, p. 8; Avraham Fisher, "The Ghetto in Our Shtetl," in Kallay, *Le-zekher kehilat Bobrka u-benoteha*, p. 183.

BOLECHÓW

Pre-1939: Bolechów, town, Dolina powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Bolekhov, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bolechow, Kreis Stryj, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Bolekhiv, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Bolechów is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) west-northwest of Stanisławów. According to the 1931 census, 2,986 Jews were residing in the town. By the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual growth rate of 9 or 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been around 3,300 Jews in Bolechów.

Soviet forces abandoned Bolechów on July 2, 1941. The town was without a clear ruling authority until July 6. Units of the Hungarian and then the Slovak armies occupied the town from July 6. Initially, a military commandant's office administered the city. Then, in August 1941, power was transferred to a German civilian administration. Bolechów became part of Kreis Stryj within Distrikt Galizien. Regierungsrat Dr. Wiktor von Dewitz was appointed to the post of Kreishauptmann in Stryj.

In Bolechów, a German Gendarmerie post was established, which served under the command of the Gendarmerie platoon based in Stryj. A Ukrainian police unit was also established, which participated in the Aktions against the Jews.



Group portrait of Jewish youth in the Bolechów ghetto, 1941–1942. Pictured standing from left are Simon Weiss, Lila Berger, Bumek Josefsberg, and the donor's sister, Musia Adler. Sitting, from left, are Bela Altman, unknown, and Dyzia Lew.
USHMM WS #24603, COURTESY OF SCHLOMO ADLER

At the end of July 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Bolechów on the orders of the occupying forces. The Judenrat was headed initially by Dr. Reifeisen and then by Dr. Schindler from the end of 1941. A Jewish police force was charged with maintaining order and assisted the Judenrat in carrying out its tasks. Jews were obliged to register themselves and to appear for forced labor tasks assigned to them via the Judenrat, including cleaning and bridge repair work. The German officials also demanded furniture from the Jews for equipping their offices and villas. In October 1941, the Jews were required to pay a large monetary contribution.[1]

On October 28 and 29, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Bolechów. Some 750 Jews, who were unable to work, were gathered in the Catholic Home and then later taken to the forest near Taniawa and shot.[2] The Security Police and SD unit based in Stanisławów probably carried out the shootings. In October 1941, the head of the Judenrat, Dr. Reifeisen, committed suicide after a German official slapped him in the face for failing to meet the incessant German demands.[3] At the end of December 1941, the Jews were required to surrender their fur coats and warm clothing, and a number of Jews were taken hostage to ensure compliance with this order.[4]

The Judenrat organized a soup kitchen for the poor, which served watery soup and small pieces of bread each day. Many Jews made use of this service, but nevertheless between January and September 1942 roughly 60 Jews died per month of weakness and starvation, including a number of Hungarian refugees. There was also a Jewish hospital, which was staffed by Jewish doctors and women volunteers. According to one survivor account, Jewish women were forbidden to wear lipstick, apparently to prevent them from enticing Germans to help them.[5]

On June 10, 1942, 4,281 Jews were counted in the town of Bolechów and its outlying villages. Of these, 1,588 were deemed fit to work, most of them working directly for German offices.[6] In August 1942, Jews from the outlying towns and villages of Wełdzirz, Wygoda, Wyszków, and Mizuń Stary and also some from Rożniatów were all resettled to Bolechów.[7] After this concentration of Jews in Bolechów, a deportation Aktion was carried out on September 3–5, 1942. Some 400 Jews were killed on the spot, including a number of children, and more than 1,600 Jews were deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec. The German Security Police, Gendarmerie, Ukrainian police, and Jewish Police all participated in the Aktion.[8]

After the Aktion on September 3–5, approximately 2,500 Jews remained in the town. On October 1, 1942, the Jewish Council was informed that all Jews not carrying a work pass issued by the Security Police outpost in Stryj would soon be rounded up by the Ukrainian police and resettled to the ghetto in Stryj. The Jewish Council appealed for this operation to be delayed, as not all work passes had yet been distributed.[9] On October 21, 1942, the Judenrat was requested to surrender 400 Jews, including some of the workers. The Jewish Police arrested the Jews, and some people paid large bribes to avoid deportation, while others went into hiding.[10] Of the 1,748 Jews who were officially counted in Bolechów on October 29, 1942, most worked in timber production for the German HOBAG company (215); in leather manufacturing (126); in the barrel (72) and furniture (45) factories; in the combined town industries (90); or as craftsmen (49). Among these Jews, there were 147 who were members of the Judenrat, the Jewish Police, the sanitation service, or the local committee for Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS).[11]

In September or October 1942, all Jews, including those from the surrounding villages, were required to abandon their apartments and move into a "ghetto" or "special quarter of town" reserved for Jews that consisted of "the Shuster-Gas, the Ring-Platz, the Klein-Gas, and the surrounding side-streets." Each person was left to find new living space on his or her own. Some of the houses had remained empty after the deportations in early September, but generally there was insufficient space, and many people had to leave some of their furniture and other items behind and sell them. The "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) was not fenced in and was not guarded, but the Jews were not permitted to leave its borders, and harsh penalties were threatened against anyone disobeying this order.[12] The mayor of the town, Ostap Hucalo, reported that the establishment of the ghetto in Bolechów had been completed on November 1, 1942, but that the Jews working in the barrel factory, the leather factory, and the combined town industries were residing in various parts of town (outside the ghetto), mostly in barracks established at their respective factories. As insufficient discipline was enforced, the mayor complained that many of these Jews were still able to roam the town freely. In response the mayor ordered that each firm should maintain only one barracks, that Jews should be permitted to leave only when going to work, and that they should always be escorted. He also requested that the other Jews not residing in barracks all be transferred to the Stryj ghetto, which was to be completed by December 1, 1942.[13] Soon afterwards the Jewish laborers in Bolechów were all relocated into corresponding factory barracks (labor camps) that were each surrounded by a high fence. The Germans planned for these Jews to train their own non-Jewish replacements. The resettlement of all the nonworking Jews to Stryj, which was completed in December, meant in effect the liquidation of the Bolechów ghetto only a few weeks after its establishment.[14]

Some of the Jewish forced labor camps in the town survived until the summer of 1943, when they were liquidated. In a series of Aktions, on March 5, June 5, June 8, July 13, and August 25, 1943, all the Jewish workers were shot. The Jewish Police and most of the Judenrat were shot during the March Aktion. Recognizing that the time had come, the head of the Judenrat, Dr. Schindler, hanged himself on learning the fate of his colleagues.[15]

Bolechów was liberated on August 9, 1944. Only about 50 Jews managed to survive by hiding inside the town or in nearby forests. At the end of 1944 and over the course of 1945, small groups of Jews returned to the city, having survived in German labor camps or in the Soviet interior.

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Bolechów can be found in the yizkor book edited by Y. Eshel and M.H. Eshel, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron li-Kedoshei Bolehov* (Haifa: Association of Former Residents of Bolechow in Israel, 1957); in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 72–77; and in the book by Anatol Regnier, *Damals in Bolechów: Eine jüdische Odyssee* (Munich: Btb, 1997), which has also since been published in a Hebrew translation. The story of a single family from Bolechów during the Holocaust is reconstructed by Daniel Mendelsohn in *The Lost: The Search for Six of Six Million* (New York, 2006).

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Bolechów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1035, 1554, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, and 4045); DAI-FO; DALO (R 1952-1-62); GARF (7021-73-9); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1554, 2146.
2. GARF, 7021-73-9, p. 2.
3. Eshel and Eshel, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron*, pp. 341–342.
4. AŻIH, 301/2147, 2148.
5. AŻIH, 301/2145, 2147.
6. DALO, R 1952-1-62 (USHMM, RG-31.003M), p. 36, reproduced in Thomas Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*" *in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz-Verlag, 1996), p. 329.
7. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 10. According to the yizkor book, the Jews of Rożniatów were mostly expelled to Dolina and Bolechów in September 1941; see Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rozniatow* (Tel Aviv: Rozniatow, Perehinsko, Broszniow and Environs Societies in Israel and the USA, 1974), pp. 157–206.
8. Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*," pp. 344–345.
9. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 88, Judenrat in Bolechów an Kreisjudenrat in Stryj, October 1, 1942.
10. Regnier, *Damals in Bolechów*, p. 152.
11. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 63, report of mayor on Jews working in the town of Bolechów, October 29, 1942.
12. Eshel and Eshel, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron*, pp. 324, 345–346.
13. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 65, Bürgermeister in Bolechów an die Kreishauptmannschaft, November 13, 1942; Regnier, *Damals in Bolechów*, p. 153.
14. Eshel and Eshel, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron*, p. 325.
15. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 10; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–44: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 260, 358; Regnier, *Damals in Bolechów*, pp. 161–162.

BORSZCZÓW

Pre-1939: Borszczów, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Borshchov, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Borszczow, Kreis Czortkow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Borshchiv, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Borszczów is located 98 kilometers (61 miles) south-southeast of Tarnopol. In mid-1941, there were approximately 3,000 Jews living in Borszczów: this number includes both local Jews and some refugees from central and western Poland.[1]

Hungarian troops occupied Borszczów on July 7, 1941. A few Jews, mostly men, escaped with the retreating Soviet troops. On July 8, Hungarian soldiers accompanied by Ukrainian policemen went from house to house, confiscating radios from the Jews, sometimes robbing them as well.[2] During these first days of occupation, antisemitic Ukrainians tried to organize a pogrom in the town, but the Hungarian military authorities intervened to prevent the maltreatment of Jews.[3] At this time the Hungarian military commandant ordered the creation of a Jewish Committee, which was headed by Wolf Hess. In August 1941, several thousand Jews deported from Hungary passed through Borszczów, where they received some assistance from the local Jewish community. They were then handed over to the Germans, who shot them.[4]

In August 1941, the Hungarian forces withdrew and transferred authority to a German civil administration. Borszczów became part of Kreis Czortkow, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was at first the former deputy Gestapo chief in Stettin, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Gerhard Littschwager, and from late April 1942, the former Stadthauptmann (head of the city) of Lwów, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Hans Kujath.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Borszczów were organized and carried out by a squad from the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Czortków. This unit was headed in turn by SS-Obersturmführer Karl Hildemann (October 1941 to October 1942), SS-Untersturmführer Hans Velde (October 1942 to February 1943), and SS-Sturmscharführer Heinrich Peckmann (February to September 1943).[5]

In Borszczów there was a Criminal Police (Kripo) post, which was subordinate to the Sipo outpost in Czortków, as well as a Gendarmerie post and a squad of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, all of which played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

When power was transferred to the Germans, the situation of the Jews sharply declined. They were forced to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David and were forbidden to leave the town limits, appear on the main street, or even leave their houses; all Jewish men aged between 14 and 60 had to perform forced labor. For purchasing groceries, Jews were restricted to one hour in the middle of the day. In response to this measure, the Jewish Committee, which had been converted into a Jewish Council (Judenrat), established its own shops, but this system was abused by some Judenrat members and their families. The Jewish community was also subjected to a series of "fines," and the Judenrat members were threatened with being shot if the goods requested were not delivered on time.[6]

On November 14, 1941, a detachment of Security Police from Czortków carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion during which elderly and sick Jews were shot. After the Aktion, Josef Littner in Zbaraż received a postcard from the Judenrat informing him of the death of his relatives.[7] In the winter of 1941–1942, several groups of young Jews were sent to the labor camps in Stupki, Kamionki, and Borki Wielkie.

On April 1, 1942, a Jewish residential district (open ghetto) was established in Borszczów. A curfew from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. was imposed, and non-Jews were forbidden from entering the district or having any contact with Jews. Nevertheless, contacts continued secretly, especially for barter, and non-Jews also relayed information to other towns.

In late July 1942, the head of the Judenrat, Wolf Hess, was sent to the Bełżec extermination camp for sabotaging German orders. A refugee from Vienna, Oscar Hessing, was appointed chairman of the Judenrat in his place; unlike Hess, he carried out all the occupants' demands. His brother Shimon was the head of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), which imposed punishments of beatings and fines.

On September 26–27, 1942, the second anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out during which 800 Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp, and about 100 people (the elderly and the sick) were killed on the spot. After this Aktion, some of the remaining able-bodied Jews who had not been deported or killed on September 26–27, from the neighboring towns of Mielnica, Skałat, Jezierzany, Korolówka, and Krzywcza, were transferred to Borszczów. As a result, there were now more than 4,000 Jews in Borszczów. With this influx the Judenrat was reconstituted such that each of the newly arrived groups was now represented.

On December 1, 1942, the Jewish residential district in Borszczów was converted into an enclosed ghetto and isolated from the rest of the town on the orders of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger.[8] Within the ghetto, the Judenrat had numerous responsibilities, including social welfare, ghetto workshops, statistics, food distribution, and tax collection. Jews were not permitted to contact the German authorities directly but only via the Judenrat. Owing to the problems in managing scarce resources, there was much animosity towards the Judenrat, especially among the new arrivals. Nevertheless, cultural activities continued, as some inmates wrote poems and songs.[9]

In the spring of 1943, Aktions in the ghetto recommenced. Thus, on March 13, 1943, about 400 Jews were sent to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów, 800 Jews were shot on April 19 at the Jewish cemetery, and 700 more were shot on June 5. On June 9, 1943, German forces and their collaborators began the liquidation of the ghetto, during the course of which 1,800 people were shot in the Jewish cemetery, and Borszczów was officially pronounced to be *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). Nevertheless, 60 Jews remained in the town for some time, engaged in sorting Jewish belongings, as well as there being several hundred Jews in hiding. Of the latter group, the Germans were able to lure a number out of hiding, and they shot 360 people on August 14, 1943.

Altogether, in 1941–1943, according to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Borshchov raion, 4,557 Jews were shot in the town; they are buried in 15 mass graves in the Jewish cemetery and include nearly all of the victims of the German occupation of the town.[10]

In the spring of 1942, in the Jewish residential district, a resistance group was created, which was headed by Wolf Ashendorf, Joel Weintraub, and Kalman Schwartz. Not long before the last Aktion, members of the group escaped to the surrounding forests. In the summer and fall of 1943, the group performed several operations against the German occupation forces and the Ukrainian police. Thus, on November 17, 1943, the group freed 50 prisoners (including 20 Jews) from the Borszczów prison.

The German police carried out a series of operations against the Jewish partisans. During one of these operations, on December 10, 1943, five bunkers were destroyed in the forest near the town, and 13 armed Jews were killed in battle.

SOURCES Publications on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of the town include the following: Nachman Blumenthal, ed., *Sefer Borshtshiv* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Borshts'ov be-Yisrael Hotsa'at sefarim 'a. sh. Y.L. Perets, 1960); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 102–106; and I. Fajersztejn, "Banda żydowska," in *Fun letstn khurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), no. 3.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/350, 1504, 2522, and 2540); BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 239/59); DATO; GARF (7021-75-87); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 3.
2. Blumenthal, *Sefer Borshtshiv*, p. 176.
3. Ibid.; BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 23, July 15, 1941.
4. Blumenthal, *Sefer Borshtshiv*, p. 177.
5. Verdict of LG-Sa, 6 Ks 2/62, June 25, 1962, in *Justiz and NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 28 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 541, p. 664; Peckmann was acquitted by the court in Saarbrücken.
6. Blumenthal, *Sefer Borshtshiv*, pp. 178–179.
7. Jakob Littner, *Journey through the Night: Jakob Littner's Holocaust Memoir* [trans. and ed. Kurt Nathan Grübler] (New York: Continuum, 2000), pp. 35–36, which includes a facsimile of the postcard. Blumenthal, *Sefer Borshtshiv*, p. 180, states that two Hungarian Jews from Budapest were shot on this date for not wearing their armbands.

8. Order of HSSPF Krüger issued on November 10, 1942, published in *Verordnungsblatt GG* (1942) no. 98, November 11, 1942, reprinted in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.
9. Blumenthal, *Sefer Borshtshiv*, pp. 181–182, 219.
10. GARF, 7021-75-87, pp. 1 and reverse side.

BORYSŁAW

Pre-1939: Borysław, city, Drohobycz powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Borislav, Drogobych raion and oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Borysław, Kreis Drogobytsch, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Boryslav, Drohobych raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Borysław is located roughly 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Lwów. On the eve of World War II in 1939, there were about 13,000 Jews in the city.[1]

On September 12, 1939, German forces occupied Borysław. German soldiers imposed forced labor on the Jews and stole their property. Ukrainian nationalists also attacked Jews on the outskirts of the city. After a few days, in mid-September 1939, the Red Army took over the area under the terms of the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

Forces of the German 17th Army occupied Borysław on July 1, 1941. The next day, the hastily formed Ukrainian militia, supported by local peasants, organized a pogrom, enraged over the discovery of 44 prisoners murdered in the city by the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) as the Red Army retreated. Some German soldiers also participated in the pogrom in which up to 350 Jews were murdered, dozens were wounded, and many others were robbed. After the initial wave of violence, the German military restored order. It soon appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), initially led by Michael Herz, which was made responsible for supplying a number of Jews for various forced labor tasks. These included arduous bridge reconstruction work, in the course of which a number of Jews lost their lives.[2]

On August 1, 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Borysław became part of the Kreis Drohobycz. The Kreishauptmann was initially Sturmbannführer Eduard Jedamzik, who was succeeded in June 1942 by Hermann Görgens. Borysław's local administration was directed by a Stadtkommissar. This post was initially held by SA-Hauptsturmführer Bornemann, who was succeeded by Wilhelm Möllers in the fall of 1942.[3]

From November 18, 1941, a 20-man unit of the Schutzpolizei (Schupo) from Vienna, led by Meister der Schupo Gustav Wüpper, was stationed in the city. On their arrival, the Ukrainian militia, which had been converted into an Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), was subordinated to this unit and placed under the command of Hauptwachtmeister Heinrich Nemetz. A small unit of Criminal Police (Kripo) was also present, directed by the head of the Border Police Office (GPK) in Drohobycz, Hauptsturmführer Franz Wenzel, who was succeeded in May 1942 by Hauptsturmführer Hans Block.[4]

The Germans conducted the first organized Aktion in Borysław at the end of November 1941. On November 27–28, 1941, using a list compiled by the Judenrat, the Security Police from Drohobycz, assisted by the Schupo and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, seized around 700 or 800 Jews who were unfit for labor or sick. They were confined in the barracks of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and were then transported to the forests of Truskawiec and Tustanowice, where men of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and Schupo shot them on November 29.[5]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jewish community suffered severely from hunger and typhus, and a number of Jews died. In addition, the Jews were forced to surrender their winter clothing to the Wehrmacht. By February 1942, allowing also for Jews sent to nearby forced labor camps and the repatriation to central Poland of some refugees, the Jewish population had declined to 10,734.[6]

In November 1941, Kreishauptmann Jedamzik in Drohobycz initiated preparations to establish a Jewish residential quarter (open ghetto) in Borysław. On November 20, he introduced the death penalty for Jews leaving their place of residence without permission. In March 1942, Stadtkommissar Bornemann approved a plan to establish a ghetto with separate sections for specialist workers, those capable of work, and those unfit for work, in accordance with new regulations to register all Jews for labor service. However, practical ghettoization measures were then postponed until after May 1942, on the recommendation of the German medical official, Medizinalrat Dr. Wilhelm Dopheide, owing to the continuing typhus outbreak and fears that the stream, which would form the border between the "Aryan" and Jewish quarters, might spread disease to the general population.[7]

At the end of July 1942, the Judenrat was ordered to compile a list of deportees for "resettlement to the Pińsk area." On the morning of August 6, the Schupo, Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, and Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) began to round up those selected and detain them in the Graszyna Cinema. The Aktion was temporarily halted because many Jews had escaped into the outlying forests or hidden in the city. The operation resumed later that day, and many Jews were arrested indiscriminately; children, the sick and elderly, and some of those found in hiding were murdered on the spot. Those detained were housed in the overcrowded movie theater, as well as in the former headquarters of the Polish Socialist Party.

On the morning of August 8, the prisoners were taken to the train station, where 400 were selected for the Janowska Street labor camp located near Lwów. Another 250, many of them children under the standard working age, were saved through the intervention of Berthold Beitz, a manager with the German "Karpathen" oil company. The remaining 5,000 Jews—including some from Podbuż, Schodnica, and other villages nearby—were sent to the Bełżec extermination

camp. During this process Michael Herz, the head of the Jewish Council, and several policemen managed to escape the city. Heinrich Kahane and Bernard Eisenstein were then appointed as heads of the Jewish Council and Jewish Police, respectively.[8]

Following the Aktion, the Germans established two separate open ghettos in Borysław, in the districts of Potok Górny and Nowy Świat, where the poorest Jews already lived. The non-Jews had to leave these areas within a few days, and Jews were given two weeks to move in. The health and living conditions in the ghettos were very bad, and overcrowding was severe.[9] In September 1942, there were 1,760 Jews working in the oil industry in Borysław, who had been issued special armbands bearing the letter "A," as needed workers (*Arbeitsjuden*). These armbands enabled them to travel to their workplaces and were thought to give them some protection from further roundups. A small number of Jews who worked for Beitz in key positions lived with their families in a separate camp in the Mrasznica suburb, known as the "White House," where living conditions were much better, including even payment in cash.[10]

In early September 1942, Kreishauptmann Görgens set a deadline of September 22 for the concentration of the remaining Jews of Borysław into a ghetto enclosed with barbed wire. This deadline was not met, but on October 13, 1942, Görgens declared that the resettlement of the Jews into the ghetto was completed. The ghetto now consisted of a number of living quarters for Jews, each surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian auxiliaries.[11]

On October 21–24, 1942, the Germans conducted a third Aktion. First, Jews from outlying communities (including 140 Jews from Schodnica) were deported to the Borysław ghetto, bringing the total number of its inhabitants to 4,890. After the population was assembled, the Schupo and Ukrainian militia, assisted by Company 5, 24th Police Regiment (commanded by Hauptmann Ernst Lederer), arrested 1,020 Jews and deported them to Bełżec. Among those deported were some people who had been issued armbands. In early November, the remaining Jews working in Borysław were officially transferred to the control of the SS, and employers now had to pay the SS 5 złoty per day for their continued use.[12]

A fourth Aktion followed on November 29–30. The Schupo and militia, reinforced by a platoon of mounted police, deported to Bełżec and the Janowska Street camp an estimated 1,500 Jews (mainly the families of those Jews now issued new "R" armbands as *Rüstungsarbeiter*, or armament worker). Before being deported, the Jews were held under terrible conditions for three weeks in the Graszyna Cinema, which at least gave Beitz the chance to intervene on behalf of about 150 people. A few days before their deportation, on November 21, the local Schupo post, led by Wüpper, also shot 100 Jews who had been found in hiding places. With Beitz's assistance, some Jews fled across the Hungarian border, but these efforts had to be abandoned after one group was captured, almost leading to Beitz's arrest.[13]

In November 1942, a forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager*, ZAL) was established for Jews working in the oil industry at Mrasznica, close to the privileged Jews in the "White House." By early December 1942, there were 1,470 Jews working for the Karpathen AG (Aktiengesellschaft) who had been issued passes to leave the ghetto for work. Over the following weeks, an increasing number of Jews were transferred from the ghetto (or Karpathen-Wohnblock) to the ZAL. As many as 400 Jews were shot in and around the city during December 1942. By January 1943, of 993 Jews with ghetto passes, 443 were based at the ZAL, and 550 were still in the ghetto. A number of illegal Jews had also managed to be smuggled into the ZAL. Several hundred additional Jews, working for other German offices, still resided in the ghetto.[14]

On February 16–17, 1943, a fifth Aktion took place in which 600 Jews were shot at the slaughterhouse by members of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, German mounted police, and Schupo. Among the victims were Jews who worked in the city's workshops and sawmill, as well as Jews from the ghetto who were deemed unfit for labor. Smaller executions continued during the next few months at the slaughterhouse. Most of the victims were Jews found hiding in the woods outside the city.[15]

From May 25 to June 2, 1943, the German forces completed the liquidation of the Borysław ghetto. Schupo and Ukrainian militia forces assembled the surviving inmates at the Graszyna Cinema and made selections for the Janowska Street camp. The security forces then shot an estimated 700 sick, young, and elderly Jews at the slaughterhouse. Among the victims were the members of the Jewish Police, who had been forced to dig the graves. A series of smaller shooting Aktions took place at the slaughterhouse throughout the summer as the Schupo and Ukrainian forces combed the woods and ghetto for Jews in hiding.[16]

During 1943–1944, a partisan unit under the command of David Erlbaum was active in the area. It was mostly composed of escapees from the ghetto. The unit was later absorbed into a larger partisan unit of Polish Communists, belonging to the Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, GL). A small resistance organization also existed in the ghetto, led by a man named Marenholz. The group was able to obtain a few small arms and also set fire to a large amount of raw materials and finished products in the ghetto industry.[17]

Besides Berthold Beitz, several Polish and Ukrainian residents of Borysław rescued Jews and have been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. Roughly 400 Jews emerged from hiding after the liberation of the city by the Red Army on August 7, 1944. Most of the survivors soon left after the war, and only a few remained in Borysław.[18]

Several former members of the Borysław Schupo were prosecuted after the war for their crimes. On July 26, 1956, the regional court of Vienna tried six former policemen, among them Josef Pöll, one of the unit's most sadistic members, who was sentenced to 20 years in prison. Leopold Mitas was sentenced to life in prison, but the remaining four were acquitted.[19]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Borysław ghetto and the destruction of the Jews of Borysław include the following: Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 92–99; Nathan Michael Gelber, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-Drohobycz, Boryslaw veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Drhobits, Borislav veha-sevivah, 1959); Bernd Schmalhausen, *Berthold Beitz im Dritten Reich: Mensch in unmenschlicher Zeit* (Essen: Pomp, 1991); Tuviah Friedmann, ed., *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher vor dem Wiener Volksgericht: Schutzpolizei Dienstabteilung in Boryslaw: Dokumentensammlung* (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, 1995); Andrzej Zbikowski, "Inny pogrom," *Karta*, no. 5 (1991); Shevah (Szewach) Weiss, "Mizh rokami 1941–1945," *Dialoby*, nos. 7–8 (1985); M. Terlets'kyi, "Strakhittia druhoi svitovoi viiny u Boryslavs'komu baseini," in *Drohobychchyna—zemlia Ivana Franka* (New York, 1975); Alfred Jasiński, "Borysławska apokalipsa," *Karta*, no. 4 (1991); Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996); Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997); and Thomas Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener waren ja bei der Bevölkerung beliebt: Österreichische Schutzpolizisten in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2002).

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Borysław can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/176, 679, 1068, 1315, 2138, 2193, 2465, and 4448); BA-L (B 162/5831-5839 [ZStL, II 208 AR-Z 8/62]; ZStL, II 208 AR 1471/67; and II 208 AR 1468/67]); DALO (e.g., R 1933-1-15 and R 2042-1-55); GARF (7021-58-21); RGVA (1275-3-663; and 1323-2-2926); SHLA (Abt. 352 Lübeck/1731ff.); Sta. Bremen (3 Ks 1/53 and 29 Ks 1/66 gegen Friedrich Hildebrand); USHMM (RG-31.003M); VHF (e.g., # 8188, 12064, 14681, and 15542); and YVA.

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

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967).

2. Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 303–305; according to Sandkühler's sources, 183 Jews were buried in the Jewish cemetery, but others were killed in hiding, and their bodies may not have been retrieved. RGVA, 1275-3-663, p. 4, report of Ortskommandantur II/347 in Borysław dated July 1941, gives the figure of 350 Jews murdered. Zhanna Kovba, *Liudianist' u bezodni pekla: povedinka mistsevoho naselennia Skhidnoi Halychyny v roki "Ostatochnoho rozv'iazannia evreiskoho pytannia"* (Kiev: Sfera, 1998), pp. 239–242; VHF, # 12064, testimony of Adam Auslander; # 14681, testimony of Jenny Backenroth; # 15542, testimony of Murray Bergman; Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener*, pp. 54–57; and AŻIH, 301/2465.

3. Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 297, 309.

4. Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener*, pp. 72, 74, 80; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* p. 310.

5. GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 44; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* p. 318; AŻIH, 301/2465; and Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 4.

6. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 4; Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 92–99.

7. Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 318–324; DALO, R 1933-1-15, pp. 1–2; and R 2042-1-55, p. 32, Umsiedlung der Juden in Boryslaw, March 17, 1942.

8. VHF, # 15542; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 336–341; Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener*, pp. 105–108.

9. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 92–99; AŻIH, 301/2465.

10. Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 346, 351; AŻIH, 301/2465.

11. Report of Kreishauptmann Görgens, October 13, 1942, in DALO, R 1933-1-15, p. 2; and AŻIH, 301/176 and 800; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* p. 348.

12. DALO, R 1933-1-15, p. 2; RGVA, 1323-2-2926, p. 28, report on the resettlement of Jews by Schupo Hauptmann Lederer, commander of Company 5, 24th Police Regiment, October 25, 1942; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 354–356; AŻIH, 301/2465.

13. VHF, # 15542; GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 45; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 359–361; Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, p. 241; Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener*, pp. 112–115; Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 92–99.

14. Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 361–366.

15. GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 45; Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 370–373; Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener*, pp. 117–118.

16. GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 45; Geldmacher, *Wir als Wiener*, pp. 124–130.

17. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 328.

18. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 92–99; and Kovba, *Liudianist'*, p. 241. For more information regarding Berthold Beitz, see Sandkühler, *"Endlösung."*

19. Friedmann, *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher vor dem Wiener Volksgericht.*

BRODY

Pre-1939: Brody, city, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Zloczow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Brody is located 87 kilometers (54 miles) east-northeast of Lwów. In 1939, of 18,020 residents, 8,365 were Jewish. In 1940, there were 12,617 Jews, but by mid-1941, of 22,218 residents, just 10,070 were Jews.[1] The sudden increase in the Jewish population was caused by the arrival of many Jewish refugees from western and central Poland in the autumn of 1939. The rapid decrease again by mid-1941 reflected the deportations, especially of Jewish refugees, carried out by the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in a series of actions in 1940 and the first half of 1941.

After Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, leaving almost 9,000 Jews in Brody.[2] Units of the



Postwar photograph of the ruins of the main synagogue in Brody.
USHMM WS #23382, COURTESY OF EUGENIA HOCHBERG LANCETER

German army occupied the city on June 29, 1941. At the start of the occupation, the city was controlled by a German military administration; from August 1941, a German civil administration assumed responsibility for governing the area. Brody became part of the Kreis Zloczow, within Distrikt Galizien. Initially, the Kreishauptmann was Gerichts-Assessor Hans Mann, but in January 1942, Dr. Otto Wendt succeeded him. The Kreis was divided into several subdistricts known as Landkommissariate. Fritz Weiss was in charge of the Brody Landkommissariat.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Brody were carried out under the direction of the office of the Security Police and SD based in Lwów (KdS Lemberg), assisted also by staff from the office of the Criminal Police (Kripo) based in Złoczów, directed by a police officer from Vienna, Otto Zikmunt. There was also a local office of the Kripo in Brody, which received its orders from the Criminal Police office in Złoczów. In addition, in Brody there was an office of the German Gendarmerie, which supervised the local Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), headed by Stepan Syhovich. The Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

Within two weeks of the start of the occupation, the first anti-Jewish Aktion took place in Brody in which 250 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were arrested and murdered by a squad of the Security Police and SD. The forces involved included members of the special operational group (Einsatzgruppe z.b.V.) based in Lwów.[3] In July 1941, another 60 Jews were murdered by the intelligence section (Nachrichtenabteilung 2) of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Russia South.[4]

In the second half of July 1941, the German military administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Dr. Jakow Blech. Jews were made to wear white armbands bearing a Star of David; most of their property was confiscated; and they were stripped of many basic rights. The Jews were required to register for compulsory work for very low wages and also had to pay a mandatory fee of 750 rubles each to the main bank in Brody by August 5, 1941. Those who failed to comply with these demands faced severe punishment.[5]

In October 1941, Jews from the surrounding areas were ordered to move to Brody. Some Jews from Brody were also forced to go to Złoczów for work. On October 19, 1941, several groups of young Jewish males who were physically fit for hard work were sent to the Kozaki labor camp. On December 27, 1941, several larger groups were sent to labor camps from which no one usually returned. These camps were located in Lackie Wielkie, Jaktorów, Płuhów, and Zborów.[6] In January 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) in Brody. At the same time, Jews were required to give up their winter clothing, including any fur coats and winter shoes.

In June 1942, a number of Jews reportedly were living in the following villages around Brody: Toporów, 734; Leszniów, 321; Sokołówka, 269; Koniuszków, 236; Suchowola, 452; and Stanisławczyk, 626.[7] On September 19, 1942, the Germans deported 2,500 Jews from Brody to the Bełżec extermination camp. About 300 of them were killed during the roundup. At the end of November, 2,500 more Jews were sent to Bełżec.[8]

On German orders, the Jewish Police was involved in rounding up the Jews; the German Security Police, Gendarmerie, and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police supervised and implemented the deportations and killings. The outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Sokal under the command of SS officer Oswald Heyduk organized the first deportation Aktion. The second Aktion was conducted by forces under the command of SS officer Carl Wöbke of the outpost's Jewish section, assisted by the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.

On December 2, 1942, around 2,000 more Jews were brought into the ghetto from various villages, including Toporów, Podkamień, Sokołówka, Stanisławczyk, Leszniów, Koniuszków, Ponikawica, Ponikwa, and Suchowola. Around this time, in accordance with the order of HSSPF for the Generalgouvernement Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, issued on November 10, 1942, the German authorities set up an enclosed ghetto in Brody.[9] The ghetto was located around Shlitelnaia Street, where most Jews already lived, and it was surrounded with barbed wire with only a single entrance. German and Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto. Placards declared that anyone attempting to leave would be shot. The overcrowding in the ghetto was terrible: often as many as 25 or 30 people had to share one small room.

Those Jews who received special work passes because they were working for the Wehrmacht ("W") or for the armaments industry (*Rüstungsindustrie*, "R"), however, were put into small labor camps consisting mostly of enclosed barracks located at the factories, some inside and some outside the ghetto. The total number of people in the ghetto increased to more than 5,000. During the winter of 1942–1943, about 1,000 people died from starvation, sickness, and disease, especially from typhus.[10]

On May 21, 1943, the HSSPF for Distrikt Galizien, Friedrich Katzmann, issued orders for the liquidation of the Brody ghetto, which resulted in the immediate shooting of 100 Jews

and numerous deportations to concentration or extermination camps (probably to Majdanek).[11] Some Jews offered armed resistance, killing four Ukrainians and several German policemen. This rebellion provoked the German forces into treating the remaining Jews even more brutally, burning down some of the houses to force hiding Jews to come out. The liquidation of the ghetto took about one month, lasting well into June 1943.[12]

Two months after the liquidation of the Brody ghetto, there still remained about 40 Jews working in the city, but they were murdered on July 19, 1943.

At the end of 1942, a Jewish resistance organization was secretly formed in the Brody ghetto. The leaders of the group were Jakow Linder and Shmuel Weiler. They managed to develop contacts with the Jewish underground organization in the Lwów ghetto, as well as with members of a secret Communist Party group called Narodnaia Gvardia imeni Ivana Franka, which was also based in Lwów. Their primary goal was to establish an independent partisan force, which would have three bases operating clandestinely throughout the Lwów region to resist the murder of the Jews. In April 1943, around 70 Jews managed to escape from the ghettos. Linder's group organized a number of attacks on ghettos, forced labor camps, and other targets, which were only weakly protected. Among the successful attacks were those on the fuel factory in Sokolowska and against the labor camp in Sasów. As a result of the above-mentioned efforts to liberate Jewish prisoners, the strength of the resistance was augmented. The partisans were also active in blowing up bridges used by German troops.[13]

As a result of the interrogation of some captured partisans, the Germans acquired more detailed information about the group operating in the forests near Brody. Consequently, German soldiers and Ukrainian police searched the area and launched a number of raids, which resulted in the killing of 33 Jewish partisans.[14]

One group of Jews in Brody managed to escape the liquidation operations and hid in the ruins of the old synagogue. However, the local police reported their presence to the Germans. The German commander, Meister der Gendarmerie Damm, ordered the arrest of the Jews. Of the 12 Jews hiding there, 6 were captured and murdered by the German security forces and their collaborators.[15] At the time of the liberation of Brody in 1944, several hundred Jews returned to the city, having survived with the partisans in the surrounding forests or in hiding.

After the war, Otto Wendt was a secretary in the Ministry of Economics in Lower Saxony, Germany. In 1969, without bringing charges, the German authorities abandoned their investigation into his alleged involvement in the persecution of the Jews. Otto Zikmunt was extradited to the USSR in 1949; he was convicted by a Soviet court and died in prison. S.I. Syhovich was sentenced to death by a Soviet military tribunal and executed in 1944.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Brody and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Mosad HaRav Kook and N.-M. Gelber, *Toldot Yehudei Brody 1584–1943* (Jerusalem, 1955); Aviv Melzer, ed., *Ner tamid, yizkor li-Brodi: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Brodi u-sevivatah* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Brodi be-Yisrael, 1994); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 121–134; Iakov Khonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody (1584–1944)* (L'viv, 2001); Chymak, ed., *Brody and Bridshchuna: Historical and Memorial Collection* (Toronto, Ontario, 1998); Henry Friedman, *I'm No Hero: Journeys of a Holocaust Survivor* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Shmuel Weiler, "The Jewish Resistance Movement in Brodi," in Meyer Barkai, ed., *The Fighting Ghettos* (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1962), pp. 109–117; and F. Zorne Laufer, "Dziennik z czasów okupacji hitlerowskiej (Brody)," *BŻIH*, no. 59 (1966): 93–100.

Documentation about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Brody during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/39, 40, 198, 1777, 2888, 4517, 4737, 5439; and 302/170 and 227); DALO (R 77-1-574); GARF (7021-67-80); USHMM (RG-02.156 and RG-50.002*0057); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Andriy Tsintsiruk

NOTES

1. Khonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*, p. 102.
2. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table. 12.
3. GARF, 7021-67-80; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 12.
4. See LG-Kais Verdict of Dec. 22, 1976 (18 Js 7/73 Ks) and Verdict of June 25, 1982 (18 Js 7/73 Ks).
5. AŻIH, 301/170, testimony of Samuel Weiler.
6. Ibid.
7. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja" tables 5, 12.
8. AŻIH, 301/170.
9. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
10. GARF, 7021-67-80, pp. 88–89, statement of Rosa Lerner, September 11, 1944.
11. Ibid., pp. 82, 88.
12. Friedman, *I'm No Hero*, p. 29; DALO, R 77-1-574.
13. Khonigsman, *Evrei goroda Brody*, pp. 86–87.
14. Weiler, "The Jewish Resistance," pp. 109–117.
15. AŻIH, 301/170.

BRZEŻANY

Pre-1939: Brzeżany (Yiddish: Berezhan), town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Berezhany, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Brzezany, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Berezhany, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Brzeżany is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) west-southwest of Tarnopol. The Jewish population of Brzeżany was 3,670 in

1931. Jews were the second-largest ethnic group in the town after the Poles. On the eve of World War II, Poles constituted 42.2 percent, Jews 35.5 percent, and Ukrainians 22.3 percent of the local population.

The Red Army occupied Brzeżany in September 1939 in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. After the Germans launched their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, the first Wehrmacht units arrived on July 4. A small number of Brzeżany's Jews fled with the retreating Soviets. Ukrainians, mainly from nearby villages, broke into the Brzeżany prison, where they found the mutilated bodies of Ukrainian nationalists who had been arrested by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Some corpses were floating in the local river. The prevailing popular images of Jewish collaboration with the Soviets and the wrath ensuing from the murder of Ukrainian prisoners resulted in an anti-Jewish pogrom on July 6. Dozens of Jews were forced to dig graves and bury the Ukrainian dead. Then they were slaughtered by the Ukrainian mob, some with their own spades. A Ukrainian crowd ran all over town, looting Jewish property and occasionally killing and wounding Jews.[1]

German administrative personnel began arriving in Brzeżany in the fall of 1941. The highest-ranking German official in town and in Kreis Brzezany was Kreishauptmann Hans-Adolf Asbach, a Nazi Party member trained in law and economics. The Brzeżany Kreishauptmannschaft was located in the impressive modern building of the pre-war Polish high school. Asbach wanted to transform Brzeżany into a German-looking town. Hundreds of Jews were forced to raze buildings and prepare open spaces for future construction, which was never realized. His grandiose architectural fantasies wreaked additional damage on the already half-devastated town. Asbach assisted the German Security Police in the roundups and deportations of Brzeżany's Jews.[2] The local representation of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Office for Ethnic German Affairs, VoMi), in charge of appropriating Jewish property, was headed by Hubert Kohnen, a member of the Nazi Party. He arrived in Brzeżany in the summer of 1942 and remained there until the last roundup in June 1943. Though his official work was to collect Jewish property, he apparently participated in the murder of Brzeżany Jews in the old Jewish cemetery on Okopisko Hill. "Hubert," as people referred to him, was the terror of Brzeżany's Jews. Some of the few survivors recalled him as "the Mephisto of the Ghetto" or "the Angel of Death."[3]

Several police units were stationed in Brzeżany. The German Gendarmerie consisted of nine men. A particularly vicious Gendarme was Zipprich, who participated in the Okopisko killings. The Sonderdienst, the Special Police, a group of about 30 men, was subordinated to Kreishauptmann Asbach, and most of its members were *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans). There was also a local branch of the Criminal Police (Kripo). The local Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), headed by a Ukrainian officer, consisted of a few dozen men, supervised by the German Gendarmerie.[4]

A short while after his arrival in Brzeżany, Asbach nominated a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The chairman was Dr. Shimon Klarer, and his deputy was Israel Ros. Among its members were Dr. Philip Pomerants, Dr. Bernard Falk, and Dr. Eliezer Wagszal. The Brzeżany Judenrat assisted the German authorities in their anti-Jewish policies, but it also attempted, as much as it could, to ameliorate the terrible living conditions of the local Jewish population. The Judenrat appointed a Jewish Police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), consisting of 12 young men, some of them local Jews and some Jewish refugees.[5]

The first Aktion, the so-called intelligentsia roundup, occurred on the eve of Yom Kippur in early October 1941. All local Jewish males were required to report to the Brzeżany marketplace. About 600 Jews, mostly professionals and merchants, were detained and locked up in the Brzeżany prison. Asbach promised the Judenrat to help free them in return for 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of gold, which he got from the Judenrat, but nobody was released. The men were loaded onto trucks and driven in the direction of the village of Raj, southwest of Brzeżany, where men of the Security Police (Sipo) from Tarnopol shot them. Their bodies were buried in a nearby quarry. Most of the killings of Brzeżany Jews were conducted by the German Sipo outpost in Tarnopol. The Security Police in Tarnopol was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Herman Müller and his specialist on Jewish affairs, Willi Herrmann. The next large-scale Aktion in Brzeżany took place in mid-December 1941, on the second day of Hanukkah.

About 1,000 Jews, mostly the elderly, women, and children, were rounded up and taken on foot and in horse-drawn carts in the direction of Podhajce, southeast of Brzeżany. A Sipo detachment from Tarnopol, headed by Herman Müller, was waiting for them in the Litiatyn Forest, halfway between Brzeżany and Podhajce. All were shot on the spot and buried there.[6]

On January 15, 1942, an announcement was published in the local Ukrainian newspaper: "Jews who leave their designated quarter without permission, as well as those who provide them with shelter, are subject to the death penalty."[7] The final establishment of the ghetto in the center of Brzeżany occurred in the fall of that year, with a number of Jews being brought in from surrounding villages such as Narajów.[8] The first mass deportation from Brzeżany to the Bełżec extermination camp was carried out on Yom Kippur, September 21 and 22, 1942, by the Tarnopol Sipo, with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police. More than 1,000 Jews were loaded onto freight cars at the Brzeżany railway station. A few managed to jump off the train and make it back to Brzeżany.[9] Then 1,000 Jews were deported from Brzeżany to Bełżec on October 31, 1942, arriving in Bełżec in early November. Another 1,500 Jews were rounded up in Brzeżany on the first day of Hanukkah, December 4, 1942, and sent to Bełżec.[10]

The first roundup of 1943 took place in late March and early April. It lasted three days. Some of those apprehended were deported to nearby labor camps. Others were shot at the old Jewish cemetery on Okopisko Hill, on the way to Raj. The last roundup and the liquidation of the Brzeżany ghetto occurred on Saturday, June 12, 1943, two days after the Shavuot holiday. It was directed and supervised by SS-Scharführer

Willi Herrmann. The last Jews of the Brzeżany ghetto, including the "W" group of some 300 Jewish men, supposedly needed as workers by the Wehrmacht, were marched to the Okopisko Jewish cemetery. Some 1,400 Jews were shot one by one on that day and buried in mass graves. Brzeżany became officially cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).[11] Those Jews who survived the liquidation of the Brzeżany ghetto went into hiding with non-Jewish families, mainly Polish. Some were hidden by mixed Polish-Ukrainian families, and very few, by Ukrainians.

The first Red Army units entered Brzeżany on July 22, 1944. Fewer than 100 of Brzeżany's Jews, including some children, returned to the town. Almost all left within a year and were repatriated to Poland. Among them were also a few Brzeżany Jews who had survived the war in the Soviet Union.[12]

SOURCES Articles and memoirs on the Brzeżany ghetto and the extermination of Brzeżany's Jews can be found in the Brzeżany yizkor book, edited by Menachem Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva: Toldot kehilot shenehrevu* (Haifa: Association of Former Residents of Brzeżany, Narajow, and Vicinity, 1978); and in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980).

For published memoirs on Brzeżany's Jews, see Oren Elyashiv, *Ha-rofe shehazar* (Tel Aviv: Sifriat Poalim, 1981); Menachem Ben Shimon Katz, *Bishvilei ha-tikva* (Tel Aviv: Eked, 1992; repub. Jerusalem: Carmel, 2006) [a Polish translation was published as *Na ścieżkach nadziei* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2003); and an English translation, *Path of Hope*, was published by Yad Vashem in 2007]; and Hersch C. Altman, *Brzezany Boyhood* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2006).

A comprehensive study of Brzeżany in the years 1919–1945 can be found in Shimon Redlich's *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). It has also been published in Polish (2002), Ukrainian (2003), and Hebrew (2005).

Documentation regarding the extermination of Brzeżany's Jewish community can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/879); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 76/61); DATO (R 274-1-123, p. 106); GARF (7021-75-370); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/263; M-33/896).

Shimon Redlich

NOTES

1. Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, p. 261; Redlich, *Together and Apart*, pp. 104–106, 116; and YVA, M-1/E/263, testimony by Pinhas Fenner.
2. *Berezhans'ka zemlia: Istorichno-memuarnii zbirnyk* (New York: Berezhany Regional Committee), vol. 1, pp. 304–305; Zbigniew Rusinski, *Tryptyk Brzeżański* (Wrocław: W kolorach tęczy, Oficyna Artystyczno-Wydawnicza, 1998), pp. 36–37.
3. YVA, Brzezany collection of witnesses' testimonies collected by the Israeli Police, peh-ayin/01167; and BA-L, ZStL 208 AR 797/66 (Becker case).
4. BA-L, ZStL 208 AR-Z 76/61 (Asbach case); *Berezhans'ka zemlia*, vol. 1, p. 303.
5. Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, pp. 264–269.
6. Ibid., pp. 266–268, 271–273.
7. *Berezhans'ki visti*, 3(46), January 15, 1942.
8. AŻIH, 301/879, testimony of Mojżesz Kin, who recalls that his family was brought from Narajów to Brzeżany following the Aktion on Yom Kippur (September 21) 1942. DATO, R 274-1-123, p. 106, notes that the ghetto was located in the center of town.
9. Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, pp. 305–313; Robin O'Neil, "Belzec: A Reassessment of the Number of Victims," *East European Jewish Affairs* 29: 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1999): 95.
10. Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, pp. 328–329; O'Neil, "Belzec: A Reassessment," pp. 99–100.
11. YVA, M-33/896, documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (GARF, 7021-75-370); Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, pp. 334–339; Katz, *Bishvilei ha-tikva*, pp. 9–26.
12. Redlich, *Together and Apart*, pp. 147–149.

BUCZACZ

Pre-1939: Buczacz, city, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Buchach, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Buczacz, Kreis Czortkow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Buchach, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Buczacz is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) south-southwest of Tarnopol. An apparently gerrymandered Polish census in 1931 claimed 23,884 residents, of whom half were Roman Catholic and one third Jewish.[1] But the demographic reality indicated a Ukrainian rural majority and a Jewish urban plurality.

On July 5, 1941, the German army reached Buczacz, expelling the Soviets, who had occupied the town since September 1939. The following day the 101st Light Infantry Division reported "murders of inhabitants (Ukrainians) in the jails of Buczacz and Czortków," noting that "a Ukrainian militia took over as local police until the arrival of German troops." Such army units merely passed through Buczacz on the way to the east.[2] Meanwhile, the self-proclaimed Buczacz "Sich," or Ukrainian militia, included more than 100 men initially commanded by Tadei Kramarchuk and Andrii Dan'kovych, along with the representative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Myron Hanushevs'kyi. In late July, command over the militia was transferred to former public prosecutor Volodymyr Kaznovs'kyi. The Sich abused, looted, exploited, and murdered Jewish inhabitants of Buczacz. Together with a few Gestapo officials, in mid-July it executed at least 40 politically suspect Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians. Then on August 25, the militia assisted a German police unit from Tarnopol in a mass shooting of some 400 Jewish craftsmen and professionals on the Fedor Hill, not far from the center of Buczacz.[3]

There were at the time approximately 8,000 Jews in Buczacz, making up about half the total population. Because many Jews were conscripted into the Red Army or fled to the east, and refugees were streaming in from the west,



Portrait of Polish rescuer, Gregory Baran, who hid six Jews fleeing an Aktion in Buczacz in 1941. Baran was recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 2001.
USHMM WS #57638, COURTESY OF JFR

precise figures cannot be determined. In early August, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 men and a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) that grew to about 30 members. The first head of the Judenrat was Mendel Reich, former chairman of the kehillah, or Jewish community, who was assisted by a deputy, Rabbi Chaim Schapira, and a secretary, the lawyer and chairman of the General Zionists, Dr. Engelberg. Other lawyers on the Judenrat included Samuel (Berko) Hersas; Dr. Szaja Hecht (treasurer); Dr. Emanuel Meerengel, deputy mayor and community chairman in the 1930s; and Dr. Y. Stern. Among additional known members at one time or another were Jankiel Ebenstein; chairman of the Mizrachi, Munisz Frankiel; the merchant Ozjasz Freudenthal; quarry owner Dawid Kanner; factory owner Baruch Kramer; high school teacher Kriegel; physician Dr. Bernhard Seifer; and Dr. Silberschlag. Kanner, Kriegel, and Stern were murdered in the mass shooting of August 1941. Reich was replaced soon thereafter by Silberschlag, who was in turn replaced by Engelberg. The latter, described as an "upright man," escaped with his wife and child, but all three were denounced and shot. In early 1943, Kramer was appointed head; he was killed in the final liquidation Aktion in June 1943.[4]

The Judenrat has been credited with providing assistance to thousands of Hungarian Jewish expellees, soon to be driven out of Buczacz and murdered in Kamenets-Podolskii by Police Battalion 320 on August 28–31, 1941.[5] The Judenrat also set up a soup kitchen for the poor and arranged housing for expellees from nearby towns. Nevertheless, most survivors condemned the Judenrat and the Jewish Police for corruption and collaboration. When supplying the Germans with workers for forced labor camps, the Jewish Police, initially commanded by Josef (Józef) Rabinowicz, would "seize . . . only the poorest Jews . . . who could not ransom themselves." Dr. Seifer of the Judenrat "saw the poor as human dust, which was meant to satiate the German beast until the bad times would pass, and thereby to save those who were 'worthy of rescue.'" The last head, Baruch Kramer, came in for the harshest condemnation. This "handsome Jew . . . was still a follower of Hasidism and wore side locks" before the war. But "under the Germans he shaved and became their servant." As head, he "ran around with a hatchet during the roundups and betrayed the hiding places of the Jews. . . . He celebrated with the Germans and forced young Jewish women to come to these feasts." He was thus deemed "more of a collaborator than a Jew," in charge of a Judenrat that "became a tool of the Gestapo." Similar bitterness was expressed about "the shameful actions of the Jewish Police, which, at the height of its degeneration, was headed by Mojżesz Albrecht." Moshe Wizinger, who later fought with the Polish resistance, wrote scathingly: "The Jewish Police are robbing, killing, worse than the Germans; Albrecht walks down the streets in an Ordnungsdienst uniform. Like the Germans, he is holding a whip in his hand and woe to whoever will stand in his way." Albrecht died of typhus in the winter of 1942–1943 and was replaced by the law student Wolcio Wattenberg. The latter was replaced by Lichtenholz, who was eventually shot in June 1943.[6]

Some Ordnungsdienst members eventually turned against the Germans or joined resistance groups in the forests. Jewish policeman Janek Anderman, who attacked the perpetrators during the mass shooting of April 1943, was beaten and then burned alive in the town square. Yitzhak Bauer, who served in the Ordnungsdienst, later became a partisan.[7] Several Judenrat members resigned in protest; some provided funds to purchase arms; and some chose direct action. Jankiel Ebenstein, who "during his few months . . . in the Judenrat became hated by everyone" and "was called an agent of the Gestapo," was said to have "died a hero's death" when he tried to conceal a bunker with Jews in November 1942 and then attacked and was killed by the Gestapo. "That day," as one account puts it, "he was forgiven everything."[8]

Unlike the Ukrainian police, the Ukrainian mayor of Buczacz, Ivan Bobyk, was reportedly considerate to the Jewish population.[9] But in the fall of 1941, control over extermination policies in the region reverted to the Security Police (Sipo) outpost based in nearby Czortków. Assisted by several hundred Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, as well as by locally based

German Gendarmes and Ukrainian police, during the next three years this outpost murdered approximately 60,000 Jews in the Czortków-Buczacz region. The Sipo outpost's first chief was Kriminalsekretär Fritz-Ernst Blome, who came there in September 1941. The following month he was replaced by Kriminalkommissar Karl Hildemann, who remained at his post until October 1942. His successor, Kriminalsekretär Hans Velde, remained at the outpost until March 1943, when he was replaced by Kriminalsekretär Heinrich Peckmann, deputy chief from late 1942. In October 1943, Kriminalkommissar Werner Eisel came in as the chief of the Czortków Sipo outpost, which was finally dismantled in early 1944. Of these men, only Peckmann was tried after the war, but he was acquitted of all charges.[10]

Another notable character associated with the Czortków Sipo outpost was Kurt Köllner, who was in charge of Jewish affairs from July 1942 to the dismantling of the outpost. Well known for his brutality was Paul Thomanek, who commanded a labor camp in Czortków as of November 1942 and kept a room in Buczacz, where he participated in mass killings and other brutalities, including rapes. While the Buczacz town administrators, or Landkommissare, Richard Lissberg and his successor Walter Hoffer, were not active in anti-Jewish Aktions, some of the local Gendarmes, notably Peter Pahl, are recalled by witnesses as having been particularly brutal. Buczacz was also the site of the only railroad tunnel in Galicia, blown up by the Red Army in the summer of 1941. The tunnel and bridge were rebuilt by the German firm Ackermann with local Jewish forced labor. Subsequent trials of the perpetrators made use of evidence by German civilians associated with this firm, who witnessed firsthand much of the killing.[11]

Following the first mass shooting in the summer of 1941, Buczacz was spared from large-scale killing operations for over a year, although hundreds of mostly poor Jewish men were sent to the labor camp of Borki Wielke near Tarnopol, where many died. The first Aktion, or roundup, occurred on October 17, 1942, when Gestapo personnel, aided by Ukrainian and Jewish policemen, deported some 1,600 Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp; hundreds of others were shot in their homes and on the streets. A second Aktion took place on November 27; approximately 2,500 Jews were deported to Bełżec, and many others were shot on the spot.

Meanwhile, Buczacz was being crammed with Jews brought from surrounding villages. In December 1942, a ghetto, or "residential district," was established, which Jews were not allowed to leave without permission, although it was not enclosed. The crowded conditions and lack of food, sanitation, and medication caused a typhus epidemic that claimed many lives. People were frantically trying to build bunkers or hiding places into which they could flee during a raid, while others sought shelter in the surrounding villages. In early February 1943, a third Aktion took place; this time the approximately 2,000 victims were led to Fedor Hill, where they were shot in front of previously dug mass graves. The bloodletting was so massive that the town's water supply was polluted. The surviving Jews were then divided between those who remained in the ghetto and others who were incarcerated in a labor camp on the outskirts of Buczacz. Only Jews who could afford to pay large sums of money to the Judenrat, as well as members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, were admitted into this camp.

The Baedeker tourist guide of 1943 described Buczacz as a town of 9,000 inhabitants, distinguished by its castle, town hall, churches, and monastery on the slope of Fedor Hill. No mention was made of Jews.[12] On March 1, 1943, the German authorities reported the total number of residents in Buczacz as 8,207.[13] Sporadic killings went on for the next two months, followed by a fourth major Aktion in April, when some 4,000 Jews still living in the ghetto were shot on Fedor Hill, and hundreds of others were killed on the streets. In mid-May, Buczacz was declared to be cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*), and the surviving Jews, with the exception of those in the labor camp, were expelled to other towns in the area. Most of them were either killed on the way or subsequently slaughtered by the Germans, local collaborators, and bandits who attacked the farms on which they were employed.[14] The labor camp in Buczacz was liquidated in mid-June 1943. Some armed Jewish Police resisted the perpetrators, and in the course of the fighting, many managed to flee to the nearby forests or villages. The rest, some 1,800 people, were shot and buried on Baszty Hill, where the Jewish cemetery was located.

The hunt for hidden Jews continued with the assistance of local denouncers. A certain dynamic developed in this last phase whereby Jews "hiding among the peasants paid high sums for the shelters, and the simple-minded peasants went to town and bought whatever they desired." Consequently, "the Ukrainian murderers . . . began following these peasants . . . and found Jews in attics, cellars, and so on . . . [and] shot them on the spot." This in turn unleashed "large-scale denunciations," and "the peasants themselves began to kill the Jews or evict them."[15] In an attempt to end this upsurge of local killings, a group of local Jewish resisters attacked the notorious "Jew-catchers" Kowalski and Nahajowski.[16] This may be one reason why about 800 Jews were still alive when Buczacz was liberated on March 23, 1944. Tragically, on April 7 a counteroffensive brought the Germans back to Buczacz, and most of these last survivors were murdered. When the Red Army returned on July 21, 1944, fewer than 100 Jews were still alive in Buczacz.

Some of the local Ukrainian residents of Buczacz and its vicinity profited from the genocide by taking over the property of the victims and finding new employment opportunities. The Ukrainian high school teacher Victor Petrykevych noted in his unpublished diary in early January 1944 that although most people were living in "unprecedented poverty . . . some of the people live well and comfortably . . . the war destroys and ruins some, and gives too much to others, often undeservedly." On March 22, the day before the Soviets arrived, he added: "People, merchants, artisans, and so forth, who lived in former Jewish houses . . . are moving out . . . in view of the recent developments in the war. They anticipate Jewish revenge."[17]

In fact, there was no Jewish revenge. The few survivors who returned to Buczacz after the liberation soon left the town and ended up mostly in Israel and the United States. Buczacz became part of Soviet Ukraine, an almost exclusively Ukrainian town, with no memory of its Jewish past or of the mass murder of its Jewish population.

SOURCES The most important published source on Buczacz is the yizkor book, Yisrael Cohen, ed., *Sefer Buczacz; matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv, 1956). Also valuable is the entry "Buczacz" in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 83–89, and sources cited therein.

Zbigniew Fedus, "Pierwsza deportacja z województwa tarnopolskiego (10 lutego 1940 roku)," *Zesłaniec* 21 (2005): 49–63, offers a detailed analysis of Polish deportations by the Soviets. Evaluations of the number of Jews deported to Bełżec can be found in Robin O'Neil, "Bełżec: A Reassessment of the Number of Victims," *East European Jewish Affairs* (*EEJA*) 29: 1–2 (1999): 85–118; and Dieter Pohl and Peter Witte, "The Number of Victims of Bełżec Extermination Camp: A Faulty Reassessment," *EEJA* 31:1 (2001): 15–22.

The unpublished diary by the Ukrainian high school teacher Victor Petrykevych (provided by his son) is of great importance in understanding events in Nazi-occupied Buczacz as seen by a conservative nationalist Ukrainian. The published diaries Arie Klonicki-Klonymus's *The Diary of Adam's Father* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1969) and Baruch Milch's *Testament* (Warsaw, 2001) are invaluable, as are several other unpublished lengthy diaries and testimonies written in the immediate aftermath of the war. The 150-page 1947 Polish-language testimony by Moshe Wizinger, cited in the notes, is exceptional in its expressive quality and the range of experiences it depicts, not least of Jewish, Polish nationalist, and Russian Communist collaboration in fighting nationalist Ukrainians and Nazi Germans. Altogether there are hundreds of testimonies by Jews referring to Buczacz, as well as numerous Polish and a few Ukrainian testimonies. Trials conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany in the late 1950s and early 1960s are extremely rich sources of information about the Holocaust in Buczacz; much of it is collected in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–). Some useful material can also be found in the records of trials conducted by the German Democratic Republic. Investigations by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, the NKVD, and the KGB and trials conducted in the Soviet Union similarly contain much useful information.

Published memoirs include Pesach Anderman, *The Power of Life* [in Hebrew] (Ramat Gan, 2004); Alicia Appleman-Jurman, *Alicia: My Story* (New York, 1988); Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (New York, 2000); Yisrael Munczer, *A Survivor from Buczacz* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1990); Mina Rosner, *I Am a Witness* (Winnipeg, 1990); and Moshe Schwartz, *Versteinertes Herz* (Konstanz, 2005). An interesting memoir and popular history of Buczacz by a former Polish resident is Stanisław J. Kowalski, *Powiat Buczacki i jego zabytki* (Biały Dunajec-Ostróg, 2005).

The Soviet official postwar view of Buczacz can be gleaned from Igor Duda, *Buczacz: The Guide* [in Ukrainian] (L'viv, 1985). Conditions in the town in recent years are described in Omer Bartov, *Erased* (Princeton, NJ, 2007), pp. 127–141.

Scattered documentary and testimonial sources on the Holocaust in Buczacz can be found in a number of archives. In Austria: ÖSA and SWA. In the Federal Republic of Germany: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BDC; BStU; GLA-K; and other regional archives; ITS; LA-BW; LG-Hag; LG-Man; LG-Sa; and other Landgerichte; and PAAA. In Israel: YVA. In Poland: AAN; AGAD; AŻIH; GUS; and IPN. In the Russian Federation: GARF. In Ukraine: DAI-FO; DALO; DATO; DASBU; HADSBU; TsDAVO; and TsDIAL. In the United Kingdom: BNA and PISM. In the United States: FVA; HI/MID; USHMM; and VHF.

Omer Bartov

NOTES

1. Office Central de Statistique de la République Polonaise, *Deuxième recensement général de la population du 9 décembre 1931: Voïévodie de Tarnopol* (Warsaw, 1938).

2. BA-MA, RH20-17/32, 5.7.41 (July 5, 1941), 6.7.41; RH26-101/8, 5.7.41; RH24-52/3, KTB, Heft 2, pp. 40–42, 55; RH20-17/38, 6.7.41, 12.7.41; RH20-17/277, 7.7.41; RH26-257/8, KTB Nr. 5, 20.5.41-12.12.41; RH26-257/10, Anlagen z. KTB Nr. 5, vol. 2, 12.7.41, 13.7.41; RH20-17/33, 11.7.41, 12.7.41.

3. HADSBU Ternopil', Kaznovs'kyi trial (1956–57), spr. 30466, vols. 1–2; 26874; 14050-P; 736; 3713; 14340; 9859-P; 8540-P; 8973-P; 14320-P; Letter by Markus Kleiner, April 10, 1951; AŻIH, 301/327, Izaak Szwarc (1945); IPN, 0192/336, vol. 29, Józef Humeniuk trial (1949).

4. Isidor Gelbart, YVA, O-33/640, and BA-L, ZStL 208 AR-Z 239/59, Band III, Bl. 1004-13, Kurt Köllner trial (1965); Józef Kornblüh, AŻIH, 301/2605 (1945), 301/3279 (1948), 301/3283 (1948); Samuel Rosen, YVA, M-49/1935 (1960); Samuel Rosenthal, AŻIH, 301/2086 (1947?); Moshe Wizinger, YVA, O-3/3799 (1947); M-1/E/1726, unsigned testimony on Baruch Kramer (1948); letter by Jewish physician, signature illegible, June 5, 1946, private collection.

5. HADSBU Ternopil', spr. 240, vol. 3, photos of Police Battalion 320 in Kopyczyńce near Buczacz; DATO, R 174-1-1283, September 3, 1941.

6. YVA, O-3/3799; Yehoshua Friedlander, 2004, private collection; Jozef Rabinowicz, BA-L, B 162/5163, and BA-L, ZStL 208 AR-Z 239/59, Band III, Bl. 935-938, Köllner trial (1961, 1964); testimonies in notes 3 and 4 and in Cohen, *Sefer Buczacz*.

7. AŻIH, 301/327; Yitzhak Bauer (Ischak, Izio), BA-L, B 162/5182, testimony at Albert Brettschneider's trial (1968); interview with author, 2003.

8. YVA, O-3/3799.

9. YVA, O-33/640.

10. USHMM, RG-31.003M, reel 1; Fritz Ernst Blome, BDC, RS/BA-BL; Indictment against Köllner and Heinrich Peckmann, BA-L, DP 3/1645; Werner Eisel, BWSL, GLA-K 309. Zug. 2001_42/881, LG-Man SB. 40.

11. Urteil LG-Hag 601031, Paul Thomanek, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 16 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 498, pp. 727–772; testimony by Henriette Bau (Lissberg), Brettschneider trial (1969), BA-L, B 162/5183; testimony by Walter Hoffer, Köllner and Peckmann trial, BA-L, ZStL 208 AR-Z 239/59 (1960); Peter Pahl,

trial, BA-L, B 162/5167, 5169, 5173 (1966–67); Albert Wachinger, employee of Ackermann, Brettschneider trial (1960), BA-L, B 162/5180.

12. Karl Baedeker, *Das Generalgouvernement* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 235.

13. *Amtliches Gemeinde- und Dorfverzeichnis für das Generalgouvernement* (Krakau, 1943), in GUS Library.

14. AŻIH, 301/3492, Mojżesz Szpigiel (1948); YVA, O-3/3799.

15. Eliasz Chalfen, YVA, M-1/E/1559 (1947).

16. Bauer, interview; YVA, O-3/3799.

17. Petrykevych diary, unpaginated.

BUKACZOWCE

Pre-1939: Bukaczowce, *town*, *Rohatyn powiat*, *Stanisławów województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Bukachevtsy*, *raion center*, *Stanislav oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bukaczowce*, *Kreis Brzezany*, *Distrikt Galizien*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Bukachevtsy*, *Rohatyn raion*, *Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Bukaczowce is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) west-northwest of Stanisławów. On the eve of World War II in 1939, there were 780 Jews living there.

The Germans entered Bukaczowce on July 3, 1941. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) initially ruled the town. In August 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Bukaczowce was incorporated into Kreis Brzezany, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann in Brzezany was Hans-Adolf Asbach until the beginning of 1943, when he was replaced by Dr. Werner Becker.

Until the end of March 1942, the anti-Jewish Aktions in Bukaczowce were organized by the office of the Security Police and SD (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Stanisławów, headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger. From April 1942, responsibility for the area was transferred to the Sipo office in Tarnopol. From October 1941, the Security Police office in Tarnopol was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller. In June 1943, he was succeeded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger. In Bukaczowce there was a post of the German Gendarmerie and a unit of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) that participated in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer of 1941, the occupational authorities imposed a curfew on the Jews and ordered them to wear insignia bearing the Star of David. They were also obliged to surrender all their valuables, and several Jews were taken hostage to ensure compliance. Jews were not allowed to leave the town and were frequently beaten by the Ukrainian police, who seized them off the streets for forced labor.

The German authorities soon established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and appointed Emil Kroiz as its head. They used the Judenrat to communicate their regulations regarding demands made of the Jewish population. The Judenrat had to organize daily work details of Jewish men and women, many of whom had to walk up to 8 kilometers (5 miles) to work on agricultural estates outside the town. Some of those who worked for the local authorities, in services, or in other professions received small salaries, or at least some extra food as pay.[1]

At some time between the summer of 1941 and the spring of 1942, a Jewish residential district, or open ghetto, was established in Bukaczowce. In April 1942, Jews from the surrounding villages, including Knihynicze, Wasiuczyn, Łukowiec, Kozara, Czerniów, Tenetniki, Czahrów, Kołokolin, Martynów, and several others, were resettled into Bukaczowce, bringing the total Jewish population there to 1,303. This large influx resulted in severe overcrowding and the worsening of sanitary conditions.[2] Jews received a basic daily allowance of only 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread, causing hunger, especially among those who had been resettled into the town and were able to bring very little property with them to barter for extra food. In September 1942, an epidemic of typhus broke out. Since there was no hospital, the sick continued to live with the healthy, and a number of Jews died as the epidemic spread.[3]

In the fall of 1942, the Germans conducted two deportation Aktions in Bukaczowce. During the first Aktion on September 21, 230 mostly elderly and sick Jews were deported to the extermination camp at Bełżec via Rohatyn. German and Ukrainian police conducted the Aktion, while the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) assisted them in gathering the deportees next to the office of the Judenrat. As some Jews went into hiding, house searches were conducted, and a few dozen Jews were shot in the town.[4] Following the deportation, several hundred Jews from Bursztyn were resettled to Bukaczowce on October 15, 1942.[5] On their arrival there on October 15, there was no room in the Jewish quarter, so the Germans ordered the non-Jews to vacate one street for the Bursztyn Jews temporarily, explaining that the Jews would be deported again after only 11 days.[6]

During the second Aktion, on October 25–26, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police from Tarnopol headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller, assisted by the German, Ukrainian, and Jewish Police, rounded up 550 Jews and deported them to Bełżec.[7] Besides those deported to Bełżec, 255 more Jews were killed in and around Bukaczowce.[8]

On November 10, 1942, SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger ordered that the Jewish residential district in Bukaczowce should be completely fenced off from the rest of the town, creating an enclosed ghetto.[9] However, it is doubtful whether such an enclosed ghetto was created.[10] In January 1943, the 320 or so Jews who remained in Bukaczowce were given only three days by the German authorities to move to the enclosed ghetto in Rohatyn, where they shared the fate of the local Jews.[11]

The Red Army recaptured Bukaczowce on July 27, 1944. Only about 20 Jews from Bukaczowce managed to survive the remainder of the German occupation, hiding in the woods, using false papers, or obtaining the aid of local Christians.

SOURCES A short article on the Jewish community of Bukaczowce and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 89–91.

Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews of Bukaczowce can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2572, 3655); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-12); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2572; Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 90.
2. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967). The Jewish survivor Sol Mandel dates the establishment of the ghetto in Bukaczowce in the summer of 1941; see www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Bukaczowce/Threads.htm; also AŻIH, 301/2572. The Jewish populations of these villages in 1921 were as follows: Knihynicze, 414; Wasiucyn, 16; Łukowiec, 16; Kozara, 13; Czerniów, 52; Tenetniki, 17; Czahrów, 38; Kołokolin, 28; Martynów, 97; see Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 90.
3. AŻIH, 301/2572.
4. GARF, 7021-73-12, p. 3016; Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 90.
5. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja."
6. Shimon Katz et al., eds., *Sefer Burshtin* (Jerusalem: Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1960), pp. 324–325, 373.
7. GARF, 7021-73-12, p. 3016.
8. Ibid.
9. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
10. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 244.
11. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 91.

BURSZTYN

Pre-1939: Bursztyn, town, Rohatyn powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Burshtin, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bursztyn, Kreis Brzezany, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Burshtyn, Halych raion, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Bursztyn is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) north of Stanisławów. On the eve of World War II, about 1,800 Jews lived there.

German troops occupied Bursztyn on July 3, 1941. Until August, the town was under the authority of a German military administration, but the local Ukrainian militia was more or less in control.

On July 20–21, 1941, antisemitic local Ukrainians together with a German noncommissioned officer (NCO) initiated a pogrom against the Jews in Bursztyn. A number of leading Jews were arrested and beaten in the community building. The pogrom organizers then ordered the Jews to collect a tribute of sugar, coffee, liquor, and other valuable materials from their homes. Thereafter, another group of Jews, including two rabbis, were gathered in the synagogue, where they were humiliated, beaten, and had their beards shorn, while being forced to pray. Throughout the night, as the Ukrainians drank and celebrated, Jews were beaten close to death on the streets and their properties looted. Many Jews went into hiding until the pogrom abated.[1]

In early August 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Bursztyn was in Kreis Brzezany. From November 1941 until the start of 1943, Hans-Adolf Asbach served as the Kreishauptmann. From the spring of 1942, the German Security Police post in Tarnopol was responsible for organizing the deportation and killing Aktions against the Jews of Kreis Brzezany. Between October 1941 and May 1943, this post was commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller. In the town of Bursztyn, there were posts of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), both of which actively participated in the Aktions against the local Jews.

In early August 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of an eight-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Bursztyn. The first head of the Judenrat was Mine Tobias, but he resigned after a few weeks when he was requested to send Jewish youths to the forced labor camps. He was replaced by his cousin Filip Tobias. Other members of the Judenrat included Jehuda-Hersh Fishman and, for a time, Dr. Lipa Shumer.[2] One of the first tasks of the Judenrat was to collect part of a massive contribution of 10 million rubles, which the Germans had demanded from the Judenrat in Rohatyn and the surrounding communities, including Bursztyn. According to Dr. Shumer, who traveled to Rohatyn as part of the Bursztyn delegation, the Bursztyn Jews had to pay some 2 to 3 million rubles within a short time. By selling most of their remaining property, somehow the Jews of Bursztyn gathered the sum, but the hopes that the Germans would then leave them in peace went unfulfilled.[3]

During the first months of the occupation, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were registered by the Judenrat and had to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. Jews were forbidden to trade with non-Jews or to leave the limits of the town. Male Jews were forced to carry out physically demanding work. Jewish survivor Feiga Sager, whose father was a kosher butcher, recalls that the Germans prohibited the ritual slaughter of meat.[4]

The Jewish Council also had an executive force at its disposal, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). The tasks of the Jewish Police included assembling Jews required for forced labor tasks and collecting required contributions from the Jews. Some time after the first contribution, two Gestapo men arrived in Bursztyn and demanded many silver items and other luxuries. Again the Judenrat somehow managed to collect these things, as the Jews sold their very last precious reserves, despite the ban on trading with non-Jews. Nonetheless, the Germans still kept coming back for more.[5]

Information about the Bursztyn ghetto can be found in the personal accounts in the yizkor book. According to Yankel

Glazer: "the ghetto in Bursztyn was created right after the Germans arrived in the shtetl." The Jews had to live in the Jewish quarter and were not allowed to come into contact with the Christian population.[6] Dr. Shumer states "that the Germans did not create a ghetto, but the whole quarter where the Jews lived was converted into a ghetto. Jews had to leave their houses on the main streets, as they were not permitted to live among the Christians." The resulting Jewish quarter was very overcrowded, with up to 20 people sharing a room. Some Jews from the surrounding countryside had been driven from their homes and gathered in Bursztyn during the first days of the occupation. Their Ukrainian neighbors robbed most of them on the way, and a number were killed.[7]

From late 1941 and during 1942, the Judenrat periodically was required to surrender groups of Jews to work in forced labor camps at Zborów and other sites near Tarnopol on road construction. Conditions in these camps were so bad that many inmates died of exhaustion after only a few weeks.

Living conditions in the open ghetto in Bursztyn were also severe. During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews had to walk almost 5 kilometers (3 miles) to collect firewood from the forest, and sometimes they were beaten and robbed on the way. The Judenrat was responsible for the distribution of the meager bread rations, with those performing forced labor receiving larger portions; but it was accused of showing favoritism, and on occasion people waited for their share in vain.[8] Some survivors criticize members of the Judenrat harshly, for collaborating too eagerly with the Germans and protecting their own families at the expense of others. Hersh ben Moshe-Ahron Veysman, however, mentions an incident in which he was arrested by the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police for illegally possessing some butter. He was released, however, after the Judenrat paid a bribe to the head of the police.[9]

The Jews suffered from hunger, as they were no longer permitted to buy food from the stores, now owned by the non-Jews in the town. After all the robberies and contributions, the Jews had to barter their last poor items for a piece of bread or a few potatoes. Dr. Shumer recalls the terrible picture of Jews swollen with hunger and children with skinny legs from malnutrition. Many Jews died of hunger, and their bodies were left lying around for several days.[10]

In May 1942, the German authorities permitted the establishment of a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Bursztyn, appointing Dr. Wolf Schmorsk as its chairman. The other two members of the delegation were Filip Tobias and Dr. Lipa Shumer.[11] The late date of its establishment gave the JSS little time to ameliorate the suffering of Bursztyn's Jews.

In June 1942, a total of 1,564 Jews were registered in Bursztyn. After more Jews from the surrounding villages were brought into the town over the summer, the population rose to 1,650. On September 21, 1942, the first major anti-Jewish Aktion took place. To make up a deportation quota from Rohatyn, German police arrived in Bursztyn and rounded up approximately 200 Jews, killing a number of others who tried to flee. The Jews were escorted to Rohatyn and then deported by train to the extermination camp at Bełżec.[12]

On October 10, 1942, the Germans posted announcements in Bursztyn that all the Jews had to move to Bukaczowce. On their arrival there on October 15, there was no room in the Jewish quarter, so the Germans ordered the non-Jews to vacate one street for the Bursztyn Jews temporarily, explaining that the Jews would be deported again after only 11 days. Then on October 26, several hundred Bursztyn Jews were among a large transport sent from Bukaczowce to the Bełżec extermination camp. A number of Jews were killed in the town during the roundup, which was carried out by members of the Security Police based in Tarnopol, assisted by the local Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.[13]

About 30 Jews remained in Bursztyn after this Aktion concentrated in a camp based in one house, as they were still needed for road construction work. At the end of October these Jews were transferred to the Rohatyn ghetto, where most were murdered together with the local Jews of that area in 1943. A number of Jews managed to escape during the roundups and sought shelter with local peasants, often in exchange for payment. Many of these people, however, were denounced to, or uncovered by, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and were subsequently shot or added to the deportations. Some other escapees also made their own way to the Rohatyn ghetto, due to the difficulties of surviving in hiding.

According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), a total of 1,806 Jews from Bursztyn were deported to the extermination camp at Bełżec or to the Rohatyn ghetto.[14]

SOURCES Publications on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Bursztyn include the following: Shimon Katz et al., eds., *Sefer Burshtin* (Jerusalem: Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1960); "Bursztyn," in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 99–102; and Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967): 18 (table 2). Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 223, mention the open ghetto in Bursztyn, dating its establishment in September 1941.

Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Bursztyn can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/263 [JSS]); BA-L (B 162/4134 [AR-Z 76/61 Brzezany, vol. 5]); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-2); VHF (# 11656); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Yankel Glazer, "Der gang iber ale gehinums," pp. 320–321; and Dr. Lipa Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn un peyn," pp. 361–368—both in Katz et al., *Sefer Burshtin*.

2. Glazer, "Der gang," p. 323; Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," p. 369; Yankel Feldman, "In tal fun yammer un gruel," in Katz et al., *Sefer Burshtin*, p. 305.

3. Glazer, "Der gang," pp. 321–322; Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," pp. 369–370.
4. Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," p. 369; VHF, # 11656, testimony of Feiga Sager.
5. Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," pp. 370–371.
6. Glazer, "Der gang," p. 323.
7. Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," pp. 368, 371.
8. Feldman, "In tal," pp. 306–307.
9. Hersh ben Moshe-Ahron Veysman, "Durch sheudern un angst," in Katz et al., *Sefer Bursbtin*, pp. 379–380.
10. VHF, # 11656; Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," p. 371.
11. AŻIH, 211/263 (JSS).
12. Glazer, "Der gang," p. 324.
13. Shumer, "Ummentshlechn leydn," p. 373; Glazer, "Der gang," pp. 324–325.
14. GARF, 7021-73-2.

BUSK

Pre-1939: Busk, town, Kamionka Strumiłowa powiat, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Kamionka-Strumilowa, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Busk is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northeast of Lwów. In 1931, there were 1,840 Jews living in Busk (22.8 percent of the total population).

When German forces occupied Busk on July 1, 1941, there were about 1,900 Jews residing there. Initially, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, but in August 1941 a German civil administration was established. Busk became part of Kreis Kamionka-Strumilowa, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was at first SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Rebay von Ehrenwiesen, and from June 1942, his former assistant SS-Untersturmführer Joachim Nehring was given the position.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Busk were organized and carried out by a squad of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) from the office in Sokal, which was subordinate to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) in Lwów. The Sokal outpost was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Block from October 1941, and from May 1942 until October 1943, it was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk. In Busk itself, there was a post of German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, which actively participated in the anti-Jewish Aktions. A teacher named Roman Czuczman was appointed head of the police. The mayor was another Ukrainian teacher by the name of Oleksy Bay.[1]

During the first days of the occupation, Ukrainians and German soldiers broke into Jewish houses and arrested people who might then be released in return for a ransom. The first Aktion was carried out in mid-July 1941, when 28 Jews from the intelligentsia and two Ukrainians were shot in a forest near Jablunówka as Soviet activists.[2] The shooting was apparently carried out by a squad (Einsatztruppe) of the Security Police and SD from Lwów.

In July 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by Isaac Margalit, was created in Busk on orders from the German military administration, and Jews were forced to wear distinguishing markings on their clothing. Jewish property, especially valuables, was confiscated, and Jews were deprived of many basic rights. All Jews had to be registered, and they were compelled to engage in forced labor accompanied by cruel beatings. The Judenrat was responsible for selecting Jews for forced labor, and recruitment was carried out by the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), who wore blue hats and were armed with clubs. Among the labor tasks performed was road construction on the main highway from Lwów to Kiev for the Organisation Todt. The Judenrat managed to limit the robberies and violence by bribing German officials and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and trying to meet all their demands.[3]

In the winter of 1941–1942, an outbreak of typhus spread from the emaciated Soviet prisoners of war. On instructions from the local doctor, the Judenrat set up a separate hospital for Jews to treat those who fell ill; only three or four Jews died of the disease. The Judenrat also ensured that all Jews had work, so that the Gestapo was not able to take away any unemployed Jews. There were no ration cards issued by the Judenrat, but everyone received a portion of potatoes and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread every other day; poor people, who could not supplement these basic rations by bartering with local peasants, received just the bread every day.[4]

On September 21, 1942 (Yom Kippur), the Germans carried out a large Aktion in Busk. On this day, a squad of Security Police from Sokal, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian forces, rounded up about 600 Jews who were incapable of work. They were escorted out of town and shot with other Jews from the region in trenches near Kamionka Strumiłowa.[5]

In late October 1942, Jews from the surrounding villages were transferred to Busk. At that time, there were 1,760 Jews in Busk (including the surrounding villages, there were 2,023 Jews).[6]

On December 1, 1942, a ghetto composed of two streets and surrounded by a fence was created in Busk on orders from Kreishauptmann Nehring.[7] Several hundred Jews died of hunger and disease in the ghetto during the fall and winter of 1942–1943. They were taken out on carts and buried in mass graves in the Jewish cemetery. Jews could leave the ghetto only on Tuesdays and Fridays for two hours to buy food. Otherwise, Jews caught attempting to leave the ghetto would be shot. People bartered their last possessions, including their warm clothes, for something to eat. In January 1943, all the patients in the ghetto hospital were murdered.

From among the Jews in the ghetto, a special workers' brigade was formed. These Jews lived outside the ghetto and wore special armbands bearing a "W" for Wehrmacht, as they worked for the German army and at least for a time were spared from Aktions and other roundups of Jews.[8] A resistance movement, headed by Jacob Eisenberg, collected arms inside the ghetto and made plans to escape to the forests, but on May

21, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. German security forces, Ukrainian police, and ethnic Germans stormed Jewish apartments, and many people were murdered on the streets. Those Jews who were rounded up on the main square were then escorted to the Jewish cemetery, where the German forces shot them in a number of mass graves. During the Aktion, some 1,200 people were murdered and about 300 were taken to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów. The Jews with the "W" sign on this occasion were among the first victims.[9] A few Jews were kept alive to assist in cleaning up the ghetto area. The Germans also kept about 30 pretty Jewish girls as "sex slaves" for themselves and the local police. The women became pregnant, and the Germans called in a Security Police detachment from Sokal to shoot them in the forest about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) away.[10]

On June 7, 1943, Kreishauptmann Nehring published an announcement that the ghettos in Busk and Sokal had been dissolved and that his Kreis was now free of Jews (*judenfrei*). The same poster declared that any remaining Jews were sentenced to death, and the same punishment was threatened against anyone who housed, fed, or hid Jews, or knowingly failed to report their presence to the police.[11] Some Jews managed to hide in the ghetto and subsequently escape to the forests, but they faced intensive searches by the Ukrainian police.

Several years after the war, an investigation was opened against Rebay von Ehrenwiesen by the Federal German authorities. However, the case was soon closed owing to insufficient evidence. Nehring was acquitted on August 24, 1981, by the Landgericht in Stade. Block died in August 1944. Heyduk was sentenced to life imprisonment on July 13, 1949, by a court in Munich.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community can be found in the yizkor book: A. Shayar, ed., *Sefer Busk; le-zekher ha-kehila she-harva* (Haifa: Busker Organization in Israel, 1965). There is also a memoir of the Holocaust period in Busk by Thomas T. Hecht, who was a teenager at that time, *Life Death Memories* (Charlottesville, VA: Leopolis Press, 2002). Some of the testimonies collected by the Yahad-in Unum research team in Busk have been published in the book of Father Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 161–191.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Busk can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/477, 1704, 4486, and 4926); BA-L (ZStL, AR-Z 14/1964; 208 AR 1415/66); GARF (7021-67-82); StA-Lud; YIU; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/477, testimony of Maria Steinberg.
2. GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 61; AŻIH, 301/1704, testimony of Israel Hecht.
3. AŻIH, 301/477.
4. Ibid.
5. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 5; GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 55; AŻIH, 301/477 and 4926.
6. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 5.
7. BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR 1415/66, statements of J. Nehring on March 24, 1965, and of W. Rebay von Ehrenwiesen on May 21, 1965; AŻIH, 301/4486, testimony of Mieczysław Rolsztejn, who dates the formation of the ghetto in November.
8. Hecht, *Life Death Memories*, pp. 103–104.
9. Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), p. 82; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," p. 26; AŻIH, 301/1704. According to the documents of the ChGK, about 2,000 Jews were killed in the Busk raion, and more than 2,000 were deported (see GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 55); however, from the available evidence, it appears that these figures are too high. See also *The Mass Shooting of Jews in Ukraine 1941–1944: The Holocaust by Bullets* (Paris: Mémorial de la Shoah and Yahad-in Unum, 2007), pp. 106–107; the research of Yahad-in Unum uncovered 15 mass graves at the site of the Jewish cemetery in Busk in August 2006.
10. YiU, testimony # 033, Anna Dychkant in Busk; testimonies # 136 and 286, Anton Davidovski, Busk, April 12, 2006, and August 25, 2006; Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets*, pp. 167–168.
11. StA-Lud, EL 317 III, LG-Stutt, Ks 5/65, Bekanntmachung Nehring dated June 7, 1943 (transcription).

CHODORÓW

Pre-1939: Chodorów, town, Bóbrka powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Khodorov, raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chodorow, Kreis Stryj, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Khodoriv, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Chodorów is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) south-southeast of Lwów. According to the population census of 1931, 2,216 Jews were living in Chodorów.[1] By the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per 1,000, there were probably around 2,500 Jews in the town.

German troops occupied Chodorów on July 2, 1941. During the first weeks of the occupation, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators abused Jews in the streets, robbed their homes, and burned down the Great Synagogue.

Initially, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. On August 1, 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Chodorów was incorporated into Kreis Stryj, within Distrikt Galizien. Regierungsrat Dr. Wiktor von Dewitz was appointed as Kreishauptmann in Stryj from 1941 to 1944. A number of Landkommissare served under the Kreishauptmann. The Landkommissar in Chodorów was Karl Hohlmann.

Along with a local Ukrainian police unit, a German Gendarmerie post was also established in Chodorów. The German Gendarmerie served under the Gendarmerie in Stryj. The members of these units took an active part in the anti-Jewish Akions conducted in the town.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by a man named Teichman. The Judenrat was subsequently assisted by a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). The German authorities ordered the Judenrat to collect contributions in money and valuables from the Jews, threatening to execute its members if they failed to meet these demands. The Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David in plain view. Adult Jews were required to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and abused, sometimes resulting in death. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews were ordered to surrender their furs and warm coats for the use of the German army.

On June 10, 1942, 2,732 Jews were registered in Chodorów, of whom 1,169 were engaged in various kinds of labor.[2] A deportation Aktion was carried out in the settlement on September 4 and 5, 1942, in which between 1,100 and 1,500 Jews were deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec. Sick Jews and others who were unfit were shot on the spot.

Information on the existence of a ghetto in Chodorów is sparse. After this first wave of deportations in September, the Kreishauptmann issued instructions for the remaining Jews of the Kreis to be concentrated in Stryj, Bolechów, Chodorów, Skole, or Żurawno before the end of October. Those working Jews who remained in some locations after this date were "under all circumstances to be housed in barracks."[3] Although not officially included as a ghetto on the list announced by Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Krüger in November 1942, the concentration in Chodorów of the Jews from the surrounding villages during October led to overcrowding. According to survivor Dora Iwler, the influx of Jews from other villages meant that another 17 or 18 people had to be put up in her home, on the orders of the Judenrat. She describes this concentration of Jews as being "like a ghetto."[4]

On October 18, 1942, in a second Aktion, 350 Jews were deported from Chodorów to Bełżec.[5] After this operation, around 800 Jews were allowed to remain in Chodorów, where they worked in different professions. Some 487 Jews worked in agriculture, while the remainder worked at a sugar factory, in a sawmill, at a butchers' shop, for the town administration, and in other public workplaces.[6] According to the testimony of Juda Kneidel, these remaining Jews were ordered by the German SD to vacate their homes and move into a special Jewish quarter, or remnant ghetto, at the end of 1942. Among the German officials who beat and murdered Jews in the town were Kundt, Janson, Kogel, and Mischke.[7]

On February 5, 1943, the German police assisted by the Ukrainian police murdered all the remaining Jewish laborers in Chodorów near the local sugar plant.[8]

A handful of Jews managed to survive with the assistance of local non-Jewish acquaintances. According to *Pinkas hakehilot*, Henryk Piczek displayed particular courage by hiding 10 Jews in his cellar for 22 months.

SOURCES Information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Chodorów can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), p. 224. Reference to the existence of a ghetto in Chodorów is made in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 75.

Documents about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Chodorów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2574); DALO (R 1952-1-62); TsDAHOU (57-4-235, p. 7); VHF (# 24587); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 10.
2. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 92, Runderlass Kreishauptmann Stryj an alle Vögte, October 7, 1942.
4. VHF, # 24587, testimony of Dora Iwler.
5. Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 387.
6. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 97, Stadtverwaltung Chodorow an den Kreishauptmann, October 31, 1942.
7. AŻIH, 301/2574, testimony of Juda Kneidel.
8. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 10.

CZORTKÓW

Pre-1939: Czortków, city, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Chortkov, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Czortkow, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Chortkiv, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Czortków is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) south-southeast of Tarnopol. On the eve of World War II, there were around 8,000 Jews living in the city.

German forces occupied Czortków on July 6, 1941. On August 1, 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Czortków became the center of Kreis Czortkow, within Distrikt Galizien. The first Kreishauptmann was the former deputy head of the Gestapo in Stettin, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Gerhard Littschwager, and from April 1942, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Kujath, who previously had served as the chief city administrator in Lwów. The deputy Kreishauptmann and also the Stadtkommissar in Czortków was J. Haase.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the city were organized and carried out by the Security Police branch office based in Czortków. This office was run successively by Kriminalsekretär Hermann Blome (September 1941), SS-Obersturmführer Karl Hildemann (October 1941–October 1942), SS-Untersturmführer Hans Velde (October 1942–February 1943), SS-Sturmscharführer Heinrich Peckmann (February



A child's dress with red and blue flowers with small green leaves, embroidered by Lola Kaufman's mother in the Czortków ghetto and worn by Lola while in hiding.
USHMM WS #N08182, COURTESY OF LOLA AND WALTER KAUFMAN

1943–September 1943), and SS-Obersturmführer Werner Eisel (September 1943 until the German retreat). The Jewish Affairs Officer (Judenreferent) in Czortków was SS-Oberscharführer Konrad Rimpler, and from July 1942, SS-Scharführer Kurt Köllner. This office was subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) in Distrikt Galizien, which was based in Lwów. The city also had a German Gendarmerie post and a squad of Ukrainian police, both of which took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In early July of 1941, just before the arrival of German forces, local Ukrainians began killing Jews in Czortków and in neighboring villages. On July 10, antisemitic elements of the Ukrainian population and German soldiers carried out a pogrom in the town. In the course of the violence, more than 300 Jews were killed, and many more were beaten and robbed.[1]

At the end of July 1941, on the orders of the German military administration, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 people was established. Initially the head was Dr. Kruh, assisted by Israel Langerman, Bertsie Steiger, and others. In addition to the Jewish Council in Czortków, there was also a Jewish Council for the entire Kreis, which could give instructions to the various Jewish Councils in the area. The chairman of the Kreis Jewish Council from October 1941 was M. Margules.[2]

Soon after its establishment, a number of Judenrat members were murdered in the Aktion against the Jewish intelligentsia, and the Germans dissolved the first Judenrat. Then the lawyer Dr. Chaim Ebner, who had served as deputy mayor before the war, became chairman of a reconstituted Judenrat. A unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) consisting of 20 men was also set up as an organ of the Jewish Council. The Jews were then ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. They were also forbidden to leave the city, use the main street, and leave their homes at night. All male Jews aged between 14 and 60 had to perform forced labor on a regular basis.[3]

The Germans conducted the first Aktion on August 25, 1941, seizing around 100 Jews and killing them in a nearby forest.[4] A unit of the Security Police and SD based in Tarnopol probably organized and implemented this Aktion. On September 10, 1941, the German authorities imposed a contribution of 25,000 złoty on the Jewish community.[5] Subsequently, there were further demands on the Jewish Council for valuables and, in December 1941, for the surrender of all fur garments for the German army.

On October 15, 1941, the Security Police branch office carried out a second Aktion in Czortków during which around 150 members of the intelligentsia were arrested and shot, based on lists prepared with the assistance of the Jewish Council.[6]

At the end of 1941 and in early 1942, several raids were carried out against young, healthy Jews. In the course of these raids, several hundred people were seized and sent to labor camps in the Tarnopol area (including those in Kamionki, Borki Wielkie, and Stupki). Those who had sufficient means were able to pay the Jewish Council to gain exemption from these transfers.[7]

By April 1942, the pogrom, successive Aktions, the deportations to labor camps, and deaths from hunger and disease had reduced the number of Jews in Czortków by approximately 1,000, to 6,800 people.[8]

In mid-March 1942, the German authorities announced the creation of a ghetto and gave the Jews until April 1 to move in. Six streets—Rzeźnicka, Składowa, Targowa, Łazienna, Podolska, and Szkolna—were designated as being within the ghetto. All the Jewish houses were marked with a large Star of David, and leaving the ghetto without a permit was punishable by death. It was terribly overcrowded, with two to three families (up to 20 people) sometimes occupying one room.[9] Some Jews received passes that permitted them to go to their workplaces outside the ghetto. Those who were unemployed received different cards and were at the mercy of the Arbeitsamt for forced labor deployment. In May 1942, 150 girls were selected and sent to work on local estates for the cultivation of the rubber-yielding plants kok-saghyz.[10]

In the summer of 1942, German security forces shot about 110 Jews at the Jewish cemetery. These people had been arrested for violating German regulations.[11] By August 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 6,500.[12]

In the second half of 1942, two deportation Aktions took place in which the Jews were sent to the Bełżec extermination camp. The first Aktion was on August 27, 1942. The Security Police, Gendarmerie, Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, and a company of Order Police from Tarnopol took part in the Aktion, assisted by the Jewish Police. During the Aktion, all of Czortków's Jews were driven onto the city's market square. In this process, more than 300 people were killed. On the market square, the Security Police, together with the Jewish Council, selected specialists and other workers, who were then returned to the ghetto. The remaining Jews were escorted to the train

station and forced into freight cars, 120 to 130 people per car. Despite the best efforts of the Security Police, between 300 and 500 people could not be squeezed into the cars. These people were then taken to the Security Police prison, where they remained until October, when a new Aktion was conducted. In all, more than 2,000 people were sent to Bełżec; some of them died en route from the intolerable heat and overcrowding. After this Aktion, the ghetto's dimensions were reduced to only two streets (Składowa and Rzeźnicka) near the Seret River.[13]

The second deportation Aktion took place on October 5, during which the Security Police, with the help of the Jewish Council and its police force, assembled 500 Jews. These people were loaded into railway cars designated with the letter "L" (Lager, or camp), as the Jews were to be sent to the Janowska Street forced labor camp in Lwów.[14] The other 45 wagons on that train were filled with Jews from Tłuste, Buczacz, Monasterzyska, and Jagielnica. Aside from the Czortków Jews, who were left at the Janowska Street camp, all the other Jews were killed in the gas chambers in Bełżec.

At the end of 1942, several hundred Jews were sent to work on the surrounding estates, while about 600 people were placed in a newly created labor camp for those working for the Wehrmacht. In early 1943, the Czortków ghetto contained about 2,500 people, living in conditions of starvation and poverty. Typhus spread among the inhabitants. On June 16, 1943, the Security Police, Gendarmerie, and Ukrainian police liquidated the ghetto. The Jews tried to save themselves by fleeing. As a result, the liquidation Aktion took three days.[15] The Jews seized during the combing of the ghetto were shot in ravines located on the grounds of the local airport.

During the ghetto's existence, attempts were made to organize an underground resistance. A group led by Reuven Rosenberg obtained arms and escaped to the forest in the spring of 1943, but it was soon discovered by the Germans and their Ukrainian auxiliaries. In the ensuing clash, most members of the group were killed. The few survivors continued to roam the forests. Another group under Meir Wassermann also escaped to the forest. They operated against the Germans between Tłuste and Jagielnica. Most of them also fell in battle. The Red Army liberated Czortków on March 23, 1944, but one week later the Germans drove them out again for a few days, forcing more than 60 Jewish survivors to retreat briefly with the Soviet forces until the city was recaptured.

After the war, Littschwager was the subject of an investigation carried out by the State Prosecutor's office in Darmstadt. The case was closed in 1972. Kujath was also under investigation after the war, but the case was closed on his death in 1963. Blome, the deputy chief of the Security Police in Czortków from October 1941 until July or August 1942, died in 1948. Hildemann died in 1945 in American detention. Velde died in February 1943 from typhus. Peckmann was acquitted by the district court (Landgericht, LG) in Saarbrücken on August 25, 1962. Eisel died in 1947 and Rimpler in 1946 in a camp in Czechoslovakia. Köllner was sentenced to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jews of Czortków can be found in the following publications: Dr. Yeshayahu Austri-Dunn, ed., *Sefer yizkor le-hantsahat kedoshei kehilat Czortkow* (Tel Aviv and Haifa: Irgun Yotzey Czortkow in Israel, 1967); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 443–450; A. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered: The Annihilation of a Jewish Community* (Dumont, NJ, 1990); and "Tschortkow," in Israel Gutman et al., eds., *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich: Piper, 1995), pp. 1435–1436.

Documents and witness testimonies describing the fate of Czortków's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/835, 3206, 3754, and 4682); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 239/59, 208 AR 611/60, and verdict of LG-Man, 1 Ks 1/70); DATO; GARF (7021-75-107); Sta. Dortmund (45 Js 11/65); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.028; and RG-50.030*0021); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, pp. 20–21; AŻIH, 301/835, 3206, 3754, and 4682; GARF, 7021-75–107, pp. 8, 37–38.
2. Austri-Dunn, *Sefer yizkor Czortkow*, p. 15; LG-Man 1 Js 210/64, Anklage in der Strafsache gegen Albert Brettschneider und Richard Pal, September 3, 1970, p. 68.
3. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, pp. 21–23; Austri-Dunn, *Sefer yizkor Czortkow*, p. 16.
4. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, p. 24.
5. AŻIH, 301/4682.
6. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, p. 24.
7. AŻIH, 301/4682 and 4911. Dr. Frankel and Dr. Goldstein resigned from the Jewish Council at this time. By early 1943, word of the poor reputation of the Jewish Council in Czortków had even spread to Buczacz.
8. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 3.
9. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, pp. 29–30; D. Seidenberg, "The Destruction of Czortkow," in Austri-Dunn, *Sefer yizkor Czortkow*; GARF, 7021-75-107, pp. 9 and verso.
10. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, p. 35.
11. GARF, 7021-75-107, pp. 80–81.
12. Ibid., p. 21.
13. GARF, 7021-75-107, pp. 9–11; Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, pp. 37–53; Seidenberg, "The Destruction of Czortkow."
14. Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered*, pp. 53–60; Seidenberg, "The Destruction of Czortkow."
15. AŻIH, 301/3206, 3770, 4682, 5710, and 302/50. According to some sources, the liquidation of the ghetto was not fully completed until September 1943.

DOLINA

Pre-1939: Dolina, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Kalusz, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Dolyna, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Dolina is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) west of Stanisławów. According to the 1931 census, there were 2,488 Jews living in the town. Assuming a natural annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per 1,000, it is estimated that there would have been more than 2,700 Jews living there in 1941.

Hungarian army detachments occupied the town on July 2, 1941. Initially the settlement was under the control of a Hungarian military commandant, but in August 1941 authority was transferred to a German civil administration. In 1941–1942, Dolina, which was the administrative center of Landkommissariat Dolina, was incorporated into Kreis Kalusz within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann until March 1942 was Regierungsrat Dr. Friedrich Gercke. His successor until early 1943 was Dr. Karl-Hans Broschegg.

In Dolina, the Germans established a Gendarmerie post, a Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle), and a force of Ukrainian policemen. The anti-Jewish Aktions in Dolina were organized and implemented primarily by the Sipo outpost in Stanisławów, which was headed from the end of July 1941 to the start of November 1942 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger.

In early August 1941, a large transport of Hungarian Jews passed through Dolina, before most of them were drowned in the Dniester River. A few hundred of these Jews managed to escape, and many went into hiding in and around Dolina. However, the occupational authorities lured them out with the false promise of returning them to Hungary. The Jews who responded to this appeal were taken out to a neighboring forest and shot together with a group of local Jews.

In the late summer of 1941, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Dolina, led by Julius Weinraub and Ephraim Weingart, and a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). The Jews were registered and required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Judenrat had to meet repeated German demands for money, foodstuffs, furniture, and valuables, on one occasion enforced by the temporary arrest of 55 Jews. It was also responsible for supplying quotas of Jews for forced labor.

Since the Jews in Dolina lived together in their own part of town and did not mix with the local Ukrainians, there was no need for the Germans to establish a separate residential area for the Jews. Instead, the area where the Jews lived became a de facto open ghetto. Some survivors from Rożniatów, who were forcibly resettled to Dolina from the fall of 1941, refer to Dolina as a ghetto, as many Jews from Rożniatów and other villages were concentrated there. One account from the Rożniatów yizkor book recalls: "[T]he life of the exiles that were sent to the Dolina ghetto from the entire region became more difficult by the day. The hunger was increasing. Jews were perishing on the outskirts of the town from hunger. New decrees were issued daily, each one harsher than the preceding one."[1]

In January 1942, the Germans organized a mass roundup in Dolina of Jewish men for forced labor. These Jews were taken initially to Stryj and, from there, together with other Jews, they were sent to work in various villages in the Carpathian Mountains, where most of them perished from hunger and cold.

In the spring of 1942, the German Security Police conducted an Aktion against the Jews in Dolina in which they shot 300 people at the Jewish cemetery.[2] After this, by the middle of 1942, hundreds more Jews were resettled to Dolina from Rożniatów and other villages. As a result, conditions became very overcrowded in the town, with many people forced to live in stables and barns and others having to sleep under the open sky.

On the orders of Hans Krüger in Stanisławów, a Sipo detachment under the command of Rudolf Müller was sent to Dolina to conduct a mass shooting there in early August, as no transportation was at that time available to deport the Jews from Dolina to the Bełżec extermination camp. The Germans initially demanded that the Judenrat surrender 1,200 Jews, but the chairman refused, saying he was not able to decide over the fate of people's lives. Then on August 3, 1942, the German police, assisted by local Ukrainian policemen, drove 3,500 Jews out of their houses and assembled them on the market square. The police abused many of them there and shot numerous children. After a selection, which resulted in able-bodied Jews being sent to labor camps, including one in Wyszków, the remaining 2,500 or so Jews, including most members of the Judenrat, were escorted to the Jewish cemetery and shot. The Germans carefully removed any valuables from the Jews' clothing, and local inhabitants were ordered to bury the corpses in a mass grave.[3]

Some of the Jews managed to evade the roundup and escape into the surrounding forests, where Jewish partisan units, which included Jewish escapees from other towns in the region, were subsequently established. Ukrainian policemen, German Gendarmes, and also the Wehrmacht regularly searched for and killed Jewish fugitives in the area around Dolina over the ensuing 20 months.[4] Only a few Jews from Dolina managed to survive until the return of the Red Army in 1944.

In 1983 a court in Memingen sentenced a German Gendarme who was based in Dolina during the occupation to five and a half years in prison for the shooting of Jews at the forced labor camp in Broszniów.[5]

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the fate of the Jewish population in Dolina during the Holocaust include Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 153–156; and Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rozniatow*

(Tel Aviv: Rozniatow, Perehinsko, Broszniow and Environs Societies in Israel and the USA, 1974), pp. 157–206—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/670, 2148, 3365, 4919); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, 208 AR-Z 398/59 against Krüger et al.); DAI-FO (R 42 [Landkommissariat Dolina], R 98-1-13); GARF (7021-73-7); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rozniatow*, pp. 201–206.
2. "Dolina," in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), vol. 4, p. 397. See also Verdict of LG-Münst, May 6, 1968, in the case against Krüger et al., published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 28 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 675, p. 202.
3. DALO, R 35-12-11, p. 4; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), pp. 226–227, 315; AŻIH, 301/670 (Z. Rotenbach), 301/2148 (D. Szuster), 301/4919 (S. Sindler). According to another source, the shooting took place on August 30, 1942. See GARF, 7021-73-7, pp. 3, 19.
4. GARF, 7021-73-7, p. 19.
5. Verdict of LG-Mem, 1 Ks 115 Js 5640/76, against Jarosch, December 23, 1983.

DROHOBYCZ

Pre-1939: Drohobycz, city, powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Drogobych, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Drogobytsch, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Drohobych, raion, center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Drohobycz is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) south-southwest of Lwów. According to the census of December 9, 1931, 12,931 Jews were living in Drohobycz.

German troops occupied Drohobycz on June 30, 1941. Beginning in July, a military commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 676) governed the city. On August 1, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city became the administrative center of Kreis Drohobycz. From August 1941 until June 1942, the Kreishauptmann was SS-Sturmbannführer Eduard Jedamzik, who was succeeded by Hermann Görgens. A Stadtkommissar headed the German civil administration in the city of Drohobycz. Vetterman originally held that position; Wilhelm Schübler replaced him at the end of February 1942. The Stadtkommissar reported to the Kreishauptmann in Drohobycz. In addition to the Stadtkommissar's department, beginning in November 1941, a 20-man municipal police unit (Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung) from Vienna was permanently located in the city. Hauptmann Rudolf Hötzl commanded this unit; his deputy was Oberleutnant Ferdinand Holzschuh. The Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) was subordinated to the municipal police; by the summer of 1943 it was 150 men strong. Like their Austrian counterparts, the Ukrainian police took an active role in all the anti-Jewish Aktions.



Portrait of thirteen-year-old Bernard Mayer taken in Drohobycz, November 1941.
USHMM WS #14244, COURTESY OF BERNARD MAYER

Beginning on July 8, 1941, an SD detachment (SD-Einsatztrupp) was among the punitive units stationed in Drohobycz. It was subordinated to a special-purpose Security Police task force (Einsatzgruppe z.b.V.). SS-Hauptsturmführer Nikolaus Tolle commanded the SD detachment in the city; his deputy was SS-Untersturmführer Walter Kutschmann (who died in 1985 in Argentina).

In September 1941, the German authorities established a Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) at the base of the SD detachment in Drohobycz. SS-Sturmbannführer Franz Wenzel commanded the GPK from October 1941 to May 1942; SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Block succeeded him. Beginning in the fall of 1942, Block's deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Lucas Heckl, was in charge of the Criminal Police (Kripo). In June 1942, the Germans also established an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Drohobycz, under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Benno Paulischkies.

On July 1 and 2, immediately after the occupation of the city by German troops, antisemitic sentiments among Ukrainian and Polish inhabitants set off an impromptu pogrom in which German soldiers also participated; 47 Jews were killed.[1] At least two executions of Jews took place soon after the arrival in the city of the SD-Einsatztrupp. On July 12, that unit murdered 23 Jews, including two women, in the woods near the city, and on July 22, 20 more Jews were killed.[2]

In the second half of July 1941, the German military authorities in Drohobycz required Jews to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Germans confiscated a large number of Jewish possessions, especially valuables. The occupying authorities also deprived the Jews of many basic rights. To assist them with the implementation of the new restrictions, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The newly created Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) served the council. Among the tasks of the Jewish Police was filling the required quota of Jewish workers for the labor office (Arbeitsamt).[3]

Jewish workers who had permanent jobs, for example, with the city administration, other German offices, or private firms, were supposed to receive regular wages that were 80 percent of those paid to non-Jews performing the same task, as payment was vital if their ability to work was to be maintained.[4] They were also registered for social security payments, to be deducted from their wages. In addition, there was the daily quota of casual laborers (*Hilfsarbeiter*), supplied by the Jewish Council. These men were not paid directly, but their meager pay was supposed to be remitted entirely to the Jewish Council, which then issued larger rations to these workers' families. Unfortunately, many offices and companies paid these "wages" to the Jewish Council very late or not at all, such that payments were some 20,000 złoty in arrears by the end of October 1941.[5] In July 1942, the Jewish Council also imposed a tax on those Jews earning wages directly, requesting their employers to deduct 10 percent and remit it to the Jewish Council to help pay for welfare services.

The Germans carried out their first Aktion in Drohobycz on November 22, 1941. From a list provided by the Jewish Council, on that day the Security Police, with the help of the Schutzpolizei and Ukrainian policemen, seized and executed some 400 Jews, who were either sick or otherwise unfit for labor.[6] After that massacre, according to data for February 1942, 12,781 Jews remained in Drohobycz.[7] By that count, the number of Jews in the city had dropped by more than 1,000 in the first seven months of the occupation.

The first so-called deportation Aktion was carried out in Drohobycz on March 25, 1942. In that operation, some 1,000 "poor" Jews were seized, transported, and then murdered in the Bełżec extermination camp.[8] The Jewish Council compiled the list of those destined for deportation. After that Aktion, some 11,400 Jews still remained in Drohobycz in May 1942.[9]

The Germans carried out a second deportation Aktion on August 7 and 8, 1942. Before it began, they gathered in the city Jews from the villages of Medenica, Stebnik, and Truskawiec. In the course of this Aktion, in which the German, Austrian, Ukrainian, and Jewish policemen participated, about 100 Jews were killed on the spot, and some 4,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec.[10]

Although it appears that plans existed for the creation of a Jewish residential area in Drohobycz from at least the beginning of 1942, it was reported in March 1942 that no closed (or consolidated) residential area (*geschlossener Wohnbezirk*) for the Jews had yet been established.[11] From October 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave the city, on pain of death, and they were also prohibited from using certain streets in the city center. However, the formal creation of a ghetto was not implemented until the end of September 1942.[12] According to the yizkor book, the Jews were given until October 1, 1942, to move into the ghetto and could take with them only up to 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of possessions. The ghetto was organized on the following streets: Zuzki, Kuvolska, Gabarska, Krashevski, Ribia, Skutnizki, and part of Sienkiewicz. A large number of Jews were also brought into Drohobycz from the surrounding area at this time. About 100 Jews died during the operation, either shot or from hunger and exhaustion. Two or three families had to share a small room. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. However, many Jews disobeyed this order to go in search of food to ward off starvation.[13] The order issued by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, on November 10, 1942, confirmed retrospectively the establishment of the ghetto in Drohobycz.[14]

A third Aktion on October 23 and 24, 1942, led to the deportation of another 1,179 Jews.[15] An Aktion on November 30 sent about 1,000 more Jews to Bełżec.[16] Rounding up the Jews took about two weeks, in the course of which Jewish Police, on the orders of the Gestapo, were obliged to deliver 100 victims daily to an assembly point (a former synagogue). In several cases, Jewish policemen reportedly turned over their own mothers.[17]

In the interval between the third and fourth Aktions, an event took place in Drohobycz that came to be known as "Wild Thursday." In retaliation for the wounding of SS-Oberscharführer Karl Hübner by a Jewish pharmacist, Reiner, on November 19, 1942, 230 Jews were seized on the streets and killed. Among those slaughtered was the well-known writer and artist Bruno Schulz, who was shot on the street by SS-Oberscharführer Karl Günther.[18]

About 3,000 Jews still remained in Drohobycz at the beginning of December 1942. Some 1,500 were in the ghetto, and about the same number were in the forced labor camp of the Karpathen-Öl AG and several other labor camps. At the end of December 1942, the German civil administration ordered a reorganization of the Jewish Council. At this time, many of the Jews in the ghetto were in possession of official passes (*Passierscheine*) issued by the German police, permitting them to go unhindered to their places of work outside the ghetto. By March 1943, however, this was still possible only when accompanied by a non-Jewish escort who had been issued the pass on the Jew's behalf. At the end of March 1943, the Jewish Council was still concerned about obtaining a Passierschein that would

remain valid for some time for one of its employees who left the ghetto every day to collect the post.[19]

The next Aktion took place on February 15, 1943, in the ghetto. Some 500 Jews were seized and murdered.[20] The final liquidation of the ghetto began on May 21, 1943. On that day the Germans murdered the members of the Jewish Council, as well as about 500 Jews from the Rawa Ruska region. On June 6, 1943, the Germans killed the Jewish policemen. However, the search for Jews hiding in bunkers continued for several weeks. On July 15, 1943, the Germans put up signs declaring that Drohobycz was officially cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).[21]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, there remained in Drohobycz the labor camp at the petroleum extraction company, Karpathen-Öl AG, and several other work crews, such as that at the Klinker cement factory (600 workers), including various kinds of craftsmen and gardeners. SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Hildebrand was in charge of the labor camp from July 1943 until July 1944. The former head of the camp, SS-Unterscharführer Erich Minkus, was removed from this position for drunkenness but remained as a subordinate of Hildebrand. By order of the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) for Distrikt Galizien, as early as June 12, 1943, local German authorities removed some 170 women and children from the labor detachments and murdered them. On August 25, 1943, the SSPF ordered the liquidation of the labor detachment at the cement factory. At Karpathen-Öl AG, the German authorities selected between 80 and 100 individuals to continue working for the company; the rest were killed; 40 Jews who had worked previously at Karpathen-Öl were slaughtered with them.[22] The labor camp crew at the petroleum company was disbanded on April 14, 1944. The German authorities then took 489 Jews, together with 533 Jews from Borysław, to the Krakau-Plaszow concentration camp in Poland.[23]

When Soviet troops liberated Drohobycz in August 1944, some 400 Jews emerged from hiding. A number of them had been saved through the efforts of non-Jews—Ukrainians and Poles. Maria Strutinskaia, a schoolteacher, and her sister saved 13 Jews, including 5 children.[24] Even some German officials were known to have concealed Jews. In Drohobycz, for example, the head of the Arbeitsamt hid labor crews in his own house in 1943.[25]

On May 6, 1953, a court in Bremen sentenced former SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Hildebrand to eight years in prison. In his capacity as commander of the Jewish forced labor camp in Drohobycz, he had taken part in killing Jews. On May 12, 1967, also in Bremen, the court sentenced Hildebrand to life imprisonment for crimes in other locations and camps.

In Vienna, on March 18, 1959, a court issued a life sentence to former SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Gabriel. As a member of the German Security Police in Drohobycz in 1942 and 1943, Gabriel took part in the persecution and extermination of Jews in the city; he was released from prison in 1963. On March 16, 1962, a court in Stuttgart sentenced former SS-Hauptscharführer Felix Landau to life in prison. As a member of the Security Police in Drohobycz, Landau had taken an active role in the murder of Jews. A court in Munich sentenced former SS-Rottenführer Hans Sobotta to life imprisonment on December 2, 1971, for taking part in killing inmates of the Jewish forced labor camp in Drohobycz in 1942–1943.

In the early 1990s, survivors erected a memorial to the Jewish victims in the Bronnitsky Wood on the outskirts of Drohobycz.

SOURCES Publications relevant to the history of the Drohobycz ghetto include the following: N.M. Gelber, ed., *Sefer zikaron il-Drohobits, Borislav veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Drohobits, Borislav veha-sevivah, 1959/2000); Tuvia Friedmann, ed., *Die Tätigkeit der Schutzpolizei, Gestapo und Ukrainischen Miliz in Drohobycz, 1941–1944* (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, 1995); and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 169–171.

Documents and testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jewish community in Drohobycz can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/193, 344, 1799, 4909, and 4920); BA-L; DALO (e.g., R 2042-1-55, 154-56; and R1952-1-152); FVA (# 60 and 120); GARF (7021-58-20); RGVA (1275-3-661); USHMM (e.g., RG-30.003M, Acc.1995.A.561 and 1995.99); and YVA (e.g., M-4/106, M-20/6199).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-661, Report of the Ortskommandantur in Drohobych, August 8, 1941.
2. LG-Stutt, Verdict of March 16, 1962, in the case of Felix Landau, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978), Lfd. Nr. 531; Tuviah Friedman, ed., *Love Letters of a Nazi Murderer in Lemberg and Drohobycz* (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, 1995), p. 11.
3. DALO, R 2042-1-155, pp. 91–92, Arbeitsamt an Kreishauptmann, Betr.: Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst, May 11, 1942.
4. USHMM, RG-30.003M (DALO), R 1951-1-186a, p. 1, Arbeitsamt Drohobycz an Stadtverwaltung, Betr.: Arbeitseinsatz der Juden, September 6, 1941.
5. Ibid., p. 11, Arbeitsamt an Städt. Schlachthaus Drohobycz, October 27, 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-58-20, pp. 521, 539.
7. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 4.
8. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-58-20, pp. 521, 539; and USHMM, Acc.1995.99.
9. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 4.
10. GARF, 7021-58-20, p. 522; Friedmann, *Die Tätigkeit der Schutzpolizei*, statement of Alexander Rybak (1901) on July 23, 1947.
11. USHMM, RG-30.003M (DALO), R 2042-1-56, an den Gouverneur des Distrikts Galizien, Abt. Innere Verwaltung, Betr.: Errichtung von Wohnbezirken für Juden (n.d., March 1942); see, however, also BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR-Z 8/62, Abschlussbericht, November 29, 1963, which indicates that a form of "open ghetto" may have existed by this time.

12. GARF, 7021-58-20, p. 522; AŻIH, 301/193; Friedmann, *Die Tätigkeit der Schutzpolizei*, testimony of Wilhelm Krell (1902). See also DALO, R 2042-1-33 and R 2042-1-155.

13. Gelber, *Sefer zikaron il-Drohobits*, pp. 210–211; Jan Kulbinger, "Im Gefängnis," in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, eds., *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani, 1955), pp. 297–300.

14. Order of HSSPF Krüger on October 11, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein, ed., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–346.

15. See the report of October 25, 1942, by Captain Lederer, commander of the 5th Company, 24th Regiment, Schutzpolizei, concerning the resettlement of Jews, RGVA, 1323-2-2926, p. 28.

16. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 4; GARF, 7021-58-20, p. 540.

17. YVA, M-20/6199, Letter of Rothenberg, p. 8.

18. Jerzy Ficowski, ed., *Letters and Drawings of Bruno Schulz: With Selected Prose* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 248–249, personal account of Tadeusz Lubowiecki (aka Izydor Friedman). A slightly different version of events is given in AŻIH, 301/4920.

19. USHMM, RG-30.003M (DALO), R 2042-1-154, pp. 2, 172, Polizeiliche Erlaubnis zum Verlassen des Judenwohnbezirkes in Drohobycz, January 15, 1943; and Judenrat an Kreishauptmann, March 27, 1943.

20. GARF, 7021-58-20, pp. 523, 534.

21. Ibid.; Friedmann, *Die Tätigkeit der Schutzpolizei*, statements of David Freimann, July 1, 1948, and Maritius Dornstrauch (born 1901), n.d.

22. LG-Brem, Verdict of May 6, 1953, in the case of T. Hildebrand, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 10 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1973), Lfd. Nr. 355, pp. 663–693.

23. Sta. Bremen, 29 Ks 1/66, Beiakten, Liste der am 14. April 1944 aus Drohobycz und Boryslaw überstellten jüdischen Häftlinge.

24. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 441.

25. Sta. Munich I, 115 Js 5640/76, statement of G.A. on August 20, 1965.

GRÓDEK JAGIELLOŃSKI

Pre-1939: Gródek Jagielloński, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodok, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodek, Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Horodok, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

According to the Polish census in 1921, 2,545 Jews resided in Gródek, which lies 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Lwów. Jews comprised 24.2 percent of the total population. On December 9, 1931, 3,281 Jews were residing in the town. In mid-1941, there were approximately 5,000 Jews in Gródek (including a number of Jewish refugees from Poland).[1]

German forces first occupied Gródek on September 17, 1939. They withdrew again three weeks later, handing the town over to the Red Army. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, German forces entered the town again on June 29, 1941. In July 1941, a military commandant's headquarters governed Gródek.

On August 1, 1941, Eastern Galicia was transferred to a German civil administration and became part of Distrikt Galizien in the Generalgouvernement. This region was initially divided into 17 districts (Kreise); but from April 1, 1942, following a redrawing of boundaries, there were only 14 districts. Gródek was initially the center of its own Kreis, but from April 1, 1942, it became part of the Kreis Lemberg-Land. The Kreis was governed by a Kreishauptmann. Wilhelm Stockheck held the position of Kreishauptmann from September 1941 until February 1942. Dr. Werner Becker was the Kreishauptmann of Kreis Lemberg-Land from March 1942 until early 1943; he was succeeded by Baron Joachim von der Leyen. Each Kreis was divided into county commissariats (Landkommissariate) administered by a county commissioner (Landkommissar). From February 1942 the Gródek Landkommissar was SS-Untersturmführer Josef Steyert. SS-Untersturmführer Franz Weisskind was his assistant. In the summer of 1943, Steyert was replaced by Dr. Breczowsky; in 1944, Dr. von Trijansky was the Landkommissar. There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Gródek, a Criminal Police (Kripo) post, and a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei). The anti-Jewish Aktions were generally carried out in the town by a team of Security Police from Lwów with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

As early as June 29, 1941, a pogrom was organized in the town and widespread looting and destruction began within two weeks.[2]

Jews residing in the so-called new part of town were forced to relocate to the "old city," and all Jewish houses had to be marked with a Star of David. Jews were also compelled to engage in forced labor. In particular, they were used in land improvement and road construction tasks, as well as for work at the brick factory; others were sent to forced labor camps.[3]

In August 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in Gródek, and its first chairman was a teacher by the name of Laks. Most of its members were part of the local Jewish intelligentsia. Shortly after its establishment, the Judenrat organized the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) and was ordered to provide the Germans with workers and various contributions in cash and valuables.

From the spring of 1942, the occupation forces began the systematic extermination of the town's Jews. The first Aktion took place on March 21, 1942, when more than 300 older Jews were shot in a nearby forest. Mala Weinbaum was a witness of the Aktion; at the time, she was working in the building of the military commandant (Ortskommandant). She saw a car—in which Steyert and Weisskind were sitting—drive up to a house where three Jewish families lived (Herring, Levin, and Blazer). Weisskind led the Jews out of the house and announced: "[S]ince you complained about me to the Ortskommandant, I will shoot you myself." He carried out his threat.[4]

The second Aktion took place on May 8, 1942. On this day, on Steyert's orders, the Jewish Police gathered approximately 800 Jewish men aged from 15 to 55 on the market square. These Jews were separated into groups according to their profession. Then Steyert, Weisskind, the German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian police, a team of Security Police from Lwów, and SS men from the Janowska Street labor camp appeared. They carried out the selection. Weisskind killed Jakub Bauer and the 15-year-old son of the assistant chairman of the Judenrat, Dr. Margolis. In the evening, the Jews gathered in the square were taken to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów; from there most of them were subsequently taken to other Jewish labor camps (e.g., Jaktorów, Lackie Wielkie, and Płuhów).[5]

The third Aktion (the so-called Aktion against the poor) was carried out in late June 1942 when the German Gendarmerie, headed by Leutnant der Gendarmerie Haase, shot 70 to 100 elderly Jews; 25 Roma (Gypsies) were shot along with the Jews.[6]

The fourth Aktion in Gródek was carried out on August 19, 1942. A team of Security Police from Lwów, the German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian police, and the Jewish Police, under the direction of the chief of staff, SS-Sturmbannführer Willy Ost, subordinated to the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Lwów (SS-Brigadeführer Fritz Katzmann), combed the Jewish district in the old city and shot at least 100 Jews on the streets. The assistant Landkommissar Weisskind killed the patients in the Jewish hospital. After the Jews were driven to the train station, a selection took place, during the course of which Steyert, Weisskind, and Hauptmann der Gendarmerie Junge beat the Jews. Officials of the Ortskommandantur were barely able to reclaim Jewish craftsmen they employed. The head of the poultry farm had to go to great lengths to reclaim his 25 Jewish workers. Subsequently, about 2,800 Jews were driven into freight cars and taken to the Bełżec extermination center. On the orders of Ost, who commanded the Aktion, the belongings of the Jews were taken to four synagogues and then sent on to Lwów from there. After this Aktion, about 1,100 Jews remained in the town, whereas before the Aktion there had been 3,635 Jews.[7] Another Aktion took place on September 14, 1942, during which an unknown number of Jews were taken to Lwów. Those deemed fit to work were sent to the Janowska Street labor camp, the rest to Bełżec.

In the summer of 1942, the Jews were further concentrated to a few small streets. A second Judenrat was organized at this point, as the members of the first had been killed.

On December 1, 1942, the Jewish district in Gródek was converted into a ghetto: it was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the Ukrainian police. The ghetto housed both the local Jews and those brought in from Janów in November 1942.[8] The inmates were made to work at local factories run by German firms. Because of the extreme overcrowding (about 12 people lived in every room), lack of food, and severe cold, an epidemic of typhus soon broke out in the ghetto. The Germans and the Ukrainian policemen regularly beat and robbed the Jews.

On January 27, 1943, a squad of Security Police from Lwów, together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto, shooting about 1,300 Jews. Because some of the Jews were able to avoid the shootings by hiding, the squad returned to the town on February 3, 1943, and killed several hundred more Jews they were able to capture.[9]

In 1952, in Warsaw, two former Ukrainian policemen (the brothers Vladimir and Roman Svitenko), who played an active role in the extermination of Gródek's Jews in 1942–1943, were sentenced to the death penalty. For the same crimes, the former official of the German Kripo in Gródek, Bania, was sentenced to the death penalty in Poland.

The former Gródek Landkommissar Josef Steyert was under investigation in Germany in the early 1960s, but the investigation came to an end in September 1964 owing to his poor health; Steyert died in November 1964. The person in charge of the Gródek Aktion of August 19, 1942, former SS-Sturmbannführer Willy Ost, disappeared in 1945.

In 1968 in Stuttgart, the former head of the Gródek labor camp of March–June 1943, Adolf Kolonko, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. The former "official for Jewish affairs" at the office of the SSPF in Distrikt Galizien, SS-Untersturmführer Anton Löhnert, who in June 1943, on the orders of SS-Brigadeführer Katzman, controlled the liquidation of the Gródek Jewish labor camp, was given the same prison sentence in Stuttgart.

SOURCES Articles on the extermination of the Jews of Gródek can be found in the following publications: *Sefer Grayding* (*Gródek Jagiellonski*) (Tel Aviv: Society of Grayding Emigrants, 1981); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980); and Adam Rutkowski, "Zbrodnicza działalność hitlerowskiego ludobójcy Franza Weisskinda," *BŻIH*, no. 4 (1952): 251–260.

Documents regarding the extermination of Gródek's Jewish community can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1944, 2510, 2510a, 2526, and 4634); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 276/60); DALO (R 15: Gorodok Ukrainian police; R 24: Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land; R 3-1-279); FVA (# 574); GARF (7021-67-80); TsDAVO; YVA; and ZSSta-D (Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 29/63).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2526.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 301/2510.
5. ZSSta-D, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 29/63, against Josef Steyert, vol. 1, pp. 119–120.
6. Ibid., pp. 46–47. Other sources (Act of the Town's Commission, October 8–10, 1944) indicate that in Gródek in June 1942, 200 Jews were killed; see TsDAVO, 4620-3-290, pp. 4–8.

7. Rutkowski, "Zbrodnicza działalność hitlerowskiego," pp. 255–257; DALO, R 24-3-283, p. 17. Other sources (the Act of the Town's Commission, October 8–10, 1944) indicate that on August 19, 1942, 2,500 Jews were deported, and on August 20, 1942, 50 Jews were shot; see TsDAVO, 4620-3-290, pp. 4–8. See also Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), pp. 231–232.

8. AŻIH, 301/2526.

9. Act of the Town's Commission, October 8–10, 1944; see TsDAVO, 4620-3-290, pp. 4–8. Other sources indicate that on December 26, 1942, roughly half of the remaining population of the ghetto was taken to pits outside of town and shot; see Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* pp. 145–149.

GWOŹDZIEC

Pre-1939: Gwoździec, town, Kołomyja powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gvozdets, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Gwozdiec, Kreis Kolomea, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Gvizdets', Kolomyia raion, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Gwoździec is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Stanisławów. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,234 Jews living in Gwoździec. By the middle of 1941, the number of Jews in the town is estimated to have been around 1,500.

Units of the Hungarian army first occupied the town on July 2, 1941. While in charge, the Hungarian military authorities treated the Jews reasonably. Jewish men were required to perform forced labor at a nearby airfield and in farming, but when Ukrainian overseers beat the workers, the Hungarians intervened to stop the abuse. While Gwoździec was still under the control of the Hungarian army, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Presiding over the Judenrat were Greenberg and also Elisha Zannenzów.

With the transfer of power to the Germans after several weeks, the situation of the Jews deteriorated sharply. The German authorities established the Jewish Police and forced the Jews to wear distinguishing armbands. They confiscated most of the Jews' property, especially any valuables, and registered the Jews.

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, at the end of 1941 or in early 1942, all the Jews were ordered to move into a ghetto in the eastern part of town, near the train station. The move had to take place within only a few hours, which forced the Jews to leave behind most of their possessions. Living conditions in the ghetto were cramped, but the Jews did not suffer from starvation, due to the ongoing illegal trade with local farmers.[1] The Jewish survivor Paul Schmelzer states that "all the Jews in Gwoździec were herded into a two-block ghetto."[2]

In March 1942, the ghetto (Jewish residential area) in Gwoździec held a total of 1,540 Jews.[3] By this time, news had reached the ghetto about the mass murder of Jews in other places, especially in nearby Kołomyja. Expecting similar treatment, the Jews of Gwoździec began to prepare hiding places.

On April 12, 1942, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto and drove the Jews from their houses, shooting some indiscriminately in the streets. The Aktion lasted eight hours, and part of the ghetto was set on fire, probably to smoke out those in hiding. The Germans and Ukrainians then led the several hundred assembled Jews into a nearby forest and murdered them all.

In the Aktion, roughly half of the ghetto population perished. The survivors consisted of those who had managed to hide or had been out of town during the Aktion on work assignments. The Germans ordered the survivors to collect the corpses strewn about the ghetto and bury them in a mass grave at the cemetery in Kolaczkowcza.[4]

On April 24, 1942, the Germans ordered those Jews who remained to assemble in front of the Judenrat to be transferred to the recently established ghetto in Kołomyja.[5] According to records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in April 1942, Jews from the following villages around Gwoździec were relocated to Kołomyja: Soroky, 16 Jews; Rosokhach, 23; Prikhmische, 14; Dzurkov, 45; Trophanovka, 2; Staryi Gwoździec, 19; Malyi Gwoździec, 13; Balintsy, 12; Slobodka, 13; Kulachkovtsy, 56; Vinograd, 34; Ostrovets, 11; and Zagaipol', 53—311 people in total.[6]

Owing to the poor conditions in Kołomyja, some of the refugees from Gwoździec and its surroundings escaped to other places or were transferred by the Germans to forced labor camps. A few even managed to get permission from the Germans to return and work in Gwoździec, where they lived in the remaining buildings of the ghetto. Others worked in the countryside on farms until the late summer of 1942, when all Jews were ordered to move to the nearest large towns.[7]

On September 11, 1942, the Germans deported around 4,000 Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp from the Kołomyja ghetto, including most of the remaining Jews from Gwoździec. A few of those who went into hiding in the countryside managed to evade the German roundups and survived until the Red Army drove the Germans from the region in 1944.

SOURCES A short article on the Jewish community in Gwoździec and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 135–137. The ghetto in Gwoździec is mentioned also in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), vol. 4, p. 309.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Gwoździec can be found in the following archives: DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-12); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2315).

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trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 135–137.
2. Joseph J. Preil, *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p. 189.
3. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967): 18 (table 6).
4. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 135–137.
5. GARF, 7021-73-12, pp. 130–133.
6. Ibid., pp. 136–167.
7. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 135–137.

HORODENKA

Pre-1939: Horodenka, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodenka, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Horodenka, Kreis Kolomea, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Horodenka, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Horodenka is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) east-southeast of Stanisławów. In 1931, 3,526 Jews were living in the town.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, trains carrying refugees from the towns and cities to the west began passing through Horodenka, and on July 2 the Soviets abandoned the town. Only a few Jews managed to flee in time, owing to the lack of transportation.

The Hungarian army occupied Horodenka in early July. In the second half of July, about 1,000 Jews arrived in the town, following their deportation from the Transcarpathian Ukraine by the Hungarian Gendarmerie. These Jews arrived hungry and exhausted. Local Jews took in some of them, and the rest lived in the synagogue, in crowded and dirty conditions. With the new arrivals, the number of Jews in the town rose to about 4,500.[1]

Under Hungarian administration, a Jewish Council was formed, which was required to make a contribution in money and produce. When this demand was not met, the Hungarian army hanged 1 Jew in the marketplace. Subsequently, the Hungarian commandant took first 10, then 20 Jews as hostages, to ensure Jewish compliance. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor.

The town remained under Hungarian military administration until August, when authority was gradually transferred to a German civil administration. Initially Horodenka became a local administrative center (Kreis) within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was SA-Obersturmführer Johann Hack. In April 1942, Kreis Horodenka became part of the Kreis Kolomea, which until July 1, 1942, was headed by Klaus Peter Volkmann. He was succeeded, until July 26, 1943, by SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Gorgon.

The Jewish Aktions in Horodenka were organized and carried out by the office of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kreis Kolomea, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Peter Leideritz. In Horodenka there was a Criminal Police (Kripo) post, a German Gendarmerie unit, and a Ukrainian police force, which all took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

The new German administration imposed a number of additional restrictions on the Jews. They registered all Jews and confiscated most remaining Jewish property, particularly any valuables. Jews were also prohibited from leaving the town limits on pain of death. According to survivor accounts, on November 8, 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews off the main streets of the town and crowded them together into a small Jewish quarter (*Judenviertel*) in the west of the town, giving them three days to make the move.[2]

On December 5, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town. Under the pretext of giving typhus shots, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police gathered the Jews in a synagogue. For further authenticity, Jewish physicians were also requested to be present with all the necessary instruments. After freeing craftsmen and specialists, a detachment of Security Police from Kołomyja shot 2,500 Jews in the forest near Semakowce. The chairman of the Judenrat tried to prevent the Aktion with a bribe. He was murdered together with all the other members of the council.[3] Kreishauptmann Hack, who was not a confirmed Nazi (in the 1920s, he had been a member of the German Communist Party), protested the Aktion and even wrote a letter to an acquaintance who was the head of the foreign organization (Auslandsorganisation) of the Nazi Party (Reichsleiter Bohle), but his protest was fruitless.[4]

After the first Aktion, the Germans ordered the remaining 1,500 or so Jews to move into a tiny ghetto area three or four blocks long. Its borders included Schtelshetska Street to the house of Fleshner, then proceeding to the other side of the bridge leading to Kotokivka, and from there to the Polish church and finally the high school (*gimnazjum*). To assist with the transfer, a new Judenrat was formed. All the entrances and exits to the ghetto were sealed off. Within the ghetto there was considerable overcrowding. Jewish forced labor was organized by the Judenrat. Those Jews who worked for the Germans outside the ghetto received work passes. The Jewish Police strictly controlled their departure to and return from work.[5]

On April 13, 1942, a second Aktion was carried out in Horodenka. The Jews found out about the forthcoming Aktion from a bribed employee at the labor exchange in Kołomyja, and many of them hid in bunkers they had prepared. As a result, the German police shot only 75 people on this occasion, as they released many of those they had arrested in return for bribes.[6]

In April and May of 1942, Jews from the surrounding villages were transferred into the ghetto, bringing the number of Jews to 2,348. At that time the ghetto was enlarged slightly

to accommodate the new arrivals, and some specialists were permitted to live outside its confines.[7] Every day men from the ghetto were conscripted to work in the local sugar factory. There were also occasional roundups of younger Jews for the labor camps, where many died of overwork and undernourishment. Apart from the roundups, hunger and outbreaks of typhus also decimated the ghetto's population, as there was no hospital.[8] In August 1942, some 500 Jews from Czernelica, as well as any remaining Jewish farmers in the surrounding countryside, were brought into the ghetto. Any Christians caught helping Jews who went into hiding were also threatened with severe punishment.[9]

On September 7, 400 Jews from Obertin were brought to the town. On September 8, 1942, a third Aktion was carried out in Horodenka that lasted for three days. Under the pretext of registration, the Jews were gathered in one place, and 200 or 300 of them were murdered on the spot. About 2,000 people were placed into 10 freight cars (180 to 200 people in each car), and on September 10, most of them were transported to the Bełżec extermination camp, although a small group of 80 Jews capable of work was sent to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów.[10] About 120 specialists were retained in the town to help clear out the ghetto area, and several hundred more people hid in bunkers. In late September 1942, all the Jews remaining in the town were ordered to move to Kołomyja, and Horodenka was officially proclaimed to be cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).[11] After this, however, the Ukrainian police regularly captured Jews still hiding in the town, and all those captured were immediately murdered.

Only a few Jews managed to hide successfully. For example, Aharon Frischling turned to Bronisława Otwinowska, a former neighbor, to hide him during the final liquidation of the ghetto. Despite harassment from her Ukrainian neighbors, Otwinowska hid and fed Frischling and his family right up to the arrival of the Red Army in March 1944.[12]

Herbert Gorgon (born 1909) was sentenced to death by the SS and Police court in Lwów on August 6, 1943, and he committed suicide in prison on October 27, 1943. Peter Leideritz was extradited to Poland in December 1946 and was executed on November 17, 1947, following his conviction by a Polish court.

SOURCES Publications on the annihilation of Horodenka's Jews include the following: S. Meltzer, ed., *Sefer Horodenka* (Brooklyn, NY: Book Committee of Sefer Horodenka in the United States and Israel, 1963), also available in English translation by Ellen Biderman (Santa Fe, NM: E. Biderman, 2004); T. Friedman and J. Zak, eds., *Zusammenstellung der Begebenheiten über die Vernichtung des Judentums in Ostgalizien (Kolomea, Stanislawow, Stryj und Umgebung)* (Vienna: Jüdische Historische Dokumentation Wien, n.d.); J. Wermuth, "The Jewish Partisans of Horodenka," in Y. Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (New York, 1967); and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 175–181.

Documents and testimonies about the fate of Horodenka's Jews in the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1396, 1404, 1434, 2877, 2880, 3337, and 3647); BA-L (ZStL, AR-Z 277/1960); DAI-FO (R 71-1-1); GARF (7021-73-11); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Testimony of Mendel Rozenkranz, in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, eds., *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin-Grunewald: Arani, 1955), pp. 278–279; AŻIH, 301/2178, testimony of Rozia Grinberg; and 301/1434, testimony of Izak Plat.

2. AŻIH, 301/1434.

3. Friedman and Zak, *Zusammenstellung*, pp. 43–44; Verdict of LG-Darm, July 28, 1967, in the case against Haertel and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 26 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), Lfd. Nr. 657, pp. 491–492; GARF, 7021-73-11, pp. 4, 17.

4. G Sta. Berlin, P(K) Js 7/68, Beistück 46, statement of J. Hack, April 12, 1965.

5. Reuben Prifer, "My Walk through Seven Levels of Hell," p. 312; Meyer Sucher, "The Murder of the Jews of Horodenka," p. 306—both in Meltzer, *Sefer Horodenka*.

6. Testimony of Rozenkranz, in Poliakov and Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, p. 280; Sucher, "The Murder of the Jews of Horodenka," p. 306.

7. AŻIH, 301/1434; Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 6.

8. Ch.K. Kaufman, "In the Time of Murder," in Meltzer, *Sefer Horodenka*, p. 329; AŻIH, 301/2178.

9. GARF, 7021-73-11, pp. 12 and verso; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 288; Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles* (Israel: Shlomo Blond, 1983), pp. 142–143.

10. Prifer, "My Walk through Seven Levels of Hell," pp. 313–314; Kaufman, "In the Time of Murder," p. 329; and AŻIH, 301/2178.

11. RGVA, 1323-2-292b, pp. 40–42, report by the commander of the 7th Company, Police Regiment 24, September 14, 1942; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 6; GARF, 7021-73-11, p. 18.

12. Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 571–572. Bronisława Otwinowska was recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem on September 28, 1989.

JANÓW LWOWSKI

Pre-1939: Janów Lwowski, town, Gródek Jagielloński powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ianov, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow, Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Ivano-Frankove, Iavoriv raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Janów Lwowski is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) west-northwest of Lwów. In 1921, there were 490 Jews living in Janów. According to the population census of December 9, 1931, 650 Jews were living in the town. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that there were more than 700 Jews in Janów.

Janów was occupied by units of the German 17th Army on June 28, 1941. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the town in July 1941. On August 1, authority in Janów was passed to a German civil administration. Janów initially became part of Kreis Lemberg-West (Grodek), within Distrikt Galizien. On April 1, 1942, the Kreis Lemberg-West was united with the Kreis Lemberg-Ost to form the larger Kreis Lemberg-Land. The Kreis was headed by a Kreishauptmann. In chronological order, this position was held by Wilhelm Stockheck (until September 1941); Otto Bauer (until March 1942); Dr. Werner Becker (until the start of 1943); and Baron Joachim von der Leyen (from the start of 1943). The Kreis was divided into several Landkommissariate, each headed by a Landkommissar. Janów belonged to Landkommissariat Grodek, which was headed by SS-Untersturmführer Josef Steyert.

The occupying authorities also appointed a lawyer named Dr. Kizyk as mayor in Janów and established a small Ukrainian police force.

In July 1941, the German military administration organized the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and ordered Jews to wear distinctive white armbands bearing the Star of David. Much of the Jews' property and valuables was confiscated. The Jewish population was registered and required to perform various types of forced labor.

During the first eight months of the occupation, while Dr. Kizyk remained mayor, the Jewish population lived in the town in relative peace. This quiet period ended in the spring of 1942. On several occasions the Jews of Janów were ordered to report to the market square, where selections were made for Jews to work in the peat bogs of Rzęsna Polska.[1] According to undated German registration figures, taken between the summer of 1941 and the fall of 1942, there were 635 Jews residing in Janów, and another 276 Jews were living in the surrounding villages.[2]

Members of the Security Police in Lwów frequently came to Janów and demanded contributions from the Judenrat. The Judenrat also had to bribe the manager of the sawmill with furniture for his apartment. Since the resources of the community were soon exhausted by these repeated demands, the Germans arrested the members of the Judenrat and deported them to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów, where they all died.[3]

In early May 1942, the Germans conducted the first anti-Jewish Aktion in Janów. The Jews were ordered to assemble on the market square on pain of death. Here around 100 able-bodied Jews were selected by Gestapo officials and taken away to the Janowska Street labor camp in trucks.[4] It is likely that from there most of them were subsequently taken to other Jewish labor camps in Distrikt Galizien.

In the summer of 1942, probably in July, a ghetto was created in Janów for the rest of the Jewish population.[5] All of the remaining Jews were moved onto one street, which became a ghetto.

In accordance with the order of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, issued on November 11, 1942, on the establishment of ghettos in Distrikt Galizien,[6] the Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land ordered on November 25, 1942, that the Jews of Janów would have to move to the ghetto (*Judenwohnbezirk*) in Gródek Jagielloński.[7] One survivor recalls that the Jews were instructed they would have to leave the town, which was to become *judenrein*, and they would have to move to one of the few remaining designated places, where Jews were still permitted to live.[8] Shortly after this announcement, the Germans then conducted a second Aktion in Janów,[9] during which around 40 people were killed on the spot.[10] The remaining Jews, probably around 500 people, were then moved to the ghetto in Gródek Jagielloński.[11] There they were killed, along with the local Jewish population, in two mass-shooting Aktions in late January and early February 1943.[12] A few of the younger Jews managed to evade the roundups and survived in the forests.

SOURCES The ghetto in Janów Lwowski is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 560; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 496.

Relevant documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Janów Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1944, 2526); DALO (R 37-5-27, R 24-3-156); GARF (7021-67-82); TsDAVO (4620-3-290); USHMM (e.g., RG-31.003M); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1944, testimony of Małgorzata Gottesmann.
2. DALO, R 37-5-27, Projekt der Sammelgemeinde des Rayon Janow, n.d.
3. AŻIH, 301/1944.
4. Ibid.; Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 230.
5. "Ivano-Frankovo," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4, p. 496.
6. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
7. DALO, R 24-3-156, p. 40, Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land an die Landkommissare und Vögte, November 25, 1942.
8. AŻIH, 301/1944.
9. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7.

10. Report of the NKVD section head in the Ivano-Frankovo (Janów) raion, September 12, 1944, in GARF (7021-67-82, p. 52).

11. AŻIH, 301/2526, testimony, of Mania Trau (nee Rozendorn).

12. TsDAVO, 4620-3-290, pp. 4–8.

JARYCZÓW NOWY

Pre-1939: Jaryczów Nowy, town, Lwów powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Novyi Iarychev, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jaryczow, Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Novyi Iarychiv, Kam'ianka-Buz'ka raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Jaryczów Nowy is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) east-northeast of Lwów. According to the population census of December 9, 1931, 926 Jews were living in Jaryczów Nowy. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were approximately 2,120 Jews in the town.[1]

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Jaryczów Nowy was occupied by detachments of the German 17th Army on June 30, 1941. In July 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. At the very start of the German occupation, local Ukrainians murdered 14 Jews; these Jews were allegedly killed for being Soviet activists. The Ukrainian rioters also beat and robbed much of the Jewish population, encouraged by the local Ukrainian Orthodox priest. Some time after this first Aktion, Ukrainians also played a role in burning down the synagogue and the Bet Midrash, together with the sacred objects inside.[2]

In July 1941, the German military administration ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Szul Indyk, and a small force of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) as an auxiliary organ of the Judenrat. The Jewish Police enforced the registration and marking of the Jews, who were all required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The German authorities confiscated considerable amounts of Jewish property, particularly any items of value. Jews were deprived of many basic rights. They were made to perform various kinds of compulsory labor including construction work on the road to Lwów (under the supervision of the Organisation Todt).

On August 1, 1941, authority over Eastern Galicia passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Jaryczów Nowy was incorporated into Kreis Lemberg-Land. The first Kreishauptmann was Wilhelm Stockheck, who controlled the area until the middle of September 1941. Otto Bauer succeeded him from September 1941 to March 1942; then Werner Becker from March 1942 to January 1943; and finally Baron Joachim von der Leyen from January 1943 until the liberation of the town.

The German authorities established a German Gendarmerie post and a Ukrainian police squad in the town. The unit of the Security Police and SD based in Lwów directed the main anti-Jewish Aktions in the town, and it was assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police forces.

In Jaryczów Nowy there were frequent roundups of Jews during 1942. Jews capable of work were sent to labor camps in Winniki, Hermanów, Kurowice, and Polonice, where they were beaten, half-starved, and murdered.[3] In the spring of 1942, probably in March, there were also roundups of older men and women incapable of work, whom the Germans then sent to be gassed at the Bełżec extermination camp.

On November 10, 1942, the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, issued an order that called for the formation of a ghetto in Jaryczów Nowy. The German administration established the ghetto at the beginning of December 1942. The authorities resettled all local Jews and all the Jews from the surrounding villages into the ghetto. Among those villages from which the Jews were transferred were Barszczowicze, Rudańce, Kukizów, Pikutowicze, and Jaryczów Stary.[4] A few also came from other towns in the vicinity where no ghetto was established, such as Gliniany, especially if they had relatives in Jaryczów.[5] More than 2,500 Jews altogether were confined within the ghetto, which existed for only one and one half months. When vacating houses assigned to the ghetto, the former non-Jewish inhabitants had destroyed the chimneys and broken the doors and windows, exposing the ghetto inhabitants to the winter cold. Anyone caught leaving the ghetto without permission could be shot.

The Jewish residents of the ghetto were permitted to draw water from the wells for only one hour per day and were not permitted to buy any food. The overcrowded conditions in partially destroyed houses with almost no food and water soon led to epidemics in the ghetto. According to one survivor account, a Ukrainian doctor named Mielnik warned the Germans that these epidemics would spread to the non-Jewish population if something were not done. This may have been the pretext for the liquidation of the ghetto that was organized by the Germans shortly afterwards.[6]

On January 15–16, 1943, a unit of the Security Police and SD from Lwów liquidated the ghetto with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Around 1,570 Jews were shot in the forest, and about 1,000 more were murdered at the site of the Jewish cemetery.[7] Following the main massacre, more than 40 local Ukrainians assisted in searching the ghetto area for Jews in hiding. They killed many of them on the spot. In one bunker the murderers found 33 Jews, who were then taken to the cemetery to be shot.[8] At the end of 1943, a German special unit (Sonderkommando 1005) used prisoners to attempt to remove the traces of the massacres by exhuming the bodies and burning them.[9]

SOURCES There is a yizkor book on the town, which focuses on the events of the Holocaust and the memory of the victims: Mordekhai Gerstl, ed., *Hurbn Yaritshov bay Lemberg* (New York, 1948). A brief article on the Jewish community of the town can also be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jew-*

ish Communities: Poland, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 285–287.

Documentation about the destruction of the Jews of Jaryczów Nowy can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2481, 2615); DALO (e.g., R 3-1-278, R 24/3/156, and R 500-1-39); GARF (7021-67-82); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., 1426/261, 2317/551).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7; AŻIH, 301/2615.

2. GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 40; Gerstl, *Hurbn Yaritshov*, p. 31, gives the figure of 13 Jews.

3. AŻIH, 301/2615.

4. DALO, R 24/3/156, Kreishauptmann in Lemberg-Land an die Landkommissare, November 25, 1941, Betr.: Bildung von Judenwohnbezirken; AŻIH, 301/2615. In 1921 the populations of these villages were as follows: Barszczowicze, 57; Rudańce, 53; Kukizów, 46; Pikutowicze, 36; and Jaryczów Stary, 35: see *Black Book of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 88–110.

5. Gerstl, *Hurbn Yaritshov*, p. 30; Jews from Gliniany went to at least four separate ghettos; see *Megiles Gline (Glinyane): Zikroynes un iberlebungen fun a horev gevorener kehile* (New York, 1950), p. 263.

6. AŻIH, 301/2615.

7. GARF, 7021-67-82, pp. 40–42; Gerstl, *Hurbn Yaritshov*, pp. 8–9, 30, gives the figure of 5,000 inhabitants of the ghetto. AŻIH, 301/2615, also gives much higher figures of 2,800 Jews murdered in the forest and 2,000 at the Jewish cemetery, according to hearsay evidence from a Jew who was employed by the Germans as "burner of the dead," working with Sk 1005. See also DALO, R 3-1-278, pp. 2–12; R 3-1-279, p. 256; and R 500-1-39, pp. 2–20—these cited by Jakob Honigsman, *Juden in der Westukraine: Jüdisches Leben und Leiden in Ostgalizien, der Bukowina und Transkarpatien 1933–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2001), pp. 247, 294.

8. AŻIH, 301/2481 and 2615; Gerstl, *Hurbn Yaritshov*, pp. 34–35.

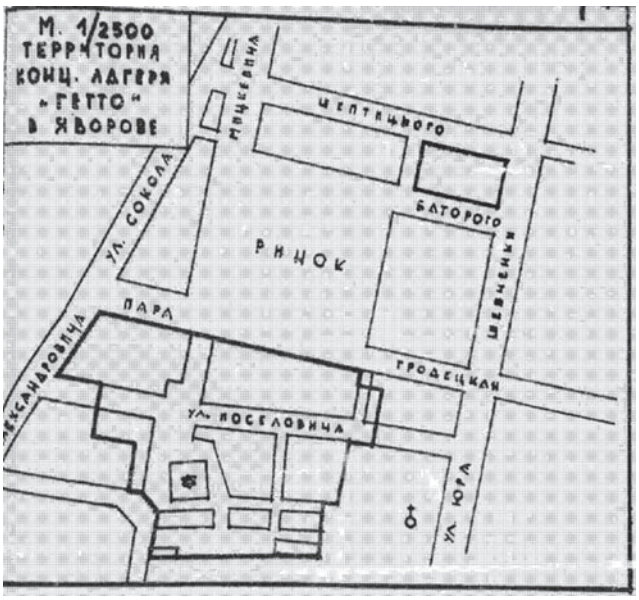
9. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 380; Gerstl, *Hurbn Yaritshov*, p. 35.

JAWORÓW

Pre-1939: Jaworów, town, Drohobycz powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Iavorov, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jaworow, Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Iavoriv, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Jaworów is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Lwów. In June 1941, there were approximately 3,000 Jews living in Jaworów.

Following a brief German occupation in 1939 and then a period of Soviet rule, units of the German 17th Army occupied Jaworów again on June 25, 1941, only three days after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. They were greeted with flowers and great enthusiasm by most Ukrainians. Only a handful of Jews were able to escape with the retreating Red Army.[1] In late June 1941, antisemitic Ukrainians organized a pogrom in Jaworów, during which there was looting of Jewish houses and killing of Jews.[2] At that time, the German Security Police (probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 4b, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) shot and killed 15 Jews in a forest outside the town. The Jews were arrested on the basis of a list prepared by local Ukrainians who sought revenge for the punishment of Ukrainian nationalists by the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).[3] In July 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town.



A sketch map of the Jaworów ghetto, submitted to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission. Located below the market square the ghetto bordered Alexandorwiczo Street. A Star of David, representing the synagogue, is found within the ghetto's boundary.
USHMM/RG22.002, 7021-67-79

On August 1, 1941, Eastern Galicia was transferred to a German civil administration and became part of the Distrikt Galizien in the Generalgouvernement. Jaworów was initially in Kreis Lemberg-West (Kreis center Grodek), but from April 1, 1942, it became part of the Kreis Lemberg-Land. The Kreis was initially governed by Kreishauptmann Wilhelm Stockheck until mid-September 1941; then by Otto Bauer until March 1942; by Dr. Werner Becker until early 1943; and finally by Baron Joachim von der Leyen. Each Kreis was divided into county commissariats (Landkommissariate) administered by a county commissioner (Landkommissar). Jaworów was part of the Landkommissariat Grodek, headed by SS-Untersturmführer Josef Steyert. There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Jaworów, a Criminal Police (Kripo) post, and a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), headed by a man named Poslawski. The

anti-Jewish Aktions in Jaworów were coordinated by a team of Security Police from Lwów with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

In July 1941, the German military administration ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired initially by Yoel Fuss, who was soon replaced by Sender Blum. There was also a Jewish Police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) that served to implement the orders of the Jewish Council. Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jewish Council had to collect contributions of valuables demanded by the German authorities. All Jews had to be registered. Another main task of the Judenrat was organizing 400 Jewish forced laborers every day, who were engaged in road construction, general cleaning, collecting ammunition left by the Soviets in the forests, and work at the Soviet prisoner-of-war camp, where many prisoners died of starvation or were shot. On the construction sites, skilled Jewish craftsmen were paid 1 złoty per hour and received an extra loaf of bread each week.[4]

During the first eight months of the occupation, Jews lived in their own houses in the town, which were required to display the Star of David. Jews were banned from the main streets (Mickiewicza, Aleksandrowicza, and Krakowiecka), and there was a curfew for Jews after 6:00 P.M. Jews were exposed to arbitrary arrests and beatings by the Ukrainian police, and there were incidents of plunder and rape. Jews were denied the opportunity to make a living, and many suffered from hunger. Until the spring of 1942, the only large deportations were of several hundred able-bodied Jews to local forced labor camps (such as Jaktorów and Winniki).

In early April 1942, Landkommissar Josef Steyert appeared in Jaworów and ordered the chairman of the Jewish Council, Blum, to demolish the Jewish cemetery within two weeks. He also ordered Blum to hand over as "contributions" large amounts of silk, leather, and gold. Shortly afterwards, Blum suffered a heart attack, and he was replaced by David Badian, who was eager to carry out all of Steyert's demands. A new head of the Jewish Police, Buzie Hahn, was also appointed.[5]

A month later, on May 5, 1942, the Germans carried out a deportation Aktion in Jaworów, during which about 500 Jews were sent to the labor camp in Płuhów. Some of those found to be unfit were murdered on arrival.[6] Soon after this Aktion, on June 10, 1942, 442 Jews from Wielkie Oczy were resettled (some to Krakowiec and the majority to Jaworów) on Steyert's orders.

Another deportation Aktion took place in Jaworów on November 7–8, 1942, when a team of Security Police from Lwów, together with German and Ukrainian police, and with the support of the Jewish Police, brutally seized 1,200 Jews, of whom about 200 were killed on the spot, the others being deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[7] Almost the entire Jewish Council was deported, and the Jewish hospital was also "cleared." On November 9, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police went in search of more Jews; about 200 Jews were dragged from various hiding places, and the Germans shot them at the Jewish cemetery.[8]

On November 10, 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in the southern part of the town, which was surrounded by a wire fence. About 600 remaining Jews initially entered the ghetto. On the two days following the ghetto's establishment, about 20 Jews were shot for being caught outside the fence.[9] On November 15, 1942, those Jews working for the Wehrmacht's forestry office (who wore armbands with the letter "W') were moved into a separate "block camp" outside the ghetto (initially only a few; later, 60 people), where they received considerably better treatment.[10]

Jews from the communities of Drohomys'l, Szkło, Bonów, Twierdza, and other villages were transferred into the ghetto during November but could bring with them very little in the way of possessions. By early December, the Jews from Mościska, Janów, Sądowa Wisznia, Krukienice, Hussaków, and Krakowiec had also been transferred into the Jaworów ghetto, bringing the total population to around 6,000 Jews by mid-December.[11] Since members of the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police occupied the best apartments and were responsible for assigning living quarters, the new arrivals were forced to live on the streets for three days. All of them were finally crammed into 80 small houses, with just over 70 people living in each house. The ghetto area extended from the marketplace to Alexandorwiczo Street, circled around the Greek Catholic Church and the approaches to the synagogue. The ghetto had several gates, each guarded by a German patrol.[12] The extremely poor sanitary and hygienic conditions soon produced a typhus epidemic. The reconstituted Judenrat received permission to organize a hospital and tried to obtain rations for the Jews, but the rations distributed were well below subsistence level (about 300 grams, or slightly less than 11 ounces of bread per day). According to some sources, more than 1,500 people died of typhus and hunger during the ghetto's existence. In early 1943, about 500 able-bodied Jews were rounded up and deported to the Janowska Street labor camp.[13]

On April 16, 1943, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. A team of Security Police from Lwów, together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot and killed over 3,500 Jews; some 2,500 Jews had already been killed by noon, and the rest were murdered over the following days. Following the selection of those fit for work at the Jewish cemetery, those destined for death were collected in the burned-out synagogue before being taken off in trucks to be shot in the Porudno Forest. The ghetto area was largely destroyed by fire as the Germans and their collaborators drove out those in hiding.[14] A few hundred Jews remained in the block camp for about a week or so after the Aktion. About 200 Jews who had emerged from hiding were shot a few days later, and some of the Jews from the block camp managed to escape. The rest (about 200) were transferred to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów at the end of April.[15]

According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, 7,316 civilians were killed in the Jaworów raion from 1941 to 1944, including 4,900 people killed in Jaworów (of them, 4,400 were killed on April 16, 1943); 1,200 people were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp; and 1,200

people were sent to the Janowska Street camp. (The number of Jews sent to the Janowska Street labor camp was actually half this amount. The number of Jews shot on April 16, 1943, was also less. On the other hand, the figures for the Jaworów raion do not take into account Jews who died in the ghetto from hunger and disease.)[16] Nearly all the victims were Jews.

Only about 20 Jews returned to Jaworów on the liberation of the town by the Red Army on July 20, 1944, having survived in hiding or in the forests with the Soviet partisans. According to survivor testimony, local Poles were generally more willing than Ukrainians to hide Jews from the Germans.

Bauer was killed by partisans in 1944. Becker worked in the German administration after 1945, and the investigation into his activities was closed in 1975; he died in 1991. Von der Leyen perished in 1945. The fate of Stockheck is unknown. The investigation into Steyert by the Zentralstelle Dortmund (ZSSta-D) was closed in September 1964, as he was no longer fit to stand trial; he died in November 1964.

SOURCES Further information on the ghetto in Jaworów can be found in the book by Samuel Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow: The Tragic Chronicle of the Jaworow Jewish Community* [trans. from Yiddish by Samuel Kreiter] (New York: First Jaworower Independent Association, 1950).

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Jaworów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1612, 1613, 1616, 1912, 1913, and 4947); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 276); DALO (R 3-1-278 and 279); GARF (7021-67-79 and 84); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1616, testimony of Jonas Deer and Włodzimierz Hochberg; Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 7–8.
2. AŻIH, 301/1912.
3. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941; AŻIH, 301/1613, testimony of Rachela Scheer; and Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 8–9. The Jewish sources mostly mention only 12 victims.
4. AŻIH, 301/1912, 1616; and Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 9–10.
5. Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 12–13; AŻIH, 301/1611, testimony of Juda Mezler; and AŻIH, 301/1613, 1616.
6. Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 15–16.
7. GARF, 7021-67-79, p. 65. According to another account, 1,800 Jews were sent to Bełżec, and 250 were killed locally (see 7021-67-79, p. 61). Accounts by survivors also give varying numbers, e.g., AŻIH, 301/1616.
8. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7; Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 234. Another source indicates that 262 Jews were shot (GARF, 7021-67-79, p. 61).
9. GARF, 7021-67-79, p. 61; AŻIH, 301/4947, testimony of Chaja Antmann, April 11, 1945; and 301/1616; Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 24–25.
10. AŻIH, 301/1611, 1613.
11. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 7; and AŻIH, 301/4947.
12. Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* pp. 234–235; AŻIH, 301/1613; Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 24–26.
13. GARF, 7021-67-79, p. 61 AŻIH, 301/1616, mentions 1,500 deaths, as does Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, p. 26.
14. GARF, 7021-67-79, pp. 61, 65; Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 29–32.
15. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," p. 26, table 7; Druck, *Swastika over Jaworow*, pp. 33–35.
16. GARF, 7021-67-84, pp. 125–126.

JEZIERZANY

Pre-1939: Jezierzany (Yiddish: Oziron), town, Buczacz powiat, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ozeriany, Skala-Podol'skaia raion, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jezierzany, Kreis Czortkow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Ozeriani, Borshchiv raion, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Jezierzany is located about 88 kilometers (55 miles) south-southeast of Tarnopol. According to the 1921 census, 1,302 Jews were living in the town. In 1939, the Jewish population is estimated to have been around 1,800.

On July 8, 1941, a Hungarian regiment entered Jezierzany. At that time, nationalist Ukrainians were in control of the town. In mid-July, the Ukrainian militia escorted a group of Jewish men into the forest with the intention of killing them, but Hungarian officers intervened, and the Jews were spared. However, a number of Jews were killed in neighboring villages, including in Piłatkowice and Szypowce, and surviving refugees from these villages fled to Jezierzany in search of help.[1] In the summer of 1941, a number of Jews who had been expelled eastward from Hungary also arrived in the town. Some stayed for a while, before they moved on to Borszczów and other towns. The Jews of Jezierzany did their best to assist them.

By September of 1941, authority had been transferred to a German civil administration. Jezierzany became part of Kreis Czortkow within Distrikt Galizien. At first, the Kreishauptmann was the former deputy Gestapo chief in Stettin, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Gerhard Littschwager, and from April 1942, former Stadthauptmann (city mayor) in Lwów, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Hans Kujath.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) based in Czortków. The heads of this office successively were SS-Obersturmführer Karl Hildemann (from October 1941 to October 1942), SS-Untersturmführer Hans Velde (from October 1942 to February 1943), SS-Sturmscharführer Heinrich Peckmann (from February to September 1943), and SS-Obersturmführer Werner Eisel (from September 1943). The German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) both took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

With the transfer of power to the Germans, the Jews were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. All men aged between 14 and 60 had to perform forced labor on a regular basis, which was organized by the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Jewish Police assisted in collecting contributions in money and goods demanded by the German authorities. During the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews also had to surrender their fur items of clothing for the Wehrmacht.

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the Germans established a ghetto in Jezierzany in October 1941. Frieda Friedman (née Elberger) and her younger brother, Sam Elberger, were both forced to move from Szypowce to the ghetto in Jezierzany in the fall of 1941, where they found accommodation with relatives. They could take with them only the possessions they could carry in their hands. Jews were explicitly forbidden to leave the ghetto, but according to child survivor Sam Elberger, many people sneaked out at night "through holes in the fence" to procure extra food.[2]

Mikołaj Szczyrba, a local Polish inhabitant, mentions that in September 1941 the Germans ordered the Ukrainians to stop murdering the Jews in the villages and disarmed the Ukrainian villagers, tasking the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police to maintain order. At this time, many of the remaining Jews in the villages were ordered to move to Jezierzany, where a ghetto was then established.[3]

In December 1941, the German authorities sent 100 young Jews from Jezierzany to work in the labor camp at Borki Wielkie. More Jewish youths were sent in April 1942 to the camp at Hłuboczek, but the Judenrat did its best to remain in contact with these workers and supply them with extra food and clothing. Many people died in the labor camps from the harsh conditions there.

From April through June of 1942, more Jews were brought into the Jezierzany ghetto from surrounding villages, including the family of Max Hecht from Oleksińce. Hecht recalls the ghetto as having been unfenced but remarks that the Jews knew they were not permitted to leave its area. Jews still went out illegally to forage for food, but this became increasingly dangerous over time, as some of the local population would kill the Jews they found or turn them in to the German authorities.[4]

In the late spring of 1942, two Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany, who had been in Jezierzany for two years, appealed to the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków for some assistance. They no longer had adequate shoes or even a spare shirt to change, and they received from the Judenrat only their ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day.[5] The JSS branch office in Jezierzany, which from July 1942 was officially headed by Abraham Maiberger, was able to offer only a small amount of financial support to the needy Jews of the town.

In the summer of 1942, the Germans took over a collective farm in the vicinity of Jezierzany and established a plantation for kok-saghyz—a plant similar to tobacco, used for the production of synthetic rubber—using Jewish workers. This plantation became a form of forced labor camp for Jews, which remained in existence into the summer of 1943, holding more than 200 Jews.

On September 26, 1942, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. Over the next two days they rounded up about 700 Jews, who were then deported by train to the Bełżec extermination camp. Max Schmerer of Zaleszczyki was caught in Jezierzany at the time of the roundup. With his mother and sister, he was taken to the collection point, where they were held for two days without food or water under very close guard. A number of small children and elderly people were shot on the spot during the roundup. On the third day, the assembled Jews were loaded into freight cars and deported. A few Jews managed to break out of the freight cars and made their way back to Jezierzany. Shortly afterwards in October, most of the remaining Jews in Jezierzany (about 600 people) were transferred to the ghettos in Tłuste or Borszczów in horse-driven carts, as Jezierzany was to become *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews).[6]

After this transfer, a small group of Jews stayed in Jezierzany for a while longer, to sort out remaining Jewish property. The Jewish houses of the town were mostly dismantled, and any valuable materials were sold to the local peasants. Some Jews who had escaped during the roundups survived in the nearby forests in bunkers. However, many of these escapees subsequently were captured and killed by local peasants or by the German and Ukrainian police.

When the Soviet army entered Jezierzany in April 1944, about 50 Jews emerged from hiding, but some fled again, as it appeared the Germans might return. At the end of the war, most of the survivors moved to postwar Poland and from there to Israel, the United States, or other countries in the West.

SOURCES The main published source used regarding the history of the Jewish community of Jezierzany and its fate during the Holocaust is Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 288–290. Additional information can be found in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 240–241.

Documents and testimonies describing the fate of the Jews of Jezierzany can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/481; 301/3184, 4990); DATO; USHMM; VHF (# 3236, 25611, 45175); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3184, testimony of Mikołaj Sycyzrba (a Catholic Pole); VHF, # 3236, testimony of Sam Elberger.
2. VHF, # 3236 and # 25611, testimony of Frieda Friedman (née Elberger).
3. AŻIH, 301/3184.
4. VHF, # 45175, testimony of Max Hecht.
5. AŻIH, 211/481, Emanuel Wegner und Marion Stern an das Jüdische Sozialamt Krakau, April or May 1942.
6. Ibid., 301/4990, testimony of Max Schmerer.

KAŁUSZ

Pre-1939: Kałusz, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kalush, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kalusz, initially center of Kreis Kalusz then Kreis Stanislau, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Kalush, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Kałusz is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) north-northwest of Stanisławów. According to the population census of 1931, 3,967 Jews were living in Kałusz. On the eve of World War II in 1939, there were about 5,000 Jews in the town. In July 1941, there were probably around 6,000 Jews living in Kałusz.[1]

Following a period of Soviet occupation at the beginning of World War II, Hungarian troops occupied Kałusz on July 6, 1941. The Hungarians ordered the opening of all the shops, with signs identifying every "Jewish store." They proceeded to loot the shops and ship everything back to Hungary. Local Ukrainian nationalists complained to the German commandant in Stanisławów that their allies were stealing "government property." In the surrounding villages, Ukrainian nationalists murdered some Jews, causing others to seek refuge in Kałusz. Within two weeks the Germans took control of the town, replacing the Hungarians.[2]

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) briefly administered the town until the end of July. On August 1, 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Kałusz was initially the center of the Kreis Kalusz in Distrikt Galizien. Those appointed to the position of Kreishauptmann were Regierungsrat Dr. Friedrich Gercke (from August 1941 to March 1942; he died during the war) and Dr. Karl-Hans Broschegg (from March 1942 to July 1943).

The subdistricts of Kałusz, Wojniłów, Dolina, Bolechów, Rożniatów, Wygoda, and Perehińsko were incorporated into Kreis Kalusz. (In March 1942, Bolechów became part of the Kreis Stryj.) Altogether, according to the population census of December 9, 1931, there were 16,720 Jews living in these subdistricts.[3]

In July 1942, the Kreishauptmannschaft Kałusz was dissolved. The subdistricts of Kałusz and Wojniłów were incorporated into Kreis Stanislau. The remaining districts—Dolina, Rożniatów, Wygoda, and Perehińsko—were incorporated into Kreis Stryj.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized and carried out by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Stanisławów. The post was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger (from the end of July 1941 until November 1942) and by his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Oskar Brandt (from November 1942). A German Criminal Police (Kripo) post, a German Gendarmerie post, and a Ukrainian police unit were established in Kałusz. These units participated in the extermination operations that were carried out.

On August 23–25, 1941, shortly after the transfer of power to the German civil administration, a Security Police detachment arrived in Kałusz from Stanisławów. In this first Aktion, the detachment arrested and shot 380 Jews, mostly merchants and professionals.[4] In September 1941, 50 more people were arrested and shot by the German Gendarmerie.[5]

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), commanded by a Czech refugee named Memmelis; these served to enforce compliance with German regulations. The Jewish Police implemented the marking of the Jews with white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Germans confiscated vast amounts of Jewish property, including any items of value. The Jews were registered and required to perform assigned labor tasks.

At the end of 1941, an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) was created in Kałusz. Those living outside the defined area were forced to move into the ghetto, bringing whatever possessions they could carry and abandoning—or trying to sell for very little—heavier items such as furniture. Jews expelled from neighboring villages were also sent to the ghetto. People from places outside the ghetto were housed with families or in the synagogue, and living conditions became extremely crowded. A curfew was imposed, requiring Jews to stay off the streets after sunset, even within the ghetto. Two Jews who violated the order were shot on sight, a clear warning that the curfew had to be strictly observed.

The Judenrat was charged with meeting the daily quota for forced labor. Those assigned to work outside the ghetto received special identification cards and had some contact with the local population, providing possible access to extra food. Some Jews paid large bribes to get these jobs. Among the more desirable places to work were farms, sawmills, workshops, and various German firms operating in the area.[6]

As of April 1942, there were 6,300 Jews living in the Kałusz ghetto.[7] That same month, the Security Police detachment from Stanisławów carried out another Aktion. They arrested and shot 800 Jews only because they were deemed unfit for labor.[8] After this Aktion, there were 5,500 Jews remaining in the town.[9]

As the months dragged by, conditions in the ghetto deteriorated. Hunger increased, especially among the many poor who had nothing to trade for food. The Judenrat had nothing left to distribute. People keeled over in the streets, dying from starvation. Corpses were collected on a daily basis to be buried in mass graves in the cemetery. All communal activity ceased. Nevertheless, many people were sustained by a vitality that enabled them to overcome physical deprivation. The doctors in the ghetto, despite the lack of basic resources, nurtured many people through their illnesses.[10]

In August 1942, the number of Jews in Kałusz increased again as the Germans transferred more Jews into the town from nearby villages. A total of 209 Jewish families from the villages in the Perehińsko subdistrict—which included Perehińsko, Uhrynów, Jasieniów, Siwka, Jasień, Zawój, Berłochy, Piotrów, Nowica, Grabówka, and Kamień—were resettled to Kałusz.[11] Still more were brought in from the Rożniatów subdistrict. On Yom Kippur (September 21, 1942), a few dispirited

souls assembled in a secret place for an abbreviated prayer service.

After the Jews were concentrated in the town, the Security Police post in Stanisławów carried out a series of Aktions in the fall of 1942, during which part of the Jewish population was taken to Stanisławów and murdered there, while the others were deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec. The final large Aktion probably took place in mid-September or mid-October 1942 (accounts differ).[12] Because of rumors circulating about another large transport, people frantically tried to hide in cellars and attics, mostly within the ghetto. At the start of the Aktion, Gestapo men and Ukrainian policemen entered the ghetto for a house-to-house roundup. About 1,200 people were captured and held near the railroad station. Most of those in hiding were discovered and also rounded up. The hunt continued for about 36 hours. Then the prisoners were brought to the rail depot and loaded into freight cars. The victims, including the Jewish Police and leaders of the Judenrat, were transported to the camp in Bełżec.[13]

Not everyone was captured during the two-day roundup. As their hunger increased, people slowly emerged from hiding. The Germans announced they would not be harmed. They ordered the establishment of another Judenrat, headed by Berish Geller. No one was sent out to forced labor, nor was any food distributed. At the end of October, or a few weeks later, the surviving remnant was shipped to Stanisławów. The Germans officially declared Kałusz to be free of Jews (*judenrein*).[14] The Red Army liberated Kałusz on August 1, 1944. Fewer than a dozen Jewish inhabitants survived the occupation.

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town can be found in the following publications: Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 452–455; Shabtai Unger and Moshe Etinger, eds., *Kalusz: Hayeha ve-hurbana shel ha-kehila* (Tel Aviv: Kalusz Society, 1980).

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Kałusz are located in the following archives: AŻIH (301/671, 1381, and 4928); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 9; AŻIH, 301/4928, testimony of Mundek Kramer, May 20, 1945.
2. Unger and Etinger, *Kalusz*, p. 233; AŻIH, 301/4928.
3. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," p. 11.
4. GARF, 7021-73-8, p. 2; AŻIH, 301/1381, testimony of Dawid Halpern. Halpern gives the figure of 500 Jewish victims.
5. GARF, 7021-73-8, p. 4.
6. Unger and Etinger, *Kalusz*, pp. 236–238.
7. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 9.
8. Thomas Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*" *in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz-Verlag 1996), p. 238.
9. See the document dated July 8, 1942, from the Jewish Social Self-Help Committee in Kałusz (Jüdisches Hilfs-Komitee), in the reports of the Jewish Social Self-Help Organization (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe) in Kraków, AŻIH, 211/270.
10. Unger and Etinger, *Kalusz*, p. 239.
11. GARF, 7021-73-23, pp. 2, 6–17. As of March 1942, 663 Jews lived in Perehińsko. See Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 10.
12. There are contradictory accounts regarding the dating of the final liquidation Aktion. Unger and Etinger, *Kalusz*, p. 240, indicates that the ghetto liquidation took place in mid-October 1942. Other accounts date the liquidation on September 15–17, 1942: see AŻIH, 301/671 and 4928. According to M. Shpats, around 3,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec in a deportation Aktion on November 23–25, 1942. See GARF, 7021-73-8, pp. 9–10.
13. Unger and Etinger, *Kalusz*, p. 240.
14. Ibid., p. 241. According to M. Shpats, about 500 Jews remained in the township of Kałusz. In December 1942, they were rounded up and brought to Stanisławów. See GARF, 7021-73-8, pp. 9–10.

KAMIONKA STRUMIŁOWA

Pre-1939: Kamionka Strumiłowa, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kamenka Strumilovskaia, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamionka-Strumilowa, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Kam'ianka-Buz'ka, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Kamionka Strumiłowa is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Lwów. According to the Polish census of 1931, 3,283 Jews were living in the town. On the eve of World War II, this figure had risen to 3,964 Jews. In June 1941, the number of Jews in Kamionka Strumiłowa was around 3,500.[1]

German forces occupied Kamionka Strumiłowa on June 29, 1941. At first a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town, but on August 1, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Kamionka became the administrative center of Kreis Kamionka-Strumilowa within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreis included the subdistricts of Kamionka, Busk, Milatyń Nowy, Sokal, Radziechów, and Łopatyń. The Kreishauptmann was at first SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Rebay von Ehrenwiesen; from June 1942, his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Joachim Nehring.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Kamionka were organized and carried out by the Security Police outpost in Sokal, which was subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) based in Lwów. The Sokal outpost initially was run by SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Block and, from May 1942 to October 1943, by SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk. In Kamionka Strumiłowa itself, there was a German Gendarmerie post and a Ukrainian police detachment, both of which actively participated in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

At the end of June 1941, antisemitic elements among the local Ukrainians organized a pogrom that lasted three days, resulting in the deaths of about 150 Jews. After the pogrom, posters appeared on the streets in which it was announced that the Germans had not killed the Jews.[2]

In July 1941, on the orders of the German military administration, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, and the Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a Star of David. The first head of the Jewish Council was Maks Friedhofer, a capable and well-respected man. Unfortunately, the Gestapo murdered him in Lwów after only a few weeks. His replacement, Meier Kleiner, was criticized for his personal greed. In accordance with German orders, he organized the collection of a large amount of Jewish property, especially valuables, retaining part for his own use.[3]

On November 10, 1941,[4] a unit of the Security Police from Sokal carried out the first Aktion in Kamionka Strumiłowa, during which about 500 Jews from the intelligentsia were shot in the village of Obydów.[5]

In June 1942, 71 Jews from the villages of Żełdec, Dalnicz, Kłodno Wielkie, and Pieczychwosty in the Lwów district were resettled to Kamionka. At that time, 3,163 Jews were registered in Kamionka. The figure in April 1942 had been 3,189 Jews.[6]

On September 15, 1942, a Security Police unit from Sokal carried out a second Aktion in the course of which some 1,500 Jews were deported to the extermination camp at Bełżec and about 300 Jews were murdered in the town.[7] In the course of a third Aktion on September 21, 1942, around 600 Jews from Kamionka were killed in Zabuże; Jews from Radziechów, Chołojów, and Busk, some 2,000 in all, were shot along with them.[8] The Jews were possibly shot instead of being deported because a train could not be allocated to send them to Bełżec.

After the third Aktion, a Jewish residential district, or open ghetto, was established on September 30, 1942; it existed for less than one month.[9] On October 28, 1942, during the fourth Aktion, the open ghetto was liquidated, and 1,023 Jews were deported to Bełżec. After the deportation, more than 100 Jews were uncovered hiding in and around the ghetto and shot near the town. Fifteen Jews were retained to clean up the ghetto area, but they were also shot once this task was completed.[10] Following the ghetto liquidation Aktion, the town was declared to be "free of Jews" (*judenfrei*), which was celebrated by a personal visit from the governor of Distrikt Galizien, Otto Wächter.[11]

Only about 20 Jews managed to survive the German occupation, most of them hidden by local Poles.

Rebay von Ehrenwiesen was under investigation for a period after the war, but the case was closed for lack of evidence. Nehring was acquitted on August 24, 1981, by the state court. Block died in August 1944. Heyduk was sentenced to life imprisonment on July 13, 1949, by a court in Munich.

SOURCES An article about the persecution and destruction of Kamionka Strumiłowa's Jews can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 455–457.

Documentation on the fate of Kamionka Strumiłowa's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/45, 4855, and 4926); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 14/1964); DALO; GARF (7021-67-84); RGVA (1323-2-292b); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 5; AŻIH, 301/4926.
2. GARF, 7021-67-84, pp. 11, 13; AŻIH, 301/4926 and 4855. Some sources, however, mention the participation of German forces.
3. AŻIH, 301/4926.
4. Verdict of LG-Stad, 10 Ks 9 Js 544/64 (29/78), in the case against J. Nehring, August 24, 1981.
5. GARF, 7021-67-84, p. 12; AŻIH, 301/45. According to another source, 300 people were shot; GARF, 7021-67-84, p. 13.
6. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 5.
7. AŻIH, 301/4926.
8. Verdict of LG-Stad, 10 Ks 9 Js 544/64 (29/78), in the case against J. Nehring, August 24, 1981; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 5; AŻIH, 301/4855.
9. AŻIH, 301/4926.
10. Ibid. See the account by the Einsatzkommando, 5. Zug, SS-Pol. Rgt. 24, RGVA, 1323-2-292b, p. 29.
11. AŻIH, 301/4926.

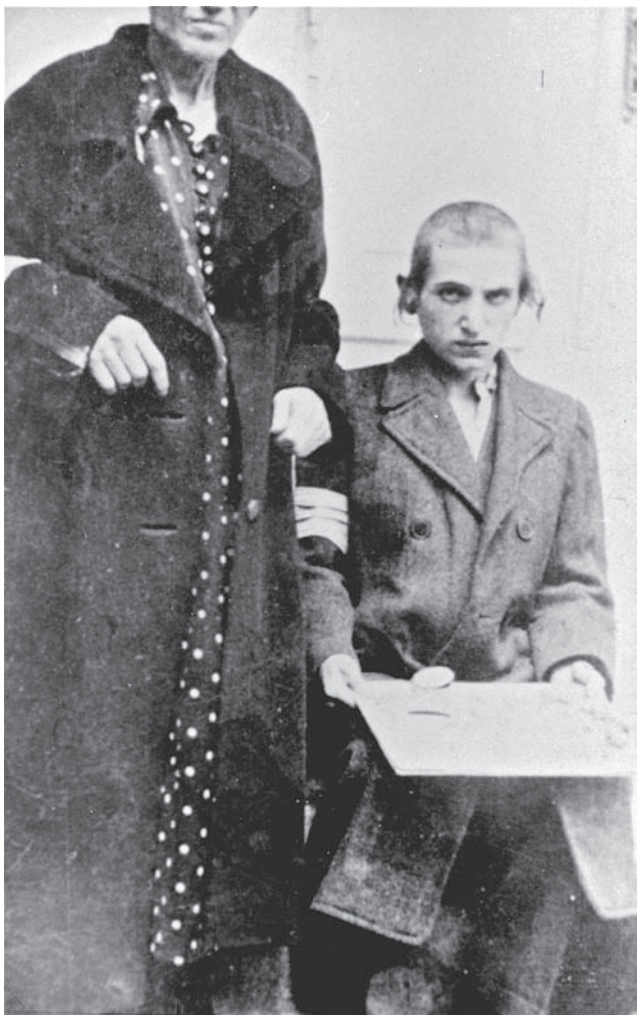
KOŁOMYJA

Pre-1939: Kołomyja, city, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kolomyia, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kolomea, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Kolomyia, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Kołomyja is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) south-southeast of Stanisławów. In 1938, in so-called metropolitan Kołomyja (after the inclusion of the villages of Szeparowce, Diatkowice, Korolówka, and Wierbiąż Niżny), the Jewish population stood at 20,000.[1]

By 1941, owing to a great influx of Jewish refugees, first from Germany and Austria, and later from Poland and Hungary, the Jewish population of Kołomyja reached about 30,000.[2]

On the night of June 21–22, 1941, the German air force bombed Kołomyja. The bulk of Jewish Communists, as well as many young people and students, tried to flee into the interior of the Soviet Union, and many of them succeeded. The vast majority of the Jewish population of Kołomyja stayed put for many reasons, among them lack of transportation, the absence of any call to leave from the Jewish leadership, and



The mother and son of the Kołomyja rabbi, n.d. Both perished in the Holocaust.
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the inability to imagine what would await them at the hands of the Germans.

On July 1, 1941, the last units of the Red Army left Kołomyja, and local Ukrainians established their own authority in the city. On July 3, Hungarian tanks entered Kołomyja and established a military occupation.

On Friday, July 4, 1941, the Ukrainians in Kołomyja organized an anti-Jewish pogrom. Jews were forced out of their houses, beaten, and humiliated. Then 300 Jews were forced to remove the Lenin statue from Piłsudski Square with their bare hands.[3] Another group of Jews was forced into the city park to remove the statues of Stalin and Lenin. Jews were forced to stand facing a fence, and the Ukrainians were preparing to shoot them when a deputy mayor arrived and stopped this Aktion.[4] Similar pogroms, in which hundreds of Jews were killed, took place in the small towns and villages in the vicinity of Kołomyja.[5]

In Kołomyja, the Ukrainians were unhappy with Hungarian rule. To prove to the Germans their own superior organizational abilities, they prepared lists of the Jewish intelligentsia for forced labor. Zenon Pryhrodskij, the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), prepared the lists.[6] On July 16, 1941, a mobile Security Police unit from Stanisławów arrived in Kołomyja, and the local Ukrainians gathered 110 Jews from the list and led them towards the former village of Korolówka.[7] The Jews were told to march with shovels, and at the rear of the column was a German car with a machine gun. Upon their arrival in Korolówka, the Jews were told to undress and to start digging ditches. Realizing what awaited them, most Jews stopped digging and started to pray or just lay on the ground. At the last moment, the commandant of the Hungarian garrison was informed about the intentions of the Ukrainians and the Germans. He arrived at Korolówka and stopped the Aktion.[8]

On August 1, 1941, Hans Frank declared the annexation of Eastern Galicia to the Generalgouvernement, and on that day the administration of Kołomyja was transferred into German hands.

The anti-Jewish repressions intensified. The new Kreishauptmann, Klaus Peter Volkmann, ordered all Jews aged 6 and older to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; he appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) supervised by the Gestapo and ordered all Jews between the ages of 12 and 60 to perform forced labor. The Jewish Council was ordered to conduct a census of all Jewish inhabitants in Kołomyja.[9]

At the end of September 1941, Volkmann and Peter Leideritz, the head of the Gestapo, appointed a chairman of the Judenrat for Kołomyja, which now also represented the surrounding towns: Kuty, Kosów, Jabłonów, Horodenka, Zabłotów, Śniatyń, and Żabie. Mordechai Markus Horowitz was appointed chairman of the Jewish Council. He was a respected pre-war industrialist in Kołomyja who accepted this position out of a sense of obligation towards the Jewish community. Horowitz believed that the Jews should fulfill all German orders quickly and fully, and he made sure that all the Jews complied.

The German authorities in general and the Gestapo in particular used the Jewish Council in Kołomyja as their tool to carry out their repressive policies. The duties of the Judenrat included the confiscation of valuables, organization of Jews for labor, and at a later date, assistance with the deportations of Jews from Kołomyja. Often it appeared that the Jewish Council was bending over backwards to fulfill the German demands.[10]

The Judenrat employed 300 people and consisted of six departments as follows:

1. A labor bureau (Arbeitsamt) was established to organize forced labor. A succession of well-known personalities headed this section of the Jewish Council, and it introduced special worker identification cards and permanent places of work.[11]
2. A provisioning department (Beschaffungsamt) was in charge of the confiscation of goods from Jewish

homes, as well as the preparation of apartments for the Germans.
3. A supply department (Approvisationsabteilung), with Shayke Frisch as its head, was in charge of dividing up the meager provisions.
4. A housing department (Wohnungsamt) had to find living space for the large number of people brought to Kołomyja both before and after the establishment of the ghetto.
5. A registration department (Registrationsabteilung) employed five clerks who managed the files of the inhabitants of the Kołomyja ghetto, usually based on the ration cards. The files never reflected the true number of Jews in the city. After each Aktion, new ration cards were issued, each time in a different color. Many people preferred not to apply for new ration cards for their children and elders, to protect them from certain death.
6. A Jewish post office (Postamt), headed by Zindel Neuman, was established within the Judenrat, as Jews were not allowed to use the city post office. Jewish mail was distributed there, and outgoing mail was prepared for the German censor so the mail could go out.

The building of the Jewish Council became the center of all activities for Jews in Kołomyja. All labor details left from there, all barter took place there, and all information and rumors were exchanged in front of the Judenrat building.[12]

With time, Markus Horowitz, the chairman of the Jewish Council, moved into the Judenrat building, gave all his money to the Judenrat, and ate only in the soup kitchens. He even refused to ask for the release of his wife from a roundup. Horowitz used to say, "[G]ive them everything and you will stay alive."[13] Many believed that Horowitz slowly went insane, and he finally committed suicide in November 1942 together with his sister.

The Germans chose the eve of the Jewish New Year—September 21, 1941—to expel the Jewish population from the villages in the vicinity of Kołomyja, sending them to the city. The next three weeks passed under constant Gestapo terror, including the forced removal of gravestones from Jewish cemeteries to pave the roads with them.

On October 11, 1941, massive arrests were conducted according to lists prepared by the Ukrainians. Jewish teachers, rabbis, doctors, and lawyers were arrested by the SD, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Leideritz. They were kept in the Kołomyja prison until the evening, when they were taken to the Szeparowce Forest and murdered there.[14]

On the next day, Hoshana Rabba, the last day of the Sukkot holiday, October 12, 1941—the Gestapo, with the help of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), dragged 3,000 Jews from synagogues, houses, and streets. They were taken first to the prison and later by truck to the Szeparowce Forest, 8 kilometers (5 miles) from Kołomyja, where they were shot.[15] The Great Synagogue of Kołomyja was also burned down during this Aktion.

On Thursday, November 6, 1941, under the pretext of looking for collaborators with the Soviets, the German forces led by Leideritz, assisted by the Judenreferent (Jewish Affairs Officer) at the Gestapo, Ebersold, and Gestapo forces led by SS-Hauptscharführer Goedde, who later became a political Referent for the Kołomyja ghetto, surrounded the poorest part of the Jewish quarter in Kołomyja, along Mokra Street. During this and subsequent killing Aktions, more than 2,000 Jews were taken to the Szeparowce Forest and brutally murdered there. A Ukrainian, Chlipko of the Hilfspolizei, demonstrated how Jews could be killed without wasting ammunition. He ordered the naked Jews to lie on the ground with their heads over the edge of the ditch they had just dug, and with an axe, he started to chop off their heads. Ebersold ordered him to stop, and the rest of the victims were killed by shooting.[16]

On November 11, 1941, a few hundred more Jews were rounded up and murdered in Szeparowce.

On December 23, 1941, the Germans ordered the confiscation of all fur items in the possession of Jews, as well as any ski equipment, including sweaters and hats, in the so-called Fur Aktion (Pelzaktion).[17]

On the same day, December 23, 1941, all Jews with foreign passports had to come to the Gestapo building to register. All those who obeyed this order were imprisoned for the night. The next day these 1,200 Jews were murdered in the Szeparowce Forest. Only a few Jews were released and later taken to Lwów.[18]

On January 22, 1942, 400 of the most respected Jews in Kołomyja were caught and later killed in the Szeparowce Forest.[19] Throughout February and March 1942, about 1,000 Jews per week were murdered in Szeparowce.

In March 1942, there were only 17,000 Jews left in Kołomyja. On March 23, the remaining Kołomyja Jews were confined within a ghetto, which was divided into three parts. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), consisting of 160 Jews, was established on March 26, 1942; they enforced German orders to move all the remaining Jews into the ghetto within 24 hours.

On April 3–6, 1942, the first deportation of some 5,000 Jews from Kołomyja to the Bełżec killing center took place. On September 7, 1942, an order was posted for all Jews to congregate at 6:00 A.M. on a large square. At the same time a roundup took place inside the ghetto, and all who were found in hiding were shot and killed. More than 10,000 people gathered in front of the Labor Bureau, trying to look their best. Then 1,300 people were selected to stay, deemed fit for labor, and the rest were slated for deportation to Bełżec. This Aktion was conducted by the Gestapo officer Prost, and Gestapo man Hallerbach was in charge of the confiscation of valuables from the deported Jews.[20]

After the expulsion of the Jews from the small towns and villages, many who took cover subsequently emerged and were told by the Germans to go to the Kołomyja ghetto with a promise that they would be safe. On September 11, 1942, the Germans entered the ghetto at 4:00 A.M., rounded up 4,000

Jews, and deported them to Bełżec.[21] During the four days between September 7 and September 11, 1942, 17,300 Jews from Kołomyja and its vicinity, including Śniatyń, Kosów, Kuty, Zabłotów, and Horodenka, were deported to Bełżec and murdered there on arrival.

On February 2, 1943, the final destruction of Kołomyja's Jews took place; 2,200 Jews were brutally killed in the ghetto by beating, clubbing, or shooting. Leideritz allegedly competed with the head of the Gestapo in Stanisławów as to whose Kreis would be "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*) first. Leideritz won this murderous contest.

Out of about 70,000 Jews who lived in Kołomyja (25,000) and its vicinity, 60 percent were murdered in Kołomyja and the Szeparowce Forest, and 40 percent were taken to the Bełżec extermination camp and murdered there on arrival.

During the deportations from Kołomyja to Bełżec, Szaje Feder, who was deported twice and escaped from the train twice, testified that between 100 and 120 people were pushed into each train wagon. After each escape, Feder was caught by local Ukrainians, beaten, and delivered back to the Kołomyja ghetto.

There were between 17 and 20 Aktions in Kołomyja. More than 200 Jews managed to escape and survived in hiding.[22] The Red Army liberated the area in March 1944.

Peter Leideritz was the head of the Gestapo in Kołomyja from the fall of 1941 until January 1944. He personally directed most of the Aktions. Leideritz was extradited to Poland in 1947, tried, sentenced to death, and executed. Klaus Peter Volkmann (b. 1913) served as a Kreishauptmann in the Generalgouvernement and was Hans Frank's representative in Kołomyja until July 1942, when he was demoted for corruption. After the war, he changed his name to Peter Grubbe and worked as a journalist on foreign affairs for major German newspapers. He was never tried for war crimes.

SOURCES The following publications also contain information regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kołomyja: Dr. Dov Noy and Mark Schutzman, eds., *Sefer Zikaron Li-Kehilat Kolomeyah Veha-Sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kolomyah veha-sevivah ba-'arets uva-tefutsot, 1972); Shlomo Bickel, ed., *Pinkas Kolomey* (1957; New York: Rausen Bros., 1979); and Tuvia Friedmann, ed., *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher in Kolomea: Vor dem Wiener Volksgericht: Dokumentensammlung* (Haifa: Institute of the Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, 1986).

Documents dealing with the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Kołomyja can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1219, 1398, 1774, 2579); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 277/60); DAI-FO; USHMM; and YVA (O-3/2141, 2145, 2147; and 1504/43).

Teresa Pollin

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/2141, Jakub Heger testimony.
2. AŻIH, 301/2579, Anna Blecher Moritz testimony.
3. Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 274.
4. AŻIH, 301/1398, Szaje Feder testimony.
5. Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 274.
6. YVA, O-3/2141, Jakub Heger testimony.
7. Ibid., 1504/43; Calel Neider mentions a list of 115 Jews, prepared by Ukrainians.
8. Ibid., O-3/2141. According to Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, this Aktion took place on July 24, 1941, and 2,000 Jews were dragged from their homes and gathered in the city park; 150 Jews taken from the Ukrainian list were sentenced to death for spitting on two German officers and put together with 20 other prominent Jews on a truck to Korolówka to be shot. They were saved by the Hungarian commandant at the last moment.
9. Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 276–277.
10. YVA, 1504/43.
11. Ibid., O-3/2141.
12. Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 280–281.
13. YVA, O-3/2141.
14. Ibid., O-3/2147, Edward Rotner Rudnicki testimony.
15. AŻIH, 301/1219, Wolf Hacker testimony.
16. Ibid., 301/1774, Salomon Schachter testimony.
17. Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 288.
18. YVA, 1504/43.
19. Ibid.
20. AŻIH, 301/1398.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.; Noy and Schutzman, *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 308.

KOMARNO

Pre-1939: Komarno, town, Rudki powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Gorodok raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Komarno is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Lwów. The Jewish population of Komarno was 2,004 in 1921, comprising 25 percent of the total. According to the population census of December 1931, 2,390 Jews were living in Komarno.

Following the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, Komarno was briefly occupied by the Germans. In the two weeks of occupation, Jews had to perform hard labor accompanied by physical abuse, and several were murdered. At the end of September, the town came under Soviet rule, and the Jewish Communist Eliezer Freiwilig was appointed mayor. Hundreds of Jewish refugees from western Poland arrived in Komarno and received some assistance from the local Jewish community. Many of these refugees were exiled to Siberia by the Soviets.

Forces of the German 17th Army recaptured Komarno on June 29, 1941. Immediately the Ukrainian police went on a rampage against the Jewish community; a group of Jews was put in prison and forced to remove the corpses of Ukrainians killed by the retreating Soviets, wash the corpses, and then rebury them. Also, Jews were kidnapped daily by Ukrainians and forced to perform degrading chores.[1]

Initially, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. On August 1, 1941,

power was transferred to a German civil administration. Komarno became part of Kreis Lemberg-Land, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was initially Wilhelm Stockheck (August 1941–September 1941); succeeded first by Otto Bauer (September 1941–March 1942); then Werner Becker (March 1942–January 1943); and finally Baron Joachim von der Leyen (from January 1943). A German Gendarmerie post and a unit of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) were established in Komarno.

In the summer of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was subsequently assisted by the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst). The Jews of Komarno were registered and required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. A large amount of Jewish property was confiscated, including any items of value. The Judenrat was headed initially by Dov Balaban; its other members included Tzvi Weiser, Henach Sobel, Eliezer Glanz, and Raphael Koch. The Judenrat was forced to provide a certain quota of Jewish forced laborers to the German authorities. The Ukrainian police cut off the beards of observant Jews as an act of public humiliation. The Germans also prohibited the Jews from assembling to pray in the synagogue or prayer house during the High Holidays.

The Germans organized the first mass shooting of Jews in Komarno on October 24, 1941. German and Ukrainian police went from house to house and arrested the heads of many families, especially any professionals or community leaders, together with a few women. More than 200 people were arrested and were placed in the local prison. In the early hours of the next day the Germans and Ukrainian police escorted them into a nearby forest and shot them using machine guns. The bodies were thrown into a pit, where some were buried alive. The surviving Komarno Jews learned of the mass murder a few days later.[2]

A short time after the murder of the intelligentsia, the remaining Jews of Komarno were ordered to move to the center of town near the market, thus establishing a de facto open ghetto. The Jews were only permitted to leave their residential area for one or two hours per day to visit the market. Despite strict prohibitions, the Jews continued to buy food illegally from local peasants at inflated prices. In late 1941 or in early 1942, the German authorities murdered the head of the Judenrat, Balaban, for failing to meet a large contribution they had demanded. Balaban was succeeded as Judenrat head by Henach Sobel.

In April 1942, a Jewish resident of Komarno, named Mandel Koch, wrote to the central office of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Kraków, complaining about the members of the JSS branch in Komarno. He wrote that daily children and the elderly were dying of hunger and that despite subventions received, the only aid being delivered was three spoonfuls of watery soup per day. He accused the JSS committee of having no philanthropic experience, lacking initiative, and only being interested in the special passes they received, which might save their own lives.[3]

According to undated German registration figures, taken at some time between the summer of 1941 and the fall of 1942, there were 2,328 Jews residing in Komarno and another 51 Jews living in the surrounding villages.[4] It is likely that the Jews from the surrounding villages were mostly concentrated by the Germans in Komarno, before the end of November 1942.

In accordance with the order of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger, of November 10, 1942, on the establishment of ghettos in Distrikt Galizien,[5] the Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land ordered on November 25, 1942, that the Jews of Komarno would have to move to the ghetto (*Judenwohnbezirk*) in nearby Szczerzec.[6]

Immediately after this, at the end of November 1942, an Aktion was carried out in Komarno. Several hundred Jews were rounded up and deported to the Bełżec extermination camp by train. Similar Aktions were carried out at this time also in the nearby towns of Rudki and Szczerzec. Altogether about 1,600 Jews from these three places were deported to Bełżec in late November 1942.[7]

After this Aktion, only a few hundred Jews remained in Komarno confined to a small ghetto consisting of about a dozen houses. These Jews were composed of some selected workers and others who had emerged from hiding after the Aktion. Shortly afterwards, in December 1942, these remaining Jews were transferred to the newly established ghetto in Rudki. Many of these Jews died of hunger and typhus in Rudki during the winter of 1942–1943.[8] Security Police and SD from Lwów, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, liquidated the Rudki ghetto on April 9, 1943, when most of the ghetto's inmates were shot in ditches in the forest near Brzezina.[9]

Komarno was recaptured from the Germans on July 7, 1944, by the Soviet army. Only a handful of Komarno's Jewish community, whom Christians hid, survived the Holocaust.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Komarno and its fate during the Holocaust include Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 478–481; and Barukh Yashar, *Bet Komarna: Korot ha-ir ve-toldoteha*, *mehivasdah ve-ad hurbanah*, *rabaneha*, *gedoleha*, *va-admoreha*, *isheha*, *hayehem*, *vi-khilyonam* (Jerusalem: B. Yashar, 1965). Additional information can be found in Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 651; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 338.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Komarno can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/552; 301/527); DALO (R 37-5-27; R 24-3-156); GARF (7021-58-21); USHMM (Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], 211/552); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 478–481.
2. Ibid., gives a total of 240 victims GARF; 7021-58-21, p. 255, gives the figure of 470.
3. USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), 211/552.
4. DALO, R 37-5-27, Projekt der Sammelgemeinde des Rayon Janow, n.d.
5. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
6. DALO, R 24-3-156, p. 40, Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land an die Landkommissare und Vögte, November 15, 1942.
7. GARF, 7021-58-21, pp. 197–213; AŻIH, 301/527; Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 234.
8. AŻIH, 301/527.
9. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 200; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 7.

KOPYCZYŃCE

Pre-1939: Kopyczyńce (Yiddish: Kopitshintze), town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kopychintsy, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kopyczynce, Kreis Czortkow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Kopychyntsi, Husiatyn raion, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Kopyczyńce is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south-southeast of Tarnopol. In 1931, there were 2,590 Jews living there.

German troops occupied Kopyczyńce on July 7, 1941. In August 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kopyczyńce became part of Kreis Czortkow, within Distrikt Galizien. Initially, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Gerhard Littschwager held the position of Kreishauptmann in Czortków. At the end of April 1942, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Hans Kujath took over the position.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Kopyczyńce were organized and carried out by a branch of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Czortków. The following individuals, in turn, were in charge of this unit: SS-Obersturmführer Karl Hildemann (October 1941–October 1942), SS-Untersturmführer Hans Velde (October 1942–February 1943), and SS-Sturmscharführer Heinrich Peckmann (February–September 1943). Kopyczyńce itself had an office of the Criminal Police (Kripo), which was subordinated to the Security Police in Czortków. There was also a Gendarmerie post, as well as a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei). All these forces played an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

On July 7, 1941, German soldiers killed several Jews in Kopyczyńce. For several days after July 11, 1941, Einsatzkommando 6, under the command of SS-Standartenführer Dr. Kroeger, was active in the town.[1] Most likely, it was this unit that shot 7 Jews, who were accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. In addition, 21 Jews who had been prisoners of the Soviets were also shot.[2]

On July 12, 1941, the German occupation authorities ordered the Jews to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jewish men were assigned to perform hard labor and were subjected to physical abuse and humiliation by the Ukrainian policemen. Without special permission, Jews were forbidden to leave the town. They were forced to mark their residences with the Star of David, and they were allowed to shop at the market only between 11:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M. Later, in August 1941, a contribution of 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of gold and several tens of thousands of złoty was imposed on the Jews of Kopyczyńce. In spite of meeting this large contribution, the Germans burned down the local synagogue, including the Torah scrolls, at the end of the month. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Kopyczyńce. It was headed first by J.J. Zellenmeyer and then by Herman Roller. The Judenrat was responsible for passing on the regulations and instructions of the German authorities to the Jewish population and ensuring their enforcement. From around November 1941, the executive arm of the Jewish Council was the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), consisting initially of about 15 to 20 men, which was led in turn by David Loker, Josele Shmeterling, and Maurice Roller.[3]

In November 1941, the Germans started to round up and deport able-bodied Jews from Kopyczyńce to work in various forced labor camps. On November 8, 1941, about 200 Jews were sent to the Kamionki labor camp near Tarnopol. In the winter of 1941–1942, more Jews were sent to the labor camp in Borki Wielkie; in late March 1942, 150 Jews were sent to the camps in Kamionki and Hłuboczek Wielki; in May 1942, 50 Jewish women were sent to work on the kok-saghyz plantations in the Jagielnica area; and in June 1942, another group of Jews was transferred to the labor camp in Stupki.[4]

In the spring of 1942, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) was established in Kopyczyńce, with Herman Roller appointed as chairman and engineer Jakob Silberstein acting as the main organizer. The JSS received support, including some medical supplies from the organization's headquarters in Kraków. It established a soup kitchen to provide meals to the needy and a medical clinic for walk-in patients, as well as a facility for disinfecting clothes returned from the camps. For a time, it was possible for the Jews of Kopyczyńce to send food, clothing, and letters to those deported to the labor camps and occasionally even obtain the release, with bribes or replacements, of those who had fallen sick.[5] In total, between November 1941 and October 1942, around 500 Jews were sent to various labor camps, and further roundups for the camps continued into the spring of 1943.[6] Living conditions in these camps were harsh, and a number of inmates died from hunger, sickness, or due to the brutality of the guards.

Despite the repeated deportations, the number of Jews in Kopyczyńce did not decline. In March 1942, a number of Jews

from surrounding villages and smaller towns were resettled to Kopyczyńce, at the same time that the Jews of nearby Husiatyń were forced to relocate, mainly to Probużna. Therefore, in June 1942, reportedly 3,123 Jews were living in Kopyczyńce.[7] Then in August 1942, another 200 Jews were resettled to Kopyczyńce from Czortków.

At this time no formal ghetto existed in Kopyczyńce, as some Jews continued to reside on the town's outskirts interspersed among non-Jews. However, Jews could not leave the town without permission and faced the death penalty for violating this order. Indeed, the main chronology in the yizkor book uses the term *ghetto* to describe living conditions for Jews in Kopyczyńce more or less from the start of the occupation.

On September 30, 1942, a deportation Aktion was carried out in Kopyczyńce. In its course, around 50 Jews were killed on the spot, and more than 1,000 Jews were deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[8] The Aktion was conducted by a Security Police detachment from Czortków with the help of the German Gendarmerie, Ukrainian police and fire brigade, and also the Jewish Police. One month after this Aktion, in October 1942, the remaining Jews from Chorostków, Probużna (including many Jews originally from Husiatyń), and the surrounding villages were transferred to Kopyczyńce. They were given until October 20 to complete the resettlement. As a result, the number of Jews in Kopyczyńce increased again to 2,915, making the overcrowding situation worse, with 10 to 15 people sharing each room, and the inevitable spread of disease. More than 200 Jews died from disease, cold, and starvation in the winter of 1942–1943.[9]

On December 1, 1942, in accordance with the order of November 10, 1942, issued by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, Kopyczyńce was declared to be a "Jewish residential area" (Jüdischer Wohnbezirk, or ghetto).[10] According to evidence from the yizkor book, however, no major change in the residential pattern of Jews appears to have taken place at this time.

In the winter of 1942–1943 and the early spring of 1943, the Jews in Kopyczyńce suffered from occasional arrests and killings conducted by the Gestapo from Czortków and the Ukrainian police but were spared another major Aktion until April. They drew some solace from news of the German defeat at Stalingrad but lived in constant fear for their lives. Most prepared hiding places in attics, cellars, and behind false walls, in expectation of the next large Aktion.

On April 15, 1943, the Security Police and their local collaborators broke into Jewish houses, ripping them apart to find those in hiding. Altogether around 500 Jews were shot, some in the streets; the bulk of them were forced to kneel down next to a mass grave near the railway station, where they received one bullet from behind. Many victims were buried while still alive.[11]

After this Aktion, the Germans ordered that all Jews living on the periphery of the town were to be resettled into a more compact ghetto before May 1, 1943. No sooner was this implemented than a new decree ordered that all the Jews would soon be resettled to the Tłuste ghetto. Thanks to a large bribe, this order was soon rescinded, but then most of the surviving Jews in Buczacz were instructed to move either to the Kopyczyńce or to the Tłuste ghetto between May 15 and May 30. Every day many carts with impoverished refugees arrived from Buczacz, bringing the total number of Jews in the Kopyczyńce ghetto to around 5,000. With this new influx came also fear of a further Aktion.[12]

On June 3, 1943, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto. Many of the Buczacz Jews were still sleeping in the streets or in only improvised accommodations, with no place to hide; they fell easily into the clutches of the murderers. In total, on this day the Security Police detachment from Czortków, assisted by Ukrainian policemen, shot more than 2,000 Jews.[13] The Ukrainian and German policemen then conducted sweeps, hunting for Jews who had escaped and those in hiding. All the Jews they were able to catch were collected together and then shot in groups over the ensuing days up to June 11; according to the yizkor book, in total nearly 4,000 people were killed within just eight days.[14]

At this time, around 1,000 Jews remained alive. On June 12, 1943, the remains of the ghetto were surrounded with a wooden fence. Three days later an order was given that all the Jews must move to Czortków within two days. About 400 people obeyed this instruction, but they were all murdered in an Aktion there shortly afterwards. Then on June 18, 1943, a small remnant ghetto was established, containing about 350 people. A few other surviving Jews were sent to small agricultural labor camps in the vicinity. The last date to move into the small ghetto was June 25, 1943. The small ghetto was finally liquidated on July 20, 1943. The Ukrainian police was sent ahead to pull Jews out of the bunkers, as the Germans feared bitter resistance.[15] A few Jews escaped into the countryside, where they sought aid from local peasants or tried to make contact with Soviet partisans. Some, however, were denounced by those they turned to for help or their neighbors, as the Germans offered rewards of a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of sugar or a liter (a quart) of brandy for turning in Jews. Only around 65 Jews from the town are believed to have survived through the German occupation.[16]

SOURCES The main published source used in preparation of this entry is the yizkor book, edited by Avraham Beker, *Kehilatayim (Husiatin ve-Kopitsintsah)* (Tel Aviv: Hutza La-'Or ay Irgun Yotsei Husiyatin Ha-Galitsayit be-Yisrael, 1977). Other relevant publications include Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 486–489; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 345–346.

Documentation and testimonies describing the fate of the Jews of Kopyczyńce during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (211/569, 301/409, 301/5531, 302/50); DATO; GARF (7021-75-107); USHMM (e.g.,

Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], RG-50.002*0035); VHF (e.g., # 5381, 27193, 34860); YIU (# 156); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1253, O-3/2235).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. N-Doc., NOKW 2272, AOK 17/Ic-A.O., Tätigkeitsbericht 15.5. bis 12.12.1941 (Aufzeichnungen v. 11 und 12.7.1941).
2. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 192; Beker, *Kehilatayim*, p. 230.
3. Beker, *Kehilatayim*, pp. 235–236.
4. Ibid., pp. 235, 238–239, 241.
5. Ibid., pp. 239–241; AŻIH, 211/569, pp. 8–9, 29; VHF, # 34860, testimony of Edmund Brenman.
6. AŻIH, 211/569, p. 45, JUS Kopyczyńce (the JSS had by this time been renamed JUS) to the JUS Central Office in Kraków, October 10, 1942.
7. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 3.
8. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 194.
9. Beker, *Kehilatayim*, p. 247; VHF, # 5381, testimony of Morris Grinberg; AŻIH, 211/569, p. 45.
10. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
11. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 194; Beker, *Kehilatayim*, pp. 252–254.
12. Y. Cohen, ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet Zikaron Lekehila Kedosha* (Tel Aviv, 1956), p. 267 (testimony of E. Khalfan), p. 277 (testimony of I. Gilbert); Beker, *Kehilatayim*, p. 258.
13. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 194.
14. VHF, # 27193, testimony of Eva Halpern; Beker, *Kehilatayim*, pp. 258–260.
15. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 194; Beker, *Kehilatayim*, pp. 261–262.
16. USHMM, RG-50.002*0035, interview with Zygmunt Gottlieb, February 21, 1989.

KOSÓW

Pre-1939: Kosów, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kosov, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kosow, Kreis Kolomea, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Kosiv, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Kosów is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southeast of Stanisławów. In September 1939, when German forces invaded Poland from the west, there were about 3,700 Jews living in Kosów.

Following a period of Soviet rule, detachments of the Hungarian army occupied Kosów on July 1, 1941. Initially a Hungarian military commandant ran the town. In August 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kosów became part of Kreis Kolomea, within Distrikt Galizien. From August 1941 to July 1, 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Kołomyja was Klaus Peter Volkmann. He was then succeeded by SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Gorgon, who held the position until July 26, 1943.

The Aktions against the Jewish population in Kosów were mostly organized and carried out by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) based in Kołomyja, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Peter Leideritz, his deputy SS-Obersturmführer Erwin Gay, and the Jewish Affairs Officer (Judenreferent), SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Frost. In Kosów, a German Gendarmerie post was established, along with a precinct of the Schutzpolizei and a local Ukrainian police detachment, which took an active part in all the anti-Jewish Aktions.

During the first days of occupation, the Ukrainian mayor, Boyechko, established a regime of forced labor for Jews, and the Ukrainian militia beat and robbed Jews with impunity. Towards the end of July, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Chayim Zvi Steiner. With the transfer of authority to the Germans, the position of the Jews did not improve. Forced labor continued, including arduous work repairing roads and constructing bridges. In addition, there was a demand from Kreishauptmann Volkmann for furniture to equip a villa for his personal use, and he also issued an order for the Jews to surrender all gold and personal valuables.

Just before Rosh Hashanah (September 22, 1941), more than 300 Jewish refugees arrived in Kosów from Hungary and the Carpathian region of Ukraine. They received aid from the local community, and most tried to return home, assisted by bribes, although a number were turned back at the Hungarian border. In September 1941, the Ukrainian and German security forces arrested 8 Jews, accusing them of being Communists, and 7 of them were subsequently killed.[1]

On October 16–17, 1941, a mass killing Aktion was carried out against the Jewish population. In the course of these two days, a Security Police unit from Kołomyja, headed by SS-Obersturmführer Erwin Gay, assisted by the Ukrainian police under the command of Dershchitski, shot 2,088 Jews, including some Jews brought in from the surrounding countryside, into two ditches on the "mountain" near the Moskalowka Bridge. The synagogue was also burned down.[2]

Following the mass killing Aktion, Ukrainians and Poles robbed Jewish houses, and the remaining Jews who had survived in hiding were forced to move into a separate Jewish residential area (Jüdischer Wohnbezirk), establishing an open ghetto. The streets designated as belonging to the "Jewish quarter" were changed several times, each time causing part of the Jewish population to move. In November 1941, Ukrainians murdered all the Jews in the neighboring village of Riczka, but until Passover in early April 1942, there were no further Aktions in Kosów.[3]

On April 24, 1942, another Aktion took place. Around 1,000 Jews were resettled to Kołomyja. The Germans and local Ukrainians robbed many of them on the way. Some of them managed to return (illegally) to Kosów in May and June of 1942.[4] According to one source, after this Aktion a "ghetto" was established in Kosów for the remaining 1,200 Jews (including their families) who worked for the Wehrmacht or other

German offices. This number had been increased with the aid of bribes to the Germans. About 200 of the men permitted to remain suddenly acquired "wives," through fictitious marriages performed by Rabbi Mosche Schizel, Reb Schimschon, and Jehoschua Gertner, thereby enabling these women to remain in Kosów. Jews were required to wear white armbands (signifying their work status) and were permitted to leave the ghetto only in groups, to go to their workplaces outside. There was a marketplace near the ghetto, but sneaking out to visit the market was punishable by death. As a result, there was hunger in the ghetto, and a number of people died of starvation.[5]

On September 7, 1942, under the pretext of a registration, the Jews were gathered in the sports stadium. After 56 artisans were selected out of the group, the remaining 500 people were sent off to prison. Some who were found in hiding were shot on the spot. On the very same day, Jews from the settlement of Kuty were also brought into Kosów.[6] On September 8, 1942, all the Jews of Kosów and those from Kuty (some 1,500 in total) were transported to Kołomyja. From there, they were deported along with Jews from other nearby settlements to the Bełżec extermination camp.[7]

After this Aktion, a few hundred Jews remained illegally in Kosów as refugees in hiding. The Jewish artisans were resettled into a special prison, which was guarded by Ukrainian policemen. These Jews were used to sort out the remaining Jewish property from the vacated Jewish houses. At the end of September 1942, some of the Jews in hiding were offered an amnesty if they resettled to Kołomyja. However, this was only a ruse, and they were all killed shortly afterwards. In October the municipality began to demolish the Jewish houses. By the end of October 1942, only about 240 Jews remained in Kosów, 40 of them legally.[8] The Security Police carried out the last "cleansing Aktion" on October 31 and November 1, 1942. Some of the Jews were shot on the spot, while the others were taken to Kołomyja and shot there.[9]

In total, more than 100 Jews managed to survive from Kosów. A few Jews managed to hide with the aid of sympathetic local inhabitants, including Kataryna Kalel, Lopatinski, Lukaniak, and Husatinski. Other survivors made their way across the border into Romania. The Red Army recaptured the area in September 1944.[10]

SOURCES The following publications contain information regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kosów: E. Kresel, ed., *Sefer Kosow: Galicia ha-mizrahit* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kosow and Vicinity in Israel, 1964); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 481–486; and D. Gertner and J. Gertner, *Home Is No More: The Destruction of Kosow and Zabie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2000).

Documents dealing with the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Kosów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/134, 2186, 4929, and 4930); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 277/60); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-11); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/134, testimony of J. Gertner. According to another source, 15 Jews were arrested at about this time and were never heard of again; see 301/2186, testimony of Ire Sztajgman.
2. Gertner and Gertner, *Home Is No More*, pp. 79–98; AŻIH, 301/134 and 301/4930, testimony of Markus Engler; Verdict of the regional court (Landgericht) in Darmstadt on July 28, 1967, in the criminal case against Haertel and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 26 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), Lfd. Nr. 657, pp. 434–436. See also BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR-Z 277/60, concluding report, June 17, 1963. According to another source, as many as 2,700 Jews were shot; see GARF, 7021-73-11, p. 108.
3. AŻIH, 301/4930.
4. Ibid., 301/134.
5. Ibid., 301/2186; this source explicitly mentions a ghetto in Kosów but does not mention any physical barrier. See also 301/4930; Gertner and Gertner, *Home Is No More*, pp. 108–112.
6. On the fate of the Jews in Kuty during the Holocaust, see Martin Rudner, *Kuty: Echoes of a Vanished Heritage* (Ottawa: M. Rudner, 1993).
7. AŻIH, 301/134. See also Bericht des Kompanieführers 7./Polizeiregiment 24, Wessermann, an den Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei Galizien: "Umsiedlungsaktion" in Ostgalizien, September 14, 1942, published in Peter Longerich and Dieter Pohl, eds., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust 1941–1945* (Munich: Piper, 1989), pp. 216–221.
8. Gertner and Gertner, *Home Is No More*, p. 145.
9. AŻIH, 301/134. See also Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), pp. 248–249.
10. AŻIH, 301/4930; Gertner and Gertner, *Home Is No More*, p. 146.

KOZOWA

Pre-1939: Kozowa, town, Brzeżany powiat, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kozova, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kozowa, Kreis Brzezany, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Kozova, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Kozowa is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Tarnopol. According to the census of 1931, 1,570 Jews lived in Kozowa. On the eve of World War II, the town had about 1,600 Jews. In the fall of 1939, many refugees from western Poland arrived in the town, so the number of Jews increased considerably.

The town was occupied by German troops on July 4, 1941. Until August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. On July 5, the Ukrainians started to assign Jews to forced labor, which included cleaning toilets and other degrading work. The same day, a group of Ukrainians killed four Jews who had been Komsomol members under the Soviets.[1]

In the summer of 1941, the Jews were subjected to a number of antisemitic measures. Jews were forbidden to walk on the pavements or buy food from non-Jews. The numerous Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) beat and humiliated the Jews on a daily basis. To restore order, the Jews bribed the Ukrainian leaders and provided a quota of Jewish forced laborers daily. The laborers performed menial tasks for the Germans based in Kozowa and were used for cleaning the streets, construction work, and other tasks.[2]

In August 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kozowa was incorporated into Kreis Brzezany, within Distrikt Galizien. The position of Kreishauptmann in Kreis Brzezany was occupied first by Hans-Adolf Asbach (from November 1941 until the start of 1943) and then by Dr. Werner Becker.

In Kozowa a squad of German Gendarmerie took over responsibility for the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. At this time the number of Ukrainian policemen was reduced; some of them were disarmed. The Jews were instructed to form a Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Dr. Izydor Sobel as its head. At its first meeting the Judenrat established the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), headed by Kopel, which initially had 20 members. Kopel was later replaced by the engineer, Gelb, who was a refugee.

German officials made demands for monetary contributions and also large quantities of tea, coffee, pepper, and other items to be handed over at short notice. According to the survivor Jeanne Fischer, the Judenrat made every effort to accommodate the German demands for money, jewels, furs, and even people. At first the Jews thought that if they gave the Germans all their possessions, they might be safe.[3]

On August 20, 1941, Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. At the same time Jews were forbidden to leave the town without a special permit.

In early October 1941, during the week of Yom Kippur, 10 German Gestapo men arrived in Kozowa and conducted a selection. The craftsmen were sent to one side, and then 300 Jews were taken away on trucks. They were shot in the forest near the village of Komarówka (about 6 kilometers [4 miles] west of Kozowa).[4] Shortly after this Aktion, the German authorities started to send Jews away to forced labor camps. In 1941–1942, altogether more than 500 young Jews from Kozowa were sent to various camps, including those in Zborów, Hłuboczek, Jagielnica, Jezierzany, Kamionki, Borki Wielkie, and Tarnopol. Conditions in the camps were very bad, but the Jews of Kozowa sent some extra food to help those sent there. Some impoverished Jewish refugees were paid to go to the camps in place of local Jews from Kozowa.

In March 1942, 2,595 Jews were living in Kozowa. By April, after many of the Jews from nearby villages were moved to Kozowa, the Jewish population had increased to 2,853; it decreased, however, to 2,691 in June 1942, probably following further transports to labor camps.[5] In the summer of 1941–1942, there was a shortage of food, and 1 or 2 Jews died every day of hunger in Kozowa.

On September 21, 1942, the German authorities carried out a deportation Aktion in the town. On that day the Jewish Police, acting on orders from the German Security Police (Sipo), rounded up some 500 people, mostly the elderly, women, and children, who were transported to Brzeżany, and from there, together with other Jews, they were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. Then on November 8, 1942, the Sipo based in Tarnopol, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Herman Müller, conducted a second Aktion in Kozowa in which around 1,000 Jews were deported by train to Bełżec. About 200 of these Jews managed to jump from the trains, and most of these escapees returned to Kozowa.[6]

Kozowa is not mentioned in the order of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger, issued on November 11, 1942, on the establishment of ghettos in Distrikt Galizien. However, at the local level, the Kreishauptmann in Brzeżany decided to permit Jews to continue residing in Kozowa, and in late November 1942, a ghetto was established there. Some of the Jews in Kozowa had to move into the ghetto from outside, leaving behind most of their possessions.[7]

Around this time, another 400 or so Jews were brought in from nearby villages, including 200 from the village of Kozłów, as Jews were now only permitted to reside in certain designated locations. This raised the number of Jews in the ghetto to almost 2,000. The ghetto was located on two sides of the market square and in the alleys leading onto it. It was not enclosed, but signs reading "Jüdischer Wohnbezirk" were put up around its borders, and the houses were also marked with the Star of David. In December 1942, another 400 Jews were brought into the ghetto from Brzeżany. Due to the intense overcrowding, with about 8 to 10 people sharing a small house, an outbreak of typhus soon resulted, which was hard to contain, as there were no doctors and no medicine. In December 1942, the Gestapo shot 18 Jews sick with typhus. Altogether in the winter of 1942–1943, around 300 Jews died of the disease.[8]

In the spring and early summer of 1943, the Sipo from Tarnopol, together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, conducted three Aktions against the Kozowa ghetto. On April 9, a Sipo detachment under Müller's command shot 100 Jews at the Jewish cemetery. Then on April 17, 60 SS men and 80 Ukrainian policemen surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were dragged out of their hiding places and were assembled on the market square, where a selection was conducted. Altogether more than 1,000 Jews were then led, in rows 4 abreast, to the execution site just outside the town. According to Jakob Mildiener's testimony, Rabbi Mendele tried to console the Jews on the way, and the younger ones went to their deaths singing the "Hatikvah" (a Zionist song). The pits were dug by 60 Jews being told they would be sent to a labor camp, but all were shot when the work was done. The Jews were forced to stand on a plank over the pits to be shot, and many fell in only wounded. SS-Sturmbannführer Müller personally shot many Jews with his revolver.[9]

After this Aktion, around 1,000 Jews remained, and the area of the ghetto was reduced to just one side of the market

square. Some Jews in the ghetto planned to escape to the forests, and a few obtained weapons, but there was little time to organize resistance before the next Aktion. Many sought shelter with peasants in the surrounding area or prepared bunkers in the forest, but some were betrayed or killed by those they turned to for help. In early June, Kreishauptmann Becker visited Kozowa, and word went around that the town would soon be made "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*).

On June 12, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They rounded up and killed the 400 Jews they found in the ghetto, as some 600 had managed to escape. Most of the escapees were subsequently captured and killed by the Germans or Ukrainian partisans, and a few died of hunger and cold.[10] In total, more than 4,500 Jews from the former Kozova raion were murdered. Some 2,500 Jews were shot, and around 1,500 Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. Several hundred more Jews were sent to forced labor camps, where most died from the severe conditions or were murdered, and hundreds more died of starvation and disease in and around Kozowa.[11]

When the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in July 1944, only around 80 Jews from Kozowa remained alive; most of them left for Poland and then the West soon after the end of the war.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish population of Kozowa during the Holocaust include the following: Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 457–459; and Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 2. The Kozowa ghetto is also mentioned in Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 165.

Documents and testimonies describing the fate of the Jews of Kozowa can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR 797-66); DATO (R 274-2-102a, p. 309); GARF (7021-75-487); VHF (e.g., # 340, 3006, 3068, 6268); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1687, M-1/E/1388).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/1388, testimony of Jakob Mildiener.
2. Ibid.
3. VHF, # 6268, testimony of Jeanne Fischer.
4. YVA, M-1/E/1388. GARF, 7021-75-487, p. 4, testimony of J.S. Volf, mentions an earlier killing of 270 Jews in August 1941.
5. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja."
6. YVA, M-1/E/1388.
7. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942. See also Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, p. 244, citing BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR 797/66; Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 458; VHF, # 6268.
8. YVA, M-1/E/1388.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-75-487, pp. 1, 1a), the then-Kozova raion suffered the loss of about 9,500 Jews: 5,855 Jews were shot, 1,600 Jews were deported to Bełżec, and 2,000 Jews were sent to labor camps. In our opinion, these figures are considerably exaggerated (by some 5,000 victims).

LUBACZÓW

Pre-1939: Lubaczów, town, powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lubachev, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lubaczow, Kreis Rawa Ruska, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1998: Lubaczów, powiat center, województwo podkarpackie, Poland

Lubaczów is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) west-northwest of Lwów. In 1931, the Jewish population of the town was 2,040.

Following a brief but violent German occupation in September 1939 and a longer period of Soviet rule, the Germans reoccupied Lubaczów on June 25, 1941. At first the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In August 1941, however, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Lubaczów was incorporated into Kreis Rawa Ruska, within Distrikt Galizien. An outpost of the Criminal Police (Kripo), which reported to the Criminal Police headquarters in Rawa Ruska, as well as a post of the German Gendarmerie and a squad of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police were based in Lubaczów. The Aktions against the Jewish population in Lubaczów were organized and carried



The main synagogue in Lubaczów, 1938.
USHMM WS #19726, COURTESY OF ANNA AND JOSHUA HEILMAN

out by the Security Police outpost in Sokal, headed in 1941–1942 by SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk.

The day after their arrival, the Germans ordered all Jews to assemble in the marketplace in the early hours of the morning. Nobody was excluded; men, women, children, and even the sick and elderly were chased to the market, where the Germans announced a series of anti-Jewish restrictions. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing armbands and to mark their homes and businesses with the Star of David; they were instructed to avoid any contact with the non-Jewish population, and they were forbidden to leave the town limits on pain of death.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in Lubaczów. Its main tasks were to provide the Germans with quotas of workers for all kinds of hard labor and to collect the contributions that they frequently demanded. In August 1941, the Germans arrested 30 Jewish intellectuals in Lubaczów. A contribution of valuables and precious materials had to be delivered within 36 hours if their lives were to be spared. The Judenrat managed to collect and pay the requested amount in time. Nevertheless, the Germans killed all the hostages, allegedly because they had been hiding weapons.[1] In December 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to surrender any fur items, conducting extensive searches for concealed items for several weeks.[2] In March 1942, 100 Gypsies and 7 Jews were killed in the nearby Bałaj Forest.[3] From this time on, train transports of Jews headed to the Bełżec extermination camp began to pass regularly through the town. The Jews of Lubaczów gradually became aware of their intended fate.

In the spring of 1942, a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), headed by Majer Schnitzer, was established in Lubaczów. Immediately the JSS had to face the needs of a community of 2,270 people, most of whom were severely impoverished. Although no Jewish residential area was created during the early stages of the occupation, most Jewish homes had been located in a single area, which had suffered severe damage during the fighting in June 1941. The shortage of housing led to severe overcrowding. Soon the JSS set up an isolation hospital to deal with epidemics and provided some form of welfare aid for about 40 percent of the Jewish population. A public kitchen, however, which had been run by the Judenrat up until April 1942, had to be closed, owing to lack of funding.[4] In May 1942, the Jewish population increased by some 2,000, when Jews from 20 nearby villages were moved into the town.

On October 8, 1942, the Germans announced the establishment of an open ghetto in the eastern part of the market square and on Piłsudski Street by October 10. It was to contain more than 3,000 Jews in a small group of houses already densely populated by Jews. Many Jews had to relocate and were able to take with them only a small portion of their possessions.[5] One inhabitant of the ghetto wrote at this time that even if they survived the next transport, "it would be impossible for us to exist much longer, because all our belongings are gone and sooner or later we will die from hunger." Non-Jewish acquaintances had refused to hide this family because of the high risks involved.[6]

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, the Germans conducted an Aktion during which about 2,000 people were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. At the beginning of December 1942, in accordance with the order issued by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger on November 10, the Lubaczów ghetto was officially recognized as one of the few remaining places in Distrikt Galizien where Jews could reside, and it then was enclosed.[7] As a result, before the end of November 1942, nearly 2,000 Jews from Oleszyce arrived in Lubaczów to beat the deadline. According to one source, about 1,000 of these Jews were deported to Bełżec from Lubaczów before the end of November. At the end of 1942, hundreds of Gypsies were brought to Lubaczów. Together with a number of Jewish workers whose task was to dig a mass grave, the Gypsies were taken to a nearby forest and murdered.[8]

The enclosed ghetto existed less than two months. In December, there was a severe epidemic of typhus, with about 25 Jews dying per day. The Germans viewed the epidemic as a reason to liquidate the ghetto. On January 5, the Germans collected all finished and unfinished items from the Jewish tailors and shoemakers, thus starting rumors of an impending Aktion and prompting several hundred Jews to flee. On the next day, the Jews were driven into the market square, where many were shot indiscriminately.[9] On January 8, 1943, the Security Police, assisted by Ukrainian policemen, conducted another Aktion. They shot hundreds of sick and elderly Jews in the town, burying them in the Jewish cemetery.[10] According to one survivor account, the remaining 2,000 Jews were deported to the Sobibór extermination camp; local Polish sources, however, indicate that more than 2,000 Jews, apparently brought from the Lubaczów ghetto, were shot by the Gestapo from Rawa Ruska and the Ukrainian policemen in defensive trenches dug by the Soviets in 1940, about 600 meters (1,969 feet) south of the village of Hryńków.[11] Many of those who escaped from the ghetto found shelter in Oleszyce. Informed of this, the Security Police descended on the town and shot 174 Jews uncovered there on January 14, 1943. Another group was shot there on February 13, 1943.

On July 21, 1944, the Red Army drove the Germans from Lubaczów. In the ensuing weeks, only 19 Jews who had survived the German occupation returned. Of those who survived, 1 had lost his foot to frostbite, and another had hidden hunched up in a tiny attic for almost two years.[12]

SOURCES Further information on the history and fate of the Jewish population of Lubaczów can be found in the following publications: Maurie Hoffman, *Keep Yelling: A Survivor's Testimony* (Richmond, Victoria, Australia: Spectrum Publications, 1995); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 294–295; Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967); and *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo przemyskie* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1985), pp. 56–58.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish community in Lubaczów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1132 and 1174; 211/642); DALO; IPN; USHMM (RG-15.019M reels 10 and 17; and Acc.1997.A.0124 [JSS], reel 32, 211/642); VHF; and YVA.

Caterina Crisci and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Hoffman, *Keep Yelling*, pp. 29–33; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 10; VHF, # 27279, testimony of J. Remer.
2. AŻIH, 301/1174, testimony of F. Kamer.
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 10.
4. Ibid., Acc.1997.A.0124 (JSS), reel 32, 211/642.
5. Hoffman, *Keep Yelling*, p. 83; AŻIH, 301/1174. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17, p. 107, dates the establishment of the ghetto in September 1942.
6. Norman Salsitz, with Stanley Kaish, *Three Homelands: Memories of a Jewish Life in Poland, Israel, and America* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), pp. 126–127, letter from an inmate of the Lubaczów ghetto, dated October 10, 1942.
7. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
8. *Rejestr miejsc i faktów*, pp. 57–58; AŻIH, 301/1174.
9. AŻIH, 301/1174, and 301/1132, testimony of J. Herzig.
10. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17, p. 109; this protocol prepared in Lubaczów on September 18, 1945, indicates that around 950 Jews were buried in two mass graves in the Jewish cemetery but dates the Aktion (erroneously) in January 1942.
11. AŻIH, 301/1174, indicates that the Jews were sent to Sobibór, as the camp in Bełżec had already been closed down by this time. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 17, p. 108; this protocol prepared in Lubaczów on September 19, 1945, mentions two mass graves at this site, one holding 1,750 Jews and the other 2,600, both containing the bodies of Jews from the Lubaczów ghetto.
12. Hoffman, *Keep Yelling*, pp. 194–195.

LWÓW

Pre-1939: Lwów, city, powiat and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1941: L'vov, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lemberg, center of Kreis Lemberg-Land and Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: L'viv, oblast' center, Ukraine

Lwów is located about 341 kilometers (212 miles) southeast of Warsaw. On the eve of war in 1939, there were 109,500 Jews living in the city, comprising one third of the total population.

The Soviet Union occupied Lwów from September 1939 to June 1941. Tens of thousands of Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland arrived in Lwów in late 1939. By January 1940, the urban Jewish population had reached about 180,000; then it declined owing to the deportation of many refugees to eastern regions of the Soviet Union. Approximately 150,000 Jews were living in the city just prior to its capture by the Germans in late June 1941, and only an estimated 1 percent survived the German occupation, either within the city or in the surrounding countryside. After the Soviets returned in 1944, the city remained in the Soviet Union until 1991. Present-day Lwów (Ukrainian L'viv) is the largest city in western Ukraine.



German police publicly humiliate Jews on Lacki Street in Lwów, 1941.
USHMM WS #73218, COURTESY OF IPN

The German 1st Mountain Division and the Nachtigall Batallion of Ukrainian nationalist legionnaires entered Lwów on June 30, 1941. The Soviet security forces (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, NKVD) murdered several thousand prisoners before evacuating the city, and the Jews were blamed for this atrocity as well as for collaboration with the Soviets in general.[1] Einsatzgruppe C and a hastily mustered local Ukrainian militia incited a pogrom during which somewhere between 2,000 and 5,000 Jews were murdered. Einsatzgruppe C, with assistance from a Ukrainian police force drawn from the militia, shot an additional 2,500 to 3,000 Jewish men just after the end of the pogrom in the first days of July.[2]

In late July 1941, a pogrom known as the "Petliura Days" broke out, in connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Simon Petliura, a Ukrainian leader who was assassinated in Paris in 1926 by a Jewish anarchist. Over 1,000 Jews were killed, again with heavy involvement of the Ukrainian militia. One day after this pogrom, the German authorities began extorting a large contribution from Lwów's Jews. Additional smaller-scale Aktions took place throughout the summer. The SS conducted mass executions in the woods to the east of Łyczakowska Street, in the Lesienice Forest to the west, or in the so-called Sands (Piaski) near the Janowska Street cemetery.

In September 1941, discussions concerning the establishment of a ghetto began between the Generalgouverneur Hans

Frank, the governor of Distrikt Galizien, Karl Lasch, and Lwów mayor Hans Kujath. By the end of October, the decision to proceed with the ghetto was justified on the basis of Lwów's strategic and ideological importance as a gateway to the east. Between November 12 and December 15, 1941, Jews were required to relocate to the specific areas that would belong to the ghetto, while Poles and Ukrainians were required to leave those areas. Jews were not allowed to take most of their belongings, while non-Jews were. The ghetto was based in the Zamarstynów and Kleparów districts, which already had large Jewish populations. The German authorities ordered about 80,000 Jews to move into the area designated for the ghetto, where about 25,000 were already living. This meant that about one third of Lwów's inhabitants were to leave their residences. Suspended in December, when 20,000 Jews had not yet moved into the ghetto, this first move towards ghettoization was accompanied by systematic looting of the victims, who had to pass through designated bottlenecks into the ghetto. Several thousand of them were murdered systematically, including, for the first time in Lwów, women and children.

According to Mauricy Allerhand, this first wave of dislocation led to "unheard-of exploitation by the . . . Ukrainian and, in exceptional cases, also the Polish population." Non-Jews who obtained an official "order" for an apartment to be vacated by Jews extorted money for letting them take their movable property with them. Another scam was to use such an order to demand payment for not having it enforced. Jews were often forced to vacate their apartments within as little as 15 to 30 minutes, causing them to lose most of their movable property.[3]

The ghetto was not sealed until November 1942, significantly later than originally planned. German reports attribute the delay to outbreaks of typhus and to fear that resettlements would spread the disease to the non-Jewish population. Jewish leaders also appealed for a delay.[4]

The resettlement hiatus ended with the first large-scale deportation from Lwów, in March 1942. Over 15,000 Jews were taken to the Bełżec extermination camp northwest of Lwów. In May 1942, the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Distrikt Galizien, Friedrich Katzmann, took over responsibility for Jewish affairs. Since Katzmann had already become heavily involved in deportations, civilian officials were familiar with his frequent demands for harsher measures against the Jews. In Lwów, the German authorities enforced an "incremental ghettoization" in May 1942 by demanding the wearing of armbands and the possession of work certificates, without which Jews could not move about on Lwów's streets.



Jews gather at an outdoor market in the Lwów ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #61143, #COURTESY OF IPN

The Security Police organized a second major Aktion in August 1942, which claimed about 42,000 Jewish lives within two weeks. The Jews were murdered either within the city, at Bełżec, or in the SS-run Janowska Street forced labor camp on the northwestern edge of the city. Before the Aktion, there were around 90,000 Jews still alive in Lwów, but afterwards the German authorities estimated that only about 50,000 remained, and Katzmann ordered all Jews still outside the ghetto to enter it immediately. He posted public notices announcing the "establishment of a closed Jewish residential district" on August 21, before the August Aktion was completed. The Jews were given until September 7 to move into the ghetto, under the direction of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).[5] However, the erection of the wooden fence continued into the fall, and it was not until November 10, 1942, that Katzmann declared the ghetto closed. On September 1, 1942, however, while the Jews were being driven into the ghetto, SS-Sturmbannführer Erich Engels publicly hanged the head of the Judenrat, Dr. Landesberg, and 10 Judenrat officials in reprisal for the killing of a Security Police officer. Thereafter the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was in control of the reconstituted Judenrat.

The boundaries of the ghetto were formed by the Pełtew River to the north, Kleparowska Street to the east, Zamarstynów Street to the west, and Rappaport and Szpitalna Streets to the south. Jewish, Ukrainian, and German police units guarded the ghetto gates. The main gate stood where Pełtewna Street met the southern edge of the ghetto.

The Lwów Judenrat was established in late July 1941.[6] Dr. Józef Parnas, a lawyer, was the first of four Judenrat chairmen, all of whom were either murdered by the Germans or died of illness. He was succeeded by Drs. Adolf Rotfeld, Henryk Landesberg, and Eduard Ebersohn. The Judenrat's first community publication outlined 23 departments in various locations throughout the city. These offices administered the distribution of rations, housing, and health care and also bore responsibility for filling labor quotas and meeting German demands for "contributions." A ban on schooling, public worship, and other cultural activities severely restricted the activities of the educational and cultural divisions, although teaching and worship continued secretly, and underground publications were produced.[7]

In November 1941, the Jewish Police was established in connection with the first resettlements into the ghetto. Witnesses suggest that the number of Jewish Police may have reached 750 in the spring of 1942.[8] Originally seen by the Jewish community as members of a militia to help the Judenrat

maintain order and sanitation in the ghetto, the policemen gained a tarnished reputation as collaborators, implementing the orders of the Gestapo. In their primary task of filling labor and deportation quotas, they had the power to either send people to their deaths or give them a momentary reprieve (for which policemen occasionally took bribes). Witnesses attest to at least one attempt within the Jewish Police to organize a resistance group.

Among non-Jewish local civilians, Ukrainians received higher-status work opportunities than Poles. This Nazi racial hierarchy provided the foundation for the Germans' "divide and rule" approach to occupation. Thus, while the majority of the Criminal Police were Poles under the command of Captain Jan Balicki, a separate Ukrainian police division was established under Major Volodymyr Pitulej. The Ukrainian Auxiliary Police played a key role in carrying out anti-Jewish measures, including the killing and deportation Aktions.[9]

Jews worked in numerous private firms that were run by either local civilians or Germans and were located outside the ghetto, as well as for the German army and the Ostbahn railway company. Emphasis lay on enterprises that contributed to the war effort, such as clothes manufacturing and construction. The largest private German firm belonged to a Berlin industrialist, Schwarz, who employed about 3,000 Jews. Shortly before the ghetto was closed, approximately 10,000 Jews from Lwów were working for the Wehrmacht.[10] The SS ran two forced labor camps: the very large camp on Janowska Street and a smaller camp on Czwartaków Street. The Organisation Todt ran the comparatively small Persenkowka camp.

The German labor office (Arbeitsamt), led by Richard Nitsche, conducted a series of registrations to review the employment status and productivity of Jewish workers. A missing work permit was a death sentence. On the other hand, the Lwów labor office and the armaments command (Rüstungskommando) were aware that the German war effort faced an increasing shortage of non-Jewish workers who were proficient and available to replace Jewish workers and that deportations of Polish and Ukrainian workers to the Reich exacerbated these shortages.[11] However, Jewish labor restrictions tightened on SSPF Katzmann's command.

With the exception of organized resistance during the ghetto's liquidation, acts of resistance in the Lwów ghetto occurred on an individual and small-group basis. The relatively late development of organized resistance in Lwów can be attributed to two main factors: the weakening of the Jewish community during the 1939–1941 Soviet occupation and the persistence of antisemitism within the extremist wings of the Ukrainian and Polish nationalist movements. Of the Polish and Ukrainian underground organizations, Żegota, the Polish Council for Aid to Jews, gave the most assistance to Lwów's Jews. The Lwów branch of Żegota began its work in late 1942.[12]

Pistols and rifles could be procured at a price from Italian and Hungarian soldiers and from willing locals. In late 1942, a group of young Judenrat officials organized underground military training courses but did not create a military detachment. Reprisals followed any act of violence towards a German official.

Individuals attempted to escape deportation by jumping from the trains into the forest, where their lives depended on finding a partisan unit or a peasant who would protect them. Guards attempted to put an end to this practice by ordering the deportees to strip before leaving on the transport. The so-called jumpers (*shpringer*) continued to leap to at least momentary freedom. Some joined work detachments by passing as Poles. Other jumpers tried to escape multiple times, only to return to the ghetto after failing to find help.

Resisters included Jews who hid and Poles and Ukrainians who risked their lives to protect them.[13] Survivors recall occasions during Aktions when a Polish or Ukrainian neighbor deliberately told policemen that no Jews remained in the apartment building. Some survivors hid for longer periods in the city, while others went to the countryside and hid in peasants' homes. The head of the Greek-Catholic Church, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, reported the mass murder of Jews to the Vatican, spoke out against Ukrainian involvement, and led an operation hiding about 150 Jews. Eleven Roman-Catholic monasteries in Lwów are known to have sheltered Jewish children. Another form of resistance was the practice of passing as an Aryan. As the liquidation of the ghetto drew near, and as local Poles and Ukrainians foresaw Germany's ultimate defeat, more local non-Jews helped the few remaining Jews by supplying them with false papers or by hiding them. On the whole, however, assistance to Jews remained an exception among the non-Jewish population.

Deportations from the ghetto continued during the winter of 1942–1943. In January 1943, according to official German figures, 24,000 Jews were still alive inside the ghetto, though their real number was probably somewhat higher. After another mass-shooting Aktion, killing at least 10,000 of the ghetto's inhabitants, the German administration transformed the ghetto into a work camp (known as the *Judenlager*, or *Julag*). The Judenrat was dissolved and its members mostly killed, with some being incarcerated in the Janowska Street labor camp. SS-Hauptsturmführer Josef Grzimek oversaw the Julag from mid-February 1943 until its liquidation in June 1943. A commander known for his extreme cruelty, Grzymek made daily personal inspections of the Julag. He also ordered orchestra performances, the single permitted "cultural" activity.

By May 1943, after continual selections and killings, the Julag (ghetto remnant) had probably more than the 12,000 registered inhabitants. It was liquidated by German and Ukrainian police in June 1943. Some Jews escaped into the sewers, while others fired guns and threw grenades from bunkers. Many committed suicide. Several German policemen were killed. After being driven out of the bunkers by fire, the remaining Jews were taken to the Janowska Street labor camp, and after selections, many were shot. Some victims may have been deported to Sobibór. In November 1943, about 3,000 remaining inmates of the Janowska Street labor camp were killed, together with 2,000 Jewish forced laborers

for the Ostbahn. The camp itself, now temporarily inhabited by several hundred non-Jewish inmates, continued to exist.

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Lwów ghetto and the fate of Lwów's Jews during the Holocaust include the following: Philip Friedman, "The Destruction of the Jews of Lwów," in Ada June Friedman, ed., *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust* (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), pp. 244–321; and Eliiakhu Iones, *Evrei L'vova v gody vtoroi mirovoi voiny i katastrofy evropeiskogo evreistva 1939–1944*, ed. Svetlana Shenbrunn (Moscow: Rossiiskaia biblioteka Kholokosta, 1999). Published memoirs include those by Jacob Gerstenfeld-Maltiel, *My Private War: One Man's Struggle to Survive the Soviets and the Nazis* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993); Rabbi David Kahane (who survived with help from contacts of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi), *Lvov Ghetto Diary*, trans. Jerzy Michalowicz (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990); and Joachim Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs: Jews in the Lwów Ghetto, the Janowski Concentration Camp, and as Deportees in Siberia* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1985).

Documentation on the destruction of Lwów Jewry during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AAN (Records of the Lwów mayor's office, Collection 540); AŻIH (e.g., Collections 211, 229, and 301); BA-BL (R 58); BA-L; BA-MA (RH 28-1, RH 53-23, RW 23); DALO (R 12, R 31, R 35, R 37, and R 2042); GARF; IPN; USHMM (e.g., RG-15.069M, RG-15.070M, RG-31.003M, Acc.1995.A.1086); and YVA.

Christine Kulke

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 28-1/20 and RH 28-1/266 (1. Gebirgsdivision).
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, p. 191, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941.
3. USHMM, RG-15.069M (AŻIH), 229/3, pp. 1 ff., 229/22, p. 3, and 229/53.
4. BA-MA, RH 53-23/33 through RH 53-23/38 (Oberfeldkommandantur 365, monthly reports of the Chief Medical Officer); DALO, R 2042-1-55 (Aktenvermerk, January 10, 1942, regarding postponement of resettlements).
5. Anordnung über die Bildung eines geschlossenen jüdischen Wohnbezirks in der Stadt Lemberg, gez. Katzmann, Lemberg, August 21, 1942, reproduced in Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs*, after p. 112.
6. DALO, R 31-1-1 (Mayoral decree, July 27, 1941).
7. Ibid., R 35-12-50 (Publication of the Judenrat, January 1, 1942); Kahane, *Lvov Ghetto Diary*, pp. 13–25.
8. Iones, *Evrei L'vova*, pp. 134, 140.
9. For detailed Ukrainian police reports of involvement in Aktions, see USHMM, Acc.1995.A.1086, reels 2 and 3.
10. BA-MA, RH 53-23/38 (Oberfeldkommandantur 365, September 1942).
11. USHMM, RG-31.003M, reel 1 (requests from private enterprises for Jewish labor); BA-MA, RH 23/13 (Rüstungskommando Lemberg), and RH 53-23/38-39 (Oberfeldkommandantur 365).
12. For Żegota reports from Lwów, see USHMM, RG-15.070M, reel 4.
13. For trials and death sentences of local civilians who hid Jews, see ibid., Acc.1995.A.1086, reel 29.

MIKOŁAJÓW

Pre-1939: Mikołajów (Mikołajów nad Dniestrem), town, Żydaczów powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Nikolaev, raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mikolajow, Kreis Stryj, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Mykolaiv, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Mikołajów is located approximately 38 kilometers (24 miles) south-southwest of Lwów. According to the census of 1931, 559 Jews were living in the town.[1] In mid-1941, it is estimated that the Jewish population may have exceeded 600.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 2, 1941. Initially a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town, but in August 1941 a German civil administration took over. Mikołajów became part of Kreis Stryj, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann from 1941 to 1944 was Regierungsrat Dr. Wiktor von Dewitz.

In Mikołajów itself, there was an outpost of the German Gendarmerie that reported to the Gendarmerie office in Stryj. The local Gendarmerie post was also responsible for a squad of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei). These forces took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer of 1941, on the orders of the occupation authorities, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by a lawyer named Salcberg. At the same time, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was created to act as the executive arm of the Judenrat. The Jews were required to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David and were registered. Much of the Jews' property was confiscated, especially any valuable items, and the Jews had to meet German demands for large contributions. In addition, Jews had to perform various kinds of forced labor, including work in the stone quarries.

In August or September 1941, groups of Jewish men were rounded up and sent to the Carpathian forests for hard labor, where they suffered from severe hunger. A few young men managed to escape from the camp. Jewish craftsmen in Mikołajów were exempted from forced labor, as they were working directly for the Germans.

On June 10, 1942, 614 Jews were registered in Mikołajów. Of these people, 305 were used in various kinds of labor.[2] In early September 1942, a so-called deportation Aktion was conducted in the town. In its course, 500 Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp, and several dozen Jews were killed on the spot.[3]

On October 7, 1942, the Kreishauptmann ordered the concentration of all remaining Jews of the Kreis in the Stryj ghetto by the end of the month. Exceptions were only granted for Jewish doctors and pharmacists, waste collectors working for the Kremin Company, and Jews working for the local council. However, these specialist Jews who were to remain in some locations after the end of October were "under all circumstances to be housed in barracks."[4]

After the September deportation Aktion, a Jewish work group of approximately 100 people remained in Mikołajów, of which 57 were employed by the local council, and that probably included a few Jewish physicians, dentists, and a pharmacist. This entire group was contained within a small fenced area, which is described in some sources as a form of remnant ghetto.[5] These Jews were shot in two Aktions on February 5 and June 12, 1943.[6] In total, more than 200 Jews were shot in Mikołajów in 1942 and 1943.[7]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Mikołajów can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 322–324. The existence of a ghetto in Mikołajów is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 73.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Mikołajów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2574); DALO (R 1952-1-63); GARF (7021-58-22); TsDAHOU (57-4-235, p. 7); USHMM (RG-31.003M [DALO]); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 10.
2. DALO, R 1952-1-63, p. 36.
3. GARF, 7021-58-22, p. 32. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 322–324, however, date the first deportation Aktion to Bełżec from Mikołajów in April 1942.
4. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 92, Runderlass Kreishauptmann Stryj an alle Vögte, October 7, 1942, as cited by Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 243; and Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 352.
5. DALO, R 1952-1-63, pp. 49ff., Landgemeinde Mikolajow, Verzeichnis ueber die in Mikolajow verbliebenen Arbeitsjuden, October 26, 1942; Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*," p. 356; TsDAHOU, 57-4-235, p. 7.
6. GARF, 7021-58-22, p. 32.
7. Ibid.

MIKULIŃCE

Pre-1939: Mikulińce, town, Tarnopol powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikulintsy, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mikulince, Kreis Tarnopol, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Mykulyntsi, Terebovlia raion, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Mikulińce is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Tarnopol. According to the 1931 census, 1,770 Jews were living in Mikulińce. Under Soviet rule in 1939–1941, the Jewish population increased to about 2,300, following the influx of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland, some of which were then deported to the Soviet interior.[1]

German armed forces occupied Mikulińce on July 4, 1941. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs until August 1941, when authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Mikulińce was incorporated into Kreis Tarnopol, within Distrikt Galizien. Gerhard Hager was appointed as Kreishauptmann in Tarnopol, a position he held until April 1942, when Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen succeeded him.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the region were organized and carried out primarily by members of the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tarnopol. The Sipo-Aussendienststelle was headed from the end of July to October 1941 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Edmund Schöne; and from October 1941 until May 1943, by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller. In Mikulińce itself, a German Gendarmerie post and a unit of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) were established.

On the night of July 4, 1941, the first Jews were murdered in Mikulińce. On July 5, local Ukrainian residents and antisemites staged a pogrom in the town; 12 Jews were murdered, and many Jews were beaten and robbed. On July 6, Ukrainian antisemites attempted to organize a massacre of Jews who had been herded to the river to help remove the ruins of a bridge, but these plans were thwarted by the intervention of a German officer, who sent everyone home as it was getting dark. A short time later, a group of Jews was murdered by Ukrainian policemen and buried in a grave for livestock, which the Jews themselves had to dig. Additionally, 18 Jews, including professionals, wealthy businessmen, and former public officials, were shot for having allegedly collaborated with the Soviet authorities in 1939–1941.[2]

In the summer of 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to wear distinguishing armbands and to surrender all gold and any other valuables. A Judenrat was established, headed by the attorney Jagerndorf, which had to collect money from the Jews to pay contributions demanded by the Germans and also supply a daily quota of forced laborers.

At the end of 1941, the Jews were ordered to destroy the synagogue and demolish the tombstones in the cemetery, so the materials could be used for resurfacing the roads. In December 1941, the Jews were ordered to surrender all furs and other items of warm clothing for the German army. Then, in the spring, Jews were ordered to surrender all foodstuffs. German policemen arrived from Tarnopol at this time. They robbed Jewish homes and murdered Jews indiscriminately.

In the first half of 1942, groups of young and able-bodied Jews were rounded up with the aid of the Judenrat and sent to various forced labor camps, including those in Kamionki, Stupki, and Hłuboczek Wielki. Other Jews assigned to farms around Mikulińce received food for their work and were able to return home occasionally to visit their families.

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, a fenced ghetto was not erected in Mikulińce, but at some time before the summer of

1942, all the Jews had to move to a separate section of town (an open ghetto) near the Sart River. Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the town without permission.

A large part of the remaining Jews were rounded up in a major Aktion at the end of August 1942, when around 1,200 Jews were deported from Mikulińce via Tarnopol to the Bełżec extermination camp. During the roundup, the German and Ukrainian police killed about 80 elderly and infirm Jews on the spot. They also searched all the Jewish houses, shooting any Jews they found in hiding or that tried to esape. The Jewish deportees were held under close guard for hours without food and water in extreme heat, at first on the market square, and then in the freight cars, before the train departed.[3] The Aktion was carried out by detachments of the Security Police and the Schutzpolizei from Tarnopol, assisted by Ukrainian policemen. Local non-Jews plundered the empty houses.

Some Jews evaded the Aktion by hiding successfully or were absent working on farms when it took place. Therefore, approximately 600 Jews remained in Mikulińce, and the Germans then forced some of these Jews to work clearing out remaining property from the Jewish residences. In early October 1942, all the Jews in Mikulińce were ordered to leave the town by October 15, as it was to become "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*).[4] It was intended that most of these people should move to the Tarnopol ghetto, but as this ghetto was overcrowded, some Jews resettled to other places where Jews were still permitted to reside, including Trembowla, Kopyczyńce, Kozowa, Zbaraż, and Podhajce.[5] Following the transfer, the Jews from Mikulińce shared the fate of the other Jews in these ghettos.

A few Jews survived by hiding during the Aktions and finding shelter with non-Jewish inhabitants. The Polish farmer Karol Sygnatowicz gave shelter to two Jews from Mikulińce for a number of months after the liquidation of the Trembowla ghetto in the spring of 1943.[6]

SOURCES Information regarding the destruction of the Jewish population of Mikulińce can be found in the following publications: "Mikulince," in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 324–326; and Hayim Preshel, ed., *Mikulince: Sefer yizkor* (Israel: Be-hots'at Irgun yots'e Mikulintsah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1985).

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Mikulińce can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1421, 1422, 1423, 4212, 4841, 4842); DATO; GARF (7021-75-103); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1421, testimony of Izydor Zeiler.
2. Ibid.; Niusia Schweizer-Horowitz, "My Town during the Second World War," in Preshel, *Mikulince*. According to ChGK materials, around 200 Jews were shot in July 1941 for their collaboration with the Soviet authorities; see GARF, 7021-75-103, p. 8. This figure, however, seems too high.
3. AŻIH, 301/1421, dates the Aktion on August 29, 1942. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 634, p. 39, gives August 29 or August 30. See also Schweizer-Horowitz, "My Town during the Second World War"; AŻIH, 301/1423, testimony of Klara Szrenzel, 4212, 4841.
4. AŻIH, 301/1423.
5. Schweizer-Horowitz, "My Town during the Second World War"; AŻIH, 301/1421, 1423, 4841.
6. AŻIH, 301/1421, 1423.

MOŚCISKA

Pre-1939: Mościska, *town*, *powiat center*, *Lwów województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Mostiska*, *raion center*, *Drohobych oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mosciska*, *Kreis Lemberg-Land*, *Distrikt Galizien*, *Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Mostys'ka*, *raion center*, *L'viv oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Mościska is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Lwów. According to the population census of December 9, 1931, there were 2,328 Jews living in Mościska.

In mid-September 1939, the Red Army occupied Mościska, which was soon annexed to the Soviet Union. Under Soviet rule, most businesses were nationalized and Jewish organizations closed down. In June 1941, there were about 3,500 Jews in the town. This figure includes a number of refugees who arrived from western and central Poland in the fall of 1939.[1]

Forces of the German 17th Army occupied Mościska on June 23, 1941. In July 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. On August 1, 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Mościska was initially incorporated into Kreis Sadowa Wisznia, which, in April 1942, was included within Kreis Lemberg-Land. In 1942, Kreis Lemberg-Land was headed by Kreishauptmann Dr. Werner Becker. In Mościska itself, the Germans established a Gendarmerie post and a Ukrainian police force recruited from local inhabitants. The deportation and killing Aktions against the Jewish population were carried out by the Security Police from Lwów, with the assistance of the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei).

Shortly after the start of the occupation, a wave of antisemitism gripped the town. Local residents vented their fury in a pogrom during which many Jews were beaten and robbed and a number murdered.[2] In July 1941, the German military administration created a Jewish Council (Judenrat) under the leadership of Julek Katz, which had to meet German demands for money and valuables. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) assisted the Judenrat in the implementation of German demands. The Jews were registered and ordered to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. Jews were deprived of many basic rights and were obligated to perform heavy forced labor for little or no pay.

In May 1942, the Germans rounded up several hundred able-bodied Jews in Mościska and sent them either to the

Janowska Street camp in Lwów or to the camp at Jaktorów for forced labor.[3] A few of these Jews subsequently were released from Jaktorów in return for a substantial bribe organized by members of the Judenrat in coordination with other Jewish Councils in the region.[4]

By the early summer of 1942, the Germans had established an open ghetto (*Judenviertel*) in Mościska. Several hundred Jews from the surrounding villages were resettled there. They were permitted to bring with them only their personal clothing. There was terrible overcrowding in the open ghetto, with 15 people having to share a room. The buildings in the ghetto were very dilapidated, and there was insufficient light and water. Jews in the ghetto received news about the killing of Jews in Lwów but hoped that they would not be affected, as they tried to meet all the German demands. According to one account, no children were born in the ghetto.[5]

On October 12–13, 1942, a large so-called deportation Aktion took place, and about 2,000 Jews were taken to the Bełżec extermination camp. The person in charge of this Aktion was SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Hildebrand from the staff of the SS- und Polizeiführer in Lwów. The Security Police forces from Lwów were assisted by the Order Police in Mościska, commanded by Neumann, and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, commanded by Bem, known as a brutal murderer of Jews. Those Jews who tried to hide were hunted down. The German and Ukrainian police shot about 500 Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Mościska.[6] About 1,000 Jews survived the deportation Aktion, including the members of the Judenrat and their families and others who emerged from hiding. Several hundred Jews fled to the surrounding countryside around this time, but many were betrayed by local peasants who were largely hostile or in fear of the death penalty imposed by the Germans on those who hid Jews. Remaining property from those deported was collected and sorted. The more valuable items were sent to Germany; the remainder was sold very cheaply to the local non-Jewish population. The ghetto existed for about another five weeks after the Aktion. The inmates suffered from terrible hunger, as the Ukrainian guards at the ghetto gate did not permit any food to be brought in. A number of Jews died from typhus and/or starvation. The Germans and their collaborators continued to exploit the Jews for forced labor and regularly took out groups of Jews arbitrarily and shot them.[7]

In December 1942, all the Jews who remained in the Mościska ghetto were resettled into the Jaworów ghetto, which became the collecting point for the remaining Jews in the area.[8] Some of them died of hunger and disease. The ones who remained alive were nearly all shot in April 1943 during the liquidation of the Jaworów ghetto.

SOURCES An article on the history of the Jewish community in Mościska can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 317–319.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Mościska can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/673 and 4947); DALO (R 24-1-123); GARF (7021-58-30); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7.
2. AŻIH, 301/673, testimony of Lidia Grunberg.
3. Ibid., 301/4947, testimony of Chaja Antmann.
4. DALO, R 24-1-123, pp. 104–127.
5. AŻIH, 301/4947.
6. AŻIH, 301/673; Sta. Bremen, 29 Ks 1/66, Anklage gegen Fritz Hildebrand, December 28, 1965, pp. 35–36. See also Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec*, *Sobibor*, *Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 387; Arad dates the deportation Aktion on October 10, 1942. AŻIH, 301/4947, dates the Aktion on September 24, 1942.
7. AŻIH, 301/4947.
8. Ibid.

MOSTY WIELKIE

Pre-1939: Mosty Wielkie, town, Żółkiew powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Mosty Velikiye, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mosty Wielkie, Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Velyki Mosty, Sokal' raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Mosty Wielkie is located about 44 kilometers (27 miles) north of Lwów. The Jews lived mainly around the market square in the center of town, whereas the Poles and Ukrainians lived mainly on the outskirts. According to the 1931 census, 1,266 Jews were living in Mosty Wielkie. By the middle of 1941, there were probably around 1,400 Jews residing there.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Mosty Wielkie on June 29, 1941, and in July a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the town. On August 1, 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Mosty Wielkie was incorporated into Kreis Lemberg-Land, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was initially Wilhelm Stockheck (August 1941–mid-September 1941); then Otto Bauer (mid-September 1941–March 1942); Werner Becker (March 1942–January 1943); and finally, Baron Joachim von der Leyen (from January 1943).

A German Gendarmerie post and a unit of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) were established in the town. The Security Police post in Lwów was responsible for organizing most of the anti-Jewish Aktions carried out in Mostly Wielkie, assisted by the Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian policemen. The Ukrainian mayor, Wasyl Strącicki, was also notable for his hostility to the Jews.[1]

On July 6, 1941, the local residents of Mosty Wielkie took advantage of the antisemitic mood prevailing in town and carried out a pogrom during which 19 Jews were burned to death in the synagogue.[2]

On July 22, 1941, the Germans conducted an Aktion in Mosty Wielkie in which around 100 people (mainly Jews) were shot as alleged Soviet activists. The mass shooting was conducted by a detachment of the German police assisted by local Ukrainian policemen.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. A large amount of Jewish property was confiscated, including especially any items of value, such as gold or silver. Jews also were required to perform forced labor for little or no pay. Subsequently the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was established, to serve as the executive organ of the Judenrat, to assist in the enforcement of German demands and regulations.

In the spring of 1942, the Festungspionier-Beutestab 3 of the Wehrmacht, which was headquartered in Lwów, created outposts (Aussenstellen) in Mosty Wielkie and the neighboring village of Sielec Zawonie. The task of the Festungspionier-Beutestab was the collection of military hardware and munitions that had been left behind after the retreat of Soviet forces in the summer of 1941. In Mosty Wielkie the local overseer was the captain of the military-engineer division, Hauptmann Johann Kroupa from Vienna. He supervised three to five soldier-engineers, and to carry out their work, they used Jewish forced labor. Kroupa was keen to employ Jews to perform a variety of jobs, and Jews were attracted to Mosty Wielkie and Sielec Zawonie from the surrounding area by the relatively good conditions there. Kroupa even provided fictitious work permits to some of the Jews; more than 2,000 Jews (including 1,200 women) were working in different capacities in Mosty Wielkie for the Wehrmacht. There were also around 500 Jews (nearly all men) working in Sielec Zawonie.[3] The head of the Judenrat, Herman Gruber, who previously had been the head of the Jewish community in Witków Nowy, steered bribes towards Kroupa in recognition of his favorable attitude.

An open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") was established in Mosty Wielkie, at some time between the summer of 1941 and the summer of 1942, into which the town's Jews, along with those from surrounding villages, were resettled.[4] *Pinkas ha-kehilot* dates its establishment in early August 1942, noting that it was unfenced and unguarded.

The transfer into the ghetto is described by the Jewish survivor Haskell Frostig. He notes that at a certain time the German authorities ordered all the Jews to move into one side of town. Most of the houses in this area were already occupied by Jews. Those Jews who were forced to relocate were not able to take with them all of their possessions. Subsequently Jews had to pay a bribe for permission to leave the ghetto to exchange their remaining clothes and other items with the local peasants for food. Frostig notes that subsequently the "ghetto" was surrounded with barbed wire and that the men were separated from the women and children by a partition.[5]

Between October and November 1942, on the orders of the German authorities, a large part of the town's Jewish population was relocated to Sokal and Żółkiew.[6] Some were murdered there, while others were deported to the extermination camp at Bełżec.

According to the conclusions of the German court in Bremen, in the fall of 1942 the open ghetto in Mosty Wielkie, which consisted of around 30 small houses, was surrounded with a barbed-wire fence more than 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and converted into a forced labor camp. This also meant that men and women were segregated within the camp, which was split into two parts by an internal barbed-wire fence. The camp came under SS control, subordinated to the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF), SS-Brigadeführer Friedrich Katzmann.

Katzmann appointed SS-Obersturmführer Willi Schulze to run the camp in Mosty Wielkie, which was also responsible for the subcamp in Sielec Zawonie. Schulze appointed Harmaz, a Jew whom he had handpicked from the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów, as the elder (starosta) of the Mosty Wielkie camp. A Jewish security service was also established. Under the watch of Ukrainian policemen, the Jews had to line up each day in columns and be led back and forth to various labor sites (to the laundry, the brush factory, the sawmill, the railway construction site, the administration office of the Wehrmacht, and other sites), which were often unguarded.

Pinkas ha-kehilot indicates that a separate ghetto continued to exist until the beginning of February with contacts retained to the labor camp, as the latter was fenced but not effectively guarded. However, in light of Frostig's testimony and the description given by the German court, it is possible that this is a reference to the two sections of the labor camp that were separated from each other by a fence. Mosty Wielkie was not listed as one of the towns where Jews were permitted to continue residing in the November 10, 1942, decree issued by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF), SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger.[7] Therefore, those not in the labor camp would have been forced to leave Mosty Wielkie by December 1, 1942, although certain exceptions to this rule did occur elsewhere in Distrikt Galizien.

In January 1943, the Festungspionier-Beutestab, for economic reasons, decided from February 1, 1943, onwards to reduce by half the payments to the SSPF for the exploitation of Jewish labor. In response, Katzmann ordered the execution of half of the workers in the Mosty Wielkie camp, including all the women, the elderly, and men who were sick or infirm. For this operation, Katzmann chose SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Hildebrand from his personal staff. The Aktion was carried out on February 10, 1943. In the morning, 20 to 30 Jews were taken into the nearby woods, where they were forced to dig mass graves. In the afternoon, Security Police from Lwów, assisted by the local Ukrainian policemen, shot at least 1,150 Jews, or half the workforce of Mosty Wielkie. This is the date recorded by *Pinkas ha-kehilot* also as the liquidation of the ghetto.

Captain Kroupa attempted to save the lives of a group of workers by hiding them. However, these Jews were discovered and shot. The Nazis then court-martialed Kroupa for protecting the Jews.

On May 1, 1943, the forced labor camp in Mosty Wielkie was liquidated. The remaining prisoners were taken to Rawa Ruska, where they were murdered in the summer of 1943. Of the Jewish population of Mosty Wielkie, only a few dozen managed to survive the war, including some who had escaped into the Soviet interior at the time of the German invasion.

At the court proceeding in Bremen on May 12, 1967, Friedrich Hildebrand was sentenced to life in prison. Willi Schulze served as a witness at the trial.

SOURCES Publications on the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Mosty Wielkie include the following: Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 313–317; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 26 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), Lfd. Nr. 653; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 500–501. The existence of a ghetto in Mosty Wielkie is mentioned also in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 101.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/2780a-d and 301/4971); DALO (R 3-3-279); GARF (7021-67-78); VHF (e.g., # 8897, 36389); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2780.
2. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7.
3. Verdict of LG-Brem, 29 Ks 1/66, May 12, 1967, published in *JuNS-V*, vol. 26, Lfd. Nr. 653, p. 249; AŻIH, 301/2777.
4. Verdict of LG-Brem, 29 Ks 1/66, May 12, 1967, published in *JuNS-V*, vol. 26, Lfd. Nr. 653, p. 249.
5. VHF, # 36389, testimony of Haskell Frostig.
6. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 7.
7. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.

NADWÓRNA

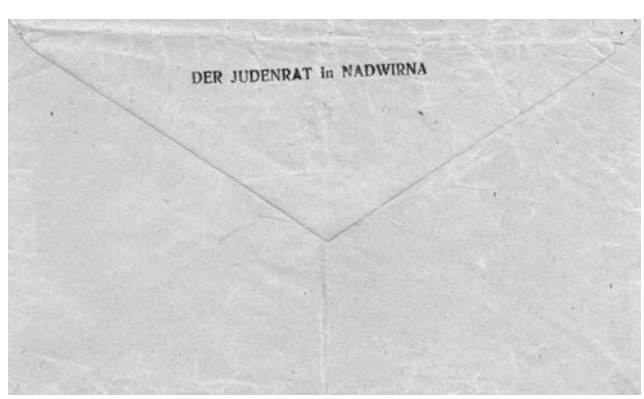
Pre-1939: Nadwórna, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Nadvornaia, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nadworna, Kreis Stanislau, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Nadvirna, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Nadwórna is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) south of Stanisławów. In 1936, the Jewish population of Nadwórna of 4,500 represented almost 40 percent of the town's residents.[1]

The Hungarian army occupied Nadwórna on July 1, 1941, as a result of an agreement with Germany. At the beginning of September 1941 and in conjunction with its occupation of southeastern Galicia, Hungary expelled 1,000 "nonresident" Jews (nominal citizens of Poland who had resided in Hungary for generations) to Nadwórna. At the same time, Hungarian authorities issued an order for all Jews to wear an armband with a Star of David. The Jews of Nadwórna attempted to negotiate protection from pogroms with the Hungarian authorities to no avail. In the middle of July 1941, the local Ukrainian population instigated a pogrom in which Jews were beaten and humiliated, and dozens were murdered. Dr. Michal Starer, leader of the Jewish community, was among the victims. The Ukrainians forced Jews to exhume corpses from a Soviet-era mass grave, wash them, and then drink the wash water.[2]

Though Nadwórna formally became part of Distrikt Galizien in the German Generalgouvernement on August 1, 1941, the Germans did not actually take over administration of the area until early September. They immediately started to confiscate furniture, furs, and other valuables from Nadwórna's Jews. Even under German rule, the local police station was manned entirely by Ukrainians and Poles and headed by a local Ukrainian, Kohuciak. The Germans established a Judenrat: Dr. Maximilian Schall was nominated to be the chairman and Izak Szapira was his deputy and in charge of supplies.[3]

On October 6, 1941, the first day of the Sukkot holiday (the Feast of Tabernacles), at 7:00 A.M., Gestapo forces from Stanisławów and Tatarów, aided by the local Ukrainian population, Ukrainian policemen, and men of the German Order Police, began the first Aktion in Nadwórna. The Ukrainians, armed with iron bars and clubs, stormed through the city, raiding Jewish homes, and forcibly assembled most of the Jewish population in the market square in front of a church. In the square, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger (head of the Security Police in Stanisławów), his deputy SS-Untersturmführer Oskar Brandt, SS-Hauptscharführer Ernst Varchmin (head of the Sipo and SD in Tatarów), and SS-Oberscharführer Heinrich Schott (Judenreferent) supervised the actions of the local



The reverse of an envelope from the Nadwórna ghetto, bearing the stamp, "THE JEWISH COUNCIL in NADWIRNA," n.d.
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police.[4] Half of Nadwórna's Jewish population was forced onto trucks and taken to the nearby Bukowinka Forest. They were made to undress, lined up at the edge of a World War I trench, and gunned down.[5] At 7:00 P.M., Heinrich Schott returned to the market square to announce that the mass grave had been filled and that the Aktion was over. Altogether, more than 2,000 Jewish men, women, and children, mostly Jews from Nadwórna and some Jewish Hungarian deportees, were murdered on that day.[6]

German historian Dieter Pohl, in an article on Hans Krüger, writes:

> Following the September discussions in Lwow, Krüger began to make preparations for the large-scale massacre of Jews in Stanisławów. In order to condition his Security Police for the task awaiting them, he first organized a mass murder on October 6, 1941, in the nearby town of Nadwórna as a kind of "dress rehearsal." This massacre in Nadwórna, which claimed the lives of 2,000 men, women, and children, marked the actual beginning of the "Final Solution" in the Generalgouvernement.[7]

Judenrat members and their families, as well as "essential" workers for the war-related industries, were preserved. Many Jews hid during the Aktion and thereby saved themselves for a short while. During the Aktion, Krüger offered Jews an opportunity to pay for their release, though payment did not guarantee safety. After the massacre, surviving Jews received permission to bury the victims in the mass grave in Bukowinka. Members of the local population confiscated the homes of those killed, and the valuables were claimed by the Germans.

Following the October massacre, a period of six months of relative calm ensued. However, in April 1942 the Germans established a ghetto in Nadwórna that was sealed on April 30. It was divided by a fence into two sections: "A" was for Jews with an *Ausweis* (work permit) and "B" for those not deemed "essential to the war effort." For a bribe of 2,000 to 3,000 złoty, it was possible to obtain an Ausweis from local officials. A ghetto inhabitants were fed at their workplace and received ration cards, while the inhabitants of the B ghetto, including children orphaned by the October killings, received no rations. Some children sneaked out of the ghetto to find food. The Jews of the A ghetto worked in the oil refinery, at the "Skolengasse" agricultural cooperative, and in other service roles. In addition to the ghettos, a *Lager* (work camp) was built at the local sawmill in which 137 "essential" workers lived and worked under the supervision of a German, Weber, who was married to a Jewish woman.[8]

In May and June 1942, more than 100 Jews were brought into the Nadwórna ghetto from the surrounding villages (73 from Pasieczna, 24 from Strymba, 20 from Bitków, and others from Osław Biały [1921: Jewish population 187] and Zielona [1921: Jewish population 112]). During the summer, Gestapo officials in Nadwórna continued shooting individual Jews arbitrarily. Owing to severe food shortages and overcrowding, mortality was very high. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report (ChGK), some 800 Jews died in the ghetto of disease and starvation.[9]

In September and October of 1942, groups of Jews from Nadwórna were rounded up and sent to Stanisławów to be murdered soon afterwards, mostly by shooting. SS-Sturmbannführer Helmut Tanzman of Lwów ordered regular executions to keep the ghetto in Stanisławów small. By November 1942, there were only about 300 Jews remaining in Nadwórna. A small number of individuals managed to escape from Nadwórna to Hungary.[10] The Millbauer brothers produced false "Aryan" papers in the ghetto, which made some escapes possible.

On Sunday, November 8, 1942, the final liquidation of the Nadwórna ghetto and work camp took place. The Ukrainian police and Kripo surrounded the sawmill and detained the Jewish workers. Judenrat members and the remaining Jews in the ghetto were arrested. A few days later, all of Nadwórna's remaining Jews were deported to the Jewish cemetery in Stanisławów, where they were shot and killed.[11]

The Soviet army liberated Nadwórna on July 26, 1944. Only a few individual local Jews survived by hiding in forests or escaping to neighboring Hungary.

Hans Krüger was arrested by the Canadian military in Holland but released soon afterwards. He proceeded with his business and political career until 1968, when he was sentenced to life in prison. He was released in 1986 and died in 1988 at the age of 79.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Israel Carmi (Otto Kramer), *Nadworna; sefer edut ve zikaron* [in Hebrew, English, and Yiddish] (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at ha-irgunim shel yotse Nadvurnah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-berit, 1975), includes the testimony of Schaje Schmerler and other relevant information on the Jewish community of Nadwórna. A short article on the town can also be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 328–331.

The testimonies of Izak Szapira and Estera Seibald can be found in YVA; the trial of Hans Krüger in Münster can be found in StA-Mü (LG-Münst, 5 Ks 4/65); part of the documentation for this trial can also be examined at BA-L (ZStL 208 AR-Z 398/59). Additional documentation is located in AŻIH (301/3345); and GARF (7021-73-10); with copies also at USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 14) and in YVA.

Teresa Pollin

NOTES

1. *Davar*, March 9, 1936, Tel Aviv, Palestine, in Nadworna yiskor book.
2. YVA, O-3/3066, testimony of Estera Seibald given in July 1967 [in Polish] (Estera Seibald was married to Dr. Michal Starer and divorced him in 1939).
3. Ibid., O-33/1501, testimony of Izak Szapira [in Hebrew], witness at the trial of Hans Krüger, August 1966.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 28 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 675a, pp. 281–284.
5. YVA, O-33/1501.

6. Ibid., O-3/3066. For further details of the Aktion, see StA-Mü, Verdict of LG-Münst 5 Ks 4/65, May 6, 1968, (Fall 2), published in *JuNS-V*, vol. 28, Lfd. Nr. 675a, pp. 281–308. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report (GARF, 7021-73-10, p. 264), 3,859 Jews were killed in Nadwórna on that day.

7. Dieter Pohl, "Hans Krüger and the Murder of the Jews in the Stanislawow Region (Galicia)," *Yad Vashem Studies* 26 (1998): 239–265.

8. YVA, O-3/3066; testimony of Schaje Schmerler in Carmi, *Nadworna*, pp. 8–27; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 218, gives the date of June 27, 1942, for the sealing of the ghetto.

9. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, p. 218; GARF, 7021-73-10, pp. 267, 272–280; *JuNs-V*, vol. 28, Lfd. Nr. 675a, pp. 525–548. Also see BA-L, ZStL 208 AR-Z 398/59, private letter of the Landkommissar in Nadwórna dated May 4, 1942; this letter gave the figure of 7,000 Jews in his area of jurisdiction.

10. YVA, O-3/3066.

11. Ibid. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 74–75, does not list any deportations to the Bełżec extermination camp directly from Nadwórna in 1942.

NARAJÓW

Pre-1939: Narajów (Yiddish: Nariav), village, Brzeżany powiat, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Naraev, Berezhany raion, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Narajow, Kreis Brzezany, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Narayiv, Berezhany raion, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Narajów is located 65 kilometers (40 miles) west of Tarnopol. According to the 1921 census, there were 775 Jews living in Narajów, accounting for 26.3 percent of the total population. On the eve of World War II, there were about 600 Jews living in Narajów.[1]

In September 1939, the Polish army retreated from the area, and for a short while there was an interregnum, during which nationalist Ukrainians conducted attacks against the Jews. Then units of the Red Army occupied Narajów and restored order. Under the Soviet regime from September 1939 until the end of June 1941, Jewish communal organizations were closed down, and some Jewish businesses were nationalized.

At the start of July 1941, German forces occupied Narajów. Almost immediately they forced the Jews to perform hard and degrading labor. Ukrainian policemen kidnapped Jews from the streets, cut off their beards, and beat them. They especially tortured Jews who were accused of collaborating with the Soviet authorities.[2]

Until August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village; then authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Narajów became part of Kreis Brzezany, in Distrikt Galizien. Anti-Jewish Aktions were organized and carried out in the village until the end of March 1942 by the outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Stanisławów, headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger. From April 1942 on, the Aktions in the region were organized by the Sipo outpost in Tarnopol, which was headed from October 1941 to May 1943 by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller.

In the summer of 1941, the occupation authorities required the Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and to hand over all their gold and valuables. Jews were forbidden to leave the confines of the village and from trading with non-Jews. Immediately, food shortages started and prices escalated. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in the village, headed by the community worker, Torno, and including the rabbi Hersh Groswaks. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was also established; the policemen wore red armbands bearing the letters "OD." The occupation authorities used the Judenrat to collect "contributions" and to organize forced labor assignments. Jews were forced to clean the streets and German dwellings. Several Zionist leaders were arrested and were not heard from again.[3]

Around October 1, 1941, the Germans conducted a first anti-Jewish Aktion in Brzeżany. According to one source, a number of Jews from Narajów were also shot at this time.[4] In October 1941, several hundred Jews were moved to the village from Buczacz, bringing the number of Jews in Narajów to 1,100. The Jewish population then rose to 1,400 in April 1942 when Kreishauptmann Hans-Adolf Asbach sent an additional 300 Jews to Narajów from the capital of the Kreis in Brzeżany.[5]

Starting in the winter of 1941–1942 and continuing into the summer, a number of younger Jewish men and women were rounded up in Narajów and sent to work in various forced labor camps in the region. On September 21, 1942, at the time of Yom Kippur, the Germans conducted the first deportation Aktion in the village. As rumors were circulating at this time of a deportation Aktion in Brzeżany, many Jews fled to the woods to avoid being arrested. Then German Security Police, assisted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, rounded up several hundred Jews in Narajów and transported them on trucks to Brzeżany. From there they were subsequently deported by train to the Bełżec extermination camp.[6]

After this Aktion, the remaining 500 or so Jews were moved into an open ghetto (*Judenviertel*) in Narajów.[7] In November 1942, the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) for the Generalgouvernement, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, restricted the number of towns in Distrikt Galizien in which Jews could reside (within Jewish residential areas or ghettos) to around 30, including Brzeżany but not Narajów.[8] As a result, most Jews in Narajów were forced to move to Brzeżany by early December, although a few necessary workers remained, together with a number of Jews in hiding. The Germans conducted another large deportation Aktion from Brzeżany on December 4–5 during which several hundred Jews from Narajów were probably also deported to Bełżec.[9]

Narajów was now officially "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*), but at least 100 Jews continued to reside there, many of them

illegally. In mid-December 1942, the German Security Police official Willi Hermann of the Tarnopol Gestapo came to Narajów and, together with the Ukrainian police, organized a hunt for Jews. As a result, more than 70 Jews were collected in the house of Mendel Herc, next to the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police station. Hermann then selected all the women, children, and elderly and shot them at the Jewish cemetery.[10]

The fate of the few remaining Jewish workers in Narajów is not known, but by the spring of 1943, there were probably no more Jews residing there. A few Jews managed to escape to the surrounding countryside and hide with non-Jewish acquaintances. Ukrainian nationalist partisans as well as the Ukrainian police continued to hunt them down, however, until the end of the German occupation. According to one account, in March 1944, a bunker was discovered by Ukrainian partisans near Narajów, and they murdered the 51 Jews who had been hiding there.

At the end of the occupation, only just over a dozen Jews from Narajów emerged from hiding, to be joined by a few dozen more who had survived the war in the Red Army or in the Soviet interior.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Narajów can be found in the following publications: "Narajow," in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 332–333; and Menachem Katz, ed., *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva: Toldot kehilot shenehrevu* (Haifa: Association of Former Residents of Brzezany, Narajow and Vicinity, 1978).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/879); BA-L (B 162/4135); DATO; GARF (7021-75-370); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.084M [301/879]); VHF (e.g., # 2356); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Narajow," in Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 332.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 111 n387.
5. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967): 18 (table 2); Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, p. 24 [English].
6. BA-L, B 162/4135 (208 AR-Z 76/1961, vol. 6), pp. 1066–1067, statement of Szymon Ehre, January 27, 1966, and p. 1083, statement of Sima Kwodi (née Hochberg), January 28, 1966. The latter witness states that only about 350 Jews were taken.
7. Ibid., B 162/4135, pp. 1081–1082, Kwodi statement.
8. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942; AŻIH, 301/879, testimony of Mojżesz Kin, mentions moving from Narajów to Brzeżany at some time in the fall of 1942.
9. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," p. 18 (table 2); Katz, *Brzezany, Narajow ve-haseviva*, pp. 328–329.
10. BA-L, B 162/4135, pp. 1068–1069, Ehre statement, and pp. 1086–1088, Kwodi statement.

PODHAJCE

Pre-1939: Podhajce, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Podgaitsy, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Podhajce, Kreis Brzezany, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Pidhaitsi, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Podhajce is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Tarnopol. The 1931 census recorded 3,129 Jews living in the town. Under Soviet rule, from September 1939 until July 1941, most businesses were nationalized, and all political activity was suppressed. A number of wealthy Jews were exiled to Siberia. At the end of June 1941, just prior to the arrival of the Germans, an attempted uprising by some of the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was quashed by the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).

Podhajce was occupied by German forces on July 4, 1941. It was under military administration until August 1, 1941, when authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Podhajce became a part of Kreis Brzezany, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann in Brzeżany from November 1941 to early 1943 was Hans-Adolf Asbach; he was succeeded by Dr. Werner Becker. Subordinated to the Kreishauptmann in each Kreis were several Landkommissare. The Landkommissar in Podhajce was Johannes Tkaczyk.

Anti-Jewish Aktions in Podhajce were organized and carried out by the branch office of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tarnopol, which was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller, from October 1941 to May 1943, and by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger, from June 1943 to March 1944. The German Criminal Police (Kripo) and Gendarmerie both had offices in Podhajce, as did the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei). All these forces played an active role in implementing the anti-Jewish measures and Aktions.

On July 13, 1941, just nine days after the occupation of the town, antisemitic Ukrainian nationalists launched a pogrom in the course of which many Jews were beaten and robbed. That same month, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established under the chairmanship of L. Lilienfeld, and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was formed as an executive organ of the Judenrat. On August 10, 1941, a "contribution" of 500,000 rubles and additional valuables was imposed on the Jews. In addition, the Jewish Council had to make available to the German and Ukrainian administration daily a large quota of Jews to perform various types of forced labor. The Jewish community also had to supply

newly arrived German officials with furniture, clothes, and dishes.

The period from August 1941 until September 1942 remained relatively quiet for Podhajce's Jews. There were no killings and only occasional selections of young and healthy Jewish men for labor camps. For example, from the fall of 1941, the Jewish Council received repeated demands, which resulted in the selection of several hundred young Jews to be sent to labor camps, including those in Borki Wielkie, Kamionki, and Hłuboczek Wielki. The members of the Jewish Council maintained contact with them, supplying them with food and clothing. They also tried to get released those who fell sick.

On September 21, 1942 (Yom Kippur), a detachment of the Security Police from Tarnopol, together with the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, carried out a deportation Aktion in Podhajce. During the Aktion, more than 1,000 Jews were arrested and deported by train to the Bełżec extermination camp, and about 50 Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery. A few Jews managed to escape from the moving cattle cars. Those who managed to avoid the bullets of the escorting guards made their way back to Podhajce.[1]

After the September 1942 deportation Aktion, a ghetto (Jewish residential area) was established in Podhajce.[2] The ghetto consisted of a number of houses on a few narrow streets in the poorest part of town, between Halishka Street and Bjejonska Street. At this time Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for a few hours, once a week, to visit the market with a police escort. All the Jews wore armbands, but some removed them and sneaked out of the ghetto to barter items for food with the local peasants. The ghetto was very overcrowded, with several families being forced to share each small dwelling. This overcrowding soon led to the spread of typhus.[3] Anticipating the next Aktion, many Jews prepared bunkers inside the ghetto or sought hiding places in the surrounding forests. In a second Aktion, on October 30, 1942, more than 1,200 Jews were deported to Bełżec, and several dozen Jews were killed on the spot. Reportedly, there were cases of Jews who had to suffocate their infants to prevent the child's crying from revealing their hiding places to policemen searching the ghetto.

In the fall of 1942, the Jews from the neighboring villages were resettled into Podhajce, including from the nearby village of Zawałów.[4] One witness recalled that the Judenrat in Zawałów announced that everyone would be resettled. The Jews then traveled for two hours in horses and carts to the Podhajce ghetto, escorted by Jewish Police.[5]

According to the decree issued by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Jewish residential area in Podhajce was officially converted into an enclosed ghetto by December 1942.[6] By this time, the ghetto was enclosed by a wooden fence topped with barbed wire, and those Jews with specialist labor tasks for the Germans were moved into a separate labor camp outside the ghetto. There were about 2,500 Jews in Podhajce at this time. In the winter of 1942–1943, there were daily deaths from hunger and disease in the ghetto. On April 12, 1943, 40 to 50 sick Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery.[7]

On June 6, 1943, a detachment of Security Police from Tarnopol, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, liquidated the ghetto. The labor camp was also liquidated around this time. That day, 1,070 Jews were shot in two pits near the village of Stare Miasto.[8] To lure out of hiding those Jews still in the ghetto, it was announced that they would all be resettled to Tarnopol. The Jews collected with the help of this ruse—750 in all—were shot by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police on June 8. The mass shooting took place near the village of Zahajce.[9] Only 21 Jews, who were on a list prepared by the Judenrat, were selected out from the group and escorted to Tarnopol by Ukrainian policemen.[10]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police carried out systematic searches for hidden Jews. The Jews who were caught were then shot in the Jewish cemetery. In all, some 300 additional Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery in the months following July 1943.[11]

Several hundred Jews were able to escape from the ghetto and hide in the woods. Some were killed in 1943–1944 by detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). When Podhajce was finally liberated on July 21, 1944, only about 50 Jews returned.

Altogether, probably around 2,500 Jews died of hunger or disease or were killed in Podhajce and the surrounding area between 1941 and 1944. At least 2,200 more were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.

The ghetto youth organized a group whose main purpose was to gather ammunition for self-defense and to send people out of the ghetto to the forest. They planned to build bunkers in the forests near the village of Zawałów. After many difficulties, the group, led by Israel Zilber, obtained some pistols and rifles, and some managed to escape in time. In December 1943, Zilber's group assisted Jews who were hiding in the forest and tried to supply them with food.

Some Jews were saved by members of a Christian sect that observes Saturday as the Sabbath, who lived near Podhajce. Among those who helped and rescued Jews while risking their own lives was Lev Blicharvski.

Hermann Müller was sentenced to life in prison on July 15, 1966, in Stuttgart. He died in 1988. Johannes Nowotsch, the former chief of the Gendarmerie post in Podhajce, was sentenced to five years in prison.[12]

SOURCES Information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Podhajce can be found in the following publications: A. Milch, "Moje przeżycia podczas wojny," *Fun letstn churbn* (Munich), no. 3 (1946); *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972); M.Sh. Geshuri, ed., *Sefer Podhaitsah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Podhaitsah vehasevivah be-Yisrael, 1972); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 410–414—a translation can be found on JewishGen; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo*

evreistva 1941–1944. Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 258–259; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 604–605.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/4722); BA-L (ZStL 208 AR-Z 294/59, 208 AR-Z 76/61, 208 AR 797/66); BWSL (EL 317 III, Bü 1408); DATO; GARF (7021-75-10); LG-Hamb ([90]4/75); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 8815, 16377, 22069); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Milch, "Moje przeżycia podczas wojny," pp. 65–66; Verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 7/64, in the case against Paul Raebel and others, July 15, 1966, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 634, pp. 39, 81; GARF, 7021-75-10, p. 48.
2. Geshuri, *Sefer Podhaitsah*, p. 244; BA-L, B 162/4136 (ZStL 208 76/61), p. 1323, testimony of Hella Epstein, March 9, 1966. Some sources, however, date the establishment of an open ghetto from the spring of 1942; see VHF, # 8815; testimony of Mathilda DeMayo (born 1921).
3. Geshuri, *Sefer Podhaitsah*, p. 244; VHF, # 8815; and # 22069, testimony of Minne Blumenfeld (born 1914).
4. Milch, "Moje przeżycia," pp. 65–66.
5. VHF, # 22069.
6. Police Decree issued by HSSPF Krüger of the Generalgouvernement, November 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein et al., eds., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–345.
7. GARF, 7021-75-10, pp. 52, 55.
8. Ibid., pp. 1, 211.
9. Ibid., p. 1; LG-Hamb (90) 4/75, verdict of May 17, 1976.
10. BA-L, B 162/4136, p. 1328.
11. GARF, 7021-75-10, p. 1.
12. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 41 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), Lfd. Nr. 832.

PRZEMYŚLANY

Pre-1939: Przemyślany, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Peremyshlany, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Przemyslany, Kreis Zloczow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Peremyshliany, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Przemyślany is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-southeast of Lwów. In June 1941, there were probably at least 2,600 Jews in Przemyślany, including a number of Jewish refugees who had arrived from western Poland in the fall of 1939.

German forces occupied Przemyślany on July 1, 1941. At first, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town, but in August 1941 power was transferred to a German civil administration. Przemyślany became part of Kreis Zloczow, within Distrikt Galizien. Regierungsassessor Hans Mann became the Kreishauptmann. Dr. Otto Wendt replaced him at the beginning of 1943. The Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD, KdS) in Lwów and the Kriminalkommissariat (Criminal Police office) in Złoczów, which was headed by Otto Zikmunt, organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Przemyślany.

An outpost of the Kriminalpolizei (Kripo) and a German Gendarmerie post were established in Przemyślany. Locally, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) was formed, which also played an active role in all the measures taken against the Jews.

Local Ukrainian nationalist antisemites carried out a pogrom on July 4, 1941. An unknown number of Jews were burned alive in a synagogue, and many Jews were assaulted and robbed.[1]

During the summer of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in Przemyślany on the orders of the German authorities; it had to ensure that all Jews were registered and wearing the required armbands bearing the Star of David. The German authorities confiscated a considerable amount of Jewish property and most valuable items. The Jews were required to perform forced labor for little or no pay.

On November 5, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Przemyślany. The German forces shot around 400 Jews who were unable to work.[2] The shooting was probably carried out by a detachment of Security Police from Tarnopol, assisted by a Gendarmerie unit that had arrived from Distrikt Warschau.

At some time during 1942, Kreishauptmann Mann ordered the formation of a "Jewish residential district" (Jüdischer Wohnbezirk—an open ghetto) in Przemyślany. Jews living outside the designated area had to move into more cramped conditions within it, and it also became a collecting point for Jews from the smaller surrounding communities. The ghetto comprised much of the town but did not include the main square, on which both the German police headquarters and the Judenrat building sat. Jews were only permitted to leave the Jewish residential district if the authorities directed them to perform specific tasks outside.[3]

A contemporary diary, written by Samuel Golfard, describing events in the open ghetto gives the impression that everyday control was in the hands of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, but periodically the Germans and their Ukrainian auxiliaries would come in during the Aktions and deportations to wreak havoc.[4] In May 1942, another Aktion was conducted in Przemyślany, which claimed more than 100 Jewish lives.[5]

In September 1942,[6] the German Security Police organized a large-scale deportation Aktion. Nearly two thirds of the Jews of Przemyślany—almost 3,000 people—were seized and deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec. The German Gendarmerie, Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, and Jewish Police also participated in the Aktion.

After this deportation Aktion, additional Jews from nearby villages and towns, including Gliniany and Swirz, were resettled to Przemyślany.[7] According to the Gliniany yizkor

book, the Jewish Council in Gliniany tried to bribe German officials in Złoczów to establish a ghetto in Gliniany to avoid the cruel fate of resettlement. This was denied, but when the Jews left Gliniany for Przemyślany and other nearby ghettos, Ukrainians robbed them of their property on the way.[8] Other Jews even returned to the Przemyślany ghetto after jumping from the railcars destined for Bełżec.

In early November 1942, the Germans conducted another smaller Aktion in Przemyślany, concurrent with a large Aktion in Złoczów. According to the Samuel Golfard diary, Złoczów fell short in its quota by about 200 victims, and the Jews of Przemyślany had to make up this deficit.[9]

According to the order issued on November 10, 1942, by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Jewish ghetto in Przemyślany was to be transformed after December 1, 1942, into an enclosed area, completely isolated from the outside world.[10] The Jews concentrated in the ghetto suffered from a severe shortage of water, as only two wells were available to them. Many Jews prepared bunkers or other hiding places, in anticipation of the next Aktion.

Several sources refer to a further deportation Aktion on December 5, 1942. According to the Golfard diary, the Aktion occurred after two months of relative "peace" in which the Jews from the countryside were brought in:

> The number of Jewish militiamen parading with their rubber truncheons was increased fivefold. The trapped Jews of the vicinity paid fantastic sums to the Jewish Council and the militia for living quarters knowing that they were getting shelter for a few days only. "We are paying slaughter fees," they said with tears in their eyes. At last, all were crammed into narrow, dirty huts, into spat-upon holes. After the ghetto had been sealed, an SS commander named Ludwig arrived from Lwów on an inspection tour. He surveyed the fenced-in ghetto with satisfaction, saluted the Jewish militiamen guarding the exit, and then drove away. Two days later a massacre took place in which 2,400 people perished, 600 of whom were killed on the spot in the ghetto.[11]

Meyer Kanner, who only arrived in the ghetto on December 2, just as it was sealed, went to hide in a bunker packed with people after only three days, as soon as the Aktion started. He and his family remained there for two to three days and then escaped to the woods, as they believed that the town would be completely "cleansed" of Jews.[12] In fact the ghetto was reduced in size but continued to exist for several more months. The specialist workers, who had been issued with distinctive armbands bearing the letters "R" and "W," were transferred to enclosed barracks outside the ghetto. During the winter of 1942–1943, a few hundred Jews died in the ghetto from hunger and disease. On May 22, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated, and 2,000 people were shot inside the ghetto or in the woods nearby. This Aktion lasted for more than a week, as the Germans repeatedly searched the ghetto in an effort to uncover all the hiding places.[13] This final Aktion was carried out by a company of the 1st Battalion, Police Regiment 23, assisted by the Ukrainian police.[14]

On March 21, 1943, a Jewish labor prison camp was established in Przemyślany, similar to the one in Kurowice.[15] SS-Unterscharführer Karl Kempka became the commandant of the camp. The prisoners worked in quarries and on the construction of roads. The camp was liquidated on June 28, 1943.[16] Then 250 women were shot, and 200 men were sent to the camp in Kurowice.[17]

A few of the escapees from the ghetto survived in the surrounding forests or in hiding with local peasants until the arrival of the Red Army in 1944. However, many were captured and killed by the German and Ukrainian police in the months after the liquidation of the ghetto.

Otto Zikmunt was extradited to the Soviet Union in 1949, where he was tried. He died in prison.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Przemyślany during the German occupation can be found in the following publications: Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 440–443: Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 620–621; and *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1224, pp. 307ff.

In addition, there is a manuscript describing events in Przemyślany, the Golfard diary in Wendy Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard and the Holocaust in Galicia* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2011).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/808, 1136, 1701, 2482, and 5753); DALO; GARF (7021-67-82); USHMM (e.g., RG-17.003M, reel 98); VHF (e.g., # 9289, 26616, 50384); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Wendy Lower
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5753, testimony of Józef Kolabiński.
2. Ibid.
3. BWSL, Ludwigsburg, EL 317 III, LG-Stutt, Ks 5/65, statement of L.M. on April 29, 1963, as cited by Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens*, 2nd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag 1997), pp. 157–158, dates the formation of an "open ghetto" in early 1942. Survivor testimonies generally date its formation at some time between March and October 1942; e.g., VHF, # 9289, testimony of Regina Peterseil; # 50384, testimony of Yetta Lewinter.
4. Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard*.
5. AŻIH, 301/5753.
6. Ibid., 301/2483 and 5753.

7. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 12. There were 411 Jews living in the village of Swirz in January 1942 and around 1,600 Jews in Gliniany by June 1942.

8. *Hurbm Glinyane* (New York: Emergency Relief Committee for Gliniany and Vicinity, 1946), pp. 260–261.

9. Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard*. The dating of the Aktion is from the verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 5/65, April 29, 1968, against Roeder et al., published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 671, p. 704.

10. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 442.

11. Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard*.

12. VHF, # 26616, testimony of Mayer Kanner, dates the "ghetto liquidation" in January 1943.

13. Iu. Shuk'meister, *Sovest' i beschest'e* (L'vov, 1984), p. 71; AŻIH, 301/2482.

14. Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, pp. 257–258.

15. E. Iones, *Evrei L'vova v gody vtoroi mirovoi voiny i katastrofy evropeiskogo evreistva 1939–1944* [trans. and ed. from Hebrew by S. Shenbrunn] (Moscow, 1999), p. 231. According to another source, the camp was created at the end of 1942. See Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 12.

16. Tatiana Berenstein, "Praca przymusowa ludności żydowskiej w tzw. dystrykcie Galicja," *BŻIH*, no. 69 (1969): 45.

17. Iones, *Evrei L'vova*, p. 231. See Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 12.

RADZIECHÓW

Pre-1939: Radziechów, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Radekhov, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radziechow, Kreis Kamionka Strumilowa, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Radekhiv, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Radziechów is located about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northeast of Lwów. According to the 1921 population census, 1,977 Jews were living in the town. By the middle of 1941, there were probably around 2,100 Jews in Radziechów.

German forces entered Radziechów on June 24, 1941, just two days after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Initially, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. At the start of the German occupation, four Jews, who were alleged to have been Soviet activists, were tortured and murdered.

In August 1941, power was transferred into the hands of a German civil administration. Radziechów was incorporated into Kreis Kamionka Strumilowa, within Distrikt Galizien. The first Kreishauptmann was SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Rebay von Ehrenwiesen. He was succeeded in June 1942 by his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Joachim Nehring.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Radziechów were organized and carried out by the branch of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Sokal, which was subordinated to the Kommandeur der Sipo und des SDs (KdS) in Lwów. The Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Sokal was headed from October 1941 to May 1942 by SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Block; and from May 1942 to October 1943, by SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk.

A German Gendarmerie post and a detachment of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) were established in Radziechów itself. They both played an active part in the roundup and deportation of Jews from Radziechów.

In the summer of 1941, the number of Jews in Radziechów increased, due to the arrival of around 500 Jews from the village of Chołojów. These Jews from Chołojów had lost their homes to German bombardments.[1] In August 1941, the German authorities ordered the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Radziechów, which was headed by Albert Kranz. Much Jewish property was seized or confiscated from the Jews of Radziechów, especially any items of value. All Jews were required to register with the authorities, and they had to perform forced labor. In the fall and winter of 1941–1942, a number of able-bodied Jews were sent away to work in forced labor camps, including the camp at Pluhów.

Information regarding the ghetto in Radziechów is somewhat contradictory. According to the recollections of survivor Mark Halpern, an open ghetto was established there at the beginning of 1942. All the Jews were forced to live together on one or two streets. There was no fence, and there were no guards around the ghetto, but the Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto area. The Jews wore armbands and lived in overcrowded conditions—some people had to sleep on the floor. There was no schooling for the children, and Halpern also does not recall any medical care. The Jews of Radziechów were able to obtain some flour or potatoes by purchase or barter from the local population. He recalls that the food was smuggled in at night.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1942, the Jews from many of the surrounding villages were concentrated in Radziechów in a series of resettlement operations.[3] Sonia Kaplan was among them. She recalls that the Germans "cleared out a couple of streets and Jews from the surrounding area congregated here as well." Sonia and her family were allotted one room to live in—and everyone was afraid of the word *Aktion*. Sonia and her brother dug a hole under the floorboards to hide when that day came. When the Aktions finally started, Sonia and her brother hid in that hole and survived the roundup.[4]

Starting in the fall of 1942, Jews were deported from Radziechów in successive large-scale Aktions. During the first Aktion on September 15, 1942, about 1,400 Jews were deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[5] According to testimony given at the Eichmann trial by Dr. Wells, part of his family was taken in 1942 just before Yom Kippur (September 21) from the village of Stojanów to Radziechów: "There they sat at the railway station for two days and two nights without any food . . . and then they were packed into railway wagons and sent away to Bełżec."[6]

On September 21, 1942, around 500 Jews from Radziechów were taken to Kamionka Strumiłowa, where they were shot together with Jews from other places, including Chołojów and Busk.[7] A description of how the men were rounded up can be

found in the town's yizkor book. Leon Shrage reports that after the first Aktion in Radziechów, the remaining Jews, both old and young, hid themselves in cellars or outside the town. When the Jews no longer came to work, the German authorities announced on placards that all Jews should assemble at the square on Yom Kippur to have their identity cards stamped. Anyone caught without such a stamp thereafter would face the death penalty. The Jews were unsure what to do, and about 480 people reported as requested. They were then escorted out of the town in a marching column guarded only by five Ukrainians and four Germans. According to Shrage, word went around the column for the Jews to overpower their guards and scatter, as they feared they were being taken to their deaths; but the rabbi, who was in the column, argued against it, urging his fellow Jews to have faith that God would protect them. Shrage then managed to escape from the column as it left the town.[8]

Joseph de Shrage, whose sister, father, and brother were among those escorted out of town that day, reports that the column was marched about 48 kilometers (30 miles), picking up additional Jews from other places on the way. His family members managed to bribe one of the guards and escaped. The others were shot into a large pit near Kamionka Strumiłowa. Some of the victims were only wounded, and Joseph de Shrage subsequently learned about the killing from one of the Jews who managed to climb out and escape.[9]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the Germans only established a ghetto in Radziechów at the beginning of October 1942. This is confirmed by Joseph de Shrage, who notes that at around this time, after the first two Aktions, they "started to make a ghetto in Radziechów."[10] The ghetto contained Jewish craftsmen who had been selected out from the deportations and also other Jews who had been brought to Radziechów. Shortly after the ghetto's establishment, on October 7, 1942, 1,000 more Jews from Radziechów were deported to Bełżec.[11] Around this time a number of Jews from Witków Nowy were also brought to Radziechów.

Sonia Kaplan recalls that after the roundups life in the ghetto deteriorated rapidly. The Germans decided that the ghetto area was too big and reduced it by half. Sonia and her family now had to live in a kitchen, which they shared with 20 other people. The only thing people cared about was food. People were dying from starvation. The ghetto was enclosed by a wooden fence and a gate, which was guarded. There was no soup kitchen in the ghetto, and the only people who ate were those who dug out beets for the Germans outside the ghetto. Those who could not work (the young, old, and sick) had no food and were dying daily.[12]

After the three large Aktions, most of the remaining 500 Jews in Radziechów were resettled to the recently established ghetto in Sokal at the end of October 1942.[13]

Around 100 Jews then remained in Radziechów, charged by the Germans with sorting former Jewish property. The Germans shot this last group in the Poczków Forest on March 15, 1943.

A number of Jews fled from Radziechów during the Aktions and sought shelter in the surrounding countryside. Many of these Jews were subsequently denounced or caught by German patrols. Some survived with the aid of non-Jewish local acquaintances. Sala Bernsohn managed to survive two liquidation Aktions hidden in a shelter and then obtained Aryan papers and moved to Lwów.[14]

The Soviet army drove the Germans from the region in July 1944.

SOURCES Publications on the history of the Jewish population of Radziechów include G. Kressel, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Radikhov* (Tel Aviv: Society of Radikhov, Lopatyn, and Vicinity, 1976); and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 496–498. The ghetto in Radziechów is also mentioned in Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 289; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 111.

Relevant documentation concerning the destruction of the Jews of Radziechów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/826, 1688, 4115, and 4855); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR 1340/67); DALO; GARF (7021-67-82); VHF (e.g., # 955, 16070, and 44393); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 5.
2. VHF, # 44393, testimony of Mark Halpern.
3. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 5.
4. VHF, # 955, testimony of Sonia Kaplan.
5. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 5.
6. Eichmann Trial, Session No. 23, May 2, 1961, as cited on www.nizkor.org.
7. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 5; Urteil LG-Stad, August 24, 1981 (10 Ks 9 Js 544/64 [29/78] gegen J. Nehring); AŻIH, 301/4855.
8. Leon Shrage, "Meyne iberlebnishn," in Kressel, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilot Radikhov*, pp. 100–104.
9. VHF, # 16070, testimony of Joseph de Shrage.
10. Ibid.
11. Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 385.
12. VHF, # 955.
13. GARF, 7021- 67-82, p. 82.
14. AŻIH, 301/4115, testimony of Sala Bernsohn.

RAWA RUSKA

Pre-1939: Rawa Ruska, town, Niemirów powiat, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Rava-Russkaia, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rawa Ruska, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Rava-Rus'ka, Zhovkva raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Rawa Ruska is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northwest of Lwów. There were 7,120 Jews in Rawa Ruska on the eve of World War II.

German forces occupied Rawa Ruska in late June 1941, during the first days of the German invasion. Due to war operations, 125 houses were destroyed and others severely damaged; 400 Jewish families were rendered homeless.[1]

In July 1941, a military commandant's headquarters (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. On August 1, 1941, Rawa Ruska became the center of Kreis Rawa Ruska, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was Dr. Hans-Walter Zinser until March 1942, and then in April, Gerhard Hager succeeded him. There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Rawa Ruska, a Criminal Police (Kripo) outpost, and a detachment of local Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei). The Kripo outpost was subordinate to the Sicherheitspolizei-Aussendienststelle (Sipo outpost) in Sokal, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk. Generally, a squad of Security Police from Sokal, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, carried out the anti-Jewish Aktions in Rawa Ruska.

In early July 1941, more than 100 Jews were arrested and shot as alleged Communists. In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Rawa Ruska: Jews were required to wear distinctive armbands bearing the Star of David; those aged between 16 and 60 were compelled to engage in forced labor for low pay; they were forbidden to leave the town; and they were subjected to systematic robberies and beatings. As in other large towns, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in Rawa Ruska almost immediately, headed initially by a German Jew named Schweitzer. Additionally, the occupiers ordered the creation of a Jewish Council for the Kreis (Kreisjudenrat), which could give orders to the other Jewish Councils in neighboring settlements. In total, some 22,000 Jews resided in Kreis Rawa Ruska, including the communities of Lubaczów, Niemirów, and Uhnów. The first head of the Judenrat, Schweitzer, is accused by some survivors of abusing his power, robbing people and sending them to their deaths. He was killed and replaced soon after the arrival of Kreishauptmann Hager in 1942.[2]

In November 1941, the Judenrat reported that there were 7,400 Jews residing in the town, including a number of refugees from Lwów and other places. Some 4,500 Jews were in need of social assistance, which consisted mainly of a soup kitchen that drained most of the community's remaining financial reserves. In addition, the Judenrat had to meet heavy contributions that the German authorities demanded and also pay the large number of forced laborers.[3] In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews had to surrender their fur clothing to the Germans, and several hundred able-bodied Jews were deported to forced labor camps. Jews suffered from hunger and cold, and some died.

The systematic destruction of the town's Jews began in the spring of 1942. The first Aktion took place on March 19, 1942,[4] when approximately 1,000 Jews were arrested on the streets and from their homes and places of work and were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp, which was located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) northwest of Rawa Ruska.[5]

In late July 1942, a second anti-Jewish Aktion took place in the city. The first company of German Police Battalion 133 and 60 Ukrainian Auxiliary Police from Lwów, as well as the local Judenrat and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), took an active part in the Aktion, along with the local Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen.[6] During the Aktion, another 2,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec; along with them were deported hundreds of Jews from Niemirów and Uhnów.[7] The considerable number of trains containing Jews passing through Rawa Ruska in the summer of 1942, and the proximity to Bełżec itself, meant that the local community soon received a clear impression of the fate of the Jews throughout Distrikt Galizien.

A few weeks after the second Aktion, in August 1942, the Germans began to concentrate the Jewish population in Rawa Ruska, designating three streets in the poorest section of the town as an open ghetto (*jüdisches Wohnviertel*). In this area there was no electricity and only two wells.[8] Then, in late September and early October 1942, Jews from Magierów, Niemirów, Uhnów, Potylicz, Lubycza Królewska, and other nearby places were transferred into the Rawa Ruska ghetto.[9] In addition, a number of Jews who had escaped from the trains heading to Bełżec also sought refuge there. As a result, the number of Jews in the ghetto probably rose to around 10,000 or more.[10]

Abraham Schall, a survivor from Niemirów, has described the transfer to Rawa Ruska: "At the end of September, the Judenrat was instructed that all the Jews had to move to Rawa Ruska . . . by the following evening. We could take with us anything we wanted . . . but the people were plundered by the Gestapo and Ukrainian militia on the way. Nobody dared to remain in Niemirów. Two girls, who were discovered there after the deadline, were brought to Rawa Ruska and immediately shot."[11]

Despite the new influx, the area of the ghetto was not increased at all. This led to tremendous overcrowding, with two or three families, between 20 and 30 people, living in each room. Together with the severe lack of food, water, warm clothing, and medicine, the appalling living conditions soon led to a large-scale outbreak of typhus in the ghetto. About 10 to 20 people died daily from the disease. In late 1942, probably at the start of December, the ghetto was declared closed. Jews were no longer permitted to leave the ghetto to go to their places of work. Fearing a further Aktion, many Jews prepared bunkers and other hiding places.[12]

In December 1942, the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Distrikt Galizien, SS-Brigadeführer Friedrich Katzmann, used the severe typhus epidemic as a pretext for liquidating the ghetto. The liquidation Aktion took place on December 7–11, 1942, with the assistance of a squad of Security Police from Sokal, the German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, and the operational squad of the 5th Company of Police Regiment 24. In the report of June 30, 1943, prepared by SSPF Katzmann, the circumstances of the ghetto's liquidation are described as follows:

> The Rawa Ruska Jews, fearing an evacuation, hid those who were ill with typhus in holes in the ground. When the evacuation was set to begin, it was discovered that 3,000 Jews, sick with typhus, were lying around in the ghetto. All police officials, who had been vaccinated for typhus, had to be called upon immediately to destroy the source of the infection. Thus, we were able to destroy this source of the plague, losing only one person in the process.[13]

During the liquidation Aktion, at least 5,000 Jews were shot on the spot, 2,500 were deported to Bełżec in four trains, and several hundred young Jews were deported to various labor camps.[14] The operational squad of the 5th Company of Police Regiment 24 alone shot 750 Jews during the "cleansing" of the ghetto territory, according to its report dated December 12, 1942.[15]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, approximately 60 Jews were left alive in the town, housed in a separate barracks outside the ghetto, to bury those killed. Of those sent to the labor camps, some were returned to the town three weeks later; they were employed in collecting, organizing, and sorting property from Jewish houses and cleaning the territory of the former ghetto. Aside from these "legal" Jews, about 250 to 300 illegal Jews were hiding in the ghetto; the legal Jews provided them with food. The Germans shot many of the illegals on sight. In March 1943, they shot the burial team, and the remaining 100 or so legal laborers stayed in the ghetto until June.[16] The first head of this remnant ghetto or labor camp (from mid-December 1942 until mid-February 1943) was SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Grzimek, who, from February 19, 1943, was the head of the Jewish camp (*Judenlager*) in Lwów.

On May 1, 1943, the remaining 300 to 400 Jewish inmates from the liquidated labor camp in Mosty Wielkie, which was located 37 kilometers (23 miles) east of Rawa Ruska, were transferred to Rawa Ruska. Here they were accommodated in 10 barracks and were employed in repairing and building roads. In June 1943, the Germans shot all of these Jews, together with the others remaining in Rawa Ruska, as Kreishauptmann Hager refused to provide them with food. The Germans even lured the remaining illegal Jews out of hiding with a false promise to send them to the labor camp at Potylicz if a specific sum of money was collected. Most sources date the final massacre of the remaining Jews around June 8–10, 1943, at a mass grave in the forest near the village of Borowe, just to the west of Rawa Ruska.[17] Local inhabitants were requisitioned to fill in the graves; blood streamed out, and the ground continued to heave for some time after the shooting. Some witnesses recall that one group of victims was blown up with dynamite, scattering body parts around the vicinity.[18]

On January 29, 1949, SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Grzimek, head of the Jewish labor camp in Rawa Ruska, was sentenced to death in Poland; he died in prison in 1950. On July 13, 1949, former SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk was sentenced to life in prison in Munich, Germany.

SOURCES Information regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Rawa Ruska can be found in the following publications: A.M. Ringel and Y.Ts. Rubin, eds., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Ravah-Ruskah veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ravah-Ruskah veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1973); J. Iszchulow, "Zagłada Żydow w mieście i powiecie Rawa Ruska," *BŻIH*, no. 102 (1977); and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 498–503—an English translation is available via jewishgen.org. There is also a short survivor testimony published in Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 84–87.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 211/896, 301/4950a and 4950b, and 302/71); BA-BL (e.g., R 58/1002); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, AR-Z 3/63); DALO (R 28-1-4, R 3-1-279); GARF (7021-67-80); RGVA (1323-2-292b); USHMM; YIU (e.g., nos. 1, 12, 13, 14, 15, 142); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 211/896, Judenrat Rawa Ruska to the JSS in Kraków, November 24, 1941.
2. Yehushe Volfus, "My Experiences," in Ringel and Rubin, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Ravah-Ruskah*, pp. 230–247.
3. AŻIH, 211/896, Judenrat Rawa Ruska to the JSS in Kraków, November 24, 1941.
4. Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Rava Russkaia raion, September 24–30, 1944, published in *L'vivshchyna u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.)* (L'viv: Kameniar, 1968), pp. 134–139.
5. AŻIH, 301/4950b. According to other sources (e.g., Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec*, *Sobibor*, *Treblinka. The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987], p. 384), the first Aktion took place in Rawa Ruska on March 20, 1942, when 1,500 Jews were deported.
6. Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997), p. 224. The Aktion took place between July 27 and July 29, 1942.
7. AŻIH, 301/4950b. According to other sources (Arad, *Belzec*, *Sobibor*, *Treblinka*, p. 384), the second Aktion took place in Rawa Ruska on July 29, 1942, when 1,200 Jews were deported together with 800 from Niemirów.
8. AŻIH, 301/4950b.
9. See Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 8.
10. AŻIH, 301/4950b, gives the figure of 15,000, which is probably too high. BA-BL, R 58/1002, Schenk report, May 15, 1943, gives what was probably the official figure of 8,000.
11. AŻIH, 301/4950a, testimony of Abraham Schall.
12. Ibid., 301/4950a and 4950b; 302/71, testimony of Zelda Ginzburg, who erroneously dates the establishment of the ghetto to 1941; and Khayim Shpaster, "The End of My Town

Rave," in Ringel and Rubin, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Ravah-Ruskah*, pp. 254–265.

13. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, vol. 37 (Nuremberg, 1948), pp. 404–405, Doc. L-018.

14. The ChGK report of September 24–30, 1944 (see note 4 above) estimates much higher numbers of victims.

15. RGVA, 1323-2-292b, p. 6.

16. AŻIH, 301/4950b.

17. Ibid.; Thomas Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*" *in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz-Verlag, 1996), p. 236. According to the ChGK, some 1,500 corpses were found at the site (see note 4).

18. YIU, nos. 1, 12, 13, 14, 15, 142.

ROHATYN

Pre-1939: Rohatyn, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Rogatin, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rohatyn, Kreis Brzezany, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Rohatyn is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) north of Stanisławów. On the eve of war in 1939, the Jewish population was 3,282.[1]

Rohatyn was occupied by German forces in early July 1941; more than 3,000 Jews remained in the town. Initially Rohatyn was governed by a German military commandant's office; then in August 1941, a civil administration took over. Rohatyn became part of the Kreis Brzezany, in Distrikt Galizien, within the Generalgouvernement. From November 1941 until January 1943, the head of the Kreis (Kreishauptmann) in Brzeżany was Hans-Adolf Asbach; he was replaced by Dr. Werner Becker.

Until the end of March 1942, the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Stanisławów, headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger, organized large-scale anti-Jewish Aktions in Rohatyn. From April 1942, responsibility for Rohatyn was transferred to the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Tarnopol, which from October 1941 was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller. In June 1943, he was replaced by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger. There was also a post of the German Criminal Police (Kripo) and German Gendarmerie in Rohatyn, as well as a Ukrainian police unit. All these units participated in the various anti-Jewish Aktions.

At the end of July 1941, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 people. Its members were mainly former members of the Jewish community administration (kehillah), including its head, Shlomo Pomerantz, and the head of the newly formed Jewish Police, Meir Weiser. The Judenrat sought to prevent the continuous seizure of Jews from the streets for forced labor by the Ukrainian militia and the theft of Jewish property. In August 1941, the German authorities ordered the Judenrat to collect and deliver a fine of 1 million złoty. In the same month, they also ordered the concentration of the Jews into a specific quarter of town, creating a "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto). The ghetto was in the poorest part of town, enclosed by the Gnila Lipa River, the stream running into the river, and the marketplace. All streets leading into the ghetto were blocked off, and only two exit points were open, manned by the Jewish Police. There was terrible overcrowding, with each family allotted only one room.[2]

In September, the German authorities issued orders for the Jews to remain within the limits of the ghetto and to wear distinguishing armbands. In addition to organizing a labor office and a post office and distributing meager rations, the Judenrat implemented special German instructions, often involving the confiscation of property.[3]

The first large-scale killing Aktion against the Jews of Rohatyn was organized by Hans Krüger on March 20, 1942. On this day, members of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen herded the Jewish population to the central market square, then took them by truck to a pit near the railroad station. Some specialist workers, including dentists and pharmacists, were selected out and sent back to the ghetto. The Security Police from Stanisławów shot their victims in groups from 10:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M., when the remainder was released.[4]

According to the estimate of the Jewish Council, 1,820 people were shot on that day.[5] Around 1,000 Jews survived. Following this Aktion, more Jews from the surrounding villages of the Rohatyn Rayon were resettled into the "open ghetto," which was also reduced in size, worsening the overcrowding.[6]

By the summer of 1942, the Rohatyn Jews became increasingly aware that their fate was sealed and sought to survive either by hiding on the "Aryan side" outside the ghetto or by constructing hiding places inside the ghetto.[7]

The second Aktion took place on September 21–22, 1942, at the time of Yom Kippur. The Aktion took two days, as so many Jews went into hiding that the Germans could not initially fill the waiting train cars. Some 300 Jews were killed on the spot, and 700 more were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[8] This Aktion was organized by the Security Police detachment from Tarnopol, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian policemen. After the Aktion, at the end of October 1942, more Jews from Bursztyn, Bolszowce, and Bukaczowce were resettled into the Rohatyn ghetto. As a result of this massive influx, the Jewish population of Rohatyn rose to some 4,000 or 5,000 people.

In the summer and fall of 1942, the Jewish Council in Rohatyn repeatedly sent its representatives to visit the office of the Security Police in Tarnopol, hoping to learn about their plans regarding the ghetto and defer its destruction with generous bribes. Nevertheless, the Security Police conducted a third Aktion on December 8, 1942, in which 1,400 Jews were deported from Rohatyn and 500 more were murdered in the

town.[9] Between 4,300 and 5,000 Jews are estimated to have been killed in the three main Aktions.

On November 10, 1942, SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger ordered that the Jewish residential district in Rohatyn should be completely fenced off from the rest of the town, creating an enclosed ghetto.[10] The 3,000 Jews who still resided in the ghetto were now physically separated from the surrounding population.[11]

Owing to overcrowding and lack of sanitary facilities, the ghetto was plagued by epidemics of typhus and dysentery. The typhus epidemic reached a climax in the winter of 1942–1943. The Jewish Council opened a hospital for a limited number of patients. Food was scarce, as all contact with the surrounding population was prohibited. Only those Jews who still had some property (clothing was especially in demand among the peasants) could trade it for food; a black market continued to flourish across the border of the ghetto. The ghetto Jews were also taken daily for forced labor outside the ghetto in various German offices and stores, on road construction, and at the railroad.

Despite the hunger, persecution, and death, many Jews maintained their religious observances. Torah scrolls were distributed among private homes, and people congregated during the day to say Kaddish (prayers for the dead) for those who had died.[12]

In the period from February to April 1943, the German Security Police conducted several further Aktions in the ghetto. With the assistance of the Jewish Police, several hundred able-bodied Jews were selected for forced labor at the Borki Wielkie camp, near Tarnopol.[13] On March 2, 1943, those Jews who had typhus were targeted, and 30 were shot in their own homes. The Security Police also murdered the patients in the Jewish hospital, together with the entire staff. Members of the Jewish Police were ordered to assist in carrying this out. Finally, on April 24, 1943, SS-Oberscharführer Ludwig Wenzel personally shot 40 Jewish children.[14]

On June 6, a Gestapo unit arrived in Rohatyn from Lwów. The Security Police detachment from Tarnopol, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian policemen, surrounded the ghetto, rounded up about 2,500 Jews, and shot them at the Jewish cemetery.[15] To capture the remaining Jews in hiding, the Ukrainian police set the ghetto on fire. There was some armed resistance, but this was quickly crushed.[16]

It is estimated that in the period from 1941 to 1943 a total of 5,000 Jews were murdered in Rohatyn, and 2,000 more were deported to Bełżec. When the Red Army liberated Rohatyn, only a few survivors remained of a once-flourishing Jewish community of several thousand people.

After the war, Asbach was one of the founders of the Union of Expellees and the Disenfranchised (1950). Until 1957 he was a minister in Schleswig-Holstein. His case was closed due to "lack of evidence" in 1976. Becker was a judge in an administrative court after the war. His case was similarly never brought to court; it was closed in 1975 also due to lack of evidence. He died in 1991. Hans Krüger was sentenced to life in prison on May 6, 1968, by a court in Münster. He was released in 1986 and died two years later. Müller received his life sentence in Stuttgart on July 15, 1966, and died in 1988. Wilhelm Krüger was under investigation for a while, but the case was, like so many others, unable to produce a conviction.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town include the following: Mordechai Amihai, David Stockfish, and Shmuel Bari, eds., *Kehilat Rohatyn ve-haseviva*; *Rohatyn: A Town That Perished* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rohatyn in Israel, 1962); Alexander Kimmel, *Child of the Shoah* (Alexander Kimel, 2000); and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 506–510.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Rohatyn under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2572); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-13); NARA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Ksenia Krimer
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-73-13, pp. 34 and reverse.
2. Rosa Halpern (Faust), "A Diary of the Rohatyn Ghetto," in Amihai, Stockfish, and Bari, *Rohatyn: A Town That Perished*, pp. 27–31; Kimmel, *Child of the Shoah*, chaps. 8 and 9.
3. Halpern, "A Diary of the Rohatyn Ghetto," pp. 27–31.
4. Schwurgericht beim Landgericht Münster, 5 Ks 4/65, Urteil vom 3. und 6. Mai 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Hans Krüger u.a., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 28 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 674, pp. 165–173; Dr. Avraham Schtertzer, "How Rohatyn Died," in Amihai, Stockfish, and Bari, *Rohatyn: A Town That Perished*, p. 51.
5. GARF, 7021-73-13, p. 34. The Rohatyn yizkor book puts the number of casualties at 3,000 adults and 600 children; see Amihai, Stockfish, and Bari, *Rohatyn: A Town That Perished*, p. 51.
6. Kimmel, *Child of the Shoah*, chap. 11.
7. Schtertzer, "How Rohatyn Died," pp. 51–53.
8. GARF, 7021-73-13, pp. 2 and reverse. According to another source (7021-73-13, p. 34), 800 Jews were deported and 200 more were killed on the spot; Kimmel, *Child of the Shoah*, chap. 13.
9. GARF, 7021-73-13, pp. 2 and reverse.
10. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
11. Amihai, Stockfish, and Bari, *Rohatyn: A Town That Perished*, pp. 47–48.
12. Kimmel, *Child of the Shoah*, chap. 14.
13. Amihai, Stockfish, and Bari, *Rohatyn: A Town That Perished*, pp. 45–50.
14. SWCA, H. Zenner, "Wie ein Jude lebte während der russischen und deutschen Okkupation in Polen 1939–1945," Online Special Collections, Collection 6: ZENNER Hermann.
15. GARF, 7021-73-13, pp. 20 (both sides), 34.
16. NARA, N-Doc. 018-L, Katzmann report, June 30, 1943.

RUDKI

Pre-1939: Rudki (Yiddish: Ridik), town, powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Rudky, Sambir raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Rudki is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Lwów. According to the Polish census, there were 1,962 Jews residing in Rudki in 1931.

On September 12, 1939, German troops occupied Rudki. Shortly after their arrival, they burned down part of the town, leaving many Jews homeless. They also enforced a curfew and shaved the beard off the rabbi. Rumors were spreading of a pogrom being organized by the Germans and local Ukrainians when the arrival of the Red Army temporarily relieved the pressure on the Jews.[1] Overnight they became Soviet citizens, and a number of Jews were recruited into the Red Army. The new Soviet authorities suppressed Jewish commercial and communal activities. In mid-1941, there were approximately 3,000 Jews in Rudki, including a number of refugees who had arrived from western and central Poland in the fall of 1939.

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, units of the German 17th Army occupied Rudki on June 27. In July, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. On August 1, 1941, Eastern Galicia was transferred to a German civil administration. Rudki was in Kreis Lemberg-Land, which was governed by Kreishauptmann Otto Bauer until March 1942; then Dr. Werner Becker until early 1943; and finally, Baron Joachim von der Leyen.[2] Most of the anti-Jewish Aktions in Rudki were carried out by a squad of Security Police and SD from Lwów, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei).

The first Aktion was carried out in Rudki in early July 1941. An Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and SD arrived (probably from Lwów) and arrested 39 Jews from the intelligentsia. The arrestees were taken to a forest 3 kilometers (2 miles) outside the town, where they were murdered. The synagogue was also burned to the ground.[3]

In July 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the town by the German military administration, and Jews were forced to wear white armbands bearing blue Stars of David. The German authorities confiscated Jewish property, especially valuable items, and deprived Jews of most rights and liberties. All Jews had to be registered, and they were compelled to engage in hard manual labor.

On November 25, 1942 (in accordance with the November 10 order of Higher SS and Police Leader [HSSPF] SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger), the Kreishauptmann in Lwów issued instructions for the establishment of a Jewish ghetto (*Judenwohnbezirk*) in Rudki, which would also contain several hundred Jews from the surrounding communities of Kupnowice, Dydiatycze, Hoszany, Tuligłowy, and Podwierzyniec.[4] At the end of November, however, a second Aktion was carried out in Rudki during which the German forces deported 821 Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp. A similar number of Jews were deported from the nearby towns of Komarno and Szczerzec along with the prisoners from Rudki.[5]

The ghetto was established on December 1, 1942, and the remaining Jews in Komarno were also transferred to Rudki. Altogether there were some 2,500 people in the ghetto. Approximately 500 of them died of hunger and typhus in the period up to April 1943. Jews who left the ghetto each day under guard to work were considered fortunate, as they might have the opportunity to obtain some food. Jews tried to keep up their spirits in the ghetto by spreading rumors that perhaps Hitler had died and that there might be a change of regime in Germany.[6]

Security Police and SD personnel from Lwów, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, liquidated the Rudki ghetto on April 9, 1943: about 300 workers were deported to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów; the other 1,700 Jews were escorted out of town to ditches prepared in the forest near Brzeżina. Here the victims were made to stand on a wooden plank over the ditch and were shot so that they fell into it. After the liquidation Aktion the Germans declared the town to have been cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).[7] The German office for setting prices in the office of the Kreishauptmann reported at the end of April that following the complete resettlement of the Jews earlier in the month, prices for agricultural products on the black market had halved in the Rudki subdistrict (Landgemeinde).[8]

A number of Jews managed to escape and hid with local peasants. They lived in constant fear of the Ukrainian policemen, which continued to search for them. The Jews in hiding lived under terrible conditions and listened keenly for any news from the front lines. One survivor recalls that the time in hiding also had a deep psychological impact. The Red Army recaptured the area in July 1944, liberating at least 18 Jews who had hidden successfully.[9]

SOURCES Personal accounts about the Jewish community in Rudki can be found in Josef Chrust, ed., *Rudki, sefer yizkor li-Yehude Rudki veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Hutsa be-hishtatfutam shel yots'e kehilat Rudki, 1977). A brief overview of the history of the community can also be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 503–505.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/527); BA-BL (R 58/214); DALO (e.g., R 24-2-40; R 24-3-156; and R 37-5-30); GARF (7021-58-21); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Chrust, *Rudki, sefer yizkor*, pp. 286–288.
2. Bauer was killed in February 1944; Becker died in 1991; and von der Leyen was killed in the bombing of Dresden in 1945.

3. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 20, July 12, 1941; GARF, 7021-58-21, pp. 199–200; AŻIH, 301/527, testimony of Leib Tell, 1945.

4. DALO, R 24-3-156, Kreishauptmann Lemberg-Land an die Landkommissare, November 25, 1942; see also Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.

5. GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 197; AŻIH, 301/527; Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 234.

6. AŻIH, 301/527.

7. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-58-21, p. 200; Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7.

8. DALO, R 24-2-40.

9. AŻIH, 301/527.

SAMBOR

Pre-1939: Sambor, town, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: center, Kreis Sambor, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Sambir, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Sambor is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-southwest of Lwów. According to the 1931 census, there were 6,275 Jews in Sambor. Estimates for 1939 put the number of Jews at around 8,000.

With the German invasion in June 1941, groups of Jews tried to flee to the east, but the rapid German advance prevented the escape of all but a few.

German forces occupied the town on June 30, 1941. In July, a German military administration took charge, to be replaced on August 1 by a civil administration. Sambor then became part of Distrikt Galizien in the Generalgouvernement. The town was the administrative center of Kreis Sambor. Kreis Sambor was created from two former Polish powiats, Sambor and Turka, in which, according to the 1931 census, there were 21,885 Jews. The Kreis was governed by a district chief (Kreishauptmann). Dr. Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen held the post of Kreishauptmann from November 1941 until March 1942; Dr. Hans-Walter Zinser, from March until September 1942; and Dr. Karl-Georg Emmerich, from October 1942 until April 1943. In the spring of 1943, Kreis Sambor was dissolved and incorporated into Kreis Drohobycz as the Landkommissariat Sambor. Hans Rockendorf was the Landkommissar in Sambor.

There were also a German Gendarmerie post in Sambor, a Criminal Police Commissariat (Kriminalkommissariat), and a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei). The Criminal Police was commanded initially by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Ulrich Wüstner (1942–1943) and then by Kriminalobersekretär Johann Iselt (1943–1944). The Criminal Police Commissariat was subordinated to the Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat) in Drohobycz, which was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Block from June 1942 until August 1944. The anti-Jewish Aktions were generally carried out in the town by a team of Security Police from Drohobycz, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian policemen.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), chaired by Dr. Schneidscher, and a force of Jewish Police (headed by Herman Stahl) to implement the orders of the Jewish Council. Jews were deprived of all civil rights, and much Jewish property was confiscated (particularly valuables). In October 1941, all Jews in Sambor and the surrounding area were ordered to turn over all agricultural inventory and livestock to the German authorities, much of which was then appropriated by the Stelle zur Stärkung des Volksdeutschtums in Sambor (Office for the Strengthening of the Ethnic Germans in Sambor). All Jews had to be registered, and they were compelled to perform forced labor. Jewish apartments were also seized for the German authorities.

In early March 1942, a "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) was created on the edge of town in Blich, and all Jews were supposed to move there by March 12.[1] In May, the population numbered 6,466 Jews. At the beginning of the summer of 1942, Jews from the surrounding communities, along with the Jews of Stary Sambor, were forcibly relocated to Sambor. Except for the murder of 32 Jewish prisoners in February 1942, there were no mass shootings of Jews in this period.[2]

From August to October 1942, four anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town. The first Aktion took place on August 4. SS-Obersturmführer Robert Gschwendtner was in charge of this Aktion, along with the SS and Police Leader (SSPF) in Distrikt Galizien, SS-Brigadeführer Friedrich Katzmann. A squad of German Gendarmerie, Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, and Jewish Police and a team of Security Police from Drohobycz headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Gabriel participated in the Aktion. The German troops and policemen gathered the Jews in a stadium, and Jews from the surrounding area were also brought there (from Stary Sambor, Felsztyn, Strelki, Terszów, and other places). Jewish patients deemed too sick to be moved were murdered in the hospital.[3] Subsequently, a selection was conducted in the stadium, supervised by the commander of the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów, SS-Obersturmführer Gustav Willhaus, and his assistant, SS-Untersturmführer Richard Rokita. During the selection, Rokita chose at least 150 and possibly as many as 600 people for the Janowska Street labor camp. Those Jews deemed "incapable of work" were killed on the spot. In the ghetto and at the stadium, at least 150 Jews were murdered. At noon, the greater part of the Jews destined for "transfer" were driven into freight cars and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp, while the selected Jews were locked up in barracks in the Jewish residential district. On August 6, after the chairman of the Jewish Council, Dr. Schneidscher, was able to free several people from the barracks at night, those Jews selected for the Janowska Street labor camp were

taken to Lwów. In their place, a group of Jewish workers was brought in from the Janowska Street labor camp; they prepared the productive machinery located in Sambor for transfer to Lwów under the direction of SS-Untersturmführer Rokita. All told, during the three days of the August Aktion, approximately 4,000 Jews were killed.[4]

On September 25–26, during the distribution of work permits to Jews by the Criminal Police, the second Aktion took place: the Jewish Council had to select about 300 old and sick Jews, who were placed in prison and then shot in a forest near Radlowicze.

On October 17–18 and 22, a team of Security Police from Drohobycz, the German Gendarmerie (commanded by Hauptmann der Gendarmerie Nebel), Schutzpolizei (a section of Company 5 of the 24th Police Battalion), and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police carried out the third and fourth Aktions in Sambor. During these Aktions, Jews were collected in the jail, along with Jews from the surrounding villages. The head of the jail, Friedrich Busse, subjected the Jews in jail to various forms of torture. Robert Quecke once again tried to get his Jewish workers released, but his attempts proved unsuccessful; the supervisor of the Criminal Police in Sambor threatened to shoot him, a fate Quecke managed to avoid only by escaping. During the third Aktion, about 1,000 Jews were transported to Bełżec, and during the fourth Aktion, 460.[5] During the four Aktions, 5,000 Jews in total were transferred to the Bełżec extermination camp from Sambor (including Jews from the surrounding villages), about 600 Jews were transferred to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lwów, and about 400 Jews were killed in Sambor.

On December 1, 1942, the Jewish residential district in Sambor was isolated from the rest of the town by means of barbed wire and turned into an enclosed ghetto. All the Jews remaining in Kreis Sambor were forced to move to this ghetto, from Turka, Stary Sambor, Felsztyn, and surrounding villages. Altogether, there were more than 3,000 Jews in the ghetto.[6] The Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease during the winter of 1942–1943. From time to time, small groups of Jewish youths were removed to the Janowska Street camp near Lwów.

In the period February to June 1943, the Security Police from Drohobycz, together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, carried out four Aktions in the ghetto. SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Gabriel was in charge of the Aktions. The first Aktion took place on February 13, 1943, when about 500 Jews were shot in the forest near Radlowicze; they had been arrested by the Jewish Police in November and December 1942 during an Aktion against aged Jews (over 55 years) and had been in prison since then.[7]

On April 14, 1943, a second Aktion was carried out in the ghetto: about 1,200 people were captured and placed in jail after the families of members of the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police (about 300 people) had been selected out, and on April 18, 900 of those held in the jail were shot in the cemetery.[8] After this Aktion, about 2,000 people remained in the ghetto, most of whom were engaged in construction work.[9]

On May 20–22, a third ghetto Aktion was carried out, during which several hundred Jews "incapable of work" were killed in the forest near Radlowicze, 550 were transferred to the concentration camp of Majdanek, and 70 to 80 people were transferred to the Janowska Street labor camp.[10]

On June 5, 1943, the German police began the liquidation of the Sambor ghetto. It was accompanied by the arson and detonation of houses, with the goal of forcing Jews to leave their hiding places. Those Jews captured were put in jail, and on June 10 they were taken in trucks to the forest near Radlowicze and shot there, including the members of the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police and their families. Altogether, more than 1,000 people were killed during the liquidation of the ghetto.[11] Some of the last Jews from Sambor tried to escape the ghetto and reach the Hungarian border, but most were killed on the way. Others tried to go into hiding using Aryan papers but without success. Attempts at rescue were limited, with a few exceptions. For example, Ivan and Maria Malenkevich, a Ukrainian couple from a village near Sambor, sheltered the siblings Artur and Irina Sandauer for 14 months in their home, where they built a hiding place in the attic.[12]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Germans continued to shoot Jews who were found in their hiding places. Thus, on June 23, 1943, 100 people were shot, on July 6, 40 people, and on July 22, 25 people. Altogether, in 1943, about 3,000 Jews were killed in Sambor, and more than 600 Jews were transferred to Majdanek or to the Janowska Street labor camp.

At the beginning of 1943, there was an attempt to organize a Jewish underground. A group of young Jews, one of whose most active members was Artur Sandauer, acquired firearms and began training in the area of the Jewish cemetery. The group sought assistance from the Jewish Council in securing provisions, but their efforts met with no success. As Irina Sandauer recalled, after the April 1943 Aktion (*aktsiah*), her brother went to extraordinary lengths to secure weapons for his group. To acquire the necessary financial resources to purchase 10 rifles from a Pole, Artur Sandauer turned to the treasurer of the Jewish Council, Batzker. After Batzker refused to hand over money for resistance activities, Sandauer tried to steal the money from the Jewish Council but only managed to make off with three typewriters. The series of Aktions carried out by the Nazis interfered with further preparations for active resistance.

In total, about 160 Jews from Sambor managed to survive, mostly by hiding with Poles and local peasants. For example, in Czukowa near Sambor a peasant hid 18 Jews, who were not betrayed although most of the village knew about them. One of these Jews was, however, murdered by members of the Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army, AK) after the Soviet forces arrived.[13]

Dr. Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen died in 1946 in an internment camp in Dachau. Dr. Hans-Walter Zinser was a federal judge after the war in the federal administrative court in Berlin; he was under investigation for some time, but the case was closed in 1968 owing to insufficient evidence. Dr. Karl-Georg Emmerich was convicted in 1950 by a Soviet mili-

tary tribunal; he died in prison. Gschwendtner was under investigation for some time after the war, but the investigation was abandoned in 1968 owing to his inability to give testimony (he was then 86 years old). Katzmann died in 1957 (he lived in Germany under the name Bruno Albrecht). Gabriel was sentenced in 1947 by a Soviet military tribunal to 25 years imprisonment; in 1955 he returned to Austria, where in 1957 he was once again arrested and in 1959 sentenced to life imprisonment in Vienna; in 1968 he was released from prison. Willhaus died in 1945; Rokita was under investigation for some time after the war and in preliminary confinement, but he did not appear in court owing to his health; he died in 1976 at the age of 82.

SOURCES The following publications were consulted in the preparation of this entry: Alexander Manor, ed., *Sefer Sambor–Stary Sambor; pirkei edut ve-zikaron le-kehilot* (Tel Aviv: Sambor/Stary Sambor Society, 1980); Danuta Dabrowuka, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 340–346.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), captured German documents, and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of Sambor's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1474, 1747, 3745, 3763, 3768, 3773, 3898, 4054, 4967, 4975); BA-BL; DALO; GARF (7021-58-22); GStAPK Berlin (P[K] Js 7/68, case against Zinser); RGVA; Sta. Mü I (112 Js 11- 13/68, case against Brumberger); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Avinoam Patt

NOTES

1. *Lemberger Zeitung*, March 5, 1942, cited by Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung, in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 194.
2. GARF, 7021-58-22, p. 26, testimony of David Freimann.
3. Manor, *Sefer Sambor*, p. 213.
4. Dr. Irina Glanz-Sandauer, "Between Life and Death," in ibid., p. 214.
5. Meldung 5./Pol.Rgt. 24 an Kommandeur d. Ordnungspolizei, October 25, 1942, RGVA, 1323-2-2926, p. 28.
6. GARF, 7021-58-22, p. 16, testimony of David Freimann.
7. GARF, 7021-58-22, p. 26, testimony of David Freimann (Freimann claims that the shooting took place on February 15).
8. GARF, 7021-58-22, p. 18; testimony of Samuel Berger, taken June 24, 1948, in the bureau of "Jewish Historical Documentation" in Vienna; Sta. Mü I: Verfahren 112 Js 11- 13/68 (case against Brumberger).
9. Testimony of Samuel Berger.
10. Meldung Kriminalkommissariat Sambor über Munitionsverbrauch bei Judenaktionen, June 21, 1943, DALO, R 36-1-6, p. 102; GARF, 7021-58-22, pp. 18, 26; testimony of Samuel Berger; testimony of David Freimann.
11. GARF, 7021-58-22, pp. 18, 26 (claims 1,500 were killed); testimony of Samuel Berger (claims 800 were killed during the liquidation of the ghetto); testimony of David Freimann (claims 1,500 to 1,600 were killed).
12. Glanz-Sandauer, "Between Life and Death," p. 215.
13. AŻIH, 301/4967, testimony of Meyer Lamet, July 15, 1945, in Bucharest.

SKAŁAT

Pre-1939: Skałat, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Skalat, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Tarnopol, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Pidvolochis'k raion, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Skałat lies 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Tarnopol. In 1921 there were 2,919 Jews (49.1 percent) living in Skałat. By 1939, there were 4,800 Jews there, of whom roughly 200 fled with the retreating Red Army after the Germans invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941.

German forces occupied Skałat on July 5, 1941. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town until August, when a civil administration took over. Skałat became part of Kreis Tarnopol, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann in Tarnopol was first Gerhard Hager (until April 1942) and then Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized and carried out by a detachment of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) based in Tarnopol, which was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller from October 1941 until May 1943, then by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger from June 1943 until March 1944. In Skałat itself, there was a Criminal Police (Kripo) post, an Order Police post (Schutzpolizei), and a squad of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police that actively participated in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In mid-July 1941, a temporary Jewish Council of 12 people headed by Nikolaj Bilyk was established on the orders of the Ukrainian town council. Then in early August, the Judenrat was reorganized into a 10-person council headed by Meyer Nirler. On July 19, the Jews were forced to make a contribution of 600,000 rubles within five days. In addition, the Judenrat had to assign 200 to 300 people daily to perform various jobs for the German and Ukrainian administration, as well as supplying German officials with furniture, clothes, and dishes.[1]

From August 1941 until August 1942, there were no large-scale Aktions in Skałat; only young and healthy Jews were occasionally selected for work in labor camps. Thus, on October 17, 1941, 200 Jews were sent to work on the railroad in Maksymówka, but at the end of the month the Judenrat was able to obtain their release by paying a large ransom.[2] On November 24, 1941, 120 women and 120 men were sent to the labor camp at Borki Wielkie (the women were also released two weeks later for a ransom).[3] In January 1942, another 130 to 150 people were sent to work in a camp in Nowosiółka; in June 1942, they were transferred to a camp in Kamionki.[4] Fi-

nally, in July 1942, 30 young Jewish women were sent to a camp in Jagielnica to work on synthetic rubber plantations, but some time later, their parents were able to get them released with a bribe.[5]

On August 31, 1942, the first Aktion took place in the town: the Judenrat, with the assistance of the Jewish Police, collected over 500 elderly Jews on orders of the head of the Security Police post in Tarnopol, Müller. The Jews were taken in trucks to Tarnopol, then deported from there by train to the Bełżec extermination camp.[6]

On October 1, 1942, the German civil administration ordered all the Jews of the Skałat, Grzymałów, and Podwołoczyska subdistricts to move to Skałat by October 15.[7] After these Jews had arrived in Skałat, the Security Police from Tarnopol under Müller's command organized a second Aktion on October 21–22, 1942. During the Aktion the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian policemen rounded up about 3,000 Jews with some assistance from the Jewish Police, who helped to reveal some Jewish hiding places (so-called bunkers). Once captured, the Jews were transported by train to Bełżec on the evening of October 22; 153 Jews were murdered in the town. In Lwów, 200 people were selected from the transport for the Janowska Street camp, and the remaining Jews were forced to remove their clothing, to make any escape more difficult.[8]

On November 9, 1942, the Tarnopol Security Police conducted a third Aktion in Skałat. The Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police seized approximately 1,000 Jews in the town and sent them to Tarnopol on trucks borrowed temporarily from the stone quarry in Nowosiółka. From there they were deported by train to Bełżec. About 100 Jews were selected for the labor camp in Hłuboczek.[9]

In April 1942, the Jews were ordered to leave their homes in the town center and to move to the periphery of the town. In mid-October 1942, the Germans created a Jewish residential district (open ghetto) in Skałat, which consisted of mainly dilapidated houses on several small streets in the poorest part of town between the marketplace and the synagogue. On October 25, 1942, soon after the second Aktion, an order came from Tarnopol to reduce the size of this district.[10] Jewish labor gangs from the ghetto were organized to demolish the emptied Jewish houses, and salvaged wood was sold cheaply for heating or building material.[11] At the beginning of December 1942, in accordance with the order issued by SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger on November 10, the district officially became a ghetto.[12]

The Security Police from Tarnopol conducted two Aktions in the ghetto. On April 7, 1943, German and Ukrainian police captured and shot approximately 700 Jews in the ghetto. Eighteen Jewish policemen participated in this Aktion; they forced the victims to undress and maintained order at the killing site, beating those who did not move quickly enough. For this, the Germans had promised to spare their lives, but they were also shot into the same ditches at the end of the Aktion. Some members of the Jewish Council and their families met the same fate.[13]

On June 9, 1943, a further Aktion was carried out in the ghetto in which 10 Jewish Police from Tarnopol participated by helping the Germans search for Jews in hiding. During the Aktion, approximately 600 Jews were captured; about 20 of them were transferred to the labor camp in Skałat, and the rest were shot. Shortly afterwards, another 120 Jews were shot; they were discovered in shelters in the former ghetto or were captured by Ukrainian peasants in surrounding villages.[14] A group of Jews from the ghetto tried to find shelter in the labor camp in Skałat, but the Jewish camp administrators refused to help them out of fear. On June 16, 1943, 50 people were handed over to German police and then shot at the cemetery.[15]

Following the Aktion on April 7, 1943, a resistance group, led by Mechel Glanz, began to prepare for armed resistance in the ghetto. Glanz had arrived from Kopyczyńce. He was soon joined by other young people, including Lonek Pudles, Sholem Schechter, Meyer Grinfeld, Bucio Elfenbein, Henek Weinberg, and many others. They attended secret meetings to plan for resistance during the expected Aktion. The young men started collecting arms, but the Germans, aware of the existence of the group, brought forward the date of the Aktion, catching the group unprepared. With only a pair of pistols and 12 grenades lacking firing pins, there was no possibility of serious armed resistance. On June 9, 1943, the Germans started the liquidation of the ghetto, which resulted in the complete destruction of the Jewish community of Skałat.[16]

During 1941–1943, approximately 2,500 Jews were killed in the town or nearby, and approximately 4,500 more Jews were transported to the Bełżec extermination camp. Thus, approximately 7,000 Jews were murdered in total, including the Jews from Grzymałów and Podwołoczyska. Almost 200 Jews from Skałat and its vicinity survived the German occupation.

Hager died in 1961. Harbou died in 1946 while interned by the Americans at Dachau. Hermann Müller, born on January 30, 1909, was sentenced to life imprisonment by the regional court (Landgericht) in Stuttgart on July 15, 1966. He died in 1988. Wilhelm Krüger, also born in 1909, was held in American captivity after the war, but the investigation against him was closed without an indictment being issued.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of Skałat's Jews during the Holocaust include Abraham Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl* (USA, 1995), which is an expanded edition in English of the original yizkor book, A. Vaysbrod, *Es shtarbt a shtetl: Megiles Skalat; baarbet un redagirt fun Y. Kaplan* (Munich: der Tsentraler historisher komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der amerikaner zone in Daytshland, 1948). The yizkor book *Skalat: kovets zikaron li-kehilah she-harvah ba-Sho'ah / ha-orekh Hayim Bronshtain* [in Hebrew] (Petah Tikvah: Bet ha-sefer al shem Ya'akov Karol ve-Irgun Yehude Skalat be-Yisrael, 1971) was published in Israel. A brief article on the town can be found in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 400–404.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jewish community in Skałat can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/905); BA-L (ZStL, AR-Z 294/59); BA-MA; BWSL (EL 317 III, Bü 1408); DATO; GARF (7021-75-12); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl*, pp. 10–11.
2. GARF, 7021-75-12, p. 92; Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl*, p. 11.
3. GARF, 7021-75-12, pp. 92 and verso.
4. Ibid.
5. Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl*, p. 13.
6. Ibid., pp. 14–18.
7. GARF, 7021-75-12, pp. 92 and verso.
8. Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl*, pp. 23–27.
9. Ibid., pp. 31–32, 104; GARF, 7021-75-12, pp. 92 and verso.
10. Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl*, pp. 12, 20, 29.
11. Ibid., p. 32; see especially the diagram of the Skałat ghetto reproduced as an appendix in the same volume.
12. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.
13. Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl*, pp. 36–38.
14. Ibid., p. 45.
15. Ibid., pp. 56–57.
16. Ibid., pp. 43–44.

ŚNIATYŃ

Pre-1939: Śniatyń, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sniatin, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sniatyn, Kreis Kolomea, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Śniatyń is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Stanisławów. According to the 1931 census, 3,892 Jews lived in Śniatyń. By June 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 or 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been around 4,200 Jews in the town.

Romanian troops had occupied Śniatyń by the start of July 1941. Immediately they began to loot the town, and together with local Ukrainians they murdered more than a dozen Jews. Soon Hungarian forces replaced the Romanians, administering Śniatyń through a military commandant's office. The Hungarians introduced forced labor for the Jews, having them bring in the harvest and repair bridges.[1]

At the end of August 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration: Śniatyń was incorporated into Kreis Kolomea, within Distrikt Galizien. Klaus Peter Volkmann was appointed as the Kreishauptmann in Kołomyja from August 1941 until July 1, 1942. SS-Obersturmführer Herbert Gorgon succeeded him until July 26, 1943.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Śniatyń were organized and conducted by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kołomyja, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Peter Leideritz. In Śniatyń itself, a Border Police (Grenzpolizei) outpost was established, which served under the Security Police in Kołomyja. From September 1941 to February 1942, SS-Untersturmführer Paul Elsner headed the Border Police outpost; together with his fellow SS officers, he organized a private "harem" of Jewish women, whom he subsequently murdered. Elsner was caught stealing Jewish valuables, causing him to be court-martialed. From February to May 1942, Kriminalobersekretär Paul Behr commanded the post, and from June 1942, Max Sachs. A German Gendarmerie post and a local Ukrainian police unit were also established in Śniatyń.

The living conditions for the Jewish population deteriorated with the transfer of power into German hands. The German administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) under the leadership of a dentist named Cohen and ordered the registration of the Jews. The Germans confiscated large amounts of Jewish property, including most items of value. Jews were forbidden to trade with non-Jews. They were obliged to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. All male Jews aged between 15 and 60 were required to perform forced labor; subsequently, this was extended to female Jews.[2]

The Germans acted first against prominent Jews, Communists, and Soviet activists. On September 26, 1941, officers of the newly established Border Police post shot about 20 people in the vicinity of Śniatyń. In October and November 1941, the Germans shot around 60 people, and in March 1942 they murdered 70 more.[3] According to one account, these selective killings deprived the Jewish community of its trusted leaders; those who subsequently served the Germans did so out of self-interest, hoping to save their own lives.[4]

At the end of March 1942, the German authorities completed the establishment of a so-called open ghetto, or Jewish residential district, in Śniatyń, concentrating the Jews in a special quarter of the town. (According to one source, the Germans started organizing an open ghetto in Śniatyń at the beginning of August 1941, moving the Jews into the area around Steczowska Street and forcing the non-Jews to move out of that area.)[5] On April 2, 1942, the head of the Border Police, Behr, received an order from SS-Obersturmführer Leideritz to arrest and transport the Jews of Śniatyń via Kołomyja to the Bełżec extermination camp.[6] The Jews were ordered to assemble at the high school building and have their papers checked. Only some 2,000 Jews complied, while the rest went into hiding. Only a few of those who appeared were released as specialist workers for the Wehrmacht. The majority of the 2,000 Jews were held prisoner for several days and then were subsequently deported to Bełżec by train. A number of Jews were also murdered in and around Śniatyń following searches in the ghetto for those in hiding.

Following the Aktion, groups of Jews were resettled from the surrounding villages into Śniatyń on April 27–28, 1942. At least 216 people were brought into the ghetto: 42 from the village of Podwysoka, 82 from Stecowa, 35 from Budyłów, 17 from Karłów, 23 from Bełełuja, and 17 from Zaprut'e.[7] As a result of these resettlement efforts, the Jewish population in the Śniatyń ghetto reached 1,582 persons as of June 1942.[8] Conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with as many as 20 people sharing a room or five families in one house. They were largely without furniture. Hunger ravaged the ghetto: children searched for potato peelings to take home and eat. Hundreds of Jews died of hunger and disease in Śniatyń during the summer.[9]

On September 7, 1942, about 250 Jews were brought into the Śniatyń ghetto from the town of Zabłotów. This signaled the start of the final deportation Aktion and the liquidation of the ghetto. Over the following days, the Jews of Śniatyń were rounded up and held in the building of the high school. Then on September 10, 1942, just before Rosh Hashanah, the Security Police, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian policemen escorted all the Jews to the railway station and loaded them into 10 cattle cars. Several hundred were murdered in and around the town. The rest (probably about 1,500) were deported via Kołomyja to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[10] A few Jews were excluded from deportation as craftsmen working for the Wehrmacht, but these were murdered a few weeks later. About 15 escapees from the Śniatyń ghetto successfully made their way across the Romanian border and subsequently to Palestine. The border patrols caught many others attempting to cross. In the weeks and months following the Aktion, many Jews were discovered in hiding and shot.

Paul Behr died in 1969 in West Germany while under investigation for war crimes. Max Sachs died in 1944.

SOURCES Published articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Śniatyń include the following: *L'Extermination des Juifs en Pologne: Depositions de témoins oculaires. Cinquième Serie: Lwów-Śniatyń-Sandomierz* (Geneva, 1945); and "Sniatyn," in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 516–519.

Documents on the destruction of the Jews of Śniatyń can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/5438 and 6098); BA-L (ZStL, 208 AR-Z 277/60); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-17); RGVA (1323-2-292b); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5438, testimony of Norbert Fischer, July 17, 1957.
2. *L'Extermination des Juifs en Pologne*, pp. 21–22. Probably compiled from the statements of several survivors, the chronology in this report is unfortunately somewhat contradictory and unreliable.
3. V. Zamlyn'skyi, *Tavrovani prezyrstvom narodu* (Kiev, 1974), p. 40.
4. *L'Extermination des Juifs en Pologne*, p. 22.
5. AŻIH, 301/5438. Other sources date the establishment of the ghetto in December 1941 or early 1942.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR-Z 277/60, statement of P. Behr, August 13, 1964.
7. GARF, 7021-73-17, pp. 36, 43, 57–59, 62, 78–79.
8. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967) table 6.
9. *L'Extermination des Juifs en Pologne*, p. 22.
10. See the report of the commander of the 7th Company of the 24th Police Battalion, September 14, 1942, in RGVA, 1323-2-292b, p. 55.

SOKAL

Pre-1939: Sokal, town, powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sokal', raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sokal, Kreis Kamionka-Strumilowa, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Sokal', raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Sokal is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north-northeast of Lwów. The Jewish population numbered 4,360 (43 percent) in 1921 and 5,220 in 1931.

After the outbreak of World War II, Jewish refugees from Bełż, Krystynopol, and localities in western Poland arrived in Sokal; as a result, under Soviet rule (1939–1941) the Jewish population increased to more than 6,000. The refugees were lodged in synagogues and private homes, and a special committee was established to aid them. In the summer of 1940, many of the newly arrived refugees were deported to the Soviet interior.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Sokal on June 22, 1941. Initially, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), but in August 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Sokal became part of Kreis Kamionka-Strumilowa, within Distrikt Galizien. Until the end of November 1942, the Kreishauptmann was Regierungsrat SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Rebay von Ehrenwiesen. He was succeeded on January 1, 1943, by Hauptschriftleiter SS-Untersturmführer Joachim Nehring, who in 1941–1942 had been the Kreishauptmann's deputy.

Starting in the fall of 1941, an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was stationed in Sokal, which until May 1942 was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Block, and then from May 1942 until October 1943, by SS-Obersturmführer Oswald Heyduk. SS-Untersturmführer Wilhelm Geisenhof was the deputy head of the post, and SS-Hauptscharführer Hans Hartmann was in charge of "Jewish affairs" there. The Sipo outpost organized and implemented all the anti-Jewish Aktions in the town. Also in Sokal was a German Gendarmerie post and a squad of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), which both took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

The first Jews were killed on June 22, 1941. On that day, the German soldiers who occupied the town shot 11 Jews in front of the Polish Cathedral.[1] Further killings in Sokal were organized by Sonderkommando (Sk) 4a, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel. The regional court (Landgericht) in Darmstadt subsequently described the Sk 4a shootings at the end of June 1941:

> Immediately upon arriving in Sokal on June 27, 1941, from the officials, translators, and drivers, Blobel formed search detachments that with the help of the Ukrainian militia were to search for "suspicious persons," including Communist functionaries and Jews. These detachments received the lists and drove off in automobiles to arrest the people. Some of the houses suspected of holding Communist functionaries were pointed out by informers among the local population. Those arrested were delivered to the squad's base and from there, without interrogation, were taken by truck to the . . . brick factory 2 to 3 kilometers [1.2 to 1.9 miles] east of Sokal. There they were locked in and guarded.

After a brief interrogation, many of the prisoners were shot. In Sokal, members of Sk 4a shot, on June 28, "17 Communist functionaries, agents, and guerillas," on June 29, "117 active Communists and NKVD agents," and on June 30, "183 Jewish Communists."[2]

In July, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in the town, headed by the lawyer Grzegorz Januszczyński. It was assisted by the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), which acted on the orders of the council. After about one month, the Jews were required to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David. Jews were registered for forced labor, and the Judenrat had to supply hundreds of forced laborers to the German authorities on a daily basis. At the end of July 1941, the German police demanded a large sum of gold from the Judenrat. Jews were also required to hand over furniture and other items to equip the apartments of the newly arrived German officials. Soon, most of the Jews' property was confiscated, especially any valuables. Six Jewish hostages were shot on August 18, 1941, for disobeying the orders of the German authorities.[3]

From the fall of 1941 through to the summer of 1942, the Jews were subjected to forced labor, economic restrictions, and physical attacks. A number of Jews were shot by the German police on the streets of the town. At the end of December 1941, the Jews were required to surrender any fur items of clothing for the use of the German army. To enforce this decree, a number of Jews were held hostage. Many Jews suffered from hunger in the winter of 1941–1942, and the Jewish Council organized a soup kitchen to assist the needy.

From November 1941, those Jews without work permits, demonstrating regular employment for the Germans, could be rounded up and sent away to forced labor camps. For example, on March 28, 1942, 150 Jews were sent to a labor camp, and of this group, only 7 people subsequently returned. On July 10, 1942, 10 people were shot for disobeying the orders of the occupation authorities, and on August 3, 1942, 32 more Jews were shot for violating the regulation that forbade Jews from praying.[4]

On hearing news of the pogroms and mass deportations of Jews from other towns in Distrikt Galizien, many Jews began to prepare bunkers or other hiding places inside the ghetto. On September 17, 1942, the first deportation Aktion took place in Sokal. In its course, some 2,000 Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp and about 160 Jews were killed on the spot.[5] During the Aktion, some Jews were betrayed by other local inhabitants, and a few members of the Jewish Police were used by the Gestapo to track down Jews in hiding.

After this Aktion, on October 15, 1942, a ghetto was established in the town. All the Jews had to move into the designated ghetto area, with the exception of the Jewish doctors, and any non-Jews were moved out. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and was closely guarded by the police. It had only four wells, and its inhabitants suffered from a severe water shortage. There was also terrible overcrowding, with two families having to share a single room.[6] On October 22–24, Jews from Radziechów, Łopatyń, Witków Nowy, Tartaków, and Mosty Wielkie were brought into the Sokal ghetto.[7] Earlier, in January and June 1942, Jews from Steniatin had been brought to Sokal.[8] In total, about 3,500 additional Jews were brought into the town. Following this concentration of Jews in Sokal, the Germans organized a second deportation Aktion, on October 28, in which more than 2,000 Jews were sent to Bełżec, and around 60 Jews were killed on the spot. During this Aktion, the head of the Judenrat, Januszczyński, was also killed.[9]

Of the approximately 4,000 Jews remaining in the ghetto, hundreds died of starvation and disease, especially typhus, in the winter of 1942–1943. The doctors could do little to help the sick, as the Landrat in Sokal, Löscher, forbade them from bringing any medicine into the ghetto.[10]

On May 27, the Germans liquidated the ghetto,[11] shooting about 3,000 Jews.[12] On June 7, 1943, Kreishauptmann Nehring announced on placards that his Kreis had been "cleansed of Jews."[13]

After the Germans had been driven from the town by the Red Army on July 19, 1944, several dozen Jews who had been hiding in the surrounding woods and villages returned to Sokal. Many more had managed to escape from the ghetto, but most were captured and killed by German patrols or Ukrainian nationalist partisans.

On July 13, 1949, Oswald Heyduk was sentenced to life in prison by Landgericht München I. On August 24, 1981, Joachim Nehring was acquitted by Landgericht Stade.

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jewish population of Sokal can be found in Avraham Chomet, ed., *Sefer Sokal* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Sokal veha-sevivah, 1968); *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), pp. 82–83; and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of*

Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 352–355.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews in Sokal during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/805, 1167, 2012, and 4971); BA-L; DALO; GARF (7021-67-82); USHMM (RG-22.008 [TsGAMORF], 236-2675-134, folder 7); VHF (# 3434, 24942, 24947, and 26101); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/940).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 2.
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941. See also LG-Darm, verdict in the case against Kuno Callsen and others, November 29, 1968, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694a; and YVA, M-1/E/940, testimony of Paulina Schochet (née Langer) (born in 1927).
3. YVA, M-1/E/940; GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 2.
4. GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 3.
5. Ibid., however, gives the figure of 2,300. YVA, M-1/E/940, gives 1,500.
6. YVA, M-1/E/940. VHF, # 3434, testimony of Ida Kucberg; this witness, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto somewhat earlier. See also BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR 1415/66, interrogations of J. Nehring March 24, 1965, and W. Rebay von Ehrenwiesen, May 21, 1965.
7. AŻIH, 301/4971, testimony of Mozes Brüh. In mid-1942, there were 450 Jews in Lopatin, 920 in Tartaków, and 1,125 in Witków Nowy; see Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 5.
8. AŻIH, 301/2012, testimony of Henoch Burg.
9. GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 4.
10. YVA, M-1/E/940. The father of this witness was a Jewish doctor.
11. AŻIH, 301/2012, 301/4971.
12. According to a ChGK file dated October 7, 1944, in the Sokal' raion, 1,500 Jews died in the ghetto and 6,000 more Jews were shot on May 27, 1943 (GARF, 7021-67-82, p. 5). In our opinion, in view of the number of Jews then in the ghetto, this number is considerably too high.
13. BWSL, Bestand EL 317 III, LG-Stutt Ks 5/65.

STANISŁAWÓW

Pre-1939: Stanisławów, city, powiat and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1941: Stanislav, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Stanislau, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Ivano-Frankivs'k, oblast' center, Ukraine

Stanisławów is located 113 kilometers (70 miles) south-southeast of Lwów. On the outbreak of World War II, about 25,000 Jews were living there, comprising about one third of the population.

On July 2, 1941, Hungarian troops occupied Stanisławów, and by the end of July the Germans had taken control of the city. At that time, SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger arrived to become head of the newly established Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office) in Stanisławów. He brought with him Heinrich Schott as his Judenreferent—the Jewish Affairs Officer. The Kreishauptmann in Stanisławów from September 1941 was Heinz Albrecht. It is significant that all the key figures in the German administration in Stanisławów were radical antisemites. On July 26, 1941, on the orders of the Gestapo, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to organize Jewish life and, above all, to implement German orders. The chairman was Israel Seibald, who had been active in the Jewish community before the war. His deputy was the lawyer Michael Lamm.[1] The Jewish Council was ordered to establish the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst).



A crowd of people observes a mass exhumation in the Jewish cemetery of Stanisławów, 1945.
USHMM WS #80762, COURTESY OF JACEK NOWAKOWSKI

Parts of the Ukrainian and Polish population conducted attacks against Jews at the beginning of the occupation.

On August 1, 1941, Distrikt Galizien became the fifth Distrikt of the Generalgouvernement. One day later, Krüger ordered Seibald to draw up a list of Jews who belonged to independent professions, and these men were ordered to come to the Gestapo headquarters on Biliński Street, where they were tortured, and most of them were killed.[2] Anti-Jewish decrees soon followed; Jews had to wear armbands and perform forced labor. Soon the Jewish Council instructed the lawyer Dr. Tenenbaum to set up a labor office, where registered Jews had to assemble to be assigned to various jobs for the Germans. Later, in the ghetto, it was this office that organized the Jewish work details that went outside the ghetto. The Germans also plundered the Jewish population. In addition, the German civil administration, under Kreishauptmann Heinz Albrecht and Stadtkommissar Emil Beau, drew up plans to establish a ghetto.

Before the Jews were enclosed in a ghetto, the Germans wanted first to "decimate" them. On October 12, 1941, they demonstrated how they meant to "solve" the "Jewish question" in the area. This day was later called *Blutsonntag* ("Bloody Sunday"). Unlike the other districts of the Generalgouvernement,

in the region of Stanisławów the local German administration did not wait until the extermination camps had been established. Thousands of Jews were gathered on the market square; then the German forces escorted them to the Jewish cemetery, where mass graves had been prepared. On the way, the German and Ukrainian escorts beat and tortured the Jews. At the cemetery, the Jews were compelled to surrender their valuables and show their papers. Some of them were then released, but the majority had to remain. The men of the Security Police (Sipo) then started the mass shootings, assisted by members of the German Order Police (Ordnungspolizei) and also the Railroad Police. Krüger personally took part in the shootings. The Germans ordered the Jews to undress in groups and then proceed to the graves, where they were shot. They fell into the grave or were ordered to jump in before being shot.

Some survivors have described the massacre in detail, revealing the incredible brutality employed by the German forces. Many survivors remember how bravely Dr. Tenenbaum of the Jewish Council went to his death. Krüger, the head of the Gestapo, offered to set him free, but Tenenbaum said that he rejected this offer from a murderer and that he wanted to die with his brethren.[3] In the evening, those Jews still alive were allowed to leave the cemetery. The German forces shot between 8,000 and 12,000 Jews on that day.[4] Seibald, the chairman of the Jewish Council, survived the massacre but lived in hiding afterwards. Most probably he was also killed later on. On the day after the bloodbath, Lamm was called to the Gestapo headquarters, where they informed him that he would be the new chairman of the Jewish Council.[5]

After the mass murder, the civil administration began preparations for the move of the remaining Jews into the designated ghetto area. The Jewish Council succeeded in negotiating with the Germans regarding the inclusion of certain specific streets, but by the end of October, the final borders had been determined. As was the case almost everywhere in occupied Eastern Europe, in Stanisławów the Germans selected the oldest and most neglected part of the city to house the ghetto. The exact number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but at least 20,000 Jews were compelled to live in this tiny, densely overcrowded area. Those who lived outside the ghetto were required to move inside between December 1 and 15, 1941. Many Jews did not manage to find housing, and the Jewish Council had to put them up in every available space, including storehouses and synagogues. During the month of November, the "Aryan" population living in this part of the city had to move out. The ghetto was officially closed on December 20, 1941, with a wooden fence separating it from the rest of the city. In the houses directly on the ghetto's perimeter, the windows had to be blocked with wooden bars. There were three gates, each guarded by German Schutzpolizei and the Ukrainian militia on the outside and by the Jewish Police on the inside. The commandant of the Jewish Police was Zahler, a former sergeant in the Polish army. About 100 Jews served in the ghetto police.

Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto only to perform forced labor. There were several workshops, where Jews worked for the Germans. The Jewish labor office organized these workshops under its new chairman, Horowitz, who succeeded Dr. Tenenbaum. The labor office issued identity cards to the workers. Many Jews worked outside the ghetto for various German institutions, at factories in the city, and also on farms. Salomon Günsberg recalls: "The Jewish population carried out work under the most difficult circumstances, virtually without any tools and they were beaten during the work."[6]

The living conditions in the ghetto were catastrophic. The sanitary conditions were dreadful; hunger and various diseases became the permanent companions of the Jewish population. The official rations were far too small; more and more people died of hunger. The hospital was overcrowded. During the first winter in the ghetto, many people died of hunger and the cold. Only those with some money left were able to buy extra food on the black market, which had to be smuggled into the ghetto, but only a few people could afford the exorbitant prices demanded. It was possible to sell things legally to the non-Jewish population in a shop established and run by Eckhaus, a member of the Jewish Council. The Jewish Council, with Lamm as its head and Mordechai Goldstein as his deputy, tried to organize life and social welfare under these difficult conditions. Many different departments were established in the Jewish Council, most of which were directed by Jewish Council members. One of the most important departments was the supply division, which organized food supplies for the population. The Beschaffungsamt (department of food procurement) had to "calm down" members of the Gestapo and Schupo with bribes of money and other valuables. There was also a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) set up in Stanisławów, which received some money every month from the headquarters of the JSS in Kraków. But all these efforts to support the numerous poor inmates of the ghetto remained inadequate. Living conditions in the overcrowded ghetto deteriorated.[7]

By the end of March 1942, Krüger told Lamm that only 8,000 Jews could remain in the ghetto and the rest, old and sick people or beggars, would be taken to a labor camp. He ordered Lamm to hand over these Jews. When Lamm refused to comply, German police and Ukrainian policemen surrounded the ghetto during the night of March 31, 1942. In a brutal raid, they expelled many Jews from their houses and drove them to Belwederska Street. Houses were set on fire to force hidden Jews to come out. They had to march to the train station, where freight cars were already waiting, and the people were deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec. After these first deportations, the ghetto was reduced in size, and the German authorities instructed the labor office to prepare new lists of those Jews who were able to work and those who were not. The Jews were divided into three categories: A, young and healthy Jews working in important factories or institutions; B, Jews able to work but without employment at the moment; and C, weak, old, or sick Jews. After this registration, thousands of Jews belonging to category C were murdered, probably shot. Life became more and more unsafe: only Jews

deemed fit to work were allowed to live in Stanisławów. The German police frequently searched the ghetto for Jews of category B, who had not yet found a place to work.[8]

The civil authorities also began concentrating the Jews from smaller communities such as Kałusz, Nadwórna, or Tłumacz, in Stanisławów. Most of them were then murdered in successive Aktions. These killings were carried out in the Rudolfsmühle (Rudolf's Mill), a three-story building that housed a grain mill. Here the Germans concentrated old and sick people, along with Jews from Ruthenia. Jews with invalid work permits or those caught smuggling were also taken here. Living conditions were even worse than in the ghetto. Ukrainian policemen guarded the building on the outside, and the guards inside were Jewish policemen. Krüger had ordered all the sick Jews in the mill building to be killed. Owing to conditions in the building and the already poor health of the prisoners, most of them soon fell ill. The mill, directly under the control of Judenreferent Schott, was a place of terror and mass murder. Schott personally took part in many of the shootings. Schupo Leutnant Ludwig Grimm often joined him in carrying out the shootings. After the first deportations to Bełżec, Jews were regularly taken to the mill and shot there. Up to July 1942, most killings were carried out at the mill, and from August onwards, in the courtyard of the Sipo headquarters. At this time the head of the Jewish Council was Goldstein, the former deputy head. It is not known exactly when Lamm was murdered and Goldstein succeeded him, but he was probably shot in a nearby forest together with other members of the Jewish Council in June or July 1942. On August 22, 1942, the Germans also killed Goldstein. He was hanged publicly as the first symbolic victim during a "reprisal Aktion." The alleged reason for this reprisal was the murder of a Ukrainian, which the Germans blamed on a Jew. Schupo commander Walter Streege led this Aktion. More than 1,000 Jews were shot. The German policemen raped some Jewish girls and women before taking them to the courtyard of the Sipo headquarters. Streege also ordered the hanging of about 20 members of the Jewish Police. The Germans left the dead bodies hanging there for two days as a means of deterrence and to terrorize the Jews.[9]

The next head of the Jewish Council in Stanisławów was Schönfeld. According to the accounts of survivors, he apparently proved to be unscrupulous and a loyal servant of the Germans. He organized a new Jewish Police for this purpose, of which he also became the head.[10]

About 11,000 Jews were still living in Stanisławów when the next Aktion took place. On Rosh Hashanah, which fell on September 12 in 1942, about 3,000 or 4,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec. On October 15, 1942, the Jewish population in Stanisławów was largely annihilated. Only a few Jews who continued to work for various German offices remained alive.

By January 1943, there were no more deportations to the extermination camp in Bełżec, but the police continued to carry out shootings of Jews. On February 22 or 23, 1943, Brandt, who had succeeded Krüger in August 1942, ordered the police forces to surround the ghetto, thus initiating the final liquidation. People were brutally taken from their houses and driven to the Jewish cemetery, where the German police shot them. Among the victims was the head of the Judenrat. Many Jews had prepared hiding places, but owing to lack of water and food, most of them soon emerged and were captured. Four days after the beginning of the Aktion, the Germans put up posters announcing that Stanisławów was "free of Jews" (*judenfrei*). According to Jewish testimonies, about 500 Jews still remained in the city for various work tasks, but these people were also gradually shot in turn. On June 25, 1943, most of the last Jews still living "legally" in Stanisławów were shot. Only a few professionals such as engineers and technicians were still kept in the central prison.[11]

When the Soviet army reached Stanisławów on July 27, 1944, there were about 100 Jews in the city who had survived in hiding. In total, about 1,500 Jews from Stanisławów survived the war.[12]

A formal indictment against Hans Krüger was issued in October 1965, after six years of investigations by the Dortmund State Prosecutor's Office. On May 6, 1968, the Münster State Court sentenced him to life imprisonment. He was released in 1986.[13] In Vienna and Salzburg, there were other trial proceedings against members of the Schupo and the Gestapo in Stanisławów in 1966.

SOURCES The testimonies of Julian Feuerman and Joachim Nachbar have been published: Julian Feuerman, "Pamiętnik ze Stanisławowa (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 59 (1966): 63–91; Joachim Nachbar, *Endure, Defy and Remember. Memoir of a Holocaust Survivor* (Southfield, MI: J. Nachbar, 1977, repub. 2003). There are many testimonies quoted in these publications: Elisabeth Freundlich, *Die Ermordung einer Stadt namens Stanislau* (Vienna, 1986); and Towiah Friedman, ed., *Schupo und Gestapo Kriegsverbrecher von Stanislau vor dem Wiener Volksgericht: Dokumentensammlung* (Haifa: Institute of Documentation in Israel for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, 1957).

Two excellent German studies of the annihilation of the Jews in Distrikt Galizien contain much information concerning the events in Stanisławów: Dieter Pohl, *Von der "Judenpolitik" zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993); and Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996). Pohl has also published an article focused on Stanisławów: "Hans Krüger and the Murder of the Jews in the Stanisławów Region (Galicia)," *Yad Vashem Studies* 26 (1997): 239–264. In Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 359–367, there is an entry for Stanisławów.

Documentation, including survivor testimonies, can be found in the following archives: AAN; AŻIH (e.g., 301/91, 889, 1093, 1161, 1734, 2169, 2171, 3238, 3258, 3913, 4680, 4966; and 302/135, 136, 175); DAI-FO; GARF; IPN; USHMM; VHF; and YVA. The documents from the trial in Münster against Hans Krüger and others can be found in BA-L (ZStL); IfZ; and ZSSta-D.

Andrea Löw

NOTES

1. See AŻIH, 301/3238, for Lamm's daughter Lila's testimony.

2. See, e.g., the testimonies of Julian Feuerman (AŻIH, 302/135, p. 3); Dr. Salomon Günsberg (AŻIH, 302/136, pp. 3–4); Horacy Safrin (AŻIH, 302/175, pp. 7–11); and Dr. Bernhard Szauder (301/2169, p. 3). Also see Nachbar, *Endure, Defy and Remember*, p. 10.

3. AŻIH testimony of Frederyk Nadler (AŻIH, 301/1734, p. 6); also see AŻIH, 302/175, p. 24; and AŻIH, 302/135, p. 7.

4. See, e.g., the testimonies of Eryk Holder (AŻIH, 301/889, p. 2); Leopold Blech (AŻIH, 301/1093, pp. 2–4); Helena Schnee (AŻIH, 301/1161, p. 1); and Josef Steckler (AŻIH, 301/4966, pp. 2–7). Also see AŻIH, 301/1734, p. 4; AŻIH, 302/135, pp. 6–7; AŻIH, 302/136, p. 8; and AŻIH, 302/175, pp. 20–24.

5. AŻIH, 301/3238, p. 4; and AŻIH, 302/135, p. 7.

6. AŻIH, 302/136, pp. 10–11.

7. AŻIH, 302/135.

8. AŻIH, testimony of Dawid Berber, AŻIH, 301/217, p. 2; also see AŻIH, 302/135, p. 12; AŻIH, 302/136, pp. 13–16; and AŻIH, 302/175, pp. 45–47. And see Nachbar, *Endure, Defy and Remember*, p. 18; and BA-L, ZStL, 208 AR-Z 398/59, Schlussbericht ZStL betr. Stanislau, December 1, 1961.

9. Many survivors wrote about this Aktion. See, e.g., AŻIH testimonies of Dawid Berber (AŻIH, 301/91, p. 2); Sala Herman (AŻIH, 301/3258, p. 3); and Józef Lindner (AŻIH, 301/3913, p. 2). Also see AŻIH, 302/136, p. 18; AŻIH, 302/175, p. 65; and Nachbar, *Endure, Defy and Remember,* pp. 23–25.

10. AŻIH testimony of Marek Lessing (AŻIH, 301/4680, p. 5); also see AŻIH, 301/2169, p. 4; and 302/175, p. 66.

11. AŻIH, 302/136, pp. 21–22; AŻIH, 302/175, p. 76; AŻIH, 301/2171, p. 3; and AŻIH, 302/135, pp. 22–23.

12. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 375; AŻIH, 301/91, p. 3.

13. IfZ, Gm 08.08, Urteil LG-Münst, 5 Ks 4/65, case against Krüger et al., May 6, 1969.



"Jewish Residential District of the City of Stryj. Scale: 1:5000," n.d.: The ghetto is oriented southeast to northeast on this sketch map, which reproduces the town's German street names. The Stryj ghetto borders the market place and includes the Ring Plaza.
USHMM/RG31.003M, R 1952/1/62, P.42

STRYJ

Pre-1939: Stryj (Yiddish: Stry), city, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Stryi, raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Stryj, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Stryy, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Stryj is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) south of Lwów. On the eve of the German occupation, in June 1941, nearly 12,000 Jews lived in Stryj.[1]

On July 3, 1941, German forces occupied Stryj. The next day a pogrom broke out, with German encouragement, during which 350 Jews were killed and much Jewish property was vandalized and looted. A few days after the pogrom, a detachment of German Security Police executed 11 Jews and one Ukrainian, after discovering the bodies of 150 prisoners killed by the retreating Soviets. After this initial wave of violence, the Germans restored order, and a tense period of calm descended on the community. Jews were required to wear a white armband bearing the Star of David, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat), led by Oskar Huterer, was established. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), led by a man named Laufer, was also created, to enforce the daily labor quotas the Germans required for reconstruction work. A large monetary "tribute" was imposed on the community, and the Jews also had to supply furniture and other items for the Germans.[2] Jewish shops were marked with a Star of David, and Jews were only permitted to visit the market for two hours, between 10:00 A.M. and noon.

In August 1941, Stryj was transferred to a German civil administration and became the center of Kreis Stryj, within Distrikt Galizien. Dr. Wiktor von Dewitz was appointed as Kreishauptmann. An office of the Security Police, commanded by SS-Oberscharführer Philipp Ebenrecht, and an outpost of the Criminal Police (Kripo), commanded by SS-Hauptscharführer Walther Hüther, were established in the city. In October 1941, a 20-man unit of Order Police (Schutzpolizei), led by Oberleutnant Albin Hauptmann, arrived from

Vienna. Hauptmann was later replaced by Oberleutnant Karl Klarmann in October 1942. A 70-man unit of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), led by a man named Nykolyn, backed the Germans up. The Security Police office in Stryj was subordinate to the Drohobycz Border Police Office (Grenzpolizeikommissariat, or GPK), led by SS-Sturmbannführer Franz Wenzel, who was replaced in May 1942 by Hans Block.[3]

On September 22–23, 1941, during Yom Kippur, the Security Police and Ukrainian policemen shot 830 Jews in the Holobutów Forest on the edge of the city. On October 2, Kreishauptmann von Dewitz ordered the establishment of a Jewish residential district (open ghetto), initially encompassing 16 streets in Stryj's old Jewish quarter. The resettlement of the Jews into the Jewish district progressed slowly. In January 1942, more than 2,000 Jews were still living outside the designated area, and it was not until July 1942 that the last non-Jews were required to leave. At this time, Jewish medical personnel, members of the Judenrat, and a few craftsmen were still permitted to reside outside the district, although they could not leave the city. About 4 people shared each room inside the district.[4]

Jews were also required to register for work and were employed, for example, in road construction, at a glass factory, and for the Heeresbarackenwerk—a German firm that built barracks for the Wehrmacht. Conditions at the latter firm were good, and people prized the positions there. Others, mainly women and small children inside the ghetto, worked making and repairing clothing.[5]

During the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews had to surrender all their winter clothing to the German army. Due to the lack of fuel, food, and adequate clothing, many died. A typhus outbreak also ravaged the ghetto, and the Jewish hospital quickly became overcrowded and unsanitary. At this time, a number of Jews were sent to perform forced labor in impoverished villages in the Carpathian Mountains. Only a few of them returned a few weeks later, bloated from starvation.[6] According to a report by the mayor of Stryj, the Jewish population declined from around 11,000 to only 9,700 during the winter months.[7]

In the spring of 1942, the Security Police, assisted by the Schupo and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, conducted an Aktion in which they shot several hundred Jewish men, women, and children. By this time many Jews had prepared bunkers and other hiding places, but the perpetrators shot many people who tried to escape or hide.[8] In June 1942, there were 9,744 Jews in Stryj, of whom 3,930 were working. In July, reportedly 22 percent of the Jews were dependent on welfare support, which a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS), headed by Heinrich Kronstein, was distributing.[9]

In the fall of 1942, the GPK in Drohobycz organized four deportation Aktions to the Bełżec extermination camp. The first Aktion took place on September 3 when units of Hauptmann Kröpelin's 5th Company of the 124th Police Battalion, assisted by the Security Police, the Jewish Police, and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, deported 3,000 Jews and shot an additional 400 people on the spot. In September and October 1942, hundreds of Jews from the surrounding area were brought into Stryj, as the Kreishauptmann ordered that the villages be cleared of all but the most essential Jewish workers (e.g., doctors) by the end of October. The local authorities were to ensure that no Jews remained in hiding.[10] On October 17–18, a second deportation Aktion occurred: 1,487 Jews were detained overnight in the synagogue and then transported to Bełżec the following morning. A third Aktion took place on October 21–24; this time 800 Jews were deported. The fourth Aktion was on November 15–16, during which 1,200 Jews were sent to Bełżec.[11]

These deportations were badly organized and did not proceed on the basis of prepared lists. Rather, the German and Ukrainian police appeared to be simply meeting a quota, seizing Jews off the streets and dragging inhabitants from their homes to the synagogue regardless of age or employment. In the chaos, some Jews managed to hide. A few, like the teenager Friedrich Edelstein, managed to bribe Ukrainian guards to board up the windows of their train only loosely. Under the cover of nightfall, they removed the boards, jumped from the train, and made their way back to the ghetto. By the end of 1942, Stryj's Jews had no doubts about the fate that awaited them.[12]

After these Aktions, around 5,000 Jews remained in Stryj, including a number of nonworking Jews who were brought in from Bolechów by early December. Large posters announced that on December 1, 1942, an enclosed ghetto was officially declared in Stryj. The ghetto was on Berek Joselewicz, Kugnierska, Krawiecka, and Lwów Streets, occupying a smaller area than the previous residential district. The roads leading out of the ghetto were fenced off, and the exits were guarded. Some of those who were employed and had special armbands bearing the letter "W" were now relocated to camps established near their respective work sites, while their families remained in the ghetto. Inside the ghetto hunger reigned, and many, like the teenager Rena Goldstein, formed small knitting groups or other associations in an attempt to hold the community together.[13]

Conditions in the enclosed ghetto were markedly worse. Electricity and gas were cut off, and only two water pumps were available, so Jews had to stand in line for water. People stored water in the bunkers in preparation for the next Aktion. The dead were taken to the cemetery on a cart pulled by a wizened old mare. Some youths wanted to obtain arms to fight the Germans and were critical of the Judenrat for its quiescent attitude to the incessant German demands.[14]

On February 28, 1943, 1,000 people were executed by the Security Police, assisted by the Ukrainian police, in the Holobutów Forest. Raids were conducted also in the various work camps in an attempt to find unregistered workers who had sneaked into the camps, trying to find food and safety. On capture, these Jews were taken to the prison located at the city square to await execution. On at least one occasion, Jews attempted to resist these roundups; one young man attempted to stab a Security Police official, and the other prisoners used

the ensuing chaos to try to escape. Other searches were conducted in the ghetto where the Security Police used them as a means to uncover valuables hidden by the inmates.[15]

On May 23, 1943, 1,000 ghetto inmates were deported first to the Janowska Street labor camp outside of Lwów, then to the Majdanek concentration camp. Then on June 5–7, the remaining 3,000 ghetto inmates were shot in the Holobutów Forest by the Security Police and Ukrainian policemen, who—according to eyewitnesses—exhibited signs of heavy alcohol consumption. After the ghetto liquidation, Kreishauptmann von Dewitz reported that the mass graves had been improperly covered, posing a health danger for the general population.[16]

In the months after the liquidation of the ghetto, the police conducted a series of searches to uncover Jews who remained in hiding. In September, 150 Jews who had been collected were executed together. Among the last to be killed were the Jewish doctors, who had continued to live together in a separate house. The labor camps in the surrounding area were also liquidated on June 22, July 13–14, and August 25–26. The majority of the inmates were executed, although 70 were deported to Drohobycz.[17]

Stryj was liberated by the Red Army on August 8, 1944, and several dozen Jews emerged from hiding. Some had escaped into the woods, while others had been hidden by Poles and Ukrainians. A number of survivors returned to the city, but they soon moved on.

In 1947 several members of the Security Police unit based in Stryj were arrested in Vienna and extradited to the Soviet Union, where they were tried for their crimes. They received sentences of varying durations, the last of them returning to Austria in 1955. On March 16, 1954, a Hamburg court sentenced Karl Klarmann to four years and six months in prison for his role in crimes committed in Stryj. On March 18, 1959, in Vienna, Josef Gabriel, a former member of the Drohobycz GPK, was sentenced to life in prison for his participation in atrocities committed in Eastern Galicia.

SOURCES The following publications contain information regarding the fate of Stryj's Jewish community during the Holocaust: N. Kudish, Sh. Rozenberg, and A. Rotfeld, eds., *Sefer Stry* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Stri be-Yisrael, 1962)—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; "Stryj," in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 383–393; Tuviah Friedman, ed., *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher von Stryj* (Haifa: T. Friedman, 1996); Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967); Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996); and Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/437, 1293, 1361, 1676, 2570, 2574, 2770, and 3033); BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (e.g., B 162/4932); DALO (e.g., R 1952-1-62, 63, 65, and 172); GARF (7021-58-21); RGVA (1323-2-2926); USHMM (e.g., RG-31.003M [DALO]); VHF (e.g., # 1873, 6347, 20674, 29179, 46571); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov, Michael McConnell, and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kudish, Rozenberg, and Rotfeld, *Sefer Stry*, pp. 19–35.
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 20, July 12, 1941; AŻIH, 301/1293, testimony of Speranza Marguiles; 301/2574, testimony of Dr. Izaak Ajzenszer; VHF, # 46571, testimony of Rena Goldstein.
3. Friedman, *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher*, p. 11, statement of Johann Kranzler, and p. 19, statement of Johann Pflamitzer.
4. DALO, R 1952-1-62, includes extensive correspondence on the establishment of the Jewish district, including a detailed street map.
5. GARF, 7021-58-21, pp. 59, 75; VHF, # 29179, testimony of Rosa Braseliten; # 20674, testimony of Fredrich Edelstein; # 6347, testimony of Samuel Drix.
6. VHF, # 1873, testimony of Thomas Blatt; Friedman, *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher*, p. 18, statement of Johann Pflamitzer.
7. DALO, R 1952-1-62, Stadtverewaltung in Stryj an die Kreishauptmannschaft, February 25, 1942.
8. Kudish, Rozenberg, and Rotfeld, *Sefer Stryj*, pp. 41–50; Friedman, *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher*, p. 7, statement of Alexander Garber.
9. DALO, R 1952-1-63 and R 1952-1-65.
10. Ibid., 1952-1-62, pp. 92, 98.
11. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 10; AŻIH, 301/2770, testimony of Freda Schwechter; 301/1293; 301/2574; RGVA, 1323-2-2926, pp. 28, 33, reports of the 5th Company, 124th Police Regiment, November 19 and 25, 1942.
12. VHF, # 20674, # 46571, and # 29179.
13. Y. Eshel and M.H. Eshel, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron li-Kedoshei Bolehov* (Haifa: Association of Former Residents of Bolechow in Israel, 1957), p. 325; VHF, # 20674 and # 46571; Friedman, *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher*, p. 22, statement of Max Preuer; Kudish, Rozenberg, and Rotfeld, *Sefer Stryj*, pp. 41–50.
14. Kudish, Rozenberg, and Rotfeld, *Sefer Stryj*, pp. 41–50.
15. Friedman, *Schupo-Kriegsverbrecher*, p. 8, statement of Alexander Garber; VHF, # 20674.
16. DALO, R 1952-1-172, p. 89, Monatsbericht der Kreishauptmann Stryj für Mai/Juni 1943, as cited by Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* p. 378.
17. BA-L, B 162/4932, p. 23, statement of Semen Fendyk; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," pp. 31–32.

TARNOPOL

Pre-1939: Tarnopol, city, powiat and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1941: Ternopol', raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tarnopol, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Ternopil', oblast' center, Ukraine

Tarnopol is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east-southeast of Lwów. According to the 1931 census, 13,999 Jews were living in the city, and by June 1941, the Jewish population had grown to around 18,600.[1]



Group portrait of members of the Jewish forced labor detail in the Tarnopol ghetto, ca. May 1943. Each forced laborer wears a "W," meaning "Wehrmacht," workers for the German army.
USHMM WS #33530, COURTESY OF GFH

Units of the German 9th Panzer Division and the SS-Division Wiking captured Tarnopol on July 2, 1941. Initially, the city was run by a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur); then, in August, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Tarnopol became the center of Kreis Tarnopol, within Distrikt Galizien. The position of Kreishauptmann in Tarnopol was occupied first by Gerhard Hager (until April 1942) and then by Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen. Subordinated to the Kreishauptmann was a German Stadtkommissar or mayor (Saltner), who in turn supervised the Ukrainian city administration.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the city were organized and conducted by the Security Police (Sipo) and the SD. From mid-July 1941, an operational squad of the SD (SD-Einsatztrupp), subordinated to the Einsatzgruppe z.b.V. (for special purposes), was present in the city; the squad was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Edmund Schöne. In the middle of September 1941, the squad consisted of 39 people, assisted by 60 members of the Ukrainian militia, 8 interpreters, and 20 more locals who served as drivers, auto mechanics, and clerks.[2]

In September 1941, the SD-Einsatztrupp was converted into an outpost of the Security Police and SD (Sipo/SD-Aussendienststelle) that between October 1941 and May 1943 was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller and, after June 1943, by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger. The Tarnopol outpost reported to the head of the Security Police and SD in Lwów. Tarnopol also had a squad of Schupo (German Order Police), which in turn supervised a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei).

On July 4, 1941, Sonderkommando (Sk) 4b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Herrmann, arrived in the city from Lwów. In accordance with the order, issued by the head of the Security Police and the SD (Reinhard Heydrich) on June 29, 1941, Sk 4b organized a pogrom. The pretext used was the discovery in the jail of the bodies of Ukrainian nationalists and German soldiers killed by the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Both local Ukrainian antisemites and German soldiers (including members of the SS-Division Wiking) participated in the pogrom.[3] They broke into Jewish homes, dragged out any men they found, and shot them in the courtyards outside. Jews were also kidnapped off the streets, gathered at several collection points, including the synagogue, and then shot. Those Jews who were forced to wash and bury the corpses from the jail in mass graves were murdered upon completion of their work. The violence began to escalate out of control, so the Germans brought the killing to a halt. Several thousand people were murdered in the course of the pogrom that lasted one week.[4] Sk 4b also reported shooting 127 people itself, mostly members of the Jewish intelligentsia.[5]

In the days following the pogrom, the Jews searched through the mass graves for their lost family and friends. In July 1941, Jewish property was confiscated, Jews were excluded from all business activity, their rations were reduced, kidnappings began for forced labor, and their freedom of movement was severely restricted. By early August of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of 12 to 18 people, had been established in the city. The Jewish Council was headed in turn by the attorney Gustav Fischer (until the beginning of 1942), Yakov Lipper (until September 10, 1942), Karol Porhyrles (until November 1942), and Pinhas Gruenfeld. As an executive body reporting to the Jewish Council, the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) was created (consisting of 60 people). It was led by a man named Furstenberg from Warsaw. The Gestapo assigned the following tasks to the Jewish Council: to conduct the registration of the Jews, in seven days to collect a "contribution" of more than 1 million rubles, to mobilize all the Jews between 14 and 50 years of age for labor, and to ensure that all Jews wore an armband with the Star of David and marked their apartments with a similar sign.[6]

On September 5, 1941, the German authorities announced that a ghetto was being created in Tarnopol and that all Jews would have to move there by September 25. Some 7,000 additional Jews were forced to move into the poorest part of the city, where some 5,000 Jews already lived. The area consisted of only about 5 percent of the city and had very few wells.[7] On December 1, 1941, the territory of the ghetto was surrounded by a tall fence and barbed wire. One could enter and exit the ghetto only through two gates that were guarded by German and Ukrainian police externally and the Jewish Police internally. Cramped space (there were several families living in each room), unsanitary conditions, cold, hunger, and shortages of clothing soon led to a typhus epidemic in the ghetto. Despite the enclosure of the ghetto, Jews were still able to barter items for food with the non-Jewish population, as every day hundreds of Jews passed through the gates to their places of work.

At the end of December 1941, the Jews were ordered to surrender all their fur items; to ensure that the Jews obeyed this order the Gestapo took 12 Jews hostage. After the Jewish Council collected and handed over the furs, the Gestapo

conducted a search and discovered fur items in the homes of the Schwartz family; for that, all 5 family members were shot.

In the ghetto the Jewish Council operated a hospital and a clinic, but these facilities were inadequate to meet the population's needs, and medicine was in short supply. A soup kitchen also provided food for the needy, but living conditions in the orphanage and the old-age home were appalling. The rooms were unheated, and some people slept on the floor. There were almost no medical supplies or medicine, and insufficient food led to starvation. In the winter of 1941–1942, the burial society had to bury many people in mass graves.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, on the orders of the Gestapo, the Jewish Council, with the aid of the Jewish Police, conducted several roundups in the ghetto in which they seized several hundred young healthy Jews and sent them to the labor camps in Borki Wielkie, Kamionki, Hłuboczek Wielki, and Zagrobela. The Jewish Council was also required to provide these laborers with tools, food, and clothing; to pay the wages of the German staff and Ukrainian guards of the camps; and in the event of a laborer's death, to send a replacement worker.

The Security Police conducted the first Aktion in the ghetto on March 23, 1942. On the orders of the Gestapo, the Jewish Police collected 630 people (the elderly, the sick, and the handicapped), including 150 children. These people were then shot, together with the children from the Jewish orphanage, by the Gestapo and Ukrainian police in the Janowska Forest outside the city. Supposedly, the Gestapo originally demanded 1,000 people, but after receiving a bribe, it agreed to a smaller number.[8]

After this Aktion, according to the data of the city administration, 11,350 Jews remained in the ghetto as of April 20, 1942.[9] This number diminished in May 1942, when several hundred women were sent to work on the kok-saghyz (synthetic rubber) plantations in Jagielnica near Czortków.

During July and August 1942, the Jews from nearby villages, including Balkowce, Smykowce, and Gaje Wielkie, were brought into the Tarnopol ghetto. On August 31, 1942, at 4:30 A.M., the ghetto was surrounded by German and Ukrainian police, and the residents were ordered to gather at the public square.[10] A deportation Aktion was then conducted by the German and Ukrainian policemen, assisted by the Jewish Police, during which 2,600 to 2,800 Jews were rounded up. Only some of the Jews with work cards were exempted from the transport. Other railroad cars with Jews from Mikulińce, Zbaraż, and Strusów were added to the train leaving Tarnopol for the Bełżec extermination camp.[11]

After this Aktion, the Gestapo demanded from the Jewish Council 2 grams (0.7 ounce) of gold from each Jew, promising to stop the Aktions. The Judenrat handed over more than 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of gold, but the Aktions continued. In early September, the area of the ghetto was reduced, and Jews had to move into the smaller section within a few hours. Now the ghetto residents struggled to obtain work cards, improve or create hiding places, and buy forged documents or poison. Only a few people with sufficient money or connections were able to find a safe hiding place outside the ghetto.

On September 30, 1942, the second deportation Aktion took place. In the course of the Aktion, 750 Jews were rounded up and sent to the Bełżec extermination camp.[12] After this Aktion the ghetto was reduced in size. During further deportation Aktions in October and in early November, approximately 2,500 people were captured and deported.[13] In October 1942, more Jews arrived in the Tarnopol ghetto from other towns, including Kozłów and Mikulińce, as it was one of the few places where Jews could still reside. During the November deportation Aktion, about 1,000 Jews were rounded up for deportation and forced for two days to remain at a mill that served as a collection point. During these two days the Jewish Council and Jewish Police replaced their own relatives or people who paid them with other less fortunate members of the community.[14] In total, during the four Aktions in the second half of 1942, more than 6,000 Jews were deported to Bełżec.

In November 1942, a Jewish labor camp (*Julag*), a branch of the Janowska Street camp in Lwów commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Richard Rokita, was established in Tarnopol. Jewish craftsmen, as well as all able-bodied Jews, were placed in this camp. As of January 13, 1943, 5,246 Jews officially remained in the city, in the ghetto and in the labor camp combined, although others remained illegally.[15] Starting in April 1943, the Security Police, with the aid of the German Schutzpolizei, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, and the Jewish Police, regularly conducted Aktions in the ghetto, which resulted in the extermination of the Jews unfit to work and the transfer to labor camps of the able-bodied. On April 7, 1943, one of the ghetto inmates wrote: "Our end is coming constantly closer. We sense it and know it. . . . From January until April 1943, it was quiet. . . . In April everything started again. A small number of people from the ghetto were dragged away somewhere and murdered. 20 people. On Monday again 50 people, and so forth."[16]

On April 9, about 1,500 Jews were shot, leaving some 700 Jews in the ghetto. The ghetto was finally liquidated on June 18–20, 1943. On June 23, 1943, the city was officially declared to be "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*).[17]

Altogether, about 3,000 Jews from the ghetto were shot in the period from March to June of 1943.

In mid-July 1943, there were about 2,000 Jews remaining in the labor camp. On July 23, German police surrounded the Julag, and most of the camp inmates (about 1,500 people) were shot near the village of Petryków by the Gestapo and the Ukrainian police. With them were also shot the members of the Jewish Police from the former ghetto. About 100 people were sent to the Janowska Street camp in Lwów. Several hundred Jews avoided execution by hiding. To capture them the Gestapo promised that all those who voluntarily came out of hiding would be sent to the camp in Lwów. Some of those in hiding tried to defend themselves with grenades and guns; however, it was to no avail, as almost all were murdered or committed suicide. On July 31, 1943, several hundred Jews who emerged from hiding were sent to the station, where they

were held for one day in railroad carriages before being killed in the evening.[18]

Between 1941 and 1944, more than 10,000 Jews were killed in Tarnopol, about 6,000 Jews were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp, over 1,000 were sent to various labor camps, and several hundred died of disease and hunger in the ghetto.

Several people of Polish nationality in Tarnopol actively assisted Jews. Especially distinguished were Dr. Kolczycki, a physician with the railway administration, who helped Jews during Aktions; a Polish woman, Karola Pietroszyńska, who hid two Jews on her farm for nine months; and the Polish shoemaker Franciszek Stech and his wife, who employed a number of Jews, giving some fictitious jobs, so that they were registered with the German labor office. During the Aktions, they sheltered these Jews in their home.

Only about 750 Jews from Tarnopol and the surrounding area are known to have survived the Holocaust. Most of these survivors subsequently migrated to Poland.

On July 15, 1966, Hermann Müller was sentenced to life in prison by a German court in Stuttgart.

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry is derived from Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 234–253—an English translation by Shlomo Sneh and Francine Shapiro is available on jewishgen.org. Other relevant publications on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Tarnopol include the following: P. Korngrün, ed., *Tarnopol* (Jerusalem: Hevrat entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1955); Żaneta Margules, "Moje przeżycia w Tarnopolu podczas wojny," *BŻIH*, no. 36 (1960): 62–94; and Pesah Hertsog, *Be-tsel hanesher ha-shahor: 'Ayarati Tarnopol mitboseset be-damah* (Tel Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1996). Correspondence written in the Tarnopol ghetto in April 1943 has been published in Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2006), pp. 112–120.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/367, 2049, 3176, 4837, and 4845); BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, 208 AR-Z 294/59); DATO; GARF (7021-75-105); RGVA (1323-1-59); TsDAVO; USHMM (e.g., RG-02.140); VHF (e.g., # 2874, 11785, 41613); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 11; GARF, 7021-75-105, p. 187.
2. RGVA, 1323-1-59, p. 258, report of the Tarnopol squad (Mittsner) to the head of the Security Police and SD in Warsaw (department 1), September 21, 1941.
3. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 14 (July 6, 1941), no. 19 (July 11, 1941), no. 24 (July 16, 1941), and no. 28 (July 20, 1941).
4. GARF, 7021-75-105, pp. 136, 181, 187, and verso, gives the figure of 4,600 victims. Bacharach, *Dies sind meine letzten Worte*, p. 113, letter from Tarnopol, April 1943, gives almost 5,000. German sources put the number somewhat lower.
5. BA-BL, R 58/214, EM nos. 14, 19, and 28 (July 1941).
6. GARF, 7021-75-105, pp. 4–5.
7. Ibid., p. 5. For a list of the streets inside the ghetto, see Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, pp. 234–251.
8. GARF, 7021-75-105, p. 136; AŻIH, 301/3176, testimony of Róża Spiess, dates the Aktion on March 24.
9. TsDAVO, 4620-3-308, p. 106.
10. USHMM, RG-02.140, Herbert R. Ert, "The Diary of a Survivor."
11. GARF, 7021-75-105, pp. 136, 174, 187, 270.
12. Ibid., pp. 84, 134, 136.
13. Ibid., p. 85.
14. Margules, "Moje przeżycia," pp. 79–80.
15. TsDAVO, 4620-3-308, p. 106.
16. Bacharach, *Dies sind meine letzten Worte*, pp. 112–117.
17. Ibid., pp. 118–119; Verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 7/64, July 15, 1966, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 634.
18. GARF, 7021-75-105, pp. 134, 202.

TŁUMACZ

Pre-1939: Tłumacz, town, powiat center, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Tlumach, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tlumacz, Kreis Stanislau, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Tlumach, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Tłumacz is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) east-southeast of Stanisławów. There were 2,012 Jews living in Tłumacz in 1921 (35 percent of the total).

Hungarian forces occupied the town on July 7, 1941. Then in September 1941, a German civil administration took over. Tłumacz became part of the Kreis Stanislau, within Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann in Stanisławów from 1941 to 1944 was Regierungsrat Dr. Heinz Albrecht.



Jews board a deportation train in the Tłumacz ghetto, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #07516, COURTESY OF YIVO

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized and carried out by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Stanisławów, which from the end of 1941 to early November 1942 was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger; and from November 1942, by his former deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Oskar Brandt.

In Tłumacz itself, there were outposts of the German Criminal Police (Kripo) and the German Gendarmerie, as well as a detachment of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei), which took an active part in the Aktions.

During the period of administration by the Hungarian army (July–August 1941), generally it treated the Jews properly, sometimes hindering antisemitic Aktions organized by Ukrainian nationalists. Hungarian anti-Jewish measures were limited to organizing a Jewish Council and marking the Jews. In August 1941, about 1,200 to 1,500 Jewish refugees arrived in Tłumacz, having been deported from Hungary. The Ukrainians ordered them to be expelled to a camp near Horodenka, along with some local Jews who were helping them. The Ukrainians then tied them up with barbed wire and threw them into the Dniester River to drown. They also drove out the Jews from Tłumacz to Hocimierz and denounced them to the Germans as "Bolsheviks." The German officers, however, rejected the allegations. They disarmed the Ukrainians, beat them, and sent the Jews back to Tłumacz. On their return, the Jews found that their homes had been looted.[1]

With the transfer of authority to the Germans, conditions for the Jewish population rapidly deteriorated. The Germans soon confiscated a large portion of Jewish property, especially any valuables. They were registered and made to perform hard labor, during which they were beaten.

At the end of August 1941, after the shooting of several leading Jews on the authority of the Gestapo chief, Krüger, in Stanisławów, two SS men came to Tłumacz demanding that several prominent Jews also be turned in. The newly appointed heads of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), Eliyahu Redner and his deputy, Moshe Mendel Bildner, warned the men to hide. The Germans then shot Redner and Bildner for their disobedience. The Germans also threatened to shoot another 300 Jews, so the 3 in hiding gave themselves up and were killed.

After this incident, the Judenrat was reconstituted, with Dr. Steinberg as chairman on the advice of Haim Ritzer, who had been appointed chief of the Jewish Police by the Germans. Steinberg's deputy was Herzl Spirer, and Steinberg's brother also served on the Judenrat.

In October 1941, when the Jews of Tłumacz were ordered to turn in all their gold, silver, cash and foreign currency, furs, and soap to the Gestapo, the Judenrat was made responsible for its collection. These items were required to furnish 32 rooms for German administrators who had arrived in the town. On October 12, 1941, news arrived from Stanisławów that more than 10,000 Jews had been murdered there on the previous day by the Gestapo and the Ukrainian policemen, which spread alarm among the Jews of the region. During the winter of 1941–1942, many Jews from Tłumacz were seized and sent to work in various labor camps in the area.[2]

In the spring of 1942, about 1,500 Jews from the surrounding villages, including the village of Hołosków, were brought into Tłumacz, raising the town's population to about 3,500 Jews.[3] At the beginning of April 1942, the German SS officers Doppler, Schäfer, and Metz arrived from Horodenka and began to organize a series of anti-Jewish Aktions. On one occasion, more than 1,000 Jews were assembled on the pretext of registration. They were told to bring up to 27 kilograms (60 pounds) of luggage in order to allay fears about their fate. During this Aktion, the Jewish Police used force to bring people to the assembly point at the Polish school. Then the German authorities sent them to Stanisławów, where they were subsequently murdered.[4]

In another Aktion organized by the Security Police, probably on May 18, 1942, German security forces murdered some 160 Jews in Tłumacz and sent several hundred others to labor camps, including the Janowska Street camp in Lwów, where most died shortly afterwards. Two weeks later the Germans deported 78 more Jews.[5]

A ghetto was established in the town with the active participation of the Jewish Council, probably at the end of March or the beginning of April 1942. It was then enclosed a few weeks later, just after the deportation Aktion on May 18. However, the ghetto was not closely guarded, and it remained possible to escape. Nevertheless, food was very scarce, and the Jews had to barter their last possessions for flour. Owing to the unsanitary and overcrowded conditions, about 280 people died in the ghetto of disease and hunger. After the ghetto was sealed, the Judenrat organized the distribution of the limited amounts of bread, flour, potatoes, and thin milk still supplied to the ghetto. The size of the ghetto was reduced with successive deportations; by the end, it consisted only of a couple of housing blocks.[6]

Although the Judenrat exercised nominal authority inside the ghetto, real power lay in the hands of the Kripo, which took its orders from SS-Obersturmführer Schäfer of the Gestapo. Schäfer placed three Poles in charge of the ghetto, the former schoolteachers Banderowsky, Sitnik, and Zborowsky, all serving in the Kripo under the German Schubert. During the summer, these men were primarily responsible for the murder of several hundred Jews. For example, they ordered the Judenrat to set up a Jewish hospital staffed by Jews. However, shortly after its establishment, they murdered the patients and staff with their own hands. Sometimes these three Poles roamed through the ghetto, shooting and killing at random. On another occasion, several Jews were shot while working to remove gravestones from the Jewish cemetery. Jews who escaped from the ghetto and hid in the forests were mostly caught by Ukrainian policemen and handed over to the Gestapo.

The clearance of the ghetto started in mid-August 1942, once the Ukrainian militia had herded the remaining Jews from

the surrounding countryside into the ghetto on completion of the harvest. Seeing that many people sent for forced labor did not return, some Jews prepared bunkers within the ghetto, and the numbers reporting for work declined to only a few hundred. To entice more Jews out, the authorities provided increased rations and even permitted Jews to leave the ghetto for two hours a day. This did tempt some Jews to come out of hiding. However, a few days later the Gestapo and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. On September 8, the last large group was deported. On this occasion the Gestapo, SS men, and local policemen drove the Jews to the square, where members of the Judenrat, including its last head, Dr. Steinberg, were added to the waiting group. The Jews were then taken to the railway station and were either murdered in Stanisławów shortly afterwards or deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. As many as 2,000 Jews may have been included in these last deportations in August and September 1942.[7] The Germans kept back some 80 craftsmen to help sort out property from the ghetto, but these people were murdered only a few days later. In its situation report for December 1942, the Gendarmerie platoon in Stanisławów reported that the ghetto in Tłumacz had been liquidated.[8]

Some Jews managed to survive the liquidation by escaping from the ghetto after emerging from their bunkers or by jumping from the trains. However, most of the local population was unwilling to help them, as the Germans threatened with death anyone caught assisting Jews. Nevertheless, those who had long-standing contacts with local peasants, who were prepared to risk hiding them, had a better chance of surviving. Only about 30 surviving Jews returned to Tłumacz in the first days after its liberation by the Red Army in 1944, and 2 of these were murdered by Ukrainian nationalist partisans shortly afterwards. Most survivors soon left the town, immigrating to Israel or other countries in the West.

In 1945–1946 Heinz Albrecht was held captive, but in 1949 he again served in the local administration as an Oberregierungsrat (senior government official) in Hildesheim. Hans Krüger was tried before the State Court in Münster in 1968 and sentenced to life imprisonment. He died in 1988. Brandt died in 1948 in jail in Breslau.

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town can be found in Shlomo Blond et al., eds., *Tlumacz-Tlomitsh: Sefer Edut Ve-Zikaron (Memorial Book of Tlumacs)* (Tel Aviv: Tlumacz Society, 1976); in Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles* (Israel: Shlomo Blond, 1983); and also in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 264–265.

Documents and testimonies describing the fate of the Jews of Tłumacz are located in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1425, 3126, and 4977); DAI-FO (R 36-1-15); GARF (7021-73-19); USHMM (RG-02.088); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov, Samuel Fishman, and Martin Dean
trans. Michael Rosenbush

NOTES

1. Blond et al., *Tlumacz-Tlomitsh*, pp. cxxii–cxxiii.
2. Ibid., p. cxxiii.
3. GARF, 7021-73-19, p. 5; AŻIH, 301/4977 (Jehuda Feuer) and AŻIH, 301/1425 (Eugenia Seinfeld).
4. GARF, 7021-73-19, p. 18; AŻIH, 301/4977.
5. GARF, 7021-73-19, p. 27.
6. Ibid., pp. 19 and verso; Blond et al., *Tlumacz-Tlomitsh*, pp. cxxiii–cxxiv, cxli; USHMM, RG-02.088, "An Angel at My Doorstep," by Fran Finkelstein.
7. Blond et al., *Tlumacz-Tlomitsh*.
8. DAI-FO, R 36-1-15, pp. 1–2, situation report of Gend.-Zug Stanislau for December 1942.

TŁUSTE

Pre-1939: Tłuste, town, Zaleszczyki powiat, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Tolstoye, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tluste, Kreis Czortkow, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Tovste, Zalishchyky raion, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Tłuste is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) south of Tarnopol. On the eve of World War II, about 2,000 Jews lived in Tłuste out of a total population of some 3,000.[1] Under Soviet occupation from September 1939 until July 1941, some Jews were among those deported to Siberia by the Soviet authorities, which also established collective farms in the region.

On July 7, 1941, a local Ukrainian administration was organized in Tłuste as soon as the Soviets fled the town before the advancing German army. At this time, a train containing ammunition exploded and burned down the railroad station. That night local Ukrainian antisemites organized a pogrom against the Jews in the nearby village of Ułaszkowce (Jewish population 138 in 1921), murdering most of them. Further pogroms followed in other villages, causing many Jews to flee to Tłuste. A pogrom was also feared in Tłuste, but it was prevented with the aid of two local priests and other prominent Ukrainians in the town.[2] The arrival of a Hungarian garrison on July 10, 1941, helped to stabilize the situation. The Hungarian commandant organized a Jewish Council (Judenrat) based in the building of a bank and conducted a registration of the Jews, obliging them to wear distinguishing armbands. After a few weeks, some Jews deported from Hungary as noncitizens arrived in Tłuste and were made to perform forced labor. When the number of Jewish refugees in Tłuste became too great, some of these people were sent to Kamenets-Podolskii. Other refugees in Tłuste attempted to cross the border back into Hungary, but they risked being killed by German and Ukrainian patrols.[3]

In the meantime, in August 1941, authority had been transferred to a German civil administration. Tłuste became part of Kreis Czortkow, within Distrikt Galizien. At first, the Kreishauptmann was the former deputy Gestapo chief in Stettin, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Gerhard Littschwager, and from



The deportation of the Jewish population of Tłuste.
USHMM WS #44360

April 1942, former Stadthauptmann (city mayor) in Lwów, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Hans Kujath.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) based in Czortków. The heads of this office successively were SS-Obersturmführer Karl Hildemann (from October 1941 to October 1942), SS-Untersturmführer Hans Velde (from October 1942 to February 1943), and SS-Sturmscharführer Heinrich Peckmann (from February to September 1943). In Tłuste there was a post of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, both of which took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions. A man named Schab was particularly notorious among the Ukrainian policemen.[4]

With the transfer of power to the Germans, the situation of the Jews deteriorated severely. They were required to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David and forbidden to leave the limits of the town, appear on its main street, and leave their homes after dark. In the fall of 1941, Jews were prohibited from shopping in the market except for a brief two-hour period, and the Ukrainian police sometimes still beat them even then. All men aged between 14 and 60 had to perform forced labor on a regular basis, which was organized by the Jewish Council, headed by Dr. Aberman. The Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) assisted in collecting "contributions" in money and goods demanded by the German authorities.

On November 15, 1941 (according to some sources, in January 1942), 150 Jews from Tłuste were sent to work at the labor camp at Kamionki, and in March 1942, 120 more Jews were dispatched to the Borki Wielkie forced labor camp (both camps were not far from Tarnopol).[5] From February 1942, several hundred Jewish women were sent to work on the plantations for kok-saghyz—a plant similar to tobacco, used for the production of synthetic rubber, which under war conditions was considered a strategic resource. In charge of the plantation works was the Rubber Administration Office of the Generalgouvernement with its main office in Jagielnica headed by Kriegsverwaltungsrat Dr. Hanf. One of the branch offices was in Tłuste, which was responsible for rubber production on seven nearby estates. The Jews (mainly women) who worked on the plantations were not only from Tłuste but also from numerous other towns and villages of the region, including Czortków and Tarnopol. Initially the workers received some food and a daily wage of 2 złoty. Other Jews worked (some illegally) as craftsmen for the local population. Jewish survivor Adela Sommer, who made knit wear for local Ukrainians while in Tłuste, recalls: "One young man remarked he hoped that she wouldn't be killed until the gloves she was knitting for him were completed."[6]

In 1942, the German authorities conducted two deportation Aktions in Tłuste, sending Jews to the Bełżec extermination camp. The first Aktion took place on August 25 when 300 people were captured and deported to Bełżec in the same train with Jews from Czortków and Jagielnica.[7] After that Aktion, on September 20, all the Jews in Zaleszczyki, about 2,700 people, were moved to Tłuste.[8] The second Aktion took place on October 5, 1942, when 1,000 people were deported to Bełżec and about 120 people were murdered in the town.[9]

On December 1, 1942, on the order of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, a ghetto was formed in the town. The ghetto was an open one, meaning that unlike most other ghettos in Distrikt Galizien at this time, it was not isolated from the outside world.[10] Officially, 1,500 people lived in the ghetto,[11] but in reality, there were about 5,000 Jews living there. The ghetto existed for half a year.

In the winter of 1942–1943, a typhus epidemic broke out in the ghetto after the arrival of Jews from many places brought unbearable congestion. The death rate reached 6 to 8 people per day.[12] Sensing that the liquidation of the ghetto was only a matter of time, Jews prepared bunkers inside the ghetto or made plans to flee to the forest or hide with local peasants. On February 12, 1943, four drunken Gestapo men went on a rampage in the ghetto and shot 40 Jews in Tłuste.

On May 27, 1943, a squad of the Security Police from Czortków, together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto, shooting 3,000 Jews

at the Jewish cemetery.[13] Since some of the Jews managed to escape the killing by hiding, on June 6 another Aktion was conducted in Tłuste, during which an additional 1,000 people were arrested and shot in the cemetery.[14] Over the following days, in the course of searches for Jews in hiding, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen captured and shot several hundred more people.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, the forced labor camp for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*, ZALfJ) in Tłuste for workers on the kok-saghyz plantations remained in existence. In July 1943, there were 20 laborers there, and at the beginning of 1944, due to the influx of Jewish refugees from other estates, 450 workers. The Red Army entered Tłuste on March 23, 1944, but the battle for the town continued into April. At this time 65 or more of the surviving Jews perished when the Germans bombed the town.[15]

After the war, Gerhard Littschwager was under investigation by the State Prosecutor's Office in Darmstadt for some time; the investigation was closed in 1972. Hans Kujath also was under investigation for some time; the case was closed due to his death in 1963. Karl Hildemann died in 1945 in American captivity. Hans Velde died in 1943 from typhus. Heinrich Peckmann was acquitted by the State Court in Saarbrücken on August 25, 1962.

SOURCES Publications on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Tłuste include Gavriel Lindenberg, ed., *Sefer Tlustah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Telustah veha-sevivah be-Yirsrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1965); Baruch Milch, *Can Heaven Be Void?* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), p. 526; and Joseph J. Preil, ed., *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), pp. 193–197. An essay titled "History of Tluste/Tovste—My Story" was published by Douglas Hykle in 2006 (www.tovste.info/MyStory.php).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1310, 2860, 3281, 3298, 3337, 3360, 3491, 3882, 3886; and 302/98, 128); DATO; GARF (7021-75-107); USHMM (RG-50.002*0026); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Testimony of Julius Sommer in Preil, *Holocaust Testimonies*, p. 195.
2. AŻIH, 301/3337, 3281, 3491; 302/128 (in Yiddish) and 98; USHMM, RG-50.002*0026, oral history interview with Adela Sommer, 1983.
3. AŻIH, 301/3281.
4. Ibid., 301/3882, 3886.
5. GARF, 7021-75-107, pp. 82–83, 180.
6. USHMM, RG-50.002*0026.
7. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 180. Among those deported were also 70 Jewish women who worked on the kok-saghyz plantations.
8. Ibid., p. 141.
9. Ibid., p. 175. Milch, *Can Heaven Be Void?*, pp. 102–103, gives the figure of 200 killed on the spot.
10. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967): 18–19.
11. Ibid., p. 27.
12. Milch, *Can Heaven Be Void?*, p. 105. AŻIH, 301/3281, gives an average of 15 deaths per day.
13. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 181; USHMM, RG-50.002*0026; Lindenberg, *Sefer Tlustah*, p. 299.
14. GARF, 7021-75-107, p. 181; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," p. 27, table 3.
15. USHMM, RG-50.002*0026; AŻIH, 301/3281.

TREMBOWLA

Pre-1939: Trembowla, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Terebovlia, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Trembowla, Kreis Tarnopol, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Terebovlia, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Trembowla is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) south of Tarnopol. By June of 1941, there were probably around 1,700 Jews in the town in a total population of about 10,000 (about 3,000 Poles and 5,000 Ukrainians).[1]

Units of the German army occupied Trembowla on July 3, 1941. Initially, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. At the beginning of August 1941, power was transferred into the hands of a Nazi civil administration. Trembowla was incorporated into Kreis Tarnopol. Gerhard Hager was appointed the Kreishauptmann. He was succeeded after April 1942 by Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen. The anti-Jewish Aktions in Trembowla were organized and carried out by the regional office of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tarnopol. The office was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Edmund Schöne (July–October 1941), SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller (October 1941–May 1943), and then SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger (June 1943–March 1944).

In Trembowla, a German Gendarmerie post (consisting of about 30 German Gendarmes), a local office of the Criminal Police (Kripo), subordinate to the Security Police in Tarnopol, and a local Ukrainian police unit were established. These units took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions within the town. The local Ukrainian mayor during the German occupation, Wolodymyr Wawrzyszyn, was also an ardent antisemite.

Soviet officials abandoned the town starting on June 29, 1941, but only about 100 to 150 Jews were able to evacuate with them. On July 5, 1941, 3 Jews were murdered in Trembowla.[2] At this time a provisional Ukrainian administration was organized, and Ukrainians began to persecute the Jews, seizing them for cleaning tasks and plundering Jewish houses. On July 10, 1941, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) arrested 40 more Jews, supposedly

for forced labor. Instead they were taken to a military barracks, where the Ukrainians tortured and then shot them. One man was able to save himself by bribing the guards with his gold watch.[3]

In the summer of 1941, the German authorities required Jews to wear a Star of David in plain view and to hand over all money and valuables. Successive German officials also demanded or took large amounts of furniture from the Jews. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the area of the town without permission on pain of death.[4] The Ukrainian police was given a free hand to rob and search Jewish homes.

After several weeks, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 to 15 members was established, which the German occupying forces used to pass on their orders and restrictions to the Jewish population. The first head was Dr. Serat, who was then succeeded by a merchant named Goldstein. Once the civil administration was established, the labor office (Arbeitsamt) registered all Jews aged between 14 and 60, and these Jews had to perform forced labor. In October 1941, the Judenrat organized the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), headed by Grynfeld, who told his men that if they served the Germans loyally, they would be saved. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Judenrat established a soup kitchen for needy Jews, which also received some financial support from the offices of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) organization in Kraków and Lwów.[5]

On November 22, 1941, the Arbeitsamt sent 27 young Jews to the Borki Wielkie forced labor camp, near Tarnopol, where they worked repairing the railroad. Others were sent to similar camps, such as those in Kamionki and Stupki. As many Jews were shot or died of starvation in these camps, the Arbeitsamt subsequently demanded replacements. The Judenrat also raised a contribution from the Jews with the aim of bribing the German authorities to allow food to be sent to the camps. As people tried to avoid forced labor, both Ukrainian and Jewish policemen seized them off the streets, beating those who resisted.[6]

At the end of September 1942, the boundaries of the Trembowla ghetto were established. Then in October 1942, the Germans began to clear the smaller towns and villages of the region of their remaining Jewish population, and many Jews were resettled to Trembowla, including some from the neighboring towns of Strusów, Mikulińce, Janów, and Budzanów. The final date set for resettlement into the ghetto was November 3, 1942.[7]

Following the concentration of the Jewish population, the German security forces carried out a deportation Aktion in the town on November 5, 1942, during which they also killed 109 Jews on the spot. The occupiers deported 1,091 Jews (mostly those recently arrived in the town) to the extermination camp in Bełżec.[8] German Security Police from Tarnopol carried out the Aktion with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen.

On November 10, 1942, an order issued by the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Krüger, included Trembowla as one of the towns where the continued existence of a ghetto after December 1 was officially recognized.[9] Living inside the ghetto after the November Aktion were some 2,500 Jews. The ghetto consisted only of two small streets and was desperately overcrowded. According to available witness testimony, however, it appears that it was not fenced off from the rest of the town, as Jews going to work still moved freely outside the ghetto wearing their armbands. In the winter of 1942–1943, there was starvation in the ghetto, and hundreds died from typhus due to the unsanitary conditions. An isolation area was set up within the ghetto hospital to deal with those infected, but the disease still continued to spread.[10]

On April 7, 1943, a Security Police unit from Tarnopol, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian policemen carried out a cleansing Akion. The Jews were driven out onto the marketplace, and the Ukrainian police searched for those in hiding. After removing their outer clothing and surrendering any valuables, 1,100 Jews were escorted to a ditch near the village of Plebanowka and shot. Following this Aktion, the ghetto was further reduced in size. Then, at the beginning of June 1943, the ghetto in Trembowla was liquidated. All those Jews remaining were shot near Plebanowka. On June 3, 1943, 843 Jews were killed. On June 4, the Germans declared the town to be *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews); but the hunt for hidden Jews continued, including outside the ghetto, as some Jews had hidden on the Aryan side; and another 350 Jews were killed on June 5, 1943. The Germans spared only two engineers, two doctors, and three schnapps brewers as needed specialists at this time. They murdered these Jews later, apart from two who escaped.[11]

Trembowla was taken by the Red Army on March 23, 1944. Only between 50 and 100 Jews from Trembowla managed to survive the German occupation. Among the survivors was Sofia Kalski, who was assisted by Anna and Voitek Gutonski in Humniska after escaping from the Trembowla ghetto and hid in a hole for eight months until the Red Army arrived. Other survivors of the ghetto include Myra Genn (born 1938) and her mother Sabina, who managed to evade several roundups by hiding under the floor of their building, before fleeing to hide on the property of a former customer, Wincent Rajski.[12] Sofia Kalski, Myra Genn, and Myra's mother all migrated to the United States after the war.

Wawrzyszyn was tried before the regional court (Landgericht) in Munich in 1948 but was acquitted on all counts.[13]

SOURCES Several articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Trembowla can be found in the yizkor book: *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Trembovlah Strusov ve-Yanov veha-sevivah* (Bene Berak: Be-hotsa'at Irgun yots'e Trembovlah vehasevivah, 1981). Additional information can be found in the article by Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967); and in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 272–274.

Documents and eyewitness testimonies describing the fate of the Jews of Trembowla can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1421, 1422, 1423, 2149, 2150, 3697, 3983, and 4973); BA-L; DATO; GARF (7021-75-13); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2149, testimony of Dr. German Kollin, September 9, 1946.

2. GARF, 7021-75-13, p. 42; AŻIH, 301/2150, testimony of Wolf Aszkenaze, September 1946.

3. AŻIH, 301/4973, testimony of Chaskiel Sommerstein, July 10, 1945. GARF, 7021-75-13, pp. 45, 48 (and verso), dates the incident on July 11, stating 38 victims. Also see AŻIH, 301/2150; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1969-), Lfd. Nr. 99, pp. 432–434; *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Trembovlah*, p. 212.

4. AŻIH, 301/4973; *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Trembovlah*, pp. 218, 252.

5. AŻIH, 301/1422, testimony of Fini Dresdner, March 21, 1946; 301/2149 and 2150.

6. GARF, 7021-75-13, pp. 48 and verso; AŻIH, 301/2150 and 4973; *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Trembovlah*, pp. 218–220.

7. *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Trembovlah*, pp. 230, 254.

8. GARF, 7021-75-13, p. 49; AŻIH, 301/1423, testimony of Klara Szajowicz from Mikulińce, February 26, 1946.

9. Order of HSSPF Krüger on October 10, 1942, published in Tatiana Berenstein, ed., *Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961), pp. 344–346.

10. AŻIH, 301/1422, 2149, and 4973.

11. GARF, 7021-75-13, pp. 2, 6, 42 (and reverse), 49; *JuNS-V*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 634, p. 41; AŻIH, 301/2149 and 4973.

12. Myra Genn has given a video testimony; see VHF, # 44456, taped on August 19, 1998.

13. *JuNS-V*, vol. 3, Lfd. Nr. 99.

TYŚMIENICA

Pre-1939: Tyśmienica, town, Tłumacz powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Tismenitsa, raion center, Stanislav oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tysmienica, Kreis Stanislau, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post–1991: Tysmenytsa, raion center, Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Ukraine

Tyśmienica is located 10 kilometers (6 miles) east of Stanisławów. According to the 1931 census, there were 1,850 Jews living in Tyśmienica.[1] By mid-1941, there were probably more than 2,000 Jews in the town.

Hungarian armed forces occupied the town on July 3, 1941. A few weeks later, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Tyśmienica became part of Kreis Stanislau, within Distrikt Galizien. Regierungsrat Dr. Heinz Albrecht was the Kreishauptmann in Stanisławów from 1941 to 1944.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Tyśmienica were organized and carried out by the local Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Stanisławów. It was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Krüger from July 1941 to November 1942. In Tyśmienica itself, a German Gendarmerie post was set up, and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) was recruited from among the local residents.

During their brief control of the town, the Hungarian armed forces generally treated the Jews reasonably. The Hungarian forces ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council and also required the Jews to wear armbands and perform forced labor. By August 1941, a number of Jews expelled from Hungary had arrived in Tyśmienica, where they received aid from the local Jews. Soon afterwards, however, the German authorities ordered these refugees to move to Stanisławów, where most of them presumably were massacred on October 12, 1941.[2]

Following the transfer to a German civil administration in August, the situation of the Jews deteriorated. The Germans confiscated a large amount of Jewish property, especially any items of value. Jews over the age of eight had to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. The Judenrat, headed by Yakov Zigler, had to organize contingents of forced laborers, which were escorted to their workplaces by the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), headed by Eliahu Buchhalter. Soon, the head of the Gestapo in Stanisławów, Hans Krüger, made regular visits to Tyśmienica, which usually resulted in Jews being killed or taken away to Stanisławów with the assistance of Ukrainian policemen, never to be heard from again.[3]

A few days before Passover, in the spring of 1942, a ghetto area was demarcated for the Jews of Tyśmienica. It covered an area of about 300 by 350 meters (328 by 383 yards) and started at the Polish monastery but did not include any part of the market square. All the Jews living outside the demarcated area were forced to move inside it. Jews were escorted out of the ghetto every day to perform forced labor, and this gave them the opportunity to obtain some food and smuggle it into the ghetto for their starving families.[4]

After the creation of the ghetto, a number of Jewish families who owned farms around Tyśmienica were permitted to continue living outside. At night Jews from the ghetto would sneak out and visit these farms to obtain food. In addition, there were certain craftsmen who received permits to leave the ghetto to conduct their trades. These people had the possibility to smuggle in food, but they were only permitted to leave the ghetto when accompanied by the Jewish Police, and Ukrainian policemen also searched them on returning to the ghetto.

Living conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded and unsanitary. Widespread hunger led to cases of stomach typhus and dysentery, while the cramped conditions caused lice-born spotted typhus to flourish. The Jewish Council tried to do

what it could for the ghetto population; however, it only had the resources to supply skimmed milk to a few children. Food rations were limited to the small amounts the Germans permitted into the ghetto. The Judenrat ordered the creation of an epidemic hospital in which one doctor provided medical care for the sick. However, the treatment met with little success, and there were deaths from starvation and disease almost every day.[5]

According to the account in the yizkor book, the Germans liquidated the Tyśmienica ghetto in August 1942. The precise details of the liquidation Aktion remain unclear. It appears that the bulk of the Jews were transferred to the Stanisławów ghetto, where they were either killed in the city or were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp. Some of the younger able-bodied Jews either were transferred or made their own way to the Tłumacz ghetto, where around 80 Jews remained after that ghetto's liquidation, which had been completed by September 8, 1942.[6]

In Tyśmienica, initially around 30 craftsmen were kept alive to clear out the ghetto. They were accommodated together in one house. It appears that these Jews were also transferred subsequently to Stanisławów. One of them, Hirsh-Leib Fliker, a furrier, subsequently managed to escape from his German escort on a trip to purchase raw pelts in the villages in March 1943.[7]

According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 1,500 Jews passed through the camp or ghetto in Tyśmienica, and a total of 63 people were killed or died from hunger and disease. The remaining Jews were taken to Stanisławów.[8] Local inhabitants also witnessed the murder of groups of Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Tyśmienica, where they were forced to undress before being shot.[9]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Tyśmienica can be found in the following publications: Shlomo Blond, ed., *Tismenits; a matseyve oyf di khurves fun a farnikhteter yidishe kehile* (Tel Aviv: Hamenora, 1974); Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles* (Israel: Shlomo Blond, 1983); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 854.

Relevant documentation is located in these archives: AŻIH (302/136); DAI-FO; GARF (7021-73-9); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 9.
2. Blond, *Tismenits*, p. 120; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistiche Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 144–147.
3. Blond, *Tismenits*, p. 121.
4. Ibid., pp. 121–122.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 123; Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles*, p. 46.
7. Blond, *Tismenits*, pp. 124–125; Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles*, pp. 48–49.
8. GARF, 7021-73-9, pp. 77, 80.
9. Blond, *Tismenits*, pp. 125–126.

ZBARAŻ

Pre-1939: Zbaraż, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zbarazh, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zbaraz, Kreis Tarnopol, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Zbarazh, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Zbaraż is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Tarnopol. The 1931 census recorded 3,000 Jewish residents. During World War II, the Jewish population reached 5,000 with the arrival of refugees from western Poland.

The town was occupied by German troops on July 4, 1941. Until August 1941, Zbaraż was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), but authority was then transferred to a German civil administration. Zbaraż became part of Kreis Tarnopol, in Distrikt Galizien. Until April 1942, the Kreishauptmann in Tarnopol was first Gerhard Hager, then Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen.

Anti-Jewish Aktions in Zbaraż were organized and conducted by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tarnopol, which between late July and October 1941 was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Edmund Schöne; from October 1941 to May 1943, by SS-Sturmbannführer Herman Müller; and from June 1943 to March 1944, by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger. Zbaraż itself had posts of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, which both took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the days preceding July 4, 1941, Ukrainian nationalist antisemites and German soldiers engaged in anti-Jewish violence in the town in which around 20 Jews were murdered and two synagogues burned down. Soviet reports indicate that dozens of Soviet prisoners of war also were killed.[1] In mid-July, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). For "health reasons" the head of the local community council declined to serve, and a man named Feder was appointed as its head.[2] That same month, Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David for identification purposes and to turn in all gold and valuable items. Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits and were subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

On September 6, 1941, an SD-Einsatztrupp from Tarnopol under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Schöne arrived in Zbaraż from Tarnopol and ordered all men capable of work to assemble with shovels. The German Security Police selected more than 70 members of the intelligentsia and then shot them in the Lubianka Forest. Among the victims was the head of the Judenrat, Feder.[3]

Shortly afterwards the Germans appointed Pinchas Gruenfeld, a refugee from western Poland, as chairman of the

Judenrat. According to Jewish survivor Jakob Littner, Gruenfeld carried out German orders without regard for the interests of the local community. The Judenrat also organized the Jewish Police, which collected contributions from the Jewish community using force where necessary. Jewish men were put to forced labor on railroad construction for no pay. Others were sent to forced labor camps, but the winter of 1941–1942 passed without further major incidents.

In the second half of 1942, in four deportation Aktions, Jews were sent from Zbaraż to the Bełżec extermination camp. In late August 1942, Jewish fugitives started to arrive in Zbaraż from Łanowce and Wiśniowiec in neighboring Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, where the ghettos had already been liquidated. Then on August 31, the first Aktion took place in Zbaraż. The Jewish Council was forced to select 500 old and sick Jews, who were taken to Tarnopol and, from there, together with other Jews, were transported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[4] On September 30, the second Aktion took place, with 260 more Jews selected for deportation and taken to Bełżec via Tarnopol.[5] On October 21–22, as part of the third Aktion, 960 Jews were deported to Bełżec, a smaller group was sent to the Janowska Street camp in Lwów, and around 130 were killed on the spot.[6]

Following the third Aktion, on October 25, 1942, a Jewish ghetto was established in Zbaraż for around 2,000 Jews near the old horse-trading market. Local Jews, together with others brought in from nearby Podwołoczyska were jammed into a few decrepit shacks located near the bathhouse and the synagogue. Overcrowding was severe, with about 20 people sharing each room.[7] It was an "open ghetto," but the perimeter was guarded internally by Jewish and externally by German and Ukrainian police. Jews only left the ghetto under guard to go to their places of work. The restricted movement made it difficult to find food. Around this time, anticipating further Aktions, Jews began to prepare hiding places in the ghetto and in the nearby forest. The destruction of the Jewish community continued on November 8–9, when another 1,000 people were deported to Bełżec. In total, around 3,000 Jews fell victim to the four Aktions.

On November 10, 1942, the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) of the Generalgouvernement, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, proclaimed that Zbaraż was one of the towns in which a Jewish residential district would be permitted. Remaining Jews in all other locations were forced to move to these ghettos.[8] In Podwołoczyska there was a labor camp, where some Jews from Zbaraż worked.

The winter of 1942–1943 was very hard on the remnants of the community, as hunger and illness took their toll.[9] Jews continued periodically to be deported to various forced labor camps in the area, including those in Kamionki and Hłuboczek. Some Jews were able to avoid these transports by bribing the Judenrat.

On April 7, 1943, a Security Police detachment from Tarnopol, together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, conducted another Aktion in the ghetto. In its course, more than 1,000 Jews, including members of the Jewish Police, were shot in ditches near the fuel storage tank at the Zbaraż railroad station.[10] On June 9, 1943, the ghetto was finally liquidated: on that day a Security Police detachment from Tarnopol, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, captured and shot several hundred Jews.[11]

Some Jews escaped from the ghetto to the nearby woods, but they remained vulnerable to local informants and faced constant food shortages. The German Gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen regularly combed the woods in search of the remaining Jews; those captured were shot on the spot. On June 19, 1943, 150 Jews were captured and killed in the forest 7 kilometers (4.5 miles) outside the town.[12] Only around 60 Zbaraż Jews survived the German occupation; among them were Jakob Littner and his companion and future wife, Janina Korngold.

Of the German officials who served in the region, Harbou died in 1946 in the detention camp in Dachau; Herman Müller was sentenced to life in prison on July 15, 1966, in Stuttgart; and Wilhelm Krüger was under investigation for some time after the war, but the case against him was closed eventually, owing to insufficient evidence.

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jewish population of Zbaraż can be found in the following publications: Jakob Littner, *Aufzeichnungen aus einem Erdloch* (Munich, 1948); Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 189–202; Moshe Sommerstein, ed., *Sefer Zbaraz* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Former Zbaraz Residents, 1983); Wolfgang Koeppen, *Jakob Littners Aufzeichnungen aus einem Erdloch* (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag, 1992); Kurt Nathan Gräbler, ed., *Journey through the Night: Jakob Littner's Holocaust Memoir* (New York: Continuum, 2000); and Roland Ulrich and Reinhard Zachau, eds., *Jakob Littner: Mein Weg durch die Nacht: Mit Anmerkungen zu Wolfgang Koeppens Textadaptation* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Zbaraż can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/350, 1725, 2177, 2571, 3554, 3772, 4853; 211/541); BA-L (ZStL, Verfahren 208 AR-Z 294/59 case against Raebel et al.); BWSL (EL 317 III, Bü 1408); DATO; GARF (7021-75-4); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2571, testimony of Dr. Marek Szmajuk; 301/3554, testimony of Icchok Lilien; GARF, 7021-75-4, p. 9.
2. Gräbler, *Journey through the Night*, p. 31.
3. AŻIH, 301/2571; GARF, 7021-75-4, pp. 1, 70. According to the report of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) in Zbaraż to the JSS in Kraków, June 13, 1942, 72 people were shot (AŻIH, JSS, 211/541).
4. Littner, *Aufzeichnungen*, p. 65; Urteil Schwurgericht Stuttgart, Ks 7/64, gegen Paul Raebel u.a., July 15, 1966 (see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 [Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998], Lfd. Nr. 634).
5. GARF, 7021-75-4, pp. 3 and verso, 39; Urteil Schwurgericht Stuttgart, Ks 7/64, gegen Paul Raebel u.a., July 15, 1966 (*JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 634).

6. GARF, 7021-75-4, p. 39; Littner, *Aufzeichnungen*, pp. 86–87; Urteil Schwurgericht Stuttgart, Ks 7/64, gegen Paul Raebel u.a., July 15, 1966 (*JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 634).

7. Gräbler, *Journey through the Night*, p. 54; AŻIH, 301/2571; 301/3554.

8. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.

9. Sommerstein, *Sefer Zbaraz*, p. 40.

10. GARF, 7021-75-4, pp. 3 and verso, 40, 47, 49; Littner, *Aufzeichnungen*, pp. 92–96; Urteil Schwurgericht Stuttgart, Ks 7/64, gegen Paul Raebel u.a., July 15, 1966 (*JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 634).

11. GARF, 7021-75-4, pp. 4, 22, 41; Urteil Schwurgericht Stuttgart, Ks 7/64, gegen Paul Raebel u.a., July 15, 1966 (*JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 634). Estimates of the number of victims range from 300 to 600.

12. GARF, 7021-75-4, pp. 60 and verso.

ZBORÓW

Pre-1939: Zborów, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zborov, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zborow, Kreis Tarnopol, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Zboriv, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Zborów is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) west-northwest of Tarnopol. In 1921, there were 1,086 Jews living in the town (29.1 percent), and in 1931, 1,900 Jews.

Zborów was occupied by German troops on July 3, 1941. Until August, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), but then authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Zborów was incorporated into Kreis Tarnopol, within Distrikt Galizien. The position of Kreishauptmann in Tarnopol was held in turn by Gerhard Hager (until April 1942), then Mogens von Harbou und von der Hellen.

The Tarnopol outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) organized and conducted the anti-Jewish Aktions in the town. SS-Hauptsturmführer Edmund Schöne headed the unit from the end of July until October 1941; SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller succeeded him from October 1941 until May 1943; and from June 1943 on, SS-Hauptsturmführer Wilhelm Krüger was in charge. There was a German Gendarmerie post, a Criminal Police (Kripo) outpost (reporting to the Tarnopol branch of the Security Police), and a squad of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, all based in Zborów that participated in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

At the start of the occupation, SS forces killed 600 Jews in Zborów, according to a German Einsatzgruppen report, "in retaliation for Soviet atrocities."[1] Maria Cukier testified that the victims were killed in two separate locations, in a ditch just outside the town and in the courtyard of the former Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) building.[2]

In the summer of 1941, the occupation authorities ordered Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and to turn in all their gold and valuables. Jews were assigned to perform forced labor, which included working as servants for the Germans. Jews were forbidden to leave the town and were subjected to systematic assault and robbery by the Ukrainian policemen. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the town, and through it all the orders and instructions of the German authorities were delivered to the Jewish population.

On October 16, 1941, a further anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Zborów. At that time an SD squad from Tarnopol, which SS-Hauptsturmführer Edmund Schöne commanded, shot around 600 Jews (including women and children) about 2 or 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) outside the town; the victims were selected and gathered in the market square on German instructions by the Jewish Council.[3]

Some information about living conditions in Zborów is available from letters sent to a relative who was a prisoner in Germany. By April 1942, the Jews were forced to sell their last possessions to buy something to eat, and a soup kitchen had been opened for the needy. As news arrived of killings and deportations in other towns, the Jews did not expect to survive the end of the year.[4]

The next Aktion was conducted in the late summer of 1942, on August 29. On that day, 220 Jews were rounded up, mostly children and the elderly, and, together with Jews from other localities in Kreis Tarnopol, they were deported to the Bełżec extermination camp.[5] After this Aktion, Jews from the villages of Jezierna (Ozeriany), Zalozce, and Pomorzany were moved into the town.[6]

In accordance with the order of SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) in the Generalgouvernement, a ghetto was established in Zborów on November 20, 1942.[7] About 3,000 Jews were enclosed within the ghetto, including the remaining Jews from nearby villages. The ghetto was located on two streets near the river and was surrounded with barbed wire. Dozia Blustein has described living conditions there. Her family shared a three-room apartment with four other families. Each day hunger became more acute and sanitary conditions worsened, leading to an outbreak of typhus. People were dying daily by the dozen. Some local non-Jews used to smuggle food into the ghetto, among them Kola Leskiv, who also hid Dozia and her mother in his house in Jezierna after they escaped from the Zborów ghetto.[8] There was a hospital in the ghetto, but it soon became overcrowded due to the rapid spread of typhus. People were lying next to each other on the floor with only straw for a bed. The only Jewish doctor came by once a day, but there was little that could be done for the hundreds of patients. According to one estimate, around half of those infected died of typhus.[9]

The Jews in the ghetto performed a variety of forced labor tasks. These included road construction, factory work, and sewing for the Germans. One group of Jewish girls was assigned to perform laundry work and gardening at the Gestapo

headquarters. Some Jews, especially able-bodied men, were transferred to the forced labor camp in Zborów in early 1943. Their families remained in the ghetto.[10]

In the spring of 1943, an underground organization led by Levy Remer was active in the Zborów ghetto. The organization collected weapons and constructed bunkers in preparation for the ghetto's impending liquidation. On April 9, 1943, the first Aktion took place against the ghetto. On that day, a squad of Security Police from Tarnopol, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen, shot about 2,300 Jews. On June 5, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. When the Germans and Ukrainians came to clear the ghetto, they encountered armed resistance, so they set fire to some of the buildings to flush out the Jews in hiding.[11]

In the spring of 1942, a Jewish forced labor camp was established in the town, which formed part of the series of camps along the Transit Highway 4 (Durchgangsstrasse, or DG IV) from Lwów to Podwołoczyska. Able-bodied Jews from Zborów and the vicinity were placed in the camp. The inmates were used to build and repair roads. In November 1942, branches of this camp were created in the villages of Zalozce and Olejów.[12] In October 1942, there were 420 inmates in the camp.[13] SS-Schütze Erich Klaus was the first commandant of the camp. From August until November 1942, the camp was under the command of SS man Hans Sobotta. The camp was liquidated on July 23, 1943, when all the inmates were shot, about 500 people in all.[14]

In Jezierna, 14 kilometers (9 miles) to the east of Zborów, another Jewish labor camp was organized. Its inmates, as well as the prisoners in the Zborów camp, were used for road construction and repair. In July 1942, in the village of Zagrobela, not far from Tarnopol, a branch of this camp was established. At first SS-Unterscharführer Erich Minkus (who died in 1945) was the commandant of the Jezierna camp, and from April 1942 on, SS-Scharführer Richard Dyga (who died in 1961 while under investigation). The branch of the camp in Zagrobela was headed by Thomas Hasenberg (who was convicted in Stuttgart in 1966). The camp was liquidated on July 23, 1943, by shooting all the inmates (260 people).[15]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Zborów can be found in the following publications: A. Zilberman, ed., *Yizkor Bukh Zborov* (Israel: Landsmanshaft Zborov un Umgebung in Israel, 1975); "Zborov," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972); "Zborov," in Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 202–205; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 971–972.

Documentation regarding the fate of Zborów's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1643, 2520, 3777); BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (208 AR-Z 249/59, case against Raebel et al.); BWSL (EL 317 III, Bü 1408); DATO; GARF (7021-75-5); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission materials, on the very first day of the occupation 830 Jews were killed in Zborów (GARF, 7021-75-5, p. 4).
2. AŻIH, 301/2520, testimony of Maria Cukier.
3. Verdict of LG-Stutt, Ks 7/64, July 15, 1966, in the case against Paul Raebel et al. (*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 [Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998], Lfd. Nr. 634).
4. Zilberman, *Yizkor Bukh Zborov*, pp. 84–85.
5. GARF, 7021-75-5, pp. 3 and verso. According to other data, *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 634, the Aktion took place in the fall of 1942, and at least 600 people were deported to Bełżec.
6. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludnosci zydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 11. There were 1,106 Jews in Jezierna in June 1942, but some of them were deported to Bełżec at the end of August 1942; in 1931, 704 Jews lived in Zalozce; in 1942, there were 1,450 Jews in Pomorzany, but some of them were deported to Bełżec.
7. Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942; Zilberman, *Yizkor Bukh Zborov*, p. 175.
8. Testimony of Dozia Blustein, in J. Sigelman, ed., *Memorial Book of Jezierna* (Israel, 1971), pp. 352–349 (English section); see also Iakiv Suslenskyi, *They Were True Heroes: Citizens of Ukraine, Righteous among the Nations* (Kiev: Society "Ukraine," 1995), pp. 117–118.
9. Zilberman, *Yizkor Bukh Zborov*, pp. 89, 180.
10. Testimony of Dozia Blustein, pp. 352–349 (English section).
11. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, p. 205. Zilberman, *Yizkor Bukh Zborov*, p. 94, estimates 1,500 victims of the April Aktion.
12. Tatiana Berenstein, "Praca przymusowa ludności żydowskiej w tzw. dystrykcie Galicja," *BŻIH*, no. 69 (1969): 33, 45.
13. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 11.
14. GARF, 7021-75-5, p. 12.
15. *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 634.

ZŁOCZÓW

Pre-1939: Złoczów, town, powiat center, Tarnopol województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zolochev, raion center, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zloczow, Kreis center, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Zolochiv, raion center, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Złoczów is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) east of Lwów. On the eve of World War II, there were around 7,800 Jews living in Złoczów.[1]

German forces occupied Złoczów on July 2, 1941. At first, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. A German civilian administration took over control in August 1941. Złoczów became the ad-



Soviet troops exhume a mass grave in Złoczów, 1944. Złoczów was the site of Aktions against Jews from July 3 to 7, 1941, and from April 3 to 4, 1943.
USHMM WS #86588, COURTESY OF HERMAN LEWINTER

ministrative center of Kreis Zloczow, within Distrikt Galizien. Until January 1943, the Kreishauptmann was Regierungsassessor Hans Mann. He was then replaced by Dr. Otto Wendt. Until the fall of 1942, the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Tarnopol organized and carried out the anti-Jewish Aktions in Złoczów. Subsequently, that function shifted to the office of the Sipo and SD in Lwów (KdS Lemberg) and the post of the Criminal Police (Kripo) based in Złoczów, headed by a Criminal Police official from Vienna, Otto Sigmund.

According to a German Einsatzgruppen report, in Złoczów "before the Russians fled . . . they arrested and killed in all about 700 Ukrainians. In retribution, the [Ukrainian] militia arrested several hundred Jews and shot them, on instructions from the Wehrmacht. The number of Jews killed was between 300 and 500."[2] A mobile group of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), led by I. Klymiv (codename "Legenda"), initiated the pogrom. On July 3, members of this group rounded up and confined hundreds of Jews in a fortress. There they made the Jews dig up the victims of the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) with their bare hands. Then they killed the Jews on the spot, and the slaughter spread into the town itself. The killing went on for four days. According to the testimony of Jewish witnesses, thousands of Jews were killed; but the actual toll of the mass slaughter was more likely around 1,400. (According to the testimony of witnesses from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission [ChGK], about 3,500 Jews were killed; that figure included 300 women.)[3] Several days later, on July 10, a detachment of Security Police (part of Einsatzgruppe z.b.V. [for special purposes]) shot another 300 Jews selected from among the town's professionals.

On orders from the German administration, the Jews remaining in Złoczów formed a 12-man Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Dr. Sigmunt Majblum. Subsequently, the Jewish Police, led by D. Landsberg, was established as the enforcement arm of the Judenrat.[4] Jews were made to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Germans confiscated most of the Jews' belongings, especially any valuable items, and they introduced a series of restrictive measures against the Jews. Jews were required to register and to perform various kinds of hard labor for little or no pay, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the town. The Germans also imposed a large financial contribution on the Jews, which was paid by the Judenrat.

In the fall of 1941, the Germans confiscated all Jewish-owned apartments and evicted those Jews living on the town's main streets. A curfew was also enforced from 6:00 P.M to 6:00 A.M., and Jews were not permitted to shop after 10:00 A.M. In November 1941 and at the beginning of 1942, the German authorities sent several hundred Jews to the labor camp in Lackie Wielkie, leaving 5,833 Jews in the town. Soon typhus broke out in the camp, and it quickly spread to the Jews in Złoczów.[5]

As many Jews had no source of income, from early in the occupation, people had to barter their remaining possessions for food at exorbitant prices. In the spring of 1942, the Judenrat organized a soup kitchen to help the poor. There was also a small hospital, staffed with Jewish doctors. In July 1942, another group of young men was rounded up, and they were sent to the labor camps in Sasów, Lackie Wielkie, Płuhów, and Kozaki.

Some sources indicate that a form of open ghetto was set up in Złoczów, at some time in 1942, perhaps in the spring, before the establishment of the enclosed ghetto in December. The Jews were concentrated in one part of town but could still move about within the town limits.[6]

In 1942, the principal means of killing the Jews of Złoczów was to send them on a train to the Bełżec extermination camp. In mid-August 1942, the Judenrat was requested to prepare a list of 2,500 Jews unfit for work. In the course of the first mass deportation Aktion, on August 28 and 29, 1942, the Germans sent some 2,000 Jews to Bełżec.[7] The Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Tarnopol, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Müller, carried out that Aktion with the assistance of German and Ukrainian policemen and the Jewish Police.[8] After that, 4,172 Jews remained in Złoczów.[9] The second Aktion took place on November 2, 1942, during which some 2,500 more Jews were deported to Bełżec. A detachment of the Security Police from Lwów, under the command of SS-Oberscharführer Karl Wöbke, together with members of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, carried out the Aktion. First the combined police forces combed the Jewish residential area, which at the time was not enclosed by a fence, and assembled those Jews they could catch at the so-called Green Ring. From there the Jews were escorted in groups to the railway station. Many Jews were shot on the spot during the roundup.[10]

On December 1, 1942, the Germans established an enclosed ghetto in Złoczów in which they confined the Jews still in the town, as well as Jews brought in from the surrounding villages

(e.g., Gołogory, Sasów, and Biały Kamień). For example, Herman Zeigler recalled that announcements were posted on the walls in Sasów ordering the Jews to move to the Złoczów ghetto within one week. The Jewish workers in the Sasów labor camp were excluded, but all their family members were transferred.[11] All told, there were about 4,000 Jews in the Złoczów ghetto at this time. According to one Soviet source, the ghetto was located on Mickiewicz and Targowa Streets. It was fenced using barbed wire, as well as the existing house walls. There was only one gate, guarded by the Ukrainian police. The severe overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in the ghetto soon led to an epidemic of typhus.[12]

Subsequently the typhus epidemic served as the grounds for liquidating the ghetto. Some sources indicate that Judenrat head Majblum refused to sign a document declaring that the ghetto was being eliminated because of typhus, and he was killed. Deputy Kreishauptmann Gerhard von Jordan apparently played a sinister role in the ghetto's destruction. He claims to have ordered the liquidation in a document he signed using the fictitious identity "Politruk-SS." A German Security Police detachment, accompanied also by Jewish Police from Lwów, and assisted by the local Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, promptly liquidated the ghetto in an Aktion that was carried out primarily on April 3 and 4, 1943. In total, some 3,500 Jews were shot near the village of Jelechowice.[13]

Many Jews had prepared bunkers and hiding places inside the ghetto. The shootings continued for several weeks afterwards, as Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmerie continued to search for those in hiding.[14]

A labor camp remained in the town after the liquidation of the ghetto. The occupiers had set up the camp towards the end of 1942 under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Josef Grzimek. The prisoners in this camp were employed in a workshop and on the construction of a railway line. The Germans liquidated the camp in July 1943.[15]

Thanks to the help and backing of Josef Meyer, the Kreislandwirt in Złoczów, a group of Jews managed to survive. Until November 1942, Meyer did not believe that the German occupiers were exterminating Jews in gas chambers. When he finally grasped this reality, he did his utmost to help them. He made reasonable arrangements for the work to which they were assigned; he saw to their food supplies; and he gave them the chance to hide during the roundups. In Israel after the war, Meyer was awarded the title Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

Two secret groups were established in the Jewish labor camp. P. Nachumovits led one group; H. Safran, the other. The group headed by Nachumovits—about 30 strong—managed to escape into the woods, where they tried to prepare a bunker. However, peasants in a neighboring village turned them in to the Germans, who killed most of the group. The members of Safran's group were also betrayed to the Germans, who arrested and shot them. At the time of the shooting, Safran jumped one of the Germans and grabbed his pistol but was killed from behind by a member of the Ukrainian police.

After the war, Otto Wendt was a Staatssekretär in Lower Saxony, Germany. For a while, he was under investigation; it was discontinued in 1969. Otto Sigmund was extradited to the Soviet Union in 1949, where he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to prison. He died in a Soviet jail. Hermann Müller was sentenced to life in prison for his part in the killings in Złoczów as well as other crimes.

SOURCES Relevant information may be found in these publications: Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 217–223; Thomas Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*" *in Galizien. Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), pp. 256–258; Israel Gutman et al., eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich: Piper, 1995), pp. 1336–1337; Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967); *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 986–988.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Złoczów can be found in the following archives: AAN (119/1, Personal File 5, pp. 56–63); AŻIH (e.g., 211/544; 301/87, 2850, 3285, 3752, 3776, 3777, 4015, 4670, 4834, 4991, 5879); BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (e.g., B 162/19262); DALO; GARF (7021-67-80); TsGAMORF (236-2675-134); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.084); VHF (e.g., # 8443, 21772); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 12. See also TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, which gives the figure of 8,000 inhabitants.
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-67-80, pp. 4–7.
4. AŻIH, 301/3550, testimony of Anna Ulreich; 301/87, testimony of Mendel Ruder.
5. Ibid., 301/3550; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 12.
6. AŻIH, 301/3550; VHF, # 21772, testimony of Fani Fulero (née Fanka Batisz).
7. GARF, 7021-67-80, pp. 14, 15; Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*," pp. 256–257.
8. See Urteil LG-Stutt, Ks 7/64, July 15, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd Nr. 634.
9. Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 12.
10. See Urteil LG-Stutt, Ks 5/65, April 29, 1968, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 27 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 671, pp. 704–707. For this and other crimes, Karl Wöbke was sentenced to nine years in prison.
11. AŻIH, 301/3776, testimony of Herman Zeigler; 301/3777, testimony of Chaim Wander; GARF, 7021-67-80, p. 6; Polizeiverordnung des HSSPF Krüger über die Errichtung jüdischer Wohnbezirke, November 10, 1942, in *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements*, November 11, 1942.

12. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134; VHF, # 21772.

13. Gutman et al., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, p. 1337; Sandkühler, "*Endlösung*," pp. 257–258.

14. VHF, # 21772; BA-L, B 162/19262, p. 25; AAN, 119/1, Personal File 5, Feld-Urteil gegen Gend.-Meister Walter Schlamilch, p. 58; GARF, 7021-67-80, p. 75 (forensic medical document). According to the ChGK concluding report for the Zolochev raion, more than 5,000 people were shot (p. 78). Likely, this figure is too high.

15. Tatiana Berenstein, "Praca przymusowa ludności Żydowskiej w tzw. dystrykcie Galicja," *BŻIH*, no. 69 (1969): 32, 36.

ŻÓŁKIEW

Pre-1939: Żółkiew, town, powiat center, Lwów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zholkva, raion center, L'vov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zolkiew, Kreis Lemberg-Land, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Zhovkva (aka Nesterov), L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Żółkiew is located just over 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) north-northwest of Lwów. In 1921, the Jewish population was 3,718 (out of a total of 7,867). In 1931, there were about 4,400 Jews residing in Żółkiew.[1] By June 1941, due to an influx of Jewish refugees mainly from western Poland, the Jewish population had increased to about 5,000 people.[2]

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Żółkiew on June 29, 1941, and the town was initially placed under a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). A few days after taking the town, German soldiers burned down the synagogue, and a pogrom erupted in which several Jews were killed. The Jews established an informal Jewish committee in early July to ameliorate the brutal roundups of Jews for forced labor. Subsequently, the Ortskommandantur converted the committee into a Jewish Council (Judenrat) chaired by Dr. Febus Rubinfeld, which had to ensure the fulfillment of German demands.[3] The German authorities imposed a curfew and a daily labor quota on the community. Jews working on labor details suffered from constant abuse and harassment.

In August 1941, Żółkiew became part of Kreis Lemberg-Land, in Distrikt Galizien. The Kreishauptmann was Otto Bauer from September 1941 until March 1942; Werner Becker then served until January 1943. Baron Joachim von der Leyen replaced him in turn. The town of Żółkiew was governed by Landkommissar Rockendorf, who soon demanded a contribution from the Jews of 250,000 rubles, 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of gold, and 100 kilograms (220 pounds) of silver. At this time the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Ukrainische Hilfspolizei) also beat and arrested 12 prominent Jews, including the head of the Judenrat, and the community was informed that these Jews would be shot if the ransom were not paid. After considerable effort, assisted by some non-Jews, the community paid the ransom. In late December 1941, the Jews were required to surrender all their fur clothing (about 5,000 items) on pain of death.[4]

Daily labor details continued, and labor tasks for Jews included loading railroad cars at the station and repaving the town's streets with tombstones from the Jewish cemetery. The Germans also ordered the establishment of the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst); 18 men served under Phillip Czaczkes. The Jewish Police had to ensure that the labor quotas were met. The Jewish Council attempted to improve conditions for the Jews by paying bribes to key Germans and Ukrainian policemen.[5] The many remaining smaller Jewish-owned properties that had not been confiscated by the Soviets were now confiscated by the Germans, who also charged the former owners rent.[6]

In March 1942, a group of SS men arrived from the forced labor camp in Lackie Wielkie and rounded up about 60 male Jews for work there. When one of these men escaped back to Żółkiew a few days later, he was recaptured and hanged in Lackie Wielkie. Others died there of exhaustion, hunger, and beatings, despite the efforts of the Jewish Council to send them food packets.[7]

German Security and Order Police units conducted the first Aktion on March 15, 1942, in which they deported 700 Jews, designated as incapable of work, to the Bełżec extermination camp; it was probably the first deportation to this destination. The Jews were informed that they would be sent to drain the swamps near Pińsk. However, when after many days Mina Astmann and Mala Thalenfeld returned to Żółkiew, they revealed that the Jews had been forced to undress before being murdered. The two women had only managed to escape because German security measures in Bełżec were not yet perfected at this time. Many Jews disbelieved the women initially, but other reports confirmed that trains delivered Jews to a camp near Bełżec and returned carrying only their property. A cloud of smoke hung over the camp from which terrible screams were sometimes heard. Over the summer, deportation trains from other towns also passed through Żółkiew.[8]

The German Security Police, assisted by men of the Order Police and Ukrainian police, conducted a second Aktion on November 22–23, 1942, during which about 2,400 people were sent to Bełżec. Knowing what to expect, many Jews managed to break holes in the moving railcars with tools and escape, while others went into hiding in town, some with local non-Jews. During and just after the Aktion, it is estimated that about 800 Jews (including some who had jumped from the trains) were shot and buried in and around Żółkiew, mainly at the Jewish cemetery. Local ethnic Germans were especially active in rooting out those in hiding.[9]

At the beginning of December 1942, the Germans established an enclosed ghetto in Żółkiew, surrounded with barbed wire. The remaining Jews in the town, plus arrivals from other nearby towns and villages (including about 1,000 from Kulików and some from Mosty Wielkie), were forced to relocate to the Żółkiew ghetto, which encompassed six blocks of the town. The population of the ghetto is estimated to have been around 4,000 people. Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were to be shot.[10]

Overcrowding was intense, and in January and February 1943, between 10 and 20 Jews died daily as an epidemic of typhus swept through the ghetto. The final liquidation took place in two further Aktions on March 15 and March 25, 1943. During these Aktions about 800 ghetto inmates (618 individuals on March 15 and then another 170 on March 25) were sent to the Janowska Street camp in Lwów or its subcamps (e.g., Gródek Jagielloński).[11] Altogether, some 1,500 Jews who remained in the ghetto were shot in the Borek Forest.[12] The members of the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police were also killed. The Aktion was carried out by members of the German Security Police based in Lwów, assisted by the local German Gendarmerie (commanded by Käthe) and Ukrainian policemen.

On April 6, the German police entered the ghetto area, offering food and security to the Jews still hiding there if they were to surrender. Some of the victims accepted this offer and left their hiding places; they were shot immediately. Only a few that were captured were sent to the Janowska Street camp. About 70 Jewish skilled workers (so-called specialists) remained in Żółkiew. They were shot on July 10, 1943; only 52 Jews are known to have escaped the roundups and survived.[13]

Soviet forces recaptured Żółkiew on July 23, 1944. Over the following months a few Jews returned to the town, but they soon moved on, and the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

SOURCES Published sources on the Żółkiew ghetto include Gerszon Taffet, *Zagłada żydow żołkiewskich* (Łódź, 1946)—other versions of this can be found in AŻIH (302/141) and BA-L (B 162/2100—a translation into German); and Danuta Dabrowska, Abraham Wein, and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 206–216.

Documents regarding the fate of the Żółkiew Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DALO (e.g., R 98-1-4); GARF (7021-67-79 and 82); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 15838); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Michael McConnell
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Dabrowska, Wein, and Weiss, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 2, *Eastern Galicia*, pp. 206–216; and VHF, # 15838, interview with Ben Bergstein, 1996.
2. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 7.
3. BA-L, B 162/2100, pp. 79–119 (German translation of Taffet, *Zagłada Żydów żołkiewskich*), here p. 83 (of the German file).
4. Ibid., pp. 85–86.
5. Ibid., pp. 86–93; Berenstein, "Eksterminacja," table 7.
6. DALO, R 98-1-4, p. 16. By July 1942, 40 nationalized (Sovietized) and 481 nonnationalized Jewish properties had been confiscated in Żółkiew by the German Housing Office (Wohnungsamt).
7. BA-L, B 162/2100, pp. 90–92.
8. Ibid., pp. 95–100.
9. Ibid., pp. 100–103.
10. GARF, 7021-67-79, p. 55, gives the figure of 5,000 ghetto inmates, which is probably too high; 7021-67-82, p. 38; VHF, # 15838; and Taffet, *Zagłada Żydów żołkiewskich*, pp. 22–43.
11. Taffet, *Zagłada Żydów żołkiewskich*, pp. 54, 57.
12. GARF, 7021-67-79, p. 55.
13. Taffet, *Zagłada żydów żołkowskich*, p. 60; Joseph J. Preil, ed., *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), p. 172.

ŻURAWNO

Pre-1939: Żurawno, town, Żydaczów powiat, Stanisławów województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zhuravno, raion center, Drogobych oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zurawno, Kreis Stryj, Distrikt Galizien, Generalgouvernement; post-1991: Zhuravno, Zhidachiv raion, L'viv oblast', Ukraine

Żurawno is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Stanisławów. In 1939, there were about 1,300 Jews in the town.[1]

German armed forces occupied Żurawno on July 3, 1941. At first, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs. Then a German civil administration took over in August 1941. Żurawno was incorporated into Kreis Stryj, within Distrikt Galizien. Regierungsrat Dr. Wiktor von Dewitz was the Kreishauptmann from 1941 to 1944. In Żurawno, there was a German Gendarmerie post, which served under the command of the Gendarmerie in Stryj, and a local Ukrainian police force, which participated actively in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer of 1941, the German occupying authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) to carry out the registration and marking of all the Jews in Żurawno. At the end of July, the Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. Then, by the end of August, the Jews were forced to pay a "contribution" of 100,000 złoty. Other restrictions included the closing of Jewish schools and a ban on Jews buying food in the marketplace or leaving the limits of the town.

The Jewish Council also established a labor office, which assigned Jews to various forced labor tasks. In the summer of 1941, a number of Jews were engaged in regulating the flow of local rivers that were prone to flooding. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews of Żurawno had to surrender any furs or other warm clothing for the benefit of the German army. The Jews suffered from terrible hunger and cold; there were a number of deaths from starvation.[2]

By the summer of 1942, a soup kitchen had been established in Żurawno to provide hot meals to Jewish workers. Plans also were made for a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (JSS) to be opened in the town.[3] On June 10, 1942, there were 1,151 Jews registered in Żurawno, of whom 403 were

forced to perform various labor tasks.[4] These included work on road construction, at a quarry, and in an alabaster factory. In mid-June 1942, on instructions from the Judenrat, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police rounded up 50 Jews for transfer to the Chodorów labor office, which was viewed as a great hardship in view of the food shortages before the harvest. Another 15 Jews were arrested and held by the Jewish Police. According to survivor Henryk Schächter, these Jews were threatened with deportation to extort money from them to be used by the Judenrat.[5] The Judenrat may have had an urgent need of funds to bribe the Germans or pay the next contribution, but Schächter's testimony is highly critical of the unscrupulous tactics employed by the Judenrat.

At the beginning of September 1942, a mass deportation Aktion was carried out in the town in the course of which around 500 Jews from Żurawno were sent to the extermination camp in Bełżec. Jews from Stryj, Chodorów, and other nearby towns were deported at the same time.[6] Two weeks after this first wave of deportations in early September 1942, the Kreishauptmann issued instructions for the remaining Jews of the Kreis to be concentrated in Stryj, Bolechów, Chodorów, Skole, or Żurawno. Then, on September 29, 1942, most of the remaining Jews of Żurawno were forcibly resettled into the ghetto in Stryj. Further deportation Aktions were carried out in Stryj during October and November 1942 in which most of the Jews sent there from Żurawno were deported to Bełżec.

Information on the existence of a small remnant labor ghetto in Żurawno is sparse. On October 7, 1942, the Kreishauptmann ordered the concentration of all remaining Jews of the Kreis in the Stryj ghetto by the end of the month: it was not to be permitted that any individual Jews should hide or be hidden in the countryside. Exceptions, however, were granted for Jewish doctors and pharmacists, waste collectors working for the Kremin Company, and Jews working for the local council. However, these specialist Jews who were to remain in some locations after the end of October were "under all circumstances to be housed in barracks."[7]

According to survivor Zwi Liberman, at the end of September 1942, all the Jews who remained after the deportations were forced to go into a small, but open, ghetto in Żurawno. Liberman was forced to abandon his house as it was outside the ghetto. Jews could only bring in with them what they could carry. Conditions in the ghetto were very crowded, with around 18 to 20 people living in one room.[8]

As a result of the successive German orders, around 160 Jews remained in a small remnant labor ghetto in Żurawno after the end of October 1942, including a group of waste collectors. These Jewish workers were subsequently liquidated in two Aktions on February 4 and June 5, 1943.[9]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Żurawno Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1036, 2809); DALO (e.g., R 1951-1-65; R 1952-1-62); GARF (7021-58-22); USHMM (RG-31.003M [DALO]); VHF (# 30316); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja, 1941–1943," *BŻIH*, no. 61 (1967), table 10.
2. VHF, # 30316, testimony of Zwi Liberman.
3. DALO, R 1951-1-65, p. 13, Tätigkeitsbericht JSS Kreis Stryj, July 1942.
4. Thomas Sandkühler, *"Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), p. 329.
5. AŻIH, 301/2809, testimony of Henryk Schächter.
6. Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec*, *Sobibor*, *Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 387.
7. DALO, R 1952-1-62, p. 92, Runderlass Kreishauptmann Stryj an alle Vögte, October 7, 1942, as cited by Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), p. 243; and Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* p. 352.
8. VHF, # 30316.
9. Ibid.—Zwi Liberman states that 152 Jews were killed in February 1943; AŻIH, 301/1036, testimony of Dawid Liberman. See also Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung*, pp. 250, 260; and Sandkühler, *"Endlösung,"* p. 370.

SECTION IV

BIAŁYSTOK REGION (DISTRIKT BIALYSTOK)

On July 17, 1941, less than a month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler ordered the establishment of a civil administration for the occupied western regions of the Soviet Union. He named Erich Koch, the Oberpräsident and Gauleiter of East Prussia (Ostpreussen), as head of the civil administration (Chef der Zivilverwaltung) for Distrikt Bialystok, as well as the Reichskommissar of Ukraine. Distrikt Bialystok consisted of territories mostly from eastern Poland's pre–World War II Białystok województwo (without the Suwałki region). Its borderlands also included small parts of the Warsaw, Poleskie, and Nowogródek województwa. In the period from late 1939 until June 1941, the area of Distrikt Bialystok had been under Soviet rule, comprising more or less the entire Belostok oblast' and small parts of the Brest oblast' and the Baranovichi oblast', within the Belorussian SSR.

The official transfer from a military to a civilian administration occurred on August 15, 1941. However, the Distrikt's northeastern borderlands, near Lithuania, were incorporated only on October 1, 1941. One reason for establishing Distrikt Bialystok was to create a direct territorial link between Koch's home base within the Reich as Gauleiter of East Prussia and his new fiefdom in the east, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. As it was intended that the Distrikt would be later incorporated directly within Gau Ostpreussen, the administration and many of the laws were based on the model of East Prussia. However, it remained throughout the German occupation somewhat of an anomaly: a separate Distrikt in the heart of Hitler's expanded empire, neither fully incorporated into the Reich nor subordinated to either the Generalgouvernement or the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (RMO) but sandwiched between these three separate entities, serving both as a buffer zone and a link.

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BIAŁYSTOK REGION



"The Jews in a transport," by Józef Charyton, Kamieniec Lit.[ewski], 1942.
USHMM WS #27701, COURTESY OF ŻIH

BIAŁYSTOK REGION (DISTRIKT BIALYSTOK)

Distrikt Bialystok consisted of territories mostly from eastern Poland's pre–World War II Białystok województwo (without the Suwałki region). Its borderlands also included small parts of the Warsaw, Poleskie, and Nowogródek województwa.

Szymon Datner calculated the September 1, 1939, population of the Białystok Region at 1.5 million, including 240,000 Jews, and noted the arrival of another 100,000 Jewish refugees after the region came, from September 17, under Soviet occupation. About a third of the refugees subsequently were deported to the Soviet interior. Sara Bender placed the population on August 1, 1941, the day the Distrikt officially was established, at 1.13 million, including 150,000 Jews.

On July 17, 1941, Adolf Hitler named Erich Koch, the Oberpräsident and Gauleiter of East Prussia, the Chef der Zivilverwaltung for Distrikt Bialystok. The transfer to civilian administration occurred only on August 15. Even then, the Distrikt's northeastern borderlands, near Lithuania, were incorporated only on October 1. They included Grodno and the northern parts of the pre-war Grodno powiat (county).



Pre-war portrait of Erich Koch, appointed Chef der Zivilverwaltung for Distrikt Bialystok in 1941.
USHMM WS #45260, COURTESY OF GEOFFREY GILES

Before then, a military administration had governed the Distrikt. Under its tenure, the 3 largest ghettos were established in Białystok, Grodno, and Łomża and about half of the 61 provincial ghettos. The physical devastation and violence in the first two months of the war, a by-product of larger German military and strategic priorities, helped determine an irregular regional pattern of ghettoization: remnant ghettos predominated in the western borderlands near East Prussia; more traditional ghettos emerged in the north, near Grodno and Sokółka, and south, near Bielsk Podlaski; and open ghettos predominated in more devastated areas, including in the east near Wołkowysk and in the center, around Białystok.

The German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, devastated some Jewish communities immediately. Hundreds perished as early morning artillery shelling set Sopoćkinie ablaze. The material devastation was greatest in the Białystok pocket, where five days of aerial bombardment leveled Wołkowysk, Wołpa, and Zelwa.

Upon occupying a locality, local German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) ordered Jews to surrender radios and bicycles and mandated forced labor. Within about two weeks, the regional military command, in Łomża, had issued to all Jews in its territories the so-called rules of conduct, including requirements to wear either yellow stars on their clothing or white armbands with yellow stars. A subsequent order, likely on July 20, 1941, required Jewish communal leaders to submit population censuses and commanded all Jews to return home, warning they were forbidden, on penalty of death, from leaving their places of census registration. The same order mandated the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenräte).[1]

During the first two months of the war, Einsatzgruppen, supported by the SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted small killing Aktions of suspected Communists and intellectuals in almost every Jewish community. The violence initially was most massive and rapidly accelerated in and around Białystok. On June 27, 1941, the day after the Germans had occupied Białystok, Police Battalion 309 murdered 2,000 to 3,000 Jews, including some 800 people burned alive in the Great Synagogue. A July 8 visit by Heinrich Himmler brought orders to execute 2,000 Jewish men. Police Battalions 316 and 322 killed 4,000 instead. On June 26–28, a small German unit (or perhaps units) set fire to Dąbrowa Białostocka, Zabłudów, Jasionówka, and Trzcianne, likely because their inhabitants almost all were Jewish. During the Jasionówka fire, on June 27, local Poles helped the Germans murder 70 to 150 Jews; a day later in Trzcianne, another group of locals abetted the murder of some 800 Jews.

In the west, violence accelerated after orders from Reinhard Heydrich, on June 29, 1941, for the Security Police to mobilize the local population and, on July 4, for Einsatzgruppen to clear Jews from the borderlands near East Prussia. A July 4 visit by Hermann Göring to Łomża intensified violence there, as a small Einsatzkommando from Zichenau murdered almost 2,000 Jews from July 4 to July 19. On July 5, Göring and Koch visited Kolno, as local Poles murdered 30 Jews.[2] The visit likely sealed the fate of the 2,350 to 3,000 Kolno Jews, executed in several stages beginning on July 15 with able-bodied men; from July 18, their parents and wives; and from late July, children, single men and women, and the elderly.[3] In the meantime, in Radziłów, on July 7, and in Jedwabne, on July 10, the local population burned 1,100 to 2,400 Jews alive in two barns. By early September, parts of the local population, including the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei), had engaged in anti-Jewish violence in at least 60 other localities, mostly assisting small Einsatzgruppen and police units to plunder, beat, murder, and ghettoize Jews.

Amid the war devastation and violence, the Wehrmacht issued the first orders for ghettoization. Local military commanders responded to fire devastation upon occupying Sopoćkinie and Michałowo, on June 22 and 27, 1941, by ordering the Jews into ghettos, in Sopoćkinie to secure a captive labor force, and in Michałowo, to enable the local population to expropriate the Jews' surviving houses. A remnant ghetto also was established in Jedwabne, on July 20, for survivors of earlier violence. On August 1, the military administration ordered the Jews confined to a closed ghetto in Białystok. Days later, the Łomża ghetto was established. Six of nine provincial ghettos in the Grodno region were created under the military administration. The Jews in Grodno proper were moved into its two ghettos on October 1, the day the region was incorporated into the Distrikt.

With the transfer to civil administration, on August 15, 1941, Koch delegated a plenipotentiary, Waldemar Magunia, to represent him in the Distrikt. In February 1942, Fritz (Friedrich) Brix succeeded Magunia. They supervised seven Kreiskommissare appointed to head the Kreise of Bialystok, Bielsk (Podlaski), Grajewo, Grodno (from 1942, Garten), Lomscha, Sokolka, and Wolkowysk. The Białowieża Forest, officially a part of Kreis Bielsk, was treated as an extraterritorial unit within the Distrikt, administered directly by the Reichsforstamt (Reich Forestry Office).



Jews move their belongings into the Grodno ghetto, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #50349, COURTESY OF IPN

In Kreis Grajewo, located on the East Prussian border, large-scale killing Aktions accompanied the establishment of its four closed ghettos, all created in the first weeks of August, likely by the same Einsatzkommando from the Tilsit State Police. In Augustów and Szczuczyn, all Jewish men were imprisoned as closed ghettos were constructed, in the latter case by the local Polish population, for the Jewish community's women and children. A small number of craftsmen and medical professionals were released to the newly constructed ghetto. About 2,400 to 3,200 others were shot. Events likely followed a similar course in Grajewo. However, the sparse documentation makes it difficult to corroborate a Jewish eyewitness's suggestion that as many as 7,900 Jews perished before the ghetto was established.

In Kreis Lomscha, large-scale killing Aktions coincided with ghettoization in half of the eight ghettos established from July to September 1941. In Stawiski, in July, and in Czyżewo, in August, a total of 3,500 to 3,850 Jews were executed, and only 110 and 60, respectively, mostly male craftsmen were retained in remnant ghettos. In Zambrów, local auxiliaries helped the SS, on August 19, to choose 700 to 900 mostly able-bodied men, about a third of the Jewish community, for execution, likely the day before the ghetto was established. A remnant ghetto also was planned for Wysokie Mazowieckie, but the SS failed to arrive from Łomża as scheduled. The Jews, ordered to a ghetto in late August, lived in relative peace until November 1942. In Łomża, mass killing Aktions in August and September 1941 rid the ghetto of 700 to 2,000 "nonuseful" workers, including yeshiva students, the elderly, and those unemployed. A similar execution in Zambrów, in September, targeted 300 elderly and pregnant Jews.

Because of the mass killing Aktions, the ghettos in Kreis Lomscha and Kreis Grajewo remained small. The Jewish communities south of Śniadowo (Kreis Lomscha), including in Lubotyń, Prosienica, and Szumowo Nowe, were wiped out in the first weeks of August. As a result, the Śniadowo ghetto, established in early August 1941, was made up almost exclusively of Jews native to the town. Likely, because a warehouse was established in one of Śniadowo's two railway stations to store items plundered on the Eastern Front, the Jewish community was spared from execution to sort, repair, and repack the goods for shipment to the Reich.

Because of the violence, Kreis Lomscha and Kreis Grajewo stood apart from the other Kreise for the relatively large number of Jews, mostly survivors of violence, living illegally inside and outside of its ghettos. These individuals placed enormous pressures on the ghettos in Zambrów, Czyżewo, and Łomża. In the spring of 1942, local authorities permitted fugitives in Stawiski (and other Jews in small remnant ghettos) to work for Poles as agricultural laborers, on contracts arranged by the local Arbeitsamt, and to remain behind in

Jedwabne (Kreis Lomscha) and Radziłów (Kreis Grajewo), when the ghettos were dissolved in November 1941 and June 1942, respectively. The Jedwabne Jews were expelled to the Łomża ghetto. However, the Grajewo Kreiskommissar, in the spring of 1942, ordered Jews in his Kreis, including almost all the Radziłów survivors, sent for labor in Milewo, on his estate at Milbo. About a third of the Jews in the Augustów ghetto also were deported to Milbo at about the same time, as were most Jews from tiny survivor communities. Because it was more of a labor camp than a ghetto, Milewo is not covered in this volume.

In other Kreise, the transfer to civilian administration resulted in the concentration of Jews into just a few ghettos, including in the Białowieża Forest, in Kreis Bielsk. The initial violence that accompanied the expulsion of Jews from the forest's interior in the first two weeks of August 1941 gave way by the end of the month to a less murderous expulsion drive, likely ordered by the Reichsforstamt to clear the Jewish and non-Jewish population from a wide territorial belt along the forest's periphery. A small number of Jews were retained for remnant ghettos in Narewka and Kamieniec Litewski; the rest were expelled to Prużana along with Jews from 18 other communities. The expulsions continued after the establishment of the Prużana ghetto on September 25, 1941. With the expulsion of 4,000 to 5,000 Białystok ghetto inmates there in October, the Prużana ghetto population swelled to over 10,000, making it (because of the mass killings in Łomża) the third most populous ghetto in the Distrikt, behind only the Białystok and Grodno ghettos.

The Prużana ghetto also looked different from most other ghettos in the Distrikt, because its fence was constructed of metal and brick. More typically, local German authorities, even in Białystok, ordered the Jews in closed ghettos to provide wooden construction materials for the fences and to build them. In the case of Prużana, the authorities provided the metal fencing and barbed wire, charging the Jewish Council a 750,000 rubles "fee."[4]

In Kreis Sokolka, arson in late August 1941 drove the Jews from Sidra and Kuźnica Białostocka, but when they and the Dąbrowa Białostocka Jews returned to their burned-out homes, German authorities began establishing remnant ghettos for craftsmen and road construction laborers in fire-devastated towns, including Kuźnica in October and Dąbrowa in February 1942. Almost all the rest of the Jews from the northern and western part of the Kreis, including from Sidra, Dąbrowa, and a part of the Janów Sokólski community, were consolidated in the Suchowola ghetto, established in early August 1941. Following the last expulsion in February, the ghetto population had expanded from 2,000 to around 6,000. Because of the pressures overcrowding placed on its limited resources, the Suchowola Amtskommissar consented to establish a new ghetto in March 1942. Similar consolidations occurred in the east of the Kreis, to the Krynki ghetto, established in December 1941, but began only in the early spring of 1942. In the meantime, the ghetto established in October, in Sokółka, the Kreis center, remained a small, walled-off fortress for the native population and a small number of voluntary refugees.

In Kreis Bielsk, the establishment of the 12 ghettos outside the Białowieża Forest proceeded in stages with little violence. In August 1941, the local civil administration first ordered Jews to live apart from Christians. In large communities, including Ciechanowiec and Bielsk Podlaski, closed ghettos were established by the fall of 1941; in others, including Wysokie Litewskie, Siemiatycze, and Brańsk, open ghettos were created instead. In the spring of 1942, the newly appointed Kreiskommissar, Landrat Tubenthal, ordered all Jews in the Kreis to closed ghettos. The orders established ghettos in Orla and Boćki in March, and in Drohiczyn, Grodzisk, and Kleszczele, and also likely in Wysokie Litewskie, in May. However, the Jewish Council in Siemiatycze prolonged negotiations over the closed ghetto's future location and size and bribed local officials to postpone its establishment until August 1942.

The establishment of the provincial ghettos in Kreis Grodno likely followed a similar pattern as in Kreis Bielsk. All the provincial ghettos initially were open ghettos, including the ghettos in Ostryna and Marcinkańce, established in October and November 1941. The Ostryna ghetto was closed in April 1942, as were almost all the others, though the timing of the closure orders in Łunna, Jeziory, and Skidel is not known precisely.

Likely, because of the material devastation from war operations in Kreis Wolkowysk, almost all of the nine ghettos established in the summer of 1941 remained open. The ghettos had some of the worst material conditions in the Distrikt. In Zelwa, the Jews lived in the basements of war-devastated houses; in Wołpa, in pits dug into the ground. In Wołkowysk, 15 families crowded together in the few Jewish-owned structures still standing. Only two of the eight provincial ghettos, in Porozów and Piaski, were closed, with the first closed on September 23, 1942, and the second on September 26.[5]

Of the 10 provincial ghettos established in Kreis Bialystok, likely only the ghettos in Michałowo and Gródek Białostocki were closed. The local Amtskommissar, Paul Melzer, disbanded the Michałowo ghetto upon arriving in nearby Gródek in August 1941. Several testimonies note Melzer established a closed ghetto in Gródek, perhaps in the fall of 1941. However, Szymon Datner recalls that the postwar Polish investigative team, of which he was a part, encountered difficulties charging Melzer with war crimes related to ghettoization, because documentation in the Underground Archives of the Białystok Ghetto upheld Melzer's claim that he had released Jews from ghettos rather than imprison them.[6] The Knyszyn Amtskommissar ordered the ghetto there fenced in the fall of 1941, but local Polish health professionals intervened to suspend the closure order. It is the only known example of the local population seeking to mitigate the course of ghettoization in Distrikt Bialystok.

Local authorities also did not expel Jewish returnees from fire-devastated localities, as in Kreis Sokolka. Rather, they established open ghettos, including in Trzcianne, in the fall

of 1941, and Zabłudów, in January 1942. However, the ghetto populations were small from the outset, because only a limited number of Jews chose to live in the fire-devastated ruins of their former communities.

The varying patterns of ghettoization reflected the physical conditions in the region and larger German military and strategic priorities, but the wide range of ghettos across the Distrikt also highlights the flexible and partially decentralized nature of Nazi ghettoization policies. Given the near uniformity of certain ghettos in some Kreise and the uneven patterns across the Distrikt, it appears Kreiskommissare, as in Bielsk, decided whether ghettos would remain open or be closed and when and where ghetto consolidations would occur.

The decentralization helps to explain the vast disparities in provisioning across the ghettos, including why Jews in the Rajgród and Bielsk Podlaski ghettos received no rations and starved, whereas local peasants were permitted in Grajewo and Zambrów to enter the ghetto to barter food for material possessions. The relatively large number of examples of calves being smuggled into ghettos and the many references across the entries to ritual slaughterers (*shochtim*) executed for being found outside of ghettos suggest that kosher slaughter continued, inside and outside of ghettos, and that Jews, even in provincial ghettos, had access, albeit illegally and at great risk, to food sources beyond the limited rations.

Even the most uniform ghettoization policy instituted in the Kreis, the simultaneous liquidation of the provincial ghettos, on November 2, 1942, and the establishment of five regional transit camps in which to concentrate the Jews before sending them to the extermination camps was unique to the Distrikt. Local officials also appear to have decided the level of support they needed during the liquidation Aktion. In Drohiczyn (Kreis Bielsk), SS Ukrainian auxiliaries supported local Gendarmes and auxiliaries. In Marcinkańce (Kreis Grodno), for a ghetto of likely about the same population, the local Gendarmerie commander employed a small force of about 16 German police and civilians. Local auxiliaries were not called in for support until after the Jews had fled from the deportation. The Białystok Jews also were excluded from the liquidation Aktions because Brix and Froese, the Distrikt military inspector for the ordinance industry, successfully appealed to Berlin to maintain the Białystok ghetto intact to exploit its Jewish labor to expand munitions production.

Such arguments were no longer tenable by mid-July 1943, when losses on the Eastern Front and growing Soviet partisan activity prompted the German decision to transfer Białystok's industries to Lublin and in August to liquidate the ghetto, the last in the Distrikt. On August 15–16, with all hope for survival lost, the underground launched an uprising but was soon overwhelmed. More than 100 Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and join the partisans.

SOURCES Secondary works offering at least some regional coverage of the history of the Jews in the ghettos of Distrikt Bialystok include Sara Bender, *Mul Mavet Orev: Yehude Byalistok be-Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Shniya 1939–1945* (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1997), now in an English translation, by Yaffa Murciano, as *The Jews of Białystok during World War II and the Holocaust* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008); Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 3–50 plus unnumbered tables; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Tikva Fatal-Knaani, *Zo lo otah Grodnoh, Kehilat Grodnoh u-sevivatah bamilhamah uva-sho'ah 1939–1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2001); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999); Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*; Ewa Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie. Doświadczenie Zagłady—świadectwa literatury i życia* (Białystok: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2008); Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, *Zagłada ludności Żydowskiej w Białymstoku* (Białystok, 1983); Mariusz Nowik, *Zagłada Żydów na ziemi łomżyńskiej* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2006); Andrzej Żbikowski, *U genezy Jedwabnego: Zyolzi na kresach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej, wrzesień 1939-lipiec 1941* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2006), with chap. 5, the most pertinent chapter, in an English translation as "Pogroms in Northeastern Poland—Spontaneous Reactions and German Instigations," pp. 315–354, in Elazar Barkan et al., eds., *Shared History, Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941* (Leipzig: Simon-Dubnow-Institut für Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur, 2007).

Published collections of testimonies, memoirs with regional coverage or containing important information about German decision making about the region, and other primary source material include the following: R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal'perin, 1997); Hajkah (Chaika) Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet and Sifriyat Po'alim, 1965), available in an English translation by Shmuel Beeri, as *The Underground Army: Fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987); Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, 6 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985–1992); Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN- KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*; Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000); Mordecai Tenenbaum, *Dapim min ha-Deleḳah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Bet Lohame ha-Gita'ot, 1984); and for its documentation on the deportations from Distrikt Bialystok to the Auschwitz death camp, Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: Wykazy imienne. Polish Jews in KL Auschwitz: Name Lists* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004).

Publications used to identify smaller ghettos in Distrikt Bialystok included Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003); U.P. Verkhas' and U.F. Shumila, eds., *Pamiats'. Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Hrodzenskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 1993); Henadz' Pashkou, ed., *Pamiats'. Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Shchuchynskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 2001); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979); Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish*

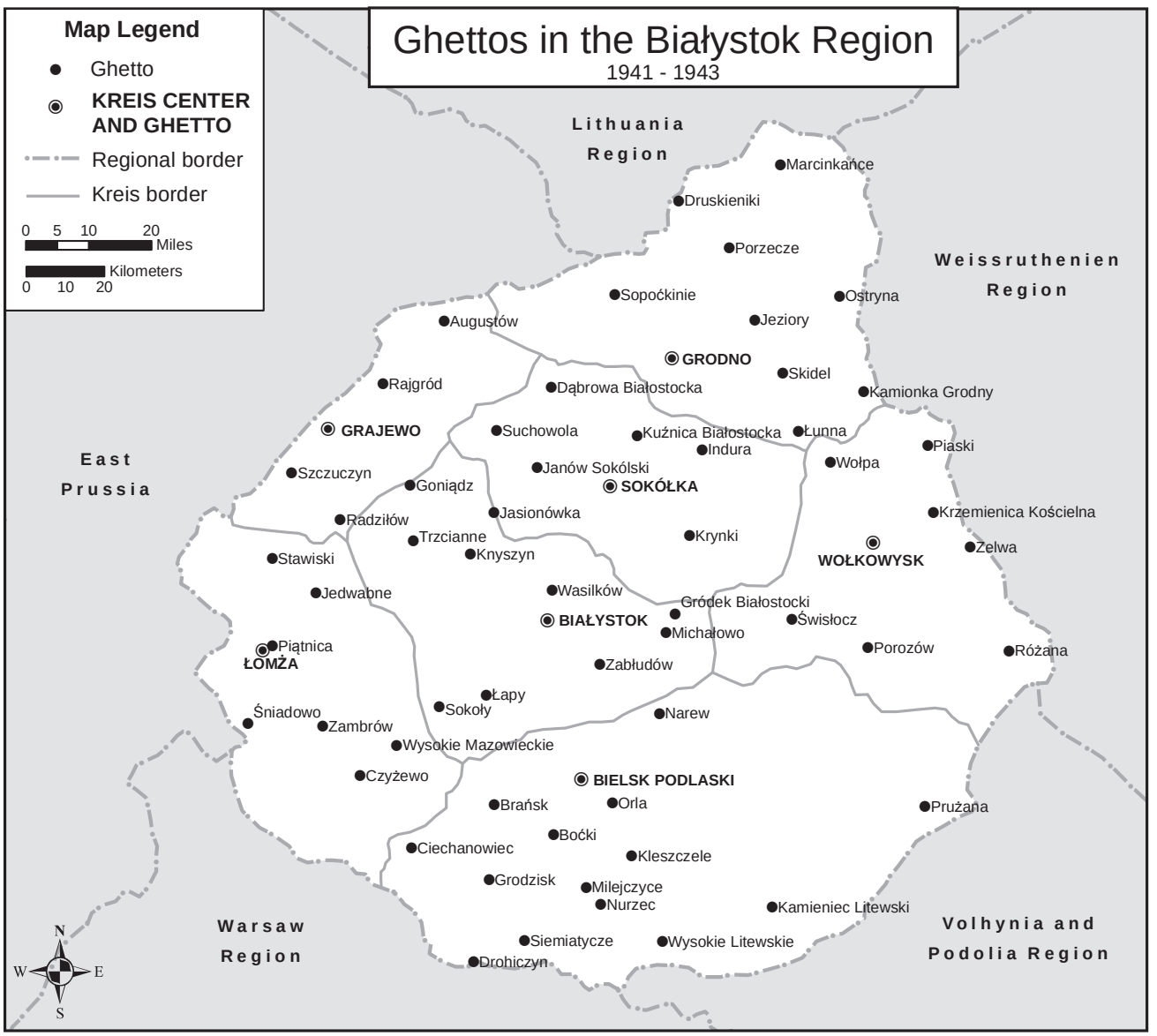
Communities: Poland, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945. Województwo łomżyńskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and OKBZH-Bi, 1985); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich. Województwo ostrołęckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and IPN, 1985); Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; APB; APŁmż; AUKGBRBBO; AUKGBRB-GrO; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; FVA; GABO; GAGO; GARF; IPN; IPN-Bi; NARA; NARB; RGASPI; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/899, anonymous testimony, Rutki[-Kossaki] refugee, pp. 1–5.
2. BA-MA, RH 26-211/84, p. 1.
3. Dinah Koncepolsky-Chludniewitz, "The End of the Kolno Community," in A. Rembah and Binyamin Haleṿi, eds., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Kolnah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ḳolnah ṿe-Sifriyat-po'alim, 1971), pp. 45–50; USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 1, 2/177-78, pp. 1–2; IPN-Bi, S-1/71, pp. 1–289. See also IPN, SOŁ 130.
4. AŻIH, 301/1380, testimony of Olga Goldfajn, pp. 2–3.
5. *Informacja Bieżąca*, no. 44 (69), December 2, 1942, p. 3, in USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring II/338/b [CD: # 8, 434. Ring II/338/2], p. 86.
6. Datner, "Eksterminacja," p. 68.



Borders as of 1942

AUGUSTÓW

Pre-1939: Augustów, town, Augustów powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Avgustov, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1945: Augustowo, Kreis Grajewo, Distrikt Białystok; post-1999: Augustów, Augustów powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Augustów lies 95.5 kilometers (59.3 miles), north-northwest of Białystok and 42.5 kilometers (26.4 miles) northeast of Grajewo.

Because of its location near the Polish–East Prussian border, the Germans bombed the Augustów train station on September 1, 1939, but occupied the town for just two hours before ceding it to Soviet occupation. In September 1940, 2,906 Jews lived in the Avgustov raion.

On June 22, 1941, the first day of the German invasion of the USSR, the Germans reoccupied Augustów. They established a Polish administration and recruited an auxiliary police force. A Jewish survivor remembers the force as composed of local Poles, who subsequently all qualified and registered under Nazi racial laws as ethnic Germans.[1] Little is known about the collaborators' activities in the summer of 1941, a period in which one third to one half of the Jewish community perished.

On June 24, 1941, a Waffen-SS commander arrested 70 workers and guests of an Augustów retreat center and executed about 30 of the captives—15 Jews and 15 Russians.[2] Operational units organized by Regierungsrat Hans-Joachim Böhme, commander of the Tilsit State Police, were responsible for the subsequent June and July murders of Augustów Jews. On June 27, an Einsatzkommando, led by SS-Captain Wolfgang Ilges, from Tilsit, ordered the arrest, for communism, of 100 more Augustów residents, mostly Jews.[3] Several days later, the men arrested a furrier and several other Jews, probably for defying orders to return home. Whether the prisoners were executed immediately or were held and murdered on July 3, together with 175 more victims, remains unclear. What is known is that on July 3 an operational unit led either by Ilges or by Waldemar Macholl, the Grenzkommissar of the Sudauen (Polish: Suwałki) border police, and soldiers from the intelligence branch of the 87th Infantry Regiment murdered 300 to 316 people, including 10 women, in two mass shooting Aktions in the Augustów Forest.[4] Almost all of the victims were Jews.



Jews are gathered at an assembly point during a deportation Aktion in the Augustów ghetto, November 1942.
USHMM WS #74337, COURTESY OF ŻIH

The largest mass shooting of Augustów Jews occurred at the same time the ghetto was established. On August 15, 1941, a German unit, also likely from the Tilsit State Police, ordered Jewish men from 13 to 60 years old to register for work at a central point in Augustów. Held captive in the synagogue, the 800 to 1,650 men who obeyed the order were executed in small groups of 200 to 300 people in the Szczebrze section of the Augustów Forest, near Klonownica village.[5]

Likely, on the day of the roundup the Jewish women in Augustów were confined to a ghetto. Located on a 12-hectare (29.7-acre) area between the Augustów and Bystry Canals, the ghetto occupied a former settlement of one-room houses built for the workers of the local sawmill. It contained several streets of company-owned houses, all referred to as Barracks' Street. In the period of the ghetto, the streets were numbered from 1 to 13. They were surrounded by a wire fence, topped in some places by barbed wire. The only gate was on the road leading to Lipsk nad Biebrzą. The road is now called Bohaterów Westerplatte (Street of the Westerplatte Heroes).[6]

A detailed list in the postwar Polish court documentation of the skilled trades practiced by men in the Augustów ghetto suggests that craftsmen may have been released to the ghetto, as had happened several weeks prior in Szczuczyn (Białostocki), also in Kreis Grajewo. However, Jewish survivor Nusia Janowski maintains the Germans intended the ghetto population to be wholly female.[7] Charles Levine, another survivor, notes that no men were held back from execution. The only men in the ghetto were those who had not registered for labor or had broken the windows of the synagogue and fled.[8]

In August 1941, the Germans consolidated in the ghetto about 100 Jews from other parts of the former Avgustov raion as well as a handful of Jews still resident in Kreis Sudauen. The expellees included the Sztabin community, a part of the Lipsk nad Biebrzą community, and a smaller number of Jews from Raczki (Augustów powiat) and Dowspuda. (In October 1939, the Germans had driven almost all of the Jews from the last two communities across the border near Augustów. Some had been deported from Augustów to the Soviet interior in May 1940; the others were ordered to move to Słonim.) The executions and consolidations make it difficult to ascertain the Augustów ghetto population. Most survivors claim 2,000 Jews resided there.

Toyer, the head of the SS in Augustów, and his assistant, an ethnic German named Klonovsky, were ultimately responsible for the ghetto. It was monitored on a day-to-day basis by the German Gendarmerie and guarded by Polish auxiliaries.[9] Living conditions were poor. About 24 people resided in a single house. Overcrowding gave way to ailments, such as purpura, associated with typhus, and other fever epidemics. A hospital and cemetery were established in the ghetto.[10]

The male craftsmen worked as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, watchmakers, and painters. Some men and many more women were conscripted for labor at the lumber mill, renamed in this period for Hermann Göring. Skilled mechanics and locksmiths worked for the Wehrmacht. Unskilled workers were sent to a labor camp established in Augustów for road repair or were conscripted for agricultural labor or timber harvesting. August Bogener, from January to March 1942 an auxiliary policeman and supervisor of Jewish forced labor crews, routinely beat prisoners with a rubber truncheon, kicked them, and stripped them of food they were attempting to smuggle into the ghetto.

In June 1942, the Germans reduced the size of the Augustów ghetto population by deporting a large number of young women inmates to Grajewo. The women were sent for agricultural labor at Milbo, the estate of the Grajewo Kreiskommissar, located in Milewo (Szczuczyn gmina and powiat). Approximately 500 to 1,000 Jews at Milbo came from Augustów, Sztabin, and Lipsk.

The Augustów ghetto was liquidated on November 2, 1942. A handful of Christian converts were permitted to remain with their families in Augustów. The Gendarmes locked the sick and elderly, those they deemed unable to travel, either into the ghetto hospital or a regular house and set it ablaze.[11] The remaining Jews were expelled to a transit camp located north of Grajewo, in Bogusze village, near the train station in Prostken, East Prussia. About 5,000 to 9,000 Jews from other nearby localities, including from Milewo, were expelled to the transit camp that same day. On December 15–16, the Germans sent 3,000 to 5,000 inmates from Bogusze to the Treblinka extermination camp. On January 3, 1943, the remaining 2,000 Jews at Bogusze were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp. On January 7, at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Germans selected 296 men and 215 women from the transport for labor. The remaining 1,489 people were gassed on arrival.



A pile of tombstones removed from the Jewish cemetery during the destruction of the Augustów ghetto, November 1942. The tombstone on top was erected in memory of Abraham bar Mayrim Moloveichik and includes a Hebrew acrostic using the letters of his first name.
USHMM WS #33431, COURTESY OF GFH

In August 1943, the converts excluded from the Bogusze deportation were executed.[12] In April 1944, Macholl, then head of Department IVA-3 of the Białystok Gestapo, organized a Sonderkommando 1005 unit, personally selecting its 43 laborers from a group of Jewish male craftsmen and other survivors at the city prison. The unit began its work on May 15, 1944, in the Augustów Forest. Closely supervised by Obersturmführer Dick, the Jewish prisoners spent almost three weeks exhuming and burning the corpses there, including 3,000 to 5,000 Jewish, Belorussian, and Polish civilians and former Soviet officials buried in seven mass graves at Szczebrze.[13]

In addition to the handful of survivors from Auschwitz, three Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland are counted as survivors. Assisted by Paweł Kunda, a local physician, they lived outside the ghetto on false identity papers and remained in Augustów after the liquidation of the ghetto.[14]

In West Germany, Böhme received a 15-year prison term for ordering the executions of several thousand Jews (and Communists), including in Augustów. In 1957, Ilges received a 4-year sentence for murdering 100 Augustów Jews. In Poland, Bogener was sentenced to life in prison in 1947 for using compulsion to exploit Jews for forced labor. In 1954, the sentence was commuted to a 12-year term.[15] Macholl was convicted in March 1945 of numerous crimes, including ordering the murders in June and July 1941 of 316 Augustów Forest victims, ordering the Sonderkommando 1005 unit to destroy evidence of Nazi crimes in Augustów, and ordering the execution of at least 31 Jews from the unit. He was sentenced to death and executed.[16]

SOURCES Some archival documentation appears in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 260–262 (AŻIH, 301/1846, Polish trans.), a testimony by Menachem Finkelsztejn, which provides the most detailed description of labor at Milewo. The yizkor book edited by Ya'akov Aleksandroni, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Ogustov veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ogustov ṿeha-sevivah be-Yisrael, [1966]), pp. 373–489, also includes accounts of the destruction of the Augustów Jewish community.

Secondary works covering the Jewish community of Augustów under German occupation during World War II include the brief account by Sara Bender, "'Akcja Reinhardt' w okręgu białostockim," in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: IPN, 2004), pp. 209–210; Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), p. 126 (Augustów), p. 421 (Raczki); and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 36–38 (Augustów), p. 124 (Lipsk), and p. 212 (Sztabin). For the deportations to Augustów of the Lipsk and Sztabin communities and the handful of Jews from Raczki and Dowspoda, still invaluable is Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): tab. 4.

Historians divide over whether Macholl or Ilges was responsible for the July 1941 killings. Here compare Datner, "Niemiecki okupacyjny aparat bezpieczeństwa w Okręgu Białostockim (1941–1941) w świetle materiałów niemieckich (opracowania Waldemara Macholla)," *Biuletyn* GKBZHwP 15 (1965): 25, 47, a point reiterated in *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945. Województwo suwalskie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP-IPN, 1986), p. 15; with Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 539; and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1, *Studia*, p. 264. The fact that the July victims were almost all Jews is discussed in Józef Kowalczyk, "Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu w rejonie białostockim w latach 1939–1945," *Biuletyn* GKBZHwP 31 (1982): 94.

Published verdicts from the West German trials, cited below, are available in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 14 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 444, pp. 105–134 (LG-Köl, 24 Ks 1/57); vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 146–149 (LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57; and BGH, 1 StR 648/59); and vol. 16, Lfd. Nr. 485, pp. 155–164 (LG-Biel, 5 Ks 2/59). The Sonderkommando 1005 unit assigned to the Augustów Forest is discussed in Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Sonderaktion 1005 na Białostocczyźnie," *Białostocczyzna*, no. 16 (1989): 27–29.

Documentation pertaining to the Jewish community of Augustów during World War II can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 301 [21, 547, 1846, 2264]); FVA (e.g., HVT [1458, 663]); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOB 279-280, SOE 102, SWB 44); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/1961, 7/1133, and 443/71 [Lipsk nad Biebrzą]); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 14, 46/1], RG-50.002*0037, RG-50.549.02*0009); VHF (e.g., # 5388, 6010, 21177, 23224, 26675, 27439, 44356, 49356); and YVA (e.g., M-1Q/481, M-11/275, M-11B [37, 97, 206], M-49/E [21, 1265, 1267], O-3/2773, O-33/290, TR-10 [BA-L] 843).

Laura Crago and Elżbieta Rojowska
trans. Sala Levin

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.002*0037; and repeated in VHF, # 21177, both testimonies of Charles Levine.
2. LG-Biel, 5 Ks 2/59.
3. LG-Köl, 24 Ks 1/57.
4. LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57.
5. IPN-Bi, S-415/71, vol. 1, p. 16 (deposition, Józef Rowiński); and USHMM, RG-50.002*0037.
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 14, 46/1, pp. 1–2.
7. VHF, # 26675.
8. Ibid., # 21177.
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/1, pp. 1–2.
10. IPN-Bi, S-415/71, vol. 3, pp. 21–22 (depositions, Piotr Bondziul and Janina Derda).
11. Ibid., pp. 21–22, 27 (deposition, Wacław Węgrzynowicz).
12. VHF, # 26675.
13. AŻIH, 301/21, testimony of Szymon Amiel, pp. 1–2 (typescript); and 301/547, testimony of Gerszon Mojżesz Hejss, pp. 1–3.
14. VHF, # 26675.
15. IPN, SOE 102. See also IPN-Bi, 7/1133.
16. IPN, SOB 279–280.

BIAŁYSTOK

Pre-1939: Białystok, city and capital, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Belostok, oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Białystok, Kreis center and capital, Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Białystok, capital, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Białystok lies 190 kilometers (118 miles) northeast of Warsaw. Its 1936 population of 99,722 included 44,482 Jews. The Jews had transformed Białystok into a leading manufacturing center, with the second-largest textile industry in pre-war Poland.

The Germans occupied Białystok from September 15 to September 22, 1939, before ceding it to Soviet occupation. Under Soviet rule, refugees from German-occupied Poland swelled the Jewish population to about 50,000.

The Germans recaptured Białystok on June 27, 1941. That day, members of Police Battalion 309 extricated hundreds of Jews from their houses and executed them in the public garden. Patients in the Jewish hospital were also murdered. Another 800 Jews, driven into the Great Synagogue, were burned alive. On July 3, Einsatzkommando 8, a subunit of Einsatzgruppe B, rounded up about 1,000 Jews and shot 300 of them, mostly intellectuals, near Pietrasze, a village just north of Białystok. On July 12, the Germans arrested about 4,500 young Jewish men. Members of Police Battalion 316 executed them in a forest near Pietrasze. In two weeks, 7,000 Jews had perished.[1]

On Sunday, June 29, 1941, local German military authorities ordered Gedaliah Rosenman, the chief rabbi of Białystok, to establish a 12-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) within 24



German soldiers surround a group of Jewish men who stand with their hands up in Białystok, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #05681, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

hours. Rosenman formally served as its chair. However, the practical responsibilities of the chairmanship were assumed by Ephraim Barash, the administrative director and president of the Białystok Jewish community. The council was expanded to 24 people in August.

On July 26, 1941, the Judenrat announced that military authorities had ordered a ghetto established and had given the Jews five days to move there. The ghetto was located in an area immediately north of Kościuszko Square. The Germans ordered the Jews to construct a 2.5-meter-high (8.2-foot-high) wooden fence, topped with barbed wire, around the ghetto. On August 1, the main gate, on Jurowiecka Street, was closed on its 43,000 inhabitants. A Jewish police force of more than 200 men patrolled the ghetto from the inside and helped the Judenrat maintain order and carry out German orders. The Schupo guarded the ghetto gates from the outside.

The German-appointed mayor, or city governor, of Białystok officially served as the ghetto's civilian administrator. In practice, he oversaw its economic administration, and security officials exercised day-to-day control. From August 1941, the commander of the police and SD in Distrikt Bialystok was Wilhelm Altenloh. Until October 1942, he carried out his responsibilities from Allenstein. A deputy, Theodor Paeffgen, represented him in Białystok. In April 1942, when the SD, Criminal Police (Kripo), and Gestapo in Białystok were united in a single operational framework, Altenloh was appointed Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (KdS). The first commander of the Białystok Gestapo was Waldemar Macholl. Richard Dibus was its deputy commander. From October 1942, Fritz Friedel was head of the Judenreferat (Department of Jewish Affairs). When Lothar Heimbach was named Gestapo chief in January 1943, Macholl became his deputy, and Friedel assumed direct responsibility for the ghetto.[2]

In September 1941, the German authorities demanded the Judenrat provide a list of 4,500 to 5,000 Jews to be moved to the ghetto in Prużana. The expulsions stirred popular anger because the Judenrat had targeted for removal widows of recent victims of the Germans, and the Jewish Police used force to remove them.[3]

Even though Barash had acted harshly, likely to demonstrate to the Germans his authority, he and the council members felt enormous responsibility for the residents of the Białystok ghetto. They established a very large administrative staff to care for them. By June 1942, the council employed more than 4,000 people, not including the approximately 8,600 industrial workers employed in ghetto factories. The Supplies Department supervised bakeries, a dairy farm, and factories, which produced for ghetto residents a range of processed foodstuffs, including jam, and transformed inedible meat provided by the authorities into sausage.[4] It grew 190 tons of vegetables in gardens planted on vacant lots and distributed rations, including barley, flour, potatoes, sugar, oil, wood, and coal. The fact that the Judenrat initially ordered ghetto inhabitants to burn potato peels, to save on refuse collection, perhaps indicates that the Białystok ghetto was better provisioned than most.[5] A Welfare Department opened an old-age home for 200 residents and organized two orphanages. The Health Department established a hospital and provided the ghetto population with free or reduced-cost medical services, including standard vaccinations for children. A Sanitation Department imposed harsh penalties to prevent the outbreak of disease. The morbidity rate in the first year of the ghetto's existence nonetheless climbed to almost double the preoccupation rate, but the cleanliness drives also had prevented a single case of typhus in the ghetto.[6]

Barash maintained that Jewish survival depended on transforming the Białystok ghetto population into a productive source of cheap labor to meet the vital economic needs of the German Reich. He believed his strategy would protect the Jews from German violence, forestall deportations, and ensure Jewish survival. The extant reports of the Judenrat meetings indicate that its guiding principle was—as Barash put it—"to make the ghetto so useful to the German administration that it would be detrimental for them to destroy it."[7]

By June 1942, 20 factories operated in the Białystok ghetto. A laundry, a glass-polishing workshop, sewing rooms, a tannery, and leather works also had been created. They manufactured a long list of items, including clothing and uniforms, shoes, saddles, barrels, electrical appliances, soap, chemicals, furniture, and bandages.[8] To produce the finished products, most shops initially depended on raw materials, such as glass and ultimately potato peels, mainly collected in the ghetto. The largest orders came from the Wehrmacht. The Białystok ghetto laundry, for instance, reportedly cleaned the soiled clothes, uniforms, and bed sheets of every Wehrmacht unit on the Eastern Front.[9] Private German companies and the German civil administration also ordered goods and services from the ghetto workshops and factories.

Barash's strategy likely prolonged the life of the Białystok ghetto. In early October 1942, the Reich Main Security Office in Berlin ordered the Security Police in Białystok to evacuate 12,000 Jews from the ghetto. However, several local German officials, including Brix, the deputy head of the civil administration, appealed to Berlin to spare the ghetto because of its importance to military production.[10] When the Germans began on November 2, 1942, to liquidate almost all of the provincial ghettos in Distrikt Bialystok, the Białystok ghetto was sealed temporarily but was untouched. However, as a result of the liquidation Aktion, control over the ghettos in Distrikt Bialystok, in early November 1942, passed to the Security Police and the Gestapo. Barash also ceded about 25,000 square meters (6.2 acres) of land in the ghetto, including most of Zamenhof and Żydowska Streets and some of Biała, Brańsk, and Polna Streets. The Germans used the residences there to house some 5,000 Poles and Belorussians expelled from the Białowieża Forest area, with the latter brought there to assume the factory jobs of Jewish laborers, should they be transported to the extermination camps.[11]

Barash curbed the excesses of the Jewish Police. On June 16–17, 1942, the Judenrat ordered 20 corrupt policemen sent to labor camps. When a search, on June 21, of the apartment

of policeman Grisha Zelikowicz, a notorious extortionist, revealed large sums of foreign currency, diamonds, furs, and other valuables, the Judenrat ordered him turned over to the Gestapo.[12] Barash appointed the popular Moshe Berman, a pre-war deputy chief of police in Białystok, to fill the position of police commander. Berman restored the force's public image, in part by recruiting policemen with a social conscience.[13] The changes ultimately created a force that refused to help the Germans extricate Jews from hiding places during the expulsions.

Youth from a wide range of pre-war political movements organized resistance. In December 1941, the Communists established the first underground organization, known as the Anti-Fascist Committee. In early January 1942, two groups of activists from Wilno arrived in the Białystok ghetto. The first, from Hehalutz Ha-Za'ir-Dror was led by Mordecai Tenenbaum, who himself continued on to Warsaw. The second, from the Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, included Hajkah Grosman, a Białystok native, sent from the United Partisan Organization (Fareynikt Partizaner Organizatsye, FPO) to establish a similar organization to coordinate resistance. Her efforts failed because the Communists refused to abandon their tradition of ideological isolation. Cooperation between Dror and Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir also did not move forward smoothly, as Dror had not yet made armed struggle the focal point of its activities.[14]



Portrait of Mordecai Tenenbaum (1916–1943), commander of the Białystok ghetto underground, 1943.
USHMM WS #39074, COURTESY OF YVA

In August 1942, news of a deportation Aktion in the Warsaw ghetto and a split among the Communists enabled Edek Boraks, from Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, to unite a part of the underground. His block, Front A, joined together the Communists, Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, and a faction of Bundist youth.[15] In November 1942, Tenenbaum returned to Białystok, determined to establish a cohesive fighting organization. His efforts faltered because the Communists still refused cooperation with Dror, who they believed propounded a heretical ideology and was too close to the Judenrat. Seeing no alternative, in late January 1943, Tenenbaum consolidated a second resistance block known as Front B. It consisted of Dror, Betar, Hanoar Hazioni, and a Bundist group that had not joined Front A. Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir members operated in both fronts, providing the link between the two blocks.[16]

As a committed Zionist, Barash was sympathetic to the youth movements, although they did not share his view of the Jews surviving the war unharmed. Barash responded to Grosman's request for assistance for Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir, and they formed a real friendship, based on mutual trust. He met regularly with Tenenbaum to exchange information, likely to gain his confidence and eventually a shared sense of responsibility for the ghetto.

On February 4, 1943, Barash summoned Tenenbaum to tell him that the Gestapo had intended to deport 17,600 Jews from the ghetto, but he had managed to reduce the number to 6,300. Barash explained that the Germans had reassured him that the factory employees would be spared. Convinced of the necessity of sacrificing a few in the hope of saving the majority, Tenenbaum also knew that a shortage of arms made resistance futile.[17]

The Aktion, which began on February 5, 1943, lasted an entire week. About 8,000 Jews were rounded up and sent to the Treblinka or Auschwitz extermination camps; another 2,000 were killed on the spot. When the Jewish Police refused to cooperate, the Germans savagely beat them and turned to informers to find hidden Jews.[18] Among those sent to Treblinka was a large group of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir members, including Boraks. Many Dror members hid in the factories and survived. A few Jews, such as Itzhak Malmed, resisted.[19]

The expulsions divided the Białystok underground. Many youth contemplated escaping to the forests to join the partisans. The Communists were among the first to send their members into the forests; Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir followed their lead immediately after the Aktion. Tenenbaum refused to retreat from the idea of resistance within the ghetto; as a result, the vast majority of Dror members remained in the ghetto to fight to the bitter end.[20]

Because the Germans did not deport the workers and their families hidden in the factories, the expulsions appeared to confirm Barash's assurance that the approximately 30,000 Jews left in the ghetto would survive the war. As a result, the

expulsions somewhat paradoxically enhanced Barash's status. After the Aktion, the Jews believed factory labor offered protection from expulsion. From March to August of 1943, the number of Jews requesting jobs grew. The economic condition of ghetto residents also improved because of an increase in production orders. In a period when the ghetto population would have been expected to sink into despair, the improved economic conditions created hope. On May 23, 1943, the holiday of Lag ba-'Omer, 30 weddings occurred.[21]

The resistance was reluctant to act, given Barash's now-unimpeachable authority and the atmosphere in the ghetto. Its necessary secrecy meant that virtually no one knew it existed. In late July 1943, as rumors circulated of an impending expulsion, the underground leaders formed a united front. Tenenbaum was appointed commander; Moszkowicz became his lieutenant.[22]

In late July 1943, Heinrich Himmler ordered Odilo Globocnik to Białystok to plan the liquidation of the ghetto. Globocnik, a divisional commander of Operation Reinhard and the political director of the Ostindustrie camps in Distrikt Lublin, insisted on complete secrecy. The Gestapo did not forewarn Barash of its plans until August 15, when they summoned him to a secret meeting to inform him summarily that the next day police from Lublin would transport the Jews, their families, and the ghetto's factory equipment to Lublin.[23] That night, the liquidation forces, including three battalions from Police Regiment 26, composed mostly of Ukrainian auxiliaries, formed an armed three-ring cordon around the ghetto.[24] Early, on August 16, Barash ordered the 30,000 Jews to assemble at specific gathering points on Jurowiecka Street to await expulsion.

Because the final Aktion had started, the underground prepared to fight back. On Smolna Street, near the ghetto fence, a battle erupted between the Jews and the Germans and their Ukrainian auxiliaries. The Jews' ammunition ran out quickly. As the Germans fired incessantly to prevent the rebels from escaping through the ghetto fence, dozens of Jews were killed and hundreds wounded. The revolt continued elsewhere in the ghetto, especially in the factories. But thousands of Jews had reported to Jurowiecka Street rather than join the rebellion.[25]

From August 17 to August 23, 1943, 14 transports carried over 25,000 Białystok Jews to the extermination camps. The first 2 transports went to Auschwitz. The other 12 were sent to Treblinka. On the latter, Jews already designated in Białystok to be left alive for labor remained on the transports and were taken to Lublin. They were then scattered among different labor camps in Distrikt Lublin, including Majdanek, Poniatowa, Trawniki, and Bliżyn. On August 17, about 2,000 children awaiting deportation near the train station at Pietrasze were taken from their parents. A rumor circulated that the children would be sent to Switzerland to be exchanged for German prisoners of war (POWs). On August 21, the children, about 1,260 in number, and 30 adult escorts were sent to the Theresienstadt ghetto. That same day, the adults were sent on to Auschwitz. After the exchange failed to materialize, the children and 50 escorts from Theresienstadt were deported on October 7 to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where they were gassed upon arrival.[26]



A group of survivors stands in front of a memorial to the fighters of the Białystok uprising, 1945–1947. The Polish text reads: "Mass grave for the Białystok ghetto fighters who fell in the heroic battle against the German barbarians for the freedom and honor of the Jewish people, 16–25 August 1943." To the right, there is text printed in either Hebrew or Yiddish. Note the Star of David atop the obelisk.
USHMM WS #14404, COURTESY OF MEIR ORKIN

While the liquidation Aktion was unfolding in Białystok, thousands of Jews had hidden in bunkers they had prepared beforehand. The Germans discovered many of the bunkers each day, including one on the fourth day of the liquidation, on Chmielna Street, in which 71 Dror members had hidden. All of them were shot on the spot. When Tenenbaum and Moszkowicz discovered what had happened, they committed suicide.[27]

About 1,000 Jews, mostly "essential" workers, their families, and important Judenrat officials, such as Barash and Rosenman, were held back from the deportation. They lived in what was known as the "Small Ghetto," an area bordered by Fabryczna, Jurowiecka, Ogrodowa, and Ciepła Streets. They cleared the machines and raw materials from the ghetto and cleaned it up. On September 8, 1943, the last Jews of the Small Ghetto were deported along with several hundred other Jews imprisoned in the city jail. Sent to Lublin, they were distributed among the forced labor camps in the region. Many of the nearly 15,000 Białystok Jews interned in these camps perished on November 3, during Aktion Erntefest (Harvest Festival), in which the Germans murdered some 42,000 Jewish prisoners of the concentration and labor camps of Distrikt Lublin.

In Białystok, some Jewish men remained confined in the Białystok prison. In May 1944, Macholl personally chose 43 of the prisoners for a Sonderkommando 1005 unit. Almost all of them were executed on the eve of the German retreat. On July 22, 1944, the day Białystok was liberated by the Red Army, the only Jews left in the city were a small group of women living on false papers.

SOURCES Nachman Blumental's *Darko shel Yudenrat* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1961–1962) contains important documentation from the Białystok Jewish Council, including decrees, placards, and minutes of Judenrat meetings.

Several yizkor books contain testimonies from survivors, including Y. Shmulevitsh et al., eds., *Der Byalistoker Yizkor Bukh* (New York: The Bialystoker Center, 1982), available in English translation as *The Bialystoker Memorial Book* (New York: The Bialystoker Center, 1982), with an electronic version also at jewishgen.org; Srolke Kot, *Khurbn Byalistok* (Buenos Aires, 1947); Raphael Raizner, *Der Umkum fun Bialistoker Yidntum (1939–1945)* (Melbourne: Bialistoker Tsentr in Oystralye, 1948).

The most accessible memoir may be Hajkah (Chaika) Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet and Sifriyat Po'alim, 1965), because it has been translated into English by Shmuel Beeri as *The Underground Army: Fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987). Other relevant diaries or memoirs include Mordecai Tenenbaum, *Dapim min ha-Delekah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Bet Lohame ha-Gita'ot, 1984); Hadassa Levkovitsh (Lewkowicz) Shprung, "Der Letster Veg fun di 1,200 Byalistoker Kinder," *Fun letstn khurbn* (Munich), no. 7 (May 1984); Gustaw Kerszman, *Jak ginąć, to razem* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2003); Felicja Nowak, *Moja gwiazda* (Białystok: Versus, 1991), which appears to be available in a limited English translation, by Diana Kuprel, as *My Star: Memoirs of a Holocaust Survivor* (Toronto: Polish-Canadian Pub. Fund, 1996).

The journals *Byalistoker shtime*, published by the Bialystoker Center in New York, NY, and *Białostoccy Żydzi*, 1993–2002, a collaborative effort by the Australian Bialystoker Center and the Institute of History, University of Warsaw, Białystok branch campus, include pronouncements from the Judenrat, memoirs, interviews, and important secondary accounts about the Białystok ghetto. The testimony of Pesach Kaplan, YVA, M-11/18, appears in a Polish translation in *BŻIH* 60 (1966): 51–76.

The main secondary sources specifically focused on the Białystok ghetto include Sara Bender, *Mul Mavet Orev: Yehude Byalistok be-Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Shniya 1939–1945* (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1997), now in an English translation by Yaffa Murciano and Sara Bender, *The Jews of Białystok during World War II and the Holocaust* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008), which has an extensive bibliography of unpublished and published sources in Yiddish and Hebrew; Szymon Datner, *Walka i zagłada białostockiego getta* (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, 1946); Aleksander Omiljanowicz, *Zanikające Echa* (Warsaw: MON, 1978); Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, *Zagłada ludności żydowskiej w Białymstoku* (Białystok, 1983); and Ewa Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie. Doświadczenie Zagłady—świadectwa literatury i życia* (Białystok: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2008), which has an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources focusing on Polish-language documentation.

The following documents from YVA were consulted in preparing this entry: O-16/411, O-3 (6013, 6180, 6227, 6239, 6357, 8650), O-33/469, M-11 (AŻIH 204) (17, 18, 26, 29, 36, 44, 47), M-11B (27, 29, 37, 87-89, 108, 147, 206, 247, 305), TR-10 (609, 661, 721, 813).

Additional archival documentation pertaining to the Jewish community of Białystok under German occupation in World War II includes: AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 204, 301 [e.g., 7, 12, 15, 19, 21, 79, 387, 396, 546-47, 550, 552, 746, 972, 981, 1080, 1121, 1217, 1253-54, 1259, 1267, 1273, 1280, 1282, 1285-87, 1289, 1456, 1458-61, 1465, 1469, 1473, 1834-35, 1838, 1840, 1845, 1859, 1974, 1991, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2005-08, 2115-20, 2122, 2124-25, 2128, 2131-33, 2157, 2251, 2256-61, 2263, 2265, 2409, 2413, 2419, 2587, 2589, 2590, 2594-95, 2601-04, 2855, 2949-51, 2954, 2958, 2961, 2970-71]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14223); FVA (e.g., HVT # 76, 98, 189, 403, 430, 801, 1336, 1516, 1678, 1842, 1928, 1991, 2903, 2521, 3072, 3560, 3616, 3823); IPN (e.g., SAB [20, 79, 242], SOB [23, 107, 119, 120, 195, 260, 279-80], SWB [48-50, 57]); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/226, 1/763, 1/1639, 1/1648, 1/1762, 1/1800, 1/1810, 1/1922, 7/365, 7/995, 15/438, Ds [41/67, 48/67, 49/67], S [2/68/1-10, 4/75, 6/82]); USHMM (e.g., 2001.305.1, Acc.1995.A.582, Acc.1998.A.0301, RG-50.120*0159, RG-50.120*0264, RG-50.120*0273); and VHF.

Sara Bender
trans. Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/721, 10/609; 10/813; M-11B/108.
2. Ibid., TR-10/661, 10/813.
3. Ibid., M-11/18, p. 29; Kot, *Khurbn Byalistok*, p. 104.
4. YVA, M-11/18, pp. 9, 12–13; Raizner, *Der Umkum*, p. 92.
5. Blumental, *Darko*, pp. 423, 455 (notices 227, 286).
6. YVA, M-11/18, pp. 25–26, and O-3/6227, testimony of Tuvya Citron (Tobiasz Cytron), pp. 13–15.
7. Blumental, *Darko*, pp. 217, 237.
8. Ibid., pp. 203, 551; YVA, M-11/18, p. 20.
9. YVA, TR-10/255, pp. 2–3.
10. Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, p. 53.
11. Blumental, *Darko*, pp. 269–271; Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, p. 63.
12. Blumental, *Darko*, pp. 187–189, 209, 256; Raizner, *Der Umkum*, pp. 94–95.
13. Raizner, *Der Umkum*, p. 68; YVA, M-11/18, p. 36; Blumental, *Darko*, p. 201.
14. Itzhak Zukerman [Antek], *Sheva' ha-Shanim ha-Hen* (Tel Aviv: Bet Lohame ha-Gita'ot, 1990), pp. 137, 142; Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, pp. 101–102; Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret*, pp. 45, 69–70, 82–83.
15. Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret*, pp. 73–76, 87–88, 105, 122–123, 127.
16. Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, pp. 16–19, 23–24, 31; Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret*, pp. 150–156.
17. Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, pp. 38–39.
18. Ibid., p. 41; Raizner, *Der Umkum*, p. 121.
19. YVA, M-11B/116, testimony of A. Gershuni (Abraham or Abrasza Gerszuni); M-11/17, testimony of Pesach Kaplan, pp. 3–7; Kot, *Khurbn Byalistok*, pp. 59–62.

20. Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret*, p. 190; Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, p. 84.

21. Nowak, *Moja gwiazda*, pp. 52, 111–113; Raizner, *Der Umkum*, pp. 155–157.

22. Tenenbaum, *Dapim*, pp. 158–159.

23. YVA, TR-11, testimony of Fritz Friedel. See also IPN, SAB 20.

24. YVA, TR-10/813, pp. 157–160.

25. Ibid., M-11B/147, testimony of Meir Zashkowsky (Zaszkowski), O-3/6013, testimony of Lisa Strauch, pp. 22–31, O-3/6239, testimony of Ewa Krakowska (Kracowska), pp. 47–59, O-3/6637, testimony of Yisrael Prensky, TR-10/661, TR-10/813; Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret*, pp. 276–287; Raizner, *Der Umkum*, pp. 166–167; Kot, *Khurbn Byalistok*, p. 82.

26. Levkovitsh, "Der Letster Veg," pp. 74–79.

27. Grosman, *Anshe ha-Mahteret*, p. 330; Bronka Vinizka Klibansky, "My Memories of Mordecai Tenenbaum and of the Activities of the Underground in Białystok" [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moreshet* 9 (October 1968): 66; YVA, M-11B/140, testimony of Tuvya Citron.

BIELSK PODLASKI

Pre-1939: Bielsk Podlaski (Yiddish: Bielsk Podliask), town, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Bel'sk, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bielsk, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Bielsk Podlaski, Bielsk powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Bielsk Podlaski lies 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of Białystok. Its 1939 pre-war population of 8,200 included 3,280 Jews.

On September 15, 1939, the Germans occupied Bielsk Podlaski but ceded it a week later to Soviet occupation. Under Soviet rule, the Jewish population expanded to 5,000 to 6,000, as refugees from German-occupied Poland and April 1940 expellees from the Soviet border security zone arrived in Bielsk. In May 1940, local authorities deported about 1,000 Jewish refugees to the Soviet interior.

On June 22, 1941, German bombardment killed four Jews and destroyed about two thirds of Bielsk Podlaski. Upon occupying Bielsk, on June 24 or 25, a Wehrmacht unit discovered the local population looting Soviet warehouses. The soldiers shot dead several Jews reportedly for stealing, including Lejbcze Bogacki, found carrying a bag of groceries. They compelled other Jews to clear war damage.[1] Within days, the Germans issued a number of anti-Jewish decrees, including prohibitions on leaving town without permission; mandates for those, from 14 to 60 years of age, to perform forced labor; and requirements to wear yellow stars on the back and chest of their clothes.

German authorities appointed a local collaborationist administration, headed by Herman, the pre-war (1939) mayor of Bielsk Podlaski. He reportedly attempted to blunt the anti-Jewish decrees.[2] They recruited a 10-man auxiliary police force, commanded by Leonczyk. The local police helped German soldiers search Jewish homes for valuables.[3]

In early July 1941, an SD detachment, perhaps the Einsatzkommando led by Hauptsturmführer Adolf Bonifer or the one led by Hauptsturmführer Wolfgang Birkner, executed about 30 Jewish intellectuals and business leaders at Osaszek, in the Piliki Forest. The victims were arrested from a list of names submitted by the non-Jewish population.[4] On September 20, another SS unit executed 12 Jews, denounced as Communists.

In mid-July 1941, the Germans ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established. Its head was Shlomo Epstein. The Judenrat appointed a Jewish police force, headed by Weinstein, from Orla. Its recruits were all Soviet-era arrivals to Bielsk Podlaski.[5] In July, the Germans demanded a "contribution" of 2.3 kilograms (5.1 pounds) in gold, 5 kilograms (11 pounds) in silver, and a cash payment, probably of 300,000 rubles.

In August 1941, a German civil administration replaced the military authorities in Bielsk Podlaski. The Kreiskommissar initially was Landrat von Bünau. In late 1942, Tubenthal replaced him. A German, perhaps first Brosch and then Reinhard, was appointed mayor. An 8-man Gendarmerie post, reinforced by 10 local auxiliaries, was stationed in Bielsk, as was a Schupo detachment, commanded by Franz Lamm. They were reinforced by a 3-man SD detachment from the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) Bialystok, commanded by Schröder.

In August 1941, German authorities established an open ghetto in Bielsk Podlaski by forbidding Jews from living under the same roof as Christians or renting homes from them. It gave Jews in this position one day to relocate.

The German mayor established a more formal open ghetto, most likely in September 1941, by ordering the Jews to move to a neighborhood composed of a few streets. It was located on the area bordered by what now are Mickiewicz, Kazimierzowska, Jagiellońska, and Kopernik Streets.[6] The ghetto included parts of Widowska, Wąska, and Ogrodowa Streets. Some survivors believe the mayor issued the order under pressure from local antisemites.[7] The Germans gave the Jews a short time in which to construct a fence around the ghetto. Because they lacked access to wood, the Jews dismantled much of their furniture to build it. Upon its completion, the Germans gave the Judenrat 24 hours to raise a "contribution," likely of 2.5 kilograms (5.5 pounds) of gold and 300,000 rubles. The Germans demanded an additional payment of 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of gold for the privilege of living in the ghetto.

Survivors note that the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto population stood at 5,000 to 6,000.[8] Postwar Polish officials and West German investigators placed its population at 3,000 to 3,500.[9] Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, as three to four families squeezed into ghetto apartments.

The Bielsk Podlaski ghetto inmates were conscripted for a variety of labor tasks, assigned to the Judenrat by Alex Nesemeier, a German in the Bielsk Podlaski magistrate's office. The conscripts dug peat, worked in forestry labor, and performed tasks associated with clearing war devastation and transforming the razed areas into parks. On Sundays, children,

women, and the elderly cleaned streets. About 30 Jews worked at a glazing workshop. Twice that number labored at a workshop established by the German firm Benz to produce felt boots for the Wehrmacht.

One day, German security forces stormed the ghetto and commanded the Jews to collect and burn their talles, tefillin, Torahs, and religious works and for all male inmates to shave their beards. After subsequently discovering Shmuel Kac wearing a tallis on the way to an illegal prayer group, Gendarmes beat him severely before ordering him to burn the tallis.

Material conditions in the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto rapidly deteriorated, because the local authorities refused to distribute rations to its inmates. Moshe Ahron Bendes, the rabbi of Bielsk Podlaski, perished protesting the lack of rations with a hunger strike. Because the Jews had transferred to the ghetto a store of supplies looted from Soviet warehouses, most avoided starvation. However, after the Jewish Police reported the whereabouts of these supplies to German authorities, conscripted laborers working outside the ghetto were forced to forage for plants and to barter material possessions for food with the local population. Ghetto informers eroded community solidarity. The Jewish Police operated independently, blackmailing and robbing fellow inmates, in spite of the Jewish Council's efforts to restrain them.[10]

Some 24 Jews were executed for attempting to escape from the ghetto or for being found illicitly outside its gates. At least 6 others, including 2 Jewish policemen, were executed, based on a denunciation from inside the ghetto.

On November 2, 1942, the German Security Police and local security forces encircled the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto, in preparation for its liquidation. The KdS transformed the ghetto into a transit camp by transporting Jews from nearby localities, including from Boćki, Narew, Orla, Rutki (Orla gmina, Bielsk Podlaski powiat), and Brańsk to the ghetto. The Security Police illuminated the ghetto fence at night, shot dead anyone who approached it, and piled the corpses in front of it to deter others from fleeing. On November 6, the Germans transferred to the Białystok ghetto about 200 inmates from Bielsk and Orla, including Epstein, 48 to 49 craftsmen employed at the boot-making workshop, and their families.[11]

Some survivors describe the Germans removing about 1,000 people each day from the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto, beginning on November 2, 1942, and sending them by train to the Treblinka extermination camp.[12] Others note the expulsions began about a week after the Brańsk Jews arrived in the ghetto, on November 7.[13] Polish scholars, including Szymon Datner and Zbigniew Romaniuk, describe a gradual expulsion. The latter mentions the Brańsk Jews arrived in an emptied Bielsk ghetto, a point that suggests the Bielsk Podlaski community had been sent by then to Treblinka. Their German counterparts and postwar German criminal investigators rely on a diary from the 1st Company of Police Reserve Battalion 13, which notes it assisted local security forces on November 15–17 to march the Jews from the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto to the train station. They suggest a concentrated ghetto liquidation in which the 11,000 to 15,000 Jews consolidated in the ghetto were sent to Treblinka over three days.[14] On the day the last transport of Bielsk Jews left for Treblinka, survivors note the Security Police shot 78 to 200 Jewish elderly, hospital patients, and children at the orphanage.

The Bielsk Podlaski craftsmen and their families were returned to the empty Bielsk ghetto for about a month to work in the boot-making factory. In January 1943, they were transferred to Pietrasze, a village north of Białystok. In February, the men's wives and children were sent to their deaths at Treblinka. The craftsmen were sent separately, mostly to the Majdanek and Auschwitz concentration camps, with some subsequently transferred to other camps, including the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

On January 15, 1943, the Germans murdered the mayor Herman, in a mass execution of the Bielsk Podlaski Polish elite. In 1949, Antoni Szulc, a former auxiliary policeman in Bielsk Podlaski, was tried in Poland for his participation in the July 1941 murders of Jews and illegal searches and seizures of Jewish property. He received only a three-year prison term, because the court suspected the witnesses, including two Jewish survivors, may have confused him with Michał Szulc, another auxiliary policeman.[15] Lamm was tried after the war in West Germany. The court found the evidence insufficient for a conviction.

SOURCES Published testimonies from survivors can be found in Haim Rabin et al., eds., *Bilsḳ Podlaski sefer yizkor lezikhram ha-ḳadosh shel Yehude Bilsḳ she-nispu ba-Sho'ah ha-natsit ba-shanim, 1939–1944* (Tel Aviv: Irgun ole Bilsḳ be-Yisrael, 1975). Its English-language section also appears at jewishgen.org. Two of the AŻIH testimonies cited below, 301/4769 and 301/1977 (Polish trans.), are available electronically, respectively, at the Cmentarze żydowskie w Polsce Web site, at www.kirkuty.xip.pl/bielskpodlaski.htm, and at Archiwum Etnograficzne, at www.archiwumetnograficzne.edu.pl/readarticle.php?article_id=28.

Secondary accounts include the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 170–175; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 40–44, though the descriptions provided of the liquidation of the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto are better read in conjunction with a range of archival sources listed below, including the AŻIH 301 testimonies and the documentation at USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN]) for mass graves, with the latter, in particular, providing no corroboration that the Germans, rather than sending the Bielsk Podlaski Jewish community to Treblinka, executed its members outside Bielsk Podlaski.

Secondary accounts more helpful for understanding the liquidation of the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto include, in Polish, Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60:25 (1966): tab. 3; Zbigniew Romaniuk, "Brańsk and Its Environs in the Years 1939–1953: Reminiscences of Events," in *The Story of Two Shtetls Brańsk and Ejszyszki: An Overview of Polish-Jewish Relations in Northeastern Poland during World War II*, 2 pts. (Toronto and Chicago:

Polish Educational Foundation in North America, 1998), pt. 1, pp. 78 ff; and in German, C.F. Rüter and D.W. de Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 33 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 718, pp. 247–262; Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 602.

Coverage of war crimes trials for Bielsk Podlaski includes, for Germany, the above-cited *JuNS-V* account, and for Poland, Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, p. 226.

Archival documentation pertaining to the history of the Jewish community of Bielsk Podlaski during the Holocaust includes AŻIH (e.g., 2/123 [old, 46/149d], 301 [988, 1823, 1977, 3944, 4769]); BA-L (B 162/21136-37, 4759, 14210); GARF (7021-148-186); IPN (e.g., SAB [37, 91, 119], SOB [314]); IPN-Bi (e.g., S [5/72, 126/68]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN] 1/100-105, 46/36-37); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E [46, 1334], M-11 [138, 213, 304], M-49/E [e.g., 1270, 3145, 3943, 3944, 6640], O-3 [e.g., 3262], TR [10 (ZStL) (663, 900)]).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 37608, testimony of Renata Skotnicka-Zajdman.
2. AŻIH, 301/1977, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn, p. 1.
3. VHF, # 37608.
4. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 1/101, pp. 1–2, 1/104, pp. 1–3; AŻIH, 301/4769, testimony of Sonia Gleicher, p. 1.
5. Rabin et al., *Bilsḳ Podlaskı*, p. 28 (testimony of Meir Pekar).
6. With various dates, from 1941, in Rabin et al., *Bilsḳ Podlaskı*, p. 27 (Pekar), early July; AŻIH, 301/988, testimony of Henoch Piasek, p. 1, August; AŻIH, 301/4769, p. 1, the most detailed, September; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/36, pp. 1–2, fall; *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, p. 251, December 1.
7. AŻIH, 301/988, p. 1, 301/4769, p. 1.
8. Respectively, Rabin et al., *Bilsḳ Podlaskı*, p. 27; AŻIH, 301/1977, p. 1.
9. Respectively, *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, p. 251; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/36, pp. 1–2.
10. Rabin et al., *Bilsḳ Podlaskı*, pp. 28–32.
11. AŻIH, 301/3944, testimony of Szymon Teperman, p. 1.
12. Ibid., 301/988, p. 1, 301/1977, p. 3.
13. Ibid., 301/4769, p. 1.
14. GARF, 7021-148-186, War Diary, Reserve Police Battalion 13, November 15–17, 1942.
15. IPN, SAB 119.

BOĆKI

Pre-1939: Boćki (Yiddish: Bodki), village, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Botski, Bel'sk raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bozki, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Boćki, Bielski powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Boćki lies on the Nurzec River about 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Bielsk Podlaski and 65.8 kilometers (41 miles) south-southwest of Białystok. In 1931, the Boćki population stood at 2,342, including 1,158 Poles, 763 Jews, and 421 Belorussians. On the eve of World War II, 600 Jews likely resided in Boćki.

In the first days of World War II, perhaps as early as September 1, 1939, but more likely shortly after September 6, German aerial bombardment resulted in the deaths of many Boćki residents, including at least three Jews. The Germans briefly occupied Boćki before withdrawing at the end of September to make way for the Red Army.

A Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Boćki on June 25, 1941. That day, the soldiers murdered seven Jews. The Germans expelled the Jews from their homes on July 7, 1941, giving them just two hours to report to a makeshift prison, erected in the most impoverished part of the Jewish neighborhood. They ordered the Jews to leave all of their personal possessions behind. Because only a few houses existed on the prison grounds, most inmates were forced to sleep outside. After several days, the Bielsk Podlaski military commander permitted the prisoners to return to their former homes, which, in the meantime, had been stripped of all their belongings. The Germans also organized a Polish auxiliary police force, which in turn rounded up Jews for forced labor to dismantle buildings and to repair roads destroyed during the recent military operations. Probably in early July 1941, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Shlomo Zimni, the rabbi of Boćki. A Jewish police force also was established.

After a Gendarmerie post was opened in Boćki in March 1942, the Gendarmes, assisted by members of the SS, supervised the resettlement that same month of the Jews into a ghetto. Some confusion exists over its size and location. Polish postwar court documentation describes the Boćki ghetto as composed of 40 houses, located in the preexisting Jewish neighborhood, on three streets: Żałońska (now Antoniak), Brańsk, and a part of Bielsk Streets. Drawing on other sources, scholars in Israel note the Boćki ghetto consisted of four "dilapidated" houses. After they were occupied beyond capacity, the remaining Jews were directed to live in the Bet Midrash and the synagogue. According to this latter group of sources, when the Germans ordered the ghetto fenced in June 1942, the housing situation resulted in the establishment of two closed ghettos. The first ghetto was composed of the four homes. The second ghetto consisted of the Bet Midrash and the synagogue. The Polish documentation does not mention the existence of two ghettos.[1]

The Polish documentation notes that approximately 750 Jews lived in the Boćki ghetto. The population may be too high, as works written by scholars in Israel place the number at about 600 people.[2]

In Boćki, ghetto residents were conscripted for a number of labor projects. They refinished and restored much of the furniture, which earlier had been stolen from them, for its new Slavic and German owners. Craftsmen worked in tailoring shops established in the ghetto. Others were conscripted

for agricultural labor on nearby estates. The Germans provided no rations to ghetto residents; rather, they expected them to secure food on their own.[3]

On November 2, 1942, the SS and members of the local Gendarmerie, likely including local Polish Schutzmänner, surrounded Boćki in preparation for the liquidation of the ghetto. They ordered the Jews to assemble on the square in front of the synagogue. The women, children, and elderly were loaded onto the carts of local Christian peasants, mobilized earlier for the liquidation Aktion. The men were ordered to follow behind them on foot to the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto. In Bielsk, the Germans permitted some male craftsmen to return to Boćki.

The rest of the Boćki Jews joined about 6,000 Jews already imprisoned in the Bielsk Podlaski ghetto and about 4,500 additional Jews from Brańsk, Narew, Orla, Rutki (pre-war Orla gmina, Bielsk powiat), and other localities. For two weeks, from November 2 to 14, almost daily roundups enveloped the Bielsk ghetto residents, with at least 1,000 Jews deported daily to the Treblinka extermination camp. According to one account, the Boćki Jews were sent to their deaths at Treblinka on November 11, though this same account also suggests the roundups were more arbitrary, with families and townspeople often separated from each other and sent to Treblinka in different transports.[4] All of the Boćki Jews were gassed on arrival at Treblinka.

The male craftsmen returned to Boćki probably were confined to the four ramshackle houses, in a remnant ghetto. At the end of December 1942, the Germans organized the final liquidation of the Boćki ghetto. Many of the men attempted escape. While some managed to flee, most were shot. The craftsmen most likely were deported to the Białystok ghetto. They are believed to have been rounded up there and sent to Auschwitz and Treblinka during the first liquidation Aktion there in February 1943. None survived.

Almost all the men who had evaded deportation to the Białystok ghetto were discovered in subsequent searches of the area. Other fugitives were handed over to German authorities by Christians, some of whom had promised to shelter them for a fee. Only one former Boćki ghetto resident, Max Farber, survived the war. He was aided by a Christian friend, a farmer, whose first name was Julian.[5]

In 1951, three Poles, former Schutzmänner employed in the Boćki Gendarmerie, were convicted of various wartime crimes, including participating in executing Jewish fugitives at the Jewish cemetery in Boćki.[6] In 1953, six Polish civilians were tried for having turned over to German authorities, in June 1943, four Jewish fugitives.[7]

SOURCES Useful are several accounts by Bernie M. Farber, the son of the only Jewish survivor of the German occupation of Boćki, including "Naming the Jews of Boćki," *Globe and Mail*, September 30, 2004; and "Confronting Treblinka; On the Eve of Holocaust Remembrance Day, April 15," April 14, 2007, on the Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee Web site at www.cjccc.ca/inthenews/in_the_news_link11.html, with the second account unfortunately confusing the Bielsk Podlaski and Sokołów Podlaski ghettos. Other secondary accounts include the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 136–138; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 44–47.

Archival documentation on the history of the Boćki Jewish community during the Holocaust includes IPN (e.g., SAB [183, 204]); IPN-Bi (e.g., S-60/67); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 14, 48/39); and YVA (M-1Q/526).

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Compare USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 14, 48/39, pp. 1–2, and "Boćki," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:137.
2. Compare USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 48/39, p. 1, and "Boćki," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:138.
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 48/39, p. 1.
4. Farber, "Confronting Treblinka."
5. Farber, "Naming the Jews of Boćki."
6. IPN, SAB 183.
7. Ibid., SAB 204.

BRAŃSK

Pre-1939: Brańsk, *town*, *Białystok województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Bransk*, *raion center*, *Belostok oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Bielsk*, *Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Brańsk*, *województwo podlaskie*, *Poland*

Brańsk is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) south-southwest of Białystok. In the summer of 1937, radical Polish nationalists smashed Jewish shop windows and beat up Jews in the town.[1] Brańsk had a population of about 4,600 inhabitants on September 1, 1939, of which more than half were Jewish.

On September 7, the town was bombed by the Luftwaffe, causing severe damage and loss of life. German tanks entered the town on September 10, and the German occupants set the Old Synagogue on fire almost two weeks later. But then they relinquished the area to the Soviet Union on September 24, 1939, in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Jews initially welcomed the Soviets for releasing them from German bondage, but Jews were also among those who suffered from the nationalization of private property and systematic Soviet deportations to Siberia.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many Jews attempted to flee the town, but most were forced back by the rapid advance of the German forces, which reoccupied Brańsk on June 25, 1941. The town was severely damaged by aerial bombardment and military combat when German forces arrived, and shortly afterwards they killed eight Jews. The German military administration established a

Polish police force and a Polish mayor. The Polish police identified the Jewish houses to the Germans so that these houses could be robbed. The Polish mayor, Władysław Dąbrowski, terrorized the Jews, making them perform hard labor and repeatedly collecting large fines from the community. However, a German administrator, Barwinski, soon replaced him.

In the summer of 1941, the Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches. Some youths refused to obey this order, wearing the patches on a string around their neck and only making them visible when a policeman approached. However, the Jewish Police beat them severely for not wearing the patches. Many Jews complained bitterly about the "Jewish Gestapo." After one particular beating, the Jews protested, and thereafter the Jewish Police arrested offenders rather than beating them on the street.[2]

At the same time, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 12 people, headed by Alter Jamsin. Its functions included collecting money to meet the demands of the German authorities, assigning people to forced labor, allocating housing within the ghetto, distributing food, and overseeing the Jewish Police, which was headed by Itzhak Wasser. Members of the Jewish Council and their families generally enjoyed considerable privileges over other members of the community.[3]

Jews were obliged to perform forced labor. Among the tasks they performed were road and bridge construction, which may have involved working in the river submerged up to their necks in cold water, or cutting wood in the forest. The poorest Jews were generally assigned to the worst jobs.

In the fall of 1941, under a new civil administration, Amtskommissar Sturmann took charge of the town, just as the ghetto was being established. He was influenced by the Jews to delay its creation for as long as possible; ultimately he permitted them to decide in which part of the town it would be, endorsing also the idea of a second "Small Ghetto." On its eventual establishment, many Jews were forced to abandon their homes and moved into the ghetto carrying on their shoulders the few possessions they had left. The main ghetto was bordered by present-day Sienkiewicz, Binduga, John-Paul II, and Kościuszko Streets. About 2,400 people, among them about 175 Jews from nearby villages, were forced into the two ghettos.[4] There was terrible overcrowding there, with four or five families living in each room. Daily rations consisted of 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread. Inside the ghetto there was also a jail and a court administered by the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police. Jews in the ghetto sometimes obtained German newspapers, which they read collectively during their days off work.[5]

In the ghetto a boot factory was established, in which Jews supplied the labor. Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated when Jews from neighboring towns that had suffered from Aktions at the hands of the Germans arrived in Brańsk, seeking refuge. These people were assigned places to sleep and ate with a different family each night, as they were not officially registered and therefore did not receive rations.[6] Since the ghetto initially was not enclosed and the vigilance of the police was not strict (with the police accepting bribes), it was relatively easy for Jews to purchase or barter food from local peasants and then to conceal it inside the ghetto. Some food was even sent to help feed people in the Białystok ghetto, where it was exchanged for clothes, which could in turn be bartered.[7]

In the summer of 1942, the Germans ordered that a wooden fence some 4 meters (13 feet) high be erected around the ghetto. There were two gates by which people exited to go outside to work. Within the ghetto, the Jews actually felt more willing to go into the streets, where they would gather to discuss the situation in the war. Jews also gathered daily in private houses to pray. As news of the Aktions in other towns spread, Jews also prepared hiding places inside the ghetto in anticipation of its liquidation.

Jewish youth organized an underground resistance and purchased arms, in preparation for escaping to the forests to join the Soviet partisans and fight the Germans. There was even one sympathetic German soldier who helped to supply them with weapons. In the fall of 1942, the residents of the "small ghetto" were transferred into the main ghetto, making the overcrowding even worse.

On November 1, 1942, a Jew from Białystok arrived in Brańsk with news of German plans to liquidate all the ghettos of the region. The next day, the Germans and their collaborators (including Lithuanian and Ukrainian auxiliaries) surrounded the ghetto. On the night of November 2–3, several hundred Jews tried to flee, tearing down the fences and some seeking hiding places with local Christians. The Germans and their collaborators responded by shooting at the fleeing Jews, using flares to illuminate their targets. Nonetheless, several hundred escaped successfully. Most fled to the forests, as much of the Christian population was unwilling to assist them in finding hiding places. Some even returned to the ghetto when they were unable to find refuge.[8]

The cordon around the ghetto remained in place until November 7, 1942. On November 6, a Polish member of the Amtskommissariat and a member of Polish Home Army (AK), Wacław Klukowski, warned the Jews that they would soon be exterminated. On November 7, hundreds of wagons arrived to transport the Jews to the nearby ghetto of Bielsk Podlaski. From there, on November 9, some 2,000 Jews of Brańsk commenced their journey to the Treblinka extermination camp, where they were murdered the next day.[9]

Over the following days the hunt for Jews that had escaped continued. In the village of Oleksin, the mayor Józef Adamczuk forced some inhabitants to help track down Jews, resulting in the deaths of 14 people. Other locals who participated in the area were Kaminski and the Rycz brothers.[10] Inside the former ghetto, 23 people were murdered when they had to abandon their bunker due to an accidental fire.[11] There were also a number of local inhabitants who helped Jews, including 10 groups who have been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. Among them are Jan Kozłowski and his family who helped Jack Rubin to survive.[12]

After Brańsk was liberated, 64 Jews returned to the town, having survived in hiding or fighting with the partisans. Living together in one building, the survivors felt depressed, isolated, and threatened, as there was an atmosphere of lawlessness, and many peasants had now moved into former Jewish homes. After 2 young Jewish women were murdered in March 1945, the group of Brańsk Jews decided to move to Białystok, and by 1948 most had immigrated to Israel or the United States.[13]

SOURCES The book by Eva Hoffman, *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), is focused on Brańsk and deals sensitively with the issue of Polish-Jewish relations, including a chapter on the Shoah. It should be read also in connection with Zbigniew Romaniuk, "Brańsk and Its Environs in the Years 1939–1953: Remiscences of Events," in *The Story of Two Shtetls Brańsk and Ejszyszki* (Toronto and Chicago: Polish Educational Foundation in North America, 1998), pt. 1, pp. 71–107. The yizkor book edited by Alter Trus and Julius Cohen, *Brainsk sefer ha-zikaron: A bashraybung fun unzer heym* (New York: Bransker Relief Committee, 1948), contains a series of personal portraits of the town; the memoir of Josef Broide, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partizan in di Braynsker velder* (Tel Aviv: Urli, 1969) [an English MSS translation titled *Men of the Forest* is available], also includes a few details about the ghetto. Other relevant publications include Elhanan Man, *Ner le-Brainsk: Tragedyah shel 'ayarah Yehudit Yedu'ah be-Mizrah Eropah* (Tel Aviv: A. Narkis, 2001).

Testimonies by survivors from Brańsk can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1256, 1988, 2100-1, 2103-4, 2110, 2112, 3526, and 3530); FVA (HVT/1516, testimony of Jack Rubin); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Hoffman, *Shtetl*, pp. 179–180, 194–199.
2. Trus and Cohen, *Brainsk sefer ha-zikaron*, pp. 251–289.
3. Ibid.
4. Romaniuk, "Brańsk and Its Environs," pp. 75–76.
5. Trus and Cohen, *Brainsk sefer ha-zikaron*, pp. 251–289; Broide, *Zikhroynes*.
6. Trus and Cohen, *Brainsk sefer ha-zikaron*, pp. 251–289.
7. Broide, *Zikhroynes*.
8. AŻIH, 301/2100, testimony of Lejb Trus.
9. Broide, *Zikhroynes*; Romaniuk, "Brańsk and Its Environs," pp. 77–78.
10. AŻIH, 301/2101, testimony of Alter Trus; 301/2104, testimony of Jankiel Rubin.
11. Adamczuk was sentenced by a Polish court in 1948 to life imprisonment, which was later commuted to 10 years; see Hoffman, *Shtetl*, pp. 223–224.
12. See the list prepared by Zbigniew Romaniuk, "Poles from Brańsk and Its Environs Who Helped Jews during World War II," in *The Story of Two Shtetls Brańsk and Ejszyszki*, pt. 1, pp. 108–112. The files regarding these cases can be found in the collection YVA, M.31. Rubin's video testimony is held at the Fortunoff Video Archive (HVT/1516).
13. Hoffman, *Shtetl*, pp. 239–240.

CIECHANOWIEC

Pre-1939: Ciechanowiec, town, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Tsekhanovets, raion center, Balostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ciechanowiec, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Wysokie Mazowieckie powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Ciechanowiec is located about 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Warsaw. The Nirzec River divides the town into two parts, the Old Town (Stare Miasto) and the New Town (Nowe Miasto). In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,649, or about 50 percent of the total. The precise Jewish population in September 1939 is unknown but probably was between 2,500 and 4,000 people.

Ciechanowiec was bombed on the first day of World War II. German troops entered the town on September 9 and attacked the Jews at once. They robbed their stores and forced a number of Jewish men into trucks that took them to New Town, where they were ordered to remove and bury the bodies of Polish soldiers who had died in the fighting. On September 17, in accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the German army pulled out. This was followed by a period of anarchy, with no one in authority. Jewish Communists were released from prison in accordance with the pact. They joined with other freed prisoners to decorate the town and welcome the Soviet army, which arrived on October 4. Stores were reopened, but there were long lines of people trying to buy food or fabrics. The Soviets reorganized the labor force into cooperatives. The Jewish population swelled with the arrival of refugees from other parts of Poland, including a number of Jews brought in from the nearby town of Nur. A typhus epidemic broke out among the refugees, but the Soviets organized a hospital, and the epidemic was contained.

In the spring of 1940, the Soviet authorities ordered everyone to carry a passport (identity card), but some Jews declined to give up their Polish citizenship, which made the authorities suspicious of them. Also at this time many wealthy or politically active Jews in Ciechanowiec were declared to be "untrustworthy elements," and their property was nationalized. People in both of these groups, as well as those evacuated from the border area, were sent to Siberia, which, in the course of events, ensured the survival of most of them.[1]

On June 22, 1941, at 4:00 A.M., Ciechanowiec was shelled by German artillery, causing much damage in Old Town and the deaths of a number of Jews. After occupying Ciechanowiec, the Germans closed the synagogues and forbade even private prayer. A reign of torment and torture ensued, with arrests, forced labor, beatings, and killings a daily occurrence. Long lines for bread were occasions for further harassment. Vicious dogs were let loose to attack the Jews. A cruel German, Romanus, was appointed mayor and took command of the town. He pursued a course of daily terror and destruction until the final liquidation. Among those collaborators also noted for their sadism towards the Jews were the postmaster Pietrowski and a man named Dawidczuk.[2]

All Jews over the age of 12 were ordered to wear white armbands with a yellow Star of David and were not permitted to use the sidewalks. Men and women aged 14 to 60 were taken out each day for forced labor. They worked on road construction and in German factories. Their daily "wage" was 300 grams (about 10.6 ounces) of bread.

In November 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Ciechanowiec. It was located in the area of Drohiczyn, Wspólna, and Kościuszko Streets, on the left-bank side of the town, as well as around Łomża and Kuczyńska Streets on the right bank of the Nurzec River. Therefore, it was divided into two sections, separated by the river but linked by a bridge.[3] A barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto. Anyone caught outside could be shot on the spot. However, the Jews also were permitted to establish workshops outside the ghetto for artisans, such as locksmiths, carpenters, and cobblers.

In the winter of 1941–1942, Jews deported from the nearby towns of Zaręby and Czyżewo were sent to the Ciechanowiec ghetto, which grew in number to 4,000 inmates. At the end of January 1942, 18 Jews from the ghetto were arrested as Communists. The Germans beat and tortured them cruelly before murdering them. The attempts of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Wolf Kagan, to ransom them with bribes were to no avail. Two months later, 6 more Jews were arrested. One of the Jews, Lew Manes, attacked Mayor Romanus, who then shot him.[4]

On October 31, 1942, on the order of Romanus, 245 young men and women with particular skills were rounded up allegedly for work in the village of Pobikra. Instead, they were escorted away tied up with ropes, and most were shot trying to escape or later inside the ghetto. Some historians consider that this Aktion was probably a German attempt to forestall any resistance during the ensuing roundup of the ghetto population.[5]

At 5:00 A.M. on the morning of November 2, 1942, German and Polish police surrounded the ghetto. Many Jews tried to flee, but most of these people were shot in the ghetto or discovered in their hiding places and turned in by the local populace. Only 31 people managed to elude capture. The remaining Jews were taken from the ghetto on horses and carts to the railroad station in Czyżewo and then deported directly to the Treblinka extermination camp. The liquidation of the ghetto was completed by November 15, 1942.[6]

The fate of the Ciechanowiec ghetto was somewhat unusual for a ghetto in Distrikt Bialystok. Since the ghetto was located very close to Treblinka, the Jews were deported directly there, rather than first being concentrated in a transit camp, as was the case for almost all other ghettos in the Distrikt.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Eliezer Leoni, *Ciechanowiec: Mehoz Bialystok*, *sefer edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Chechanovitzer Immigrant Association in Israel and the USA, 1964), includes several contributions covering the war period and the Holocaust; English translations of three of the essays appear in the 79-page supplement. There is also a brief article on the town, "Ciechanowiec," in Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 392–395. Additional information can be found at the Web site www.sciaga.pl/tekst/12694-13-historia_zydow_na_podlasiu; and in Shmuel Krakowski and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004).

Testimonies by survivors and other relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/386, 975, 1829, 2795); IPN-Bi (S-29/67/1-2, S-36/68/1-2); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Berl Lew, "Under Soviet Rule, 1939–41," in Leoni, *Ciechanowiec*, p. 577; see also the partial English translation available on the Web at jewishgen.org. And see "Ciechanowiec," in Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 4:394.
2. On Romanus, see especially Yehuda Rydz, "The Savage Murderer, Romanus," in Leoni, *Ciechanowiec*, p. 636; AŻIH, 301/1829, testimony of Simkha Bursztajn.
3. See www.sciaga.pl/tekst/12694-13-historia_zydow_na_podlasiu. AŻIH, 301/975, testimony of Ephraim Winer, however, gives the date of July 20, 1941. Other sources indicate the fall of 1941.
4. AŻIH, 301/1829, testimony of Simkha Bursztajn.
5. See www.sciaga.pl/tekst/12694-13-historia_zydow_na_podlasiu.
6. AŻIH, 301/1829; "Ciechanowiec," in Wein, *Pinkas hakehilot*, 4:395; AŻIH, 301/975, testimony of Ephraim Winer. There are several contradictions in the various accounts of the liquidation Aktion.

CZYŻEWO (AKA CZYŻEW OR CZYŻEW-OSADA)

Pre-1939: Czyżewo (Yiddish: Tshizsheve), village Wysokie Mazowieckie powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Chizhev, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Czyzewo, Kreis Lomscha, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Czyżew-Osada, Wysokie Mazowieckie powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Czyżewo lies 70 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Białystok and 51.7 kilometers (32.1 miles) southeast of Łomża. Its 1921 population of 1,895 included 1,595 Jews.

Upon occupying Czyżewo on June 22, 1941, the Germans started a program of extortion, abuse, and forced labor, in which they forcibly enlisted the help of a five-person Jewish Council (Judenrat), with Zevulon Grossbard as its chair.[1]

The Germans appointed a Polish civil administration. Its head, or wójt, was Jan Nienałtowski. They also recruited a Polish auxiliary force, mostly from a civil guard that had patrolled Czyżewo after the Russians fled.[2] By the end of August, a Gendarmerie post and a civil administration, led

by an Amtskommissar, had replaced the German military administration.

Either on August 20 or 28, 1941, the Judenrat received orders for all Jews to assemble the next day at 4:00 A.M. for labor assignments outside of Czyżewo. Some German officials charged with appointing local Polish administrators told their Jewish translators to evade the assembly. Aware that the Germans had already murdered several nearby Jewish communities, others decided to flee to Ciechanowiec.[3] However, most Czyżewo Jews reported as ordered. The Amtskommissar ordered about 110 people held back for a special labor assignment at an estate near Czyżewo. The group consisted of male craftsmen and a few women employed by the German administration.

A Gestapo force, perhaps either from Małkinia or Łomża, told the remaining Jews, about 1,500 to 1,750 people, they were being relocated to Zaręby Kościelne.[4] The SS commander halted the march about halfway, at Szulborze Wielkie village and ordered the Jews confined to a school. The captives were brought in small groups to a forest behind Mianówek village, and executed in a Soviet-era antitank ditch. Among the victims that day also were about 500 members of the Jewish community of Szulborze-Koty, located across from Szulborze Wielkie.

The skilled workers held back from execution were returned to Czyżewo about a month after the mass killings and ordered to live in an open ghetto. The remnant ghetto was composed of five or six houses. Some survivors note they were all located on Polna Street.[5] Another describes a larger ghetto area, composed of Polna, Niecała, and Przytorowa Streets.[6] In August 1942, the ghetto was probably surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.[7] Its only gate was guarded from the inside by a member of the reconstituted Judenrat, led by Alter Wolmer. The Polish police patrolled the fence from the outside. At least two Jews were shot dead for leaving the ghetto at night.[8]

Besides the craftsmen, the Czyżewo ghetto included more than 100 people who had hidden during the executions or had escaped other nearby Aktions, such as the mass execution, on September 2, 1941, of the Jewish residents (1,500 to 1,900 people) of Zaręby Kościelne.[9] The Gendarmerie commander, likely in October, ordered the auxiliary police to round up about 30 orphans from the ghetto. At least two Polish policemen beat one child severely for resisting arrest. The Gendarmes executed the children.[10] In the winter of 1941–1942, the German authorities deported many inmates to the ghetto in Ciechanowiec. After the expulsion, the Czyżewo ghetto population stood at around 200.[11]

The Czyżewo ghetto resembled more of a labor camp, with its mostly young, single population; yet a few families survived partially intact, including three Węgierko (or Wengerko) siblings, whose parents and brother had perished in the execution, along with an aunt and her three young children, and parts of two related Kitaj families. The Judenrat assigned the Jews to the few houses. Family members lived together, though usually with others, as at least 5 unregistered and 10 registered people resided in each house. Because of the mass execution, most believed the future bleak. For this reason, a survivor notes, there were no marriages, pregnancies, or children born in the ghetto.[12]

The ghetto inhabitants performed a variety of tasks, mostly for German officials. Some skilled carpenters worked personally for the Amtskommissar, making furniture. (So impressed was he with the craftsmanship that he issued special orders exempting the furniture makers from wearing the yellow patches that all Jews in Czyżewo were required to wear on the chest and back.) Other ghetto inmates were assigned to kitchen details at a local Gestapo headquarters and at a mess hall for German soldiers. Women worked for German civilian officials as domestic servants and cooks. Some performed hard labor, paving the road to Wysokie Mazowieckie, sorting recovered Soviet armaments, and completing a rail spur from the train station to Czyżewo. Local Poles hired teenage boys through the local Arbeitsamt to work as shepherds. The boys lived with their employers. Conditions were not as bad as in most ghettos, because the corrupt Amtskommissar, in exchange for bribes, eased material conditions, even providing the Jews a few hours each day to barter material possessions with the local population for food.[13] The local administration also provided potato rations.

In the fall of 1942, the ghetto residents learned of the mass killing of Jews at the Treblinka extermination camp from an escapee. In late October, rumors spread that German authorities had ordered peasants to bring their carts to Czyżewo to transport the Jews to Treblinka. A large number escaped from the ghetto and sought shelter in attics across Czyżewo, including in the Gestapo headquarters, and in the countryside.[14]

On November 2, 1942, members of the SS and the Gendarmerie, including local Polish Schutzmänner, liquidated the Czyżewo ghetto. They expelled its inmates to a transit camp in Zambrów, located 23.4 kilometers (14.5 miles) north of Czyżewo. The Czyżewo Jews were incarcerated there together with 17,300 to 19,800 Jews from nearby localities. In mid-January 1943, the Germans drove about 2,000 of the Zambrów inmates, including Jews from Czyżewo, Śniadowo, and Łomża, to the railway station in Czyżewo and ordered them onto a transport destined for the Auschwitz killing center. On January 17, at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau extermination camp, 1,775 people from the transport were gassed upon arrival. The remaining 225 people were men held back as concentration camp prisoners. Most of the prisoners from Czyżewo, including Bejnysz Lipa, Jankiel Gromadzyn, and Moszek Wysocki, perished before the end of January. Less than a handful survived until liberation. Mosheh Rajczyk (Raychik) was among the survivors.

Out of the dozens of Czyżewo and Zaręby Jews who had evaded the deportation to Zambrów, fewer than 25 survived the war. Etka Żółtak worked on false identity papers for a German family in Czyżewo for 18 months before joining a group of Jewish partisans from Siemiatycze.[15] Another 14 Jews from

Zaręby and at least 2 from Czyżewo were assisted by local Poles. Almost all the other fugitives were caught by Gendarmes or turned in by Polish informers and murdered.[16] On March 20, 1942, during a search of a Polish family's property in Czyżewo-Sutki village, Gendarmes from the Czyżewo post discovered 18 Jews hidden there. The Gendarmes executed 15 of the fugitives and Franciszek Jędrzejczyk, their Polish aid-giver.[17]

The Amtskommissar held back from execution Simcha (Seymour) Moncarz and his brother Israel, his former furniture makers. Mosze Zylbersztejn reportedly turned over a large sum of gold to the Gendarmes to remain alive. The three men worked as cabinetmakers for German officials, first in Czyżewo and then in Łomża. Some of the only Jews known to be still alive and officially working for the Germans in Distrikt Bialystok in August 1944, they were sent to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on the eve of the Red Army's arrival in Łomża, as part of a transport of 1,000 Poles.[18] The two brothers survived the war.

In 1949, Stanisław Michałczyk, a former local Schutzmann at the Czyżewo post, received a 10-year sentence for rounding up children from the Czyżewo ghetto and beating one of them severely. After the conviction initially was overturned in 1951, he was sentenced to a 6-year sentence, reduced by half under the 1956 amnesty.

SOURCES A number of the archival sources cited below have appeared in publication in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 137–138 (AK, 203/III-59, pp. 2–6), p. 145 (202/III-7, vol. 1, pp. 7–8), p. 148 (AAN, 202/III-8/64), p. 152 (AAN, DR, 202/I-45, vol. 4, pp. 944–952, excerpts), pp. 370–371 (AŻIH, 301/383, Polish trans.), pp. 372–374 (AŻIH, 301/386, pp. 1–3, Polish trans.). Published memoirs from Czyżewo survivors are found in Shimon Kanc, ed., *Yizker-bukh: Nokh der horev-gevorener Yidisher kehile Tshizsheve* (Tel Aviv: Ṭshizsheyer Landsmanshafṭn in Yisrael un Amerike, 1961). There also is a yizkor book for Zaręby Kościelne, edited by Zelig Dorfman et al., *Le-zikhron 'olam; di Zaromber Yidn vos zeynen umgekumen 'al kidush ha-shem* (New York: United Zaromber Relief, 1947). A partial English translation of the first and a complete translation of the second are available at jewishgen.org.

Also valuable are several secondary accounts, including the entries in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 218–221 (Zaręby Kościelne), pp. 381–384 (Czyżewo); and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 60–62 (Czyżew Osada), pp. 240–243 (Zaręby Kościelne). Coverage of the Czyżewo ghetto also is included in Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 174; Mariusz Nowik, *Zagłada Żydów na ziemi łomżyńskiej* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2006); and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1; *Studia*, pp. 220–221.

Polin, the Web site of the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage Poland, contains much coverage on the history of the Czyżewo Jewish community, including photographs, a brief history of the ghetto, and a chapter from a forthcoming book by Karol Głębocki.

Documentation on the persecution and destruction in World War II of the Czyżewo and closely related Zaręby Kościelne Jewish communities can be found in the following archives: AAN (e.g., AK [203/III-59, pp. 2–6], DR [202/I-45, vol. 4, pp. 944–952, 202/III-132, p. 5, 202/III-7, vol. 1, pp. 7–8]); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 301 [283, 383, 386, 545, 5095, 6558]); IPN (e.g., SAB 150); IPN-Bi (Ko [e.g., 52-53/88, 65/88, 96/88, 160/87, 207/88], S [7/80, 104/68/1-2, 109/68]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN] [reel 1, 2/253-54, reel 13, 43/486-87, 489, reel 14, 46/124]); and VHF (# 5893, 9607, 10305, 16542, 37721).

Samuel Fishman, Martin Dean, and Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Simcha Moncarz, "In the Circle of the Agony of Death," in Kanc, *Yizker-bukh: Tshizsheve*, p. 981.
2. IPN, SAB 150, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 220–221 (deposition, J. Nienałtowski).
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/19, pp. 1–2.
4. For Małkinia, AAN, AK, 203/III-59, pp. 2–6, DR, 202/III-132, p. 5; for Łomża, Moncarz, "In the Circle," pp. 982–983; victim ranges from Yentil (Israel) Kitaj, "Terrible Days and Nights," in Kanc, *Yizker-bukh: Tshizsheve*, p. 863; VHF, # 9607, testimony of Michael Kitay (Kitaj); and lowest figure, 700, in Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia," p. 173.
5. Shmuel Kanc, "Der Umkum," in Kanc, *Yizker-bukh: Tshizsheve*, p. 856; same terrain cited in USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/124, pp. 1–2.
6. AŻIH, 301/544, p. 1.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/124, p. 1, with late date here likely the date the ghetto was closed.
8. VHF, # 9607 and # 10305, testimony of Dora Rosenthal.
9. AŻIH, 301/386, testimony of Mindel and Rachela Olszak, in *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:373; IPN-Bi, S-104/68/1-2 and S-7/80, pp. 1–17, cited by Nowik, *Zagłada*, p. 153, listing 1,500 victims from Zaręby.
10. IPN, SAB 150; VHF, # 10305.
11. AŻIH, 301/386, in *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:373; with a zero likely dropped from the population of 20 reported at USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/124, p. 1.
12. VHF, # 10305.
13. USHMM, Acc.-2006.246, p. 2.
14. VHF, # 10305.
15. AŻIH, 301/283, testimony of Etka Żółtak, p. 1.
16. VHF, # 9607; AŻIH, 301/386, p. 3.
17. IPN-Bi, Ko-5/88, cited by Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia," pp. 173–174, including documentation that the aid-giver's surname was Jędrzejczyk and not Andrzejczyk, as reported by Moncarz.
18. Moncarz, "In the Circle," pp. 982–985.

DĄBROWA BIAŁOSTOCKA (AKA DĄBROWA GRODZIEŃSKA)

Pre-1939: Dąbrowa (Yiddish: Dombrova), town, Sokółka powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Dombrovo raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dombrowa (from late 1942, Gartenstadt), Kreis Sokolka, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Dąbrowa Białostocka, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Dąbrowa is located about 64 kilometers (40 miles) north-northeast of Białystok and 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Grodno. Its alternate name, Dąbrowa Grodzieńska, which dates to 1842, was used after World War II in official documentation until at least 1950. Subsequently renamed Dąbrowa Białostocka, the town today lies about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of the Polish border with the Republic of Belarus.

In 1921, the population of the larger Dąbrowa gmina stood at 3,015, including 1,218 Jewish residents. The Jews were concentrated in the town of Dąbrowa, where they made up 90 percent of the overall population. By the outbreak of World War II the Jewish population of the town was less than 1,200. In September 1939, the first month of World War II, the Germans occupied Dąbrowa for less than two weeks before evacuating it to make way for the Red Army.

During the German invasion of the Soviet Union, which began on June 22, 1941, a Wehrmacht unit destroyed the Jewish homes outside of Dąbrowa on June 25, as it crushed a pocket of Soviet resistance there. When the Germans entered the town early the next morning, the military commander claimed that the Jews had murdered a German officer the evening before. In retribution, he ordered his men to set Dąbrowa on fire. The number of Jews who perished in the blaze is unknown. Most survivors fled to Nowy Dwór (Nowy Dwór gmina, Sokółka powiat), Sokółka, or Suchowola. Between 300 and 600 Jews returned to Dąbrowa in the week following the fire.[1] They were subjected to further violence at the beginning of July, when a group of Germans arrived and ordered 27 young Jewish adults to accompany them for forced labor, outside of Dąbrowa. After the laborers did not return home, they were presumed to have been murdered by the Germans.[2]

After the murders, the Germans likely ordered the remaining Dąbrowa Jews confined to the borders of the town, in part to conscript them more easily for forced labor. Initially, a Polish guard supervised the brigades of Jewish forced labors. The Jews razed structures destroyed in the fire. Likely from September 1941, ultimate authority for the open ghetto was transferred to at least five German Gendarmes permanently stationed in Dąbrowa. The Jews lived in the basements of burned-out homes and sheds. They suffered from starvation, as there was little food available in the devastated town.[3]

In the fall or perhaps the winter of 1941, the Germans established a closed ghetto for the Dąbrowa Jews. The date the ghetto was created varies in the sources. Some scholars believe the Jews were confined to the theater and *mikveh* immediately following the fire. Others note that the Germans in May 1942 first deported to the Suchowola ghetto between 100 and 300 Jews, largely those they deemed unfit for forced labor. They next ordered the remaining 200 members of the community to reside in the two buildings, the only habitable structures in Dąbrowa.[4] The Jews in the Dąbrowa ghetto were conscripted for labor, widening and paving the road from Sokółka to Janów Sokólski, together with labor brigades from the Sokółka ghetto. The Dąbrowa Jews likely worked on the more northern section of the road, from Makowlany to Dąbrowa.

On November 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Dąbrowa ghetto. They ordered the surviving Jews into marching order and commanded them to run most of the way to a transit camp, just south of Grodno, located in Kiełbasin, about 28 kilometers (17. 4 miles) from Dąbrowa. Those who could not keep up were shot.[5]

At Kiełbasin, the Dąbrowa Jews were reunited with surviving family members from the Suchowola ghetto, among the 22,000 to 29,000 local Jews imprisoned at the transit camp. On December 14, 1942, the Germans drove the Dąbrowa community from Kiełbasin to the train station at Łasośna and sent them from there to the Treblinka extermination camp. The next day, at Treblinka, all but 1 perished there. The survivor, Sonia Grabińska-Lewkowicz, was among a handful of women held back from the transport to work at the camp laundry, cleaning and pressing the uniforms of the Ukrainian guards. She also is the only woman known to have survived the August 1943 Treblinka uprising.[6]

Grabińska-Lewkowicz returned to Dąbrowa after its liberation in the summer of 1944 only to discover a Polish family constructing a home on the property of her parents. She spent the winter of 1944–1945 with another local Polish family. Five other Jewish survivors, who had fled to the Soviet Union shortly after June 22, 1941, also returned to Dąbrowa. After a group of Poles murdered David Weinstein, one of the returnees, the few remaining Jews migrated to larger cities before leaving Poland for other countries, most notably Israel.[7]

SOURCES Published primary and secondary sources include Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985), 1:447–449 (testimony of Sonia Lewkowicz); Michael A. Nevins, *Dubrowa. Dąbrowa Białostocka. Memorial to a Shtetl*, 2nd ed. (River Valley, NJ: M.A. Nevins, 2000); and the Dąbrowa entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 244–246; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 62–65. Also valuable is the extensive explication of the YVA testimonies by Sonia Lewkowicz, in Yoram Lubling, *Twice-Dead: Moshe Y. Lubling, the Ethics of Memory, and the Treblinka Revolt* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

Archival documentation on the World War II history of the Jewish community of Dąbrowa Białostocka under German occupation can be found at IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/160 [former S-41/72]); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1560 and O-3/4181).

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NOTES

1. Nevins, *Dubrowa*, p. 20, for low figure; and "Dąbrowa," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:244–246, for high figure.
2. Testimony of Sonia Lewkowicz, in Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 1:447.
3. Nevins, *Dubrowa*, p. 20; and Lewkowicz, in Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 1:447.
4. Compare "Dąbrowa," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:244–246; and Nevins, *Dubrowa*, p. 20.
5. Lewkowicz, in Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 1:447.
6. Nevins, *Dubrowa*, pp. 20–21; and Lubling, *Twice-Dead*, pp. 12, 121–122, 151.
7. Nevins, *Dubrowa*, p. 21.

DROHICZYN (AKA DROHICZYN NAD BUGIEM)

Pre-1939: Drohiczyn (Yiddish: Drohitchin), town, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Drogichin, Semiatichi raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Drogitschin, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Drohiczyn, Siemiatycze powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Drohiczyn lies on the Bug River, about 90 kilometers (about 56 miles) south southeast of Białystok. Its pre-war 1939 population, of about 2,800, included some 700 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Drohiczyn in September 1939 but soon ceded it to Soviet occupation. Because of its location on the border with German-occupied Poland, Soviet officials, in April 1940, expelled almost the entire Drohiczyn population to Siemiatycze.

On June 22, 1941, German forces rapidly overran Drohiczyn. They burned the synagogue to the ground and plundered Jewish homes. During the first few weeks, a German military commandant recruited a local Polish auxiliary police force. As Jewish men returned from Siemiatycze, the auxiliary police rounded them up for forced labor. Some conscripts were not seen again. One week later, German forces arrested and then murdered 31 to 36 Jews, for allegedly cooperating with former Soviet authorities.[1]

In August 1941, a German civil administration replaced the military occupation authorities. The first commander of the Drohiczyn Gendarmerie post was named Treptow. From the end of 1941, Lindert commanded eight Gendarmes at the post. Hans Frank replaced him in the summer of 1942.[2] Because of its small size, the Gendarmerie continued to rely on the Polish auxiliary police, particularly to enforce anti-Jewish policies. Survivors divide about the treatment they received from the Polish police, with some noting their brutality and others suggesting that because they knew the Jews, they looked the other way, particularly at moments seminal to survival.[3]

In August, German authorities in Siemiatycze officially permitted Jews from Drohiczyn to return home. About half are believed to have done so, though a survivor notes that 550 Jews, mostly Siemiatycze returnees, lived in Drohiczyn during the German occupation.[4]

In the summer of 1941, the Germans ordered the Drohiczyn Jews to wear white armbands. After the order was changed in the early fall to yellow stars, on the back and chest, the Jews crafted and wore metal lapel pins instead of the cloth patches worn everywhere else in Distrikt Bialystok.[5] The Germans, likely regional authorities in Siemiatycze, ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) established for Drohiczyn. Its head, Eliezer Reznik, was a livestock trader. The council, in turn, organized a Jewish police force, commanded by M. Panczyk. The council and the Jewish Police collected "contributions" for the Germans and organized forced labor, which in practice applied to all Drohiczyn Jews 11 to 45 years old.[6]

Authorities established an open ghetto in the late summer of 1941 by forbidding Jews from leaving Drohiczyn's borders and by reordering Jewish residential patterns. In August, local German officials forbade Jews from living with Christians or renting homes owned by them. The order forced many to move into houses in the old Jewish neighborhood.[7]

The Drohiczyn ghetto inmates mostly were conscripted for labor by the Gendarmerie. They worked at a number of tasks, including razing and constructing buildings for a new Gendarmerie post and cleaning the houses, offices, stables, uniforms, and horses of the Gendarmes. The Judenrat organized children to sweep Drohiczyn's streets. The Jews were beaten on the way to work by the Polish auxiliary police and the Gendarmes, especially by the Gendarme Johann Moczko (Motke) from near Oppeln.[8]

In March or April 1942, the authorities concentrated the Jews into a more formal open ghetto, established on one or two streets, including Bielsk Street and a street known in Yiddish as Breiter. In May 1942, the Jews were ordered to enclose the ghetto with a barbed-wire fence. The closed ghetto was guarded from the inside by the Jewish Police and externally mostly by the Polish auxiliary police.

The material existence of the Drohiczyn Jews deteriorated, largely because they were prohibited from bringing food into the ghetto. To provision the ghetto, the Judenrat transformed its main street into a vegetable garden. The young snuck out of the ghetto at night to trade material possessions for food with Poles in nearby villages. The poor diet combined with the overcrowded conditions in the ghetto, in which one large family shared a room, bred illnesses. Morbidity rates increased. The Gendarmes permitted the pre-war Burial Society to bury the dead at the Jewish cemetery.[9]

The Drohiczyn Jews learned about the deportation of other Jewish communities to the Treblinka death camp from fugitives who had fled from the liquidation of several different

ghettos in the Generalgouvernement, including in Kosów Lacki and Sokołów Podlaski.[10] After discovering on October 31, 1942, that the Germans had ordered local peasants to bring 50 to 100 carts to the ghetto on November 2, the Jews knew what to expect. Some considered setting the ghetto on fire as an act of resistance, but this plan was rejected because it only would expedite German plans for the ghetto's destruction. Instead, about half the inmates evaded the deportation, with most escaping before the ghetto was encircled.[11]

At 6:00 A.M., on November 2, 1942, an SS unit, their Ukrainian auxiliaries, and members of the Gendarmerie, including the Polish Schutzmänner, surrounded the Drohiczyn ghetto. Eight people were shot on the spot for resisting deportation. The other Jews were expelled to the Siemiatycze ghetto. On the outskirts of Siemiatycze an elderly man jumped from one of the wagons. As the armed German guards pursued him into what then was forest, even more Jews escaped into the woods. Among them were Pesach Blumsztajn, who joined his wife and children already in hiding, and Hinda (or Inda) Sroszko.[12]

The Drohiczyn Jews were deported by rail to the Treblinka extermination camp in two deportations, together with the Siemiatycze Jewish community and a number of other smaller communities also expelled to the Siemiatycze ghetto. In the first deportation, on November 4 or 8, 1942, the Germans drove 2,450 people to the Siemiatycze railway station and ordered them onto trains destined for Treblinka. In the final expulsion, on November 10–11, approximately 3,200 Jews were expelled to Treblinka. Almost all those in the two transports were gassed immediately upon arrival, as the Germans held back just 153 men from the second transport for work at the Treblinka I labor camp. Whether any Drohiczyn Jews were in this group is unknown.

About 30 Drohiczyn fugitives received assistance from local Poles. In Miłkowice, Jadwiga Kosk and the Zaleska family, including sisters Józefa and Maria (Lewczuk), hid eight members of the Reznik family.[13] In Makarki, the Żero family sheltered Hinda Sroszko and also Benyamin Blusztejn (Bashan), from the Ciechanowiec ghetto, and the Kopiec family aided Chaya Perlsztajn, a Sokołów Podlaski ghetto refugee, who had fled to Drohiczyn.[14] In Koczery, the family of Adolf and Bronisława Milkowski sheltered Sara Mężyńska (Gold), orphaned after other Poles reported her family's hiding place.[15] Yad Vashem has recognized all of the families as Righteous Among the Nations.

However, most Drohiczyn fugitives were refused shelter by local Poles. Forced to hide in fields and small forested areas, most were captured and killed in searches organized by SS auxiliaries and the local Gendarmerie following the ghetto liquidation and again during the late summer months. Some suffocated in the bunkers they dug. Others, including the three children of Pesach Blumsztajn, died of hunger and disease.[16] Many Poles also reportedly expelled, turned over, and even murdered Jews they had promised to protect.[17] To protect the fugitives, Shlomo Grude and Shlomo Warszawski established self-defense organizations, which organized paid shelter and distributed warm clothing to fugitives and joined partisan units of Siemiatycze Jews to threaten retaliation against Poles who denounced Jews to authorities.[18] As a result, 72 Jews from Drohiczyn and Siemiatycze survived the war.

However, after Soviet forces liberated Drohiczyn in the summer of 1944, the ongoing effort by some partisans to revenge the wartime deaths of Drohiczyn (and Siemiatycze) Jews provoked tensions, which most likely contributed to a group of local Poles murdering almost all of the partisan leaders, including Warszawski, Grude, his brother, and his cousin, Shlomo.[19] The attacks culminated in April 1945 in an armed assault in nearby Siemiatycze on the house of another former partisan, in which 28 survivors, including many Drohiczyn Jews, lived.[20] The Jews repelled the attack, but not before the Poles, reportedly from the anti-Communist National Armed Forces (NSZ), murdered yet another survivor.

SOURCES Published testimonies from Jewish survivors can be found in David Sztokfisz, ed., *Sefer Drohitshin: Yiskorbukh* (Tel Aviv, 1969). Its substantial English section is available online at jewishgen.org. The testimony of Wolf Wisznia (Zev Wiśnia or Vishnia) appears in Polish translation in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 185–186 (AŻIH, 301/973, pp. 1–2), and is available under the Drohiczyn link on the Cementarze żydowskie w Polsce Web site at www.kirkuty.xip.pl/drohiczyn.htm. Because the Drohiczyn community lived for a part of the war in Siemiatycze and shared its fate, also useful, from two survivors of the latter community, is Miriam Kuperhand and Saul Kuperhand, *Shadows of Treblinka* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998). The Web site Ruch na rzecz Ziemi includes a section titled "Podlascy Żydzi" at www.nawschodzie.pl/podlascyzydzi/index.html, which includes, among other materials, interviews with Christians recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations for sheltering Drohiczyn Jews.

Secondary accounts include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 262–265; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 65–68; and for aid, Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 371, 452, 518, pt. 2, p. 936; and Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 176–177, 189–191, 204. Because the wartime origins of the postwar tensions between Poles and Jews in Drohiczyn (and Siemiatycze) are poorly understood in the existing literature, it is better read together with the yizkor book, the AŻIH, 301/1257 testimony of Gerzon Lew, and the relevant sections of Kuperhand and Monkiewicz.

Documentation pertaining to the history of the Drohiczyn Jewish community during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301 [e.g., 973, 1257, 2130, 3145]); BA-L (ZStL, V 205 AR-Z 59/71); IPN (e.g., SAB [142, 218], SOB 254); IPN-Bi (e.g., Ko [44/88, 46/88, 51/88, 57/88, 70/88, 71/88, 73/88, 201/87], S-31/68); VHF (e.g., # 10644,

13985, 15406, 17626, 18121, 21468, 22924, 30031, 32574, 32719, 32879, 32889, 37064, 41607); and YVA (e.g., O-3 [3928, 6596], M-31, M-49/E [e.g., 2592, 3145, 6640]).

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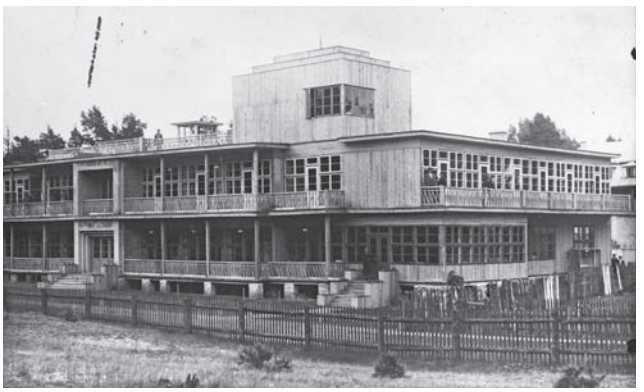
NOTES

1. VHF, # 41607, testimony of Ester Fiszgop.
2. BA-L, ZStL, V 205 AR-Z 59/71, pp. 32–35 (deposition, Czesław Terlikowski, October 22, 1968); VHF, # 41607.
3. Compare VHF, # 41607 with # 30031, testimony of Helen (Reznik) Kotkin. See also # 32574, testimony of Józefa Zaleska.
4. AŻIH, 301/973, p. 1.
5. VHF, # 41607.
6. Ibid., # 13985, testimony of Zev Vishnia, and # 30031.
7. Ibid., # 41607.
8. Ibid., # 13985.
9. AŻIH, 301/1257, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn, p. 1; VHF, # 41607, 13985.
10. VHF, # 30031; AŻIH, 301/973, pp. 1–2, though, compare with VHF, # 13985.
11. AŻIH, 301/2130, testimony of Gerzon Lew (Gershon Lev), p. 1, and 301/1257, p. 1.
12. Ibid., 301/3145, testimony of Pesach Blumsztajn, p. 1; Janina Żero testimony, Ruch Web site.
13. VHF, # 30031, 32574, and 32719, testimony of Maria Lewczuk.
14. Ibid., # 33917, testimony of Binyamin Bashan (or Blusztejn).
15. Ibid., # 32879, testimony of Maria Wislocka.
16. AŻIH, 301/3145, p. 1.
17. Ibid., 301/2105, testimony of Gerzon Lew, pp. 1–2.
18. VHF, # 13985, 15406; Lev, in Sztokfisz, *Sefer Drohitshin*, pp. 42 ff; Saul Kuperhand (Kalman Krawiec) testimony, in Kuperhand and Kuperhand, *Shadows*, pp. 140–141.
19. VHF, # 13985; Sztokfisz, *Sefer Drohitshin*, p. 562.
20. VHF, # 15406.

DRUSKIENIKI

Pre-1939: Druskieniki (Yiddish: Druzgenik), town, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Druskeniki, Porech'e raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1940–1941: Druskininkai, Alytus apskritis, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Druskieniki, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Białystok; post-1991: Druskininkai, Republic of Lithuania

Druskieniki, on the Niemen River, lies 45 kilometers (almost 28 miles) north of Grodno. By 1897, 613 Jews (49.7 percent of the total population) resided there. In 1921, in interwar Poland, Jews numbered 294 (29.7 percent) of its 989 residents. However, with the first postwar spa season, in 1923, and the rebuilding of the town and spa, hundreds more people settled in Druskieniki, which recorded a 96 percent population growth rate in the 1920s. Prominent Jewish physicians from Grodno, such as Chaim Blumstein, reestablished Jewish sanatoria there. By the 1930s, 500 to 600 Jews likely lived in Druskieniki. About another 200 Jews lived in Rotnica, a residential community of Druskieniki, located 16 kilometers (9.9 miles) to the east.



A pre-war photograph of a sanatorium in Druskieniki, Poland, once owned by Dr. Chaim Blumstein. Blumstein and his family survived the Grodno ghetto during the Holocaust.
USHMM WS #19698, COURTESY OF ALEXANDRE AND RITA BLUMSTEIN

In September 1939, the first month of World War II, Druskieniki came under Soviet occupation. Communist officials imposed their own economic and social order by nationalizing the sanatoria, transforming them into retreats for workers and Communist youth groups, and deporting the wealthiest Jews to the Russian interior. These efforts continued after September 7, 1940, the day Druskieniki was transferred from the Belorussian to the Lithuanian SSR.

With the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, only a small number of Jews evacuated eastward to the Soviet Union. Among them were 80 Jewish campers from Białystok. Known as the children of Druskieniki, they are the largest single group of Polish-Jewish children saved from the Holocaust.[1] The German military occupied Druskieniki on June 23, 1941. The military commander fired all Jewish employees of the spas and sanatoria. German soldiers there recruited young male Jews to clear bombed-out roads located hours from home. Several Jews perished from beatings they sustained there. The Germans ordered the Jews to wear a Star of David on a white armband. In August, the order was changed to yellow markings, worn on the back and the chest. By July, the Germans also had ordered the Jews to nominate a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its members included Leib and Nison Frenkel (or Frankel), Pinchas Wolgel, Judel Talkowski, Moldel Tykocki, and Chaim Kagen.[2]

Although Druskieniki had belonged to the Lithuanian SSR, the Germans did not subject Jews there to the mass executions, which by fall 1941 had effaced almost all the Jewish communities of Lithuania. Some Jewish refugees from Marcinkańce sought refuge in Druskieniki in September 1941 after rumors indicated that their village was to be incorporated into Lithuanian territory. The Germans exerted direct civil control in Marcinkańce at the end of September, and the refugees almost all returned home.[3]

The German military administration in Druskieniki was replaced by a civil administration, led by an Amtskommissar surnamed Mariell. On October 1, 1941, Druskieniki, as a part of Kreis Grodno, was joined to Distrikt Bialystok. A Gendarmerie post, under the command of Meister Schmitt, was established there.[4] When the Germans in 1942 established the Staatsbad at Druskieniki, a retreat for German nationals and foreign visitors from neutral countries, they divided the administration of Druskieniki, creating an Amtskommissariat for Bad-Druskieniki (also known as Staatsbad Druskieniki) and Druskieniki-Land, for matters related to the local civilian population outside of the town.

Likely sometime in July 1941, the Germans expelled the Druskieniki Jews to a ghetto.[5] Most sources describe the ghetto as occupying a group of damp wooden buildings, or huts, on the outskirts of town. However, the structures also seem to have formed part of a pre-war Jewish vacation center or sanatorium, as an itemized list of property subsequently cleared from the ghetto contains large quantities of household items on which such operations depended, including 5,000 pieces of cutlery and 3,000 washbasins. The German administration used the property to replace similar items in the rooms at the State Baths. The ghetto formally remained open throughout its existence, though some kind of fence likely existed there before its creation, given the terrain's former use.[6]

The Jews in the Druskieniki ghetto were ordered to surrender to the Germans all of their valuable possessions, including an opera glass, an iron, a gramophone, 63 records, two hotplates, two electric tea kettles, and 54 fur coats.[7] They were conscripted for a variety of labor tasks. Besides roadwork and agricultural labor, some Jews worked behind the scenes at the spa, including at its laundry and kitchen facilities. Other Jews provided off-site labor in ghetto workshops, including at one that made shaved ice, seltzer water, and lemonade. The workshop ceased operations shortly after August 22, 1942, the date the physician for Kreise Grodno and Solkolka issued a memorandum blaming the Jews, the reputed carriers of filth and disease, at the bottling workshop for an epidemic of an intestinal infection at the spa.[8]

The Druskieniki ghetto was liquidated on November 2, 1942. The Jews were expelled together with the Jews of Rotnica to a transit camp in Kiełbasin, just south of Grodno. Some young Jews fled from the liquidation of the two Jewish communities; 6 were shot dead on the spot.[9] The remainder, some 805 people, joined 22,000 to 28,000 Jews from about 22 other places in the Grodno and Sokółka regions also deported to Kiełbasin from November 2 to 5, 1942.[10] Leib Frankel headed the transit camp's Judenrat.

Some sources note that the Druskieniki Jews were still at Kiełbasin when the Germans closed the camp shortly after December 21, 1942, and sent its remaining 2,000 to 3,500 prisoners to the Grodno II ghetto. However, death records issued in 1943 at the Auschwitz death camp suggest they were deported there from the Kiełbasin transit camp. A large part of the Druskieniki Jewish community likely arrived there on November 9, 1942, in a transport officially listed as carrying 1,000 Jews. A part of the Skidel Jewish community also was on the transport. The Germans held back 109 men and 104 women as prisoners of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The remaining Jews, at least 787 people, were gassed on arrival.[11]

The Druskieniki Jews who had fled the deportation to Kiełbasin also almost all perished. One Jew was killed in the Druskieniki Amtskommissariat on November 3, 1942. Nine more were murdered two days later, and another was shot dead there on November 10.[12] More Jews were killed during a raid, in the fall of 1943, on the farm of Maria and Hipolit Jaskielewicz, Lithuanians executed by the Germans in October for sheltering Jews. The few remaining survivors mostly joined a group of Marcinkańce and Porzecze fugitives, organized by the Kobrowski family, in the nearby forest. In 1943, the group joined the Soviet partisans of the Davidov brigade. Aron Frenkel, from Druskieniki, left the group to command another Soviet partisan unit.[13] Also counted among Druskieniki survivors are the four-member Blumstein family. Assisted by Janina and Antoni Docha, they escaped the Grodno ghetto liquidation and were sheltered by Aniela Staniewska and Helena Zaniewska in a village near Indura.[14]

SOURCES Secondary accounts include the Druskieniki entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 273–274. An English translation of the entry is on the Druskieniki community page at jewishgen.org.

Documents pertaining to the Jewish community of Druskieniki under German occupation in World War II include AŻIH (301/736); GAGO; GARF (7021-86-40, p. 4); LCVA; RGVA (e.g., 1323-2-244, pp. 99–100); USHMM (RG-11.001M [RGVA], and RG-53.004M [GAGO], e.g., reel 1, 1-1-54, p. 38, and reel 2, 1-1-121, p. 142, and 1-1-150, pp. 10, 71–74, and 1-1-167, pp. 201–202; and reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 31, 74–75, and 1-1-365, pp. 15–17); VHF (# 10713 and 48659); and YVA (e.g., O-3/8323, O-33/3472, and M-1/E/16-1-14). Some of the material above appears in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, 6 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985–1992), which includes testimony from a Druskieniki survivor, about the Kiełbasin transit camp, in volume 1 (pp. 133–135).

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NOTES

1. "Saving the Children," and Chana Lin-Kizelstein, "A Rescued Child Speaks," in I. Schmulewitz et al., eds., *Der Bialystoker Yizkor Buch* (New York: The Bialystoker Center, 1982), pp. 133, 134–136, with an English translation of the yizkor book on jewishgen.org; and Lena Jedwab Rozenburg, *Girl with Two Landscapes: The Wartime Diary of Lena Jedwab, 1941–1945* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 2002).

2. VHF, # 48659, testimony of Nelia Ostrovski; and USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 2, 1-1-150, pp. 71–74.

3. YVA, O-33/2112, Collective Eyewitness Report by Shloyme Peretz, Khane Garfing, Lyb Kobrowski, Khaeyem

Kobowsky, written down by Leyb Konikhovsky, Ulm, August 1948, with pagination from the Jonathan Boyarin translation, on the Kobrowski family history Web site at www.kobrowski.com.

4. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 3, 1-1-280, pp. 5, 7.
5. Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 1:133–135.
6. Judenrat membership from the itemized list of confiscated property at USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-365, pp. 15–17.
7. Ibid., reel 1, 1-1-54, p. 28, and reel 2, 1-1-150, pp. 10, 71–74.
8. Ibid., reel 2, 1-1-121, p. 142.
9. Ibid., RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99.
10. Ibid., RG-53.004M, reel 1, 1-1-54, p. 38; and also at GARF, 7021-86-40, p. 4.
11. *Sterbebücher von Auschwitz*, 3 vols. (Munich: KG Saur, 1995), vol. 2, *Namensverzeichnis*, *A–L*, p. 71 (4002/1943), p. 310 (10698/1943 and 13905/1943), p. 530 (7466/1943); and vol. 3, *M–Z*, p. 888 (6766/1943), p. 1001 (10799/1943), p. 1013 (7355/1943 and 9582/1943), p. 1042 (8537/1943), p. 1065 (9156/1943), p. 1206 (6641/1943), p. 1362 (13906/1943), p. 1337 (6884/1943), and p. 1375 (7388/1943); and Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne. Polish Jews in KL Auschwitz: Name Lists* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 99–100, for Jacob (or Josef) Rejzner, listed too in the 10799/1943 death record.
12. USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 81, 1323-2-244, pp. 99–100.
13. Ibid., RG-53.004M, reel 2, 1-1-167, pp. 201–202; and AŻIH, 301/736, testimony of Aron Frenkel, pp. 1–4 (typescript).
14. Alexandre Blumstein, *A Little House on Mount Carmel* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002), pp. 152–154, 190–321, 421–422. In 1979, Yad Vashem recognized the aid-givers as Righteous Among the Nations.

GONIĄDZ

Pre-1939: Goniądz (Yiddish: Goniondz), town, Białystok powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gonendz, Mon'ki raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Goniadz, Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Goniądz, Mońki powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Goniądz lies 52.8 kilometers (32.8 miles) northwest of Białystok and 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) east-southeast of the Osowiec Fortress. Its 1921 population of 2,643 included 1,135 Jews.

The Germans occupied Goniądz for 10 days in September 1939. They burned the synagogue before evacuating the town to Soviet forces.

A Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Goniądz on June 26, 1941. Its military commander, after consulting with the local priest, appointed a collaborationist town council, led by Jan Balonowski. Balonowski named a night watch, commanded by Bronisław Perkowski, and a 25- to 30-man auxiliary police force. Bernard Kemp, rumored to have entered Goniądz with German forces, recruited and organized the force, to which he also belonged.[1] Its commander was Adam Potocki, a local Pole.



Królewska Street, ca. 1922, which subsequently became the Goniądz ghetto. The Yiddish caption reads, "The old market in Gonyandz [Goniądz]."
USHMM WS #02716, COURTESY OF RELLA SLOMAN

On July 3, 1941, the German military commander ordered all Jews to return to Goniądz. Although the order was issued in anticipation of the arrival of an SS unit the next day, it effectively established an open ghetto in Goniądz, because the Jews could no longer leave the town without permission. The penalty for evading the order was death.

On Friday, July 4, 1941, at an assembly, the SS humiliated elderly Jews and ordered the Polish police to identify and to beat about 40 former Jewish and Polish Communist officials and activists. Before leaving Goniądz, the SS gave the Polish authorities a free hand with the alleged Communists.[2] Held captive in a store cellar, some prisoners were released in exchange for payments. Others, particularly Jews, were tortured. On July 7, the night watch and auxiliary police, reportedly acting on SS orders, beat the prisoners to death. A Jewish survivor initially maintained 41 people were murdered but subsequently reduced the number to 20, including 14 to 17 Jewish men and women.[3] Another survivor, just 13 years old at the time of the murders, noted the collaborators had killed 180 Jews and Poles.[4]

On July 6, 1941, the Polish police arrested five Jewish youths found outside Goniądz. German soldiers executed the teenagers, most likely for ignoring prohibitions on leaving Goniądz. To prevent Jews from fleeing the town, the night watchmen held captive in a barn another group of able-bodied Jews, conscripted for forced labor by the SS. The men were released about two weeks later.

Acting on German orders, the Polish administration issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees, though initially with some confusion. On July 14, 1941, Balonowski invited three Jews to serve on the town council. Within a week, he demanded the men resign and commanded them instead to form a six-member Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Judenrat chair was Pinkewicz. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow markings on their chests. Shortly before evacuating Goniądz, on July 20, the local military commander demanded a monetary "contribution," in American dollars, from the Jewish community.

On July 20–21, the Polish policemen, probably supervised by a small SS unit, unleashed a pogrom in which they murdered 20 Jews, including Josel Kobryński, burned alive in the Bet Midrash under a heap of desecrated religious texts.[5] When the perpetrators threatened violence the next day, 15 Jewish women, conscripted for labor at the German military command in Osowiec, appealed to the colonel in charge there to intervene. He ordered a military police unit to Goniądz to arrest seven perpetrators, including Potocki. After members of the Goniądz town council claimed the SS had given them permission to murder the Jews, the commander released one underaged perpetrator and ordered the others shot for stealing Jewish property during the pogrom.[6] In revenge, the Polish police arrested another 11 to 15 Jews, but the Osowiec military command ordered the prisoners released. The frustrated Poles appealed to the Gestapo in Białystok to arrest the Jews.

A Jewish eyewitness maintains the Polish administration next ordered a closed ghetto established on the old market square, supposedly in consultation with an SS commander, but the Judenrat succeeded, by paying a bribe of 750 grams (26.5 ounces) in gold, to suspend the order. However, another eyewitness, a non-Jew, suggests the collaborators demanded the payment not to forestall ghettoization but to prevent the loss of additional Jewish lives.[7] In August 1941, the Polish authorities ordered a closed ghetto established. The Judenrat bribed authorities to halt construction of a fence around the old market square. The fence probably was never removed, as a local Pole remembers some members of the Jewish community living behind it.[8]

The establishment of a German Gendarmerie post in late August 1941 and the arrival of an Amtskommissar in early September imposed additional demands. Upon arriving in Goniądz, the Gendarmerie commander gave the Judenrat 24 hours to furnish his new house. The Amtskommissar demanded the Judenrat secure similar household items and provide him a residence. However, Polish threats abated as the Amtskommissar transformed the mayor into a figurehead and dissolved the town council by October. The Gendarmerie also subordinated the auxiliary police and night watch to its command, though, on September 11, the Gendarmes, acting on SS orders, rearrested the 11 Jews previously denounced by Polish authorities. When 1 prisoner escaped, the SS ordered the auxiliaries to arrest 5 Jews. The Poles rounded up 2 members of the Judenrat, including its secretary, A. Brzeziński. For a bribe, the Amtskommissar issued documentation enabling the prisoners' families to travel to Knyszyn to plead for the men's freedom. An underaged captive was released; the SS already had executed the other 14 men.[9]

The German civil administration expanded forced labor in Goniądz, conscripting about 500 Jews at a number of Wehrmacht enterprises established at the Osowiec Fortress. By the summer of 1942, 30 Goniądz Jews worked for a sapper unit commander on road and fortification projects. Another 150 produced uniform trousers at a tailoring shop. Others sorted abandoned Soviet munitions. The largest group of conscripts labored at the Osowiec train station, loading and unloading supplies destined for the Eastern Front.

In late September or October 1942, the Amtskommissar ordered a ghetto established, but the Judenrat provided coats to him and his wife to suspend the order. However, on a subsequent Sunday, the Amtskommissar ordered the Jewish residents of Dolistowo Street expelled from their houses, likely in an effort to establish either a discrete Jewish residential quarter or a ghetto. Three days later, the Jewish residents of Kościelna Street received similar orders. The Judenrat secured a temporary suspension of the second order.

On November 2, 1942, an SS unit, supported by the local German Gendarmerie, including local Polish Schutzmänner, surrounded Goniądz.[10] The SS informed the Judenrat that it had been ordered to evacuate the approximately 900 to 1,280 Goniądz Jews to a labor camp closer to Osowiec. The Jews were driven instead to a transit camp in the village of Bogusze, located 4.8 kilometers (about 3 miles) north of Grajewo, near the railway station in Prostken, East Prussia. About 30 to 35 people who had evaded the deportation found refuge in the ghetto in Jasionówka. Most others, perhaps 70 people, were rounded up following the evacuation by a small SS force, German Gendarmes, and Polish Schutzmänner. They were brought to the Bogusze transit camp, where the Germans had ordered 5,000 to 9,000 Jews from nearby localities imprisoned to facilitate their deportation to extermination camps.

On December 15, 1942, the SS deported 2,500 to 5,000 inmates from the Bogusze transit camp, via Prostken, to the Treblinka extermination camp. The remaining 2,000 or so inmates were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp on January 3, 1943. Upon arriving at Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 7, 1943, at midnight, 1,489 people from the transport were gassed. Another 296 men and 215 women became Auschwitz concentration camp inmates. About 10 Goniądz Jews survived the Bogusze deportations, including 9 Auschwitz prisoners and 1 Treblinka deportee. The latter, Awrom Lejzer Rubin, a participant in the August 1943 Treblinka uprising, subsequently joined a partisan unit of Białystok ghetto survivors. He perished in war operations in June 1944.

Another approximately 10 Goniądz Jews survived hiding near Goniądz. Kazimierz and Agnieszka Łuszcz in Krzecze village sheltered four members of the Jewrejski family. In Oliszki village (Goniądz gmina), Antoni Wasilewski, under pressure from his sister, provided assistance to Herszel Piekarz (Herschel Baker). In May 1944, Gendarmes arrested and shot dead three Jews and their aid-givers, Bolesław and Helena Kulikowski, in Goniądz.

In 1949, 10 Polish collaborators, mostly former auxiliary policemen and night watchmen, were tried together for murdering 25 Jews and Poles in Goniądz on July 7, 1941. One received a six-year prison term; another, Perkowski, was sentenced to life in prison.[11] In 1950, Franciszek Kuczyński, a former auxiliary policeman, received a six-year prison term for having supervised Jews under German watch and for the murder of Kobryński.[12]

SOURCES Published eyewitness accounts can be found in I. Ben-Meir (Treshansky) and A.L. Fayans, eds., *Sefer yizkor Gonyondz* (Tel Aviv: Va'ade yots'e Gonyondz be-'Artsot ha-Berit uve-Yisrael, 1960); with an eyewitness account by survivor Herschel Baker, "World War Two" also included in Julius L. Baker and Jacob L. Baker, eds., *Sefer Yedvabneh: Hist'oryah ve-zikaron* (Jerusalem and New York: Yedwabner Societies in Israel and in the United States of America, 1980), pp. 91–100. A partial translation of the first and the complete English translation of the second are available at jewishgen.org.

Secondary works include the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 195–198; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 70–76; Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 180, 198–199, 210; and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, pp. 186–194. And in spite of their titles, also touching on the war are Arkadiusz Studniarek, "Żydzi goniądzcy w okresie międzywojennym," *Białostocczyzna*, nos. 61–62 (2001): 130 ff; and Artur Wiśniewski, "Sztetł Goniądz," in Artur Markowski and Wojciech Śleszyński, eds., *Sztetł- Wspólne Dziedzictwo. Szkice z dziejów ludności Żydowskiej Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* (Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2003), pp. 169–179.

Documentation pertaining to the Goniądz Jewish community under German occupation in World War II includes: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1847); IPN (e.g., SAB 101, SOB [42, 115-115a], SWB [6-6d, 119]); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/1488, Ko [55/87, 67/87, 134/87, 227/88]); VHF (e.g., # 33938, 36694, 43390); and YVA.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. IPN, SOB 42, Tewel Jewrejski (Tuviah Ivri) deposition, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 187–188.
2. Compare in IPN, SOB 42, Jewrejski and Pejsach Tykocki, depositions, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 188–189.
3. Compare IPN, SOB 42, Jewrejski deposition, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 188, with Tuvia Ivri (Tewel Jewrejski), "The Destruction," in Ben-Meir and Fayans, *Sefer yizkor Gonyondz*, pp. 591–676; and 25 victims in IPN, SWB 6-6d, sentencing documents, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 191–192.
4. IPN, SOB 42, Wolf Zarenczański deposition, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 189.
5. See depositions and interrogations in IPN, SAB 101, SOB 42, SWB 6-6d.
6. Ivri, "The Destruction," pp. 591–676.
7. IPN, SOB 42, Józef Dąbrowski deposition, cited in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 189.
8. Studniarek, "Żydzi goniądzcy," p. 131.
9. Ivri, "The Destruction," pp. 591–676.
10. Baker, "World War Two," p. 96.
11. IPN, SWB 6-6d.
12. Ibid., SAB 101.

GRAJEWO

Pre-1939: Grajewo (Yiddish: Grayeve), town, Szczuczyn powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Graevo, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1945: Grajewo, Kreis center, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Grajewo, Grajewo powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Grajewo lies 71 kilometers (44.1 miles) northwest of Białystok. Its 1937 population of 9,500 included 3,000 Jews.

The Germans occupied Grajewo for about three weeks from September 6–7, 1939. They set fire to the synagogue and the Bet Midrash and deported about 300 Jewish men to a forced labor camp in East Prussia. Four months after Soviet forces occupied Grajewo, on September 21, 1 survivor returned home.

On June 22, 1941, German border guards shelled and then occupied Grajewo. Two days later, the Wehrmacht established a military command post there. On June 25, Stadtkommandant Geiss ordered the Jews to wear yellow markings on the back and chest and made forced labor obligatory for all adult Jews.

On June 29, 1941, local Polish antisemites unleashed a one-hour pogrom after Sunday mass. Appeals by the priest Aleksander Pęza and Communist Party of Poland (KPP) activist Henryk Sobolewski failed to stem the bloodshed. Ten Jews perished and dozens of others were injured. Rumors circulated that the perpetrators had secured permission from a local Gestapo commander named Opper for the attack.[1] However, most scholars believe the Gendarmes' decision to end the violence at 3:00 P.M. by shooting dead three of the perpetrators and taking injured victims to the hospital indicates the pogrom did not have German authorization.

The next day, at 4:00 P.M., a Gestapo unit surrounded about 500 Jewish men already assembled at the market square. (Believing they had little to fear from the local German authorities, the men had reported there willingly.) The Jews were surprised to see the surviving instigators of the pogrom assisting the Gestapo as members of a Polish auxiliary police force. The Germans ordered the police to identify the Soviet collaborators from among the Jews. The men arbitrarily chose about 100 people and then, on German orders, brutally beat them. On Thursday, July 3, the Gestapo returned to Grajewo, with a photographer, and in an almost identical Aktion ordered the Polish police to drive about 300 Jews into the horse market. The Gestapo joined the Polish police in beating 97 alleged Communists. The Germans invited local Poles, gathered to watch, to participate.

The 300 men were held prisoner for about a month in a theater that Soviet authorities had constructed on the site of the Old Synagogue. The auxiliary police drove the Jews in the general prison population out daily for forced labor, subjecting

them to meaningless, exhausting physical labor and beating them. The "Communists," imprisoned in a separate isolation cell, were tortured by their Polish jailers. The Communists who did not perish were executed by the Germans in small groups, either at the Jewish cemetery or in the Kosówka Forest.[2] The auxiliaries reportedly offered, for a fee, to exchange Communist internees slated for execution with Jewish prisoners from the general prison population.

On August 5–6, 1941, the SS organized a "show trial" of the Communist prisoners as a supposed precondition for the emergence of the Grajewo ghetto. At the trial, the Polish auxiliaries signed affidavits identifying 70 to 120 Jews as Communists. A panel of SS officers, serving as "judges," sentenced the "guilty" to death. Among the condemned Jews were about 30 to 80 men, including from the Communist cell block and some elderly religious leaders, and about 40 women, arrested because of their former employment in the Soviet administration or Komsomol membership.[3] German guards supposedly comforted other Jewish prisoners, telling them that the death sentences were required in order for the remainder of the Grajewo Jewish community to remain alive. The Germans and Polish auxiliaries tortured the condemned and raped many of the women. On August 7, the Germans executed the survivors of those condemned at a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery.

Polish investigators initially believed the German perpetrators of the show trial were from Einsatzkommando 8 and maintained that its commander, Karl Strohammer, had played the role of chief judge. However, more recent research has shown that the head of Einsatzkommando 8 was not Strohammer but rather SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Bradfisch, who, on July 7, the date cited for the show trial by early investigators, was in Minsk (now in Belarus). More recently, historian Andrzej Żbikowski has suggested an operational group subordinated to the Tilsit State Police may have overseen the Grajewo show trial.[4] Confusion exists, too, about the show trial victims. Postwar documentation for their mass grave notes that 193 Jews, Poles, Russians, and Red Army soldiers were executed there, a point that suggests that non-Jews were among the condemned.[5] Uncertainties also remain about the number of Jews who perished in Grajewo in the summer of 1941. The postwar Polish documentation, for example, provides no insight into the comment of survivor Zelig Tenenbaum that just 1,600 Grajewo Jews were alive at the conclusion of the show trial.

On a Tuesday in August 1941, after the show trial, likely on August 10, Stadtkommandant Geiss informed the Jews at an assembly that now that the community had been "cleansed" of its "Communists," the Germans would provide them an opportunity to live in peace, in a ghetto, with a Jewish administration.[6] He ordered the 24 remaining Jewish prisoners released from jail to assist their families to relocate to a ghetto on Dolna Street. He gave the Jews five days to move there. The ghetto terrain, which spanned 7 hectares (17.3 acres), also included Rudzka and Łazienna Streets. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence.[7]

At the assembly, Geiss also had nominated Zuker Saltzman as the chair of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). On Geiss's orders, the Judenrat established a Labor Office a few days later. It also organized a police force, initially to patrol the ghetto from Polish marauders. Karbowski, a lawyer from Łomża, was its commander, and Meier Klecki, its deputy commander. Two weeks later, Geiss ordered the Judenrat to pay a 1-million Reichsmark (RM) contribution to the town treasury, threatening to expel the Jews from Grajewo if they failed to raise the sum. The Jews sold whatever they could to local Poles to meet the demand.

The Grajewo Judenrat created workshops in the ghetto to meet the needs of its inhabitants. A bakery, a food store, and a shoe-making facility provided them low-cost goods. The sanitation force ordered swamps drained and vegetables planted throughout the ghetto. Ghetto residents were conscripted for road improvement work. Others cleaned roads and worked on construction projects for the German Gendarmerie, established in late August 1941. They left for work each morning without an armed guard but were required to have passes, issued by German authorities, permitting them to be outside the ghetto. The Amtskommissar, Hans Pogoda, who assumed responsibility for Grajewo that same month or in early September, permitted peasants from local villages to enter the ghetto twice weekly on market days to sell potatoes as well as peat and wood for fuel. Ignoring German orders forbidding Jews to purchase poultry and livestock, the peasants smuggled live chickens and calves into the ghetto to sell.

According to a Jewish eyewitness, the preexisting tensions between Christians and Jews remained. When the peasants began bypassing the square to sell their goods exclusively in the ghetto, local Christians complained to German authorities that the ghetto was better provisioned than the town.[8] Polish eyewitnesses also noted that local German authorities furthered tensions by ordering Jewish forced laborers to dig the mass graves of Poles slated for execution.[9]

Early on November 2, 1942, members of the SS surrounded the Grajewo ghetto in preparation for its liquidation. The next day, they drove its residents to a transit camp, located 4.8 kilometers (3 miles) to the north in Bogusze, a war-devastated village near the railway station in Prostken, East Prussia. At least six families were murdered for evading the deportation orders.[10]

The Grajewo Jews lived at the Bogusze transit camp for about a month with about 5,000 to 9,000 Jews from other nearby localities. On December 15–16, 1942, German camp guards sent 3,000 to 5,000 inmates, including Saltzman, from the Prostken railway station, to the Treblinka extermination camp. The second and final deportation, of about 2,000 Jews, occurred on January 3, 1943. Four days later at the Auschwitz II-Birkenau killing center, the Germans held back 296 men and 215 women from the transport for labor. The remaining 1,489 Jews were gassed on arrival. Incomplete records indicate that at least 32 people from Grajewo were prisoners at Auschwitz. Of these, only a handful survived the war.

Also counted among Grajewo survivors are Runia (Rachel) Lunia and her husband, a physician. Refugees to Grajewo in

the Soviet period, the two recognized their hometown of Częstochowa when the Auschwitz transport train stopped there briefly. They exited from the passenger cars to which Bogusze medical personnel had been assigned and were reunited with family.[11]

SOURCES A published account by Nachmann Rapp, "History of the Grayevo Ghetto," in George Garin et al., eds., *Grayeve yisker bukh* (New York: United Grayever Relief Committee, 1950), pp. xix–li, remains the standard work on the history of the ghetto. The authors also have relied on the testimony deposited in the underground archives of the Białystok ghetto, also known as the Mersik-Tenenbaum Archives, cited as AŻIH, 204/10, and titled "Testimony of Zelig Tenenbaum and a few other boys from Grajewo about events in the town from the beginning of the German occupation." The Tenenbaum testimony is summarized in Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1, *Studia* (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), pp. 180–183. Żbikowski also discusses here the initial Polish investigations into the German perpetrators of anti-Jewish violence in Grajewo during the summer of 1941 and proposes some alternatives in chapter 5 of his *U genezy Jedwabnego. Żydzi na kresach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej, wrzesień 1939-lipiec 1941* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2006).

Also useful is Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 77–81, an English-language account based on the Grajewo entry in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 165–166.

Documentation on the history of the Jews of Grajewo under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 204/10 [old 10/131], 301/2600); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/1151, 1/227-28, S-15/66 [Bogusze]); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [IPN], 2/232, 46/106); VHF (e.g., # 3129); and YVA (e.g., M-11 [i.e., AŻIH, 204/10]).

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NOTES

1. Rapp, "History," pp. xxxi–xxxiv, xl.
2. AŻIH, 204/10 (old 10/131), pp. 1–22.
3. Ibid., for low figures; and Rapp, "History," p. xxxviii, for high victim range.
4. See Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 183; and Żbikowski, *U genezy Jedwabnego*, p. 225.
5. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/235, pp. 1–2.
6. Rapp, "History," p. xl.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/106, pp. 1–2; and IPN-Bi, 1/227, vol. 1, pp. 66–67, 226 (depositions, Antoni Zieliński and Alfred Neuman, respectively).
8. Rapp, "History," pp. xlii–xliv.
9. IPN-Bi, 1/227, vol. 1, p. 13 (deposition, Bronisław Krasiński), vol. 2, pp. 47–49 (letter, Grajewo police commander).
10. IPN-Bi, vol. 1, p. 33 (deposition, Józef Olszewski).
11. VHF, # 3129, testimony of Runia (Rachel) Lunia.

GRÓDEK BIAŁOSTOCKI

Pre-1939: Gródek (Yiddish: Horodok), village, Białystok powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodok, Zabludov raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodek, Kreis and Distrikt Bialystok; post-1999: Gródek, Białystok powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Gródek is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) east-southeast of Białystok. According to the 1921 population census, 1,508 Jews lived in Gródek. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were 1,150 Jews in Gródek, about 50 percent of the total population.[1]

In September 1939, German forces briefly occupied the town before the arrival of the Soviets. Under Soviet rule, a number of people, mainly Poles, were deported to the east. German forces occupied Gródek again on June 27, 1941. After two hours, the Germans started searching Jewish houses on the pretext of looking for arms, but they took any valuable items they found, such as gold or leather. Initially, the German military controlled Gródek, but after a few weeks, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Gródek was incorporated into Kreis Bialystok, within Distrikt Bialystok, which was in most respects treated as territory incorporated directly into the Third Reich.

A German Amtskommissar, Paul Melzer, was in charge of the administration in Gródek, and he introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. His first decree was to forbid Christians from selling food to Jews. He also spread anti-Jewish propaganda among the Christians, blaming the Jews for the war, and argued that the first step to help the Germans in eradicating the Jews was not to sell them food. The Amtskommissar named the Belorussian Serenko as head of the municipal administration (gmina) because he supported antisemitic policies. Further new decrees followed daily: Jews were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks; they were forced to wear distinguishing yellow badges; and they had to perform forced labor, during which the local auxiliary police, composed of Poles and Belorussians, frequently beat them.

In order to assist with the implementation of their decrees, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 10 people, which was chaired by former teacher Shmuel Zbenowicz. After some time, members of the Gestapo arrived in Gródek. Despite efforts by the Judenrat to bribe them, the Gestapo men beat all the members of the Judenrat 50 times each. Zbenowicz had his fingers broken and his teeth knocked out before they shot him. The Gestapo also demanded that the Jews supply them with watches and suits before leaving. This treatment of the Judenrat had a devastating impact on the community. The German Gendarmerie (Order Police) also made daily demands for the Jews to deliver items such as furniture or 20 pairs of boots within a few hours, threatening to shoot everybody if they did not comply.[2]

In the fall of 1941 (probably at the end of October), or according to some sources in the late summer of 1942, the Amtskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto.[3] Within 24

hours, all the Jews had to move into the so-called Piaski quarter, which they could not leave without special permission. Non-Jews who lived there moved into the former "shtetl" area. There was also an 11-man Jewish militia, which provided the internal guards at the ghetto gate.[4] Forced labor was organized by the Judenrat, and the tasks included construction work on the main road from Białystok to Baranowicze, which entailed a long march on foot to the work site. In the winter of 1941–1942, hunger and cold added to the misery of the Jews in Gródek.

At the start of 1942, the first Aktion was carried out in the ghetto. The German police shot 13 people declared "mentally ill," and shortly afterwards they arrested 15 Jews alleged to be Communists. When 1 of the 15, a man named Botovitski (or Borovitsky), succeeded in escaping, the Germans took his wife and children hostage and threatened to kill 100 others or even the entire ghetto if he was not surrendered. Shortly afterwards, he was handed over to the Germans. After three weeks in prison under terrible conditions, the Germans shot the 15 prisoners.[5]

On November 1, 1942, there was a mood of unease in the ghetto, as the Jews had received news of the arrival of many peasant wagons from the surrounding countryside. During the night, German police and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto. Early the next morning, the Gestapo visited the Judenrat. They ordered all the Jews to appear at the marketplace within one and a half hours, as the Jews were going to be transferred to another place. At 6:30 A.M., while it was still dark, the Jewish Police went from house to house to inform the Jews to get ready to leave. Most Jews expected that this would be the end. The Gendarmerie and local police began to drive the Jews out of the houses, and the Jews did not know where to run or hide. A number of them tried to break out of the ghetto and were shot by the guards. There were heartrending decisions to make. The mother of a man named Sima urged her son to leave his family behind and try to save himself and take revenge; yet the close guard made it impossible to escape.[6]

The remaining Jews then assembled on the square with their meager possessions in small bundles together with their children. At about 7:00 A.M., they received an order to form a column in family groups to leave through the gate. The Jews then boarded the wagons under close guard. Anyone who did not move quickly enough was severely beaten. After waiting for the similar convoy of carts from the nearby ghetto of Michałowo to join them, the Jews were escorted initially to the transit camp in Białystok, located in a former cavalry barracks. Only a few, such as Nachemiasz Szulklaper and his sister, managed to escape from the convoy on the way.[7] In the transit camp they were held together in terrible conditions with other Jews from the region; 40 Jews who tried to escape were shot by the Germans.[8] From the transit camp they were sent on to the Treblinka extermination camp by train at the end of November 1942. Three groups of Jews designated as craftsmen were transferred to the Białystok ghetto from the transit camp, thanks to the intervention of the head of the Białystok Judenrat, Ephraim Barash. Only a handful of Jews from Gródek managed to escape to the partisans or survive the German occupation in hiding or with false documents.

After the war, Paul Melzer, the former Amtskommissar in Gródek, was one of the few leading officials in Distrikt Bialystok to be tried by the Polish authorities. He was tried specifically for his role in the shooting of seven members of the Polish underground movement in 1942.[9]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Gródek during the Holocaust include Moshe Simon, ed., *Horodok: A Yizkor Bukh* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Gorodok Residents in Israel and Argentina, 1963); there is also a brief article in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 231–234; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 81–83.

Documentation concerning the extermination of the Jews of Gródek can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/978 and 3593); IPN (e.g., SAB 140, SOB 398, SWB 260, 280-281); IPN-Bi (e.g., 7/9777, 1/1656, S-136/68/1-2); and YVA (e.g., M-11/48). It should be noted in particular that IPN-Bi, 1/1656 [old N-1/43], reportedly contains a list of all the Jews imprisoned in the Gródek ghetto.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/978, testimony of Josef Abramicki.
2. Ibid.; YVA, M-11/48; Simon, *Horodok*, p. 90, dates the murder of Zbenowicz in the winter of 1941–1942, following impossible demands for fresh flowers by the Gestapo.
3. YVA, M-11/48, dates the establishment of the ghetto at the end of October 1941 and is the source written closest to the actual events. Other sources indicate the ghetto was not formed until August or September 1942. See Simon, *Horodok*, pp. 86, 90; and AŻIH, 301/978.
4. YVA, M-11/48.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.; Sima (his surname is unknown) is the author of this report, which was preserved in the Tenenbaum archive from the Białystok ghetto, now located in Yad Vashem.
7. AŻIH, 301/3593, testimony of Nachemiasz Szulklaper. He managed to escape to Warsaw and survived in hiding there.
8. Ibid., 301/978.
9. IPN, SOB 398.

GRODNO

Pre-1939: Grodno (Yiddish: Grodne or Hurodno), city and powiat center, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Grodno raion, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodno (from 1942, Garten), Kreis center, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Hrodna, voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus



Jews move their belongings into the Grodno ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #74339, COURTESY OF ŻIH

Grodno lies 85 kilometers (53 miles) northeast of Białystok. In 1931, 21,159 Jews comprised 42.5 percent of the population of the city of Grodno.

During the Soviet occupation, Grodno swelled with refugees fleeing from German-occupied Poland. By the summer of 1941, the city numbered 50,000 inhabitants, about half of them Jews.

The Germans captured Grodno on June 23, 1941. A local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) initially administered the city. The Schutzpolizei and the Wehrmacht established regional headquarters in Grodno. From December 1941 to March 1943, SS-Obersturmführer Heinz Errelis commanded the local Security Police post, which was subordinated to the Security Police (KdS) in Białystok, under the leadership, from April 1942, of Dr. Wilhelm Altenloh.

The Wehrmacht initiated the first German anti-Jewish measures in Grodno: the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), wearing of markings, confiscations, and forced labor. Units of Einsatzgruppe B also committed murders, and some local Poles took advantage of the situation to steal from the Jews.

The Germans established two closed ghettos in Grodno on November 1, 1941. The main ghetto, known as Ghetto I (or Ghetto A), was located in the old Jewish quarter around the Old Synagogue. Dominikańska and Zamkowa Streets became two of its borders. Ghetto II (or Ghetto B) was about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the first ghetto, on the other side of the Niemen River, in Słobotka, the poorest suburb of Grodno. The authorities conceived of Ghetto I as a place for working people with skills, and Ghetto II as a residential area for the elderly and those unable to work. In practice, many artisans lived in Ghetto II because they either worked there for the Judenrat or had been unable to find housing in Ghetto I. Orders to move into the ghettos left people with little time to pack and just six hours to transport their belongings. Snowfall and the construction of 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fences around the ghettos on the resettlement day further complicated the process.

Until November 1942, both ghettos were the responsibility of the Stapoleitstelle in Białystok, in cooperation with the Grodno city administration, led from August 1941 by German mayor George Stein. The Schutzpolizei, commanded by Captain Franz Osterode, with a force of approximately 40 to 50 German and 30 local policemen, patrolled the outside of the ghettos. A Jewish police force, under the command of Aaron Rubinczyk, maintained law and order inside the ghettos and patrolled the fences from the inside and at their gates, located in Ghetto I at Zamkowa Street and in Ghetto II at Skidel Street, near Artillery Street.

The average living space in the ghettos was about 2 square meters (21.5 square feet) per person. In Ghetto I, between 15,000 and 20,000 people lived in an area of about 0.5 square kilometers (less than 0.2 square miles). They resided in stone dwellings previously inhabited by impoverished Jews. The approximately 4-square-kilometer (1.5-square-mile) area of Ghetto II offered more physical space, for about 10,000 people, but fewer houses. The housing there consisted of small, wooden houses formerly owned by poor Christians.

Brawer, the head of the Jewish Council, oversaw a ghetto administration divided into two parts, with Ghettos I and II supervised, respectively, by Icchak Gorzański and Abraham Zadaj, both lawyers. The council's offices included provisioning, housing, health care, police, legal matters, social welfare (including synagogue operations in Ghetto I), statistics, trade, and employment. The two administrations employed 850 people.

The council established a reputation for its abilities to address questions of material survival. Brawer, for example, negotiated from German authorities a larger food allocation for the ghettos. The organizational talents of Jakub (or Jakow) Efron, head of the provisioning department, enabled the Judenrat to distribute rations to all registered ghetto inhabitants; to offer subsidized or free daily meals to as many as 3,000 residents, for example, in Ghetto I; to provide workers with thousands of cups daily of ersatz coffee; and to grow food in ghetto gardens. The Judenrat's finance department, led by Jehoszua Suchowlański, a former deputy mayor of Grodno, imposed stiff taxes to meet the council's new responsibilities, which also included fulfilling demands of the German authorities for furniture, fur coats, alcoholic beverages, and other valuables. It even used a sign tax to collect revenue from proprietors of illicit stores, which provided a variety of services and unobtainable goods, such as oil produced from sunflower seeds on a press smuggled into the ghetto. Survivors remember the Grodno ghettos as places in which people, although hungry, did not starve, as happened in some other large ghettos.[1]

The Jewish Council also oversaw labor conscription. Some Jews worked on road and railway construction projects. The most secure employment was thought to be at workshops outside of the ghetto organized by the Grodno Kreiskommissar, Landrat von Ploetz, to produce clothing, shoes, and even snowshoes and skis for the Wehrmacht and the Gestapo.

An underground youth movement organized resistance. It initially focused on reestablishing educational activities and on material assistance. In early 1942, Mordecai Tenenbaum (Tenenboim) (Dror) and Tosia Altman (Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir) traveled to Grodno to tell the youth and the Judenrat that they believed the Germans intended to murder the Jews and to appeal for armed resistance. They discovered the Judenrat more committed to the idea that the contributions of Grodno Jews to the German war industry would secure their survival. The Grodno youth endorsed the positions of its leaders but divided over a course of action. According to activist Liza Chapnik (or Tzepnick), "One group urged us to prepare for armed resistance, that is, for an uprising in the Grodno ghetto. . . . The other group argued for leaving the ghetto at night and going to the neighboring forests where we could join the partisans and fight against the Nazis with them."[2] Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir created a ghetto laboratory to forge documents, enabling the establishment outside the ghetto of a network of mostly women couriers, including Chapnik, to maintain contact with the Białystok resistance.

On November 2, 1942, in conjunction with the liquidation of the ghettos in Distrikt Bialystok, the Security Police assumed responsibility for the Grodno ghettos and ordered them sealed. Gestapo officers Kurt Wiese and Otto Streblow, appointed the commandants, respectively, of Ghettos I and II, subjected the Grodno Jews for the first time in the war to sustained, arbitrary violence. On November 2, for instance, they entered Ghetto II to shoot at Jews, who—unaware of the closure order—had gathered by the gate to leave for work.[3] The Security Police ordered searches of the few workers it permitted to leave the ghetto, beginning on November 3, mainly the artisans employed at Wehrmacht and Gestapo enterprises. It shot dead those discovered smuggling food back to the ghetto. A curfew was imposed; electricity and water supplies to the ghettos were circumscribed.

The Security Police next launched a five-month-long liquidation of the Grodno ghettos, beginning in Ghetto II. The Germans ordered the Jewish Council there to draw up a list of 1,000 to 4,000 people to be transferred to Ghetto I. The transferees included artisans with "useful" professions and those with family in Ghetto I.[4] On November 15, 1942, about 1,000 to 2,000 of the remaining Ghetto II residents were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp. On November 21, a second transport carried to Auschwitz the rest of the Jews from Ghetto II, between 2,000 to 3,500 people. From the two transports, which likely included about 4,000 ghetto residents, the Germans held back just 598 people (470 men and 128 women) as concentration camp prisoners. The rest were gassed on arrival.[5]

The liquidation of Ghetto I began at the end of November 1942. To make room for the transferees from Ghetto II, approximately 4,500 Jews from Ghetto I were expelled to the Kiełbasin transit camp, just outside of Grodno, where almost all the Jews of the Sokółka and Grodno regions also had been concentrated before being deported to extermination camps. Wiese relied on violence, including public executions, to secure compliance. The Jewish Council members drew up the deportation lists and read out sentencing orders at the executions. However, in mid-December, Errelis began publicly humiliating the council leaders and interfering in the operations of the Judenrat, as the Security Police turned to its Jewish liaison men and the Jewish Police. Gorzański and Rubinczyk were among a group of expellees driven to Kiełbasin in early December, with the Jewish Police commander sent there reportedly for refusing to tie nooses on the first public hanging victims.[6] Because of a shortage of railway cars, many Kiełbasin inmates were transported in mid-December to the much closer extermination camp at Treblinka. A group of Grodno youth on one of the transports launched a spontaneous rebellion at Treblinka, which resulted in the deaths of three SS men. Shortly after December 21, the Germans closed the Kiełbasin transit camp and marched its remaining 2,000 to 3,500 inmates, including the Jews from Suchowola and Sopoćkinie, to the Grodno I ghetto.

The liquidation of Ghetto I continued in January and February 1943. The first large Aktion, remembered as "Operation 10,000," began on January 18, 1943. Over a period of five days, some 11,650 people were deported to Auschwitz on transports that carried between 1,500 and 3,650 Jews. Of these, 9,851 were murdered upon arrival, while 1,799 (1,096 men and 703 women) were held back as prisoners of the concentration camp.[7] During the deportations, three members of the Zionist underground attempted to assassinate Streblow, the Ghetto II commandant. Others had broken open the doors and windows of the Great Synagogue in an attempt to stir a revolt among the thousands of Jews incarcerated there, pending their expulsion to the Łosośna train station. Both efforts met with bloody reprisals.[8] Even though the Germans shrunk the ghetto after each deportation, declaring the empty structures just beyond its new borders a "no-man's land," about 1,500 people still managed to evade deportation. Fearing the personal repercussions of not fulfilling the deportation quota, the Jewish Police extricated people from hiding and seized off the streets many of the "useful artisans" and their families, given dispensations from the deportation.

During the second Aktion, on February 13–16, 1943, known as "Operation 5000," only a few hundred "essential workers" were held back from deportation. On February 13, the remaining Jews, including the surviving Judenrat members, led by Brawer, were incarcerated in the synagogue. When several Jewish liaison officers were found hiding in the no-man's land, just beyond the new borders of the ghetto, Wiese shot Brawer dead. Accounts of the February deportations vary. One interpretation estimates that beginning on February 13, 1943, at least three transports departed for the Treblinka extermination camp, including a train designated as leaving from Białystok but having been rerouted to Grodno. Another version notes that surviving railway schedules confirm just two transports from Grodno to Treblinka, on February 14 and 16, and estimates they carried, respectively, 2,500 and 1,600 Grodno Jews to their deaths.[9]

Because most of the Jewish Police had exercised less vigilance during the February Aktion, a number of people managed

to escape from the ghetto. Some of them reached the Wilno or the Białystok ghettos and joined the underground movements there. Another 26 to 30 youths, led by Leib Rejzer, from the Communist underground, fled to Skidel, where a Belorussian, Kostia Bucko, transported them to the Radun Forest. In May 1943, they joined the Soviet partisans.[10] Others found shelter with Christians, including the Łososna peasant Paweł Harmuszko, a Żegota member, attributed with directly assisting 8 Grodno Jews and arranging false documents and transporting to shelters about 200 other Jews from the Grodno and Warsaw ghettos.[11]

Another approximately 500 Jews lived illegally in the ghetto with about 650 Jews (and some of their families) declared "useful artisans" by the Security Police. The ghetto now encompassed three buildings between the Zamkowa entrance and the synagogue. It was administered by a Judenrat, headed by the new Jewish Police commander. In mid-March 1943, the Security Police in Grodno transferred all but 10 to 15 male artisans to the Białystok ghetto. Shortly after August 15, 1943, the last Jewish artisans in Grodno were transferred to a Łomża prison, where they joined a group of craftsmen, including some Grodno Jews, expelled there from the Białystok ghetto. The men were deported to the Stutthof concentration camp.[12] Of the 25,000 Jews residing in both ghettos, only a few hundred survived the war.[13]

In March 1966, Altenloh and Errelis were tried in Bielefeld, Germany, for various wartime crimes, including murder. They were found guilty as accessories to murder through their participation in the deportation of at least 3,500 people from Ghetto I in Grodno during the Aktion in February 1943 and of at least 6,500 people from the Białystok ghetto. They, respectively, received 8- and 6.5-year prison terms.[14] At another major trial, which began in March 1968 in Cologne, Germany, Errelis and Wiese were accused of active participation in the persecution and deportation of the Grodno Jews. Due to insufficient evidence, Errelis was acquitted. Indicted on many separate counts of murder, Wiese received seven consecutive life sentences.

SOURCES Some of the archival documentation cited below, as well as firsthand accounts of the Grodno ghettos, can be found in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, 6 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985–1992). Published survivor accounts also are included in Dov Rabin, ed., *Grodnah-Grodne* (Jerusalem: Hevrat Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1973); and in *Grodner Opklangen* (Buenos Aires), nos. 1–18 (1949–1968). Grodno survivors have authored a number of memoirs and accounts, including, in English, Alexandre Blumstein, *A Little House on Mount Carmel* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002); the interviews of Liza Chapnik and Bronka Klibanski, in Dalia Ofer and Lenore Weitzman, eds., *Women in the Holocaust* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Harold Gordon, *The Last Sunrise: A True Story. A Biography of a Ten-Year-Old Boy in Nazi Concentration Camps during World War Two* (Salinas, CA: H&J Publishers, 1989); Daniel Klovsky, *The Road from Grodno* (Samara: OFORT Press, 2003); and Felix Zandman, *Never the Last Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995).

The most comprehensive secondary account of the Grodno ghettos by Tikva Fatal-Knaani, *Zo lo otah Grodnoh*, *Kehilat Grodnoh u-sevivatah ba-milhamah uva-sho'ah 1939–1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2001), forms the basis for the English-language "Lost Jewish Worlds—Grodno," on the Yad Vashem Web site (www.yadvashem.org); and "Grodno ghetto," on the Aktion Reinhard Camps Web site www.deathcamps.org.

Documentary evidence for the Grodno ghettos and the destruction of the Grodno Jewish community includes AŻIH (e.g., 204 [unnumbered, i.e., YVA, M-11/30, below] and 301 [e.g., 555, 748, 885, 1903, 2128, 4921, and 5387]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/2062-94, 14223, 14309, and 27316-19); FVA (e.g., HVT/76, 1962, and 3560); GAGO; GARF (e.g., 7021-86-40); NARA; NARB (845-1-8 and 861-1-7); IPN-Bi (old numeration, e.g., Ko-58/93); USHMM (e.g., RG-53.004M [GAGO] [7 microfilm reels], RG-10.052*01, RG-50.030*0372, RG-50.120*0074 and *0159, RG-50.378*0024, and Acc. 1995.A.653); VHF (e.g., # 715, 959, 6485, 19914, 23708, 25406, and 34555); and YVA (e.g., M-11/30 [also at AŻIH, 204], M-11/B, O-3/6588, and O-33/297, 303, 2434, and 6815).

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NOTES

1. Klovsky, *The Road*, pp. 26–31.
2. Liza Chapnik, "The Grodno Ghetto and Its Underground: A Personal Narrative," in Ofer and Weitzman, *Women in the Holocaust*, p. 114.
3. Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 4:60 and 5:331, 438–446.
4. Zandman, *Never*, pp. 60–61.
5. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: Wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 105–107, 119, providing the low and official estimates.
6. Zandman, *Never*, pp. 60, 64–75.
7. Mączka, *Żydzi polscy*, pp. 155–161.
8. With Mordekhai Ṭenenboim-Tamarof, *Dappin min ha-Delekah*, 2nd ed. (Jersualem: Yad Vashem, 1984), p. 23, noting three underground members killed for attacking Streblow.
9. Compare Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 5:121–122, 443–445, and Fatal-Knaani, *Zo lo otah Grodnoh*, p. 206.
10. YVA, O-33/287, testimony of Eliezer Kaminski, in English translation on the Lida ShtetLinks page, at jewishgen.org; and YVA, M-41/141-70632, Matrosov partisan accounts.
11. Emanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations during the Second World War*, ed. Joseph Kermish et al., trans. Danuta Dabrowska et al. (repr., Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1992), pp. 239–240.
12. Klovsky, *The Road*, pp. 48–85.
13. GARF, 8114-1-964, includes a list of 147 Jewish survivors from Grodno.
14. Klarsfeld, *Documents*, vols. 4 and 5.

GRODZISK (AKA GRODZISK KOŁO SIEMIATYCZ)

Pre-1939: Grodzisk, village, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodisk, Bransk raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodzisk, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Siemiatycze powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Grodzisk lies 44 and 93.5 kilometers (about 27 and 58 miles) southwest of Bielsk Podlaski and Białystok, respectively. Before World War II, it was a private estate. In 1921, 34 Jews lived there.

The Germans occupied Grodzisk for a few days in September 1939 before evacuating it for Soviet occupation.

The Germans retook Grodzisk a few days after June 22, 1941. They initially established an outpost of the Siemiatycze Gendarmerie to administer and patrol the area around Grodzisk. According to Polish documentation, from the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes (OKBZH) in Białystok, the men responsible for the Jews in Grodzisk before May 1942 were Jan Jaczewski, Jan Aleksiejuk, Jozef Kobus, Jozef Wojciuk, Konstanty Balejko, and Bazyli Bale[j]ko.[1] By the spring of 1942, a regular Gendarmerie post had been created in Grodzisk. Among those assigned there from May 1942 were Wiktor Waloch, Jozef Koletschke, and three additional men, surnamed Matt [or Mott], Gertsmann, and Kall [or Kahl or Kohl].[2] Shortly after the Gendarmerie post was created, an Amtskommissariat was established in Grodzisk. It was led by a person surnamed Klein.

In May 1942, the Grodzisk Amtskommissar ordered a formal ghetto established. Its terrain consisted of one house, on a half hectare (about 1.2 acres) of land. The Polish postwar documentation does not mention whether the ghetto was open or closed.[3] However, it seems likely the ghetto was closed, as several survivors from other ghettos in Kreis Bielsk note the Kreiskommissar, in the spring of 1942, ordered the establishment of closed ghettos in the Kreis.[4] Klein, the Amtskommissar, oversaw the ghetto.

About 40 Jews resided in the Grodzisk ghetto. They labored in workshops established in the ghetto and in agricultural work outside the ghetto. The Germans provided neither rations nor food to ghetto residents; rather, they expected the Grodzisk Jews to use their own resources to locate and purchase food.[5]

In late October 1942, the Germans ordered the Grodzisk ghetto liquidated. At the command of the Gendarmes from the Grodzisk precinct, local peasants brought their carts to the ghetto to transport the Jews to the ghetto in Siemiatycze, located about 17.4 kilometers (10.8 miles) west-southwest of Grodzisk. There the Grodzisk Jews shared the fate of the Siemiatycze Jews. They were sent to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp in two railway deportations, the first on November 4 or 8 and the second on November 10 or 11.[6] Almost all the approximately 5,500 people in the two transports were gassed immediately upon arrival at Treblinka. Only about 152 men from the second Siemiatycze transport were held back for labor at the Treblinka I labor camp. It is not known whether any Grodzisk Jews were among the prisoners. The only 2 survivors were from Siemiatycze.[7]

Szajko Kajlis (Kejles), the only Grodzisk Jew known to have escaped from the Siemiatycze ghetto before its liquidation, sought shelter with the local population and later in a bunker in a local forest.[8]

After the deportation, Gendarmes in Grodzisk ordered the ghetto effaced. They commanded its only house be demolished.[9]

The Gendarmes searched regularly for Jews who had evaded the November 1942 liquidation of Distrikt Bialystok's provincial ghettos. In 1942, they shot dead three Jews in the forest near the villages of Porzeziny-Mendle and Kosianka-Trojanówka. Because the Gendarmes had extricated the victims from hiding places in Grodzisk, OKBZH investigators in Białystok concluded they were escapees of the liquidation of the Grodzisk ghetto.[10]

Whether Kajlis or any other member of the Grodzisk Jewish community survived the war is unknown.

SOURCES Documentary evidence about the Jewish community of Grodzisk during the Holocaust is located at IPN (e.g., ASG, SOB 331); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/236, 1/1030, S-33/68); and USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN] 46/47).

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NOTES

1. IPN-Bi, 1/236, vol. 1, p. 10. The Polish documentation suggests the men were Gendarmes; it is possible also that they were members of an auxiliary police unit directly subordinated to the German Gendarmerie in Siemiatycze.
2. Ibid., p. 114.
3. IPN (also USHMM, RG-15.019M), reel 14, 46/47, pp. 1–2.
4. See, for example, AŻIH, 301/1463, testimony of Jehoszua (Joszua) Kejles, pp. 1–3, in Polish trans. in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 2, *Dokumenty* (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), p. 335.
5. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/47, pp. 1–2.
6. With different dates for the deportations provided in AŻIH, 301/4086, testimony of Kalman Krawiec (Saul Kuperhand), p. 1 (Polish trans.); AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:334–336.
7. Saul Kuperhand, "Escape from Treblinka," in Miriam Kuperhand and Saul Kuperhand, *Shadows of Treblinka* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), pp. 104–142, 173–174; AŻIH, 301/4086, pp. 1–73; VHF, # 7713, testimony of Binyamin Rock.
8. IPN-Bi, 1/236, vol. 1, pp. 90–91 (deposition, Jan Prokopiuk, January 8, 1976).
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/47, p. 1.
10. IPN-Bi, 1/236, vol. 1, pp. 33–34.

INDURA

Pre-1939: Indura (Yiddish: Amdur), village, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Grodno raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Sokolka, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Hrodna raen and voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Indura lies about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south of Grodno. In 1921, its Jewish population stood at 1,709. With the outbreak of World War II, and the subsequent occupation of

Indura by the Red Army shortly after September 17, 1939, refugees from German-occupied Poland likely brought the Jewish population to around 2,500.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Indura within days of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The local military command likely made forced labor compulsory for all Jews, as 3 Jews are known to have been murdered in late June or early July for reporting late to a labor assignment. The bodies of the victims were tied with barbed wire to telegraph poles to remind the Jewish community of the penalties for defying German orders. In July, an SS unit from Grodno arrived in Indura and ordered all the Jews expelled from their homes and assembled at a meadow outside the town. The SS took away 33 men and executed them.[1] The SS likely also issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees, including prohibitions on leaving the borders of the town without permission and mandates to wear yellow identifying marks, on the chest and back. German authorities appointed a collaborationist local administration, led by Mayor Bronisław Chmielewski.[2]

German authorities ordered the appointment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). One of the council members was a local teacher, surnamed Gutman. A Jewish police force, commanded by Jozef Karlinski, also was appointed.

With the establishment of a German civilian administration in Indura in the late summer or early fall of 1941, local German authorities ordered a ghetto established. The order likely was issued before the Jewish community of Grodno was confined to a ghetto on November 1, 1941, as Grodno survivors mention that by then the Jewish communities in the smaller towns and settlements near Grodno, including in Indura, already had been confined to ghettos.[3]

By November 1942, the Indura ghetto population was composed largely of women and children.[4] Some of the remaining men had been conscripted for forced labor. Feivel Wolf, a survivor of the Krynki ghetto, who had lived in Indura with his sister during the Soviet occupation, notes in his testimony that 50 Indura Jews were among at least 300 Jews conscripted from a number of nearby ghettos and settlements in the spring of 1942 for road and agricultural labor in the southern part of Kreis Grodno. The Indura conscripts lived in a large school close to Massalany (or Masalany), near Wielkie Ejsymonty. They worked on widening and paving the road from Massalany to Łunna-Wola.[5]

In preparation for the liquidation of the provincial Jewish communities of Distrikt Bialystok, the Germans on either November 1 or 2, 1942, drove to the Indura ghetto the Jews of Odelsk, a small Jewish community, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) west of Indura.[6] Likely included in the Odelsk expulsion were Jews from a number of other nearby communities, including the residents of the Jewish agricultural settlement Kolonja (or Kolonia) Izaaka, located 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) southwest of Odelsk. (In 1921, the Odelsk Jewish population had numbered 164. In 1931, 139 Jews had lived in Kolonja Izaaka.) Although the documentation for the inclusion of Jews from Kolonja Izaaka in the Odelsk expulsion to Indura is sparse, evidence from other parts of Distrikt Bialystok and subsequent events in Indura suggest that SS commanders in charge of the liquidation Aktion consolidated nearby Jewish communities and expelled them together to a number of transit camps or larger ghettos closer to railway stations to facilitate their expulsion to the region's killing centers.

On November 1, 1942, German security officers, Gendarmes, and Polish auxiliary police also had rounded up the remaining 300 Jews still working in the southern part of Kreis Grodno, including the approximately 50 former residents of the Indura ghetto. Held overnight in Massalany, the captives were driven early the next morning towards Indura.

Early in the morning of November 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Indura ghetto by expelling the Jews of Indura, Odelsk, and Kolonja Izaaka to a transit camp, located just south of Grodno, at Kiełbasin; 2 Jews were shot, either during the expulsion Aktion or in the days following it.[7] About 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) outside of Indura, the 300 Massalany prisoners were joined to the Indura prisoners. The two groups, a total of about 2,800 people, were driven together to the Kiełbasin transit camp.[8]

The Germans also used the Indura ghetto to carry out the expulsion of the Jews of Krynki, a town located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles), by road, south-southwest of Indura. Because more than 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) separated Krynki from the Kiełbasin transit camp, the SS commander in charge of the Krynki deportation halted the forced march in Indura on the evening of November 2, 1942. The Wolf testimony, which mentions that upon reaching Indura, "the Krynki Jews spent the night in the emptied ghetto," is one of only two known sources to mention the existence of the Indura ghetto.[9]

At Kiełbasin, some of the Indura Jews debated their subsequent fate, particularly from November 9, 1942, when the Germans began sending the 22,000 to 28,000 inmates to the Auschwitz and Treblinka extermination camps. Some Indura Jews believed the dire circumstances at the transit camp suggested the Germans were sending the Jews not to labor, as they claimed, but to their deaths. However, most contemplating escape from Kiełbasin came under pressure from family members not to abandon them. As a result, less than a handful of Indura Jews fled from the transit camp.[10] Days after the Krynki Jews were expelled from Kiełbasin, the Indura community, either on November 17 or 27, also was driven to the train station at Łososśna and ordered onto trains destined for Treblinka.[11] (The Indura Jews are presumed to have been murdered at Treblinka, because no documentation in Auschwitz records exists to indicate that they were sent there.) A similar absence of Auschwitz documentation for the Jews of Odelsk and Kolonja Izaaka suggests they, too, were sent to Treblinka. Because neither community was among the handful of communities known to have been at Kiełbasin after the Indura deportation, they were sent to Treblinka on an earlier transport. The Jews from Indura, Odelsk, and Kolonja Izaaka all were gassed on arrival at Treblinka.

SOURCES The only known eyewitness accounts to touch on Jewish life in Indura during the German occupation and subsequently at Kiełbasin remain the testimonies of Fajwel (or

Feivel) Wolf, including at AŻIH, 301/3600, cited below, and "The Struggle for Survival (from Krynki until Kelbasin)," in Dov Rabin, ed., *Pinkas Krinki* (Tel Aviv: ha-Irgunim shel yots'e Krinki bi-Medinat Yi´sra'el uva-tefutsot, 1970). The Krynki yizkor book is available in a complete English translation, by Dora Rytman and Judie Goldstein, at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Krynki/krynki.html.

Important, too, are the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 93–94 (Odelsk), pp. 132–135 (Indura), and pp. 544–546 (Kolonja Izaaka). English translations of the Odelsk and Kolonja Izaaka entries, by Irwin Keller, are available under the links section on the Kolonja Izaaka ShtetLinks page, also authored by Keller, at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Kolonja/links.html. The ShtetLinks page details the challenges of documenting the wartime fate of the Jewish community of Kolonja Izaaka and the wartime and postwar destruction of the settlement. Because the available documentation is so sparse, it is impossible to determine whether the Germans during World War II confined the Jews of Kolonja Izaaka and Odelsk to ghettos.

Documentation pertaining to the Jewish communities of Indura, Odelsk, and Kolonja Izaaka under the World War II German occupation includes AŻIH (301/3600); GAGO (e.g., 1-1-280, p. 80); GARF (7021-86-39, pp. 2 verso, 10, and 73); NARB (845-1-8, pp. 48–49, 861-1-7, p. 7 verso, and 861-1-8); and USHMM (RG-22.002M [GARF], reel 13, 7021-86-39, and RG-53.002M [NARB], reel 5, 845-1-8, reel 7, 861-1-8, and RG-53.004M [GAGO], e.g., 1-1-280).

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1. Wolf, "The Struggle," pp. 280–281.
2. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 3, 1-1-280, p. 80.
3. See, for example, Daniel Klovsky, *The Road from Grodno* (Samara: OFORT Press, 2003), p. 24.
4. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 5, 845-1-8, pp. 48–49.
5. Wolf, "The Struggle," p. 283.
6. Ibid.
7. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 13, 7021-86-39, pp. 2 verso and 10.
8. Wolf, "The Struggle," p. 284; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 5, 845-1-8, p. 49.
9. Wolf, "The Struggle," p. 284.
10. Ibid., pp. 287–288.
11. The Indura deportation date is dependent on two varying dates provided for the Krynki expulsion, in Wolf, "The Struggle," p. 287; and Lola Wolf-Resnick, "The Downfall of the Jewish Community of Krynki," in Rabin, *Pinkas Krinki*, p. 272.

JANÓW SOKÓLSKI

Pre-1939: Janów (Yiddish: Yanova), *village*, *Sokółka powiat*, *Białystok województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Ianov*, *Sokulka raion*, *Belostok oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow*, *Kreis Sokolka*, *Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Janów*, *województwo podlaskie*, *Poland*

Janów lies 49 kilometers (30.4 miles) north of Białystok and 24.5 kilometers (15.2 miles) west-northwest of Sokółka. Because its name is shared with many other towns and villages in Poland, it usually is referred to as Janów Sokólski, for the Sokółka powiat in which it is located. In 1921, its Jewish population stood at 1,027.

In World War II, the Germans initially occupied Janów but soon evacuated the town to make way for the Red Army, shortly after September 17, 1939. Under the Soviet occupation, the Jewish population grew, perhaps to 2,500, as refugees from German-occupied Poland settled there.[1] With the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many Janów Jews sought shelter in larger, nearby towns, including Sokółka and Suchowola.

The Germans reoccupied Janów on June 26, 1941. They imposed a number of anti-Jewish decrees, including prohibitions on walking on sidewalks and mandates to wear yellow distinguishing marks on clothing. They made forced labor obligatory. The Germans ordered the establishment of a Judenrat. It largely organized the Jewish community to meet German demands for forced labor. It is not known whether the Jews were subjected to either popular or SS antisemitic violence in the summer of 1941, as happened in many other places in Distrikt Bialystok, including in Korycin, located 11.3 kilometers (7 miles) west-southwest of Janów, where members of an auxiliary police force terrorized the Jewish population for two months before the establishment of a German civil administration at the end of August.[2] Postwar Polish documentation for Janów notes only that between June 1941 and 1943 the SS together with Gendarmes assigned to the village murdered 13 of its Polish and Jewish residents.[3]

The Germans also established a ghetto in Janów. In the first days of the occupation, military authorities prohibited Jews from living under the same roof as local Christians or from maintaining contact with them. With the establishment of a Gendarmerie post at the end of August or perhaps in early autumn 1941, the Jews were expelled from their homes and moved into a separate residential quarter or an open ghetto.[4] Because the housing in the ghetto was not adequate to accommodate everyone, the Germans, in September, deported a substantial part of the Janów community to Suchowola. Based on a testimony of a survivor, historian Szymon Datner concluded that 1,500 Jews from Janów were sent to the Suchowola ghetto. However, another survivor places the Janów ghetto population at 1,600, a figure that suggests that less than 800 people were expelled to Suchowola.[5]

The Janów ghetto was never enclosed by a fence. However, its Jewish residents were not permitted to leave the ghetto without special permission. The Jewish quarter was guarded closely by German Gendarmes and members of a local Polish auxiliary police force. Even after the expulsions, overcrowded conditions remained. Three or four families crowded into the

small houses located in the ghetto. Resulting problems with sanitation gave way to a typhus epidemic. Morbidity was high. In the spring of 1942, the Jews were conscripted for forced labor on the Janów-to-Sokółka road construction project, mostly on the road between Janów and Korycin. Filipowicz, the Polish supervisor of the Jewish labor brigade, routinely beat the prisoners with a rubber truncheon. Blows he inflicted led to the death of Szolem Tawaliński.[6] A small number of Jews, employed by local Christians through the German labor board, were permitted to live outside the ghetto, usually in the barns or workshops of their employers.[7]

On November 2, 1942, the Germans, including SS troops and Gendarmes, with assistance from local Polish auxiliary policemen, surrounded the Janów ghetto in preparation for its liquidation. The Jews were told they were being sent to a labor camp, with much better material conditions, and given two hours to pack their belongings and to report to the market square. Several people took advantage of the packing period to hide or to escape. Some of the fugitives fled to Jasionówka to seek refuge in the ghetto there.[8] At the market square, the women and children were loaded into carts, and the men were ordered to follow behind on foot. The Jews were brought first to the Sokółka ghetto. On November 5, they were marched, together with almost all of the Sokółka Jewish community, about 38 kilometers (23.6 miles) to a transit camp, located in Kiełbasin, a former estate outside of Grodno. The Korycin Jews, a community for which little documentation exists, also were rounded up on November 2, 1942, and marched, via the Suchowola ghetto, to the Kiełbasin transit camp.

At Kiełbasin, the Janów Jews were reunited with family members, who earlier had sought refuge in Sokółka or had been expelled to the Suchowola ghetto. (With the exception of about 600 Jews from the Sokółka ghetto and 250 to 350 Jews from the Krynki ghetto, the Germans, between November 2 and 5, 1942, had concentrated all of the Jews of Kreis Sokolka at the Kiełbasin transit camp.) The Janów community lived there in terrible conditions for five or six weeks. Most sources note the Janów Jews were sent in mid-December to the Treblinka death camp. However, a survivor remembers the Janów community among those sent, on December 5, with his community, Łunna, to the Auschwitz death camp.[9] The Korycin community likely was sent to Auschwitz, in a different transport, which arrived on November 14 at Birkenau.

Only two Janów Jews are believed to have survived the war. Abram Lipcer (or Lipzer) jumped from the train taking the Janów Jews to their deaths. He made his way back to the Janów area, to Trofimówka village, where he was given shelter by Wacław Andresiewicz (or perhaps Andrusiewicz). (Lipcer and his family had assisted Andresiewicz during the Soviet occupation; the Pole, in turn, had employed Lipcer as an agricultural laborer during the German occupation, enabling him to live outside the ghetto.) The second survivor, Abraham Kantorowski, though born in Janów, had resided in the Sokółka ghetto.[10] There were four survivors known from Korycin.

SOURCES The existing documentary material for Korycin, including AŻIH, 301/1251, remains too sparse to determine whether a ghetto existed there.

Two testimonies appear in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 244–245 (AŻIH, 301/1251, orig. Polish), and pp. 218–222 (AŻIH, 301/3518, Polish trans.).

Secondary sources include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 369–371 (Janów Sokólski) and pp. 548–549 (Korycin); and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 85–87 (Janów Sokólski) and pp. 113–115 (Korycin). Though more cursory, also useful, particularly for population and deportation figures, are Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60:47 (tab. 7, 1966.); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 203.

Archival documentation on the World War II history of the Janów Sokólski and Korycin Jewish communities under German occupation can be found at AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety [unnumbered], 204 and 301/391, 1251, 1260, and 3518]); IPN-Bi (e.g., old numeration, S [e.g., 5/79, 12/79, 13/79, 609/71 (Korycin)]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 1, 1/197, and reel 14, 46/83); and YVA (e.g., M-11/198 and M-11B/132).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1251, testimony of Samuel Goldberg, p. 1.
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 1, 1/197, pp. 1–2.
4. Ibid., reel 14, 46/83, pp. 1–2, reported no ghetto; but on the basis of subsequent responses by postwar officials in Janów to the Ankiety questionnaire, a still unnumbered collection, at AŻIH, Polish historians subsequently have described the Jewish quarter as a ghetto. See Pilichowski et al., *Obozy*, p. 203.
5. Compare Datner, "Eksterminacja," p. 47 (tab. 7); and AŻIH, 301/1251, pp. 1–2.
6. AŻIH, 301/1251, p. 2; and 301/1260, testimony of Abram Lipcer (or Lipzer), p. 2.
7. Ibid., 301/1260, p. 2.
8. Ibid., pp. 1–2; and 301/3518, testimony of Szymon Złotoryński, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2: 220.
9. Testimony of Eliezer Eisenschmidt, information from Ruth Marcus to Laura Crago, March 2009.
10. AŻIH, 301/391, testimony of Abraham Kantorowski, pp. 1–4.

JASIONÓWKA

Pre-1939: Jasionówka, *town*, *Białystok województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Yashinovka*, *Belostok oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR;*

1941–1944: Jasionówka, Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Jasionówka, Mónki powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Jasionówka is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north-northwest of Białystok. In 1897, the Jewish population was 1,154 (of a total population of 1,565). In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were more than 1,500 Jews living in Jasionówka.[1] In September 1939, German forces briefly occupied the town before retreating to make way for the Soviet occupying forces. The Jews greeted the Red Army warmly as liberators at this time.

German forces again occupied the town on June 27, 1941, five days after the start of their invasion of the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the town, but by the fall of 1941, authority had been transferred to a German civil administration. Initially, Jasionówka was governed by the Amtskommissar in Knyszyn, but in June 1942 it became an administrative center with its own Amtskommissar within Kreis Bialystok. In Jasionówka, the Germans established a Polish auxiliary police commanded initially by Leon Kownacki, which in the fall of 1941 became subordinated to the Gendarmerie post in Knyszyn.

Around the time of the German arrival in Jasionówka, local antisemites and German soldiers staged a pogrom lasting several days, during which at least 70 Jews were killed and many Jewish houses were robbed and burned. Torah scrolls were taken from the synagogue and burned. The pleas of the local priest Cyprian Łozowski for the looting to stop went unheeded.[2] In July 1941, during the course of a series of raids conducted by the Security Police assisted by local collaborators, around 50 additional Jews and Belorussians, mainly from among the more established citizens, were arrested and shot.[3] A local Polish schoolteacher named Władysław Grodzki was appointed to run the town and assisted the Germans in selecting young Jews to be shot, sometimes releasing them in return for a hefty bribe.[4] Jews were also made to perform forced labor, which initially comprised the clearing up of rubble and construction work. After work, the Jewish forced laborers were on occasion forced to undress, sing, and dance.[5]



Soldiers of the Waffen-SS and the Wehrmacht confront Jews who have been rounded up in Jasionówka, June 28, 1941.
USHMM WS #32525, COURTESY OF DHM

As most of the houses had been burned, the Jews were forced to move together into a few buildings, living in very overcrowded conditions. The Jews also elected a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of seven persons, which tried to appease the authorities with bribes. By 1942, Szloma Szuster, the owner of a tannery, was appointed as its head. There was no Jewish police force, but messengers were used to assist with the implementation of German orders. Jews were not permitted to trade with the local peasants and were supposed to survive on meager rations that were much less than those distributed to non-Jews. The Judenrat also organized forced labor, which included work on the surrounding farms as well as in the remaining factories and workshops in the town. The Amtskommissar and the German Gendarmerie in Knyszyn demanded frequent contributions in money, gold, furs, and clothing from the Jews.[6]

At the end of 1941, a large group of Jews, mostly refugees from other places, were expelled to Suchowola, about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the north. Around this time, Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David; after two months these were exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the chest and back. The Jewish community experienced several scares during the summer of 1942, especially after the arrest of David Stolar for alleged anti-German activity. This caused the Jews of Jasionówka to flee the town briefly in July, as they feared the Germans would kill them. After this, many families prepared hiding places or made arrangements with local peasants, in case of an Aktion. In the late summer of 1942, a squad of four German Gendarmes was also stationed in Jasionówka, which resulted in raids on Jewish houses and closer German supervision.[7]

In the fall of 1942, an order was issued to the German Amtskommissar in Jasionówka for the establishment of a ghetto there. The order was difficult to implement, as large parts of the town had burned in 1941, and the Jews were already living with four or five families in each house. The Amtskommissar designated the ghetto be established in a small area near the monastery. The Jewish Council attempted to defer this order due to the serious effects on hygiene that would result from concentrating 250 families into this small space. However, the Jewish Council expected in any case that the Jasionówka ghetto would soon be dissolved and the inhabitants evacuated, as they learned from Jewish resistance forces in Białystok that the Germans planned to liquidate most ghettos in the region in November 1942.[8]

In early November 1942, a number of Jews from the surrounding villages were brought into the Jasionówka "ghetto," which was now designated as a labor camp (*Arbeitslager*). The Amtskommissar claimed that his intervention had assisted in having the Jews of Jasionówka temporarily spared from the evacuations that had struck most other Jewish communities nearby. In exchange for further bribes, the Jewish Council

was even able to accept some 400 Jewish refugees who came to Jasionówka, having escaped from the Aktions in the surrounding towns.[9]

In January 1943, the Jews took heart from news of the German defeat at Stalingrad, and young Jews began to plan armed resistance, as they expected a deportation Aktion. Then, on January 24–25, 1943, a force of some 300 German police and their collaborators surrounded the town. The Aktion was organized by the head of the Security Police in Białystok, Dr. Wilhelm Altenloh. All the Jews (some 2,000 people) were rounded up and assembled on the market square. Then they were transported on sleighs to the Knyszyn railway station and loaded into railway wagons. About 30 Jews were killed on the spot in Jasionówka during the Aktion. Initially the trains reached Białystok after three days. The prisoners received neither food nor water. From here, most Jews were deported to the extermination camp at Treblinka, although one group selected for work was sent to a labor camp in Częstochowa.[10] On the way to Treblinka, about 300 Jews managed to escape by jumping from the railway wagons.

In addition, about 100 Jews hid in bunkers in Jasionówka during the roundup. Bernhard Schuster described their situation:

> After most of the Jews were taken away from Jasionówka, an eerie silence fell upon the town. Now and then the silence was broken by shots fired at Jews who had been hiding and were trying to flee town under cover of darkness. We stayed in the hiding place for two days and two nights, without food or warm clothing, but could stay there no longer. We decided to make a run for it, two at a time, until we reached the woods where we planned to meet up and go to the farmer who had promised to give us shelter.

Unfortunately, Schuster's mother and youngest sister, Tzipe, did not make it past the armed guards.[11] Some of the escapees subsequently found shelter with Polish peasants, survived in the forests, or smuggled their way into the Białystok ghetto, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. However, the majority of those who escaped and hid were soon captured and killed by the Germans and their collaborators, many being betrayed by local peasants. Only a few local inhabitants, such as Józef and Waleria Kownacki and Stefan and Józefa Gołębicki, risked their lives to hide Jews at this time.[12]

After the Red Army drove out the German occupation forces in August 1944, about 80 Jewish survivors returned to Jasionówka. The Germans and local inhabitants had taken virtually all their property. The survivors soon left Jasionówka and also Poland for Palestine (Israel) and other countries in the West.[13]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Jasionówka and its fate under German occupation can be found in the following publications: Bernhard Schuster, *I Will Die Tomorrow But Not Today: Memoirs of Bernhard (Berl) Schuster* (Rochester, NY: Winterman Ink, 2002); Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 205; and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 372–374.

Documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Jasionówka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1274, 1466, 4923); IPN (e.g., "Ob," syg. 177; SAB 49; SOB 47, 50, and 366; SWB 242 and 243); IPN-Bi (e.g., 20/67, S-267/58, 3/126, 3/127); StA-Det (D21A, No. 6252); USHMM (1996.A.0100; and RG-10.055*01 [English trans. of AŻIH, 301/1274]); VHF (# 7458, 17143, 21899, and 48379); and YVA (e.g., M-11/58, 150, 197-98 and B104).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1274, testimony of Fajga Szuster-Rozenblum, November 24, 1945; and 301/4923, testimony of Bernard Jehoschua, May 28, 1945.
2. Ibid., 301/1274, 4923, and 1466, testimony of Szloma Szuster and Izrael Goniadzki, October 17, 1944; Schuster, *I Will Die Tomorrow*, p. 26.
3. AŻIH, 301/1274. IPN, SOB 47, case of Antoni Forencewicz (1945–1950), who was acquitted, indicates that 150 Jews were killed on the first day of German occupation (June 27 or 28, 1941) and 40 Jews and Belorussians one week later.
4. In 1950, Grodzki was tried for participating, as a member of the Polish auxiliary police in Jasionówka and from 1943 as the town's police commander, in the murder of several Jewish Communists in a nearby forest, as well as in the murder of other Jews. He was sentenced to death and executed. See IPN, SAB 49, case of Władysław Grodzki (1947–1959).
5. AŻIH, 301/4923; USHMM, RG-10.055*01 (English trans. of AŻIH, 301/1274).
6. AŻIH, 301/4923.
7. USHMM, RG-10.055*01; Schuster, *I Will Die Tomorrow*, p. 29, includes a sketch of the hiding place prepared by his family over the tannery they owned.
8. AŻIH, 301/1274, p. 14; Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 205; AŻIH, 301/1466, however, states that there was no ghetto in Jasionówka.
9. AŻIH, 301/1274.
10. Pilichowski et al., *Obozy hitlerowskie*, p. 205; AŻIH, 301/4923; Schuster, *I Will Die Tomorrow*, p. 31.
11. Schuster, *I Will Die Tomorrow*, p. 33.
12. Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust—Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), p. 392.
13. AŻIH, 301/1274, 4923; Schuster, *I Will Die Tomorrow*, p. 35.

JEDWABNE

Pre-1939: Jedwabne (Yiddish: Yedvabne), town, Łomża powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Edvabno, raion

center, *Belostok oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jedwabne*, *Kreis Lomscha*, *Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Łomża powiat*, *województwo podlaskie*, *Poland*

Jedwabne lies 21 kilometers (13 miles) northeast of Łomża. Its 1921 population of 1,222 included 757 Jews, 442 Roman Catholics, and 23 Protestants.

A Wehrmacht unit briefly occupied the Jedwabne area in September 1939. The Germans deported about 300 men to East Prussian labor camps before ceding the region to Soviet occupation.

A Soviet report, from mid-1940, listed the population of the larger Edvabno raion as composed of 37,300 Poles, 1,400 Jews, and 185 Belorussians. The Jewish population figures include the residents of Jedwabne, Wizna, Przytuły, and Radziłów. The survey recorded a population for the Edvabno sel'sovet, composed of Jedwabne and its surrounding villages, of 2,385, including 563 Jews, and for the Vizna sel'sovet, of 3,187, including 476 Jews. Another source claimed the 1940 population in Jedwabne proper included 1,763 Poles, 562 Jews, and 97 Belorussians. Locals remember 700 to 1,400 Jews residing in Jedwabne prior to June 22, 1941.

A Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Jedwabne by June 23, 1941. The Germans immediately established a Feldgendarmerie post (subordinated to the Wehrmacht), commanded by Hauptwachtmeister Adam, and appointed a collaborationist civilian town council, led by Mayor Marian Karolak. Other council members included Eugeniusz Śliwecki, Józef Sobutka, Józef Wasilewski, and perhaps Karol Bardoń, also employed by the Germans as a translator. Karolak recruited a local police force.[1] Its members included Jerzy Laudański and Eugeniusz Kalinowski.

On June 25, 1941, a group of Poles, including Sobutka, Kalinowski, and Jerzy Laudański, rounded up and tortured local former Soviet administrators before turning them over to the Feldgendarmerie. The Feldgendarmes executed six of the accused, including three Jews.[2] Tubin Kornecki likely was among the Jewish victims. Other Jews, including Eljahu (Eliasz) Krawiecki, who was brutally tortured (according to hearsay by Sobutka), died from their injuries.[3] Chaja Kubrzańska and Basia Binsztejn, whose husbands had evacuated with Soviet troops, drowned their children and themselves, rather than fall into Polish hands.[4]

After the local priest ordered the violence to cease, insisting the Germans would soon settle accounts with the Jews, Jedwabne became a refuge for many local Jews. When, on June 26, 1941, the Polish civil head (wójt) ordered the Jewish residents of Wizna expelled, supposedly because of extensive war devastation there, about 230 to 240 Wizna Jews sought shelter in Jedwabne. (That day, or perhaps during two visits, a small SS unit, of one to six men, had executed about 50 Jewish men in Wizna.)[5] Refugees also arrived from Radziłów, where on July 7 local Polish collaborators had driven the Jews into a barn and burned them alive.

Early on July 10, 1941, a small (two- to eight-man) German unit, likely from the SS, arrived in Jedwabne to order the Jews to assemble at the town square, ostensibly for weeding duties. The unit commander and perhaps also the Feldgendarmerie commander had met earlier with Karolak and Sobutka, probably to permit the local population to settle accounts with the Jews.[6] However, the Germans did not participate directly in the ensuing violence. Rather, Karolak had the tacit support of almost the entire non-Jewish population and is known to have mobilized directly 92 to 115 local men to drive the Jews to the square and surround them there. The Polish collaborators humiliated, raped, and beat to death some of the assembled Jews. About 50 to 70 men were forced to dismantle the Lenin statue and to carry its pieces to a nearby barn, in which the Polish collaborators beat them to death. The collaborators drove the rest of the assembled Jews to the barn, doused it with accelerant, and set it afire.

Some set the number of victims at 2,000, including 230 Wizna Jews, and others at 1,400, including refugees from Wizna and Radziłów. Until recently, the most widely accepted death toll was 1,600, likely drawn from the testimony of Szmul Wasersztejn.[7] However, the Soviet population figures and an incomplete and controversial forensic investigation in 2002, which estimated 300 to 400 people perished in the barn, have led some to argue the fire claimed fewer lives. The number of survivors also varies, with Rywka Fogiel (Rivka Fogel) remembering 125 and Menachem Finkelsztejn, a Radziłów survivor, mentioning 302.

Although many survivors fled to Łomża and other localities, a ghetto was established within a few days to a few weeks after the fire for the rest of the survivors.[8] Official postwar Polish documentation, from 1945, notes the ghetto was created on July 20, 1941.[9] The date suggests the ghetto already existed before a regular Gendarmerie post (subordinated to the Order Police), commanded by Alois (August) Achilles, and a German civil administration, led by Amtskommissar Hermann Zimmermann, were established in August.

The Jedwabne ghetto occupied a 5,000-square meter (1.2-acre) area on the Old Square. It consisted of two houses, near the Gendarmerie post.

The 1945 documentation places its population at 50; a 1951 survey noted a population of 200, including 100 Jews from Stawiski.[10] However, no eyewitnesses remember Jews from beyond Jedwabne ever consolidated in the ghetto. Polish eyewitnesses described its population as made up of Jedwabne Jews "who by chance had escaped" or "all Jews saved from the pogrom, who had hidden."[11] Others provided figures ranging from "over 50" to "about a few hundred Jews found in the town or caught in the surrounding area."[12]

Some Jedwabne ghetto inmates worked for the Gendarmerie, either as craftsmen or in agricultural labor. The local authorities also permitted local Poles to contract Jewish labor. About 15 ghetto inmates perished in a still not elucidated incident, described by Finkelsztejn as a "provocation" in which local Poles hung up anti-German posters and then held the Jews responsible for them.

Most eyewitnesses note the Jedwabne ghetto was dissolved from one to three months after it was established, with the fall

of 1941 most often cited and November listed in the 1945 documentation as the month its residents were expelled to the Łomża ghetto.[13] From there, they were deported on November 2, 1942, together with the Łomża Jews to a transit camp, located in Zambrów. However, survivor Izrael (Józef) Grądowski maintains the Jedwabne ghetto existed until November 2, 1942, when the Gendarmes deported its inmates to the Zambrów transit camp.[14]

The Jedwabne survivors at the Zambrów transit camp were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp as a part of the four transports of Łomża Jews that arrived there on January 13, 17, 18, and 19, 1943. They almost all were gassed on arrival. The existing documentation notes that only 3 people were held back as concentration camp prisoners. Two, Mosze (Mietek) Lasko and Itzchok Yankel Neumark, survived the war. Although both men were in Jedwabne the day the community was murdered, only the first had lived in the Jedwabne ghetto. The third person, Benjamin Kosacki, perished at Auschwitz in 1942. Because his death record only notes he had resided in Szczepankowo prior to his expulsion to Zambrów, it is not possible to determine if he ever resided in the Jedwabne ghetto.

A large number of Jedwabne Jews fled from the 1942 liquidation of the Łomża and Jedwabne ghettos. Hersz Goldberg and his son sought shelter in Przestrzele village but were caught and shot dead. In Janczewo village (Jedwabne gmina, Łomża powiat), Aleksander and Antonina Wyrzykowski sheltered seven Jews, including Wasersztejn, Jakub (Jankiel) Kubrzański (Kubran), Berek and Mojżesz Olszewicz, Lejka Amrufel (Kubran), Elka Sosnowska (Olszewicz), and Izrael Grądowski.[15]

Avigdor Nieławicki (Kokhav) and Rywka Fogiel, both Wizna refugees in Jedwabne the day the Jews were murdered, also are counted as Jedwabne survivors. Another approximately 10 Jedwabne Jews survived the war either in the Soviet interior or the Red Army.

In 1947, Całka Migdał, a pre-war émigré from Jedwabne, demanded Polish authorities investigate the mass murder of the Jewish community. The letter prompted a criminal investigation and two trials. At the first, in 1949, 12 of the 22 accused were convicted. They received prison terms ultimately ranging from 8 to 15 years.

SOURCES The Jedwabne yizkor book, Julius L. Baker and Jacob L. Baker et al., eds., *Sefer Yiḍvabneh: Hiṣtoryah ṿe-zikaron* (Jerusalem: Hotsa'at ṿa'ad yots'e Yiḍvabne, 1980), includes accounts by Jedwabne and Wizna survivors. Its English sections are available at jewishgen.org. Survivor Szmul Wasersztejn is the author of a separate account, Samuel Waserstein Kahn, *La denuncia: 10 de Julio de 1941* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Guayacán Centroamericana, 2001), published posthumously by his son. By the time of its publication, however, the documentary film *Neighbors*, by Agnieszka Arnold, about Polish complicity in the Jedwabne murders, had already aired on Polish television in April 2000.

It was the book by Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), that unleashed a wide-ranging national debate in Poland and abroad, focused on events in Jedwabne, the larger question of Christian-Jewish relations during World War II, and the postwar neutralization and falsification of Polish historical memory about the war.

Representative articles from the debates, which occurred on the pages of the Polish national press, have been translated into English and compiled in a wide range of publications, including Jacek Borkowicz and Israel Gutman et al., eds., *Thou Shalt Not Kill: Poles on Jedwabne* (Warsaw: Więź, 2001); Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). English translations of many other articles can be found virtually on, among others, the Web site of Pogranicze (www.pogranicze.sejny.pl), the publisher of the Polish-language edition of *Neighbors*, *Sąsiedzi: Historia zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka* (Sejny: Pogranicze, 2000); José Gutstein's Jewish community of Radziłów Web site (www.radzilow.com); and the We Remember Jewish Jedwabne! zchor Web site (www.zchor.org), with the latter including mostly English-language press coverage.

The books and Web sites almost all contain contributions by Anna Bikont, a journalist for *Gazeta Wyborcza* and the author of *My z Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, 2004), which intersperses her press articles about the murder of the Jedwabne (and Radziłów) Jewish communities with a compelling diary of her experiences investigating the massacre and commemorates the Jedwabne Jewish community by physically reconstructing its topography, including details of the specific fates of its members.

Other secondary sources include Alexander B. Rossino, "Polish 'Neighbors' and German Invaders: Contextualizing Anti-Jewish Violence in the Białystok District during the Opening Weeks of Operation Barbarossa," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 16 (2003); and Dariusz Stola, "Jedwabne: Revisiting the Evidence and Nature of the Crime," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:1 (Spring 2003): 139–152, which places the murder of the Jedwabne Jewish community in the larger German context of the war in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *The Massacre in Jedwabne, July 10, 1941: Before, During, and After* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2005), is polemical but provides insight into the arguments forwarded by Gross's opponents. Unfortunately, because the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 241–243, was written before the publication of Gross's book, it presents an earlier view of the Jedwabne massacre, which its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 92–103, 275–280, overcomes by adding English-language translations of excerpts from Bikont, *My z Jedwabnego*, from the IPN investigation, and from YVA, including in the latter case the documentation related to the 1976 nomination of Aleksander and Antonina Wyrzkowski as Righteous Among the Nations.

The IPN investigation, Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), includes in its first volume eight essays that all touch on the Jedwabne Jewish community in some way: the most detailed information about the July 10, 1941, murder included in Edmund Dmitrów, "Oddziały operacyjne niemieckiej Policji Bezpieczeństwa Służby Bezpieczeństwa a

początek zagłady Żydów w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku," pp. 273–351; the postwar trials covered by Andrzej Rzepliński, "Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej?" pp. 353–459; the most substantive of the limited coverage about the ghetto presented at the end of the contribution, on demographics, by Marcin Urynowicz, "Ludność żydowska w Jedwabnem," pp. 83–104; and Tomasz Szarota, "Kalendarium," p. 470 (AŻIH, Ankiety, Jedwabne), providing a transcription, from a privately owned copy of important but lost documentation.

Documentary material for Jedwabne and the closely related community of Wizna is included in the original Polish or in Polish translation in *Wokoł Jedwabnego*, vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 223–225 (AŻIH, 301/152), p. 226 (AŻIH, 301/613), pp. 227–228 (AŻIH, 301/2405), p. 339 (AŻIH, Sekretariat, January 1948, Całka Migdał to CKŻP, December 29, 1947), pp. 230–233, 236–237 (AŻIH, 301/5825), pp. 234–235 (AŻIH, 301/6064), pp. 260–262 (AŻIH, 301/1846), pp. 361–364 (AŻIH, 301/384 [Wizna]), pp. 365–366 (AŻIH, 301/4391 [Wizna]), pp. 432–712 (AAN, Sąd Najwyższy, 2/10318; IPN, III-923; SOŁ 123, excerpts), including here on pp. 434–435, 518–519 (part. and complete trans., AŻIH, 301/152), pp. 723–815 (SWB 145, excerpts), pp. 828–862 (IPN-Bi, 1/159; IPN, W-384, excerpts).

Some of the above documentation has appeared in publication, including in George Gorin et al., eds., *Grayeve yisker bukh* (New York: United Grayever Relief Committee, 1950), pp. 232–234 (AŻIH 301/1846, Polish); and in English translation, in Gross, *Neighbors*, and on the Jewish community of Radziłów Web site.

Additional archival documentation pertaining to the Jewish community of Jedwabne during World War II, under the German occupation, includes BA-L (e.g., ZStL, V 205 AR-Z 233/74 [IPN, W-384]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], 2/245, 46/62); VHF (# 31971, testimony of Avigdor Kokhav); YVA (e.g., 03/3151–3844/420).

No entry appears in this *Encyclopedia* for Wizna because the documentation, mostly the testimonies of Awigdor Nieławicki (Avigdor Kokhav), describes Jewish survivors employed by the German Gendarmerie eventually in Wizna but does not indicate whether they were confined to a ghetto.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. IPN, SOŁ 123, pp. 630–632 (deposition, Julia Sokołowska, January 20, 1949).
2. Ibid., pp. 496–506 (autobiography, Bardoń, April 7, 1952); SWB 145, pp. 217–218 (deposition, Mieczysław Gerwad, July 1, 1953); III-923, pp. 158–61 (denunciation, Stanisława Wiśniewska, September 24, 1949).
3. Ibid., SWB 145, pp. 92–99 (trial protocol, testimony, Józef [(Izrael)] Grądowski, December 11, 1953); and perhaps in SOŁ 123, p. 690 (deposition, Stanisława Sielawa, January 26, 1949), which holds J. Laudański and Kalinowski responsible.
4. Compare Baker and Baker et al., *Sefer Yidyabneh*, p. 104 (testimony of Rivka Fogel), AŻIH, 301/152, testimony of Szmul Wasersztejn, pp. 1–6.
5. AŻIH, 301/4391, testimony of Izrael Lewin, pp. 1–5, 301/384, testimony of Awigdor Nieławicki, pp. 1–3; Bikont, *My*, pp. 199–209 (Kokhav interview).
6. IPN, SWB 145, pp. 238–239 (deposition, Stanisław Danowski, August 7, 1953); SOŁ 123, p. 665 (interrogation, J. Laudański, January 16, 1949).
7. AŻIH, 301/1846, testimony of Menachem Finkelsztejn, pp. 1–2; USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/245, pp. 1–2.
8. Compare IPN, W-384, vol. 1, pp. 35–36, 39–40 (depositions, respectively, Bolesław Olszewski and Czesław Strzelczyk, May 27, 1967), and p. 32 (deposition, Grądowski, May 27, 1967).
9. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/62, pp. 1–2.
10. Compare ibid. with Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 1:470.
11. IPN, W-384, respectively, vol. 2, pp. 4–5 (deposition, Feliks Kowalski, June 29, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 35–36.
12. Ibid., respectively, vol. 2, pp. 23–25 (deposition, Sokołowska, April 10, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 39–40.
13. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 35–36, vol. 2, pp. 14–16 (deposition, Jan Michał Kiełczewski, April 9, 1974).
14. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 32; IPN-Bi, 1/159, pp. 125–126 (deposition, Grądowski, November 15, 1967); AŻIH, 301/1846, pp. 1–2.
15. AŻIH, 301/5825, Aleksander and Antonina Wyrzykowski Yad Vashem documentation, pp. 1–10, 301/6064, testimony of Aleksander Wyrzykowski, pp. 1–3.

JEZIORY

Pre-1939: Jeziory (Yiddish: Azher), village, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ozery, Grodno raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jeziory, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Azery, Hrodna raen and voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Jeziory, on Lake Białe, lies about 32 kilometers (20 miles) east-northeast of Grodno. In 1921, in interwar Poland (1918–1939), the 867 Jews in Jeziory comprised 49.4 percent of its population.

In World War II, Jeziory came under Soviet rule as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, shortly after September 20, 1939. With the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the village sustained damage from aerial bombardment. Little is known about the arrival within a few days of a German military unit. By July, the Germans had ordered the Jews in Jeziory to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Germans appointed a local civil administration, led by a mayor, and an auxiliary police force. The local administration most likely initially represented German interests, as the Jeziory mayor received directives from the Security Police in Grodno as late as September 24, 1941. Later that fall, a German civil administration was created for Jeziory, which, on October 1, was attached, with the remainder of Kreis Grodno, to Distrikt Bialystok. The Jeziory Amtskommissar was Willutzki. A Gendarmerie post, under the command of Hauptwachmeister Berg, also was established there.[1]

From the first day of the German invasion, Jeziory swelled with Jews fleeing German violence. The first refugees arrived after their train was bombed just outside of Jeziory. By the summer, some Jews from Porzecze, 23 kilometers (14.3

miles) to the north, fled there, most likely to escape the German mass execution of their community's men. In late September, an unknown number of refugees from Ejszyszki, about 88 kilometers (54.7 miles) to the east-northeast, also had arrived in Jeziory, having fled the mass execution of their community.

On September 24, 1941, the inspector for the outlying districts of the Gendarmerie-Kreisführer in Grodno directed civil authorities in Jeziory and in Porzecze to establish ghettos for the Jewish inhabitants of their villages.[2] There is no information available about the location of the Jeziory ghetto. It was fenced with barbed wire. The authorities consolidated a number of smaller communities in Jeziory, including 40 Jews from Pietkowo. Most likely sometime around May 1942, the ghetto population expanded further, as Jews either fled or were brought to the Jeziory ghetto from Nowy Dwór and Wasiliszki.[3]

In addition to losing their homes, the Jews in the Jeziory ghetto (and throughout Distrikt Bialystok) were required to surrender to the Germans their remaining valuables, such as their fur coats and electrical appliances. Only one Jeziory Jew, Esther Rechman, officially turned in electrical appliances, handing over in July 1942 an iron and an electric heater.[4] The Jeziory Jews worked at forestry labor, felling trees, and at agricultural labor, on local tobacco plantations. In the spring and summer of 1942, they cobbled and paved the Jeziory-to-Grodno and the Jeziory-to-Ostryna roads.[5]

The Jeziory ghetto was liquidated on November 2, 1942. The Jews were driven to the Kiełbasin transit camp, just south of Grodno. An unknown number evaded the expulsion order. Perhaps to root out the fugitives, the Germans ordered a part of the ghetto burned immediately after the Jewish community's expulsion to Kiełbasin. On November 3, 1942, 2 Jews were shot just outside of Jeziory. The remainder of the community, about 1,370 people, joined Jews from 22 other places (about 22,000 to 28,000 people) in the Grodno and Sokółka regions also deported to Kiełbasin from November 2 to 5, 1942.[6] They lived there in terrible conditions before being sent to the extermination camps.

Because there are few survivors from Jeziory, the details of the deportation are unknown. Some evidence indicates that the Jeziory Jews were on the first transport from Kiełbasin, which arrived at the Auschwitz extermination camp on November 9, 1942. However, Jakob Tobolski, the only person on the transport born in Jeziory, may have resided in Skidel, another community on the transport, since a Łunna survivor remembers that the Jeziory Jews were deported together with his community to Auschwitz on December 5. The Jeziory Jews also sometimes are mentioned among the communities that were sent in mid-December 1942 from Kiełbasin to the Treblinka extermination camp.[7]

Immediately after the deportation of the Jeziory Jews to Kiełbasin, the Amtskommissar ordered the remaining Jewish property there collected. He distributed a part of it to the Jeziory and Bondary Gendarmerie posts, to the Jeziory hospital and the forest service office, and to several German charitable organizations in Grodno. Several Reich and ethnic Germans in Jeziory also received Jewish property to furnish their apartments and rooms. Some 24 pieces of clothing were reserved for Polish employees of the Amtskommissariat. The remainder of the property was sold off. The Amtskommissariat collected 57,051.09 Reichsmark (RM) in proceeds. After paying 6,877.68 RM for guards, labor, and cart rentals, it deposited 50,173.41 RM into a trustee account of the Landratsamt in Grodno.[8]

Members of the Jeziory Gendarmerie continued to uncover and to murder Jews who had fled the liquidation of the ghetto. On November 28, 1942, the police shot another two Jews, just outside the village. On March 17, 1943, the Jeziory Gendarmerie surrendered to the Grodno Kreiskommissar 2,247.00 RM that it had recovered from Jewish shooting victims. In April, it submitted another 1,483.55 RM, collected under similar circumstances.[9]

SOURCES Secondary accounts include the entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 364–367; and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 15:557.

Documentation for the history of the Jewish community of Jeziory under German occupation in World War II includes GAGO (e.g., 1-1-150, pp. 12–13; 1-1-335, pp. 35, 45, 72–73; 1-1-365, pp. 18, 25–26; and 1-1-512, pp. 42, 85, 162–166); RGVA (e.g., 1323-2-244, pp. 99, 108; and 1323-2-250, pp. 117, 135); and USHMM (RG-11.001M [RGVA] and RG-53.004M [GAGO]).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 3, 1-1-280, pp. 6–7.

2. RGVA, 1323-2-250, pp. 117, 135, in Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 530–531.

3. AŻIH, 301/2254, testimony of Abraham Blumenthal, pp. 1–2.

4. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 2, 1-1-150, p. 12.

5. Ibid., reel 5, 1-1-512, e.g., pp. 42, 85, 95, 145, 162–166.

6. Ibid., RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99, and RG-53.004M, reel 1, 1-1-54, p. 38, which also is at GARF, 7021-86-40, p. 4.

7. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne. Polish Jews in KL Auschwitz: Name Lists* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 99–100; Eliezer Eisenschmidt interview, information from Ruth Marcus to Laura Crago, April 7, 2009; and the details about the arrival of the Jeziory-born Roza Sara Lebin in *Sterbebücher von Auschwitz*, 3 vols. (Munich: KG Saur, 1995), vol. 2, *Namensverzeichnis*, *A–L*, p. 701 (12420/1943), important here because no women on the Łunna transport were held back as prisoners of Auschwitz II-Birkenau.

8. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 72–73, and 1-1-365, pp. 18, 25–26.

9. Ibid., RG-11.001M, reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 108, and RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 35, 45.

KAMIENIEC LITEWSKI

Pre-1939: Kamieniec Litewski (Yiddish: Kamenetz-Litovsk), town, Brześć nad Bugiem powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kamenets, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamenez-Litowsk, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Kamianets, raen center, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kamieniec Litewski lies 40 kilometers (24.9 miles) north-northwest of Brześć nad Bugiem. In interwar Poland, it was located about 65 kilometers (40.4 miles) southeast of Bielsk Podlaski, via two indirect routes, one of which led north to Białowieża and from there almost due west to Bielsk. In 1921, the Kamieniec population stood at 2,348, including 1,902 Jews, 287 Russian Orthodox, and 158 Roman Catholics. Another 375 Jews lived in the Kamieniec Litewski gmina, including 305 in Zamosty (Yiddish: Zastavye) and in Łotowo, an adjoining agricultural colony, and 47 in Sarowo, another Jewish agricultural colony. By 1928, 3,780 Jews lived in Kamieniec Litewski proper.

At about 7:00 P.M., on June 22, 1941, the first day of the German invasion of the USSR, a Wehrmacht unit occupied Kamieniec Litewski. A military commandant ruled the town until about August 1, when a German civilian administration, headed by an Amtskommissar, was established. A Gendarmerie post also was created, and a local auxiliary police force recruited. A Judenrat was established in mid-July headed by Shlomo Mandelbrat, and forced labor and extortion began. In the summer of 1941, Kamieniec was incorporated into Kreis Pruzana. On October 31, 1941, German authorities abolished the Kreis and joined Kamieniec instead to Kreis Bielsk in Distrikt Bialystok.

In early July 1941, an SS unit arrested 108 Jewish men from Kamieniec Litewski and executed them near the village of Murany (or Muryny)-Wielkie. Not realizing the men had been murdered, Mandelblat appealed to the local Roman Catholic priest to procure their release but was told nothing could be done, as they had been arrested for communism. Before departing Kamieniec, the SS commander issued a number of anti-Jewish decrees, including a directive to wear yellow markings, on the back and chest, and a prohibition on leaving Kamieniec.[1]

Kamieniec's location, about 37 kilometers (23 miles) south of Białowieża, the southern gateway to the Puszcza Białowieska (Belarusian: Belavezhskaia pushcha), the primordial Białowieża Forest, and its status as a historic community of the forest, which once bore its name, likely motivated German orders for the deportation, by train, of a third to a half of its Jewish residents to Prużana, a community located some 51 kilometers (31.7 miles) to the northeast, on the eastern edge of the forest. A survivor remembers the expulsion occurring at the end of 1941; however, the Germans expelled the Jews from almost all the other Białowieża Forest communities, including Białowieża, Hajnówka, Narewka Mała, and Narew, in early to mid-August.

Some historians believe the expulsions were a first step by Reichsforstmeister Hermann Göring to transform the Białowieża Forest into a vast nature and hunting preserve for the Nazi leadership and to create the optimal conditions to foster the propagation of its rare animals, including the visent (the European bison). However, on July 4, 1941, German Police Battalion 309, responsible for incarcerating in a makeshift labor camp the male Jews of Hajnówka and other nearby communities, reported it had done so to prevent a partisan insurgency from emerging in the woodland. (Because the Jews, the police claimed, supported Red Army soldiers hiding there, they recommended the expulsion of all Jewish men from the forest communities north and northeast of Hajnówka.)[2]

In practice, the police recommendation led to the execution, in early and mid-August 1941, of all or part of the Jewish men of the communities of the Białowieża Forest and the expulsion to a number of ghettos of most of the surviving men and all of the women, children, and the elderly. The Hajnówka and Narew communities, for example, were among those expelled to Prużana. Survivors of anti-Jewish violence in Białowieża and Narewka, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were sent to Kobryń and Antopol in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Those people expelled from Kamieniec Litewski and sent to Prużana were permitted to bring only 15 kilograms (about 33 pounds) of luggage. Many people evaded the deportation orders, fearing that the Germans planned to execute a large part of the community. Some Christians provided the fugitives hiding places; others, including the wife of a forester, surreptitiously handed the deportees foodstuffs. Another group of Christians looted the property left behind by the Jews.

In the autumn of 1941, the Germans ordered an open ghetto established in Kamieniec Litewski for those held back from the deportation. This group included craftsmen, other "essential" workers employed by the local German administration, and their families. Initially, the ghetto was an open ghetto, composed of a few houses on Brześć Street.

Conditions in the ghetto were poor. Overcrowding was made worse as many Jews who had fled and some of those expelled to Prużana paid bribes to German authorities, including members of the Kamieniec Litewski Gendarmerie post, to return home. As a result, as many as 10 people crowded into a single room in one of the houses on the ghetto's terrain. The Gendarmes, particularly an officer named Werbel, beat Jews found illicitly outside the ghetto, usually bartering their possessions with local Christians for food.

On January 1, 1942, the Germans surrounded the Kamieniec Litewski ghetto and drove its inmates to a new ghetto, located on Kobryń and Litewski Streets. Likely, the new ghetto was fenced, as the Bielsk Podlaski Kreiskommissar, Landrat Tubenthal, is known to have ordered in the late spring of 1942 the closing of all the ghettos in his Kreis, though some Jewish

communities were able to postpone the implementation of the decree until late August. The reason for the relocation of the Kamieniec ghetto is unknown. During the resettlement, many individuals fled, fearing they were being driven to be executed. At least five people were shot dead for evading the relocation order.[3]

In June 1942, the Germans executed another 140 Jews from Kamieniec Litewski.[4] At least one family in the Prużana ghetto determined not to return home after a representative it sent to Kamieniec reported that the Jews there were confined to their residences and lived in fear of another execution.[5]

On November 12, 1942, the Kamieniec Litewski ghetto was liquidated. That day, members of the 5th Battalion of Police Regiment II (known before July 29, 1942, as the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 13) marched about 2,500 Jews from Kamieniec to the ghetto in Wysokie Litewskie, about 31 kilometers (19.3 miles) to the west-southwest.[6] Likely, Jews from Zamosty, Łotowo, Sarowo, and other smaller nearby communities were included in the expulsion. By 4:00 P.M., the Jews had been loaded into freight wagons at the Wysokie train station. They were sent, likely together with the Wysokie Litewskie Jews, to the Treblinka extermination camp. They all were gassed on arrival.

Some Kamieniec Litewski Jews fled the ghetto's liquidation. The hiding places of most, including Dr. Gelberg, his daughter, and son-in-law, were revealed to authorities. After a local postman reportedly denounced Halina Weidenberg, a physician employed by the municipal authorities, believed to be a Christian, for receiving postcards written in Yiddish, she also was executed by the Gendarmes. Dora Galperin, the only known survivor from among those who sought shelter in and around Kamieniec, was assisted by about eight different Christian families.[7]

Among the 10 Kamieniec Litewski survivors were a few Prużana ghetto prisoners. Deported from Prużana to the Auschwitz extermination camp between January 31 and February 2, 1942, on four transports, which carried the approximately 9,161 ghetto inmates, the Kamieniec Jews constituted a handful of the 1,675 people—1,183 men and 492 women—held back as prisoners of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Dwora Rudnicki was among an even smaller number of Kamieniec Jews who survived until liberation.

In 1947, Dymitriusz Kitajewski, the local commander of the auxiliary police force in Dmitrowicze, some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) almost due north of Kamieniec Litewski, was tried in Poland and sentenced to life in prison for participating in the shootings of the civilian population, including Dr. Gelberg and the members of his family found there in hiding. Sentenced initially to life in prison, Kitajewski received the death penalty, in 1955, after Poland's Supreme Court reviewed his case. The sentence does not appear to have been carried out, as Kitajewski was tried in 1968 for other shootings of civilians, receiving a 7-year sentence, which on review was increased to 12 years.

In 1959, Grzegorz Krawczyk, another auxiliary policeman from Dmitrowicze tried in Poland, received a life sentence for participating in the murders of Jews and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Some of the murders likely involved Jews from the pre-war Abramowo Jewish agricultural colony, also known as Plesiszcze, as the 97 Jews there in 1921 formed the largest part of the 124 Jewish inhabitants of the pre-war Dmitrowicze gmina. Krawczyk was released conditionally in 1973. Few other details are known about the specific experiences of the Abramowo Jewish community under the German occupation in World War II.

SOURCES The Kamieniec Litewski yizkor book, Shemu'el Aizenshtadt, ed., *Sefer yizkor li-ḳehilot Ḳamenits de-Liṭa, Zaṣtavyah ṿeha-ḳolonyot* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ḳamenits de-Liṭa ṿe-Zaṣtavyah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot-ha-Berit, 1970), provides several accounts by survivors, including in a separate English section testimonies by Dora Galperin (or Halperin), "The Tragedy and Destruction of Kamenetz," and Dvora Rudnitsky-Singer, "My Life in Ghettos and Concentration Camps." As its title implies, there also is some coverage of the surrounding communities, particularly of the agricultural colonies of Zamosty, Łotowo, Sarowo, and the physically more distant Abramowo. The yizkor book is available online at the Dorot Division, New York Public Library, with its English section also available at the Kamieniec Litewski ShtetLinks page, at jewishgen.org.

Some coverage of the ghetto is provided in the discussion about commemorating it, in Il'ia Razumovskii, "Pamiat' ob uznikakh Kamenetskogo getto," press release, May 27, 2009, available at the Web site of the Agentstvo evreiskikh novostei, www.aen.ru/?page=brief&article_id=53526. The article also provides the present-day Russian names of the streets of the second ghetto as Proletariat and Chkalov Streets. Still forthcoming is a larger Russian-language study of the Kamieniec Jewish community by local historian G.S. Musevich, *Narod, kotoryi zhil sredi nas*, which includes several chapters on the World War II period. An English translation of the work is planned: see "A New Book about Jews of Kamenets," June 10, 2009, on the Web site of the Brest-Belarus group, www.brest-belarus.org/sp/the_people.i.html.

A relatively large number of works examine anti-Jewish violence and other forms of German force used against the Jewish communities of the Białowieża Forest. These works include Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995), pp. 70–74; Stuart Franklin, "Bialowieza Forest, Poland: Representation, Myth, and the Politics of Dispossession," *Environment and Planning A* 34:8 (2002): 1459–1485; Heinrich Rubner, *Deutsche Forstgeschichte, 1933–1945: Forstwirtschaft, Jagd und Umwelt im NS-Staat* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1985); Lutz Heck, *Animals: My Adventure*, trans. E.W. Dickes (London: Methuen, 1954); Piotr Daszkiewicz and Jean Aikhenbaum, *Aurochs, le retour d'une supercherie nazie* (Paris: Histoire, Sciences, Totalitarisme, Ethique et Société, 1999); and Frank Fox, "Jews and Buffaloes, Victims of Nazi Pseudo-science," *East European Jewish Affairs* 31:2 (2001): 82–93.

Although some of the above-cited works focus on German long-term plans for the forest, in the absence of a direct documentary link, most historians take at face value the reports of security forces, from the summer of 1941, that describe the Białowieża expulsions as motivated by a more immediate

military need to prevent the emergence of a partisan insurgency there. These historians include Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 21–22; Waldemar Monkiewicz, *Białowieża w cieniu swastyki* (Białystok: KAW, 1984); and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, p. 263. A similar approach appears in Michael Imort, "Forestopia: The Use of the Forest Landscape in Naturalizing National Socialist Ideologies of Volk, Race, and Lebensraum, 1918–1945" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 2000), which, in spite of its title, devotes a chapter to discussing the use in late 1942–1943 of the Forstschutzkommando (Forest Protection Commando) to eradicate partisan groups operating in the Białowieża Forest.

Also useful are the relevant entries in *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, including, in vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie*, Shmuel Spector, ed., (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 219 (Abramowo), p. 250 (Zamosty), p. 263 (Łotowa), p. 274 (Sarowo), pp. 299–305 (Prużana), and pp. 312–315 (Kamieniec Litewski); and vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek*, ed. Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 139–140 (Białowieża), pp. 288–289 (Hajnówka), pp. 457–459 (Narew), and pp. 459–460 (Narewka Mała).

Documentation about the life and death of the Jewish community of Kamieniec Litewski during the World War II German occupation includes AŻIH (301/2604); GABO (e.g., 514-1-151, p. 4); GARF (e.g., 7021-83-16, pp. 2, 7, and 7021-148-186); IPN (e.g., SOE 83, SWB 189-90, and SWOl 41-43); USHMM (RG-22.014M [GARF, 7021-148-186], reel 18, p. 165); and YVA. The case of Grzegorz Krawczyk is cited above as IPN, SWB 189-90. The two Kitajewski cases are cited above as IPN (SOE 83 and SWOl 41-43).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-83-16, p. 2; and Rudnitsky-Singer, "My Life," pp. 106–108.
2. GARF, 7021-83-16, p. 7; and BA-MA, RH 26-221/10, War Diary, 221st Security Division, cited in Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy," p. 263.
3. Galperin, "The Tragedy," p. 94.
4. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 127.
5. Rudnitsky-Singer, "My Life," p. 108.
6. USHMM, RG-22.014M, reel 18 (GARF, 7021-148-186), p. 165 (War Diary, 1st Company, Reserve Police Battalion 13, November 12, 1942).
7. Galperin, "The Tragedy," pp. 94–101.

KAMIONKA (AKA KAMIONKA KOŁO GRODNA)

Pre-1939: Kamionka, *village*, *Szczuczyn powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Kamenka*, *Shchuchyn raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamionka*, *Kreis Grodno*, *Distrikt Bialystok*; *post-1991: Kamenka*, *Hrodna raen and voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Kamionka lies about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) east-southeast of Grodno and 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) west-southwest of Szczuczyn. Historically, a part of the Grodno region, Kamionka was incorporated, in May 1929, into the newly formed Szczuczyn powiat, in the Nowogródek województwo. However, it remained popularly known as Kamionka koło Grodna (Kamionka near Grodno), likely to distinguish it from at least 12 identically named places in the interwar Nowogródek and Białystok województwa. In 1921, the Kamionka population of 569 included 326 Jews. By 1929, 70 of the 135 families residing in Kamionka were Jewish.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Kamionka within days of the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In autumn 1941, the Germans incorporated Kamionka into Kreis Grodno. The incorporation transformed Kamionka into a frontier town on the northeasternmost boundary of Distrikt Bialystok, with about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) separating it from the border of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Likely for this reason, the Kamionka Gendarmerie post was organized and remained at least through February 1942 under the supervision of German police authorities in Szczuczyn and Lida. Locally, it was led by Hauptwachmeister Rosenboom. An Amtskommissar in Kamionka, surnamed Bestek, likely assumed his position in the fall of 1941.[1]

Little is known about the history of the Kamionka Jewish community during the German occupation. In the early summer of 1942, the Germans sent a few hundred men from Kamionka to a forced labor camp in Wołkowysk. German documentation notes that on November 2, 1942, 417 Jews from Kamionka were expelled to a transit camp in Kiełbasin, a few kilometers south of Grodno.[2] The Kamionka laborers in Wołkowysk were driven that same day to another transit camp established at a pre-war cavalry barracks there.

German documentation from immediately after the expulsion of the Kamionka community to Kiełbasin suggests that the Germans had ordered a ghetto established in Kamionka. A police report notes that on November 3, 1942, local Gendarmes shot dead a Pole discovered looting property in the Kamionka ghetto.[3] The absence of additional documentation makes it impossible to determine the location of the ghetto or whether the ghetto was open or closed.

At Kiełbasin, the Kamionka community lived in deplorable conditions with about 23,000 to 28,000 Jews from about 22 other communities in Kreis Grodno and Kreis Sokółka. The Germans began sending the Kiełbasin inmates to the Auschwitz and Treblinka extermination camps on November 9, 1942, with the last transport leaving the train station at Łososna on December 20 or 21, 1942. Because no documentation exists in Auschwitz records for a Jewish prisoner from Kamionka, the community likely was among those sent from Kiełbasin to Treblinka. In Wołkowysk, a large number of the Kamionka laborers perished at the transit camp from diseases related to exposure and malnutrition, contracted at the labor

camp, or from typhus, a by-product of the unsanitary conditions at the transit camp. The survivors likely were expelled from the transit camp together with the Jews from the Zelwa area and sent in the second Wołkowysk transport on either November 26 or December 2, 1942, to the Treblinka extermination camp.[4]

After the Kamionka Jews were sent to Treblinka, members of the Kamionka Gendarmerie post, on February 28, 1943, shot at least one Jewish fugitive. On March 9, the post commander surrendered to the Grodno Kreiskommissar items found on the victim valued at 174.00 Reichsmark (RM), including a bar of gold, foreign currency, and jewelry.[5]

SOURCES The Kamionka laborers at the Wołkowysk transit camp are discussed in the testimony by survivor Yitzhak Reznik, which is summarized and presented as "Krzemienica" in the second Wołkowysk yizkor book, Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949). An English translation is available in *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pt. 1, pp. 316–318. Coverage of visits by the descendants of the Kamionka Jewish community on the Kamenka ShtetLinks page at jewishgen.org suggests that several Jewish families resided there after the war.

Documentation pertaining to the history of the Kamionka Jewish community under the German occupation in World War II includes GAGO (e.g., 1-1-54, pp. 37–38, and 1-1-335, p. 39); GARF (7021-86-40, pp. 4, 56, 58); NARB (845-1-8, p. 31); RGVA (1323-2-244, p. 99); and USHMM (e.g., RG-11.001M [RGVA], reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99; RG-22.002M [GARF], reel 13, 7021-86-40, pp. 4, 56, 58; RG-53.002M [NARB], reel 5, 845-1-8, p. 31; and RG-53.004M [GAGO], e.g., reel 1, 1-1-54, pp. 37–38, and reel 4, 1-1-335, p. 39). Some of the above documentation also appears in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, vol. 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 1, 1-1-2, pp. 136–137, and reel 3, 1-1-280, pp. 5–7.
2. Ibid., reel 1, 1-1-54, pp. 37–38, with a Russian translation at GARF, 7021-86-40, pp. 56, 58; and at NARB, 845-1-8, p. 31.
3. USHMM, RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99.
4. Reznik, "Krzemienica," pp. 317–318.
5. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-335, p. 39.

KLESZCZELE

Pre-1939: Kleszczele, town, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kleshcheli, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kleszczele, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Hajnówka powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Kleszczele now lies near the Polish border with the Republic of Belarus, 24.7 kilometers (15.4 miles) southeast of Bielsk Podlaski and 75.2 kilometers (46.7 miles) south-southeast of Białystok. About 700 Jews resided there on the eve of World War II. After Kleszczele came under Soviet occupation in September 1939, during the first month of World War II, the Jewish population increased slightly to 750.[1]

German forces occupied Kleszczele on June 23, 1941. The German authorities appointed a provisional Polish administration, under the leadership of a mayor, a local pre-war teacher surnamed Mediewicz. A Polish auxiliary police force also was organized. Its members included Antoni Parfinowicz.

The auxiliary police imposed a regime of forced labor on the Jews. They arrested, beat up, and then turned over at least two Jews, Icchak Złotnik and Jakow Farber, to German authorities in Bielsk Podlaski as alleged Communists. The men were executed. Parfinowicz and other auxiliary policemen joined together to extort several Jews, threatening to hand them over to German authorities if they did not provide regular payments to the auxiliary police.[2]

In August 1941, a German civil administration took over from the temporary military authorities in Kleszczele. The new Amtskommissar immediately introduced a series of restrictions on the Jewish population. A Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Wajman (or perhaps Wiener), was established. The German authorities ordered the Judenrat to collect a number of onerous "contributions" from the Jewish population. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing patches in the image of the Star of David. They were forbidden from walking on the sidewalks and could not greet Germans. Forced labor continued as the Jews worked on the railroad, at a concrete plant, and in agriculture.[3]

In August or early autumn 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in Kleszczele. They prohibited Jews from living in the same houses as Christians. The order forced many Jews to find housing in the pre-war Jewish neighborhood, a small area of a few streets around the market square. The Germans required Jews to identify their houses by painting a Star of David on them.[4]

In May 1942, Johann Otto, the Kleszczele Amtskommissar, most likely acting on a decree of the Bielsk Kreiskommissar, Landrat von Bünau, ordered the establishment of a closed ghetto. It included between 30 and 48 homes located on the market square and within the area of Kościuszko, Ciasna, and Kopernik Streets. The ghetto was surrounded by a tall wooden fence, topped with barbed wire. Postwar Polish court documentation lists its population as 678. Each ghetto resident was allotted only about 2 square meters (22 square feet) of space in which to live. Tailors, cobblers, glaziers, and carpenters labored on various projects for local German officials and the local population in craft workshops established in the ghetto. Some inmates left the ghetto daily for the railroad station, in Czeremcha, to engage in tasks ranging from unloading wagons to building locomotives. Others departed the ghetto for agricultural labor, on the estate of the Kleszczele Amtskommissar.[5] The Germans also ordered dismantled the 1881 wooden synagogue. Its building materials were used to build homes on Boćki Street.

Provisioning in the ghetto was almost nonexistent. Most inmates procured food illegally by sneaking away from work assignments outside the ghetto to trade with local Christians. Many local Christians, both Poles and Belorussians, supplied the Jews with food, either in exchange for goods or services or for no compensation. Even so, hunger and overcrowding bred unsanitary conditions, which led to an outbreak of typhus. The epidemic claimed the lives of many of the elderly and children. In September 1942, Wajman was arrested, based on a denunciation of a local Polish Gestapo informant who reported the Jewish Council chair had criticized the German administration. The Gestapo shot him in Bielsk Podlaski.[6]

At the beginning of November 1942, German forces sealed off the ghetto and refused to permit workers to leave for work. The Germans announced that the ghetto inmates would be sent to labor camps in Ukraine. Because of the tight guard around the ghetto and concern for the other members of their families, only a few Jews attempted to escape.[7] On November 5, the Germans transferred about 1,250 Jews from the nearby communities of Milejczyce and Nurzec (Milejczyce gmina, Bielsk Podlaski powiat) to the Kleszczele ghetto. The next day, 6 Jews were shot during a final roundup of ghetto residents. The surviving Jews were taken on November 6 to a transit camp located in a former cavalry barracks on the southern outskirts of Białystok. The Kleszczele Jews were deported from the Białystok transit camp sometime between the end of November and December 15 to the Treblinka extermination camp.[8] They were gassed on arrival.

A few Jews managed to escape at the time of the roundup. Josef Białostocki discovered many of his Christian acquaintances were unwilling to shelter him, because they feared German retaliation. He ultimately received a warm welcome from Anna and Szymon Markiewicz. The couple constructed a hiding place for him in their barn. Zelman (or Zenon) Wasserman and Symcha Bursztajn found refuge with Waleria Skarżyńska and her son Kazimierz in Saki village (Kleszczele gmina, Bielsk Podlaski powiat). Only two or three other Jews from the Kleszczele ghetto survived until the Red Army drove the German occupying forces from the town on July 20, 1944.[9]

In October 1946, Parfinowicz was charged with participating, as a member of the auxiliary police, in the 1941 arrests and beatings of several Kleszczele Jews and with forcing Jews to surrender valuables. At his trial in April 1947, in Białystok, the judge postponed the proceedings until January 1948 to enable Wasserman, the state's main witness, to come from his new home in France to testify. Even though investigators had collected a wealth of evidence against Parfinowicz, including depositions from Jewish survivors, he was found not guilty after Wasserman did not appear.[10]

SOURCES Information on the Kleszczele ghetto can be found in the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 558–560; in its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 104–106; and Tomasz Wiśniewski, *Bóżnice Białostocczyzny. Heartland of the Jewish Life: Synagogues and Jewish Communities in the Białystok Region* (Białystok: David, 1991), pp. 160–161.

Christian aid to Kleszczele Jews is covered in Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 492–493, for the 1965 nomination of Anna and Szymon Markiewicz as Righteous Among the Nations; and Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 215–216. A list of the Kleszczele survivors appears on the sketches for a monument, with the 1993 plans available at www.bagnowka.com/?m=cm&g=zoom&img=2478&gal=38. Information about the postwar trial is in Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, pp. 223–224.

Also useful are Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 15, 17, 38 (tab. 3); and Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 232.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Kleszczele during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (204 [e.g., YVA M-11/B77, 193], 301 [e.g., 979, 1853]); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOB 43); IPN-Bi (e.g., Ko-5/90, S [19/75, 38/68]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 1 [1/136] and reel 14 [46/48]); and YVA (e.g., M-11[B77, B193], M-33, M-49-E [e.g., 6640], O-3/3262, O-59/15). A Polish-language translation of AŻIH, 301/979, is available at the Archiwum Etnograficzne at www.archiwumetnograficzne.edu.pl/readarticle.php?article_id=33.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/979, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn, p. 1.
2. IPN, SOB 43, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 223–224.
3. AŻIH, 301/979, pp. 1–2.
4. Ibid., p. 1.
5. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 14, 46/48, pp. 1–2; and low structure figure in AŻIH, 301/979, pp. 1–2.
6. AŻIH, 301/979, p. 1.
7. Ibid., 301/1853, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn, p. 1 (typescript).
8. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 1, 1/136, pp. 1–2.
9. Number of survivors varies at USHMM, RG-15.091M, reel 14, 46/48, p. 2; AŻIH, 301/1853, p. 2 (typescript), and 301/979, p. 2.
10. IPN, SOB 43.

KNYSZYN

Pre-1939: Knyszyn (Yiddish: Knishin), town, Białystok powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Knyshin, Mon'ki raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Knischin, Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Knyszyn, Mońki powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Knyszyn lies 29.1 kilometers (18.1 miles) northwest of Białystok and 13.2 kilometers (8.2 miles) southwest of Jasionówka. Its 1921 population of 3,559 included 1,235 Jews. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, the Knyszyn kehillah numbered 1,450.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Knyszyn on June 27, 1941. Soldiers rounded up five Jews, accused them of communism, and shot them. The Germans appointed a local Polish administration and an auxiliary police force. Policeman Edward Bibiński organized local antisemites to mark houses with crosses and Stars of David. However, Franciszek Bryks, pastor of the Roman Catholic Church, convinced the men to call off the pogrom and urged Roman Catholic faithfuls during Mass to assist Jews rather than to pursue them.[1] The relative peace in Knyszyn transformed it into a refuge for Jews fleeing violence in Szczuczyn (Białostocki), Grajewo, and Radziłów.

The German-appointed sołtys (village head) soon ordered the Jewish refugees to leave Knyszyn. Some Poles denounced several Knyszyn Jews as Communists. Auxiliary policeman Edward Zeler probably beat the men before surrendering them to German authorities on July 5, 1941.[2] The Germans took Rabbi Polak with them, who was to provide a character reference for an arrestee. Never heard from again, the men are presumed to have been shot by the Germans.[3]

A German civil administration was created in Knyszyn in early August 1941. A man named Labusch served as the first Knyszyn Amtskommissar. By fall 1942, the position was filled by either Bohr or Andrzejewski, the longest-serving Amtskommissar. A Gendarmerie post also was established.

The new German administrators immediately ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair, Motel Zapasner, was a merchant. They ordered the Jews to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David. At an assembly, ordered by the Amtskommissar in early September, the Jews were read a new list of anti-Jewish decrees, including orders that replaced the armbands with yellow patches, worn on the back and chest, and mandated forced labor of all adult Jews. The Germans threatened to deport unemployed men from Knyszyn. The Judenrat subsequently bribed officials to permit the men to stay. The Germans also humiliated religious Jews with beards, ordering them to box each other and to dance as a photographer took pictures.[4]

In the fall of 1941, the Amtskommissar announced the establishment of a closed ghetto in Knyszyn. However, a delegation of Poles, including Bryks, hospital director Edward Nowicki, and pharmacist Marian Rzeźnicki, cited public health concerns to appeal successfully for the order's suspension, though the Judenrat likely also was required to pay a bribe.[5] The Germans instead established an open ghetto by circumscribing Jewish movement in Knyszyn, declaring a part of it off limits to Jews.[6] They expelled Jews from Mońki and nearby localities to Knyszyn and imposed the death penalty on Jews found outside Knyszyn without permission. The Gendarmes also enforced prohibitions on nonregistered Jews living in Knyszyn. As many as 150 survivors of the German mass execution of the Jewish community of Tykocin (Yiddish: Tiktin), probably on August 15–16, 1941, found it impossible to regularize their residence in Knyszyn. Petrified they would be denounced and shot, the refugees mostly fled to the Białystok ghetto.[7]

Some Poles denounced to German authorities purported Jewish Communist sympathizers. Almost none of the Jews were Communists; rather, they were people against whom the Poles held personal grudges. The denunciations led the Germans to murder at least 15 Knyszyn Jews in 1941, including the restaurant owner Barach Cybelman. On Simchat Torah (October 14), the SS arrested 13 more Jews, also denounced by Poles. The Jewish Council paid several hundred dollars in bribes to procure their freedom, but the SS already had murdered them.[8]

About 300 Jewish and Polish laborers in Knyszyn worked for the German construction firm Hermann Klammt. The conscripts renovated the nearby railway line to Białystok and the roads to Białystok, Mońki, and Jasionówka. The Judenrat Labor Office arranged supplementary rations for the conscripts, providing them with bread and meat twice weekly. The Germans also ordered the Judenrat to establish a shoemaking workshop. Other work assignments included street cleaning, farm labor, and forestry labor.

The Jewish Council was required to pay the salaries of several German officials brought to Knyszyn to oversee the shoemaking workshop. The local German administration demanded the Jews surrender their fur coats, jewelry, silver, and gold. German administrators changed the council leadership several times, hoping the new appointees would extract more materially from the Jews.[9] In exchange for services, some Germans occasionally permitted the Judenrat to buy the freedom of the imprisoned. Gendarme Leutnant Schultz freed a Jasionówka ghetto resident from the Knyszyn jail in exchange for a local Jewish tailor making him an overcoat from cloth provided by the Judenrat.[10]

By the fall of 1942, rumors escalated that the German authorities would soon deport the Knyszyn Jews. At the end of October, Dorota Śniegiewicz learned from a Judenrat member in the Białystok ghetto that the Germans on November 2 would liquidate most of the Jewish communities in Distrikt Bialystok. Subsequent inquiries by the Knyszyn Judenrat to the local Amtskommissar about whether the Jews were slated for evacuation were met by reassurances that they likely would not be sent away, as the administration had received permission to sell them winter heating materials and potatoes from German reserves.[11]

On November 2, 1942, at 6:00 A.M., Knyszyn was surrounded by an SS detachment of about 300 men, reinforced

by members of the local German Gendarmerie, German administrators from surrounding towns, including from Jasionówka, and the Polish auxiliary police.[12] After local officials secured payment for the winter rations, the SS commanded Judenrat members to go from house to house to order the Jews to stand outside of their homes. In relaying the German command, the Judenrat officials urged the Jews to act according to their consciences, as they did not know what the orders portended.[13] A large number of people attempted escape. Polish staff at the hospital successfully hid 32 fugitives.[14] Another 75 were killed. In addition to those fleeing from the roundup, the murdered included the infirm and elderly, deemed too frail by the SS to make the trip.

The Germans transported the remainder of the Knyszyn Jewish community, believed to have numbered about 1,300 people, to a transit camp located on the southern outskirts of Białystok, at a pre-war encampment of the Polish 10th Cavalry Division. They joined 12,000 to 15,000 Jews from nearby localities deported there that same day. The Białystok Judenrat intervened to secure the release of about 10 Knyszyn families. Beginning at the end of November, the Germans sent the transit camp inmates in several transports to the Treblinka extermination camp. They all were gassed on arrival.

Most of the approximately 80 Jewish fugitives sought shelter in the ghetto in Jasionówka. About 20 Knyszyn Jews subsequently survived the Jasionówka ghetto liquidation on January 24–25, 1943, by jumping either from the trucks deporting them to the train station or from the train taking them to the extermination camp.[15] Others stayed outside of ghettos. Śniegiewicz lived in Białystok on false identity papers, purchasing arms and explosive materials for the Jewish underground for the planned ghetto uprising.

Others found shelter with local Poles. Samuel Suraski's workmate and friend, shoemaker Czesław Dworzańczyk, sheltered him. Seven members of Ber Slodki's family found safety with Krzysztof Dąbowski's family in Długołęka village. Antoni and Jadwiga Uszczanowski hid seven more survivors. In April 1943, the Germans, acting on a denunciation, arrested the Uszczanowskis and shot Antoni dead for refusing to reveal the hiding places of the Jews they were protecting. Because of similar denunciations, the Germans torched the bunkers of several Jews and the residences of at least two Poles. The Jews only sometimes escaped alive.

After the war, many of the 50 Jewish survivors returned to Knyszyn. But in May 1945, an armed Polish gang murdered Krzysztof Dąbowski for refusing to surrender gold he was falsely rumored to have received for sheltering the Slodki family. The survivors and some of the Polish aid-givers emigrated.

In 1953, Zeler was found innocent of several charges, including rounding up Jews during the liquidation of the Knyszyn ghetto.

SOURCES Some of the archival documentation below has been published, including in Polish translation, in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 346–355 (AŻIH, 301/1971). A part of the AŻIH, 301/3959, testimony, by Samuel Suraski, is in English and Hebrew translation on the RelatioNet project Web site, at http://sush12knpo.blogspot.com/2007/07/memories-about-town-of-knyszyn-during.html. Parts of the Polish-language AŻIH testimonies by Knyszyn survivors appear in English translation in the electronic monthly *Nowy Goniec Knyszyński*, published by the government of the town of Knyszyn. They are available under the history section of the journal index, located on the homepage of the Knyszyn town Web site at www.knyszyn.pl. Published testimonies from the Poles Józef Piasecki and Jadwiga Ciurzycka appear in "Knyszyn we wspomnieniach mieszkanców. Eksterminacja Żydów," *Białostocczyzna*, no. 3/31 (1993): 111–113, available electronically at the Podlaska Digital Library.

The above-cited *Nowy Goniec Knyszyński* includes more than 20 articles, in Polish and English translation, about the Knyszyn Jewish community in World War II. They are best read in conjunction with the Knyszyn entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 561–565. An English translation is available in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 106–109. Also valuable are Edmund Chodorowski, "Knyszyn w latach II wojny światowej," *Białostocczyzna*, no. 3/31 (1993): 60–70, at the Podlaska Digital Library; and the relevant entry in Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 2, *Studia*, pp. 207–208.

A large literature exists on Christian aid to Jews in Knyszyn, including, among others, in Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, p. 164, pt. 2, pp. 840–841; and Kazimierz Radzajewski, "Czesław Dworzańczyk—sprawiedliwy," *Gazeta współczesna*, July 3, 2008, for the recognition by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations of Krzysztof and Helena Dąbowski, Antoni and Jadwiga Uszczanowski, and Czesław Dworzańczyk, respectively. The RelatioNet site recounts, in English and Hebrew, the search of Hadar Suraski for the Christian aid-giver of her grandfather Samuel.

Documentation relating to the World War II history of the Knyszyn Jewish community under German occupation can be found at AŻIH (e.g., 301/658, 301/985, 301/1276, 301/1468, 301/2185, 301/2966, 301/3958, 301/3959); FVA (e.g., HVT-3639); IPN (e.g., SOB [104, 368, 425], SWB [54, 219-20, 223-24, 230, 237]); IPN-Bi (3/99, 3/113 [W-6/66], 3/123 [W-5/66], 7/988 [III-1747 KSL-7625], S [6/73 (powiat Mońki], 11/82, 222/68); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1995.A.1193, RG-50.120*0192); VHF (e.g., # 546, 89734); and YVA. The IPN-Bi and IPN documentation includes the postwar investigations of a number of Polish collaborators of a penal camp established in Knyszyn for Jewish and non-Jewish residents of the Amtskommissariat.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1276, testimony of Fania Brzezińska, pp. 5–6; and AŻIH, 301/3959, testimony of Szmuel Suraski, in Machcewicz and Persak *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:239.
2. IPN, SOB 425.
3. AŻIH, 301/3959, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:239.
4. AŻIH, 301/1276, pp. 6–7, and 301/2185, testimony of Dorota Śniegiewicz, pp. 1–2; and AŻIH, 301/3959, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:240.
5. AŻIH, 301/3959, in Machcewícz and Persak, *Wokól Jedwabnego*, 2: 238, 240; and AŻIH, 301/2185, p. 2.
6. AŻIH, 301/1276, p. 25.
7. USHMM, RG-50.120*0192, testimony of Avraham Kapitza.
8. AŻIH, 301/1276, p. 8; and AŻIH, 301/3959, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:239.
9. AŻIH, 301/2185, p. 2.
10. Ibid., 301/1276, p. 10.
11. Ibid., 301/2185, p. 3, and 301/1276, pp. 11–15.
12. IPN, SOB 425.
13. AŻIH, 301/3959, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:240.
14. Testimony of Jadwiga Ciurzycka, in "Knyszyn," pp. 112–113.
15. VHF, # 546, testimony of Tauba Schuster (Goldsztejn); and AŻIH, 301/985, testimony of Tema Kapłan, p. 2.

KRYNKI

Pre-1939: Krynki (Yiddish: Krinik), town, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Krynki raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Sokolka, Distrikt Białystok; post-1999: województwo podlaskie, Poland

Krynki lies on the Krynki River 47.1 kilometers (29.3 miles) east-northeast of Białystok and 25.8 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Sokółka. Its 1921 population of 5,206 included 3,495 Jews. In September 1939, the first month of World War II, the Germans initially occupied Krynki but soon evacuated it to make way for Soviet forces. The Jewish population swelled to more than 4,000 under Soviet rule, as refugees from German-occupied Poland settled there.



The Yiddish caption reads: "Krynka [Krynki] Jews force-marched to work by the Nazis in 1942."
USHMM WS #49113, COURTESY OF YIVO

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German bombardment damaged Krynki and killed a number of residents including 50 Jews. A Wehrmacht unit captured Krynki on June 28. On June 30, German security forces executed 16 Jews. In July, more Jews were executed, for communism, after denunciations by Polish "informants," likely members of the newly appointed auxiliary police force.[1] German military authorities mandated forced labor for adult Jews. In late August, a civilian administration, led by an Amtskommissar, replaced the military commandant. A Gendarmerie post was established, employing about six soldiers.

In late November 1941, local German authorities ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) created and began organizing a ghetto. Located in a Jewish neighborhood, the ghetto spanned from southwestern to northeastern Krynki. Its boundary included the southern sides of Kościelna Street, the market square, and a part of Rynkowa Street. From there, the ghetto area encompassed 3 hectares (7.4 acres), south to the Krynki River. At its most northeastern point, on Rynkowa Street, the boundary turned south along the western sides of Cerkiewna and then Indura Streets. Jews constructed the fence, from wooden planks and barbed wire, and two guard towers. The main entrance, a wooden gate, opened to the market square, near Garbarska Street.

On December 21, 1941, local authorities gave the Jews several days to move into the ghetto. German and Polish policemen searched the Jews at the gate, confiscating about half of their possessions. A number of Christians watched the move, eager to claim the items that the Jews were forced to leave behind.

A German "ghetto commander" named Mangel oversaw the Krynki ghetto. He likely was appointed by the Sokolka Kreiskommissar, Landrat Amman. Mangel issued instructions to the Jewish Council. A 25-member Jewish police force, commanded by Yankel Kazaltchik (or Kozolczyk), assisted the Judenrat to carry out the orders. Polish policemen guarded the outside of the ghetto. The ghetto population initially stood at about 4,500.[2]

Every morning Jews would assemble at 6:00 A.M. to be escorted to work outside the ghetto by the Polish police. Some worked in tanning factories; others repaired roads, dug peat, or cut wood. About 40 Jews worked six-day stints on nearby estates. Because inmates received a daily 100-gram (3.5-ounce) bread ration and some potatoes, work outside the ghetto provided the opportunity to barter material possessions with the local population for extra food. The police beat those caught smuggling produce into the ghetto. In January 1942, the Germans ordered 20 men arrested. Sources disagree about whether the men were notables held hostage for ransom or a group of mainly ritual slaughterers (*shochtim*) denounced for smuggling calves into the ghetto. Despite a ghetto-wide effort to ransom them from a Białystok prison, they were executed by May 1942.[3]

Early in the morning of April 1, 1942, one day before the start of Passover, the 3rd Company of Police Battalion 91, under the command of Wilhelm Ahrens, arrived in Krynki. At 8:00 A.M., on the market square, Ahrens ordered his men to search the ghetto for concealed weapons, food, leather, and metal goods and to kill Jews too sick or too old for work. The police searched the houses in the ghetto and ordered confiscated items brought near the large synagogue. Soon, the police started shooting Jews. By the time the company departed Krynki at midday, the policemen had murdered 39 mostly elderly men and women, including Reb Leib Segal.[4]

After Passover 1942, the Germans transferred to the Krynki ghetto about 1,200 Jews from Brzostowica Wielka. The Germans held back about 200 people from the approximately 700-member Brzostowica community to widen and pave the road from Białystok to Wołkowysk. Among the 500 additional deportees were conscripts from other ghettos brought to Brzostowica for road construction and Jews from southern Kreis Grodno and eastern Kreis Sokolka ordered in mid-February 1942 to reside in Brzostowica Wielka. Among the latter were the communities of Spudwiły and Brzostowica Mała.

Conditions worsened in the Krynki ghetto as the new inmates increased the population to 5,500 to 5,700, reducing the 1.5 square meters (16 square feet) of residential space initially accorded each inmate. Orders in 1942 to exclude Garbarska Street from the ghetto increased congestion. A pedestrian bridge, constructed over the street, enabled contact between the two ghettos, but the resulting sanitation problems from overcrowding raised the mortality rate from typhus. At least 200 inmates were sent on work assignments outside the ghetto in May 1942. The conscripts worked at construction and agricultural labor in Kreis Grodno, including working on road construction in Wielkie Ejsymonty, building barracks at a labor camp in Zielona, and working at a fishery in Repla, in Kreis Wolkowysk.[5]

Upon learning of the destruction of Jewish communities, including Słonim, in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, some Krynki Jews pleaded to join partisans they encountered during forestry labor. Interested only in robbing the Jews of their axes, the partisans dismissed the requests. By late December 1942, a number of Krynki refugees to Białystok had established a partisan organization. The 20 to 40 pre-war Communists and Bundists in the Krynki group were the first large underground organization to abandon the Białystok ghetto for the forests.[6]

On November 2, 1942, the Krynki ghetto was liquidated. An underground Bundist publication in the Warsaw ghetto subsequently claimed that the Krynki Jews resisted the expulsion with arms, resulting in the deaths of 12 Gendarmes.[7] However, Krynki survivors do not recall such an uprising. The Germans held back approximately 350 people, mostly tanning factory workers and a few others, to clean out the ghetto. The remaining Jews were taken 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) over two days to a transit camp in Kiełbasin, near Grodno. A day earlier, on November 1, German security officers, Gendarmes, and Polish auxiliary police had rounded up all the remaining Jewish laborers in southern Kreis Grodno and eastern Kreis Sokolka, including 150 former Krynki ghetto residents and about 150 others from Indura, Łunna, and Brzostowica. Held overnight in Massalany (or Masalany), near Wielkie Ejsymonty, the captives were driven the next day to Kiełbasin.

The Krynki inmates at Kiełbasin were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Two survivors provide different dates, November 15 and 25, for the expulsion. Contextual evidence in one of the accounts further suggests that the community may have been sent to Treblinka about a week before the SS closed the transit camp, shortly after December 20–21.[8] The Krynki Jews were gassed on arrival at Treblinka.

On January 23, 1943, the surviving Jews in Krynki were driven to Sokółka and sent to the Auschwitz death camp on a transport, which also carried inmates from the Sokółka and Jasionówka ghettos. Forewarned by a Polish policeman of the impending expulsion, at least 50 Krynki Jews fled the evening before the deportation.[9] Others jumped from the train. Some of the fugitives arrived on January 25 at the Białystok ghetto. That same day, at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Germans held back from the transport 193 people—161 men and 32 women—as concentration camp prisoners. The remaining 2,107 people on the transport were gassed on arrival. Less than 10 Krynki prisoners survived until liberation.

A handful of Jews survived the war hiding near Krynki. Piotr and Stanisława Begański sheltered Eliahu and Frida Kusznir (or Kushnir). A Russian engineer named Dmitrov hid Leah Wolf (later, Lola Resnick) and Perl Lewi. Feivel Wolf ultimately joined a partisan unit. The ranks of the Krynki group were decimated during an armed struggle, on February 10, 1943, to break a German encirclement of the forest, near Lipowy Most. Only three members of the group survived the war.

Wilhelm Ahrens was sentenced by a Soviet military tribunal in 1950 to 25 years in prison. He returned to West Germany under an amnesty in 1955. He was tried in Düsseldorf, together with two other members of Police Battalion 91, for the murders in Krynki on April 1, 1942. The three men, in 1973, were acquitted on legal grounds, as no "base motives" could be found for the killings.[10]

SOURCES Published sources on Krynki include Abraham Soyfer (or Soifer), ed., *Krinik in hurban* (Montevideo: Di Krinker Hilfs-Faraynen fun Urugvay un Argentine, 1948); Dov Rabin, ed., *Pinkas Krinki* (Tel Aviv: ha-Irgunim shel yots'e Krinki bi-Medinat Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1970) (available in a complete English translation, by Dora Rytman and Judie Goldstein, at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Krynki/krynki.html); *Hurban Volkovisk be-Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah, 1939/1945* (Tel Aviv: Vaad irgun yots'e Volḳovisḳ be-Erets-Yiśra'el, 1946) (available in an English translation as *Sefer zikaron Volḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger [Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000], pt. 2).

Katarzyna Fąfara, "Holocaust Kryńskich Żydów. Pamięć dla przyszłości," an electronic source, is helpful for its map and description of the Krynki ghetto boundaries. Some information on the Krynki community is included in Stefan Klemp, *Nicht ermittelt: Polizeibataillone und die Nachkriegsjustiz: Ein*

Handbuch (Essen: Klartext, 2005), pp. 210–213. Also important are the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 138–139 (Brzostowica Wielka) and pp. 568–575 (Krynki); and in its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 116–124 (Krynki). For Stanisława and Piotr Begański, honored by Yad Vashem in 1965 as Righteous Among the Nations, see Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, pp. 88–89.

Documents on the annihilation of the Jewish communities in Krynki and Brzostowica Wielka under the German occupation in World War II can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, and 301/1288, 3154, and 3600); BA-L (B 162/14498); IPN (e.g., ASG [46/85]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], 46/85, and RG-15.079M [AŻIH], II/338/a [CD: # 8, 423.II/338/1], pp. 44–45); IPN-Bi (Ko-12/89, Ko-54/89, S-48/68, S-54/67 [Polish witness depositions for BA-L (B 162/14498)], S-860/71 [Brzostowica Wielka]); VHF (# 17461, 18378, 26458, 37482, and 47393); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1327 and M-11/58, B 85). The Ringelblum archive documentation cited below also has appeared in *BŻIH*, no. 76 (1970): 49–79.

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/1327, cited in Andrzej Żbikowski, *U genezy Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2006), p. 343; and AŻIH, 301/1288, testimony of Chaim Wajner, pp. 1–2.
2. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 14, 46/85, pp. 1–2.
3. Compare VHF, # 26458; and Rubin, *The Rise*, p. 121.
4. BA-L, B 162/14498 (Urteil LG-Dü, 8 Ks 2/71), pp. 20–28; and Rabin, *Pinkas Krinki*, pp. 317–318.
5. VHF, # 18378, testimony of Steven Guzik.
6. Rabin, *Pinkas Krinki*, pp. 312–314.
7. *Wiadomości*, no. 5, January 1–6, 1943, pp. 1–2, in USHMM, RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring II/338/a [CD: # 8, 423.II/338/1], pp. 44–45.
8. Rabin, *Pinkas Krinki*, respectively, pp. 287 and 272.
9. VHF, # 26458, testimony of Lola Resnick.
10. See Urteil LG-Dü, 8 Ks 2/71.

KRZEMIENICA KOŚCIELNA

Pre-1939: Krzemienica Kościelna, village, Wołkowysk powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kremianitsa, Zel'va raion, Grodno oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krzemienica Koscielna, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Kramianitsa, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krzemienica Kościelna is located 60 kilometers (47.5 miles) southeast of Grodno in interwar Poland's Wołkowysk powiat. It was bounded in the north by the Piaski gmina, in the east by the Zelwianka River, in the south by the Zelwa and Izabelin gminas, and in the west by the Biskupice gmina, which surrounded the town of Wołkowysk.

The Jews in the Krzemienica gmina, some 126 in number in 1921, were dispersed across its territory, living mostly as the only Jewish inhabitants in about 13 small villages. In some of the villages, including Awdziejewicze, Derkacze, and Podbłocie, they had worked the land as farmers for generations. A handful of Jews settled in Krzemienica only after it came under Soviet occupation during the first month of World War II, in September 1939. Yitzhak Resnick, for example, was ordered there to establish a medical clinic. He and his brother's family increased the Jewish population of Krzemienica village to about 23 (four families).

The Germans occupied Krzemienica at the end of June 1941. In the fall of 1941, they established the Krzemienica Koscielna Amtskommissariat on the lands of the pre-war gmina. The German presence there was small. In addition to the Amtskommissar and his family, six Germans worked as Gendarmes in a police station in Krzemienica. Another German was assigned to the Amtskommissariat as a production manager. To assist them, the Germans established a local auxiliary police force, composed mostly of Poles.

German military authorities, in July, ordered a 3-person Jewish Council (Judenrat) formed for the approximately 70 Jews in the Krzemienica Koscielna Amtskommissariat. The Judenrat was headquartered in Krzemienica but represented all of the Jewish inhabitants of the Amtskommissariat. The German authorities dispossessed the Jews of their movable property, including valuables, farming implements, and machinery. Officials in Kreis Wolkowysk revoked the leases held by Jews on farmsteads, expropriated all arable land owned by Jews, and confiscated their horses and livestock.

The Krzemienica Amtskommissar transformed every Jewish house into an open ghetto by forbidding their residents from leaving the dwellings in which they lived, except to work at forced labor. The German administration conscripted the Jews for construction work. They built a Gendarmerie post, stables, a post office, and many other structures in Krzemienica village. In spring 1942, the Jews worked on local road construction projects.

The Krzemienica Jews devised ways to soften the anti-Jewish decrees, which effectively kept them prisoner in their homes. Small gifts to the Amtskommissar and his wife, including a pair of boots and a fur coat, enabled the Judenrat to mitigate some anti-Jewish decrees. Equally important, the Germans all sought the medical services of Resnick, although it was illegal under Nazi racial laws for them to do so. The doctor exploited his illicit professional relationships with local German officials to secure for the Jews various permits that enabled them to enter the forest to gather wood for winter heating fuel, to travel occasionally between villages within the Amtskommissariat, and to gather together in Krzemienica in 1942 for Passover and High Holiday services.

The Germans expelled the Jews from the Krzemienica Amtskommissariat on November 2, 1942. Beginning at 4:00 A.M., a Gendarme, accompanied by two members of the auxiliary police, went from house to house, giving the Jews 10 minutes to dress and to pack food for three days, long underwear, and work clothes. The auxiliary police drove from their houses those Jews who took more than the allotted time. At 7:00 A.M, when all of the Jews of the Amtskommissariat had been gathered in the courtyard of the Gendarmerie post, the Gendarmes and the auxiliary police drove them to Zelwa. At the Zelwa train station, the Krzemienica Jews were transferred to the control of a large SS contingent waiting there for about 2,400 Jews to arrive from communities, including Zelwa, from the most eastern parts of Kreis Wolkowysk. The SS randomly beat up the Jews assembled at the train station and dispossessed them of the few possessions they had been allowed to bring before driving them at 2:00 P.M. onto cattle wagons, on a train destined for a transit camp, located just outside Wołkowysk on the grounds of a pre-war Polish cavalry garrison.

At the transit camp, where the SS had consolidated the approximately 20,000 Jewish inhabitants of Kreis Wolkowysk to facilitate their deportation to extermination camps, the Jewish communities from the Zelwa deportation lived together in deplorable conditions for about a month in two subterranean barracks. Several hundred deportees from a labor camp in Brzostowica Wielka also resided in the Zelwa bunkers. (Because the labor camp was located in Kreis Grodno, the deportees came mostly from there, including from the ghetto in Łunna.) The Zelwa bunkers likely also were the temporary residence of about 150 young men from the ghetto of Kamionka, brought to a labor camp in Wołkowysk in the early summer of 1942.[1] The men's numbers suggest they came from the so-called Kamionka near Grodno (Kamionka koło Grodna), which during World War II was a settlement in Kreis Grodno located about 24 kilometers (almost 15 miles), by road, west of the town of Szczuczyn.

The Krzemienica Jews were expelled from the transit camp and sent, either on November 26 or December 2, 1942, in the second Wołkowysk transport to the Treblinka extermination camp. The transport, also named the Zelwa deportation for the larger community expelled with the Krzemienica Jews, likely also included the former Brzostowica labor camp inmates and the Jewish laborers from Kamionka, though many of the latter already had perished from exposure, likely contracted at the labor camp or from diseases related to malnutrition and starvation. Whether the communities of Jałówka, Mścibów, Piaski, and Mosty were on the same transport or were sent to Treblinka on subsequent transports remains an open question. Almost all the approximately 18,300 Jews in the Wołkowysk transports to Treblinka were gassed on arrival, as the Germans are known to have held back only 60 to 70 men from the Jałówka and Mścibów transport as prisoners of the Treblinka I labor camp, with only 1 known survivor from among the prisoners.

Of the Krzemienica Jews, only Resnick and his family are known to have escaped the deportation to Treblinka. (Physicians were held back to help contain a typhus epidemic at the camp.) Resnick's brother, sister, and niece were among the last group of 1,700 to 2,000 Wołkowysk inmates sent on January 26, 1943, to the Auschwitz extermination camp. They all perished there. However, Resnick fled the transit camp, together with the Mosty physician Noah Kaplinsky, on the day of the Auschwitz deportation. The two made their way to Krzemienica, where they were sheltered by a local Christian family. Also counted among survivors are Nachum and Shimon Reznitsky, two brothers from Krzemienica, who had fled to Independent Lithuania during the Soviet occupation and immigrated from there to Palestine.

SOURCES This entry is based on the two published testimonies about the Jewish communities of Krzemienica Kościelna. The first, by Yitzhak Reznik, is summarized in "Krzemienica," in Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949); and the second, by Nakhum Reznitsky, "Krzemienica," appears in the third Wołkowysk yizkor book, compiled by Katri'el Lashovits, ed., *Volkovisk: Sipurah shel kehilah Yehudit-Tsiyonit hushmedah ba-Sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: K. Lashovits, 1988). Both testimonies are available in English translation in the Wołkowysk yizkor book trilogy *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pt. 1, pp. 316–318, and pt. 3, pp. 106–107, respectively. The fate of Reznik's brother and his family at Auschwitz is covered in Izaak Goldberg, *The Miracles versus Tyranny: The Fight for Life and Death between the Jewish People and the Nazis* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1979).

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NOTE

1. Noah Kaplinsky, "Volkovysk in Its Death Throes," from *Hurban Volkovisk be-Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah, 1939/1945* (Tel Aviv: Ṿaad irgun yots'e Ṿolḳovisḳ be-Erets-Yisrael, 1946), in *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ*, pt. 2, p. 44.

KUŹNICA BIAŁOSTOCKA

Pre-1939: Kuźnica Białostocka, village, Sokółka powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kuznitsa, Sokulka raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kuznitza, Kreis Sokolka, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Kuźnica, village, Sokółka powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Kuźnica is located 15.5 and 56.2 kilometers (about 9.6 and 35 miles) north-northeast, respectively, of Sokółka and Białystok. Today, it lies on the Polish border with the Republic of Belarus. In 1931, the population of Kuźnica Białostocka stood at 1,428, including 556 Jews.

In World War II, Kuźnica was occupied first by the Germans, for about two weeks. They evacuated the village in the middle of September 1939 to make way for the Red Army. During the Soviet occupation, the Jewish population may

have swelled to 1,000, as refugees from German-occupied Poland settled there.

A Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Kuźnica Białostocka about a week after Germany, on June 22, 1941, invaded the Soviet Union. The military commander immediately established a stringent curfew, ordering all Jews confined to their homes. When permitted outside, the Jews were forbidden to maintain contact with Christians. They were required to wear a yellow patch on their clothing. The men were ordered to shave their beards and side locks. The Germans made forced labor obligatory for almost every Jew, from young children to the elderly.[1] The Germans also ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) established. Its primary responsibility was to turn over valuables, to pay fines imposed on the Jewish community, and to meet German demands for forced labor. To help enforce the anti-Jewish decrees, the Germans established a Polish auxiliary police force.

In August 1941, the Germans, most likely an SS unit that had arrived in Kuźnica, burned the Jewish neighborhood. In November, the Germans deported most of the survivors to the Grodno ghetto. Among the deportees was Stanisław Bałc (also, Sądokierski or Sandomierski), a Soviet-era refugee from Warsaw. Rather than be deported to Grodno, some Kuźnica Jews fled to the Sokółka ghetto.[2] The Germans ordered a part of the community to remain in Kuźnica. What factors determined which Jews were deported or retained is not known.

The fire likely led the Germans to gather the Jews ordered to remain in Kuźnica Białostocka into a ghetto. However, sparse documentation makes it difficult to determine specifically how Jewish residential patterns were reordered after the fire. Scholars, in fact, disagree about whether a ghetto was established in Kuźnica. There are nonetheless some suggestions in the postwar depositions of Christians, collected after the war by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), that the Germans instituted at least an open ghetto in Kuźnica Białostocka. In addition to tightly controlling when Jews could be outside of their homes, the Gendarmes enforced prohibitions on Jews leaving the settlement without permission. In 1942, a Gendarme found a 60-year-old Jewish man, named Abel, heading towards Podlipki village (Kuźnica gmina, Sokółka powiat). He beat and kicked Abel so severely that the man died the next day from his injuries.[3]

Living conditions were difficult for the Jews in Kuźnica Białostocka. Overcrowding was a persistent problem. Food was next to impossible to obtain in the burned-out town. Some Christians, for payment, did provide the Jews with provisions. Others smuggled bread and potatoes to their Jewish friends for no compensation. The Germans executed the Jews they caught conducting such transactions.[4] Police terror and humiliation was a part of Jewish existence. In the fall of 1941, the Germans ordered a group of young women to clean some public latrines. When they protested, the women were arrested for insubordination and are presumed to have been executed. Another time, the Germans demanded the Judenrat order Rabbi Eckstein to join a forced labor brigade working to retrieve boulders in the river. The policeman charged with guarding Eckstein beat him.[5] A local Christian, Adolf Wołyniec, likely a member of the auxiliary police, was tried after the war for beating Jews in Kuźnica.[6]

On November 2, 1942, the Germans surrounded Kuźnica, in preparation for the expulsion of the Jewish community. Jews too sick or too old to travel were shot outside of their houses. The rest were loaded onto wagons or marched on foot the approximately 16 kilometers (9.9 miles) northeast to a transit camp, located in Kiełbasin, a former estate just south of Grodno.[7] Perhaps because an inmate from Kuźnica was appointed one of the two Jewish assistants of Karl Rinzler, the notoriously brutal commandant of the transit camp, the community was among the last to be expelled from Kiełbasin. Sometime after December 14, 1942, they were driven on foot to the train station at Łososna.[8] Some sources claim they were sent from there to the Auschwitz extermination camp. However, the timing of the expulsion suggests the Kuźnica Jews more likely were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp and gassed on arrival. (German reversals at the Battle of Stalingrad [July 17, 1942–February 2, 1943] and simultaneous pressure created by German troops elsewhere returning home for the Christmas holidays created a shortage of railway stock for the expulsion of the Jews of Distrikt Bialystok to the extermination camps. As a result, the Germans began, from mid-December, to send the Kiełbasin inmates to Treblinka, which was much closer than Auschwitz.)

A number of Jews evaded deportation to Treblinka. Most likely on the day of the expulsion from Kuźnica Białostocka, 15 young families made their way to the Krynki ghetto, one of a handful of provincial ghettos that remained in Distrikt Bialystok after November 2, 1942. Denied admittance there, they were forced to seek shelter elsewhere.[9] Some Christian families also extended shelter to Kuźnica Jews. Anna Wojtkiewicz Rudź, the Christian mother-in-law of Stanisław Bałc, and her cousin, Józef Januszkiewicz, arranged the escape of Bałc from the Grodno ghetto. They hid him first in Radziewicze village (Kuźnica gmina, Sokółka powiat) and then, with assistance from the local sołtys, in Nowodziel village.[10] In Nowodziel, Jan Kocisz also extended shelter to a Kuźnica rabbi and his daughter.[11] Paulina Rapiej (later Borowik), a resident of Czuprynowo village, hid two daughters of a Kuźnica physician in a basement she dug for them in her home.[12]

The subsequent fates of the Jews are not known, but most are believed to have been among the 19 Jews known to have been executed after November 2, 1942, by members of the Kuźnica Gendarmerie post; 6 victims, discovered together in 1942, were executed by Gendarmes Paul Neuman, Franz Iwanski, Arthur Langner, and Fritz Teubert.[13] A Jewish woman, her 14-year-old daughter, and three men in their 20s, executed in 1943, likely also were from Kuźnica.[14] Another 6 victims had jumped from a train, probably the March 1943 transport that brought the surviving Jews of the Grodno I ghetto to the Białystok ghetto.[15] The pre-war residences of 2 Jewish men shot in December 1943 by Gendarme Paul Neuman are unknown.[16]

SOURCES The sparse secondary accounts about the Kuźnica Białostocka Jewish community during World War II are divided about the existence of a ghetto. For works maintaining the documentation is insufficient to determine whether a ghetto existed in Kuźnica, see "Gmina żydowska przed 1939—Kuźnica," on the educational section of ŻIH's Web site, at www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/pl/gminy/miasto/64.html; and "Kuźnica," on Polin, the Web site of the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland, at http://polin.org.pl. The latter site notes the fire likely made the establishment of a ghetto impossible. For the works of historians asserting that a ghetto existed in Kuźnica, see the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 543–544; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2:695, with the second mistakenly locating Kuźnica today in the Republic of Belarus. Also useful, particularly for population and deportation figures, is Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 47 (tab. 7); and for Christian aid to Kuźnica Jews, Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 173, 208. The brief references to the Kuźnica Białostocka community in the testimony of Feivel (or Fajwel) Wolf, "In Rinzler's Hell," in Dov Rabin, ed., *Pinkas Krinki* (Tel Aviv: ha-Irgunim shel yots'e Krinki bi-Medinat Yi´sra'el uva-tefutsot, 1970), remain the most significant means, at present, to date the expulsion of the Kuźnica Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Archival documentation for the Kuźnica Białostocka Jewish community under German occupation during World War II includes IPN (SOB 389); IPN-Bi (Ankiety, ASG, Ds-86/67, Ko-109/87, and S-610/71); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 1, 2 [200-202, and 204]); and YVA (M-1-B/1530, M-1-E/1486, M-49-E (e.g., 5387), and O-22/50).

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NOTES

1. "Kuźnica," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:543.
2. IPN-Bi, Ko-109/87 (formerly 1/1030), p. 45 (deposition, Zygmunt Rudź), for Grodno; and Datner, "Eksterminacja," p. 47 (tab. 7), for Sokółka.
3. IPN-Bi, S-610/71 or Ds 86/67 (1/387), p. 6 (deposition, Stanisław Czepiel).
4. "Kuźnica," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:543.
5. Ibid., with sources noting the last rabbi of Kuźnica was not Eckstein but Ajzyk Lejb Stolar.
6. IPN, SOB 389, case of Adolf Wołyniec.
7. Ibid., p. 4 (deposition, Józef Czepiel).
8. Wolf, "In Rinzler's Hell," pp. 285–291.
9. "Kuźnica," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:544.
10. IPN-Bi, Ko-109/87, p. 45.
11. Ibid., p. 60 (administrative note, Commander of Citizen's Militia in Kuźnica).
12. Ibid., p. 39 (deposition, Edward Rapiej).
13. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 1, 2/200, pp. 1–2.
14. IPN-Bi, Ds 86/67 or S-610 (1/389), p. 19 (deposition, Edward Kurczewski); and S-610/71 or S-620 (1/387), p. 6.
15. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 1, 2/202, pp. 1–2, with the December 1943 date listed here likely incorrect, as no Jews were concentrated anywhere in the region by then.
16. Ibid., reel 1, 2/203, pp. 1–2.

ŁAPY

Pre-1939: Łapy, town, Wysokie Mazowieckie powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lapy, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Łapy, Białystok powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Łapy lies on the Narew River, about 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) southwest of Białystok. From 1870, it was home to a large shop established to repair the locomotives and wagons used on the Warsaw–to–St. Petersburg railway. Its 1921 population of 3,495 included 624 Jews.

In World War II, Łapy initially sustained German aerial bombardment, with several Jews perishing in the attacks.[1] After briefly occupying the town, the Germans withdrew at the end of September, 1939, to make way for the Red Army.

The Germans reoccupied Łapy around June 24, 1941. They immediately searched Jewish homes for valuables and to find evidence of Communist sedition. As a result of the searches, 13 Jews were arrested and shot in the early summer of 1941.[2]

The Germans ordered a Judenrat created; however, evidence of its activities remains scarce.

In July 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in Łapy, likely by forbidding Jews from leaving the boundaries of the town without permission. Szymon Datner, the first scholar to recognize the existence of an open ghetto in Łapy, does not indicate whether the Germans took additional steps to limit Jewish residence there. The Germans conscripted the Łapy Jews for forced labor. Women worked at agricultural labor on nearby estates. Men labored on local road construction projects and unloaded materials and repaired track beds at the railway station and at the train repair facility, controlled in this period by the SS.[3]

The Germans consolidated some smaller nearby Jewish communities in the Łapy ghetto, including, in September 1941, the 17 Jewish residents of Kowalewszczyzna village. However, Jews in other nearby communities were sent to ghettos much further away. In August 1942, for instance, Gendarmes at the Łapy Gendarmerie ordered the Jewish inhabitants of Pietkowo deported. When 33 of the 40 Jews fled to Łapy, the Gendarmes refused the 25,000 Reichsmark (RM) bribe the fugitives offered to live in the Łapy ghetto. Instead, they ordered the Łapy Judenrat to turn over the Pietkowo Jews. They were sent in a closed train wagon to the ghetto in Jeziory, in Kreis Grodno.[4]

At the end of October, some local Poles had informed the Jews that they had been ordered to bring 150 wagons on

November 2, 1942, to Łapy to assist with the deportation of the Jewish community. Many Jews are believed to have sought hiding places outside of Łapy. Another approximately 300 Jews from Łapy and Sokoły decided to flee, at 4:00 A.M., while they were waiting for the start of labor at the railway station and saw an SS unit approaching Łapy.

The SS took the rest of the Łapy Jewish community to a transit camp located on the southern outskirts of Białystok on a former training ground of the Polish 10th Cavalry Brigade. Some of the Łapy fugitives likely accepted "safe transit" offers to the Białystok transit camp extended by local Gendarmerie commanders in order to secure the return of hundreds of Łapy and Sokoły Jews known to have fled from the deportation.[5] The only known Łapy survivor of the transit camp was Jadwiga Chinson Kretowicz, rescued from there by her husband Józef, a Christian. The rest of the Łapy Jews, perhaps as many as 450 people, were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp sometime between the end of November and December 15, 1942. They were all gassed on arrival.

Some Jewish fugitives in Łapy are known to have been sheltered by local Poles. Julian Charin, a prominent local physician and a member of the Polish Home Army (AK), received assistance from many Poles, arranged mostly by Henryk Bagiński and Feliks Zalewski, the respective heads of Roman Catholic churches in Łapy and Topczewo village. However, after another Pole betrayed Charin's hiding place, he was shot on March 18, 1943, outside of Topczewo, by members of the Topczewo Gendarmerie post. The AK likely revenged his murder by executing the informant. Charin's sister, Mina (later Omer), survived the war, sheltered first by Charin's fiancée, Maria Kuzin, then by Zalewski, and finally by another priest in Hodyszewo village, most likely Józef Perkowski. In Łapy, Bagiński was determined to protect Kretowicz, whose conversion to Christianity he had sponsored. He used his Sunday homilies to urge his parishioners not to reveal the hiding places of Jews to authorities. She survived the war, as did the sisters Lea and Rivka Srebolov, sheltered by the owner of a Łapy cycle shop.[6] Icchak Żółty reportedly perished at the hands of his Polish aid-giver when he could no longer afford to pay him.[7]

Only about 12 Łapy Jews, including 2 who had been in the Soviet interior, survived the war.

SOURCES Several published memoirs touch on life in Łapy during the war, including Sol Rubenstein and Toby Rubenstein, "Our Family: Lapy, Poland," on the virtual Museum of Family History at www.museumoffamilyhistory.org/sfoah-lapy-rubinstein.htm; and the relevant sections on Łapy by the chronicler of the Sokoły Jewish community in Avidgor Ben-Dov, ed., *Deliverance. The Diary of Michael Maik. A True Story*, trans. Laia Ben-Dov (Kedumim, Israel: Keterpress, 2004).

Secondary works include Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 14, 35 (tab. 2); Leopold Lazarowitz and Simon Malowist, "Martyred Physicians," in Louis Falstein , ed., *The Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland* (New York: Exposition Press, 1963), pp. 326–327, for Charin; and the relevant entry in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 245–246.

As the entry indicates, a small literature examines the efforts of a group of about seven local priests, including in Łapy, to shelter Jews. Stanisław Falkowski, the most well known, is best remembered for assisting Józef Fajwiszys, the 15-year-old son of the noted religious composer and conductor Izrael Fajwiszys, as detailed in "Juzio," in Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyznej mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom, 1939–1945*, 3rd ed. (Warsaw: Świat Książki, 2007). However, at least one Polish scholar believes the priests, likely led by Roch Modzielewski, in Piekuty Nowe, and Józef Perkowski, from Hodyszewo village, assisted 40 to 60 fugitives of the liquidation of ghettos in Białystok, Brańsk, Czyżewo, Łapy, and Sokoły. Here see Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 163 ff. Most of the Jews were highly assimilated into Polish culture; others were Christian converts.

Documentation about the history of the Jews of Łapy under German occupation includes IPN-Bi (e.g., Ds [7/69, 298/68, 315/69, 317/68, 323/68, 325/68], Ko [27/87, 35/87, 50/80, 58/87, 107/88], Kpp [4/85], S [19/69, 101/69, 266/689, 311/68, 326/68, 315/69]); and YVA (e.g., O-16/3950, O-3/1336). Accounts describing forced labor at the train station and railway car repair facility are at AŻIH (e.g., 301/3602, 301/3950).

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NOTES

1. Rubenstein and Rubenstein, "Our Family."
2. Maik, *Deliverance*, pp. 40–41.
3. Ibid., pp. 61–66, 75–82.
4. AŻIH, 301/2254, testimony of Abraham Blumental, p. 1; Zalman Sukman, "In the Village of Pietkowo," in Shemu'el Ḳalisher, ed and trans., *Sokoli—ba-ma'avak le-hayim* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Soḳoli be-Yisrael, 1975), pp. 221–223, available in English trans. at jewishgen.org.
5. Maik, *Deliverance*, p. 94.
6. Ibid.; Rubenstein and Rubenstein, "Our Family."
7. Rubenstein and Rubenstein, "Our Family." Icchak Żółty belonged to the same Żółty family discussed in the Sokoły entry.

ŁOMŻA

Pre-1939: Łomża, town and powiat center, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lomzha, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lomscha, Kreis center, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Łomża, powiat center, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Łomża lies on the Narew River, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) west-northwest of Białystok. Its 1921 population of 22,014 included 9,131 Jews, the third-largest Jewish population of any locality in the pre-war Białystok województwo.

From September 1 to September 9, 1939, nearly 1,000 Łomża inhabitants perished during almost daily German aerial bombardments. On September 10–11, the Germans occupied

Łomża. German soldiers deported about 500 male Jews to a forced labor camp located near Königsberg. They almost all perished there.[1] Before evacuating Łomża to Soviet forces, Wehrmacht units in German-occupied Poland drove thousands of Jews, including those from Ostrów Mazowiecka and Ostrołęka, across the future German-Soviet border near Łomża. Thousands more arrived in Łomża voluntarily. However, in May 1940, Soviet authorities ordered the refugees to move further from the border. According to German estimates, the Łomża Jewish population stood at 7,500 to 9,000 by late June 1941. Jewish survivors place it at 12,000.

The Germans reoccupied Łomża on June 24–25, 1941. In early July, the SS established offices there. In October 1941, or in early 1942, Wolfgang Erdbrügger became the Gestapo chief for Kreis Lomscha. In late 1942, Ennulat replaced him. A regional civil administration, under Lomscha Kreiskommissar Dr. Karl (or Klaus) Heinrich Hermann von Groeben, was established in July or early August 1941. A German was appointed mayor. The Germans organized a Polish auxiliary police force. Little is known about its formation.

On July 4, Hermann Göring visited Łomża. That day, the Łomża military commander ordered Jews to wear yellow patches on the chest and back and for the kehilla to send 50 to 150 men to assist the SS to move into its new headquarters and houses. The SS took the Jews to a Soviet-era munitions testing range in the Czerwony Bór Forest, known as Giełczyn, and executed them.[2] A few days later, when the Łomża military commander ordered the kehilla to send 50 to 100 men for another Gestapo work assignment, at least two communal leaders, Rabbis Yaakov Tablicki and Yankl Gelciński (or Galczyński), were shot for refusing the order.[3] From July 6 to July 20, the SS unleashed random anti-Jewish violence, rounding up and murdering about 1,000 to 2,000 mostly male Jews and executing them at Giełczyn.[4]



Destitute Jewish men sleep in the doorway of a building in the Łomża ghetto, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #33456, COURTESY OF GFH

Around July 20, 1941, the SS suspended the violence, and military authorities ordered the formation of a 24-person Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Mendel Moszyński, a Łomża native, expelled from Germany in 1938. He probably was succeeded by Kalińowski, a soap factory owner. The Germans ordered a 25-member Jewish police force created. Its commander, Solomon Herbert, also was a German refugee. The Germans made forced labor compulsory for all adult Jews.

At the end of July, the Germans ordered a ghetto established in an area of approximately 30,000 square meters (7.4 acres) in the old Jewish neighborhood, in Old Town, near the Narew River.[5] Initially, it was unfenced, but once Jews moved there, they were forbidden from leaving the area without permission.

Although the Jews knew a ghetto was to be created, they may not have been given a specific date to move there. One day in early August, the Gendarmerie gave all Jews 15 minutes to relocate to the ghetto. The Jews could take only 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of belongings. German Gendarmes and Polish auxiliary police surrounded the established entry point to inspect the Jews' possessions and to forcibly confiscate valuables.[6] That evening, German security forces shattered windows of houses in the ghetto, stole Jewish belongings there, and unsuccessfully attempted to provoke Poles who had not yet moved from the ghetto to attack Jews.[7]

On August 16, 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews assembled on Plac Zielony for a population survey. Upon its completion, the community was ordered to pay a population tax of 25 kilograms (55 pounds) in gold. The Germans threatened to open fire on the new Jewish quarter if the sum was not raised. The Germans also arrested 200 people from a list. The arrestees were executed at Giełczyn.[8]

In early September, the Germans expelled to the Łomża ghetto the Piątnica and Łomżyca Jewish communities (about 250 to 300 people). The deportees joined a flood of refugees, including a small number of survivors of anti-Jewish violence in Wizna, Stawiski, Jedwabne, and Rutki-Kossaki. Many Soviet expellees also returned to Łomża to enter the ghetto. In early September, the Judenrat paid half a million Reichsmark (RM) in a bribe for a ghetto expansion. It pushed the ghetto borders to the Narew River and added several apartment buildings near the Great Synagogue.[9]

The SS relied on another large-scale execution to further reduce the ghetto population. On September 1 or 17, 1941, or perhaps on Yom Kippur, with varying dates provided in different sources, the Arbeitsamt ordered all unemployed Jews, regardless of age, to assemble on Plac Zielony to be assigned jobs. An SS unit from Ostrołęka arrested 1,000 to 2,200 of the assembled Jews. Former residents of Piątnica and Łomżyca may have been overrepresented in the group because they had yet to secure jobs. Outside of town, the SS released some skilled craftsmen. The remaining captives, 500 to 2,000 people, were executed at Giełczyn.[10]

After the execution, the Germans ordered a fence constructed around the ghetto by October 1, 1941. Its main gate was on the corner of Senatorska Street and the Old Square. In November, the Germans deported Jews from nearby localities

to the ghetto, including the inmates of the short-lived Jedwabne ghetto. Postwar officials in Łomża maintained the Jedwabne refugees increased the Łomża ghetto population by 1,000, but more recent research indicates the figure is too high. Likely, 7,000 to 8,000 people resided in the Łomża ghetto. However, this figure, most often cited by survivors, is difficult to reconcile with some estimates that as many as 5,000 Łomża Jews had perished in SS executions by the middle of October, unless the high 1941 Jewish population estimate of 12,000 is taken into account.[11]

Some ghetto inmates labored at workshops eventually established in the ghetto for producing ammunition, soap, leather goods, boots, clothing, and grease. Most worked outside the ghetto at the sugar refinery, cotton gauze factory, and sawmill. Skilled and unskilled workers, from locksmiths and barbers to cleaning women, were assigned to the Gendarmerie, the Schutzpolizei, and the SS, in both Łomża and Ostrołęka. Still others labored for the Łomża municipal administration at tasks from street cleaning to construction and forestry projects. In the spring of 1942, approximately 600 conscripts worked on the Ostrołęka-to-Łomża and Rutki-to-Zambrów road construction projects.

Material conditions in the ghetto were poor. The bread rations were inadequate. Fuel, such as wood for winter heating, was impossible to obtain. Most Jews had difficulties finding Poles willing to barter food and fuel for material possessions.[12] The Polish auxiliary police brutally enforced prohibitions against Jews bringing food into the ghetto. At a checkpoint on the outskirts of town, several policemen discovered three Jews smuggling food on their way home from an Ostrołęka work detail and beat them to death.[13] The Germans ordered the bodies of some Jews caught illicitly outside the ghetto strung to the ghetto gates. Under these conditions, gold became the only currency accepted for ordinary necessities such as firewood.[14]

At times the police used labor conscription as a guise for executions. The Gendarmes entered the ghetto to round up 30 to 40 Jews for a "work assignment." The Jews never returned. Laborers sent on official Gestapo work assignments also disappeared. The Judenrat decided to fill all future Gestapo labor requests with the chronically ill and the physically and mentally handicapped.[15]

With about 8,000 people living in apartments previously occupied by 4,000, overcrowding also created problems with sanitation. The Jewish hospital continued to function, but the absence of medicine led in October 1942 to a typhus epidemic, which claimed many lives.

In late October 1942, many Jews received hints of the ghetto's impending liquidation. On October 31, Manko, the German security officer responsible for the ghetto, ordered the Jewish Police to collect the best bedding from the ghetto and personally appropriated furniture from Jewish residents. He forcibly removed the Judenrat's treasury. Most inmates believed their lives at risk. A few hundred fled. At 10:00 P.M., the SS augmented the ghetto's Polish guard, illuminated its fence, and ordered a shoot-to-kill search for Jewish fugitives. The ghetto was surrounded by SS reinforcements and Ukrainian auxiliaries.[16]

At 6:00 A.M, on November 2, 1942, an SS commander informed the Judenrat that because of the typhus epidemic the Łomża Jews were being transferred to a supposedly cleaner, disease-free camp in Zambrów, about 27 kilometers (17 miles) south of Łomża. Most of the escapees rounded up during sweeps of the forest a few days later also were brought to the Zambrów camp, a pre-war garrison at which the Germans had imprisoned 17,500 to 20,000 Jews from nearby localities to facilitate their expulsion to the extermination camps.

The Łomża Jews were among some of the first and last transit camp inmates to be deported from the Zambrów transit camp. They arrived at the Auschwitz extermination camp on January 13, 17, and 19, 1943, in three transports each carrying about 2,000 people. The Germans chose from the first transport 148 men and 50 women as concentration camp prisoners. They held back 225 men and no women from the second transport, which included the Czyżewo and Śniadowo communities. In the last transport, which also carried a part of the Zambrów community, the Germans held back another 164 men and 134 women as prisoners. The remaining 5,279 Jews were gassed on arrival. No known arrival record exists for a fourth transport of Łomża Jews that arrived in Auschwitz on January 17 or 18.[17] Documentation also is sparse for a small Zambrów transport to a subcamp of the Stutthof concentration camp in Schippenbeil.[18]

No more than 16 of Łomża's concentration camp prisoners lived to see the war's end. About an equal number of fugitives survived hidden in and around Łomża.[19]

SOURCES A number of the archival sources cited below have been published in Polish in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1; *Studia*, p. 470 (AŻIH, Jedwabne ghetto inquiry); vol. 2; *Dokumenty*, p. 148 (AAN, 202/III-8/64), p. 152 (AAN, 202/I-45/944-52), pp. 230–233, 236–237 (AŻIH, 301/5825); and Mariusz Nowik, *Zagłada Żydów na ziemi łomżyńskiej* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2006), pp. 108–109, 118 (AŻIH, 301/2205).

The 1939 German occupation of Łomża forms a part of the subject of Chaim Shapiro, *Go My Son: A Young Jewish Refugee's Story of Survival* (Jerusalem: Feldheim, 1989). The yizkor book also contains testimonies by Jewish survivors. It is available in Hebrew, *Sefer zikaron li-ḳehilat Lomzah*, ed. Yom-Ṭov Leyinski (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun'ole Lomzah be-Yiśra'el Sefer Zikaron Lekehillas Lomza, 1952), and in Yiddish, *Lomzshe, ir oyfkum un untergang*, ed. H. Sobotka, trans. Ya'akov Kopl Brukhanski (New York, 1957). It is best read together with Chaim Shapiro, "How Not to Write a 'Yizkor Book,'" *Jewish Observer* 14:8 (1980): 18–25. Polish eyewitness testimonies describing the executions of Jews at Giełczyn are in Zdzisław Sędziak, "Las giełczyński oskarża," *Ziemia Łomżyńska*, no. 3 (1987): 228–231.

Secondary accounts include the Łomża entry in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 249–262, with English translations available

at Haskendim, a Jewish genealogy Web site, at www.hashkedim.com/lomza.html; and in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 125–131.

Archival documentation on the World War II history of the Łomża Jewish community under German occupation includes AAN (e.g., 202 [I-45/4/944-52, III-8/2/64]); APŁmż (e.g., 106/48); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety [Jedwabne, Łomża], 301 [735, 1990, 2255, 2736, 3810, 4866, 4940, 4958, 5825, 6064]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/5863 [205 AR-Z 13/62, 205 AR 2689/65]); BA-MA (e.g., RH 26-211/84); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Bi (e.g., Ko-57/86, Ko-116/66, S-127/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 1, 2/174, 2/189, reel 14, 46/68); VHF (e.g., # 3473, 8378, 10975, 12830, 15371, 16564, 22626, 31971, 40131, 43021, 47523); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2930, M-49E [AŻIH] [e.g., 544]).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/735, testimony of Izaak Wiernik, pp. 1–3 (Polish trans.).
2. High and low range, respectively, in ibid.; also, 301/2267, testimony of Liza Bursztyn, p. 1.
3. Shapiro, "How," pp. 18–25; BA-MA, RH 26-211/84, Sicherungsdivision 221, July 9–11, 1941, in Anlagen zum Kriegstagebuch, in Polish trans. in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:161, respectively, for two and three executed.
4. AŻIH, 301/735, pp. 5–6; IPN-Bi, S-122/68, vol. 1, pp. 14–15 (deposition, Aleksander Konopko).
5. AŻIH, 301/735, p. 7.
6. Ibid., 301/1990, testimony of Pinches (Pinchas) Gruszniewski, p. 1, 301/4866, testimony of Josef Chojnower (Chojnowski), p. 4, for differing interpretations about the relocation process.
7. Ibid., 301/2267, p. 1.
8. VHF, # 3473, testimony of Benek Bolender; AŻIH, 301/2267, p. 2, 301/4866, p. 4, for differing interpretations about victims targeted.
9. AŻIH, 301/4958, testimony of Chaim Stawicki (or Sawicki), p. 1; VHF, # 12830, 43021, testimonies, respectively, of Hyman Rozenblum and Sydney Bloom.
10. Low range at AŻIH, 301/4866, pp. 4–5; high range, in 301/2267, p. 2, repeated at 301/4940, testimony of Samuel Lewent, p. 1; AAN, 202-III-8, vol. 1, p. 64, and I-45, vol. 4, pp. 944–952, for the Delegatura estimate of 1,800 Jews executed on September 1, 1941.
11. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/174, pp. 1–2, notes 7,000 Jews and 5,000 Poles executed at Giełczyn.
12. AŻIH, 301/2267, pp. 1–2.
13. Ibid., 301/4866, p. 6.
14. IPN-Bi, S-122/68, pp. 6–7 (deposition, Franciszek Żero); AŻIH, 301/2267, p. 1.
15. AŻIH, 301/735, p. 9.
16. Ibid., 301/2267, p. 2, 301/1990, p. 1, 301/4866, p. 6.
17. See ibid., 301/4940, p. 1, for Lewent's prisoner number, 89221, among a chronological group of 456 numbers from the period of the Zambrów transit camp deportation, unreported in Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 146–152.
18. AŻIH, 301/4958, p. 1.
19. Ibid., 301/735, pp. 10–12, 301/3810, testimony of Szewa and Owsiej Lewita, pp. 1–7.

ŁUNNA (AKA WOLA OR ŁUNNA-WOLA)

Pre-1939: Łunna, village, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lunna, Skidel' raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Lunna, Masty raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łunna lies on the Niemen River about 35 kilometers (21.8 miles) southeast of Grodno. Its popular name, Łunna-Wola, dated to World War I, when German occupation authorities annexed to Łunna the neighboring southeastern village of Wola. Jewish residents also referred to their religious community as Łunna-Wola to recognize a union dating either from the war or its aftermath. In 1938, Łunna counted 1,964 residents, including 1,279 Jews, 536 Roman Catholics, and 149 Russian Orthodox believers. The Wola population numbered 548, including 392 Jews, 84 Roman Catholics, and 72 Russian Orthodox people.

Initially occupied in World War II by the USSR, Łunna, on June 22, 1941, came under Luftwaffe attack, targeted at a bridge and at an airbase constructed by Soviet authorities across the Niemen in Czerlona. Dozens of Jews perished, including the wife and two daughters of Tuvia Rotberg, the rabbi of Łunna.

The Wehrmacht occupied Łunna and Wola by June 28, 1941. A German military commander appointed a civilian administration, including a mayor, Stefan Nawracki, and a town council secretary, Franz Kaluzny. Both men likely were ethnic Germans. An auxiliary police force, composed of 12 to 15 mostly ethnic Poles, was led by Michał Urbanowicz. By the fall of 1941, a German civilian administration was established in Łunna. It was led by an Amtskommissar, a position filled by Teschner and, then from March 1943, by Fritz Kräkel. A Gendarmerie post, commanded by Meister Richter, employed at least four Reich Germans on each shift.[1]

Upon occupying Łunna, the local military commander ordered the murder of at least three Jews, including Motel and Mula (or Shmuel) Murstein, falsely denounced as Communists by a local Polish shoemaker. A denunciation by the same shoemaker a few weeks later brought the execution of about six Jewish and Belorussian Communists.[2] Soldiers conscripted the Jews daily to clear away bombed-out buildings and to clean their wagons and horses. Some soldiers plundered Jewish homes. The military commander demanded the Jews surrender a large part of their valuables. He also issued a number of anti-Jewish decrees, including mandates to wear armbands, subsequently changed to a yellow Star of David on the chest and back; prohibitions on leaving the town without permission; and orders making forced labor obligatory for all adults.

By the end of July, the Germans had ordered a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force established. The

Judenrat chair, Jakob Welbel, was a pre-war kehillah officer. Other council members included Abraham Jedwab, the liaison with the Germans; Zalman Gradowski, the sanitation officer; Yudel Nowik, responsible for food distribution; and Berl Kaplan, the labor coordinator. The Jewish Police commander, Israel Schneor, from a family of blacksmiths, oversaw a six- to eight-member force, which included Eliyahu Kaplan, the son of teacher Mendel Kaplan.

In the summer or early fall of 1941, an SS unit arrived in Łunna and compelled the Jews to remove and to burn the Torah scrolls and other holy books from the synagogues and Houses of Prayer. At least one Torah, saved from destruction by Chaykel Friedman, enabled the community to maintain an important part of its religious life.

In September 1941, on the eve of the Sukkot holiday, the Germans ordered a ghetto to be established in Wola. The Jewish residents of Wola remained in their houses, which were expected to accommodate the Łunna Jews. In one account, the move to the ghetto was orderly, with the Łunna Jews allowed to bring to Wola items for their personal use, including beds and construction materials. However, another survivor remembered the Jews receiving no advanced notice of the move and the Germans and the auxiliary police forcibly removing from the Jews the few possessions they had time to pack before being driven out of their homes to Wola.[3]

The Germans ordered the ghetto surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. Because they insisted traffic continue unobstructed on Wołpiańska Street, the main road through Wola, the fence divided the ghetto, with the houses on either side of the road forming the boundaries of two separate ghettos. A wooden bridge, constructed over the road, provided for pedestrian traffic between the ghettos. The auxiliary police guarded the ghettos from the outside. The Jewish Police maintained order inside the ghettos.

Some ghetto inmates worked at the former Soviet air base, disassembling Russian planes and sorting and packing their parts for shipment to the Reich. Others labored at the Łunna sawmill. Local Christians also contracted Jewish labor for agricultural work, home repairs, and construction projects. The Amtskommissar ordered ghetto inmates to perform a number of short-term tasks. When a water-supply pipe broke at the Łunna sawmill, Teschner commanded women and children from the ghetto to work around the clock for several days in freezing temperatures to carry water from the river to power the generator. The most dangerous and humiliating labor came when Teschner hosted hunting parties and organized a brigade of ghetto laborers to swim out to retrieve fowl shot by his guests.[4]

Because five to seven families were assigned to each of the houses in the ghetto and even more families lived together in the Bet Midrash and the synagogue, the inmates eased overcrowding by adding a second floor to the synagogue. In summer vacation residences, they constructed basements, for makeshift furnaces, to make the houses habitable in the winter. Some families dug subterranean bunkers in which to live. Because the fence had left half of the ghetto waterless, the Judenrat organized families to dig wells. After the Germans ordered all Jewish livestock confiscated, the Judenrat arranged for the return of 10 cows, with which it supplemented the skim milk rations of children. Some residents planted vegetable gardens. Others illicitly took orders for clothes and shoes from Christians across the fence or peddled homemade items, such as lighters (made from airplane tubing), for which food was accepted as payment. Some craftsmen snuck out of the ghetto to work in villages, for example, to sew clothes for Christians in exchange for bread, butter, and flour.

The local auxiliary police checked the ghetto fence daily, fining the Judenrat 10 Reichsmark (RM) for every suspected breech. Illegal departures from the ghetto sometimes resulted in death. Meister Richter executed Joseph Burstein, on July 3, 1942, for escaping from the ghetto during the night and allegedly resisting arrest. He shot Josel Niemenski, on the night of July 10, for a similar offense.[5] Two butchers, including one surnamed Levine, caught outside the ghetto also were executed.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans ordered hundreds of male Jews conscripted for labor outside Łunna. One group, sent to the Grodno I ghetto, joined a railway labor brigade. Another 120 to 150 men were sent to a labor camp near Brzostowica Wielka, to widen and pave the Białystok-to-Wołkowysk road. Most Łunna inmates at the camp returned to the ghetto in the early fall of 1942.

By then many Łunna ghetto residents no longer had the material possessions to barter for food or to meet German material demands. In the fall of 1942, the Polish police regularly entered the ghetto to harass its residents. Teschner also threatened the Judenrat members with death for not coming up with a list of demanded items. A local physician may have supplied the Judenrat the items covertly.[6] Overcrowding and the poor diet had bred disease. Many were sick with typhus by late October 1942.[7]

On November 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Łunna ghetto, expelling its approximately 1,550 residents to the Kiełbasin transit camp. They lived there in deplorable conditions for over a month together with 22,000 to 28,000 other Jews from about 22 nearby communities. Among the Łunna Jews subjected to the arbitrary violence of Karl Rinzler, the camp commander, was Rivka Pacowski, a hair stylist assigned to give him a daily shave. One day Rinzler shot her dead.[8] The Łunna Jews smuggled to Kiełbasin the surviving Torah and commemorated the second day of Hanukkah on December 5, 1942, before being expelled to the railway station for deportation to the Auschwitz extermination camp.[9]

Upon arriving at Auschwitz II-Birkenau on December 8, 1942, almost all the Jews in the transport, likely between 2,169 and 2,769 people, were murdered, as the Germans held back just 231 men, including about 150 from Łunna, as concentration camp prisoners. By the fall of 1944, the approximately 30 surviving Łunna prisoners mostly were assigned to the Sonderkommando unit. There, Zalman Gradowski, the Judenrat member, and Józef Dereszyński joined 5 others in planning the Sonderkommando uprising on October 7, the

only armed uprising at Auschwitz. They perished during the suppression of the rebellion, along with at least 3 other former Łunna ghetto residents.

The Łunna Jewish community was not reestablished after the war. The less than 15 survivors emigrated, settling mostly in the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Israel.

SOURCES As well as archival documentation, this entry is also based on the extensive research of Ruth Marcus, a daughter of a Łunna native, Yitzchak "Yitzl" Eliashberg. Her work is available in English on the Lunna ShtetLinks site at jewishgen.org, www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/lunna, with the material cited in the entry drawn from the several sections available under the link titled "During World War II and the Holocaust." Marcus also published a part of her research in Hebrew as *Once There Was a Small Shtetl Named Łunna* (Ruth Marcus, 2005). An Eisenschmidt testimony appears, too, in Gideon Greif, *We Wept without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 215–256.

Though from a former Łunna resident of the Białystok ghetto, also valuable is Etel Berachowicz-Kossowska, "The Destruction of Lune-Volie," *Grodner Opklangen. Ecos de Grodno* (Buenos Aires), no. 2 (1949), in an English translation, by Yeshaya Metal, at the Lunna ShtetLinks site under the Yevnin Family Album link.

A testimony by Nathan[-Nisel] Lewin about the experiences of the Łunna community at Kiełbasin is in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, 6 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985–1992), 1:188–189.

Questions exist about the official figures for the Łunna transport to the Auschwitz extermination camp. See Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: Wykazy imienne. Polish Jews in KL Auschwitz: Name Lists* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004); USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), 1-1-54, pp. 37–38; GARF, 7021-86-40, p. 4; *Amidst a Nightmare of Crime. Manuscripts of Members of Sonderkommando* (Oświęcim: State Museum at Oświęcim, 1973), pp. 75–207; Ber Mark, *The Scrolls of Auschwitz*, trans. Sharon Neemani (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1985), pp. 173–205; Tikva Fatal-Knaani, *Zo lo otah Grodnah, Kehilat Grodnoh u-sevivatah ba-milhamah uva-sho'ah 1939–1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2001), pp. 184–185.

The first 20 pages of the Gradowski diary, which cover the period of the Łunna ghetto, still await publication. The diary is not a part of the historical collections of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum because the Red Army investigators who discovered the manuscript in March 1945 buried in metal canisters in the ashes near crematorium II at Birkenau donated it to the Museum of Military Medicine, now in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Helpful, too, is the Łunna entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities, Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 380–383.

Documents concerning the history of the Łunna Jewish community under German occupation in World War II include GAGO (e.g., 1-1-2, p. 251, 1-1-54, pp. 2, 37–38, 1-1-141, p. 2, and 1-1-335, pp. 83–84); GARF (7021-86-40, pp. 4, 56, 58); IPN (e.g., SOOl 26); NARB (845-1-8, p. 31); RGVA (e.g., 1323-2-244, p. 98); USHMM (e.g., RG-11.001M.15 [RGVA] and RG-53.004M [GAGO]); VHF (# 2004, 2144, and 42375); YIVO (46); and YVA (e.g., O-3/5227).

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 3, 1-1-280, pp. 5, 7–8, 1-1-295, pp. 54, 61–72, and 1-1-312, pp. 75–78.
2. Eliezier Eisenschmidt interview, information from Ruth Marcus to Laura Crago, March 17, 2009.
3. Compare Eisenschmidt testimony, in Marcus, "During World War II and the Holocaust"; and VHF, # 2144.
4. VHF, # 2144.
5. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 1, 1-1-2, p. 251, and reel 2, 1-1-141, p. 2.
6. Berachowicz-Kossowska, "The Destruction"; and VHF, # 2004, testimony of Leon Lewin.
7. Eisenschmidt, in Greif, *We Wept*, pp. 217–218; and VHF, # 2144.
8. Klarsfeld, *Documents*, 1:188–189.
9. Eisenschmidt interview, March 17, 2009, Marcus to Crago.

MARCINKAŃCE

Pre-1939: Marcinkańce (Yiddish: Marcinkonis), village, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Martsynkantsy, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1940–1941: Marcinkonys, Alytus uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Marcinkance, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Marcinkony, Varena rajoras, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Marcinkańce lies in a forest about 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northeast of Grodno. By 1929, about 40 percent of its 860 residents were Jews.

On June 24, 1941, a Wehrmacht unit passed through Marcinkańce. A small German military force remained in the village to secure the Marcinkańce train station. A group of Lithuanian "partisans" or white armbands, led by J.J. Žuraula, assumed control of the local civilian administration.

The Lithuanian officials conscripted the Jews for forced labor at the train station and compelled them to engage in meaningless, humiliating tasks. The Lithuanian police arrested several Jews for communism, including Moishe Sosnovich and David Podbenesky, the first Jews executed in Marcinkańce under German occupation. Lithuanian and German authorities periodically arrived to loot Jewish property.[1] The Lithuanian heads of the Alytus County civilian and military administrations issued a series of county-wide anti-Jewish decrees, including a directive on July 12, 1941, that required Jews to wear a yellow Star of David on their backs and chest, forbade them from leaving their towns without a special permit, and made forced labor obligatory for all adult Jews.[2]

Most likely in July, the authorities ordered the Jews to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Aaron Kobrowski (or Ko-

brovsky), a merchant, was its chair. The council collected the "contributions" demanded of the Jews. To raise them, it taxed community members. The taxes subsequently went to bribe German civil administrators and officials.

By early fall of 1941, the Marcinkańce Jews believed they would be enveloped by the mass murder of the Lithuanian Jews, even though the commander of the train station promised his protection and a new Lithuanian civil administrator, who arrived in early September, complained about German officials thrice rejecting his appeals to include them in the ongoing executions. Fearing an impending German recognition of the 1940 southern territorial extension of Lithuania might lead to their deaths, the Jews, on September 19, 1941, fled en masse to the ghetto of Druskieniki in a Lithuanian border town, with a famous spa, over which the Germans early had exercised authority. On October 1, 1941, the Germans incorporated Marcinkańce into Kreis Grodno, which, in turn, was subordinated to the German police and civilian authorities in Białystok. When the German police drove out the Lithuanian administrators of Marcinkańce, the Jews returned home.

Most likely at the beginning of November 1941, Czapons, the German Amtskommissar in Marcinkańce, ordered the Jews to move to a ghetto. Initially, it was located in just 3 houses 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Marcinkańce. The Jewish Council bribed Czapons to enlarge the ghetto. The next day, he announced an expanded ghetto area, of 14 small houses, located on 1.5 hectares (3.7 acres) of land, near the railway station. The Jews were required to surround the ghetto with a wooden fence. A small, six- to seven-person Jewish police force, commanded by Berke Aizenshtat, guarded the ghetto from the inside. The Jewish Police understood its duty broadly. It believed its mission was to protect the Jewish community from threats posed by all Christians.[3]

In Marcinkańce the Germans concentrated Jews from other nearby localities, including from Rudnia, Kolaniki (Lithuanian: Kabeliai), and Olkieniki (Lithuanian: Valkininkai). A handful of Jews from Varėna (part of which prior to the war had been Polish Orany) and Butrimonys also had fled to Marcinkańce. The Jews from these communities probably numbered less than 50 people, as almost all sources place the ghetto population at 300 to 400 people.

Material conditions in the ghetto were better than in most places. Admittedly, ghetto inmates were conscripted for labor at four main workplaces: the railway station, on the roads, in forestry labor, and in the mushroom-processing (canning) factory. But some of the Jews managed to resume their prewar trade with the inhabitants of neighboring villages. As a result, according to survivors, "Compared to the other ghettos, the Jews of the Marcinkańce ghetto lived very well."[4]

However, in the summer of 1942, tensions reemerged after 70 Jewish refugees arrived in Marcinkańce with horrific accounts of the massacre of entire Jewish communities in the east. As a result, the Jewish Police intensified their watch for any unusual activity by the Germans. By the fall of 1942, a group of young people made plans to join the partisans. The Jewish Council arranged for them to smuggle 12 guns into the ghetto. The resistance movement did not have a chance to act because the German Aktion to liquidate the ghetto started before its preparations were complete.

At about 5:00 A.M., on November 2, 1942, a small force of about 16 Germans, under the command of Gendarmerie Hauptwachmeister Albert Wietzke, from the nearby Sobakince (Polish: Sobakińce) post, surrounded the ghetto. Among the Germans were local forestry, agricultural, railway, and customs officials mobilized to assist the Gendarmes. At 6:00 A.M., Amtskommissar Czapons informed the Judenrat that the Jews had been ordered sent to another location for work and gave them three hours to pack their belongings. The timing of events indicates that the Jews were to be deported, first to the Kiełbasin transit camp, near Grodno, and from there to either the Auschwitz or Treblinka extermination camps.

However, the Marcinkańce Jews resisted the deportation order. Forewarned by the Jewish Police of the arrival of the Germans, most of the Jews had refused to assemble. At 8:00 A.M., a frustrated Wietzke demanded that the Jewish Council members bring the Jews from their houses. Once about 150 Jews had appeared, Kobrowski, the Judenrat chair, cried out: "Jews, whoever wants to live, let him run where he can!"[5] As the Jews fled, Wietzke and another Gendarme inside the ghetto opened fire.[6] The perimeter guards shot Jews escaping over the ghetto's fence. About 105 to 190 Jews were shot dead or perished subsequently in grenade attacks when they followed the example of the Judenrat chair and refused to abandon their bunkers.[7]

The Gendarmes, assisted by the local police and peasants from several nearby villages, searched for the 150 to 200 surviving Jews. Only a few peasants, such as the Lithuanian Jonas Balevičius from Mustejka (Lithuanian: Musteika), did all they could to help the Jews. As a result, 90 to 100 of the Jews were murdered over the next few weeks.[8]

Before the 1943 New Year, some of the survivors managed to obtain arms. Eight Jews, led by Moishe Kobrowski, raided a Marcinkańce bakery, shooting the German baker dead and stealing enough bread for two months. Fearing denunciations by local peasants, the Jews in the Kobrowski group decided to move deeper into the forest. There, they formed a family company, led by Icchak Kobrowski, a brother who had fled from the Grodno I ghetto. A few survivors from Druskieniki and Porzecze joined the group, which in 1943 was recognized as a separate family unit of the Soviet partisan Davidov brigade.

About 46 Marcinkańce Jews, mostly those from the Kobrowski family group, survived the war. After the Red Army liberated Marcinkańce in June 1944, some of the survivors joined the new village police force and assisted a Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) unit searching for German collaborators. Of those arrested, 14 were executed for various crimes, including for denouncing the hiding places of Jews.[9]

SOURCES Some of the archival documentation cited below, including an English translation of YVA, O-33/2112, at the

New York Public Library, Dorot Jewish Division, titled "Part II: Liquidation and Heroic Epic of the Jews of Marcinkonis," by its compiler, Lejb Koniuchowsky (or Konikhovsky), is available on the Kobrowski family history Web site, at www.kobrowski.com. The translation served as the basis for Koniuchowsky, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Marcinkonis: A Collective Report," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 8 (1953): 205–223. It also is available, along with several alternate translations of the YVA documentation, at the Kobrowski family history Web site.

An official World War II German investigation into the November 2, 1942, massacre of Marcinkańce's Jewish community during the ghetto's liquidation was brought to light by Christopher R. Browning, "The Holocaust in Marcinkance in the Light of Two Unusual Documents," in Shmuel Almog, ed., *The Holocaust—the Unique and the Universal: Essays Presented in Honor of Yehuda Bauer* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, 2001), pp. 66–83. It is placed in a larger context by the same author in Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 143–169. The documentation on which Browning built his studies is included in the archival references listed below. Also valuable are the relevant sections of a memoir from a nephew of the Kobrowski family brigade commander, by Alexandre Blumstein, *A Little House on Mount Carmel* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002); and the work by Arūnas Bubnys, "Holocaust in Lithuanian Province in 1941," on the Web site of the International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania (Tarptautinė komisija nacių ir sovietinio okupacinių režimų nusikaltimams Lietuvoje įvertinti), at www.komisija.lt/en/.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Marcinkańce during the Holocaust includes AŻIH (301/5387); GAGO (1-1-59, pp. 1–22); GARF (7021-94-3, p. 26); RGVA (1323-2-244, pp. 99–108); USHMM (e.g., RG-11.001M [RGVA] and RG-53.004M [GAGO], e.g., reel 2, 1-1-150, p. 18, and reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 25, 68–72); VHF (# 24735, 30395, 49631, and 48001); and YVA (e.g., O-33/2112).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-33/2112, Collective Eyewitness Report by Shloyme Peretz, Khane Garfing, Lyb Kobrowski, Khaeyem Kobowsky, written down by Leyb Konikhovsky, Ulm, August 1948 (hereafter cited as Konikhovsky report). Quotations and pagination from the translation by Jonathan Boyarin, on the Kobrowski family history Web site cited from there, pp. 1–5.

2. Bubnys, "Holocaust in Lithuanian Province in 1941," p. 5.

3. Konikhovsky report, pp. 8–9, noting the ghetto was established the day after Passover 1942; and Bubnys, "Holocaust in Lithuanian Province," p. 10, for the cited date, which better coincides with the timing of the establishment of ghettos in Kreis Grodno.

4. Konikhovsky report, pp. 9–10.

5. Ibid., pp. 10–14; and AŻIH, 301/5387, testimony of Josef Niankowski, p. 2, noting the Judenrat chair warned: "Run away! They are leading us to our deaths!"

6. Whether Wietzke opened fire once the Jews had started to flee or fired while the Jews were standing within the confines of the ghetto formed the basis of a German investigation, prompted by forestry officer Hans Lehmann, who, though standing 300 to 350 meters (about 1,000 feet) away from Wietzke, reported that no Jews had left the fenced area when the attack began; see USHMM, 53.004M (GAGO), reel 1, 1-1-59, pp. 1–22.

7. Ibid., pp. 2–11, 14–16, with 132 victims listed here, on pp. 2–5; and ibid., RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99, noting 150 victims. Jewish survivors mention 105 and 190 victims, respectively, in Konikhovsky report, pp. 10–14; and AŻIH, 301/5387, p. 1.

8. Respectively, AŻIH, 301/5387, p. 2; and Konikhovsky report, pp. 14–31; with USHMM, RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, pp. 99–108, noting about half as many victims shot in Kreis Grodno in November.

9. Konikhovsky report, pp. 10–78; GARF, 7021-94-3, pp. 26–28, noting the murder of 289 Jews, including 85 women and 132 children; and Bubnys, "Holocaust in Lithuanian Province," p. 10.

MICHAŁOWO (AKA MICHAŁOWO-NIEZBUDKA)

Pre-1939: Michałowo, village, Białystok powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikhalovo, Zabludov raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Michalowo, Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Michałowo, Białystok powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Michałowo lies on the Supraśl River, almost 35 kilometers (21.7 miles) east-southeast of Białystok and 9.3 kilometers (5.8 miles) south-southeast of Gródek Białostocki. Its transformation after 1832 into a regional center for the manufacture of wool flannel and cording depended on skilled German-speaking craftsmen from Prussia. Jews came to outnumber its approximately 1,000 German residents only after World War I. Its 1921 population of 2,176 included 887 Jews, 534 Russian Orthodox followers (Belorussians), 458 Roman Catholics (Poles), 291 Protestants (Germans), and 6 people of other religious faiths. In 1937, on the eve of World War II, 732 Jews lived in Michałowo.

Michałowo marked one of the easternmost points of the German military advance in September 1939. However, in mid-September, German forces ceded Michałowo to Soviet occupation under the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In 1940, Soviet authorities transferred to the Reich the 196 ethnic German residents of Michałowo. On June 21, 1941, local authorities in Michałowo arrested 20 Jews, mostly large factory owners and their families, and deported them to Kargasok, Tomsk, Siberia.

On June 23, 1941, the second day of the German invasion of the USSR, a Red Army unit accidentally set its barracks on fire as it was evacuating Michałowo. The blaze, which engulfed all of Fabryczna Street, destroyed many residential buildings and

an even greater number of businesses. Four days later, on June 27, a Wehrmacht unit captured Michałowo.

Orsche (Arsche), the German military commander, immediately ordered the Michałowo Jews confined to a ghetto. He ordered it established in the center of the fire damage, on Sienkiewicz, Gródek, Leśna, and Fabryczna Streets. It was fenced with barbed wire. It was policed 24 hours a day, on the orders of the local military administration.[1]

The ghetto population stood at 1,500.[2] Its population included as many as several hundred Jews expelled from Zabłudów. The origins of the additional 575 to 600 inmates are unknown.

The inmates of the Michałowo ghetto resided in 12 peasant farmhouses and in the charred ruins of factory buildings. The rubble on which the ghetto stood combined with the overcrowding to spark hunger and the onset of disease. Orsche imposed tough penalties on local villagers for extending assistance to the ghetto inmates. After Gendarmes caught Teofila Wieremiejczyk providing milk to several ghetto residents, they beat her husband and ordered him to pay a 50 Reichsmark (RM) fine.[3]

With the arrival, probably at the beginning of September 1941, of German civil officials in Gródek Białostocki, Paul Melzer, the new Amtskommissar, ordered the Jews released from the Michałowo ghetto and permitted them to return to their pre-war homes. Many Jews discovered they no longer had places to live, because Poles and Belorussians, whose homes had been burned to the ground, had taken over all of the Jewish houses that had survived the fire.

Melzer demanded the Michałowo Jews turn over whatever material possessions they had managed to save from the fire. He ordered the Jews conscripted for street cleaning and road construction projects.[4] Because little else is known about the subsequent wartime history of the Michałowo Jewish community, it is impossible to determine whether Melzer later ordered an open ghetto established there.

On November 2, 1942, an SS unit arrived to transfer the Michałowo Jews to a transit camp located on the southern outskirts of Białystok, at the pre-war training grounds of the Polish 10th Cavalry Regiment. The Michałowo expulsion was part of a larger SS Aktion in which Lothar Heimbach, the head of the Białystok Gestapo, and Fritz Friedel, the Judenreferent at Białystok, organized the liquidation of almost all the provincial ghettos of Distrikt Bialystok on one day. Friedel ordered SS officials to each Kreis, designating them as special plenipotentiaries. In Kreis Bialystok the plenipotentiaries were Berg Tripps and Richard Dibus. The Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Białystok coordinated the liquidation Aktion with the civil administration (Kreiskommissaren) and received support from the Gendarmerie.[5]

The Michałowo Jews lived at the Białystok transit camp for 3 to 10 weeks before the Germans sent them to the Treblinka extermination camp. In Michałowo, Gendarmes searched for Jewish fugitives. A few months after the deportations, they shot dead the teenage sons of Mielnicki, the former mill owner, in the meadow near the Jewish cemetery.[6] According to Christian witnesses, in the spring of 1943, German functionaries shot 100 to 300 Jews, including women and children, in the nearby Kosaczewo Forest.[7] Whether the Jews were from Michałowo or from other local ghettos is unknown.

Some Michałowo Jews managed to find temporary refuge in the Białystok ghetto. Among them was survivor Mery (Marie) Kaplan (later Mendelson). In August 1943, during the final liquidation of the ghetto, first Otto Beneschek and later Artur Schade, Nazi Party members charged with managing textile plants in Białystok, sheltered Kaplan. Schade, a member of the Białystok-based German anti-Fascist resistance cell headed by Otto Busse, assisted Kaplan and several other Białystok Jews in joining the "Kadima" partisan group.[8]

After the war, Melzer was tried in Poland and found guilty of the executions in 1942 of seven Polish citizens suspected of belonging to the underground. He was sentenced to death.[9]

SOURCES Important published works include the yizkor book by Zipora Lyvne, *Ayarati Mikhalovah: Pirke havai behaye ayarah Yehudit* (Tel Aviv: 'Am ha-sefer, 1975); the relevant entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 417–420; Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966):16, 24–25; Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 5, pt. 1, *Europe and Other Countries* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007), pp. 1–2, 143; Leszek Nos, *Monografia Gminy Michałowo* (Białystok, 1996), available electronically at www.michalowo.ug.gov.pl/; and the effort by young Michałowo Poles to understand their multiethnic past of their village, *Zobaczyć to, czego nie ma. Księga pamięci Michałowa* (Białystok: Fundacja Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku Uniwersitas Bialostocensis, 2007), available electronically at www.supelek.uwb.edu.pl/Ksiega.pdf.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Jewish community of Michałowo under German occupation includes AŻIH (i.e., Ankiety); BA-L (B 162/14223); IPN (SOB 398); IPN-Bi (1/507, 1/771, S-147/68); VHF (e.g., # 45421); and YVA.

Elżbieta Rojowska and Laura Crago

NOTES

1. IPN-Bi, 1/507 (deposition, C. Rzaczkowski).
2. AŻIH, Ankiety, as cited in Czesław Pilichowski et al., eds., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), p. 317.
3. IPN-Bi, 1/507 (deposition, H. Krzętowska).
4. Ibid. (deposition, Rzaczkowski).
5. See BA-L, B 162/14223 (II 205 AR-Z 226/60, Verdict, LG-Biel, April 14, 1967, case of Dr. Wilhelm Altenloh and others), pp. 57–77.
6. IPN-Bi, 1/507 (deposition, Rzaczkowski).
7. Ibid. (depositions, J. Jarocki and M. Syta).
8. VHF, # 45421; Yad Vashem recognized Schade, in 1995, and Beneschek, in 1996, as Righteous Among the Nations.
9. IPN, SOB 398.

MILEJCZYCE

Pre-1939: Milejczyce, village, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Mileichytsy, Kleshcheli raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Milejczyce, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Siemiatycze powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Milejczyce lies 75 and 40 kilometers (47 and 25 miles), by road, south of Białystok and Bielsk Podlaski, respectively. In the 1920s, it was transformed into a leading Jewish retreat for those suffering from tuberculosis. Between 2,000 and 4,000 Jews annually sought cures at the sanatoria established amid the pine forests surrounding Milejczyce. In 1935, the full-time Jewish population of 894 made up 45 percent of its 2,000 inhabitants.

In September 1939, the German army briefly occupied Milejczyce. There were no casualties among the civilian population before the Germans withdrew to make way for the Red Army, under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. During the Soviet occupation, the Jewish population expanded to 1,275.

On June 23, 1941, German forces again captured Milejczyce after a brief battle. As the German troops advanced through Milejczyce, a member of the Soviet Home Guard (factory protection service) shot a German officer at the cable factory. In reprisal, the Germans arrested 183 local inhabitants, locked them in a cellar on the market square, and shot 10 of the prisoners. Among the murdered were three Jews, Chaim (or Rubin), Szmul (or Srulko), and Icko Widzgowski, three Poles, and four Belorussians.[1] After a senior German officer intervened, the remaining prisoners were released.

Once the town was no longer in the area of the front line, a German civil administration was established under the control of the Amtskommissar in Kleszczele. A German was named head, or mayor, of Milejczyce. In the summer of 1941, a German Gendarmerie (rural police) post was established in the former Jewish communal building. Its commander initially was Gendarmerie Meister Hugo Günther. In 1942, Hauptwachtmeister Franz Schülke replaced him; Josef Schleicher later succeeded Schülke. Among the 21 Gendarmes based in Milejczyce were Franz Krotki and Hans Brochmann. They were assisted by roughly the same number of non-German local policemen.[2]

In the spring of 1942, most likely acting on orders issued by the Bielsk Kreiskommissar authorities in Milejczyce, Jews were confined to a ghetto located on Rogacka and Kuźmicki Streets. Likely in August, the Jews were made to erect a wooden fence, topped with barbed wire, around the ghetto. The ghetto population of 1,000 included refugees from the nearby localities of Nurzec (Milejczyce gmina, Bielsk Podlaski powiat), Siemiatycze, and Drohiczyn.[3]

The Gendarmerie had orders to prevent the Jews from leaving the ghetto, although the guard was not particularly strict. The Jews were made to perform forced labor, including road construction work, and to complete other tasks for the Germans. The conditions of life inside the ghetto were poor, as there was insufficient food and overcrowding. A Jewish Council was appointed. A Jewish police force maintained order inside the ghetto.[4]

On the first days of November 1942, most likely on November 3–4, members of the local Gendarmerie, assisted by forces of Reserve Police Battalion 13, liquidated the ghetto. The Germans shot 3 Jews they deemed unfit to travel. An armed escort transported the rest of the Milejczyce Jewish community to the Kleszczele ghetto. The Germans permitted the Jews to take with them only a small amount of hand luggage, consisting of food and personal items. Because they comprised too great a burden during the forced march to Kleszczele, most Jews discarded these items.[5] On November 4 or 5, the Germans deported the roughly 1,000 Jews from Milejczyce, along with the Jewish communities of Kleszczele and Nurzec, to a transit camp located in a pre-war cavalry garrison on the southern outskirts of Białystok. From there, the Jews were sent to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp between November 10 and December 15, 1942.

After the liquidation Aktion, the Germans collected all the property of the deported Milejczyce Jews. The Gendarmes also arrested a number of locals they caught in the former ghetto area, presumably for plundering. After three days, the Gendarmes took the arrestees, about 12 people in total, to the ghetto square and shot them there.[6]

Information is sparse about Jewish survivors from Milejczyce. Jechezkel Rozencwajg (Rosenzwaig) survived the war in a forest bunker near Morze village (now in Grodzisk gmina, Siemiatycze powiat) with 17 others, mostly fugitives from the liquidation of the ghetto in Siemiatycze. After the Soviet liberation of Milejczyce, he joined the Polish 1st Army. He perished in combat in the Battle of Berlin.

SOURCES Secondary sources include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 422–423; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 133–134. On Rozencwajg, the only known survivor, see Szymon Datner, "Ratownictwo na Białostocczyźnie," in Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Kraków: Znak, 1969), p. 739; and Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 206.

The main source for this entry is the postwar German investigation into crimes committed in Milejczyce during the German occupation, which can be found in BA-L (B 162/9446). Additional archival documentation for the Milejczyce ghetto includes AŻIH (301/979); GARF (7021-148-186); IPN (e.g., ASG); IPN-Bi (e.g., S [6/69, 24/72, 32/68, 286/68]); and USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG], reel 1, 1/142, reel 14, 46/51).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 1/142, pp. 1–2.
2. BA-L, B 162/9446, pp. 152–154 (statement, Hugo Günther, December 6, 1961).
3. Ibid., pp. 150–151 (statement, Hugo Günther, July 5, 1955), in which the former Milejczyce Gendarmerie post commander recalled the ghetto being established in the spring of 1942. Polish postwar documentation notes it was created in August 1942; see USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/51, pp. 1–2, with the later date perhaps the month the ghetto was closed.
4. BA-L, B 162/9446, pp. 68–74, 86–91 (respectively, statements of Andrzej Michnowski, August 5, 1971, and Antoni Prokopowicz, August 5, 1971).
5. Ibid., pp. 68–74, 86–91, 81–85 (statement, Konstanty Pachwiecewicz, August 5, 1971); GARF, 7021-148-186, War Diary of Reserve Police Battalion 13, November 1–5, 1942.
6. BA-L, B 162/9446, pp. 68–74, 81–85.

NAREW

Pre-1939: Narew (Yiddish: Narev), village, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Narev, Gainovka raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Narew, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Hajnówka powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Narew lies 29.2 kilometers (about 18.1 miles) northeast of Bielsk Podlaski. Although its name derives from its location on the Narew River, its history also is tied to the Puszcza Białowieska, or the Białowieża Forest, an ancient woodland that once encircled it. On the eve of World War II, about 300 Jews resided there.

The Germans occupied Narew for four days in September 1939 before ceding the village to Soviet occupation.

A Wehrmacht unit reoccupied Narew by the end of June 1941. From June 30, about 300 Jews from Zabłudów, including the rabbi, fled to Narew after the Germans set fire to their town and expelled them.

The Germans, as they did in Distrikt Bialystok as a whole, most likely ordered the Jews confined to the borders of Narew in early July 1941 and required them to establish a Judenrat. On July 21, 1941, an SS contingent, from Białowieża village, gave the Narew Jews one week to raise a payment of 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) in gold, 19 kilograms (42 pounds) of silver, and 100,000 rubles in cash. The Jews sold everything they owned to collect the payment but failed to come up with the precious metals. When the SS came to collect the tribute, they beat the Jewish representatives for not meeting their demands.[1] The Germans also shot dead 16 Jews on three separate occasions. In the largest of these murders, probably during one of two Aktions to deport the Jews, 12 people perished in the forest.[2]

From early July 1941, the Jewish communities of the Białowieża Forest, including the Narew Jews, became victims of a German drive to depopulate the woodland. German Security Police initially claimed the expulsions were to prevent Soviet troops, cut off from their units, from establishing partisan operations in the forest. Because the expulsions also encompassed non-Jewish communities, beginning with 183 families deported on July 25, 1941, from Buda Paszucka, Pogorzelce, and Teremiski to Prużana, and continuing through October, some historians believe the depopulation drive was motivated more by conservation initiatives, sponsored by Hermann Göring, to expand and to transform the woodland into a vast nature and hunting preserve for the Nazi leadership. By the fall of 1941, Göring had appointed Ulrich Scherping to head the forest, which in practice became an extraterritorial unit within Distrikt Bialystok, probably administered by the Reichsforstamt (Reich Forestry Office).

On August 9–10, 1941, the 3rd Company of Police Battalion 322 began clearing Jews from the forest. That day, its members rounded up the 500 Jewish residents of Białowieża village, home to the forest hunting lodge. They confined male craftsmen, women, children, and the elderly to the village and executed the rest of the men, about 77 people. The survivors were deported to Kobryń and Antopol. In Narewka Mała, a village sometimes confused with Narew, men from the same police battalion, on August 14, shot 282 male Jews (those aged between 16 and 65), outside of Zabłotyczna village.[3] The survivors—259 women and 162 children—were sent by truck to Kobryń.[4] On the forests' buffer peripheries, the Germans tended to expel Jewish communities wholesale, as had occurred in July in Szereszów, where 800 Jews were forcibly marched to Antopol and Dereczyn. Similar brutality marked the expulsion of the Jewish community in Hajnówka, in early August, during which the men were ordered to crawl on their hands and knees to Prużana. In other places, such as Kamieniec Litewski, on the southern forest periphery, the Germans held back a small number of craftsmen and expelled the rest of the Jews in late 1941 to Prużana.

In Narew, more in the forest's western buffer periphery, an SS unit surrounded the village on the Sukkot holiday in October 1941. The unit commander divided the Jews into the able-bodied and less fit. The elderly, women, and children from Narew and the Zabłudów refugees were deported to the Prużana ghetto. Those who resisted by fleeing into the forest were rounded up, beaten, and shot dead.[5]

The Germans established a closed ghetto for the Jews held back from the expulsion. Its precise area, listed on postwar Polish documentation as 185 by 100 meters (about 4.6 acres), suggests the Jews were confined to a small part of the village. Because the official completing the documentation erred by one year in noting the ghetto's liquidation, it seems likely he made a similar mistake in noting that the ghetto was established in September 1942, rather than in September 1941.[6] However, it is difficult to say because no other readily available documentation mentions the date on which the ghetto was established.

The inmates of the Narew ghetto likely were overwhelmingly male. Whether the families of the men attempted to return to Narew and were permitted to remain there, as had occurred in Kamieniec Litewski, is unknown. The Narew

ghetto inmates labored at craft workshops, undoubtedly under Christian supervision, most likely for the Gendarmerie and the Forstschutzkommando (Forest Protection Commando) stationed there. They also cobbled the streets, sidewalks, and market square in Narew. For the second project, the conscripts used *mazevot* (gravestones) from the cemetery, located south of Narew, in the so-called Gnilica Forest, near Makówka village.

On November 4, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Narew ghetto by conveying its inmates to the ghetto in Bielsk Podlaski. On November 13, during the final liquidation of the Bielsk ghetto, they sent them to the Białystok ghetto.[7] The deportees are believed to have been expelled during the first mass deportation Aktion, from February 5 to February 12, 1943, and deported from Białystok to the Auschwitz or Treblinka extermination camps, where they perished.[8]

The Jews of the Narew community in the Prużana ghetto shared the fates of the almost 10,000 Jews there. That ghetto was liquidated over the course of four days, from January 29 to February 1, 1943, with about 2,500 Jews deported each day from there to Auschwitz. Most of the Jews in the transports were gassed on arrival at Auschwitz. The Germans selected 1,775 Prużana deportees for work. Less than a handful of the Narew deportees to Prużana are believed to have survived as prisoners of the Auschwitz concentration camp.

No more than 10 Narew Jews survived the war. Lejb Wacht (or Vacht), the author of the only account of life in the Narew ghetto, fled as the Germans expelled the Jews to Bielsk Podlaski. The family of Andrzej Iwaniuk, in Gradoczno village, sheltered him. Others, such as Yehuda Leytler, had been deported to the Russian interior in the Soviet period.[9] Also counted among Narew survivors are the immediate family members of the lawyer Aron Wirszubski. Deported from Wysokie Litewskie to Hajnówka in the Soviet period, Wirszubksi was shot dead during the expulsion of the Hajnówka Jewish community. After the liquidation of the Prużana ghetto, Wirszubski's wife and daughters were extended protection by two Roman Catholic priests in Narew.[10]

A postwar investigation, conducted in both Poland and Germany, centers on the shooting in Narew of several individual Jews, including a chemist, after the liquidation of the ghetto. It is based on the witness testimonies of local Poles. It did not result in any indictments.[11] Two local residents of the Narewka Mała area also were tried on a number of charges related to assisting the 3rd Company of Police Battalion 322 to extricate Jews and non-Jewish Communists from hiding places in Narewka Mała during the August 1941 executions, with one of them also charged with the subsequent plunder of Jewish property.[12]

SOURCES The bibliography for the Kamieniec Litewski entry surveys the historiographical debates surrounding the Białowieża Forest expulsions. The timing of the expulsions presented in this entry follows the chronology established by Andrzej Angrick et al., "'Da hätte man schon ein Tagebuch führen müssen.' Das Polizeibataillon 322 und die Judenmorde im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Mitte während des Sommers und Herbstes 1941," in Helge Grabitz et al., *Die Normalität des Verbrechens: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Forschung zu den nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen: Festschrift für Wolfgang Scheffler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1994), pp. 336–339, a work based mainly on the war diary of Police Battalion 322. Other sources, including Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 21, provide the dates on which survivors remember the expulsions as having occurred, and still others note, in particular, that all or all but 77 Jewish men from Białowieża village were executed.

Also useful are the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 139–140 (Białowieża), pp. 288–289 (Hajnówka), pp. 457–459 (Narew), pp. 459–460 (Narewka Mała); Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), p. 39 (Białowieża), pp. 136–138 (Narew), pp. 138–139 (Narewka Mała); Tomasz Wiśniewski, *Jewish Białystok and Surroundings in Eastern Poland: A Guide for Yesterday and Today* (Ipswich, MA.: Ipswich Press, 1998), p. 93; for survivors, Szymon Datner, *Las Sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961), p. 56; and Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," in *Białostoccy Żydzi* (Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego Filii w Białymstoku, 1997), 2:180–181.

Archival documentation pertaining to the fates of the Jewish communities of Narew, Białowieża, Narewka Mała, and Hajnówka under German occupation during World War II includes AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety, 301 [1270, 1970]); BA-L (B 162/15965); IPN (e.g., SAB [25, 36], SWB 185); IPN-Bi (Ds-99/69, S [16/80, 105/67, 74/03/Zn, 296/68/1-2, 356/71]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG (IPN)], e.g., reel 14, 46/52], RG-48.004M [VHAP], reel 2); VHF (e.g., # 21890, 28351, 45233); and YVA (M1-Q/294, M49E/1270, M11B/11).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/1270, testimony of [Lejb] Wacht, p. 1.
2. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/52, p. 1.
3. Ibid., RG-48.004M, reel 2, War Diary of 3. Co., Pol. Bn. 322, August 14, 1941, entry; AŻIH, 301/1846, testimony of Szymon Kamiński, pp. 1–2; IPN-Bi, S-74/03/Zn.
4. AŻIH, 301/1846, pp. 1–2; 301/2212, testimony of Beniamin Wolf, pp. 1–30.
5. Ibid., 301/1270, p. 1.
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/52, p. 1.
7. AŻIH, 301/1270, p. 1.
8. Ibid.
9. VHF, # 21890, testimony of Yehuda Leytler.
10. Ibid., # 28351 and 45233, testimonies, respectively, of Sara (Wirszubska) Szymańka and Adela (Wirszubska) Boddy.
11. BA-L, B 162/15965 (V 205 AR-Z 76/75 [Narew]), pp. 80–82; IPN-Bi, 356/71.
12. IPN, SAB 25, 36.

NURZEC

Pre-1939: Nurzec, village, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Nuzhets, Bel'sk raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nurzec, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Siemiatycze powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Nurzec, lies 96 kilometers (60 miles) south of Białystok. Before World War II, it was part of a landed estate owned by the Narbut family.

During World War II, the Germans briefly occupied Nurzec in September 1939 before ceding it to Soviet occupation. A Wehrmacht unit recaptured the estate by the end of June 1941.

The Germans established a ghetto in Nurzec in August 1942. Its terrain consisted of six homes. It likely was fenced, as the Kreiskommissar of Bielsk ordered the establishment of closed ghettos throughout the Kreis in the spring of 1942.

Because no Jews were pre-war inhabitants of Nurzec, the 250 ghetto inmates likely had been relocated there from nearby localities in the pre-war Milejczyce gmina. They probably came from places such as the residential area surrounding the nearby railway station known as Nurzec-Stacja and from Rogacze, Zabłocie, and Chanie, where 38 and 23, 14, and 7 Jews, respectively, had resided in 1921. The ghetto inmates also may have been brought from localities near Nurzec in the pre-war Siemiatycze gmina, such as Moszczona Pańska, home to 6 Jews in 1921. (In the pre-war Bielsk Podlaski powiat, in particular, a large number of extended Jewish families had lived scattered across scores of similar small villages.) As many as 200 Jews may have resided in the villages surrounding Nurzec. Unfortunately, there is no information about the specific fates of these Jewish communities during World War II. Given the absence of a historic Jewish community in Nurzec, it also is possible that the ghetto was more like a labor camp, with the Jews consolidated there specifically for labor on the estate. Until additional documentation emerges, it is impossible to draw definitive conclusions.

Conditions in the Nurzec ghetto were poor. The largest house in the ghetto was occupied by 100 people. Its inmates worked mostly in their pre-war occupations as tailors, shoemakers, and glass workers in workshops established in the ghetto. Some ghetto inmates were conscripted for railway repair work and forestry labor.

The Nurzec ghetto was liquidated in early November 1942. The Germans marched its inmates first to the ghetto in Milejczyce and then on November 5, together with the Milejczyce community, took them to the ghetto in Kleszczele. The next day all of the Jews consolidated in the Kleszczele ghetto were deported to a transit camp, located in Białystok, on the former training ground of the pre-war Polish Army's 10th Cavalry Brigade. The former inmates of the Nurzec ghetto were expelled from the Białystok transit camp and sent, between November 10 and December 15, to the Treblinka extermination camp. They were all gassed on arrival.

No Jews from the Nurzec ghetto are believed to have survived the Holocaust. Little remains to commemorate the former ghetto site. Destroyed during World War II, the Nurzec estate complex was not rebuilt. Instead, after the war the area was converted into a public recreational and sports center.

SOURCES Archival documentation for the Jewish community of Nurzec during World War II remains scarce. It includes IPN-Bi and USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN] 48/50). This entry was based entirely on the latter source.

Laura Crago

ORLA

Pre-1939: Orla, village, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Orlia, Bel'sk raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Orla, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Bielsk powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Orla lies 62.8 kilometers (39 miles), by road, south–southeast of Białystok and 12.3 kilometers (7.6 miles) southeast of Bielsk Podlaski. In 1921, 1,167 Jews resided there.

In September 1939, the Germans occupied Orla but shortly after evacuated it to make way for the Red Army. The Jewish population expanded during the Soviet occupation, as 1,450 to 2,000 Jews resided in Orla by early June 1941.[1]

On June 25, 1941, German forces reoccupied Orla. Supposedly in reprisal for sporadic shootings by some Soviet soldiers, the Germans burned 10 Jewish houses on Kleszczele Street. The German military commander, a captain, demanded from Rabbi Halperin (Halpern) a list of all Jews aged over 10 years and ordered them to report for an assembly the next day on the market square. There, the commander issued orders requiring adult Jews to perform forced labor and to wear distinctive yellow symbols on their clothes. The Germans beat those who showed up late.

Some days later, at another mandatory assembly in the synagogue, the military commander threatened to shoot the rabbi's son and others for refusing to agree with the assertion that Jews preyed on Christian blood. Wiatkowski (or Wiotkowski), a local Belorussian teacher employed as a translator for the Germans, interceded on behalf of the Jews.[2] The commander instead ordered the Jews to surrender their horses and valuables on pain of death. The order was enforced by searches of Jewish houses. The Germans ordered the Torah in the synagogue desecrated. In addition, they required 150 Jews to report daily for forced labor.

In late August or early in the fall of 1941, the Germans established a civil administration for Orla, under the control of an Amtskommissar. The first Amtskommissar was soon transferred to Białowieża. His replacement likely was Zandecky. The German authorities established a local administration, appointing Shorf (or Scharf) the mayor. They ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established, composed of perhaps 12 members. Authorities ordered the Jews to mark

their houses with yellow signs and to pay a large "contribution" of 0.5 kilogram (1.1 pounds) of gold, 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of silver, and 40,000 rubles.

In early March 1942, the Amtskommissar expelled to Orla the non-Jewish inhabitants of several nearby villages. The expulsions marked the first step in establishing the Orla ghetto. In Orla, German authorities ordered the residents of entire streets to evacuate their houses for the new arrivals. All of the houses on Nowa Szosa Street, for example, were assigned to people from Antonowo-Kolonia. Their former Christian residents were ordered to reside in houses in the north of the village; their former Jewish residents were assigned to houses in the southwest, in the part of Orla ultimately demarcated for the ghetto.[3] Likely, at this time Jews from other nearby villages were expelled to Orla. The Amtskommissar seized Jewish houses, shops, and stalls at the market square and sold them off cheaply to non-Jews, mainly for building materials.

On March 20, 1942, the Germans ordered all Jews still living outside the area designated for the ghetto to relocate there. The ghetto was composed of an area based around Koszelowska, postwar 1 Maja, and Kleszczelowska Streets. As the Jews moved in, a gauntlet of Gendarmes robbed them. In April, the ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence. Its construction likely led to the establishment of two separate ghettos, a large ghetto and a small one.[4] After a fire in April 1942 destroyed several houses inside the ghetto, the Jewish Council asked local officials to expand the ghetto. They responded by shooting a man for allegedly setting the fire and threatened to evacuate 300 Jews to the ghetto in Prużana. The authorities ultimately permitted the Jews to dismantle two unused houses from outside the ghetto and to rebuild them inside.[5]

With about 2 square meters (22 square feet) available per person in the ghetto, overcrowded conditions led to the spread of disease and a high death rate, especially among small children and the elderly. The Jewish Police assembled 400 inmates daily for forced labor. They also met German demands for possessions, including jewelry and furniture, and were subjected to searches and seizures. Compared with some ghettos, material conditions were not horrendous. Lax guarding enabled the Jews to barter material possessions for food with local Slavs at the ghetto fence. Some Jewish craftsmen snuck out of the ghetto to work for the local population. In the spring of 1942, Gendarmes executed 3 Orla Jews, Matie Szumacher, a carpenter, and his two sons, for working illicitly on a construction project in a nearby village.[6]

At 5:00 A.M. on November 2, 1942, German police forces encircled the ghetto and informed the Jews that they were being sent to work near the Black Sea or in the Caucasus and could take almost none of their belongings. Some Jews had fled the ghetto, but they returned to accept the fate of the community after the SS threatened to execute their families. A few Jewish women who had lived the entire time outside the ghetto reported for the evacuation. The next day, on November 3, the German forces marched the Orla Jews on foot to Bielsk Podlaski. A group of 5 Jews managed to flee, but the Gendarmerie subsequently caught them and shot them in the Szernie and Dubicze Tofiłowce villages.[7]

About 200 Orla craftsmen, their families, and a few other community members, including Rabbi Halperin, were incarcerated briefly in the ghetto in Bielsk Podlaski before being sent on to the Białystok ghetto. One source suggests the Białystok expulsion occurred on November 3; another notes the Germans transferred 49 craftsmen and their families on November 6; a third reports the later date, adding that 200 people, from 48 families, were transferred from the Bielsk to the Białystok ghetto.[8]

Because one account mentions only the arrival in the Bielsk ghetto of the Orla craftsmen, it may suggest that the rest of the Orla Jews were sent directly from the train station in Bielsk Podlaski to the Treblinka extermination camp.[9] In most other accounts, the Orla Jews were first consolidated in the Bielsk ghetto, which had been transformed into a makeshift transit camp, before being transferred to Treblinka. On November 16–17, local security forces in Bielsk and members of the 1st Company of Police Reserve Battalion 13 marched a large group of Jews from the Bielsk ghetto to the train station, but it is unknown if the remaining Orla Jews were among those deported or if they were sent on another transport to Treblinka.[10] Those sent to Treblinka were all gassed on arrival.

The 200 surviving craftsmen and their families spent about a month, first in the Białystok ghetto and then at a labor camp in Pietrasze, on the northern outskirts of Białystok, making winter boots for the Wehrmacht. By early December 1942, the workers had been returned to the empty Bielsk Podlaski ghetto to work at a similar factory. Most likely in January 1943, they were sent again to the Pietrasze labor camp, which by then had been transformed into a makeshift transit camp. About two weeks later, the women and children were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp, where they were gassed on arrival. The male craftsmen likely were deported to other concentration camps for labor, but no accounts by survivors have been located.

According to survivor Symcha Bursztajn, there were no survivors of the Orla ghetto.[11]

SOURCES A Polish translation of AŻIH, 301/1963, cited below, is available on the virtual Archiwum Etnograficzne, at www.archiwumetnograficzne.edu.pl/readarticle.php?article_id=24. A testimony by a Christian eyewitness, in Michal Mincewicz, "Żydzi w Orli—wspomnienie Zenaida Niedzielska," *Tygodnik Podlaski*, March 28, 2007, is most accessible at Polin, the Web site of the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland (www.fodz.pl). Helpful for its discussion of the fates of the craftsmen deported from Orla to the Bielsk Podlaski and the Białystok ghettos is Meir Peker, "In the Bielsk Ghetto and the Camps," in Haim Rabin, ed., *Bilsḳ Podlaski sefer yizkor le-zikhram ha-ḳadosh shel Yehude Bilsḳ she-nispu ba-Sho'ah ha-natsit ba-shanim 1939–1944* ([Tel Aviv]: Irgun ole Bilsḳ be-Yisrael, 1975). An English translation is available at jewishgen.org.

Additional information on the Orla ghetto can be found in Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 15, 25, 39; Grzegorz Sosna and Doroteusz Fionik, *Orla nad Podlasiu: Dzieje Cerkwi, miasta i*

okolic (Białystok: Białoruskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1997), pp. 72–73; and the relevant entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 104–106; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Białystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 142–145.

Testimonies on the Orla ghetto and the German occupation of the town can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 204 [old 2/123], 301/1963); BA-L (B 162, ZStL, V 205 AR-Z 112/77); IPN-Bi (S-212/68); and YVA (M-11 [50, 53]).

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NOTES

1. YVA, M-11/50, Rabbi Halpern, "My recollections," for low figure; and AŻIH, 301/1963, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn, p. 1, for high figure.
2. See AŻIH, 301/1963, p. 1, in which Wiotkowski is described as among "the warmest" supporters of the Germans.
3. Mincewicz, "Żydzi w Orli."
4. Ibid.
5. YVA, M-11/50.
6. Ibid.; BA-L, B 162, ZStL, V 205 AR-Z 112/77, pp. 58–61 (statement, Josef Nazarewicz, February 6, 1976); AŻIH, 301/1963, p. 2.
7. AŻIH, 301/1977, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn, p. 3; BA-L, B 162, ZStL, V 205 AR-Z 112/77, p. 129.
8. Compare Peker, "In the Bielsk Ghetto," p. 33; AŻIH, 301/1977, p. 3, 301/3944, p. 1.
9. Peker, "In the Bielsk Ghetto," p. 33.
10. On the transfer, see Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 602.
11. AŻIH, 301/1963, p. 2.

OSTRYNA

Pre-1939: Ostryna (Yiddish: Ostrin), village, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ostrino, Vasilishki raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostryna, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Białystok; post-1991: Astryna, Shchuchyn raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ostryna lies 55 kilometers (34.2 miles) east-northeast of Grodno. Its 1921 population of 1,572 included 1,067 Jews. During World War II, it came under Soviet occupation on September 19, 1939. By 1940, refugees from German-occupied Poland had increased the Jewish population to 2,000, out of a total population of 2,744.

On June 24, 1941, the Germans reoccupied Ostryna. The local German military commander immediately organized a collaborationist local administration. A Pole filled the position of civil administrator (wójt). German authorities recruited local Belorussians and Poles for an auxiliary police force. The military commander issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees that forbade contact with Christians, prohibited movement beyond Ostryna, required the wearing of yellow markings on the chest and back, and made forced labor obligatory for all adults. He also ordered that a six-person Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established. Its chair, Josel (Josef) Wigdorowicz, was a founder of the Tarbut school. Abram Słocznik, a baker, was named the Jewish Police commander.

In early July, at least eight Jews, including Icchak Rewicz, a tailor, and Dawid Sadecki, and a number of Christians were arrested on the basis of denunciations by local Poles. They were executed by the members of a Wehrmacht Feldgendarmerie detachment that had assumed responsibility for policing in and around Ostryna.[1]

In late August, soldiers from the 12th Company of the 707th Infantry Division assumed responsibility for Ostryna. Under the command of Oberleutnant Josef Kiefer, the soldiers perpetrated anti-Jewish violence across a region including Ostryna and Jeziory in Distrikt Bialystok and Szczuczyn and Lida in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Leutnant Oskar Ritterbusch, the commander of the 1st Platoon, served as the Ostryna Ortskommandant through at least October 15, 1941. In late autumn, his unit was relieved by the 2nd Platoon, commanded by Leutnant Ernst Schaffitz. The 2nd Platoon likely remained in Ostryna until the end of January 1942, by which time a German civil administration had been established.[2]

In the late summer or early fall of 1941, the soldiers from the 12th Company and the local police helped an SS unit force the Ostryna Jews to collect the ritual objects from the synagogue and Bet Midrash. Shortly afterwards, the Jews were ordered assembled on the market square at 2:00 P.M., on pain of death. As they waited there, the officials and the local police searched their houses for valuables. At least seven Jews found during the search were shot dead. Near dusk, the Germans permitted the assembled Jews to return to their plundered homes.

In October 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered an open ghetto established in Ostryna. It was located near the market square between Grodno, Nowy Dwór, Wilno, and Cerkiew Streets. To exclude the square from its terrain, the ghetto was divided into two parts: the area from Wilno Street to the synagogue, including housing formerly used by railway signalmen, comprised ghetto no. 1; the area beyond the synagogue, including Cerkiew and Wasiliszki Streets, made up ghetto no. 2. Local authorities imposed a curfew, from 5:00 P.M. to 8:00 A.M., and forbade the inmates to be outside on Sundays and holidays. A Jew found a few steps outside his house during the curfew could be shot, as some were. Perhaps as late as March, authorities expelled to the ghetto about 500 Jews from Nowy Dwór.

Sometime shortly after October 12, 1941, on a Sunday following the Sukkot holiday, soldiers, likely from the 1st Platoon, assisted by local police, rounded up about 80 Jews from the ghetto and executed them at the Jewish cemetery. To protect the community, Wigdorowicz, in November 1942, refused German orders to submit a list of 100 men for work outside Ostryna. Authorities sent him to a labor camp in Starosielce.

His successor, Berl Parecki, surrendered the youth. Sent to the same camp, they almost all perished. In late December, soldiers, likely from the 2nd Platoon, ordered the Jews to assemble on the market square and then executed in front of them 10 physically handicapped community members. About a month prior, a small SS contingent had murdered the rabbi of Ostryna, Shimon Gershonowitz. Just after the 1942 New Year, soldiers from the 2nd Platoon executed the remaining religious leaders, teachers, and their families.[3]

The arrival of German civilian administrators, by early February 1942, brought changes to the ghetto. At the end of Passover, in April 1942, police from the Ostryna Gendarmerie, commanded initially by Meister Petzek, ordered the Jews living in ghetto no. 2 to move to ghetto no. 1. The Germans then ordered the reduced ghetto area fenced. The closed ghetto included Wasiliszki and Wilno Streets, the synagogue, and its courtyard. The authorities permitted the Jews to transfer belongings to the closed ghetto but declared the move-in period completed before they had finished. A policeman, Jan Lach (or Lachowski), a Pole from Nowy Dwór, shot dead 12-year-old Nachmann Kaplan when the boy refused to stop moving items into the ghetto.[4]

About 25 to 30 people were crowded into a single house in the closed ghetto. To provide living space, the synagogue was subdivided into cells. Food was scarce, as the Germans provided daily individual rations only for skim milk and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread. No public kitchen or other assistance was organized for the hungry. Every prisoner had to obtain food on his or her own.[5]

The Roman Catholic priest in Ostryna counseled his faithful at Mass not to participate in the German persecution of the Jews and smuggled food into the ghetto for some Jews. Perhaps, as a result, some local Slavs bartered food at the ghetto fence. Such transactions were dangerous for Jews. At least two were shot for talking to a non-Jew across the fence.

On German orders, the Judenrat organized carpentry and tailoring workshops, just outside the ghetto, for craftsmen to complete work for German officials for no remuneration. The most fortunate were considered conscripts employed by Christians, on contracts negotiated with German officials, because they were better treated and had access to food. By the spring of 1942, many ghetto inmates worked weeklong labor stints, either at a plywood factory on Lithuanian territory or at a camp, organized for improvements on the road to Szczuczyn and the road to Jeziory.[6] The conscripts returned home on Sundays. On June 6, 1942, at an assembly, the Ostryna Amtskommissar chose 100 men for immediate deportation to the Starosielce labor camp. Not including the men sent permanently to Starosielce, the regular ghetto population stood at about 1,200 to 1,300, with another 700 prisoners conscripted for work during the week outside Ostryna.

At the end of October 1942, the Germans convened a Judenrat meeting to order all ghetto inmates assembled with their movable property at the marketplace on November 2. A group of 12 youths ran away to the nearby forests. They were rounded up and executed. On November 2, the Germans liquidated the Ostryna ghetto. They transported the 1,969 Jews over the course of two days to a transit camp, in Kiełbasin, located south of Grodno.[7] Many Ostryna Jews perished just outside the camp when SS guards ordered them to run the last 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) and shot dead those who fell behind.

Imprisoned at Kiełbasin for about a month with about 22,000 to 28,000 Jews from nearby communities, the Ostryna Jews were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp at the end of November 1942 in a transport, officially of 1,000 people. On December 2, at Birkenau, the SS held back from the transport 238 people—178 men and 60 women—as concentration camp prisoners. The remaining Jews on the transport—at least 762 people—were gassed on arrival.[8] The Starosielce inmates were sent on November 19 to the Treblinka extermination camp. A few Ostryna Jews in the Treblinka deportation jumped from the transport train. Michal-Meer Jezierski, among the survivors, subsequently joined a partisan unit.

Two Jewish survivors resided in Ostryna after the war. The 8 to 13 others immigrated mostly to the United States and Israel.

Extradited to Poland, Schaffitz was tried in Warsaw in 1948 and sentenced to death for the mass executions of Jews in Szczuczyn, Lida, and Baranowicze. In 1949, the sentence was commuted to life in prison. (He died there in 1956.)[9] In the late 1960s, West German investigators studied the wartime activities of Kiefer and Ritterbusch but concluded they lacked the evidence to proceed legally against them.[10] In Poland, three former auxiliary policemen, including Jan Lach, also were investigated for murdering Jews in Ostryna between 1942 and 1943 but ultimately were tried for murdering partisans.[11]

SOURCES Some archival materials cited below, including YVA, O-3/7431, and a large part of BA-L, B 162/26286 (202 AR 2403/65), have appeared in English translations, respectively, by Shoshana Stifel and Irene Newhouse, on the Lida ShtetLinks pages at jewishgen.org, respectively, at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/lida-District/yv-glembocki.htm and www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/lida-District/kiefer.htm. Copies of some of the GAGO materials also appear in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, vol. 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1992).

The entry also is based on the three published testimonies by Ostryna survivors, including a collective testimony by Shlomo Bojarski, Michal-Meir Jezierski (or Mikhail-Meer Ezierskii), Abraham Kazimierz, Yitzhak Reznik, and Moshe Shulaner, in the regional yizkor book edited by Yosef Kohen-Tsedek et al., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilt Ostrin*, *Shts'uts'in*, *Vasilishki*, *Novidvor*, *Roz'ankah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrin be-Yisrael, 1966). An English translation of the book is available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/szczuczyn-belarus/szczuczyn.html, though at this writing only the chapters about the pre–World War II history of the Ostryna Jewish community have appeared.

Useful secondary accounts include the Ostryna entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8,

Vilna, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 100–102; and *Pamiats'. Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Shchuchynskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 2001), with the second providing useful demographic information and a list of those from the raion who perished during the war.

Archival documentation on the Jewish community under German occupation during World War II includes AŻIH (301/748); BA-L (B 162/26286 [202 AR 2403/65]); GAGO (1-1-54, pp. 37–38, 1-1-335, p. 85); GARF (e.g., 7021-86-36, 7021-86-40, pp. 4, 56, 58); IPN (SOW 64, SWB 264-267); IPN-Bi (1/1194 [Ko-250/88], 3/129 [W-52/68], 7/575/1-2 [II-1335/KSL14808]); NARB (845-1-8, p. 31); USHMM (RG-22.002M [GARF], RG-53.004M [GAGO]); VHF (# 13477); and YVA (e.g., O-3/300, O-3/7431, M-49E [e.g., 78]).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 13477, testimony of Vladimir Glemobotzkiy (*sic*).
2. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 1, 1-1-2, pp. 19, 130–131.
3. BA-L, B 162/26286 (202 AR 2403/65). Although West German investigators attributed Schaffitz and his men with the October 1941 murders, their timing suggests they more likely were the work of Ritterbusch and his platoon.
4. VHF, # 13477, identifying two policemen, Jan Lach and Jan Lachowski, but attributing the murder to Lach, and postwar Polish investigators deciding "Lach" was an alias used by Lachowski.
5. YVA, O-3/7431, testimony of Vladimir Glembocki.
6. VHF, # 13477.
7. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 1, 1-1-54, pp. 37–38.
8. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 122–125.
9. IPN, SOW 64.
10. BA-L, B 162/26286 (202 AR 2403/65).
11. IPN-Bi, 3/129 (W-52/68), 7/575/1-2 (II-1335, KSL-14808); IPN, SWB 264–267.

PIASKI

Pre-1939: Piaski (Yiddish: Piesk), village, Wołkowysk powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Peski, Mosty raion, Grodno oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Piaski, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Peski, Masty raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Piaski lies on the Zelwianka River. In interwar Poland, it was located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) north-northeast of Wołkowysk. In 1921, 1,249 Jews lived there. In World War II, after Piaski first came under Soviet occupation, refugees from German-occupied Poland increased the Jewish population to around 1,500.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Piaski by the end of June 1941. Its military commander likely appointed a local civilian administration, headed by Vicentii Semashko. The auxiliary police force, according to Jewish survivors, was composed mostly of Belorussians, though Poles also were members.[1] Among the auxiliary policemen were Anton Franz, Michał and Czesław Zabołotski, and men surnamed Putilovskii and Tishevskii. A German civil administration was established in the fall of 1941 when the Piaski Amtskommissariat was incorporated into Kreis Wolkowysk in Distrikt Bialystok.

In the summer and early fall of 1941, regional German military administrators introduced a series of anti-Jewish decrees, including orders requiring the wearing of yellow markings on the chest and back, registration, prohibitions on movement beyond the place of registration, compulsory forced labor of all adult Jews, and the formation of Jewish Councils (Judenräte). The Piaski Judenrat was led by Rachmiel Halperin (or Galperin).

In the meantime, Piaski was flooded with Jewish refugees from war-devastated Wołkowysk.[2] Because the Piaski Amtskommissar was considered less willing than his counterparts in Kreis Wolkowysk to tolerate anti-Jewish violence and raids on Jewish property, some Jews subsequently fled there in the spring of 1942 from other ghettos, including from Różana.[3] The refugees may have increased the Jewish population to 2,000.

The Różana refugees were surprised to discover that the Piaski Jews lived under the German occupation largely as they had before the war, working in agriculture. By early summer 1942, they remained healthy because of their ready access to food.[4] However, Piaski Jews remember the Germans conscripting them for forced labor on road construction projects, including between Piaski and Mosty, then a village about 8 kilometers (5 miles) north-northeast by road, and at a factory, also in Mosty, to produce wooden crates for German aircraft parts. Jewish factory conscripts received flour in remuneration for their labor. The Judenrat assigned another 30 young men and women to work three-month stints at a Wołkowysk labor camp to work on railway lines.[5]

In July 1942, a ghetto was established for the Jews of Piaski, across from the residence of the Amtskommissar, in the old Jewish neighborhood, near the Jewish cemetery. One of its boundaries ended just before the Zelwianka River. The ghetto was fenced with barbed wire. The Amtskommissar forbade Jews forced to move to the ghetto from bringing anything with them from their former houses.[6]

The role played by the auxiliary police in enforcing the German decree confining the Piaski Jews to the ghetto is debated. According to a survivor, the police, longtime friends or acquaintances of almost all the Jews, humiliated and pelted ghetto inmates with stones for appealing to be released to barter with local Christians for food.[7] Because there was just one well in the ghetto, the police also released the Jews from the ghetto daily at sundown to bring two pails of water from the river and exercised their authority by whipping the last water bearers to arrive back at the ghetto's gate.[8] However, another survivor has attributed lax policing with saving the lives of some Jews, particularly after local German authorities charged the police with sealing the ghetto in the last week of October 1942, and some policemen abetted the escape of

several Jews and in one instance even sheltered Jews, in anticipation of the ghetto's liquidation.[9]

The Piaski ghetto was sealed earlier than other ghettos in Distrikt Bialystok because the Germans consolidated other smaller Jewish communities there. On November 2, 1942, Gendarmes and auxiliary policeman, for example, drove 360 Jews from Mosty to the Piaski ghetto. Other Jews likely were brought there from the north and northwest of Kreis Wolkowysk, as a Mosty survivor remembers 2,500 Jews from the region spending the night together in the Piaski ghetto.[10]

On November 3, 1942, an SS unit ordered the Jews in the Piaski ghetto on an eight-hour march to a transit camp located outside of Wołkowysk in a pre-war Polish cavalry garrison. The SS commander promised transport to those too old or too sick to move from their beds and to several women in advanced stages of pregnancy. After the other Jews had departed at noon, he ordered those awaiting transport to be consolidated together, either in a house near the Jewish cemetery or in a former school building. In one account, the SS set fire to the building as auxiliary policemen threw the elderly into the flames alive. About 20 Piaski Jews and another 3 Jews from Mosty perished in the blaze, which also destroyed a large part of the ghetto. Another account notes the Germans shot the Jews dead.[11]

At the transit camp, the Piaski deportees joined the approximately 17,500 other Jews from Kreis Wolkowysk also driven there to facilitate their deportation to extermination camps. The Piaski and Mosty Jews were crowded together in two of six subterranean barracks constructed underneath two large dilapidated horse stables, which together formed an internally fenced-off block within the camp. The Jews from the Zelwa and Świsłocz expulsions, with the latter also encompassing the Jałówka and Mścibów communities, were assigned to the remaining barracks in the block. They lived there for about a month with little food and limited sanitation facilities. Many perished in a typhus epidemic that claimed hundreds, if not thousands, of lives.

Some sources note the Piaski (and Mosty) Jews were expelled from the transit camp, together with the Zelwa, Jałówka, and Mścibów communities, and sent on December 2, 1942, in the second Wołkowysk transport, to the Treblinka extermination camp. Other eyewitnesses remember the second transport including only the Zelwa community. They describe the Piaski (and Mosty) Jews as being on one of the subsequent transports, which left Wołkowysk for Treblinka every three to seven days, until the middle of December, when only 1,700 to 2,000 inmates, from Wołkowysk and Świsłocz, remained at the transit camp.[12] Almost all of the approximately 18,300 Jews in the Wołkowysk transports to Treblinka were gassed on arrival, as the Germans are known to have held back only 60 to 70 men from the Jałówka and Mścibów transport as prisoners of the Treblinka labor camp. There is only one known survivor from among the prisoners.[13]

A number of Piaski Jews evaded the Treblinka deportations. Ordered to help contain the typhus epidemic, Piaski physician Eliezer Epstein was in the final group of 1,700 to 2,000 inmates sent from Wołkowysk on January 26, 1943, to the Auschwitz extermination camp and among a handful of survivors from the 350 people held back from the transport as prisoners of the concentration camp. At least 15 Piaski Jews, including Szymon Warszawski and Meir Rakhkin, escaped from the ghetto or subsequently from the transit camp and joined the Soviet Pobedka (Victory) partisan unit, a part of the A.S. Sabarov Brigade. Attacks on troop trains and supply convoys and the kidnapping and murder of scores of German officials and soldiers won the partisans in the unit Soviet military distinctions after the war. However, one former partisan, a survivor of the Piaski ghetto, has questioned the single-minded commitment to military operations of unit commander Yitzhak Atlas, a Łódź physician and Soviet-era refugee, because the activities, combined with German reprisal actions, claimed the lives of at least 80 percent of the unit's approximately 360 Jews.[14]

SOURCES The yizkor book *Pyesk u-Most: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Pyesḳ u-Moṣt be-Yisrael ṿeha-tefutsot, 1975) includes several testimonies by Piaski survivors, though at this writing none of them have appeared in the English translation of the yizkor book, available at jewishgen.org. The expulsion from the Piaski ghetto to the Wołkowysk transit camp forms a part of the contribution by Mosty physician Noah Kaplinsky, in "Volkowysk in Its Death Throes," originally published in *Hurban Volkovisk be-Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah, 1939/1945* (Tel Aviv: Ṿaad Irgun yots'e Ṿolḳovisḳ be-Yisrael, 1946), and in English as *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pt. 2, pp. 35–42. Other accounts by Piaski survivors include Raḥel Shtilerman, *'Ayarah 'al ḥol* (Tel Aviv: Yesod, 1968); and Maxime Rafailovitch (or Michael Jourdan–Lichtenstein), "The End of the Piaski Community," available online at the Lida ShtetLinks homepage www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Lida-District/piaski.htm.

Other sources in English for the study of the Pobedka partisans, to which almost all Piaski survivors belonged, include the study of its commander, by Samuel Bornstein, "Dr. Yehezkel Atlas, Partisan Commander," in Jacob Glatstein et al., eds., *Anthology of Holocaust Literature* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969), pp. 299–306; and the account by Moshe Slutsky, "The Partisnas," in Yerachmiel Moorstein, ed., *Sefer zikaron Zelṿah* ([Israel]: Irgun yots'e Zelṿah be-Yisrael, 1984), in an English translation by Jacob Solomon Berger, as Yerachmiel Moorstein, ed., *Zelva Memorial Book* (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 1992), pp. 71–76.

Also useful is the relevant entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 525–529; and the perspective of local Belarusians provided in Natal'ia Slizh, "Zhizn evreiskoi obshchiny glazami belorusov v 1930–1940-e gg. (na primere derevni Peski Grodnenskoi oblasti)," *Diaspory* (Moscow) 4 (2003): 268–278.

Archival documentation for the Jewish community of Piaski under the German occupation in World War II includes FVA (HVT-4185); GARF (7021-86-43, pp. 5–15); USHMM (RG-22.002M [GARF], reel 13, 7021-86-43, pp. 5–15); VHF (#

13415, 15651, 19344, and 35581); and YVA (e.g., M-33 [GARF]/711, pp. 5–15). A portion of the ChGK report for Piaski also appears in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 191, in English translation as "Peski (Piaski)," in *Holocaust in Belarus*, at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belarus/bel178.htmlyizkor book.

Laura Crago and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 35581, testimony of Michael Jourdan-Lichtenstein with Maxime Rafailovitch.
2. AŻIH, 301/37, testimony of Ida Mazur, p. 1.
3. VHF, # 35581.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., # 13415, testimony of Dora (Zhukovskaia-)Levina.
6. Ibid.
7. Rafailovitch, "The End."
8. VHF, # 13415.
9. Ibid., # 19344, testimony of Itsko Zhukovskii.
10. GARF, 7021-86-43, pp. 10, 12.
11. Compare ibid., pp. 5–15; and Rafailovitch, "The End."
12. Compare, e.g., Moses Einhorn, "Destruction of Wolkovisk," in Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-bukh* (New York, 1949), p. 921; and Kaplinsky, "Volkowysk," in *Sefer zikaron Volkovisk*, pt. 2, p. 41.
13. BLH, testimony of Leib Aronzon, in an English trans. on the Jałówka homepage of the Avotaynu Web site (www.avotaynu.com), with the author remembering the expulsion of the second Wołkowysk transport occurring on December 2, 1942.
14. In English, compare Bornstein, "Dr. Yehezkel Atlas," pp. 299–306; and VHF, # 35581.

PIĄTNICA

Pre-1939: Piątnica (Yiddish: Piontnitza), village, Łomża powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Piatnitsa, Lomzha raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Piatnitsa, Kreis Lomscha, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Piątnica, Łomża powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Piątnica lies across the Narew River from Łomża, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) northeast of the city. About 250 Jews resided there on the eve of World War II.[1]

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Piątnica on June 28, 1941. The military commander invested local Poles with day-to-day authority over the village. Jan Wojewoda served as the village administrator (sołtys), and Czesław Darkowski, as the vice village administrator (podsołtys).

Christian-Jewish relations were tense. After the Germans had departed, Wojewoda and Darkowski organized a roundup of the Jews, drove them to the synagogue, and threatened to burn them alive. Gendarmes in Łomża, guarding the bridge over the Narew, heard the screams of the Jews as they were being herded into the synagogue. They rushed to Piątnica to issue orders forbidding the Poles to murder the Jews and to drive them away from the assembled Jews.[2]

At the beginning of July 1941, Wojewoda and Darkowski established a ghetto for the Piątnica Jews. Leon Malek (or Malko), appointed by the Germans as the civil administrator (wójt) of the larger Drozdowo gmina, to which Piątnica then belonged, also participated in the decision to concentrate the Piątnica Jews into a small residential neighborhood. The men allowed the Jews to bring to the ghetto only what they could carry in a small bundle and ordered them to leave the remainder of their property at their former residences. The role played by the Germans in the establishment of the ghetto is unknown, but they did not intercede to forestall its emergence. Whether prohibitions were placed on Jewish movement beyond the ghetto also is unknown. Poles living in the ghetto area were not made to move. Rather, they were expected to house the Jews from the other parts of Piątnica.

Wojewoda, Darkowski, and Malek likely established the Piątnica ghetto to claim the property they had forced the Jews to abandon. The sołtys and podsołtys took ownership over the homes, workshops, and tools of the Jews. Malek received their cows and horses. The men probably enforced the ghettoization orders by turning over protestors to the German authorities. Darkowski, also an auxiliary policeman for three months at the beginning of the occupation, handed at least four Jews, including Gołda Matys, over to German authorities. The Jews were not seen again. In the middle of August 1941, the Germans liquidated the Piątnica ghetto. They ordered the Jews deported to the Łomża ghetto. Wojewoda helped the Gendarmes, presumably sent from Łomża, to round up the Piątnica Jews.

Wojewoda and Darkowski decided to hold back 12 Jews from the expulsion. They held the Jews prisoner and compelled them for three months in the fall of 1941 to remodel their houses. The prisoners included Eliasz Czerwonka, Nachman Markiewicz, and Fajba Żołądź. Then one day, after the establishment of a Gendarmerie post in Piątnica, likely in the early fall of 1941, the Poles marched their Jewish captives to the gmina administrative offices and handed them over to the German authorities. The Germans shot the men in the Giełczyń Forest.[3]

After the war, Wojewoda, Darkowski, and Malek were tried for a number of crimes, including on charges related to anti-Jewish compulsion and violence in Piątnica. Malek was charged with stealing Jewish-owned livestock.[4] Wojewoda and Darkowski were charged with organizing a ghetto for the Piątnica Jews and serving as accessories in the deaths of 24 Jews, including the 12 men they had held captive in their homes. Although witnesses presented much evidence during the investigation to suggest the men were guilty of establishing a ghetto in Piątnica, Wojewoda and Darkowski, in February 1951, were found not guilty.

SOURCES The deposition of Cwi Baranowicz, recorded in 1967 in New York at the request of West German prosecutors investigating Nazi crimes in the Białystok and Łomża regions,

is widely available in a number of sources, including Piotr Jendroszczyk and Maciej Rybiński, "Czy Żydów w Jedwabnem zabiło Gestapo?" *Rzeczpospolita*, March 21, 2001; Wojciech Kamiński, "Tajemnice archiwów," *Życie*, March 23, 2001; and "Niemieckie dokumenty o Jedwabnem," *Głos*, no. 12 (2001). As the titles suggest, poor and partial translations of the deposition initially led some Polish journalists to conclude that Baranowicz was describing events in Jedwabne. A more careful translation revealed that he was discussing Piątnica.

Useful secondary works on the history of Piątnica's Jewish community under German occupation include the relevant entries in Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, pp. 227–228; and Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 249–262 (Łomża), pp. 348–349 (Piątnica).

Documentation covering the history of the Jewish community in Piątnica during World War II includes AŻIH (301/4958); IPN (e.g., SAB 24, 212); and IPN-Bi (3/115, 07/1092).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4958, testimony of Chaim Stawicki, p. 1.
2. Deposition of Cwi Baranowicz, cited by Kamiński, "Tajemnice archiwów."
3. IPN, SAB 212.
4. Ibid., SAB 24.

POROZÓW

Pre-1939: Porozów (Yiddish: Porosavo), village, Wołkowysk powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Porozovo, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Porozow, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Porazava, Suislach raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Porozów lies 90 kilometers (56 miles) south-southeast of Grodno. By World War II, after Porozów came under Soviet occupation on September 26, 1939, the Jewish population stood at about 600 people.

On June 25, 1941, the fourth day of the German invasion of the USSR, a Wehrmacht unit briefly occupied Porozów. Its commander immediately demanded that the village's inhabitants assemble on the market square. As he counted the population, he ordered every tenth male Jew arrested. The 20 detainees were executed, likely at the Jewish cemetery. The remaining men, both Jews and Christians, were incarcerated overnight in the Roman Catholic Church, providing the German soldiers an opportunity to rob Jewish homes. After the men were released, about 24 Jewish refugees found shelter with the Porozów Roman Catholic priest, Grabowski. He also arranged travel permits for the refugees, enabling them to return on July 1 to Białystok.[1] In the meantime, on June 25, a small group of Red Army soldiers had reoccupied Porozów. A larger German force drove them from the village the next day.

The new military commander, a young lieutenant, appointed a provisional civilian administration under the leadership of Radzwiński (or Radivinsky), a local Pole. The commander also announced a series of anti-Jewish decrees. The first required the Jews to wear white armbands, with a Star of David, and most likely forbade them from leaving the village without official permission. Another order required the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). It was led by a baker named Lew.

About a week after they had arrived, the German soldiers departed Porozów, leaving the village for several months in the hands of the newly appointed Polish administrators. One survivor notes that the Poles left the Jews in peace. Another account claims Radzwiński collaborated with the German administration, presumably in Wołkowysk, to extract material contributions from the Jews.[2] In October 1941, a Gendarmerie post, manned by four to six Germans, was established in Porozów. In November, an Amtskommissar arrived, as Porozów became an administrative center of Kreis Wolkowysk, in Distrikt Bialystok.

Because the Gendarmes and the Amtskommissar appeared interested above all in their material enrichment, the Porozów Judenrat used gifts and monetary contributions to evade the imposition of most of the anti-Jewish decrees, such as the order in September 1941 that formally made forced labor obligatory for all adult Jews. When some Jews fleeing anti-Jewish violence arrived in Porozów from Słonim, the Judenrat bribed the German officials to regularize their residency.

The relative calm came to an end in the summer of 1942 after the Porozów Amtskommissar was transferred, most likely in July. Two weeks after his replacement arrived, he ordered the Jews to the market square so that the German Gendarmes and members of the auxiliary police could search and strip their homes of valuables. Two Jews, including a refugee from Słonim, were shot that evening. A week later, the Amtskommissar ordered the arrest of all the able-bodied male Jews in the village. After many of them were beaten severely, the Judenrat paid a bribe to secure their release a week later. In exchange, the Judenrat also likely conceded to German demands for 25 young people to be sent to a labor camp to widen and pave the road from Wołkowysk to Zelwa and for Jewish craftsmen in Porozów to be conscripted daily for forced labor.

The new Amtskommissar also decided to use the discretionary authority supposedly extended to the heads of local German administrations throughout Kreis Wolkowysk to establish a ghetto in Porozów in August 1942.[3] The ghetto was located on two small streets between Kościelna (Church) and Nowy Dwór Streets. It was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.

Because the Porozów Amtskommissariat lacked Christian medical personnel, several Jewish health professionals were exempted from the ghettoization orders and were permitted to continue serving non-Jewish patients. They included the physicians Aleksander Rozenbaum and Motel (or Marek) Ka-

plan, a dentist (Kaplan's wife), a pharmacist, and their extended families. Kaplan had been ordered from Wołkowysk to Porozów in the Soviet period to establish a medical clinic; Rozenbaum, originally from Kalisz, had fled the German occupation of Warsaw in September 1939.[4] It seems unlikely that the Germans consolidated other Jewish communities in the Porozów ghetto, as the 50 Jews of Nowy Dwór, the closest large Jewish community, had been driven from their houses by a Wehrmacht unit in July 1941 and marched to Prużana.

Material conditions in the Porozów ghetto were poor. Because almost all the able-bodied men and women had been sent to work on the road construction project, those who remained in the ghetto found it difficult to supplement their meager rations, as only a few of them were physically able to sneak out of the ghetto to barter with local Christians for food. Overcrowding, a problem from the outset, became more severe in October when the Jewish road laborers throughout the eastern parts of Distrikt Bialystok were returned to their home ghettos. Poor sanitation and the limited food supply led to the outbreak of several small-scale epidemics within a month of the establishment of the ghetto.

On November 2, 1942, the Porozów ghetto was liquidated. At 3:00 A.M., the Amtskommissar read an order to the head of the Judenrat and to Kaplan, the representative of the medical personnel, that stated that the Jews were to be transferred to a labor camp. The order gave three hours for packing a limited number of belongings, such as work clothes, two pairs of underwear, and two blankets, before assembling at the market square. The Amtskommissar permitted about 50 people, deemed too sick or old to make the trip, to remain behind. After a three-hour delay, the remaining Jews, about 550 people, were expelled from Porozów. With the exception of mothers with young children, loaded onto a limited number of previously requisitioned peasant carts, the Porozów Jews were marched on foot to the Wołkowysk transit camp, located in the former garrison of the pre-war Polish 3rd Regiment of Mounted Rifles. They arrived there at 10:00 P.M. A few days later, about 30 to 40 of the elderly and sick were brought from Porozów to the camp. The remaining 10 to 20 Jews, mostly the advanced elderly, were executed in the Nowy Dwór Forest, just outside Porozów.[5]

At the transit camp, the Porozów Jews joined about 19,400 other Jews from nearby communities concentrated there between November 2 and 3, 1942. Crowded into underground bunkers and dilapidated wooden stables, the prisoners lived in deplorable conditions: exposed to subfreezing temperatures; malnourished from the daily ration of a small bowl of potato broth and 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread; and denied regular access to water. Within two weeks, these conditions had contributed to an outbreak of a particularly virulent strain of typhus, which claimed hundreds of lives. Others perished from brutal beatings or were shot for small infractions of camp regulations by the SS members who oversaw the camp, including its commandant Zirka.

At the end of November, the SS began liquidating the camp, sending most of its inmates, in several transports, to the Treblinka extermination camp. Almost all the Porozów Jews were among a group of 3,000 to 5,000 people sent, likely on December 2, on the second transport to Treblinka. Only 60 to 70 men from this transport were held back as prisoners of the Treblinka I labor camp. The remaining Jews were gassed on arrival.[6] Because of the typhus epidemic at the transit camp, the Porozów physicians and their wives were held back from the deportation. Zaydl Trop and Fishl Khananovich, from Porozów, also managed to evade the deportation. The 6 were among the 1,700 to 2,000 Wołkowysk inmates sent on January 26, 1943, to the Auschwitz extermination camp and among the 350 people (270 men and 80 women) held back from the transport as prisoners of the concentration camp.[7] Only Kaplan and his sister survived.

A handful of Porozów Jews may have survived by fleeing to the forests and joining Soviet partisans there. They likely did so in units operating in the forests north of Wołkowysk, as the Soviet commander in the forests to the south, around Porozów (and Różana), reportedly was an antisemite who murdered all the Jews he discovered hiding there.[8]

SOURCES Copies of almost all the archival documents, accompanied by English translations or summaries, can be found on the Web site "Porozow—A Tribute to Its Former Jewish Community," at www.porozow.net. Its author and compiler, Scott D. Seligman, has established a repository of almost every known source about the Porozów Jewish community. The documentation there includes the account by Wołkowysk physician and Porozów survivor Marek Kaplan, originally published in the second Wołkowysk yizkor book, Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949), and available in an English translation as "The Incidents in Porozow," in *Sefer zikaron Volḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pp. 312–315; and the summary work, "Porozów," from the fourth Wołkowysk yizkor book, Katri'el Lashovits, ed., *Volkovisk: Sipurah shel kehilah Yehudit-Tsiyonit hushmedah ba-Sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: K. Lashovits, 1988), p. 104.

In addition to these sources, a brief discussion of the Porozów ghetto appears in the May 2008 contribution by Pole and former Porozów native Wiktor Szałkiewicz, "Porozów, którego już nie ma . . . ," available at www.kresy24.pl. The memoir by physician and Wołkowysk survivor Izaak Goldberg, *The Miracles versus Tyranny: The Fight for Life and Death between the Jewish People and the Nazis* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1979), offers a thorough treatment of life at the Wołkowysk transit camp and provides some coverage of the experiences and fates at Auschwitz of the two Porozów physicians.

Useful, too, is the Porozów entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 523–525.

Archival documentation for the history of the Porozów Jewish community includes GARF (7021-86-44, e.g., pp. 1, 35); NARB (845-1-8, p. 47); and USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M [GARF], reel 13); and VHF (# 48539).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/3766, testimony of Kalman Barakin, excerpted in Polish trans., in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), p. 386.

2. Compare Kaplan, "The Incidents," pp. 312–315; and "Porozow," in Lashovits, *Volkovisk*, p. 104.

3. Kaplan, "The Incidents," p. 314.

4. VHF, #48539, testimony of Naomi (Kaplan-Rozenblum) Warren.

5. GARF, 7021-86-44, p. 35, listing 10 Jewish victims.

6. BLH, testimony of Leib Aronzon, in an English trans. on the Jałówka homepage of the Avotaynu Web site (www.avotaynu.com).

7. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 162–163.

8. See AŻIH, 301/2002 and 2114, respectively, testimony of Jasza Klin, p. 1, and testimony of Hanka Szpiler-Wołk (or Volk), p. 2.

PORZECZE

Pre-1939: Porzecze, village, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Porech'e, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Poretschje, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Parechcha, Hrodna raen and voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Porzecze lies on Lake Mołotniewo (Russian: Molochnoe), about 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) northeast of Grodno. On the eve of World War II, about 80 Jewish families, numbering about 400 people, were living there.

Initially occupied in World War II by Soviet forces, Porzecze did not come under German occupation until shortly after June 22, 1941. The German military commander in Porzecze appointed a provisional civil administration and a local auxiliary police force from among the village's Poles and Belorussians. The local administration most likely represented German interests after the departure of the military from there, as the Porzecze mayor received directives from the Security Police in Grodno as late as September 24, 1941. A German civil administration and a Gendarmerie post were established there around October 1, the day Kreis Grodno was incorporated into Distrikt Bialystok. The Amtskommissariat was headed by a man surnamed Kirm. The Gendarmerie was under the command of Hauptwachtmeister Papenbrock.[1]

An unknown German unit embarked immediately on anti-Jewish violence in Porzecze, murdering almost all the village's Jewish men within the first two weeks of the military occupation. The first victims were 30 Jews identified as Communists by some local Christians. The next day, the Germans took another 40 Jewish men to work outside the village. When they did not return, they were presumed to have been murdered. Some of the remaining men are believed to have sought shelter in Jeziory. After the murders, only about 25 male Jews remained in Porzecze. They included brothers Lejb (or Leon) and Moses Borovnick (or Borownicki), teenagers who had attempted to flee to Soviet-occupied territory. About two weeks into their journey, some German soldiers ordered them to return home. When they arrived there a week later, they discovered almost no men in the Porzecze Jewish community.[2]

In the meantime, the Germans had imposed a number of restrictions on the surviving Jewish population, issuing decrees that required the Jews to wear a patch with the Star of David on their clothes, forbade contact with local Christians, restricted the Jews to the borders of the village, and mandated forced labor. The Germans also ordered that a six-person Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established. Its chair, Meir Szalkowicz, was the son of the rabbi. They ordered the formation of a three-person Jewish police force. Different groups of Germans also demanded from the Jews several large payments, or ransoms, so named because each time the Germans called for the contributions, they held a number of Jews hostage, pending their receipt.

On September 24, 1941, the inspector for the outlying districts of the Gendarmerie-Kreisführer in Grodno directed civil authorities in Porzecze (and Jeziory) to create ghettos for the Jewish inhabitants of their villages.[3] The Porzecze ghetto was established just outside the village in about 20 small houses. The houses most likely had comprised a small settlement built by the railway in the 1850s for its agricultural and forestry workers. At the time the Jews were moved there, the houses had been inhabited mostly by Polish peasants. The ghetto initially was unfenced. According to one survivor, it remained an open ghetto until its liquidation in November 1942. However, another account notes that the ghetto was fenced in the winter of 1941–1942, after the Germans resettled some Polish farmers in the Jews' former homes.[4]

The Germans and likely their local collaborators compelled the Jews to remain within the ghetto by frightening and terrorizing them, mostly by entering the ghetto and shooting their guns into the air. Ghetto inmates worked for the Germans in forestry labor. Material conditions were not as terrible as in some ghettos, as the Jews found they could leave the ghetto rather easily to exchange their remaining possessions with local peasants for food.

On November 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Porzecze ghetto. That day, they ordered the Jews to assemble in front of the Judenrat's headquarters for deportation to a labor camp. During the Aktion, at least 15 Jews fled to the forest; 2, a woman and a man, were killed immediately.[5] The rest of the Jews, about 234 people, were brought on peasant wagons to the Kiełbasin transit camp, about 5 kilometers (3.1 kilometers) southwest of Grodno.[6] Immediately after the deportation of the Jews to Kiełbasin, the Amtskommissar ordered the remaining Jewish property there collected and sold. The proceeds, 10,624.51 Reichsmark (RM), were deposited into a trustee account of the Landratsamt in Grodno.[7]

At Kiełbasin, the Jews from Porzecze joined Jews from about 22 other communities and labor camps (about 22,000 to 28,000 people) consolidated there between November 2 and 5, 1942. The Porzecze Jews lived at Kiełbasin for more than a month, in terrible conditions, with little food, subjected to the elements in underground bunkers. Many perished from illnesses related to the poor diet and unsanitary conditions. Most of the Porzecze Jews likely were deported on December 5, 1942, the second day of Hanukkah, together with the Jews of Łunna, to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Almost all of them were gassed on arriving at Auschwitz, on December 8. Records available at this writing document only 2 Porzecze Jews, Chaim Kamiński and Icek Rud, held back as prisoners of the concentration camp. Both men perished there.[8] Some Porzecze Jews also were on the last transport from Kiełbasin, most likely sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. Others, including the Borovick brothers, were among the 2,000 to 3,500 Jews still at the transit camp when the Germans closed it shortly after December 21 and sent its remaining inmates to the Grodno I ghetto. In Grodno, the remaining Porzecze Jews either perished there from illnesses they had contracted at the transit camp or were deported to Auschwitz a month later, during the January 18–22, 1943, Grodno ghetto liquidation Aktion. The Borovick brothers, for instance, arrived at Auschwitz on January 24, 1943. The extant arrival records are too scarce to determine whether other Porzecze Jews were on the transport.[9]

Most of the Porzecze Jews who had fled to the forests also perished in the months following the ghetto's liquidation. On November 22, 1942, for example, police from the Porzecze Gendarmerie post uncovered a forest bunker and shot dead the 6 Jews they found hiding there. Three days later, they murdered 10 more Jews.[10] A few Porzecze Jews are believed to have reached the forest encampment of the Kobrowski family, a group of Jews who had fled the liquidation of the ghetto of Marcinkańce.[11] The group subsequently joined the Soviet partisans of the Davidov brigade.

SOURCES Although no yizkor book with memoirs from Porzecze survivors has appeared, survivor Leon Borovick did publish a volume, titled *Zibn zunen: Lider* (New York: Matones, 1980), in which he recounts lyrically his experiences in Porzecze during World War II and later at Auschwitz. He recites and sings some of the works from the volume in his VHF testimony.

Useful also is the Porzecze entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 518–519.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Jewish community of Porzecze during the Holocaust includes GAGO (1-1-54, p. 38, and 1-1-335, pp. 64–67); GARF (7021-86-40, pp. 4, 56, 58); NARB (845-1-8, p. 31); RGVA (1323-2-244); USHMM (RG-22.002M [GARF], reel 13; and RG-53.004M [GAGO], e.g., reels 1, 1-1-54, p. 38, reel 2, 1-1-150, pp. 24–25, and reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 64–67); VHF (# 25938); and YVA.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 3, 1-1-280, pp. 6–7.
2. VHF, # 25938, testimony of Leon Borovick
3. RGVA, 1323-2-250, pp. 117, 135, cited in Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 530–531.
4. Compare VHF, # 25938; with "Porzecze," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:518–519.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99.
6. Ibid., RG-53.004M, reel 1, 1-1-54, p. 38; and GARF, 7021-86-40, p. 4.
7. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 64–67.
8. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 131–132.
9. Alexandre Blumstein, *A Little House on Mount Carmel* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002), pp. 174–176; and Mączka, *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz*, pp. 160–161.
10. USHMM, RG-11.001M (RGVA), reel 81, 1323-2-244, p. 99, with some of the murdered Jews among those who fled from the ghetto of Marcinkańce.
11. Blumstein, *A Little House*, p. 335.

PRUŻANA

Pre-1939: Prużana, town and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pruzhany, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Pruschana, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Pruzhany, raen center, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Prużana is located about 85 kilometers (53 miles) northeast of Brześć had Bugiem. The number of Jews in Prużana was 4,152 (65.6 percent of the total population) in 1921. Between mid-September 1939 and June 1941, Prużana was under Soviet rule. Jewish communal bodies were disbanded, most private businesses were nationalized, and Jewish craftsmen were reorganized into cooperatives.

German tanks of Army Group Center entered Prużana on the night of June 23–24, 1941. Jewish survivors recall that local non-Jews welcomed the German invaders, whereas the Jews tried to avoid contact with them. Columns of German troops passed through the town for three weeks. During this period, German soldiers confiscated food supplies left behind by the Soviet authorities, although some were distributed to the local population.[1]

A short time after the arrival of German forces, Sonderkommando 7b, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B, passed through the area, conducting large-scale search and killing operations in Prużana, Różana, Kobryń, and Bielsk Podlaski.[2] In Prużana, a local Polish police force was formed that arrested a number of Poles, Belorussians, and Jews, allegedly for cooperating with the Soviet regime. German security forces then shot these people, including 18 Jews, even though some had not had



A remembrance meeting of Prużana (Pruzhany) survivors in the Feldafing displaced-persons camp, 1946. Abraham Shevelevitch (in hat, front row) sits in the front row.
USHMM WS #18412, COURTESY OF MJH/CHS

anything to do with the Soviet authorities. During the initial weeks of occupation, a German military administration governed the town. Among the first anti-Jewish regulations it issued were the introduction of a yellow badge for Jews and an order prohibiting them from using the sidewalks.[3]

The German occupation forces soon ordered the Prużana Jewish community to select a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Initially, the council consisted of 5 persons, but later it was increased to 24. The head of the Jewish Council was Yitzchak Janowicz. His deputy was the attorney Ze'ev Schreibman. Eliezer Schein was responsible for the internal affairs of the ghetto. Zavel Segal served as the intermediary between the council and the German authorities. The distribution of food was the responsibility of Shlomo Yudewicz. Physician Olga Goldfajn, the pre-war head of the Prużana hospital, headed the sanitation department.[4] A Jewish police force also was established. Its tasks included collecting taxes and other "contributions" from the Jews. It also prevented smuggling and other infringements of German regulations. Most survivors report that Jewish Council members tried to do the best for the community and did not betray the trust placed in them.[5]

The Jewish population of Prużana was placed under a great deal of financial pressure. For example, soon after the start of the occupation the Germans ordered the Jews to deliver over half a million rubles, 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of gold, 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of silver, all furs, and 100 pairs of boots, within 24 hours. More demands followed for blankets, pillows, and other household goods.[6]

The German authorities immediately limited Jewish residence in Prużana by forbidding Jews from living on certain streets, including Dr. Pacewicz Street and May 3rd Street. Those living there were forced to move.

On September 22 or 25, 1941, the Jews were ordered to resettle into the designated ghetto area, which included Dąbrowski and Kobryń Streets as far as the bridge, Brześć Street up to Szereszów Street, and all the intervening streets. The ghetto was partly surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and partly by a solid wall, which the Jews were forced to erect. The ghetto had two entrances, which were guarded from the outside by the auxiliary police. Its main gate lay between the Judkowski (or Yudkowski) house and a line of stores.[7] Subsequently, the area of the ghetto was reduced in size.

From mid-August to mid-September 1941, approximately 2,000 Jews were removed to Prużana from the Białowieża Forest communities of Hajnówka, Kamieniec Litewski, Linowo, Narew, and other places.[8] Because German security forces had executed all or a part of the men of these communities and local German authorities in some cases also demanded that male craftsmen be held back from the deportations, the refugee population was composed mainly of the elderly, women, and children. A number of women and children from Szereszów also evaded deportation to Kobryń, shortly after August 15, by seeking refuge in Prużana. A handful of men from Szereszów also fled there to avoid forced marches to Antopol and Drohiczyn, which claimed the lives of many of these prisoners.

German authorities also used the Prużana ghetto to relieve population pressure on the Białystok ghetto, by ordering 5,000 to 8,000 Białystok Jews expelled there, in groups of about 500 people, between September 17 and October 19, 1941. Officially, the Białystok prisoners came from the unskilled, unemployed, and homeless populations. This group included many widows and families of the victims of the Black Saturday (or Black Sabbath) executions, on July 12, with the former known as *di shabbesdike* (Sabbath widows), and those whose homes were burned to the ground on the first day of the German occupation of Białystok. However, many skilled workers also volunteered for expulsion to Prużana, because they believed conditions would be better there. Some volunteers also came from the small group of Jews who had fled to Białystok to evade arrest for Soviet-era collusion with Communist authorities. They thought that volunteering for Prużana might enable them to escape German searches for them in the Białystok ghetto.[9]

Additional Jewish refugees arrived in Prużana during 1941 and 1942, having escaped the anti-Jewish violence and the liquidation of entire Jewish communities in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, including from Bereza Kartuska and Kobryń, Linowo, Małecz, and Sielec, where the Germans had murdered almost all Jews by December 1942. Among the Kobryń refugees were a substantial number of women and children from the Białowieża Forest communities of Białowieża and Narewka, deported there between August 13 and 15, 1941.[10] Eyewitnesses note that Jews from more than 22 different communities were inmates of the Prużana ghetto.

The refugees likely brought the Prużana ghetto population to 10,000, though some survivors note its population crested at between 15,000 and 18,000.[11] However, about 1,500 of the Białystok deportees are believed to have made their way back home. Up to another 6,000 Prużana ghetto inmates likely perished from disease, exposure, or as a result of anti-Jewish violence. Another eyewitness reports that an official SS population count, conducted on December 10, 1942, in the midst of a typhus epidemic, placed the ghetto population at 12,000 people.[12]

The daily ration made available by German authorities to the ghetto was sparse: 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread and a few potatoes per person. Meat was almost never supplied. However, the Jewish Council received a onetime 100,000 ruble payment and an additional monthly sum of 50,000 rubles (about 5,000 Reichsmark [RM]) from the Białystok Jewish Council to aid its refugees. It used the sum to provide the ghetto's inhabitants with potatoes and bread at low prices. Because the small amount of money the Germans paid it to compensate forced laborers did not cover expenses, it also imposed taxes on the ghetto inhabitants. The council established a bakery in the ghetto to produce bread, and it was involved in smuggling food into the ghetto.

Accommodation was a problem in the ghetto. Owing to the resettlement of native Jews and the arrival of thousands of refugees, the Prużana Jewish Council assigned each family a single room in the houses in the ghetto. Overcrowding was severe, particularly after the ghetto area was reduced, at which point each resident was assigned 2 square meters (21.5 square feet) of living space.[13] Fuel for heating was in short supply. To meet this need, the Judenrat secured permission from German authorities to send workers to dig out the roots of felled trees to use as firewood in the ghetto.[14]

The Jewish Council fulfilled German demands for forced labor by assigning the ghetto inhabitants to specific work details. About 200 people were sent to pave a highway; many more worked outside the ghetto for six-week stints at forest camps, to fell trees; others worked at a German military base, established at a pre-war cavalry training ground.[15] In the ghetto, several workshops were established to produce mostly clothes and furniture. Some Jewish craftsmen engaged in carpentry, tailoring, and shoemaking. Others knitted or worked in the households of German families.[16]

Demands for contributions and other material items continued throughout the ghetto's existence. The Germans ordered ghetto residents to part with their beds and bedding. They also insisted that the Judenrat provide 100 pieces of tin sheeting to repair roofs on houses designated for German resettlement.

The Jewish Council organized a certain level of medical aid for the poor. It established a hospital in a former Polish secondary school building, under the direction of Professor Shtriecher. The hospital received some deliveries of medicine. The ghetto's doctors attempted to conceal an outbreak of typhus, as they feared the German authorities might use it as a pretext to liquidate the ghetto. Under the supervision of Wela Laref Janowicz, the Jewish Council organized a school for small children. Cultural and religious activities continued in the ghetto, with Jews praying in private houses, because the synagogues were full of refugees.[17]

Plans to establish a fighting organization, to dig bunkers, or to escape to the forests were widely discussed. A large number of mostly young Jews did not trust the Jewish Council, and some escaped to join the partisans. Several underground groups were organized. A secret radio and bunkers existed in the ghetto. Some Jews who worked in an ammunition factory managed to steal the parts needed to make weapons.[18] Yosel Untershul and his wife were the first people to flee the ghetto and join the partisans. However, the Judenrat opposed such escapes, as it feared German retribution if people were discovered to be missing.[19]

At sunrise on November 1, 1942, German units surrounded the Prużana ghetto. Police forces armed with machine guns were positioned at 15-meter (49-foot) intervals, and nobody was allowed to leave the ghetto area. Faced with this tense situation, a group of intellectuals—physicians, teachers, and attorneys—resolved to commit suicide. The poison did not work in all cases; an additional attempt at asphyxiation—by blocking the chimney of Velvel Schreibman's house—was interrupted, and many of the people were resuscitated.[20] However, as German authorities liquidated almost all of the other provincial ghettos in the Białystok region and deported their inhabitants to extermination camps via transit camps, the siege of the Prużana ghetto was lifted after a few days, and food supplies were restored. Although the Prużana Jews were given a brief reprieve, they nonetheless recognized that the ghetto's days were numbered.

In mid-December 1942, Heinrich Himmler issued orders for the remaining 30,000 Jews in the provinces of the Białystok region, including the Jews of the Prużana ghetto, to be sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp. On January 27, 1943, the German authorities arrested 7 members of the Jewish Council, allegedly for having contacts with the partisans; however, the arrests more likely were to forestall possible resistance to the ghetto's impending liquidation.[21] The next day, German officials informed the remaining members of the Jewish Council that the inhabitants of the ghetto would be deported to a labor camp in Silesia. The Germans permitted the Jews to bring with them up to 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of luggage. The ghetto was liquidated in four successive large transports of about 2,500 Jews each, over four days from January 29 to February 1, 1943.[22] The Jews were transported on peasants' sleds to the railway station at Linowo, where up to 150 people were crammed into each freight car. Out of the approximately 9,161 Prużana ghetto inmates deported to Auschwitz, only 1,675 people—1,183 men and 492 women—were held back as prisoners of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The remaining 7,486 people were gassed on arrival.[23]

Only 200 to 300 of the selected Jews from the Prużana ghetto survived their ordeals in Auschwitz and other labor camps. At least 100 Jews managed to evade the ghetto roundup or jumped from the transports. Among them was Olga Goldfajn, who was assisted by a Catholic nun. Subsequently she joined a group of partisans that conducted operations around Wołkowysk.[24]

SOURCES There are several yizkor books for Prużana and the surrounding towns, including, in Hebrew, Joseph Friedlaender, ed., *Pinḳas Pruz'ani ṿeha-sevivah: (Tol) dot ṿe-zikaron le-ḳehilot she-hushmedu ba-sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Pruz'ani ṿeha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1983), which—although it contains some original material—is a condensed version of the earlier yizkor book edited by Mordechai Wolf Bernstein, *Pinkes fun finf fartilikte kehiles: Pruzshene, Bereze, Maltsh, Sheshev, Selts: Zeyer oyfkum, geshikte un umkum*

(Buenos Aires: Aroysgegeben fun Landslayt-fareyn fun Pruzshene, Bereze, Maḷtsh, Shershev un umgegṇt in Argeṇtine, 1958); and Dov Kirschner and David Forer, eds., *Ḥurbn Pruzshene* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn fun Landslaẏt fareyn fun Pruzshene, Bereze, Maḷtsh, Shershev un umgegṇt in Argeṇtine, 1974). English translations of the table of contents of both books appear on the Children of Pruzany and the Surrounding Area (CPSA) Web site at http://cpsa.info, under the Pruzany link, with some of the chapters on the early history of Prużana from the 1983 book and the Szereszów chapters from the 1958 book also translated there.

Other relevant memoirs and works include Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004), with earlier testimonies from the same author available as Meishke Kantorovich, *Shershev: Agony and Death of a Shtetl: In Memoriam*, which, in turn, originally formed chapters 16–18 of Jacob Auerbach, *The Undying Spark* (Long Beach, NY: J. Auerbach, between 1976 and 1992), with the last also cited below as RG-02.113; Avraham Harshalom, *Alive from the Ashes* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Milo, 1990); and Moris Sorid, *One More Miracle: The Memoirs of Moris Sorid* (Jonathan Sorid, 2007).

The testimony "The Story of Olga Goldfayn," in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 206–212, covers a part of the below-cited AŻIH, 301/1380, testimony of Olga Goldfajn, by a physician employed prior to the war in the Prużana hospital. Goldfajn's story of survival, including the assistance she received by Sister Genofewa (née and later Genofewa Czubak, as she was defrocked for sheltering Goldfajn), of the Order of St. Ignatius of Loyola, is retold in English by Mordecai Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1993), pp. 213–215.

An interview with Fania Krawczak, originally from Szereszów, by Pia-Kristina Svenhard, appears on the Web site of the Pruzhany Uyezd Research Organization, at www.pruzhanydistrict.com.ar/people_sub/fania.htm; and two interviews with Aida Brydbord, by Collette Krause and Rachel Licht, appear on Judy Cohen's Web site "Women of Valor, Partisans and Resistance Fighters," www3.sympatico.ca/mighty1/valor/aida.htm. Though published by his family posthumously as a biography, also valuable is Mildred C. Nitzberg and Marilyn M. Segal, *I Chose Life: A Survivor's Search for Peace* (Bloomington, IN, 2007), the biography of survivor Saul I. Nitzberg.

Historians disagree over which Einsatzgruppe detachment was responsible for the executions of the 18 Jews (and an unknown number of Polish and Belorussian victims) in Prużana in July 1941, in part because so many different units are known to have passed through Prużana on their way to Minsk. Historians most frequently cite the presence in Prużana of Einsatzkommando 7b, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B, because documentation, including the Tätigkeitsbericht des Chefs der Einsatzgruppe B für die Zeit vom 23.6.1941 bis zum 13.7.1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42. Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 377, places it in Prużana, Rożana, Kobryń, and Bielsk Podlaski between June 29 and July 2. However, Andrzej Żbikowski, in *U genezy Jedwabnego: Żydzi na kresach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej, wrzesień 1939–lipiec 1941* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2006), has suggested that survivor accounts, specifically the previously cited Goldfajn testimony (AŻIH, 301/1380), which dates the executions to July 10, 1941, indicate that they occurred after Einsatzgruppe 7b had passed through Prużana; they therefore were more likely the work of the Einsatzkommando led by SS-Untersturmführer Wolfgang Birkner.

The deportation and in some instances the escape of Jews from the Białowieża Forest communities to the Prużana ghetto is described in several of the memoirs and testimonies detailed above; a brief summary of the expulsions can be found in Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 535–536 (Hajnówka).

The issue of the removal of Białystok refugees to the Prużana ghetto is covered in a large number of archival and memoir sources, including the memoirs by Michel Mielnicki, *Białystok to Birkenau: The Holocaust Journey of Michel Mielnicki*, ed. John A. Munro (Vancouver, Canada: Ronsdale Press, 2000). There also is much coverage of the deportations and their impact on the Białystok ghetto community in Sara Bender, *The Jews of Białystok during World War II and the Holocaust*, trans. Yaffa Murciano (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008), pp. 108–112, 172, 283.

Documents relating to the Prużana ghetto and the annihilation of the Jewish population of the town can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301 [511, 984, 1269, 1380, 1849, 2000, 2256, 2604, and 3521]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14223); FVA (HVT [232, 962, 1269, 2889, 2903, 3072, 3147]); IPN (SAWr 16-18); IPN-Bi (S-105/67); NARA (T-175, reel 233); NARB (378-1-784; 861-1-3); USHMM (RG-02.113; RG-50.030*0040; RG-50.030*0390, RG-50.106*0020, and RG-50.120*0182); VHF (# 2162, 9046, 8303, 12392, 20198, 31918, 36941); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Friedlaender, *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, p. 91.
2. Tätigkeitsbericht des Chefs der Einsatzgruppe B für die Zeit vom 23.6.1941 bis zum 13.7.1941, in Klein, *Die Einsatzgruppen*, p. 377.
3. Friedlaender, *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, pp. 91–92; Harshalom, *Alive* p. 37.
4. Friedlaender, *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, p. 92; and Harshalom, *Alive*, pp. 40–41.
5. *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, p. 92; USHMM, RG-50.030*0390, testimony of Joseph Elman, p. 32 (transcript).
6. Harshalom, *Alive*, p. 42.
7. Ibid. "The Story of Olga Goldfayn," p. 207, dates the establishment of the ghetto on October 25, 1941.
8. Harshalom, *Alive*, p. 43; NARB, 861-1-3, p. 36; Nahman Blumental, *Darko shel Yudenrat* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1961–1962), p. 278.
9. Mielnicki, *Białystok to Birkenau*.
10. AŻIH, 301/1970, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn (Białowieża); 301/1072, testimony of Josef Blinder (Białowieża); 301/1849, testimony of Szymon Kamiński (Narewka);

301/2212, testimony of Beniamin Wolf (Narewka), p. 4; Berl Blustein, "The Destruction of Lineve," in Friedlaender, *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, pp. 151–153.

11. AŻIH, 301/138.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Friedlaender, *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, p. 95.
15. Harshalom, *Alive*, p. 44.
16. Friedlaender, *Pinḳas Pruz'ani*, p. 95.
17. Ibid., pp. 95–96.
18. Ibid., pp. 100–101.
19. Ibid., pp. 102–103; and USHMM, RG-50.030*0390, pp. 36–37.
20. Harshalom, *Alive*, pp. 47–48; "The Story of Olga Goldfayn," p. 208, notes that 47 people took poison and died.
21. BA-L, B 162/14223 (II 205 AR-Z 226/60, Verdict of LG-Biel on April 14, 1967, in the case of Dr. Wilhelm Altenloh and others), pp. 57–77.
22. NARB, 378-1-784, pp. 2–9 and reverse, daily reports of the Oranczyce station to the Reich Transport Office (Reichsverkehrsdirektion) in Minsk, January 29–February 1, 1943. The four transports carried 2,612, 2,450, 2,835, and 1,265 persons, respectively. See also Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 729.
23. Harshalom, *Alive*, pp. 52–54.
24. "The Story of Olga Goldfayn," pp. 206–212.

RADZIŁÓW

Pre-1939: Radziłów (Yiddish: Radzilovo), village, Szczuczyn powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Radzilov (from 1940 Edvabne raion) Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Radzilow, Kreis Grajewo, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Radziłów, Grajewo powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Radziłów lies 60 kilometers (38 miles) northwest of Białystok. Its 1937 population of 2,500 included 650 Jews. The Germans occupied Radziłów from September 7, 1939, but soon turned the village over to Soviet forces. Controversial official statistics from 1940 note a population for the Radziluv sel'sovet of 2,865, including 500 Jews.

The Germans reoccupied Radziłów on June 23, 1941. On June 27, they named Józef Mordasiewicz and Leon Kosmaczewski the heads of a local collaborationist administration. Stanisław Grzymkowski was named the secretary. Aleksander Dołęgowski, the priest, served in the administration. They appointed an auxiliary police force, commanded by Konstanty Kiluk.[1] At least 10 policemen, including Kiluk, had been released from People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) prisons because of the war.

Over the course of the next few weeks, the Jews of Radziłów, as well as refugees from other villages, suffered violence and depredations at the hands of Wehrmacht troops, SS units, and Poles. They forced Jews to desecrate their holy texts; beat and robbed them; raped Jewish women; forced Jews to perform hard labor; and murdered many hundreds of them. The violence reached a peak on July 7 when local Poles, acting under SS encouragement or orders (accounts vary), forced Jews into a barn and set it on fire. Anyone trying to escape was shot, while later captives were thrown into the flames alive. The hunt for fugitives continued for three days. Estimates of the number killed range from 600 to 2,000. Only about 30 survived, some with the help of local Poles.

In early August, the Jews were commanded to report to a ghetto. When they failed to appear, Kiluk, on August 7 or 14, 1941, ordered them rounded up and locked in the synagogue, the site of the first Radziłów ghetto. Stanisław Ramotowski notes "a few families" resided there. Menachem Finkelsztejn places the ghetto population at 18.[2] The Polish police daily led the inmates out under armed guard to remove heavy boulders from the stream for construction of a bridge. A bribe to Kiluk enabled the Jews to move after three weeks to a house on Kościelna Street. In this period, the police likely ordered the Jews to dismantle the Bet Midrash.

With the establishment of a Gendarmerie post in Radziłów, most likely in September, under the command of Otto Wider, the Germans assigned the Jews somewhat lighter labor, including street cleaning. Gendarmes permitted Mojżesz Dorogoj to return to his home and workshop. They permitted others, including Chaja Finkelsztejn's family, to live on the farms of Poles for whom they worked. The Gendarmes arrested some surviving Jews, including Benjomin Kruk, Szabsaj Maraszewski, and a few others, denounced by local Poles. The men perished in unknown circumstances.[3]

On June 1, 1942, the Gendarmes deported most of the ghetto inmates to Milewo (Szczuczyn gmina and powiat) for labor on the Milbo estate, the property of the Grajewo Kreiskommissar. Perhaps as few as 10 Radziłów Jews were sent there. They included 5 members of Rachela Finkelsztejn's family, including her mother, sister, and nephews, and likely also Dora Dorogoj's mother and younger brother. Some Jews, including the Finkelsztejns, either went into hiding to avoid deportation or were permitted to continue working for local Poles.

On November 2, 1942, the Germans deported the Jews in Milewo to a transit camp located just north of Grajewo, in Bogusze village, near the railway station in Prostken, East Prussia. Jews still working near Radziłów also were transported to the Bogusze transit camp.[4] About three weeks later, the SS sent the Radziłów Jews at the transit camp to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camp.

About nine people, including the Finkelsztejn family and Rachela Finkelsztejn-Ramotowska, evaded the deportation and survived the war hiding in villages near Radziłów. Also counted as survivors are Berek Wasersztejn and Chemia Suraski, postfire refugees to the Białystok ghetto, and Fruma Dorogoj, who on June 22, 1941, fled to Latvia. On January 28, 1945, five days after the Red Army liberated Radziłów, the former auxiliary policemen Józef and Antoni Kosmaczewski murdered survivors Mojżesz Dorogoj and his son Akiwa.

Of the eight perpetrators tried after the war in Poland, two were found guilty and sentenced to prison terms of four and six years for murdering the Jews of Radziłów. During the

criminal investigations, Antoni Kosmaczewski mentioned he already was serving a 15-year prison term for murdering two Jews, but the documentation to confirm whether he and Józef were convicted of murdering the Dorogojs is not available. SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Schaper was never tried for the Radziłów murders. In 1976, he received a six-year prison term for the killings of other Jewish and Polish civilians. It was overturned on appeal. His health was declared too fragile for a new trial. In 2002, a special prosecutor from the Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (a division of IPN) (KŚZpNP-IPN) questioned Schaper about the Radziłów murders. The 91-year-old Schaper, citing his failing memory, refused to answer any questions.

In March 2001, the KŚZpNP-IPN in Białystok reopened its 1978 investigation of the murders on July 7, 1941, in Radziłów. A detailed study is expected, though the investigation is still under way at this writing.

SOURCES The pogrom in Wąsosz and the murder of the Radziłów Jewish community form parts of an extremely controversial series of events that also involved the Jedwabne massacre. See Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 3–29; Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 57–69; Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: KŚZpNP-IPN, 2002), vol. 2, *Studia*. Also important are the diaries and compilation of press coverage about Radziłów originally published in *Gazeta Wyborcza* by Anna Bikont, *My z Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, 2004), including the interview with Stanisław and Marianna (Rachela Finkelsztejn) Ramotowski. A number of Polish-language accounts discuss Stanisław Ramotowski, named by Yad Vashem in 1990 as Righteous Among the Nations, with the most accessible English-language account in Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 2, p. 674.

Some of the more important press coverage on the destruction of the Radziłów Jewish community appears in English translation on José Gutstein's Jewish community of Radziłów Web site and the Fundacja Pogranicze Web site page "Voices on the Jedwabne Tragedy," at www.pogranicze.sejny.pl/archiwum/english/jedwabne. Still pertinent are the older entries in Abraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 422–423 (Radziłów) and pp. 187–188 (Wąsosz). A polished English translation of the Radziłów entry appears on the Web site of the Jewish community of Radziłów at www.radzilow.com/pinkas.htm.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Radziłów Jewish community during World War II includes APB (e.g., WSRB, Sr 386/47); APSuOE (e.g., SOE [V K 139/48, V K 154/48, V K 790/47]); AŻIH (e.g., Ankiety [unnumbered], 301/78, 301/974, 301/1284, 301/1846); BA-L (e.g., B 162/5863 [AR-Z 13/62]); IPN (e.g., SAB [86, 179], SWB [142, 179, 183]); VHF (e.g., # 10378); and YVA (e.g., 03/033-2636/255). Among the most valuable of these sources is the 306-page testimony, at YVA, by Chaja Finkelsztejn. It forms the basis for this entry. In addition to the Finkelsztejn testimony, the only other known coverage of Wąsosz is provided in the above-cited AŻIH, 301/1846, testimony by Chaja's son, Menachem Finkelsztejn, who unfortunately was not an eyewitness. AŻIH, 301/1993, a secondary account about Wąsosz by Szymon Datner, is based on Menachem's testimony.

A large part of the primary documentation listed above is available in a variety of other forms and languages, including in George Gorin et al., eds., *Grayeve yisker bukh* (New York: United Grayever Relief Committee, 1950), pp. 228–231 (AŻIH 301/78, in Yiddish), pp. 232–234 (AŻIH 301/1846, in Polish); and Gross, *Neighbors*, pp. 57–69 (AŻIH, 301/974, in English). The above documentation also is found in English translation on José Gutstein's Jewish community of Radziłów Web site. The Web site includes an English translation of the August 16, 1966, interview, included in YVA, 03/033-2636/255. In addition to Polish-language versions of the same documentation, additional source material can be found in Polish in the IPN source companion *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 156–166, 195–199, pp. 246–247 (AŻIH, 301/78), pp. 249–257 (AŻIH, 301/974), pp. 260–262 (AŻIH, 301/1846), pp. 263–317, 318–325 (YVA, 03/033-2636/255, pp. 1–15 [interview]); with additional sources including pp. 169–178 (BA-L, B 162/5863 [AR-Z 13/62]), pp. 258–259 (AŻIH, 301/1284), pp. 263–317 (YVA, 03/033-2636/255, excerpt), pp. 359–360 (AŻIH, 301/1993), and pp. 872–983 (dispersed throughout excerpts of Polish court documentation for postwar trials at APB, WSRB, Sr 386/47; APSuOE, SOE [e.g., V K 139/48 and V K 154/48 (old 790/47)]; and IPN [e.g., SAB (86, 179), SWB (e.g., 142, 179, 183]). Andrzej Żbikowski and Sylwia Szymańska, the editors of the survivor testimonies in the volume, include in a footnote in the above-cited AŻIH, 301/1846, testimony a transcription of the ŻIH Ankiety documentation for Milewo.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. APB, WSRB, Sr 386/47, pp. 15–19 (deposition, Berek Wasersztejn).
2. Quoted in Bikont, *My*, p. 60; and AŻIH, 301/974, pp. 6–7 (typescript).
3. AŻIH, 301/1846, pp. 1–2.
4. Ibid., 301/1284, testimony of Chana Finkelsztejn (Ann Walters), pp. 1–2.

RAJGRÓD

Pre-1939: Rajgród (Yiddish: Raigrod), town, Szczuczyn powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Raigorod, Graevo raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1945: Rajgrod, Kreis Grajewo, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Rajgród, Szczuczyn powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Rajgród is located 18.8 kilometers (11.7 miles) north-northeast of Grajewo and 72 kilometers (44.7 miles) north-northwest of Białystok. It lies on a peninsula on Lake Rajgród. Its 1937 population of 2,400 included 600 Jews. At the start of World War II, the Germans occupied the town initially but turned it over to Soviet military authorities at the end of September 1939.

More than a week after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Rajgród again was occupied briefly by a Wehrmacht unit. A small SS contingent, of 2 to 10 men, arrived there in early July. Because they came from Augustów, some historians suspect the men belonged to a special command from the State Police in Tilsit, known to have been deployed along the former German-Lithuanian border area from June 24, or to its subordinate, the Sudauen (in Polish, Suwałki) border unit, also attributed with the executions, on July 3, of a part of the Jewish community in Augustów.[1] The SS commander recruited several Poles as collaborators, including Antoni Len, a teacher of German, and Jan Turoń, known to have robbed three Jewish stores and the Soviet border guard headquarters during the German invasion.

On the command of the SS, the collaborators rounded up and drove to the market square about 100 Jews, alleged sympathizers of the former Communist regime. They beat those who refused to comply. Some of the accused, including the store owner Finkelsztejn, appear to have been unlikely Soviet allies. The prisoners were ordered to parade in their underwear through the streets of Rajgród, singing Soviet songs. The Polish guards surrounding the column threw the captives' clothes to Poles gathered along the marching route.[2] After a Polish bystander claimed that one of the prisoners was responsible for the arrest, in the Soviet period, of a family member and described how People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) interrogators had permanently disabled him, the Poles along the route may have attacked the Jews in the column. The SS and the Polish guards reportedly reassembled only some of the captives. Taken 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of Rajgród, to the "Choinki" Forest, at least 30 of the Jews were shot by the SS and by some of the Polish guards.[3]

Before leaving Rajgród, an SS member supposedly told the collaborators that they would not be held responsible if more Jews perished as long as they maintained an outward civility so as not to attract the attention of the Wehrmacht. Three days later, German military authorities in Grajewo appointed Len the mayor of Rajgród and ordered him to form an auxiliary police force. He named Toruń its commander. The Polish auxiliaries, particularly Adamcewicz, plundered Jewish homes and raped Jewish women.[4] Many Jews fled to other towns, including Grajewo.

When two SS officers arrived in Rajgród in late July to oversee the creation of a ghetto, they ordered Len and the Polish auxiliary police to find the escapees. To secure their return, the SS and the Polish auxiliaries held 20 Jewish women captive in a basement. They warned the rabbi of Rajgród that the women would be hanged if he failed to prevail on the Jews to return. The rabbi set off for Grajewo personally at 11:00 P.M., returning two days later with about 20 Jews. Over the next few days, Polish auxiliary policemen Feliks Bęćko and Adamcewicz, acting on German orders, murdered as many as 50 Jews. The victims included mainly the elderly, handicapped, sick, and the wealthy. The Jews were murdered at Góra Rykowa in two separate Aktions.[5]

Located on Pacowski Street, the Rajgród ghetto occupied an area of 600 square meters (0.2 acres) in a neighborhood around the Bet Midrash. Bounded on a second side by the market square, it was encircled by water on its two remaining sides. The ghetto was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence. Between 550 and 800 Jews, including people from villages near Rajgród, were concentrated there. The head of the Judenrat was Szyja Grodzieński, an illiterate 44-year-old chauffeur. Turoń initially oversaw the ghetto. With the establishment of a German civil administration in Rajgród, on September 5, 1941, authority for the ghetto passed to the German police, assigned to the Gendarmerie post established there and to the Grajewo Amtskommissar, Hans Pogoda.[6]

The ghetto was overcrowded, with a few dozen people occupying each house. Food rations were insufficient. Although some inmates smuggled food into the ghetto, many others died there from starvation. The rabbi was forbidden to leave the ghetto. The remaining residents were required to perform forced labor. Some labor gangs worked on road construction projects, which required the conscripts to bring all the Jewish gravestones (*matzevot*) from the Jewish cemetery in Okoniówek to use for paving underlayment on the road to Barszcze village. Women and children deepened the fish ponds in Wojdy village, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) southwest of Rajgród. Local Poles could pay the German Arbeitsamt 3 Reichsmark (RM) daily for a Jewish conscript to assist in agricultural work.[7]

Local German authorities occasionally entered the Rajgród ghetto to harass and beat Jews to death, including Berl Lewintin, murdered in 1942. When Lewintin's father sought permission to bury his son, the German authorities ordered him harnessed to a cart to bring the body to Orzechówka village, about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Rajgród. After the father placed his son's body in the grave, the Germans ordered him to stone the corpse. They then reharnessed Lewintin to the cart and ordered him to return it to its owner in Rajgród.[8]

The Rajgród ghetto was liquidated on October 25, 1942, the date its inmates were deported to the Grajewo ghetto. Two butchers, the Jaków brothers, Mosze Pinchas, and Icek Cukierbaum perished resisting the expulsion order.[9] The Rajgród Jews lived in Grajewo for six days before being deported, on November 2, along with the remaining inmates of the Grajewo ghetto, to a transit camp located in Bogusze, a war-devastated village 4.8 kilometers (3 miles) north of Grajewo, near the railway station in Prostken, East Prussia.

The Rajgród Jews lived in the Bogusze transit camp for 3 to 10 weeks together with 5,000 to 8,000 Jews from other nearby localities. The Germans sent them, mostly to their deaths, in two deportations. In the first, about 3,000 to 5,000 camp inmates were told on December 15, 1942, that they were being sent to a labor camp in Silesia. The Germans shot about 200 of the Jews the next day on the muddy road to the Prostken railway station. From there, the survivors were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. The 2,000 or so Jews in the final deportation from Bogusze were expelled on January 3, 1943, to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Upon arriving at Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 7, 1943, at midnight, 1,489 of the

passengers in the transport were gassed. Another 511 Jews—296 men and 215 women—became concentration camp inmates. The incomplete records from Auschwitz indicate at least 5 of the 296 men were from Rajgród. By the end of January, at least 2 of these men had perished.

After the Jews were deported from Rajgród, Pogoda and the Gendarmes searched the Rajgród ghetto for valuables, confiscating what they could find, including pianos. The Germans blew up the synagogue, the Jewish hospitality house, and the Bet Midrash. Some local Polish authorities turned in Jews who had evaded the deportation to Grajewo. The village administrator (sołtys) of Woźnawieś, about 11.6 kilometers by road (7.2 miles) southeast of Rajgród, denounced Luba Lewintin for living there under forged identity papers. Lewintin was shot.[10]

No more than 10 Rajgród Jews survived the war. They include the sisters Shayna (Szejna) and Sonia Stolnicka, hidden by a Polish family, though Sonia died of tuberculosis shortly after liberation; and Moshe (Mosze) Kruszewski, a fisherman, who had secured false papers and volunteered as a Pole for forced labor in the Reich.[11] Steven Guzik fled with his brothers from Rajgród as the Germans arrived there, moving through a number of regional ghettos and a labor camp, in Zielona (Brzostowica Wielka gmina, Grodno powiat) before fleeing to Białystok and surviving the liquidation of the ghetto there.[12]

After the war, seven Polish collaborators, including Len, Toruń, and Bęćko, were tried for a number of war crimes, including the murder of Jews in Rajgród. For participating in the murder of at least 15 Jews, among them the Tajba family, Bęćko was sentenced to death on June 7, 1952. The sentence subsequently was commuted to life imprisonment.[13] Only part of the documentation from the other three investigations has been located.[14]

SOURCES Important secondary accounts include the relevant entries in Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 419–421; its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 162–165; and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1, *Studia*, pp. 184–186. The Rubin work contains a rough English translation of a part of the Żbikowski text.

Archival documentation pertaining to the history of the Rajgród Jewish community under German occupation during World War II includes AŻIH (e.g., 301/2600, 301/3149); IPN (e.g., SOE 29, SWB 111, 186, 187); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/674, 1/1028); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [IPN], 46/115); and VHF (e.g., # 18378). AŻIH, 301/2600, is available in a Polish translation, by Sylwia Szymańska, in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 2, *Dokumenty* (Warsaw: IPN and KŚZpNP, 2002), pp. 326–327. Its author, Lejb Lewintin, collected the documentation by interviewing Christian eyewitnesses upon his repatriation to Poland.

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NOTES

1. Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 184.
2. IPN, SWB 187, cited in ibid.; and AŻIH, 301/2600, testimony of Lejb Lewintin, p. 1.
3. IPN, SWB 187, cited in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 185.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp. 185–187; and AŻIH, 301/3149, testimony of Lejb (Lewintin) Lewinsztajn, p. 1.
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 14, 46/115; and AŻIH, 301/2600, pp. 1–2.
7. AŻIH, 301/2600, pp. 1–2; and IPN-Bi, 1/1028, p. 405 (deposition, Halina Przastko Masztalerz).
8. AŻIH, 301/2600, p. 1.
9. IPN-Bi, 1/674, p. 8 (deposition, Jan Blando); and AŻIH, 301/2600, p. 2.
10. AŻIH, 301/2600, pp. 1–2.
11. List of survivors in ibid., pp. 1–2.
12. VHF, # 18378, testimony of Steven Guzik.
13. IPN, SWB 111.
14. IPN, SOE 29; and SWB 186–187.

RÓŻANA

Pre-1939: Różana (Yiddish: Rozhanoi or Rozhinoi), town, Iwacewicze powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ruzhany, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rozana, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Ruzhany, Pruzhany raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Różana lies 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Brześć nad Bugiem. By World War II, when Różana came under Soviet occupation after September 17, 1939, the Jewish community numbered about 3,500. About 3,000 Jews lived in Różana and another 500 lived in two neighboring agricultural colonies, Pawłowo and Konstantynowo, which, in 1921, had Jewish populations, respectively, of 292 and 217, about 97 and 95 percent of their overall populations.

The Germans occupied Różana on June 24, 1941. They immediately executed about 25 Jews.[1] A German commander of a mostly Austrian force soon arrived to oversee a local provisional military administration. He appointed a local Belorussian as mayor and established an auxiliary police force. The force likely was ethnically mixed, as survivors divide over whether Belorussians or Poles predominated.[2] In September, a Gendarmerie post was established in Różana as a first step to creating a German civilian administration. In early October, Amtskommissariat Rozana was incorporated into Kreis Wolkowysk, in Distrikt Bialystok.

By then, regional military authorities already had issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees, including orders requiring Jews to wear round yellow patches, on their chests and backs,



Exterior of a synagogue in Różana, 1986.
USHMM WS #97256, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

and to establish Jewish Councils (Judenräte). The Różana Judenrat chair, Epstein, was a 75-year-old communal leader. The Różana Jews also were subjected to German violence. Either on July 12 or 14, 1941, an SS unit broke into many Jewish homes and, after robbing and beating their residents, drove about 1,000 men to the marketplace.[3] Of these, 15 intellectuals, mostly recent arrivals from war-devastated Wołkowysk, were executed. Two days later, the SS executed 17 Różana Jews, including 3 women, and one Pole for Communist subversion.

Shortly before Yom Kippur, on October 1, 1941, the Germans ordered an open ghetto established in Różana on just a few streets around the market square. On the resettlement day, hundreds of families rushed to move in there, as the Amtskommissar had ordered executed all Jews found outside of the ghetto the next day. The 78 Jewish families from Pawłowo also were moved to the ghetto.[4] However, the Konstantynowo Jews were not, reportedly because the pre-war civil administrator (wójt), remembered only by his first name, Mordehai-Eshia, had lavished the local Belorussian village administrator (sołtys), a pre-war friend, with bribes and personally had appealed for him to plead with local German authorities to suspend the expulsion orders.[5] Some survivors of anti-Jewish violence in the fall of 1941 in Słonim and Kosów Poleski also entered the ghetto.[6] These transfers brought the ghetto population to about 3,500.[7]

Overcrowding posed a problem in the Różana ghetto, as about 30 to 40 people were crammed into each house. On Yom Kippur 1941, a group of Germans entered the ghetto, raided the synagogue, murdered some of those they found at services, and stormed houses to rob and beat up their inhabitants.[8] After the initial terror, the Jews mostly were permitted to continue working in their pre-war trades as tanners, spinners, and weavers. The Judenrat was required to fill a daily forced labor quota, largely for road construction projects, but the local Belorussian foremen permitted Jewish conscripts to leave work upon completing specific assignments. The relatively lax labor discipline combined with the open nature of the ghetto created possibilities for Jews to avoid German-ordered assemblies by seeking short-term refuge in other villages and to supplement meager rations by bartering with Christians.[9]

However, the outlets created by an open ghetto were constricted after an SS unit arrived in the spring of 1942 to search for Russian partisans. The search rendered the forest (an important refuge particularly for survivors of the June 1942 liquidation of the Słonim ghetto) inaccessible. After the SS rounded up several villages of Belorussian peasants and executed them in Łysków, a village about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west-southwest of Różana, many Jews feared they would be the next victims. A Polish auxiliary policeman's discovery of an armed Jewish forest fugitive staying temporarily with family in the Różana ghetto increased these fears, even though the Judenrat had paid a bribe to secure the release of 50 captives that the Germans had threatened to execute in retribution.[10] The SS joined the local German administration in a wholesale expropriation of Jewish property. A group of SS also chained the pre-war Konstantynowo civil administrator and his son to the back of a car and dragged them to death through the streets of Różana.

The Różana Gendarmerie commander also imposed harsh punishments on Jews (and on local Christians suspected of contacts with Jews). Beginning in the spring of 1942, he strolled through the ghetto every evening, taking the opportunity to beat unconscious those he believed had violated prohibitions of Jewish-Christian trade, including, for example, the mother of a child that he found eating buttered bread. He hanged another Jew, the Gendarmerie's only translator, for a minor offense. The commander also humiliated the Judenrat chair, ordering him to serve as a waiter at a party for the security forces stationed in Różana and concluding the festivities by beating him nearly to death.

By then, some Jews, particularly those without family in Różana, had fled to other nearby communities and ghettos. Many Słonim fugitives arranged false identity papers (as Białystok ghetto residents) and moved to Wołkowysk, where a few Białystok Jews worked as forced laborers. Izaak Harshaw, a Różana-born Wołkowysk physician permitted to establish a medical practice in Różana and to live outside the ghetto in Konstantynowo, obtained permission in the early spring of 1942 to transfer his practice and a part of his family to Łysków, a village with about 640 Jews, where the Amtskommissar reportedly refused to condone either beatings of Jews or "unjust" seizures of Jewish property.[11] Those without official possibilities to secure transfers fled to the Mosty or the Piaski ghettos because the German authorities there reportedly were less coercive and the local populations less terrorized and therefore more willing to assist Jews.[12]

The Germans liquidated the Różana ghetto on November 2, 1942. An SS contingent, on horses, joined by Belorussian and Polish auxiliary policemen, took the Jews of Różana

and Konstantynowo to a meadow outside of Podorosk, about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Różana. There, they joined almost all the Jewish communities from the southern and southeastern parts of Kreis Wolkowysk also marched that same day from their villages, including from Łysków and Podorosk, home to about 50 Jews. Surrounded by SS guards, the approximately 4,500 to 5,500 Jews spent a terror-filled night as the Germans periodically fired over their heads and shot dead about 100 captives. Believing they would be executed the next morning, some Jews committed suicide. Another 500 either were shot or trampled (by the SS's horses) to death during the forced march to Podorosk or on a second 25-kilometer (15.5-mile) march the next day to a transit camp, which the SS had established just outside of Wołkowysk on the grounds of a former Polish military garrison.

Because they were the last of the about 20,000 Jews from Kreis Wolkowysk to arrive at the transit camp, the Różana prisoners received the worst accommodations, eight former horse stables and underground storage facilities for animal fodder. Even after the Łysków and Podorosk communities were transferred to other barracks, a large part of the remaining inmates in the Różana barracks still had to sleep standing up. Because of the resulting unsanitary conditions, the three communities also suffered the greatest death toll, with about 20 Jews from the Różana bunkers perishing daily in a typhus epidemic that struck the camp. Perhaps for these reasons, the Różana, Konstantynowo, and Pawłowo communities were the first Jews sent from the transit camp, likely on November 28, 1942, to the Treblinka extermination camp. (The Łysków and Podorosk Jews were sent either on the second transport to Treblinka, on December 2, or on the third transport, which also included the Jewish community of Izabelin, on December 10.)[13] They were all gassed on arrival.

Only a handful of Różana Jews survived the war, mostly refugees who had reunited earlier at the transit camp with family from Wołkowysk. Among the native Różana-area survivors were Konstantynowo resident Michla Pomeraniec (or Pomerantz, later Miriam Weissman) and her cousin, the physician Harshaw. Excluded from the Treblinka deportations to help contain a typhus epidemic at the camp, the two were among the final group of 1,700 to 2,000 Wołkowysk inmates sent on January 26, 1943, to the Auschwitz extermination camp and among the handful of survivors from the 350 people who were held back from the transport as prisoners of the concentration camp. Pomaraniec's brother, Shlomo, among at least 10 Różana Jews who had fled to the forests during the expulsion to Podorosk, is believed to have been 1 of just 3 survivors from the group. He joined the Red Army after Różana was liberated in June 1944 and perished in combat.

Little is known about the Jewish communities of Podolsk and Izabelin. A few lines in the Goldberg memoir suggest that some type of German anti-Jewish violence occurred in Podolsk and detail the fates of its physician and his wife, among the Wołkowysk transit camp's Auschwitz deportees consigned immediately to death. The lack of sources for documenting Jewish life under the German occupation in Izabelin makes it impossible to determine if a ghetto existed there.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information about the ghetto: Me'ir Śegev (or Sokolovski), ed., *Rozinoi: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Rozinoi veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Rozinoi be-Yisrael, 1957) (a supplement "Once there was a Shtetl" is available online at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/ruzhany/Ruz001.html); and Izaak Goldberg, *The Miracles versus Tyranny: The Fight for Life and Death between the Jewish People and the Nazis* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1979). Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949) is available in an English translation as "What Happened in Liskovo," in *Sefer zikaron Volkovisk. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, translation by Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pp. 291–297.

Useful, too, are the relevant entries in *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie*, ed. Shmuel Spector (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 275–276 (Pawlowo), p. 310 (Konstantynowo), pp. 315–318 (Różana); and vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek*, ed. Spector and Bracha Freundlich (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 123–124 (Izabelin) and pp. 397–400 (Łysków).

Documentation on the fates of the Różana, Konstantynowo, Pawłowo, Łysków, Podolsk, and Izabelin Jewish communities in World War II, under the German occupation, includes: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1973, 2114, and 4938); GARF (7021-83-22, pp. 4, 26); VHF (# 3986 and 35581); and YVA (e.g., M-33/711 [GARF]).

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NOTES

1. Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), p. 373.
2. Compare VHF, # 35581, testimony of Michael Jourdan-Lichtenstein; and AŻIH, 301/2114, testimony of Hanka Szpiler-Wołk, pp. 1–3.
3. Different dates in AŻIH, 301/2114, p. 1; and Goldberg, *The Miracles*, pp. 46–47.
4. GARF, 7021-83-22, p. 4.
5. Goldberg, *The Miracles*, pp. 54–56, 90.
6. AŻIH, 301/1973, testimony of Anna Wincygszstern-Rybałowska, p. 1.
7. GARF, 7021-83-22, p. 26.
8. Goldberg, *The Miracles*, p. 57.
9. VHF, # 35581.
10. AŻIH, 301/1973, p. 3; and Goldberg, *The Miracles*, pp. 89–90, 99.
11. Goldberg, *The Miracles*, p. 86.
12. VHF, # 35581; and Maxime Rafailovitch, "The End of the Piaski Community," on the Lida ShtetLinks homepage, at jewishgen.org.
13. Compare Einhorn, "Destruction of Wolkovisk," in Einhorn, *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh*, p. 921; and Goldberg, *The Miracles*, pp. 133–138.

SIEMIATYCZE

Pre-1939: Siemiatycze (Yiddish: Semyatits), town, Bielsk Podlaski powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Semiatichi, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Siemiatycze, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: powiat center, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Siemiatycze lies 82 kilometers (51 miles) south-southwest of Białystok. Its pre-war 1939 population of 8,138 included 4,303 Jews.

The Germans occupied Siemiatycze briefly, from September 11 to September 21, 1939, before ceding it to Soviet occupation. Under Soviet rule, the Jewish population rose to 7,000 to 8,000, including 2,000 refugees from German-occupied Poland. With Siemiatycze's inclusion in the spring of 1940 in a border security zone, local authorities ordered most refugees to move and deported others to the Soviet interior. They permitted local refugees, expelled from the border zone in April, to remain. Among the latter were 1,100 to 1,200 Jews from Drohiczyn, Mielnik, and Niemirów.

The Germans shelled Siemiatycze from 4:00 A.M., on June 22, 1941, before occupying the town the next day. A local military commander immediately established an open ghetto by ordering all Jews to return to Siemiatycze and forbidding them from leaving the town without permission. He required Jews to mark the outside of their houses with yellow signs and to wear similar identifying marks.[1]

In late June, German soldiers held the able-bodied male population captive at the Melba Factory. German guards asked the Polish prisoners to identify which Jews were Communists. A Pole nicknamed "Rudy," perhaps, as the yizkor book suggests, for his surname Rudnicki, picked 10 to 23 mostly non-Communist Jews. Before releasing the men, the Germans murdered up to 23 of the alleged "Communists."[2]

On July 4–5, local Poles robbed Jewish homes and beat, raped, and murdered their residents. Survivors divide over whether the Germans participated in the attacks, which claimed at least nine lives.[3] Most likely on July 10, a small SS unit ordered the entire local population assembled to watch members of a local Polish guard compel Jewish communal leaders to tear down the Lenin statue and to hold a mock burial for it. Survivors disagree about whether Ignacy Gilewski, a teacher, or Tadeusz Rudnicki, brother of the future commander of the auxiliary police, led the guard.[4] The collaborators beat and threw some "funeral marchers" into the Kamionka River. Glazier Moishe Kozudrowicz perished in the violence.



The Siemiatycze ghetto fence, only months after its inhabitants were murdered at Treblinka, February 1943.
COURTESY OF GŁOS SIEMIATYCZ (ARCHIVE OF ANTONI NOWICKI); AND VIRTUAL SHTETL, HTTP://WWW.SHTETL.ORG.PL.

The violence continued with the German appointment of a Polish administration, led by Mayor Gilewski, and a Polish auxiliary police force, commanded by Józef Rudnicki.[5] In one account, the new authorities encouraged the local population to plunder Jewish property and to murder Jews. Only the establishment of a Gendarmerie post in early August, followed by the arrival that same month of a German-appointed mayor, brought the Jews security.[6]

On August 10, 1941, the Gendarmerie commander ordered Rabbi Gerstein to form a 12-person Jewish Council (Judenrat). Izrael Rozencwajg (Rosenzweig) was its chair. The council organized a 12-man Jewish police force, commanded by Aleksander Wajnberg. The Gendarmerie commander also in August demanded the Judenrat pay a "contribution" or "fine" of 140,000 to 250,000 rubles.[7]

In August 1941, the German authorities reinforced the open ghetto in Siemiatycze by ordering Jews living in Christian neighborhoods to relocate to the Jewish neighborhood. A curfew was imposed. Jews not officially at work could appear on the streets only between 1:00 P.M. and 3:00 P.M. The Gendarmes and Polish police beat Jews, in two instances to death, found outside beyond curfew.[8]

In the late summer, officials expelled to Siemiatycze Jews from most nearby localities, including 18 people from Makarki village and the rest of the Mielnik community (about 400 people in September 1939). The Niemirów refugees are believed to have been ordered to remain in Siemiatycze because their village had been razed in the Soviet period. However, documentation for the community is sparse. Jews from Drohiczyn were permitted to return home. About half did so.

The Gendarmes and the Schutzpolizei in Siemiatycze ordered hundreds of Jews conscripted to clean up the town's war devastation. Other Jews repaired damaged rail lines. In May 1942, the Judenrat conscripted 50 men for labor on the Białystok-to-Minsk road construction project. After the men did not return, the Judenrat refused to assign additional workers to the project. To fill a new quota, local authorities rounded up men arbitrarily from the streets.[9] Women cleaned the houses and offices of German officials. Others carried steel rails and wooden ties as railway work gang members.

In the spring of 1942, Landrat Tubenthal, Kreiskommissar of Bielsk, ordered closed ghettos established throughout the Kreis, including in Siemiatycze. In June, the Judenrat sought a ghetto area of 1.95 square meters (21 square feet) per future resident, but Polish appeals to German authorities reduced the area to 0.95 square meters (10.2 square feet).[10] The ghetto was located across the Kamionka River, in the Zamość

neighborhood. Its area included Słowiczyńska, Górna, Wysoka, and Koszarowa Streets. Its wooden fence was topped with barbed wire. There was one gate. Postwar Polish documentation notes the "Ghetto Commissar" was a Gendarme nicknamed "Rudy." Whether the documentation is mistaken and "Rudy" was instead the local Polish auxiliary police commander or perhaps Wilhelm Rudolph, a member of the Schutzpolizei mentioned by another survivor, is unknown.[11]

On August 1, 1942, the Jews were relocated to the ghetto. When they arrived, they were ordered to camp for three days in a field in order for the non-Jewish occupants of houses in the ghetto to have more time to move out and to enable a thorough inspection of the goods the Jews had brought with them.

The Siemiatycze ghetto population stood at 5,000 to 6,000. Severe overcrowding in the ghetto forced its inmates to transform barns and sheds into living quarters. Because many people had transferred foodstuffs to the ghetto, the population did not starve. A Jewish bakery outside the ghetto supplied the daily 120-gram (4.2-ounce) ration allotted to laborers and half rations for the unemployed. The Judenrat organized a public kitchen to distribute 1,500 meals, three times a day. Because of the poor diet, the stress, and the complete absence of medical care, mortality was high, with about 10 people perishing daily.[12]

Since the Germans had ordered all Jewish religious activities suspended, only a few prayer groups met clandestinely at considerable risk. The Judenrat paid a bribe to allow most Jews to stay home from work on the first day of Rosh Hashanah, on September 12, 1942, to privately observe the holiday. That day, the Germans, and perhaps the Polish auxiliaries, stormed the ghetto. At an assembly, they subjected religious Jews to beatings before commanding barbers to sheer off the beards and *payot* (side locks) of all male inmates. An unknown number of women were raped and murdered.[13]

After several conscripts at the railway yards encountered a train of Dutch Jews headed for the Treblinka extermination camp, some ghetto residents built bunkers in which to hide, should the Siemiatycze community also be expelled.[14] On November 1, 1942, the Judenrat likely received two warnings of the ghetto's impending liquidation. Rudolph, from the Schutzpolizei, mentioned to Rozencwajg that something soon would happen to the Jews.[15] A local Polish Home Army (AK) commander also may have informed the Judenrat chair of the liquidation and provided tools to cut the ghetto fence.[16]

The next day, on November 2, 1942, at 4:00 A.M., the Germans surrounded the ghetto to organize its final liquidation. Rozencwajg called out: "Children save yourselves! Have faith in G-d."[17] He then fled through a hole cut in the ghetto's fence. About 300 to 500 people followed him. The Germans and Polish auxiliary police shot dead some 200 escapees, including Rozencwajg, and ordered the guard around the fence reinforced.[18] Likely that same day, the Germans expelled to the ghetto the Jewish communities of Drohiczyn, Grodzisk and Siemiony.

On either November 4 or 8, 1942, the Germans drove 2,450 people from the Siemiatycze ghetto to the railway station and ordered them onto trains destined for Treblinka. In the final expulsion, on November 10, approximately 3,200 Jews were expelled to Treblinka.[19] During the expulsions, 50 to 70 people were shot.[20] Because the second Treblinka deportation train was composed partly of passenger wagons, many deportees jumped from the cars' unlocked windows.[21]



Jewish survivors and Polish workers exhume bodies of Jews murdered during the liquidation of the Siemiatycze ghetto, so that they may be properly reburied at the entrance to the Jewish cemetery, 1947–1950. Pictured is Yehoshua Kejles (in business suit with fedora), whose father, Efraim, was among those murdered.
USHMM WS #57741, COURTESY OF SIDNEY JOSHUA ZOLTAK

At Treblinka, about 5,498 people from the two Siemiatycze transports were gassed on arrival. Some 152 men were held back from the second transport for labor at the Treblinka I camp. Kalman Krawiec (Saul Kuperhand) escaped from the camp in September 1943, made his way back to the Siemiatycze area, and was sheltered by the Jagiełło family in Bryki (Bielsk powiat) village. Benyamin Rock, the only other Siemiatycze survivor of Treblinka, was shot and left for dead as the Germans abandoned the camp.[22]

Near Siemiatycze, Poles sheltered at least 40 of the 100 to 200 ghetto escapees. The family of veterinarian Bolesław Leszczyński, in Bocianka colony, Kajanka village, hid 15 members of the Feldman and Grodziski families. In Krynki-Sobole village, Stanisława Kryńska's family sheltered 6 fugitives, including Chaim Brzeziński and 4 members of the Żółtak (or Zochtak) family. However, at least 54 Jews had perished by early 1943 as the result of denunciations, Russian thieves murdering Jews hidden in forest bunkers, and a number of Polish aid-givers murdering those they had promised protection. To prevent further loss of life, Herz Szabbes (Herschel Shabbes) established a self-defense organization that helped 70 Siemiatycze and Drohiczyn Jews survive the war.[23]

In 1949, the former auxiliary policeman Józef Fleks was sentenced to death for murdering Kozudrowicz in 1941 and about another 40 Jews during the Siemiatycze ghetto liquidation. He died in prison in 1950.[24] Approximately 13 Polish civilians were tried for denouncing or handing over to German authorities Jews who had fled from the ghetto. At least 1 was convicted. He received a 15-year prison term.[25]

SOURCES Published primary sources include two testimonies published jointly by Miriam Kuperhand and Saul Kuperhand, *Shadows of Treblinka* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), with the second testimony, by S. Kuperhand, "Escape from Treblinka," an expanded version of AŻIH, 301/4086 (cited below), by the same author; the yizkor book, Eliezer Tash, ed., *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Semyaṭits' be-Yisrael ye-Artsot ha-Berit, 1965), which includes an English overview, also includes survivor testimonies. R.K., in Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 98–99, offers a description of the ghetto; "Sydney [Jehoszua] Żółtak—spotkanie z przeszłością—Nigdy nie zapomnimy," *Głos Siemiatycz*, October 31, 2003, an interview with a survivor, is available online (www.siemiatycze.com.pl); correspondence between the Kuperhands and the Łeszczyński families is translated into English at the virtual photography exhibit "And I Still See Their Faces: The Vanished World of Polish Jews," on the Web site of the Simon Wiesenthal Center (www.wiesenthal.com), under the section "There Were Seven Children—Weddings." Also valuable for the fate of the Makarki community is an interview with Maria Kopiec, an aid-giver to Siemiatycze survivor Cwi Kramer and to his future wife, a fugitive of the liquidation of the ghetto in Drohiczyn, by Iwona Sawicka, "Bóg wciąż mi to wynagradza. Rozmowa z Marią Kopiec z Makark—odznaczoną medalem Sprawiedliwy Wśród Narodów Świata za ratowanie w czasie wojny ludzkiego życia," at the Web site of Stowarzyszenie Ruch na Rzecz Ziemi (www.nawschodzie.pl), on the part of the Web site devoted to the Podlascy Żydzi.

Some of the documentary material appears in Polish translation in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KSZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 185–186 (AŻIH, 301/973), pp. 334–336 (AŻIH, 301/1463); the virtual Archiwum Ethnograficzne includes AŻIH, 301/2592, at www.archiwumetnograficzne.edu.pl/read article.php?article_id=35. English-language excerpts of some testimonies are in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Białystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 176–177 (AŻIH, 301/973, 301/1463, testimony of Rachel Keils [or Kejles] Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, pp. 201–207).

Also useful are the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 414–415 (Mielnik), p. 449 (Niemirów), pp. 614–620 (Siemiatycze); Rubin, *The Rise*, vol. 1, p. 132 (Mielnik), p. 140 (Niemirów), pp. 170–176 (Siemiatycze); Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 1, p. 452, pt. 2, pp. 738–739; and in Polish, Szymon Datner, "Ratownictwo na Białostocczyźnie," in Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej. Polacy z pomocą Żydom, 1939–1945*, 3rd ed. (Warsaw: Świat Książki, 2007), p. 532; and Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia. O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," *Białostoccy Żydzi* 2 (1997): 187 ff. Andrzej W. Olędzki, "Hersz Szebes—morderstwa w Czartajewie—marzec 1944, oraz podobne w Miłkowicach, Maćkach i Kłyzówce," which originally appeared in *Głos Siemiatycz* and is available online, includes physical descriptions of the Siemiatycze ghetto and its liquidation but reaches controversial conclusions about Szabbes and therefore is better read together with the relevant parts of Kuperhand and Monkiewicz.

Documentation pertaining to the history of the Siemiatycze Jewish community during World War II includes AŻIH (e.g., 204 [i.e., YVA, M-11/B146], 301 [e.g., 107, 283, 973, 1463, 2592, 4086]); IPN (e.g., ASG [1/154-55, 1/157, 46/54], SAB [17, 160, 231], SOB [293, 331, 416], SWB [72, 152, 174, 194]); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/236, Ko [38/88, 70/88, 73/88, 100/94, 177/88], S-183/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [IPN], 1/154-55, 1/157, 46/54); VHF (e.g., # 1194, 2245, 5184, 7089, 7427, 7713, 9967, 11175, 12112, 13985, 14564, 15406, 16434, 16542, 17287, 21468, 22924, 24839, 25084, 26576, 28499, 29056, 30115, 31534, 33917, 34353, 34915, 35500, 37064, 38838, 39922, 41157, 44194, 50632, 51387); and YVA (e.g., M-11/B146, M-49-E [e.g., 1257, 1463, 2592], O-3 [e.g., 3887, 5093, 7531], O-16/415, O-22/54). About two thirds of the VHF testimonies are by Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland, deported by Soviet authorities in the spring of 1940 to the Russian interior.

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NOTES

1. Testimonies of Miriam and Saul Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, pp. 19–20, 94–97, respectively; VHF, # 50632, testimony of Miriam Kuperhand.

2. Low and high figures, respectively, in AŻIH, 301/1463, testimony of Jehoszua (Joszua) Kejles, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:334; Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. iii.

3. Compare AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:334–335, and testimony of Rachel Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. 202, with M. Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, p. 21, for German participation; victim estimate from AŻIH, 301/973, testimony of Wolf Wiśnia (Zev Vishnia), p. 1.

4. AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:335; Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. 202, respectively, for the two collaborators.

5. Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. 202.

6. AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:334–335.

7. Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. 203; R.K., in Trunk, *Jewish Responses*, p. 98.

8. AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:335.

9. Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, pp. 204, 207; AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:335.

10. AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:335.

11. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/54, pp. 1–2; AŻIH, 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:355.

12. M. Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, p. 29; R.K., in Trunk, *Jewish Responses*, p. 98.

13. Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. v; M. Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, p. 29.

14. Kisogorski, in Tash, *Ḳehilat Semyaṭits'*, p. 205; M. Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, pp. 32–34.

15. AŻIH, 301/4086, testimony of Kalman Krawiec, p. 1 (Polish trans.), 301/1463, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:335.
16. Olędzki, "Hersz Szebes."
17. AŻIH, 301/4086, p. 1.
18. Ibid., AŻIH, 301/283, testimony of Etka Żółtak, p. 1, respectively, for low and high escapee figures; dead at USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 1, 1/155, pp. 1–2.
19. Deportation figures from AŻIH, 301/4086, p. 1; S. Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, p. 105, notes the second transport left the station the next day.
20. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 1, 1/154, pp. 1–2; and high victim range from grave-site plaque.
21. VHF, # 7089, testimony of Regina (Gruskin) Kugler.
22. S. Kuperhand, in *Shadows*, pp. 104–142, 173–174; VHF, # 7713, testimony of Benyamin Rock.
23. AŻIH, 301/1463, p. 3, for number of survivors.
24. IPN, SAB 17.
25. Ibid., SWB 194.

SKIDEL

Pre-1939: Skidel (Yiddish: Skidel), town, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Skidel', raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Skidel, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Skidzel', Hrodna raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Skidel lies on the Skidelka (Belarusian: Skidzel'ka) River 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) east-southeast of Grodno and 78 kilometers (48.5 kilometers) east-northeast of Lida. On the eve of World War II, Jews comprised just over 80 percent (2,800) of Skidel's population, with Poles, Belorussians, and Tatars making up the remainder of its residents.

On June 24, 1941, during Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, Skidel sustained massive aerial shelling, which destroyed much of the settlement. German armed forces occupied Skidel on June 27. By July 12, the Germans had appointed a civilian administration and an auxiliary police force. Little is known about Skidel's collaborationist civilian leaders, who were quickly subordinated to a German civil administration, under the leadership of Amtskommissar Plotz.[1] The Germans also established a large Gendarmerie post in Skidel early on, which in turn was subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Kreisführer in Grodno. In 1941, it was commanded first by Leutnant Müller and subsequently by Hauptwachtmeister (from 1943, Meister) Padberg.[2] The auxiliary police were subordinated to the Gendarmerie, working there as Schutzmänner. The Schutzmänner at Skidel's post were of Polish, Tatar, and Belorussian nationality.

The Germans and their collaborators immediately harassed Jews and instituted anti-Jewish measures in Skidel. The German military commander's first decree required Skidel's Jewish population to assemble at the main square to watch German soldiers use a tank to overturn the Lenin statue. The Germans then commanded the Jews to break the statue into small pieces, collect the rubble in their hands, form a column, and give the statue a mock burial in the Skidelka River. According to one historian, the auxiliary police played a leading role in humiliating and severely beating the Jews during the "burial rite." A Jewish survivor, Efrim Lozovskii, claims that after observing the Germans brutally beating several prominent Jews during the burial procession, he fled to Minsk, where he entered the city's ghetto. After the humiliations, the Germans ordered the Skidel Jews to wear yellow distinguishing marks, in the shape of a Star of David. They also ordered the appointment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Little is known about its composition. In June 1942, its secretary was surnamed Auszberg (or Auschberg). In addition, the Germans forbade the Jews to leave the boundaries of Skidel.[3]

The Germans also expropriated Skidel's Jewish-owned factories in the summer of 1941. But it seems likely that they distanced themselves from ongoing anti-Jewish violence there, even as they continued to condone it by permitting the auxiliary police to terrorize the Jews. According to an account by a Jewish woman who had fled the Wilno ghetto and stayed overnight in Skidel, the Germans "treated the Jews of Skidel very well." They permitted them to work at their trades and even allowed a Jew, surnamed Shulman, to administer his former factory on their behalf. However, she noted that local Poles "torture[d]" the Jews "at every opportunity", and as a result, they had "suffer[ed] many hardships."[4]

In late 1941, all the Jews of Skidel were forced to move into a ghetto. It was located near the Jewish cemetery, at the former Soviet military air base. It seems likely the ghetto was enclosed by a fence in August 1942. Jews in the Skidel ghetto undoubtedly worked at a variety of tasks, but the extant documentation confirms only their labor in the spring and summer of 1942 on road construction crews, organized to cobble and pave roads in Skidel and from Skidel to Grodno.[5]

Conditions in the ghetto were miserable, in part because the six, two-story wooden buildings at the air base could not accommodate even a small part of the Jewish community. To create additional residential space, many ghetto residents dug earthen pits and built lean-to structures on the ghetto's grounds. The diet was poor, with the Germans providing few or perhaps no rations to its residents. Undernourished and exposed to the cold and the elements, many Skidel Jews suffered from illnesses in the winter of 1941–1942. The death rate was high. The Jews continued to be subject to robbery and beatings by the local auxiliary police. According to one source, inebriated auxiliary policemen, including Konstantin Mozolevskii, randomly entered the ghetto to shoot indiscriminately at its residents, particularly women and children.

The Skidel ghetto was liquidated on November 2, 1942. Its children and less able-bodied were loaded onto carts. The remaining members of the Jewish community followed on foot, contained behind ropes held by the Jews on the perimeter of the procession. The Skidel Jewish community, about 1,230 people, was expelled to the Kiełbasin transit camp, south of Grodno.[6] At Kiełbasin, the Skidel community joined Jews from about 22 other communities (about 22,000 to 28,000 people)

also deported there from November 2 to November 5, 1942. The Skidel Jews were the first community driven by the Germans from Kiełbasin to the Łososna railway station, for deportation to the region's extermination camps. The first transport carrying much of the Jewish community of Skidel arrived at the Auschwitz extermination camp on November 9, 1942. Either there or somewhere earlier in transit, some Skidel Jews likely were forced to sign postcards, addressed to the Kiełbasin transit camp, in which they attested that they had arrived safely and noted that the conditions in the new camp were better than at the transit camp. A survivor from Krynki recalled that upon receipt of the Skidel Jews' postcards, Karl Rinzler, Kiełbasin's commander, had ordered that each of the remaining inmates receive 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of sausage, known as the Skidel sausage, as a further demonstration that the expulsions and deportations supposedly heralded better times.[7] In the meantime, at Auschwitz, the Germans had held back as prisoners of the concentration camp just 190 men and 104 women from the first (Skidel) transport. The remaining Jews in the transport, at least 706 people, were gassed on their arrival. A large number of Skidel Jews also were on a second transport, officially of 1,500 Jews, which arrived at Auschwitz on November 14, 1942. The Germans chose as prisoners 282 men and 379 women from the Skidel, Druskieniki, and Grodno I ghettos and from Korycin and Sidra. The remaining 839 people on the transport were gassed on arrival.[8]

After the deportation, the German administration in Skidel sold off the remaining Jewish property there, including from the ghetto. It collected 23,236.50 Reichsmark (RM) in proceeds.[9]

There were almost no Jewish survivors from Skidel. Most of the male Skidel prisoners at Auschwitz, for instance, already had perished or been consigned to death by the end of January 1943.

SOURCES Secondary accounts include the Skidel entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 512–515; I.A. Borisov, "Skidzel'," in *Pamiats'. Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Hrodzenskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 1993), pp. 32–33; and the appropriate sections in *Skidzel': 500 hod historyi* (Hrodna: Hrodzenskaia drukarnia, 2008). A partial English translation of the first appears in the larger work by Linda Hugle, "Skidel History," and the second, in a complete translation, by Larry Cannon, as Il'ya Aleksandrovich Borisov, "The Tragic Fate of the Skidelian Jews," on the Skidel ShtetLinks site at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/skidel/skidel.html.

Documentation regarding the Jews of Skidel under German occupation in World War II includes: GAGO (e.g., 1-1-54, 335, 365, and 512); GARF (7021-86-40); IPN (SWOl 71-74); NARB (845-1-8); USHMM (e.g., RG-53.004M [GAGO], reels 1, 4, and 5); and YVA. Some materials above have been published in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, 6 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985–1992).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 3, 1-1-280, p. 6; and 1-1-312, pp. 75–78.
2. Ibid., reel 3, 1-1-280, p. 7.
3. VHF, # 37395; and USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 5, 1-1-512, p. 163.
4. "Vilna and Environs. The Wartime Experience of a Twenty-Two-Year-Old Jewish Woman," in Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), p. 359.
5. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 5, 1-1-512.
6. GARF, 7021-86-40, p. 4; and also in GAGO, 1-1-54, p. 38.
7. Feivel Wolf, "After the Departure for Treblinka," in Dov Rabin, ed., *Pinkas Krynki* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Krynki in Israel and the Diaspora, 1970), p. 286.
8. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne. Polish Jews in KL Auschwitz: Name Lists* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 99–100, 103–104.
9. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 77–79.

ŚNIADOWO

Pre-1939: Śniadowo (Yiddish: Shnadova), *village*, *Łomża powiat*, *Białystok województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Sniadovo*, *raion center*, *Belostok oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sniadowo*, *Kreis Lomscha*, *Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Śniadowo*, *Łomża powiat*, *województwo podlaskie*, *Poland*

Śniadowo lies 12.5 kilometers (7.8 miles) from the southern outskirts of Łomża. In 1931, 503 Jews lived in the large Śniadowo gmina.

In World War II, the Germans occupied Śniadowo for about three weeks in September 1939. They deported an unknown number of male Jews and Christians to a forced labor camp in East Prussia before evacuating Śniadowo to make way for the Red Army.

Located just 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from the new Soviet-German border, Śniadowo flooded with Jewish refugees from neighboring German-occupied Poland. Because the recently established Sniadovo raion shared a 50-kilometer (31-mile) border with German-occupied Poland, Soviet authorities in the spring of 1940 declared it a border security zone and ordered its refugees to move to the interior. Wartime territorial divisions nonetheless brought an expansion in the local Jewish population, as Soviet authorities incorporated into the raion the southwestern Piski and Troszyn gminy as well as parts of the pre-war Jasienica and Komorowo gminy, which had belonged, respectively, to the Ostrołęka and Ostrów Mazowiecka powiaty, which mostly came under German occupation. In the south, the Szumowo and Lubotyń gminy, from the pre-war Łomża powiat, were joined to the raion. The raion was the permanent home in February 1940 to 33,856 Poles, 2,614 Jews, and 159 Belorussians.

Shortly after reoccupying Śniadowo on June 22, 1941, a sergeant in command of a small contingent left behind to establish a military administration in the settlement demanded a group of older, outwardly more devout Jews take apart a statue of Lenin, erected in the Soviet period, and bury it at the Jewish cemetery, because, as he explained, Lenin "had been a Jew." Some local Poles forced the Jews to participate in the burial ritual as the Germans photographed the humiliating spectacle. On the way home, the Jews feared they would be murdered, but the sergeant refused to allow them further harm. Several days later, another group of Germans, in several cars, stopped by Śniadowo on their way to Łomża. After forcing Bencyjon Drzewak, a Jewish tailor, to indicate where the Jews resided, the unit rounded up about 50 mostly male Jews and shot them in a forest on the road to Ostrów Mazowiecka. On another evening, an SS unit executed the rabbi of Śniadowo. Another German, Krohl, went from home to home appropriating whatever he wanted from the Jews' possessions. He subsequently ordered the Jewish Council, likely established in July, to turn over the remainder of the Jews' valuables.[1]

The Germans altered preexisting residential patterns in a series of decrees that ultimately established the Śniadowo ghetto. A July decree, probably designed to separate Christians and Jews, required Jews to move from homes on Śniadowo's main streets to residences on its smaller ones. On August 1 or October 1, 1941, the Germans established a more formal ghetto by limiting Jewish residence to Łomża Street.[2] The ghetto was not fenced. It remained open throughout its existence. Polish postwar court documentation lists the ghetto population as 217.[3] Szymon Datner gives a much larger number, 600 to 650, but provides no source for the estimate.

Widespread German violence in the summer of 1941 makes it difficult to determine which, if any, Jews from the former Sniadovo raion survived to be consolidated in the ghetto. From mid-July to August 1941, the Germans, likely the same SS unit responsible for executing the Jewish community of Kolno, murdered almost all the Jewish communities in the south and southwest of the former Sniadovo raion.[4] Among the victims were the Jews of the pre-war Szumowo, Lubotyń, and Jasienica gminy. These included, in the first case, the communities of Szumowo Nowe, Szumowo-Góre, and Koskowo villages; in the second case, the Jews of Lubotyń Stary and Podbiele; and in the third, the community of Paproć Duża (Königshold) and a portion of the Prosienica community. The Germans held the Szumowo and Lubotyń victims prisoner in Szumowo Nowe village, about 16.5 kilometers (10.3 miles) south-southeast of Śniadowo, before executing them in small groups in Soviet-era antitank ditches in the Rząśnik (or Klonowo) Forest, part of the larger forest of Czerwony Bór.[5] Some Jews may have sought refuge in Śniadowo. Others, from the northern part of the former raion, may have survived and been consolidated subsequently in the Śniadowo ghetto.

The inmates of the Śniadowo ghetto were conscripted for forced labor. Some remained at their pre-war shoemaking and tailoring trades but labored in workshops for the Germans. Others reported to the railway station to unload wagons full of property confiscated on the Eastern Front; to sort the merchandise at the station, which the Germans had transformed into a storage warehouse for this purpose; and to reload the sorted goods onto trains destined for the German interior. Some inmates worked in a nearby forest, hewing trees. Still others were conscripted for agricultural labor, including repairing farm machinery.

Violence at times marked ghetto life. After discovering, on a Friday, that a 33-year-old Gendarme had been having an affair with a ghetto resident, surnamed Lis, local German authorities ordered the woman's entire family to report on Monday for labor at the railway depot. When the members of the family did not return with the other conscripts, the other Jews presumed they had been murdered.[6] In 1941, a Jew surnamed Drzewak was executed.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on November 2, 1942. At dawn, the Judenrat was told that the Jews would be evacuated. They were given a half hour to pack no more than 25 kilograms (55.1 pounds) of belongings and to report to the market square. Some who attempted to evade the evacuation were shot. The survivors were transported, via Łomża, to a transit camp in Zambrów. They were soon joined by others from Śniadowo who had evaded the deportation. Denied anything more than a day or two of shelter by local Christians, the fugitives had been forced to hide in local forests, where they became subjects of two large forest sweeps, organized by the Gendarmes, with the assistance of Ukrainian auxiliaries. At least 12 Śniadowo Jews perished during the searches, including an uncle of then-11-year-old Noemi Centnerschwer (Centnerszer). Those who surrendered voluntarily, such as Centnerschwer's sister, aunt, and several cousins, were brought to the Zambrów transit camp.[8]

At Zambrów, the Śniadowo community joined 17,500 to 20,000 Jews deported there from other nearby localities. The Germans began liquidating the transit camp, around January 10, 1943, by ordering more than 2,000 inmates assembled, for deportation on sleds, to the Czyżewo train station. Deported to the train station on January 15, along with Jews from Czyżewo and Łomża, the Śniadowo Jews were loaded onto train wagons destined for the Auschwitz extermination camp. They arrived at Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 17, 1943. Of the approximately 2,000 Jewish men, women, and children in the transport, about 1,775 were gassed on arrival. Another 225 men were held back for labor at the concentration camp. Only a handful of the prisoners were from Śniadowo. They included the brother of Noemi Centnerschwer, who likely perished in January 1943.[9] Only 1 Śniadowo Jew, Jacob Bandrymer, is known to have survived as an inmate of first Auschwitz and later the Dachau concentration camp.

Only a handful of Jews survived the war hiding near Śniadowo. Noemi Centnerschwer found long-term shelter masquerading as a Christian, working for the Jasiński family, in Szabły village. David Rozenberg survived with a group of Jewish fugitives hidden in a bunker located closer to Ostrów Mazowiecka.

SOURCES Useful secondary accounts include the Śniadowo entries in Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 441–442; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 212–213; and on Polin, the Heritage of Jews of Poland Web site, www.zchor.org; and Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 45 (tab. 6).

Archival documentation for the Śniadowo Jewish community under German occupation during World War II includes AŻIH (i.e., 301 [2750, 4407]); IPN (e.g., Ankiety); IPN-Bi (S-582/71); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 14, 46/76); VHF (# 16888); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2750, testimony of Noemi Centnerschwer, p. 1; and VHF, # 16888, testimony of Jacobo Bandrymer, in which Krohl is described several times as a German "mailman," in a "brown uniform" and as "not a military man, but, mobilized . . . in charge."

2. For August, VHF, # 16888; for October 1939 [*sic*.], USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/76, pp. 1–2, with the month perhaps significant.

3. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/76, pp. 1–2.

4. On the connections between the Kolno and Śniadowo executions, see the testimony collected by Jan Żaryn, "Przez pomyłkę. Ziemia łomżyńska w latach 1939–1945. Rozmowa z Ks. Kazimierzem Łupińskim," *Biuletyn IPN*, nos. 8–9 (19–20) (August–September 2003): 112–113, 117 fn.5.

5. Ibid., for the murder of the Szumowo and Prosienica Jewish communities; USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/191, pp. 1–2, noting Rząśnik as the execution site of 1,500 Jews from the town of Zambrów and from the Lubotyń and Andrzejewo gminy; for the Koskowo Jewish community, AŻIH, 301/4407, testimony of Dawid Rozenberg, p. 2 (Polish trans.); *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945. Województwo ostrołęckie* (Warsaw: GKBZHwP and IPN, 1985), p. 74, for executions of the Podbiele community.

6. VHF, # 16888.

7. *Rejestr miejsc*, p. 220, with no first name mentioned to indicate whether the victim was the same Drzewak mentioned earlier in the entry.

8. AŻIH, 301/4407, p. 2.

9. According to ITS records, the last record for Centnerszwer (Centnerschwer), a prisoner at Auschwitz-Buna, is a hospital list of inmates with typhus transferred back to the main Auschwitz camp on January 29, 1943, at USHMM, ITS, 1.1.2.1, folder 149, doc. 529843.

SOKÓŁKA

Pre-1939: Sokółka, town, powiat center, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sokulka, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sokolka, Kreis center, Distrikt Bialystok; 1944: Sokółka, Sokółka powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; post-1999: województwo podlaskie, Poland

Sokółka lies 42 kilometers (26 miles) north-northeast of Białystok and 36 kilometers (22.4 miles) south-southwest of Grodno. Its 1936 population of 19,392 included 3,232 Jews.

In World War II, the Germans occupied Sokółka initially but soon evacuated it to make way for the arrival of Soviet forces on September 22–23, 1939. That month, 56,600 native inhabitants resided in the larger Sokółka area, including 34,000 Poles, 15,300 Belorussians, 6,200 Jews, and 1,100 others. By late 1939, refugees from German-occupied Poland had swelled the Jewish population in Sokółka proper to 8,000 (70 percent of the population). In early 1940, Soviet authorities ordered a large part of the refugee population to vacate Sokółka; in May, they rounded up almost all the remaining refugees and deported them, via Grodno, to the Russian interior.[1] Many sources nonetheless note that 8,000 Jews resided in Sokółka on the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.

A Wehrmacht unit retook Sokółka on June 28, 1941. The soldiers immediately broke into a Bet Midrash, on Szkolna Street, and profaned the Holy Books. The German military command that same day established a local collaborationist administration, led by a mayor, and recruited an auxiliary police force. A German officer called together Jewish communal leaders and ordered a list of the Jewish inhabitants of Sokółka. Members of the auxiliary police force used lists provided by Jewish (and Polish) authorities to identify and arrest former Communist administrators, including two Jews. The prisoners were executed. By early July, the Germans had appointed a six-member Jewish Council (Judenrat). Sources divide over whether Friedburg, an attorney, or Sonnabend, a physician, headed the council.[2]

By June 30, the German military commander had ordered all Sokółka Jews assembled to hear a list of anti-Jewish decrees, including prohibitions on contact with Christians, mandates to wear yellow markings, requirements for daily forced labor by all adult Jews, and directives to surrender bicycles and radios. Soldiers rounded up Jews to clean barracks and houses recently seized by German authorities, to weed public spaces, and to work at the train station. The soldiers humiliated and then shot dead a man they discovered studying Torah. In mid-July, 25 Jews rounded up for labor were taken instead to a prison in Białystok. The men disappeared two months later.[3] The German military command also ordered Sokółka Jews to surrender jewelry as well as bedding, furniture, and other items to provision the apartments of German officials.

From the early summer of 1941, Sokółka swelled with Jewish refugees fleeing violence and coercion in Dąbrowa Białostocka, Kuźnica Białostocka, Krynki, Korycin, Czyżewo, and Zaręby Kościelne. In September 1941, many Jews from Janów Sokólski and Kuźnica fled to Sokółka to avoid deportation to larger, more distant ghettos. By the fall of 1941, the Sokółka Jewish population may have included 1,500 local refugees.[4]

With the establishment of a German civilian administration in late September 1941, the new authorities, likely the Sokolka Kreiskommissar, Landrat Amman, and the Amtskommissar, ordered a ghetto established in the old Jewish neighborhood in the southwestern third of the town. The ghetto encompassed an area spanning in the north from the southern side of Białystok Street to Kolejowa Street in the south. Its western border was the eastern side of 3 Maja Street. Some sources place the eastern border along the western side of Warszawa Street, also the location of the main gate. They note the ghetto was composed of three main streets: Szkolna, Sienna, and Kwiatowa. Others describe a ghetto area composed of several streets past Warszawa Street, including Krótka Street, and also Rzemieślnicza and Fabryczna Streets.[5] It took several months to construct a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) wooden fence and to brick over the doorways and windows along the perimeter of the ghetto. Jewish fugitives from Lithuania, who passed through Sokółka, described the ghetto as completely sealed off from the remainder of the town.

Just after the Sukkot holiday, on October 14, 1941, the Sokółka community was ordered relocated to the ghetto. At the gate, the members of the Sokółka Gendarmerie, including Gendarmes and members of the Polish police, inspected the items the Jews were moving in there and usually confiscated some of them. Figures for the ghetto population vary, with sources claiming that anywhere from between 3,500 and 8,000 Jews resided there.[6] The small size of the Sokółka Judenrat perhaps narrows the figures, as the Germans generally ordered the establishment of 6-member councils in places with Jewish populations below 5,000.

A German "ghetto commander" named Schneider oversaw the Sokółka ghetto. He likely was appointed by the Sokolka Kreiskommissar. He issued orders to the Jewish Council for the payment of ransoms, confiscations, and forced labor quotas. A Jewish police force, commanded by Paltiel Sztejn (or Stein), assisted the Judenrat to carry out the orders. The Polish police, including Bolesław Iracewicz and Alfons Czeczko, guarded the ghetto from the outside.[7]

Conditions in the ghetto were poor. Because each inmate was accorded 2 square meters (21.5 square feet) of residential space, as many as 16 people lived in a single room, even with the Bet Midrash used as housing. The inmates relied on barter and bribery to supplement the 300-gram (10.6-ounce) daily ration of rye bread. Some Christians remember Antoni Sawicki, a local Pole, using a torrential downpour before Passover 1942 to drive a 500-kilogram (1,100-pound) steer through the fence of the ghetto. Likely, ritual slaughterers (*shochtim*) paid him to deliver the animal, as survivors mention the widespread illegal smuggling of meat into the ghetto.[8] Donations enabled the Judenrat to provide butter and eggs to the sick. The poor sanitary conditions (from overcrowding) nonetheless led to a typhus epidemic. The Judenrat transformed the Yavne Hebrew School into a hospital and smuggled medicines into the ghetto. The Judenrat opened a new cemetery in the ghetto to bury the dead.

The Jews were ordered assembled outside the ghetto at least three times and subjected there to humiliations and beatings by German police and security forces. One day, members of the Gendarmerie rounded up 25 young men and shot them outside town. In March 1942, the rabbi of Sokółka, Yitzhak Halevi Schuster, was arrested, imprisoned in Białystok, and shot.

In the spring of 1942, hundreds of ghetto conscripts dug trenches for an underground sanitation system and constructed the Sokółka reservoir. Other conscripts widened and paved the road to Dąbrowa Białostocka. They worked on the 14.2-kilometer (8.8-mile) stretch, from Sokółka to Makowlany. A third group constructed a road to Odelsk, through Drahle village. The Germans ordered tailoring and shoemaking workshops created in the ghetto. The largest, a factory to produce felt boots for the Wehrmacht, was established at the pre-war Fajnberg tannery on Sienna Street. The workshop employed 300 to 400 people.

On November 2, 1942, an SS unit ordered the Sokółka ghetto sealed. That day, the Janów Sokólski Jewish community was expelled to the ghetto. On November 5, at 5:00 A.M., the SS ordered all the Jews assembled by the main gate. There, they learned that only 200 employees of the felt-boot factory and 200 others from communities consolidated in the ghetto would remain in Sokółka. The other inmates were to be expelled that day to a new work site, located in Kiełbasin, a former estate south of Grodno.

In reality, Kiełbasin was a transit camp in which the Germans consolidated about 22,000 to 28,000 Jews from 23 communities in Kreis Sokolka and Kreis Grodno to facilitate their deportation to the extermination camps. The Sokółka Jews remained at Kiełbasin until the middle of December, when they were expelled from the transit camp and sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. They were gassed on arrival.

On January 23, 1943, almost all the surviving Jews in Sokółka were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp on a transport that also carried Jews from the Krynki and Jasionówka ghettos. Two days later at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Germans gassed 2,107 people from the transport. They held back, as concentration camp prisoners, 193 people—161 men and 32 women. Until March 1943, when they were sent to Auschwitz, 20 specialist workers—10 from Sokółka and 10 from Krynki—remained in Sokółka.

A few Sokółka Jews evaded the expulsion. Sonnabend reportedly was transferred from Kiełbasin to the Białystok ghetto, where he served as the head of the Labor Department in the Białystok Judenrat.[9] Benjamin Kotler jumped from a deportation train.

SOURCES As well as archival documentation, the entry also is based on the testimonies of several survivors, including Aleksander (or Abraham) Kantorowski, Chaja Lea Kaplan, Benjamin (or Icchak) Kotler, and Rachel Malski-Tykociński, which appear in the Sokółka yizkor book, Ester Mishkinski, ed., *Sefer Sokolkah. Dos bukh fun Sokolke ('a.y. Irgun yots'e Sokolkah be-Yisrael)* (Jerusalem: Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot, 1968). Two anonymous testimonies, published in Shimon

Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), pp. 359–360, 365–366, provide brief, albeit important, mentions of Sokółka during the war.

Secondary sources include the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 475–481; and Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 180–186. Still relevant, particularly for demographic changes, is Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja Żydów w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 9, 48 (tab. 7). Electronic resources include an interview, from January 2006, with Mikołaj Talarczyk, "Za łapówkę do Kłajpedy," about the Sokółka ghetto, on the Web site of the town of Sokółka, www.sokolka.pl/; and "Sokólscy Żydzi," on the Nasza Sokółka Web site, http://naszasokolka.wordpress.com.

Documentation about the World War II history of the Sokółka Jewish community under German occupation and the partisans who operated near Dworzysk includes AŻIH (Ankięty [GRN Sokółka and Dąbrowa], and 301/2121 and 2965); IPN-Bi (1/1966, 15/438, and old numeration, Ko-205/88 [Dworzysk], S-12/79, S-48/68, S-70/67, S-132/69); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], reel 14, 48/88); VHF (# 8661 and 38590); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 8661, testimony of Abram Morenstein; and Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, pp. 365–366.
2. Compare "Sokółka," in Rubin, *Rise*, p. 185; and AŻIH, 301/2121, testimony of Fania Jesielewska, p. 1.
3. AŻIH, 301/2965, testimony of Abraham Gołdacki, p. 1.
4. AŻIH, Ankięty (GRN Sokółka and Dąbrowa), cited in Datner, "Eksterminacja," p. 9.
5. Compare Mishḳinsḳi, *Sefer Soḳolḳah*, p. 349; and Talarczyk, "Za łapówkę."
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), ASG, reel 14, 48/88, pp. 1–2, for low figure; and AŻIH, 301/2965, p. 1, for high figure.
7. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 48/88, p. 2.
8. Compare Talarczyk, "Za łapówkę"; and Mishḳinsḳi, *Sefer Soḳolḳah*, p. 350.
9. AŻIH, 301/2121, p. 1.

SOKOŁY

Pre-1939: Sokoły (Yiddish: Sokoli), town, Wysokie Mazowieckie powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sokoły, Lapy raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Sokoły, Wysokie Mazowieckie powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Sokoły lies 38 kilometers (23.6 miles) southwest of Białystok. Its 1937 population of 2,100 included 1,400 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Sokoły on September 10, 1939. That evening, the Germans set fire to two Jewish residential streets and shot 4 Jews, probably in retaliation for the murder of three soldiers in Truskolasy-Lachy village. On September 17, German soldiers set Wysokie Mazowieckie ablaze and expelled about 600 Jewish arson victims to Sokoły. On September 23, the Germans ceded Sokoły to Soviet occupation.

Under Soviet rule, Sokoły swelled with Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland. In April 1940, local authorities declared the refugees to be security risks and ordered them to move to localities east of Białystok. In August 1940, the Jewish population stood at 2,015, as some 500 Wysokie Mazowieckie refugees had settled permanently in Sokoły.

On June 24, 1941, the Germans recaptured Sokoły. On July 2, Wagner, the local military commander, immediately ordered all Jews to wear white armbands. This regulation was later changed to yellow markings, on the chest and arm. Wagner appointed a Polish collaborationist mayor and a 10-person auxiliary police force. The latter was commanded by Józef Janeczko. On a Sunday, German soldiers and the local police humiliated Rabbi Josef Rosenblum in front of the Roman Catholic Church. Wagner ordered Jewish houses searched for evidence of Communist sedition; 17 Jews were arrested.

However, a local translator, known as "Marszałek" (the Marshal), convinced Wagner of many Jews' innocence. In late July 1941, Wagner appointed Marszałek mayor and accepted his proposal for the Jewish community to pay a "fine" to release the imprisoned "Communists."[1] Because of its relative lack of terror, some survivors of anti-Jewish violence in Nowogród (Łomża powiat), Radziłów, Jedwabne, Tykocin, Rutki-Kossaki, and Kobylin found shelter in Sokoły.[2]

In early July, Wagner imposed the death penalty on Jews found without permission outside Sokoły. That same week, he ordered that a 12-person Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established, under the chairmanship of Alter Ginzberg. Its main responsibilities were to raise taxes and contributions demanded by the authorities and to organize workers for forced labor, made compulsory of all Jews under 42 years of age the moment the Germans arrived in Sokoły.

In September 1941, the Germans established a civil administration for Sokoły. That month, on the Shabbat of Penitence, the newly arrived German Gendarmes, or perhaps an SS unit from Łomża, and Polish policemen executed the former Jewish residents of a rest home in Mazury village. The Sokoły Jewish community had cared for the 25 to 30 victims, physically and mentally handicapped Jews from Białystok, from June 22, 1941.[3]

In late September 1941, Amtskommissar Wassel ordered a closed ghetto established in Sokoły. The Judenrat bribed him to suspend the order. When Wassel several more times threatened to establish a closed ghetto, the Judenrat interpreted the calls as demands for further monetary compensation.[4]

Local German authorities instead established an open ghetto, by restricting Jewish movement to Sokoły and concentrating Jews in fewer houses. They expropriated the houses of the wealthiest Jews to distribute to German and Polish officials. Wassel ordered additional Jewish houses demolished to construct a Gendarmerie post. Polish civilians expropriated

Jewish-owned businesses and workshops. Because they most often were located in the owners' homes, the families had little choice but to move. The expropriations resulted in extended Jewish families living in a single room in the remaining Jewish houses; other families moved into barns and storage sheds.[5]

The Amtskommissar, the Gendarmes, several German railway officials, a German dairy manager, the local mayor, and the Polish auxiliary police demanded furnishings, household items, and exorbitant gifts from the Judenrat. Wassel ordered all Jewish-owned cows confiscated. The Gendarmerie required the Judenrat to cover material losses some local Poles claimed to have sustained from several Jews in the Soviet period.

However, most Sokoły Jews flouted the anti-Jewish measures binding them to Sokoły. Young Jews left daily mostly to barter merchandise for food with local Poles. Radio technician Moshe Maik (Majek) established and maintained a clandestine radio for a Polish Home Army (AK) unit in Bruszewo village. Because of the Gendarmerie construction project, about 300 craftsmen received exemptions from forced labor obligations. They worked directly for the Germans or for local Poles. On Passover 1942, almost all the 200 Jews conscripted to unload and load materials and to repair track beds at an SS-supervised railway and locomotive car facility in Łapy secured medical certificates to excuse them officially from forced labor obligations during the holidays.

An SS officer from the Łapy facility arrived in Sokoły on a Passover festival day to flog publicly and then arrest the entire Judenrat for the breech in labor discipline. A bribe secured their release. But Wassel warned the death sentence would be imposed on any Jew subsequently found circumventing German law.[6] Seven weeks later, Wassel ordered (Dov) Beryl Kruszewski publicly hanged for hoarding goods, ignoring orders limiting Jews to Sokoły, and buying a substitute to fulfill his labor obligation in Łapy.[7]

In the fall of 1942, the Germans doubled forced labor obligations, ordering the Judenrat to send about 400 laborers daily to Łapy and another 80 each to a telegraph cabling project in the Budziska Forest and to a quarry in Jeżewo. The Judenrat conscripted all men, aged 42 to 60, twice weekly for forced labor. It mobilized women to lay cable, pulverize stone, and run the quarry's kitchen.

In the fall of 1942, a Polish train engineer told Sokoły laborers at Łapy that he twice had deported Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to a camp named Treblinka, where they had disappeared.[8] In late October, several fugitives from the liquidations of the ghettos in Siedlce and Węgrów recounted jumping from transports taking them to the Treblinka extermination camp. The Jews began planning resistance. But, on November 1, a week before the insurgents were to purchase arms, local Poles warned they had been ordered to bring 400 wagons to Sokoły the next morning. About three quarters of the Sokoły Jewish community fled to local forests.[9]

An SS unit that arrived in Sokoły on November 2, 1942, to expel the Jewish community to a transit camp in southern Białystok discovered no more than 300 to 500 Jews there. Pursued in the forests by the Gendarmes and by gangs of Polish and Belorussian thieves, many fugitives accepted an "amnesty" offered by German authorities to all Jews who reported to the Bet Midrash.[10] Around November 15–20, the Germans transported about 400 Bet Midrash captives to the Białystok transit camp. The Białystok Judenrat transferred to its ghetto the rabbi of Sokoły, his wife, and eldest daughter. The rest of the Sokoły inmates, about 850 people, were sent between November 16 and December 15 to Treblinka.[11] They were gassed on arrival.

In Sokoły, in late December 1942 or early January 1943, German authorities transferred another approximately 650 Jews to "safe haven" in the Białystok ghetto.[12] Most transferees were deported during the first liquidation Aktion in February 1943. About 50 to 60 others were expelled during the final liquidation Aktion in August. A handful of the latter, deported to a number of concentration camps, survived the war.[13]

About 25 Jews from Sokoły received shelter from local Poles. Stanisław Kalinowski, in Bruszewo, sheltered five Jews including Maik, his radio operator. In September 1943, Gendarmes from Tykocin surrounded the Waniewo farm of Władysław and Stanisława Krysiewicz, aid-givers to eight Sokoły ghetto fugitives. The Germans set fire to their house, shot dead the fugitives as they fled the blaze, and murdered the aid-givers.[14]

Denied shelter by local Poles, the hundreds of others who built forest bunkers suffered greater losses. As SS, SS auxiliaries, and Gendarmes embarked on sweeps of the region's forests in 1943, more than 100 were killed. Others were murdered by thieves or local farmers or denounced by Poles. Fewer than 20 Sokoły forest fugitives survived the war.[15]

After Sokoły's liberation on August 11, 1944, tragedy struck the survivors. On February 17, 1945, armed Poles from the AK, the anti-Communist underground, burst into a party and murdered 7 of the 24 Jewish survivors there. The dead included the engineer David Żółty, 4-year-old Tolka Żytawer, 12-year-old Jehoszua Litwak, and David Kruszewski, a survivor of the Majdanek and Auschwitz extermination camps.[16]

In 1949, Janeczko, the former commander of the Sokoły auxiliary police, was found not guilty of the murders of 25 to 30 Jews from the Mazury rest home and of Kruszewski.

SOURCES Published testimonies can be found in Moisheh Grosman, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Sokoli* (Tel Aviv, 1962), which has appeared in a Hebrew translation by its editor, Shemu'el Kalisher, ed., *Sokoli ba-ma'avak le-hayim* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Soḳoli be-Yisrael, 1975). An almost complete English translation, from the Hebrew, is available at jewishgen .org. The one account not yet available there has been published in English translation as Avigdor Ben-Dov, ed., *Deliverance*: *The Diary of Michael Maik. A True Story*, trans. Laia Ben-Dov (Kedumim, Israel: Keterpress, 2004).

Valuable secondary accounts include the relevant entries in Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Poland: Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem:

Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 323–325; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Białystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 177–179; and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, pp. 219–220. Also valuable are Janusz Gwardiak, "Żydzi w Sokołach. Z dziejów gminy żydowskiej," in Michał Gnatowski, ed., *Żydzi i stosunki polsko-żydowskie w regionie łomżynskim w XIX i XX wieku* (Łomża: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów, 2002), pp. 105–110; and Anna Pyżewska, "Tragedia w Sokołach—17 lutego 1945," *BIPN*, no. 12 (2005): 76–80.

Documentation remains so sparse about the specific fate of the Nowogród Jewish community, which numbered 521 people in 1921, that some scholars believe none of its members survived the Holocaust. However, Luba Wróbel Goldberg (VHF, # 18687) fled from Nowogród after the Germans set it afire in June or July 1941. Unfortunately, the extant documentation makes it impossible to determine whether a ghetto subsequently was established in Nowogród.

Documentation pertaining to the Sokoły Jewish community during the Holocaust includes AŻIH (e.g., 301/390, 391, 977, 1263, 3155); FVA (# 186); IPN (e.g., SAB 233-233a, SOŁ 114, SWB 16, WSRW 216/53); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/1158, S [19/69, 74/68, 75/68, 76/68, 77/67, 116/68, 224/68, 279/68, 296/69, 298/68, 311/68, 317/68, 323/68]); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M [IPN] [2/272, 46/131]; RG-50.120*0070; Acc.1995.A.839; RG-02.202); VHF (# 13078, 15557, 15747, 30390, 32394, 33349, 37463, 47869, 48616); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Kalisher, *Sokoli*, p. 163 (Chaim Goldberg testimony); Maik, *Deliverance*, pp. 25–28.
2. VHF, # 18687, testimony of Luba (Wróbel) Goldberg; Maik, *Deliverance*, pp. 37–40, 75.
3. Maik, *Deliverance*, pp. 41–42, and IPN, SOŁ 114, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 219–220 (depositions, Jakub Płut and Wolf Gryczak), for Gendarmes; Klisher, *Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Sokoli*, p. 164 (Goldberg), for SS.
4. Maik, *Deliverance*, p. 56.
5. Ibid., pp. 27, 32–35, 46–47, 50–56, 67–70.
6. Ibid., pp. 29–31, 43–46, 55–66, 80.
7. Ibid., pp. 70–75.
8. VHF, # 18687.
9. Kalisher, *Sokoli*, p. 165 (Goldberg); Maik, *Deliverance*, pp. 87–98.
10. Kalisher, *Sokoli*, pp. 208–209 (Issur Wondolowicz testimony).
11. Ibid., p. 224 (Yosef Rosenblum testimony).
12. VHF, # 30390, testimony of Saul Platt; Kalisher, *Sokoli*, p. 224, p. 185 (Goldberg), p. 148 (Avraham Kalifowitz testimony).
13. Kalisher, *Sokoli*, p. 185; USHMM, RG-02.202, testimony of Sara (Majzler) Lew; VHF, # 15557, 15747, 13078, testimonies of Esther (Wondolowicz) Goldman, Motĺel Tservonits, and Mala Sonnabend.
14. In 1993, Yad Vashem recognized Władysław and Stanisława Krysiewicz as Righteous Among the Nations.
15. Klisher, *Sokoli*, pp. 178–179, 183, 186 (Kalifowitz), pp. 209–211 (Wondolowicz).
16. Jerzy Zieleniewski, *Raporty wywiadu AK-AKO-WiN Obwodu Wysokie Mazowieckie w Okręgu Białystok, 1944–1947* (Białystok, 2001), 1:64; IPN, WSRW 216/53.

SOPOĆKINIE

Pre-1939: Sopoćkinie (Yiddish: Sopotkin), village, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sopotskin, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sopozkin, Kreis Grodno, Distrikt Białystok; post-1991: Sapotskin, Hrodna raen and voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Sopoćkinie lies 26 kilometers (about 16 miles) northwest of Grodno. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population there may have numbered about 1,300 people.[1]

Because of its location on the border between Soviet- and German-occupied Poland, Sopoćkinie was among the early localities attacked on June 22, 1941, the first day of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Shortly after 2:00 A.M., shelling from German border guards set Sopoćkinie ablaze. At 9:00 A.M., regular German soldiers entered Sopoćkinie to leave behind a small military contingent to establish a civil administration. The members of the military administration immediately ordered the settlement's Jewish residents to return home. As they watched the settlement burn to the ground, the Germans also compelled the Jews to dig mass graves and to extricate and then bury the dead. Jews were the overwhelming number of the hundreds of fire victims.

Within the first week of occupying the settlement, the German soldiers asked local Poles, most likely the members of a newly appointed Polish auxiliary police force, to identify the Jews who had collaborated with the former Soviet administration. The Poles took a broad view of the order, in part because they had witnessed the Polish military incur significant losses from the Red Army just outside Sopoćkinie during the September 1939 campaign and believed that some young local Jewish Communists had abetted the Soviet seizure of Sopoćkinie.[2] They rounded up a large number of Jews, including the rabbi of Sopoćkinie and several other distinguished communal leaders. The Germans executed the Jews outside Sopoćkinie in an antitank ditch by the Augustów Canal.

Because of the fire devastation, the soldiers immediately established a ghetto for the surviving Jews. Since there were no habitable structures in Sopoćkinie, they located the ghetto in Teolin, a settlement located immediately to the west. The ghetto occupied a Roman Catholic convent school (for a time a Russian Orthodox monastery), one of the only four structures in Teolin. Others mention the ghetto was located in a meeting hall and cinema, likely because during the Soviet occupation the authorities had confiscated the property to use for this purpose. The ghetto was fenced, though the date the fence was erected is unknown.

The German military command also issued a number of anti-Jewish decrees. These required Jews throughout the Bialystok Distrikt to wear yellow markings on their chests and backs, prohibited contact with Christians, and forbade Jews from leaving their places of residence. By late July, military authorities in Łomża also had ordered the Jews to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

Material conditions in the Sopoćkinie ghetto were poor. Five or six families crowded into a single cell of the former convent. Sanitation facilities were inadequate. Although the Jews were brought daily from Teolin to Sopoćkinie to clear away the fire destruction, the ghetto lacked access to water and soap. Initially, the Germans provided the Jews no food. To procure sustenance, they snuck out of the ghetto at night to beg. The unsanitary conditions and poor diet, coupled with a contaminated source of water, led to an outbreak of cholera.

As rumors circulated that the Germans had prepared some antitank ditches outside the town for a mass execution, the Jews in the ghetto lived in fear and hopelessness.[3] Moreover, some local Christians brought news of the executions, on November 3, 1941, of other nearby Lithuanian Jewish communities. The German Amtskommissar, most likely a man surnamed Beeskow, announced that because of the overcrowding, poor sanitation, and recent epidemic in the ghetto, the elderly and less able-bodied would be moved to a place with better conditions. When the transferees were not heard from again, the Jews presumed they had been murdered in the antitank ditches.

The Germans again reduced the size of the Sopoćkinie ghetto population in June 1942, this time conscripting for forced labor almost all of its remaining men. Taken to a labor camp in Starosielce, today a part of Białystok, Poland, the men worked on construction of a train depot and on extending and repairing rail lines. The Amtskommissar held back a few craftsmen to assist in the rebuilding of Sopoćkinie.

Sometime after the deportations, the Jews were relocated to another ghetto in Sopoćkinie. The new ghetto was composed of a few fire-damaged homes on pre-war Bolesław I Chrobry (the Brave or Valiant) Street, also known as Osoczniki Street. This ghetto, too, was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. In addition to work on ongoing reconstruction projects, the Jews in this period also were hired by local Christians for agricultural labor. The Christians contracted for their work through the German labor office in Sopoćkinie.

On November 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Sopoćkinie ghetto. Beeskow informed the Jews that they were to be sent to the Ukraine for labor. He permitted them to bring with them only work clothes, one pair of shoes, and a small piece of hand luggage. After the Jews had gathered their belongings, the less able-bodied were ordered onto the wagons of local peasants. The remaining Jews were instructed to march behind the wagons. The Sopoćkinie Jews, about 537 people, were brought to the Kiełbasin transit camp, south of Grodno.[4] They may have been the first Jews to arrive there, though other accounts suggest the Skidel community was there earlier. At Kiełbasin, the Sopoćkinie Jews were soon joined by Jews from about 22 other communities (about 22,000 to 28,000 people) in the Grodno and Sokółka regions also deported there between November 2 and 5. Housed in subterranean barracks, known as dugouts, for more than a month and a half, they lived in terrible conditions, with little food, subjected to the brutality of the camp's commandant, Karl Rinzler, and his staff. Many perished of diseases related to exposure, the poor diet, and inadequate sanitation.

However, the Sopoćkinie Jews were not among the communities deported from the transit camp to the region's extermination camps. They were still at Kiełbasin when, shortly after December 21, 1942, the Germans liquidated the camp and sent its remaining 2,000 to 3,500 Jewish inmates to the Grodno I ghetto.[5] A few Sopoćkinie Jews escaped from the ghetto. Alter and Rachel Biblowicz, and their daughter Luba, for example, made their way home to Sopoćkinie. They survived the war sheltered by the Falejczyk and Bykowski families in Kadysz-Hołowieńczyce and Nowosady villages.[6]

The remaining Sopoćkinie Jews in the Grodno I ghetto were deported to the Auschwitz extermination camp about a month later, during the Aktion of January 18–22, 1943. At least three Sopoćkinie Jews, for example, were on the Grodno ghetto transport that arrived at Auschwitz on January 20; others, including Masha Chalef and her stepmother, arrived there on January 24. From the second transport, the Germans held back Chalef and at least one other Sopoćkinie Jew, Jankiel Obalski, as prisoners of the concentration camp. Almost all the remaining Sopoćkinie Jews, including Chalef's stepmother, were gassed on their arrival at Auschwitz.[7] The Sopoćkinie men at Starosielce are believed to have been sent, on November 19, 1942, to the Treblinka extermination camp.[8] After the deportations, the German administration in Sopoćkinie sold off the remaining Jewish property there. It deposited 6,172.59 Reichsmark (RM) in proceeds into a trustee account of the Landratsamt in Grodno.[9]

SOURCES Several published and Internet-based works are useful: Alexander Manor (or Menchinsky), ed., *Korot 'ayarah ahat; megilat ha-śigśug ve-ha-hurban shel kehilat Sopotkin* (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Sopatkin be-Yisrael, 1960), an English translation of which appears at Jewishgen, at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Sopotskin/Sopotskin.html#TOC-C6; Yitshak Yezhezki'eli, ed., *Kol adam ve-zikhrono: 'Ayarah, perihatah ve-hurbanah, hayeha, demuyoteha ve-tipusehah: Sopotkin nikra otah* (Tel Aviv, 1964); and Parnas Hager, ed., *Sopotskin: Toldot imuts 'ayarah aḥat* (Ḳiryat Yam, Israel: Bet-ha-sefer ha-tikhon ha-maḳif'a. sh. Rodman, 1973). A testimony by Judy (Kramlat) Goldman also appears in Alfred Neil Kramer, ed., *The Kramer Family Tree*, 3 pts. (Have de Grace, MD: Alfred Neil Kramer, 2008), pt. 2, pp. 1026–1034; see also www.kramerlaw.com/Sopockin.htm and his articles including "Sopockin: An Overview, pts. 1 & 2," *Landsmen* 9:4 (November 1999) and 10:1–2 (June 2000).

Valuable, too, is the Sopoćkinie entry in Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 320–323. An English translation, by Rachel Kapen (Ivashkovsky), is available on the Kramer Konnections Web site, at www.kramerlaw.com/Sopockin2.htm.

Documentary sources for the study of the Jewish community of Sopoćkinie under German occupation during World War II include GAGO (e.g., 1-1-54, pp. 37–38; 1-1-150, pp. 18, 33–34; 1-1-335, pp. 45, 80–82; and 1-1-365, pp. 37–38); GARF (e.g., 7021-86-40, pp. 4, 56, 58); NARB (845-1-8, p. 31); USHMM (RG-22.002M [GARF], e.g., reel 13, pp. 4, 56, 58; and RG-53.004M [GAGO], e.g., reel 1, 1-1-54, pp. 37–38, reel 2, 1-1-150, pp. 18, 33–34, and reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 45, 80–82, and 1-1-365, pp. 10–14); VHF (# 3978); and YVA (e.g., O-16/5432 and O-3/3930). Some of the materials cited above have been published in Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *Documents Concerning the Destruction of the Jews of Grodno 1941–1944*, 6 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1985–1992), 6: 170, 210.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 3978, testimony of Masha (Chalef) Markovitch.
2. IPN, S-6/02/Zk; and Marek Wierzbicki, *Polacy i Żydzi w zaborze sowieckim* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Kulturalne Fronda, 2001), pp. 56, 91–92.
3. VHF, # 3978.
4. USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 1, 1-1-54, p. 38; also at GARF, 7021-86-40, p. 4.
5. Manor, *Ḳorot ʻayarah aḥat*, p. 119.
6. In 1978 Yad Vashem recognized two members of the Falejczyk family and in 1990 five members of the Bykowski family as Righteous Among the Nations.
7. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 155–157.
8. Mikhael-Meir Yezursky (or Jezierski), "In the Horrible Years," in Yosef Kohen-Tsedek *Sefer zikaron li-kehilt Ostrin*, *Shts'uts'n*, *Vasililishki*, *Novidvor*, *Roz'ankah* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'ah nifredet shel Irgun yotse Ostrin be-Yisrael, 1966), pp. 357–361.
9. USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 4, 1-1-335, pp. 80–82.

STAWISKI

Pre-1939: Stawiski (Yiddish: Stavisk), town, Szczuczyn powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Stavishki, Kol'no raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Stawiski, Kreis Lomscha, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Kolno powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Stawiski lies 24.5 kilometers (15.2 miles) north-northeast of Łomża. On the eve of World War II, its population of 3,150 included 1,700 to 2,000 Jews.

A Wehrmacht unit from the 21st Infantry Division briefly occupied Stawiski for about three weeks in September 1939. The soldiers raped Jewish women and plundered Jewish stores. Ordered to supervise Jewish labor brigades, some local Poles humiliated the conscripted workers. A Stawiski priest blamed the Jews for the murder of some soldiers. In retaliation, the Germans executed several Jews, burned the small synagogue, or perhaps a Bet Midrash, and set part of Stawiski on fire.[1] The Germans deported a group of able-bodied male Jews (and Christians) to forced labor camps in East Prussia before turning over Stawiski to Soviet forces.

The Germans returned to Stawiski on June 27, 1941.[2] The Wehrmacht initially posted a Feldgendarmerie unit, composed of eight men, in Stawiski to maintain order. German authorities recruited an auxiliary Polish police force to assist the Feldgendarmerie.[3] Its commander likely was Józef Wieczorek.[4] The local recruits mostly had been released from People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) prisons as a result of the war. The Germans ordered the Jews to organize a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its primary responsibility was to turn over valuables to the military authorities.

With the return of the Germans, violence against the Jews again reached a peak. The Germans, along with Polish collaborators, plundered and destroyed Jewish property, set the Jews to forced labor, and beat and often murdered them.

Beginning on August 17, 1941, the Germans executed almost the entire Stawiski Jewish community. The able-bodied, about 900 people, perished in an antitank ditch outside Mściwuje village, the execution site also of the women and children of the Kolno community and the Jewish residents of Mały Płock. Another approximately 700 Stawiski victims, mostly infants, the elderly, and the handicapped, were executed in the Płaszczatka (or Stawiski) Forest.[5] Postwar Polish investigators initially held German Gendarmes assigned to the Stawiski and Kolno regions responsible for the execution of the Jewish communities there.[6] Most Polish historians now believe the Stawiski executions were the work of an SS unit from the Płock (Schröttersburg) substation of the Zichenau Gestapo, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Schaper.[7]

The Germans held back 60 Stawiski Jews from execution, for a remnant ghetto, likely established on the same day as the executions. The survivors included local medical personnel, a single representative of each skilled trade, and their families. Among the tradesmen were a tailor, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, and a locksmith.

Initially located near the synagogue, the ghetto was moved subsequently to the northern outskirts of Stawiski. The second ghetto was located on parts of Furmańska and Krzywe Koło Streets, behind the houses formerly inhabited by the Jeleniewicz (or Wolinewicz), Wilamowski, and Zalman Leibel families. It consisted of a few homes on about 4,000 square meters (almost 1 acre) of land. Though surrounded by a fence, the ghetto was not guarded from either side. After surviving Jews from Grabowo and other nearby villages were consolidated there, the ghetto population stood at about 105.[8]

Jews who had survived the mass execution in hiding were not permitted to reside in the Stawiski ghetto. After the war, local Polish authorities in Jedwabne claimed that about 100 Jews from Stawiski, presumably the fugitives, had been consolidated in the short-lived Jedwabne ghetto. However, no Stawiski survivors recall ever having been ordered to Jedwabne. Rather, they describe either seeking refuge in the ghetto in Łomża or hiding for many months, until the Germans permitted them to work as agricultural laborers for local Poles and to live on the farmsteads at which they labored.[9]

The Stawiski ghetto residents mostly provided labor to the Stawiski Gendarmerie (Order Police). Some cut wood for the Gendarmerie, and others cleared rubble from the town. Craftsmen at times worked for Poles in villages outside Stawiski. There, the Polish perpetrators of anti-Jewish violence threatened them. Wieczorek stoned three Jewish laborers to death in Skroda Mała village.[10]

On November 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the Stawiski ghetto, driving its residents along with the Stawiski Jews who had lived outside the ghetto to a transit camp in Bogusze, a village located 4.8 kilometers (about 3 miles) north of Grajewo, near the railway station in Prostken, East Prussia). The Stawiski community joined about 5,000 to 9,000 Jews from nearby localities also expelled to the Bogusze transit camp. The Germans liquidated the transit camp in two deportations. In the first and largest, the SS drove about 2,500 to 5,000 inmates to the railway station on December 15–16, 1942, and sent them from there to the Treblinka extermination camp. During the second deportation, on January 3, 1943, about 2,000 inmates were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Shortly after midnight, on January 7, about 1,489 Jews from the transport were gassed on arrival. Another 296 men and 215 women became concentration camp prisoners. The only Stawiski prisoner from the deportation believed to have survived the war is Rivka Jaffa (Yaffa).[11]

As many as 50 Stawiski Jews had evaded the Prostken deportation, but most were found in subsequent German searches. On November 2, 1942, 2 Jews were shot by Gendarmes on Źródłowa Street immediately after the ghetto's liquidation. Fajwel Chonkowicz and his family, also ghetto escapees, were sheltered by Antoni Rydzewski, a farmer in Budy Stawiskie village, but in 1943, another Pole denounced their hiding places. Gendarmes shot dead the 11 Jews they discovered on the Rydzewski property, including the Chonkowiczs, and their Polish aid-giver. Another denunciation in August 1943 likely led Stawiski Gendarmes to burn down an abandoned school in Wysokie Małe village in which 5 to 10 Stawiski Jews were hiding. The Jews perished in the blaze.[12] In 1944, at least another 11 Jews, including 6 members of the Rozensztejn family, reportedly were murdered by local Poles in the Mały Płock gmina.[13]

There were no more than seven survivors among the fugitives. Herzl Cheslok, a former inmate of the Białystok ghetto, also is counted as a Stawiski survivor.

In 1947, criminal investigators examined allegations that Piotr Mrozicki, a local Pole, had participated in the murders, in July 1941, of the Całecki family and of another miller's family in Poryte village but decided to try Mrozicki instead for extricating four Jews from hiding places during the mass execution of the Stawiski community and turning three over to German authorities and murdering the fourth, a man named Goldberg. In 1948, Mrozicki received a four-year sentence.[14]

SOURCES Some of the archival sources below appear in Polish translation in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 1, *Studia*, p. 470 (AŻIH, Ankiety, Jedwabne ghetto inquiry); vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, p. 145 (AAN, 303/III-7/1), pp. 242–243 (AŻIH, 301/1860), pp. 246–248 (AŻIH, 301/78), pp. 337–339 (AŻIH, 301/1858); and in the original Yiddish in George Garin et al., eds., *Grayeve yisker bukh* (New York: United Grayever Relief Committee, 1950), pp. 226–227 (AŻIH, 301/1860).

Published testimonies by Jewish survivors can be found in Yosef Rubin, ed., *Stavisk: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ṣtavisḳ be-Yisrael, 1973). There also is a yizkor book for the Kolno Jewish community, Aizik Rembah and Benyamin Halevi, eds., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Kolno* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ḳolnah ṿe-Sifriyat-po'alim, 1971). English translations of both are available at jewishgen.org.

Useful secondary accounts include Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 325–330 (Stawiski), pp. 411–415 (Kolno). Its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 110–113 (Kolno), pp. 186–191 (Stawiski), includes translations of parts of the relevant entries from Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Machcewicz and Persak *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1, pp. 167–168 (Kolno), pp. 168–169 (Stawiski). Almost all the other contributions to the first volume of *Wokół Jedwabnego* include some discussion of the Stawiski and Kolno Jewish communities.

Archival documentation pertaining to the history of the Jewish communities of Stawiski and Kolno during the World War II German occupation includes AAN (303/III-7/1/7-8); AŻIH (i.e., Ankiety, 301 [78, 1858, 1860, 1997]); IPN (e.g., ASG, SOŁ 93); IPN-Bi (e.g., S [1/71, 99/68, 101/68, 25/67/1-2]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], 2/177-78, 2/187, 46/77); VHF (# 21241); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3714, M-11 [260, B-219]).

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NOTES

1. Rivka Zilbersztejn testimony and Chaim Wilamowski account, in Rubin, *Stavisk*, respectively, pp. 318–323, 301.

2. AŻIH, 301/1858, testimony of Fajgel Gołąbek (or Golombek), in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:337–339.

3. BA-MA, M819, SF-02 (37615), p. 17 (Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS, Ic, Tätigkeitsbericht Nr. 4, July 7, 1941), cited in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 1:336–337.

4. Yehuda Chiwicho, in Rubin, *Stavisk*, p. 335, describes Wieczorek only as "the chief of the antisemites and the head of the ruffians of Stawiski."

5. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 1, 2/177, pp. 1–2, 2/187, pp. 1–2. See also AAN, 303/III-7, vol. 1, pp. 7–8.

6. IPN-Bi, S-171.

7. Suspicions based in part on AŻIH, 301/78, testimony of Menachem Finkelsztejn, pp. 1–4.

8. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/77, pp. 1–2.

9. Chiwicho and Fuks, in Rubin, *Stavisk*, respectively, pp. 336–338, 352–361.

10. AŻIH, 301/1858, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:338.
11. Ibid., 2:339.
12. Ibid.; IPN-Bi, S-1/71, depositions, S. Borawski and J. Blusiewicz; Chiwicho, in Rubin, *Stavisk*, pp. 336–343.
13. AŻIH, 301/1858, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:339; Fuks, in Rubin, *Stavisk*, pp. 353–362.
14. IPN, SOŁ 93, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 169.

SUCHOWOLA

Pre-1939: Suchowola (Yiddish: Sukhovola), town, Sokółka powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sukhovoly, Sokolka raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Suchowola, Kreis Sokolka, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Sokółka powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Suchowola lies 58 kilometers (36 miles) north of Białystok. In 1931, its Jewish population stood at 1,521. During World War II, it first came under Soviet occupation shortly after September 17, 1939.

A Wehrmacht unit occupied Suchowola within days of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. A military commandant's post (Ortskommandantur) controlled the town until mid-August, when a Gendarmerie post, commanded by Weiss, was established. Amtskommissar Hans Urban arrived in late August. An auxiliary police force was recruited likely from the Polish ranks of a 12-person Christian-Jewish civilian guard, appointed on June 23 by the Roman Catholic priest and the rabbi of Suchowola, Zvi Kalir, to police Suchowola after the evacuation of Soviet authorities. Its initial commander, Sieńko, was from Wólka (Suchowola gmina, Sokółka powiat). Józef Snarski, the first village administrator (sołtys), also was an auxiliary policeman. A tailor, Mikulski (or Miłkulski), was named mayor.[1]



Pre-war portrait of two children of Aaron Shmuel Shlachter. Both were murdered in Treblinka after being held in the Suchowola ghetto.
USHMM WS #89919, COURTESY OF SARAH HOLSTEIN MASLOW

The SS and the Polish guardsmen engaged in anti-Jewish violence in Suchowola as many as three times in July 1941. (The number of occasions and the timing of events vary in the sources.) During the first visit, likely on Sunday, July 6, the SS men and the Polish guardsmen rounded up Communist sympathizers and drove the Jews to the market square. At the assembly, about 35 Jews, 30 Christians, and 2 Red Army soldiers were forced to run a gauntlet of SS and Polish collaborators armed with clubs and shovels. At least 5 Jews perished during the beatings.[2]

The SS returned to Suchowola on July 12, 1941, a day Jewish survivors remember as "Black Saturday." At another assembly, the SS commander ordered the Polish collaborators, a group that perhaps included local villagers, to incarcerate most of the Jewish community in buildings across town. Jewish craftsmen were interned for several weeks until a ghetto was established.[3] Other prisoners were subjected to violence. Young women, imprisoned in the synagogue, were raped and beaten by their Polish guards. Other guardsmen beat up Jewish religious leaders, including Kalir, interned in the Tarbut school. The SS made the prisoners collect and burn the community's religious texts. After the SS invited visiting German dignitaries and photographers to observe from a bridge, the Polish police drove a group of Bet Midrash prisoners into a pond. The police, joined by the SS, beat and drowned at least 12 Jews. They drove other prisoners, likely elderly business leaders, into a house and set it on fire. Policemen forced escapees back into the building. About 70 people perished in the blaze.[4]

The SS may have returned again to Suchowola on July 19 to organize and photograph additional violence, targeted at about 80 Jewish captives, reportedly former Komsomol members. The Polish police made the Jews hold a mock funeral for Soviet leader Josef Stalin. Whether a bribe of butter and eggs to the SS commander halted the procession before it reached the pond is unclear.[5]

A ghetto was established after the last July 1941 visit of the SS to Suchowola. Released from their makeshift prisons under armed guard, the craftsmen constructed a wooden fence around the ghetto, the shoemaker enclave on Janów Street. Its only gate was by the Kramer house. Once the fence was erected, German military authorities ordered the remaining captives released to move belongings there. Many prisoners discovered that their homes had been plundered.[6] The initial ghetto population of around 2,000 included refugees from

anti-Jewish violence and property destruction in Augustów, Jasionówka, and Dąbrowa Białostocka.

Conditions in the ghetto were poor. Although kehillah leaders had paid the military commander a substantial bribe to expand the ghetto to include a well, water was rationed. Four to five extended families lived in a single dwelling. Disputes between residents forced kehillah administrators to reorder residential arrangements, so that wealthier families lived together. Some Poles burned down a Jewish residence on Kasprowicz Street and blamed the arson on Jews seeking revenge for being confined to the ghetto. The Polish auxiliary police arrested the homeowner and his sister. Communal leaders distributed $25 bribes, including to the newly appointed Polish mayor, for the charges to be dropped and the prisoners released.[7]

At the end of August, Amtskommissar Urban, on his first day in Suchowola, ordered the establishment of a 12-member Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its chair was Symcha (or Simhah) Lazar. Urban immediately presented the Jewish Council a long list of household items he needed to furnish his house and gave the Judenrat two hours to provide them.[8]

From September 1941, regional authorities ordered expelled to the Suchowola ghetto a large part of the Jewish communities of the northern part of Kreis Sokolka, including 214 people from Sidra and 800 to 1,500 from Janów Sokólski. By December, Jewish refugees to Jasionówka had been deported there. In February 1942, the Judenrat learned of the impending arrival of another 500 to 1,000 people, including 130 from the Nowy Dwór (Nowy Dwór gmina, Sokółka powiat), 400 to 600 from Dąbrowa Białostocka, and additional expellees from Lipsk nad Biebrzą. The deportations ultimately swelled the Suchowola ghetto population to 5,100 to 7,000.

Because the deportations threatened to run dry the only well in the ghetto, the Judenrat appealed to the commander of a Wehrmacht engineering corps stationed in Suchowola to secure a pledge from Urban for a larger ghetto on a piece of land with greater access to water. Urban agreed at the end of February 1942 to establish a new ghetto opposite the Polish public school, on Kościelna and Szkolna Streets. He gave the Jews two weeks to build a 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) fence, topped with barbed wire, around the new ghetto and to construct watchtowers near its two gates. Urban reportedly extracted additional compensation for the relocation, confiscating on March 14 all Jewish-owned livestock and light industrial goods. The next day, the Sokolka Kreiskommissar, Landrat Amman, organized a gauntlet of German Gendarmes and Polish auxiliary policemen outside the ghetto entrance. He led and then photographed the German and Polish police beating and stripping the Jews of their belongings as they entered the ghetto.[9]

Because most had lost so many basic material possessions during the moves to the ghettos, the Suchowola Judenrat established a number of workshops to replace items such as tools and household crockery. It built a foundry and toolmaking forge for blacksmiths and established cooperative workshops for tailors and other craftsmen. The Judenrat received permission for traders and craftsmen to travel three times a week to nearby villages to solicit orders (at prices fixed by the Germans) for the finished goods produced in the ghetto workshops and to complete work for Christians. It secured permission to establish a dental clinic outside the ghetto for Christians. The Judenrat retained a part of the profits to cover its administrative costs.

Because the Polish police meticulously searched the approximately 300 residents returning daily from forced labor brigades and routinely meted out 25 lashes to those discovered smuggling as little as one egg, the Judenrat bribed Weiss, likely in February 1942, to replace the Polish auxiliary police commander with Władysław Szkudlarski, the son of a Suchowola shoemaker. Although a Black Saturday perpetrator, the Judenrat considered him less violent than his predecessor.[10]

To provide the 100-gram (3.5-ounce) daily bread ration, the Suchowola Judenrat opened a bakery. It ordered vegetable gardens planted on all available plots of land in the ghetto and organized a communal kitchen, to provide 500 daily meals to the most impoverished. It secured permission from Urban to purchase from the state dairy skim milk reserved for pigs. The milk was sold according to a ghetto diary for 9 pfennigs a liter (a quart), of which Urban received 2 pfennigs. With the arrival of the Nowy Dwór refugees in March 1942, bribes to German authorities secured a weekly release of Jews from the ghetto, late on Thursday afternoon market day, to shop.[11]

The Judenrat worked to improve public health in the ghetto, particularly after Urban, in the spring of 1942, blamed a lice infestation in his house on the ghetto maids assigned to clean it and ordered all women conscripted for labor outside the ghetto shorn bald.[12] When a typhus epidemic erupted, the Judenrat decided not to tell Urban, because of fears he would deprive the community of important sources of revenue by forbidding Jewish traders and craftsmen from leaving the ghetto. Instead, it opened a medical clinic, hired two additional physicians to assist the only doctor, established a pharmacy to produce medicine, and mandated periodic bathing at a public bathhouse it opened. Though many died, the epidemic was controlled.[13]

After the Sokolka Kreiskommissar in the spring of 1942 appointed Gendarme Anton Lange as the Suchowola "ghetto commander," the Judenrat discovered its authority undermined. When it refused an order to send 100 male conscripts to work on the Janów-to-Sokółka road construction project, Lange ordered an assembly at which the Gendarmes beat up about 30 people, as he randomly chose another 100 for the assignment. The Judenrat ultimately established a labor registry to meet more equitably German demands for 200 more laborers for road construction projects and another 100 for forestry labor. A relief committee supplemented the 100-gram bread rations of the conscripts and provided shoes and clothing to them. But bribes failed to secure an exchange of exhausted workers. Most Suchowola conscripts perished at the labor camps.[14]

Lange ordered the wooden synagogue to be burned along with the adjoining Bet Midrash and most houses in the old ghetto. He commanded ghetto laborers remove *matzevot* (gravestones) from the cemetery and demolish its stone wall

to use for paving underlayment. He arbitrarily ordered houses in the new ghetto razed. He visited the ghetto inebriated to shoot randomly at Jews he found there. He replaced the Polish police commander with Aleksander Borowski. Under Borowski's watch, policeman Zygmunt Zieniuk shot Icchak Polak for craning his neck beyond the ghetto fence. The Judenrat closed all ghetto enterprises and organized an elaborate funeral procession to protest police violence.[15]

In the late summer of 1942, Mordecai Tenenbaum (or Tenenboim), the *halutz* (pioneer) underground head in the Białystok ghetto, had alerted the Suchowola community, through Tamara Sznajderman (also Tema Schneiderman), about the deportation of Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp. At the High Holidays (mid-September 1942), the community observed the days with prayer, aware that it likely was its last celebration.[16]

On November 1, 1942, an SS unit, led by a commander from Białystok, assumed control of the Suchowola ghetto, ordered it sealed, and organized local Gendarmes, the Polish auxiliary police, and civilian employees of the German administration to patrol its fence. On November 2, 700 to 1,000 Jews from Korycin, located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) south of Suchowola, were driven to the ghetto.[17] At 4:00 A.M., on November 5, the commander ordered the Jews, including about 2,280 Suchowola Jews, 1,720 expellees, and the Korycin community, loaded on several hundred horse-drawn carts. (The sick and elderly were shot later in Suchowola.) Just outside the town, the SS commanded adults to march on foot for the remaining 55 kilometers (34.2 miles) to a transit camp located in Kiełbasin, south of Grodno (now Hrodna).[18]

The Germans began sending the 23,000 to 28,000 Jews concentrated at Kiełbasin to the Auschwitz and Treblinka extermination camps on November 9, 1942, with the last transport leaving the Łososna train station on December 20 or 21, 1942. The Germans expelled the Jews by community, with the Sidra and Korycin communities a part of a much larger transport, which arrived in Auschwitz on November 14. A Łunna survivor remembers the Janów Jews being sent, on December 5, along with his community, to Auschwitz, though most others note they were expelled to Treblinka. The Dąbrowa and Nowy Dwór Jews were sent in mid-December to Treblinka. The Suchowola Jews were still at Kiełbasin at the end of December, when the SS closed the camp and sent its remaining 2,000 to 3,500 inmates to the Grodno I ghetto. Entire Suchowola families perished there from diseases contracted at Kiełbasin. The survivors were deported to Auschwitz a month later, during the Grodno ghetto liquidation Aktion of January 18–22, 1943.[19]

Only a few Suchowola Jews fled the expulsion. Several families in Jatwież village, including Adolf and Hanna Kisło, sheltered Lazar and three other Suchowola Jews.

The communities of the Suchowola ghetto were not reconstituted. No Jews from Sidra are believed to have survived the war. The 23 Suchowola survivors, a figure that also includes those who spent the war in the Soviet interior, immigrated. They settled mainly in the United States, Mexico, and Israel.

After the war, 13 former auxiliary policemen from Suchowola were tried in Białystok for a number of war crimes. At the first trial, in October 1949, eight of the men were convicted of four main charges, including murdering Jews and Christians in July 1941 and guarding Jews confined to a ghetto. They initially received the stiffest sentences handed down at a collective Polish war crimes trial for collaboration. Four, including Snarski, received life sentences. Szkudlarski, Borowski, and two others received 15-year sentences. However, the supreme court overturned the verdicts, in April 1950, on a procedural issue. The case was undermined further in February 1951, when the state's main witness, former policeman Jan Wasilewski, was tried for drowning Jews in Suchowola in July 1941, and he retracted his previous testimony. Wasilewski and four others were acquitted. Among the latter was Zieniuk, tried for the murder of Polak. (Christian witnesses had claimed that Lange had shot Polak.) In spite of much documentation to suggest otherwise, the original eight defendants, tried again in June 1951, were found not guilty.

SOURCES Eyewitness testimonies are included in the Suchowola yizkor books, with the first, by survivor Simhah Lazar, *Khurbn Sukhovolye; lezikorn fun a yidish shtetl tsvishn Bialystok un Grodne* (Mexico: A Grupe Sukhovolier Landslayt in Meksike, 1947), available in an English translation, *The Destruction of Suchowola (in Memory of a Jewish Town between Bialystok and Grodno)* (Mexico: Drichanski Bros., 2000), and also at Jewishgen, at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/suchowola1/suchowola1.html; Hanah Pribulsky Steinberg et al., eds., *Sefer Suhovolah* (Jerusalem: Entsiḳlopedyah shel galuyot, 1957); and *Le-zekher kehilat Suhovolah: Asor le-hantsahat ha-kehilah* (Jaffa, Israel: Bet sefer Urim, 1982). The chronology of events presented in the entry, particularly for July 1941, is drawn from these accounts and from VHF testimonies cited below, in which Jewish survivors mention the SS several times visiting Suchowola.

During postwar criminal investigations into the auxiliary police in Suchowola, a Polish court, in June 1951, determined the events occurred on a single day, July 6, 1941. The trials and the various ways they were compromised are discussed by Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1, *Studia* (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), pp. 194–200.

Documentation for the Jewish communities of Sidra and Nowy Dwór remains sparse; therefore it is difficult to ascertain whether ghettos were established in either place. Testimonies of Christian eyewitnesses, summarized by Sidra researcher Jerry Levit—in an April 26, 2006, entry on a travel blog, "Wandering Who?"—suggest that some Sidra Jews may have been held back from the Suchowola expulsions (www.jerrylevit.typepad.com/wandering_who/2006/04/return_to_stasz.html). In Nowy Dwór, German authorities retained about 120 Jewish craftsmen, holding them in the Bet Midrash, in what IPN investigators maintain was a labor camp but also may have been a remnant ghetto. The remaining

Jews were deported in the spring of 1942 to the Suchowola and Grodno ghettos.

Also useful are the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 244–246 (Dąbrowa Białostocka), pp. 369–371 (Janów), pp. 444–445 (Nowy Dwór), pp. 464–468 (Suchowola), and pp. 489–490 (Sidra); and in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 62–65 (Dąbrowa Białostocka), pp. 85–87 (Janów Sokólski), pp. 168–170 (Sidra), and pp. 191–197 (Suchowola).

Documentation pertaining to the Jewish communities of Suchowola, Sidra, Nowy Dwór, and Korycin during the World War II German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1143, 1251, and 1847); IPN (e.g., SAB 214 and SWB 31-37); IPN-Bi (e.g., old numeration, S-6/71 and S-80/67 [Nowy Dwór], S-13/82 [Sidra], S-271/68 [Suchowola], S-433/71 [Lipsk nad Biebrzą], and S-609/71 [Korycin]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [ASG], reel 14, 46/86); VHF (e.g., # 15809 and 18378); and YVA.

Laura Crago, Samuel Fishman, and Monika Tomkiewicz

NOTES

1. Compare Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 6–7, 8–9; and IPN, SWB 31-38, in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 195, 197–198 (Teofilski deposition).
2. Sarah Ivri-Tikotsky, "The Shoah," in Steinberg et al., *Sefer Suhovolah*, pp. 236–238; VHF, # 18378; and IPN, SWB 31-37 and SAB 214, in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 194–200.
3. IPN, SWB 31-37, in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 196 (Marchel depositions).
4. Note differences in ages and places of incarceration between drowning and fire victims in Ivri-Tikotsky, "The Shoah," pp. 236–238; Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 4–5; "Suchowola," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:489–490; and depositions, cited in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 194–200.
5. Note ambiguity in Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 6–7.
6. Ibid., p. 12; Ivri-Tikotsky, "The Shoah," p. 238; and Marchel depositions, in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 196.
7. Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 8–9.
8. Ibid., pp. 9–10.
9. VHF, # 15809, testimony of Jeanette (Chena Fajnberg) Geldwert; Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 15–16; and Lazar testimony, in Steinberg et al., *Sefer Suhovolah*, p. 518. In May 1942, the Landrat organized a similar gauntlet for the arrival of the Nowy Dwór Jews.
10. Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 13–14; and VHF, # 15809.
11. Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 17–19.
12. VHF, # 15809.
13. Lazar, *Destruction*, p. 18.
14. Ibid., pp. 13–14; and VHF, # 15809.
15. Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 14–17; and IPN, SWB 36 and SAB 214, in Żbikowski, "Pogromy," respectively, p. 196, and pp. 199–200.
16. Masha Fisher-Bagner, "The Female 'Contact' in the Underground," in Steinberg et al., *Sefer Suhovolah*, pp. 252–254.
17. Lazar, *Destruction*, p. 19.
18. VHF, # 15809; Lazar, *Destruction*, pp. 18–20; and Ivri-Tikotsky, "The Shoah," pp. 240–243.
19. Ivri-Tikotsky, "The Shoah," pp. 242–243; and Lazar, *Destruction*, p. 25.

ŚWISŁOCZ

Pre-1939: Świsłocz (Yiddish: Sislevich), town, Wołkowysk powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Svisloch', raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Swislocz, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Svislach, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Świsłocz lies 38 kilometers (23.6 miles) west-southwest of Wołkowysk.

In World War II, Świsłocz first came under Soviet occupation. Between September 1939 and October 1940, the Jewish population in the Svisloch' raion increased—from 2,700 to 3,200 (5.9 to 7 percent)—as refugees from German-occupied Poland settled there. The Jews almost all lived in Świsłocz proper. Resettlement and nationality reclassifications in this period brought a decline in the number of Poles, from 12,900 to 4,700 (28.2 to 10 percent), and an increase in Belorussians, from 29,300 to 38,700 (64.1 to 84 percent, respectively, of the 45,700 and then 46,000 inhabitants of the raion).

The Germans occupied Świsłocz on June 26, 1941. Before they arrived, several Jews had fled to the Soviet interior.[1] The German military commander appointed a local civilian administration and an auxiliary police force. Both are presumed to have been composed of Poles.[2] In the fall of 1941, a German civilian administration replaced the local military command. It was headed by an Amtskommissar surnamed Odenbach. A Gendarmerie post also was established.

At the outset of the occupation, German soldiers executed many Świsłocz residents accused of collaborating with the former Soviet regime. The Germans are believed to have targeted mostly Jews, in retaliation for the Świsłocz community having sheltered the parents of Herschel Grynszpan, whose assassination of Ernst von Rath, on November 7, 1938, had served as the pretext for *Kristallnacht*. (The Grynszpans had fled to the Soviet Union, where they survived the war). Some Poles also narrowly interpreted the orders to round up Communist sympathizers because they held local Jewish Communists responsible for the murder of five Polish officials before the arrival of the Red Army and Jews, more generally, for assisting the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in deporting their co-nationals to the Soviet interior. Albin Horbin, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, sheltered several prominent Jews, including Alexander Bronowski, a lawyer and outspoken critic of Nazism.[3]

German soldiers in Świsłocz rounded up Jews for heavy, physical labor and plundered their property. The anti-Jewish persecution intensified with the arrival, on July 1, 1941, of a new military commander. The regional military command issued several anti-Jewish decrees, including June orders requiring

Jews to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David. (The order was changed a few days later in Świsłocz to a circular, yellow patch.) Decrees forbade Jews from contact with the Christian population and required the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Schlechter, the Jewish school director, chaired the Świsłocz Judenrat.

In July 1941, the German authorities ordered a ghetto created in the old Jewish neighborhood, in the northwest of Świsłocz. Its southern border was across from the municipal gardens, at Warsaw Street. Parts of Grodno Street, including the Jewish houses south of the Russian Orthodox cemetery, formed its eastern interior boundary. The western border ran near the Świsłocz River. In the north, the ghetto included the homes just past the Minc tannery. The date the ghetto was fenced is unknown. On the day that the Jews reported there, they were required to surrender their horses and other livestock.

The German authorities consolidated in the Świsłocz ghetto the Jews from other communities, including about 100 people from Mścibów and five families from Michałki.

The Germans continued to demand various "contributions" of the ghetto inhabitants. They usually gave the Jewish Council two hours to secure the items before entering the ghetto to beat its members and to steal whatever they desired. The Amtkommissar likely ordered the Judenrat to establish workshops to tan hides and to produce finished leather goods. The Judenrat also organized a daily quota of conscripts for forced labor. In the spring of 1942, most of the men were ordered to a labor camp, east of Wołkowysk, to widen and pave the road from Wołkowysk to Baranowicze. When the German overseers of the project beat some of the Świsłocz laborers to death, the Judenrat bribed officials to ease conditions. Unfortunately, the officials intensified their violence periodically to extract additional contributions from the Judenrat. Suffering from exhaustion and typhus, many of the men perished after they were returned to the ghetto in October 1942.

On November 2, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated. The Jews were ordered to assemble at the market square for deportation to a labor camp. They were joined there by about 500 Jews from Jałówka. The SS officer in charge sent part of the assembled Jews, including 1,200 to 3,000 from Świsłocz, by train to the Wołkowysk transit camp. At least 8 Świsłocz Jews are known to have evaded the deportation or to have fled from the transit camp. The remaining Jews were executed in the Wiśnik Forest, just outside Świsłocz. In one version, the executions targeted about 300 of the old and sick. Other accounts note that the Germans held back for execution some 1,563 Jews, including the elderly, the sick, mothers and their children, and a small group of men, ordered to collect and bury the dead.[4] After the executions, the Gendarmes executed 10 Christians for looting Jewish property in the ghetto.[5]

At the Wołkowysk transit camp, located on the grounds of the former garrison of the 7th Polish Cavalry Brigade, the Jews sent from Świsłocz joined about 15,000 to 19,000 people from other nearby Jewish communities imprisoned there on November 2–3, 1942. The Germans began expelling the inmates to the Treblinka extermination camp in late November. The Jałówka and Mścibów Jews were among the 3,000 to 5,000 people on the second Wołkowysk transport to Treblinka, which likely left on December 2. All but 60 to 70 men, held back as prisoners of the Treblinka labor camp, were gassed on arrival. The only survivor, Leib Aronzon, from Jałówka, fled to the Białystok ghetto after being left for dead near a mass grave outside the camp.[6] The Świsłocz Jews were still in Wołkowysk when SS officials announced the deportation of all but 1,700 to 2,000 young, able-bodied inmates and medical personnel. About 200 Świsłocz Jews are believed to have surrendered to the Germans some hides and finished leather goods to remain in Wołkowysk. Several Jałówka-born Jews, perhaps residents of either Świsłocz or Wołkowysk, also secured dispensations. The remaining 4,000 to 6,000 Jews, including most of the Świsłocz community, were sent on two or three transports, likely between December 6 and 8, to the Treblinka extermination camp, where they all perished.[7]

On January 26, 1943, the 1,700 to 2,000 remaining Jews were deported to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Two days later, at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Germans gassed between 1,341 and 1,641 people from the transport and held back just 280 men and 79 women as prisoners of the concentration camp. It is impossible to determine from extant records how many of the original prisoners were from Świsłocz. Only 3 Świsłocz Jews are believed to have survived Auschwitz.[8]

About half of those known to have sought shelter closer to home also perished. Among the dead were brothers Hersz and Szmuel Lis. Cyna (or Tzeitl) Slapak, sheltered by a Pole, Wiktor Szerszenowicz, and four others, who joined the partisans, survived.

At two trials, in 1952 and 1953, in Białystok, Poland, Tadeusz Kłek, a former Polish auxiliary policeman from Świsłocz, was found guilty of several wartime crimes, including escorting the Jews to the Wiśnik execution site. He received a death sentence, likely commuted to life in prison, and a six-year prison term.

SOURCES Alexander Bronowski, *They Were Few* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), covers the first weeks of the German occupation in Świsłocz. The Svisloch ShtetLinks page, by Nancy Holden, at jewishgen.org, contains some unique sources, including correspondence with a local Christian describing the ghetto. Also useful are Hayim Rubin, ed., *Kehilat Svislots, pelekh grodna: Yizkor le-kehilat svislots* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at 'Ole Svislots be-Yisrael, 1961); and Yeraḥmi'el Lifshits, ed., *Sefer Svislots 2: Miḳbats te'udi, peraḳim nivḥarim, reshimat bate-av, ma'amarim, 'eduyot, temunot u-mismakhim* (Netanyah: Irgun yots'e Svislots be-Yisrael, 1984). Particularly strong for identifying the fates of Świsłocz prisoners of Auschwitz II-Birkenau is the memoir by the Wołkowysk native and Łysków survivor Izaak Goldberg, *The Miracles versus Tyranny: The Fight for Life and Death between the Jewish People and the Nazis* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1979).

The second Wołkowysk yizkor book, Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949), includes two chapters by Abraham Ain; the first on the pre–World War I history

of the Świsłocz Jewish community, is an abbreviated version of his landmark study "Swislocz: Portrait of a Jewish Community in Eastern Europe," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 4 (1949): 86–114; and the second is about its destruction. The abbreviated form of the first and the less familiar second chapter, "The Destruction of Svislucz," appear in English translation in *Sefer zikaron Volḳovisk. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pp. 302–305. Świsłocz survivors' understandings of the Judenrat form a part of the discussion of the first appendix in Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 584–585. Helpful, too, is the Świsłocz entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 460–465.

Archival documentation on the fate of the Świsłocz Jewish community in World War II, under the German occupation, includes AŻIH (211 [e.g., old numeration 6-7] and 301/5388); GARF (7021-86-46, pp. 24–30); IPN (i.e., SOB 4 and SWB 83); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); YIVO (RG-336); and YVA (e.g., M-11/5).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 1608, testimony of Emmanuel Goldberg.
2. Bykowski to Ruthberg, August 4, 1944, in English trans. on the Svisloch ShtetLinks page, at jewishgen.org.
3. Tadeusz Krahel, *Doświadczeni zniewoleniem: Duchowni archidiecezji wileńskiej represjonowani w latach okupacji sowieckiej (1939–1945)* (Białystok: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Oddział w Białymstoku, 2005), pp. 45–46, 209.
4. Compare AŻIH, 210/6-7, as cited by Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): tab. 8; with GARF, 7021-86-46, p. 5; and AŻIH, 301/5388, testimony of Szyja Rakowicki, pp. 1–2, noting 3,000 executed.
5. AŻIH, 301/5388, p. 3.
6. BLH, testimony of Leib Aronzon, in an English trans. on the Jałówka homepage of the www.avotaynu.com Web site.
7. Einhorn, *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh*, pp. 914–923.
8. Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 162–163.

SZCZUCZYN (BIAŁOSTOCKI)

Pre-1939: Szczuczyn (Yiddish: Shtsutshin), town, powiat center, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Shchuchin, Graevo raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schtschutschin, Kreis Grajewo, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Szczuczyn, Grajewo powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Szczuczyn lies on the Wissa River 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Białystok and 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) southwest of Grajewo. Its 1939 population of 5,300 included 3,000 Jews.

Shortly after occupying Szczuczyn on September 8, 1939, the Germans deported 250 to 300 Jewish men to a labor camp in the Reich. Released in January 1940, almost four months after Szczuczyn came under Soviet occupation on September 27, 1939, the conscripts almost all perished at the border when German soldiers fired on them as they stepped off the train. About 30 returned to Szczuczyn.

On June 22, 1941, the Germans bombarded Szczuczyn, setting it afire and killing many people including a large number of Jews.[1] A Wehrmacht unit appeared briefly, on June 23. German authorities appointed a local blacksmith, Stanisław Peniuk, mayor. Kosmowski, a pre-war Szczuczyn postal worker, from Świdry-Awissa village, was named commander of an auxiliary police force.[2] An ongoing Polish Institute for National Memory (IPN) investigation has documented that from October 1940, Mieczysław Kosmowski (one of three brothers from the village, who may or may not have been the Kosmowski mentioned above) was a paid agent of the Security Police in Allenstein. He arrived with German forces, most likely to incite local Poles to anti-Jewish violence.[3]

On June 27–28, 1941, Kosmowski, his two brothers, and Peniuk organized a pogrom in which about 200 Poles plundered the houses of the richest Jewish families and brutally murdered 300 to 400 Jews.[4] The local priest and Polish intellectuals refused to intervene in the violence. The arrival the next evening of 30 Wehrmacht soldiers enabled Jewish women to pay the unit commander soap and coffee to patrol Szczuczyn to end the collaborators' attacks.

The Szczuczyn auxiliary police made forced labor obligatory for all adult Jews. Each household was required to send one to three laborers daily to the town square to tear out grass between its cobblestones. Policemen Wincenty Rung and Antoni Gardocki used canes and clubs to bludgeon the laborers.[5]

On Monday, July 14 or 28, 1941, Polish officials, acting on the command of an SS officer, mobilized almost every adult male Pole from the Szczuczyn area to participate in anti-Jewish violence.[6] Polish youth, armed with clubs, drove the approximately 2,500 Jews outside Szczuczyn to the Jewish cemetery. As a Polish guard, led by Gardocki, held the Jews captive, other Poles joined the SS to plunder their houses and to set fire to the new Bet Midrash on Nowy Świat and Wąsosz Streets. The fire engulfed many Jewish homes. That evening, all but 100 men were released. The captives likely were held hostage pending receipt of a payment demanded by the Germans; 3 additional men were freed; the Polish police murdered 97 others.[7]

The Szczuczyn ghetto was established the following Friday, either July 18 or August 1, 1941. That day, after the Jews had been assembled at the market square, a small SS contingent arrived to give the local police instructions. Similarities between events surrounding the establishment of the ghettos in Szczuczyn and Augustów suggest the Germans were from an operational unit of the Tilsit State Police or from its subordinate, the Sudauen (in Polish, Suwałki) border command. Four auxiliary policemen rode on bicycles to nearby villages to order Jews there to Szczuczyn. They killed a Jewish farmer in Lipnik (Szczuczyn gmina and powiat) for refusing to accompany them.[8] Other policemen searched houses in Szczuczyn

and extricated Jews from hiding places, beating them severely. At the square, still other policemen ordered almost all the men and working-aged single women incarcerated in various outbuildings on the Biblowicz property. A large group of local Poles brought rolls of barbed wire and began constructing a fence for the ghetto.[9] Upon its completion that evening, the Polish police marched the women and children at the square through the Biblowicz courtyard, into the ghetto.

The ghetto was located on Krzywa Street, near the Biblowicz home. It included a handful of Jewish houses, from the Łopian to the Orniasz family homes. Because its area encompassed several fields east of the Biblowicz property, abutting the Wissa River, it spanned an area of 20,000 square meters (almost 5 acres).

Almost all the men, about 600 people, remained imprisoned, guarded by local police and German soldiers. They were brought in small groups to the Jewish cemetery over the course of the next six days and executed by the Germans. The Jewish patients of the public hospital and 4 women captives also were among the murdered.[10] Late that same week, about 40 to 80 female prisoners and some conscripts from the Szczuczyn ghetto were murdered by local Poles. In the most well-documented killing, about 20 Jewish women sent for agricultural labor to an estate in Bzury were brought to the Bećkowo (Boczkowski) Forest by six Polish policemen and civilians, including Stanisław Zalewski. The men raped the women before bludgeoning them to death. The murders likely did not have German authorization.[11]

About 100 male craftsmen and young teenagers were released to the Szczuczyn ghetto. Another 10 to 15 were spared from execution to form a 6-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) or to serve in its institutions. Jona Lewinowicz was appointed council chair. A 4-member Jewish police force included Izrael Goldfarb and Michał Kruszniański. Two physicians, Wertman and Gertz, oversaw a 2-person sanitation force and directed the local hospital. The anti-Jewish violence makes it difficult to ascertain the number of people confined to the ghetto. Survivors suggest the figure of 2,000, listed on the Polish Ankiety Sądów Grodzkich (ASG) documentation, overestimates the population by 1,400.[12] Survivor Basia Kacper notes that only 500 women and children resided in the ghetto, bringing its total population to around 600.

The local police continued to supervise the ghetto after a German civilian administration was established in Szczuczyn in late August. The new German authorities named Rung the "ghetto commander." He and Dominik Gaszewski, another policeman, roused the inmates from their homes between 3:00 A.M. and 4:00 A.M. to form forced labor brigades. The conscripts, mostly 14- and 15-year-old boys, cleaned out and then razed the remains of the burned-out houses and dug antitank ditches in Niećkowo.

On Mondays and Thursdays, the Judenrat raised "contributions" for the German mayor, the Gendarmes, and the Polish police. To secure them, they ordered the Jewish Police to confiscate leather, cloth, silks, and other goods from ghetto inmates.

Conditions in the Szczuczyn ghetto were poor. About 25 to 50 people lived in a single apartment. Wood and peat were unobtainable to heat homes. Food was scarce. The two cows assigned to its residents did not produce enough milk for the children. Typhus and dysentery epidemics killed a quarter of its residents, particularly children. The mostly women inmates initially squabbled but ultimately banded together. They cut a hole in the ghetto fence, near the Wissa River, to sneak out at night to secure milk from local Poles and to remove wood from their former homes to use for heating fuel.[13]

The Szczuczyn ghetto was liquidated on November 2, 1942. Its residents were driven to a transit camp located 4.8 kilometers (about 3 miles) north of Grajewo, in Bogusze village, near the railway station in East Prussia, at Prostken. Several families who had evaded the deportation were rounded up, brought to Bogusze, and executed in front of the Szczuczyn Jews. On December 15, the SS deported 2,500 to 5,000 inmates of the Bogusze transit camp to the Treblinka extermination camp. The remaining inmates were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp on a transport that arrived there on January 7. Because the documentation from Auschwitz does not show a single person from Szczuczyn as being held back as a concentration camp prisoner, the community likely was among those sent to Treblinka and gassed on arrival.

Less than 10 Szczuczyn Jews survived the war. Most did so by fleeing to the Białystok ghetto. Basia Kacper, an exception, was sheltered by a Christian in Grajewo. Also counted among the survivors is Sonia Denemark, who left Białystok on June 22, 1941, with a group of 50 Jewish strangers and walked for five months before finding refuge in Kislovodsk, Russia.[14]

At least 16 Poles were investigated after the war for a large number of war crimes, including murdering Jews in the summer of 1941. Of these, 14, including Peniuk, Rung, Gaszewski, and Zalewski, were prosecuted at six trials between 1946 and 1951.[15] Zalewski, the only person found guilty, was sentenced to death.[16]

SOURCES Some of the archival materials listed below and other relevant documentation can be found in Polish translations in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŠZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 340–342 (AŻIH, 301/1958), pp. 263–316 (excerpts, YVA below), and pp. 164–165 (221 Security Division Report). The Golding-Sojka letter, a part of the larger USHMM, RG-02.002*22, collection cited below, differs substantially from another letter by the same author, in George Garin, Hayman Blum, and Sol Fischbein, eds., *Grajewo Memorial Book* (New York: United Grayever Relief Committee, 1950), pp. 218–231. Though not directly touching on the ghetto, also important are the testimonies found in the Szczuczyn yizkor book *Hurban kehilat Shetsotsin* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Shetsotsin Ṿe-Kupat gemilut hasadim a. sh. kedoshe Shtsotshin be-Yisrael, 1954).

Szymon Datner relied on the below-cited AŻIH testimony of Basia Kacper to date the establishment of the Szczuczyn ghetto to July 20, 1941, and to name it the earliest ghetto created in Distrikt Bialystok, in "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 13. Andrzej Żbikowski, in "Pogromy i mordy ludności

żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 1, *Studia*, pp. 172–180, imbues the Kacper testimony with additional weight in citing several depositions, including by eyewitness Józef Mroczkowski, from the below-mentioned IPN, SWB 53, in which the dates are nearly identical to Kacper's. However, historians in Israel depend more on the Golding-Sojka testimony; as a result, their works note the Szczuczyn ghetto was established in early August, including in the Szczuczyn entries in Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 445–448; and its English-language counterpart, Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 206–212. The August date falls more within the chronological parameters for other ghettos established in Kreis Grajewo, all of which appear to have been ordered created over a two-week period by members of a German operational unit that traveled from locality to locality.

English translations of the Kacper testimony and the Golding-Sojka letter, both from the Grajewo yizkor book, the Szczuczyn yizkor book, and the *Pinkas ha-kehilot* entry, have been made available by José Gutstein, at the Jews of Szczuczyn memorial Web site, www.szczuczyn.com/index.htm.

Archival documentation about the destruction of the Szczuczyn Jewish community includes AŻIH (e.g., 301/1958); IPN (e.g., ASG, SAB 134-35, SOE 22 [26, 84, 115], and SWB [53, 167]); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1 [1030, 1034, 1516]); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.002*22, RG-15.019M [IPN], 2/247, 46/120); and YVA (e.g., 03/3033-2636/255).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/3033-2636/255, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:277–278.
2. IPN, SOE 84, M. Zyskowski deposition, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 174.
3. "Kosmowski pseudonim 'Gienek,'" *Nasz Dziennik*, July 13, 2009.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-211/84, p. 1; and IPN, SOE 84, SWB 167, 53.
5. USHMM, RG-02.002*22, Golding-Sojka to Szymon [Kayman], August 30–31, 1945, p. 4.
6. IPN, SOE 84, 115, SAB 135, and SWB 53, particularly in the latter, the J. Zyskowski and J. Mroczkowski depositions, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," pp. 174–177.
7. High figure in USHMM, RG-02.002*22, pp. 4–5; and low figure and ransom in IPN, SAB 135, S. Bubrowski and J. Marcinkiewicz depositions, cited by Żbikowski, "Pogromy," p. 177.
8. IPN, SAB 135.
9. USHMM, RG-02.002*22, p. 6.
10. Ibid., RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/247, pp. 1–2.
11. IPN, SAB 134.
12. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46 /120, pp. 1–2.
13. Ibid., RG-02.002*22, pp. 7–9.
14. VHF, # 34379, testimony of Sonia Denemark-Kaufman.
15. IPN, SAB 135, SOE 26, 84, 115, SWB 53, 167.
16. Ibid., SAB 134.

TRZCIANNE

Pre-1939: Trzcianne (Yiddish: Trestiny), village, Białystok powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Trostiany, Mon'ki raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Trzcianne, Kreis Białystok, Distrikt Białystok; post-1998: Mońki powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Trzcianne lies 40 kilometers (35 miles) northwest of Białystok and almost 21 kilometers (13 miles) west-northwest of Knyszyn. Its 1921 Jewish population stood at 1,401, about 90 percent of the total population.

The Germans occupied Trzcianne on September 14, 1939, but soon evacuated it to make way for Soviet forces. As a Jewish delegation prepared to greet the Red Army, a Polish *uhlan* (cavalry) detachment still engaged in military operations arrived outside of Trzcianne. The soldiers charged the delegation, headed by the rabbi, destroyed an arch erected to welcome the Soviet military, and then rode into Trzcianne to smash the windows on several Jewish stores. A unit commander threatened to burn Trzcianne to the ground and to murder the Jews to revenge uprisings against Polish authority in Grodno and Skidel. The violence and threats claimed the first Jewish war victim in Trzcianne, when the rabbi's daughter died of a heart attack.

About a week after Germany invaded the USSR, a small German SS unit appeared in Trzcianne, most likely on June 28, 1941. According to a Jewish survivor, after Malecki, the local priest, informed its commander that Jews comprised the majority of the residents, he ordered his men to set Trzcianne on fire. Another survivor recalls that the commander issued the order because local Poles had denounced all of the Jews as Communists.[1] One historian believes the German unit may have been a part of Einsatzkommando 8. However, similar arsons in several localities in Distrikt Bialystok, including in Dąbrowa Białostocka, Kuźnica Białostocka, and Sidra, may indicate that a small German operational group was tasked with burning down settlements with overwhelmingly Jewish populations.

The Germans enlisted the help of the Polish members of a civil guard, established by a local Polish schoolteacher after the Soviet evacuation, to chase Jews escaping the fire to the neighboring village of Zubole, about 1.25 kilometers (0.8 mile) west of Trzcianne. There, the Germans beat some of the young adults, forced them to dig their own graves, and buried them alive. The remaining Jews were held captive in a pit, near the mill. The Polish guard searched for and brought there Jews who had found refuge in several nearby villages, including Zucielec, about 1.2 kilometers (0.75 miles) northeast of Trzcianne.

The German unit, which departed Trzcianne either late in the evening or early the next day, left behind one person, described in most Jewish accounts as a 19-year-old soldier and in

non-Jewish accounts as a 30-year-old SS officer.[2] Over the course of the next eight days, the German, assisted by the Polish guard members and other local collaborators, held the Jews captive, first at the pit and later at a barn, depriving them of food and water. The guard members forced some captives to "clean up" after the fire by dragging large boulders through Trzcianne under the force of heavy blows. Some died from the beatings. Another 500 to 800 prisoners were executed in small groups.[3] Fiszel Kuszner and Meir Markowicz hold the young German solely responsible for the executions; another Jewish eyewitness notes the Polish collaborators shot a large number of the victims.[4] In depositions taken during the postwar criminal investigation of some of the Polish collaborators, Christian eyewitnesses claimed the German soldier permitted the accused to shoot a small number of victims.

After the Jews were released, the Polish collaborators continued to organize nightly raids to attack and, in some instances, murder the surviving Jews.[5] Exposed to nightly terror, most survivors fled to Knyszyn, Tykocin, or Suchowola or found refuge with sympathetic local Poles.

With the establishment of a Gendarmerie post in the early autumn of 1941, the Germans ordered all Jews back to Trzcianne and commanded them to reside in the few Jewish houses that the SS had left standing to establish a firebreak to protect the small Christian neighborhood. The houses in the open ghetto were barely habitable because Poles had looted and destroyed them while the Jews were being held prisoner and killed. At least one house had its front doors and windows pried off.

Although the ghetto was not enclosed with a fence, Jews were prohibited, under threat of death, from leaving Trzcianne. The Gendarmes assumed ultimate responsibility for enforcing the prohibitions on Jewish movement. Several Jews did risk leaving Trzcianne to search for family in other ghettos or to ask local Christians for milk or bread. They dressed as Polish peasants and traveled at night. Gendarmes shot at least one Jew found outside Trzcianne.[6] Little is known of the forced labor obligations of the Jews. A young survivor notes only that they worked for the Germans.[7]

Because of the executions and mass flight of Jews from Trzcianne, it is difficult to estimate its Jewish population. Historians have suggested that 1,200 Jews resided there after June 1941. However, the estimate seems high in light of a survivor's testimony, which notes that in October 1942 about 15 people lived in each of the handful of houses designated for Jews, making it more likely that the Trzcianne Jewish population stood at 150 to 200.[8]

On November 2, 1942, the Germans deported the Trzcianne Jews to a transit camp located in Bogusze, a war-devastated village located 4.8 kilometers (about 3 miles) north of Grajewo, near the railway station of Prostken, East Prussia. Forewarned by local Poles about the expulsion order, many Jews fled to prearranged hiding places. One eyewitness notes the Germans transported just 85 Trzcianne Jews to the transit camp.[9]

The Trzcianne Jews lived at the Bogusze transit camp for 3 to 10 weeks with about 5,000 to 9,000 Jews from other nearby localities. The Germans expelled the Jews from the camp in two separate deportations. In the first, on December 16, 1942, 3,000 to 5,000 camp inmates were removed to the Prostken railway station and most likely sent to the Treblinka extermination camp. (Accounts of the expulsion vary. One Trzcianne survivor recalls the SS executing the Jews outside of Bogusze after the train failed to arrive as scheduled.[10] Another account, in the Grajewo yizkor book, maintains the SS murdered about 200 people on the way to Prostken.) In the second and final deportation, on January 3, 1943, the Germans sent the remaining 2,000 Bogusze inmates to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Upon arrival on January 7, at midnight, 1,489 of the passengers were gassed. Another 511—296 men and 215 women—became concentration camp inmates. Of the 5 women from Trzcianne taken prisoner at Auschwitz, Eva Kostre is believed to be the only one to have survived the war.

Less is known about the fates of the Jews hidden in bunkers around Trzcianne. Survivors from this second group include the family of Efraim and Rachela Rzotkiewicz (or Zutkovitz) and 6 of the 12 members of the Markowicz family (3 members of the Markowicz family died from illnesses in June 1944 in a bunker on the property of their Polish aid-givers; another 3 perished from illness two weeks after the Red Army liberated Trzcianne on August 12, 1944). The approximately 25 Trzcianne survivors emigrated from Poland, settling mainly in the United States and Israel.

After the war, nine Poles from in and around Trzcianne were tried at three trials, including for extricating Jews from hiding places in Zucielec and Zabule on June 28, 1941, driving them to the execution site, and murdering them. In 1950, five former civil guardsmen were found not guilty.[11] At the two trials, in 1967, of the remaining men, the former auxiliary policeman Bronisław Michniewicz (or Jan Cyrylewicz) was found guilty of murdering at least 12 people from Trzcianne during the war, including 7 Jews, some of whom he had extricated from hiding places after the liquidation of the ghetto. He was sentenced to death.[12]

SOURCES Several of the AŻIH testimonies cited below have appeared in Mariusz Nowik, *Zagłada Żydów na ziemi łomżyńskiej* (Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy Bellona, 2004), pp. 6–7 (301/1264, excerpted Polish trans.); and in Polish translation in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 342–344 (301/150) and p. 345 (301/983), with the second publication including several testimonies invaluable to tracking the flight of Trzcianne survivors after the mass execution, including to Knyszyn, pp. 238–239 (301/3959), and Tykocin, p. 349 (301/1971). Information for Suchowola can be found in the below-cited VHF, # 43626. The testimony of Czesław Borowski, describing the attack on the Trzcianne Jewish community in September 1939, is quoted extensively by Tomasz Strzembosz, "Przemilczana kolaboracja,"

Rzeczpospolita, January 27–28, 2001, available in an English translation in, among others, "Collaboration Passed over in Silence," in Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 233–234. As the title suggests, Strzembosz uses the example conversely. An online testimony by Pole Mieczysław Kirejczyk, recalling the executions and the subsequent German orders for the Jews to return to Trzcianne, is best searched by its title, "Wyszowate—mały fragment do wielkiej historii" (see www.historia.wiszowaty.p1).

Violence in July 1941 and the postwar trials for Trzcianne are discussed in Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Machcewicz and Persak *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol 1, *Studia*, pp. 211–212. Żbikowski suggests the German perpetrators may have been members of Einsatzkommando 8, in chapter 5 of *U genezy Jedwabnego. Żydzi na kresach północnowschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej, wrzesień 1939–lipiec 1941* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2006), based on a trial of a unit member, mentioned by Ralf Ogorreck, *Die Einsatzgruppen und die "Genesis der Endlösung"* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996), p. 121 fn. 51, accused of participating in the execution of around 50 Jewish men in some locality along the unit's march, between the 1941 German-Soviet border and Białystok. Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): tab. 2, remains important for its statistical and demographic information.

Documentation on the fate of the Trzcianne Jewish community under German occupation during World War II can be found in AŻIH (e.g., 301/150, 301/983, 301/1264, 301/2124); IPN (e.g., SAB 166, SWB 268-270a); IPN-Bi (1/1209 [Ko-266/88], 65/1720 [K-48/58], 258/4 [II Ds. 57/67], S [22/67, 36/72]); USHMM (e.g., RG-15.019M); VHF (e.g., # 43624); and YVA.

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Compare AŻIH, 301/150, testimony of Fiszel Kuszner, p. 1; and VHF, # 43624, testimony of Eva Kostre (Gielczyńska).
2. AŻIH, 301/150, pp. 1–2.
3. With 500 victims listed at USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/ 92, pp. 1–2; and a "handful" of survivors, all escapees, in AŻIH, 301/2124, testimony of Fania Lipińska, pp. 1–7.
4. Compare AŻIH, 301/150, p. 1, and 301/983, testimony of Meir Markowicz, p. 1; with VHF, # 43624.
5. VHF, # 43624; and AŻIH, 301/1264, testimony of Gołda Żutkiewicz, pp. 1–8, in Nowik, *Zagłada Żydów*, p. 61.
6. VHF, # 43624.
7. AŻIH, 301/983, p. 1.
8. VHF, # 43624.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. See IPN, SAB 166, SOB 328, and SWB 102.
12. See ibid., SWB 268-270a; and IPN-Bi, 65/1720.

WASILKÓW

Pre-1939: Wasilków, town, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vasil'kov, Belostok raion and oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wasilkow, Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Wasilków, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Wasilków is located 8 kilometers (5 miles) northwest of Białystok in Poland. In 1921, the Jewish population was 950. The Jews resided mostly around the market area in the northern part of the town and along Białystok Street. In September 1939, the Jewish population was probably around 950 people out of a total population of some 5,000.

On September 1, 1939, Wasilków witnessed the massive flight of civilians along Białystok Street ahead of the advancing German forces. Amid the uncertainty of the first days of war, including massive looting of abandoned military warehouses, the Polish army unit in the town encouraged local residents to resist the Germans with homemade bombs. These plans came to nothing as the Polish forces hastily fled once the Germans approached. In the ensuing brief interregnum, a committee representing both Polish and Jewish residents maintained order, wearing white armbands to demonstrate their neutrality. Soon after entering Wasilków, German security forces locked up a number of Jews in the Russian Orthodox Church, with no food or water. Rabbi Israel Halperin's petition for their release was rejected, but the Russian Orthodox priest, who objected to their being held in a place of worship, successfully obtained their release. After five days of looting by the Wehrmacht, not only of private homes and businesses but also of the town's textile factories, the Germans departed, leaving the town in Soviet hands.[1]

When the Soviets established control over eastern Poland, Wasilków was rapidly "Sovietized," involving the nationalization of all private enterprises and the establishment of cooperatives in place of small craft shops. Soviet party officials from Minsk exerted heavy-handed control, persecuting class enemies (i.e., nationalists, officers, wealthy entrepreneurs, and their families) and deporting them into the heartland territories of the Soviet Union. The impact of the Soviet occupation on the Jewish population of Wasilków was ambiguous: on the one hand, many Jews suffered from the policy of economic nationalization alongside the Poles. On the other hand, the Soviets were successful, if not in eliminating antisemitism altogether then at least in making it less publicly visible.

Following the news of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, Wasilków witnessed another mass evacuation, this time by the Soviet army, which fled to the east along with many civilian refugees from the border areas. The Germans entered Wasilków on June 27, 1941, and the attacks on Jews commenced shortly afterwards. The German administration recruited local Polish residents into an auxiliary police force. As the Wehrmacht moved eastward with the offensive, only a small German garrison stayed behind, consisting, according to one testimony, of only six elderly Germans.[2] As the Germans relaxed their grip on the town, if only temporarily, the local mob felt emboldened

to launch a series of pogroms against the Jews, plundering houses and attacking their owners, leaving many killed and wounded behind (17 dead on the night of the first pogrom alone).[3] Witnesses recall a certain Feliks Zawadski who led the gang that terrorized Jewish homes around Yakimer Street.[4] During another less spontaneous and better organized attack, the crowd gathered after Sunday Mass and was fired up by a young priest who shouted, "Death to the Christ killers!"[5] Poles armed with sticks and clubs studded with nails chased Jews out of their houses along Białystocka Street and down to the bridge over the Supraśl River, in which they wanted to drown all the Jews. On this occasion the Jews were saved by the intervention of the Germans, who chased the crowd away, sensing that the anarchy of a pogrom would undermine their authority. The entire event was filmed for propaganda purposes to record how "orderly Germans stopped the barbaric and violent Poles."

Sources differ on when the ghetto was set up and whether it was enclosed by a fence. According to the historian Przemysław Czyżewski, the Germans established a ghetto in Wasilków in August 1941 between Rynek, Białostok, and Wojtachowska Streets. It was surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire. It held up to 1,200 Jews, not only from Wasilków but also from Czarna Wieś Kościelna, Choroszcz, Łomża, and Warsaw.[6] *The Wasilkower Memorial Book*, however, dates the creation of the ghetto about six months into the German occupation. The Jews were concentrated into 38 houses in the area adjacent to the synagogues, and some had to live in the main synagogue itself due to the overcrowding. A typical Jewish home in the ghetto, consisting of only one or two rooms and a kitchen, had to house between 20 and 40 people. Jews had to wear yellow stars or patches, but some did so only on leaving the ghetto for work or to do business in town. The ghetto was administered internally by Pesach Abramov and David Weiss. At the beginning, the Germans permitted the Jews to leave the ghetto to buy or barter food from Polish peasants; later it was forbidden. The situation was particularly grim for the older and poorer inhabitants of the ghetto, who had no valuables they could exchange for food, but Abramov tried to ensure that they still received something.[7]

Under the supervision of the Polish police, the residents of the ghetto were made to perform forced labor in the peat bogs and at the local stone quarry; they also worked on repairing roads, loading timber in the shunting yards, and loading trains with other plundered goods for the Germans. Random terror was practiced, with some Jews killed at the whim of the police chief or even by local residents. Jews who escaped from the ghetto either before or during its liquidation encountered difficulties surviving in the surrounding countryside. In addition to German searches and denunciations by local peasants, most groups of the Polish Home Army (AK) operating in the region did not allow them to join, chasing them away or even killing them.

The SS carried out a large massacre of the Jews before the liquidation of the ghetto, assisted by the local police. One night they brought a group of Jews, randomly assembled from various places, to the yard of Trillings Textile Factory and killed them all. Several dozen other people (including two local Poles) were murdered elsewhere in town. According to official postwar Polish statistics, the number of people murdered was at least 39, including 15 children.[8]

On the eve of November 2, 1942, German security forces surrounded the ghetto. Abramov announced to the Jews that they would be transferred to a labor camp and that they could take only their most essential belongings with them. Although Abramov himself was offered the possibility of avoiding deportation, he refused, choosing to share the fate of his community. The next morning more than 1,000 inmates of the ghetto were loaded onto peasant horse carts and taken first to a transit camp some 10 kilometers (6 miles) away, near the city of Białystok. Almost all the ghettos of the surrounding area were cleared simultaneously at this time. The Wasilków ghetto inmates were transferred to the military barracks of the Polish 10th Cavalry Regiment. With no food supplies and in appalling hygienic conditions, the Jews had to spend from 7 to 15 days waiting for the train transport that would take them to the Treblinka extermination camp. Many died of starvation and exposure in the transit camp. The Wasilkower Jews were sent off to the extermination camp at Treblinka on November 19, 1942, and were all gassed on their arrival.[9] Of the entire Jewish community of Wasilków, only a few people survived the Holocaust.

Several men were tried after the war by Polish courts for crimes committed in and around Wasilków during the Nazi occupation, including participation in the arrest and murder of Jews.[10]

SOURCES The two main published sources on the fate of the Jews of Wasilków during the Holocaust are Leon Mendelewicz, *The Wasilkower Memorial Book: Memories of Our Town Wasilkow, Which Has Been Annihilated by the Nazis*, trans. Mark Langsam and Bene Gothajner (Melbourne, 1990); and Michel Mielnicki, *Bialystok to Birkenau: The Holocaust Journey of Michel Mielnicki*, ed. John Munro (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2000).

Archival documentation can be found in the following locations: AŻIH (301/1266); IPN (SAB 177, SOB 337); IPN-Bi (e.g., S-506/71, Ds 83/68, S-84/68); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Mendelewicz, *The Wasilkower Memorial Book*, pp. 90–92.
2. AŻIH, 301/1266, testimony of Mendel (Michel) Mielnicki, November 9, 1945; Mendelewicz, *The Wasilkower Memorial Book*, pp. 108–114.
3. Mielnicki, *Bialystok to Birkenau*, p. 103.
4. Mendelewicz, *The Wasilkower Memorial Book*, p. 99
5. Mielnicki, *Bialystok to Birkenau*, p. 104.
6. See http://wasilkow.polska.pl/miastodawniej/article,Podczas_II_wojny_swiatowej,id,307808.htm.
7. Mendelewicz, *The Wasilkower Memorial Book*, pp. 97–100.
8. Ibid., p. 100.
9. *The Wasilkower Memorial Book* claims that the Jews spent a week in the military camp, while according to the date of deportation to Treblinka mentioned in other sources, the

stay in the camp was probably longer. Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 396, gives the figure of 1,180 Jews from Wasilków deported to Treblinka from the Białystok transit camp between November 10 and December 15, 1942.

10. See, for example, IPN, SAB 177, SOB 337; and IPN-Bi, Ds 83/68.

WOŁKOWYSK

Pre-1939: Wołkowysk (Yiddish: Volkovisk), town and powiat center, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Volkovysk, raion center, Grodno oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolkowysk, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Vaukavysk, Vaukavysk raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołkowysk lies 94 kilometers (58.4 miles) east of Białystok. In January 1939, its population of 17,254 included 8,627 Roman Catholics, 6,901 Jews, 1,208 Russian Orthodox followers, and 518 of other faiths. During World War II, after the area came under Soviet occupation on September 20, about 3,000 Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland settled there. Prior to Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, 9,000 to 10,000 Jews lived in Wołkowysk.

Between June 23 and 27, 1941, Luftwaffe bombardment destroyed 75 percent of Wołkowysk, including almost all of its central and southern Jewish neighborhoods. About 1,000 to 1,500 people, mostly Jews, were killed. Several hundred Jews fled elsewhere, including to Grodno, Konstantynowo, Łysków, Różana, and Świsłocz, in Distrikt Bialystok; and to Lida, Słonim, and Zdzięcioł, in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

After occupying Wołkowysk on June 28, 1941, Wehrmacht soldiers robbed and humiliated Jews. Provocations by local Poles led the SS, likely members of Einsatzkommando 8, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B, to execute, on July 3, several dozen Jews for communism. In mid-July, another SS unit executed about 200 Jews, mostly from the professional and business elite and the physically and mentally handicapped.[1]

The German military administration issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees, including prohibitions on leaving Wołkowysk and mandates to wear yellow patches on the chest and back. In early July, an SS commander, likely the head of the Einsatzkommando 8 detachment, appointed Icchak Weinberg, the public hospital medical director, chair of a 12-person Jewish Council (Judenrat). Noach Fuchs was the vice chair. Weinberg's closest council associate was pediatrician Jakub Siedlicki. A Jewish police force was established. Its first commander was Kantow (Kantof). Galatz (or Glatt), a Soviet-era refugee from pre-war southern Poland, succeeded him.

From July 1941, refugees fleeing anti-Jewish violence in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien arrived in Wołkowysk, including from Kosów Poleski, Słonim, and Dereczyn. Their numbers were significant enough for the Judenrat to establish a committee to assist them. They brought the Jewish population to around 7,000.

Whether a ghetto was established in Wołkowysk remains debated. The majority of survivors note the city's physical destruction made it impossible for the Germans to concentrate the Jews into a ghetto or to establish a single Jewish quarter. However, another survivor mentions that the war devastation resulted in a ghetto emerging "naturally," as thousands of homeless Jews moved in with those whose residences remained intact.[2]

Upon arriving in Wołkowysk in the fall of 1941, German civil authorities formalized the concentration of the Jews into an open ghetto. Labor officials ordered brigades of Jewish labor conscripts to raze war-devastated Jewish dwellings. Women scraped salvaged bricks of mortar. German municipal officials confiscated the building materials, auctioning some of them to local Christians. It is unknown if the confiscations resulted from a separate decree or were a part of another group of decrees issued by Wolkowysk Kreiskommissar Landrat Pfeifer in the early spring of 1942 that expropriated all Jewish-owned land and structures.[3]

The expropriations combined with orders forbidding Jews from living in houses owned by Christians or together with Christians maintained the Jewish community's concentration on a few streets in three areas of Wołkowysk. In town, the Jews lived mostly along the northern part of Nowa Street, the location also of the Judenrat headquarters, and on the less-devastated part of Tatarska and Chołodowski Streets. In the southern Za Mostem neighborhood, they were concentrated on Kolejowa Street. The less-destroyed eastern Karczyzna district, a pre-war Jewish neighborhood, was the third residential area. Because of the housing shortage, a Judenrat committee assigned living space, with 5 to 10 families crowded into each residence. The German administration required the Jews to install yellow signs above the doors of their houses.[4]

Questions about the existence of a ghetto nonetheless remain because survivors disagree over the degree of compulsion used to bind the Jewish community to Wołkowysk. Refugees from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, in particular, note that because Wołkowysk belonged to Distrikt Bialystok, which the Germans treated as a part of the Reich, municipal authorities did not impose the death penalty on Jews found violating German decrees; instead, they issued monetary fines, corporal punishment, and short-term prison sentences. The wide-scale corruption of local officials, including Winter, the German mayor, and the auxiliary police, also established formal bribery channels, giving refugees the impression that the Wołkowysk community enjoyed greater freedoms, including occasional travel to Białystok, than its members officially were permitted.[5]

However, survivors in Wołkowysk from the outset of the German occupation describe the auxiliary police daily patrolling the streets of Jewish neighborhoods and raiding houses to conduct searches for violations of the anti-Jewish decrees. They note that Jews found illegally outside Wołkowysk or failing to report for work were subject to the death penalty

and mention that the commander of the Gendarmerie routinely resolved the problem of prison overcrowding by ordering its Jewish inmates executed.[6]

The Wołkowysk Jews were conscripted by the German municipal administration and the Wehrmacht, including the German Red Cross (DRK), for demolition and construction projects. In the spring of 1942, hundreds of Jewish conscripts began construction of a DRK rest-and-relaxation facility for Werhrmacht soldiers in Pietraszowce, just southwest of Wołkowysk. So great was the demand for Jewish labor that a group of 200 to 360 women conscripts were brought from the Białystok ghetto in September 1942 to harvest potatoes to permit Jewish construction crews to continue working uninterrupted. Because the Germans only sometimes compensated forced labor, the Jews illicitly bartered coins and jewelry to secure the sustenance to survive.[7] Some Jews, including Zvi Roitman and Weinberg, the Judenrat chair, established contact with a group of Soviet partisans, respectively, repairing a radio and treating a wounded partisan.

In the late summer of 1942, the SS arrested all 15 of Wołkowysk's physicians, dentists, pharmacists, radio technicians, and an engineer on suspicion of aiding the partisans. Under pressure from German employers deprived of skilled workers and a Christian populace without dental care, the SS released the 3 radio technicians and 2 women dentists.[8] After the Jewish community paid a bribe, the SS commander agreed to free the remaining prisoners but executed them instead on October 14, 1942. Physicians and engineers from the Białystok ghetto were ordered to Wołkowysk to fill the positions of those executed.

The Germans liquidated the Wołkowysk ghetto on November 2, 1942. Fuchs, the new Judenrat chair, walked through the downtown Jewish quarter, ordering its residents to assemble by noon outside the pre-war cavalry garrison. An SS commander explained that a closed ghetto was to be established there for the Wołkowysk Jews.[9] Some people resisted the expulsion orders. At least 7 were shot dead for breaking through the cordon of guards; another 16 subsequently discovered hiding in bunkers met the same fate, as did a group of elderly too feeble to walk to the garrison.

In reality, the ghetto was a transit camp in which the SS concentrated all the approximately 20,000 Jews of Kreis Wolkowysk to facilitate their deportation to the Treblinka death camp. For the first three weeks, the Wołkowysk Jews lived in the same deplorable conditions as the other inmates, on starvation rations, crowded into underground bunkers, subjected to the strict orders of the camp commander, Lieutenant Tsirka (or Zirka), and his men. At least 300 of the thousands of Wołkowysk inmates who contracted typhus from the unsanitary conditions died. Communal leader Shlomo Gallin was badly beaten and then executed by Tsirka for purchasing gasoline from a Christian acquaintance to light a fire in the communal kitchen.

However, pressure exerted for the return to work of 2,000 inmates from Wołkowysk and another 300 from Świsłocz led the SS to exclude the two communities from the initial deportations to Treblinka, between November 29 and December 10, 1942. Appeals and bribes by Fuchs to German labor officials at the DRK facility to establish a closed ghetto for the remaining Jews were partly successful. On December 20, Wehrmacht officials announced they would transform a part of the transit camp into a closed ghetto for 1,700 to 2,000 Jews, under 50 years of age. They further limited residence in the ghetto to specific categories of "essential" male workers whose labor was required to complete unfinished construction projects. These included Wehrmacht and DRK employees, certain municipal workers, those with professions and trades underrepresented in the Christian population, and 250 Świsłocz railway laborers. The Judenrat negotiated successfully to include 100 women within the quota.[10] Those assigned to the remnant ghetto were ordered to reside in a separate block fenced off from the rest of the camp.

The remaining Wołkowysk Jews, approximately 4,600 to 5,250 people, including almost all of the community's women and children (a handful of the latter were smuggled into the ghetto), were sent along with all but 250 to 300 Świsłocz Jews to the Treblinka extermination camp in several transports at the end of December 1942. After the Jewish physicians at the medical clinic, relocated to the area designated for the ghetto, refused to euthanize 80 people, mostly elderly and young children left behind from the transports, they met the same fate as the Jews sent earlier to Treblinka.[11] The SS gassed them to death, though with the sulfur it used to delouse vacated bunkers.

A relatively large number of Wołkowysk Jews evaded the deportations. At the end of November, Ephraim Barash, the head of the Białystok Judenrat, arranged to transfer approximately 500 Wołkowysk inmates to his ghetto, including the 200 to 360 women laborers. The Białystok underground also may have organized the escape of about 27 pre-war Polish military officers and soldiers with the weapons experience necessary to plan the ghetto insurrection there, though the transfers may also have involved a German owner of a plumbing company in Białystok—or perhaps the latter also organized similar transfers for several dozen Wołkowysk Jews. For a 1,000 Reichsmark (RM) fare, Gendarmes from Białystok ferried to the ghetto there at least two more truckloads of Wołkowysk inmates. Other escapees fled to the local forests. Among them were several women who cut their hair and dressed in men's clothing to disguise themselves as male laborers, the only inmates, aside from a female dentist, permitted to leave the camp.

On January 26, 1943, the Germans liquidated the ghetto, sending the approximately 1,700 to 2,000 remaining Jews to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Two days later, at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the Germans held back 280 men and 79 women as prisoners of the concentration camp. The other 1,341 to 1,641 people were gassed on arrival.

At least 70 Wołkowysk Jews survived the war, including 12 men and 3 women imprisoned at Auschwitz and approximately 30 people in the Soviet interior at the time of the German invasion; most of the rest had joined local partisan units.

SOURCES The three Wołkowysk yizkor books are available in a single English translation, *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000). With the exception of the English-language Einhorn contribution in the second, or 1949, yizkor book, all other citations in the notes to the yizkor books are from the Berger translation in which the 1949 yizkor book comprises part 1; the earlier published 1946 yizkor book, part 2; and the 1988 yizkor book, part 3.

See also the memoir by Izaak Goldberg, a Wołkowysk resident until the end of July 1941, *The Miracles versus Tyranny: The Fight for Life and Death between the Jewish People and the Nazis* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1979); and Chaika Grossman [Haika Grosman], *The Underground Army: Fighters of the Białystok Ghetto*, trans. Shmuel Beeri, ed. Sol Lewis (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987).

A partial list of the prisoners held back from the Wołkowysk deportation to Auschwitz is available in Stanisław Mączka, ed., *Żydzi polscy w KL Auschwitz: wykazy imienne* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 2004), pp. 162–163.

Documentation about the history of the Wołkowysk Jewish community under German occupation in World War II includes AŻIH (e.g., 301/37, 1252, 1283, 1830, 1855, 1973, 2002, 2114, 2214, 2596, and 302/36); GAGO (e.g., 1029-1-31, p. 62); GARF (7021-86-37, pp. 4–24 and 82–95); IPN (e.g., S-54/67 [old numeration], SAGd 23, SOB 262 and 372, SOSz 58 and 59, SSK-Gd 125, SWB 205-207, SWGd 41, and SWWr 113-15); IPN-Bi (e.g., 3/138 [formerly, W-1237/51 (i.e., IPN, SWB 205-207)] and Ko [old numeration] 71/86 and 124/92); NARB (845-1-8, p. 31, and 861-1-7, pp. 63 and 67); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 13 [7021-86-37]); VHF (# 3986, 4296, 8170, 40793, and 50720); and YVA.

Laura Crago and Monika Tomkiewicz

NOTES

1. Goldberg, *The Miracles*, pp. 26–28, 30–31; Zui Roitman, "The Destruction," p. 4; and Shayna Lifschitz, "Memories," p. 62.
2. Compare Roitman, "The Destruction," p. 3; and "The Tribulations," p. 56.
3. Roitman, "The Destruction," p. 12.
4. Noah Kaplinsky, "Volkovysk," p. 32; and IPN-Bi, S-53/01-Zn, pp. 13–15, and S-211/71, pp. 39–40.
5. Kaplinsky, "Volkovysk," p. 33.
6. Roitman, "The Destruction," p. 6; and Yitzhak Tchopper, "The Tragic Fate," p. 415.
7. On compensation, compare Roitman, "The Destruction," pp. 4, 12; and "The Tribulations," p. 4.
8. Roitman, "The Destruction," p. 10; and Moses Einhorn, "The Destruction," p. 935.
9. Roitman, "The Destruction," p. 14.
10. "The Tribulations," pp. 142–143; and Kaplinsky, "Volkovysk," pp. 41–42.
11. Kaplinsky, "Volkovysk," pp. 43–44.

WOŁPA

Pre-1939: Wołpa (Yiddish: Volp), town, Grodno powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Volpa, Volkovysk raion, Grodno oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolpa, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Vaupa, Vaukavysk raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołpa is located 11 and 28 kilometers (6.8 and 17.4 miles) north-northwest of Roś and Wołkowysk, respectively. Survivors estimate the Jewish population stood at 1,000 to 1,500 when the Soviets occupied the town on September 21, 1939.

On June 25, 1941, the fourth day of the German invasion of the USSR, Luftwaffe bombardment targeted at the local airfield set Wołpa ablaze. The fire destroyed all the structures in the Jewish neighborhood.

The Germans had occupied Wołpa by July 1, 1941. Information is scarce about the establishment of the German military and civil administrations there. Wołpa likely served as a regional administrative center (Amstkommissariat). The Germans also appointed a local collaborationist administration and an auxiliary police force.

In July, the regional German military administration issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees, including prohibitions on Jews leaving the places where they resided and orders to wear identifying marks on clothing. By late August, Jews throughout Distrikt Bialystok were required to wear yellow patches on the chest and back. By mid-July, the Germans also had ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) be established in Wołpa. Either Szlomo Bajerski (or Bojarski) or Fishel (or Fiszel) Rubinson was named its chair.[1]

Soon after arriving in Wołpa, likely by the fall of 1941, local German authorities established an open ghetto by declaring the village's Jewish inhabitants no longer residents of Wołpa. It is not clear if the declaration resulted in the formal expulsion of the Jews to a discrete living area outside Wołpa or if local German officials redrew Wołpa's boundaries to remove the Jewish neighborhood from the town and then ordered all the Jews concentrated there. The only source mentioning the decree notes only that "the Jews were declared to be outside of the settlement."[2]

Additional decrees by local German officials in Wołpa suggest the latter was more likely the case. The decrees required the Jews to raze their fire-devastated homes and to carry all the salvageable building materials (mostly bricks) several kilometers to a construction site. Jewish forced laborers were ordered to use the bricks to construct buildings for the local German administration, beginning with an office for the Amtskommissar. The razing of the houses left Jewish residents little option but to reside in the holes left in the ground, where their basements had once stood. Because the Kreiskommissar in Wołkowysk, Landrat Pfeifer, refused to permit Jews to rebuild homes lost to war devastation and then in the spring of 1942 expropriated all Jewish residences and arable property, the Jews who had not previously lived in the neighborhood and those former residents without basements had few options but to dig pits in which to live.

Because of the fire, many Wołpa Jews initially suffered from hunger. Only some Christians from nearby villages helped them to procure food. Many other Christians were hostile,

with some locals, including an auxiliary policeman, Litwinowicz, threatening the lives of prominent communal leaders. Two German Gendarmes beat and tortured the rabbi of Wołpa, Mordechaj Segal.

By the spring of 1942, German officials eased living conditions in the Wołpa ghetto by permitting local Christians in nearby villages to hire its inmates as laborers. The Jews lived on the property of the Christians but were forbidden to reside in the same residence. (They usually slept in barns or in the craft workshops at which they were employed.) A survivor portrays such labor as a form of servitude, akin to serfdom, in which the Christians were the "owners," or the "masters," of the Jews, perhaps in part because the Jews received no compensation, as the Christians were required to pay the wages of the Jewish laborers to the German labor office.[3]

On November 1, 1942, local German authorities in Wołpa ordered the Judenrat to assemble all the Jews the next morning at the market square for resettlement to a labor camp. That morning, about 30 Germans, including police and soldiers, surrounded the Jewish quarter in Wołpa. The German in charge of the expulsion required the Jews to leave all their hand luggage behind. He separated from the assembly 34 to 60 of the advanced elderly and infirm, supposedly because an old-age home was to be established for them in Wołpa.[4] Young children were loaded into a limited number of peasant carts. The remaining Jews were ordered to march to Wołkowysk on foot. After the Jews had departed, in the Jewish ritual bath (*mikveh*) the Germans executed the Jews ordered to stay behind along with 3 to 6 others who had evaded the deportation. Reportedly, because of the traditions and practices associated with the Christian holiday popularly known as Zaduszki, or Dzień Zaduszny (All Souls' Day), the Belorussian grave diggers refused the German order to strip the corpses of clothing.[5]

The Wołpa prisoners were ordered to stop in Roś to add the Jewish community there to the deportation. Because the authorities responsible for the expulsion of the Roś Jews had permitted them to bring with them whatever they could carry, the Wołpa Jews assisted them in transporting some foodstuffs, including flour and potatoes, and firewood to their destination, a transit camp located in a pre-war Polish cavalry garrison in eastern Wołkowysk.

At the transit camp, where the SS consolidated the approximately 20,000 Jews of Kreis Wolkowysk to facilitate their expulsion to the extermination camps, the Wołpa and Roś communities lived together for almost a month in deplorable conditions in an internally fenced-off block within the camp, crowded together in underground bunkers, deprived access to adequate sanitation facilities, and provided with only starvation rations. Many perished there in a typhus epidemic. The Wołpa and Roś Jews were sent on December 2, 1942, two days before the start of Hanukkah, to the Treblinka extermination camp. They were all gassed on arrival.

At least 10 Wołpa Jews (and about half as many from Roś) evaded the Treblinka deportation; 6 people sheltered by local Christians reportedly were denounced subsequently by their purported rescuers and executed by the Gendarmes in Wołpa.[6] Others, including Icchak Wodowoz, Aaron the hat maker (*kapelusznik*), and a young man surnamed Solkis, were among the dozens of inmates smuggled out of the transit camp on the daily burial wagon, usually for a fee, by the former hardware merchant Epstein, the head of the Chevra Kadisha Society, and Jankiel Paltes, in charge of the burial detail. Extended shelter initially by Kazimierz Grabicki, Wodowoz's former Christian employer, the 3 men later joined a partisan unit. Aaron, Solkis, and Maks Bursztejn, another Wołpa transit camp escapee, died during partisan military operations.[7]

Wodowoz, the only known survivor of the German occupation of Wołpa, joined a partisan group of 8 to 15 Christian fugitives, initially led by Seweryn (or Siewek) Strok, from Bobry village. The unit, which included several Red Army soldiers, joined Wodowoz in taking revenge on those in Wołpa responsible for the persecution and expulsion of the Jews. The group burned to the ground all of the German residences in Wołpa and murdered Litwinowicz and the two Gendarmes responsible for torturing the rabbi. In July 1943, they raided a German distillery in Czerlona, across the Niemen River from Łunna. A Roś survivor attributes Wodowoz with derailing 10 German troop and supply trains.[8]

After the war, Soviet authorities sentenced the head of the local Wołpa civilian administration to 10 years in prison.[9] In 1947, the auxiliary policeman Napoleon Truszyński, from the Skidel Gendarmerie, was tried in Poland for capturing civilians from Łunna suspected of abetting the Czerlona distillery raid. Sentenced to 2 years in prison, he was released in March 1949.[10]

SOURCES The second Wołkowysk yizkor book includes a contribution by Zvi (Herschel) Kaplan, "Incidents in Volp," in Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949). It is available in an English translation in *Sefer zikaron Volḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000), pt. 1, pp. 309–312.

Because documentation for the World War II history of the Jewish community of Roś is sparse, it is difficult to determine if a ghetto existed there. Survivors from Wołkowysk mention that the aerodrome in Roś was among the first places in the region bombed by the Germans in June 1941, but AŻIH, 301/2002, cited below, testimony of Jasza Klin notes that the Roś Jews lived "completely peacefully, without any persecution, until the final liquidation of the Białystok province, on November 2, 1942." It also mentions that the second Roś survivor, Wolf Janowski, was hidden by a local peasant.

Useful, too, are the summary accounts, "Volpa Jews during World War II," on the Volpa ShtetLinks page at jewishgen.org; and the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 295–298 (Wołpa), and pp. 595–596 (Roś).

Documentation for the Jewish communities of Wołpa and Roś under German occupation in World War II is sparse and focuses mostly on the experiences of the handful of Jews who joined the partisans. It includes: AŻIH (301/2002); GAGO

(also at USHMM [RG-53.004M, reel 3], 1-1-295, pp. 50–64); GARF (e.g., 7021-86-37, pp. 110–111); IPN (e.g., SOOl 26); and YVA (e.g., O-3/342). An English translation of YVA, O-3/342, testimony of Yitzhak Vodovoz (or Wodowoz), is available on the Volpa ShtetLinks page at Jewishgen, www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/volpa/Volpa-vodovoz-testimony.html.

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NOTES

1. Compare YVA, O-3/342; and Kaplan, "Incidents," p. 309.
2. Kaplan, "Incidents," p. 309.
3. YVA, O-3/342.
4. For low number, see GARF, 7021-86-37, pp. 110–111; and YVA, O-3/342, for high number.
5. Kaplan, "Incidents," p. 310.
6. Ibid.
7. AŻIH, 301/2002, p. 1.
8. YVA, O-3/342; USHMM, RG-53.004M (GAGO), reel 3, 1-1-295, pp. 50–64; and AŻIH, 301/2002, p. 1.
9. Kaplan, "Incidents," p. 310.
10. IPN, SOOl 26, case of Napoleon Truszyński.

WYSOKIE LITEWSKIE

Pre-1939: Wysokie Litewskie (Yiddish: Vysoka di Lita), village, Brześć nad Bugiem powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vysokoe, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wisokie-Litowsk, Kreis Bielsk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Vysokae Kamianets raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Between the two world wars, Wysokie Litewskie was located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Bielsk Podlaski and 38 kilometers (23.6 miles) north-northwest of Brześć nad Bugiem. In 1921, its population stood at 2,395, including among others 1,994 Jews, 121 Russian Orthodox followers, and 77 Roman Catholics. An additional 132 Jews resided in the Wysokie Litewskie gmina, including 89 in the unincorporated areas just outside the borders of Wysokie and another 3 near the train station. By 1925, the Jewish population in the town had expanded to 2,875 (about 89.7 percent of the overall population).

On June 23, 1941, the second day of Germany's invasion of the USSR, a Wehrmacht unit occupied the town. Little is known about the establishment of German military or civil institutions there or about the appointment of a local auxiliary police force. The Germans instituted a number of anti-Jewish decrees, including orders for all Jews to wear yellow patches on their backs and chests.

German authorities also immediately ordered a ghetto established for the Jews of Wysokie Litewskie. Located on what in Yiddish was known as Bod Street, the ghetto likely was on the same street as the Jewish ritual bath (*mikveh*). Initially an open ghetto, its inmates were confined to the homes in which they were concentrated and not permitted to appear in public on the street.[1] The ghetto was fenced, likely in the late spring of 1942, as the result of an order issued by the Bielsk Podlaski Kreiskommissar, Landrat Tubenthal, requiring the closure of all ghettos in the Kreis. Another Jewish eyewitness suggests that the ghetto was much larger, noting that when local German authorities ordered the Jews to fence the ghetto, they insisted it be divided in half to prevent disrupting traffic along the major thoroughfare through Wysokie. Houses on either side of the main street comprised the outermost borders of the two different parts of the enclosed ghetto.[2]

Little is known about life in the Wysokie Litewskie ghetto. Overcrowding was a problem; three families shared a single room in the houses in the ghetto. Housing conditions deteriorated further after refugees, escaping partial liquidation Aktions in the summer of 1942 in the neighboring Reichskommissariat Ukraine, including in Wołczyn and Kobryń, sought shelter in the Wysokie ghetto.[3] Inmates were conscripted for forced labor, including at a bog outside of Wysokie to dig peat for heating fuel. Local German authorities randomly entered the ghetto to round up Jews for forced labor and to raid homes.

Arbitrary violence was a problem from the inception of the Wysokie Litewskie ghetto. One survivor recalled by name 9 people shot dead by the Germans in the ghetto but attributed the Germans with actually killing many more Jews there. Because the Germans forbade the Jews from burying the dead at the cemetery outside the ghetto, a cemetery was established in the ghetto.[4] On June 22, 1942, the Germans executed 70 Jews in Ogrodniki village (pre-war Wysokie Litewskie gmina, Brześć nad Bugiem powiat). Because only 4 Jews had lived in Ogrodniki in 1921, the majority of the victims are believed to have been from the Wysokie ghetto.[5]

The Wysokie Litewskie ghetto population likely numbered 2,500 on the eve of the ghetto's liquidation. Some scholars have suggested that Jews from other communities in the pre-war Wysokie Litewskie gmina, including from Raśna (Brześć nad Bugiem powiat), a small town with a 1921 Jewish population of 17, were concentrated in the Wysokie ghetto. Although it seems likely, the extant sources do not reveal whether Jews from other communities were resettled in the ghetto or if they were imprisoned there only briefly before November 12, 1942, the date on which German police records indicate that the Jewish communities in this part of Kreis Bielsk were liquidated.[6]

On November 12, 1942, members of the 5th Battalion of Police Regiment II (known before July 29 as the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 13) liquidated the Wysokie Litewskie ghetto. At 5:30 A.M., the unit's commander gave the Wysokie Jews 30 minutes to assemble at the main market square. After separating men from women and placing children in another group, the police marched the groups separately to the Wysokie train station, where they forced them onto freight wagons. By noon the Wysokie Jews had been loaded onto the train, which likely did not depart the station

until other members of the same police unit had marched 2,500 Jews from Kamieniec Litewski to Wysokie, a distance of 31 kilometers (19.3 miles). David Wolf, a Wysokie survivor, who jumped from the train just before it arrived at its destination, the Treblinka extermination camp, recalled that it did not arrive until late evening.[7] All the Jews in the Wysokie Litewskie deportations were gassed on arrival at Treblinka.

A large number of Wysokie Jews are known to have evaded the deportation. Some, including Adam Kamiński (subsequently, Adams), procured false identity papers, enabling them to live outside the ghetto. Paweł Korzec, a survivor of the Białystok ghetto, also recalled that in October 1942 he briefly joined a self-defense organization of Wysokie Jews already living in the nearby forests.[8]

However, none of the forest fugitives are believed to have survived the war, as most were caught in systematic searches of the forest. On November 26, 1942, a rear group (Nachkommando) of the 5th Battalion of Police Regiment II arrived in Wysokie Litewskie to assist the Gendarmes there to execute 61 Jews apprehended since the ghetto's liquidation.[9] Of the 400 people shot by German authorities in Wysokie between 1942 and 1943, at least a third are believed to have been Jews fleeing the liquidation of their communities, though Soviet documentation records the names of just 37 Jewish victims from Wysokie. Most of the executed were buried in a mass grave, near the center of town.[10]

The Wysokie Litewskie Jews who survived the war living under the German occupation received assistance from a handful of local Christians. After jumping from the deportation train, Wolf made his way back to the Wysokie area and was sheltered there by a local Polish family.[11] Kamiński, a Kobryń refugee with false identity papers, was visiting family in the ghetto on the day of its liquidation. He fled to the local forests after his papers came into question but ultimately returned to Wysokie, where a family friend arranged for a guide and the documents necessary for him to travel to Warsaw. There, he used his new identity papers to volunteer for forced labor and was sent to Riga, Latvia. Also counted among Wysokie survivors are the immediate family members of lawyer Aaron Wirszubski. Deported in the Soviet period from Wysokie to Hajnówka (Bielsk Podlaski powiat), Wirszubski perished during the liquidation, most likely in early August 1941, of the 600-person Jewish community and its expulsion to Prużana. Lidia (or Lidka) Michnowska, a friend and a sister of Wysokie Litewskie's wartime Polish mayor, arranged for Wirszubski's wife Eugenia and two daughters to be aided and sheltered in Narew by the Roman Catholic priests Jakubowski and Kardasz.[12]

Schutzmänner employed at the Wysokie Litewskie Gendarmerie post were tried after the war in Poland for participating in roundups and executions of at least 60 Jewish partisans. In 1967, Jan Charyton was found guilty of participating in actions against the partisans. He received a prison term of 5 years and 6 months but was released conditionally in 1971. In 1970, another six Poles were convicted in two separate trials for participating in the killing of civilians and taking actions against the partisans: Jan and Józef Lichota, Antoni Mazur, Wincenty Wojewódzki, Mieczysław Chrostowski, and Piotr Dziekan. The men received prison sentences ranging from 5 years and 1 month to 10 years, with the longest sentence reduced to 7 years on review by Poland's Supreme Court. All of the men had been released conditionally by 1974.

SOURCES Significant published and Internet sources include *Yizkor!: Gevidmet dem heyligen ondenk fun di kdoyshim fun Visoka-Litovsk un Voltshin* (New York: United Wisoko-Litowsker and Woltchiner Relief, 1948) (an English translation is available on jewishgen.org, at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/vysokoye/vysokoye.html); "Vysokoye History," at www.brest-belarus.org.

Also useful is the Wysokie Litewskie entry in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 249–250; and the entry for Anna Paszkiewicz in Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 2, *Poland*, 2 pts. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), pt. 2, pp. 596–597.

The handful of archival sources documenting the history of the Jewish community of Wysokie Litewskie under the German occupation in World War II includes GARF (7021-83-12, pp. 4, 7, and 7021-148-186); IPN (e.g., SWB [251, 275-78, and 288-90]); IPN-Bi (e.g., 3/128, 130, 139, 143-44); USHMM (RG-22.014M [e.g., GARF, 7021-148-186], reel 18, pp. 165, 167); VHF (# 17696, 28531, and 45233); and YVA (e.g., O-3/6180).

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NOTES

1. David Wolf, "Two Letters," *Yiskor!*, www.jewishgen.org/yiskor/vysokoye/vysokoye.html.
2. VHF, # 17696, testimony of Adam Adams.
3. Ibid.
4. Wolf, "Two Letters," p. 22.
5. GARF, 7021-83-12, p. 7.
6. "Wysokie Litewskie," in Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:250; and USHMM, RG-22.014M (e.g., GARF, 7021-148-186), reel 18, p. 165 (War Diary, 1st Company, Reserve Police Battalion 13, November 12, 1942).
7. Wolf, "Two Letters," pp. 22–23.
8. YVA, O-3/6180, pp. 48–53, in Sarah Bender, *The Jews of Białystok during World War II and the Holocaust*, Yaffa Murciana, trans. (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008), pp. 126–127.
9. USHMM, RG-22.014M, reel 18, p. 167 (November 26, 1942).
10. Wolf, "Two Letters," p. 23, notes 120 Jews executed for hiding in and around Wysokie; and GARF, 7021-83-12, p. 4, for low figure.
11. Wolf, "Two Letters," and "Second Letter," respectively, p. 23 and pp. 24–25.
12. VHF, # 28351 and 45233, testimonies of Sara (Wirszubska) Szymańska and Adela (Wirszubska) Boddy.

WYSOKIE MAZOWIECKIE

Pre-1939: Wysokie Mazowieckie, town and powiat center, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vysokie, Chizhev raion, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wysokie Mazowieckie, Kreis Lomscha, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: powiat center, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Wysokie Mazowieckie is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Białystok, not far from the main railway line to Warsaw. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,898 Jews living in Wysokie Mazowieckie, comprising 59.1 percent of the total population.[1] In 1936 there was a pogrom against the Jews of the town in which many Jewish houses were looted and more than 20 people were injured.[2] In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were probably around 1,900 Jews residing in Wysokie Mazowieckie.

German armed forces captured the town on September 10, 1939. On September 12, all Jewish and Polish men older than 17 years of age were arrested, about 1,000 people in total. Two days later, they were taken away to perform compulsory labor in Zambrów. From there around 800 men were transported to a labor camp in East Prussia. During their brief occupation the Germans also burned to the ground as much as 90 percent of the town. In connection with the fire, on September 19, 1939, the Germans ordered the Jews to leave the town within 24 hours. The Germans shot 4 Jews and drowned 1 as they drove the Jews from the town. Apart from those taken away earlier, most sought refuge in neighboring towns, including about 600 Jews who fled to Sokoły.[3] Others made their way to Białystok. On September 26, 1939, the Red Army took over the town in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the Jews were allowed to return. Almost half of them came back over the following weeks, bringing the Jewish population of the town together with some refugees up to around 1,000.[4]

On June 24, 1941, the town was again captured by German forces, two days after their invasion of the Soviet Union. Immediately, Germans accompanied by local Poles began to loot Jewish homes and shops.[5] The Germans then introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) comprising 13 members was established, and a man named Alter Zack was appointed at its head. Jews were registered and marked with the Star of David, they were forbidden to perform kosher slaughtering, and they were obliged to perform forced labor (including women and older children). Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Germans arrested a few Jews as suspected Communists, including Shmuel Grinberg, who was sent to Białystok to be shot.[6]

In July 1941, a German military commandant briefly controlled the town. In August 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Wysokie Mazowieckie was incorporated into Kreis Lomscha, in Distrikt Bialystok. The senior German official in the town was the Amtskommissar.

In July or August 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to assemble for a medical inspection with the exception of a small group of Jewish craftsmen who were exempted. As it turned out, the inspectors did not arrive, as they were busy elsewhere, but rumors of the expulsion and murder of Jews from other towns spread fear among the Jews in Wysokie. According to the yizkor book, "[T]his first Aktion, plus reports from other places that life was more secure in the ghettos, influenced the heads of the Jewish community to request the authorities to set up a ghetto." It was thought that this might provide some protection from pogroms by local non-Jews.[7] After some local negotiations, a ghetto was created in Wysokie Mazowieckie by the end of August 1941, in an area mostly occupied by Jews before. The ghetto was located around the market square and on the nearby Dolna, Mystkowska, Kościuszko, Jagiellońska, and Długa Streets, with Polna Street forming its southeastern border. The main gate was on the side of the market square.[8] Over the following weeks, several hundred Jews from neighboring villages, including Kulesze Kościelne, Jabłonka Kościelna, Dąbrówka Kościelna, Szepietowo, Rosochate Kościelne, and others, were resettled into the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire. In the fall of 1941, the Judenrat, assisted by the Jewish Police, had to meet a demand for a "contribution" of 20,000 rubles.[9]

The Jews from the ghetto were taken out every day to perform forced labor on road construction and on the surrounding large estates. Their wages, in the form of potatoes and other agricultural products, were passed on to the Judenrat, which divided them up among the Jewish population. Craftsmen (tailors, cobblers, and watchmakers) who were still able to earn their own living were exempted from forced labor in return for a payment to the Judenrat. Using these funds, the Judenrat also organized a soup kitchen, which provided two hot meals a day for those in need, especially those brought in from the villages. As winter approached, the Jews were sent out to collect firewood for the Germans from the forests. At the same time they were permitted to dig up tree roots for the Judenrat to distribute among the Jews for their own heating and cooking needs.[10]

The ghetto was guarded by the Jewish Police on the inside and Polish police on the outside. Smuggling food in from the "Aryan" side became increasingly more dangerous over time. In the overcrowded ghetto, the elderly, the poor, and some of those without family were placed in the fire department building, where they survived on the charity provided by the community. To avoid excessive overcrowding there, some solitary individuals were placed in other homes. Despite these precautions, at least one outbreak of typhus was recorded in the ghetto, and there were a number of deaths from hunger and disease.[11]

Throughout the spring and summer of 1942, there were no major Aktions in Wysokie Mazowieckie, but tension in the ghetto increased as a number of refugees from the liquidation of the smaller ghettos in Distrikt Warchau (Generalgouvernement) arrived in the town. The anti-Jewish regulations were strictly enforced; for example, one Jew was shot for illegally purchasing an animal for slaughter.[12]

On Sunday, November 1, 1942, about 300 horse-drawn wagons came into Wysokie. Together with other indications, such as Germans reclaiming unfinished items sent for repair, this warned many Jews of an impending Aktion, and several hundred fled the ghetto into the woods. Then on November 2, German and Polish police surrounded the ghetto and rounded up the remaining inmates (about 1,500 men, women, and children), transporting them without their possessions by wagon to the transit camp in Zambrów (although one account indicates that some may have been deported directly to the extermination camps from the Czyżewo railway station). The Germans shot those people who were too sick to be transported. Many non-Jews from the area also came into town on this day in hope of gaining some of the Jewish property.

In Zambrów, some 17,500 to 20,000 Jews from the surrounding ghettos were concentrated in overcrowded conditions with very little to eat. Scores of Jews died every day of starvation. On January 15, 1943, the Germans started to deport most of the remaining Jews from Zambrów to the extermination camp Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where the majority was gassed on arrival.[13] Many of those who had successfully fled the ghetto were eventually caught by patrols or fell into German hands following reports by Polish informers. Some received help from local Poles, often in return for payment, but only a handful remained alive when the town was recaptured by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews in Wysokie Mazowieckie can be found in the following publications: Y. Rubin, ed., *Visoke-Mazovyetsk yizkor-bukh* (Tel Aviv: Visoke-Mazovyetsker landslayt-farayn in Yisrael, 1975); Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), pp. 190–193; and Avigdor Ben-Dov, ed., *Deliverance. The Diary of Michael Maik. A True Story*, trans. Laia Ben-Dov (Kedumim, Israel: Keterpress, 2004).

Documents regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Wysokie Mazowieckie can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/969, 2248-49, 2614, and 3590); IPN-Bi (e.g., S-283/68, S-255/69/1-2, S-292/69, Ko-55/88, Ko-178/87, Ko-90/88); USHMM (RG-15.019M); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 4:190.
2. "The Pogrom at Wysokie Mazowieckie in 1936," in Rubin, *Visoke-Mazovyetsk yizkor-bukh*, pp. 86–98.
3. Mosheh Grosman, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Sokoli* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sokoly, 1962), pp. 159–160, 224–228.
4. Rubin, *Visoke-Mazovyetsk yizkor-bukh*, pp. 274–275; AŻIH, 301/969. Other sources indicate, however, that probably less than 1,000 Jews returned.
5. AŻIH, 301/3590, testimony of Złatka Gutman.
6. Ibid., 301/969.
7. Rubin, *Visoke-Mazovyetsk yizkor-bukh*, p. 274.
8. AŻIH, 301/3590; Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo łomżyńskie* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 229.
9. AŻIH, 301/969 and 2248, testimony of Abraham Berl Sokal. In 1921, 185 Jews were living in Kulesze Kościelne, 157 in Jabłonka Kościelna, and 55 in Dąbrówka Kościelna; see *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), Poland, pp. 2–6.
10. Rubin, *Visoke-Mazovyetsk yizkor-bukh*, p. 273.
11. Ibid., p. 272; USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, "Bialostockie," pp. 133 and reverse.
12. AŻIH, 301/969.
13. Rubin, *Visoke-Mazovyetsk yizkor-bukh*, pp. 270–272; Wein, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 4:190–193; AŻIH, 301/2614, testimony of Towia Groll.

ZABŁUDÓW

Pre-1939: Zabłudów (Yiddish: Zablodov), town, Białystok powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zabludov, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zabludow, Kreis Bialystok, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Zabłudów, Białystok powiat, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Zabłudów lies about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southeast of Białystok. Its 1939 pre-war population of 3,500 included 1,952 Jews.

During World War II, the Germans occupied Zabłudów for about a week in September 1939 before ceding it to Soviet occupation.

On June 23, 1941, German aerial bombardment destroyed a nearby airport and sparked a fire in Zabłudów. Scores of Jews perished in the attacks before a small Wehrmacht unit briefly occupied the town that day. On June 26, another small unit, composed of about four soldiers, burned the rest of Zabłudów to the ground. Many Jews perished in the blaze; others were shot. On June 30 the survivors either fled voluntarily or were driven from Zabłudów by drunken German soldiers and local Polish and Belorussian peasants.[1] The Jews fled to Białystok, Bielsk Podlaski, Gródek Białostocki, Michałowo, Narewka Mała, and Orla. About 300 people either followed the rabbi of Zabłudów or were expelled with him to Narew. Many Zabłudów refugees in Białystok and all the Narew refugees were deported in the fall of 1941 to the ghetto in Prużana.

In the meantime, in Zabłudów, German military authorities had appointed a collaborationist local administration. Its formal head was Jerzy Manteuffel-Szoege, whose family had owned Zabłudów since 1856. Andrzej Kuczyński was named mayor, and Franciszek Teofilewicz became the civil administrator (wójt). The Germans recruited a local auxiliary police force. In late July or August 1941, they established a Gendarmerie post. The Gendarmerie commander, named Franzek, often is misidentified in documentation as Piłat, the nickname



A narrow street in Zabłudów, 1916.
USHMM WS #05927, COURTESY OF JERZY TOMASZEWSKI

(from Pontius Pilate) local Poles gave him.[2] Other Gendarmes included Dembowsky, Kre[j]bus, Hettig, Sommer, and Beckmann. An Amtskommissariat was established for Zabłudów-Słomianka, under the leadership of an East Prussian named Olech. Employees of the Amstkommissariat were local Poles and Belorussians.[3]

Shortly after July 12, 1941, the Germans and their local collaborators subjected Jewish men who had returned to Zabłudów to violence. They compelled them to behead a statue of Lenin and to bury it at the Jewish cemetery. The Germans and local police shattered the legs and crushed the skulls of several Jews, including Szymon Lewin and Jakub Kapliński. A Polish policeman seized Benjamin Felgrund, accused him of communism, and killed him.[4]

From late July 1941, many Jews, mostly refugees in Białystok, began returning to Zabłudów. Some left the city to avoid entering the Białystok ghetto, established on August 1. Others, in October, accepted travel passes offered to refugees by the Białystok Judenrat to return to their hometowns. The number of Zabłudów returnees varies in the sources. One survivor notes 500 Jews lived in Zabłudów. Another places its population at 600. A third suggests it far exceeded 750.[5] Drawing on these survivors' accounts, historian Szymon Datner concluded the Zabłudów Jewish population registered a decline of about 70 percent (to around 586 people). However, in the same work, he cites a much larger figure, of 1,400, more reflective of the 1,200 to 1,400 population noted in Polish postwar documentation for Zabłudów.[6]

Fire damage, combined with German military orders issued in early July 1941 that forbade Jews throughout Distrikt Bialystok from leaving the towns in which they lived, effectively created an open ghetto in Zabłudów. Initially, the returnees lived together in the Bielsk Street Bet Midrash, one of the few Jewish-owned buildings not destroyed in the fire. Though a few lived illicitly in the barns of non-Jews, later arrivals mostly moved into several (formerly) Jewish-owned tannery factories in southeastern Zabłudów.

There was little to eat and no soap. Posters throughout Zabłudów forbade Christian-Jewish contact.[7] Members of the Gendarmerie ordered the Jews to wear yellow identifying marks on the left arm and back and ordered a Judenrat established. Its chair was Szymon Wysocki (Weissotsky). The Judenrat organized a Jewish police force. It was commanded by Judel Packstein. The Judenrat organized labor conscription. It collected whatever material items the German authorities demanded, including valuables, clothing, and furniture.

Authorities enforced the orders that had established the open ghetto. Butcher Shalom Epstein, found outside of Zabłudów, was shot dead. At least 6 other Jews were murdered by German authorities.[8] Others were beaten severely for sneaking out even momentarily at night from the factory buildings in which they lived. In the autumn of 1941, Polish policeman Zygmunt Kozłowski arrested Paltiel Łopata for leaving his home without wearing yellow identifying markings. After Łopata punched Kozłowski and fled to Białystok, the Gendarmes ordered almost all the Jews, perhaps 750 people, held hostage to secure his return. The next day, after Łopata could not be located, the Judenrat paid a large bribe to free the hostages.[9]

Shortly before Passover 1942, likely in January, the authorities ordered the Zabłudów Jews concentrated into a more formal ghetto. The ghetto was located on the grounds of the Białostocki, Hertz, and Judelmann tannery factories, between one of the Jewish and the Russian Orthodox cemeteries. Most Jews already lived there. The others were required to relocate to the ghetto, which probably was surrounded by a fence.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans ordered 10 Zabłudów Jews conscripted for weeklong stints on crews repairing and expanding the road from Białystok to Wołkowysk; 10 other Jews daily hewed trees, and another 10 worked at a nearby quarry. Locally, the Gendarmes conscripted Jews to remove Jewish gravestones (*matzevot*) and the stone wall from the cemetery. They were used as paving underlayment on the road construction project. The Judenrat rotated almost all men through the forced labor assignments, even those employed under German supervision at local workshops to manufacture leather goods or as blacksmiths and tailors.[10]

Conscripts assigned to labor outside Zabłudów collected clothing from others to barter for food with farmers near their work sites. Some Jews also sneaked off to Białystok, smuggling themselves into the ghetto there to exchange agricultural goods secured around Zabłudów for homemade necessities, including soap.

The SS, local Gendarmes, and the Polish police liquidated the Zabłudów ghetto on November 2, 1942. Only about 70 Jews managed to hide, in part because many believed they were being transferred to the Prużana ghetto, where many former Jews from Zabłudów already resided.[11] The authorities drove the rest of the Zabłudów Jews to a transit camp located in southern Białystok. The Białystok Judenrat secured the transfer of several Zabłudów Jews, including Wysocki, to

the Białystok ghetto. Fritz Friedel, the official in charge of Jewish affairs (Judenreferent) of the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) Bialystok and the head of the Białystok transit camp, shot the remaining members of the Zabłudów Judenrat. On November 10, 1942, the Zabłudów inmates were sent to the Treblinka extermination camp.[12] They were all gassed on arrival.

Some of the Jews who had evaded deportation to the Białystok transit camp were shot dead during searches for escapees following the Zabłudów ghetto liquidation. Yitzhak Herschel and Abrahamel Fajnman (Feinman) were among the early victims. Children reported the hiding place of Abram Tajchman to authorities. He was shot dead by the Gendarme, or perhaps Schutzmann, Tyberski.[13]

Most Zabłudów fugitives sought shelter in the Białystok ghetto. They almost all were deported to a number of death camps during the liquidation of the ghetto in 1943; only a small number fled. Józel Lewin (Josel Levine) and his son Szymon were sheltered by Belorussian farmers in Gnieciuki village. Łopata, Kapliński, Moshe Flikier, and Izrael Bramzon received assistance from the Daniluk family, also Belorussians, in Solniki village. The aid-giver of David Levine reportedly murdered him near the war's end.[14]

On May 9, 1945, tragedy struck the less than 10 Jewish survivors from Zabłudów. That day, an armed Polish gang, including former auxiliary policeman Zygmunt Kozłowski, opened fire on a party held by the Daniluk family to celebrate the Allied victory. Seven people, including Flikier and two aid-givers, Wlodzimierz and Luba Daniluk, were killed.[15]

In 1949, Friedel was tried in Poland for numerous war crimes related to his administration of the Białystok ghetto and transit camp, including for personally murdering 2,000 Jews, among them the Zabłudów Judenrat members, and for sending 13,000 Jews from the Białystok transit camp to their deaths. Found guilty, he was sentenced to death and executed in 1952. In 1947, Kozłowski was tried for serving as an auxiliary policeman. The state sought the death penalty, but supposedly because a Jewish survivor testified on his behalf, the court sentenced him to an eight-month prison term.[16]

SOURCES A small portion of the memoir *From Białystok to Birkenau: The Holocaust Journey of Michel Mielnicki* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press and Vancouver Holocaust Education Center, 2000) covers the early part of the 1941 German occupation in Zabłudów. The memoir is based on the author's AŻIH, 301/1266, testimony (see below), which also appears in Polish translation in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 356–358.

Testimonies from survivors and some Polish postwar documentation are in Shemu'el Tsesler et al., eds., *Zabludoṿe Yizkor-Bukh* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn fun dem Yizkor-Bukh-Ḳomiṭeṭ tsum tsyantsiḳṣtn yoṛtog fun di ersḥte Yidishe ḳorbone's fun ḥurbn-Zabludoṿe, 1961), with a partial Hebrew translation in Nechama Shmueli-Schmusch, ed., *Zabludow: Dapim mi-tokh yisker-bukh* (Israel: Yots'e Zabludov be-Yisrael, 1987). An English translation of the book's Holocaust sections is available on the Zabludow memorial Web site, at www.zabludow.com. Tilford Bartman, the author of the site, includes English translations of several documents cited below, such as USHMM (IPN) ASG and AŻIH, 301/3602, and provides many unique materials, including correspondence with officials at OKZBH-Bi (IPN-Bi) and Yad Vashem documentation.

Secondary accounts include the relevant entries in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Białystok*, *Nowogródek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 331–335; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 230–235; and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogromy i mordy ludności żydowskiej w Łomżyńskiem i na Białostocczyźnie latem 1941 roku w świetle relacji ocalałych Żydów i dokumentów sądowych," in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. 2, *Studia*, pp. 208–209. Also valuable is Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim," *BŻIH*, no. 60 (1966): 9, 11, tab. 2; and Grzegorz Pietrowski, "Zabłudów okresu międzywojennego i czasu II wojny światowej," available on an APB sponsored Web site, at http://zabludow.polska.pl/historia/article,,id,304270.htm.

Archival documentation pertaining to the Jewish community of Zabłudów during the Holocaust includes AŻIH (e.g., 301[1266, 2416, 2417, 3598, 3602, 3604]); IPN (SAB [20, 35], SOB 135); IPN-Bi (e.g., 1/921, 292/20, S [87/68/1-2]); USHMM (RG-15.019M [IPN], 46/33); VHF (e.g., # 1303, 5984, 14990, 25431, 32893, 35777); and YVA (e.g., M-11/4 [120, 122], M-11/267, M-11B/199, M-49Q/263, M-49E [AŻIH, 301] [2426, 3535, 3604, 3958]).

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NOTES

1. Pinie (Paul) Chorowski testimony, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, pp. 366–367, for flight; AŻIH, 301/1266, testimony of Mendel Melnicki, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:357; Ephraim Rubins testimony, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, p. 402, for expulsion.
2. Żabłudów memorial Web site, Tilford Bartman, introduction to English trans. of USHMM, RG-15.019M (ASG), reel 14, 46/33, pp. 1–2.
3. IPN-Bi, 1/921, vol. 1, p. 49 (deposition, Józef Żyłkowski, April 20, 1973).
4. AŻIH, 301/2417, testimony of Szymon Lewin, p. 1.
5. Respectively, AŻIH, 301/2416, p. 1; Rubins, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, p. 402; AŻIH, 301/3602, testimony of Paltiel Łopata, p. 1.
6. USHMM, RG-15.019M, reel 14, 46/33, pp. 1–2; Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białostockim.
7. AŻIH, 301/2416, testimony of Szymon Lewin, p. 1.
8. YVA, M-11/4/120, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, p. 395.
9. AŻIH, 301/3602, p. 1.
10. Chorowski, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, pp. 373–374.
11. AŻIH, 301/3598, testimony of Józel Lewin, pp. 2–3; Chorowski, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, p. 377.
12. Chorowski, in Tsesler et al., *Zabludoṿe*, p. 377.
13. AŻIH, 301/2417, pp. 2–3; IPN-Bi, 1/921, p. 92.

14. AŻIH, 301/2417, pp. 1–2.
15. Ibid., 301/3602, pp. 2–4. In 2003, Yad Vashem recognized the four-member Daniluk family as Righteous Among the Nations.
16. Ibid., p. 4; IPN, SOB 135.

ZAMBRÓW

Pre-1939: Zambrów (Yiddish: Zembrove), town, Łomża powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zambrov, raion center, Belostok oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zambrow, Kreis Lomscha, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1998: Zambrów, powiat center, województwo podlaskie, Poland

Zambrów lies on the Jabłonka River about 26 kilometers (16.2 miles) south-southeast of Łomża. Its 1937 population of 7,620 included 3,330 Jews.

From September 1, 1939, scores of Jews were killed as Zambrów sustained German aerial bombardment, and then the garrison became engulfed, from September 10–13, by the Battle of Zambrów. After the German XIX Army Corps, commanded by General Heinz Wilhelm Guderian, transformed the garrison's training grounds into a makeshift prison for about 1,200 captured Polish soldiers (Christians and Jews), Wehrmacht soldiers daily robbed Jewish stores and homes. About 50 Jewish civilians were executed before the Germans turned Zambrów over to Soviet forces at the end of September.[1]

The Germans reoccupied Zambrów on June 22, 1941. They immediately invited local Poles to help them identify and round up Jews for forced labor. Together the Germans and their Polish collaborators demolished Jewish-owned stalls at the market square. A few days later, an SS unit appeared to humiliate outwardly religious Jews. The Germans invited local Poles to help them rob Jewish property.[2] By July 20, the German military administration had ordered Jews to wear a yellow Star of David on an armband, forbade Jews from leaving Zambrów without permission, and made forced labor compulsory for all adult Jews. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) also was ordered established. Its chair was Gershon Srebrowicz. The Germans demanded Zambrów Jews pay a large contribution, in cash and valuables, threatening to execute the new council members if it was not forthcoming.

The German military appointed a local administration and an auxiliary police force. Little is known about their composition or subsequent activities. By August 1941, the German military authorities had been supplanted by a German civil administration, headed regionally by Zambrów Amtskommissar Rohr. The Polish auxiliary police was subordinated, as Schutzmänner, to the German Gendarmerie, established in August.

From late July, the SS used labor assignments in the forest of Czerwony Bór as a guise to murder more than a third of the Zambrów Jewish community. The first group of 30 Jews returned safely. A subsequent group of 50 to 90 people was murdered. The largest mass killing occurred on August 19, 1941, when a detachment of Security Police, likely from the Schröttersburg subsection of the Zichenau Gestapo, led by SS-Hauptsturmfuhrer Hermann Schaper, organized 700 to 1,000 Jews supposedly for a "labor detail" near Szumowo Nowe village but instead executed the "laborers" in the part of the forest known as Rząśnik (or Klonowo).[3] The Jews in Zambrów learned almost immediately of the killings, as several Poles told some prominent members of the Jewish community, who in turn informed the Judenrat.[4]

The executions likely provoked a confrontation between the Judenrat and German authorities. The Germans dismissed the Judenrat and appointed a more compliant 10-person council under the leadership of Glicksman, a refugee from Łódź. They ordered a Jewish police force established. Eli Hirsch Siniak was its commander.

After the Rząśnik execution, the Germans announced the establishment of a ghetto. One eyewitness mentions the ghetto was established two weeks after the executions at Rząśnik in July (*sic*), another notes a date of late July or early August 1941, and still others suggest dates in September and October.[5] The ghetto occupied a quarter of the downtown area. It encompassed at least five streets, including Świętokrzyska, Bóżnicza, and a part of Tadeusz Kościuszko, and extended to the Jabłonka River. Initially, the ghetto was not fenced.

The ghetto population officially stood at about 2,000, with its actual census likely twice that, as many Jews sought shelter there from anti-Jewish violence in nearby localities. The Germans also expelled to the ghetto Jews from smaller communities, including Prosienica. The latter either had been held back from or had evaded the German mass execution of their community in August 1941, also at Rząśnik.[6]

The refusal of a few "Polish hooligans" to vacate their houses to make way for the ghetto may have provoked another mass execution in Zambrów.[7] On September 6, 1941, an SS unit arrived to offer lighter work to about 300 elderly and less fit Jews, a group including pregnant women. The Jews were brought behind the railroad station, in Kołaki Kościelne village, and executed together with three quarters of the Jews (about 450 people) of Rutki-Kossaki village and likely too the small Jewish community in Kołaki.[8]

After the killing, the ghetto was fenced and the violence abated, most likely in exchange for a payment of 100,000 Reichsmark (RM) and a kilogram (2.2 pounds) in gold. The Jews worked mostly on rebuilding barracks at the garrison, used by the Germans from January 1942 as a Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camp, Stammlager (Stalag) XII E Zambrow. Jewish laborers cleaned the barracks and houses of camp personnel. In the spring of 1942, forced laborers worked on the Białystok-to-Ostrów Mazowiecka road construction project. They likely were not guarded.[9] Other Jews worked officially for local farmers as agricultural laborers.

Initially, material conditions were not that difficult in the ghetto, as it was only lightly guarded, providing Jews working outside the ghetto opportunities to bring food back. Farmers also entered the ghetto once a week to barter their goods for the Jews' possessions, though the types of products that they

could offer were restricted. Overcrowding posed the largest problem, as six families, about half of them unregistered, typically lived together in a small apartment. The resulting sanitation problems provoked a typhus epidemic. The Judenrat chair, Glicksman, supposedly did little to assist the sick and impoverished; instead, he used the institutions of the Jewish Council to protect Jews with black market wealth. Local Poles continued to denounce Jews as Communists, usually those with whom they wanted to settle scores or financial accounts. The arrested are believed to have been murdered.[10]

On the night of November 1–2, 1942, members of the SS and the Gendarmerie, including local Schutzmänner, surrounded the ghetto in preparation for its liquidation. On November 2, the Jews were expelled to the garrison, a part of which the Germans had transformed into a transit camp to imprison about 17,500 to 20,000 Jews from nearby localities. Although a large number of Zambrów Jews initially evaded the expulsion order, almost all the fugitives, perhaps as many as 2,000 people, either reported voluntarily to the garrison when they could not locate shelter or were rounded up in searches, organized on German orders by local Polish officials, and brought to the Zambrów transit camp.[11]

The SS began liquidating the transit camp around January 10, 1943, by ordering more than 2,000 inmates expelled to the train station in Czyżewo for transport to the Auschwitz extermination camp. The Zambrów Jews were some of the first and last transit camp inmates sent to Auschwitz. They arrived at Auschwitz II-Birkenau in two separate transports, on January 15 and 19, each of which carried about 2,000 people. From the first transport, the Germans held back 217 men and 21 women as prisoners of the camp. From the second transport, which also included Jews from Łomża, the Germans chose as camp inmates 164 men and 134 women. The remaining Jews in the two transports, about 3,500 people, were gassed on arrival.

Few Zambrów Jews lived to see the war's end. Under 10 of the Auschwitz prisoners survived. Another 10 to 15 people were sheltered by Christians or hid in bunkers outside Zambrów. Among them were 3 Stupnik brothers. In Czerwony Bór village when the region's ghettos were liquidated, they eventually forged a small partisan organization composed of about 12 Jews from that village and from Gać village and several Poles. However, the Poles soon turned on the Jews, murdering about half of them. The Stupniks and 3 other survivors retreated to a bunker on the property of a Christian family in Milewo (Szczuczyn gmina and powiat).[12] Also counted among Zambrów survivors is Hersz (or Grzegorz) Smolar, the leader of the resistance in the Mińsk ghetto and the commander of a partisan unit in the Kojdanów (or Nalibocka) Forest.

SOURCES A useful source of published survivor testimonies is the yizkor book, Yom-Tov Levinski, ed., *Sefer Zambrov: Zembrove: Zikaron li-kehilat ha-kodesh she-hushmedah* (Tel Aviv: Ha-Irgunim shel yots'e [Zambrov] be-Artsot hu-Berit, Argentinah be-Yisrael, 1963). An English-language translation, sponsored by the United Zembrover Association, is scheduled to appear on the Museum of Family History Web site, www.museumoffamilyhistory.com. Several memoirs by survivors from other places touch on Jewish life in Zambrów under the German occupation, including Rivka Teyer and Israel Teyer, *The Red Forest*, narrator Izhak Shumowitz, trans. Rachel Luzan (Raanana, Israel: Docostory, 2005); Martin Gray, with Max Gallo, *For Those I Loved*, trans. Anthony White (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).

Secondary accounts include Avraham Wein, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 4, *Warsaw and Its Region* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 209–216; its English-language counterpart in Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. 1, *District Bialystok* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2006), pp. 235–240; Andrzej Zawistowski, "A Short History of Zambrów," on the Museum of Family History Web site; and in Polish, Józef Stanisław Mroczek, *Zambrów. Zarys dziejów* (Białystok: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych w Białymstoku and Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów, 1992); Tomasz Wiśniewski, "Dzieje Gminy Żydowskiej w Zambrowie," *Wiadomości Zambrowskie*, nos. 5–6 (1991): 3–7; and Andrzej Zawistowski, "Zagłada," *Wiadomości Zambrowskie*, no. 2 (38) (1996): 19.

Survivors of the September executions likely were sent to a labor camp established in Łapy, as discussed in Avigdor Ben-Dov, ed., *Deliverance. The Diary of Michael Maik. A True Story*, trans. Laia Ben-Dov (Kedumim, Israel: Keterpress, 2004).

Archival documentation about the fate of the Zambrów Jewish community under German occupation in World War II includes AŻIH (e.g., Ankięty, 301 [1258, 2959, 3159, 3160, 3520, 3533, 3592]); BA-L (e.g., B 162/5863 [205 AR-Z 13/62]); IPN-Bi (56/6-7, S-104/68/1-2, S-500/71); USHMM (e.g., Acc.2000.173, RG-15.079M [AŻIH] [Ring I/899], RG-15.019M [IPN] [2 (172, 191), 14 (46, 81)]); VHF (# 2599, 8605, 11868, 17320, 18137, 32038, 41637, 49409); YVA (e.g., M-1E/1434, M-11/188, M-49E [874, 3159], O-3/10957, O-16 [970, 1258, 1265, 1850, 2249, 2353, 2959, 3159, 3160]).

Some of the material above appears in Polish translation in Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: IPN-KŚZpNP, 2002), vol. 2, *Dokumenty*, pp. 367–369 (AŻIH, 301/1258), pp. 169–174, 175–177 (BA-L, B 162/5863 [205 AR-Z 13/62]), pp. 156–166, 195–199.

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NOTES

1. Moshe Lewinsky testimony, in Levinski, *Sefer Zambrov*, pp. 168–170; AŻIH, 301/1258, testimony of Icchak Stupnik, pp. 1–2, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:367.

2. VHF, # 18137, testimony of Morris Baker (Piekarewicz); AŻIH, 301/3159, testimony of Fajwel Słowik, pp. 1–2.

3. Date from Zawistowski, "Zagłada," p. 19, because the date of August 23, 1941, cited for the "Black Thursday" executions in Levinski, *Sefer Zambrow*, pp. 122–123, 159–164, fell on a Saturday. For suspicions about Schaper's unit, see BA-L, B 162/5863 (205 AR-Z 13/62, Sta. Hamburg 141 Js 223/64).

4. Teyer, *The Red Forest*, p. 81.

5. See AŻIH, 301/1258, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:367–368; BA-L, B 162/5863 (205 AR-Z 13/62), pp. 156–166 (Sosnowska deposition); Lewinsky testimony, in Levinski, *Sefer Zambrov*, pp. 173–177; VHF, # 5872, testimony of Leon Rzepka.

6. Compare Sosnowska and Łupiński testimonies, respectively, at BA-L, B 162/5863 (205 AR-Z 13/62), pp. 156–166; and Jan Żaryn, "Przez pomyłkę. Ziemia łomżyńska w latach 1939-1945. Rozmowa z Ks. Kazimierzem Łupińskim," *Biuletyn IPN*, nos. 8–9 (19–20) (August–September 2003): 113.

7. AŻIH, 301/1258, in Machcewicz and Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, 2:368.

8. USHMM, RG-15.019M (IPN), reel 1, 2/172, pp. 1–2; RG-15.079M (AŻIH), Ring I/899, pp. 1–5, notes 450 Rutki Jews and 300 Zambrów Jews executed.

9. Gray, *For Those*, pp. 162–163.

10. VHF, # 18137, 5872; Yitzchak Golombek testimony, in Levinski, *Sefer Zambrov*, pp. 126–128.

11. AŻIH, 301/2959, testimony of Fajwel Słowik, pp. 2–4; VHF, # 5872.

12. Teyer, *The Red Forest*, pp. 169–172, 174.

ZELWA

Pre-1939: Zelwa, village, Wołkowysk powiat, Białystok województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zel'va, raion center, Grodno oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zelwa, Kreis Wolkowysk, Distrikt Bialystok; post-1991: Zel'va, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zelwa lies on the Zelwianka River about 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) east of Wołkowysk. In World War II, immediately after the Red Army occupied the region in September 1939, the Zel'va raion counted 34,500 native inhabitants, including among others 23,800 Belorussians, 9,300 Poles, and 1,300 Jews. Almost all the Jews resided in Zelwa. Of the 7,000 Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland who subsequently passed through Zelwa, as many as 1,500 may have settled there.[1]

On June 23, 1941, the second day of the German invasion of the USSR, heavy German aerial bombardment set Zelwa ablaze and resulted in the deaths of 80 to 300 Jews.[2] Before the Germans occupied Zelwa on June 27, many Jews fled to places with less extensive devastation, including Dereczyn (and Kolonia Synajska). The remaining Jews crowded together in the only three Jewish houses to have survived the fire.[3]

A unit composed of about 20 SS soldiers, likely from either Sonderkommando 7b, led by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch; or Sonderkommando 8, commanded by Hauptsturmführer Erich Engels, arrived in Zelwa on July 8 or 11, 1941, to appoint a local collaborationist administration.[4] The SS commander named a group of young Polish men to a Jugendpolizei, an auxiliary police force, and charged them with maintaining order in the Jewish community. At an assembly of Jews, he named the rabbi of Zelwa, "Abba" Poupko, the Jewish elder (Judenältester) and sole representative of the Zelwa Jewish community. Upon arriving in Zelwa in the fall of 1941, the Amtskommissar retained these institutions and practices. As a result, neither a Jewish police force nor a Judenrat was established in Zelwa.[5]

At an assembly, the SS commander issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees, including the wearing of yellow markings, on the back and chest, and then chose a man and a woman from among the Jews to demonstrate the punishments for violating the decrees. After flogging the man to death, members of the SS unit publicly gang-raped the woman before beating her to death. The commander next ordered the community's educated members to come forward. He may have added 15 better-dressed Jews to the group. Before executing the 18 to 33 Jews in the Bereszko Forest, the Germans, joined by the newly appointed Polish police, beat and chased the remaining Jews back to Zelwa.[6]

The fire damage contributed to the establishment of an open ghetto in Zelwa. When German civil administrators, including members of the Gendarmerie, arrived in Zelwa, they expelled the Jews from their houses and ordered them to reside instead in the basements of some of the fire-devastated structures.[7] The Zelwa Jews were concentrated together, with several families residing in a single basement. It is unknown if the concentration was a consequence of the fire, with perhaps only a limited number of basements surviving intact, or the result of anti-Jewish decrees, which either had established a distinct Jewish quarter or had ordered war-devastated Jewish houses expropriated and razed for their usable building materials.

Zelwa's location as the easternmost outpost of Distrikt Bialystok, separated from the Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien only by the Zelwianka River, reinforced the open ghetto, as the local German authorities rigidly enforced decrees limiting the Jews to Zelwa. For example, when a ghetto was established in Dereczyn around February 1942, the Gelman family returned to Zelwa but discovered it impossible to remain there, as the Germans closely monitored the Jewish population as part of the search for fugitives from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. For this reason, the family fled to Wołkowysk.[8] Other Dereczyn fugitives note that the Zelwa Jews were "hiding in their basements," a point that suggests the imposition of a curfew or some other type of order that limited Jewish movement within Zelwa.[9]

The Amtskommissar also publicly enforced German decrees on Jewish movement beyond Zelwa. Survivors most remember him for organizing the hanging of seven Jews found outside Zelwa, including five refugees and two native-born butchers, David Vishnivisky and Joshua Niznitsky. He ordered both Jews and Christians to construct the gallows together and then made attendance obligatory for both communities. At the hanging, he announced it was his obligation to execute all Jews found illegally beyond Zelwa's borders. Perhaps because Zelwa was in Distrikt Bialystok, which the Germans treated more as a part of the Reich, the Amtskommissar simultaneously emphasized the legality of his actions by insisting that the condemned confessed to having violated German decrees. The Amtskommissar may have added Poupko to those slated for execution, though another account notes that the Judenältester committed suicide after being forced to participate in the hangings.[10]

The Germans conscripted the Zelwa Jews for forced labor. These workers likely razed fire-damaged structures. By the spring of 1942, many Zelwa Jews worked on the

Wołkowysk-to-Słonim road construction project at tasks such as crushing stone for paving underlayment. Jewish craftsmen labored for the local German administration. At work, some Jews organized for future resistance by stealing arms and ammunition and burying them in the nearby forest.

On November 2, 1942, an SS commander ordered the Zelwa Jews to assemble for deportation by train to a closed ghetto in Wołkowysk. Some 10 to 15 resistance activists fled to the nearby forest. Another approximately 40 Jews—those too infirm to make the trip or found in hiding—were executed. At the railway station, the Zelwa Jews were joined by other nearby Jewish communities, including the approximately 70 residents of the Krzemienica Kościelna Amtskommissariat driven there by local Gendarmes and auxiliary policemen. Whether the approximately 75 to 90 Jewish inhabitants of the pre-war Międzyrzecz gmina, on the southeastern border of Kreis Wolkowysk, were among these prisoners is unknown. It seems likely, as one survivor noted, that 2,400 Jews from Zelwa and other nearby localities were transferred to SS control at the Zelwa train station.[11]

In Wołkowysk, the Zelwa deportees were imprisoned in a transit camp established by the SS at a former Polish cavalry garrison together with the approximately 17,500 other Jews from Kreis Wolkowysk. They lived in deplorable conditions there for about a month until being deported, likely either on November 26 or December 2, 1942, on the second Wołkowysk transport to the Treblinka extermination camp.[12] They all were gassed on arrival.

Most of the Zelwa Jews who had evaded the deportation joined the Pobeda (Victory) Soviet partisan unit. The unit's members, mostly Jewish fugitives from Dereczyn, Piaski, and Wołkowysk, won military distinctions for wartime attacks on German troop trains, supply convoys, and police encampments.[13] Although 80 percent of its approximately 360 Jews were killed in the course of military action, 6 Zelwa partisans survived. Also among the Zelwa survivors are a number of wartime residents of other communities, including several people who fled to still Russian-occupied territory in the first weeks of the 1941 war and at least 8 others who were inmates of other ghettos under the German occupation.

SOURCES Published accounts include *Sefer zikaron Zelṿah* ([Israel]: Irgun yots'e Zelṿah be-Yisrael, 1984), in an English translation as Yerachmiel Moorstein, ed., *Zelva Memorial Book* (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 1992); Moses Einhorn, ed., *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh* (New York, 1949); Noah Kaplinsky, "Volkovysk in Its Death Throes," in *Hurban Volkovisk be-Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah, 1939/1945* (Tel Aviv: Ṿaad irgun yots'e Ṿolḳovisḳ be-Erets-Yisrael, 1946); Katri'el Lashovits, ed., *Volkovisk: Sipurah shel kehilah Yehudit-Tsiyonit hushmedah ba-Sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: K. Lashovits, 1988). The three yizkor books are available in English in the Wołkowysk yizkor book trilogy *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ. The Volkovysk Memorial Book*, trans. Jacob Solomon Berger (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000).

Also useful is the Zelwa entry in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 346–350.

Archival documentation for the Zelwa community in World War II under German occupation includes AŻIH (301/627 and 667); YVA (e.g., O-16/435); and two lists of Zelwa Jews known to have perished under the German occupation in GARF (7021-86-41, pp. 8, 66), with microfilmed copies available at USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 13) and YVA (M-33).

Laura Crago

NOTES

1. Yitshak Resnik, "Krzemienica," in Einhorn, *Volkovisker Yisker-Bukh*, p. 317.

2. Compare Alta Gelman and Emphraim Gelman, "A Family among the Partisans," and Shmuel Yarnivsky, "The Destruction of Zelva," in Moorstein, *Zelva*, respectively, pp. 77 and 104.

3. Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), p. 371.

4. With dates of July 6, 8, and 11, 1941, provided, respectively, in Gelman and Gelman, "A Family," p. 77; AŻIH 301/627, testimony of Mojżesz and Kasriel (or Moshe and Katriel) Słucki, p. 3 (MSS); and Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 374.

5. Alta Gelman and Emphraim Gelman, "The Liquidation of Zelva," in Moorstein, *Zelva*, p. 108.

6. Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 374; and Gelman and Gelman, "A Family," p. 77.

7. Gelman and Gelman, "The Liquidation," p. 108.

8. Alta Gelman and Emphraim Gelman, "My Family," in Moorstein, *Zelva*, pp. 108–109.

9. Moses Einhorn, "Destruction," in Einhorn, *Volkovisker*, p. 952.

10. Compare Mordechai Loshovitz, "Alone in the Forest," with Yerachmiel Moorstein, "The Suicides," in Moorstein, *Zelva*, respectively, pp. 79 and 102.

11. Resnik, "Krzemienica," p. 317.

12. Cited dates, respectively, in *Sefer zikaron Ṿolḳovisḳ*, pt. 3, p. 81; and BLH, Aronzon; with December 5–7, 1942, also mentioned by Yarnivsky, "The Destruction," p. 104.

13. Moses Slutsky, "The Partisans," in Moorstein, *Zelva*, pp. 71–76.

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SECTION V

REICH COMMISSARIAT OSTLAND (REICHSKOMMISSARIAT OSTLAND)

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

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

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

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ESTONIA AND LATVIA REGIONS



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

ESTONIA AND LATVIA REGIONS (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT ESTLAND UND GENERALKOMMISSARIAT LETTLAND)

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Useful reference works include: Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–1979); Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988); Wolfgang Scheffler and Diana Schulle, eds., *Buch der Erinnerung: Die ins Baltikum deportierten deutschen, österreichischen und tschechoslowakischen Juden* (Munich: Saur, 2003); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

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

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

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

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

Martin Dean

NOTES

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


Map Legend
Ghetto
CITY AND GEBIET CENTER
GEBIET CENTER AND GHETTO
Regional border
Gebiet border
Rayon border
Rivers and lakes
0 12.5 25 50 Miles
0 25 50 Kilometers
Ghettos in the Latvia and Estonia Regions
1941 - 1943
Gulf of Riga
Lake Peipus
Lake Võrtsjärv
Tartu
ESTONIA
Ventspils
Valdemarpils
VALMIERA
Military Administration
Gebiet Libau
Kuldiga
Gebiet Wolmar
Gulbene
Balvi
Viļaka
Aizpute
RIGA
LATVIA
Daugava
Saldus
LIEPĀJA
Dobele
JELGAVA
Madona
Gebiet Riga-Land
Kārsava
Jaunjelgava
Krustpils
Jēkabpils
Gostini
Varakļāni
Viļāni
Lūdza
Rēzekne
Bauska
Gebiet Mitau
Gebiet Dünaburg
Zilupe
Preiļi
Aglona
Višķi
Lithuania Region
DAUGAVPILS
Baltic Sea
Silene
N
W
E
S
East Prussia
Weissruthenien Region

ESTONIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT ESTLAND)

TARTU

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

LATVIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT LETTLAND)

AGLONA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

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

AIZPUTE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

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

BALVI

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Balvi during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Balvi," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 69–71; "Balvi," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 83; "Balvi," in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia", "Epos," 2000), 4:76; and Iosif Rochko, "Balvy," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 274–276.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

BAUSKA

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Bauska during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Bauska," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 63–69; "Bauska," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 92; "Bauska," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:88–89; Rita Bogdanova, "Bauska," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 130–133; and Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Latvia; Washington, DC: Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996), p. 212.

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

DAUGAVPILS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

DOBELE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

GOSTINI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

GULBENE

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

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

JAUNJELGAVA

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jaunjelgava during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Jaunijelgava," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 140–145; "Jaunijelgava," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 569; Uldis Lasmanis, "Nairi pilsētas ebreju kopienas gals (holokausts Jaunjelgavā)," in *Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas Raksti, 12. sējums* (Riga, 2004), pp. 278–357; and Rita Bogdanova, "Jaunjelgava," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 134–136.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

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

JĒKABPILS

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES The term "ghetto" is used to describe the confinement of the Jews in Jēkabpils by Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR, 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), p. 91. "Ekabpils," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:427, dates the mass shooting of the Jews on September 12, 1941. Rita Bogdanova, "Ekabpils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 136–137, gives the figure of 418 Jews murdered in Jēkabpils. Additional information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jēkabpils during the Holocaust can be found in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 145–149; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 570–571.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

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

JELGAVA

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Additional information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jelgava during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Jelgava," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 149–159; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 571–572; "Elgava," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:429; and Rita Bogdanova, "Elgava," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 127–130.

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

KĀRSAVA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Published sources include the following: Boris Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii* (Daugavpils, 2003); and Iosif Rochko, "Karsava," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 248–250. The ghetto in Kārsava is also mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 599.

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

Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

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

KRUSTPILS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Krustpils Jews can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 682; Dzintar Ērglis, "A Few Episodes of the Holocaust in Krustpils: A Microcosm of the Holocaust in Occupied Latvia," in Andris Caune, ed., *The Hidden and Forbidden History of Latvia under Soviet and Nazi Occupations 1940–1991* (Riga: University of Riga, 2005), pp. 175–187; Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941–1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: Historical Institute of Riga, 1996); and Iosif Rochko, "Krustpils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 261–269.

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

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

NOTES

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

KULDIGA

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kuldiga in the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Rita Bogdanova, "Kuldiga," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 111–113; "Kuldiga," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 217–221; and "Kuldiga," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 689.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

LIEPĀJA

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Edward Anders

NOTES

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

LŪDZA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Published sources include Aaron Shneer, "Gibel' evreev Ludzy: Dokumental'no-pristrastnoe povestvovanie," in Boris Vol'kovich et al., *Kholokost v Latgalii* (Daugavpils, 2003), pp. 32–53; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 761–762; Max Kaufmann, *Churbn Lettland: Die Vernichtung der Juden Lettlands* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1999), p. 291; and Iosif Rochko, "Ludza," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 218–222.

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

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NOTES

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

MADONA

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Madona during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Madona," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), p. 188; "Madona," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. Urtāns, "Ebreju slepkavošana Madonas apriņķī," in *Latvijas Vēsturnieku komisijas Raksti. 23. sējums* (Riga, 2008), pp. 101–103; and Rita Bogdanova, "Madona," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Extermination of the Jews in Latvia, 1941–1945* (Riga: Society "Shamir," 2008), p. 145.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

PREIĻI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

RĒZEKNE

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

RIGA

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

The liquidation of the Riga ghetto occurred incrementally. On July 8, 1943, Heinrich Himmler issued a secret order to the Riga Gebietskommissar that all Jews had to be confined within concentration camps containing "not less than 1,000 people."[12] This measure removed responsibility for the 11,701 Jews in Riga from the Gebietskommissar.[13] Now the German Security Police was solely responsible for the concentration and exploitation of Jews in Latvia. In the fall of 1943, the Jews of the Riga ghetto were gradually transferred to the authority of the Kaiserwald concentration camp, which had 23 subcamps, mostly composed of work sites, where the Jewish workers were still needed. On November 2, 1943, 2,268 Jews from the Riga ghetto were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp; then the last ghetto inmates, about 4,000 Jews, were transferred to Kaiserwald. This means that about 5,500 Riga ghetto Jews who were working outside the ghetto were also transferred to the authority of the Kaiserwald camp.

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

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

Katrin Reichelt and Martin Dean

NOTES

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

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

SALDUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES For information on the fate of the Jews of Saldus in the Holocaust, see these publications: "Saldus," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 196–197; "Saldus," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1122; and Rita Bogdanova, "Saldus," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 113–114.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

SILENE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

VALDEMARPILS

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Valdemarpils during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Valdemarpils," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 109–110; "Valdemarpils," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1372; "Valdemarpils," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:202; and Rita Bogdanova, "Valdemarpils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 116–117.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

VARAKĻĀNI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES The ghetto in Varakļāni is mentioned in the following publications: "Varaklani," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 112–116; "Varaklani," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1374–1375; "Varakliani," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopedia," "Epos," 2000), 4:205. Additional information on the fate of the Jews of Varakļāni during the Holocaust can be found in Iosif Rochko, "Varakliany," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 228–234; and Frida Michelson, *I Survived Rumbuli* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979).

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

VENTSPILS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES The ghetto in Ventspils is mentioned in the following publications: "Ventspils," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 123–128; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1386; and Rita Bogdanova, "Ventspils," in Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 107–111. The verdict against Grauel, which includes descriptions of the July mass shootings in Ventspils, has been published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 36 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), Lfd. Nr. 760a.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

VIĻAKA

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Viļaka during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Viliaka," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 119–121; Rabbi Menakhem Barkagan, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev v Latvii 1941–1945: Tsikl lektsii* (Riga: SHAMIR, 2007), pp. 250–251; "Vilaka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1396; "Viliaka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:252–253. There is also a testimony by the former political prisoner A. Liede given on November 12, 1944, published in *My obviniaem* (Riga, 1967), pp. 108–111.

VIĻĀNI

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Viļāni during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Vilani," in Dov Levin, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Latvia and Estonia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), pp. 117–119; "Vilani," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1396; "Viliany," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

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

VIŠKI

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

ZILUPE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

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LITHUANIA REGION



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

LITHUANIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT LITAUEN)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Useful reference works include *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–2010); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996); Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010); Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); and Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984).

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

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

Martin Dean

NOTES

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


Ghettos in the Lithuania Region
1941 - 1943
Latvia Region
Baltic Sea
East Prussia
Weissruthenien Region
Žagarė
Mažeikiai
Ylakiai
Akmenė
Viekšniai
Joniškis
Biržai
Seda
Pašvitinys
Onuškis
Linkuva
Pasvalys
Darbėnai
Alsėdžiai
Joniškėlis
Telšiai
Kuršenai
Lygumai
Rokiškis
Palanga
Pakruojis
Vabalninkas
Obeliai
Kretinga
Plungė
ŠIAULIAI
Pumpėnai
Kupiškis
Kamajai
Radviliškis
Užventis
Šeduva
Subačius
Dusetos
Gargždai
Rietavas
PANEVĖŽYS
Užpaliai
Kelmė
Vyžuonos
Salakas
Kražiai
Dukszty
Kvėdarna
Kaltinėnai
Krekenava
Anykščiai
Šiluva
Utena
Švėkšna
Pajūris
Widze
Viduklė
Krakės
Daugieliszki
Naumiestis
Vainutas
Batakiai
Raseiniai
Ignalino
Ariogala
Kėdainiai
Ukmergė
Tauragė
Eržvilkas
Nowe Święciany
Święciany
Hoduciszki
Vendžiogala
Jurbarkas
Seredžius
Babtai
Jonava
Łyntupy
Vilkija
Širvintos
Podbrodzie
Transferred to Lithuania
April 1942
Šakiai
Zapyškis
KAUNAS
Rumšiškės
Kaišiadorys
Mejszagoła
Kiemieliszki
Świr
Michaliszki
Garliava
Bystrzyca
Žiežmariai
Vievis
Worniany
Kudirkos Naumiestis
Darsūniškis
Prienai
Semeliškės
WILNO
Kybartai
Troki
Ostrowiec
Vilkaviškis
Gudogaj
Virbalis
Marijampolė
Dnuškis
Soly
Smorgonie
Butrimonys
Żuprany
Oszmiana
Alytus
Krewo
Rudamina
Holszany
Lazdijai
Seirijai
Merkinė
Map Legend
Ghetto
GEBIET CENTER AND GHETTO
Regional border
Gebiet border
Rayon border
0 10 20 40
Miles
Kilometers
N
W
E

AKMENĖ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LYA, 3377-55-111, pp. 75–76, testimony of accused J., November 21, 1944. J. was present at the shootings of Jews in Mažeikiai in August 1941 and subsequently served in the police battalion led by Impulevicius.
2. As quoted by Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 178.

ALSĖDŽIAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

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

ALYTUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

ANYKŠČIAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Martin Dean

NOTES

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

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

ARIOGALA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Ariogala during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Ariogala," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Ariogala," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 135–138; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 54.

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

BABTAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

BATAKIAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

BIRŽAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

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

BUTRIMONYS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

BYSTRZYCA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

DARBĖNAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

DARSŪNIŠKIS

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the elimination of the Jews in Darsūniškis can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); and "Darsuniskis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 212–214. The ghetto in Darsūniškis is also mentioned in: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 295; and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 368.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

DAUGIELISZKI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Relevant publications include Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1170–1184; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 99–100; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6. The ghetto in Daugieliszki is mentioned also in: Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 154; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 298.

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

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NOTES

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

DUKSZTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Martin Dean

NOTES

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

DUSETOS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Samuel Fishman and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

ERŽVILKAS

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

Eržvilkas, Jurbarkas rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Eržvilkas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 157–158; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 368–369; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 195.

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

GARGŽDAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

GARLIAVA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

GUDOGAJ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

HODUCISZKI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

HOLSZANY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Holszany during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Shepsl Kaplan, "In di yorn fun der deytsher yidnoysrotung," in *Lebn un umkum fun Olshan* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Olshan in Israel, 1965), pp. 169–190; M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kahilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization in Israel and Oshmaner Society in the USA, 1969); "Gol'shany," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 323; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 523; and "Holszany," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 283–286.

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

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

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

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

IGNALINO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

JONAVA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. For a description of the flight from Jonava, see Jesaiah Ivensky (Sidney Iwens), "My Years of Agony," in Noi, *Sefer Yanovah*, pp. 15–17. See also by the same author, Sidney Iwens, *How Dark the Heavens* (New York: Shengold, 1990).

2. Efraim Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," in Noi, *Sefer Yanovah*, p. 373. This article is reproduced from "Joneve," in *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 10 (December 1947): 64–69.

3. Reizl David (Rashkes), "Der anfang fun khurbn," in Noi, *Sefer Yanovah*, p. 383.

4. Zilberman, "Aufn groysn masnkhever," p. 373.

5. Ibid., pp. 373–374.

6. Ibid., p. 374—this source dates the first Aktion in early August. Also see RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

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

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

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

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

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

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

JONIŠKĖLIS

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

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

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

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

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

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Joniškėlis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Joniškėlis," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 321–323; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 577; and "Ionishkelis," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Rossiikaia Akademia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi-fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), p. 511.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

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

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

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

JONIŠKIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

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

JURBARKAS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Further testimony from a member of the Jurbarkas police states:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Puisyte, "Holocaust in Jurbarkas."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KAIŠIADORYS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTES

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

KALTINĖNAI

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTE

1. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

KAMAJAI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NOTE

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

KAUNAS

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

two months after its enclosure, the ghetto consisted of two separate areas: the "large ghetto" alongside the Neris River and the "small ghetto" to the west, connected by a wooden footbridge. Until its transformation into a concentration camp in the fall of 1943, the ghetto was reduced in size several times; simultaneously, the living space officially allocated to each ghetto inmate shrank dramatically.[5]

Elkes and his Ältestenrat met for the first time on August 17, 1941, before the Germans initiated a series of mass executions that claimed the lives of almost half the Jewish population in Kaunas. In an atmosphere dominated by confusion, fear, and desperation, the disparate gathering of men that formed the Jewish Council established a range of institutions designed to reconcile the irreconcilable: to alleviate the plight of the ghetto inmates, on the one hand, and to fulfill German demands, on the other. In 1942, the council supervised through its secretariat (headed by Avraham Golub [later Tory]) the work of the ghetto police and offices for health, labor, economics, food supply, housing, and welfare; there was also a fire brigade, a paint and sign workshop, a pharmacy, a hospital, a statistics office, and at times, a court, as well as education and residents' records offices.[6] (After August 1942, the Ältestenrat consisted of Elkes as chairman, his deputy Leib Garfunkel, Jacob Goldberg, and Avraham Golub as secretary.)[7]

Invariably, the administration of shortages and hardship affected some groups—the old, the young, the poor, and those without connections to the ghetto leadership—more than others. The Ältestenrat and its agencies, most notably the ghetto Jewish Police, could not avoid becoming key instruments for the implementation of German policies. In the eyes of most ghetto inmates, however, Elkes's personal integrity remained untarnished at the time as well as after the war, in contrast to the experience of certain other major ghettos in Eastern Europe. Avoiding the abuse of its powers, the Ältestenrat tried to uphold minimal legal standards and to appeal to the sense of duty of those administering its decisions. Perhaps the most symbolic measure taken by the Ältestenrat with a view towards fostering a sense of collective identity was the swearing in of the police on November 1, 1942; roughly one week after the Jewish Police had rounded up those Jews who were to be deported to Riga.[8]

Another aspect specific to the Kaunas Ältestenrat was its support for the underground inside and outside the ghetto. Resistance groups had emerged in the ghetto shortly after its closure and by early 1942 had consolidated along Zionist and leftist lines. Under the circumstances, contacts had to be highly clandestine to prevent the Ältestenrat from being implicated in resistance activities by the Germans; yet Elkes as well as his deputy Garfunkel became members of the Zionist umbrella organization "Matzok," and even the Jewish Police supported underground activities. The Ältestenrat also tried to document the ghetto history by secretly compiling evidence of German atrocities. Organized resistance efforts focused less on preparing a mass uprising in the ghetto than on preparing the way into hiding for as many Jews as possible. In the summer of 1943, the underground established close ties with resistance groups outside the ghetto, especially in the forests, that helped hundreds of Jews to escape from the ghetto.[9]

As in other ghettos, in Kaunas work was perceived as the key prerequisite for collective survival: all men aged 16 to 57 and women 17 to 46 performed forced labor. Jews worked in ghetto workshops (established in December 1941) or, more frequently, outside in construction brigades. Several thousand Jews left the ghetto every day for the city and its surroundings, one of the most notorious assignments being the Aleksotas airfield construction site, with almost 3,500 laborers in the spring of 1942. Elkes and his men tried to rotate assignments to this brigade by alternating with people from other less-exhausting details; at the same time, the daily quota of workers set by the Germans had to be met.[10]

Against all odds, ghetto inmates tried to eke out a living and to uphold hope for survival. The Jewish Council added to the official starvation rations by cultivating gardens or smuggling in food; often transgressing the limits of its functions as defined by the Germans, it created facilities to educate children and to prevent the already appalling health conditions from further deteriorating and tried to preserve a minimum of cultural life, for example, through concerts by the police orchestra and observing religious holidays as well as through exhibitions of art created in the ghetto.[11] For a few weeks in the summer of 1942, there was even room for a unique pastime when the Jews were permitted to bathe in the Neris River.[12]

It is estimated that of the roughly 40,000 Jewish inhabitants of Kaunas, only 2,000 survived the war. Most of the victims were killed in mass executions in the first six months of the German occupation; ghettoization itself went hand in hand with the extermination of those regarded as either dangerous or useless. Three days after the ghetto was enclosed, 711 Jews were shot as members of the "intelligentsia"; on September 26, 1941, Jäger's men murdered 1,608 more ghetto inmates, among them 615 women and 581 children, in an Aktion legitimized as a reprisal for an alleged attack on a German police officer.[13]



A musical performance in the Kaunas ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #10920, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

On October 4, 1941, 1,845 Jews, including 818 children, were killed during the liquidation of the "small ghetto."

At the end of October, the ghetto went through what survivors remember as the "large Aktion": on October 28, German police selected from among the ghetto population assembled in Demokratu Square roughly 10,000 victims as "unfit for labor," almost half of them children. An estimated 30 people died from exhaustion on the assembly square; those who had tried to hide were killed in their houses, the 10,000 "unfit" were escorted to Fort IX, where they were shot into mass graves one day later. According to Jäger, some 15,000 "work Jews" (*Arbeitsjuden*) and their families were left alive for the time being.[14] Not only in scale but also in the manner of their conduct, these mass murders set a precedent; they incorporated elements that later became standard features of the "Final Solution" all across Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe. The expansion of the killings to include women and children on a massive scale and the "selection" of the "unfit," as performed during the "large Aktion" in the Kaunas ghetto, resembled the procedure adopted much later at the "Rampe" in the Auschwitz II-Birkenau killing center.

In Kaunas, a so-called quiet period followed the organized carnage of the second half of 1941: a time span of almost two years in which the brutal and often deadly "normalcy" of ghetto life replaced the mass killings of ghetto inmates. In this phase, everyday persecution took the form of countless German orders, for example, stipulating that Jews caught trying to smuggle food would be shot, or of assaults on the ghetto inmates.[15] At the same time, Kaunas remained the site of mass killings: in November 1941, almost 5,000 deported German Jews bypassed the ghetto and went straight to the killing fields at Fort IX; other transports from the west followed.[16] Bitter cold, starvation, disease, and desperation continuously drained the life of the ghetto inmates; for the period between June 1942 and July 1943, the Ältestenrat reported an average monthly death rate of roughly 20 people.[17]

The separation of tasks that the Germans enforced after the establishment of the Kaunas ghetto—with Jäger's office in charge of security matters, the Stadtkommissariat regulating the ghetto administration, and the Ältestenrat as executor of German demands—remained in place until the summer of 1942, when the civil administration and the Security Police curtailed the functions of Elkes's council. The civil administration took over the management of the large ghetto workshops in mid-June 1942; less than two months later, an identification card was introduced for all ghetto inhabitants. In early July 1942, the Security Police gave additional powers to its collaborators Joseph Serebrovitz (aka Caspi) and Benno Lipzer vis-à-vis the Ältestenrat and supported "clandestine agents" in the ghetto.[18]

In a seemingly "stable" situation, characterized, in the words of Avraham Tory, by "'normal' arrests, various persecutions, and excesses," the determination of the Germans to finish what they had started became visible in a number of incidents: the deportation of several hundred ghetto Jews to work in Riga in late October 1942; the public hanging of Nahum Meck in November 1942 for smuggling, accompanied by the arrest of three members of the Ältestenrat; and the execution of several dozen Jews in the "Stalingrad Aktion" of February 1943.[19] As planned by Jäger and Stahlecker as early as the summer of 1941, pregnancies and births in the ghetto were officially prohibited in July 1942; whoever violated this order was threatened with the death penalty.[20]

In the spring of 1943, following mass executions in other ghettos in Lithuania, organized efforts to escape from the Kaunas ghetto to the forests intensified, with the help of the Ältestenrat.[21] Simultaneously, German persecution increased as a result of Himmler's order of mid-June 1943 to transform all ghettos in Reichskommissariat Ostland into concentration camps. In Kaunas, the transition from ghetto to concentration camp was extended over several months. The formal transfer of authority to the SS under concentration camp commander Wilhelm Göcke took place on September 15, 1943. For information about this transition and the period of the concentration camp, readers are referred to the entry in Volume I of this series (**Kauen Main Camp,** pp. 848–852).

While survivors of the Kaunas ghetto played a major role after 1945 in collecting testimonies on German crimes in Lithuania,[22] it took decades until the history of the ghetto received appropriate attention in public memory. Until the early 1990s, the official Soviet commemoration of Nazi crimes and the sentencing of Nazi collaborators dominated perceptions in Lithuania. Lithuanians felt more reluctant to deal with the issue, but since the country became independent in 1991, discussion of Lithuania's role in the Holocaust has been more critical.[23]

The efforts to bring the perpetrators to justice remained haphazard, as many successfully escaped their responsibility. Karl Jäger committed suicide in June 1959 when German prosecutors started investigating the wartime activities of his unit in Kaunas. Against Helmut Rauca, a former member of Jäger's Security Police office who supervised the "selection" of ghetto inmates during the "large Aktion," investigations were initiated in his new homeland, Canada, as well as in Ger-

many, where he died in custody in 1983. The U.S. Department of Justice has conducted several denaturalization proceedings since the 1970s against former members of Lithuanian auxiliary police units. Together with the archival documentation and survivor testimonies available, partly in published form, the material generated in the course of postwar investigations provides unique insights into the history of the Kaunas ghetto.

SOURCES Among the most significant published source editions are the following: Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); Solly Ganor, *Light One Candle: A Survivor's Tale from Lithuania to Jerusalem* (New York: Kodansha International, 1995); Reinhard Kaiser and Margarete Holzman, eds., *"Dies Kind soll leben." Die Aufzeichnungen der Helene Holzman 1941–1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling, 2000); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, ed., *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970); Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Of the many secondary works related to the Kaunas ghetto, the following are recommended for further reading: Wolfgang Benz and Marion Neiss, eds., *Judenmord in Litauen: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin: Metropol, 1999); Christoph Dieckmann, "Das Ghetto und das Vernichtungslager in Kaunas 1941–1944," in Ulrich Herbert, Karin Orth, and Christoph Dieckmann, eds., *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1998), pp. 439–471; Dov Levin, *Fighting Back: Lithuanian Jewry's Armed Resistance to the Nazis, 1941–1945* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985); Dina Porat, "The Holocaust in Lithuania: Some Unique Aspects," in David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 159–174; and U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, ed., *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1998). For a more comprehensive listing of secondary works, see "Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto: An Annotated Bibliography," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12:1 (1998): 119–138.

Documentation on the history of the Kaunas ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 207 AR-Z 14/58); LCVA (collections R 973 and R 1390: documents on the history of the Kaunas ghetto; R 731 and R 972: Security Police and SD in Lithuania [copies also available at USHMM]; LVVA (1026-1-3); LYA; USHMM (Acc.1995.A.989: Esther Lurie collection; "Tory collection of German laws," acquired for the Museum's Kaunas ghetto exhibition; and many oral testimonies); and YVA (B/12-4: Kovne Ghetto).

Jürgen Matthäus

NOTES

1. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 8, June 30, 1941, N-Document NO-4543; "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereiche des Ek 3 bis jetzt durchgeführten Exekutionen," September 10, 1941; "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereich des Ek 3 bis zum 1. Dezember 1941 durchgeführten Exekutionen," December 1, 1941; "Exekutionen bis zum 1. Februar 1942 durch das Ek 3," February 9, 1942, RGVA, 500-1-25 (microfilm copy at USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 183).

2. Tory's *Surviving* offers the most complete account of the history of the Kaunas ghetto.

3. Order no. 15 by the Lithuanian military commander and mayor (Bobelis/Palciauskas), July 10, 1941, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Documents Accuse*, pp. 133–134; memorandum by Jewish Committee, July 5, 1941, YVA, B/12-4, folder 109, printed in Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 29–30.

4. See Tory collection of German laws (entry for August 30, 1942), USHMM; Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 67, 97–98, 114, 403–407.

5. For reductions in ghetto size and allocated living space per person, see LCVA, R 1390-3-25, pp. 2ff.; and the documents of the secret ghetto archive printed in USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 151–154.

6. See USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 77–110; LCVA, R 973-3-4 (entry for August 17, 1941), R 973-2-7, pp. 84, 87.

7. See Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 103–104, 123.

8. See ibid., pp. 148–150; USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 34–35.

9. See USHMM, *Hidden History*, pp. 38–39.

10. Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 74, 81–86, 89–90.

11. See LCVA, R 973-2-40 (monthly reports by Ältestenrat).

12. Tory collection of German laws (entry for July 7, 1942), USHMM.

13. See Tory, *Surviving*, p. 38.

14. Fragmentary report by Einsatzkommando 3 regarding Jews, n.d. (early 1942), LVVA, 1026-1-3, pp. 268–273, excerpts published in Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus, *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland,"* pp. 174–176; investigative report by the prosecutor's office (Oberstaatsanwaltschaft) at Landgericht Frankfurt, November 16, 1965, BA-L, ZStL, 207 AR-Z 14/58, pp. 432–434.

15. For reports on daily violence in the ghetto, see, e.g., LCVA, R 973-2-47, pp. 12–13 (rape, October 11, 1941); R 973-2-32, pp. 102–103 (raid on ghetto by Lithuanians, December 12–13, 1941); R 973-2-46, pp. 118–120 (murder, January 8, 1942).

16. As for many other places of deportation in the east, no complete listing exists of all transports from the west to Kaunas. In January 1942, the Kaunas ghetto Ältestenrat prepared for the arrival of German Jews (see ibid., R 973-2-33, p. 620; R 1390-3-7, p. 6); the deportees never entered the ghetto but were shot at Fort IX.

17. Monthly reports of the Ältestenrat in ibid., R 973-2-40; based on these reports, see the compilation of deaths, births, marriages, and divorces in Benz, Kwiet, and Matthäus, *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland,"* p. 220.

18. See Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 97–105, 120–122, 127–129, 165.

19. Ibid., pp. 148, 153–156, 189–196 (quote: 189).

20. Compilation of German orders, USHMM; YVA, B/12-4; Tory, *Surviving*, p. 114. See also LCVA, R 1390-3-15, p. 7.

21. On the flow of information from Vilnius and other sites of mass execution, see Tory, *Surviving*, pp. 273–292.

22. See Israel Kaplan, ed., *Fun letstn Khurbn: Tsaytshrift far geshikhte fun yidishn lebn beysn natsi-rezhim* (Munich: Central Historical Commission at the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zone, 1946–1948).

23. Memorials were created at Fort IX and on the site of the former ghetto; files on Soviet war crimes investigations against Lithuanian collaborators are kept at LYA (see also USHMM, RG-26.004M).

KĖDAINIAI

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

Kėdainiai is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Kaunas. In 1923, the Jewish population was 2,499. On the eve of the German invasion, there were about 2,500 Jews in Kėdainiai.[1]

German forces captured Kėdainiai on June 24, 1941. In the short time available, some younger Jews tried to flee into the Soviet interior, but most were forced back by the rapid German advance or lost their lives on the roads. At least 2 Jews were murdered in the first days of the occupation, as Lithuanian "hooligans" went on a rampage. Immediately, local Lithuanian nationalists, including many from the educated middle class, formed a town administration. The local mayor was a man named Povilios, and a police force was established under the command of Vincas Mimavičius. At the end of June 1941, 30 Lithuanian partisans arrested about 100 Jews who were accused of being Communists and having collaborated with the Soviets. The partisans marched them through town in their underwear to the Babenai Forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where they shot them.[2]

The new Lithuanian administration implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with yellow Stars of David, were ordered to perform forced labor, and were not permitted to maintain any relations with non-Jews. Local antisemites beat and plundered the Jews with impunity. Forced labor tasks included sorting out bombs left behind by the Soviets at the airfield, under close supervision by the Lithuanian police. About 10 Jews were killed during this work.[3]

On July 23, 1941, a second Aktion was carried out in Kėdainiai. On that day, Germans from Einsatzkommando 3 and Lithuanian policemen arrested 95 Jews (83 men and 12 women), as well as 15 Russian and 15 Lithuanian Communists.[4] They transported the prisoners on six trucks about 10 kilometers (6 miles) into the Taučiūnai Forest and then shot them. In return for a large sum, a local Lithuanian informed the remaining Jews of the fate of those arrested, but initially their relatives were reluctant to believe that it was true.[5]

At the start of August 1941, on the order of Dočkus, the head of the Kėdainiai district, Mayor Povilios established a ghetto in the town. He instructed the Jewish leaders that the remaining Jews in Kėdainiai had to vacate their homes within 24 hours and move onto Smilgia Street to the synagogue; this area, together with the surrounding lanes up to Gaidiminiu Street, was surrounded with barbed wire.[6] On August 14, 1941, Jews from the village of Žeimiai were resettled into the ghetto.[7] On the same day, 200 Jews were also resettled there from the village of Šėta. Others were brought in from Josvaniai. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, and almost all food reserves were used up. The inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and outbreaks of typhus. Povilios ordered the Jews in the ghetto to pay a "contribution" of 100 rubles per head, threatening to destroy the community if the sum was not paid. People gave up their last rubles to meet this demand.[8] Some Jewish youths wanted to flee to the forests and hide, but the community leaders urged them not to, lest they should endanger the entire community.

On August 16, 1941, on the orders of the director of the police department in Kaunas, all men over the age of 15 in the ghetto were rounded up. Women who allegedly "in the years of the Russian occupation worked for the Bolsheviks and at the present time continued with the same kind of insolent work" were also seized.[9] In total, 730 men and 183 women were arrested and imprisoned in the barn of the Kėdainiai School of Technology, under close guard. The men were held separately from the women. Among the men were 19 students from the Mir Yeshiva who had arrived in 1939–1940 and had not managed to escape.[10] The prisoners were held under terrible conditions, with almost no food and water for 13 days. The Lithuanian guards deprived them of their last few possessions. Each day they were transported to various forced labor tasks.[11]

On August 27, 1941, district head Dočkus called a meeting to coordinate the destruction of the Jews. About 150 Lithuanians attended, including municipal employees, 20 technology students, 20 railroad workers, and Lithuanian partisans. A German officer addressed the group, saying that it was necessary to help Germany destroy its enemies: the Jews of Kėdainiai. A former bank clerk, Kungys, then spoke, also calling on the assembled Lithuanian patriots to help destroy the Jews, accusing them of having helped the Bolsheviks bring Soviet rule to Lithuania.[12] Those attending the meeting were then assigned to three separate groups: one for escorting the Jews, one for guarding the ghetto, and a third for taking care of the site of the shooting. Volunteer shooters came forward from among the crowd.

The next day, forces of Einsatzkommando 3, Lithuanian policemen, and other local personnel assembled and were issued ammunition. Not everyone from the meeting the previous day chose to show up. First, the sick and the elderly were transported on trucks to the killing site in a ravine 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) northwest of the city, on the road to Dotnuva near the Smilga stream. Here, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) threw the old people into the pit like sacks before they were fired on. The Jewish men were escorted from the Technology School on foot and were made to undress at the pits. During the shooting of the men, there were several individual acts of resistance. One Jew, Zadok Schlapoberskii, a former officer in the Lithuanian army, managed to grab a pistol from a Lithuanian guard and wounded the German commandant as they grappled with each other, falling into the pit. Other Lithuanian guards jumped in and bayoneted Schlapoberskii, but not before he wounded a Lithuanian, Aleksas Cižas, sufficiently to kill him. Two other Jews were shot as they attempted to flee.[13]

Last to be shot were the women and children; some children were merely tossed into the pit to be buried alive. To cover the screams of the victims, the Lithuanians revved the engines of their vehicles. The shooting lasted until evening, and the murderers had brought with them large quantities of vodka and beer. Present at the site was Mayor Povilios, the high school principal, and a young Catholic priest.[14] Among those who participated directly in the shooting were a restaurant owner, students from the College of Technology, railroad employees, and the manager of the power station. At the end, the Soviet POWs spread lime over the grave, and Police Chief Kurkitis gave his men permission to return home. In total, the few Germans present and their Lithuanian collaborators shot 2,076 people (710 men, 767 women, and 599 children).[15]

Local Lithuanians saw piles of tefillin and even baby's comforters next to the bloody grave site just after the massacre. They observed the ground moving over the following days as gas escaped from the grave. Locals looted the empty ghetto.[16] The more valuable property was taken by the Germans and the police, with less valuable property being sold to the local population at fixed prices. Only three Jews from the Kėdainiai ghetto, Chaim Ronder, Shmuel Smulasky, and Benzel Berger, are known to have survived the massacre by escaping from the ghetto or successfully hiding. They then managed to hide with local farmers before joining the Soviet partisans later in the war.[17]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kėdainiai during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: David Volpe, "Keydan," *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 10 (December 1948): 48–56—a Hebrew version is in Yosef Krust, ed., *Kaidan: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Kaidan be-Yisrael, be-hishtatfutam shel yotse Kaidan be-Derom-Afrikah uve-Artsot-he-Berit, 1977), pp. 229–233, and an English version in David E. Wolpe, *I and My World: Autobiography* (Johannesburg: Dov-Tov, 1997), pp. v–x; *A Jew in the Forest* (New York, 1955); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 345; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 199–202; "Kedainiai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 581–589; "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," published on the Web at jewishgen.org; and Arūnas Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai Ir Laikinos Izoliaviavimo Stoyvyklos 1941–1943 Metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 168–169.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kėdainiai during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA (R 683-2-2); LYA (33777-55-156); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-50.473*102 and 103); and YVA (e.g., O-53/21, M-1/E/1415 and 1568).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Volpe, "Keydan," p. 49.
2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 581–589; Volpe, "Keydan," p. 49; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 290.
3. Volpe, "Keydan," p. 50.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 110, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 10, 1941; Volpe, "Keydan," p. 51.
5. Bronstein *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 345.
6. Testimony of Chaim Ronderis, October 7, 1957, in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, vol. 2 pp. 136–137; and Volpe, "Keydan," p. 51.
7. LCVA, R 683-2-2, p. 20, report of the head of the police force in Žeimiai, August 15, 1941.
8. Testimony of Chaim Ronderis, October 7, 1957; Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 345.
9. Citation from the order of V. Reivitis, the director of the police department, August 14, 1941, in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, eds., *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 159.
10. Report of the head of the police force in Kėdainiai, August 17, 1941, in ibid., p. 215; Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 202.
11. Bronstein *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 345; and "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available via jewishgen.org.
12. LYA, 33777-55-156, pp. 112–113, testimony of Edvardas Miceika to the KGB, July 14, 1945, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 290–291.
13. "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns"; and Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 291.
14. Wolpe, *I and My World*, pp. viii–ix.
15. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
16. USHMM, RG-50.473*102 and 103.
17. "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns."

KELMĖ

Pre-1940: Kelmė (Yiddish: Kelm), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kelmė/Kel'me, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kelme, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kelmė, rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kelmė is located 100 kilometers (62.5 miles) northwest of Kaunas. In 1940, there were 2,000 Jews living in Kelmė.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941, and the majority of the Jewish homes burned down during the fighting. A number of Jews fled the town to the east, and those Jews who lost their homes were accommodated in the few remaining Jewish houses, as well as on several Jewish farms near the town.

A few days after the occupation of the town, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration. The mayor was a Lithuanian named Cesnys, and the chief of police was a man

named Barkauskas (or possibly Kurkauskas).[1] On or just before July 1, all the Jews were required to gather in the marketplace and listen to a virulent antisemitic address by the authorities, which insisted that "all Jews should be imprisoned in camps, since they were responsible for the war." Then on July 1, 1941, the town administration ordered the Jews to wear yellow Stars of David, and the able-bodied men were separated from the women.

The Jewish women, children, and elderly people who were still in the town were resettled to seven Jewish-owned farms scattered in the countryside around the town, which formed a kind of rural ghetto. According to Haya Roz, "[T]he Jews in these farms lived relatively freely and worked on the farms in the area. There were no guards, but they were forbidden to leave the farm. One boy was shot by Lithuanians for going from one farm to another."[2] Another survivor, Jaakov Zak, noted that there were no guards around the farms, but the Lithuanians would come and rob the Jews.[3]

At the same time, the able-bodied men were moved to a camp in the granary of Zunda Lunts, which was closely guarded by the Lithuanians. Under armed Lithuanian escort, the men were sent out from there daily to perform various labor tasks, including cleaning the town and clearing away rubble. For their labors, the Jews received one cup of coffee with a piece of bread in the morning and evening and a bowl of watery soup with a little grain at midday. While working, the Jews were humiliated and beaten by the Lithuanian guards and by local antisemites. On one occasion, 11 Jews whose poor health kept them from working were shot dead in the Jewish cemetery. In addition to this group murder, individual killings of Jews also took place.[4] The Jewish farm owners were not taken to the granary of Zunda Lunts. They were ordered to keep running their farms and to provide work for the Jews from the granary.

On July 29, 1941, the first large-scale Aktion took place in Kelmė. On July 28, Lithuanian guards assembled all the Jews from the various farms at the Grušewskis farm and conducted a selection there. Then some of the women and children were sent back to the farms. On July 29, most of the Jews from the Lunts granary, apart from 36 who were left alive,[5] were also taken to a gravel quarry near the Grušewskis farm, where they were shot together with those women and children who had been kept at the Grušewskis farm overnight. According to the estimate of Haya Roz, about 1,200 Jews were shot altogether. Jaakov Zak notes also that several groups of Jews were shot throughout the day and that he learned from two Lithuanian students that all the Jews from Vaiguva and a great part of the Jews from the Jewish-owned farms had been shot to death. Zak was taken to sort out the belongings of the murdered Jews and recognized the clothes of his father, uncle, and other relatives.[6]

On August 22, 1941, a second Aktion was carried out in Kelmė. The remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly from the farms, along with the few Jewish workers still at the Lunts granary, were taken to the gravel quarry near the Grušewskis farm and shot there by the Lithuanians.[7]

A number of Jews managed to escape from the farms before the second Aktion and sought refuge with local peasants. Only a few Jews survived, as many people were betrayed by the peasants or were caught by the Lithuanian policemen and partisans.[8] When the Germans were driven from Kelmė in 1944, only 15 of the Jews who came under German occupation were known to be alive.

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews of Kelmė can be found in the following publications: "Kelme," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 10 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), p. 902; Idah Markus-Kerbelnik and Bat-Sheva Levitan-Kerbelnik, eds., *Kelm—'Ets Karut* (Tel Aviv, 1993)—an English translation is available on jewishgen.org; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 598–604; and *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 350–352.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: USHMM (RG-50.120*0105); VHF (e.g., # 24630); and YVA (O-71/46, 48).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YVA, O-71/46, testimony of Jaakov Zak, 1948; O-71/48, testimony of Haya Roz, 1948.
2. Ibid., O-71/48.
3. Ibid., O-71/46.
4. Ibid.; "The End of the Road for the Jews of Kelmė," in Markus-Kerbelnik and Levitan-Kerbelnik, *Kelm—'Ets Karut*, pp. 47–63.
5. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 400.
6. Markus-Kerbelnik and Levitan-Kerbelnik, *Kelm—'Ets Karut*, pp. 47–63. YVA, O-71/48, estimates the number of victims on July 29 at 1,200. Also see O-71/46. Soviet sources indicate that after the occupation 483 corpses of men, women, and children were found in a mass grave 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) north of Kelmė; see Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 598–604.
7. Markus-Kerbelnik and Levitan-Kerbelnik, *Kelm—'Ets Karut*, pp. 47–63.
8. YVA, O-71/46.

KIEMIELISZKI

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

Kiemieliszki is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were 27 Jewish families residing in the village.

German forces occupied the village at the end of June 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Kiemieliszki. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kiemieliszki was initially incorporated into Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Kiemieliszki. Jews marked their clothing with the Star of David, were forced into heavy labor, and were prohibited from leaving the village. The Jewish population was also subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local auxiliary police, which initially consisted mainly of local inhabitants of Belorussian and Polish ethnicity.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Kiemieliszki. It was organized by the head of the local police, Ivan Lazugo, and the head of the local administration, Boleslav Legovec. It consisted of several houses, which were enclosed by a fence and guarded by the local police. Jews left the ghetto daily to perform forced labor.[1]

The number of Jews in the ghetto increased steadily in the fall and winter of 1941–1942, as survivors of the massacres in nearby places, including Niemenczyn and Podbrodzie, made their way there, as it was one of the few ghettos remaining in the area. Despite the strict rules against accepting newcomers, the Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Brumberg, did its best to accommodate the arrivals and provide them with shelter and work.[2] In early 1942, a number of Jewish youths were rounded up and taken away for forced labor.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Kiemieliszki was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and now became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and police.[3] Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living in the ghettos in this region were a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[4]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 24, 1942, when a Security Police detachment from Wilno, with the assistance of local police, shot more than 350 Jews in the forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the village, including a number of Jews brought in from other places at this time.[5] On October 27, 1942, the head of the Judenrat in Wilno, Jacob Gens, reported that the Germans had liquidated the ghettos in Bystrzyca and Kiemieliszki during the previous week. He regretted that no Jewish Police from the Wilno ghetto had been present, as "all the Jews were shot there without any distinction."[6] According to one report, however, some of the Jews may have been transferred to the ghetto in Michaliszki.[7] After the ghetto's liquidation, former Jewish houses were sold to local inhabitants for building material.

A few Jews from Kiemieliszki managed to flee the ghetto and survived in hiding with non-Jews in the region. Among them were Bronia Wluka, who escaped from the ghetto and lived on the Aryan side, and Hadassah Rozen, who narrowly escaped being shot when a non-Jew, who knew her from the Kiemieliszki ghetto, denounced her.[8]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Kiemieliszki can be found in these publications: Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), pp. 164–166; Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 115–116; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 312–313; "Kiemieliszki," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 552–554; Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim veshalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1389–1390; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Gosudarstvennyi komitet po arkhivam i deloproizdvodstvu Respubliki Belarus', 2001), p. 119.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: MA (D.1357); NARB (845-1-63, pp. 39, 44); USHMM (RG-50.473*0082); VHF (# 8796); YIVO (RG-104 I, no. 611); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, pp. 115–116.
2. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1389–1390.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0082, testimony of Antoni Witold Rakowski.
4. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, p. 130.
5. NARB, 845-1-63, pp. 39, 44.
6. See Jacob Gens's words at the meeting of the Judenrat in Vilnius on October 27, 1942, MA, D.1357, published in I. Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 254.
7. YIVO, RG-104 I, no. 611, report of Shmuel Kalmanovich, as cited by Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.8.1.
8. VHF, # 8796, testimony of Bronia Wluka; Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, pp. 164–166.

KRAKĖS

Pre-1940: Krakės (Yiddish: Krok), town, Kėdainiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Krakės/Krakes, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Krakes, Kreis Kedahnen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Krakės, Kėdainiai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Krakės is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) north-northwest of Kaunas. According to census data, there were 659 Jews living in Krakės in 1923; in 1930 the Jewish population numbered 550, or 165 families. By June 1941, emigration during the 1930s had further reduced the number of Jews, most of whom lived in the center of town.

German military forces entered Krakės soon after the start of the German invasion, probably on June 23, 1941, the same day that nearby Kėdainiai was captured.[1] Before the Germans arrived, local Lithuanians, the so-called activists, seized power within the community and arrested a number of Jews and alleged Communists. Some of those taken into custody were transferred to Kėdainiai and never seen again. Initial measures taken against the Jewish population included abuse, torture, and shootings, which were carried out mainly in the Jewish cemetery. The town's doctor, Dr. Alperovitch, was among those murdered at this time.[2]

Witnesses told postwar investigators that the situation calmed down somewhat once the main German forces had passed through Krakės. But in the wake of the German troops, Lithuanian activists carried out the first systematic measures against the Jews. They forced Jews to wear the yellow Star of David on their outer clothing and banned Jews from using the sidewalks. Property and valuables belonging to Jews were seized and often sold to the local population. The activists also carried out the first killings.

A few weeks after the German occupation of Krakės, probably in the first half of August, a ghetto was established in the town on a single street. A wooden fence about 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high, topped with barbed wire, surrounded the ghetto area, and Lithuanian activists or members of the local police guarded the perimeter. The Jews suffered from overcrowding, with 10 people sharing a single room. The witnesses also remembered that some of the local Lithuanian residents aided the ghetto population, providing them with food in spite of the orders forbidding them all contact with the Jews.[3] The Jewish men and some women capable of work were soon separated from the others in the ghetto and taken to a building described in some sources as a monastery situated on the edge of the town. These Jews performed a variety of work tasks on a short-term basis.[4] *Pinkas ha-kehilot* indicates that in August the Jews of Dotnuva, probably around 100 people, were also sent to the monastery near Krakės, which was used as a ghetto.

The ghetto existed for approximately one month. According to an August 17, 1941, letter from the chief of the local police, A. Kuviotkus, a total of 452 Jews were residing in the Krakės ghetto at that time: 337 men and 115 women. The number of people held in the ghetto had increased considerably by the end of August 1941, as Jews from Kėdainiai, Ariogala, Baisogala, Gudžiūnai, Grinkiškis, Pociūnėliai, Dotnuva, and other nearby villages were moved into it.[5]

In the middle of August 1941, the 3rd Company of the 13th Lithuanian Self-Defense Battalion, consisting of approximately 30 armed men under the command of Juozas Bardza, arrived in Krakės. The battalion brought with it a note in German, stating that it was tasked with murdering all the Jewish inhabitants of the town. Precinct Police Chief Teodoras Kerza then selected a site for the killings in the Peštinukai Forest, 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside Krakės, and ordered local inhabitants to prepare large pits there about 2 or 3 meters (6.6 to 9.8 feet) wide. The members of the battalion carried out the mass shooting on September 2, 1941, assisted by six members of the local Lithuanian auxiliary police and 10 to 12 Lithuanian activists, who were also issued with weapons. The Jews were marched from the ghetto to the killing site, suffering brutal beatings from the Lithuanian guards on the way. On nearing the pits, the victims had to undress to their underwear and enter the pits, lying down on top of the bodies of the previous victims, in groups of 20 to 25. The Lithuanians then shot them from the edge of the pits. A number of Jews tried to escape, but most were shot by the guards, with only a few successfully evading their pursuers. The elderly and children were taken from the ghetto in trucks and were killed at the same spot after the Jews brought from the monastery had been shot.[6] Only one or two accounts mention the presence of a German official at the killing site; but there is no doubt about the participation of a number of Lithuanian policemen and activists from Krakės and its vicinity.[7]

The number of Jewish victims is not mentioned specifically by eyewitnesses, but it is likely that the ghetto liquidation was the incident reported by Karl Jäger in his report dated December 1, 1941. Jäger noted that between August 28 and September 2, 1941, a total of 1,125 Jews (448 men, 476 women, and 201 children) were shot in Krakės.[8] After the murders, the participants got drunk in celebration, having traded the clothes of the victims with local people for home brew.[9] A primary school teacher made a speech giving thanks for the "cleansing" of the settlement of its Jewish population. The remaining valuables belonging to the local Jewish population were gathered in one house in the former ghetto and distributed among the killers or sold to locals.[10]

For participation in the murder of Jews in Krakės, as well as in other localities in Lithuania, eight former policemen of the 3rd Company, Lithuanian Police Battalion 13, were sentenced to death at a trial held in Kaunas between September 27 and October 4, 1962.

SOURCES Additional information can be found in these publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai ir Laikinos Izoliaviavimo Stoyvyklos 1941–1943 Metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 293–295; "Krakes

(Krok)," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 352, available in English on the Web at jewishgen.org; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 208–209, 613–615; and "The Jews of Krakes," published on the Web at shtetlinks.jewishgen.org.

Information about the fate of the Jews of Krakės during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-421); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-60); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (50.473*0032-38, testimonies of Vytautas Racickas, Gėnė Rackienė, Valerija Krilienė, Antanas Petrauskas, Janina Kaupienė, and Stanislava Gaucienė); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Bubnys, "Mazieji Lietuvos Zydu Getai," p. 168.
2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 613; and "The Jews of Krakes," which includes the "memories" of several local inhabitants, including Ona Rekstiene.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0032, statement of Vytautas Racickas. See also "The Jews of Krakes," memories of A. Jubauskas.
4. See USHMM RG-50.473*0035, statement of Antanas Petrauskas; and Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 294.
5. "Krakes (Krok)," in Bronstein, *Yahudat Lita*, vol. 4, p. 352.
6. Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 293–295.
7. Ibid.; USHMM, RG-50.473*0034, statement of Valerija Krilienė, cassette 2; "The Jews of Krakes."
8. LYA, 3377-55-60, p. 18; and RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
9. Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 293.
10. "The Jews of Krakes," memories of Ona Rekstiene.

KRAŽIAI

Pre-1940: Kražiai (Yiddish: Krozsh), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kražiai/Krazhai, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kraziai, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kražiai, Kelmė rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kražiai is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) northwest of Raseiniai. In 1923, there were 660 Jews residing in Kražiai.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Right after the arrival of German troops, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary police force. In Kražiai the head of the local police was named Jurevičius, and the leader of the partisan headquarters was Vytautas Sakalauskas. These new local authorities soon launched a series of measures against the Jewish population. All Jews who had fled the town and taken refuge in the nearby villages were ordered to return to Kražiai. Next, the Jews, numbering about 400, were concentrated and held in local storage buildings and in horse stables. Soon after their confinement in these facilities, Jews brought from the surrounding villages were placed with them. A short time later, all these individuals were assembled on the town's market square. They had to surrender all the valuables they were carrying. Then the victims were escorted to the Siuksta Manor about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Kražiai and locked in a large storage barn. This barn, surrounded and guarded by armed Lithuanians, became a ghetto. Those Jews who were able to work were taken from the barn-ghetto each day, guarded by Lithuanians, and forced to perform heavy manual labor.

On July 22, 1941, a small squad of about 12 German policemen, assisted by around 80 Lithuanian partisans, carried out an Aktion. They transported on trucks about 250 to 300 Jews, consisting of most of the adults over the age of 14, to the Kuprė Forest about 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) east of Kražiai on the pretext of a forced labor assignment. In the forest, the Germans and Lithuanian partisans shot the Jews into a predug trench. The Germans tried to ensure that all the Lithuanians took part in the shooting; two who refused were beaten but suffered no further punishment. Jonas Vladička testified that with the help of Sakalauskas he was able to get his fiancée, Lėja Aronaitė, out of the ghetto.[1]

Following this killing, about 60 to 80 Jewish children and five adults remained alive in the barn-ghetto. About two weeks later, local Lithuanian women came to the barn to take home the children of particular Jewish friends, informing the Jews that the children's parents had already been murdered. However, Rabbi Kramerman, who was among the remaining adults, intervened and ensured that all but two sisters were returned, as the Lithuanian women intended to convert the children to Catholicism.[2] According to the account written by Antanas Jonynas, "The Hill," some of the Jewish children in the barn suffered from dysentery, but the Jewish doctor in Kražiai, who also had been spared from the initial Aktion, was not permitted to treat them.[3]

Among the children in the barn was Yoseph Ben-Yaakov, who recalled that some time after the first Aktion, "[a]ll of a sudden there were guards again. Two days later security was reinforced. We were guarded by Lithuanian partisans. . . . I understood that something bad was about to happen." In response Yoseph went and hid in a pile of hay in the attic of a nearby barn. After three days he emerged and sought refuge with Lithuanian acquaintances of his father.[4]

In the meantime, on September 2, 1941, the remaining Jewish children and adults were taken out to the Medžiokalnis Forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) northwest of Kražiai and were shot. Only a few of the youths managed to escape.

One of the Lithuanians who allegedly participated in the killing of the Jews, Bronius Kaminskas, went to the United States as a refugee after the war.[5] A number of others were tried by the Soviet authorities.

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

B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 401; "Kraziai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 607–608; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 367.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LYA (3377-55-2, pp. 9, 22, 24, 26, 48); and MA (A.401). A short story by Antanas Jonynas, "The Hill," was published in the Soviet Union in 1966. It is reportedly based on real events surrounding the murder of the Jews of Kražiai. An English translation of the story is located at USHMM (Acc.2006.22).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. LYA, 3377-55-2, pp. 9, 22, 24, 26, 48, as cited by Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 279.
2. MA, A.401, testimony of Yoseph Ben-Yaakov, as cited by Efraim Zuroff, *Occupation Nazi-Hunter: The Continuing Search for Perpetrators of the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 1994), pp. 102–103.
3. This detail is reported by Antanas Jonynas, "The Hill," (USHMM, Acc.2006.22). According to this source, the Jewish doctor was murdered some time later.
4. MA, A.401, as cited by Zuroff, *Occupation Nazi-Hunter*, pp. 102–103.
5. David S. Wyman, *The World Reacts to the Holocaust* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 351.

KREKENAVA

Pre-1940: Krekenava (Yiddish: Krakinove), village, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Panevėžys/Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Ponewesch, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: town, Panevėžys rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Krekenava is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, there were 527 Jews living in Krekenava, comprising half of the total population. By mid-1941, emigration, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, had somewhat reduced the size of the village's Jewish community.

At the onset of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, many Jews attempted to flee from Krekenava in a convoy of horse-driven wagons, but they were stopped by Lithuanian nationalist activists in Panevėžys and forced to turn back. German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Lithuanian activists immediately formed a local authority and a police force, which began their work by introducing a series of anti-Jewish measures.

First, the young Jewish men were arrested and jailed; a few days later they were taken from the jail and divided into two groups. Each group was taken to a separate site outside the village, where they were forced to dig their own graves and then shot. The Lithuanian activists also arrested a group of young Jewish women; in the jail they were subjected to gang rape and then murdered.

The remaining Jewish men were assembled in the Bet Midrash by Lithuanian activists. They were kept there under close guard without any food or water. One of the Jews attacked a Lithuanian guard with a knife, when the guard prevented him from leaving the Bet Midrash. After a few days the Jewish men were taken outside the village on the pretext of a work assignment breaking rocks for road construction and then shot. In total, about 200 people were shot near the village in the summer of 1941.[1]

The remaining Jewish women, children, and old people in the village were herded into the synagogue and a few neighboring houses, which the Lithuanian activists declared a ghetto. Hungry and thirsty, they remained in this ghetto until July 27, 1941, when they were told they could take their most valuable possessions with them, as they would soon be transferred to another camp. They were then loaded onto carts and escorted off in the direction of Panevėžys. The Jewish women and children were killed in the Pajuostė Forest, 8 kilometers (5 miles) west of Panevėžys, probably sometime later in August 1941. In the meantime they were apparently kept in a makeshift camp at the Pajuostė airfield, left without even the few possessions they had loaded onto the carts, which had been stolen on their arrival. They were shot together with other Jews from the Panevėžys ghetto and region. The report of Einsatzkommando 3, prepared by SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, noted that 7,525 Jews (including 4,602 Jewish women and 1,312 Jewish children) were shot at Panevėžys on August 23, 1941. These figures probably include the remaining Jewish women and children from Krekenava.[2]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jewish community of Krekenava during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Krekenava," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 354–355; "Krakenava," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 621ff.; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 676; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 368.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Krekenava can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 70 SU/15); GARF (7021-94-426); LCVA; and YVA (M-9/15[6], O-3/3034).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentų rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 400.

2. Report by Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, BA-BL, R 70 SU/15.

KRETINGA

Pre-1940: Kretinga, town and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kröttingen, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kretinga, rajonas center, Klaipėda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kretinga is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west-southwest of Šiauliai. In mid-June 1941, there were about 700 local Jews in Kretinga. Including Jewish refugees, mainly from Klaipėda following its annexation by Germany in 1939, there were approximately 1,000 Jews in Kretinga at the time of the German invasion.

Kretinga lay within the zone (extending 25 kilometers [15.5 miles] behind the former Lithuanian-German border) that was subjected to "cleansing operations" against Jews and other suspected enemies, conducted by the head of the Staatspolizei (Stapo) office in Tilsit, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, during the first days of the occupation.[1]

German armed forces occupied Kretinga on June 22, 1941, without encountering any serious resistance. Immediately on the capture of the town, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and police force. The so-called Lithuanian activists included the following individuals: the head of the district, Šedviatas; the mayor of the town, Piktučys; the head of the security police, Pranas Lukys (alias Jakys); the chief of police, Petrauskas; and other leading activists such as Petras Janušaitas and Brother Aloyzas.[2]

Measures were taken against the Jewish population during the first days of the occupation. All adult men (older than 14 years) were ordered to gather at the town's market square. Soon most of the non-Jews were released, but Lithuanian auxiliaries and German police beat the Jews brutally and made them kiss their boots. Local Lithuanians flocked to the square and demanded that those arrested be hanged for having collaborated with the Soviets. At the end of the day, most of the Jews were locked in the synagogue. Others were taken to the local prison.[3]

On the next day (either June 25 or 26),[4] forces of Stapo Tilsit, joined by others from Stapo Memel (Klaipėda), including members of the Schutzpolizei, traveled to Kretinga. Before their arrival, around 150 Jewish men had been escorted from the synagogue and herded into a fenced-in part of the square near the ruins of the Russian Orthodox Church, where they were held along with about 60 non-Jewish prisoners. German and Lithuanian police also searched the town for Jews in hiding. By afternoon, they had found about 30 more Jews, who were brought to the square. About half of the non-Jews were released by Böhme, who was in charge of the Aktion, after consulting with the local security police chief, Pranas Lukys. Then the Stapo forces, reinforced by Lithuanian police and about 20 soldiers of the local garrison (Ortskommandantur), conveyed all the victims by truck out of town to a place close to the estate of Pryšmančiai. At this site, the Jews were forced to dig trenches while being beaten heavily by their guards. Before the execution, more of the Lithuanian (non-Jewish) prisoners were released. The Jews were then forced to line up in groups of 10, and 20 members of the Schutzpolizei from Tilsit shot them from behind into the completed trenches. Each group was informed that they were being shot in punishment for crimes committed against the Wehrmacht (two soldiers had been killed by snipers in Kretinga shortly after the capture of the town). In total, the Germans killed 214 persons (mostly Jews and including one woman). The Lithuanian activists served as guards during this Aktion, but the Germans did the shooting.[5]

During the following night, a fire broke out in the local synagogue and spread to neighboring buildings of the town. The Germans and Lithuanians immediately accused the remaining Jews of starting the fire as an act of revenge. These few hundred Jews (mainly women and children) were arrested and taken to Pryšmančiai, where they were herded into a stable guarded by Lithuanian police (Litauischer Ordnungsdienst).[6] This became a de facto ghetto for the Jews, where they were held for more than two months.

Following the fire in Kretinga, the police chief in nearby Palanga received a call from Kretinga, ordering him to arrest all the Jews to prevent a repetition of the arson there. Over the following days, the Germans and Lithuanians arrested 78 more people and shot them near Pryšmančiai. Male Jews who had been hiding or were rounded up in the surrounding villages were taken to the prison in Kretinga, where they were abused and humiliated before being shot in turn after a few days or weeks. Between July 11 and 18, a further 120 men were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Kretinga.[7]

In early August, a meeting was held at the office of the Lithuanian head of the Kretinga district. Local Lithuanians met with several Gestapo officers to discuss the situation of the remaining Jews, among other issues. The Gestapo recommended that the Lithuanians should murder the Jewish women and children, as they were not worth feeding because they were unable to perform useful forced labor. The Lithuanians wanted to obtain confirmation from the Lithuanian administration in Kaunas first. The reply came the next day from the chief of police in Kaunas, saying that no decision had been made to murder the women and children, but this decision was to be left to the local officials. Plans were then made for the Lithuanian forces to kill the remaining women and children in early September 1941.

In mid-August 1941, the wives and children of 15 Jewish men who had been shot in early July—at least 20 people—were shot by the Lithuanian policemen.[8] The remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly confined at Pryšmančiai had been informed that their male relatives had been taken away to a separate labor camp. At the beginning of September, these Jews were told that now they would be able to join the men. They were taken to a nearby threshing hall, supposedly for a medical examination. As they left the hall, they

were attacked with iron bars, knives, and bayonets by drunken members of the Lithuanian auxiliary police. Some Germans stood by and photographed this gruesome scene. Those Jews who survived the attacks were shot, and all the victims were buried in a mass grave. The number of Jews taken from the barn in Pryšmančiai and murdered in early September 1941 was approximately 120.

In 1961, the German court in Tübingen, Germany, convicted and sentenced two former members of Stapo Tilsit, named Wiechert and Schulz, for taking part in the killings on June 26, 1941. Pranas Lukys was sentenced to five years in prison by the German court in Ulm in 1960.[9]

SOURCES Information on the murder of the Jews in Kretinga can be found in the following publications: *Hitleriniai žudikai Kretingoje*: *Faktai kaltina* (Vilnius, 1960); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 396; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 353–354—a translation can be found in Joseph Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 98–100; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuanian Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995); "Kretinga," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 617–621; "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," published at jewishgen.org; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976–1979), vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, vol. 16, Lfd. Nr. 499, vol. 17, Lfd. Nr. 509 and 521, and vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 547; and Konrad Kwiet, "Rehearsing for Murder: The Beginning of the Final Solution in Lithuania in June 1941," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 12:1 (Spring 1998): 3–26.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kretinga during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (B 162/2582-2615); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-107); RGVA (500-1-758); and USHMM.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2, report of Stapo Tilsit, July 1, 1941, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 372–375.
2. Urteil LG-Tüb, gegen Wiechert und Schulz, May 10, 1961, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (1977) Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 343–344.
3. Ibid.
4. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2, report of Stapo Tilsit, July 1, 1941, dates the Aktion on June 25, 1941. Other sources date it on June 26, 1941.
5. Ibid.; *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (1977) Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 343–346.
6. RGVA, 500-1-758, p. 2, report of Stapo Tilsit, July 1, 1941; and LG-Ulm, Urteil gegen Böhme u.a., August 29, 1958, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 465.
7. The 78 victims include 15 Jewish men shot in early July with the participation of Lukys; see *JuNS-V*, vol. 16 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 499, pp. 816–817. Also see BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941.
8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 16 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 499, p. 818.
9. Urteil LG-Tüb, gegen Wiechert und Schulz, May 10, 1961, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (1977) Lfd Nr. 509; Urteil LG-Ulm, gegen Lukys and Schmidt-Hammer, November 3, 1960, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 16 (1976) Lfd. Nr. 499.

KREWO

Pre-1939: Krewo (Yiddish: Kreve), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Krevo, Oshmiany raion, then Smorgon' raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krewo, initially Rayon Smorgonie, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Aschmene, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kreva, Smargon' raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krewo is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, there were about 150 Jewish families living in the village.

In August 1939, several young Jewish men were mobilized into the Polish army just before the German invasion. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army occupied Krewo, which by the end of the year had been incorporated into the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities nationalized all large businesses and closed down smaller enterprises. All workers were employed in cooperatives or worked for the state. There were shortages of goods, and people had to line up for basic necessities.[1]

German forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. Initially a German military administration was in control of the area. Soon after the Germans' arrival, all Jews were assembled and ordered to select a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Germans introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures: all Jews had to wear yellow badges on their chests and backs; Jews were prohibited from using the sidewalks and visiting the market; and they were forbidden to leave the village or to have any dealings with the non-Jewish population.[2]

On July 25, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Krewo. Eight people accused of being Soviet activists were arrested and shot.[3]

The Germans also imposed forced labor on all Jewish adults of working age and on boys over the age of 12. The men worked cutting wood and building roads. Women did laundry and cleaned German homes and offices. On the way to work, Jews were beaten mercilessly by local policemen. A number of Jews worked daily at a German airfield run by the Luftwaffe, outside of town.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Krewo was initially incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Then from April 1, 1942, until the end of the Nazi occupation in 1944, Krewo was part of Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen.

By October 1941, the Jews of Krewo had been resettled into a ghetto in a run-down part of town on Bogdanover Street, from the area of the castle up to the market.[4] Farmers from the surrounding area plundered those houses that the

Jews vacated. According to one survivor, the ghetto remained unfenced,[5] but Jews were only permitted to leave for work, provided they had work passes. Local policemen counted the Jews as they left and returned to the ghetto in work columns each day.[6] There was severe overcrowding in the ghetto, and a number of Jews had to live in cold and uncomfortable conditions in the synagogue. Shortages of food and the unsanitary living arrangements resulted in the spread of infectious disease. However, the Judenrat tried to share the burdens as best it could; for example, refugees from other towns, who had been robbed of all their possessions by the local police, were assigned to eat with a different family every evening.[7]

Those employed outside the ghetto risked their lives by bartering possessions with local farmers for food and smuggling it into the ghetto. The German authorities periodically imposed "contributions" of money and goods on the Judenrat. In January 1942, the Germans rounded up a group of male Jews and escorted them out of town; they were never heard from again. In 1942, there were also assignments of Jews to forced labor camps, especially of young Jews to the forced labor camp in Žiežmariai run by the Organisation Todt, which involved the construction of a road between Kaunas and Wilno.[8]

According to German reports from the late summer of 1942, there were 447 Jews living in the Krewo ghetto, of whom 143 (102 men and 41 women) were deployed for work at various workplaces. Sixty-eight men and 26 women worked for the Wehrmacht (probably a Luftwaffe detachment), 10 men worked cleaning streets, and 8 men worked as artisans. The list also includes 3 men as ghetto guards and 3 working for the Judenrat (probably its members). Others include a female nurse and a female hairdresser, 2 men in the town bakery, and 2 men and 2 women in the dairy.[9]

In early October 1942, just after the High Holidays, the remaining Jews in the Krewo ghetto were transferred to the Oszmiana ghetto. Some of the Jews transferred to Oszmiana were subsequently murdered by a Lithuanian killing squad on October 24, 1942, in an Aktion directed against the elderly and the sick. When the Oszmiana ghetto was liquidated in March 1943, some Jews were sent to the Wilno ghetto, others were sent to the Ponary killing site to be shot, and a number were permitted to join relatives in labor camps in Lithuania, including the camp at Žiežmariai.[10] A few Jews managed to escape from the Krewo and Oszmiana ghettos and join the partisans. Most of the known survivors, however, passed through the Žiežmariai camp.

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews of Krewo can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 565–567; and M. Gelbert, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Oshminah be-Yisrael, 1969).

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Krewo during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-15); IPN (SWKsz 28); LCVA (R 626-1-211); NARB; VHF (e.g., # 4991, 7295, 16340, 18162, 46855, and 50668); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.002*21; RG-22.002M, reel 24); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 18162, testimony of Syma Freund.
2. Gelbert, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah*, [English section] p. 61; and VHF, # 18162.
3. GARF, 7021-89-15, p. 80. VHF, # 7295, testimony of Sonja Milner, mentions that four Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery in the summer of 1941.
4. Gelbert, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah*, p. 292.
5. VHF, # 46855, testimony of Kalmon Jacobson in response to a direct question; most sources do not mention whether or not the ghetto was fenced.
6. Ibid., # 18162.
7. Ibid., # 4991, testimony of Ann Chinitz; and # 7295.
8. Ibid., # 4991; 7295; 16340, testimony of Leon Cepelewicz; 18162; and 50668, testimony of Naomi Milikowski.
9. LCVA, R 626-1-211, pp. 18, 26–27, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, October 1942, and list of Jews working in the Krewo ghetto, n.d.
10. Gelbert, *Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Oshminah*, pp. 292, [English section] p. 70; and Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002), pp. 532–534.

KUDIRKOS NAUMIESTIS

Pre-1940: Kudirkos Naumiestis (Yiddish: Naishtat-Shaki), town, Šakiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šakiai/Shakiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Neustadt, Kreis Schaken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kudirkos Naumiestis, Šakiai rajonas, Mariampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kudirkos Naumiestis is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas, on the banks of the Šešupė River. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, the Jewish community consisted of about 800 people, including a number of Jews expelled from the Suwałki region of Poland in 1939.

On the arrival of German troops on June 22, 1941, a number of individual Jews, including two Jewish barbers, were shot in reprisal for the killing of a German soldier in the town near the barbers' shop. Lithuanian nationalists established a local administration and a militia (police force) who wore white armbands. The policemen were subordinated to regional Lithuanian authorities recognized by the Germans in Kaunas. The new authorities soon imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Members of the local militia and other residents seized Jewish property and valuables. The community was also required to fulfill daily labor quotas for construction work and other forms of manual labor. Those working on these projects were often beaten and humiliated by their guards. The town administration also decreed that it was now illegal for Jews to

have any contact with non-Jews, and Jews were banned from public places.[1]

One evening during the first week of July, members of the Tilsit Gestapo and men from the Border Police (Grenzpolizei) post at Szyrwinty (Schirrwindt), led by SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Hersmann, arrived in Kudirkos Naumiestis. With the assistance of the local militia, the German police rounded up all of the town's Jewish males over the age of 14 and assembled them at the District Council building. There they were ordered to hand over their valuables. Then they were escorted in groups of 50 to the Jewish cemetery, where they were forced to line up at the edge of several pits that Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had dug earlier that day. Members of the Lithuanian militia shot the Jews into the pits; Gestapo men and men of the SD walked among the bodies, finishing off any who were still alive. After the Germans and their collaborators had shot 192 Jews, the murderers attended a banquet organized by the district governor and the mayor of Kudirkos Naumiestis, who had witnessed the executions. A few days after the Aktion, the Lithuanian militia discovered several male Jews in hiding who had evaded the roundup. These unfortunates, 9 in all, were also shot at the Jewish cemetery.[2]

Following the Aktion, Jewish women and teenagers were taken daily to perform public works in the town. On August 23, 1941, the remaining Jews in Kudirkos Naumiestis were relocated into a ghetto established in the most run-down part of town on Bathhouse and Synagogue Streets. Although the ghetto was not surrounded by barbed-wire fencing, it was heavily guarded by Lithuanian militia, and a curfew was imposed from 8:00 P.M. in the evening. Three weeks later, on September 16, 1941, the Lithuanian militia in the town liquidated the ghetto. The Jews were told that they would be sent to East Prussia for labor. Once assembled, the 650 ghetto inmates were loaded into carts and driven to a prepared execution site in the Paražniai Forest, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town, where members of the local militia shot them into pits. On instructions issued by the Gebietskommissar in Kaunas, the property of the Jews was collected. Valuable items were taken by the German administration, while real estate and items of lesser value were administered by the local authorities. The distribution among local Lithuanians was accompanied by fierce disputes over who should get each item.[3]

A few of the Jews of Kudirkos Naumiestis, including Izaokas Glikas and his family, managed to escape from the ghetto prior to the liquidation Aktion. Two acquaintances of the Glikas family who served in the Lithuanian militia tipped them off, and the family went to hide on the militiamen's family farm, even though these men still participated in the ghetto liquidation. From this initial hideout, they subsequently moved on to Lithuanian farmers in more remote locations, who hid them without receiving any payment. Later, owing to security risks, the family was transferred to a Salesian monastery, where they were hidden, along with other Jews from the region, by Antanas Skeltys, the priest in charge. Although a handful of the Jews of Kudirkos Naumiestis managed to survive until liberation, the town's Jewish community was not reconstituted after the war, as the Jews soon moved away.[4]

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jews of Kudirkos Naumiestis can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465; and Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelius, 2003), pp. 113–116.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jewish community in Kudirkos Naumiestis can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); BA-L (B 162/2615); LCVA (R 683-2-2); and VHF (# 11411).

Alexander Kruglov and Michael McConnell
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust*, pp. 316–317.

2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941; *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 171–172. On August 29, 1958, LG-Ulm sentenced Hersmann to 15 years' imprisonment for his role in the mass shootings; Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust*, pp. 316–317; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, p. 114.

3. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust*, pp. 316–317; letter from the head of the Šakiai District (V. Karalius) and the head of the police (Vilčinskas) to the head of the Kaunas police department on September 16, 1941, published in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 213–214; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, p. 114.

4. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 115–116.

KUPIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Kupiškis (Yiddish: Kupishok), town, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kupiškis/Kupishkis, Panevėzhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kupischken, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kupiškis, rajonas center, Panevėžys apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kupiškis is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Panevėžys. In 1938, there were 1,200 Jews living in the town (42 percent of the population).

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, approximately 40 families were able to flee into the interior of the Soviet Union. Many other Jews also escaped into neighboring villages, awaiting the end of the bombing of the town. In these villages, they were robbed and then sent back to Kupiškis.[1] Around 1,000 Jews remained in Kupiškis at the moment of occupation.

German forces captured the town on June 26, 1941. Some Jews from other places also became trapped in Kupiškis at

this time. Immediately upon the town's seizure, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force. The head of the police was P. Graizunas, and his deputy was V. Gudialis. The occupying forces appointed Dr. Werner Loew, a recent German immigrant and a teacher in the local high school, to the position of commandant of the town,[2] a position he held until the start of September 1941. During the summer of 1941, Loew organized the annihilation of Communist activists and all the remaining Jews in the town.

On June 28, 1941, 78 Jews and Lithuanians were arrested and shot in a nearby forest, accused of being Communist activists and collaborating with the Soviet authorities.[3] At the start of July 1941, Loew ordered all the Jews to be resettled into a ghetto, which consisted of a few dilapidated houses on Vilnius Street, near the synagogue, and in a large storehouse. The ghetto was fenced off with barbed wire. The overcrowding, hunger, and thirst for the Jews confined within the ghetto were unbearable.[4]

In July and August 1941, all the ghetto inmates were shot by the Lithuanian police, on Loew's orders. The men were killed first, then the women and children, about two weeks later. The shootings were carried out at the Jewish cemetery. (There are 808 people on the list of murdered Jews. This list was compiled in 1946 by the midwife from the Jewish Maternity Hospital in Panevėžys and from several other sources. Further research is being undertaken to determine the exact origins of this list that supposedly names all those residents of Kupiškis who were killed during the summer of 1941. As there are only 808 people listed out of approximately 1,200 known residents, a number of people may have either escaped, been killed in other locations, or just been forgotten in the process of listing the names, which occurred several years after the fact.) The property of the murdered Jews was confiscated, placed in a warehouse, listed, appraised, and then distributed among the local population. Money was passed on to the town's commandant.[5]

The shootings of the Jews were carried out by a special detachment subordinated to the commandant, which was allegedly headed by Lieutenant Antanas Gudialis (aka Gudeliavicius, who fled to Australia after the war). Also reportedly taking an active part in the shootings were Petras Bernotavičius, the adjutant of the town commandant (who migrated to the United States after the war), and Antanas Jokantas (who also escaped to Australia).

One of the first young Jews to offer resistance was I. Gershumet. Others included Ch. Yutin, H. Shoistevnia, Tzundel, and their friends. They rebelled against the Lithuanian students who aided the Nazis. They wounded two students, which only increased the hatred of Jews among the Lithuanians.[6]

A priest named Ragouskas, a teacher in the Kupiškis high school, tried in vain to save some Jews, but Loew and his followers found them. Dr. J. Franzkevich, a doctor in Kupiškis, tried to save Rabbi Pertzovsky's wife and Mrs. Meyerovitz and her children, but they were discovered and killed about six weeks after the other women and children.[7]

Of all the Kupiškis Jews, only a small number survived the war. They consisted mainly of people who had managed to escape into the Soviet interior in time and a few who survived in the ghettos of Wilno and Kaunas.

On September 25–28, 1965, in a trial in Kupiškis, five former policemen were convicted of having taken an active part in murdering the Jews. Jonas Karalius and Stasis Grigas were each sentenced to 15 years in prison, and Kazis Šniukas, Aleksas Malinauskas, and Danelius Kriukas were sentenced to death by shooting. The German investigation of Dr. Werner Loew (born 1912) was closed due to ill health, and he died in 1990. The Australian Special Investigations Unit investigated two suspects between 1988 and 1992 regarding the murders of Jews in Kupiškis in 1941. Both cases were closed due to insufficient evidence.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Kupiškis can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 399–400; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 214–215; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 561–565; Attorney-General's Department, *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993), pp. 121–124; and "Pages of Testimony from Yad Vashem," by M. Traub and D. Fleishman-Traub, Tel Aviv, available at jewishgen.org.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: ANA (SIU, PU 561 and 562); BA-L; LYA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 214.
2. See V. Khotianovskii, "Ubiitsa zhivet na Mommsenstrasse," *Izvestiia*, September 18, 1967.
3. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 399.
4. Traub and Fleishman-Traub, "Pages of Testimony from Yad Vashem," pp. 1–3; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 564–565; Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 214. There are some discrepancies in the respective descriptions of the ghetto.
5. Khotianovskii, "Ubiitsa zhivet na Mommsenstrasse."
6. Traub and Fleishman-Traub, "Pages of Testimony from Yad Vashem," p. 2.
7. Ibid.; Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 214.

KURŠENAI

Pre-1940: Kuršenai (Yiddish: Kurshan), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kuršenai/Kurshenai, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kurschenen, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kuršenai, Šiauliai rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kuršenai is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) west-northwest of Šiauliai. In 1939, there were around 900 Jews living in the town, out of a total population of 2,892.

Immediately after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, many Jews from Kuršenai tried to escape into Russia. However, only 30 families succeeded, as the Soviet authorities forced many to turn back at the Latvian border. On the night that German forces first arrived in Kuršenai, towards the end of June, they murdered two Jews.

Immediately following the Germans' arrival, a Lithuanian partisan squad was formed in Kuršenai, which was headed by Antanas Petkus and soon comprised 70 men. The Lithuanian partisans arrested alleged Communists and supporters of the Soviet regime. They also ordered the Jews to assemble daily in the marketplace, and from there they assigned the Jews to various forced labor tasks, which included clearing rubble from the streets and interring fallen Soviet troops and dead horses. The forced labor was accompanied by frequent beatings. New regulations forbade the Jews from using the sidewalks and ordered them to wear yellow Stars of David.

In the first half of July, the male Jews were confined within the synagogue and Bet Midrash. In mid-July 1941, the Lithuanian partisans seized around 150 male Jews from the prayer houses and escorted them into the Padarbos Forest, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) outside the town. Together with four Germans, the Lithuanian forces then shot the Jews into a large pit. The shooting lasted about five hours. The pit then was filled in by other local inhabitants, requisitioned for this task by the Germans. The Lithuanian partisans took some of the Jews' clothing for themselves, and some subsequently moved into Jewish houses. After the Aktion, the participants returned to Kuršenai to drink in celebration at the local canteen.[1]

In July, a ghetto was established for the women and children, which was guarded by armed Lithuanian partisans, also known as "white-stripers." The Jews were confined within a small area of a couple of streets, which became very overcrowded. The women could only leave the ghetto for one hour per day to secure food from the locals, who cursed and chased them away from the stores.

After a few weeks the Lithuanian partisans were reorganized into a regular police force, which was headed by Povilas Vidugiris. In August or September 1941, the remaining several hundred Jews, mainly women and children, were transferred to the ghetto in Žagarė on about 50 carts, escorted by the local Lithuanian police. Before the transfer, the local police stripped them of any valuable possessions. Some non-Jews said farewell to their Jewish friends but were forbidden to reveal that they knew the cruel fate of the Jewish men.[2] The Jewish women and children from Kuršenai were all murdered on October 2, 1941, when the Žagarė ghetto was liquidated. Only one Jewish woman and one Jewish man from Kuršenai are known to have survived until the area was recaptured by the Red Army in 1944, having found refuge with sympathetic Lithuanian farmers.

After the war, the Soviet authorities tried and sentenced almost 40 former members of the Lithuanian partisans and local police from Kuršenai.

SOURCES The following published sources contain information on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Kuršenai: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 569–571; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), p. 244; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 382.

Relevant testimonies can be found in the following archives: LYA (e.g., K 1-58-44084/3, K 1-58-14771/3, K 1-58-42308/3, K 1-46-1261); USHMM (RG-50.473*0041-44); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/56, M-1/E/1566).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.473*0041-44; LYA, K 1-58-44084/3, pp. 65–70, 77, 105–107, and K 1-46-1261, p. 66, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate," p. 244.
2. USHMM, RG-50.473*0041, testimony of Antanas Spulginas.

KVĖDARNA

Pre-1940: Kvėdarna (Yiddish: Khveidan), town, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kvėdarna/Kvedarna, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kvedarna/Kweidannen, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, post-1991: Kvėdarna, Šilalė rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kvėdarna is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) south-southwest of Telšiai. The census of 1923 shows that 394 Jews resided in Kvėdarna. Emigration in the 1930s led to a slight decline in their numbers by June 1941. In mid-1941, 65 Jewish families (approximately 300 individuals) lived in Kvėdarna.

The village of Kvėdarna was occupied by German armed forces on June 22, 1941. A number of Jews attempted to flee at the onset of hostilities, but most were forced to return home within a few days. Lithuanian nationalists quickly established a local administration and an auxiliary police force, which began taking action against the Jewish population. The Jews were required to surrender all their valuables, and they were forced to conduct various types of forced labor. In addition, Jews were banned from appearing in public places and from having any contact with non-Jewish Lithuanians. The killings of Jews began immediately. On the very first day of the German occupation, Lithuanian partisans murdered two Jewish boys, Leibel Schwatz and Rubin Meyer.[1]

On Sunday, June 29, 1941, the first Aktion took place: Lithuanian partisans and 20 SS men from Heydekrug, under the leadership of SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner

Scheu, arrested all male Jews over the age of 15, about 80 individuals. They were held initially on the market square and were jeered by hostile Lithuanians emerging from the church. The rabbi's beard was shorn as an act of humiliation. Then the male Jews were transported by truck to a labor camp in Heydekrug. Eleven elderly Jews who were unable to work were shot by Lithuanian partisans, probably at the Jewish cemetery, on June 30, 1941.[2]

Of those taken to Heydekrug, together with Jews from Laukuva, Švėkšna, and other places, a number were shot after four to five weeks, and the remainder were kept as forced laborers for more than three years. Some of these Jews ultimately ended up in the concentration camp system, passing also through Auschwitz II-Birkenau in 1943. From there a group was sent to clean up the area of the Warsaw ghetto, and only a handful survived until liberation.[3]

The approximately 200 Jewish women and children left behind in the village were forced into a ghetto, for which a single street (Laukuva Street), including the synagogue, was set aside. The ghetto was under the control of local Lithuanian activists, who raped and murdered many of the women. This ghetto was liquidated in September or October 1941, when all its residents were taken by truck to the Tūbinės Forest near Šilalė and were shot by Lithuanian policemen.[4] A number of Jews from the surrounding villages were also murdered in this place.

The Torah scrolls from Kvėdarna were hidden in the home of the priest, Milimas, and returned to the few survivors after the war.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kvėdarna can be found in the following publications: "Kvėdarna," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 295; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 384; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 17 and 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976-2010), Lfd. Nr. 511 and Lfd. Nr. 579.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF; LCVA; and YVA. The testimony of Gershon Young (Jung) is also summarized at jewishgen.org.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Testimonies of Motel Druzin (born March 20, 1903), Chaim Nadel (born May 7, 1905), Berel Levit (born May 3, 1917), Gershon Jung (born October 15, 1923), and Rosa Rachmel (born September 13, 1924), in YVA.
2. Ibid.; LG-Aur (Az 17, Ks 1/61), verdict of May 29, 1961, in the case against Struve, Scheu et al., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17, Lfd. Nr. 511, pp. 441–442; and vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 579, p. 309.
3. Testimony of Gershon Young (Jung) from YVA, summarized at jewishgen.org; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 295.
4. Testimonies of Motel Druzin, Chaim Nadel, Berel Levit, Gershon Jung, and Rosa Rachmel, in YVA.

KYBARTAI

Pre-1940: Kybartai (Yiddish: Kibart), town, Vilkaviškis apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kybartai/Kibartai, Vilkavishkis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kibarten, Kreis Wilkowischken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Kybartai, Vilkaviškis rajonas, Marijampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Kybartai is located 79 kilometers (49 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 1,253 Jews living in the town (20 percent of the total population). In the 1930s, emigration caused a decline in the size of the Jewish population.

German armed forces captured the town on June 22, 1941, the first day of Germany's invasion of the USSR. Consequently, the Jews were unable to evacuate, and almost all of them remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately following the German capture of Kybartai, the Germans freed all the prisoners from the jail, including some who had been accused of resistance to Soviet rule. A few of the released prisoners, together with other Lithuanian nationalists, soon formed a town authority and a local police force. The head of the Lithuanian activists was the veterinarian Zubrickas, who had been among those imprisoned. The chief of police was a man named Vailokaitis.

Initially the German army remained in control of the town and did not take any measures against the Jews. However, soon the local Lithuanian authorities announced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden to leave the town or to change their place of residence. They were dismissed from all positions working for government- and state-run business institutions. They had to hand over any weapons and radios in their possession, and they were forbidden to maintain relationships of any kind with non-Jews. A curfew was enforced for the Jews from 6:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M., and they also were required to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their outer clothes. Murders of the Jews began, primarily of those who had cooperated with the Soviet authorities, during the 1940–1941 Soviet occupation, including members of the Komsomol, a Communist youth organization.[1]

In July 1941, on the orders of the Tilsit Gestapo, members of the Grenzpolizei (Border Police) office in Eydtkau (headed by Kriminalobersekretär Tietz), along with Lithuanian police, arrested all male Jews over the age of 16 and placed them in a barn in the village of Gudkaimis, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) north of the town. A number of Jewish women and Lithuanians accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities were also arrested and taken to the same barn. There they stayed for several days without food or water. The guards turned back relatives who attempted to bring them food. On July 10, 1941, the prisoners from the barn were escorted by Lithuanian policemen to a meadow, where they were forced to enlarge existing Soviet antitank ditches. The male Jews then were made to undress, and the Germans took away any valuables from them. The Lithuanian police herded the

prisoners under severe blows to the ditch, where a squad of German Security Police (Sipo) shot each of them with a bullet fired into the nape of the neck. In total, 185 Jews and 15 other Lithuanians were executed. The shooting was carried out by a detachment of the Sipo and SD based in Tilsit, under the leadership of SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, with the assistance of Lithuanian policemen. After the mass shooting, the participants ate a large dinner together, paid for from the money that had been collected from the victims.[2]

After the execution of all the men, the remaining Jewish women, children, and old people were placed in several red-brick buildings, formerly barracks, which became a ghetto for them. They remained in this ghetto for approximately one month, then they were moved to the Virbalis ghetto, having to leave most of their belongings behind. On September 11, 1941, the Virbalis ghetto was liquidated by shooting all of the inmates.[3]

On August 29, 1958, a court in Ulm, Germany, sentenced several persons, including Hans-Joachim Böhme, to various terms of imprisonment for participation in the execution of Jews in Kybartai, among other places, in July 1941. On October 12, 1961, a court in Dortmund, Germany, sentenced Gerke, another former official of the Tilsit Gestapo, to three years and six months in prison, also for participation in the Kybartai Aktion in July 1941.

After the war, several Lithuanian collaborators were convicted by Soviet courts for the murder of Jews and Communists from Kybartai. One of the last to be tried received a seven-year sentence, as it could only be proven that he had escorted the victims to their deaths.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Kybartai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 412; "Kybartai," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Yosef Rosin et al., eds., *Sefer HaZikron LeKehillot Kibart Lita* (Haifa: Executive Committee of the Society of Former Residents of Kibart, 1988)—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; and "Kybartai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 575–580.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kybartai can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/4650, 14163); GARF (7021-94-419); LCVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Rosin et al., "The German Occupation and the Destruction of the Jewish Community," in *Sefer HaZikron LeKehillot Kibart Lita*.

2. Ibid.; see also LG-Ulm, verdict of August 29, 1958, against Fischer-Schweder and others, in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, vol. 2, *Einsatzkommando Tilsit: Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966); LG-Dort, verdict of October 12, 1961, against Krumbach, Gerke, and Jahr, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 521; and Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 579–580.

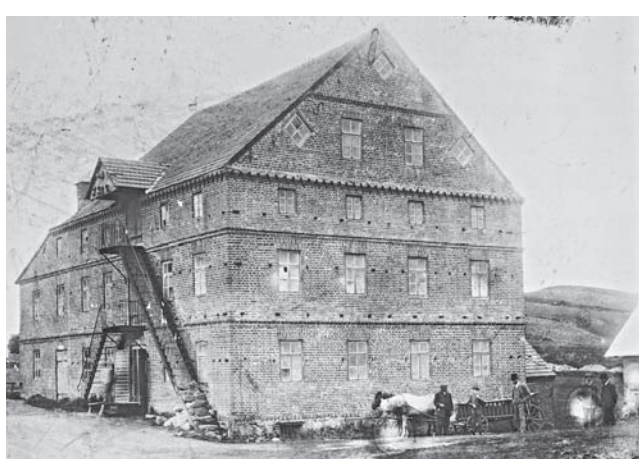
3. Rosin et al., "The German Occupation and the Destruction of the Jewish Community."

LAZDIJAI

Pre-1940: Lazdijai (Yiddish: Lazdei), Seinai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Lazdijai/Lazdiai, Seinai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Lasdien, Kreis center, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Lazdijai, rajonas center, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Lazdijai is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) south-southwest of Kaunas. In June 1941, there were about 1,200 Jews living in the town, including around 150 refugees from the Suwałki region.

German forces occupied the town on June 22, 1941, following a heavy bombardment that destroyed two thirds of the houses in Lazdijai. Only 40 Jews were able to flee in time. On June 23, 30 local Lithuanian nationalists formed an administrative committee for the town, which soon implemented a series of anti-Jewish policies. After electing Antanas Aleliūnas as chairman, they thanked the German army and the "greatest leader, Adolf Hitler" by singing the Lithuanian national anthem.[1] On the next day, with the approval of the local German commandant, a Lithuanian police unit was organized, led by Julijonas Geiga. On June 25, 1941, the committee was ordered by the German commandant to resettle "the Jews who were endangering the public order" into two wooden barracks near the church, next to a camp established for the wives and children of Soviet officials, who had been unable to



Pre-war view of a flour mill, owned by the donor's grandfather, in the village of Katkishok outside Lazdijai. This mill later became the killing site for the Jews of Lazdijai.
USHMM WS #62818, COURTESY OF JUDY LUCAS

evacuate.[2] The Jews were ordered to perform heavy labor. They were subjected to public humiliation and assault by the Lithuanian guards and local antisemites. Germans and Lithuanians threatened the Jews with death if they refused to hand over money, gold and silver, jewelry, watches, and other valuables. Some Jews were arrested as alleged Communists and Komsomol members. These people were escorted to Marijampolė and shot there.[3]

Twelve members of the Lithuanian committee went to Kaunas and returned on July 2 with authority from the Lithuanian provisional government to reorganize the local administration in Lazdijai. Aleliūnas became head of the local branch of Saugumas (the Lithuanian Security Police), and Albinas Karalius became the new head of the Lithuanian police for the Kreis, while the policeman Mikas Radevičius was named head of the Kreis administration in Lazdijai. Among the new anti-Jewish measures was their exclusion from all trade.[4]

On September 15, 1941, all the remaining Jews of Lazdijai were resettled into a ghetto, which consisted of six Red Army barracks on the Katkiškės estate, 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the town. The ghetto grounds were cordoned off by barbed wire and placed under the watch of armed Lithuanian guards, commanded by Bronius Kazlauskas, who ran the ghetto. Jews were also resettled there from nearby towns and villages, including Veisiejai, Kapčiamiestis, and Rudamina, bringing the total number of inmates to more than 1,600 people. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) made up of representatives of the various communities regulated the internal affairs of the ghetto. It was headed by a man named Astromsky, a pharmacist from Kapčiamiestis, who consulted also closely with Rabbi Gerstein. A Jewish police force was created to maintain order. Each day the men were assigned to forced labor by a Jewish Labor Office. At first the inmates received a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of unsalted bread and 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of potatoes, but the portions gradually diminished, and the Jews suffered from hunger. Only those who could trade personal items for food with local Lithuanians or those who received food for their agricultural work fared a little better.[5]

The ghetto was subordinated to the Lithuanian police chief for the Kreis, Karalius, who issued regulations for the ghetto similar to those applied to German concentration camps. Jews were not permitted to approach within 2 meters (6.6 meters) of the barbed wire, and no contacts were permitted across it. The penalty for leaving the ghetto without permission was death for the offender and his or her entire family.[6]

At the end of October, rumors spread that mass graves were being prepared nearby. Two Jewish women, who worked in the office of the German commandant, had overheard a conversation in which the head official in Marijampolė criticized his colleague in Lazdijai, asking when he was finally going to clear his Kreis of Jews. On Thursday, October 30, 1941, the ghetto was closed, and no one could leave to go to work. A Lithuanian police officer confirmed that pits were being dug and would be ready in a few days. Jews now tried to escape, but some were killed in the attempt.

The Lithuanians surrounded the barracks and boarded up all the windows and doors. The Jews were trapped inside without food or water. In total about 180 Jews managed to escape in these final days, but their chances of surviving in the countryside remained slim.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on November 3, 1941, when the Rollkommando Hamann, assisted by Lithuanian activists and police, shot 1,535 people (485 men, 511 women, and 539 children).[8] The Jews were forced to undress and climb into the pits. The Germans used machine guns, while the Lithuanians employed rifles. Local residents were requisitioned to fill in the pits, being forced to stay out of sight behind a hill during the shooting. The clothes of the murdered Jews were taken back to Lazdijai on wagons.[9]

Of the 180 Jews who escaped, most were killed by local farmers or were captured by the police and put in the Lazdijai jail. Once 35 Jews had been assembled there, they were all taken out and shot in the same mass grave as the others. Two escapees from the Lazdijai ghetto made their way to the Kaunas ghetto in July 1942. Only 8 Jews from the Lazdijai ghetto are known to have survived the war: Riva Gerstein-Michnovski, Zeiv Michnovski, Dov Zeif, Miryam Kuleiski and the sisters Gita and Batsheva Kaufman (all from Lazdijai), as well as Chmilevski (from Veisiejai) and Gedalia Kagan (from Rudamina).[10]

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry is based on the work of Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5. Other relevant publications include "Lazdijai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 349–352; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 303–305, available also in English in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 100–104; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 299.

Documents dealing with the elimination of the Jews in Lazdijai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-428); LCVA (e.g., R 409-2-5); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 19); and YVA (Koniukhovsky Collection, O-71/131, 132).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Protocol no. 1, June 23, 1941, in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 151.

2. Protocols nos. 3 and 4, June 24 and 25, 1941, in Valentinas Brandisauskas, ed., *1941 m. Birzelio sukilimas. Dokumentu rinkinys* (Vilnius: LGGRTC, 2000), pp. 240–243, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

3. GARF, 7021-94-428; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas hakehilot: Lithuania*, p. 351.

4. Brandisauskas, *1941 m.*, pp. 245–247, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

5. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 351–352.

6. LCVA, R 409-2-5, pp. 33–34, Gettui-Taisyklės, September 22, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

7. Levinson, *The Shoah*, pp. 103–104.

8. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114, report of Einsatzkommando No. 3, December 1, 1941; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), p. 136; B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 237.

9. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 19, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 299.

10. Levinson, *The Shoah*, p. 104; Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 109–110.

LINKUVA

Pre-1940: Linkuva (Yiddish: Linkeve), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Linkuva/Linkovo, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Linkau, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Linkuva, Pakruojis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Linkuva is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northwest of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, there were 625 Jews living in Linkuva. In the 1930s, the number of Jews declined slightly. After the beginning of the war, a certain number of Jewish refugees settled in Linkuva.

German troops captured the town on June 28, 1941. Immediately after its capture, Lithuanian nationalist activists formed a partisan squad in Linkuva, which was headed initially by J. Jakubaitis and Jonas Tinteris. On June 29, 1941, the Lithuanian partisans started to arrest Jews and Communists, taking them to the Linkuva granary, which served as a police jail. Here they were interrogated, and more than 70 were murdered in Linkuva during the first days of the occupation. For example, on June 30, 10 young Jews were selected from the prison and taken to be shot near the Catholic cemetery. During the execution, 1 of them managed to escape.[1] On July 3, 1941, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northeast of Linkuva, 32 more people were shot.[2] On the previous day, July 2, 125 Jews—men, women, and children, both local residents and refugees—were taken to Šiauliai, where 57 men were put in jail. Later, almost all of these men were killed. The women and children were allowed to return to Linkuva. On their return journey, however, as they were passing through the town of Pakruojis, some of them were killed by local Lithuanian activists.[3]

According to the research of historian Arūnas Bubnys, the Linkuva partisan squad was reorganized into an auxiliary police squad in early July 1941, now headed by Lieutenant Petras Beleckas.[4] The Jews who had survived the initial massacres were then locked up in the barns of David Davidson, probably before mid-July, establishing a kind of ghetto.

Accounts of the fate of these remaining Jews differ in the available sources. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, all the remaining Jews were shot on July 23, 1941, when the barn ghetto in Linkuva was liquidated and up to 700 Jews (including some refugees from elsewhere) were shot in the Atkočiūnai Forest.[5]

On the basis of Soviet trials, Bubnys has reconstructed a more detailed version of the ghetto's liquidation. First the Lithuanian auxiliary police brought the Jewish men to the Tsalke farm, outside the town, probably near the village of Veselkiškiai. The next day, on or around July 26, 1941, a small squad of German Security Police, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries, shot between 180 and 200 Jewish men into a pit. The Jewish women and children (about 200–300 people) were taken from the ghetto and shot about one month later in the Atkočiūnai Forest. The women were forced to strip naked first, and the Gestapo men finished off with pistols anyone still moving in the pit. After the mass shooting, the executioners returned to Linkuva for a bout of drinking. More valuable possessions collected from the victims, such as gold rings, were taken by the Germans to Šiauliai, while the Jews' clothing was taken by the local policemen for their families.[6] (According to another source, the ghetto in Linkuva was liquidated between August 5 and 7, 1941, by executing about 500 Jews, with 300 women and children shot in the Atkočiūnai Forest, 5 kilometers [3 miles] southeast of Linkuva, and around 200 men shot in the Dovariukai Forest, 4 kilometers [2.5 miles] northeast of Linkuva.)[7]

Only a handful of Jews from Linkuva survived until the end of World War II.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Linkuva during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Linkuva," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 306; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 245–247; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 360–362; and J. Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Linkuva can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (e.g., K 1-46-1277 and K 1-58-39421/3); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 306.

2. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 404.

3. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*, p. 306.

4. LYA, K 1-58-39421/3, pp. 32–35, 69–70.

5. See GARF, 7021-94-436, p. 28.
6. Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," pp. 246–247.
7. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes*, vol. 2, p. 404.

LYGUMAI

Pre-1940: Lygumai (Yiddish: Ligum), village, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Lygumai/Ligumai, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Lygumai, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pakruojis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Lygumai is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) east-northeast of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 240 Jews living in Lygumai, representing 32 percent of its population. In the 1930s, the number of Jews declined to 120.

In the first days of the war, Aleksandras Keniausis, head of the local detachment of Šaulys (marksmen), organized a squad of Lithuanian partisans, which was later reorganized into an auxiliary police detachment.[1] At this time a number of Jews attempted to flee Lygumai, but most were turned back at the Latvian border and forced to return home.

German troops captured the village on June 28, 1941. Immediately after its capture, Lithuanian nationalists seized power in Lygumai and soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. All Jewish refugees were ordered to leave without delay. On the pretext of searching for weapons, Lithuanian activists robbed many Jewish homes. They arrested a number of Jews on a charge of collaboration with the Soviet authorities in 1940–1941 and sent them to Šiauliai, where they were killed. Several Jews were murdered in the nearby Benaraitsiu Forest.

In the second half of July, all the remaining Jews were rounded up and confined at two separate sites. The Jewish men were taken to a farm in the Juknaičiai Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Lygumai. The women and children were placed in the synagogue. These two sites served as a temporary ghetto for the Jews.

In early August, a squad of about 30 Lithuanian partisans assembled in Lygumai, where they were issued with weapons. They then went to the Juknaičiai Forest, where they escorted the Jewish men to a pit that had been prepared nearby. Under the command of four German officers from Šiauliai, the local partisans, reinforced by a squad of about a dozen men from Linkuva, carried out the shooting of the male Jews. The next day, or according to other sources, a few days later, the women and children from the synagogue were also escorted into the Juknaičiai Forest to be shot.

After each Aktion, the possessions of the victims were brought back to Lygumai on carts, and the participants congregated in the local government building to drink alcohol.[2]

SOURCES This account of the fate of the Jewish community of Lygumai during the Holocaust is based mainly on two publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here p. 245; and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 352–354—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Lygumai can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 104/67); GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (e.g., K 1-58-P18194-LI and K 1-58-45022/3); and YVA (M-9/15[6], Leyb Koniukhovsky Collection [O-71, file 109]).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. LYA, K 1-58-P18194-LI, p. 16, testimony of J. Barščiauskas, April 4, 1947, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," p. 245.

2. Available sources diverge somewhat on the precise chronology of events. For example, B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 404, indicates that about 190 Jews were shot in July 1941. The testimony of Nisn Goldes (YVA, Leyb Koniukhovsky Collection, O-71, file 109) also mentions an execution by shooting in July 1941. German investigative sources, i.e., BA-L, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 104/67, Concluding Report, April 26, 1971, p. 10, as cited by Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), p. 297, reports that about 500 Jews were shot on August 1, 1941.

ŁYNTUPY

Pre-1939: Łyntupy (Yiddish: Lyntup), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lyntupy, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: initially Rayon Swir, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pastavy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łyntupy is located 76 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1930, there were 70 Jewish families living in Łyntupy.

German armed forces had occupied the town by the start of July 1941. As soon as the Soviets retreated, a Lithuanian, pro-Nazi militia took over and started to persecute the Jews, killing two people.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) exerted authority in the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Łyntupy first was included in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien (Gebiet Wilejka), and in April 1942, it became part of Generalkommissariat Litauen (Gebiet Wilna-Land).

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was introduced in Łyntupy. These included marking the Jews with the Star of David, using them for forced labor, and

placing a ban on their leaving the town limits. The local auxiliary police robbed and beat the Jews with impunity.

Murders of Jews, singly and in groups, took place intermittently from the start of the occupation. Soviet records indicate that in 1941, 22 Jews were shot in Łyntupy.[1] For example, Lithuanian policemen arrested Rabbi Judkovsky and his family for listening to the radio illegally in the house of the former mayor. They were then taken outside the village and shot.[2] In addition, several Jews were arrested and sent to Wilejka, where they were shot despite bribes paid to the head of the German Gendarmerie in Wilejka.[3]

At some time in the second half of 1941 or in early 1942, all the Jews of Łyntupy were moved into a small, run-down section of town, where a ghetto was established.[4] On May 19, 1942, partisans killed two German Kreislandwirtschaftsführer (agricultural leaders) on the Święciany-Łyntupy road. In retribution, 400 "saboteurs and terrorists"[5] were shot in Łyntupy and the surrounding villages. Soviet sources indicate that Jews may have been among those killed in reprisal, but available Jewish survivor testimony does not mention this event.[6]

According to the child survivor Irene Skibinski, at some point, in the spring or summer of 1942, the ghetto was divided in two, and part of the Jewish population was then resettled to the Święciany ghetto. A census taken by the German authorities, officially dated May 27, 1942, reported that there were 161 Jews residing in Łyntupy.[7] This figure probably represents those that remained in Łyntupy, although it may have been taken just before this transfer.

More than 100 Jewish skilled and essential workers, such as an electrician, together with their families, remained in the town. These people were resettled into three houses in the town center, forming a small remnant ghetto or labor camp. They lived there in very crowded conditions, with four to five families sharing a room. Skibinski recalls that there was no school and a shortage of food. Her brother was able to sneak out and obtain food and medicine for her when she fell ill.[8]

Following a partisan attack on Łyntupy on the night of December 18, 1942, the remnant ghetto/labor camp was liquidated on December 22, 1942, when the 93 remaining inmates were rounded up and shot. Some were shot inside the town and the rest at the mass burial site on the town's southern edge.[9] During the roundup, Skibinski's brother was shot by Lithuanian policemen, but she managed to hide in a cellar with her mother. When they emerged from hiding some time later at night, the doors of the ghetto buildings had already been boarded up. They went to the house of Catholic priest Father Pakalnis, who instructed his housekeeper to hide them in the cellar until things quieted down.[10]

Basia Rudnicka also escaped successfully from the Łyntupy ghetto and found refuge with local people near Święciany. Some Jews from Łyntupy were active in the underground in the Święciany ghetto, where a group of Jews escaped to join the partisans in the spring of 1943.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Łyntupy during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1433–1446—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; "Lyntupy," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 395–397; and Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, *Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners*, *1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 429–431, 640.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of Jews in Łyntupy can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-13); LCVA (e.g., R 685-4-6); VHF (# 38278); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 180.
2. Mordekhai Kentsianski (Max Khenchynski), "Our Shtetl," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1433–1446; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, pp. 396–397.
3. Irene Mauber Skibinski, "Through the Eyes of a Child—My Childhood in Lyntupy," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron . . . Svintsian*, pp. 1433–1446; see also her more recent testimony, VHF, # 38278.
4. Skibinski, "Through the Eyes of a Child," pp. 1433–1446.
5. LCVA, R 685-4-6, p. 22, Bekanntmachung, Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Wulff, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 250–251.
6. According to Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida*, pp. 180–181, on May 19 and 20, 1942, 61 Jews were shot in a forest northwest of Łyntupy, and 66 were shot on Golubkov Street. This may, however, reflect the destruction of the labor camp in December 1942, due to incorrect dating.
7. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, p. 640.
8. VHF, # 38278.
9. The date and number of victims are taken from the inscription on the memorial; see Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, *Svir*, p. 429.
10. Skibinski, "Through the Eyes of a Child," pp. 1433–1446; see also VHF, # 38278.

MARIJAMPOLĖ

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

Marijampolė is located about 54 kilometers (34 miles) southwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 2,545 Jews living in the town. By 1940, it is estimated that the



Flowers and wreaths cover the base of a memorial to Jewish victims in Marijampolė, 1946.
USHMM WS #14816, COURTESY OF SARA TROZKI KOPER

Jewish population had increased to some 2,900, out of a total population of 15,700. This number included about 200 Jewish refugees from the Suwałki region.

After a heavy bombardment, which caused several casualties, German armed forces captured the town on June 23, 1941. The rapid German advance forced most Jews who attempted to flee to turn back to Marijampolė. As recorded by the Kommandant des rückwärtigen Armeegebietes 584, Generalleutnant von Speman, on June 28, 1941: "In Marijampolė the inhabitants formed a local self-defense and police force. Its measures were directed primarily against the Jews."[1] Many Jews were arrested in these first days, and they were subsequently shot in a forest about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town in the direction of Vilkaviškis. Before July 18, five mass shootings were recorded in German reports, shootings that claimed the lives of at least 174 Jewish men, 14 Jewish women, and 15 Communists.[2]

On July 11, the Kreischef (regional head) ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Rabbi Abrom Geleris, which had six members. By mid-July the Kreischef in Marijampolė had instituted a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to wear six-pointed Star of David patches on the front and back of their clothing, and they were required to perform various kinds of hard labor, which included clearing up bomb damage for the men and domestic service for the women. Jews were banned from most public places, including parks, restaurants, and libraries, and could only visit stores at certain restricted times.[3]

One day, the Jews were forced to burn the Torah scrolls from the synagogue, and later in July, the Jews were ordered to abandon their homes and gather in the synagogue and several adjacent houses. In this improvised ghetto, the Jews were subjected to robbery, forced labor, and the abuse of women at night. Some men, who were taken out for forced labor, were simply murdered on the outskirts of town.[4] According to an Einsatzgruppen report, on July 25, 1941, another 90 Jewish men and 13 Jewish women were shot.[5]

In August, the Germans forced Jewish youths to dig trenches behind the barracks near the Šešupė River. At the end of August, the Jewish Council was informed by the Lithuanian administration that a large ghetto was going to be established in the cavalry barracks and that the surrounding area would be handed over to the Jews. The German authorities also informed the Jews that they would be permitted to organize the social and economic aspects of their lives as they saw fit in the ghetto, as long as the war continued. This information was designed to allay fears and spreading rumors that the Jews would soon be shot. At the end of August, all the Jews of Marijampolė packed up their belongings and moved into the barracks. On arrival, the men were separated from the women and children and were crammed into the horse stables. Over the next days the men were subjected to physical abuse. Additional Jews were also brought into the barracks ghetto from Kazlų Rūda, Liudvinavas, and other nearby places at this time.[6]

Then on August 30, 1941, the remaining Jews in Kalvarija, probably in excess of 1,000 people, were told they would be transferred to the Marijampolė ghetto. They loaded all their belongings onto wagons, but these were only taken to the local synagogue. Then the Kalvarija Jews were also taken to the cavalry barracks in Marijampolė, which became extremely overcrowded, holding some 5,000 people by now.[7]

The mass shooting of the Jews concentrated in the Marijampolė ghetto was conducted between 10:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. on September 1, 1941. The men were shot first, followed by the women, children, and the elderly and infirm. About 40 German officers and men organized the Aktion at the barracks, while the shooting at the trenches was conducted by 10 to 15 Germans, assisted by 20 to 30 Lithuanian policemen. According to the report of SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, 1,763 Jewish men, 1,812 Jewish women, and 1,404 Jewish children were shot together with 109 mentally ill patients, a German citizen who was married to a Jew, and one Russian. The victims were stripped down to their

underwear, forced to lie down in the trench in groups, and then shot with machine guns from the side. Many of them were only wounded and buried alive. Three men of Einsatzkommando 3 prevented an escape attempt by killing 38 people who tried to flee down a forest path. Some infants were clubbed or trampled to death. Many of the killers were drunk during the Aktion.[8]

After the war, almost no trace of the former Jewish population remained in the town.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Marijampolė can be found in the following publications: "Marijampole," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 385–391; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 292–293; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 216–218; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-216); BA-MA (RH 22/362); GARF; LCVA (e.g., R 1361-1-465; R 1361-3-21); LYA (3377-55-108); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 22/362, p. 32, KTB Nr. 2, Korück 584, June 28, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 11, July 11, 1941; RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
3. LCVA, R 1361-1-465, p. 1; R 1361-3-21, pp. 4, 6, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik." See also Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 385–391.
4. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 385–391.
5. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 54, August 16, 1941 (NO-2849).
6. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 385–391.
7. Ibid., pp. 385-391 and pp. 590–594 (Kalvarija). These sources report some 8,000 Jewish victims gathered in Marijampolė, but German reports put the figure at around 5,000, which is probably more reliable.
8. Ibid., pp. 385–391; RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 112, 116; Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 292–293; Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, pp. 217–218.

MAŽEIKIAI

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

Mažeikiai is located 74 kilometers (46 miles) northwest of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 771 Jews living in the town. As of 1941, there were around 1,000 Jews residing in Mažeikiai.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. At the start of July 1941, Lithuanian nationalists, headed by a certain Payulis, a former captain in the Lithuanian army, and his deputy Juozas Smauskas, ordered all the Jews to gather in the Bet Midrash. The dentist Dr. Fanya Lampe refused to leave her home, so the Lithuanians killed her and her child. A few days later, the Jews were moved from the Bet Midrash and resettled into a granary. There, Jewish men, over the age of 15, were separated from the women and children. The men remained in the building, while the women and children were resettled to the Psherkshkniai estate, near the village of Tirkšliai. In effect, two ghettos were set up in Mažeikiai, one for the men in the granary and one for the women and children on the Psherkshkniai estate, where the Jewish women and children from Tirkšliai were already concentrated. Able-bodied men were exploited for labor of various kinds in Mažeikiai and its surroundings. The intensive physical labor included loading and unloading trains at the railway station.

On August 3, 1941, all the Jewish men were taken out of the granary and shot near the Jewish cemetery. On August 5, the women and children were resettled into the granary. On August 9, the women and children were also shot near the Jewish cemetery. Along with the Jewish women and children from Mažeikiai, Jews from at least 10 other localities—Akmenė, Seda, Viekšniai, Tirkšliai, Židikai, Pikeliai, Klykoliai, Leckava, Laižuva, and Vegeriai—were also murdered. The total number of victims was around 3,000, buried in at least five separate mass graves. The killings were carried out by the Lithuanian police, under the supervision of the Germans, most likely a detachment of Einsatzkommando 2 from Šiauliai. About 30 non-Jewish Soviet activists, who had been held in the Mažeikiai jail, were also shot along with the Jews. The Lithuanian participants in the shootings were rewarded with Jewish clothing collected at the killing site. After the Aktion, the Lithuanian policemen celebrated their ill-gotten gains with a large meal accompanied by alcohol in Mažeikiai.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mažeikiai can be found in these publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 309–310—an English translation by Arye Harry Shamir is available at jewishgen.org; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 218–219; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 304–305 (Tirkšliai) and 367–369 (Mažeikiai).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Mažeikiai in the Holocaust can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-94-423, pp. 51–52); LCVA; LYA (3377-55-111); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1555 and 1637; M-1/Q/279).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

MEJSZAGOŁA

Pre-1939: Mejszagoła (Yiddish: Meyshegola), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Maišiagala, Vilnius apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Maišiagala/Maishagala, Vilnius uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Maischiogala, Kreis Wilna, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Maišiagala, Vilnius rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Mejszagoła is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) north-northwest of Wilno. About 700 Jews resided in the village on the eve of World War II.

When the Soviet forces withdrew in late June 1941, local Lithuanians organized a pogrom in Mejszagoła. On the arrival of the Germans, Jewish property was confiscated, including their farms. On German orders, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the village. Jews were required to perform forced labor and were subjected to other restrictions, including the times when they were allowed to purchase food.

The most detailed account of the Mejszagoła ghetto is the testimony by David Rudnik in handwritten Yiddish. He reported that after about one month a ghetto was established in Mejszagoła on small streets that were muddy and dark. At night Germans and Lithuanians entered the ghetto to rob and scare the Jews. They dragged out young Jewish girls and raped them. The Jewish men left the ghetto to perform forced labor working on road repairs, and the women cleaned the homes of local non-Jews. The Jews obtained food from the local farmers.[1]

Living conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with four families sharing a single room. This overcrowding became even worse when Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought into the Mejszagoła ghetto. The Judenrat did not treat the Jews badly but had to collect "contributions" in money, gold, and other items to meet German demands. The Jews also had to surrender all their livestock. The ghetto existed for about two months.[2]

The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos indicates that the Mejszagoła ghetto was liquidated on September 28, 1941, when its inhabitants were taken to the village of Wilanowa, where they were murdered a few days later by Lithuanian and German policemen. In the view of Christoph Dieckmann, however, it is possible that the Jews from the Mejszagoła ghetto were taken to the estate at Veliučionys, near Naujoji Vilnia, where the Soviets had erected a military college. Hundreds of Jews from the region were brought there around September 22 and were shot shortly afterwards. A brief report in *Hurbn Vilne* notes that the Jews of Mejszagoła were taken to Vilianove (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] from Wilno) on September 24 and were shot there within a brief time. It is likely that Wilanowa, Naujoji Vilnia, and Vilianove are all different spellings for the same place.

Rudnik reports that two days before Rosh Hashanah (on September 22 in 1941), on a Sunday, Lithuanian policemen arrived from Wilno and herded all the Jews into the synagogue. Here the Jews were forced to surrender their valuables, including their wedding rings. The Jews were told they would be taken to Wilno. The able-bodied were then marched 15 kilometers (9 miles) on foot to Wilanowa, not far from Podbrzezie,[3] with the children and the elderly transported on trucks. The Jews were brutally beaten with sharp sticks by the Lithuanian police along the route. On arrival the Jews were locked in a barn for three days and nights. About 80 Jewish men, including Rudnik, were taken out to dig a large pit in the forest about 500 meters (547 yards) from the barn.

On Wednesday morning (September 23) the Lithuanian and Polish policemen became drunk and raped the young Jewish girls aged 14 to 18. Then SS men arrived from Wilno and started to take groups of 13 to 15 men to the pit to shoot them. Rudnik was among the first group, which scattered in all directions on a signal. He was 1 of only 3 people who managed to escape from the killing site. The rest of his group was shot trying to escape. After the men, the women and children were forced to undress and were shot into the same pit, some being buried alive. After the Aktion, the Lithuanians auctioned off the Jewish clothing.[4]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 459; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 807; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6; and Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 133.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mejszagoła can be found in the following archives: LCVA; LG-Würz (Ks 15/49, case gainst Martin Weiss); and YVA (M-1/E/1689).

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NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/1689 (USHMM, RG-68.095), testimony of David Rudnik.
2. Ibid.
3. It is possible that there was also a ghetto in Podbrzezie, but no detailed information could be found about it for this volume.
4. YVA, M-1/E/1689 (USHMM, RG-68.095), testimony of David Rudnik.

MERKINĖ

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

Merkinė is located 84 kilometers (52 miles) south-southeast of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 1,430 Jews living in the town. By June 1941, the population had decreased,

owing to the out-migration of Jews, and stood at fewer than 1,000 people (350 families).

German forces captured the town on June 22, 1941. Merkinė endured severe bombardment, and many Jewish homes were destroyed. A few local Jews attempted to escape, but they were soon forced to return to Merkinė.[1]

Immediately after the seizure of the town, Lithuanian nationalists, led by Matuleitis, the head of the local detachment of Šaulys (marksmen), formed a town administration and a police force, which soon implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with Stars of David, ordered into compulsory labor, and subjected to robbery and assault (including rape) by local antisemites. On June 24, 1941, the first group of Jews was murdered. On the grounds of the Jewish cemetery, Lithuanian partisans shot several Jews whom they accused of being Communists and having collaborated with the Soviet authorities.

According to the account in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry's *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, in early July, the German commandant in Merkinė took 50 Jews hostage in an attempt to force the return of Rav Shtoppel, the town's rabbi, who had gone into hiding. As no one was willing to betray the rabbi's whereabouts, the commandant then threatened to kill all the Jews. When word of this reached the rabbi, he surrendered voluntarily. He was then forced to dance and sing before being brutally killed.[2] Other Jews were taken to the Niemen River and drowned there.

In the first half of July 1941, all the Jews in the town were ordered to resettle into a ghetto. The area around the synagogue, the Bet Midrash, and its courtyard was designated for the ghetto. The men resided in the Bet Midrash, separated from the women and children. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by armed Lithuanian police. A Judenrat with a few members was formed to oversee internal ghetto affairs. Local Lithuanians were permitted to requisition Jews for work. Some selected Jews against whom they had a grudge to take their revenge. From the ghetto, several groups of Jewish men were taken away in the direction of Alytus, then shot.

The Merkinė ghetto remained in existence for about two months. At the end of August, the Jews were made to prepare long trenches in the Jewish cemetery, which allegedly were needed for military purposes. Then a few days later, armed Lithuanians surrounded the ghetto and guarded it closely during the night to prevent anyone from escaping. The next morning, the Jews were driven out of the ghetto to the Jewish cemetery, leaving all their possessions behind.[3]

According to German documentation, the Germans and their collaborators shot the Jews from the Merkinė ghetto on September 10, 1941. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian policemen, shot 854 Jews (223 men, 355 women, and 276 children) in the Jewish cemetery.[4] A few Jewish girls who managed to escape at the time of the roundup were subsequently captured and killed.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and killing of the Jews in Merkinė can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965); Joseph Rosin, "Meretch (Merkine)," available at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/meretch/meretch1a.html; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 311–312; Uri Shefer, ed., *Meretch: Ayara yehudit be-Lita* (Society of Meretch Immigrants in Israel, 1988); "Meretsh," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 219–221; "Merkine," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 392–396; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 459–460.

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

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, pp. 311–312.
2. Oshry, *The Annihilation*, p. 221. This incident, however, is not mentioned in the account by Rosin, "Meretch (Merkine)."
3. Rosin, "Meretch (Merkine)," and Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, pp. 311–312, both date the mass shooting on September 8, 1941.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941; Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 1, p. 135; B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 235.

MICHALISZKI

Pre-1939: Michaliszki, town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikhalishki, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: initially Michalischki, Kreis Swir, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Mikhalishki, Astravets raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Michaliszki is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1897, the Jewish population of the town was 951, out of a total of 1,224. Before World War II, there were about 800 Jews living there.

German forces captured the town on June 24, 1941. As the Germans arrived, many Jews fled into the forests. The non-Jewish local inhabitants exploited this opportunity to loot Jewish property. In response to a German order, warning that Jews who did not come home by a certain date would be punished, most of the fugitive Jews returned.

In the summer of 1941, the Germans ordered the chairman of the existing Jewish community (gmina) in Michaliszki, Ora Bleicher, to organize a Jewish Council (Judenrat). However, according to Bleicher's account, when it came to an

election, nobody wanted the position, as they were all afraid of the onerous responsibilities.[1] Nevertheless, a Judenrat was formed, which included the following as members: Yitzhak Świrski (chairman), Josef Chit, Szyjn Miller, Salmun Baruch, Salome Rabinowicz, and Szymon Eystein.

A ghetto was established in Michaliszki by October 1941 on two unpaved streets near the center of town. The spaces between the houses were boarded up with wooden planks, and there was only one exit to the ghetto, guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by non-Jewish local policemen. Inside the ghetto, several families had to share a single dwelling.[2] The Jews who performed forced labor left the ghetto area on a daily basis. The Jews worked mostly in the construction or reconstruction of bridges, roads, and railroad tracks, in mills, and in electrical companies. In addition, they had to clear the rubble and snow from the roads. Some Jews were also sent away from the ghetto for a period to cut lumber in the forests.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Michaliszki was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and local police. Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living in the ghettos in this region were a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[3] At the end of May 1942, there were 787 Jews in the Michaliszki ghetto: 363 men and 424 women.[4] In July 1942, a total of 35 prisoners from the Michaliszki ghetto were sent to work in the eastern branch of the Włokiennicze cardboard company.[5]

A document dated November 6, 1942, from the office of the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, noted that Michaliszki had been recognized as a main ghetto, now subordinated to the administration of the Judenrat in Wilno, and that it had two subghettos, one in Łyntupy and a second in Świr.[6] According to one report, some of the Jews capable of work may have been transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto from Kiemieliszki and Bystrzyca when those ghettos were liquidated at the end of October.[7] Other Jews arrived in Michaliszki after fleeing from Aktions in nearby ghettos, including Świr. Among them was Yehoshua Swidler, who was told by the Judenrat on November 7 that he must leave Michaliszki, as German orders barred the absorption of refugees from other towns. However, instead, he was added to the next transport of laborers to the ghetto in Wilno.[8] At the end of 1942, about 500 inmates of the Świr ghetto were transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto. Only 60 "specialized" Jewish workers then remained in Świr.[9]

In a strictly confidential letter dated March 9, 1943, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land informed the Organisation Todt and the Giesler construction company of an order calling for the transfer of all the Jews working in these companies back to the ghettos in Oszmiana, Świr, Michaliszki, and Święciany by March 22, 1943. He also recommended in this memorandum that no appeal should be made against this order.[10]

In early March 1943, a group of young Jews from the Michaliszki ghetto managed to escape to the forests with the aim of joining the anti-German partisans.[11]

At the end of March, the Germans liquidated the Michaliszki ghetto. H. Kruk records that 400 wagons with Jews and their possessions arrived in Wilno from Michaliszki. They were accommodated temporarily on Strashun and Oszmiana Streets. Then in early April, many of the Michaliszki Jews were added to a train containing other Jews from the region, reputedly headed for Kaunas. Instead, the train went only to Ponary, where all the Jews were shot. The train contained Jews from the ghettos of Soly, Oszmiana, Gudogaj, and Ostrowiec, as well as Michaliszki, about 2,500 in total. Only about 50 Jews from this transport managed to escape. A number of Jews from Michaliszki, however, were selected for labor and remained in the Wilno ghetto or were sent to various labor camps subordinated to it, including the camp at Vievis.[12]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Michaliszki can be found in these publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 114–115; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.8.1; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 464–465; Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); and Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002).

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: BA-DH (ZM 1641, A 23); LCVA (R 614-1-736, R 626-l-124, R 677-1-46); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 30396, 35318, 39703); YIVO (RG-104 I, no. 611); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/286).

Elżbieta Rojowska and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/286, testimony of Ore Bleicher, as cited by Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, pp. 252–253.
2. VHF, # 39703, testimony of Martin Kulbak; # 35318, testimony of Abraham Rudnick.
3. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, p. 130.
4. LCVA, R 743-2-10274, pp. 31 and verso, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 114.
5. LCVA, R 626-l-124, p. 48.
6. Ibid., R 614-1-736, p. 299.
7. YIVO, RG-104 I, no. 611, report of Shmuel Kalmanovich, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.8.1.
8. Yitzhak Siegelman, ed., *Sefer Kobylnik* (Haifa: Va'ad Yozei Kobylnik b'Israel, Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, 1967), p. 151, as cited by Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 151.

9. BA-DH, ZM 1641, A 23, p. 129 (the case of Gite Mular); Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 86.
10. LCVA, R 677-1-46, p. 5.
11. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 494.
12. Ibid., p. 534; BA-DH, ZM 1641, A 23, p. 129 (the case of Gite Mular); Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, p. 359; VHF, # 39703, # 35318, and # 30396, testimony of Jack Wysoki.

NAUMIESTIS

Pre-1940: Naumiestis (Yiddish: Neishtot-Tavrig), town, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Naumiestis/Naumestis, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Neustadt, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Žemaičių Naumiestis, Šilute rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Naumiestis is located 150 kilometers (93 miles) west-northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 667 Jews living in Naumiestis, 37 percent of the town's total population. About 120 Jewish families remained in Naumiestis by the time of the Soviet occupation in June 1940.

German forces captured the town on the morning of June 22, 1941, the first day of their invasion of the USSR. Following the killing of 14 German soldiers by gunfire, probably from Soviet stragglers, the Germans arrested a number of Jewish men as hostages, holding them in the Lutheran church. However, after the local Lithuanian priest avowed that the Jews were innocent, the men were released to return home.

Immediately after the occupation of the town, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which, together with the German Ortskommandantur (military commandant's office), introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to report daily to the Ortskommandantur, where they were assigned to perform forced labor. The tasks included sweeping the streets, road repairs, work in a German field kitchen, and the burial of fallen soldiers. The Jews were required to wear yellow patches on their clothes and were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks. At the end of June, the Jews were forced to remove the Torah scrolls and even the benches from the synagogue and burn them.

In early July 1941, all the town's Jews were concentrated in a few houses on Pigs Street, a derelict quarter near the Sustis River, which became the ghetto.[1] The Germans and Lithuanians removed five Jewish girls from the ghetto, and they were never heard from again.

The first Aktion took place on July 19, 1941. Initially, all Jewish males older than 14 were assembled at the synagogue. From this group, 27 able-bodied men were selected and put in the barracks. They were subsequently taken to the Heydekrug (Šilute) labor camp. Of the remaining Jewish males, 10 were sent back to the ghetto, while the others, about 70 in all, were shot near Šiaudvyčiai along with more than 100 male Jews brought there from Vainutas. The shooting was carried out by Lithuanian police and members of the 2nd SS-Reitersturm, SS-Reiterstandarte 20. The Reiterstandarte was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Struve; the Reitersturm, by SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner Scheu. Other participants in the killing were members of the 2nd SS-Sturmbann, SS-Standarte 105, and two officials of the Tilsit Gestapo.[2]

During the mass shooting, at least one Jew tried to flee, but he was chased down and shot, and his body was also thrown into the mass grave. One of those selected for labor, Esriel Glock, heard the shooting in the distance (about 4 kilometers [2.5 miles] away) and learned from one of the Lithuanian guards what had happened to the other group of men. After a few hours, the SS men returned to the barracks from the shooting site. The forced laborers were then permitted to return home briefly to the ghetto to fetch some additional clothing before they were sent to the Heydekrug camp.[3]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, other Jews from Pajūris, Švėkšna, Veivirženai, Kvėdarna, and Laukuva were also brought to the killing site at Šiaudvyčiai on trucks and were shot there. These were probably male Jews who had been sent initially to the Heydekrug labor camp at the end of June 1941 and after four or five weeks had been deemed unfit, following a medical examination. Apparently these men were shot, probably at Šiaudvyčiai, in the second half of July.[4]

The remaining Jews in the ghetto continued to perform forced labor and suffered from hunger and abuse. The ghetto existed until September 25, 1941, when all the Jews were taken out and shot at the Šiaudvyčiai killing site.

The male forced laborers from Naumiestis were kept at the Heydekrug labor camp until the summer of 1943, when they were sent to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Here, according to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 99 men from the group were sent to the gas chambers, and the remainder were sent in October 1943 to clear out the rubble from the Warsaw ghetto. Of the men originally from Naumiestis, only 7 are believed to have survived the war, some of them being liberated by the U.S. Army in Bavaria, after having been transferred to a Dachau subcamp.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Naumiestis during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Our Town Neishtot* (Israel: Neishtot-Tavrig Natives Committee, 1982); Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 398–401—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 579, pp. 318–330; Ruth Leiserowitz, "Grenzregion als Grauzone. Heydekrug—eine Stadt an der Peripherie Ostpreussens," in Christian Pletzing, ed., *Vorposten des Reichs?: Ostpreussen 1933–1945* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 129–149.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Naumiestis can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5394-5399); GARF (7021-94-429); and YVA (Leib Koniuchovsky Collection O-71, files 4, 16; M-1/E/1619).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. The ghetto is mentioned in LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 579, p. 319.
2. Ibid., pp. 320–321.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 207 AR-Z 162/59, vol. 2 (B 162/5395), p. 320, testimony of Esriel Glock, 1961, as cited by Leiserowitz, "Grenzregion als Grauzone," p. 140.
4. YVA, testimony of Gershon Young (Jung) from Kvėdarna, summarized at jewishgen.org, who mentions the disappearance of a number of unfit men after four or five weeks.

NOWE ŚWIĘCIANY

Pre-1939: Nowe Święciany (Yiddish: Nei-Sventzion), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Švenčionėliai, Švenčionys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Švenčionėliai/ Novo-Sventsiany, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowe Schwentschionys, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Švenčionėliai, Švenčionys rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Nowe Święciany is located about 76 kilometers (47 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. According to unofficial data from July 1940, there were 966 Jews living in the town, comprising 20 percent of the total population.

Following the German invasion of Lithuania, nationalist riflemen (Šaulys) and (Lithuanian) Red Army deserters soon joined forces around Nowe Święciany to form a Lithuanian partisan unit of about 60 men, led by Jonas Kurpis. This force attacked retreating units of the Red Army, and some fleeing Jews were killed in the cross fire.[1] The Lithuanian activists then began to arrest Jews and alleged Communists in Nowe Święciany, shooting a number of them in early July, after the arrival of German forces. Among the Jews murdered were Portnoj (mill owner), Epstein (turpentine factory owner), Gavenda (tradesman), and Dr. Kopelovitch (physician).

Bronius Gruzdys was appointed head of the local police in Nowe Święciany. In July the Jews suffered from looting and abuse at the hands of the Lithuanians. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to organize forced labor detachments. Among the Jews involved on the council were the merchants Berl Guterman, Yeshayohu Katz, and Osher Butshunsky. They assisted the rabbi, who was in charge of setting up the council.[2]

On July 22, 1941, Lithuanian activists arrested and registered 50 Jewish men. These men were then taken to be killed in groups. When the final group arrived at the killing site and saw the graves, some of the Jewish men fled in different directions, and a few, including Fayve Khayet, managed to escape unscathed. Among the victims were also some Jewish refugees who had fled from other towns in Poland in the fall of 1939.[3]

At the end of July 1941 (or in mid-August, according to Khayet), all the town's Jews were moved into a separate quarter (open ghetto) on Kaltanėnų Street. The Jews continued, however, to trade with local non-Jews illegally, despite the strict local regulations limiting their access to markets and stores. The Jews in the ghetto became increasingly resigned and desperate. However, rumors circulating about the murder of entire Jewish communities elsewhere in Lithuania encountered considerable skepticism.[4]

On September 26, 1941, the local police and former Lithuanian partisans surrounded the ghetto, and on the next day they transferred all the Jews (about 300 to 400 people) to an overcrowded barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon transit camp, located 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside the town.

The Jews were held in the Poligon camp for more than a week under atrocious conditions, together with thousands of Jews brought there from other towns in the region, including Ignalino and Podbrodzie. On October 6, the men were separated from the women, and on October 7 Fayve Khayet managed to escape, making his way to the enclosed ghetto in the nearby larger town of Święciany.[5] In the meantime, the German Security Police had informed the mayor of Nowe Święciany, Karolis Cicėnas, and the police chief, Gruzdys, that all the Jews were going to be shot, and these officials organized the preparation of large ditches in the vicinity. Then on October 7–8, 1941, the Jews of Nowe Święciany were shot, along with several thousand other Jews from towns in the region, including from Święciany, where a number of craftsmen were selected out and kept alive in a remnant ghetto. The Jews were taken out of the barracks in groups of 50 and transported by truck to the killing site. The Aktion was organized by the German Security Police and implemented by the men of the Ypatingas Burys Lithuanian killing squad commanded by Juozas Šidlauskas, assisted by 120 local Lithuanian policemen and former partisans. According to the report of Karl Jäger, the commander of Einsatzkommando 3, the 3,726 Jewish victims included 1,169 men, 1,840 women, and 717 children.[6] Other sources, however, indicate that as many as 6,000 to 8,000 people may have been killed at the site.[7]

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry comes from Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 83–118, here pp. 94–95; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Nowe Święciany can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 1548-1-1); LYA (K 1-58-P19224); and YVA (O-71/169.1).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, O-71/169.1, testimony of Fayve Khayet, recorded by L. Koniukhovsky, April 1948, p. 123.
2. Ibid., p. 126.
3. Ibid., p. 129. This source lists the names of 23 of the victims.
4. Ibid., pp. 132–133; for the restrictions on Jews visiting markets and shops, see LCVA, R 1548-1-1, p. 309, Order no.

25, issued by the Head of Kreis Schwentschionys, August 25, 1941.

5. YVA, O-71/169.1, p. 134.

6. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114. This report gives October 9, 1941, as the date of the killing, but other sources indicate it occurred on October 7–8, 1941.

7. Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), p. 1376, gives the figure of 8,000 victims at the Poligon camp. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," uses the phrase "at least 5,000."

OBELIAI

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

Obeliai is located about 14 kilometers (9 miles) east of Rokiškis. In the early 1920s, there were about 760 Jews living in Obeliai, comprising around two thirds of the total population.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many Jews tried to flee to the east, but the border with Latvia remained closed, and most were forced to return home. In Obeliai, local peasants exploited the power vacuum to attack the Jews and steal their property.

Germans forces occupied Obeliai on June 26, 1941. Lithuanian nationalist activists seized authority in the village. They arrested a number of Jewish men, who then disappeared, presumably killed. They forced the remaining Jews to perform hard labor. On August 6, 1941, the Lithuanian commandant in Rokiškis, Lieutenant Žukas, issued an order that any local inhabitants who collected Jews for work but then allowed them to move to other places or to avoid work by paying a bribe instead would be severely punished.[1] This reflected the common practice in the region of Jews being requisitioned by local farmers to work on their land.

As no survivor testimony could be located for this entry, details about the existence of a ghetto in Obeliai remain scant. However, a Lithuanian girl, who lived through the German occupation, mentioned the existence of a ghetto in testimony given more than 50 years after the events. She recalled that on the day when the Germans and Lithuanians planned to kill the Jews, some Soviet partisans intervened, emerging from the woods and opening fire, which apparently caused the Aktion to be delayed by 24 hours. The next day she went to the ghetto and observed that it was empty of Jews. She heard the sounds of shooting in the distance, and Jewish clothing was being brought back to the ghetto, where some Lithuanians had arrived with carts to loot the empty houses. She notes also that the Jewish men from Obeliai were taken to Rokiškis to be murdered, while the women and children were brought from Rokiškis to Obeliai to be killed.[2]

The men were probably shot first around August 15, 1941, in the Velniaduobė Woods, 5 kilometers (3 miles) north of Rokiškis. Then on or around August 25, 1941, Jewish women and children from Kamajai, Rokiškis, and several other places were brought to the village of Obeliai, where they were murdered together with the remaining Jews of Obeliai. This second mass grave lies near the village of Antanašė, 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of Obeliai. The shootings were conducted by units of Rollkommando Hamann, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian partisans. According to the Jäger report, on August 25, 1941, the Germans and their collaborators murdered 112 men, 627 women, and 421 children (1,160 people) near Obeliai.[3]

About six months after the massacre, Elena Zalogaite witnessed a local Lithuanian policeman and another man escorting two Jewish women to be killed, presumably after they had been denounced or revealed in hiding.[4]

In the spring of 1944, the Germans arrested a Lithuanian named Vladas Andonas, whom they accused of having given shelter to Jews.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obeliai can be found in the following publication: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 113–116.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 708-1-1); RGVA (500-1-25); and USHMM (RG-50.473*0100).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. LCVA, R 708-1-1, p. 2, Order no. 5, issued by the Commandant of the Rokiškis District, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 149–150.

2. USHMM, RG-50.473*0100, testimony of Elena Zalogaite, born 1928.

3. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 111–112.

4. USHMM, RG-50.473*0100.

ONUŠKIS

Pre-1939: Onuškis (Yiddish: Hanashishok), town, Alytus apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Onuškis/Onushkis, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Onuschkis, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Onuškis, Trakai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Onuškis is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Troki (Trakai). According to the 1923 population census, 342 Jews were living in the small town, comprising 56 percent of the total population. At the time of the German invasion, there were about 300 Jews living in Onuškis.

German armed forces occupied Onuškis on June 23, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists seized control of the town

and formed an auxiliary police force mainly composed of former members of the riflemen's organization (Šaulys). The Lithuanian policemen broke into Jewish homes and stole their property. Many Jews were arrested on the pretext that family members had collaborated with the Soviet regime or for the possession of firearms. Some of the prisoners were tortured and killed locally, and others were taken to Trakai to be jailed and subsequently killed. Other sources indicate that the local Catholic priest, Nikodemas Švogžlys-Milžinas, intervened with the German local military commandant (Ortskommandant), Major V. Finger, and obtained the release of at least two of the local Jews, who had been arrested as suspected Communists.[1]

During the first weeks of the occupation, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced. Jews were marked with the Star of David, and they were forbidden to associate in any way with Lithuanians. All the Jews were then assembled in the synagogue, from which they were taken to perform forced labor.

In the second half of July 1941, the head of Kreis Traken, Petras Mačinskas, issued orders for Jews to be registered, for Jewish Councils to be established, and for the Jews of the Kreis to be isolated in ghettos. The aim was to prevent Jews from moving about freely from village to village. The local authorities were instructed to make suggestions for places where the Jews could be isolated.[2]

On September 1, 1941, the head of Kreis Traken reported to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land concerning ghettoization that the Jews of Onuškis, which had been heavily damaged during the German invasion, had all been resettled in the nearby villages of Panošiškis and Žydkaimis. The Jews of the villages of Kęstutis, Pasamavės, and Žilinis would also soon be brought there too, when space could be found for them.[3] This report indicates that a form of rural ghetto may have been established in Panošiškis and Žydkaimis for the Jews of Onuškis and its surrounding villages.

The account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, however, only partially corroborates this report. This version indicates that most of the Jews remained in Onuškis until the eve of Rosh Hashanah (September 21, 1941). At this time, the men were rounded up by the Lithuanian police while praying, and the other Jews were collected from their homes. During the roundup, much Jewish property was looted. The Jews of Onuškis were then taken along with other Jews from Aukštadvaris to the village of Panošiškis, where they were held for more than one week. According to this version, the village of Panošiškis served only as a temporary concentration point for Jews, just prior to their extermination.

On September 30, 1941, the Jews of Onuškis, together with the other Jews concentrated in Panošiškis and Žydkaimis, were all escorted to the Worniki (now Varnikų) Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Troki. The younger Jews were escorted on foot, suffering blows from their Lithuanian guards, and the children and elderly were transported on carts. On arrival, they were shot by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, commanded by Martin Weiss and the Ypatingas Burys (Lithuanian execution squad), which had arrived from Wilno.[4] They were killed alongside other Jews brought there from Rudziszki, Landwarów, and Troki. The shooting started in the early morning and lasted until midday. The total number of victims was 1,446: 366 men, 483 women, and 597 children.[5]

Only a few Jews managed to evade the roundups and find refuge with local farmers. Most of these people were subsequently captured and killed by the Lithuanian police.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Onuškis can be found in the following publications: "Onuskis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 147–149; Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002); and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: GARF; LCVA (e.g., R 617-1-24); LYA (e.g., K 1-58-P14950); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 43.
2. LCVA, R 617-1-24, pp. 535–536, protocol of a meeting organized by Kreischef Traken, July 23, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6; Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 100–101.
3. Report of the head of Kreis Traken to Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, September 1, 1941, published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 109.
4. LYA, K 1-58-P14950, p. 52.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

OSTROWIEC

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

Ostrowiec is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) east of Wilno. In 1921, there were 30 Jewish families living there.

German forces captured the town in late June 1941. Immediately afterwards various anti-Jewish measures were promulgated, including the confiscation of property, the requirement to wear the Star of David on their clothing, and the introduction of forced labor. The Germans maintained Ostrowiec as a Rayon center, as it was located close to the railway line. Jews from neighboring villages were brought to the village by rail and murdered in the nearby forest.

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Ostrowiec. Both local Jews and refugees were forced to move into the designated ghetto area,

where they lived under extremely crowded conditions. At the end of 1941, the Germans murdered most of the Jews in the ghetto. Only a few needed workers and their families were left in a remnant ghetto.

The ghetto area was then reduced in size, surrounded by barbed wire, and turned into a labor camp. Jews removed from other nearby ghettos were also brought to Ostrowiec—from Worniany, Kiemieliszki, and other places. The prisoners in the camp were put to hard labor, such as removing heavy tree stumps or repairing railroad tracks. They were seriously undernourished and frequently beaten by the Germans and local overseers.

On April 1, 1942, the region including Ostrowiec was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen and became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and police. Among the restrictions enforced against the Jews living in the ghettos of this region was a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews.[1] At the end of May 1942, there were 102 Jews in the Ostrowiec ghetto.[2]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, in 1943, the surviving Jews learned that the Nazis intended to liquidate the camp. A sympathetic German officer secretly confirmed the report and advised them to hide with local farmers. Some Jews escaped into the forest, and a few of them survived until the Red Army drove the Germans from the region. On April 7, 1943, the remaining prisoners were taken to Szumsk, a neighboring village, where they were shot.

According to Herman Kruk, however, some Jews from Ostrowiec may have been taken to Wilno at the end of March, together with the Jews from other ghettos, including Michaliszki (it is likely some Jews were transferred to Michaliszki in the fall of 1942). Then in early April, many of these Jews were put on a train to Ponary, where they were shot. The train reportedly contained Jews from the ghettos of Gudogaj, Michaliszki, and other places as well as Ostrowiec.[3]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ostrowiec can be found in these publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 99–100; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here p. 115; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 559.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: LCVA; NARB; USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Anordnung Betr.: Ghettoisierung der Juden, issued by Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, May 13, 1942, reproduced in Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, p. 130.
2. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 115.
3. Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002), p. 534.

OSZMIANA

Pre-1939: Oszmiana (Yiddish: Oshmene), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Oshmiany, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Aschmena, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Ashmiany, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Oszmiana is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were about 3,000 Jews living in Oszmiana.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Because the town was captured so quickly, most Jews were unable to evacuate, and almost all remained in Oszmiana under the occupation.

After about two weeks, the new authorities rounded up about 40 people, both Jews and Poles, accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities, and shot them.[1] On July 25, 1941, the Jewish Council (Judenrat) was ordered to supply a list of all male Jews aged between 17 and 65. The next day, on the basis of this list, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 rounded up almost all the adult male Jews in Oszmiana. According to the relevant Einsatzgruppen report, 527 people were shot. The victims were buried in the nearby village of Bartel.[2]

In the summer of 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Oszmiana initially was part of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Oszmiana, including the appointment of a Jewish Council, with eight



Exterior of the Oszmiana synagogue, photographed in the mid-1990s.
USHMM WS #97259, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

members; the marking of Jews by requiring yellow Stars of David on their outer clothing; and the use of Jews for forced labor. Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits or to have any dealings with non-Jews.

In early October (or, according to one source, early September) 1941, on German orders, all the town's Jews were moved into a ghetto, along with those from the surrounding villages. The Jews were able to move their property into the ghetto in an orderly fashion, but some chose to give items to non-Jewish acquaintances for safekeeping. Those Jews already living inside the designated ghetto area had to take in those forced to move in from outside. The ghetto was fenced and guarded by the local police. Jews working outside the ghetto required permits in order to leave.[3] On one occasion the Germans demanded that the holy books be burned, and a few old books were burned to satisfy them. In the ghetto, a number of newborn boys were circumcised by a mohel, who came from Wilno to perform the service.[4]

Living conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and there was a shortage of food. Jews leaving the ghetto on work details were able to barter clothing and other items of property with non-Jews and smuggle the food back into the ghetto. Some Jews, especially youths, also climbed over the ghetto fence at night to obtain food.[5]

In the fall of 1941, the German commandant arrested and shot two Jewish women, alleged to have participated in Soviet activities before the German invasion, and a girl caught not wearing her armband. Another woman was arrested for trading illegally with a non-Jew, and the commandant had her shot.[6] The German authorities imposed repeated "contributions" on the Judenrat, including one demand for 200,000 rubles, of which only 64,000 were collected. Other demands were for soap, perfumes, fur clothing, and textiles. The Jews were also forced to surrender their cows and other livestock, apart from 10 cows needed to provide milk for the sick and children. Jews who entered the ghetto illegally from other places were also shot upon capture. However, with the help of a bribe to the Polish mayor (at that time, Skrzat), the Judenrat managed to prepare a new list of residents when the German commandant was replaced, which served to legitimize around 200 Lithuanian refugees.[7]

From April 1, 1942, Oszmiana became part of Gebiet Wilna-Land, now in Generalkommissariat Litauen. At this time new Lithuanian officials were appointed to take over, including Jonas Valys as head of the administration in Oszmiana and Vincas Tiknys as head of police.[8] Just before the handover, around 120 Jews took the opportunity to be transferred to a labor camp at Mołodeczno (in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). They, like others, were anxious about what would happen once the Lithuanians took over, as almost all the provincial Jews in Generalkommissariat Litauen had already been killed. The new Gebietskommissar, Horst Wulff, in Wilno ordered the surrender of precious metals and other valuables, which had raised the sum of 26,546 Reichsmark by April 20.[9]

At the end of May, 1,849 Jews were registered in the Oszmiana ghetto.[10] In August 1942, 80 Jewish men and 200 Jewish women were sent to a labor camp in Lithuania.[11] In the late summer or fall of 1942, there were 1,649 Jews reported to be in the Oszmiana ghetto, of which 702 were deployed for labor. By mid-October most of the remaining Jews from Holszany, Smorgonie, Krewo, Żuprany, and Soly had been resettled into the Oszmiana ghetto, increasing the total number of Jews there to around 4,000. This influx exacerbated overcrowding, such that about 20 people had to share a single house.[12]

The German Security Police, believing there were too many Jews in the ghetto, instructed the Jewish Police from the Wilno ghetto to select 1,500 people for liquidation, including women whose husbands had been shot in 1941 and women who had four or five children. They sent the chief of the Jewish Police, Dessler, to Oszmiana, and he determined that, first, the women who had lost their husbands in 1941 were working and therefore could not be liquidated and that, second, there were no families with four or five children; at most there were two children in a family. Therefore, after Dessler's return to Wilno, the number of Jews subject to liquidation was decreased to 800, and when Jakob Gens, head of the Judenrat in the Wilno ghetto, and SS-Hauptscharführer Martin Weiss from the SD Wilna arrived in Oszmiana, the number of Jewish victims was further reduced to 600. As a result, on October 23, 1942, with the participation of the Jewish Police from Wilno, 406 elderly people were rounded up and shot.[13]

In the following five months, life in the ghetto of Oszmiana was comparatively uneventful. The Jewish administration managed to organize the work of the craftsmen, a clinic, and a small hospital; ensured that the ghetto inhabitants had a regular supply of food; and set up a library, a club, a bath, and a boarding house for Jewish workers whose health had deteriorated.[14]

The situation altered sharply in late March 1943, when the decision was made to liquidate the ghetto. During its liquidation in late March and early April 1943, some of the Jews were sent to labor camps in Lithuania and to the ghetto in Wilno, if they had relatives there, and 713 Jews, together with Jews from other liquidated ghettos (around 4,000 in total), were taken to Ponary, near Wilno, and shot there.[15]

According to Shalom Cholawsky, there was an underground organization in Oszmiana that received a warning from the resistance movement in Wilno about the upcoming liquidation. As a result a group of about 50 Jewish youths, armed with two rifles and two grenades, managed to escape from the ghetto on the eve of the Aktion. Of this group, about 40 people subsequently joined up with partisan units to the east in the Belorussian forests.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Oszmiana during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization in Israel and Oshmaner Society in the USA, 1969); Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*,

Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942 (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 105–110; "Oszmiana," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 107–114; Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002); Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 562–564.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Oszmiana can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2244, 2537); BA-BL (R 58/216); GARF (7021-89-12); LCVA (R 626-1-211; R 1363-1-1 and 2); MA (D.1357); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 11883, 20551); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2537, testimony of Lejzer Pert; 301/2244, testimony of Sima Baran.

2. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 50, August 12, 1941; Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 27; "The Diary of Hinda Daul," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron* (English section), p. 60. AŻIH, 301/2244—this source gives the number of victims as about 1,000. In the ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-89-12, pp. 2, 4), the number of Jewish victims is stated as 573, but the Aktion is erroneously dated on July 3–4.

3. AŻIH, 301/2537; Chanan Peled (Cepelunski) testimony, available at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/oshmany/osh_pages/oshmany_stories_chanan.html; "The Diary of Hinda Daul," p. 62. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 533, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto on September 5, 1941, as recorded by the former Judenrat of Oszmiana in 1943.

4. Pesie Kustin, "Oshmener geto," in Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 348–351. This source also gives a rough description of the streets on which the ghetto was located.

5. VHF, # 11883, testimony of Rose Boyarsky.

6. "Durkh geto un katzetn," in *Fun letstn khurbn*, vol. 1 (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), no. 6, pp. 37–43.

7. "The Diary of Hinda Daul," p. 62.

8. LCVA, R 1363-1-2, pp. 4, 7, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 108.

9. LCVA, R 1363-1-1, p. 7, as cited in ibid.

10. AŻIH, 301/2537; Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany*, p. 634.

11. Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 29–30.

12. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. 18, list of ghettos in Kreis Oschmiana, October 1942; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 385, 439, 443; "The Diary of Hinda Daul," p. 70; Kustin, "Oshmener geto," pp. 348–351.

13. See Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 342–347; see also Jacob Gens's words at the meeting of the Judenrat in Wilno on October 27, 1942, MA, D.1357, published in I. Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 254.

14. Gelbart, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 31.

15. Ibid., pp. 31–32; and Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 359–362.

PAJŪRIS

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

Pajūris is located about 97 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Šiauliai. The 1923 census recorded 280 Jews residing in Pajūris, constituting about 58 percent of the total population. Just prior to the German invasion, only about 30 Jewish families remained.

The Wehrmacht occupied the village of Pajūris shortly after the start of the invasion on June 22, 1941. According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, at this time, a part of the Jewish population of Pajūris escaped to the nearby village of Teneniai, where two local families had been killed by local Lithuanians. The arriving Jews were imprisoned in a barn and held for several days without food or water. Subsequently they were taken to Kvėdarna. *Pinkas ha-kehilot* reports that these Jews were killed in Kvėdarna on June 29, 1941. Other sources, however, indicate that on June 29, most able-bodied Jewish men were rounded up in Kvėdarna and taken to the Heydekrug (Šilutė) forced labor camp. Only a smaller group of 11 elderly Jews, deemed unable to work, were shot by Lithuanian partisans in Kvėdarna on June 30, 1941.[1]

Of those Jews who remained in Pajūris, very little information is known concerning their fate. It is likely that the SS also rounded up most of the able-bodied men and took them to the Heydekrug camp, where some of the prisoners were killed a few weeks later. The remaining prisoners there worked as forced laborers for more than three years; some of them later went into the concentration camp system, where they passed through Auschwitz II-Birkenau in 1943.

In early September 1941, the remaining Jews in Pajūris, consisting of only 4 men and 51 women and children, were locked up on an estate near the village, which became a provisional ghetto.[2] After about two weeks in the ghetto, they were all taken to the Tūbinės Forest, near Šilalė, and were murdered there together with other Jews from the surrounding villages.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pajūris can be found in the following publications: "Pajuris," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 477–478; and Christoph Dieckmann,

"Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.2.

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NOTES

1. LG-Aur (Az 17 Ks 1/61), verdict of May 29, 1961, in the case against Struve, Scheu et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 511, pp. 441–442; and vol. 20 (1979) Lfd. Nr. 579, p. 309.
2. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

PAKRUOJIS

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

Pakruojis is located about 36 kilometers (22.5 miles) east of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 454 Jews living in Pakruojis. By June 1941, the Jewish population had declined slightly as a consequence of emigration in the 1930s.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, many Jewish refugees arrived in Pakruojis. Some refugees and local Jews tried to flee on towards Biržai and the Latvian border, but many of these people were intercepted by Lithuanian nationalists. Some were murdered, and the others were forced to return home. German forces captured the town on June 28, 1941, and Lithuanian partisans immediately formed a local authority and a partisan force, which subsequently became an auxiliary police unit.

The Lithuanian partisans soon began to arrest Jews, accusing them of having collaborated with the Soviets. Some of those arrested, including Moshe Plocki and Chaja Edelman, were murdered, and about 30 others were transferred, in early July, to the prison in Šiauliai. Anti-Jewish measures enforced by the Lithuanian authorities included the seizure of property, the imposition of forced labor, and the requirement to perform menial tasks; Jews also endured physical abuse.[1]

On July 10, 1941, Lithuanian partisans rounded up and shot the Jewish men who remained. The women, children, and old people were then resettled into a ghetto formed in the courtyard around the synagogue, where they were detained under guard for several weeks. They were permitted to take part of their property with them and also some food. The ghetto was liquidated on August 4, when Lithuanian policemen shot all the Jews in a nearby forest. The Jews were made to stand on wooden boards placed across a prepared ditch and were then shot such that they fell into the ditch.[2] According to one Soviet source, the total number of victims was 265.[3] The Jews were shot and buried in the Morkakalnis Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) southeast of Pakruojis.[4]

Some of those sent to the prison in Šiauliai were subsequently transferred to the Šiauliai ghetto, and a few of these people ultimately survived the war. The Jewish doctor in Pakruojis, Markus Screiber, was initially spared, as his services were still required. He was murdered in April 1942, in front of the church.[5] Around this time, other Jews uncovered in hiding were also killed.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish community of Pakruojis can be found in these publications: "Pakruojis," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 333; "Pakruojis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 472–475; and Joe Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pakruojis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; VHF (# 34991); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 472–475; David Katz, *The Lord Has Chastised Me Severely* (Stony Brook, NY: Y. Katz, 2001), pp. 31–32.
2. "Pakruojis," in Bronstein *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, p. 333; Woolf, "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns"; VHF, # 34991, testimony of Ruth Igdal.
3. GARF, 7021-94-436, p. 29.
4. Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 505.
5. VHF, # 34991.

PALANGA

Pre-1940: Palanga (Yiddish: Polangen), town, Kretinga apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Kretinga uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Polangen, Kreis Kröttingen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Palanga, Kretinga rajonas, Klaipėda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Palanga is located about 144 kilometers (90 miles) west of Šiauliai on the Baltic coast. According to census records, a total of 455 Jews were residing in Palanga in 1923. The size of the town's Jewish population fluctuated over the next decade, with some individuals emigrating, and as a result, the number of Jewish residents had decreased slightly by June 1941.

Palanga was occupied by German armed forces on June 22, 1941. Just one day after the arrival of German troops, a German officer was killed in the town. On orders from the head of the Gestapoleitstelle Tilsit, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, the head of Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) in Memel, Dr. Frohwann, began to arrest all the male Jews and suspected Communists residing in Palanga. This order was carried out by members of GPK

Memel and the Tilsit Gestapo, assisted by the Lithuanian auxiliary police. The male Jews were locked in the town's synagogue, and from there, they were taken to the building that served as the bus depot. At the end of June, 111 men were shot in an Aktion organized by the Tilsit Gestapo. At least 100 of the victims were male Jews; they were shot together with about 8 suspected Lithuanian Communists. A detachment of 30 members of the Memel Schutzpolizei under the leadership of Polizeileutnant Werner Schmidt-Hammer, and at least 15 airmen from the 6th Company of pilot candidates from Fliegerausbildungsregiment 10, also participated in the mass shooting, which took place on the sand dunes near Birutė Hill.[1]

Following the killing of the Jewish men, the women and children were initially taken to the synagogue, where they were imprisoned for several days under subhuman conditions. They received almost no food or water, and at night the Lithuanian guards would shoot in the air, break windows, and instill fear in the prisoners. After a few days they were taken to a farm near Kretinga, which served as an improvised ghetto. The farm buildings held 226 people for nearly two months, guarded by a detachment of the Lithuanian auxiliary police. The able-bodied were employed in carrying raw amber to a central warehouse. Food and water were supplied in very sparing quantities, and around 10 people died of starvation and disease. In late August or early September, all the women and children (at least 200 people) were taken to the Kunigiškiai Forest, where they were shot by a detachment of the GPK Memel, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliary policemen.[2]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Palanga can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 491–495; LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict against Böhme and others, August 29, 1958, published in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, vol. 2, *Einsatzkommando Tilsit. Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966); and LG-Tüb, Ks 2/61, verdict of May 10, 1961, against Wiechert and Schulz, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 350–357.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Report of Staatspolizeistelle Tilsit to RSHA, July 1, 1941, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion 1941/42. Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 373–375 (see also BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR no. 14, July 6, 1941); LG-Tüb, Ks 2/61, verdict of May 10, 1961, against Wiechert and Schulz, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17, Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 350–357; and LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict against Böhme and others, August 29, 1958, in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, vol. 2.

2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 491–495; *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, p. 214.

PANEVĖŽYS

Pre-1940: Panevėžys (Yiddish: Ponevezsh), city and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Panevėžys/Panevezhis, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Ponewesch, Kreis and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Panevėžys, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Panevėžys is located 97 kilometers (60 miles) north-northeast of Kaunas. In 1923, there were 19,147 people living in Panevėžys, among them 6,845 Jews (36 percent). The town's population had risen to 26,000 (among them more than 7,000 Jews) by 1939. Under Soviet rule between June 1940 and June 1941, a number of Jewish businesses were expropriated, and at least 27 Jews were exiled into the Soviet interior.

German armed forces captured the city on June 26, 1941, but attacks on local Jews likely began two days earlier. The Lithuanian activists who took the initiative in the persecution of the Jews included the gymnasium director Elisonas, his inspector Kasparavičius, the assistant prosecutor Grigaitis, the district court secretary Jasaitis, and others under the leadership of Lieutenant Ižiūnas. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a city administration and police force, which introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear Stars of David on their clothing and forced into various kinds of heavy labor. At the same time, the Jewish population was required to register, and non-Jews were strictly forbidden to sell them food. The Jews were also subjected to humiliation, degradation, and assaults by local antisemites. A rumor spread in the town that a Lithuanian physician had been murdered by Jews, and this served as the pretext for attacks on the local Jewish population. Groups of young Jewish men were marched out of the city and ordered to dig peat. These men never returned to Panevėžys.[1]

Jews were ordered to settle into a ghetto before the night of July 11, 1941. The ghetto area incorporated three streets—Klaipėda, Krekenava, and Tulvičius (J. Tilvytis)—and the city's slaughterhouse. The ghetto borders were closed on July 17, 1941, at 6:00 P.M. It was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by armed Lithuanian policemen. Non-Jews who moved out of the ghetto area were given Jewish houses outside the ghetto in exchange. The Jews Avraham Riklys and Moshe Levit were appointed to administer the ghetto. To discourage escape attempts, 70 Jews were taken hostage and imprisoned.[2] At the end of July, the ghetto contained 4,457 Jews, of whom 1,250 were still without any accommodation.[3] The overcrowding, filth, and terrible shortage of all items necessary for living led within a few weeks to the outbreak of disease. The Jewish doctors had no medicine or other materials to cope with it. Dr. T. Gutman received permission to open a small hospital, but under these conditions, there was little that could be done for the sick.

Jews from the ghetto were taken for forced labor, for example, digging pits for rubbish or carrying heavy barrels at the local railway station, during which they were severely beaten and humiliated by the Lithuanian overseers. On one occasion a group of Jews was reportedly forced into a scalding

lime pit, causing severe wounds, before most of the men were shot.[4] Up to the middle of August, Einsatzkommando 3 and the Lithuanian police carried out four large Aktions in Panevėžys, on July 21 and 28 and on August 4 and 11, in which they shot more than 1,220 Jews. Apart from 115 women, all of these victims were Jewish men.[5]

The ghetto in the city existed for about six weeks before it was liquidated. In mid-August 1941, a German Gestapo official informed the Jews that they would be moved to a former military barracks at Pajuostė, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Panevėžys, which would serve as a labor camp with better conditions than in the overcrowded ghetto. The ghetto residents, however, suspected that this was a trap, intended to lure them to their deaths, and had to be forced to leave the ghetto.[6] A few days later, the majority of the Jews were marched under armed guard to Pajuostė. The elderly, the sick, and small children were transported on peasant carts. After arriving there, the Jews were taken in groups of 200 and shot in a nearby forest by men from Einsatzkommando 3, with the help of the Lithuanian police. The last to be shot were the elderly and infirm, accompanied by Dr. Gutman. Some people, including small children, were only wounded and were buried alive. The pits were filled in by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who discovered one Jewish child who was still alive. While they tried to conceal the child, the Lithuanian policemen soon discovered and shot the child. The next day, participants in the murder rummaged through the piles of clothes and shoes at the pits, taking any items they fancied.

According to the Jäger report, on August 23, 1941, 7,523 Jews (1,312 men, 4,602 women, and 1,609 children) were shot in Panevėžys.[7] These numbers may include Jews from nearby villages, including Raguva, Ramygala, and Krekenava, who were also brought to Pajuostė on carts with their property and were murdered there in the second half of August.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Panevėžys can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 329–331, published also in English translation in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 106–112; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 229–230; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.1; and "Panevezys," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 457–466, available also in English at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/panevezys/pon3.html.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GARF; LCVA; LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/357, 1128, 1731, 2280, 2551; O-3/2322, 2581; O-71/61, 62, 63).

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NOTES

1. Levinson, *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania*, pp. 106–112.
2. Ibid.; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 457–466. On ghettoization, see the newspaper *Išlaisvintas Panevėžietis*, July 12 and 20, 1941, and Višniauskas, *Žydų tragedija*, p. 51, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
3. Višniauskas, *Žydų tragedija*, p. 69, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
4. This incident is reportedly described in an article by P. Yanusheitis, published in the Lithuanian Communist journal *Tieso* in February 1945; see Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 229. Similar accounts can also be found in the secondary sources cited above.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
6. This account was reportedly given to Meir Gendel, who had survived the war in the Soviet Union, by local inhabitants in Panevėžys shortly after the city was reoccupied by the Red Army. For a more detailed version, see Levinson, *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania*, pp. 108–111.
7. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

PASVALYS

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

Pasvalys is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north of Panevėžys. About 700 Jews lived in the town on the eve of the war.

German armed forces captured the town on June 26, 1941. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration, which actively took measures against the Jewish population. On June 27, four Jews—Sheina Kretzmer, Nehemiah Millin, Chanan Forman, and David Shapiro—were arrested and accused of being Communist activists and having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. On July 4, on this same pretext, more Jews were arrested. Some of them were put in the local prison, and some were held in Joel Farber's granary. After a few days, the arrested Jews were transported to Šiauliai. Sometime later, a number of Jewish women were released and returned to Pasvalys.[1]

In mid-July 1941, the Lithuanian administration ordered all remaining Jews into a ghetto. Parts of Biržai Street and Polivan Street were cordoned off for this purpose.[2] The town council provided food to the internal ghetto administration, which operated under the leadership of the town rabbi, Rav Yitzchok Agulnik. In the meantime, the Lithuanian guards subjected the inmates to repeated abuse. Conditions were so bad that Rabbi Agulnik even wrote to the head of the Šiauliai ghetto,

begging him to try to influence the Germans to rescue the Jews of Pasvalys from the clutches of the Lithuanians.[3]

Jews from outlying villages, including Joniškėlis, Pumpėnai, Vaškiai, Krinčinas, Daujėnai, Saločiai, and Vabalninkas, were subsequently brought into the Pasvalys ghetto after the middle of August. At this time the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire.[4] The Jews from Joniškėlis were reportedly transferred on August 19. According to Sheina Sachar Gertner, a survivor from Vabalninkas, she was transferred to the Pasvalys ghetto on August 20, 1941, where she was held in very overcrowded conditions.[5] Among these new arrivals were at least 40 Jews from Vabalninkas, who had converted to Catholicism. These people were interned separately from the other Jews in Pasvalys.

The ghetto in Pasvalys existed for about one and a half months. Following a meeting by the town council, it was decided to liquidate the ghetto. On August 26, 1941, the Jews were informed that they would be transferred to a camp, and the men were separated from the women and children in the town. The separate groups were then escorted to two pits prepared in the Žadeikiai Forest, 4.5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Pasvalys. The converts to Catholicism were taken along with the rest of the Jews from the ghetto. According to a Lithuanian woman bystander, some of the Jews attacked their captors with their bare hands on the way to the pits, but the Lithuanians responded brutally, killing some of them on the way and dragging the others to the killing site. According to the report of Karl Jäger, in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, on August 26, 1941, 1,349 Jews (402 men, 738 women, 209 children) were shot in Pasvalys.[6]

Before and during the Aktion, a number of Jews managed to escape, including Sheina Gertner, who was warned by an elderly priest the night before and fled with her husband.[7] However, most of the escapees were captured and killed shortly after the mass shooting; only a handful managed to escape successfully.

Participating in the mass shooting were members of the 3rd Company, Lithuanian Auxiliary Battalion 1 (later Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 13), which arrived from Kaunas in two trucks. A unit member, Balys Labeikis, claims that the local police and the men of his company only guarded the victims and herded them to the pits. After the Aktion, the Lithuanian participants returned to Pasvalys, where they celebrated with a large dinner, and many of them got drunk.[8]

Among the small number of Lithuanians in the region who risked their lives and saved Jews was a man named Baniolis. He hid three Jewish girls for three years in a stable and provided them with food.[9]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Pasvalys can be found in the following publications: B. Reinus, "Oysrot fun di yidn fun Posval un fun di derbeyike shtetlekh (Yanishkel, Vashki, Linkuva, Salat, Vabalnik)," in Mendel Sudarsky and Uriah Katzenelenbogen, eds., *Lite*, vol. 1 (New York: Jewish-Cultural Society, 1951), pp. 1859–1861; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 116–118; "Pasvalys," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 466–470; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 230–232; Joseph Levinson, ed., *The Shoah in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 112–114—translated from Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 332.

Relevant documentation can be found in these archives: GARF; LCVA; LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); and USHMM (RG-02.002*12).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Reinus, "Aysrot fun di yidn fun Posval," pp. 1859–1861.
2. Ibid.
3. Letter of August 23, 1941, as quoted in Levinson, *The Shoah in Lithuania*, p. 113.
4. Report of the Birzai uezd commission, May 26, 1945, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, pp. 116–118. On August 19, 1941, around 200 Jews were sent to Pasvalys from Joniškėlis, 90 families (around 300 people) from Vaškiai, 90 Jews from Vabalninkas, 13 Jews from Saločiai, 21 Jews from Krinčinas, and 11 Jews from Daujėnai; see Barbara Armoniene et al., *Leave Your Tears in Moscow* (New York: J.P. Lippincott, 1961), p. 19.
5. USHMM, RG-02.002*12, pp. 1–4, testimony of Sheina Sachar Gertner, 1984.
6. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, September 10, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25; and report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, p. 113. Also see B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 234.
7. USHMM, RG-02.002*12, pp. 1–4.
8. Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 289.
9. Reinus, "Aysrot fun di yidn fun Posval."

PAŠVITINYS

Pre-1940: Pašvitinys (Yiddish: Pashvitin), village, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pašvitinys/Pashvitinis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Poswitenen, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pašvitinys, Pakruojis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Pašvitinys is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 census, there were 274 Jews living in Pašvitinys. By June 1941, the Jewish population had declined slightly, as a result of emigration in the 1930s.

German forces captured the village on June 28, 1941. In the first days of the war, Lithuanian partisans, led by Leonas Balčiūnas, arrested up to 50 people alleged to have supported the Soviet regime, including a number of Jews. These prisoners were interrogated in Pašvitinys by the head of the local police, Povilas Pilka, and were then sent to the Šiauliai prison.

Some were executed, others were subsequently deported to Germany for forced labor, and a few were released.[1]

In Pašvitinys the local Lithuanian authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden from having contacts with non-Jews, and their property was confiscated. Non-Jewish local inhabitants physically abused Jews. In one incident, a Jewish girl was molested, and her grandfather, who tried to protect her, was shot to death. Some Jews tried to leave the village, but on at least one occasion they were stopped by Lithuanian activists and forced to turn back.

Soon after the start of the occupation, all the Jews were rounded up and locked in an old horse stable next to the flour mill, called the "Magazine," which served as an improvised ghetto. They remained there for approximately one month, and during this time the able-bodied Jews were sent out of the ghetto every day to perform agricultural work on neighboring farms. Those who were not physically strong and healthy were murdered, together with a group of Jews from Linkuva, along the road to Šiauliai; among the victims were the village's last rabbi, David Nachman Dodman, and all his sons. In late August 1941, the remaining 70 or so Jews were transported in carts to the Žagarė ghetto, where they were shot on October 2, 1941, along with the other Jews gathered there.[2]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Pašvitinys during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Pašvitinys," in Shalom Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 334; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here p. 250; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 506; and "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," compiled by Joe Woolf, available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Pašvitinys can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-P19196LI); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews," p. 250.
2. "Pašvitinys," in Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita*, vol. 4, p. 334; Woolf, "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns."

PLUNGĖ

Pre-1940: Plungė (Yiddish: Plungian), town, Telšiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Plungė/Plunge, Tel'shai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Plunge, Kreis Telsche, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Plungė, rajonas center, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Plungė is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) west-southwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, there were 1,815 Jews living in the town.[1] By June 1941, emigration had reduced the Jewish population, and about 1,700 Jews remained in Plungė.

German armed forces captured the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration and police force, which implemented anti-Jewish measures; the Germans played only a minor role in what followed, although they did immediately round up and kill approximately 60 young male Jews, whom the Lithuanians accused of having provided a rear guard for the retreating Red Army.

On or about June 26, the Lithuanians gathered all the Jews on the grounds of the synagogue and the Bet Midrash, which the captors declared a ghetto. Each day, Jews were taken out of the ghetto to perform different kinds of heavy physical labor in the town—such as street sweeping or cleaning latrines by hand—or on local estates. Beatings and humiliation accompanied the work. Some of the laborers never returned but were murdered. At the same time, the Lithuanian authorities extorted and stole the Jews' valuables.

The living conditions for Jews in the ghetto were nearly unbearable. Overcrowding, filth, and lack of food and water brought about disease and death, especially among the elderly. The Jews lived in those conditions for approximately three weeks. The ghetto was liquidated on July 13 or 15, 1941 (sources differ), when Lithuanians trucked and marched the Jews to ditches located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) to the northwest of the town, near the village of Kausenai, where they shot them.[2] Only those few Jews who had escaped or been deported to the interior of the Soviet Union survived.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Plungė can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 408; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 223–225; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 125–127; "Plunge," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 484–491; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 278. *Avotaynu: The International Review of Jewish Genealogy* 12 (22) contains a list of Plungė ghetto residents.

Documentation regarding the killing of the Jews of Plungė can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-430); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.473*0097 and 0098); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Geoffrey P. Megargee
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 421.
2. GARF, 7021-94-430; the official number of victims is 1,704.

PODBRODZIE

Pre-1939: Podbrodzie (Yiddish: Podbrodzsh), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Pabradė, Švenčionys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Pabradė/Pabrade, Sventsiany uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Pabrade, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Pabradė, Švenčionys rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Podbrodzie is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Wilno. Nearly 1,000 Jews were living in the town on the eve of World War II, comprising about one third of the inhabitants.

A number of Jews attempted to flee with the retreating Soviet forces at the end of June 1941, but they came under attack from (Lithuanian) Red Army deserters who had joined with local Lithuanian partisans led by Edvardas Baranauskas, and only a few dozen Jews escaped successfully. The Lithuanian nationalists soon seized control of the town, and eight Jews were shot at the end of June for alleged collaboration with the Soviets, around the time of the arrival of the German army. Jews were subjected to plunder at the hands of the Lithuanians.

On July 15, 1941, the Lithuanian police arrested more than 60 Jews and took them to the mill to be shot. Only one of the victims, Velvel Abramovich, managed to escape from the grave site.[1]

In the period from July to September, the German military commandant and the local Lithuanian authorities enforced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Podbrodzie. Jews were required to wear patches bearing the Star of David, initially in white and later in yellow fabric. They were forbidden from buying food products in the market or from having any contacts with the non-Jewish population. In July a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which had to ensure that all German orders were carried out.[2] Among its members were Ben-Zion Vilian, Dr. Reyshevsky, Boris Blushinsky, Elye Likht, Yisroel Bratinsky, and Dovid Suzan.[3]

On September 1, 1941, all the town's Jews were moved into an open ghetto located on two streets inhabited by Christians, described in the yizkor book as Arnianer and Boyareler Streets. Initially the Jews were permitted only to take with them what they could carry in their arms, but the Lithuanian mayor permitted Jews to move in all of their property.[4] Some sources date the ghetto's formation earlier, but this account matches with instructions issued by the office of the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land to determine where ghettos were to be established by September 5.[5] There was no Jewish police force. Local non-Jews moved into the vacated Jewish houses in Podbrodzie. At the time of the move into the ghetto, many Jews buried their valuables in their gardens and other hiding places or gave them to non-Jewish acquaintances for "safe-keeping."

Aware of the complete elimination of the Jews in some Lithuanian towns, the Jews of Podbrodzie discussed how best to save themselves. They collected money to bribe the Lithuanian police to warn them of an impending Aktion. After learning of the murder of the Jews in nearby Niemenczyn on September 20, 1941, a number of Jews prepared to go into hiding or flee the Podbrodzie ghetto to the towns of neighboring Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, where the situation was not yet so bad. On September 23, the authorities demanded a large "contribution" from the Jews, and then on September 26, expecting an Aktion, many Jews secretly left the ghetto or went into hiding. According to survivor Morris Engelson, a local official of Polish ethnicity had tipped off a Jew who had given him refuge before under the Soviet regime—and word then quickly spread through the ghetto.[6]

On that day, many local non-Jewish inhabitants, including teachers, postal officials, forest wardens, as well as criminal elements, were mobilized to assist the local police in clearing the ghetto. Once the Jews' flight was detected, these local forces sealed off the ghetto, and some of the escapees were recaptured. Due to the mass flight, only just over 100 Jews were then rounded up by Lithuanian policemen, under the command of Antanas Žilėnas, which included also men brought in from Joniškis. Then the Jews of Podbrodzie were escorted to an overcrowded barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon transit camp, near Nowe Święciany. The able-bodied Jews had to march there on foot, and the sick and elderly were loaded onto carts. On October 7-8, 1941, these people were all shot, along with thousands of other Jews who had been gathered at the Poligon camp.

The Lithuanian police in Podbrodzie searched for the escaped Jews and shot any they found on the outskirts of town. Some Jewish escapees and their families were fortunate to have Christian friends who gave them food and shelter for several weeks, before assisting them with their journey across the border into Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A number of the Jewish escapees subsequently made their way to the ghettos in Kiemieliszki, Michaliszki, Świr, Łyntupy, and other places deeper in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. About 100 Jews from the town survived the war, mostly from among those who escaped successfully into the Soviet Union.

In May 1942, 400 Jews were brought to Podbrodzie from the Wilno ghetto and placed in a newly built labor camp; these Jews were used to work on a railway line for the German Giesler company. In 1943, those who were still alive were returned to Wilno.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Podbrodzie during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 83–118, here pp. 98–99; Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 1371–1406; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Lei-

dykla "Mintis," 1973); and "Podbrodzie," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 515–518.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Podbrodzie can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3531 and 3532); GARF (7021-94-435); LCVA (R 865-5-4); LYA (K 1-58-3501/3); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 20551, 48155); and YVA (e.g., O-71/169.1).

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NOTES

1. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 1373; see also Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 98.
2. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 1373–1374.
3. YVA, O-71/169.1, pp. 209–227, testimony of Yisroel Bavarsky, as recorded by Leyb Koniuchovsky—as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6.
4. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, pp. 1373–1374, 1383–1384—one survivor account states specifically that the Jews were in the ghetto for 26 days from September 1 to 26. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 98, gives Lithuanian spellings for the two streets. AŻIH, 301/3531, testimony of Chuna Zak, March 25, 1948.
5. LCVA, R 865-5-4, p. 4, letter of Gebietskommissar Wulff to Kalendra, August 23, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6.
6. VHF, # 48155, testimony of Morris Engelson.

PRIENAI

Pre-1940: Prienai (Yiddish: Pren), town, Marijampolė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Prienai/Preny, Mariiampole uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Prienai, Kreis Mariampol, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: rajonas center, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Prienai is located 31 kilometers (19 miles) south of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 954 Jews living in the town. By mid-1941, emigration, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, had somewhat reduced the size of the Jewish population in Prienai.

German armed forces captured the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which instituted a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to wear Star of David patches on the front and back of their clothing, had to perform various kinds of compulsory labor, and were robbed and beaten by local antisemites. Jews were also prohibited from walking on public sidewalks and from having any relations whatsoever with non-Jewish Lithuanians. A special decree even forbade the Jews from lighting fires in their own hearths, so that they could not cook food—the sight of smoke from a Jewish chimney was enough to bring the authorities.

The Lithuanians also started killing Jews almost immediately after the Germans' arrival. First they arrested and shot a group of Jewish intellectuals. Then they arrested another group of Jews, accusing them of collaboration with the Soviet authorities, and imprisoned them in Marijampolė, where they subsequently were killed.

On August 14, 1941, the Lithuanians established a ghetto for the town's Jews in a few unfinished barracks nearby. By order of the police administration in Kaunas, Jewish men and women who had collaborated with the Soviet authorities, and had been arrested in nearby localities, also found themselves in the Prienai ghetto. On August 16, 1941, 63 Jewish men and 26 Jewish women from Jieznas were sent to the Prienai ghetto.[1] Another 100 Jewish men and 6 Jewish women were brought there from Balbieriškis.[2] Others came from Veiveriai, Stakliškes, and other nearby localities. In all, 493 Jews were resettled into the ghetto from neighboring localities.[3] The population of the ghetto in Prienai, as a result, exceeded 1,000 Jews.

Conditions in the ghetto were ghastly. There was no food, water, or sanitation. The barracks were horribly overcrowded. Diseases soon began to spread.

After nearly two weeks of this torment, the Prienai ghetto was liquidated. On August 25 the Lithuanians forced men from the ghetto to dig two large pits behind the barracks. The next day, with help from a German police unit, the Lithuanians marched approximately 1,100 Jews to the pits in groups and shot them with machine guns.[4] A layer of lime was spread over each group. Witnesses reported that the piles of bodies heaved from the people who were only wounded. One woman even managed to crawl out of the pit and beg for her life, but the Lithuanian partisan Juozas Maslauskas shot her.[5]

Only about five Jews from Prienai managed to survive the war; most of them had been able to flee deeper into the Soviet Union in time. A few Jews found refuge with Lithuanians or fled into the forests around Prienai when the Jews were collected in the ghetto. However, almost all of these people gave themselves up, were thrown out by their protectors, or were denounced after a time. Peninah Binyaminovitz-Levitan managed to survive, as she was concealed successfully with the aid of a Lithuanian priest.

SOURCES Information about the elimination of the Jews in Prienai can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 86, 164, 176–177; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 122–123, 211; "Prienai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), p. 502; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 289–290.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA (e.g., 683-2-2, p. 77); LMAB (RS, f. 159, b. 46, l. 22); LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); and USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Report of the chief of the police precinct in Jieznas, August 16, 1941, published in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, vol. 2, p. 86.
2. Ibid., p. 164.
3. Letter of the director of the police precinct in Kaunas to "Obersturmführer Mr. Hamann," August 23, 1941, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 216.
4. See the report of Einsatzkommando 3 from September 10, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106.
5. See the testimony of Marė Brasokienė to the Special State Commission, in Levinson, *The Shoah*, pp. 122–123.

PUMPĖNAI

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

Pumpėnai is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) north of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, 372 Jews were living in Pumpėnai. By June 1941, as a result of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish population had decreased significantly. One source has about 60 Jewish families living there when the war began.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which implemented anti-Jewish measures. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and they were required to perform various kinds of labor. They were subject to robbery, assault, and other forms of public denigration by local antisemites. They were also prohibited from walking in public places and maintaining any relations with the Lithuanians.

On July 15, 1941, all Jews of Pumpėnai were resettled into a ghetto. Several houses were assigned for this purpose, and the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire. They remained there, reportedly without provisions, put to forced labor, and abused, until August 26, when the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, with the assistance of the Lithuanian police, shot nearly all the Jews of the village in a forest near Pasvalys. The town's pharmacist and his family were killed in Pumpėnai itself.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 451–452; and "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/lithuania3/lit3_002.html, pp. 9–10.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

RADVILIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Radviliškis (Yiddish: Radvilishok), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Radviliškis/Radvilishkis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Radwilischken, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Radviliškis, rajonas center, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Radviliškis is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Šiauliai. According to the census of 1923, there were 847 Jews living in Radviliškis. By June 1941, the Jewish population had decreased as a result of emigration in the 1930s.

German armed forces captured the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which began to implement anti-Jewish measures. The authorities confiscated all the Jews' valuables and used the Jewish population for forced labor. Local antisemites subjected the Jewish laborers to humiliation, taunts, and beatings. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places or to maintain relations of any kind with non-Jews.

Accounts of events in Radviliškis vary somewhat. The most detailed, that in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, states that the Lithuanians forced all the Jews into a ghetto in an abandoned Lithuanian army barracks on July 8. Some of the Jews had to build a barbed-wire fence around the place. Then, on July 12, the first Aktion took place when Lithuanian gunmen rounded up nearly all the men in the community (some 300 total), marched them to a grove next to the Jewish cemetery, and shot them.[1] The remaining women, children, and old people were later sent on to an enclosure that had formerly held Soviet prisoners of war. On August 22, 1941, the chief administrator of the town and of the county of Šiauliai (Kreis Schaulen-Land), J. Norejka, citing directives from the Gebietskommissar in Šiauliai, ordered all the county's Jews to be resettled into a single ghetto—the Žagarė ghetto—between August 25 and 29, 1941.[2] In compliance with this order, the ghetto in Radviliškis was liquidated in late August 1941, and all the Jews were transferred to the Žagarė ghetto. On October 2, 1941, they were shot along with the other Jews in the Žagarė ghetto. (Other accounts state that only about 400 of the Jews went to Žagarė, while the rest went to the Šiauliai ghetto. Some of these Jews subsequently wound up in camps in Germany and thus survived the war.)

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Radviliškis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Radviliskis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 625–628; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 279–280; Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 250–251; "Radviliskis," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University

Press, 2001), p. 1050; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 639.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Radviliškis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-436); LCVA; LYA (K 1-46-1261); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Geoffrey P. Megargee
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 405.
2. Ibid., pp. 226–227.

RASEINIAI

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

Raseiniai is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, 2,035 Jews were living in Raseiniai; by 1939, that number had declined to around 2,000.

Units of the German armed forces captured the town on June 23, 1941.[1] Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration and a police force, which they used to implement anti-Jewish policies. The Jewish population had to wear the Star of David on their clothing. In addition, Jews were assigned to various kinds of forced labor, including cleaning the streets, collecting armaments from the battlefield, and burying dead Soviet soldiers. Jewish women were forced to clean the homes of Lithuanian officials and Germans. Jews were subjected to robbery and assault at the hands of local antisemites. One of the victims of the terror and torture was the rabbi of Raseiniai, Reb Ahron Shmuel Katz. He was forced to dig his own grave and then was shot. On July 29, 1941, the head of the Raseiniai district, A. Sabaliauskas, issued Order no. 743, which imposed new restrictions on the Jewish population, including prohibiting them from using the sidewalks and public transportation and from appearing in public places.[2] An estimated 150 Jews were arrested during the first 8 to 10 days of the German occupation of Raseiniai.[3]

In the first half of July 1941, local authorities set up a ghetto or camp in the town in a monastery building. The area of the ghetto was cordoned off by barbed wire, and armed Lithuanian policemen stood guard around the perimeter. The ghetto commander was a local auxiliary policeman named Aleksas Grigaravičius; he already was very active in enforcing anti-Jewish measures and the physical abuse of Jews. His deputy, Kostas Narbutas, was placed in charge of the economic issues of the ghetto.[4] Those Jewish men and women who were able to work were transferred from Raseiniai, in the direction of Jurbarkas, to the farm of Žuveliškis, where they were told by the authorities that they would work as laborers. However, witnesses state that a unit of Lithuanian activists, led by Grigaravičius, took these approximately 500 individuals to a site and shot them. The victims had to wear blindfolds and had no knowledge of where they were being led.[5] Before being shot, the victims had to undress, and their clothes were sent back to the ghetto. Zisla Flaumienė, who was in charge of the clothing department of the ghetto, found her husband's shirt among the items delivered.[6] The remaining elderly people and the children from the ghetto were settled into some farm and storage buildings on Nemakščių Street that once belonged to the local Catholic Church. Witnesses later told investigators that Grigaravičius, at the beginning of the ghetto's existence, conducted a selection among the women. Women with children were allowed to stay in the ghetto, while approximately 50 girls and women without children were brought to Žuveliškės, where they were shot by Lithuanian "activists."[7] Another selection among the ghetto inmates identified those able to work. They were assigned to carry out some labor projects in the town and at several farms near Raseiniai. Some Jews also worked just outside the town, at the construction site of an air base that the Soviet authorities had started to build in 1940.[8] Throughout these months, many Jews and suspected Communists were arrested and brought to the town's prison by local Lithuanian activists.[9]

The first major Aktion was carried out on July 29, 1941, when several hundred Jews and a number of Communists were selected in the ghetto and in the local prison. These people were herded to the Žuveliškės farm, approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Raseiniai. Not far from the farm, pits had been prepared in advance by the inhabitants of the surrounding farms. The victims were taken to the pits, forced to undress, and shot: a total of 254 Jews and 3 Lithuanian Communists. Witnesses stated that Jews from the surrounding smaller towns and villages such as Tytuvėnai, Nemakščiai, and Šiluva were also murdered at the Žuveliškės farm.[10] The Aktion was conducted by members of the Gestapo. Lithuanian partisans guarded the victims at the killing site. The Gestapo men told these guards that they should learn to shoot Jews, as they would have to conduct the next anti-Jewish Aktion.[11] However, according to numerous witness statements, Grigaravičius and the following Lithuanian auxiliary policemen actively participated in the above-mentioned killing: deputy Kostas Narbutas, Jablonskis, Kaupas, Antanas Alemas, Kazys Stoikas, Kazys Barauskas, Pilionis, Urbšaitis, and Antanas Klimas.[12]

The town's ghetto existed only for about two months. It was liquidated on September 6, 1941, when all the remaining Jews were shot. According to the report of SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, the commander of Einsatzkommando 3, forces under his command, assisted by Lithuanian partisans, carried out three further "cleansing" Aktions in Raseiniai in August and September 1941. On August 5, 213 Jewish men and 66 Jewish women were murdered. Then on August 9–16, 294 Jewish women and 4 children were killed. Finally, between

August 25 and September 6, 1941, Raseiniai was "cleansed" of Jews, resulting in the deaths of 16 Jewish men, 412 Jewish women, and 415 Jewish children. In total more than 1,500 Jews were reported killed in the town.[13]

Some of the Jewish victims who were killed between August 25 and September 6, 1941, were transferred to the farm of Biliūnai. It had been the property of Count Bilevičius, who had been deported to Siberia by the Soviet authorities. The Jews were murdered there by members of the Security Police over the following weeks. At first, the victims were settled in two houses on this farm, and a Lithuanian activist named Viliamas acted as a de facto camp or subghetto commander during this time. The last Jews of Raseiniai were killed between August 29 and September 6 at the Kurpiškės farm.[14]

Only a handful of Jews managed to save themselves by escaping and hiding with local farmers, who risked their lives by offering protection. In addition, some, mostly younger Jews, had managed to escape into the interior of the Soviet Union in time in June 1941, and a few of these people returned to Raseiniai after the war.

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Raseiniai can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 400–403; Shalom Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 235–238; "Raseiniai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 641–647; L. Kantautienė, *Raseinių Krašto Žydai* (Vilnius: Kronta, 2004); Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai ir Laikinos Izoliavimo Stovyklos 1941–1943 Metai," in *Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis, 1999 Metais* (Vilnius, 2000), pp. 151–179; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla* (Vilnius, 2001). The existence of a temporary ghetto in Raseiniai is mentioned in Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 295–296; and in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), p. 334.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 1753-3-1); LYA (K 1-46-1269; 3377-55-119); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/625).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 165.
2. LCVA, R 1753-3-1, p. 97.
3. Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla*, p. 155.
4. Ibid.; *Lithuania: Crime and Punishment*, no. 6 (January 1999): 87.
5. Kantautienė, *Raseinių Krašto Žydai*, p. 83; see also LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 57–69.
6. Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla*, p. 155; and interrogation statement of Aleksas Grigaravičius from October 3, 1947, in LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 57–58, 61.
7. Eidintas, *Lietuvos Žydų Žudinų Byla*, p. 156; see also statement of Zisla Flaumienė, October 2, 1947, in LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 76–78.
8. Statement of M. Karašas, in Kantautienė, *Raseinių Krašto Žydai*, p. 96.
9. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 165.
10. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*.
11. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 166; LYA, K 1-46-1269, pp. 37–39, testimony of A. Kmito, October 22, 1968.
12. LYA, 3377-55-119, pp. 57–69.
13. Adapted from a table compiled from the report of Einsatzkommando 3 on December 1, 1941; see RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 111–113.
14. Bubnys, "Mažijei Lietuvos Žydų Getai," p. 166.

RIETAVAS

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

Rietavas is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, there were 868 Jews living in Rietavas. Emigration during the 1930s had probably reduced the number of Jews by June 1941.

On June 24, 1941, German armed forces captured the town. The night before their arrival, some Jews fled from Rietavas to neighboring villages. According to one account, local Lithuanians started to plunder Jewish property even before the Germans arrived.[1] At this time, a number of homes, including Jewish residences, were destroyed either by the retreating Red Army or by German bombardments.

Immediately after the German takeover, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which introduced anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to return to the town. Lithuanians were forbidden to hide Jews. All Jews were registered and ordered to turn over their valuable possessions. Jews were forbidden to use the town's sidewalks; they were subjected to beatings, hard labor, and starvation at the hands of local antisemites. One of the first victims was Rabbi Shmuel Fundiler, who had half of his beard cut off. He was forced to burn holy books and then was harnessed to a wagon loaded with garbage before the Lithuanians shot him. At least six other Jews were also shot and killed, accused of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. Among those allegedly participating in these murders were the brothers Kazys and Stasys Rimayke.[2]

On June 27, 1941, all the Jews in the town were arrested and resettled to the nearby Prince Oginski's estate, which became a temporary ghetto or camp. Jews lived for three days in this ghetto without food or water. On the fourth day, they were given sugar and salted fish. The starving people devoured this food like animals. Some stuffed whatever they could get into

dirty jars they had found in trash heaps. As a result, many developed diarrhea. Jews in the ghetto/camp were also compelled to perform physical exercises, despite their poor physical condition. From the ghetto/camp, five Jewish girls were sent back to Rietavas, where they had to clean out the Bet Midrash and burn the holy books kept there.[3]

On around July 10, 1941, the ghetto on the Oginski estate was liquidated.[4] The Jews were sent to the Viešvenai camp, near Telšiai, where Jews from several other towns and villages also were concentrated. A few Jewish men from Rietavas were taken instead to the Heydekrug labor camp.[5] On July 16, 1941, the remaining Jewish men were taken out of the Viešvenai camp, and after being forced to perform exercises and beaten, they were all shot. The women and children were taken one week later to the Geruliai camp. At the end of August 1941, around 400 young women were released from the Geruliai camp and were brought to the Telšiai ghetto. The remaining women and children at Geruliai were shot by Lithuanian policemen. Most of the 400 Jewish women relocated to the Telšiai ghetto were shot at the end of December 1941.

Two Jewish women and a Jewish girl from Rietavas are known to have escaped from the mass shooting Aktions. A mother and her daughter subsequently made their way to the Šiauliai ghetto. The other woman, Haya Movshovich, had fallen into the ditch unwounded and then fled naked to an elderly local peasant, who vowed to protect her despite German rewards for the betrayal of Jews. She survived the war.[6]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Rietavas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Alter Levite, ed., *Sefer Ritova; gal-ed le-zekher ayaratenu* (Ritova Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977)—an English-language version is also available, *Ritavas Community: A Yizkor Book to Riteve—A Jewish Shtetl in Lithuania* (Cape Town: Kaplan-Kushlick Foundation, 2000), which includes a useful additional essay by Roni Stauber, "The Destruction of the Riteve Community," pp. 149–152; "Rietavas," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 359; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 238–241; and "Rietavas," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 636–639.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Rietavas can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-430); LCVA; LYA; and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q/1322/136).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/Q/1322/136, testimony of Shaul Shenker, as cited by Stauber, "The Destruction," p. 150.
2. Shaul Shenker, "Riteve," in Levite, *Ritavas Community*, p. 157.
3. Zlatta Olschwang, "Thus the Town Was Destroyed," in ibid., p. 164.
4. Stauber, "The Destruction," p. 150, notes that accounts differ regarding how long the Jews were held in the ghetto/camp on Prince Oginski's estate, but most survivors indicate that it was about 10 to 14 days.
5. Shenker, "Riteve," p. 157.
6. Chana Borochowitz-Golany, *A Childhood in the Storm* (USA: A.I. Saeks, 2003), pp. 30–31.

ROKIŠKIS

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

Rokiškis is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) east-northeast of Panevėžys. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, there were about 3,500 Jews living in Rokiškis, 40 percent of the total population. A number of Jewish refugees arrived in the town, following the German invasion of Poland.

On the outbreak of war between Germany and the USSR in June 1941, many Rokiškis Jews attempted to flee east with the retreating Soviet forces. However, most were turned back at the Latvian border and returned towards Rokiškis. In the meantime, a large Lithuanian partisan force had been organized in the region, which attacked the retreating Soviet forces and also robbed, beat, and killed Jews it encountered on the roads.

German forces took Rokiškis on June 27, 1941. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists in the town formed a civil administration and a police force. Lieutenant Žukas became town commandant, and Lieutenant Petkunas headed the guard company attached to the commandant's office. Their first order of business was to initiate antisemitic measures. Jews were required to wear Stars of David, and they were assigned to various kinds of compulsory labor in the course of which local antisemites subjected the Jews to humiliation and beatings.

At the beginning of July 1941, the town authorities confined all the Jews in two separate ghettos. They put the Jewish men into Count Pzezdetski's stone stables, and the women and children up to the age of eight were moved to the Antanašė estate, between Rokiškis and Obeliai.[1] One of the local collaborators, Zenonas Blynas, noted subsequently in his diary: "Interesting, Germans give a written order to herd Jews into a ghetto. Later German officers participate, as they are shot to death."[2] For a short period a Jewish Council (Judenrat) operated in Rokiškis, which was headed by Ozinkowitz and Jacob Kark.

On August 4, 1941, Lieutenant Žukas ordered all Jewish inhabitants of Rokiškis to give up their valuable property such as furniture and other movable items. The items had to be registered at the office of the military administration by August 28, 1941. At the same time, he announced officially that all Jews able to work had to conduct labor for the community.[3] On August 6, 1941, Žukas issued a further order that any local inhabitants who collected Jews for work but then allowed

them to move to other places or to avoid work by paying a bribe instead would be severely punished.[4] This reflected the common practice of local farmers requisitioning Jews to work on their land.

As soon as German troops occupied Rokiškis, Lithuanian partisans began shooting Jewish men, as well as Lithuanians and Russians, who were believed to have collaborated with the Soviet authorities in 1940 and 1941. By August 14, 1941, they had killed 493 Jews, 432 Russians, and 56 Lithuanians.[5] They carried out the shootings in the woods near the village of Steponai.

On August 15 and 16, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, with the participation of "Lithuanian partisans," shot 3,200 Jewish men, women, and children, although the vast majority were probably men, including a number of men brought in from the surrounding villages, including Obeliai. Besides those victims, the firing squad shot five Lithuanian Communists, one "partisan," and one Pole.[6] Among the approximately 80 Lithuanian partisans who participated, more than 60 were detailed to escort the victims to the site of the killing and to cordon it off. The others did the shooting.[7] The killing took place in the woods near the village of Baiorai, to the north of Rokiškis. Members of the guard company (the partisans) who took part in the killing received a bonus of 150 rubles each "for the performance of special duties."

On or around August 25, 1941, the Jewish women and children from Rokiškis, Kamajai, and several other places, who had been concentrated in the village of Antanašė, 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of Obeliai, were shot. The shootings were conducted by units of Rollkommando Hamann, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian partisans. According to the Jäger report, on August 25, 1941, the Germans and their collaborators murdered 112 men, 627 women, and 421 children (1,160 people) near Obeliai.[8] A local inhabitant recalled in the 1990s: "Men from Obeliai were taken to Rokiškis to be murdered. Women, children, and old people were taken from Rokiškis to Obeliai to be murdered. I saw the carriages with old people arriving from Rokiškis to Obeliai, the road goes next to my house. One old person fell out of the carriage, and a guard killed him, beating his head with a rifle butt."[9]

A few Jews from Rokiškis survived the war initially in the Kaunas ghetto and later in various camps. A number of the Jewish men who fled successfully from Rokiškis served subsequently in the Lithuanian Division of the Red Army, which was established in Gorki in January 1943.

On November 15, 1965, a court in Rokiškis sentenced to death four former policemen (Dagis, Lašas, Vamas, and Strumskis) who had participated in the killing of Jews in Rokiškis.

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Rokiškis may be found in the following publications: M. Bakalczuk-Felin, ed., *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt* (Johannesburg: Rakisher Landsmanshaft of Johannesburg, 1952)—an English translation is available at jewishgen.org; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 403; Shalom Bronstein, *Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Rakishok," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 233–235; "Rokiškis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 646–653; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 288–289.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 317-1-1); LYA (3377-55-39); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (Acc.2000.212, RG-50.473*0100); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Bakalczuk-Felin, *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt*, pp. 383–390; "Rokiškis," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 650.
2. LYA, 3377-55-39, p. 129, diary of Zenonas Blynas, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 289.
3. LCVA, R 317-1-1, p. 1. See also USHMM, Acc.2000.212, reel 1.
4. LCVA, R 708-1-1, p. 2, Order no. 5, issued by the Commandant of the Rokiškis District, published in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 149–150.
5. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, September 10, 1941. Bakalczuk-Felin, *Yisker-bukh fun Rakishok un umgegnt*, p. 388, dates the murder of the men on August 10 and the women and children on August 20.
6. Ibid., p. 111, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
7. Ibid., p. 116.
8. Ibid., p. 112; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 505; Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, pp. 288–289.
9. USHMM, RG-50.473*0100, testimony of Elena Zalogaite, born 1928.

RUDAMINA

Pre-1940: Rudamina (Yiddish: Rudomin), village, Seinai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Seinai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Lasdien, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Lazdijai rajonas, Alytus apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Rudamina is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southwest of Kaunas. In 1923, there were 98 Jews living in Rudamina, constituting about 30 percent of the total population. On the eve of World War II, around 20 Jewish families resided in the village.

At the time of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, Rudamina suffered heavy bombardment, and several Jewish homes were severely damaged. Initially many Jews tried to escape deeper into the Soviet Union, but soon most were forced to return to the village. Lithuanian partisans seized power in

Rudamina and started to rob Jewish homes, beating the occupants. Jews were also forced to perform degrading work. The new authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, including a prohibition on buying certain food items and the requirement to wear a yellow patch in the shape of the Star of David. Disobeying these orders was punishable by death. In July 1941, the Jews had to pay a fine of 500 rubles per person. A makeshift ghetto was formed for the Jews, which included the Bet Midrash and several damaged houses.

On September 15, 1941, all the Jews were expelled from Rudamina and taken to the ghetto on the Katkiškės estate, where the Jews from Lazdijai and its surrounding villages were incarcerated. They all lived there under subhuman conditions for about six weeks. On November 3, the Jews from the Katkiškės ghetto were all murdered in the nearby forest. A number of Jews managed to escape from the Katkiškės ghetto just before its liquidation, and these people tried to hide with farmers in the area, but most were caught and killed. Only Gedalia Kagan from Rudamina is known to have survived until the end of the occupation.

SOURCES Much of the information for this entry is based on "Rudamina," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 631–632. The ghetto in Rudamina is mentioned also in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 668.

Martin Dean

RUMŠIŠKĖS

Pre-1940: Rumšiškės (Yiddish: Rumshishok), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Rumšiškės/Rumshishkes, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Rumschiskis, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Rumšiškės, Kaišiadorys rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Rumšiškės is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) east-southeast of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 288 Jews living in the town. By June 1941, emigration had reduced the size of the Jewish population.

At the onset of the German invasion, few Jews were able to flee Rumšiškės due to the rapid German advance, but a number of refugees fleeing from Kaunas and other places became trapped in Rumšiškės. In the first days of the conflict, a Lithuanian partisan squad was formed, which soon started arresting Communist activists, Jews, and Red Army stragglers. The soldiers were transferred to the German army, which occupied the town on June 24, 1941. The Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force, which agitated against the Jewish population and carried out anti-Jewish measures. Several Jews were killed during the first weeks of the occupation, including the pharmacist Yirmeyahu Rubinstein and others accused of supporting the Soviet authorities. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and they were forced into various kinds of labor, including cutting peat. They were subjected to robbery, assault, and other forms of public denigration by local antisemites. They were forced to surrender their cows and other livestock. Despite a ban on contacts with Lithuanians, the Jews traded remaining property, such as clothing, with Lithuanian peasants to obtain food.

On August 7, 1941, the head of the Kaunas district ordered all Jews into a ghetto by August 15.[1] Two houses, owned by the Katz brothers, were initially used for this purpose, resulting in terrible overcrowding within the ghetto.[2]

The head of the police post in Rumšiškės reported on August 19, 1941, to his superior that on August 15, of the 140 Jews gathered there, 70 Jews (people aged between 15 and 70) had been arrested for allegedly supporting the Communists and escorted away by German and Lithuanian soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant Skaržinskas. This left only just over 70 women and children in Rumšiškės, who were crowded into the house of Yankl-Leyb Langman, which was guarded by the Lithuanian police.[3] On August 22, the authorities demanded a "contribution" of 8,000 rubles from the Jews; the sum was delivered by a man named Rubinstein, the head of the Judenrat, on August 23.[4] On August 29, 1941, the ghetto in the town was liquidated, and the Jewish women and children were shot at the edge of the Rumšiškės Forest by Lithuanian policemen arriving from Kaunas.[5] It is likely that the Jewish men were taken to a labor camp at nearby Pravieniškės (a few kilometers north-northeast of Rumšiškės) and had been murdered there by September 4, 1941.[6] Other sources, however, indicate that they may have been taken to Kaunas. Remaining Jewish property was auctioned off in the town by September 21, 1941.

The Germans were driven from Rumšiškės on July 20, 1944, but the Red Army found that most of the town had been destroyed.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Rumšiškės can be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Rumšiškės," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 633–635; and Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 283–312, here pp. 303–305.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (R 683-2-2; R 1534-1-190); LYA (K 1-58-47533/3); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (O-71, file 148).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 290–291.

2. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 635.

3. LCVA, R 683-2-2, p. 63, report of the head of Rumšiškės police precinct to the director of the police department in Kaunas, August 19, 1941; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 635.

4. LCVA, R 1534-1-190, p. 3, report of the head of Rumšiškės district to the head of the Kaunas Region, August 25, 1941.

5. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. On August 29, 1941, 20 Jewish men, 567 Jewish women, and 197 Jewish children were reportedly killed at Rumšiškės and Žiežmariai.

6. Ibid., p. 113. Only 6 women were among the 253 Jews reportedly killed at Pravenischkės, which presumably included the 70 Jews from Rumšiškės. See also Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 506.

ŠAKIAI

Pre-1940: Šakiai (Yiddish: Shaki), *town*, *apskritis center*, *Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šakiai/Shakiai*, *uezd center*, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schaken*, *Kreis center*, *Gebiet Kauen-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šakiai*, *rajonas center*, *Mariampolė apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Šakiai is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west of Kaunas, close to the German-Lithuanian border. The available demographic records show that a total of 1,281 Jews resided in Šakiai in 1923. By June 1941, the number of Jewish residents had decreased slightly, a change caused by the emigration movements of the 1930s. There were about 1,000 Jews living there when the Germans arrived, plus about 100 Jewish refugees who had fled from German-occupied Poland.

The German army occupied Šakiai on June 22, 1941, the first day of its invasion of the Soviet Union. Only about 50 Jews succeeded in fleeing. The local Lithuanian nationalists established an administrative authority and a police force immediately. These bodies worked together and organized the initial measures against the Jewish population, many of whom they accused of collaborating with the Soviets. The Lithuanians confined all Jewish males aged 15 and over in a large barn on the outskirts of town. Jews were ordered to give up all their valuables, and they had to conduct physically demanding forced labor. While they worked, they had to face all kinds of mistreatment, harassment, and abuse from local antisemites. In addition, Jews were forbidden to appear in public places and banned from any private contacts with non-Jewish Lithuanians. The Jews had to wear yellow patches on their outer clothing, and they also had to give up radios and other similar equipment. In addition, a curfew between 6:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. was declared for the Jewish population.

On July 5, 1941, in the first Aktion against the Jews in Šakiai, Lithuanian auxiliary police took all the male Jews they had confined to a place in the woods outside of town, where they had already forced some of the Jews to dig a large trench. There the Lithuanians shot them all. There was some resistance, and one young Jew, Benjamin Rothschild, managed to beat one of the executioners severely before he was killed. When the men were all dead, the Lithuanians brought out 40 of the wealthier Jewish women and killed them as well.

The Lithuanians forced the remaining Jewish women and children into a ghetto in the poorest part of the town. Although few specifics are available, it is known that conditions in the ghetto were terrible. Lithuanians were forbidden to give food to the Jews, so hunger was rampant. More direct abuses were also common. In the first days of the ghetto's existence, a group of Lithuanian youths abducted six Jewish girls and raped and killed them. Similar incidents continued in the weeks that followed.

The Lithuanians liquidated the open ghetto of Šakiai on September 13, 1941. During this Aktion, Lithuanian police shot 890 Jews at the same site where they had killed the others in July. On September 16, 1941, the Šakiai district was officially declared to have been cleared of Jews.[1] The total of 890 victims also included Jews from the villages in the vicinity of Šakiai, including Kriukai, Lukšiai, Šiaudinė, Sintautai, Griškabūdis, and Sudargas. The Lithuanians loaded the victims' belongings onto carts, brought them back to town, and distributed them to the local population.

SOURCES Information about the killing of the Jews of Šakiai can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 699–704; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5; and Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 287–288. The ghetto in Šakiai is mentioned also in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1120.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archive: LCVA (R 683-2-2, p. 86).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTE

1. Notes of the head of the Šakiai county (V. Karalius) and head of the local police (Vilčinskas) to the head of the Kaunas police department, September 16, 1941, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 111.

SALAKAS

Pre-1940: Salakas (Yiddish: Salok), *village*, *Zarasai apskritis*, *Lithuania; 1940–1941: Zarasai uezd*, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Ossersee*, *Gebiet Ponewesch-Land*, *Generalkommis-*

sariat Litauen; post-1991: Zarasai rajonas, *Utena apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Salakas is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east of Panevėžys. In 1923, the village had a Jewish population of 917. By mid-1941, emigration in the 1920s and 1930s had reduced the number of Jews in Salakas slightly.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which began introducing anti-Jewish measures. All the Jews' valuables were confiscated, and they were deployed for various types of forced labor, during which local antisemites subjected them to humiliation and beatings. They were forbidden to go to the market, had to wear distinguishing patches on their clothes, and had to mark their houses with the word *Jude* (Jew). Some Jews were blackmailed by Lithuanian policemen. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on which Rabbi Jacob Relve, Feibush Gilinksi, and Abraham Bach served.

In the first days, the local authorities arrested and shot people they suspected of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities, including Berl Krupnik, whose son had been a member of the Komsomol. Then on August 9, 1941, the first large-scale Aktion took place in Salakas when Lithuanian partisans rounded up about 150 people, mainly Jewish men, and shot them in the nearby Songard Forest.[1]

The remaining Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were then placed in a ghetto on Planova Street. Lithuanians looted the vacated Jewish homes. The ghetto was liquidated on August 26, 1941, when all the Jews were shot in the Pažeimis Forest near the village of Diagučiai, along with other Jews from Kreis Zarasai.[2] A local Lithuanian named Radzewicz was subsequently shot by the Germans when he was found to have aided Jews in hiding.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Salakas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Salakas," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Salakas," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 427–430; and "Salakas," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1120.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Salakas can be found in these archives: GARF (7021-94-439); LCVA; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Salakas," in Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945*; and B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 414.
2. GARF, 7021-94-439.

SEDA

Pre-1940: Seda (Yiddish: Shad), *Mažeikiai apskritis*, *Lithuania; 1940–1941: Mazheikiai uezd*, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Kreis Moscheiken*, *Gebiet Schaulen-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Mažeikiai rajonas*, *Telšiai apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Seda is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Telšiai. According to the 1923 census, 814 Jews were living in the town. By mid-1941, owing to the emigration of Jews in the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish population had decreased significantly.

German armed forces occupied Seda on June 24, 1941. As the retreating Soviet forces had shot 12 Lithuanian partisans in the town, the new Lithuanian nationalist administration and police force soon started arresting alleged Soviet activists. The new authorities also instituted measures discriminating against the Jews. By the end of June, Lithuanian partisans were rounding up young Jews, and those who were arrested were taken out and shot in the Jewish cemetery. Among those killed was Rabbi Mordechai Rabinowitz.

At the end of June 1941, Lithuanian collaborators gathered all the Jews at the market square between warehouses that belonged to Jews. There the Jews were held without food and water and in unsanitary conditions for several days. Then they were transported to a Jewish agricultural colony not far from the town, known as the "Jewish village." The Jews were quartered in granaries and cowsheds, which were guarded by armed Lithuanians, forming a temporary ghetto. The young Jewish men were separated from the women, children, and the elderly and were killed near the village on July 3, 1941. In early August 1941, this ghetto was liquidated, and the remaining Jews (around 200 people) were brought to Mažeikiai. On August 9, 1941, the Jews from Seda were shot at the Jewish cemetery in Seda together with the Jews of Mažeikiai. For participating in the mass shooting, the Lithuanian policemen received 300 rubles and strong alcohol that was available in plentiful quantities at the killing site.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Seda in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: J. Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at jewishgen.org; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 320; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), p. 278; "Seda," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 421–422. Information on the initial days of the German-Soviet war and German occupation in Seda can be found in Valentinas Brandisauskas, ed., *1941 m. Birzelio sukilimas. Dokumentu rinkinys* (Vilnius:

LGGRTC, 2000), pp. 109–128; and in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 178–185.

Relevant archival documentation can be found in LCVA and LYA (3377-55-111, pp. 70–71).

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trans. Steven Seegel

ŠEDUVA

Pre-1940: Šeduva (Yiddish: Shadeve), village, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šeduva/Sheduva, Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Scheddau, Kreis Ponewesch, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šeduva, Radviliškis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Šeduva is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) west of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, 916 Jews were living in the village. By mid-1941, as a result of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Jews in the village had decreased.

German armed forces captured Šeduva on June 26, 1941. Lithuanian nationalists, headed by the teacher Gorionos, began to terrorize the Jews even before the Germans arrived. Jews trying to escape into the Soviet Union were stopped by the Lithuanian partisans, who murdered several on the road and robbed others, compelling them to return to Šeduva.

The Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which carried out a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forced to wear white armbands bearing a yellow Star of David. Valuable items were confiscated from the Jews, and they were required to perform various kinds of forced labor, guarded by armed Lithuanians, who abused them. Young men who had performed administrative functions in the Soviet regime were murdered. Other Jews that were forced to clear up the bombed armament factory in Linkaičiai were accused of stealing grenades and also killed.

In mid-July 1941, all the Jews were settled into a ghetto. First they were ordered to gather in the marketplace and to surrender the keys to their homes to the Lithuanian police. Under guard they were then escorted to the village of Pakuteniai, a few kilometers to the southwest, where they were placed in an abandoned barracks without water or electricity. The building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by armed Lithuanians. Other Jews, who had been working on local farms, were brought, beaten and bleeding, to the ghetto, where the Jewish physician Dr. Patorski gave them first aid.

From time to time, the Lithuanian partisans shot groups of Jews taken out of the ghetto on the pretext of conducting agricultural work. On August 3, 10 Jews were shot and buried in lime pits. In mid-August, 27 more Jews were shot, including Rabbi Mordechai David Henkin. Around the same time, another 35 who had been assigned to work on the Red Estate were murdered and buried in its surrounding fields.

On August 25 and 26, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and Lithuanian partisans shot most of the remaining Jews in the Liaudiškiai Forest, 10 kilometers (6 miles) southwest of the village. According to the Jäger report, in total, 664 people were killed in Šeduva: 230 men, 275 women, and 159 children.[1] After the massacre, the Lithuanian murderers ate and drank all night in celebration.

Three Jewish families, including that of Dr. Patorski, were kept alive for another six weeks before being killed. One Jewish woman, Shulamith Noll, escaped from the pit in her underwear and survived the mass killing. She went to the local Catholic priest, who arranged for her to be hidden with local farmers for the remainder of the German occupation.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the fate of the Jews of Šeduva during the Holocaust include the following: J. Woolf, ed., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 363–364; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 244–246; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 654–658; and Efraim Zuroff, *Occupation: Nazi Hunter—The Continuing Search for Perpetrators of the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1994), p. 154.

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

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

SEIRIJAI

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

Seirijai is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Alytus. According to the 1923 census, there were 880 Jews living in the town. By mid-1941, emigration had reduced the number.

German forces had captured Seirijai by June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which introduced anti-Jewish measures. For example, Jews were required to wear Stars of David and were used for various types of forced labor, during which they were subjected to humiliation and beatings by local antisemites. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places or to maintain relationships of any kind with Lithuanians.

As early as June 26, 1941, the first Aktion took place in Seirijai. At that time, Lithuanian partisans, led by Alfonsas Nykstaitis and Antanas Maskeliunas, shot about 50 Communists and Komsomol members, some of whom were Jews.[1]

During a second Aktion on August 2, 1941, 115 Jewish men and 15 Jewish women were sent to Alytus and shot there.[2]

According to the account in Oshry, the town's remaining Jews "were crowded together in the Christian art school like herring in a barrel."[3] This building served as a ghetto. The homes and belongings of the Jews were appropriated by their Lithuanian neighbors. Also placed in the ghetto were Jews from neighboring towns and villages, and as a result the ghetto population rose to nearly 1,000 people. The young and strong Jews were taken off for forced labor, such as repairing roads.

The ghetto in Seirijai was liquidated on September 10–11, 1941, when 953 Jews—229 men, 384 women, and 340 children—were killed. The Jews were driven from the town by the local police armed with clubs. After being forced to remove their clothes, they were shot in the Baraučiškės Forest, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of the town, with the participation of members of 3rd Company, 1st Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, commanded by Bronius Norkus.[4] According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, several local dignitaries of the town, such as teachers, were present at the massacre of Seirijai's Jews.[5]

For participation in the killing of Jews in Seirijai, and in other places in Lithuania, eight former members of 3rd Company were sentenced to death at a trial in Kaunas in September–October 1962.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Seirijai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Seirijai," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Serey," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 243–244; "Seirijai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 444–447.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-3); LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-46373/3, vol. 2); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA (M-1/Q/142; M-33/994; Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection, O-71/131).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-94-3, p. 39.
2. Ibid.
3. Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 244.
4. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
5. "Seirijai," in Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 446–447.

SEMELIŠKĖS

Pre-1940: Semeliškės (Yiddish: Semilishok), village, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Semeliškės/Semelishkes, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Semelischkes, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Semeliškės, Trakai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Semeliškės is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of Wilno. About 60 Jewish families resided in the village on the eve of World War II.

No ghetto was established in Semeliškės for the 261 Jewish inhabitants until the end of the summer of 1941.[1] Fifty-four Jewish refugees from Baranowicze were also living there. On July 21, 1941, on German orders, the Jews assembled in the synagogue and elected a 12-man Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by Šaja Šeškinas. At some time during the summer a group of Jewish men was shot by the local Lithuanians in charge of the village.

At the beginning of September, the local Lithuanian police moved all the remaining Jews into the synagogue, the Bet Midrash, and the former church building (that had been converted into a social club by the Soviet authorities), establishing a form of ghetto. Every day a number of Jews were taken out to perform various forced labor tasks.

On September 22, several hundred more Jews from Vievis and Žasliai were also brought to Semeliškės on carts. The Jews of Vievis were robbed of most of their property by Lithuanian auxiliary policemen just before their departure. In Semeliškės, the new arrivals were incarcerated separately from the local Jews. In early October, all the Jews in Semeliškės, including those brought in from outside, were escorted to a forest about 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) outside the village to the northeast, where they were shot. According to the report of Karl Jäger, forces subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3 shot 962 Jews (213 men, 359 women, and 390 children) in the vicinity of Semeliškės on October 6, 1941.[2]

A number of Jews managed to escape before or at the time of the Aktion. However, some of these people were caught subsequently, and only a few survived until the end of the occupation. Liubovė Slepak-Zacharaitė recalls:

> Some people sheltered us for one night. Others for a week, or for some three days. They used to feed and hide us, risking their own lives and the lives of their families because there were many collaborators and local nationalists from whom nobody could expect mercy. . . . Death lay in wait for us around every corner and every bush. . . . In the autumn of 1942, my mother, brother and sister were caught and I never saw them again.[3]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 697; Neringa Latvyte-Gustaitiene, "The Genocide of the Jews in the Trakai Region of Lithuania," translated by Svetlana Satalova, available at jew ishgen.org; and Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), p. 330.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Semeliškės can be found in the following archives: GARF

(7021-94-431); LCVA; RGVA (500-1-25); VHF (# 10804); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle*, p. 330, testimony of Jewish survivor Liubovė Slepak-Zacharaitė.
2. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 506.
3. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle*, p. 330.

SEREDŽIUS

Pre-1940: Seredžius (Yiddish: Srednik), town, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Seredžius/Seredzhius, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Seredschius, Kreis Schaken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Seredžius, Jurbarkas rajonas, Tauragė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Seredžius is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 population census, 449 Jews were living in Seredžius. By mid-1941, the number of Jews in the town had decreased significantly, owing largely to emigration.

German troops captured the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with the Star of David and were forced into labor of various kinds. The Jews were subjected to assault, robbery, and other forms of degradation by local antisemites. Jews were also prohibited from appearing in public spaces or having any relations with the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian nationalists arrested and shot Jewish men suspected of having collaborated with the Soviet authorities.

Soon the Jews were evacuated from their homes and resettled into the town synagogue, which effectively became a ghetto for them. The homes and property of the Jews were confiscated and distributed among their Lithuanian neighbors. In the middle of August 1941, Jewish men aged over 15 and Jewish women who had been accused of collaborating with the Soviet authorities in 1940–1941 were singled out and transported to Vilkija. In Vilkija, they were shot along with the local Jews on August 28, 1941.[1] The 193 Jews that remained, comprising 6 men, 61 women, and 126 children, were shot in the Pakralė Forest, just outside the town, on September 4, 1941.[2]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Seredžius may be found in the following publications: Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 325; "Seredzius," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 442–443; and J. Woolf, comp., "The Holocaust in 21 Lithuanian Towns," available at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/lithuania3/lithuania3.html.

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

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Bronstein, *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, p. 325; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 443.
2. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

ŠIAULIAI

Pre-1939: Šiauliai (Yiddish: Shavl), city and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šiauliai/Shauliai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schaulen, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šiauliai, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Šiauliai is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Panevėžys. On the eve of the war, the Jewish population of Šiauliai numbered between 6,500 and 8,000.

Following the occupation and annexation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union in 1940, 202 Jews became victims of the



The murder of a woman in the Šiauliai ghetto, n.d.
USHMM WS #70806, COURTESY OF ELIEZER ZILBERIS

Soviet deportations on June 14, 1941.[1] When Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some of Šiauliai's Jews tried to escape into the interior of the Soviet Union. Approximately 100 refugees managed to reach the Soviet rear areas. Others failed, however, because of the Germans' rapid advance. They either returned to Šiauliai or sought refuge in the surrounding villages. The Red Army abandoned the city on June 26.

In the first days of the German occupation, a Lithuanian administration and police force were established. Various German institutions were also based in the town. Feldkommandantur 819 administered the town initially, then passed on its authority to a civil administration headed by a Gebietskommissar and his staff in August. Units of the Secret Military Field Police (GFP) and elements of Einsatzkommando 2, under Einsatzgruppe A, were also present. SS-Hauptscharführer Werner Gottschalk, head of the Restkommando, a subordinate unit of Einsatzkommando 2, directed the first murders of Jews from the city and region. In late July, the 3rd Company of German Police Battalion 65 arrived in Šiauliai. This company repeatedly participated in the murder of Šiauliai's Jews during the summer, assisted by other German military and police units.

The first mass murder of Šiauliai's Jews took place in the Kužiai Forest, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Šiauliai, on June 29, 1941. The victims also included ethnic Lithuanian and Russian members of the Communist Party and the Komsomol. According to witness accounts, the Germans perpetrated the Kužiai killings.[2] Mass arrests of Šiauliai's Jews took place on June 30, July 1, and July 5. Among those whom the Lithuanian police arrested were 20 of the most distinguished members of Šiauliai's Jewish community, including Chief Rabbi Aron Baksht and Rabbi Avrohom Nochumovsky. They were held as hostages in the city jail until July 11, when they were murdered in "reprisal" for an alleged Jewish attack on German soldiers. Approximately 1,000 Jews were murdered before the establishment of the ghetto, many by Lithuanian partisans.[3]

The German occupation authorities began to plan for the establishment of a ghetto in Šiauliai in early July 1941. On July 10, a Lithuanian attorney named Linkevicius was designated mayor; Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars shortly thereafter.[4] At that time, deputy mayor Antanas Stankus was put "in charge of Jewish affairs," a post he held until February 1, 1942.[5] The military commandant, Konowski, issued instructions for establishing the ghetto. In cooperation with the Lithuanian authorities, a Jewish committee was established to deal with the problems of moving the Jews into the ghetto. The committee included Mendel Leibovitch, Ber Kartun, Fayvel Rubinstein, and Aron Katz.[6] In accordance with a proclamation, all Jews had to register at the city administration office between July 19 and July 22. In July, Linkevicius and Konowski announced that the Jews were to move either to the Šiauliai suburb known as Kaukazas or to the town of Žagarė. According to the Judenrat secretary, Eliezer Yerushalmi (author of *Pinkas Shavli*, a journal of life in the ghetto), although Stankus and the mayor proposed the transfer of the Jewish community to Žagarė, the Jewish leaders (Kartun, Leibovitch, and others) weighed the proposal and appealed for assistance from local Lithuanian intellectuals and the priest, Lapis. Yerushalmi notes that Jewish opposition to the idea caused it to be abandoned, and the ghetto was subsequently created in Kaukazas.[7] (Nesse [Galperin] Godin, a survivor from Šiauliai [b. 1928], recalls that the Jewish committee managed to bribe Gestapo officials with valuables and promised to produce goods essential to the German war effort to avoid the transfer of the Jewish community to Žagarė.)[8] The non-Jewish residents of these areas "were allowed" to move to other parts of the city of Šiauliai, some moving into formerly Jewish-owned properties.[9]

Two neighborhoods were chosen for the ghetto. One was Kaukazas, while the other encompassed Ežero and Trakų Streets. The two areas were separated by 300 meters (984 feet). After the ghetto was enclosed, the Jews began moving in from various city districts, starting with the Kaukazas area. The Jewish committee was responsible for allocating accommodation inside the ghetto. The resettlement was largely complete by August 15, 1941, and the closed ghetto was officially established on September 1.[10] Between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews were forced into the two ghettos, around which ran 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fences. Police guarded the ghetto gate, and no one could leave without a special pass.

After the Jews were confined in the ghetto, confiscated Jewish gold and other valuables were remitted to the Šiauliai Gebietskommissariat. This was done in accordance with detailed inventory lists. Some Jewish property (primarily furniture) was taken by Gebietskommissariat officials; the rest was sold to the local population.[11]

The number of Jews forced into the ghetto was greater than the available housing could hold. To solve this problem, in the first days of September, a number of "excess" Jews were herded into the synagogues and the Jewish Home for the Elderly on Vilnius Street, where they were registered. Most of these Jews (the elderly and those deemed unfit for work) were taken to Žagarė or to Kužiai, where they were murdered. On September 7 (according to other sources, September 6), a squad commanded by Lieutenant Romualdas Kolokša, formerly a lawyer in Užventis, raided the Jewish orphanage and seized 47 children and two teachers (A. Katz and Zhenia Karfel). The group was taken to the forest and murdered. On September 13, the police entered the ghetto, arrested many elderly people, and took them away to be shot.[12]

Mass murders of Šiauliai Jews took place near the village of Bubiai, in the Gubernija Forest, a part of the Normančiai Forest District approximately 15 kilometers (9 miles) from Šiauliai, during September 1941. Groups of victims, numbering close to 500, were brought to the site in 10 trucks. Before they were shot, the Jews were forced to undress, beaten, and then driven into the pits. Witnesses to the murders stated that the executions were directed by German officers, although Lithuanian partisans participated as well.[13] Yerushalmi describes one victim who managed to survive the shootings near Bubiai and returned to the town to report what was occurring there: "The representative M. Leibovitch went there (to visit the survivor of the shootings) and he became aware of the terrible

truth: all of those who had been seized were taken to the woods near Bubiai and there they were shot next to pits that had been prepared beforehand. The survivor had himself been wounded, but he still managed to escape from the pit."[14] The shootings would start at about 3:00 or 4:00 P.M. and were supervised by German officers. The executioners were Lithuanian partisans and soldiers of the 14th Lithuanian Police Battalion, quartered in Šiauliai. In the Gubernija Forest, approximately 1,000 people were murdered.[15] The last major shooting of Jews in 1941 took place between December 8 and December 15. On the orders of Gebietskommissar Hans Gewecke and the head of the German Security Police and SD, 72 Jews from Šiauliai, who worked in nearby villages, were seized and then shot. The executioners were policemen from the villages of Kuršėnai, Stačiūnai, Radviliškis, and Pakruojis.[16]

Following the mass murders in September 1941, the number of Aktions against the Jewish population declined. A Jewish administration and a unit of Jewish Police were created in the Šiauliai ghetto, similar to the structure of the ghettos in Wilno and Kaunas. Inside the ghetto, the original Jewish committee was reorganized into a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its authority extended to both the Ežero-Trakų and Kaukazas ghettos. The Judenrat was headed by M. Leibovitch, and it included other influential Šiauliai Jews, such as Aron Heller and B.M. Abramovitch, and the teacher Eliezer Yerushalmi. The main responsibility of the Jewish Council was to direct internal life within the ghetto, while also maintaining contacts with the German and Lithuanian administrative offices. In addition, the council appointed the heads of the Ežero-Trakų and Kaukazas ghetto administrations. The administration of the Ežero-Trakų ghetto included S. Burgin, S. Kultchenitski (social affairs), and Ch. Cherniavski (labor affairs).[17] The ghetto administration supervised the maintenance of public order in the ghetto, assignment of forced laborers, distribution of food supplies within the ghetto, sanitation, and other everyday activities.

A food shop and 40-bed hospital (headed by Luntz and Peisachovitz) opened in the ghetto. Beginning in September 1941, the inmates were driven to work at locations such as the Zokniai airfield, various workshops, the Frenkel leather factory (in Kaukazas), the Rekyva and Radviliškis peat bogs, the Linkaičiai weapons workshops, and the Pavenčiai sugar refinery. Ghetto inhabitants deemed capable of working were assigned yellow work cards. The Jews were not paid money for their work. The German Arbeitsamt (labor office) transferred the money to the ghetto administration.[18] (Nesse Godin recalls that when her family of five was transferred to the ghetto, they were allotted only four yellow work cards. Nesse, who was 13 at the time [August 1941], was too young to receive a work card. Her mother bribed a Lithuanian officer accompanying the Gestapo official, who left a fifth card for Nesse. While this card offered the opportunity to work, Nesse did not receive a ration card because she was not officially registered in the ghetto.)[19]

Ephraim Gens was made head of the Ežero-Trakų ghetto police in early September 1941. He had 11 or 12 policemen at his disposal, who were unarmed. The ghetto policemen were responsible for maintaining public order inside the ghetto.



Nathan Katz works in the radio laboratory in the Šiauliai ghetto, 1943.
USHMM WS #07367, COURTESY OF NATHAN KATZ

More specifically, their duties included the housing and resettlement of inmates, prevention of crimes, such as robbery and speculation (food smuggling), maintenance of proper sanitary conditions, and the formation of "work brigades." Those who violated the ghetto regulations were punished with fines, beatings, confinement in solitary cells, and temporary prohibition from work. The punishments were issued by the Ghetto Court of Law.[20]

On February 7, 1942, an order was issued forbidding childbirths in the ghetto. The order went into effect on August 15, 1942. Doctors had to perform abortions to prevent violation of this order.[21] (The Judenrat discussed whether it was possible to force women to have abortions under the circumstances. Three births had taken place since August 15, 1942, and up to 20 women were estimated to be pregnant in the ghetto in late March 1943. Dr. Aron Pick, a physician living in the Šiauliai ghetto, kept a diary recording events in the ghetto. In a January 1944 entry, he details the birth of a Jewish baby girl born to a slave laborer. The child was drowned after birth to avert the "terrible danger [that] hung over the entire ghetto.")[22]

E. Gens remained head of the Jewish Police in the Ežero-Trakų ghetto until March 25, 1944, when he resigned because of a disagreement with the new ghetto administration chief, Georg Pariser. Gens then became an ordinary ghetto inmate, while Chaim Berlovitch occupied his previous post. David Fayn was head of the Jewish Police in the Kaukazas ghetto. His deputy was Zavel Gotz, who replaced Fayn in his duties in July 1943.[23]

Underground anti-Nazi resistance groups emerged in the Šiauliai ghetto. The most active members of the Zionist youth movements created a secret organization in late 1941. Another "self-defense" organization, headed by engineer Yosel Leibovitch, appeared in 1942, with both Zionist and Communist membership. They acquired and concealed weapons but undertook no armed action. Small underground newspapers, *Massada*, *Hatechiya*, and *Mimamakim*, were produced.

Youth movements (Hechalutz, Betar, and the Communist group) were also active in the ghetto and commemorated certain Jewish and national holidays. In 1943, schools opened in both ghettos, with an enrollment of 90 pupils in the Ežero-Trakų ghetto and 200 pupils in Kaukazas.

The Šiauliai ghetto was under the supervision of Gebietskommissar Gewecke until mid-September or October 1, 1943, when, the SS assumed jurisdiction. The ghetto then acquired the status of a subcamp of the Kauen concentration camp. The head of the Schaulen subcamp was SS-Unterscharführer Hermann Schleef. For information about this transition and the period of the concentration camp, readers are referred to the entry in Volume I (**Schaulen**, pp. 858–859).

Some Jews from Šiauliai were among the concentration camp inmates liberated by Allied troops at the end of the war. The number of survivors from the Šiauliai ghetto was between 350 and 500.[24]

Hans Gewecke, the Gebietskommissar in Šiauliai, was tried in Lübeck in 1970 and sentenced to four and a half years for hanging a Jew who was caught smuggling food into the ghetto.[25]

SOURCES In addition to the entry on Šiauliai in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 658–671, a number of other published works on Jewish life in the Šiauliai ghetto are useful. In particular, see Eliezer Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli: Yoman mi-geto Lita'i, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik and Yad Vashem, 1958), a journal detailing daily events in the ghetto—an abridged version of this can also be found in *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, compiled by Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002). *Shirim me-geto Shavli* (Israel: Yotse Geto Shavli, 2003) is a collection of poems and songs from the Šiauliai ghetto. See also Levi Shalit, *Azoy zaynen mir geshtorbn* (Munich: Organization of Lithuanian Jews in Germany, 1949). Among those memoirs published by survivors of the Shavli ghetto are Sarah Yerushalmi, *La-geto lo hazarti* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980); Harry Demby, *Life Story of a Holocaust Survivor from Shaulen Lithuania, Who Lived His Life to Help Others* (Delray Beach, FL: H. Demby, 2003); and Meyer Kron, *Through the Eye of a Needle* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2000). The diary of Aron Pick has been published in Hebrew: *Reshimot mi-ge ha-haregah: Zikhronot ketuvim be-geto ha Shavla'i (Lita)* (Tel Aviv: Igud yots'e Lita, 1997).

The trial records of Lithuanian collaborators can be found in the Lithuanian Special Archives (Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas, or LYA). Additional documentation on the German occupation can be found in the Central State Archives of Lithuania (Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas, or LCVA), including the records of the "Šiauliai City SS and Police Leader" (LCVA, R-717; see also USHMM, Acc. 2000.195). See also the trial records for Hans Gewecke: Sta. Lübeck, 2 Ks 1/68.

The diary of Dr. Aaron Pick describes life in the Šiauliai ghetto, public health, and Judenrat activities (see USHMM, Acc. 2000.132). A number of oral histories and testimonies on Šiauliai are available at the USHMM (e.g., RG-50.030*0080 [Nesse Galperin Godin]; the memoirs of Sonja Haid Greene, "Between life and death," RG-02.112; Acc.1994.A203; Simcha Brudno: "Witness to Nazism," RG-02.101; Acc.1994.A.159, transcription of oral history interview; and "The Family of Aryeh-Leyb Fingerhut [Leo Gerut]," RG-02.210). Numerous survivor testimonies and other sources can also be found in Israel: at YVA (e.g., M-1/E-575, 1206, 1233, 1472, 1555; M-9/9[6], 15[6]; O-3/3831, 3856; O-33/56, 60, 62, 284, 956, 1381, 1392, 2582, 3368; O-4/[15]); at the MA (A.258, A.685); also in the Oral History Division, Institute for Contemporary Jewry (i.e., [4] 37, [12] 58, 72, 77, 80, 82, 95, 103, 112, 113); and in the archives of the ITS.

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NOTES

1. List of the Jews deported by the Bolsheviks in 1941, LMAB, RS, fr. 76-190, pp. 19–23.
2. Memorandum by the Šiauliai Region's Working People's Deputies Council Executive Committee, April 4, 1968, LYA, K 1-46-1261, p. 86.
3. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*; and Yerushalmi's Diary, Šiauliai (Shavli), in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 265, 522. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, p. 31, also cites mass arrests carried out by Lithuanian partisans.
4. See Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, p. 32.
5. Šiauliai City Government's Report to Gebietskommissar Schaulen-Land, August 13, 1941, LMAB, RS, fr. 76-181, p. 2.
6. Excerpts from A. Stankus's Examination Record, October 20, 1950, LYA, K 1-8-182, pp. 158–159. See Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, pp. 32–33, on the creation of a Jewish administration.
7. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, pp. 33–34.
8. Nesse Godin Oral History transcript, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0080, p. 8.
9. Šiauliai City Mayor's Announcement, July 18, 1941, ŠAA, 269-1a-27, p. 27.
10. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 296–300 (extract from the diary of E. Yerushalmi). See also Kron, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 64, which states that the ghettos were closed by August 31.
11. Excerpts from A. Stankus's Examination Record, October 20, 1950, LYA, K 1-8-182, pp. 158–160.
12. Ibid., p. 160; Statement of the Description of Murders in the Šiauliai City Jewish Ghetto, November 25, 1944, LMAB, RS, fr. 159-29, p. 3.
13. Note issued by the Soviet Lithuanian KGB about mass murders in the Šiauliai Region in 1941, February 7, 1973, LYA, K 1-46-1274, p. 1; Z. Ašmonienė's Examination Record, January 23, 1973, K 1-46-1274, pp. 5–7.
14. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, p. 41.
15. Note by Captain Obraztsov, Soviet Lithuanian KGB Šiauliai City Chief Operative Official, about the 14th Lithuanian Police Battalion, n.d., LYA, K 1-47-1268, p. 145.
16. Statement of the Description of Murders in the Šiauliai City Jewish Ghetto, November 25, 1944, LMAB, RS, fr. 159-29, p. 3.
17. E. Gens's Examination Record, June 29, 1948, LYA, K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 18, 25; Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 460.

18. USHMM, RG-50.030*0080, p. 10.

19. A. Galiūnas's Examination Record, September 6, 1951, LYA, K 1-58-P16850, p. 19.

20. E. Gens's Examination Record, January 21, 1948, ibid., K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 13–14.

21. See Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Shavli*, for a copy of the order officially dated July 13, 1942 (p. 88), as well as the minutes of the Judenrat meeting on the topic, March 24, 1943 (pp. 188–189).

22. Dr. Aaron Pick Diary, USHMM, Acc. 2000.132, January 1944 (Hebrew).

23. E. Gens's Examination Record, January 21, 1948, LYA, K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 15–16; also L. Lazeris's Examination Record, June 21, 1950, K 1-58-18181/3, pp. 13–14.

24. L. Peleckienė, "Prie Šiaulių geto vartų skambėjo gedulingas 'Requiem,'" *Lietuvos rytas*, 1994m. liep. 26d.; E. Gens's Examination Record, January 21, 1948, LYA, K 1-58-P42809/3, pp. 12–13; Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2006), p. 124.

25. Kron, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 66; Sta. Lübeck, 2 Ks 1/68.

ŠILUVA

Pre-1940: Šiluva (Yiddish: Shidleve), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Šiluva/Shiluva, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schidlowo, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Šiluva, Raseiniai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Šiluva is located 78 kilometers (49 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 365 Jews living in Šiluva, constituting 37 percent of the total. Owing to emigration in the 1930s, the Jewish population declined somewhat. Around 80 Jewish families were living in Šiluva in 1938.

German armed forces captured the town on June 24, 1941. Lithuanian nationalists immediately arrested all the Jews and resettled them into barns in the village of Ribukai. These barns in effect became a ghetto for the Jews. Jewish property was stolen by the Lithuanians. Each day Jewish men were exploited for heavy physical labor at the nearby Lyduvėnai railway station. While at work, the Jews were subjected to beatings at the hands of the Lithuanian guards.

On August 15–16, 1941, 115 to 120 Jewish men were taken out en masse and shot near the village of Padubysis (according to another source, near the village of Zakeliškiai). On August 21, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and all the remaining Jews, around 300 people, were shot and buried in sand pits near Ribukai, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) east of Lyduvėnai. Three Jews who received advanced warning from a Lithuanian friend were able to escape to the Šiauliai ghetto. The killings were carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, assisted by Lithuanian policemen.[1]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Šiluva during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Siluva," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 681–683; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1184.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Šiluva can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-427); LCVA; and YVA (O-3/2580; M-9/15[6]).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. YVA, 0-3/2580, M-9/15(6); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 401–402.

ŠIRVINTOS

Pre-1940: Širvintos (Yiddish: Shirvint), town, Ukmergė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Širvintos/Shirvintos, Ukmergē uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schirwinten, Kreis Wilkomir, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Širvintos, rajonas center, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Širvintos is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) north-northwest of Wilno. In 1939, about 700 Jews lived there; they comprised about one third of the town's population.

German armed forces captured the town at the end of June 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force, which proceeded to murder several Jews, burn the synagogue, and implement various anti-Jewish measures. All Jews were marked with the Star of David and forced into labor. The Jews were subjected to murder, assault, rape, robbery, and other forms of degradation by local antisemites. The Jews were also prohibited from appearing in public places and having any relations with non-Jewish Lithuanians.

In July or August 1941 (accounts differ), the Germans forced the remaining Jews into a ghetto composed of about 20 buildings and required them to leave most of their possessions in their old homes. From the ghetto, able-bodied Jewish men and some women were marched about 10 kilometers (6 miles) daily to a forced labor site outside the town. Each day the numbers of Jews returning from work diminished, as they were shot for the slightest infraction. The ghetto existed for little over a month and was liquidated on September 18, 1941. At that time, Lithuanian police, Gestapo officers, and Wehrmacht troops surrounded the ghetto in the middle of the night, forced the Jews into trucks, took them to the pine forest of Pivonija, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Ukmergė, and shot them.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Širvintos in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 248–251; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish*

Communities: Lithuania (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 687–689; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), pp. 715–716.

There is survivor testimony about Širvintos in USHMM (RG-02.170; Acc.1994.A.0312).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

SMORGONIE

Pre-1939: Smorgonie (Yiddish: Smorgon), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Smorgon', Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Smorgonie, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Aschmena, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Smarhon', raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smorgonie is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) east-southeast of Wilno. In 1931, there were some 4,000 Jews living in the town.

In 1939, the Soviet Union occupied Smorgonie. Under Soviet rule, a few wealthier Jews were exiled to Siberia. With the outbreak of war in June 1941, many Jewish males were conscripted into the Red Army.[1]

The Germans occupied Smorgonie on June 26, 1941. At the time of its capture, local Poles took the opportunity to rob and beat Jews with impunity. When the German civil administration was set up in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien on September 1, Smorgonie was incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka. In September, the German authorities established two ghettos in the town. One was located in the synagogue courtyard, the other in the Karke.[2] The Jews in the Karke ghetto (which remained open) were taken daily to build a railroad line.[3]

The main ghetto consisted of an area of about eight blocks, with the synagogue courtyard at its center; a wooden fence topped by barbed wire surrounded it. The Jews there were gathered and counted every morning, then sent to work cutting grass, cleaning the town, and so forth. Polish local police, led by Koszukowski, supervised them; they frequently harassed and beat the Jews. Jewish women were also made to cook, clean, and sew for soldiers quartered in barracks in Smorgonie on their way to the front. Some of the more lax German officers would let the women barter with the peasants for food. It was also possible to sneak out of the ghetto to barter with local non-Jews, although this was forbidden and therefore dangerous. Those who could obtain food would go to the synagogue to share it with others who could not. In January 1942, Belorussians replaced the Polish policemen.[4]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also established in the main ghetto. It consisted of Rabbi Yitskhok Markus (the chief rabbi of Smorgonie), Rabbi Slodzinski, Meyer Goldberg, Abrasha Tsirulnik, Noyekh Yavitsh, Mordekhai Mirski, Perl, Sarakhan, and Tshertok. All were chosen because of their important roles in the pre-war community. The main task of the Judenrat was to fulfill a series of demands for money and property from the Gebietskommissariat in Wilejka between the fall of 1941 and March 1942.[5] There was an underground organization in Smorgonie beginning early in 1942; it established contact with the underground in Kurzeniec, the center of a local network that was allied with a group of Soviet partisans in the nearby forests.

In April 1942, Smorgonie and other nearby towns were transferred to the Wilna-Land Gebietskommissariat in Generalkommissariat Litauen, under the jurisdiction of Gebietskommissar Horst Wulff.[6]

The ghetto was liquidated piecemeal through a series of deportations to various forced labor camps. The deportations focused on moving those who were fit for forced labor to locations where they could be of use. In the summer of 1942, the Karke ghetto was liquidated and its population moved into the main ghetto, which was enlarged to make room. The deportations began in August. First, 60 or 70 young Jews were deported to a forced labor camp in Varena and others to one in Olkieniki (Valkininkai). Shortly thereafter, 170 Jews were sent to the forced labor camp in Žiežmariai and 120 to Rudziszki (Rūdiškės).[7] By this time, the majority of the young and able-bodied Jews of both genders had been deported. In September or October, most of the remaining Jews were sent to Oszmiana and a few others to Soly. About 150 remained in the ghetto, which was transformed into a small forced labor camp.[8] In March 1943, the 74 Jews remaining in the camp were transferred to the Wilno ghetto. In early April, they were taken from there to Ponary, where they were killed.[9]

The Red Army liberated Smorgonie on July 6, 1944. The town was almost completely destroyed, and Jewish gravestones had been used to pave the sidewalks. Only about 60 Jews managed to survive the German occupation in the camps, in the forests, or in hiding. These Jews all left the town within a few years after liberation.[10]

SOURCES Smorgonie's small size made it necessary to rely almost entirely on survivor testimony for this article. Several survivor testimonies appear in the yizkor book: Abba Gordin and Hanoch Levin, eds., *Smorgon, meboz Vilna: Sefer 'edut vezikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Smorgon be-Yisrael, 1965). The author of this entry also conducted an interview with Tania Rosmaryn, a native of Smorgonie who was interned in the ghetto there and was able to provide several important details. Herman Kruk's ghetto diary contains scattered references to Smorgonie: Mordecai W. Bernstein, ed., *Togbukh fun Vilner Geto* (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1961). It is now available in an excellent English translation by Barbara Harshav: Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002), which includes material from manuscripts not consulted in earlier editions. Most important, Kruk recorded the testimonies of other Jews about the camps and ghettos outside of Wilno, including the testimony of Rabbi Yankev Shneidman on Smorgonie.

Smorgonie is scarcely mentioned in the secondary literature, probably because of its small size, the lack of secondary sources, and the fact that it does not fit squarely into works on

the Holocaust in either Belarus or Lithuania. However, the Smorgonie ghetto and the resistance are mentioned in Shalom Cholawsky, *'Al naharot ha-Nyemen veha-Dnyeper: Yehude Byelorusyah ha-ma'aravit be-milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Tel Aviv: Moreshet, Bet 'edut 'ash. Mordekhai Anilevits' ve-Sifriyat Po 'alim, 1982)—available in English as Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998). The information on Smorgonie in Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarusskaia Navuka, 2000) is partly based on unreliable sources.

An account by Fishl Kustin is in YVA (O-33/5278) and has been published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000). There is also a detailed account in the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (AŻIH, 301/2276).

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NOTES

1. Elke Baranovski, "Vos ikh hob ibergelebt," in Gordin and Levin, *Smorgon, mehoz Vilna*, p. 425.
2. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 227; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 629; Baranovski, "Vos ikh hob ibergelebt," pp. 426–427; Tova Dunski, "Keta'ei 'edut," in Gordin and Levin, *Smorgon, mehoz Vilna*, p. 449. Also in Gordin and Levin, see Sh. Greys, "'edut," p. 453; and Rivke Markus, "In geto un in lagern," pp. 401–402.
3. Greys, "'edut," p. 453.
4. Markus, "In geto un in lagern," pp. 402–403; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 627; interview with Tania Rosmaryn, February 26, 2004, Washington, DC; AŻIH, 301/2276, p. 9.
5. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 491.
6. Announcement of Generalkommissar Adrian von Renteln, in B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), p. 103; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 629.
7. Maryashe Yentes, "Khurbm Smorgon," in Gordon and Levin, *Smorgon, mehoz Vilna*, pp. 379–382; Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 629.
8. Yentes, "Khurbm Smorgon," p. 386; Markus, "In geto un in lagern," p. 406; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 387, 670.
9. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 533; Yentes, "Khurbm Smorgon," p. 391.
10. AŻIH, 301/2276, p. 17.

SOLY

Pre-1939: Soly, village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Smorgon' raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Soli, initially Rayon Smorgonie, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Aschmena, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Soly, Smarhon' raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Soly is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Oszmiana and 66 kilometers (41 miles) southeast of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were 130 Jewish families living in Soly.

In accord with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Red Army entered Soly on September 17, 1939. Then German forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. In July, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Soly. In September, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Initially Soly was in Rayon Smorgonie in Gebiet Wilejka, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Soly. They appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by Michel Magid, and marked Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a yellow Star of David. Jews were required to perform physical labor, and they were restricted to the limits of the village.

On July 12, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Soly. They arrested 12 people, accused of being Soviet activists, and shot them.[1] In October, the Jews of the village were forced to move into a ghetto, which was located on the side streets and consisted of dilapidated buildings. The ghetto was soon enclosed by a wall with a gate, through which only forced laborers were permitted to exit if issued with passes, usually escorted by the Polish police. A small unit of Jewish Police guarded the gate on the inside. Jewish forced laborers worked on the railroad and on other tasks 10 to 12 hours per day. However, forced laborers did receive some pay or at least coupons that entitled them to food.[2]

In April 1942, the Germans transferred a strip of territory including most of Rayon Smorgonie from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen. The Jews of Soly now feared for their lives, as the majority of the Jews in Lithuania had already been murdered. In the summer and fall of 1942, most of the young people in the Soly ghetto and other ghettos in the region were sent to various forced labor camps, including those in Žiežmariai, Kiena, and Biała Waka.

In October 1942, the German authorities in Generalkommissariat Litauen ordered the liquidation of the small ghettos in the region to the east of Wilno, concentrating their inhabitants in four ghettos: Oszmiana, Święciany, Michaliszki, and Soly. At this time there were reportedly 295 Jews living in Soly, of whom 160 were deployed for labor. The Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, instructed the head of the Judenrat in Wilno, Jacob Gens, to organize the four new ghettos along the lines of the Wilno ghetto. Gens sent four teams of policemen and administrators to the ghettos. By the end of December 1942, a number of Jewish forced laborers from Soly had been transferred to the Wilno ghetto.[3]

In the fall of 1942, newcomers were registered by the Jewish Council. One child survivor, Morris Engelson, who was then aged seven, recalled that he went to school in the Soly ghetto, but the Jews there feared that the Germans might organize an Aktion to round up and kill remaining Jewish children. In response, youths lied about their age on registration, and Jews prepared hiding places, usually behind false walls in their apartments, teaching the children to run and hide at the first sign of danger.[4]

An underground resistance existed in Soly, and efforts were made to contact Soviet partisans, but these were sometimes rebuffed. Nevertheless, a report had reached the Wilno

ghetto by early April 1943 that some Jews from the Soly ghetto had fled to the forests. For example, Morris Engelson and his family managed to flee the Soly ghetto with the aid of a peasant acquaintance in December 1942.[5]

In March 1943, the German authorities forbade the presence of Jews within 50 kilometers (31 miles) of the Generalkommissariat Litauen border with Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Therefore, the four remaining ghettos there had to be liquidated. Some of their inhabitants were relocated to Wilno and to the labor camps in Žiežmariai, Kiena, and other sites. Then in late March 1943, the Jews of Oszmiana and Michaliszki were brought to Soly. The Germans had informed Gens that these Jews, together with the remaining 700 Jews in the Soly ghetto, would be sent to the ghetto in Kaunas. Gens even traveled to Soly with the intention of accompanying the transport. In Soly, the Jews were taken to the local train station and put into freight cars with windows sealed by barbed wire. Previously loaded onto the train were Jews from Oszmiana and Michaliszki. However, en route Gens learned from a Polish railway worker that their true destination was the killing site of Ponary and that the Germans had deceived them. When the train made an intermediate stop, Gens and his men were sent back to Wilno and replaced by German Gendarmes and Polish policemen. At the Ponary station, the Jews were held overnight in the sealed cars. When the cars were opened at daybreak, they were led to the murder site and shot next to the death pits. On that day about 3,800 people were murdered, including at least 400 from Soly.[6]

By the time the area was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944, only a few Jews from Soly remained alive. These were mostly young people who had escaped from labor camps and linked up with partisan units. No Jewish community was reestablished in Soly after the war.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Soly during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 468–469; and Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Soly can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-15); LCVA (R 626-1-211); VHF (# 6067 and 48155); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-89-15, p. 38 verso.
2. VHF, # 6067, testimony of David Cwei.
3. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. 18, list of ghettos in Kreis Aschmena, October 1942; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 385, 439, 443.
4. VHF, # 48155, testimony of Morris Engelson.
5. Ibid.; # 6067; and Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 494.
6. Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 486, 494, 534; GARF, 7021-89-15.

SUBAČIUS

Pre-1940: Subačius (Yiddish: Subotsh), village, Panevėžys apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Subačius/Subachius, Panevezhis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Subotsch, Kreis Ponewesch, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Subačius, Panevėžys rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Subačius is located 23 kilometers (15 miles) east of Panevėžys. In 1921, the Jewish population was 250. More than 20 Jewish families were living in the village on the eve of the German invasion.

German forces captured Subačius in late June 1941. At the time of the Germans' arrival, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and police force. Initially the German army only passed through the town, but a small garrison was established in Subačius after about one month. Some Jews fled into the countryside as the Germans first approached, but they returned to Subačius after a few days.

One day, probably in the second half of July, all the Jews were ordered to gather in the home of a prominent Jewish family. Five German soldiers and some Lithuanian activists selected about 10 families for work. The other Jews were escorted out of town and were all shot in the Ilčūnai Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the village.[1]

The remaining Jews were placed in a ghetto near the railway station, about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the center of the village. The ghetto consisted of one street and was surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire. More than one family had to share each house. The Jews were forced to wear a Star of David on the chest and back of their clothing, and they were taken every day for forced labor. The labor tasks included harvesting potatoes and cleaning for the Germans. After about five months, at the end of 1941, the German garrison left for the front, and the Lithuanian activists took this opportunity to murder the remaining Jews. A few Jews managed to hide and to escape through the snow at this time. For example, Ascia Lieberman escaped through the barbed wire with her brother when the Lithuanians came to surround the ghetto. Her mother, however, went back to fetch her sister in the ghetto and was shot at the ghetto fence.[2]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Subačius is mentioned in Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 771.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LYA and VHF (e.g., # 5112, 50638).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. VHF, # 50638, testimony of Sara Widawski; # 5112, testimony of Ascia Lieberman; Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), p. 506.
2. VHF, # 50638; # 5112.

ŠVĖKŠNA

Pre-1940: Švėkšna (Yiddish: Shvekshne), village, Tauragė apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Švėkšna/Shvekshna, Taurage uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schwekschne, Kreis Tauroggen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Švėkšna, Šilutė rajonas, Klaipeda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Švėkšna is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) northwest of Tauragė. According to the census of 1923, Švėkšna had a Jewish population of 519. By June 1941, the size of the community had been reduced somewhat by emigration in the 1930s.

German forces occupied the village on June 22, 1941, the day of their invasion of the USSR, and therefore almost no Jews managed to evacuate. Before the village was taken, it was subjected to artillery bombardment, and this caused many Jews to flee to surrounding villages. Upon returning, however, they found that Lithuanians had looted their homes.

As soon as the town was captured, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and a police force, which began implementing anti-Jewish measures. The Jews had to surrender all radios, bicycles, and precious metal objects. They were prohibited from using the sidewalks or associating in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. They also were required to wear yellow patches in the shape of the Star of David on their clothing. Jewish men were compelled to perform heavy labor and Jewish women to do menial cleaning jobs.

On June 27, 1941, members of the 2nd SS-Sturm/20th SS-Reiter-Standarte (SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Struve commanded the Standarte; SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner Scheu led the Sturm), assisted by Lithuanian partisans, gathered about 150 to 200 able-bodied Jewish males in the synagogue. They were instructed to bring a cup, a plate, and a change of clothes. After forcing the Jews to witness the burning of their religious books, the Jews were shaven, robbed, beaten, and forced to perform gymnastics. The physical abuse lasted several hours. The following day, Scheu selected 120 of these men, including the town's rabbi, and they were taken on trucks to the labor camp at Heydekrug (Šilutė). Those deemed unfit for labor were probably killed outside the village. Many of the Jews sent to Heydekrug became victims of the successive killings at the camp in the summer and fall of 1941. Only a few survived to be transferred, first in July 1943 to the Auschwitz concentration camp, then after selections there, on to other locations in the camp system.[1]



Pre-war postcard of the synagogue in Švėkšna. The German captions read, "Greetings from Schwekschne" and "Jewish synagogue."
USHMM WS #03927, COURTESY OF SAM SHERRON

In Švėkšna, 4 women and 1 man were killed on the spot on June 27 after leaving their homes in violation of instructions to remain at home. On June 28, Lithuanian partisans murdered 3 more girls, who were Komsomol members. According to German investigative sources, at least 20 Jews were murdered in Švėkšna at the end of June or in July 1941, either by members of the Border Police from Memel or the Staatspolizei based in Tilsit.[2]

The approximately 300 women, children, and old people remaining in the village were moved into a ghetto, which was located on the "Jewish Street." The women were forced into hard labor and suffered from hunger and physical abuse.

The ghetto was liquidated on September 22, 1941. Lithuanian partisans shot the remaining Jews in a forest between the villages of Inkakliai and Raudiškiai.[3]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Švėkšna during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 673–676; Ruth Leiserowitz, "Grenzregion als Grauzone. Heydekrug—eine Stadt an der Peripherie Ostpreussens," in Christian Pletzing, ed., *Vorposten des Reichs?: Ostpreussen 1933–1945* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 129–149, here pp. 138–149; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 253–254; and "Sveksna," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1268.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Švėkšna can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 207 162/59); GARF (7021-94-429); LCVA; and YVA (Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection, O-71/File 14; and O-3/2580).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 579, pp. 308–310; Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 254.

2. See LG-Ulm, verdict of August 29, 1958, against Hans-Joachim Böhme et al., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 159–160. Very few details are available concerning this Aktion—it is possible this reflects the killing of those men deemed unfit for labor.

3. YVA, Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection, O-71/14 (testimony of Moshe Ment, Yitzchak Markowitz, Naphtali Ziv, and Meir Shmulevitz); and O-3/2580 (testimony of Meir Ladon).

ŚWIĘCIANY

Pre-1939: Święciany (Yiddish: Sventsian), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Sventsiany, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1940–1941: Švenčionys/Sventsiany, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schwentschionys, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Švenčionys, rajonas center, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Święciany is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1925, the Jewish population of Święciany was 2,750. On September 18, 1939, the Soviet army entered Święciany. Initially incorporated into the Belorussian SSR, after August 1940, Święciany was transferred to the new Lithuanian SSR.

Following their invasion of the Soviet Union, German forces occupied Święciany by July 1, 1941. At the time of the invasion, a number of Jews, especially those with links to the Soviet authorities, fled into Russia. Lithuanian partisans soon organized in the Święciany area and fired on retreating Soviet soldiers and officials, and also on fleeing Jews, forcing some to return to Święciany, where Jewish firemen had established a self-defense unit.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established in the town, as were a local administration and police force. The latter institutions were dominated by Lithuanians, as Poles were excluded from holding office.[1] From August 1, 1941, P. Skrabutėnas was in charge of the Święciany district police force and Juozas Šležys the Święciany town police. Head of the Kreis Schwentschionys administration was Mykolas Kukutis, and mayor of the town was Vincas Blažys.

In the first days of the occupation, Jews were harassed and seized for forced labor, and a number were murdered as suspected Communists. According to Yitzhak Arad: "[N]ow the hatred of the Lithuanians for the Jews exploded in full force. Jews were beaten in the streets; their homes were looted; they were snatched away for forced labor and cruelly molested." Available sources indicate that around 140 Jews were arrested and shot in July 1941, in at least two Aktions, in which local Lithuanians played an important role.[2]

In August 1941, the German military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. The new Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, ordered the registration of all Jewish residents. At this time, a series of anti-Jewish measures was introduced, including the wearing of the Star of David, a ban on travel by Jews, and restrictions on when Jews could buy food.[3] Rumors spread about the liquidation of entire Jewish communities elsewhere in Lithuania. When the Jews learned, in the second half of September, that the Germans were preparing a concentration point for the Jews of the region in Nowe Święciany, Jewish representatives appealed to the Catholic priest for help, but he claimed he was powerless to intervene.[4]

On September 26, 1941, German and Lithuanian police surrounded Święciany and ordered the Jews to prepare to move to the barracks at the military camp (firing range), also known as the Poligon camp, near Nowe Święciany, some 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) away. The Germans prepared a list of needed specialists, who would be permitted to remain in Święciany with their families. People attempted to bribe their way onto the list. During the night, a number of Jews fled towards Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, including Yitzhak Arad. On September 27, the majority of the Jews were then taken to the Poligon camp, where they were held, together with several thousand others collected from throughout the region, for just over a week under terrible conditions. After a few days the remaining Jews in Święciany were permitted to bring a little food to the inmates, but the prisoners were robbed and abused by their Lithuanian guards. A few additional specialists were selected out, with the aid of bribes, and brought to Święciany, where a small remnant ghetto was established around the large synagogues. The vacated Jewish houses were soon looted by the Lithuanians.[5]

Some people who had evaded the roundup soon joined the craftsmen in the ghetto. However, when they were urged to register, to become legal, the Germans arrested those who came forward and took them to the Poligon transit camp to be shot with the other Jews there. In total there were around 300 Jews in the remnant ghetto.[6]

According to Einsatzkommando 3 commander, Karl Jäger, 3,726 Jews were shot at Święciany by October 9, 1941, reflecting the killing of the inmates of the Poligon camp at two sites nearby.[7] Other sources, however, indicate that perhaps as many as 8,000 Jews from the region were murdered by the Security Police, members of the Lithuanian Ypatingas Burys killing squad, and other local auxiliaries at Poligon.[8]

A report, dated December 17, 1941, from the head of Kreis Schwentschionys to the Gebietskommissar, noted that the remaining Jews of the Kreis had been resettled into the Święciany ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Lithuanian police. Those Jews assigned to perform labor were specially registered. Inside the ghetto, Antanas Markauskas, a Lithuanian policeman, was in charge of enforcing order and cleanliness. A five-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been formed, which was charged with maintaining order in the ghetto and dealing with internal Jewish affairs.[9] In April 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the head of the Kreis to organize all Jews, regardless of age or sex, for labor details to clean the streets of Święciany.[10]

One of the earliest and strongest Jewish resistance groups in the region emerged in the Święciany ghetto. Gertman, Rudnicki, Shutan, Porush, Wolfson, Ligumski, Nadel, Beck, and Miedziolski were some of its members. At first, the resistance group planned to fight inside the ghetto, but later it decided its members should escape to the forest and join partisan units. The underground and the Judenrat came into conflict over the question of purchasing arms, probably following an incident that provoked a deadly response.

On May 13, 1942, on the orders of Jonas Maciulevicius, the head of the Lithuanian Criminal Police, two members of the Jewish underground, Beck and Miedziolski, were arrested in the ghetto after Miedziolski had accidentally shot and wounded Beck with an illegal firearm. This was reported to

the Judenrat by the Jewish doctor who treated Beck, and the Jewish Police also reported the incident to the Lithuanian police. The two prisoners were interrogated and tortured for days, then killed. More or less at the same time, Sonia Lewin, another resident of the Święciany ghetto, was also arrested and shot.[11] Subsequently, the Judenrat tried to weaken the resistance by sending its members to work for the Organisation Todt (OT) in a labor camp.

In July 1942, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land banned Jewish artisans from practicing their crafts in the ghetto, unless there was a great need for their services, and ordered that 50 percent of their salary was to go directly to the Gebietskommissar's office.[12] At this time, some Jews in Święciany were working as shoemakers and tailors, while others worked in agriculture and in a factory making boots for the army. On August 6, 1942, the German office dealing with social affairs (Sozialamt) in Święciany reported that there were 566 Jewish men, women, and children in the ghetto of which all 353 able-bodied men and women were currently already deployed for labor.[13]

On August 28, 1942, the Generalkommissar in Litauen, owing to the lack of guards for Jewish work details, ordered the deployment of ghetto laborers to forestry, agricultural work, and road building to cease immediately. This was in response to increased partisan activity in the region. Soon afterwards, the German authorities also ordered the dissolution of the smaller ghettos east of Wilno and the resettlement of their inhabitants into the ghettos of Święciany, Oszmiana, and Wilno. Exceptions were made for Jewish workers needed by the German army and the OT and for Jews working as artisans in specific towns.[14] At this time, most of the remaining Jews from the Widze ghetto were transferred to Święciany. Around 80 craftsmen and their families initially remained in Widze, but these Jews were also sent to Święciany subsequently.[15] The ghettos in Święciany and Oszmiana were also subordinated administratively to the Wilno ghetto.

After the arrival of the Jews from Widze, overcrowding intensified, and an epidemic of typhus broke out. The Jewish doctor, however, tried to keep the outbreak secret from the Germans, for fear it might give them a pretext to liquidate the ghetto. The Wilno ghetto Judenrat provided some assistance.[16]

On March 5–6, 1943, shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto, 22 people connected with the underground decided to flee into the forest to join partisan resistance units. However, 2 of them, Kosha Ligumski and Gershon Nade, gave up their weapons and stayed behind with their widowed mothers. Around this time, about 40 Jews escaped the ghetto altogether.

In late March 1943, members of the Jewish Police from Wilno arrived in Święciany and, on German instructions, prepared two lists: one for those Jews destined to move to the Wilno ghetto and one for those to be transferred to the Kaunas ghetto. Initially people were not sure which would be the better destination. However, once it became clear that all the members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police were going to Wilno, others also sought to get on this list.[17]

On April 4, 1943, the Jews of Święciany were transported on trucks initially to a barbed-wire enclosure at the railroad station in Nowe Święciany. On the evening of April 4, 1943, the train departed, reaching Wilno before dawn the next day. The members of the Święciany Judenrat and their families, with others from the list, were then taken to the Wilno ghetto. A few hours later, the train left, taking the remaining Jews to Ponary rather than Kaunas. When the Święciany Jews realized the deception, many of them tried to flee. The German and Lithuanian guards opened fire on the fleeing crowd. Around 600 people from the ghettos in Oszmiana and Święciany, who had been in the transport, were killed at the Ponary railway station and its vicinity. On that day, around 4,000 Jews, who had been brought in the two transports, died in Ponary.[18]

A few of the Jews from the Święciany ghetto survived the war, either with the partisans, in hiding, or after being in the Wilno ghetto and other camps.

Jonas Maciulewiczius (Maciulevicius), the head of the Lithuanian Criminal Police in Święciany, was tried by a Polish court in Olsztyń on May 2, 1950, and was sentenced to death. He was executed by hanging on December 12, 1950.[19]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Święciany during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 86–94; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), sections F.1.2.6 and F.1.8.1; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Svintzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), pp. 545–558; and Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982). Also useful are Arad's personal memoirs: Yitzhak Arad, *The Partisan: From the Valley of Death to Mt. Zion* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979). There are two short survivor testimonies published in Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 38–40, 240–242.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3327, 5462); BA-BL (ZM 1641, A. 23); GARF; IPN (SAOl, I K 39/50); LCVA (R 1548-1-1 and 11, R 614-1-736, R 617-1-1, R 626-1-211, R 659-11-58, R 677-1-46, R 689-1-3, R 721-3-3, R 760-1-104); OKŚZpNPGd (S1/00/Zn); USHMM (RG-50.120 # 0266); VHF (e.g., # 03620, 11047, 51769); and YVA (e.g., O-71/169.1).

Elżbieta Rojowska and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Claire Rosenson

NOTES

1. Ber Kharmats and Jekov Levin, "Khurbn Sventsian," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 545; Arad, *The Partisan*, pp. 32–34.

2. YVA, O-71/169.1; Klara Jovitsh, "In geto," in Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 555; Arad, *The Partisan*, pp. 35–36.

3. LCVA, R 617-1-1, p. 565; R 659-11-58, p. 53; R 760-1-104, p. 4; and R 1548-1-1, p. 309.

4. YVA, O-71/169.1.
5. Arad, *The Partisan*, pp. 38–39; Jovitsh, "In geto," pp. 556–557.
6. VHF, # 03620, testimony of Anna Nodel (née Gordon); # 11047, testimony of Rywa Gordon.
7. Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114. This report gives October 9, 1941, as the date of the killing, but other sources indicate it occurred on October 7–8, 1941.
8. Kanc, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 1376, gives the figure of 8,000 victims at the Poligon camp. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," uses the phrase "at least 5,000"; IPN, SAOl, I K 39/50, case against Jonas Maciulevicius.
9. LCVA, R 1548-1-11, p. 12.
10. Ibid., R 721-3-3, p. 69.
11. IPN, SAOl, I K 39/50, case against Jonas Maciulevicius; Jovitsh, "In geto," p. 557.
12. LCVA, R 721-3-3, p. 146.
13. Ibid., R 626-1-211, p. 33.
14. Ibid., R 689-1-3, p. 102.
15. Gershon Vainer and Yitshak Alperovitz, eds., *Sefer Vidz: 'Ayera b-hayeha u-ve-khiliona* (Tel Aviv: Widze Association in Israel, 1977), pp. 457, 467–476.
16. VHF, # 11047; Jovitsh, "In geto," p. 557.
17. Kharmats and Levin, "Khurbn Sventsian," p. 551.
18. Jovitsh, "In geto," p. 558.
19. IPN, SAOl, I K 39/50, case against Jonas Maciulevicius.

ŚWIR

Pre-1939: Świr (Yiddish: Svir), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Svir', raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Swir, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Svir', Miadzel' raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Świr is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Święciany. Around 800 Jews were living in Świr on the eve of World War II. Under Soviet occupation, between September 1939 and June 1941, more than 1,000 people were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan from the Svir' raion, including a number of Jews.

German forces entered Świr on June 24, 1941. They soon established a local administration and police force, recruited, initially, mainly from among ethnic Poles. The new authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the wearing of yellow patches bearing the Star of David, a ban on using the sidewalks, and an order for Jews to sweep the streets on Sundays. A four-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, headed by Chaim Reznik. The Judenrat had to meet regular demands for money, fuel, and clothes by the Germans and organize the required forced labor details. Jews performed forced labor mostly in agriculture on the surrounding estates.

The Germans established a ghetto in Świr in early November 1941. Initially, it was not surrounded by a fence, and subsequently its area was diminished to a few houses around the synagogue, probably following a major transfer Aktion. Survivor Rachil Schper states that the ghetto was in the poorest part of town and the Germans forced all the Jews to relocate there, once the non-Jews had moved out. The synagogue was converted into a warehouse, and the holy books were burned in front of the Jews.[1]

On December 1, 1941, the Judenrat was ordered to arrest 12 young Jews, who were then murdered by the Germans. In January 1942, Gite Mular, who had escaped from the Wilno ghetto, arrived in Świr. She was 1 of more than 100 Jewish refugees who had fled to Świr from Lithuania, following the massacres there in the summer and fall of 1941. In early 1942, the local police, by now composed mostly of Belorussians, arrested these refugees. The authorities subsequently released the prisoners, on condition that they leave the town.[2]

In February 1942, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to supply several hundred Jews for the forced labor camp at Žiežmariai in Lithuania. When some of the Jews went into hiding to avoid being deported, the Judenrat threatened to take their relatives instead. According to *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, 200 Jews in total were sent.[3]

In April 1942, Rayon Swir was transferred from Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Generalkommissariat Litauen. At this time, Lithuanians came in and took over the local administration and local police. Many Jews feared attacks by the Lithuanian police, and some fled east from Świr to other ghettos and labor camps, which were to remain within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Among the restrictions imposed officially on the Jews living in the ghettos in this region were a curfew from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M. and a prohibition on any personal or economic contacts with non-Jews. In the summer of 1942, the Wilno Department of Labor conducted a census that registered 817 Jews living in the Świr ghetto at just over 50 separate addresses on seven or eight streets.[4]

On September 8, 1942, the Wilno Department of Labor agreed to the transfer of 100 Jewish laborers from the ghetto in Świr to Wilno, for them to work on construction tasks for a company called "Haus und Wohnung" (House and Apartment), provided that their food rations and guarding were assured.[5]

Rasia HaYisraeli recalled, after the war, the mood in the Świr ghetto as the fall of 1942 approached. There were many signs that a liquidation Aktion was impending, and people could not sleep. "The situation was morbid; the prospect of escape was very slim. The ghetto was like a tightly shut cage. In spite of the danger, a few were able to arrange hiding places in the villages around the town." Her aunt prepared bags with food in case the family had to escape at a moment's notice.[6] Others prepared hiding places inside the ghetto, to avoid being taken in the next roundup.

At some time in the second half of 1942, most probably in October, most of the remaining inmates of the Świr ghetto (about 500 people) were transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto. Only 60 specialized Jewish workers then remained in Świr.[7] According to a document from the office of the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, dated November 6, 1942, at that time

Świr was deemed to be a subghetto of the larger ghetto in Michaliszki.[8] Effectively it now more resembled a small forced labor camp.

In a strictly confidential letter on March 9, 1943, the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, informed the Organisation Todt and the Giesler construction company that there was an order calling for the transfer of all Jews working in these companies to be returned to the ghettos in Oszmiana, Świr, Michaliszki, and Święciany by March 22, 1943. He also recommended in his memorandum not to protest against this order.[9] This order probably signaled the evacuation of the last Jews from Świr.

At the end of March 1943, the Germans liquidated the Michaliszki ghetto. Some of the Jews were transferred to the Wilno ghetto, others were sent to forced labor camps in Lithuania, and some of the Jews from Michaliszki, including also Jews from Świr, were among about 2,500 Jews from the ghettos east of Wilno who were murdered at Ponary in early April.

A few Jews from Świr managed to escape from the ghetto or from other ghettos and labor camps subsequently. Some, such as Rachil Schper, managed to live on the Aryan side, as their looks enabled them to pass as non-Jews, and a few survived in hiding in the vicinity of Świr.[10] Others escaped to join the Soviet partisans in the forests, especially from the Wilno ghetto. In the summer of 1945, only about 40 Jews returned to Świr, some from Germany, having been deported to Estonia and then Stutthof from the Wilno ghetto.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Świr during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews in the Švenčionys, Oshmyany and Svir Regions (1941–1943)," in Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), pp. 83–118, here pp. 112–114; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 777. The testimony of Rasia (née Dudman) HaYisraeli, "All That I Experienced during the Day of Annihilation," translated by Eliat Gordon Levitan and Gil Benjamin Villa from the Vishnevo yizkor book, is available at jewishgen.org.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; LCVA (R 614-1-736; R 626-1-211; R 677-1-46); VHF (e.g., # 9698, 18340, 34933); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Elżbieta Rojowska
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bubnys, "The Fate of the Jews," p. 113; VHF, # 18340, testimony of Rachil Schper; # 9698, testimony of Irving Simon.
2. BA-BL, ZM 1641, A. 23, p. 129 (case of Gite Mular); Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 86.
3. Miron, *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos*, p. 777; HaYisraeli, "All That I Experienced," notes that she met up with her cousin Zelda again later in the Žiežmariai camp.
4. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir*, pp. 130, 636–640.
5. LCVA, R 626-1-211, p. l3.
6. HaYisraeli, "All That I Experienced."
7. BA-BL, ZM 1641, A. 23, p. 129; Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 86.
8. LCVA, R 614-1-736, p. 299.
9. Ibid., R 677-1-46, p. 5.
10. VHF, # 18340.

TAURAGĖ

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

Tauragė is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Šiauliai. In 1940, there were approximately 2,000 Jews in Tauragė, including a number of refugees from the Memel region who had fled there when it was occupied by the Germans in March 1939. In the summer of 1940, Tauragė came under Soviet rule. In June 1941, just before the German invasion, 17 Jewish families (about 60 people) were deported to the Komi SSR as "unreliable elements."

On June 22, 1941, the first day of the German invasion of the USSR, German armed forces captured the town. The town was bombarded, destroying many Jewish homes and injuring about 20 Jews. Many Jews left the town because of the bombardment. When they returned, they found that local Lithuanians had looted their homes.

Immediately after the German occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force in the town. Jonas Jurgilas was appointed mayor, and F. Mintautas became the chief of police. The administration and police implemented a series of antisemitic measures. The Jews were ordered to hand over valuable items, forced into compulsory labor of various kinds, and subjected to robbery, assault, and degradation by local antisemites. They were forbidden to appear in public places and to have any relations with their non-Jewish Lithuanian neighbors.

On July 2, 1941, a Gestapo and SD detachment from Tilsit, with the assistance of local Lithuanian policemen, shot 133 Jewish men, who had been arrested in Tauragė. A few days later, the Border Police post (Grenzpolizeiposten) in Laugszargen, under which the Tilsit Gestapo served, arrested and shot 122 Jewish men in Tauragė and its vicinity.[1] Arrests and murders of Jews continued after this on an almost daily basis. Among the many victims was the town's rabbi, Rav Levi Shpitz, who was asked to give the Germans a list of the local Communists.

On September 6, 1941, V. Milimas, the head of Kreis Tauroggen, sent Orders No. 227 and 228 to the mayor and police chief in Tauragė. These orders instructed that all the Jews be concentrated in one place. All Jews had to be registered and

wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing. In addition, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, Jewish property was confiscated, and Jewish doctors were only permitted to treat other Jews. In response to these orders, all the remaining Jews in the town—composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly—were gathered into hastily constructed barracks on Vytautas Street, which were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Lithuanian policemen. Able-bodied women and children in the ghetto were sent to work, and it was forbidden to bring food into the ghetto. The Jews were housed under filthy conditions in the ghetto for about 10 days, with very little food. On September 13, they were informed that they needed to prepare themselves for transfer to another place with better living conditions.

On September 16, 1941, the ghetto in Tauragė was liquidated, and 513 Jews were taken on trucks out to a small forest 6 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of the town, where Lithuanian policemen shot them.[2] A few Jews, who were needed for economic reasons, were kept alive in Tauragė for a few weeks longer before they in turn were murdered or committed suicide. Several Jews had gone into hiding with peasants in the vicinity, but most of these people were also captured and killed.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Tauragė during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Taurage," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); "Tavrig," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 254–257; and "Taurage," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 298–302.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Tauragė can be found in these archives: BA-BL (R 58/214); GARF (7021-94-429); and YVA (M-1/E/1619; M-9/8[3], 15[6]; M-21/I/661, III/41; M-33/984, 4043; Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection [O-71], files 6, 7, 20, 40, 46, 163).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 19, July 11, 1941; LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict of August 29, 1958, against Böhme et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976) Lfd. Nr. 465; LG-Tüb, Ks 2/61, verdict of May 10, 1961, against Wiechert und Schulz, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 509, pp. 334–367.

2. YVA, M-1/E/1619; M-9/8(3), 15(6); M-21/I/661, III/41; M-33/984, 4043; Leyb Koniuchovsky Collection O-71, files 6, 7, 20, 40, 46, 163; Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 301–302. According to ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-94-429), around 3,000 Jews were shot in September 1941, at a site 6 kilometers (4 miles) from the town. This figure is written on the monument, but in our estimation, based on the number of Jews in the town on the eve of the war, it is too high. Also too high is the figure given for the number of Jewish men—900 persons—shot near the village of Vizbutai, 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Tauragė.

TELŠIAI

Pre-1940: Telšiai (Yiddish: Telz), city and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Telšiai/Tel'shiai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Telsche, Kreis center, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Telšiai, rajonas and apskritis center, Republic of Lithuania

Telšiai is located 159 kilometers (99 miles) northwest of Kaunas. In 1939, around 2,800 Jews lived in Telšiai, comprising 35 percent of the total population.[1]

German expansionism first affected Lithuanian Jews on March 20, 1939, when Hitler issued an ultimatum ordering Lithuania to leave the port of Memel within 24 hours. As a result, about 7,000 Jews fled into Lithuania. Many found asylum in Telšiai, where the community offered them assistance. In June 1940, the USSR annexed Lithuania and imposed the Soviet political and economic system.

The Germans bombed Telšiai on June 23, 1941, and units of the German army entered the city on June 25. At this time, Lithuanian Major Alfonsas Svilas became commandant of the city and its surrounding area. Even before the arrival of the Germans, Lithuanian nationalist activists had started to loot Jewish property and arrest Jews. The initial arrestees were soon freed, but the next day Lithuanian nationalists took about 200 men from their homes and held them for a full day before releasing them. Jews appealed to Lithuanian civic and religious leaders to intervene, to no avail.

On June 27, remembered as the "Friday of Terror," Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators went house to house and ordered all Jews to assemble in the main square. From there they were marched to the shore of Lake Mastis, where the Lithuanians proclaimed that the Jews were responsible for the murder of 72 Lithuanian political prisoners during the final hours of Soviet occupation. (During the night of June 24–25, 1941, following a prison uprising, the fleeing Soviet authorities took the prison inmates to the neighboring town of Rainiai, shot them, and buried them in a mass grave in the nearby forest.)[2] The Lithuanians forced the Jews to exhume, clean, and reinter the bodies. The Jewish men were subjected to torture, then finally shot on July 15–16.

After a few days, the surviving women and children were moved to a detention camp at Geruliai.[3] They were joined there by women and children from the Viešvenai camp. Jews from a number of smaller towns had been concentrated at this site: Alsėdžiai, Rietavas, Varniai, Luokė, Laukuva, Žarenai, Navarėnai, and other places.[4] Altogether about 4,000 women and children were held at Geruliai, packed into six abandoned and empty army barracks, where they slept in two-tier bunk beds nailed together from boards. Several hundred young women were made available to local farmers, who used (or

abused) them as agricultural laborers. Most of the others remained in Geruliai, where a committee managed the affairs of the camp. Food was obtained by bartering with the farmers. There was widespread disease (especially typhus and diphtheria), with virtually no medical resources, and many children died. Worst of all, the inhabitants were exposed to armed incursions and rapes by their Lithuanian guards. When the agricultural jobs were finished by the end of August, rumors spread about an impending Aktion. One day before the Aktion, the camp commander, B. Platakis, offered to save the people in exchange for a gift of 100,000 rubles. Overnight the women's committee conducted a frantic collection of valuables, which Platakis happily accepted. However, on Saturday, August 30, 1941, a group of about 600 women ages 15 to 30 were ordered to stand aside. The rest of the women and all the children were taken to the Geruliai Forest, murdered, and thrown into pits.[5]

The 600 young women were taken back to Telšiai and put into a ghetto that had been established in a run-down neighborhood on Ezero Street near Lake Mastis.[6] It was enclosed on one side by the lake and on three sides by a high wooden fence and several lines of barbed wire. The empty buildings had been stripped of their windows, doors, and furnishings. There were neither blankets nor sheets, and the prisoners slept on the floor. The women and girls were compelled to wear Star of David armbands, but they were allowed to leave the ghetto to search for menial work and beg for food. However, most of the local population avoided them like the plague. A few threw them scraps of food. There were some medical services in the ghetto, as two male Jewish doctors had been kept alive and ran a dispensary, assisted by a nurse.[7] At the end of December, between Christmas and the New Year, the women learned that the ghetto would be liquidated within a few days. A fair number fled, some of them finding shelter with the farmers they had met during forced labor as agricultural hands. A small number of Jewish women were subsequently accepted into the Šiauliai ghetto. On December 30–31, 1941, the downtrodden and exhausted remnant was taken to Rainiai and shot to death.[8] Of those women who escaped from the ghetto at the end of 1941, only 64 were alive when the Red Army liberated the area.

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Telšiai and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yitzhak Alperovitz, ed., *Sefer Telz (Lita); matsevat zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Telz Society in Israel, 1984); Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izoliaviavimo stoyvyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *The Yearbook of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179, here pp. 155–158; Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 125–129, 173–180, 244–245, 312–313, 367–371; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 257–265; Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993), pp. 306–308; and at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/telz/telz.html.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Telšiai can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA; LYA (K 1-8-194); USHMM (RG-50.473*0086-87); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, p. 330.
2. Ibid., p. 321; Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų," pp. 155–156.
3. USHMM, RG-50.473*0087.
4. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, p. 324; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 245, 369.
5. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, pp. 324, 332.
6. USHMM, RG-50.473*0086; Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų," pp. 155–158.
7. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 174–177. One of the doctors, David Kaplan, survived and continued to work in Telšiai after the war. He died in Kaunas in 1994 at age 84.
8. Alperovitz, *Sefer Telz*, pp. 324–325; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 126, 176–178; Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų," pp. 157–158.

TROKI

Pre-1939: Troki (Yiddish: Trok), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1940: Trakai, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Trakai, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Traken, Kreis center, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Trakai, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Troki is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) west-southwest of Wilno. According to the 1931 census, there were around 400 Jews living in the town. By mid-1941, there were about 500.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force. The head of the police was Kazys Čaplikas. The head of the local administration initially was J. Navikas. These collaborating organs implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were marked with the Star of David, forced into various forms of heavy physical labor, prohibited from appearing in public spaces, and forbidden to have any relations with the local non-Jewish Lithuanians.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) with 12 members was formed, with Šimonas Kucas as the head, Ovsiejus Levinas as his deputy, and Šimonas Cvi as the secretary. Other members were Chaimas Bavarskis, Boruchas Bunivavičius, Izakas-Nochimas Galperinas, Gedeonas Klauzneris, Edmundas Levinskis, Cemachas Milikovskis, Leiba Percovičius, Chavonas Šneideris, and Abromas Šubas.[2]

The Jews were permitted to remain in their homes until the end of August. By September 1, 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto. The ghetto was located at the Bernardinų Lake and was bounded by water on three sides.[3] Within three weeks, all the Jews' personal property and real estate were registered and transferred to the town's administration by the local auxiliary police.[4] Policemen from Troki, Aukštadvaris, Onuškis, and Landwarów guarded the ghetto.[5]

The ghetto existed until the end of September 1941. According to the testimony of the police chief, Kazys Čaplikas, the head of the local administration instructed him to murder the Jews.[6] On September 30, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 3, commanded by Martin Weiss, and the Ypatingas Burys (Lithuanian execution squad) arrived from Wilno and liquidated the ghetto in collaboration with the ghetto guards, led by Kazimieras Vasilevskis.[7] These forces shot all the Jews in the Worniki Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. Jews from Troki were killed alongside Jews from Rudziszki, Landwarów, Onuškis, Žydkaimis (in Onuškis parish), and Aukštadvaris. The shooting started in the early morning and lasted until midday. The total number of victims was 1,446: 366 men, 483 women, and 597 children.[8]

In the region around Troki, there were a number of cases of Polish and Lithuanian inhabitants who risked their lives by offering aid and shelter to fugitive Jews. In October 1941, the German administration issued instructions to investigate ethnic Poles who worked as administrators on farms, as it was suspected that they were mostly refugees who were also assisting Jews.[9] Among those who gave assistance were Juozas and Leosė Didikai, who concealed Mejeris Sinderovskij throughout the occupation, and Irena Bartišauskaitė-Kazlauskienė, who hid two Jews until they were able to join up with a Jewish partisan unit.[10]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Troki can be found in the following publications: "Trakai," in Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 358–361; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Troki during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LCVA (R 685-1-4, R 713-1-1); LYA (K 1-58-P14950); RGVA (500-1-25); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*; and *Voruta* (Trakai), no. 9 (531) (2003).
2. K. Čaplikas, *Saugojau žmonių gyvybė ir turtą* (Vilnius, 2001), p. 191.
3. Ibid., p. 191. See also the report of the Kreis head to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, September 1, 1941, which noted that in Troki and several other towns the Jews had been separated from the rest of the population in their own section of town, facsimilie published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*, p. 109.
4. LCVA, R 713-1-1, p. 6.
5. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*, p. 39.
6. The heads of the local administration successively were J. Navikas, P. Mačinskas, and P. Brakauskas; see ibid., p. 38.
7. LYA, K 1-58-P14950, p. 52.
8. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
9. LCVA, R 685-1-4, p. 24, Gebietsrat Kalendra an die Amtsbezirkschefs, October 6, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."
10. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas*, pp. 75–80, cites as many as 41 cases of assistance for the region.

UKMERGĖ

Pre-1940: Ukmergė (Yiddish: Vilkomir), town, apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Ukmergė/Ukmerge, uezd center, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilkomir, Kreis center, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Ukmergė, rajonas center, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Ukmergė is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) north-northwest of Wilno. According to the 1923 population census, there were 3,885 Jews living in the town.

Following the start of the German invasion, many Jews attempted to flee Ukmergė, but most were forced to turn back. German armed forces occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration



Memorial to the Jews murdered in Ukmergė, 1946.
USHMM WS #00474, COURTESY OF PESE TURETS

and a police force, which actively implemented anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to perform various kinds of forced labor and were subjected to assault, robbery, and humiliation by local antisemites. Jews were also prohibited from walking on public sidewalks and from maintaining any relations with the Lithuanians. The first systematic measures against the Jewish population were initiated by the German authorities. However, they were largely implemented by members of the local Lithuanian police under the supervision of the town and district police chief, Mečis Paškevičius, and the regional chief of the Security and Criminal Police, Povilas Zamauskas.

On the day of the occupation, two German soldiers were killed by friendly fire. Jews were blamed for the incident. Members of the intelligentsia, including rabbis, doctors, nurses, and teachers, were arrested and then killed near the Christian cemetery. One week later, a number of Jews were arrested in Ukmergė for having allegedly supported the Soviet authorities. On July 4, 1941, around 200 of those under arrest were shot in the nearby Pivonija Forest. On July 10, 1941, 83 more people were killed at the prison farm, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from the town. Finally, in the middle of July 1941, the Lithuanians arrested, raped, and killed 12 Jewish girls in the center of Ukmergė.[1] From the end of June through the middle of July 1941, Lithuanian partisans killed more than 300 people.

According to police instructions, from July 23, 1941, the Jews in Kreis Wilkomir had to wear the Star of David on their chests and backs, were not permitted to leave their places of residence, and were not permitted to buy food products from farmers. The heads of police posts were instructed to draw up lists of Communists, Komsomol members, Jews, Poles, Russians, and former employees of Soviet institutions, together with information on their "activities hostile to the State."[2]

On August 1, 8, and 19, 1941, the mass shootings in the Pivonija Forest continued. This time a Lithuanian killing squad from Kavarskas participated. The hundreds of Jews under arrest in the town's jail were taken directly to the Pivonija Forest and shot in several Aktions.

In early August 1941, the authorities established a ghetto for the remaining Jews of Ukmergė who were not already under arrest. The Jews were ordered to abandon their homes within 12 hours and move into the ghetto, which was located on two narrow streets in an impoverished section of town, on the banks of the Šventoji River.[3] The newspaper *Naujoji Lietuva* reported on August 5 that the Jews of Ukmergė and several smaller nearby towns had been settled in one place, in the suburb of Smėliai.[4] The ghetto was not fenced but was guarded by armed Lithuanian policemen. Men and women were taken from the ghetto every day to perform forced labor.

On August 22, 1941, 125 Jews from the village of Želva were transferred to Ukmergė.[5] Jews from other nearby localities, including Balninkai, Alanta, Musninkai, Bagaslaviškis, Giedračiai, Šešuoliai, Kurkliai, Vidiškiai, Siesikai, Dubingiai, Gelvonai, and Taujėnai, were either brought into the Ukmergė ghetto or subsequently taken to the vicinity of Ukmergė to be killed there. In mid-August, mass violence against the ghetto residents began. Besides the Lithuanian activist groups, men from the Rollkommando Hamann also were involved in these Aktions.

The Ukmergė ghetto existed for about one month. The Jews in the ghetto were aware of the fate of those who had been taken away in August, and they were left waiting for their turn, without any hope for the future. Most attempts at escape were unsuccessful.[6]

The Germans and their collaborators conducted the main liquidation Aktion against the ghetto on September 5, 1941. Most of the Jews in the ghetto were rounded up and shot in the nearby Pivonija Forest by members of Einsatzkommando 3, assised by the Lithuanian police. Before the liquidation of the ghetto, Einsatzkommando 3 and Lithuanian policemen carried out three separate mass shootings in Ukmergė in August. The results of all four "cleansing Aktions" are shown in the following table:[7]

Date of Aktion	*Number of Victims* (Jews)				*Russian and Lithuanian Communists*
	Men	Women	Children	Total	
August 1, 1941	254	42	—	296	4
August 8	620	82	—	702	
August 19	298	255	88	641	2
September 5	1,123	1,849	1,737	4,709	
Total	2,295	2,228	1,825	6,348	6

After the main liquidation Aktion on September 5, some old and sick people, mostly women and children, remained in the ghetto. These people were killed on September 26 by German and Lithuanian policemen in the Pivonija Forest.

From the end of June to early September 1941, some 6,700 Jews were murdered in Ukmergė.

Ten Lithuanian perpetrators from the Kavarskas squad were tried after the war by the Soviet authorities in 1945 and 1946. M. Paškevičius (aka Mikas Povilionis), who also participated in anti-Jewish measures in the Ukmergė region, fled to the United States after the war. His U.S. citizenship was revoked by a federal court in California in 1979.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ukmergė can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, "The Mass Extermination of the Jews of Ukmergė during the Hitlerite Occupation," republished in Josef Levinson, ed., *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2006), pp. 64–77; "Vilkomir," in Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 272–274; "Ukmerge," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 240–248; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.1.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; LCVA; LYA (e.g., 3-46-1211, 3-46-1258, 3-46-47397/3); RGVA (500-1-25); TsGAMORF (52/11302/244); USHMM (RG-02.170); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/585, 1207, 1620).

Alexander Kruglov and Katrin Reichelt
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 307.
2. Head of Kreis Police in Ukmergė to Police post commanders, July 23, 1941, published in ibid., pp. 294–295.
3. TsGAMORF, 52/11302/244, p. 307, Akt, Vil'komir, July 18, 1944.
4. *Naujoji Lietuva*, August 5, 1941, as cited by Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė in Levinson, *The Shoah (Holocaust) in Lithuania*, p. 70.
5. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 307.
6. USHMM, RG-02.170, "The Story of the Jews of Vilkomir," November 24, 1948.
7. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

UTENA

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

Utena is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. Utena had a population of more than 10,000 in 1941, including probably about 4,000 Jews.

Anti-Soviet Lithuanian partisan units, which were also actively antisemitic, were already active in the area when news of the German invasion, the capture of Kaunas, and the declaration of a provisional Lithuanian government came over the radio. Lieutenant Antanas Patalauskas was the head of the local partisan unit in Utena, which had 76 members. On June 27, 1941, 484 men were registered in the Utena district as partisans and had received permission from the Germans to bear arms.[1] Responding to announcements over the radio, many former officials and policemen returned to the positions they had held in 1940, prior to the Soviet annexation of Lithuania. For example, the Voldemaras supporter and Gestapo agent Malinauskas became chief of police in Utena on June 25, 1941.[2]

In the first days following the German invasion, numerous refugees arrived in Utena from areas to the west. Many were arrested by the Lithuanian partisans. Throughout the district, violence against the Jews had already begun prior to the arrival of the Germans. Lithuanian partisans broke into Jewish houses, searching and plundering them and beating and even killing some occupants. Lithuanian forces also started to arrest people, especially the so-called Jewish intelligentsia,



A member of the Lithuanian auxiliary police, who has just returned from an Aktion against Jews in the Rašė Forest, auctions off their personal property in the central market of Utena, July to August 1941.
USHMM WS #25736, COURTESY OF SAULIUS BERZINIS

members of the Communist Party and the Komsomol (youth activists), and other supposed supporters of the Soviet regime. Assisted by the records left behind by the retreating Soviets, the new authorities prepared lists containing detailed information on all persons they deemed suspicious.[3]

On June 26, 1941, part of the German LVI Army Corps, belonging to Panzer Group 4, passed through Utena on its way to Daugavpils.[4] Some young Lithuanians joined with the advancing German troops, acting as scouts. During July 1941, a series of German local military commandants (Ortskommandanturen) administered the town of Utena successively.[5] German Security Division 281 was based in Utena for just under a week in mid-July (from July 10 to 15, 1941).[6]

With the arrival of the German occupiers, anti-Jewish policies became more systematic. Jews were made to perform humiliating forced labor tasks. Some were deployed to search for booby-traps in houses abandoned by the Soviets, which resulted in several deaths.[7] Within a few days, all Jewish houses were marked with the inscription "Jude" (Jew) and therefore exposed to the arbitrary violence of Germans and Lithuanians. The plunder and robbery of Jewish property went unpunished. Many Jewish males were arrested and put in jail. The three synagogues and the prayer houses were desecrated. Those rabbis who refused to burn the Torah scrolls were publicly humiliated and brutally abused. The damaged religious institutions were converted into prisons to hold Jews, refugees, and Communist activists.[8]

On the morning of July 14, 1941, the Lithuanian administration in Utena published an order requiring all the Jews to leave the town by midday; anyone who remained would be shot. Within hours, the Jews had to go to the Šilalė Forest outside of town, where they were registered and robbed of their valuables. Local newspapers proclaimed Utena to be the first Lithuanian town to have been "cleansed" of Jews.[9] For two weeks, nearly 2,000 Jews were imprisoned in the open-air forest camp (described in some reports as an improvised ghetto) with no sanitary facilities, exposed to the rain and the chicanery of their Lithuanian guards. There was hardly anything

to eat, only some bread, and during the day the younger ones had to perform forced labor. All men and women between the ages of 17 and 55 were registered again.[10]

German Security Police and their collaborators shot 718 Jewish men, 103 Jewish women, and 6 other persons in two mass shooting Aktions on July 31 and August 7, 1941, in the Rašė Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Utena.[11] The murders were carried out by German and Lithuanian police in the presence of representatives of the local Lithuanian administration. The infamous Hamann mobile killing squad also came in from Kaunas on both occasions. During the second Aktion, two of the assembled Jews, Tzadok Bleiman and Kalman Katz, fled from the killing site. Katz was shot by the guards, but Bleiman, though wounded in the leg, managed to hide in the swamps and survived to testify about the massacres after the war.[12]

In mid-August, the Lithuanian authorities established an improvised ghetto for the remaining Jews in Utena, which existed for about two weeks. The Jews were closely confined and guarded under the most inhuman conditions. On August 29, 1941, the Germans and their collaborators shot the remaining older men, women, and children from Utena and the surrounding villages in the Rašė Forest. In total there were 582 Jewish men, 1,731 Jewish women, and 1,469 children among the victims.[13] The local murderers were reinforced by Lithuanian units brought in from outside and probably again by German forces subordinated to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD Lithuania (KdS Litauen) under the leadership of Hamann, as well as members of the 3rd Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion from Kaunas.

The partisan group led by Patalauskas also participated in the anti-Jewish measures in a variety of ways. They arrested Jews, escorted them to the Shilali Forest camp, guarded the ghetto in Utena, and acted as perimeter guards at the killing sites. The Lithuanian commandant in charge of the ghetto was also an officer in the partisan forces. The partisan unit was dissolved at the beginning of September 1941, once the mass murder of the Jews was completed. Throughout the fall of 1941, however, individual Jews continued to be captured in the area, and they were brought to the Utena jail before being shot.

Not only Jews from Utena but also Jews from other places, including Dabeikiai, Inturke, Kuktiškės, Moletai, Tauragnai, and Užpaliai, were murdered in the Rašė Forest. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, some 9,000 people altogether were murdered there.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Utena and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Kalman-Meir Goldfayn et al., eds., *Yizkor-bukh Utian un umgegnt* (Tel Aviv: Nay Lebn, 1979). There are also relevant short articles in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 118–125; and Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 265–271, which includes extracts from the testimony of the Jewish survivor Tzodok Bleiman. Mention of the improvised ghetto in Utena can be found in Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izolaivimo stovyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *The Year Book of Lithuanian History, 1999* (Vilnius: Metai, 2000), pp. 151–179, here pp. 176–178.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Utena can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 70 SU/15); BA-MA (RH 21-4/14); GARF (7021-94-433); LCVA (R 715-1-1; R 1399-1-9; R 1444-1-9; R 1652-1-1); LYA; NARA (RG-226, M 1499, reel 258; RG-242, T-315, reels 1869-1870); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/718; O-53/21).

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NOTES

1. LCVA, R 1652-1-1, pp. 1–6, published in Valentinas Brandišauskas, ed., *1941 m. Birželio sukilimas. Dokumentu rinkinys* (Vilnius: LGGRTC, 2000), pp. 163–174; Order No. 1 of the Lithuanian commandant in Utena, Hauptmann Benediktas Kaletka, June 26, 1941, LCVA, R 1444-1-9, p. 56.

2. See the report of Malinauskas to KdS Litauen, March 16, 1943, LCVA, R 1399-1-9, p. 179.

3. See ibid., R 715-1-1, p. 129.

4. BA-MA, RH 21-4/14, KTB Panzergruppe 4, Ia.

5. NARA, RG-242, T-315, reel 1869, pp. 745 ff., KTB Sich. Div. 281, Ia, orders of July 16 and 19, 1941: OK 862 (7.7.-16.7.1941), OK II 349 (16.-20.7.1941), OK II 350 (from 20.7.1941). Also see reel 1870, p. 498, activity report of Sich. Div. 281, Abt. VII, July 10, 1941. The commandant's offices were staffed by personnel from Feldgendarmerie-Abteilung 691.

6. Ibid., reel 1869, p. 5, War Diary of Sich. Div. 281, Activity report IVa, March 25, 1941, to December 31, 1941.

7. Testimony of Tzodok Bleiman, cited in Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 268.

8. See LCVA, R 715-1-1, p. 2, report of the head of the Saugumas in Utena on the arrest of 30 Jewish men and their imprisonment in the synagogue, July 14, 1941.

9. See Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 269.

10. See GARF, 7021-94-433, pp. 56–57 and reverse, testimony of the survivor Musja Buraetenaite, which mentions the improvised "ghetto" in the forest.

11. BA-BL, R 70 SU/15, Jägerbericht, December 1, 1941. On July 31, 1941: 235 Jewish men, 16 Jewish women, 4 Lithuanian Communists, 1 murderous plunderer (256); August 7, 1941: 483 Jewish men, 87 Jewish women, and 1 Lithuanian grave robber (571).

12. Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, pp. 268–271.

13. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 112, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, gives the total of 3,782 Jews shot in Utena and Moletai, but this also includes Jews from other nearby villages.

UŽPALIAI

Pre-1940: Užpaliai (Yiddish: Ushpole), town, Utena apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Užpaliai/Uzhpaliai, Utena uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Uschpol, Kreis Utena, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Užpaliai, Utena rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Užpaliai is located 109 kilometers (68 miles) north-northeast of Wilno. The census of 1923 indicated that Užpaliai had 551 Jewish inhabitants, 36 percent of the town's total population. Emigration in the 1930s reduced the size of the Jewish community, and by mid-1941 there were about 350 Jews living in Užpaliai.

German forces captured the town on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local authority and an auxiliary police unit composed of local partisans; these organizations then introduced anti-Jewish measures. All the Jews' valuables were confiscated; Jews were required to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David on the front and back of their clothing; they were assigned to perform various types of forced labor, during which they were subjected to mockery, humiliation, and beatings by local antisemites; and they were forbidden to appear in public places and to associate in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. Within a couple of weeks, all the Jews were ordered to move into a designated ghetto area, which consisted of a few small streets near the prayer house and the traditional bathhouse.

Lithuanian partisans conducted several group killings of Jews, which resulted in the deaths of several dozen people at various sites. Some were drowned in local swamps; others were slaughtered and thrown into lime pits. Subsequently, a group of wealthy Jews was murdered near the village of Butiskis. A number of Jewish women from the ghetto were raped. The rabbi's daughter was raped in front of her father, Leib Kamraz. The rabbi was arrested and held for several days without food or water. Then, while being forced to dig his own grave, he attacked one of the guards but was soon shot and killed.

Living conditions in the ghetto deteriorated, as the number of men steadily decreased and the women were repeatedly attacked. The remaining Jews, some 300 in number, were taken to Utena in late August 1941. On August 29, 1941, together with other Jews, they were shot in the Rašė Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Utena.[1] Very few Jews from the town managed to survive the German occupation; among them was a Jewish woman who was married to a Christian Lithuanian, and Shulamit Shefek, who migrated to Israel after World War II.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Užpaliai during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Uzpaliai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 128–129; Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), p. 242; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1369.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Užpaliai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-433); LCVA; LYA (K 1-15-3388); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), p. 134; see also LYA, K 1-15-3388 (report of the Utena raion office of the KGB of the Lithuanian SSR regarding the punitive detachment that operated in Užpaliai).

UŽVENTIS

Pre-1940: Užventis (Yiddish: Uzhvent), Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Užventis/Uzhventis, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Uschwentis, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Užventis, Kelmė rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Užventis is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-southwest of Šiauliai. In 1923, the Jewish population of the village was 173, comprising 22 percent of the total. In June 1939, local antisemites burned the main Jewish institutions in Užventis.

Soon after the German invasion of the Lithuanian SSR, a Lithuanian nationalist partisan squad was formed in Užventis, which was led by Vilius Prancūzevičius, who later became a regional head in Užventis. The partisans wore distinctive white armbands and were armed with rifles and pistols. German forces captured Užventis in late June 1941. In the first days of Nazi occupation, 17 alleged supporters of the Soviet regime were killed on the orders of the partisan headquarters.

In early July 1941, on instructions from the German authorities, the Lithuanian partisans rounded up the Jewish population and moved them into a former spirit-making factory on the outskirts of Užventis. Juozas Čepauskas, the deputy head of the Užventis partisans, was assigned to act as commandant of this Jewish "camp" or ghetto.

On July 30, 1941, the partisans prepared a large pit in the Želviai Forest. On the following day, several officers of the German Security Police arrived from Šiauliai to oversee the murder of the Jews. First the partisans loaded a majority of the Jews from the ghetto on trucks (probably about 50 to 75 people), consisting mostly of the elderly, women, and children. These Jews were then transported to the Želviai Forest, where they were shot by 17 members of the Užventis partisan squad and the German Security Police officials. The clothing of the murdered Jews was then transported back to Užventis, where the murderers indulged in a bout of drinking.[1]

Not all the Jews were killed during this Aktion. Some of the male Jews from Užventis were transported to Žagarė and Šiauliai in the summer of 1941. About 20 Jews remained in Užventis, presumably as they were required as specialist laborers. These Jews were murdered in the Želviai Forest in December 1941.[2]

After the war, the Soviet authorities arrested nearly 20 members of the Užventis partisan squad; all of them were convicted, and some of them received the death penalty.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Užventis during the Holocaust can be found in Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here pp. 253–254.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Užventis can be found in the following archives: LCVA and LYA (e.g., K 1-46-1275, K 1-58-24967/3, K 1-58-34340/3).

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NOTES

1. LYA, K 1-46-1275, pp. 10–12, K 1-58-24967/3, pp. 56–57, 145–146, as cited by Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai," p. 254.
2. LYA, K 1-46-1275, pp. 7-9, K 1-58-24967/3, p. 326, as cited in ibid., p. 254.

VABALNINKAS

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

Vabalninkas is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of Panevėžys. According to the 1923 census, the town had 441 Jewish residents, 32 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied the town on June 27, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalist activists set up a town authority, which began introducing anti-Jewish measures. In the first days following the town's capture, Lithuanian activists arrested and killed at least 86 people, including many Jews, as well as some non-Jewish Communists.[1] The Lithuanian administration then ordered the remaining Jews, consisting mainly of women, children, and the elderly, to be removed from the better homes and placed in an open ghetto in mid-July 1941.[2] The ghetto was located on Paryžiaus Street and consisted only of poor cottages, which several families had to share.

The ghetto in Vabalninkas was in existence for about one month. During that time, the local priest Matas Kirlys baptized 40 Jews with the hope of saving them. The ghetto was liquidated at some date between August 18 and 24 (sources vary), 1941, when the Jews were transferred to the Pasvalys ghetto. Initially the baptized Jews were separated out from the others in the ghetto, but subsequently they were added to the trucks going to Pasvalys. According to survivor Sheina Gertner, the Jews were permitted to take with them a suitcase and food for three days; they were told they were being taken to a labor camp.[3]

The Pasvalys ghetto was liquidated in turn on August 26, 1941, when members of the 3rd Company, Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 1, shot 1,349 Jews (402 men, 738 women, and 209 children).[4] The victims included the Jews from Vabalninkas. The shooting was carried out in the Žadeikiai Forest.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vabalninkas during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Juozas Daubaras, *They Lived in Vabalninkas, 1925–1941* (Vilnius: R. Paknio Leidykla, 2009), pp. 17–18; B. Reinus, "Oysrot fun di yidn fun Posval un fun di derbeyike shtetlekh (Yanishkel, Vashki, Linkuva, Salat, Vabalnik)," in Mendel Sudarsky and Uriah Katzenelenbogen, eds., *Lite*, vol. 1 (New York: Jewish-Cultural Society, 1951), pp. 1859–1861; Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 867; "Vabalninkas," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 214–216; "Vabal'ninkas," in *Rosiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 198.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Vabalninkas can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-441); LCVA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-02.002*12); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Reinus, "Aysrot fun di yidn fun Posval," pp. 1859–1861.
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, RG-02.002*12, pp. 1–4, testimony of Sheina Sachar Gertner, 1984. Report of the Biržai District Commission, May 26, 1945, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 116–118.
4. See report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, in RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113.

VAINUTAS

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

Vainutas is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Tauragė. According to the census of 1923, Vainutas had a Jewish population of 348, constituting 27 percent of the total.

German armed forces captured Vainutas on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941. Many Jews fled at this time to nearby villages, seeking hiding places with local farmers. However, the farmers usually proved unwelcoming, and the Jews soon returned to Vainutas. Only a few Jews, mostly those who had been active in the Soviet administration, managed to escape to the Soviet Union. The returning Jews found that their homes had been robbed and occupied by their Lithua-

nian neighbors, who also took their livestock and horses. The homeless Jews had to move in with relatives or live together in the prayer house.

The Lithuanian nationalists took charge of most affairs in the village, although a German commandant was based there by July. The Lithuanians issued orders for the Jews, on pain of death, to surrender their valuables, weapons, and radios. In response, many Jews buried their valuables or asked the Lithuanian priest to keep them safe until the end of the war. On June 24, 1941, all Jews over the age of 12 had to register with the police. Jewish men were required to perform forced labor, cleaning the streets and other tasks. Lithuanian policemen visited Jewish homes and demanded gifts.

On around July 10, 1941, the Lithuanian policemen assembled the Jewish men on the square in front of the church. Then SS men forced another Jew to cut off the rabbi's beard. Afterwards the rabbi was dragged through the streets by a horse ridden by an SS man as a crowd of Lithuanians looked on. The rabbi became sick after his ordeal, and five Jewish men were shot following the incident. A few days later, the Jews were forced to burn all their religious books and Torah scrolls in the courtyard of the synagogue.

On July 19, 1941, SS men from Heydekrug (Šilutė) and local Lithuanian policemen rounded up all the adult Jewish males from their homes, about 150 people, and assembled them in the synagogue. From there they were driven along the road to Žemaičių Naumiestis, while being physically beaten by their guards. On the way, an SS officer in a vehicle, probably SS-Untersturmführer Theodor Werner Scheu, selected 29 able-bodied men who were sent to the barracks in Žemaičių Naumiestis and later from there to the Heydekrug labor camp. The remaining 120 or so Jews, including the elderly and unfit men, who were brought from Vainutas by truck, were all shot by Lithuanian police at an execution site at Šiaudvyčiai, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of Žemaičių Naumiestis.[1] Among the group of men selected for labor was Isaac Markus, who subsequently, in July 1943, was transferred to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and from there to clear out the rubble from the Warsaw ghetto before being sent on to other concentration camps, including Dachau.[2]

According to a report by the Lithuanian police chief in Vainutas, dated July 28, 1941, by this time a so-called Jewish quarter or ghetto had been established in Vainutas on Synagogue Street for the remaining women and children. The Jewish women were engaged in farmwork and also in cleaning the streets. Jewish property had been secured, awaiting further orders. A few Jews were known to have escaped and were hiding in the Vainutas woods. The police chief reported: "We are doing our utmost to capture them, for they are known to be real Communists."[3]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, the young women in the Vainutas ghetto were frequently raped by SS men and Lithuanian guards during August 1941. In September, the 125 remaining women and children were forced to surrender their remaining property, as they were told they would be reunited with their male family members. However, instead they were taken to the Gerainiai Forest, where they were all forced to undress, then shot.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vainutas during the Holocaust can be found in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 231–233.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Vainutas can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5394-5399); LCVA (1476-1-3); VHF (# 15646); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. See LG-Aur, verdict of June 26, 1964, against Struve et al., in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 579, pp. 320–321.
2. VHF, # 15646, testimony of Isaac Markus.
3. B. Baranauskas and K. Ruksenas, *Documents Accuse* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1970), pp. 198–199, Chief of Vainutas Police Station to Tauragė District Police Chief, July 28, 1941. VHF, # 15646, also states that the Jewish women and children were moved onto one street near the synagogue, which was "like a ghetto." However, Issac Markus must have heard this secondhand, as he had already been deported to Heydekrug by this time.

VENDŽIOGALA

Pre-1940: Vendžiogala (Yiddish: Vendzigole), village, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vendžiogala/Vendzhegala, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wendziogala, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vandžiogala, town, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vendžiogala is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of Kaunas. In 1940, the Jewish population was 350, or 58 percent of the total.

German troops occupied the village on June 25, 1941. A number of Jews tried to flee Vendžiogala at the start of the German invasion, but most of them were forced to turn back, and some were killed on the roads by Lithuanian nationalists. At the time of the Germans' arrival, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which under German direction soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks or to maintain relationships of any kind with non-Jews. Jewish houses had to be marked with a sign saying "Jude" (Jew). In addition, Jews were forced to perform forced labor, which included domestic service, agricultural work, and humiliating tasks such as cleaning outhouses.

Arrests and murders of Jews began, particularly of those who had cooperated with the Soviet authority in 1940–1941. For example, on July 9, 1941, 32 Jewish men, 1 Jewish woman, 2 Lithuanian Communists, 1 Russian Communist, and 1

Lithuanian woman were shot in a grove near the Jewish cemetery. Between July 11 and 31, 13 more Jews and 2 "murderers" were shot in the same location.[1] On August 9 (other sources give the date as August 16), 1941, another Aktion was conducted in the village. During its course, dozens of Jewish men, including the rabbi, Chaim Klebanov, along with 4 girls, were seized and taken away to Babtai. There they were murdered with the local Jews in the second half of August 1941.

On August 7, 1941, the officials of the civil administration in Kreis Kauen ordered all Jews to be concentrated in ghettos, fenced with barbed wire and guarded by Lithuanian partisans, by August 15.[2] Pursuant to this order, the Jews of Vendžiogala also were moved into a ghetto, which consisted of several houses on Keidan Street. Most of their property was confiscated or stolen by Lithuanians.

The Vendžiogala ghetto was liquidated on August 28, 1941, when local partisans and Lithuanian policemen rounded up the remaining Jews (mainly women and children) in Vendžiogala and escorted them to a site in the forest near Babtai, where a large ditch had been prepared. Men of the Lithuanian 3rd Company (1st Battalion), under the command of officers B. Norkus, J. Barzda, and A. Dagys, arrived to carry out the shooting. Afterwards, local people divided the clothes and other items among themselves.[3] According to the report of Karl Jäger, 252 Jews (42 men, 113 women, and 97 children) from Vendžiogala, together with 83 Jews (20 men, 41 women, and 22 children) from Babtai, were shot.[4]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vendžiogala during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 268–270; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in D. Gaunt, P.A. Levine, and L. Palosuo, eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus*, *Estonia*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 299–301; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 869.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Vendžiogala can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GARF (7021-94-420); LCVA (R 1534-1-186); LYA (K 1-58-47337/3, vol. 1); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-71/143).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 111, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. This appears to be the same incident that is reported in Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppen Nr. 3, Berichtszeit August 15–31, 1941, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 158.

2. LCVA, R 1534-1-186, p. 37, published in B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965), pp. 290–291.

3. LYA, K 1-58-47337/3, vol. 1, pp. 157–161, minutes of the interrogation of P. Matiukas, October 2, 1961.

4. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 113, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

VIDUKLĖ

Pre-1940: Viduklė (Yiddish: Vidukle), town, Raseiniai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Viduklė/Vidukle, Raseiniai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Vidukle, Kreis Raseinen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Viduklė, Raseiniai rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Viduklė is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) south-southwest of Šiauliai. According to the 1923 population census, there were 221 Jews living in the town. By the middle of 1941, the number of Jews had decreased significantly, owing in large part to emigration.

On June 23, 1941, Viduklė was occupied by German troops. Due to the rapid German advance, scarcely a single Jew was able to flee in time into the interior of the Soviet Union. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. All Jews had to wear the Star of David and were taken for forced labor of various kinds, during which they suffered beatings and humiliation. The Jews received only a few morsels of bread from the rations distributed among the local population. The Jews were also prohibited from appearing in public places or having any relations with the Lithuanians. Germans came periodically from the nearby village of Nemakščiai and, together with local Lithuanians, plundered Jewish homes.

During the first days of the occupation, about 15 Jews, both men and women, were arrested as alleged Communists and were taken to the prison in Raseiniai. After several days the women were released, but the men were never heard from again.

In the first half of July, all Jewish men aged 14 and over were ordered to gather at the offices of the local council. There the elderly men initially were separated out and locked up in the Bet Midrash, while the others were escorted under close guard to the railway station, where they were concentrated, together with the male Jews of Nemakščiai, in the home of the Friedman family and the threshing mills nearby. Here the male Jews were forced to perform various physically demanding exercises. On July 14, the elderly male Jews, including Rabbi Yehoshua Hacohen Kaplan, were brought to join the other Jews near the railway station, as were the elderly Jews from Nemakščiai. All the male Jews were then escorted to a nearby pool, where they were forced to undress. Then Lithuanian partisans shot the Jews in groups of 10 in a nearby pit.

After the mass shooting of the Jewish men, the Jewish women and children were herded into the Bet Midrash and four other houses nearby, which formed a small ghetto. Jewish girls went out each day to perform various tasks, including washing the floors at the police station and the town hall. On August 21,

1941, suspecting that something was about to happen, a number of Jewish women fled the ghetto, either to hide with local peasants or to seek refuge in the larger ghetto in Šiauliai. On August 22, armed Lithuanians rounded up the remaining Jewish women and children and shot them in the Jewish cemetery. According to Soviet sources, about 100 women and children were buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery and about 200 male Jews in another grave near the railroad station.

According to a secondhand account published in *The Complete Black Book*, the local Catholic priest in Viduklė tried to save about 30 Jewish children by concealing them in his church. He was betrayed, however, and was shot by the German commissar Dietrich, who also ordered the murder of the children found hiding in the church.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Viduklė may be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 223–225—a translation is available at jewishgen.org; "Vidukle," in Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 402; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1391; and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 279–280.

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VIEKŠNIAI

Pre-1940: Viekšniai (Yiddish: Vekshne), village, Mažeikiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Viekšniai/Vekshniai, Mazheikiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wjekschnen, Kreis Moscheiken, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Viekšniai, Mažeikiai rajonas, Telšiai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Viekšniai is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Mažeikiai. In 1921, there were 300 Jews living in the village. By the middle of 1941, owing to emigration, the Jewish population had declined.

With the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, many Jews tried to flee into the interior of the Soviet Union, but only a few were successful, most having to turn back. Even before the Germans arrived, Lithuanian nationalists accused the Jews of cooperating with the Soviet authorities. The Lithuanians, led by the school principal, seized power in Viekšniai and and greeted with joy the arrival of the Germans on June 25, 1941. They arrested former Soviet activists and murdered a number of Jews, including Rabbi David Levin.

Early in July, the local commandant, Juozas Mačius, received orders from the Mažeikiai regional commandant, Pečiulis, to arrest all the Jewish men and lock them up in a ghetto. In response, a squad of 20 to 25 Lithuanian partisans, assisted by several uniformed Germans, arrested about 150 to 200 Jewish men within a few hours. The Jewish men were taken to the winter prayer house, which was fenced in with barbed wire and guarded, and from there they were taken daily to perform forced labor. The Jewish women and children were permitted to bring food to the men.

On July 7, the men were sent home and were instructed to prepare their families for being moved to Lublin in Poland. Shortly thereafter, all the Jews were ordered to appear in the marketplace. The Jewish physician, Dr. Chaim Lipman, was forced to identify those who were Communists, but he claimed that there were none. In response, the nationalists cut off the beards of the rabbi and other Jews. The women and children were then imprisoned in the Bet Midrash, and the men were taken to the synagogue and ordered to dance and perform other exercises. Some Jews were forced to do humiliating work or were abused to the amusement of a crowd of non-Jews who had assembled.

According to Soviet trial records, those Jews who had gone into hiding on July 7 were soon rounded up and placed with the other Jews. Then on July 15, two Germans arrived and collected the money that had been seized from the Jews in the ghetto. They also reportedly issued instructions for the Jews to be exterminated.[1]

Subsequently, all the Jews were taken and imprisoned in the grain storage house of Shimon Wachs, where they were held for about three weeks. During this time the Lithuanian guards beat the Jews, who also suffered from starvation, many falling ill.

On August 4, 1941, armed Lithuanians rounded up the remaining Jews and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery in Mažeikiai. Here, together with other Jews from the surrounding villages, they were forced to dig pits. Then they were all shot and buried in those same pits.

One Jewish man managed to evade the roundup and fled to the ghetto in Šiauliai. In 1943 he escaped from that ghetto and survived until the arrival of the Red Army.

SOURCES Publications concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews of Viekšniai include the following: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 270–274; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), pp. 277–278; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), p. 272; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 876.

Relevant archival documentation includes the following: LYA (3377-55-113) and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1555, 1771).

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NOTE

1. LYA, 3377-55-113, p. 87, testimony of Juozas Mačius, November 26, 1944, as cited by Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, p. 278.

VIEVIS

Pre-1940: Vievis (Yiddish: Vevie), town, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vievis/Vevis, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Vievis, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Trakai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vievis is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) west-northwest of Wilno. In 1940, there were 350 Jews living there (39 percent of the total population).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many Jews abandoned the town and sought refuge with farmers in the surrounding area. On June 24, German armed forces captured Vievis, and the Jews in the countryside were compelled to return. Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force, which began persecuting and murdering the Jews, as well as non-Jews suspected of having collaborated with the Soviets. Particularly known for their cruel actions against the Jews were Kazys Čaplikas, who subsequently became head of the police; Juozas Dzena (sentenced to death in 1945); Viktoras Vasilevskis (also sentenced to death in 1945); a man named Šavreika; and many other Lithuanian activists. By the end of June 1941, they already had accused six Jews of Communist activity and killed them. The victims included Josef Baider, Motel Pik, and Chaim Sherman. The families of these Jews were arrested and transported to unknown destinations.

The new authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear the yellow patch. Some of them, men and women, were pressed into forced labor. The chief of police demanded, and received, a daily payment of 400 rubles. In accordance with instructions issued by the head of Kreis Traken in late July, by August 1941, an eight-man Jewish Council (Judenrat) had been established, headed by Gensas Bereikas, with Mejeris Kurganas as his deputy, and an improvised ghetto had been set up.[1] Each day, several groups of Jewish men were led out of the ghetto to work on road construction. During the work the Jewish men were severely beaten by Juozas Dzena for being too slow. The women went out to perform cleaning work in Lithuanian homes and farms, including work on the estate of the local priest.[2]

Confirmation of the existence of a ghetto in Vievis can be found in the report of the Kreis head to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, dated September 1, 1941, which noted that in Vievis and several other towns in the Kreis, the Jews had been separated from the rest of the population in their own section of town.[3]

On September 22, 1941, the Vievis ghetto was liquidated. The Jews were rounded up in the town square and ordered to hand over all their valuables. Then they were transported in carts to Semeliškės. The Vievis Jews remained there, confined separately from the local Jews, until October 6, 1941, when all the Jews assembled in Semeliškės were shot in a nearby wooded area. Among those participating in the murder of the Jews of Vievis were Lithuanian members of the Self-Defense Battalion based in Wilno.[4]

A few Jews were able to evade the roundup. Meir Koren and his family went into hiding with the assistance of non-Jews and then moved into the Kaunas ghetto in August 1942. Ch. Goldstein and his wife, Dora, remained in hiding until the end of 1942. At that time they were placed in the labor camp that had been established in Vievis in May 1942, when 700 Jews from the Wilno and Kaunas ghettos were brought to the town. The prisoners worked constructing the Wilno-Kaunas highway. Dzena was the head of the camp, or Lagerführer. The camp was liquidated in December 1943. All the Jewish prisoners were shot in Ponary, near Wilno.

A small number of Jews were saved by local Lithuanians who hid them and gave them assistance. Worthy of mention are Zofija and Adomas Valantavičiai, Viktoras Vitkauskas, Skorupskis, Valerijonas and Teklė Paulauskai, A. Mikalauskienė, Kazys Macijauskas, Petras Luskevičius, and Juozas Gurskas.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Vievis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Vievis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 217–219; Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002), pp. 34–36—an English translation of parts of this by Svetlana Satalova, "The Genocide of the Jews in the Trakai Region of Lithuania," is available at jewishgen.org; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LCVA; LYA (K 1-58-45615/3); VHF (# 22421); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. For details regarding these orders, see Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6, "Kreis Trakai." Facsimilies of the orders have been published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 100–101.

2. LYA, K 1-58-45615/3, p. 64, testimony of witness Ch. Goldstein, as cited by Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 34–36.

3. A facsimile of the report can be found in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 109.

4. Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), p. 41.

VILKAVIŠKIS

Pre-1940: Vilkaviškis (Yiddish: Vilkovishk), town and apskritis center, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vilkaviškis/Vilkavishkis, uezd

center, *Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilkowischken*, *Kreis center*, *Gebiet Kauen-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vilkaviškis*, *rajonas center*, *Marijampolė apskritis*, *Republic of Lithuania*

Vilkaviškis is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas. The 1923 census recorded a Jewish population of 3,206 in the town. By June 1941, emigration had reduced the size of the Jewish community to some extent, but there still were more than 2,500 Jews living in Vilkaviškis, including some Jewish refugees from areas to the west.

German troops occupied Vilkaviškis on June 22, 1941, at 8:00 A.M., following a heavy bombardment that destroyed the 400-year-old synagogue and some Jewish homes.[1] Immediately after the occupation, Lithuanian nationalists established a local authority and a police force, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to wear the yellow Star of David on their chests and were forbidden to use the sidewalks. Jews had to perform various kinds of forced labor in the course of which they suffered insults, humiliation, and beatings at the hands of local antisemites.

On June 27, 1941, the occupying authorities confined all Jewish men in the building of a Catholic seminary outside the town.[2] In mid-July, they transferred the Jewish inmates to a former military barracks, also on the edge of town. Barbed wire enclosed the area, which was to become the ghetto. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established that consisted of at least four people.[3] At the same time, the Jews were ordered to give up possessions such as money, watches, knives, suspenders, and other items. All the work sites where the ghetto inmates performed forced labor were located outside the ghetto. Witnesses also state that special grocery shops for the Jewish population were established on the edge of town and that the water supply in the ghetto was very limited.[4] The ghetto guards were Lithuanian auxiliary policemen.[5] As in other ghettos, skilled workers were needed, but much of the work done by Jews was connected with the local German Feldkommandantur. Some Jews worked on farms in the surrounding villages.[6]

In the second half of July 1941, a major Aktion took place in Vilkaviškis. On the orders of the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, members of the SD and Gestapo Tilsit, under the leadership of officers Tietz and Krumbach, shot at least 120 male Jews on the edge of the town. The victims were buried in two mass graves.[7]

On July 28, 1941, a Gestapo detachment and the SD from Tilsit, together with Lithuanian police, shot most of the remaining Jewish men (about 800 people) and 63 Lithuanian Communists.[8] They were buried in two ditches near the barracks that served as the ghetto. The 4th Company of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, which had been stationed in Vilkaviškis since mid-July, also took part in the Aktion, which lasted about four hours.[9] The 4th Company commander also served as the town commandant (Standortkommandant).[10]

On August 1, 1941, the authorities rounded up the Jewish women and children in Vilkaviškis and took them to the ghetto, where they joined the 50 to 100 men who were still alive. The buildings of the ghetto consisted of a number of large rooms in each of which members of several families resided.[11] On arrival, the women discovered the worn-out clothes and shoes of their murdered husbands and fathers and screamed with horror.[12] Since the members of the previous Jewish Council had been murdered, Yisroel Zilber was designated as the Jews' representative. The ghetto existed until late September 1941. A few of the remaining Jews were selected out and assigned to work in the nearby town of Pilviškie. Other Jewish women worked in agriculture.

On September 24, the day after Rosh Hashanah, uniformed Germans and the Lithuanian police shot the remaining Jews in the ghetto (about 1,300 people). Only a few Jews managed to escape or evade the roundup.[13] The last Aktion took place on November 15, 1941. On that date, a unit of Einsatzkommando 3, which was commanded by Karl Jäger, shot 115 Jews (36 men, 48 women, and 31 children).[14] These victims were likely Jews brought in from neighboring villages where they had been working or had been found in hiding. After this Aktion, the property of the victims was sold to the local population.

Subsequently, 12 more Jews were arrested and placed in the custody of the Lithuanian police in Vilkaviškis. At the beginning of 1942, Krumbach contacted the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, Böhme, asking what should be done with these Jews. Both Krumbach and Böhme declined to kill the remaining Jews at this time because they were convinced that the period of mass killings was over, and all Jews now were to be settled into the few large ghettos. SS-Standartenführer Jäger, however, ordered the immediate killing of these Jews. This task was assigned to the Lithuanian auxiliary police who had arrested them. Two Jews that had converted to Christianity were reportedly released, but the remaining 10 were shot by members of the Lithuanian police in the presence of a German observer.[15]

Due to the continued searches for Jewish escapees, only a handful survived the occupation. Ranana Malchanovna-Kleinštein survived with the help of the Strimaitis family and other Lithuanians. Judith Sperling survived both passing as a non-Jew and hiding with the help of the Maladauskas and Jureviciene families.[16]

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973); Shalom Bronstein, ed., *Yahadut Lita: Lithuanian Jewry*, vol. 4, *The Holocaust 1941–1945* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Lithuanians in Israel, 1984), pp. 273–274; Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 275–277; Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 233ff.; Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5; Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 233–238; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during*

the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 877. See also www.shtelinks.jewishgen.org/vilkovishk/vilkovishk3.html.

Documentation relating to the persecution and murder of the Jews of Vilkaviškis can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-419); LCVA (R 678-1-1); LYA; RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM; VHF (# 4679, 15261, 32422, 38035); and YVA (M-1/E/1208; M-33/987; TR-2/154; and O-3/3770).

Alexander Kruglov and Katrin Reichelt
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry*, p. 277.
2. GARF, 7021-94-419, p. 29.
3. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, p. 236.
4. VHF, # 15261, testimony of Isaak Demantas.
5. Ibid., # 32422, testimony of Lazar Lapidus.
6. Ibid., # 38035, testimony of Morris Penn.
7. LG-Ulm, Ks 2/57, verdict against Fischer-Schweder and others, August 29, 1958, in *KZ-Verbrechen vor Deutschen Gerichten*, Bd. II, *Einsatzkommando Tilsit: Der Prozess zu Ulm* (Frankfurt/Main, 1966); and LG-Dort, 10 Ks 1/61, verdict against Krumbach and others, February 5, 1963, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978), Lfd. Nr. 547, pp. 19–20.
8. GARF, 7021-94-419, pp. 36–39.
9. Arūnas Bubnys, "Mažieji Lietuvos žydų getai ir laikinos izolaivimo stovyklos 1941–1943 metais," in *Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis*, *The Yearbook of Lithuanian History 1999* (Vilnius, 2000), p. 170.
10. LCVA, R 678-1-1, p. 1.
11. VHF, # 32422.
12. Testimony of Ranana Malchanovna-Kleinštein, in Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, p. 235; VHF, # 4679, testimony of Ranana Malkhanovna.
13. GARF, 7021-94-419, pp. 53 and verso.
14. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.
15. *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 547, p. 21.
16. Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 237–238; Mordecai Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1992), pp. 257–258.

VILKIJA

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

Vilkija is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 829 Jews living in the town. As emigration was common in the 1930s, by June 1941 around 400 to 600 Jews remained in the town.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 24, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists set up a local administration and a police force (a so-called white armband company under Stasys Gudavičius), which implemented anti-Jewish measures. The Germans also established a military commandant's office under SS-Obersturmführer Missenbaum. Jews were marked with the Star of David, forced into labor of various kinds, and robbed and assaulted by local antisemites. Jews were also forbidden to walk on the sidewalks and to associate with Lithuanians.

Sources differ on the first Aktion in Vilkija. One account states that Lithuanian auxiliaries, acting on Missenbaum's orders, arrested between 150 and 200 male Jews on July 7–8, 1941, and conveyed most of them to Kaunas; they shot 21 of them close to Vilkija, near Jagminiškiai village. Another account simply has the Lithuanians killing nearly all the Jewish men in the town on July 15.

In July 1941, the Germans created a ghetto in Vilkija. Details are scant; it may have consisted of nothing more than the synagogue. In mid-August 1941, Jews from several surrounding jurisdictions—Čekiškes, Veliuona, Seredžius, and Lekėčiai—were concentrated there. They totaled 138 people: 23 men and 115 women.[1] At about the same time, approximately 400 men and women were sent away from Vilkija, possibly to the Kaunas ghetto.

On or just before August 25, the remaining Jews were forced to pay a "contribution" of 21,400 rubles.[2]

On August 28, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and 402 Jews—76 men, 192 women, and 134 children—were shot.[3] The shooting was carried out by the 3rd Company of the 1st (13th) Lithuanian Police Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Barzda, in the Pakarklė Forest, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Vilkija. Members of the local police brought the Jews to the shooting site and guarded it.

Eight former policemen of the 3rd Company were accused of participating in the murder of the Jews in Vilkija and in other localities in Lithuania, and their trial was held in Kaunas from September 26 to October 4, 1962. They were found guilty and sentenced to death.[4]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Vilkija can be found in the following publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 349; Arūnas Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941: The Kaunas District," in David Gaunt et al., eds., *Collaboration and Resistance during the Holocaust: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 308–310; and Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 248–249.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (e.g., R 1534-1-190 and 193; R 683-2-2); LYA (e.g., K 1-58-47588/3, vol. 2, pp. 227–228); and RGVA (500-1-25).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See the report of the head of the police unit in Lekėčiai from August 17, 1941, in Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944)*, vol. 2, p. 349.

2. LCVA, R 1534-1-190, p. 21, as cited by Bubnys, "The Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province," p. 309.

3. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

4. *Sovietskaia Litva* (Vilnius), October 4, 1962.

VIRBALIS

Pre-1940: Virbalis (Yiddish: Virbaln), town, Vilkaviškis apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vilkavishkis uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wirballen, Kreis Wilkowischken, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Virbalis, Vilkaviškis rajonas, Marijampolė apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Virbalis is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) west-southwest of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, the town had a Jewish population of 1,233. In the 1930s, emigration reduced that number by about half.

German armed forces captured the town on June 22, 1941, the first day of Germany's invasion of the USSR. As a result, the Jews were unable to evacuate, and almost all remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately after the town's capture, all the prisoners in the local jail were released, including those who had resisted Soviet rule. Lithuanian nationalist collaborators, including some of the released prisoners, organized local groups to take revenge on the Communists and Jews, who were viewed as having supported the Soviet authorities. After a few days, the Lithuanian nationalists formed a town administration and a police force, which began to enforce anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forbidden to leave the town or to associate in any way with non-Jews. A curfew was imposed on the Jewish community, and its members also were required to wear yellow patches on their outer garments and to surrender all radios.

On July 7, 1941, on the orders of the Tilsit Gestapo, members of Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office, GPK) Eydtkau (headed by Kriminalobersekretär Tietz, who later committed suicide after being arrested for stealing Jewish property), along with Lithuanian police, arrested all Jewish males over the age of 16 (more than 200 people) and took them to the Raudondvaris estate north of the town. There they were confined in a cellar for several days with no food or water. On July 10, 1941, after being forced to enlarge an existing antitank ditch 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) north of town, they were all shot together with 20 Lithuanians who were accused of having aided the Soviets. Before the massacre, the Jews were forced to undress and hand over all their money and valuables. The shooting was carried out by a squad of Security Police and SD men, led by the head of the Tilsit Gestapo, SS-Sturmbannführer Hans-Joachim Böhme, assisted by Lithuanian policemen.[1]

After the men were shot, the Jewish women, children, and old people were moved into houses on several streets, where ethnic Germans had lived before their repatriation to Germany in 1939–1941; these streets became a ghetto. The town's only dentist, a woman named Sheine Pauzisky, was appointed head of the ghetto. Using her connections with prominent Lithuanians in the town, she managed to open a food shop for the ghetto, which was run by a Lithuanian who ensured that adequate supplies were available to the Jews as long as the ghetto existed. Young girls and women were used for various types of labor in the town. Lithuanian farmers also came to the ghetto to recruit women and girls for work. Some treated them badly, but others helped Jews to hide at the time of the massacres.

On July 29, 1941, the women who were ill, old, and unable to work were taken from the ghetto and shot, possibly together with a few elderly men and the remaining Jewish children and their mothers. After the war, a former midwife in Virbalis provided a description of a mass shooting in a meadow near the town, which reportedly took place about three weeks after the first Aktion. Significant details in her account include the absence of any Lithuanian policemen on this occasion and the fact that two sons of a local peasant also were shot for attempting to bring the Jews awaiting execution some food. According to the witness, the number of victims is estimated to have been between 200 and 300, including a number of children. One severely wounded Jew managed to climb out of the mass grave and returned to the town, but then he died there of his wounds.[2]

After the second Aktion, the authorities reassured the remaining women that no more evil would happen to them and informed them that their husbands were working at different jobs not far away. Some Jewish women in the ghetto even gave money, valuables, and clothes to Lithuanians who promised to take them to their husbands. Those women working on farms, however, discovered the true fate of those who had disappeared and tried to convince the others when they returned to the ghetto. At some time in August, the Jewish women and children from Kybartai were also moved to the Virbalis ghetto.

On September 11, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. All the remaining Jews were loaded onto carts driven by Lithuanians and were taken to prepared pits, where they were all shot.[3]

In a postwar letter, an ethnic German from the region wrote to a Jewish survivor: "Many [Jews] went into hiding with Lithuanian farmers. But due to the long time, some were discovered and killed together with the farmers."[4] Among the few who hid successfully were Bela Mirbach and her mother, who hid on the farm of a Lithuanian teacher, and Bela Rosenberg, whose family had previously owned a farm.

On August 29, 1958, a court in Ulm, Germany, sentenced several individuals, including Hans-Joachim Böhme, to various terms of imprisonment for participation in the shooting of the Jews in Virbalis and other places in July 1941.

On October 12, 1961, a court in Dortmund, Germany, sentenced another former Tilsit Gestapo official, Gerke, to three years and six months of imprisonment. He also took part in the Aktion in July 1941.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Virbalis during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), p. 412; "Virbalis," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996),

pp. 254–259; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Virbalis can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/2582-2615, 14079-14080); GARF (7021-94-419); LCVA; and YVA (M-9/12[6], 798; M-33/987, 995; Koniuchovsky Collection O-71/154, 157, 158; O-33/1348).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Verdict of LG-Ulm against Fischer-Schweder et al., August 29, 1958, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 182–183; verdict of LG-Dort against Krumbach, Gerke, and Jahr, October 12, 1961, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), Lfd. Nr. 521.
2. See *JuNS-V*, vol. 15, Lfd. Nr. 465, pp. 206–207. It is possible, however, that this is a description of the final liquidation Aktion a few weeks later. According to this witness, the Jews who were shot had been confined for about three weeks in a red-brick building in Virbalis, guarded by the Lithuanian police.
3. YVA, M-9/12(6); M-33/987, 995; Koniuchovsky Collection O-71/154, 157, 158.
4. Ibid., O-33/1348, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik."

VYŽUONOS

Pre-1940: Vyžuonos (Yiddish: Vizhun), village, Utena apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Vyžuonos/Vizhuonos, Utena uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischuny, Kreis Utena, Gebiet Ponewesch-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vyžuonos, Utena rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Vyžuonos is located 13 kilometers (8 miles) north-northwest of Utena. In 1923, there were 367 Jews living in Vyžuonos (27 percent of all residents).

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists started looting Jewish property and Jewish men were required to perform forced labor. Two Jewish women were murdered when they brought food to their men in the forest.

According to the account in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, already on June 26, 1941, all the Jews were driven out of their homes and were forced to reside together in two small alleys, which became an improvised ghetto. According to Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, the Jewish houses were marked with the word *Jude* (Jew) as a service to the Germans.

On June 27, several Jewish families were arrested and taken to a nearby forest to be murdered. On June 29, armed Lithuanians arrested another group of Jewish young men and women. They took them to a farm and held them there for several days without food or water. The women were raped, and then all of them were murdered and buried nearby.

The remaining Jews in Vyžuonos lived in the ghetto for more than one month. A local Lithuanian woman, Ona Eigelienė, visited the village in early August and observed that the Jews were praying there all night. The next morning they were loaded onto carts and were driven away, clearly aware of their impending fate.[1]

On August 7, the Jews of Vyžuonos were taken to the Rašė Forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of Utena to be murdered together with other Jews from the region.

Eigelienė also witnessed the sale of Jewish property in Vyžuonos after the Jews had been killed: "The partisans were displaying items in the window. There was a huge crowd of customers. The things were cheap. We were so shocked that we returned home immediately. The priest said nothing in church."[2]

Only two Jews are known to have survived the Holocaust in and around Vyžuonos: a young woman who had papers showing that she was of Tatar origin and a man who worked for a Lithuanian farmer.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Vyžuonos during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Rabbi Ephraim Oshry, *The Annihilation of Lithuania Jewry* (New York: Judaica Press, 1995), pp. 277–280; "Vyzuonos," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 226–229; and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), p. 892.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: USHMM (RG-50.473*0058) and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1539; M-33/971.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.473*0058, testimony of Ona Eigelienė.
2. Ibid.

WIDZE

Pre-1939: Widze (Yiddish: Vidzh), town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vidzy, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Widsche, initially Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then from April 1, 1942, Kreis Schwentschionys, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vidzy, Braslav raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Widze is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Wilno. Of about 3,000 inhabitants on the eve of the war, the majority were Jewish, but there were also Poles, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Tartars, Russian Orthodox, Old Believers, and Roma (Gypsies) in the town.[1]

The Red Army occupied Widze on September 17, 1939. The so-called transition from capitalism to socialism was a difficult one. Some wealthy Jews and refugees were among

those deported to Siberia, and others had to adapt to the new Soviet social structures to avoid this fate.

Shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Soviet authorities abandoned Widze, taking almost every available vehicle, and a period of lawlessness ensued. Before the arrival of a German garrison in the town, local antisemites formed a self-defense force and started arresting, beating, robbing, and murdering Jews. This lawlessness continued until a German military commandant arrived and restored a semblance of order in mid-July 1941.[2]

The German commandant issued instructions in mid-July that no Jews were to be killed or robbed without his permission, and the Jews breathed a sigh of relief. Jewish women baked cakes for the German commandant. The commandant established a Judenrat, headed by Lipa Levin, which had the task of passing on German instructions and also ensuring that they were fulfilled. To meet the demand for a "contribution" from the Jewish community, each family had to surrender to the Judenrat some of its cash or treasured possessions, such as engagement rings or Sabbath candleholders. Other restrictions included the introduction of the wearing of the yellow star and a prohibition on Jews using the sidewalk or visiting public places.[3]

Assisted by local collaborators, the Germans also began driving Jews to forced labor, making them perform the dirtiest and most humiliating work. At first, only the men were required to work, but soon women had to work as well. Women worked, for example, in the community's welfare organizations, as cleaners or gardeners, and in the knitting factory, making clothes for the Germans.[4] Sporadic killings also continued. For example, according to one account, in the fall of 1941 Shapiro and his wife were murdered in the Jewish cemetery for 7 kilograms (15.4 pounds) of gold.[5]

Initially, the German authorities established a local Belorussian police, later called the Schutzmannschaft, headed by Yan Gadzhon, with Stefan Zhokovska as his second in command.[6] In April 1942, the area around Widze was transferred from Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien to Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen. At about this time, the Belorussian police officers in Widze were mostly replaced by Lithuanians.[7]

The ghetto was formed in early 1942.[8] All the Jews were forced to move onto Tatarskaia Street, near the houses of study and the synagogues. A mixed crowd of hooligans taunted and attacked the Jews as they made their way into the ghetto with their heavy loads. Germans and local policemen stood at the entrance to the ghetto to check for restricted items. When such items were found, the Jews were beaten in punishment and the property confiscated. Christians soon moved into the homes vacated by the Jews.[9]

Inside the ghetto, the new inmates had no room even for the few items they had brought with them. There was poor sanitation, people had to sleep on the floor, and the women had to cook in turns, sharing the same stove. Overcrowding in the houses, which held as many as four families, inevitably led to arguments. Somehow this fighting at least distracted from the many other existential problems, as families worried constantly about feeding their children and staying alive. A number of ghetto inmates, especially the elderly, died of weakness and disease. The favorite pastime of the children was the "Funeral Game": they would cover the table with a black rag and raise the roof with their wailing and lamenting.[10]

The local police constantly guarded the ghetto fence to limit contacts with non-Jews and control those entering the ghetto. The only way out was as part of a work brigade. Those working outside the ghetto were sometimes able to trade items for food with the non-Jewish population. Those trapped inside could trade only by throwing valuables over the fence to obtain food that was thrown in by local inhabitants.

On March 23, 1942, the Germans escorted about 50 Jews from Dryswiaty into the Widze ghetto. Jews were also brought to Widze in early 1942 from the shtetls in Drujsk (around 1,000 people), Opsa, Dubene, and Koziany.[11] The ghetto population was augmented slightly by the arrival of a few half-dead survivors from places where much of the Jewish population had been murdered, such as Ignalino and Święciany. On August 29, 1942, according to a letter from the social administrative office (Urząd Socialny) of the Wilna Gebietskommissar, 1,505 Jewish men, women, and children were living in the Widze ghetto, which was now subordinated administratively to the ghetto in Święciany. Of these, 721 were able to work and 520 were employed.[12] Subsequently most of these Jews were transferred to Święciany in the fall of 1942. Horses and carts arrived to move the Jews, each with small bundles, to the railway station in Nowe Święciany. From Święciany, most Jews were sent on to the Wilno ghetto or were murdered in Ponary. Only about 80 Jews (the craftsmen and their families) remained in Widze at this time, but these Jews were also sent to Święciany later.[13]

By the summer of 1942, the Jews in the Widze ghetto knew it would soon be liquidated, and most Jews accepted the transfer to the Święciany ghetto. Rumors circulated about Russian partisans living in the surrounding forests. Noel Svirsky and his friend Zalman Zilber organized a group of nine people planning to escape to the woods and join the partisans. However, owing to German warnings, they were afraid of the collective punishment that would be meted out to those remaining in the ghetto, once their absence was known. This group left the ghetto shortly before the transfer of most of the Jews to Święciany. Eventually they formed a larger group with other Jewish escapees from Koziany, as the Soviet partisans would not accept them without weapons. Even obtaining food was very difficult in the forests without arms.[14] For example, local peasants who found Jews outside the ghetto were offered a reward of 15 kilograms (33 pounds) of salt or sugar. The Germans also burned down local villages in an attempt to deny food and support to the Soviet partisans. Under these adverse conditions, some Jews even returned to the ghetto to face almost certain death, but others managed to form or join organized partisan units offering resistance to the Germans and their collaborators.[15]

Among the survivors from Widze were Zelda Skop (born 1931), who also survived concentration camps in Latvia

(Kaiserwald) and Germany (Stutthof) after being transferred to Święciany, and Jenny Chinitz (née Luba Misuszczyn), who escaped to join the partisans after being in the Święciany and Wilno ghettos.[16]

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Gershon Vainer and Yitshak Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz: 'Ayera b-hayeha u-ve-khiliona* (Tel Aviv: Widze Association in Israel, 1977), contains several detailed accounts describing conditions in the ghetto and also contains some witness statements from a postwar Polish trial in Koszalin in 1962.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews in Widze under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3601); IPN (e.g., SOWr 127); LCVA (R 626-1-24; R 614-1-336); VHF (# 3743); and YVA (e.g., 2846/99-S [Noah Svirsky]).

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NOTES

1. Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz.*
2. Hina Koritsk-Lifthin, "Memories from the Era of the Holocaust in Vidz," pp. 470–478, here p. 472; Noah Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 167–181, here pp. 169–170; and testimonies from the Polish trial in Koszalin in 1962, pp. 481–483—all in ibid.
3. Koritsk-Lifthin, "Memories from the Era of the Holocaust in Vidz," pp. 470–478.
4. Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 172–173; Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, p. 473.
5. Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, pp. 482–483. According to another witness, the Shapiro couple may have been killed during the initial thefts and murders.
6. Ibid., p. 482.
7. See Shlomo Yahilchik, "Years of Trouble and War," in ibid., pp. 393–396.
8. Ibid.
9. Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 173–174.
10. Ibid., pp. 173–175.
11. Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 153. The Jewish population of Dryswiaty was 85 at the time of the German invasion. Five craftsmen with their families remained in Dryswiaty after March 1942. On Drujsk, see Schmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 334–335. According to one account, there was an earlier transport of women and children to the Wilno ghetto in February 1942; see Sarah Dembovski (Korb), "In the Ghetto of Vidz and in the Concentration Camps," in Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, pp. 459–462. On Dubene, where 90 families lived, see Spector and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 336.
12. LCVA, R 626-1-24, p. 34, and R 614-1-336, p. 299.
13. Vainer and Alperovitz, *Sefer Vidz*, pp. 457, 476–477.
14. Svirsky, "Holocaust and Resistance," pp. 167–181.
15. Koritsk-Lifthin, "Memories from the Era of the Holocaust in Vidz," pp. 470–478.
16. See *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors 2000* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000); and VHF, # 3743, testimony of Jenny Chinitz, July 7, 1995.

WILNO

Pre-1939: Wilno (Yiddish: Vilne/Vilna), city and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1940: Vilnius, apskritis center and capital of Lithuania; 1940–1941: uezd center and capital of Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilna, Kreis center, Stadthauptmannschaft and center of Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Vilnius, rajonas and apskritis center, capital of the Republic of Lithuania

Wilno is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) east-southeast of Kaunas. On June 24, 1941, when German troops entered Wilno, approximately 60,000 Jews were in the city. In the previous two days, after the start of the German invasion, about 3,000 Jews managed to escape. At the same time, many Jewish refugees from western Lithuania arrived in Wilno.

The first German Security Police detachment to arrive in Wilno was Einsatzkommando 9. In July 1941, this unit, together with the Lithuanian Ypatingas Burys (special troops), murdered about 10,000 Jews near the Ponary railroad station, not far from Wilno.[1]

The Germans ordered the establishment of a 10-member Jewish Council (Judenrat) on July 4, 1941. By the end of the month it had been expanded to 24 members, and Shaul Trotski was appointed as its head. Within a few days, rumors of the massacres, soon confirmed, spread back to the Judenrat.[2]

At the start of August 1941, a German civil administration took over from the military in Wilno. The city's Stadtkommissar was Hans Hingst, and the Gebietskommissar for



Jewish and Lithuanian police guard the entrance to the Wilno ghetto, n.d. Pictured at left is the chief of Jewish Police, Ferdinand Beigel.
USHMM WS #64118, COURTESY OF WILHELM BEGELL

the surrounding rural region (Wilna-Land) was SS-Sturmbannführer Horst Wulff. Franz Murer served as assistant to Hingst for Jewish affairs, policing, and judicial questions, among other tasks.

On the orders of the German authorities, the Lithuanian civilian and police forces imposed restrictions on the Jews, including markings and a curfew. The Germans stole Jewish money and property.

In August 1941, Einsatzkommando 3 took over responsibility for Wilno. The report of its leader, SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, recorded the number of Jews killed in Wilno during August, September, and October as 21,105, about 70 percent of whom were women and children.[3]

Local Lithuanian planning for a ghetto in Wilno had started at the end of June 1941. The German military commandant, Zehnpfennig, decided on July 11 that no more than 20,000 Jews should be confined within the ghetto, and he instructed the local Lithuanian authorities to make proposals concerning its borders.[4]

Under the new civil administration, Generalkommissar von Renteln ordered Hingst to establish a ghetto. Hingst selected the old part of the city from among several Lithuanian proposals, as most Jews already lived there.[5] The ghetto was established in early September 1941. Formally, Hingst, together with the Lithuanian authorities serving under him, oversaw the ghetto. Murer also played a leading role in its administration. The German Security Police, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3 in Kaunas, handled security; they assigned the Ypatingas Burys to guard the ghetto perimeter and to conduct mass killings.[6]

The resettlement of the Jews into the ghetto took place on September 6–7, 1941. Lithuanian policemen drove the Jews out of their homes, and Lithuanian Self-Defense officials forced them into the designated ghetto areas.[7] The sick and those unable to walk were left in their homes temporarily.

Some 40,000 Jews were crowded into two separate ghettos, whose combined area had previously housed only about 4,000 people. The small ghetto included Jatkowa, Żydowska, and parts of Gaon and Glezer Streets. The large ghetto included Oszmiańska, Dziśnieński, Jatkowa, Żmundzka, Rudnicka, Szpitalna, and Straszun Streets. At this time, the Judenrat was liquidated, and separate Jewish Councils were created for the two ghetto areas.

Overcrowding was extreme. Several families had to share a single room, and each person was allotted only 1 to 2 square meters (11 to 22 square feet). Some of the buildings in the ghettos were not connected to the local sewage system. Initially, there was only one public bath, but a second opened later. However, their use by so many people may have contributed to the spread of infectious disease.[8] A hospital with more than 150 staff treated some 3,000 patients in 1942.[9]

A Judenrat report from October 1941 stated that the daily ration for each ghetto inmate was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of potatoes, 50 grams (1.8 ounces) of cabbage, 30 grams (1 ounce) of carrots, and 20 grams (0.7 ounces) of turnips—produce that normally was used to feed cattle.[10] On April 9, 1942, the Generalkommissar issued the following regulations: nonworking Jews would receive half the rations issued to the local population; working Jews would receive a full bread ration; and Jewish workers necessary for the war effort would receive full rations, equal to the local population.[11]

The ghetto exits were sealed with barbed wire, windows and doors along the ghetto boundary were barricaded, and the telephone lines were cut. For each ghetto there was only one gate, located in the main ghetto on Rudnicka Street. The ghetto was guarded internally by about 200 Jewish policemen, under the command of Jacob Gens. At the beginning, Lithuanian auxiliaries guarded the exterior of the ghetto. In August 1943, external security was made the responsibility of the German police.

After the sealing of the ghetto in September 1941, the number of its inhabitants was reduced drastically by a series of additional mass killings. They took place several times per week, with about 1,000 victims on each occasion, mostly people unable to work. During September, most of those not registered for work were transferred to the smaller ghetto, known as Ghetto no. 2. On October 1, 1941, on Yom Kippur, the Germans conducted a large Aktion during which several thousand Jews were taken to Ponary and shot. In mid-October 1941, Ghetto no. 2 was completely liquidated, and the remaining 6,000 to 8,000 inmates were chased to Ponary and shot.[12] Through the end of October, about 5,000 to 7,000 Jews were killed in the first "yellow certificate Aktion," and about 2,000 more Jews were killed in the second yellow certificate Aktion in early November, as the ghetto was brutally searched for any Jews in hiding. During the next Aktion, which took place at the end of November/early December 1941, 200 ghetto inmates were executed, and during the "pink certificate Aktion" on December 20 and 21, 1941, about 400 more Jews were killed. At this time, some Jews in hiding physically resisted efforts to extract them.[13]

After December 1941, the situation in the Wilno ghetto became relatively stable for about a year and a half, until the events leading up to the ghetto's liquidation in September 1943. In February 1942, there were probably about 17,200 Jews in the ghetto: 14,200 legals, receiving bread rations, and about 3,000 illegals, many of whom were gradually legalized during 1942.[14] Still, repressive Aktions continued sporadically. The reasons for arrest included illegal acquisition of food, use of false documents, illegal trade, planned escape from the ghetto or the workplace, staying outside the ghetto with false documents, and ownership of valuables. In most cases, the punishment was execution, described in the documents as "dealt with according to orders" or "liquidated."[15]

On September 30, 1941, Hingst ordered that wages for male Jews, aged between 16 and 60, should be 0.20 Reichsmark (RM) per hour; for female Jews, 0.15 RM per hour; and for younger workers under 16, 0.10 RM per hour. The wages increased in June 1942.[16] These rates applied only to private companies. The German local employers, military employers, and the city of Wilno paid only half of these amounts, as they had to transfer the other half to the city authorities. If the employer

provided the working Jews with a warm soup, he could deduct 0.30 RM from their daily wages. Jewish laborers could be hired only through the Labor Administration in Wilno. The police station in charge of the ghetto controlled the Jews leaving the ghetto. Only Jews assigned by the Labor Administration with a corresponding pass could leave the ghetto, in groups, under escort, for their workplaces. Jews could not buy food or wood and take them into the ghetto. Deliveries of these goods were organized by grocery companies and the city administration.[17]

The places that employed Jews in Wilno included the Kailis factory, which made fur products; workshops for cars; a Jewish labor camp on Antakolskų Street; and another Jewish labor camp whose inmates worked for the German Security Police. Outside of Wilno, Jews were used to dig peat, especially in the areas of Biała Waka, Bezdany, Rzeszy, Podbrodzie, Nowa Wilejka, and Ignalino. One of the largest outside labor sites was the Giesler Company camp, which built and repaired railroad tracks for the Wehrmacht.[18]

In April 1942, a ghetto theater opened, and there was also an orchestra, a music school, and two choirs. A public library contained some 45,000 books, many of them in Polish. A number of sporting events also were organized. These activities gave Jews the opportunity to free themselves from the pressures of ghetto life for a few hours and represented a form of passive resistance to Nazi oppression. Three synagogues served the needs of the faithful inside the ghetto.[19]

In July 1942, the Judenrat was dissolved, and Gens was appointed head of the ghetto, while remaining chief of the Jewish Police. On July 12, Gens announced: "The basis of the ghetto is work, discipline and order. Every resident of the ghetto who is capable of work is a pillar on which our existence rests."[20] Thus Gens pursued a strategy of survival through labor, trying to make the Jews useful to the Germans. The ghetto administration included departments for police, labor, industry, supply (primarily food), health, housing, social welfare, and also culture.

In the fall of 1942, the ghetto administration under Gens assumed responsibility for the remaining small ghettos to the east in Gebiet Wilna-Land. Over the following weeks these ghettos were consolidated, with some Jews being transferred to labor camps and others being selected and shot. During the final liquidation of these ghettos in late March and early April 1943, some Jews were sent to labor camps and others to the ghetto in Wilno, while some 4,000 others were shot.[21] This shooting severely undermined morale in the Wilno ghetto, as it showed that Gens was powerless.

Between January 1942 and September 1943, Zionists, Bundists, and Communists came together to plan armed resistance in the Fareynikt Partizaner Organizatsye (United Partisan Organization, FPO). The leader was the Communist Yitzhak Witenberg. For a certain time, another smaller armed group under the leadership of "Jechiel" was active, and in 1943 it managed to establish contact with the FPO. The FPO was in contact with the Jewish Police, as Joseph Glazman had a senior position in both organizations. However, in the spring of 1943, when relations between the German authorities and the Jews deteriorated markedly, the FPO demanded armed resistance. Gens, aware that resistance would threaten the very existence of the ghetto, increasingly acted against the FPO's plans, although he allowed some resistance fighters to leave for the forests.

In July 1943, after the capture of two non-Jewish Communists who had contacts to the FPO, the Germans demanded that Gens hand over Witenberg, believing he was part of the city's Communist resistance. Witenberg was briefly arrested but then escaped with the aid of FPO fighters. Gens then spread word that the Germans would destroy the ghetto if Witenberg did not surrender. Eventually, on July 16, Witenberg surrendered voluntarily and committed suicide in jail. Abba Kovner then became the leader of the FPO.

After this crisis, some groups of the FPO decided to escape to the surrounding forests to join up with the Soviet partisan units. One group, including Glazman, was ambushed on the way to the forest, and most were killed. The Germans then conducted severe reprisals, killing the families of those who had fled the ghetto.

Following Heinrich Himmler's order of June 21, 1943, for the transformation of remaining ghettos into concentration camps, there was a further intensification of anti-Jewish policy in the Wilno region. The Security Police dissolved five labor



Wilno ghetto partisan commander Abba Kovner (center) poses with Ruska Korczak (left) and Vitka Kempner (right) on a street in Wilno the day of the city's liberation, ca. July 13, 1944.
USHMM WS #76842, COURTESY OF VITKA KEMPNER KOVNER

camps over the following weeks, murdering most of the inmates, as they feared these Jews would flee to join the Soviet partisans. Then in August 1943, a series of deportations to Estonia started, which spread alarm among the Jews and further undermined trust among the Jews in Gens's leadership. In total, according to German figures, 7,126 Jews were sent to Estonian concentration camps for the extraction of oil shale in four deportations (on August 6 and 24 and on September 2 and 4, 1943).[22] From early September the ghetto was sealed off, and even the Wehrmacht was denied access. No additional food entered the ghetto, and prices rose immediately. Gens ordered a new registration on September 6, which recorded 9,637 Jews (2,157 men, 5,827 women, and 1,653 children).[23]

In mid-September, SS-Obersturmbannführer Göcke, the commandant of the new Kauen concentration camp, was briefly given responsiblity for the Wilno ghetto.[24] Over the next few days, the ghetto was liquidated. Gens was shot on September 14, 1943, signaling the failure of his attempts to placate the Germans. The Germans had decided to liquidate the ghetto, fearing the development of widespread Jewish resistance inside the ghetto, similar to that encountered in Warsaw.

The man in charge of the liquidation of the Wilno ghetto was SS-Oberscharführer Bruno Kittel. On September 16, 1943, about 1,500 Jews were sent to the military motor pool (Heereskraftpark, HKP) in Wilno; after that, another 1,500 Jews were sent to the Kailis fur factory. Dozens of people were sent to work for the Security Police and at the military hospital. During the Aktion between September 22 and 24, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and other auxiliary police units together with German SS and Order Police took part. About 1,600 Jewish men were deported to Estonia, and between 1,400 and 1,700 Jewish women were sent to the Kaiserwald camp near Riga. More than 3,000 people were killed, either in the ghetto or probably by shooting at Ponary. The search for Jews in hiding continued for a number of days. Several thousand Jews remained at the various work sites that now became labor camps.

In the period between July 2 and 7, 1944, the camps and workshops at the HKP, the fur factory, the Security Police, and the hospital were liquidated; most of these Jews were murdered in Ponary. The Jews working for the Security Police, together with their families, were transferred to Fort IX in Kaunas and shot.[25]

One of the main German perpetrators was Martin Weiss, who served in the Security Police office in Wilno. He organized and led the Lithuanian special unit (Ypatingas Burys) that conducted the mass murder of Jews in Ponary and was the Security Police officer responsible for the Wilno ghetto. On February 3, 1950, the regional court in Würzburg (file Ks 15/49) found Weiss guilty of murder and sentenced him to life in prison. His colleague, August Hering, was also convicted and received the same sentence.

Franz Murer was handed over to the Soviet authorities by the British after the war and was sentenced to 25 years in prison. He was released, however, in 1955 and repatriated to Austria in connection with the Austrian State Treaty. Simon Wiesenthal subsequently undertook efforts that resulted in a trial in Austria in the 1960s. Murer was initially acquitted, and despite a reversal by the Supreme Court in 1963, no further punishment was administered.

The courts and tribunals of the Lithuanian SSR charged a number of people with participation in mass murder at Ponary. Among the accused were the following members of the Lithuanian special unit, Ypatingas Burys, who were sentenced to death on January 29, 1945: Juozas Augustas, Borisas Baltutis, Mikas Bogotkevicius, Jonas Divilaitis, Jonas Macis, Vladislava Mandeika, Jonas Ozelis, Kozlovskij, Stasys Ukrinas, and Povilas Vaitulionis. Julius Rackauskas was sentenced to 25 years in prison on March 15, 1950.[26]

The following persons were sentenced by Polish courts for participation in the mass killings at Ponary: Witold Gliwinski, Jozef Miakisz, Wladyslaw Butkun, and Jan Borkowski.[27]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Wilno during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven, CT: YIVO, 2002); I. Guzenberg, ed., *Vilnius Ghetto: List of Prisoners*, 2 vols. (Vilnius: Jewish Museum Vilnius, 1996); B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1965); Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982); Arūnas Bubnys, "Massacre of Vilnius Jews and Vilnius Ghetto 1941–1944," *Genocydas ir Rezistencija* 2:14 (2003); Solon Beinfeld, "The Cultural Life of the Vilna Ghetto," in *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, vol. 1 (1984); Kazimierz Sakowicz, *Ponary Dairy, 1941–1943* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); N.N. Shneidman, *The Three Tragic Heroes of the Vilnius Ghetto* (Oakville, Ontario, 2002); and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002).

Important survivor sources include Rachel Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna* (Brighton, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2010); A. Sutzkewer, *Getto Vilna* (Tel Aviv: Shavi, 1947); Yitskhok Rudashevski, *The Diary of the Vilna Ghetto, June 1941–April 1943* (Tel Aviv: Ghetto Fighters' House, 1973); Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947); and Wladimir Poroduminskij, ed., *Die Juden von Wilna: Die Aufzeichnungen des Grigorij Schur 1941–1944* (Munich: DTV, 1999).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL (R 91/10); BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GARF; IfZ; IPN (e.g., SOOl, IIK 59/76; SOW, IVK 130/73, I KR 37/74, IVKR 228/77); LCVA (e.g., R 626-1-14; R 677-1-11; R 685-4-28; R 689-1-2, 10; R 691-1-4, 28); LVVA; LYA (Case No. 11713, vol. 1); MA; NARA; RGVA; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.120*0127, oral history with Nissan Reznik; Acc.1999.A.0108 [Gebietskommissar Stadt Wilna]); VHF; WL; YIVO (e.g., RG-223, no. 282); and YVA (e.g., O-3; O-18; O-33; JM/1951).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. LCVA, R 677-1-11, p. 1; R 691-1-4, p. 33; R 1436-1-38, p. 91; R 689-1-2, p. 19; R 691-1-28, p. 109.
2. Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 66–67.
3. LCVA, R 685-4-28, p. 8; R 626-1-14, p. 182; Sta. Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 1106/59.
4. LCVA, R 643-3-4152, pp. 80, 82, letters of Feldkommandantur 814 to the citizens' committee, July 11, 1941, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.3.2.
5. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.3.2, cites the interrogations of Murer in LYA, Case No. 11713, vol. 1, pp. 49, 58–59, 72–73, as well as other sources in support of this interpretation.
6. LCVA, R 691-1-4, p. 190.
7. Ibid., R 689-1-10, pp. 4, 9, 15, 18, 33–34, 37, 38a.
8. Ibid., R 614-1-286, p. 70.
9. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 121, 315.
10. LCVA, R 626-1-14, p. 120.
11. Ibid., R 689-4-950, pp. 518–519; LG-Würz, Ks 15/49, case against Martin Weiss and August Herring.
12. Kruk, *The Last Days*, p. 126, dates its liquidation on October 21. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 139–142, notes that according to the Jäger report, 2,367 Jews were killed in Wilno on October 21, but the Germans continued to comb the empty ghetto for Jews in hiding for several days afterwards.
13. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 149–163.
14. Ibid.; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 302–303.
15. LCVA, R 730-2-84, p. 112; R 1673-1-1885; R 1673-1-3313; R 1673-1-526; R 1673-1-1151.
16. Ibid., R 626-1-11, p. 232. The new rates were: for male workers between 16 and 60, 0.30 RM; for female workers between 16 and 60, 0.25 RM; for younger laborers, 0.20 RM. See also R 1550-1-2, p. 198.
17. Ibid., R 626-1-4, p. 11.
18. Guzenberg, *Vilnius Ghetto: List of Prisoners*, vol. 2, pp. 24–59.
19. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 318–327; Kruk, *The Last Days*, pp. 183, 271.
20. As quoted by Shneidman, *The Three Tragic Heroes*, p. 109.
21. Arad, *Ghetto in Flames*, pp. 359–362.
22. BA-BL, R 91/10, WeWiKdo Vilnius, Bericht September 1943.
23. YIVO, RG-223, no. 282, Protocol of the meeting of the section leaders in the Wilno ghetto, September 20, 1943.
24. BA-BL, R 91/10, Aktenvermerk WeWiKdo Vilnius, September 13, 1943, as cited by Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.8.2.
25. Bubnys, "Massacre of Vilnius Jews"; Sta. Frankfurt am Main, 4 Js 1106/59.
26. LYA, K 1-58-27968/3 and K 1-58-16944/3.
27. IPN, SOOl, IIK 59/76; SOW, IVK 130/73, I KR 37/74, and IVKR 228/77.

WORNIANY

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

Worniany is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Wilno. In 1921, there were 240 Jews living in the village, out of a total population of 300.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. Most of the Jews remained in Worniany at the start of the occupation. Just prior to the Germans' arrival, gangs of local residents and farmers plundered Jewish shops and homes and killed at least two Jews.[1] A local police force was then appointed, which restored order, but abuse of the Jews continued under the new local authorities.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) based in Mołodeczno governed Worniany. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Initially Worniany became part of Gebiet Wilejka, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From April 1942, it was in Gebiet Wilna-Land, within Generalkommissariat Litauen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Worniany. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was chaired by Herschel Magid. The Jews were forbidden to leave the village or associate in any way with non-Jews. Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David. Jewish land and livestock were confiscated, and Jews were required to perform forced labor. Initially, they were put to work pulling weeds from between the cobblestones or on other cleaning jobs. Then some were sent to work for farmers in the fields. The Judenrat played a role in the selection of Jews for forced labor and in the collection of property needed to meet German demands.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, according to one source in October,[2] the Jews of Worniany were moved into a ghetto. It was set up along four narrow streets in a number of small wooden houses. The ghetto was enclosed with a fence and barbed wire, and local policemen guarded the entry gate. Those moving into the ghetto could only bring with them what they could carry in their arms. Only Jews assigned to work were permitted to leave the ghetto. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, with 15 to 20 people sharing a single house, and the Jews suffered from hunger and deprivation.[3] A number of Jews who had escaped from small towns in Lithuania reached the Worniany ghetto in the fall, bringing news of the mass killings of Jews throughout Lithuania.

On October 15, 1941, SS men, German Gendarmes, and local police surrounded the ghetto, and the Jews were told to assemble in front of the Bet Midrash. The Germans then arrested the rabbi, his son, and 15 others. For a bribe, they agreed to release the rabbi and his son in exchange for 2 others. Then the prisoners were taken to a large pit, where they were shot and buried. However, several of the men survived the ordeal and escaped from the pit. A few days later the Germans returned to the ghetto and took a group of young men

for work in a distant forest, cutting wood. Subsequently these men returned to the ghetto.

The head of the Judenrat, Herschel Magid, resigned his position after defending his wife from drunken local policemen, who were rampaging in the ghetto. He then bribed the Germans to send him to join the group working in the forest, to avoid expected retribution from the local police. Yudel Weinstein succeeded him as head of the Judenrat. The workers in the forest and others managed to smuggle some food into the ghetto, which they acquired by barter with local farmers. By May 1942, most of the ghetto inhabitants—men, women, and children over 12—were working daily outside the ghetto, and a number prepared hiding places in the forest or even fled from the ghetto. At the end of May 1942, 198 Jews were registered as living in the Worniany ghetto.[4]

In August 1942, the remaining Jews in Worniany were transferred to the Michaliszki ghetto. Then in March 1943, in turn they were transferred with the other Jews in Michaliszki to the Wilno ghetto.[5] In Wilno, the Jews deemed unfit for work were separated from those who were physically fit and were shot in Ponary, while the Jews judged fit for work were sent to various labor camps. About 10 Jews from Worniany, mainly from among the latter group, managed to survive the war. The priest in Worniany, Janas Sielewicz, assisted a number of Jews of the region by organizing hideouts for them in the surrounding villages. He was named as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.[6]

SOURCES The main published source on the fate of the Jewish community of Worniany during the Holocaust is "Worniany," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 307–309.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-11); LCVA (e.g., R 743-2-5525); NARB (845-1-63); VHF (# 1675, 42723, 42811, 45647); and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q/110).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 42723, testimony of Malka Wainsztain.
2. A. Mal'dis, "Velikolepnye semerki," *Sovetskaia Belorussiia* (Minsk), September 30, 2008.
3. VHF, # 45647, testimony of Sarah Resnick.
4. Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), p. 640.
5. GARF, 7021-89-11, p. 33. This file (pp. 14–19) contains a list of the names of 169 Jews.
6. Guzenberg et al., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions*, pp. 113–114.

YLAKIAI

Pre-1940: Ylakiai (Yiddish: Yelok), village, Mažeikiai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Mažeikiai/Mazheikiai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Illoken, Kreis Moscheiken, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Ylakiai, Skuodas rajonas, Klaipeda apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Ylakiai is located 281 kilometers (175 miles) northwest of Wilno. According to the 1923 census, there were 409 Jews (41 percent of the total population) living in the village. By mid-1941, emigration—particularly in the 1920s and 1930s—had somewhat reduced the number.

German armed forces occupied Ylakiai on June 26, 1941. Immediately, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration (district head: Vaitkus) and a police force (chief of the police: Strikaitis) that began persecuting the Jews. All the Jewish men were arrested at once and placed in the synagogue, which according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report was declared to be a "ghetto" for the Jews.[1] Among the Lithuanian perpetrators, one was the owner of a restaurant who hacked off the beards of elderly Jews with a knife.

The Jews remained in this synagogue under the guard of armed Lithuanians for about 10 days. On the evening of July 6, 1941, the Jewish males were escorted out of the synagogue to the Jewish cemetery and were shot there with submachine guns and rifles. Then the women and children were herded into the synagogue, and during the night of July 6, 1941, they also were shot at the Jewish cemetery to the southwest of the village.[2]

After the liberation of the village in 1944, three graves were found in the Jewish cemetery. One contained about 300 corpses of men, women, and children; the second held about 100 corpses; and in the third, there were 3 corpses.[3]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Ylakiai during the Holocaust can be found in "Ylakiai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 330–332.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ylakiai can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-423); LCVA; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 19); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-94-423, pp. 28–35.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 27 and reverse.

ŽAGARĖ

Pre-1940: Žagarė (Yiddish: Zhager), town, Šiauliai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Žagarė/Zhagare, Shauliai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schagarren, Kreis Schaulen, Gebiet Schaulen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen: post-1991: Žagarė, Joniškis rajonas, Šiauliai apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Žagarė is situated 64 kilometers (40 miles) north of Šiauliai, on the border with Latvia. In 1923, there were 1,928 Jews living in Žagarė (40 percent of the town's population).

On June 28, 1941, during the first week of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, members of the LAF (Lithuanian Activist Front) in Žagarė set up a committee of 4 people, of whom Stanislovas Kačkys was the chairman. (This is probably the person known to Jewish survivors as "Statkus," a Lithuanian from Žagarė who previously had good relations with the Jews.)[1] The committee decided to organize an armed squad to maintain order. Approximately 30 to 50 men, mostly former Šaulys (nationalist paramilitaries) and policemen, joined the squad. They were armed with rifles and pistols. On June 29, 1941, the Red Army and most of the remaining Soviet officials abandoned Žagarė. The Žagarė Activists arrested those supporters of the Soviets who remained behind. On the order of the Activists' headquarters, 8 of the arrested people, including the Jews Ayzenshtat and Lazerson, were shot. The Žagarė police chief, Samaitis, directed the Aktion.[2]

Persecution measures against the Jews started once the supporters of the Soviets had been dealt with. The LAF Headquarters imposed a "contribution" of 30,000 rubles on the local Jews.[3] On July 25, 1941, Silvestras Rakštys, the mayor of Žagarė, repeated proclamation No. 6 issued by the head of the Šiauliai district and issued an order prohibiting those Jews who had fled Žagarė from returning to their homes. After July 26, various other restrictions took effect.

All the Jews of Žagarė were ordered to move to a specifically designated neighborhood, or ghetto, at their own expense. This had to be accomplished between July 26 and August 2.[4] In late July, the Activists made a list of the Jews who remained and began to transfer them to the ghetto. The Jews who lived in nearby shtetls were also moved into the Žagarė ghetto. The area chosen for the ghetto adjoined the marketplace, and it included Daukanto, Vilniaus, Maluno, Pakalnio, and Gedimino Streets. Non-Jewish residents of these streets were moved to other neighborhoods. According to the Jewish survivor Yaakob Kagan, the ghetto straddled the Švėtė River, which ran through town.[5]

On August 22, the chief of the Šiauliai district, Jonas Noreika, informed the local authorities and mayors of the smaller towns in the district that, according to the order of the Šiauliai Gebietskommissar, all the district's Jews and half-Jews had to move to Žagarė by August 29.[6] Therefore, Jews began to be transferred from Šiauliai, Joniškis, Kuršenai, Žeimelis, and other localities. On August 25, the mayor of Žagarė informed the Šiauliai district chief that the ghetto occupied an area of 12,135 square meters (14,513 square yards) and had a population of 715 Jews.[7] By August 29, 949 Jews from other localities in the Šiauliai district had been moved to Žagarė.[8] On September 20, 2,402 Jews and 3,164 non-Jews resided in Žagarė. Lithuanian families were given 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of butter each week per person, while Jews received only 100 grams (3.5 ounces).[9] The ghetto of Žagarė was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by local Activists and police. Jews were forced to perform various jobs, mainly cutting wood in the forests and chopping logs. Some Jews also collected furniture and household goods from Jewish homes for the Germans. It does not appear that the Žagarė ghetto had its own internal administration, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) or a Jewish Police, as existed in Lithuania's larger ghettos.[10] The ghetto was too short-lived for such institutions. Local rabbis exercised spiritual authority over the ghetto inmates. It is known that Yisrael Reif, the rabbi of Žagarė, was murdered with other Žagarė Jews on October 2, 1941.[11]

In late August 1941, the Žagarė Activists and policemen, headed by police chief Juozas Krutulis, arrested scores of Jewish men in the synagogue and shot them in the Jewish cemetery. Prior to their murder, the Jews were forced to remove their clothing, which the murderers stole. Then they were taken to the pits in groups of 4. The perpetrators, approximately 20 men, were paid 20 to 30 rubles each.[12] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the investigation of Nazi crimes exhumed the grave site in 1944 and discovered the corpses of 38 men.[13] The German commandant of Žagarė, Manteuffel, constantly urged local Activists and policemen to be more energetic in tracking down and eliminating Soviet officials, as well as Jews.[14]

In the last days of September 1941, several local Lithuanians were driven to the town park (formerly Naryshkin Park), where they dug an L-shaped ditch, 120 meters long, 2 to 3 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (394 by 6.6 to 9.8 by 6.6 feet). On the morning of October 2, the Jews from the Žagarė ghetto were ordered to gather in the market square. Commander Manteuffel addressed the crowd in German, assuring them that they would be transported to another location, where they would all be given work to do. The Jewish men, women, children, and elderly people were made to form separate lines. In response to the German's whistle, the Activists and policemen from Žagarė and other towns began to surround the square. Panic arose among the Jews. Some tried to escape. The guards responded by shooting at the groups of prisoners and beating them. Scores of dead and wounded people were left on the square. The survivors were forced to lie on the ground until several trucks arrived. The Jews were then transported to the Naryshkin Park.[15] Money, jewelry, and other valuables were seized from the Jews as they marched to the murder site. At the ditch, the Jews were made to remove everything except their underclothes before lying down in the pit to be shot. The murderers were men from Lieutenant R. Kolokša's Self-Defense unit, which had arrived from Šiauliai, and partisans (Activists) of the Linkuva squad. The Žagarė Activists guarded the ghetto territory and led the victims to their deaths. Several German SS men who had arrived from Šiauliai supervised the killings and also participated in them.

The Aktion continued until very late at night. On the following day, another group of Jews, who had been discovered and seized, were brought to the park and murdered in the same ditch. The report issued by Chief of the German Security Police and SD in Lithuania, SS-Standartenführer Karl Jäger, stated that on October 2, 1941, 2,236 Jews (633 men, 1,107 women, and 496 children) were killed in Žagarė.[16] During the

panic that arose on the market square before the executions, 150 Jews were killed, and 7 partisans, who guarded them, were wounded. The ChGK, which examined the mass grave in 1944, found 2,402 corpses (530 men, 1,223 women, 625 children, and 24 infants).[17] The Žagarė ghetto was completely destroyed. The Germans took the Jewish valuables back to Šiauliai.[18]

The Žagarė ghetto existed for only two months, from August until October 2, 1941. Its inmates were Jews from Žagarė and from other shtetls in the Šiauliai region. For this reason, the number of victims imprisoned and murdered in Žagarė exceeded the Jewish population of the town at the time of the German invasion. In the annihilation of the Žagarė ghetto, an active role was played by Lithuanian police forces (Šiauliai Police Battalion 14, the Activists, and policemen from Žagarė, Linkuva, and Užventis).

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Žagarė during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Arūnas Bubnys, "The Fate of Jews in Šiauliai and the Šiauliai Region," in Irena Guzenberg and Jevgenija Sedova, eds., *The Siauliai Ghetto: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2002), pp. 228–259, here pp. 254–258; and Rose Zwi, *Last Walk in Naryshkin Park* (North Melbourne, Victoria: Spinifex, 1997).

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Žagarė can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); LCVA; LYA (Case 45006/3; Case 6458/3; K 1-8-128; K 1-46-1135; K 1-46-1282); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-11.001M, reel 183); and YVA (e.g., O-33/284, Berta Taubman; O-33/1261, Yaakob Kagan; M-9/15[6]).

Arūnas Bubnys

NOTES

1. See YVA, O-33/1261 and M-9/15(6).
2. LYA, Penal Case No. 45006/3, pp. 49–53, interview of Kačkys, August 15, 1958. The first names of Ayzenshtat, Lazerson, and Samaitis are not given in the document.
3. Ibid., K 1-8-128, p. 269, interview of J. Janickis, September 13, 1944.
4. Order issued by the mayor of Žagarė, July 25, 1941, ibid., Penal Case No. 6458/3, p. 48.
5. An excerpt from the interview with A. Plekavičius, October 17, 1944, ibid., K-1-8-128, p. 272; Zwi, *Last Walk in Naryshkin Park*, p. 102, citing the testimony of Yaakob Kagan, YVA, O-33/1261.
6. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 226–227.
7. Žagarė mayor's telephone message to the Šiauliai District Chief, August 25, 1941, LYA, Penal Case No. 6458/3, p. 60.
8. Žagarė mayor's telephone message to the Šiauliai Region Chief, August 29, 1941, ibid., p. 62.
9. Žagarė mayor's official letter to the Žagarė dairy milk processing society, September 20, 1941, ibid., p. 70.
10. Zwi, *Last Walk in Naryshkin Park*, p. 103, citing the testimony of Yaakob Kagan, YVA, O-33/1261.
11. *Zagare, Lithuania: Crime and Punishment*, no. 6 (January 1999): 99.
12. Excerpt from interview with A. Plekavičius, October 15, 1944, LYA, K 1-8-128, pp. 278–279, 284.
13. ChGK report on Nazi Crimes in Žagarė, September 24, 1944, ibid., K 1-46-1135, p. 173.
14. Baranuskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, vol. 2, p. 265.
15. Interview with J. Kukšas, November 11, 1946, LYA, Penal Case No. 6458/3, pp. 36–37; Soviet Lithuania's KGB memorandum on the mass murders in Žagarė and Radviliškis, April 3, 1973, K 1-46-1282, p. 2. There is a memorial to the Jewish victims located in Naryshkin Park. See also BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR Nr. 155, January 14, 1942.
16. "Gesamtaufstellung der im Bereich des Ek 3 bis zum 1. Dezember 1941 durchgeführten Exekutionen," December 1, 1941, RGVA, 500-1-25, pp. 109–117 (copy available at USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 183).
17. B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje*, vol. 1 (1965), p. 135; conclusion of the Forensic Medical Committee of Experts, LYA, K 1-46-1282, p. 36.
18. Soviet Lithuania's KGB memorandum on the mass murders in Žagarė and Radviliškis, April 3, 1973, LYA, K 1-46-1282, pp. 3, 4.

ZAPYŠKIS

Pre-1940: Zapyškis (Yiddish: Sapizishok), village, Kaunas apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Zapyškis/Zapishkis, Kaunas uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Sapieschyschken, Kreis Kauen, Gebiet Kauen-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Zapyškis, Kaunas rajonas and apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Zapyškis is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) west of Kaunas. According to the 1923 census, there were 293 Jews living in the village, 50 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied Zapyškis on around June 24, 1941. Immediately afterwards, Lithuanian nationalists started to rob the Jews on a massive scale. A local administration and police force were established, which implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews had to wear the Star of David and were required to perform various kinds of forced labor.

On August 7, 1941, the Kaunas district governor issued an order calling for the resettlement of Jews into ghettos by August 15.[1] That same day, all the Jews of Zapyškis were evicted from their homes and moved into a ghetto. According to the research of Christoph Dieckmann, 38 Jews (consisting mainly of women) from the villages of Paežerėliai and Jankai were also concentrated in Zapyškis during August. In mid-August, Lithuanian policemen removed 40 young men from the ghetto and murdered them near the Jewish cemetery.

On September 4, 1941, the remnants of the Jewish community were taken to a site near the village of Dievogala, 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) southeast of Zapyškis, where they were all murdered and buried in a mass grave. According to the report of Karl Jäger, who was in charge of Einsatzkommando 3, 47 men, 118 women, and 13 children (178 people in total) were murdered there.[2]

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Zapyškis can be found in the following publications: Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 438–439; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1489; B. Baranauskas and E. Rozauskas, eds., *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje (1941–1944): Dokumentu rinkinys*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: Leidykla "Mintis," 1973), pp. 290–291; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.5.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: LCVA (e.g., R 683-2-2) and RGVA (500-1-25).

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NOTES

1. Baranauskas and Rozauskas, *Masinės žudynes Lietuvoje* vol. 2, pp. 290–291.
2. RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 106, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941.

ŽIEŽMARIAI

Pre-1939: Žiežmariai (Yiddish: Zhezmir), town, Trakai apskritis, Lithuania; 1940–1941: Žiežmariai/Zhezhmariai, Trakai uezd, Lithuanian SSR; 1941–1944: Schischmaren, Kreis Traken, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Žiežmariai, Kaišiadorys rajonas, Kaunas apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Žiežmariai is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) east-southeast of Kaunas. In 1937, there were 981 Jews in the town.

German armed forces occupied Žiežmariai on June 24, 1941. Immediately thereafter, Lithuanian nationalists formed a local administration and a police force. Teofilis Kelbauskas was appointed chief of police. These organs soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to wear the Star of David on their clothing, and they were forbidden to appear in public places, to buy food, or to associate in any way with non-Jewish Lithuanians. Individual Jews were arrested and shot, including three members of the Ilionsky family. Jewish homes were searched and valuables confiscated.[1]

In the second half of July 1941, the head of Kreis Traken, Petras Mačinskas, issued orders for Jews to be registered, for Jewish Councils to be established, and for the Jews of the Kreis to be isolated in ghettos. The aim was to prevent Jews from moving about freely from village to village. The local authorities were instructed to make suggestions for places where the Jews could be isolated.[2]

In response to these instructions, on August 5, 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was appointed, which was headed by Benjaminas Benesevičius. His deputy was Dovidas Stražas, and there were five other members. In early August 1941, some of the able-bodied Jewish men were sent to the labor camp in Pravieniškes to cut peat.[3]

Then on August 16, 1941, 193 Jewish men over the age of 14 and 89 Jewish women were arrested "for collaboration with the Soviet authorities and for communist activities." These people were sent to Kaišiadorys and later shot along with the local Jews there. The remaining Jewish women, children, and elderly people were resettled into a synagogue, which in effect became a ghetto for them. The ghetto existed for almost two weeks, during which the Jews received very little food and water.[4]

At the end of August 1941, the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators liquidated the ghetto in Žiežmariai. The Lithuanian police rounded up and shot all the remaining Jews in the Strošiūnai Forest. In total, 784 persons were executed: 20 men, 567 women, and 197 children.[5] Among the victims were 706 Jews from Žiežmariai and 78 Jews from Rumšiškes.[6]

On September 1, 1941, the head of Kreis Traken reported to the Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land that no Jews were living in Žiežmariai, as they had all been murdered.[7]

Several local inhabitants testified, more than 50 years later, regarding certain details of the murders. The women and children were forced to undress before being escorted out of town by armed Lithuanians. The pit had been prepared beforehand by local inhabitants. People in the town heard the shots in the distance. After the pit was filled in, the earth was observed to be moving. Jewish clothing was stored in the synagogue and sold to local people cheaply in the days after the massacre.[8]

In the summer of 1942, the Germans established a forced labor camp for Jews in Žiežmariai. Hundreds of Jews were transferred there from the smaller ghettos (including the ghettos of Holszany and Smorgonie) in Gebiet Wilna-Land, which had previously been part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[9]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Žiežmariai can be found in the following publications: "Ziezmariai," in Dov Levin and Yosef Rosin, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), pp. 286–288; Neringa Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2002), pp. 16–30; and Christoph Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Litauen 1941–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Freiburg, 2002), section F.1.2.6.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-94-431); LCVA (R 1534-1-190; R 617-1-24; R 683-2-2); RGVA (500-1-25); USHMM (RG-50.473*0105-0108); and VHF (e.g., # 28552 and 45832, regarding the labor camp).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, pp. 286–288.
2. LCVA, R 617-1-24, pp. 535–536, protocol of a meeting organized by Kreischef Traken, July 23, 1941, as cited by

Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6; Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 100–101.

3. Dieckmann, "Deutsche Besatzungspolitik," section F.1.2.6. Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Lithuania*, note that young women were sent to Pravieniškes at this time, while a group of young men were sent to another camp at Palemonos.

4. Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, pp. 16–30.

5. RGVA, 500-1-25, report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941. This source dates the shooting on August 29, 1941. According to Levin and Rosin, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*: *Lithuania*, the few remaining men were shot on August 27 and the women and children on August 28, 1941.

6. LCVA, R 1534-1-190, p. 3, report of the head of Rumšiškės district to the head of Kaunas region, August 25, 1941.

7. Report of the head of Kreis Traken to Gebietskommissar Wilna-Land, September 1, 1941, published in Latvytė-Gustaitienė, *Holokaustas Trakų apskrityje*, p. 109.

8. USHMM, RG-50.473*0105-0108. These witnesses, however, refer to the subsequent labor camp as the "ghetto."

9. VHF, # 28552, testimony of Selma Dunn; # 45832, testimony of Nechama Schneider.

ŻUPRANY

Pre-1939: Żuprany (Yiddish: Zupran), village, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zhuprany, Oshmiany raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zuprany, initially Rayon Aschmena, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, then after April 1, 1942, Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Zhuprany, Ashmiany raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żuprany is located 11 kilometers (7 miles) east-northeast of Oszmiana. According to the 1897 census, there were 415 Jews living in Żuprany (50.3 percent of the total population). On the eve of World War II, there were about 30 Jewish families living in the village.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. At the time of their arrival, Jewish homes were looted by other local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Żuprany at first was part of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From April 1, 1942, to the end of the occupation (early July 1944), Żuprany was included in Gebiet Wilna-Land, within Generalkommissariat Litauen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Żuprany, including the marking of Jews with the Star of David and Jewish homes with a *J*. Jews were required to perform forced labor. In the late summer or fall of 1941, the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto. According to survivors, it consisted of about three to five houses that were fenced in on the side of the village around the synagogue. One recalls also that most of the adult Jewish men were shot in the woods around the time the ghetto was established.[1]

The remaining able-bodied Jews in the ghetto went out to work daily, providing services such as cooking for the Germans, repairing roads, and cutting wood. They were guarded by local policemen of Polish ethnicity. The ghetto was very overcrowded, with six to seven families sharing a single house; and some people lived in the synagogue, which prevented people from worshipping. Jews were able to barter personal possessions for food with the local population.[2]

At the end of May 1942, there were reportedly 128 Jews in the Żuprany ghetto.[3] The ghetto was liquidated in the fall of 1942 when all the Jews were resettled to the Oszmiana ghetto. Subsequently they shared the fate of the other Jews concentrated in that ghetto.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Żuprany can be found in the following publications: M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kahilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization in Israel and Oshmaner Society in the USA, 1969); and "Zhuprany," in *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 454.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Żuprany during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-12); LCVA; VHF (# 1921, 4085); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 1921, testimony of Sam Porec; # 4085, testimony of Larry Kushlin, who mentions the murder of the Jewish men.

2. Ibid., # 1921; # 4085.

3. Irena Guzenberg et al., eds., *The Ghettos of Oshmyany, Svir, Švenčionys Regions: Lists of Prisoners, 1942* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydu muziejus, 2009), p. 635.

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WEISSRUTHENIEN REGION



Jewish workers make or touch up German and Belorussian business and road signs in the Głębokie ghetto, 1941–1942. In the back, on the right, one worker paints the portrait of a Wehrmacht officer. In German and Belorussian, the markers in front read, "Shunevichy," a nearby village.

USHMM WS #08076, COURTESY OF KARL KATZ

WEISSRUTHENIEN REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT WEISSRUTHENIEN)

Pre-1941: parts of Baranovichi, Belostok, Minsk, and Vileika oblasts, Belorussian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: (from August 31, 1941), Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: parts of Beras'tse, Homel', Hrodna, Minsk, and Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien (GkWR) was composed of western Belorussia, most of which was Polish territory in August 1939, apart from the eastern fringe that was in the pre-1939 Belorussian SSR. The German authorities established more than 90 ghettos in GkWR, generally concentrating the Jews into the Rayon centers, although some Rayons contained 2 or more ghettos, including a few in small towns and villages. The period of ghettoization extended from July 1941 until the summer of 1942. It was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen and KdS), Wehrmacht, Order Police, SS, and various non-German auxiliaries. Skilled workers were often selected out and sent to forced labor camps or retained in remnant ghettos, serving a variety of workshops and labor needs.

Precise demographic data on the Jewish population of GkWR in August 1941 is not available, but it is likely there were over 300,000 Jews. Tens of thousands of Jewish refugees had arrived from central and western Poland in the fall of 1939, but many of them were deported to the Soviet interior before June 1941. A further unknown figure is the number of Jews who were evacuated or fled in time or were recruited into the Red Army. As an example, of the 70,998 Jews registered in Minsk in 1939, it is estimated that about 55,000 remained when the Germans arrived on June 28, 1941. Due to the rapid occupation of western Belorussia, a systematic evacuation of personnel, other than key Communist Party and State officials, was not possible.

Jews in western Belorussia were subjected to a wave of looting and sporadic killings during the first weeks of occupation. In the first two months, the rapidly moving Einsatzgruppen, supported by SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted a number of killing Aktions directed against suspected Communists and the Jewish leadership or "intellectuals." In larger towns, for example, Słonim or Minsk, the number of Jews murdered at this time exceeded 1,000. In August 1941, the first large-scale killings of Jewish women and children took place, notably in Hancewicze.

The military administration (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte) prepared the first orders for ghettoization in July and August 1941, but only where this was necessary to prevent Jews from leaving town illegally. In Gebiet Minsk-Land, the military administration charged local authorities with the establishment of ghettos in August 1941, although actual implementation took several more weeks.[1]

The German Field Commandant ordered the creation of the Minsk ghetto on July 19, 1941, initially giving Jews only five days to relocate. They could take with them only what they could carry. The actual transfer took longer to be completed, but soon German guards and local police had instructions to shoot on sight Jews caught outside the ghetto.[2]

On August 31, 1941, the German military administration was officially replaced by the civil administration with the creation of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, as part of Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO). Generalkommissar Kube in Minsk supervised 11 Gebietskommissare for the Gebiete of Baranowitsche, Glebokie, Hansewitschi, Lida, Nowogrodek, Minsk-Land, Minsk-Stadt, Slonim, Slutsk, Wilejka, and Borissow (the latter comprised in the fall of 1941 only the Rayons of Begoml and Pleshchenitsy). In practice, it took several months for the civil administration to become properly established. For example, some Gendarmerie detachments only arrived in November. In the meantime, the military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) of the 707th Infantry Division, based in most towns, retained considerable influence into early 1942. Low-level posts in the local administration were filled by Poles and Belorussians, including the local police (Schutzmannschaft), subordinated to the Order Police.

The impact of the civil administration can be seen from an order issued by the newly appointed Gebietskommissar in Nowogródek on September 26, 1941. This codified restrictions introduced previously by the military and added some new ones. Every Jew had to carry an identity card and wear a yellow star on his or her clothing. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the town without an official permit, to engage in any form of trade, to attend the market, or to use the sidewalk.[3] Other regulations soon followed for the confiscation of Jewish property.

By October 1941, part of Einsatzkommando 1b had taken over Security Police duties in Minsk from Einsatzkommando 8. German Reserve Police Battalion 11 and a Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion were also dispatched to Minsk from Kaunas. Subordinated to Military Commandant for Weissruthenien Gustav von Bechtolsheim, commander of the 707th Infantry Division, these units conducted a deadly wave of killings south of Minsk in October. It resulted in the destruction of several ghettos established shortly before, including those in Smilovichi, Rudensk, and Uzliany.[4] The same units also descended on the recently established ghetto of Slutsk on October 27, 1941. Since this Aktion had not been coordinated with the Gebietskommissar in Slutsk, it resulted in the murder of needed skilled workers and widespread looting.[5]

On October 30, there were further massacres of Jews in Nieśwież and Kleck. Around 5,900 Jews were reportedly shot





Jewish men and women wear circular badges in Minsk, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #07554 AND WS #06316, COURTESY OF YVA

dead in the Slutsk-Kleck area at this time.[6] In Nieśwież, after the Aktion the skilled workers and their families, about 500 people, were given only a short time to move into a remnant ghetto.

Large-scale killing Aktions in some towns, notably in Słonim in November 1941, and in Nowogródek in December, were also accompanied by the ghettoization of those selected for labor. Gebietskommissar Erren in Słonim boasted of having rid his Gebiet of 8,000 unnecessary mouths.[7] Wehrmacht forces from Stołpce, assisted by local policemen, conducted Aktions in early November 1941 in Jeremicze, Turzec, and Mir. Whereas almost the entire population of the small fenced ghetto in Jeremicze was wiped out, in Turzec 100 Jewish men were selected for forced labor at the Nowy Świerzeń sawmill. In Mir, however, a few days later, almost half of the Jewish population managed to hide or escape, as the Jews were forewarned by fugitives from Turzec.

In some small settlements, for example, in Gebiet Slonim, the Wehrmacht initially conducted killing Aktions to clear the countryside (*das flache Land*) of Jews. At the end of 1941, the civil administration began to concentrate Jews from smaller communities (less than 1,000 people) in the main ghettos.

In Gebiet Glebokie, several ghettos were established in the late summer and fall of 1941, including those in Dzisna, Głębokie, and Dokszyce. The small ghetto established in Hermanowicze in August 1941 was dissolved, and its 270 inhabitants were sent to the ghetto in Szarkowszczyzna in November 1941. Some small Jewish communities, such as Jody, were simply wiped out by the local police, while the concentration of Jews from smaller villages into ghettos was only completed later, after the last ghettos were set up in Druja and Brasław in April 1942. This concentration was soon followed by a wave of ghetto liquidations, which left only a few in places such as Postawy, Duniłowicze, and Głębokie by August 1942. During the ghetto liquidations, some specialist workers were transferred to Głębokie to increase production in the workshops based there. Many Jews who went into hiding or fled to the forests to evade the Aktions, however, soon accepted an amnesty announced by the Gebietskommissar and entered the Głębokie ghetto by the fall of 1942. This reflected the difficulties Jews faced in surviving outside the ghettos, rather than any trust in the Gebietskommissar's word.

From December 1941, the German authorities had already begun selecting able-bodied Jews from a number of ghettos

for work, sending them to various forced labor camps. The recently formed ghettos in Dworzec (Gebiet Nowogrodek) and Krasne (Gebiet Wilejka) took in many of these forced laborers for specific work projects in those towns. These sites have been classified here, nonetheless, as ghettos, as families of local Jews continued to live there alongside the laborers.[8]

In Gebiet Nowogrodek ghettoization came in two or three main phases. In late 1941, ghettos were established first in towns such as Lubcz, Iwieniec, Rubieżewicze, and Nowogródek, which also soon received Jews from neighboring villages. Then in February and March 1942, additional ghettos were established in Korelicze and Dworzec, accompanied by the clearing of Jews from remaining villages by resettlement into nearby ghettos. On March 6, 1942, Gebietskommissar Traub ordered that every Jew found in a village or hamlet in his Gebiet should be arrested by the local police and brought to Nowogródek.[9] In May 1942, the bulk of the Jews of the Gebiet were then concentrated either in Nowogródek or in the Dworzec labor ghetto, with another labor camp set up in Worobjewicze. Those unable to travel, including young children, were shot close to their homes, and many of the remaining Jews of the Gebiet, about 5,500 people, were murdered on August 7, near Nowogródek. After this date the ghetto in Nowogródek, like that in Dworzec, resembled a labor camp more than a ghetto.

In Gebiet Lida, coordinated Aktions were conducted in May 1942 in all of the ghettos in which members of the civil administration selected Jews capable of work and condemned the remainder to their deaths. Only three ghettos for the selected workers were retained, in Lida, Iwje, and Szczuczyn, although some Jews from Gebiet Lida were transferred to other labor ghettos in Weissruthenien.

At least 12 unfenced ghettos or open ghettos have been identified in Weissruthenien, and some ghettos, such as Dereczyn, were only fenced in later, shortly before the liquidation. Some ghettos, such as that in Krzywicze, were only remnant ghettos for selected craftsmen, preserved for a short period after the main Aktion.

Most of the ghettos in Weissruthenien were established in the poorer parts of town, where at least some Jews had lived before, usually in the small wooden houses typical of the region. For example, in Dereczyn, 2,880 Jews were crammed into only 34 small cottages around the synagogue.[10] Notable exceptions included the second ghetto in Mir, in an old rundown castle; the transfer of Grozovo's Jews to a military barracks in Koniukhi; and the ghetto in Wilejka, located in an army barracks. The Dzisna ghetto was not fenced in, but it was isolated by two rivers, with access via a bridge guarded by a German sentry.

Leon Berk, a doctor, has described the overcrowded conditions that developed in the Baranowicze ghetto:

> We were given space to live in a small house that already contained three other families. There were 27 of us all told. There was one kitchen, one bathroom, and nine of us slept in each of the other small rooms in three-tiered bunks. . . . Food was scarce, cooking utensils were at a premium, and competition for use of the stove and the bathroom was inevitable. Every day there were tears and screams. The struggle to keep a family fed and clothes clean and free of lice was a battle they had no hope of winning.[11]

During the course of 1942, units of the Security Police based in Minsk, Baranowicze, Lepel', Wilejka, and other locations organized the liquidation of most ghettos in Weissruthenien. Large-scale killing Aktions were conducted in Minsk and Baranowicze in early March 1942, focused on those incapable of work. Two or more ghettos, separating Jews by their ability to work or type of work, were established in several places, including Dereczyn, Słonim, Głębokie, and Wilejka, usually to facilitate the killing by separating out those unfit for work in advance. In Gebiet Wilejka, the Security Police developed their own methodology of killing, which generally involved herding Jews into a large building such as a barn, shooting the victims inside, and then burning the building to destroy the evidence. This methodology was used, for example, in Dołhinów and Krzywicze in March and April 1942. Following a massive wave of killings in almost all the Gebiete of Weissruthenien between mid-May and the end of July 1942, the Generalkommissar reported that in the last 10 weeks 55,000 Jews had been liquidated. Only in the Gebiete of Baranowitsche and Hansewitschi were such large Aktions still to be conducted, especially in Baranowicze, where about 10,000 Jews remained.[12]

Many of the Jews deported from Central Europe to the Minsk ghetto were murdered in late July 1942, when they were deemed unfit for work, and the occupants of some deportation trains were murdered on arrival, with the assistance of Latvian auxiliaries. Gas vans were also used in some killing Aktions in and around Minsk.

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. Many survivors and eyewitnesses stress the active role of the local police, which generally guarded the ghettos, beat Jews performing forced labor, and robbed Jews repeatedly. In particular, the hunt for Jews in hiding or those who had escaped into the forests was conducted largely by the local police. Only very occasionally did policemen warn ghetto inmates of impending Aktions or assist Jews during roundups.

The establishment of the ghettos offered another opportunity for neighbors to plunder Jewish property. Some Belorussians and Poles bartered food for Jewish valuables and clothing, or took property into safekeeping. Local policemen moved into empty Jewish houses after the Aktions, and Jewish clothing was sold to local inhabitants. The acquisition of Jewish property served as an important motive for local collaboration in anti-Jewish measures.

From the end of 1941, an increasing number of Jews escaped from the ghettos to the growing Soviet partisan movement. Many Soviet units only accepted Jews who arrived with weapons, and some Jews were rebuffed or even murdered. Neverthe-

less, the escape of up to 20,000 Jews, from the ghettos to the partisans, forced the Germans to accelerate their ghetto liquidations and increase security, converting remnant ghettos into closely guarded labor camps. On September 8, 1942, Generalkommissar Kube instructed the Gebietskommissare that the strong presence of Jews with the partisans could only be countered by the accelerated cleansing of the countryside and by confining needed Jewish workers under close guard.[13]

According to Shalom Cholawsky, in some ghettos in GkWR the Judenrat opposed underground activities as too dangerous for the community, as they invited German reprisals. In others, relations between the Judenrat and the resistance were more amenable, such as in Baranowicze, where the date set for an uprising was postponed by agreement, and the underground agreed to hide its weapons. Only rarely did Jewish Councils actively organize resistance, usually once there was no choice, such as in Nieśwież, where a call to arms was issued just before the liquidation. Setting the ghetto on fire or resisting with primitive weapons aimed mainly at enabling a few Jews to flee. This was the case in Szarkowszczyzna, Zdzięcioł, and other ghettos. The most common response, however, was to prepare hiding places, behind false walls or in cellars and bunkers, with the aim of sneaking out once the Aktion was completed. Sometimes, such as in Slutsk and Słonim, the Germans set the ghetto on fire, to smoke out Jews who had gone into hiding.

Further ghetto liquidations were conducted in the fall of 1942, some as part of larger antipartisan sweeps. Only in a few cases, such as in Stołpce, in September and October 1942, was much attention paid to retaining Jewish laborers, now confined behind a high wooden fence. By the spring of 1943, ghettos remained only in a few locations, including Minsk, Lida, Nowogródek, and Głębokie. Only a few thousand Jews from Lida and Minsk were transferred west into the concentration camp system in the fall of 1943, and very few of them survived. In October 1943, the Minsk ghetto was the last in the region to be liquidated.

The history of the ghettos in the GkWR illustrates the flexible and partially decentralized nature of Nazi ghettoization policies. Examples of almost all ghetto types (destruction, open, enclosed, labor, and remnant) can be found in the region, and patterns of ghettoization varied widely among the respective Gebiete. Whereas in Gebiet Minsk-Land, ghettoization was implemented very early by the Wehrmacht, to be followed by rapid destruction, in other Gebiete, such as Nowogrodek, Slonim, and Glebokie, ghettoization was applied piecemeal and only completed in the spring or summer of 1942. This then coincided with the main wave of ghetto liquidations, which proceeded from around April through to the winter of 1942–1943. Due to the large Jewish population in this region, and the important role played by Jews as craftsmen, economic interests led to the temporary exploitation of Jewish labor alongside the destruction process. Nevertheless, security was also a major issue, and the large-scale escape of Jews to join the partisans prompted the Germans to liquidate all remaining ghettos by the fall of 1943.



Postwar portrait of Fira Kaplan, a survivor of the Minsk ghetto, 1947.
USHMM WS #49757, COURTESY OF ESFIR LUPYAN

SOURCES Among the secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, the following are recommended: Bernhard Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front. Besatzung, Kollaboration und Widerstand in Weissrussland, 1941–1944* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998); Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (London: Macmillan in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1999); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999); and Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982).

Of use in helping to identify smaller ghettos were the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000–2007); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot.*

Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998); Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal'perin, 1997); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN; AUKGBRBBO; AUKGBRBGrO; AUKGBRBMO; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GABO; GAGO; GAMINO; GARF; GAVO; IfZ; IPN; MA; NA; NARA; NARB; OSI; RGASPI; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 524–525, and 530. See also, e.g., USHMM, RG-18.002M, reel 5, R70-5-47, p. 21.
2. See NARB, 4683-3-397, pp. 6–7, and 359-1-8, pp. 1–2.
3. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 24, 7021-81-112.
4. NARB, 378-1-698, p. 4; and 651-1-1, pp. 3–7.
5. N-Doc. 1104-PS; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 546, pp. 800–810.
6. BA-MA, RH 26-707/2, Report, November 10, 1941.
7. CDJC, CXLVa-8, Report of Gerhard Erren, January 25, 1942.
8. AŻIH, 301/2907; and BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 73/67, Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968; and BA-L, B 162/1472, pp. 8649–8671.
9. Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 156–158.
10. AŻIH, 301/2140 and 4695.
11. Leon Berk, *Destined to Live: Memoirs of a Doctor with the Russian Partisans* (Melbourne: Paragon Press, 1992), p. 70.
12. N-Doc. 3427-PS. See also NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15; and *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249.
13. USHMM, Acc. 1996.A.0169, file 15, fr. 1217–1246.



Boundaries as of August 1942

BARANOWICZE

Pre-1939: Baranowicze (Yiddish: Baranovits), city and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Baranovichi, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Baranowitsche, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Baranavichi, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Baranowicze is located about 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Minsk. According to the 1931 census, Baranowicze had 22,181 residents, including 9,423 Jews. By the time of the German invasion in June 1941, the Jewish community stood at about 12,000 (out of a total population of some 25,000).

Baranowicze was initially administered by a series of military command posts—first Feldkommandantur (FK) 815, then, by August 1941, Ortskommandantur (OK) 826—which sometimes issued contradictory instructions.



Baranowicze student Leon Tec in the mid-1930s. Tec attended medical school in Wilno before immigrating to Palestine in 1940.
USHMM WS #43992, COURTESY OF NECHAMA BAWNIK TEC

By September 1941, a civil administration had established itself in the city and gradually assumed authority from the military, which was composed of elements of the 707th Infantry Division. The Gebietskommissar in Baranowicze was Rudolf Werner. There was also a Hauptkommissar in Baranowicze, Friedrich Fenz, who was superior to Werner and responsible for several of the surrounding Gebiete, but Werner was the more visible official for Baranowicze's Jews. Initially, the local mayor was a man named Sobolewski, but a local Belorussian named Voytenko soon replaced him. A detachment of German Schutzpolizei, commanded by Hauptmann Kurt Mischlewitz, was responsible for keeping order. The detachment was assisted by a local police force under the leadership of the Belorussian Bachar.[1]

By early 1942, a permanent outpost of the Security Police and SD (KdS-Aussenstelle) had been established in Baranowicze. Its commander from April 1942, SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder, was killed by Soviet partisans on June 9, 1942. He was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Woldemar Amelung. A squad of auxiliaries, including Lithuanians and Latvians, as well as Belorussians, commanded by Lithuanian Józef Gurniewicz ("Litwin"), operated under the command of the Security Police. It played an active role in the shooting of Jews and Communists in Gebiet Baranowitsche, as well as providing guards for the nearby Kołdyczewo concentration camp.

The ghetto was established by the civil administration in mid-December 1941. The ghetto area was located within the confines of Cerkiewna, Wilno, Poniatowski, and Parkowa Streets, about 150 meters (492 feet) from the office of the Gebietskommissar. The area contained only about 60 buildings to house more than 10,000 people, which resulted in terrible overcrowding. Within a few months, control over the ghetto was transferred to SS-Obersturmführer Schlegel, head of the SD at the Baranowicze Security Police post.

The Judenrat was instructed to erect a barbed-wire fence 2.5 meters (about 8 feet) high around the ghetto. It also posted the names of Jews with their new addresses inside the ghetto. From the end of December, the ghetto was guarded by local policemen armed with rifles and dressed in black uniforms with gray cuffs.

Only a few German officials and SD men were permitted to enter the ghetto. Jews could only leave under guard and with the permission of the SD. The Labor Exchange within the civil administration assigned Jews to specific work tasks. However, the SD also supervised the labor assignments, as it was the main point of contact for the Judenrat.

Ghetto inmates worked at a large number of military bases, construction sites, factories, workshops, public utilities, and offices. Among the offices employing significant numbers of Jews were the military base (Heereskraftpark) (610 people); the Luftwaffe base (120); Organisation Todt (OT) (100); the railway (160); the airport (300); the carpentry factory (55); the rope-making factory (40); the construction site for the Kołdyczewo concentration camp (30); and the Gebietskommissariat

(25). In addition, from 40 to 260 people worked for the Security Police and SD, mostly in various workshops for tailors, carpenters, shoemakers and glove-makers, and watch repairers. Smaller groups of Jews also worked in the bakery, the sewage department, the military garage, and the medical warehouse. Working hours were strictly enforced. The tailor Moisei Kaplan was shot for being just five minutes late for work.

There was a hospital in the ghetto supervised by Dr. A. Abramovski. With the Judenrat and Jewish police, he arranged for the inspection of houses to check on sanitary conditions and prevent epidemics.[2] They ordered people to wash in the Jewish bathhouse and disinfect their clothes. The daily ration was only about 100 to 200 grams (3.5 to 7 ounces) of bread per day for a working person and 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of grain per month, with an occasional potato.

Several accounts mention that the Germans demanded Jewish girls be supplied for a local brothel. According to Shmuel Jankielewicz, the Judenrat averted the implementation of this order with bribes.[3]

In January, there were rumors about a forthcoming Aktion. At night, people started to build hiding places in the ghetto. On the morning of March 3, 1942, just before the Purim holiday, nobody was allowed to leave the ghetto. That night the ghetto was divided into eastern and western parts, the inhabitants split between them: workers in the east, nonworkers in the west. On March 4, at 8:00 A.M., trucks arrived at the ghetto gate. Policemen and Lithuanians in groups of three cleared the Jews from the western half, took them by truck to a nearby crossroads, and shot them.

On March 5, at 9:00 A.M., police and Lithuanians entered the ghetto. At 9:45 A.M., the senior German officials from the civil administration and police, including Giesecke, deputy Gebietskommissar Max Kranke, and commandant of the ghetto Schlegel conducted a selection. At 1:00 P.M., Józef Gurniewicz, the commander of the Lithuanians, took the chairman of the Judenrat, Izykson, and his widely respected secretary, Genia Mann, to the mass grave, ordered them to dance, and then shot them. At 2:00 P.M., the Aktion was over. The ghetto commandant, Schlegel, ordered the Jewish police to cover the graves where more than 2,000 people lay dead. Most of the Jewish police force was then murdered.[4]

After the Aktion, some 8,000 Jews remained. Schlegel ordered the deputy chairman of the Judenrat, Józef Leitman, to resume work as usual. The new chairman of the Judenrat, Shmuel Jankielewicz, fulfilled all the orders of the German administration, including some private demands. A new Jewish police force was formed, headed by Józef Rotkiewicz, but his deputy A. Warszawski, who was also in the underground, had more authority. Despite the severe losses, Jewish children still received improvised instruction, and Jews continued to pray, for example, in the house of Reb Mendel Goldberg.[5]

Some houses in the cleared part of the ghetto were used as workshops, but the ghetto remained split into two parts (productive and nonproductive), linked by a narrow passageway. Jews working outside the ghetto were escorted to work by German soldiers or company representatives.

In the fall of 1941, some Jews had fled to Baranowicze after massacres in the surrounding towns. After March 1942, more Jews arrived from places like Stołpce, mainly as skilled workers.[6] There were also Jews from Horodyszcze, Nowa Mysz, Stołowicze, Nowojelnia, Mołczadź, Kleck, and other places in the ghetto. At the end of August 1942, 654 ghetto inmates were sent to Mołodeczno to work on the railway line to Wilejka.[7]

After the March Aktion, groups of Jews began to organize resistance in the ghetto. The first meeting was in the office of the Jewish police on March 17–18; a number of policemen, including the chief, Warszawski, were members of the underground. Jewish youths smuggled weapons into the ghetto with the help of young girls working outside during the day. At the same time, the underground also tried to establish contact with partisans operating in the surrounding countryside.

Soon more than 200 Jews were in the underground, and despite some rivalry, they agreed to work together. Initial plans for an uprising in July were abandoned. The leaders decided to wait for the next large Aktion, to avoid endangering the rest of the ghetto. Meanwhile, the ghetto fence was reinforced with an additional row of barbed wire.

On September 22, 1942, the day after Yom Kippur, the German police initiated another Aktion without warning, spoiling the underground's plans for an uprising. Only small groups managed to frustrate the Germans by hiding and escaping. The Germans and local auxiliaries escorted the Jews from the ghetto to the square in front of the Gebietskommissariat, then took them by truck to gravesites near the villages of Grabowiec and Gliniszcze. Belorussian and Lithuanian policemen participated in the Aktion. Many Jews hid in bunkers, and the ghetto was sealed off for more than a week.[8]

According to the available sources, some 6,000 people were murdered, either by shooting at the pits or by suffocation in the gas vans between September 22 and October 2. The use of gas vans is confirmed by Maita Shamshonowicz, who was assigned to clean out the vans afterwards. Probably some 200 Jews managed to flee to the forests during the Aktion.[9]

After the Aktion, Reb Mendel Goldberg was appointed head of the Judenrat, and Dr. Józef Lubraniecki commanded the ghetto police. The remaining Jews had no illusions about their probable fate. On December 12, 1942, a Jew named Judel Ostrowski killed a German and himself using a hand grenade. Five days later, as columns of Jewish workers left for their workplaces, the Germans started the final Aktion in the ghetto. The group that worked for the civil administration was loaded onto a truck, taken to the Jewish cemetery, and shot. On the third day, there were still shootings inside the ghetto. Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Latvian police searched the ghetto thoroughly for those in hiding.[10] The clearing of the ghetto continued for several weeks, as many Jews were still hiding in the ghetto. It is probable that about 3,000 people were murdered in the liquidation Aktion.[11] Some groups that worked for various German organizations were kept alive longer, as late as the autumn of 1943, before also being shot.

It is estimated that of the more than 12,000 Jews who passed through the Baranowicze ghetto, about 750 probably



Group portrait of Jewish survivors from Baranowicze, 1944, commemorating the 3,000 Jews murdered in Baranowicze on Purim, March 4, 1942.
USHMM WS #12422, COURTESY OF GEORGE KADISH/ZVI KADUSHIN

escaped, but only some 250 survived to the end of the war. A number of Belorussians, Poles, and even German soldiers are mentioned as helping Jews on various occasions. Worthy of particular mention is the Pole Eduard Chacja, who worked in the Catholic cemetery. He helped scores of Jews, giving them food and shelter before assisting them to reach the forests.[12]

SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the Baranowicze ghetto can be found in the following publications: Avraham Shemu'el Shtain, ed., *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Baranovits be-Yi'sra'el, 1953); B.P. Sherman, *Baranovichskoe getto: Koldychevskii lager' smerti: Spravka-kharakteristika krupnykh prestuplenii fashistov v gor. Baranovichi i raione v 1941–1944 gg.* (Baranovichi: B. Sherman, 1997); Nehama Zukerman, ed., *Ha-Ma'avak le'Chayim shel Yehudei Baranowicze: Kovets Zichronot al ha'Sho'ah shel Nitzolei Ghetto Baranowicze ve Lokhamav* (Tel Aviv: Arieli Press, 1992); and Yoysef Fuksman, ed., *Baranovitsh in umkum un vidershtand: Materyaln un dokumentn, zikhroynes un gvieseydesn . . . fun hurbn* (New York: Baranovitsher Farband of America, 1964).

The following survivor memoirs are also relevant: David Mishenka (Kolpynicki), "Nikto ne khotel umirat" (unpub. MSS); Leon Berk, *Destined to Live: Memoirs of a Doctor with the Russian Partisans* (Melbourne: Paragon Press, 1992); Avraham Lidowski, *Ba-Ye'arot: Reshimot shel Partisan Yehudi* (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz Hameuchad, 1946); and Samuel Lato, *From Ghetto to Guerrilla: Memoir of a Jewish Resistance Fighter* (Palm Beach Gardens: Preeminent, 2006).

Since Yehuda Bauer's excellent essay "Jewish Baranowicze in the Holocaust," in *Yad Vashem Studies* 31 (2003): 95–152, includes a detailed analysis of the underground, and Shlomo Kless's "The Judenrat of the Baranovichi Ghetto, 1942–43" (available online at www.jewishgen.org) describes the functions and history of the Judenrat, these aspects are sketched only briefly here. Other secondary works published (in Russian) in Belarus include: B.P. Sherman, *And the Land Was Terrified* (Baranovichi, 1990); *Pamiats': Baranovichi and Baranovichi District* (Minsk, 2000); and Hartmut Russ, "The SD in Baranovichi (1941–1943) in the Context of the Local Occupational Period," *Belarussian Historical Review* (Minsk) (June 1998). Of interest also is Alexander Tatarenko, *Madness* (Belarus, 2004).

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports for Baranowicze and some German documentation can be found in NARB (e.g., 845-1-6 and 861-1-1). Additional captured German documentation can be found in BA-BL; GABO; and NARA. A number of German, Polish, and Belorussian criminal investigations have information on the events in Baranowicze, especially the Eibner investigation (Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68) and the Renndorfer case (Sta. Mü I 113 Ks 1/65a-b). There are also many relevant testimonies in AŻIH; FVA (# 927); VHF, and YVA (e.g., O-33/35, 2681, and 11523).

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NOTES

1. See GABO, 995-1-5, pp. 21–22, for a list of local policemen in Baranowicze in early 1942.

2. Dr. Shabtai Shternfeld, "The Health Service in the Ghetto," in Shtain, *Baranovits: sefer zikaron*, p. 506; Bauer, "Jewish Baranowicze," pp. 13–14.

3. Shmuel Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," in Shtain, *Baranovit: Safer zikaron*, p. 500.

4. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 11, 1.3.-31.3.1942, published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 308, gives the figure of 2,007 Jews shot in Baranowicze in early March 1942. E. Lidovsky, in Ohtain, *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 467–469, dates the Aktion on March 3, 1942, and states that the Germans intended to shoot 3,000 Jews but did not find sufficient people among those selected as unfit, so they also took some of those who had received work permits.

5. Dr. Lewinbuk in Shtain, *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron*, p. 561; YVA, O-33/11523, testimony of Rachel Litwak.

6. Josef Reich, *Vald un Flamen* (Buenos Aires, 1954), p. 71, notes that some 400 Jews were sent to Baranowicze from Stołpce in early August 1942.

7. Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," p. 503.

8. NARA, T-77, reel 1159, p. 141, Lagebericht der Aussenstelle Baranowitschi des Rüstungskommandos Minsk, Ende 1942.

9. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 703; the date of the Aktion is confirmed in Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," p. 502; YVA, O-33/35, testimony of Maita Shamshonowicz, March 1957.

10. Jankielewicz, "At the Ruins," p. 505; NARA, T-77, reel 1159, p. 141.

11. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 705.

12. Chacja was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations, but unfortunately his file (YVA, M.31/13) from 1962 does not contain much detailed information. See also YVA, M.31/3254.

BEGOML'

Pre-1941: Begoml', town, Dokshitsy raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Begoml, Rayon center, Gebiet Borissow, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Biagoml', Dokshytsy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Begoml' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 206 Jews living in Begoml' (10.1 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town at the start of July 1941, approximately 10 days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into or voluntarily enlisted in the Red Army. Over two thirds of the Jewish population remained in Begoml' at the start of the occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military command post (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Begoml' was officially incorporated into Gebiet Borissow, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. However, the civil administration took several months to become established, and the military authorities still played an important role until the end of 1941.[2]

Shortly after the occupation began, the Ortskommandantur introduced regulations calling for the registration of all Jews; in addition, all Jews were required to wear an armband or a large yellow Star of David. The Jews were also compelled to perform various kinds of forced labor. In September 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 2, 1941.[3] According to one source, a total of 148 Jews were shot in the cemetery.[4] The mass shooting was probably carried out by a detachment of the SD based in Borisov, subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8, assisted by the local Belorussian police.[5]

On October 16, 1941, another 23 Jews from nearby villages were shot in Begoml'. On October 21, 4 Jews who had been in hiding were killed.[6] Another 34 Jews were killed in the village of Otrubok,[7] and 5 more in the village of Kraitsy.[8]

At the end of December 1941, the Gendarmerie outpost in Begoml' sent to Borisov 13 Jews who had been brought to Begoml' on December 27, 1941, from the village of Domzheritsy. These Jews had found refuge in Domzheritsy with other Jews still living there after fleeing from Mstizh, when the Jews of that village had been shot in August. The group consisted of 5 women and 7 children from Mstizh, as well as Leja Gurevich, a Jewish woman originally from Begoml'.[9]

The Gebietskommissar in Borisov reported in August 1942 that the Jewish Aktion in Begoml' had taken place before the civil administration had been established, and most of the property was probably taken by the SD or the Wehrmacht. The remainder was collected by the mayor and paid into the budget for the local Rayon administration.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews in Begoml' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-1); NARB (370-1-486); USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 14); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel



Soviet civilians watch as German troops burn their homes in Begoml', n.d.
USHMM WS #81336, BELORUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF DOCUMENTARY FILM AND PHOTOGRAPHY

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. The city of Borisov remained under military administration until 1942.

3. GARF, 7021-87-1, p. 11 (reverse side).

4. *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), p. 166. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 270 Jews were shot on October 2, 1941. This number is probably too high; GARF, 7021-87-1, p. 11 (reverse side).

5. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 3–7, Lagebericht des Reserve-Polizeibataillons 11, October 21, 1941; see also, however, Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941, in RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114. According to Vincas Bartusevicius, Joachim Tauber, and Wolfram Wette, eds., *Holocaust in Litauen: Krieg, Judenmorde und Kollaboration im Jahre 1941* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), p. 314, this document mistakenly spells *Begoml* as *Bicholin*, probably a corruption of the Polish spelling *Biehomla*. According to information from the trial of David Ehof, the Aktion in Begoml' was carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, possibly before October 2, 1941; see Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 599.

6. GARF, 7021-87-1, p. 11 (reverse side).

7. Ibid., p. 56 (reverse side).

8. Ibid., p. 72.

9. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 14 (YVA, M41/306), Gendarmerie Aussenposten Begoml to Kreisführer der Gendarmerie in Borissow, December 28, 1941.

10. NARB, 370-1-486, p. 25, Gebietskommissar Borissow to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, August 9, 1942.

BRASŁAW

Pre-1939: Brasław, town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Braslav, raion center, Vileika oblast',

Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Braslaw, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Breslau, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Brasław is located about 200 kilometers (125 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. In 1921, 1,130 Jews resided in the town; and in 1925 there were 1,900 Jews.

Of the 5,000 inhabitants of Brasław on the eve of World War II, some 3,000 were Jews.[1]

On June 28, 1941, the German army entered Brasław. Shortly after the start of the occupation, the German commandant ordered all the Jews of Brasław to assemble at the triumphal gate built by the Soviets. There, the Jews were surrounded by German security forces and divided into two groups, one composed only of men, the other of women and children. They were then escorted 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. On the road, the Germans shot Szlojm Zylberg and Chaim Milutin for attempting to escape. As he was dying, Milutin cried out, "Jews, avenge our blood!" The remaining Jews were taken to a marshy area and were held there against their will. When they were finally released, the Jews discovered that the local population had looted their homes.[2]

A few days later, the Germans started to requisition Jews for forced labor. The Jews of Brasław often worked 12 hours per day, sometimes without food or drink. They were escorted to work in columns and were guarded by a selected local "street brigade."[3]

During Hanukkah in the middle of December 1941, Jews were massacred in the nearby township of Jody. As a result, some Jews from Brasław began to flee and hide in the forest. The Catholic priests Szlenik, Kowalski, and Wasilewski gave some material and spiritual help to the Jewish population. They reprimanded their parishioners for excesses committed against the Jews.

On June 30, 1941, the local German commandant (Ortskommandant) started to recruit a local police unit from among local ruffians sympathetic to the Germans. A Pole named Jasiński was the commander. Other policemen included Kriwko, Stefan Żuk, Malinowski, Masara, Czesław Kolkowski, Żarniewicz, and Stanisław Nowicki.[4] Sucharewicz was one of the most brutal participants in the persecution of the Jews. In the fall of 1941, responsibility for the local police was transferred from the Wehrmacht to German Gendarmes, once a civil administration had been established. Among the men based at the Gendarmerie outpost in Brasław were Johannes Czapp, Willy Dittmann, Otto Haymann, Paul Kontny, Leo Leidenroth, Ludwig Müller, Ernst Schreiber, and Waldemar Schulz.[5]

In September 1941, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Brasław. Its members were Icchak (Yitzhak) Mindel (chairman), Chayim Munic (secretary), Mazeh (a teacher), Wolf Fiszer, Gerszon Klioner, Sasza Tempelman, Hirsz Fridman, Leib Walin, Szienkman, Rafał Fiszer, Ulman, and Ksil Dajcz. The Jewish community of Brasław basically trusted the Judenrat and did not comprehend fully the role it was forced to play by the German authorities. Each day the Jews organized a meal and celebrated prayers, as read by Rabbi Zahorie. At this meal, refugees from other ghettos were welcomed.[6]

The Jews built a small-scale "coffee" grain factory, where 15 people worked. There was also a factory for leather hides employing 20 Jews, and another for the production of jam, employing 10 Jews. Many Jews believed that their lives would be spared if they could make themselves useful to the Germans. Initially, working Jews received 330 grams (11.6 ounces) of bread per day; this was reduced to 250 grams (8.8 ounces) in November 1941. Later, the distribution of daily rations was stopped altogether.[7]

On April 1, 1942, on the eve of Passover, the Germans established a ghetto in Brasław. Thanks to the efforts of the Judenrat, the ghetto was set up on the former Piłsudski Street, where three quarters of the Jews already lived. The ghetto was surrounded on two sides by lakes: Lake Driwiat and Lake Nowiat. The third side was enclosed by what was called the Castle Hill (Góra Zamkowa).[8] The Jewish social-administrative house in Brasław (*dom gminy*) was closed down. Living conditions in the ghetto were ameliorated slightly as the road to the marketplace bisected Piłsudski Street, such that Jews were still able to exchange some goods with local non-Jews. There were no medical services, however, and medicine was almost impossible to obtain. The Jewish workers lived in one ghetto. A second ghetto was established in Brasław, in which the elderly, infirm, and those unable to work resided, referred to as the "dead ghetto." The second ghetto was located between the mill and one of the bridges. Jews were also forcibly resettled into the Brasław ghettos from the following nearby villages: Dubene, Jajsi, Słobodka, Druisi, and Turmont. The Jews from the first ghetto worked on cleaning projects and road repairs, among other tasks assigned to them by the Germans.

When the murder of Jews started in the neighboring towns, 3 Jewish residents from the Brasław ghetto, Zusman Lejbowicz, Wolf Fiszer, and Szlojme Musen, began organizing an armed resistance group. They operated a clandestine radio, which began transmitting at the end of May 1942. There were 250 people in the resistance. They planned to escape from the ghetto into the forest on the day of its liquidation. On June 2, 1942, the Gendarmerie demanded that the Judenrat hand over 100 girls to work in Słobódka, 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Brasław, to clean the barracks.[9]

On June 3, 1942, at 4:00 A.M., SS men, German Gendarmes, and local police arrived in Brasław and surrounded the ghetto. A general panic ensued as the Jews tried to save themselves by escaping. Young people resisted with whatever they had available, and many tried to hide in places they had prepared. Among the first to be shot was the head of the Judenrat, Mindel, who went to the German overseers to see what he could do. Under the command of Otto Haymann, the head at the Gendarmerie post in Brasław, the Germans started shooting and set the ghetto on fire.[10] Nearly 2,000 Jews were rounded up at the police station.[11] The Jews were forced to hand over all items of value. On June 4, columns were formed, each consisting of 50 people. The Germans and local police escorted them with Rabbi Zahorie at the front to ditches that

had been prepared and shot them there. The pogrom lasted for several days, as many Jews went into hiding.

After about two days, the German commander announced a halt to the shooting and sent some Jews to call to those still hiding that they would not be harmed if they came out. However, this was only a ruse; many of the remaining Jews emerged from hiding, but a few days later they were again rounded up and shot by the Germans and local police.[12]

In August or September 1942, the ghetto in Brasław was repopulated by a number of Jewish craftsmen from the nearby ghetto in the village of Opsa.[13] This "second ghetto" in Brasław existed until March 1943, when the Germans and the local police again surrounded it and drove the Jews to the pits to murder them. On this occasion some Jews decided to fight. About 10 of them barricaded themselves in a house inside the ghetto and resisted with weapons, killing several of their foes before the Germans destroyed the house with grenades.[14]

Only about 70 Jews from Brasław survived the war. Some of them, like Mojżesz Belak and 19 others, joined the partisan detachment of Sazykin, which operated between Wilno and Minsk. The detachment carried out a variety of operations against the Germans, including blowing up truck convoys.[15] Other Jews escaped successfully to the ghetto in Widze, from which they were sent to the labor camp in Podbrodzie to work in the sawmill. A few were hidden with the help of local inhabitants, such as the Szczerbiński family, or Michal Kizlo, who saved Niuta Kantor and Stanisław Szakiel.[16]

SOURCES A yizkor book dedicated to the community of Brasław and a number of smaller communities in the vicinity was prepared by Ariel Machnes and Rinah Klinov, eds., *Emesh Sho'ah—: Yad li-kehilot: Gevidmet di kehile's Braslav*, *Opsah*, *Okmenits*, *Dubinah*, *Zamosh*, *Zarats'*, *Ya'isi*, *Yod*, *Slobudkah*, *Plusi*, *Kislovshts'iznah*, *Rimshan* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Braslav veha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1986). It contains a number of short survivor accounts in Hebrew, which are also briefly extracted in English and Yiddish. One account of Jewish resistance in the "second ghetto" can be found in Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947).

Documentation regarding the plight of the Jews in Brasław under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3140 and 5873); BA-L (B 162/1390-91); NARB (370-1-483); Sta. Dortmund (45 Js 1/00); Sta. Hannover (2 Js 388/65); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1908). Testimonies by residents of Brasław in the form of witness protocols can also be found in the following Polish court files: SAOl, I K 140/50 (case against Stanisław Nowicki); and SAGd, I K 6/49 (case against Marian Niedźwiecki).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 612–627.
2. Ibid., p. 607; see also BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 32, 37.
3. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 605–606; and BA-L, B 162/1390, pp. 32, 37.
4. Testimony of Jan Pietkun, August 23, 1947, SAOl, I K 140/50, pp. 6–8; testimony of witness Krystyna Turowska, February 15, 1990, IPN, branch in Koszalin, Kpp 6/90.
5. Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 1/00.
6. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 610.
7. AŻIH, 301/3140, testimony of Mojżesz Bielak, January 23–27, 1948.
8. AŻIH, 301/5873, testimony of Borys Ulman.
9. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 602. These girls were killed on the following day with the rest of the Jews.
10. AŻIH, 301/1541, testimonies of Tojbe Fiszer, Lejbowicz, and Zusmann, June 1946.
11. The figure of 2,000 is given in a German report by the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie, July 1, 1942; see NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15.
12. AŻIH, 301/1541, testimonies of Tojbe Fiszer, Lejbowicz, and Zusmann, June 1946; see also statement of Kalman Pincow on November 20, 1962, BA-L, B 162/1391, pp. 981–983.
13. The Jewish population of Opsa was 334 out of a total population of 714 in 1921. According to a German report dated July 1, 1942, there were still 300 Jews in a ghetto in Opsa on that date; see NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15.
14. YVA, 1631/98-R and M-1/E/1908. See also Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, p. 160; and Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 599.
15. AŻIH, 301/3140, testimony of Mojżesz Bielak, January 23–27, 1948.
16. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 595–596.

BUDSŁAW

Pre-1939: Budsław, *village*, *Wilejka powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Budslav*, *Krivichi raion*, *Molodechno oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Budslaw*, *Rayon Kriwitschi*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Budslau*, *Miadzel' raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Budsław is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) north of Minsk. According to the 1921 census, there were 121 Jews living in Budsław.[1]

German armed forces occupied the village on July 2, 1941. A German military commandant's office governed the village in the summer of 1941; in September authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Budsław became part of Gebiet Wilejka within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Budsław, including requiring Jews to wear yellow patches in the shape of a Star of David, using all Jews aged over 12 for forced labor, and restricting Jews from leaving the limits of the village. In addition, Jews were forced to mark their homes with identifying signs, and a curfew was imposed. At the end of July 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to establish a Judenrat.[2]

The first Aktion in the village took place in late August or the first half of September, 1941. A group of German soldiers

led by four officers rounded up more than 50 Jews, including some children. They were then taken to a clearing in the nearby forest, where the Germans shot them so they fell into large pits that had been dug by local farmers.[3]

The remaining Jews probably lived in a form of open ghetto in the village until September 1942. At this time, German and local police forces, possibly reinforced by men of the 3rd Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion, who were assigned to Budsław on August 22, 1942,[4] shot most of these Jews, about 100 people, in the forest. The few Jews that remained were murdered in October 1942, along with several Belorussians and Poles accused of underground activity, and Budsław was proclaimed to be "cleansed of Jews" (Judenrein).[5] A few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto before it was liquidated and joined the Soviet partisans. The lists of names prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that 196 Jews were shot in Budsław in the period 1941–1942.[6]

SOURCES Information about the murder of the Jews of Budsław can be found in the following publications: "Budslaw," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 135–136; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 48, 74, 89.

Documents of the ChGK regarding the extermination of the Jews of Budsław can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-7); and NARB (845-1-63).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. "Budslaw," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:135.
2. Ibid., p. 8:136.
3. GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 2, 100; and NARB, 845-1-63, p. 17, give the date of August 25, 1941; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, date the Aktion on September 13, 1941.
4. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 400.
5. GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 92–93, 100; and Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-Kehilot*, 8:136.
6. GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 37–40.

BYTEŃ

Pre-1939: Byteń (nad Szczarą), town, Słonim powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939-1941: Byten, raion center, Baranovichi oblast' Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Byten, Rayon center, Gebiet Slonim, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Bytsen', Ivatsevichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Byteń lies on the Szczara River, about 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Baranowicze. On the eve of World War II, there were over 880 Jews in Byteń. With the outbreak of war in 1939, about 200 Jewish refugees from central Poland settled in the town.[1]

On Wednesday, June 25, 1941, German soldiers entered Byteń. A German military administration was not set up until July 12. The names of the officers in charge were Leutnant Schmidt and Wachtmeister Lipmann.

It was around this time that the Germans issued an order to form the Judenrat. The list was drawn up in consultation with the community rabbi, Ben-Tsion Yafa. In addition to Rabbi Yafa, the Judenrat consisted of Yirshl Yudkovski (the chairman), Efrayim Karelitsh, Yisrael Rozhanski, Marek Rabinovitsh, and the dentist named Arbuz. The Germans put a local non-Jew, Vasily Raykhov, in charge of the town and set up a police force consisting of local peasants, commanded by a Pole named Skibiński.[2]

Forced labor became part of the daily routine for the Jews of Byteń. Besides having to work on the roads, Jews worked on a variety of other menial tasks. At first, the soldiers supervising the roadwork treated the Jews with relative decency; however, later on, soldiers merely passing through the area would beat Jews they saw at work. The lot of those who were sent to work at the railroad station at Domanowo was particularly bad.[3]

In November, the Judenrat received word from Słonim that 10 Gendarmes would soon be stationed in Byteń. The Jews were ordered to prepare and furnish a house in which to quarter them.[4] The Gendarmerie post leader was Adolf Noack. Among the other Gendarmes were Max Schulke, Hirche, Hanefthaler, Weber, and Schwarz. The official task of the Gendarmerie was to organize and supervise the local police and represent the SS in the town. But as far as the Jews could tell, their primary role was to harass them, frequently inspecting Jewish houses.[5]

On March 15, 1942, the Germans expelled the Jews from Iwacewicze, a neighboring village with a Jewish population of about 600. They were not given anywhere to go and could only bring with them what they could carry. Temperatures were dangerously low. About 400 of the Iwacewicze Jews headed in the direction of Byteń. When the first refugees arrived, and the Jews of Byteń learned what had happened, the Judenrat organized major efforts to prepare food, shelter, and medical care for the refugees.[6]

The office of the Gebietskommissariat issued the order to form a ghetto in May or June. The ghetto itself consisted of 48 houses and the large Bet Midrash, which was transformed into a residence. The ghetto had a population of about 1,200; hence, the overcrowding was extreme. The constraints on space prevented the Jews from bringing all of their few remaining possessions into the ghetto. The local non-Jews quickly looted whatever they had left behind. The Gendarmes announced that any Jew caught outside the ghetto without permission would be killed.[7]

A handful of Jewish craftsmen—the so-called useful Jews—were given special permission to live and work outside the ghetto. This group also included a few Jews who were able to pay large bribes to the authorities.[8]

Forced labor continued, but now the workers had to come and go in columns, under strict German supervision. The rudiments of cultural life continued as well. A barn and a

stall were turned into ad hoc places of prayer, which held twice-daily services. Rabbi Yafa attended one makeshift synagogue, and Rabbi Liberman, along with Rabbi Rakhman, the former rabbi of Iwacewicze, attended the other. Other members of the community continued to provide religious education for the children. A refugee from Łódź named Dr. Vodnik organized a sanitary commission.[9]

The black market was the only means of obtaining food available to the Jews. Every day, a few peasants would secretly bring food to the ghetto fence and exchange it with Jews—usually for clothing or other goods.[10]

On June 29, 1942, a large Judenaktion took place in Słonim; the Jews of Byteń found out about it a few days later. In response to the Aktion in Słonim, they built bunkers and other hiding places in anticipation of the liquidation of the ghetto.[11] On July 24, 1942, a rumor spread that peasants from the countryside had been put to work digging pits. The Jews suspected the real purpose of these pits and prepared to hide in their bunkers.[12] Before dawn on the next day, one of the few Jewish policemen went from door to door, telling people to go to the bunkers, as the ghetto had been surrounded by Gendarmes and Baltic police auxiliaries (Hilfspolizei). Not long thereafter, local Belorussian police and German Gendarmes entered the ghetto and began to round up the Jews. A force of about 80 Hilfspolizei, as well as an SS/SD squad had been brought in to carry out the Aktion.[13]

The Germans expected that the Jews would try to hide. Consequently, the ghetto was searched thoroughly by the local police, who discovered many of the hiding Jews, sometimes shooting them on the spot.[14] The rest of the Jews were either driven on trucks or forced to walk to the pits that had been dug between the villages of Zapolie and Rudnia, a few kilometers from Byteń.[15] The "useful Jews" living outside the ghetto were actually the first to be brought to the pits.[16] There, the SS men shot both groups of Jews and covered the mass graves.[17] Members of the 2nd Company of Landesschützen Bataillon 915 were employed to keep civilians at a distance while the Aktion was taking place.[18] The local police also took the Aktion as an opportunity to loot. Peasants came and looted whatever had been left behind.[19] Twelve Jews who worked at the sawmill at Blok-Byteń, and had special permission to spend the nights there, were also killed on the same day.[20] According to one survivor, the Germans themselves announced that 840 Jews had been killed and 360 remained.[21]

It seems that the order to carry out the Aktion came from the Gebietskommissariat in Słonim at the beginning of June. Alfred Metzner, a party official from the Gebietskommissariat, and Walter Bonke, the Gendarmerieleutnant in Słonim, appeared in Byteń on the morning of the liquidation, ostensibly to give Noack the order to begin.[22]

After a few days, the hidden Jews came out of their bunkers. The Gendarmerie then gathered them together in the Bet Midrash and examined them to determine their ability to work. They were told they had only one month to live and were put to work clearing out the Jewish houses and bringing whatever they found there to the Gendarmes. Surviving artisans were allowed to continue practicing their trades.[23]

In the summer of 1942, rumors reached Byteń of partisan activity in the area. Jews began escaping to the forests to join the partisans in August.[24] Escape was not easy: Gendarmes, local police, and the local part-time militia (the *samachowa*) guarded the town. Jews were dependent on Christians to tell them how to get around the guard posts, to give them places to hide once they escaped, and to serve as go-betweens with Jewish partisans in the forests.[25] Occasionally, the peasants would double-cross the Jews, denouncing them and keeping Jewish possessions. Nonetheless, 200 Jews managed to escape in the following month, many of them joining Unit 51, an important group of Jewish partisans originating mainly from Iwacewicze, Kosów Poleski, and Słonim.[26]

On August 13, 56 skilled workers were transferred out of the ghetto. On Saturday, August 29, at 4:00 A.M., an SS unit, accompanied by Lithuanian auxiliaries, arrived and surrounded the ghetto. After daybreak, the Lithuanians and SS, along with the local police, entered the houses of the ghetto and rounded up residents. Later that morning, they marched the Jews on foot to the pits near Zapolie and shot them. The Gendarmes took any Jewish clothing they wanted and left the rest for the peasants. The plundering of Jewish homes in the ghetto by the local population began immediately.[27] In mid-September, the remaining Jewish workers and their families were shot inside the town.[28]

SOURCES Sources on the Byteń ghetto are extremely limited. There is a fairly lengthy yizkor book, Dodl Abramaovitsh and Mordekhay V. Bernshtayn, eds., *Pinkes Biten: Der Oyfkum un Untergang fun a Yidisher Kehile* (Buenos Aires: Bitener Landslayt in Argentine, 1954), which contains two extensive survivor accounts of the Nazi occupation of the town. Nachum Alpert's *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry: The Story of the Jews of Slonim during the Holocaust*, trans. Max Rosenfeld (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989) was also consulted for information about the events in Słonim and the German administration of the district.

There is a section of the trial verdict in the case against Gerhard Erren examined in BA-L (B 162/14527; see also B 162/5087-5101 for the investigative files [II 202 AR-Z 228/59]). The trial is focused on Słonim but also deals with Byteń, investigating primarily the first Aktion but also mentioning the ghetto, confiscation of property, and the second Aktion. Because the verdict is based on the testimony of German witnesses who had been stationed in the area, it complements the yizkor book well. Some limited information can also be found in the report on Byteń prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, located in GARF (7021-81-102). Finally, there is a trial record of a local policeman from Byteń, Teodor Markuszewski (Skirsiniec), located in IPN (SW Ol 56-59); he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1966.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Dodl Abramovitsh, "Khurbn un vidershtand," in Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, pp. 321–412, here p. 321; and Moshe Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," in Abramaovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, pp. 207–314, here pp. 208–209.

2. Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," pp. 322–324; Pitkovski, "Azoy," p. 209; see also the interview with Byteń survivor Tanya Imber, conducted on August 8, 1994 (WCU).

3. Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," p. 326; and Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 210–211, 213.

4. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 213–214.

5. Ibid., pp. 216–217; Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," p. 330; BA-L, B 162/14527 (Erren Trial Verdict), pp. 4343, 4347; Report of the ChGK, GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 1–31.

6. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 221–224.

7. Ibid., pp. 225–227; Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4344, 4352.

8. Pitkovski, "Azoy," p. 229; and Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4349.

9. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 227–228.

10. Ibid., p. 230.

11. Ibid., pp. 214–215, 228.

12. Ibid., pp. 230–232; and Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4353.

13. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 233 ff.; and Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4343–4354.

14. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 232–236; and Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4345–4346.

15. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 235–236; Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4345; GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 1–31.

16. Pitkovski, "Azoy," p. 229; and Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4349.

17. Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4345.

18. Ibid., pp. 4347–4348.

19. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 233–234, 239.

20. Ibid., pp. 237–238.

21. Ibid., pp. 236–238. One German witness put the number of victims as between 500 and 600, while another put it at about 2,800. The Erren Trial Verdict considers the latter figure too high; see Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4346–4347. According to the ChGK report, two mass graves were found near Rudnia—one contained 900 corpses and the other 80, coming close to Pitkovski's figure of 840. Perhaps the second grave contains victims of the second Aktion. Another account in Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn's *Pinkes Biten* gives the figure as "close to 900" (p. 456). A letter written on July 31, 1942, by Zlata Vishnyatsky, who survived the July 25 massacre, stated that "850 died a black death at the hands of the murderers," and only 350 people were left; see Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 246.

22. Erren Trial Verdict, pp. 4347–4351.

23. Ibid., p. 4354; and Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 236–239.

24. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 239–240.

25. Ibid.; and Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," pp. 327–328.

26. Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 240–248; Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, p. 469.

27. Abramovitsh, "Khurbn," pp. 331–343; Pitkovski, "Azoy," pp. 240–241, and 248–250; Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, p. 3; WCU, Imber interview; and BA-L, B 162/5154 (II 202 AR-Z 228/59, Erren investigation, Handakte, Bd. 2), pp. 651–657.

28. Erren Trial Verdict, p. 164; Abramovitsh and Bernshtayn, *Pinkes Biten*, p. 3; and WCU, Imber interview.

CHOCIEŃCZYCE

Pre-1939: Chocieńczyce (Yiddish: Chatzintzitz), village, Wilejka powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Khotenchitsy, Ilia raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Chotsientschitsi, Rayon Ilja, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Khatsenchytsy, Vileika raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chocieńczyce is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Minsk. In mid-1941, the village had a Jewish population of around 80 people.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of Chocieńczyce. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration.

In July 1941, the Germans subjected the Jews of the village to various forms of humiliation, which were filmed, probably by a German propaganda company. At the end of July, a non-Jew named Zakhar got drunk and tore down Adolf Hitler's portrait in the mill where he worked. The Germans arrested him, but he denied any responsibility, blaming instead two Jews, Iosif Sosenskii and Izrail Tsimmerman, the mill's former owners. These two men were arrested as suspected Communists, but then released following the intervention of deacon Stepan Leshkevich, the village elder (*starosta*), who explained that the Soviets had confiscated the mill from the two Jews during the occupation from September 1939 until June 1941. The Germans then took Zakhar into the forest and shot him.[1]

Jewish survivors remember a German commander named Seidler, who organized an Aktion in the late summer or fall of 1941, in which the Jews were first sent home to collect their possessions. Then they were assembled, including some Jews brought in from surrounding villages such as Ledwienie. The Germans beat the Jews and strip-searched them, taking all their valuables. Subsequently all the Jews were held in a school hall for several days, while a ghetto was being prepared. During this internment Leshkevich helped them by ensuring that they were supplied with some water.[2]

After a few days, probably in October, the Jews were moved into a ghetto located about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) outside the village, which comprised up to five small houses or huts. In total, there were just under 100 Jews in the ghetto. People slept crammed together. Initially the ghetto was not enclosed, but the Jews were forbidden to leave. Later, guards were posted to enforce this regulation, and it was surrounded with a barbed-wire fence.[3]

From the ghetto the men were taken out to work, cleaning and repairing the roads and railroads, while the women did the washing and made soap for the German garrison. No food was provided to the ghetto by the Germans, but the local peasants bartered food with the Jews for their few remaining possessions. Leshkevich also helped with some supplies of potatoes, flour, and grain. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews suffered from the extreme cold, but they used melted

snow to obtain drinking water. The Jews on work details heard rumors about killing Aktions conducted against other Jewish communities nearby, and some Jews made plans to escape to the forests to join the Soviet partisans.[4]

On March 14, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the Chocieńczyce estate, which enabled some of the Jews from the ghetto there to flee with the partisans into the forests. In response, the German Security Police from Wilejka conducted a reprisal Aktion against the ghetto in Ilja on March 17, in which about 600 Jews were murdered.[5]

The German Security Police planned to liquidate the ghetto in early June 1942. On the eve of the liquidation, the Jews of Chocieńczyce received warning of the impending Aktion. According to the account of survivor David Rubin, he rushed to Chocieńczyce from Ilja, as soon as he heard about the Aktion against the Jews in Ilja, which took place on June 6–7, 1942.

> I decided that I must quickly let them know what had occurred in Ilja since they were inevitably next. I had to warn them so they could perhaps survive and join me in the fight against the Germans. I continued walking in deep thought for about 16 kilometers [about 10 miles]. At about 1:00 A.M., I arrived at Chocieńczyce. Jumping over the barbed wire and then slowly crawling, I knocked quietly at one of the homes. . . . I told them all that had occurred and that now Ilja had been eliminated, the Germans would get to them next. They needed to escape immediately. The entire Jewish population gathered and discussed what to do. The women cried bitterly and many were afraid of running. In the end, their instinct to survive drove them and they all decided to escape deep into the forest. At 4:00 A.M., as dusk approached, we left Chocieńczyce and began our new life. The men immediately started digging holes in the ground and covered them with tree branches and greenery. Inside, women, children, and elderly people hid in the damp darkness. The young men and teenagers started looking for the partisans. After a few days we were able to get in touch with the Soviet partisan base in the forest about 25 kilometers [16 miles] from where we had left the women, the elderly, and the children.[6]

Most of the Jews—that is, 15 families, or about 70 people—fled to the forest; and thanks to the ingenuity, mutual assistance, and support of local inhabitants, a number of them managed to hide from the Germans and local police for two years and survive.[7] The remaining Jews in the ghetto (13 people) were shot.[8]

SOURCES Published sources on the ghetto in Chocieńczyce include A. Kopelovich, ed., *Sefer Ilyah* (Tel Aviv, 1962); Mikhail Sosenskii, *Nezakonchennaia povest'* (Jerusalem: self-published, 2003); and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 232–233.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Chocieńczyce can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-6); VHF (# 15987, 16803, and 39349); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 232–233.
2. VHF, # 16803, testimony of Mikhail Sosenskii; # 39349, testimony of Sheva Sinder; and # 15987, testimony of Murray Jaros.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-BL, R 58/221, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 184, March 23, 1942; Kopelovich, *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 421–440; and NARB, 861-1-10.
6. David Rubin, "A Tale of Struggling, Toil, and Tears," in Kopelovich, ed., *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 317–338. A full translation of Rubin's article prepared by Eilat Gordin Levitan can be found at jewishgen.org. Others sources credit Starosta Leshkevich with warning the Jews and assisting their escape; see A. Makarkin, "Russkie, obmanuvshie sebia," *Soversbenno sekretno. Mezhdunarodnyi ezbemesiachnik*, no. 6 (Moscow, 2003). After the liberation of Belorussia, Stepan Leshkevich was tried by the Soviet authorities as an accomplice of the Germans in the village of Ilja. Jews from Chocieńczyce spoke out in his defense, recounting how he had helped to save many Jews from the ghetto. No attention was paid to this, however, and the Soviets sentenced Leshkevich to death. See Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 232–233.
7. D. Mel'tser, "Neizvestnaia stranitsa evreiskogo soprotivleniia," *Vestnik* (USA), no. 7 (240), March 29, 2000.
8. GARF, 7021-89-6, p. 53.

DERECZYN

Pre-1939: Dereczyn, *town*, *Słonim powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Derechin*, *Zel'va raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Deretschin*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Slonim*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dziarechyn*, *Zel'va raen*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dereczyn is located 73 kilometers (46 miles) west-northwest of Baranowicze. In 1921, the Jewish population of Dereczyn was 1,346.

Units of the Wehrmacht entered Dereczyn at the end of June 1941. On the initial arrival of German forces, many of the town's inhabitants were gathered in the church, and the Jews feared the worst, as they began to be selected out from the others. However, they were suddenly released again when fighting broke out in the town. A retreating Soviet unit temporarily drove the Germans out, and much of the town was damaged by fire from aerial and artillery bombardment. In the nearby village of Hołynka, shortly after they arrived the German forces murdered up to 140 Jews, probably as a reprisal Aktion.[1]

In mid-July 1941, the initial German military administration introduced a series of anti-Jewish restrictions: Jews had to wear yellow badges on pain of death; Jews aged 14 to 60



Exterior of the synagogue in Dereczyn, ca. 1920.
USHMM WS #97257, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

were obliged to report for forced labor every day; Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks; and they had to obey a curfew after 5:00 P.M. To monitor compliance with these restrictions, the German commandant also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).[2]

On October 6, 1941 (at the time of Sukkot), the German authorities forced a group of Jews from Dereczyn to dig a large pit some 45 meters (148 feet) long, 20 meters (66 feet) wide, and 4 meters (13 feet) deep outside the town. The men returned exhausted after 36 hours. It was not clear what the pit was for, but many received the impression they had been digging their own graves.

In November 1941, sometime after authority in the region had officially been transferred to a German civil administration at the end of August, a Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes was established in the town. The most prominent Gendarme, whose name was recalled by several survivors, was Fritz Figas. The Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the local police force, recruited from non-Jewish inhabitants of the area, who in the view of one survivor "were looking for a way to make an easy living."[3]

During the fall and winter of 1941–1942, German officials made a series of menacing demands for large amounts of gold, money, and other valuable materials. Collection of these tributes was organized by the Jewish Council. On one occasion they even had to send a group of Jews illegally across the border to Wołkowysk in Distrikt Bialystok to buy fabric demanded by the Nazis that was not available in Dereczyn.[4] During the very cold winter, Jews were put to work clearing snow. The Jews also had to sell off their last possessions to their Christian neighbors for a few morsels of bread.

The ghetto in Dereczyn was set up in several stages, such that it is not possible to specify a precise date for its establishment. Soon after their arrival, the Germans evicted Jews from some of the best houses, taking them for themselves. Then, during the winter of 1941–1942, the German administration issued certificates to those Jews deemed "essential" on account of their skills as craftsmen, although some Jews were able also to buy such certificates using bribes. These "essential" Jews, consisting of about 500 people, were permitted to live in their own collective area composed of workshops, to which non-Jews also had access in order to request their services. Probably in March 1942, the remaining few hundred Jews from the nearby villages of Hołynka, Jeziornica, and Kolonia Sinaiska were brought to Dereczyn and confined within the same small area as the 2,000 or so "non-essential" Jews living in Dereczyn.

In early March 1942 (at Purim), a couple of hundred men were sent from Dereczyn to work on the highways around Słonim. After some of these men returned to Dereczyn without permission, the German officials and their collaborators arrested them and their families. On April 30, 1942, they took these (approximately 200) people to the large pit near the village of Radziak and murdered them with machine guns and hand grenades. One woman who was only wounded escaped from the pit and returned to Dereczyn. She was subsequently found in the hospital, and the Germans shot her with others from the hospital at the cemetery.[5]

By May or June of 1942, at the latest, the ghetto for the non-craftsmen had become enclosed, and according to one account, some 2,880 Jews were living together crammed into only 34 small cottages.[6] Its area comprised the entire Shulhof (synagogue courtyard) and the premises of the tailor's Bet Midrash, called the Hayatim Shul, up to the "Kamienitzya." The entry to the ghetto was through the yard between the wall to Slutzky's house and the wall to Bebbeh Rabinovich's house. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by the local police. Due to poor sanitary conditions, there were epidemics in the ghetto, and many Jews died of disease and starvation.[7] Gendarme Figas also shot Jews at will on the street.

News of Aktions in the surrounding towns encouraged Jewish youths to organize an underground movement. The underground collected weapons clandestinely and prepared to leave for the forests to join the partisans. However, as it was feared that the Germans would murder the remaining Jews in the event of an escape, the plan was only to use the weapons and flee as a last resort, when an Aktion commenced. Many Jews also prepared bunkers for hiding inside the ghetto, as the expectation of an Aktion increased.[8]

On July 24, 1942, German forces, including Security Police, Gendarmerie, local Belorussian police, and other Lithuanian or Ukrainian auxiliaries, arrived from Słonim on vehicles and surrounded the Dereczyn ghetto. Many of the Jews took cover in their prepared hiding places, but the Germans and their collaborators dragged out those they could find, transporting some of them on trucks to the large mass graves near Grabowa on the road to Zelwa, where they shot them. One survivor managed to leap from the departing trucks and flee successfully. Of those in hiding, about 200 or 300 managed to escape to the forests, but many of these were also subsequently killed, some being denounced by local peasants or captured by the police.[9] In total, about 2,500 Jews were murdered in Dereczyn on July 24, 1942, and over the following days.

Some of those who fled managed to obtain arms and join partisan groups, such as that led by Dr. Yehezkel Atlas. On August 8, 1942, only shortly after the liquidation of the

ghetto, a Soviet partisan group, including many Jews, attacked the Dereczyn police station and killed five Gendarmes and a number of local policemen. Only about 90 Jews from the Dereczyn ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army recaptured the town in the summer of 1944.[10]

SOURCES The yizkor book (*Sefer Derets'in*), edited by Yekhezkiel Raban and others (Dereczin organizations in Israel and the United States, 1966), is now also available in English, translated by Jacob Solomon Berger, *The Dereczin Memorial Book: A Book of Remembrance Honoring the Communities of Dereczin, Halinka, Kolonia-Sinaiska* (Mahwah, NJ: J.S. Berger, 2000). It contains a number of useful accounts relating to the ghetto and the survival of Jews from Dereczyn with the partisans.

Documentation on the destruction of the Dereczyn ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2140 and 4695); BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 180/67 and II 202 AR-Z 149/78); LG-Hamb ((50) 19/72); MA (A.200); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.135 and Acc. 1994.A.195); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/2781, O-22/47, O-33/291, M-1/E 2023, 2340, M-11/40).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Masha Kulakowski and Abraham-Hirsch Kulakowski, "This is How the Jewish Community of Dereczin Was Destroyed," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, pp. 195–203.
2. Ibid., here p. 199.
3. Fritz Figas was identified from German investigative material; see BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 228/59 (investigation of G. Erren). Initially the local mayor in Dereczyn was a man named Lewandowski, and the head of the police was a Pole, Limansky; see Shmuel Berenstein, "I Was a Refugee in Oppressed Dereczin," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, pp. 217–218. Subsequently a man named Ivan Sinkevich (Sinkiewicz) became head of the local police.
4. Pesha Feinsilber, "Barely Escaping," in *The Derezin Memorial Book*, p. 208.
5. Kulakowski and Kulakowski, "This is How," pp. 195–203.
6. AŻIH, 301/2140 and 4695, testimony of the accountant Reich. An English translation is available: Y. Reich, "We Were Slaves," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, pp. 211–212. It is not clear whether this number of 2,880 also includes the 500 "essential" workers living outside the ghetto.
7. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 180/67, Dok. Bd., pp. 7–8, statement of Vladimir Varfolomeyevich Ogorodnikov on February 19, 1968; Katya Bialosotsky-Khlebnik, "During the Days of Slaughter," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, p. 242.
8. Kulakowski and Kulakowski, "This is How," p. 202.
9. YVA, O-22/47, testimony of Yosef Kotlarsky, and M-1/E/2340, testimony of Miriam Rosenberg.
10. YVA, O-16/334, testimony of Benjamin Dombrowski; S. Nieger, "The Destruction of the Dereczin Community," in *The Dereczin Memorial Book*, p. 234; AŻIH, 301/2140 and 4695.

DOKSZYCE

Pre-1939: Dokszyce, town, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Dokshitsy, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dokschizy, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dokshytsy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dokshytsy is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. In 1925, the Jewish population was around 3,000. Only about 100 Jews managed to flee with the Soviet authorities before the German army occupied Dokszyce on July 3, 1941.

Initially the town was administered by a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur).[1] In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Dokszyce became a Rayon center in Gebiet Glebokie, where the Gebietskommissar was Paul Hachmann, who, however, on account of illness, was represented during the summer of 1942 by Gebietskommissar Petersen. From early 1942 until the summer of 1942, the SS-und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Głębokie was Wilhelm Schultz. Among the Gendarmes who served at the Gendarmerie post in Dokszyce were Richard Heinzel, Willy Körbis, and Otto Schaak.[2] The Gendarmerie was also responsible for the local police (Schutzmannschaft), which was commanded by Stefan Komulko. In Dokszyce there was also a local Polish mayor, named Kowalewski, who was especially renowned for his cruelty towards the Jews.

The ghetto in Dokszyce was established in November 1941. Its border ran from the bridge to Głęboker Street, to the front side of the synagogue courtyard, then down Polotsker Street to Garden's Beer Hall and the Berezena River, then included the market place up to the side of the synagogue courtyard. It was surrounded by boards, fences, and barbed wire and guarded by the local police. The resettlement took place on November 30, 1941, on a bitterly cold and snowy day. The town's 3,000 Jews were given only half an hour to assemble on the marketplace with all their belongings. The authorities then gave them only three hours to move into the ghetto. Much of their property, including livestock, was confiscated or stolen by the local police during the resettlement. The ghetto area was very overcrowded—between three and four families had to share a single dwelling. However, some of the houses vacated by Jews outside stood empty, due to the high proportion of Jews in the town.[3]

An underground movement existed in the ghetto, established by members of a Zionist organization. The Germans forced the Jewish men to perform heavy labor, and Jewish women also had to work as maids in private households. The Jews received no payment for their work other than some slices of bread, pieces of meat, or a little tobacco.[4] The daily ration was only about 200 to 300 grams (7 to 11 ounces) of bread, and there were cases of death by starvation and disease in the ghetto. Jewish schools were closed down, and most forms of religious observance were prohibited. The Germans took carpenters and skilled craftsmen from among the Jews and organized them in workshops to support the German war effort. Jewish craftsmen had to work with very primitive tools. Every morning, those Jews who had work certificates gathered in the ghetto area and waited for their assignment to specific work details or workshops outside the ghetto. Those craftsmen

and workers who received written permission to work were able to leave the ghetto. Despite prohibitions, Jews working outside the ghetto were able to obtain groceries by trading with the local population. Discipline at the workshops was very strictly enforced. In one incident, Galman Raskind arrived late for work and was punished with 25 lashes.

A Judenrat consisting of five members, headed by Jakob Botvinnik, was created in the summer of 1941 at the behest of the German authorities, in order to assist with the implementation of their regulations concerning the Jews. In the ghetto the Judenrat was responsible for organizing the work details and also for sanitary conditions, including the administration of the public baths. The Judenrat was obligated to collect valuables demanded by the Germans from the ghetto residents, such as local and foreign currency (including U.S. dollars), gold, fur boots, and fur coats.

On several occasions the Judenrat intervened with the German authorities to try to alleviate harsh conditions. For example, they managed to open a synagogue in the ghetto and even got the ghetto area expanded slightly, adding Keydarum Street, by complaining about the threat of disease.[5] The Judenrat was not directly involved in the Aktions against the Jews. In 1942, the Judenrat organized a system of internal guards (probably the Jewish policemen) that closely observed the activities of the Germans and local police guarding the ghetto, warning the inhabitants about any hint of an upcoming Aktion.

The liquidation of the Dokszyce ghetto took place in three separate Aktions conducted between March and June 1942. In the first Aktion, about two weeks after the Purim holiday, the German Gendarmerie shot some 60 Jews in Dokszyce, apparently intended by the Gebietskommissar as a warning to the Jews against having any contact with the partisans.[6] Borys Kazhinits recalled that the raid started at 10:00 P.M., when Germans and local police entered the ghetto and arrested about 60 Jews, plundering apartments at the same time. The following morning, the police shot those arrested in pits close to the Polish cemetery. The sound of gunfire could be heard in the ghetto: initially continuous salvos and then separate shots, as wounded victims were finished off.[7]

The second Aktion probably took place in early May 1942.[8] At that time, the Jewish population was transferred to a school where Nikodem Derwinski carried out a selection, deciding who would be shot and who would remain in the ghetto. Commander S. Komulko was in charge of the shooting. During this operation, about 400 Jews were killed; apparently most of those released had work permits. After the Aktion, the local German agricultural leader (Sonderführer) and the police chief Komulko compelled the Judenrat to reduce the size of the ghetto along Koszciuszko Street and several of the adjoining small streets.[9]

The final Aktion took place on May 29, 1942, when according to a German report 2,653 Jews were living in the ghetto. On that morning, local police and German forces—Gestapo men (from the Security Police post in Lepel') and German Gendarmerie from throughout Gebiet Glebokie—surrounded the ghetto. On the same day, they had already liquidated the nearby ghetto in Parafjanów. Members of the Judenrat warned the Jews, and many tried to hide in bunkers and other places. When the Germans forced their way into the ghetto, only the members of the Judenrat were waiting in the building of the Jewish Council. One of the bunkers used by ghetto residents was located close to the school, and more than 50 individuals hid there. During this Aktion, the Jews managed to hide so well that the Gendarmerie and the local police spent a whole week searching for them with the aid of trained dogs. During the sweep, the Germans found 15 Russian bullets in the possession of the head of the Jewish Council.[10] Those seized during the liquidation were taken to a gravel pit on the edge of town and shot.[11] The victims were thrown into pits that had been dug by a work detail under the direction of a local policeman by the name of Janowski. Immediately following the mass shooting, the pits were covered with dirt.[12] According to Polish trial protocols, the local policeman Stanisław Wojnicz was particularly brutal during the Aktions against the ghetto. He took small children and killed them by smashing their heads against the walls. When he found Hanna and Benjamin Abezgaus hidden in the ghetto area, they tried to bribe him with 50 rubles to save their lives; but he took the money and attempted to kill them.[13]

The West German authorities carried out a number of investigations into the events in Dokszyce as part of wider investigations into crimes committed in Gebiet Glebokie. However, they were unable to bring to trial any of the major perpetrators in Dokszyce.[14] In 1962, a court in Warsaw sentenced Józef Frąckiewiczow and Stanisław Wojnicz to 15 years, Eugeniusz Gorecki (or Kut) to 12 years, and Nikodem Derwinski to 10 years in prison, for crimes committed while serving in the Schutzmannschaft in Dokszyce.[15]

SOURCES Several personal testimonies about the Dokszyce ghetto can be found in the yizkor book in Yiddish and Hebrew edited by David Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov: Monument tsum ondenk fun tsvey Yidishe kehile's* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Dokshits-Parafyanov be-Yi´sra'el uva-tefutsot, 1970).

Documents and witness statements relating to the ghetto in Dokszyce can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/897); GARF (7021-92-214); NARB (370-1-483 and 2841-1-1); USHMM (RG-50.030*0082); VHF (# 9920); and YVA.

The most important German criminal investigations are Sta. Hamburg 141 Js 533/60, Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 16/73, and Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, located in the relevant German regional state archives. Copies of much of this material can also be examined at BA-L. Statements by former inhabitants of Dokszyce can also be found in the Polish trials mentioned above, many of which are stored at IPN.

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-214, pp. 3–5, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Dokshitsy raion dated March 30, 1945, names Captain Klaus as the Ortskommandant in Dokszyce; however, there were probably several successive local military commandants, and it is not clear when Klaus served in the town. On August 9, 1941, the Ortskom-

mandantur in Dokszyce was OK II/352 (BA-MA, RH/26/221-17), but during the initial German advance, the military commandant's offices frequently changed location.

2. BA-L, ZStL 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, p. 404.

3. See B. Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan," and Mordechai Varfman, "The Holocaust in Our Town," and Y. Shapiro, "In the Dokshits Ghetto," in Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov*; BA-L, B 162/27191, vol. 1, pp. 130–132.

4. Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan."

5. Shapiro, "In the Dokshits Ghetto."

6. BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 130–132; Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, vol. 11, p. 2157, vol. 3, p. 114, vol. 12, pp. 2372 ff.

7. Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan."

8. Shapiro states that it was around the time of the Lag-Baomer holiday, on May 4 in 1942.

9. Statement of Antoni Masłowski, November 18, 1961, SWW, IV K 160/62, vol. 2, p. 115, gives the figure of 350 victims. According to Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, vol. 2, p. 422, and vol. 12, pp. 2444 ff., some 600 Jews were killed. AŻIH, 301/897, Samuel Margolin states that 595 Jews were killed; he dates the Aktion on May 2, 1942. Most sources indicate, however, that of the 600 arrested, some 200 were subsequently released. See also Shapiro, "In the Dokshits Ghetto," and his May 3, 1966, statement, Kazhinits, "The Story of a Partisan."

10. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie on the Jewish Aktion, July 1, 1942; Varfman, "The Holocaust in Our Town"; BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65, vol. 1), pp. 130–132.

11. Sentence issued on December 29, 1962, SWW, IV K 160/62, pp. 397 ff.

12. Statement of Iwan Biegun, May 31, 1962, SWW, IV K 160/62, pp. 162 ff.

13. Statement of Grzegorz Kantorowicz, November 13, 1962, SWW, IV K 160/62, pp. 227 ff.

14. Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65.

15. See IPN, SWW 715-20. All of these sentences were reduced on appeal. On February 24, 1959, the court in Poznań filed a case against Stefan Komolek (IIDs. 14/59), the leader of the local police in Dokszyce. However, he was not traced in Poland. Among the Jewish survivors who testified in this case were Nohem Markman, Benjamin Abezgaus, and Hanna Abezgaus.

DOŁHINÓW

Pre-1939: Dołhinów, *town*, *Wilejka powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Dolginovo*, *Krivichi raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dolhinow*, *Rayon Kriwitschi*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dauhinau*, *Vileika raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dothinów is located 41.5 kilometers (26 miles) east-northeast of Wilejka. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,747 (out of a total of 2,671). At the time of the German occupation, there were approximately 5,000 inhabitants in the town, of which about 3,000 were Jews.

The German army captured the town in the last days of June 1941. At first the Jews did not know how to react. Only a few had made the wiser decision to flee east with the retreating Red Army. The first order of the German military commandant in charge of Dołhinów was that the Jews should form a Judenrat to ensure that German demands on the Jewish community would be carried out. Among the restrictions soon imposed on the Jews were that they must wear a yellow symbol on their clothing; that they could not leave the town; that they were not allowed to assemble or have any conversation or business with Christians; and that they were forbidden to possess cattle, horses, or any valuable property, as all such items were to be surrendered to the German authorities.

After a few days of occupation, the Germans arrested five Jews on suspicion of collaborating with the Soviets. They dragged the suspects out of their houses, took them outside the town on the road to Wilejka, and shot them.

After a few weeks, a food shortage began to take its toll on the Jewish population, whose major means of obtaining food was to barter with the Poles and Belorussians in contravention of German regulations. Some Jews gave their valuables to non-Jewish friends to keep them safe from German searches and demands for contributions. Jews were conscripted for physical labor on a regular basis by the Germans via the Judenrat. Jewish girls also had to work as housemaids for the Germans.[1]

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Dołhinów, which now came under a German civil administration as part of Gebiet Wilejka. The Gendarmerie also controlled the local police force, which included a man named Sadowski.

Under the harsh restrictions imposed by the Germans, virtually all Jewish social and communal activities ceased. There was no more prayer in the synagogue, no more studies in the school, and no more Torah. However, despite the widespread despair in the community, there was only one reported suicide among the Jews. During the fall and winter of 1941–1942, not only Jews became the victims of sporadic killings but also Communist activists and Soviet prisoners of war.

In March 1942, two Jews, named Mincel and Sigalczyk, tried to leave for the forests to establish contact with the partisans. They were intercepted by German guards but managed to escape from prison. The German authorities then threatened Niomka Riyer, the head of the Judenrat, that all the Jews of Dołhinów would be killed if the two were not handed over.

Shortly afterwards, on March 30, just before Passover, the Jews woke up to discover that German forces had arrived in trucks. Together with local collaborators, they began arresting Jews and bringing them to the market square, where a selection took place. A small number of those arrested who were necessary to the Germans were left alive; the rest were taken outside the town, to Lemlin's factory at "Krochmalniyah" on the road to Minsk, where they were stripped of their clothes and shot without delay. Their bodies were thrown into a barn, which was then burned. Jews who were brought to the spot later on were stripped and thrown into the fire alive. On that bitter day, the Germans murdered, with bullets and by burning, some 1,000 of Dołhinów's Jews.

As many Jews emerged from their hiding places, they beheld a horrifying sight: houses broken into and corpses in the

streets. The Germans issued instructions through the Judenrat to collect the bodies and bury them in mass graves. As the earth was still frozen, it took many days before all the bodies were buried.[2]

While the Jews were still preoccupied with burying the dead in April of 1942, those left alive in Dołhinów were commanded to concentrate exclusively within the boundary of the ghetto, in an area that was bounded on both sides by Borisov Street. The borders of the ghetto were the Great Synagogue (it was outside the boundary itself), the house of the Catholic priest next to the market, and the riverbank. The ghetto was encircled on all sides by a wooden fence topped with barbed wire, and an entrance was constructed to control all those entering and leaving. The Germans instructed the Jews to move into the ghetto and settle themselves within only a very short period of time. First Jews brought in the movable property that they were allowed to take with them. "The most important items were, understandably, foodstuffs and valuable objects, because we thought that it would be possible later on to exchange them for food." The overcrowding was great, resulting in very difficult conditions. In a house where one family had lived previously, five or six families were now forced to live. Life turned to hell. People felt like they were locked in cages. The ghetto was guarded by the local police on the outside and by officers of the Jewish Police on the inside. Barter with the non-Jews continued, albeit in secret. Each day Jews left the ghetto for various physical work tasks, according to German instructions.[3]

One day the Judenrat was ordered to provide 100 workers, comprising 60 men and 40 women. The workforce was to be sent to the train station in Kniahinin, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Dołhinów, where they worked in craft workshops for the German Army and in agriculture, with the men and women kept separated from each other. Some of these workers returned periodically to Dołhinów. In Kniahinin, some Jews were shot and Jewish girls were raped when officials of the SS or SD arrived from Wilejka.[4]

On April 28, following the massacre of the Jews in nearby Krzywicze, officials of the Security Police and Waffen-SS from Wilejka arrived in Dołhinów late in the afternoon. Assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local police, these forces encircled the ghetto. Four SS men entered the ghetto and demanded that the Judenrat supply them with tobacco. This demand was promptly met, but many Jews suspected that the murderers would soon return and went into hiding, while others tried to escape to the forest. Over the following two days the ghetto was liquidated except for several hundred skilled craftsmen who were spared immediate death. More than 1,000 Jews were escorted out of town to the east and shot. According to a Waffen-SS report, "the Aktion in Dołhinów was remarkable in that the Jews had prepared proper bunkers as hiding places. For two days we had to search and clear out [the ghetto] partly with the aid of hand-grenades."[5]

A final Aktion against the Jews of Dołhinów was conducted on May 21, 1942, during which the remaining craftsmen were killed. Following this Aktion, the Waffen-SS section reported that "the Jewish question in this town was finally solved."[6]

Only about 200 Jews from Dołhinów survived the war, including some who had served in the Red Army, others who joined the Soviet partisans, and a number who went into hiding. Among the Christians who assisted in hiding Jews were Andrei Stanko in the village of Milcza and Stephania Bogdanovich in the village of Mushenka.

SOURCES Among the available published sources, there are several firsthand accounts by survivors from Dołhinów in the yizkor book, edited by Yosef Krust and Matityahu Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Dolhinov veha-sevivah* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Dolhinov be-Yisrael, 1984 or 1985). There is also a relevant article in the Soviet Yiddish publication *Eynikait* (December 3, 1945).

Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish community in Dołhinów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L; MA (A-331); NARB (845-1-63); USHMM (Acc. 1994.A.372); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-22/47; M-1/E-1572/1441, 1704/1573, 1873/1721; M-1/Q-1496/288, 2457/626).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shmuel Alperovitsh, "'Al kidush ha-hayim," p. 238, and Natan Kizinits and Yitshak Kizinits, "'Anuto shel bet-av be Dolinov," p. 360, in Krust and Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov.* See also USHMM, Acc.1994.A.372, extract from a published memoir by Ester May.

2. Alperovitsh, "'Al kidush ha-hayim." Alperovitsh gives the number of 640 Jews as being murdered on this day. According to another account by Sigalczyk, 1,540 Jews were assembled on the marketplace and killed that day; see MA, A-331 (Yaakov Sigalczyk). The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report gives a figure of 900 Jews being shot in April 1942; see NARB, 845-1-63, p. 17. See also BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8691–8714, Soviet protocols taken from local inhabitants of Dolginovo (Dołhinów) in 1970.

3. Alperovitsh, "'Al kidush ha-hayim," and Ya'akov Segeltshik (Sigalczyk), "A Living Testimony for Future Generations [in Hebrew]," in Krust and Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov.*

4. BA-L, B 162/1461 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60), pp. 4033–4036, 4042–4044, statements of Esther Tylis and Sonya Markman on June 29–30, 1966.

5. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249, SS-Uscharf. Lipps Aussenstelle Wilejka an Burgdorf, May 27, 1942; Aryeh Rubin, "I Was a Youth at the Time of the Tragedies [in Hebrew]," in Krust and Bar-Ratson, *Esh tamid—yizkor le-Dolhinov.*

6. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*, pp. 247–249.

DRUJA

Pre-1939: Druja, town, Brasław powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Druya, Braslav raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–44: Druja, Rayon Miory, Gebiet

Glebokie, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Druia*, *Bratslau raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Druja is located about 210 kilometers (131 miles) north of Minsk. The population of Druja on the eve of World War II was about 4,500 people, of which just under half were Jews.

German forces had occupied Druja by early July 1941. Within a few days, a Polish collaborator named Dworzecki drew up a list of some 300 former Soviet activists who were to be arrested and liquidated. Thanks to the efforts of members of the local community, the number of suspects was reduced to 18 people. Shortly afterwards, these people (including at least 1 Jew) were tracked down and killed on a nearby island. They were accused of collaboration, supposedly because they had welcomed the Red Army in September 1939.

The Germans forced the Jews of Druja to perform various kinds of menial labor, including road and railway construction, trash removal, and other degrading work, such as polishing the Germans' automobiles with their hats. After the Germans entered the township, local inhabitants started to rob the Jews. The most notorious person for this was the Polish collaborator Dworzecki. Realizing that they would lose their property if they did not act quickly, many Jews began to hand over items to Christian acquaintances for safekeeping or else to bury their jewelry and other valuables in the ground. The Germans also demanded a large contribution from the Jews, taking hostages to ensure its payment. At least one Jew, Hedesch, was shot as a hostage.

To enforce their regulations, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Druja. Those serving on the council included Zelik Diwiusz, Jakow Rozman, and David Lewinson. The Judenrat was held accountable for ensuring that the Jews completed their labor tasks and for maintaining good sanitary conditions.[1] The Germans also arrested some Jews of the town and sent them to Miory, where they had to build the walls of a German bathhouse and lay pavements on the streets.

A ghetto was established in Druja in late April or early May 1942 on the instructions of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie, Paul Hachmann (due to illness Hachmann was represented during the summer of 1942 by a man named Petersen). It was located between the confluence of the Dvina and Drujka Rivers. Anyone caught leaving the ghetto could be punished with death.[2]



Exterior of the synagogue in Druja, ca. 1924.
USHMM WS #97255, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

The members of the Judenrat in Druja gave help to 21 Jews who escaped from the ghetto in Miory on June 3, 1942, and managed to hide in the nearby woods. A sympathetic Christian peasant delivered a request written by the Jews from Miory to the Judenrat in Druja. Members of the Judenrat collected two bags of flour and also utensils from the prisoners of the ghetto and arranged for the goods to be brought to the fugitives through the mud and cold.

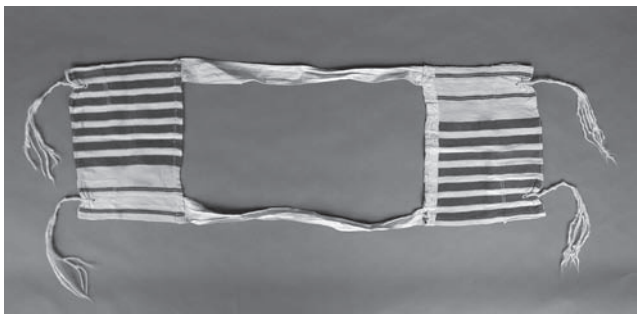
The Jews in Druja also organized some resistance against their German oppressors at the time of the ghetto liquidation.[3] On June 17, 1942, members of the Security Police together with officers of the Gendarmerie from Głębokie (reinforced by Gendarmerie men from neighboring Gebiet Wilejka) arrived in Druja in vehicles. Members of the local police from throughout Gebiet Glebokie also assisted in the operation.[4] These forces surrounded the ghetto and issued instructions for all the Jews to assemble near the railway bridge. According to a German report, fire broke out in the ghetto shortly after it was surrounded. The fire got out of control, and not only the ghetto burned down but also an orthodox church and 10 adjacent non-Jewish houses. While the German forces were trying to put out the fire, they were shot at from inside the burning ghetto. The same report noted that the ghetto had officially contained 1,318 Jews prior to the liquidation Aktion.[5]

The Jews who had been assembled near the bridge were shot into a large mass grave on the banks of the Drujka River. The Jews were ordered to undress and to stand on a plank over the ditch. The executioners shot them in groups of 9 or 10. Two Germans stood at the bottom of the ditch, piling up the bodies. Other corpses of the murdered Jews from the ghetto were also buried in four graves near the Jewish cemetery. The Germans also removed gold teeth from the corpses before burying them. About six days after the murders, decomposing blood and bones were observed emerging from the graves.

Fanya Barbakov, a 19-year-old Jewish girl, wrote a letter while in hiding shortly before her death: "My hand is trembling and I find it difficult to finish my letter. I am proud, for I am Jewish. I die for my people. I did not tell anyone that I am writing a letter before my death. Oh! . . . how I long to live and to do something good with my life. But everything is already lost."[6]

Only about 50 Jews managed to survive the Aktion by fleeing or hiding, then escaping later to the forests. Zemdlona Rozenmann, the wife of Zelman Rozenmann, who witnessed the murders and survived, remembered standing on the plank bridge over the grave. The Germans shot at her, but the bullets missed. She fell into the ditch and lay there until night came. Then she went to see the watchman in the cemetery, who dressed her and hid her in a nearby barn.

Some who escaped were captured later, however, such as Szlomo Musin and his mother, who were arrested next to a pharmacy in the village of Kędzierszczyna. Local peasants attacked them with sticks and axes and led them to the castle



This tallit was found by Chaim Bornstein in a burned-out home near Druja, Poland, in 1945 at the end of World War II. A survivor of the Druja ghetto, he carried it with him while he was in displaced persons camps.
USHMM ACC. 2003.163.1, COURTESY OF CHAIM BORNSTEIN

in Kaminka.[7] The mother was murdered, but the son fought and escaped into the forest to join the partisans. Subsequently, however, the Germans managed to kill him in the village of Kaminka, near Druja, on the night of March 22, 1944. His desecrated body was allowed to hang for three days near the castle before it was finally buried in Druja. After the war, the local Jews placed his body in a coffin and gave him a proper burial. The gravestone bears an inscription in Russian: "Red Partisan" Szlomo Ilicz Musin, born in Druja in 1916.

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Druja edited by Mordekhai Naishtat: *Sefer Druyah U-Kehilot Miyor*, *Droisk*, *Ve-Le'onpol* (Tel Aviv: Be-hotsa'at Yots'e Druyah veha-sevivah be-Yi´sra'el, 1973). Testimonies by Jewish survivors from Druja can be found in AŻIH (301/3150, 3151, and 5566) and YVA (e.g., M-1E/1216; O-3/731 and 2259; M-2/200; and O-33/515). Information regarding the liquidation of the Druja ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 37/60) NARB (370-1-483 and 845-1-56). Relevant German postwar criminal investigations include Sta. Hamburg 141 Js 533/60; Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65; and Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 16/73.

Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/5566, testimony of Zalman Goldin, October 28, 1946.
2. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1, pp. 412–415, statement of Chaim Scheiner, August 7, 1961.
3. AŻIH, 301/3150 and 301/3151, Commission in Białystok, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow.
4. Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, vol. 1, pp. 46, 101, vol. 2, p. 422, and vol. 12, pp. 2444 ff.
5. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of Gebietskommissar in Glebokie on the "Judenaktion," July 1, 1942.
6. Extract from the letter published in Naishtat, *Sefer Druyah U-Kehilot Miyor*, *Droisk*, *Ve-Le'onpol*, pp. 95–100.
7. AŻIH, 301/5566.

DUKORA

Pre-1941: Dukora, *village*, *Pukhovichi raion*, *Minsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Rudensk*, *Gebiet Minsk-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pukhovichi raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dukora is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) east-southeast of Minsk. In June 1941, there were probably about 600 Jews in the village.

German forces occupied the village at the end of June 1941, one week after the Nazi invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this week, some Jews attempted to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were mustered into the Red Army. Around two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dukora at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration (Ortskommandantur) with a small garrison of troops established itself at the Machine Tractor Station (MTS) just outside the village and set up a local authority in the village. Soon after the occupation of the village, the German commandant ordered the registration and marking of all Jews in the Rayon and their deployment for various kinds of forced labor. After about one month, German soldiers and officers searched Jewish homes and stole their property.[1]

In September 1941, authority was officially transferred to the German civil administration. Dukora became part of the Gebiet Minsk-Land within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was a Leutnant Kalla. It took several months, however, for the civil administration to take over, and in the meantime the local military commandants continued to run things at the local level.[2] At the start of September 1941, all Jews in the village were relocated into a ghetto, which was located on Smilovichskaia and Bolochannaia Streets.[3]

On October 8, 1941, more than 100 men, Lithuanians of the 2nd (later 12th) Schutzmannschaft Bataillon and German policemen of the 11th Police Reserve Battalion based in Minsk, arrived in Dukora on trucks. According to the report of the German military commandant in Weissruthenien, Gustav Freiherr von Bechtolsheim, the villages of Dukora, Ozernyi, Uzliany, and a nearby forest were searched for Jews, partisans, bandits, and politically unreliable elements. As a result, 618 people were taken prisoner, of whom 617 were then shot. Given that around 300 Jews were shot in Uzliany at this time, it is likely that about half of these victims were Jews from Dukora.[4]

Accounts from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that on that day, armed Lithuanians, Germans, and local policemen gathered together the Jews of Dukora and the neighboring village of Kharvichi, including women and children, and held them on Bolochannaia Street in Dukora. From there they were led under close guard about 300 meters (328 yards) across the Svisloch' River in the direction of Rudensk to a meadow where a large ditch, 20 meters by 40 meters (22 yards by 44 yards), had been dug by about 15 local inhabitants. Here the Germans and their auxiliaries shot the Jews in groups, letting them fall into the pit. Estimates of the number of people killed at this site range between 275 and 394.[5] Postwar testimony given by Lithuanian policemen present at the mass shooting in Dukora indicates that Lithuanian

officers used submachine guns to finish off any Jews who had only been wounded by the initial salvos fired by their men.[6]

A few Jews managed to escape the roundup, but they were hunted down and killed by members of the German garrison and the local Belorussian police over the following weeks and months. For example, the Germans captured two Jews at the edge of the forest and brought them to the Dukora MTS. There the German commandant gave them shovels and ordered them to dig their own graves before shooting them personally with his pistol.[7]

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Dukora can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-13); LYA (Impulevicius trial records); NARB (651-1-1 and 861-1-8); and YVA (M-33/431).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 46–47; and USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207—this document indicates that the ghetto was established in October 1941 and liquidated in November 1941, but German documentation reliably indicates that the ghetto was liquidated on October 8, 1941.
4. See the report of October 19, 1941, "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," on the Aktions from October 1 to 15, 1941, NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 14–15.
5. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida*, pp. 45–46, 76–77; and GARF, 7021-87-13, pp. 4, 30.
6. LYA, statements of accused Jonas Juozo Davalga, Povilas Povilo Tinteris, and Pranas Jono Planciunas given in the trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in 1962. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207, also mentions that any Jews who remained conscious in the pit were finished off.
7. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida*, pp. 76–77; USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-8, pp. 206–207, 213 reverse side.

DUNIŁOWICZE

Pre-1939: Duniłowicze, village, Postawy powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Dunilovichi, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dunilowitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dunilovichy, Pastavy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Duniłowicze is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) north of Minsk. In 1921, there were 685 Jews living in the village (49.9 percent of the inhabitants); this number had risen to about 1,000 by 1925.

At the time of the German occupation of Duniłowicze in late June 1941, local inhabitants, including some ethnic Germans, looted Jewish property. Soon afterwards, a local police force was established with its headquarters on Wilno Street. The following men were among the most active members of the local police: Stefan Rombalski, Stanislaw Gigala, Leonard Sipowicz, Kazimierz Kuckiewicz, Aleksandr Nowicki, Kalikst Rychlicki, Władysław Zajkowski, Konstanty Majewski, and Franciszek Batory.[1]

Almost immediately the local policemen began to abuse the Jews. One officer of the local police force, Sipowicz, was especially known for his cruelty. He beat Jews with whips. Other means of torture included dunking Jewish victims into cold water or forcing them to conduct humiliating physical work.

The ghetto was established in January 1942.[2] According to a German report dated July 1, 1942, 979 Jews were residing in the Duniłowicze ghetto just prior to its liquidation.[3] The ghetto area was close to the center of the town, next to the lake,[4] between Pachowska Street and Głębokia Street.[5] The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and was also separated from the rest of the town by a water canal. There was only one gate, by which Jews left the ghetto to go to work.[6] Jews were put to work in a sawmill, in tobacco fields, and also digging a canal, receiving a daily wage of about 125 grams (4 ounces) of bread. Non-Jews were forbidden to enter the ghetto.[7]

The liquidation of the Duniłowicze ghetto took place on November 21–22, 1942, during which about 900 Jews were murdered.[8] The Aktion was conducted by members of a special unit, which arrived from the office of the Commander of the Security Police (KdS) in Minsk: commanded by Artur Wilke, it consisted of 40 members of the Security Police, 33 Latvians, and some members of the local Belorussian police.[9] On the day of the ghetto liquidation in Duniłowicze, the Germans concentrated together the local police from several nearby towns, surrounded the ghetto area, and set fire to the houses in the ghetto. The Aktion started with the shooting of those Jews hiding inside the ghetto buildings. The Germans also arrested some of the ghetto inmates who had tried to hide and shot them in a large park inside the ghetto. The ghetto liquidation Aktion lasted for two days. After the Aktion, inhabitants from villages nearby were ordered by German authorities to bury the victims next to the Jewish cemetery in a mass grave.[10] During the Aktion, the German authorities ordered the local inhabitants to stay at home and lock their doors, to prevent any escaping Jews from finding refuge with them.[11] On November 22, the second day of the Aktion, the Germans forced several hundred Jews, including men, women, and children, into a barn and set it on fire using gasoline, with the victims locked inside. The German forces also threw hand grenades into the building.[12] During the liquidation, the fire inside the ghetto also spread to surrounding buildings, and the local fire brigade had to extinguish it.[13] The naked bodies of the burned victims were transferred on wagons to their place of burial.[14]

Some of the Jews in Duniłowicze bought weapons from the local population. A few even managed to travel to Głębokie and purchased weapons secretly from the local police. A large proportion of the ghetto population prepared to resist or evade the ghetto liquidation. Before the Aktion started, many Jews hid in previously prepared hiding places and bunkers. In one incident, about 60 people who were hiding together in a bunker were found because a baby's crying betrayed their hiding place. All of them were shot. In another bunker, about 20 Jews were hiding, but only 7 individuals survived the searches.[15] Witnesses state that some Jews escaped from the liquidation across the frozen lake. Those Jews found hiding outside the ghetto were also shot. Members of the Duniłowicze local police who took part in the liquidation of the ghetto received money, watches, and gold items as a reward for their participation in the murders.[16] The local police also guarded the confines of the ghetto during the Aktion, to prevent any of the victims from escaping. About 40 policemen guarded the ghetto posted at a distance of about 20 meters (22 yards) apart. Every policeman received orders to shoot anyone attempting to flee.[17]

In the fall of 1943, a Gestapo unit arrived from Łuczaj, close to Duniłowicze, and assisted the local police in shooting 20 Jews, all men and women engaged in construction work at the town's agricultural school. Some of the Jews managed to escape during this Aktion. The German police instructed the local population to bury the corpses in the local park.[18]

The State Prosecutor in Hildesheim opened a case against Wilke, accusing him, among other crimes, of participating as a member of KdS Minsk in the murder of the Jews in Duniłowicze and Hermanowicze (see Sta. 9 Js 1274/64).[19] The court for the Wrocław województwo sentenced both Batory and Edward Kusowski to life imprisonment for their participation in the liquidation of the Duniłowicze ghetto as members of the local police.[20]

The regional court in Szczecin (case IN Sb 94/54) sentenced Rombalski to 15 years in 1954 for the shooting of Kleper while serving as an officer of the local police in Duniłowicze.[21] On August 31, 1954, the court for the Szczecin województwo filed a case against Sipowicz, accusing him of participation in the murder of Kleper on racial grounds and also in the liquidation of the ghetto while serving in the Duniłowicze local police force.[22]

SOURCES Documents concerning the fate of the Jews of Duniłowicze can be found in the following archives: NARB; NHStA-H (Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65); OKŚZpNP-Gd (S/200/Zn); SWSz (K 104/54 and IV K 49/54); SWW (IV K 75/67); and YVA.

Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Statement of Stefan Rombalski, March 30, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 346.

3. NARB, Minsk, 370-1-483, p. 15.

4. Statement of Weronika Myszko on December 6, 2000, OKŚZpNP-Gd, S 2/00/Zn, pp. 466–468.

5. Statement of Anna Podlipska, February 1, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

6. Statement of Edward Kusowski, November 23, 1966, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 1.

7. Statement of Jadwiga Szafarowicz, February 2, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

8. This is the figure given by M. Rajak and Z. Rajak, eds., *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok*, which was originally published in 1956 in Yiddish in Buenos Aires by the Former Residents' Association in Argentina] (1994), corresponding also with the German report, NARB, Minsk, 370-1-483, cited above.

9. NHStA-H, Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65, vol. 7, p. 1212; vol. 2, p. 412; vol. 8, pp. 1322 ff.; vol. 14, pp. 2721, 2814, 2820, 2824, 2836.

10. Statement of Anna Podlipska, February 1, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

11. Statement of Jadwiga Szafarowicz, February 2, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

12. The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, *Stories of Moral Courage*, Wanda Anishkewicz; statement of Stefan Rąbalski on April 13, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, the Aktion lasted four days, from November 21–24, and there were 828 victims; see NARB, 845-1-64, pp. 35–36, and 861-1-13, p. 117.

13. Statement of Ignacy Lipski, February 22, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

14. Statement of Helena Norenberg, November 16, 2000, OKŚZpNPBi, S 25/00/Zn, pp. 3–5.

15. YVA, 1900/181 (Boris Friedman), as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 204.

16. Statement of Ignaci Lipski, February 22, 1967, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 2.

17. Statement of Edward Kusowski, November 23, 1966, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 1.

18. Statement of Antoni Czyżewicz, September 29, 1966, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 1.

19. Wilke had already been sentenced to 10 year's imprisonment for other National-Socialist crimes by the court in Koblenz; see LG Koblenz 9 Ks 2/62.

20. SWW, IV K 75/67. The Highest Court in Warsaw, criminal department, reviewed the sentence against Franciszek Batory, and on October 31, 1967, revised it to seven years of imprisonment; see criminal case against Franciszek Batory and Edward Kusowski, SWW, IV K 75/67, vol. 3.

21. Criminal case against Stefan Rombalski, SWSz, IV K 104/54.

22. Criminal case against Leonard Sipowicz, SWSz, IV K 49/54.

DWORZEC

Pre-1939: Dworzec, village, Nowogródek powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Dvorets, Diatlovo raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dworzec, Rayon Djatlowo, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dvarets, Dziatlava raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dworzec is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) southwest of Minsk. On the eve of the German occupation in June 1941, the number of Jews in Dworzec was probably just over 400 people, comprising about 75 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. During the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Dworzec. These included the appointment of a Judenrat, the use of Jews for forced labor, and a ban on their leaving the village. Initially, the Jews were still able to move about Dworzec with relative freedom. They were required to wear yellow stars on their clothes, but they were permitted to remain in their own homes.

In late December 1941, about 300 Jews from Lubcz and another 400 Jews from Zdzięcioł (Diatlovo) were brought to Dworzec as forced laborers.[1] More Jewish laborers were brought to Dworzec from Rubieżewicze, Iwieniec, Korelicze, and other places in the first months of 1942. The Jewish laborers were assigned to construction work on and around the site of the former Soviet airfield under the supervision of the Organisation Todt (OT). The work tasks included breaking and hauling rocks, which the Jews transported to the railroad station using a narrow-gauge railway and then loaded onto freight cars. Some Jews were engaged in constructing a bridge using tombstones from the Jewish cemetery.[2]

On March 6, 1942, Gebietskommissar Traub in Nowogródek ordered that following the concentration of the Jews in the Rayon towns of his Gebiet, no Jews were permitted to remain in the other smaller towns and villages.[3] Probably just prior to this, the Jews of Dworzec learned that those incapable of work were to be transferred to the Rayon town of Zdzięcioł. According to the account of Eli Chodok and Ichak Kosower, thanks to a handsome bribe paid to the "Engineer," the order of the Gebietskommissar was rescinded for the Jews of Dworzec, and instead the Germans established a ghetto in Dworzec, which was to contain the nonworking Jews as well as the forced laborers.[4] The ghetto occupied the territory between Molchadskaia, Goncharnaia, and Smutnaia Streets, covering an area of about 300 meters by 500 meters (328 yards by 547 yards). All the Jews were forced to move inside this area; as the ghetto continued to fill up with more forced laborers over the following months, there were about 20 Jews crowded into each house.

The daily ration consisted of a piece of bread and a bowl of soup. There was a bakery within the ghetto, where the Jews baked their own bread. The other main bakery was outside the ghetto. A small squad of about 15 local Polish and Belorussian police guarded the ghetto and escorted the Jews to their workplaces.[5]

In May and June 1942, still hundreds more Jews were brought to Dworzec, following selections conducted before and during the liquidation of several of the ghettos in the area. Among the working Jews sent to Dworzec were those from the Rubieżewicze ghetto who arrived via Iwieniec, and others from Naliboki and other nearby villages. These Jews were all of working age, having been separated from their children and elderly parents during the selections. In Iwieniec, for example, the remaining children and elderly were murdered in the forest nearby, soon after the departure of the working Jews in May. On the arrival of the Iwieniec Jews in Dworzec, there was not enough space for all of them, and some people had to live in a barn.[6]

The guard on the ghetto were not strict, and many Jews left regularly to barter clothes for food with local non-Jews. If caught, however, the Jews could be shot.[7]

By the summer of 1942, increasing partisan activity began to cause problems for the Germans. Some Jews encountered partisans on their forays outside the ghetto, and Jewish youths planned to gain arms and flee to the forests. Most Jews, however, were afraid to leave the ghetto permanently, lest their relatives and friends suffer reprisals.

The Germans liquidated the Dworzec labor camp/ghetto in the second half of December 1942. At this time there were probably about 2,500 to 3,000 Jews living there.[8] Just before the Aktion, a group of local men was ordered to dig pits in the forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the village on the road from Dworzec to Nowojelnia. For the Aktion, German and Latvian SS forces arrived in Dworzec, probably from Nowogródek. The police broke into the ghetto and chased the Jews out of their houses. Some managed to hide in secret hiding places built in advance. For example, in the house of Ted Winestone, 29 people hid during the Aktion behind a false wall constructed by his father. Many Jews were outside the ghetto when the Aktion started. Some were brought back from their work locations, but a number realized what was happening and managed to hide or escape. The head of the Judenrat, Novik, attempted to restrain those Jews who wanted to resist and negotiate with the Germans. When he came back empty-handed and confirmed that there was no more hope, a group of Jews attempted to flee by storming the fence, but they were fired on by the Germans and their collaborators. According to the estimate of Chodok and Kosower, as many as 500 Jews managed to flee or successfully went into hiding. However, the Germans set fire to the ghetto to flush out the Jews concealed in bunkers. Those Jews who were rounded up were loaded onto trucks and transported to the prepared mass graves just outside the village, where the Germans shot them. Local people covered the pits after the massacre.[9]

Local police forces continued to hunt for Jews in the days after the Aktion, once the SS forces had departed. Some Jews managed to escape from their hiding places in the ghetto and make it into the forest or find shelter with local non-Jews. For example, Reiza Bochkovoch and her daughter Rocha were hidden with the help of Vladimir Vetko for more than a year.[10] According to one account, about 200 Jews survived the Aktion at the end of December and remained in Dworzec for a few more weeks before they in turn were shot.[11] Other sources indicate that at some time after the massacre, probably in 1943, about 50 Jews were caught in the forest near the village and were also shot.[12]

SOURCES Information about the ghetto/forced labor camp in Dworzec can be found in the following publications: B. Kaplinski, ed., *Pinkas Zhetl* (Tel Aviv: Zetel Association in Israel, 1957); and "Dworzec," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 236–238.

Documents regarding the ghetto/forced labor camp in Dworzec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/2907, 2994, 3167, and 3356); BA-L (e.g., B 162/27191); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); MA (A.108 and A.144); NARB; USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 6593, 15385, 24696, and 43261); and YVA (e.g., O-16/436).

Alexander Kruglov, Martin Dean, and Tamara Vershitskaia
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65), vol. 1, pp. 135–136, statement of Wolf Solomianski, May 10, 1966; and AŻIH, 301/2907, testimony of Eli Chodak and Icchak Kosower.

2. Testimony of A. Evlanova, November 23, 1976, in Alexander Kruglov's personal archive; VHF, # 15385; BA-L, B 162/27191, vol. 1, pp. 135–136, statement of Wolf Solomianski; Michael Walzer-Fass, ed., *Korelits-Korelitsh: Hayeha vehurbanah shel kehilah Yehudit* (Tel Aviv: Society in Israel and the USA, 1973), pp. 19–34, and 235–244; and AŻIH, 301/2907, testimony of Eli Chodak and Icchak Kosower.

3. Order of Gebietskommissar Traub in Nowogrodek, March 6, 1942, original in the Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok, collection of documents regarding the war. A facsimile and English translation are published in Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 156–158.

4. AŻIH, 301/2907, testimony of Eli Chodak and Icchak Kosower. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 73/67, statement of Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968, confirms that whereas the Jewish forced laborers arrived without their families, children and elderly Jews native to Dworzec remained in the ghetto, which also made it possible for some children from other ghettos to sneak in and find refuge in Dworzec.

5. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65), vol. 1, pp. 135–136; VHF, # 15385, testimony of Ted Winestone, and # 43261, testimony of Samual Scherb; and information gathered by Tamara Verchitskaya from Dmitri Vladimirovich Vetko, a resident of Dworzec, born in 1926.

6. BA-L, ZstL /202 AR-Z 73/67, statement of Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968; VHF, # 24696, testimony of Genia Nowog (born 1925), and # 6593, testimony of Aaron Oshman (born 1910).

7. YVA, O-16/436, testimony of Mordechai Ralnik; and VHF, # 15385.

8. According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 258, 2,500 Jews were shot. From December 11 to 20, 1942, Operation Hamburg, an antipartisan sweep, was conducted in the area north of Slonim, and 2,958 Jews were shot in its course (see *Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten*, no. 38, January 22, 1943). It is possible that these were mainly Jews from the Dworzec ghetto. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR 94e/59, vol. 1, pp. 70–80, gives the date of December 28, 1942, as do several other sources. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 705, gives the date of December 19, citing probably 3,000 victims.

9. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 73/67, statement of Shmuel Gurion, July 26, 1968; AŻIH, 301/2907; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 165–166; and VHF, # 15385, testimony of Ted Winestone. Winestone asserts that a gas van was used to kill the Jews, but his version, probably based on hearsay, is unlikely, as other witnesses describe the vehicles as trucks.

10. Information gathered by Tamara Vershitskaya from Dmitri Vladimirovich Vetko.

11. YVA, O-16/436, testimony of Mordechai Ralnik.

12. According to information gathered by Tamara Vershitskaia, the remains of 51 bodies from Dworzec were reburied in the Jewish cemetery in Diatlovo. On June 25, 2006, a new monument was established at the grave by the Diana and Simon Lazarus Foundation. The text on the plaque reads: "To the Nazi victims: 54 Jews from the village of Dworzec, brutally murdered in 1942 [*sic*] are buried here."

DZERZHINSK

Pre-1941: Dzerzhinsk (until 1932: Koidanovo); Yiddish: Koydenov), town, raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Koidanow, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dziarzhynsk, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dzerzhinsk is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,314 Jews living in Dzerzhinsk, accounting for 15 percent of the total population.[1]

Units of the XLVII Panzer Corps captured the town on June 28, 1941, only six days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. As a result, only a small number of Jews managed to evacuate, and a few were mobilized into the Red Army. It is estimated that around 1,000 Jews remained in Dzerzhinsk at the start of the German occupation. As Dzerzhinsk lay on the main railroad line from Brest to Minsk, much of the town was destroyed by aerial bombardment or in the fighting as the town was captured.

One Jewish survivor recounts that most of the young Jewish men of the town were killed within the first three or four days of the occupation. One of the young men, Iashke Kitievitsh, jumped from the truck as he was being taken away, but the Germans pursued him and shot him in the fields.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. Soon after the onset of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered Jews to wear distinguishing armbands and to perform various kinds of forced labor.[3] In August 1941, all the Jews of Dzerzhinsk were moved into a ghetto, which was located on a single street, as most of the rest of the town had been burned.[4]

As of September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a German civil administration. Dzerzhinsk became part of Gebiet Minsk-Land, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. However, it took several months for the civil administration to establish itself in the smaller towns and villages. In the meantime, the Ortskommandantur, now subordinated to Major von Bechtelsheim, the military commander for Weissruthenien in Minsk, continued to exert authority in towns such as Dzerzhinsk into the fall of 1941.

The liquidation of the Dzerzhinsk ghetto was planned for October 20, 1941. According to the report of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, however, it had to be deferred for one day, as heavy rains made the soft (unpaved) roads impassable. Then on October 21, the 2nd and 4th Companies of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Polizei-Major Franz Lechthaler), along with two companies of the attached 2nd Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, shot "1,000 Jews and Communists" in Dzerzhinsk.[5]

Sanzie Shuster, who managed to survive with her husband because they were sent to work at the train station outside the town on the day of the roundup, recalls several details of the events. The Germans and their collaborators collected all the Jews and drove them up the Kolvintshine Hill, where an old castle stood. Here they had prepared a deep, wide pit. The Jews, old and young, were shot in groups and their bodies were thrown into the pit. When Sanzie returned to town at the end of the day, Belorussian women, with tears in their eyes, told her what had happened. They warned Sanzie and her husband to flee and save themselves.[6]

Present at the killing site was a local inhabitant who had observed the digging of the large pits on the night before the mass shooting. He recalled:

> They came from there, women, children, babies, and old people. Jews they were, hundreds of them. The queue led all the way back up the hill as far as the eye could see. The babies were wailing and many of the children were in tears. Their mothers were trying to calm them but the soldiers showed no patience. . . . At the base of the hill, the Jews were put into groups of about 10 or 12. Soldiers forced them to undress and then lined them up in front of the pit. Then another group of soldiers—with rifles—stepped forward. . . . They didn't waste their bullets on the babies and children; they simply used the bayonet.[7]

Another local witness, Ivan Vasilievich Marshak, was ordered by local policemen to dig the pits. According to his account, the Germans brought the Jews to the pits, and then the Lithuanians, about 80 men, took over. The Germans made the Jews lie in the pits, and the Lithuanians shot them. The Lithuanian soldiers stood out from the Germans because their uniforms were yellow (or tan), whereas the German uniforms were green. Men, women, and children were shot; it was a terrible sight. When one group had been shot, another was driven in and made to lie on the corpses. During the shooting, Marshak waited about 50 meters (55 yards) away under German guard. Afterwards he had to help fill in the pit.[8] Two women who were only wounded managed with effort to climb out of the mass grave. However, the murderers caught them and shot them again in the same pit.[9]

At the beginning of March 1942, the German Security Police (KdS) rounded up about 3,000 Jews in the Minsk ghetto and loaded them onto a train at the Minsk-Tovarnaia railway station. From there they were transported to the Dzerzhinsk railway station, where they were shot over two days in nearby pits by men of the KdS from Minsk, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries.[10]

A number of Jews from Dzerzhinsk managed to survive. For example, Roza Fridson, the head of the raion health department before the German invasion, took refuge in a nearby village with her 14-year-old daughter. When their hostess found out they were Jews and asked them to leave, they moved to Minsk, where they passed as "Aryans" and worked for the Soviet partisan resistance.[11] A few others also lived under false identity or escaped to join the Soviet partisans operating in the forests around Minsk.[12]

For participation in the murder of Jews in Dzerzhinsk and in other towns and villages in Lithuania and Belorussia in the summer and fall of 1941, seven former members of the 2nd (later 12th) Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, including the former commander of the 1st Company, Zianonas Kiamzura, and the former commander of the 3rd Company, Juozas Usialis, were sentenced to death in a trial held in Kaunas between October 10 and 20, 1962. The former battalion commander, Antanas Impulevicius, received a death sentence in absentia, and the case of one other defendant was remitted for further inquiry.

On January 9, 1963, the Landgericht Kassel (Germany) imposed a sentence of two years' imprisonment on the former commander of the 11th Reserve Police Battalion, Franz Lechthaler. The former commander of the 2nd Company of this battalion, Willi Papenkort, was acquitted.

On July 23, 1979, in a trial in Vilnius, the former commander of the 1st Platoon/1st Company/2nd (12th) Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion, Jonas Plunge, was sentenced to death for participation in the murder of Jews in various towns and villages of Lithuania and Belorussia in the summer and fall of 1941.

SOURCES Some information on the fate of the Jewish community of Dzerzhinsk during the Holocaust can be found in Abraham Reizin, ed., *Koydenov: Zamlbukh tsum ondenk fun di koydenover kdoyshim* (New York: United Koidanover Association, 1955).

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Dzerzhinsk can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-5); LYA (Impulevicius trial record, Vilnius, in October 1962); NARB (651-1-1); VHF (# 24632 and 29487); and YVA (M-33/423).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), 12:267; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 38.
2. Reizin, *Koydenov*, pp. 252–253.
3. VHF, # 24632, testimony of Faina Avskerova, and # 29487, testimony of Emma Zanger.
4. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 41, names the location as Pervomaiskaia Street; Reizin, *Koydenov*, pp. 252–253, says that it was on Vilne Gas. These may have been different names for the same street.
5. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 3–7, situation report of the 11th Reserve Police Battalion (no. 176/41 g), Minsk, October 21, 1941, published in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 472–473).
6. Reizin, *Koydenov*, p. 239.
7. Mark Kurzem, *The Mascot: The Extraordinary Story of a Young Jewish Boy and an SS Extermination Squad* (London: Rider, 2007), p. 279.
8. LYA, statements of Ivan Vasilievich Marshchak (Marshak) in the trial of Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in October 1962, p. 186.
9. Reizin, *Koydenov*, p. 253. In 1971, a monument was placed at the site of the mass graves; see Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 41.
10. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 150–151. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 552, pp. 205–207. This source reports the number of victims as at least 1,000.
11. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 345. Roza was subsequently captured by the Gestapo and sent to the Eruville concentration camp in France, where she was liberated by the French Resistance, which she then joined.
12. Reizin, *Koydenov*, pp. 253, 257; and VHF, # 29487, testimony of Emma Zanger.

DZIEWIENISZKI

Pre-1939: Dziewieniszki (Yiddish: Divenishok), town, Oszmiana powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Devenishki, Oshmiany raion, Belorussian SSR; Dieveniške, Eišiškės apskritis (Devenishkes, Eishishkes uezd), Lithuanian SSR; 1941: Dziewienischki, Rayon Woronow, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; 1942-1944: Kreis Eischischken (Eišiškės), Gebiet Wilna-Land, Generalkommissariat Litauen; post-1991: Dieveniškės, Šalčininkai rajonas, Vilnius apskritis, Republic of Lithuania

Dziewieniszki is located 58 kilometers (36 miles) south-southeast of Wilno on the Gawia River; and is surrounded by dense forests. In 1897, the Jewish population in Dziewieniszki was 1,225.

The German army occupied Dziewieniszki on June 25, 1941. The Germans established a local council headed by an antisemitic Polish teacher. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Dziewieniszki was incorporated initially into Gebiet Lida within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. On April 1, 1942, however, the town was transferred to Gebiet Wilna-Land in Generalkommissariat Litauen. This was accompanied by the transfer of power to a Lithuanian local administration.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. A five-person Judenrat was appointed, which was charged with supplying men to the Germans for forced labor; Jews were made to wear distinguishing badges in the shape of the Star of David; and they were forbidden to leave the town limits.

In September 1941, the Jews of Dziewieniszki were herded into a ghetto established in the area of the synagogues.[1] According to the survivor, Iakov Gaukhman, who was transferred into the Dziewieniszki ghetto from Soleczniki in late fall (there was a sprinkling of snow): "[T]he right side of the town was for the Jews—70 percent were already living in this area. At this time the ghetto was unfenced."[2]

When Dziewieniszki was absorbed into Weissruthenien in 1941, other nearby towns became part of Generalkommissariat Litauen (Lithuania). In these towns, the Lithuanians had murdered all the Jews by the fall of 1941. Under strong lobbying from local Lithuanians, the German authorities decided to transfer Dziewieniszki to Lithuania in 1942. When this news became known, it caused considerable panic among the Jews of Dziewieniszki. Therefore, according to one account, the head of the Judenrat bribed the German Gebietskommissar in Lida, Hermann Hanweg, so that the Jews could be moved to Woronów, the nearest Rayon town in Weissruthenien, to prevent their coming under Lithuanian rule.[3] Whether or not it was the result of a bribe, Hanweg ordered the Jews from Dziewieniszki and several nearby villages to be brought to the Woronów ghetto in the second half of December 1941.[4] On the day of the transfer, a detachment of armed men in civilian clothing herded the Jews into the two synagogues, then transported them in wagons to Woronów.[5]

In the Woronów ghetto, the Dziewieniszki Jews suffered from intolerable overcrowding and hunger. All able-bodied Jews were assigned to hard labor, cutting down trees. Ten days

after their arrival, the Germans arrested 28 elderly Jews from Dziewieniszki and brutally murdered them. Many more Jews from Dziewieniszki were killed in the large Aktion against the Woronów ghetto on May 11, 1942. At this time the ghetto was liquidated, and those Jews deemed fit for work were transferred to the Lida ghetto. On September 17, 1943, the remaining Jews from Dziewieniszki, together with the other Jews from Woronów, Lida, and other places, were sent from Lida to the Majdanek concentration camp near Lublin.[6]

SOURCES Information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dziewieniszki can be found in the following publications: David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Divenishok; yad vashem le-ayara yehudit* (Israel: Divenishok Societies in Israel and the United States, 1977); Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 254–257; and Arūnas Bubnys, "Holocaust in Lithuanian Province in 1941," on the Web site of the International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania, available at www.komisija.lt.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Dziewieniszki during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF; USHMM; VHF (# 6403); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Shannon Phillips
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Bubnys, "Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941"; and Shtokfish, *Sefer Divenishok*.
2. VHF, # 6403, testimony of Iakov Gaukhman.
3. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Poland*, *Vol. 8 Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek*, 8:254–257.
4. Moshe Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova" (unpub. MSS, 1943, USHMM Archives: RG-3.019).
5. Bubnys, "Holocaust in the Lithuanian Province in 1941."
6. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:254–257; and Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova."

DZISNA

Pre-1939: Dzisna, *town and powiat center*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Disna*, *raion center*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dissna*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Glebokie*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dzisna*, *Miory raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Dzisna is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, the Jewish population in Dzisna was probably in excess of 4,500 people.

In the days following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, about half the Jewish population fled, seeking safety to the east. On June 28, the city was shelled by both German and Russian forces, and part of the town burned down, including the synagogues. Many Jews tried to cross the bridge over the Dwina River into pre-1939 Soviet territory, but some were turned back by Soviet officials. Others took refuge in nearby towns and villages, owing to the widespread destruction in Dzisna.

After Dzisna was occupied on July 3, the German military authorities (Ortskommandantur) ordered those people hiding in the countryside to return home. They also forced Jews from neighboring villages into the town, including those from Jazno and Wołkowo. They appointed a local administration with a man named Solintsev as mayor and established a local police force recruited from local Belorussians and Poles. In the summer of 1941, German security forces shot several people as alleged Communist activists.

In late July or August 1941, the Ortskommandant in Dzisna ordered all the Jews to move into a small ghetto area. The ghetto in Dzisna was located close to the Dzisna River, on "Polotzker Gas" and its side streets, as well as half of "Gluboker Gas." This was an area where mostly Jews had lived before the war. Entire families lived in the ghetto, including men, women, and children. Those who had to relocate were only able to bring with them what they could carry themselves. Houses, cattle, horses, shops, and most personal goods had to be left behind. Around 3,000 people were forced into extremely dirty and crowded conditions. Many families (more than 40 people) shared a single dwelling, with three or four families to a room. The ghetto was not fenced in but was effectively isolated by the two rivers, with access only via an iron bridge guarded by a German sentry. Farmers were allowed to cross the bridge to barter food for goods, but Jewish movement was severely restricted.[1]

The Ortskommandant appointed a Judenrat, which had to carry out all German orders. It was composed of five men, headed by Nachum Rochlin; the other members included Gordon and Hausmann. A Jewish police force, headed by Berke Weispapir, was stationed by the bridge to monitor people assigned to forced labor outside the ghetto by the Judenrat. Jews were detailed to sweep the town's streets, clean the police headquarters, clear the rubble from the shelling, and tend a vegetable garden on an island in the Dwina River called Stefan Batory. According to testimony in the yizkor book, work was unpaid and accompanied by beatings. There were no food distributions to the ghetto. People with possessions had to barter for food. However, the Judenrat collected food for the neediest people. Contributions were imposed by the German authorities in the form of demands for money, gold, copper, furs, leather, and furniture, which were accompanied by dire threats.[2] There is also mention in at least one account of German soldiers raping Jewish girls.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the Germans established a civil administration; the town became the center of one of nine Rayons in Gebiet Glebokie, which was headed by Gebietskommissar Paul Hachmann. A small squad of German Gendarmes arrived in Dzisna and took command of the local police (now renamed Schutzmannschaft). The head of the local police was a Pole, Swiniarski, and his deputy was Alfons Bielski.

In the ghetto, the children were not permitted to go to school. Due to the food shortages, some Jews died of hunger.

The first Aktion took place on March 28, 1942, when a group of 30 Jews were shot, reportedly as a reprisal for the death of the son of the German Gebietskommissar. In early June, news arrived of the liquidation of the ghettos in the nearby towns of Lużki and Miory. This prompted the Jews in the Dzisna ghetto to prepare for the worst. Each night young sentries were posted to alert the inhabitants of any signs of hostile movement. Each household put aside some gasoline to set the houses on fire and thereby deprive the oppressors of any material gain when the Aktion started.[4]

On the night of June 14–15, 1942, a squad of the Security Police from Lepel', reinforced by forces of the Gendarmerie from Wilejka and the local police, surrounded the Dzisna ghetto, which according to German records had 2,181 inhabitants. At 3:00 A.M., the sentries alerted the ghetto that an Aktion was imminent. As the Germans and their collaborators entered the ghetto, some Jews resisted, throwing stones, pieces of iron, and bottles. Jews set their houses on fire, and many tried to flee in the confusion. Some Jews swam across the river, hoping to evade the police guards posted on the banks. A number of Jews were murdered inside the ghetto as the Belorussian police searched the houses, looking for Jews in hiding and seizing any remaining property. Those who were taken alive were escorted out of town to Piaskowe Górki, where they were shot in two mass graves not far from the ghetto.[5]

In total, a few hundred Jews managed to flee to the forest. Some found hiding places with local peasants, but many were turned in or found by the local police over the following days. The Germans offered a bounty of a packet of tobacco and a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of salt as a reward to those assisting them.[6] Some of those who escaped made their way to Głębokie, where the ghetto was still intact, and remained there until the liquidation of that ghetto in the summer of 1943. Others stayed in hiding or joined local partisan units.

On January 22, 1943, the 17 Jewish artisans who remained alive after the ghetto liquidation in Dzisna were murdered by local policemen in the building of the high school.[7]

On May 4, 1965, Alfons Bielski, the deputy commander of the Belorussian police in Rayon Dissna from 1941 to 1944, was convicted by a Polish court of taking part in the liquidation of the ghetto in Dzisna, among other crimes. He was sentenced to the death penalty, but the Supreme Court in Warsaw commuted it to life imprisonment on September 2, 1965.

SOURCES Documents dealing with the fate of Dzisna's Jewish population during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1390-95 [202 AR-Z 37/60]); GARF (7021-92-213); IPN-Kos (IVK 96/64); NARB (370-1-483); USHMM; and YVA.

The yizkor book for Dzisna in Hebrew and Yiddish, edited by Abraham Beilin, Dov Bernstein, and Shalom Tsirlin, *Disnah: Sefer zikaron li-kehilah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Disnah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1969), contains several accounts regarding the Holocaust period, including brief descriptions of life in the ghetto.

Elżbieta Rojowska, Samuel Fishman, and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, pp. 162, 168, 181; BA-L, B 162/1391 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 2), pp. 849–851, statement of Ester Zwik, October 23, 1961.
2. Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, p. 168.
3. Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:303.
4. Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, 168–169, 181–182.
5. Ibid., pp. 169–170; NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of the Gebietskommissar in Glebokie on the Jewish Aktion, July 1, 1942; see also IPN-Kos, IVK 96/64, proceedings of the Provincial Court in Koszalin, in the criminal case against Alfons Bielski.
6. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 163, 261; and Beilin, Bernstein, and Tsirlin, *Disnah*, p. 164.
7. IPN-Kos, IVK 96/64, proceedings of the Provincial Court in Koszalin, in the criminal case against Alfons Bielski; and *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 6:75.

GŁĘBOKIE

Pre-1939: Głębokie, town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Glubokoe, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Glebokie, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Hlubokoe, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Głębokie is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) north of Minsk. In 1939, just over 5,000 Jews resided in the town.[1]

The German army arrived on July 2, 1941. During the summer, a series of German military commandant offices (Ortskommandanturen) administered the town. Each successive commandant issued new orders, including a series of anti-Jewish measures.[2]

After some time, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first head of the Judenrat was Gershon Ledermann. To prevent the arbitrary seizure of Jews from the streets, the Judenrat assumed responsibility for assigning people to forced labor in accordance with German demands. The Jewish Police rounded up Jews for work. At the work sites, German supervisors and local guards often beat and humiliated the Jews.

On August 31, 1941, authority in the region was transferred formally to a German civil administration, headed by Generalkommissar Wilhelm Kube in Minsk. In Głębokie the Gebietskommissar was Paul Hachmann, who because of illness was represented during the summer of 1942 by acting Gebietskommissar Petersen. Much of the staff of the civil administration did not arrive until November or December 1941, such that the transition from military to full civil control stretched over several months. From early 1942 until the summer of that year, the SS- und PolizeiGebietsführer in charge of the Gendarmerie in Głębokie was Wilhelm Schulz. The Gendarmerie post in Głębokie consisted of 10 to 12 Gendarmes, supported by about 50 members of the local police (Schutzmannschaft).[3]



Jewish men working in a carpentry shop in the Głębokie ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #08058, COURTESY OF KARL KATZ

The Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Głębokie on October 22, 1941. The Jews were given only half an hour to move into an area of just a few streets.[4] The ghetto was terribly overcrowded, with several families sharing a single room; most people had to sleep on the floor. The forced relocation of many Jews provided another opportunity for neighbors to loot Jewish property. Young girls helped themselves to items the Jews were unable to take with them in their enforced haste. Local police guards obtained bribes for permitting Jews to smuggle wood into the ghetto for fuel. Non-Jews also sold food illegally at inflated prices, sometimes cheating the Jews in the process.[5]

An inspection visit to Głębokie by officials of the civil administration from Minsk in November 1941 noted that Jewish property had been inventoried and registered on lists. It went on to comment that "since Jews provide the craftsmen and other workers that are absolutely necessary, a liquidation cannot be conducted."[6] The ghetto was surrounded with a wooden fence and watched by armed guards.[7] Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, and those that went outside to work did so under police escort. Jews were searched on returning to the ghetto, and those caught smuggling might be shot. If not, they were arrested and beaten but could be released in return for a bribe. In December 1941, the Germans murdered more than 100 male Roma (Gypsies) near Głębokie; their children were left to die of cold. At this time Jewish fugitives from other communities brought news of the massacres of Jews conducted in the region, such as in the village of Jody within Gebiet Glebokie, or in many towns in Lithuania. In the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews were moved into the Głębokie ghetto from the nearby village of Królewszczyzna.[8]

On March 25, 1942, the German Gendarmerie assisted by the local police shot 110 Jews from the ghetto. According to the *Memorial Book*, this Aktion was a reprisal taken for the uncovering of a love affair between a Jewish girl and the German Gendarmerie commander Schulz, which subsequently led him to be charged with defiling the race (*Rassenschande*). The local police also exploited this roundup to settle old scores with some Jewish neighbors. Shortly after the Aktion, the area of the ghetto in Głębokie was reduced in size, and Jewish property was stolen from the vacated rooms. German officials and local policemen took the best houses for themselves. Around this time another 800 Jews arrived in the ghetto, including about 250 Jews from the village of Hołubicze, 18 kilometers (11 miles) to the east of Głębokie.[9]

In return for a fee, local policemen offered to warn Jews of forthcoming Aktions. When the Security Police appeared in Głębokie in May 1942, at the start of a new wave of anti-Jewish massacres in the region, the Głębokie Jews began to prepare for the worst and construct hiding places. Remaining valuables were scraped together in the hope that this bribe would encourage the SD to leave. Some 20 Jewish victims were killed as a result of this visit.[10]

In June 1942, the Germans established a separate "second ghetto" in Głębokie for Jews unable to work. Then on June 19, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion in the town. German security units and local police arrived in Głębokie and ordered all the Jews from the main ghetto to assemble on the sports field to have their work permits renewed. Here the Germans conducted a selection. Some of the Jews were sent back to the ghetto, and the others were told that they had been selected to go to another town to work. Soon, however, they found themselves being driven brutally about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town to the Borok Forest, where the Germans and local police shot them into prepared ditches. On the next day, the Jews from the unproductive "second ghetto" shared the same fate. According to a report by the Gebietskommissar, 2,200 Jews were killed.

On July 2, the ghetto was again reduced in size, resulting in further property losses.

German reports from the summer of 1942 provide a detailed picture of the wealth officially looted from the Jewish community. Acting Gebietskommissar Petersen calculated that up to August 31, 1942, a total of 358,000 RM had been collected and transferred to the Reich Credit Bank (Reichskreditkasse) in Minsk. The main components of this income were Jewish contributions of about 200,000 RM; profits raised from the sale of clothing, livestock, and Jewish real estate; and income from Jewish labor farmed out on a contract basis, mainly to the Wehrmacht. Not included in this total were 5,875 gold rubles (in coins), almost 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold objects, over 112 kilograms (247 pounds) of silver coins, and 36 kilograms (79 pounds) of Polish nickel coins that were sent to the Reich Credit Bank in Riga.[11]

From the end of May to the middle of June 1942, German forces of the Security Police in Lepel' commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Heinz Tangermann liquidated most of the other ghettos in Gebiet Glebokie. Generalkommissar Kube noted that these forces from the Rear Area, Army Group Center (Rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte) had murdered 10,000 Jews in Gebiet Glebokie without consulting the civil administration in advance. According to Kube, this had disturbed

preparations already made by the civil administration for the systematic eradication of these Jews. During these ghetto liquidations, hundreds of Jews escaped into the surrounding forests. After the Aktions, most of the skilled craftsmen who had been kept alive were sent to the ghetto in Głębokie, which had become a major center of craft production for the Wehrmacht. The Gebietskommissar reported on July 1, 1942, that 2,200 Jews remained in the Głębokie ghetto, but this number was soon to increase considerably.[12]

In August 1942, the Glebokie Gebietskommissar spread news of an amnesty for Jews in hiding, if they surrendered and came to the Głębokie ghetto.[13] The head of the Głębokie Judenrat, Lederman, passed this message on to Jews in hiding. As a result, hundreds of Jews came out of hiding in the forest over the ensuing weeks, especially with the onset of winter, and made their way to the Głębokie ghetto.[14]

Following the massacres in the summer of 1942, the remaining Jews in Głębokie were put to work in a variety of workshops. According to a report dated October 20, 1942, 1,151 Jews were working on Wehrmacht contracts in Głębokie, including more than 800 involved in knitting socks and other garments. Others worked for the civil administration. A number of Jews were engaged in salvaging Jewish property, which was collected in local warehouses. A large laundry was established to clean the clothes of victims for sale. During the sorting and washing, some Jewish workers recognized items belonging to their own relatives, such as Manye Freydkin, who found the shirt of her murdered husband, Shimon.[15] The German officials stationed in Głębokie took some of the most valuable items and also much of the production of Jewish craftsmen, sending large quantities back to Germany for friends and relatives or to line their own pockets.[16] Dozens of train cars left Głębokie loaded with cloth, leather, wool, footwear, knitted items, and foodstuffs packed by a special office of the Gebietskommissar.

In the fall of 1942, a few youths in the ghetto started to obtain weapons and make plans to flee to the forest. The majority of Jews opposed these preparations, fearing they would only provoke the Germans into destroying the ghetto. Some Jews, however, felt compelled to act, such as Yakov Suchowolski, who as a teenager left the ghetto on December 22, 1942, with a group of armed friends without informing his parents. He returned two weeks later, out of fear that his family might be killed as a reprisal. Indeed, his parents were arrested and shot shortly afterwards, and he only just managed to escape from arrest himself. In the forest he joined up with other mainly Jewish partisans and conducted attacks against isolated German outposts. Suchowolski subsequently returned to the ghetto several times, aiming to train other youths to fight and lead them out into the forest. Other survivors stress that they were not aware of an armed underground inside the ghetto, as those who obtained arms fled to the forest. Nonetheless, the Germans reported encountering some armed resistance during the ghetto's liquidation in August 1943.[17]

The liquidation of the Głębokie ghetto does not appear to have been carefully planned but resulted instead from the desertion on August 17, 1943, of a force of 1,700 Russian volunteers (collaborators), the so-called Druschina Battalion, which was stationed around Głębokie. The deserting Druschina unit joined forces with local Soviet partisans and murdered most of the German officials in Dokszyce before attacking the railway station in Królewszczyzna, killing more than 70 Germans and collaborators altogether. The weakened German forces feared an attack on Głębokie, which might link up with the 4,000 Jews in the ghetto. Instead, the Druschina forces probably headed southeast towards Berezino, where another Druschina unit was based. This gave the German forces time to regroup and call in reinforcements. They turned their attention first to the liquidation of the ghetto to prevent the Jews from escaping and reinforcing the partisans.

In Głębokie, events unfolded very quickly. On August 19, SS men came to the Judenrat and confiscated its funds and any remaining valuables. The guard around the ghetto was dramatically increased during the night, and at 4:00 A.M. on August 20 an SS officer instructed the Judenrat that all Jews were to report in two hours to be deported to Lublin. When the Jews responded by trying to escape, a hail of bullets greeted them. The Jews then took cover in cellars and attics, and a very one-sided battle ensued in the ghetto over the following days. The German forces, assisted by the local police, tried to smoke out the Jews by setting the buildings on fire or throwing hand grenades into the cellars and hiding places. A number of Jews managed to sneak out under cover of darkness, but more than 3,000 were shot or burned alive, mostly in or close to the ghetto. Much of the town was destroyed during the ghetto's liquidation, and the manhunt for escaped Jews continued for weeks afterwards.[18]

Some 7,000 Jews passed through the Głębokie ghetto, stemming from at least 42 different communities. Only a small fraction survived, either by joining Jewish or Soviet partisan groups or by hiding in the forest or with non-Jews who helped to conceal them.



Jewish men make wooden shoes in the Głębokie ghetto, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #07973, COURTESY OF KARL KATZ

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Głębokie are in the following: *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok* by M. Rajak and Z. Rajak] (Buenos Aires: Association of Former Residents of Glebokie in Argentina, 1994); Martin Dean, "Die Enteignung 'jüdischen Eigentums' im Reichskommissariat Ostland 1941–1944," in Irmtrud Wojak and Peter Hayes, eds., *"Arisierung" im Nationalsozialismus: Volksgemeinschaft, Raub und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2000), pp. 201–218; Jakow Suchowolskij, "Es gab weder Schutz noch Erlösung, weder Sicherheit noch Rettung. Jüdischer Widerstand und der Untergang des Ghettos Glubokoje," *Dachauer Hefte* 20 (2004): 22–38.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/25); BA-L (e.g., B 162/1390-94); GARF (7021-92-212); NARB (e.g., 370-1-481); Sta. Hannover (2 JS 388/65); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.078*01; RG-18.002M; and RG-53.002M); VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 433; and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale/Keter, 2007), 7: 642–643, "Glubokoye."

2. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 23–40.

3. Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–44* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 125, 137; and BA-L, B 162/1394 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 5), pp. 1893–1896, statement of Bruno Weiss, August 16, 1968.

4. NARB, 845-1-206, p. 154, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, dated March 23, 1945, states that the ghetto covered the area of Karl-Marx, Engels, Red Army, and Red Partisan Streets, but these are the names given to the streets once the Red Army had recaptured the town in 1944.

5. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 46–51; see also Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and N.A. Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archives of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), pp. 83–84, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, July 10, 1942.

6. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 11 (NARB), 370-1-55, Inspection report on visit to Głębokie on November 14, 1941.

7. BA-L, B 162/1394, pp. 1893–1896, statement of Bruno Weiss, August 16, 1968.

8. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 44–57; NARB, 845-1-206, p. 156. The ChGK report gives a much higher figure of around 1,000 Roma murdered around Głębokie altogether. Spector and Wigoder's *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 679, indicates that the transfer from Królewszczyzna did not occur until April 1942.

9. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 58–61; BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–446, statement of Abraam Feldscher, August 3, 1961.

10. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 60–64; on the wave of killing in Gebiet Glebokie, see Adamushko, Knat'ko, and Redkozubova, *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus*, p. 75, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, July 1, 1942.

11. Adamushko Knat'ko, and Redkozubova, *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus*, p. 107, Gebietskommissar Glebokie to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, September 4, 1942, and pp. 66–67, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, June 22, 1942.

12. Adamushko Knat'ko, and Redkozubova, *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus*, p. 75, Gebietskommissar to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, July 1, 1942; and International Military Tribunal, ed., *The Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (*IMT*) [Blue Series] (Nuremberg, 1947), 32:279–281, 3428-PS, Report of Generalkommissar Kube to Reichskommissar Hinrich Lohse, July 31, 1942.

13. USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," p. 46; and Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 155.

14. BA-L, B 162/1390, pp. 362–426, testimony of Schabtai Edelmann (aka Estrow), August 14, 1961. See also AŻIH, 302/47, diary of Yitzhak Aron.

15. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, p. 94.

16. Ibid., pp. 94–100.

17. Suchowolskij, "Es gab weder Schutz noch Erlösung," pp. 29–32; BA-L, B 162/1391, p. 918, statement of Miriam Chanciska, and p. 968, statement of Chlawne Gelersztejn, November 25, 1962.

18. *Memorial Book of Glebokie*, pp. 120–130; Suchowolskij, "Es gab weder Schutz noch Erlösung," pp. 32–35; and NARB, 370-1-481, Report of August 22, 1943. Survivor accounts recall the ghetto being bombed from the air, but the German report notes rather that one week earlier aircraft bearing German insignia had circled for a while before bombing the monastery where the German police had their headquarters.

GRÓDEK WILEŃSKI

Pre-1939: Gródek, town, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodok, Radoshkovichi raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodok, Rayon Radoschkowitschi, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Haradok, Maladzechna raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gródek is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Minsk. At the time of the German occupation, there were about 150 Jewish families (about 1,000 Jews) residing in the town.

Units of the German army entered Gródek in early July 1941. Initially a German military commandant's office was responsible for administering the area. At the end of August, a civil administration was established, and Gródek became part of Rayon Radoschkowitschi in Gebiet Wilejka. The German Gebietskommissar in Wilejka was Kreisobmann Schmidt. In the fall of 1941, a local Gendarmerie post was established in Gródek, which also took over the local Belorussian police force. The local mayor was a man named Producha.[1]



Group portrait of students and teachers at the Hebrew language Tarbut school in Gródek, May 1928. The children hold Hebrew signs with mottos of sayings from the sages.
USHMM WS #28973, COURTESY OF FANYA SZUSTER PORTNOY

In the summer of 1941, the newly established local Belorussian police arrested several former officials of the Soviet village council, who were then shot in the town's old castle. This event was witnessed by some of the town's Jews.[2] The Germans also established a Judenrat to implement their orders. Its chairman was Ephraim Recki; the other members were Nachman Swirski, Isaak Bunimowicz, Szmaiohu Cukerman, and Chanan Moszkowski.[3] The Judenrat assigned Jews to work on constructing a barracks for the German forces, felling trees, and railroad construction work. In the fall of 1941, on the orders of Gebietskommissar Schmidt, the Jews were requested to surrender items of value, such as watches, furs, money, 2,000 suits of clothes, and bed linen. The Judenrat tried its best to fulfill these demands, collecting the items from the Jews, in the hope of appeasing the German authorities with the aid of bribes. There was also a Jewish police force, which protected the inmates of the ghetto and did not cooperate with the Gestapo.[4]

There were some individual shootings of Jews, but unlike many neighboring communities, there was no large-scale massacre in the summer or fall of 1941.

The Germans established a ghetto on March 13, 1942, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.[5] The ghetto was based around the two red-brick synagogues. The Jews were all concentrated in about 20 old homes near the two synagogues.

On hearing of the massacres in other nearby towns, a group of 7 Jews from Gródek, including Yehuda Adelman and Gershon Zofeh, prepared a dugout in the forest nearby and intended to slip through the barbed-wire fence to hide there when they suspected the SS was coming to liquidate the ghetto. In May 1942 the German authorities transferred about 50 local Jews to the nearby town of Mołodeczno to work at a new radio station.[6]

At the beginning of June 1942 a German official humiliated the Jews by harnessing Rabbi Moshe and two other Jews to a wagon and making them pull other Jews through the streets of the town. The Germans and Belorussians mocked them as they passed by.[7]

Two days later the Germans began the liquidation of the ghetto; 20 trucks with several squads of police, led by Gebietskommissar Schmidt, arrived. They screamed "Juden! Raus!" and combed the town for Jews. The Jews were collected together in the park between the two synagogues, next to the deep well where the Jews fetched their water.

There was a selection, and healthy men were sent to the right; the others, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were sent to the left. The people were ordered to get into the trucks and were crammed together with about 50 or 60 others. It was announced that they would be transferred to Krasne for forced labor. Small children were not all loaded onto the trucks; some were simply killed by being thrown into the well. Among a group of 20 people who were in hiding, a baby began to cry, and one of them suffocated the child to prevent the group from being captured by the SS.

Some of the men noticed that the trucks behind them with the women and children turned off to the right into the forest. They suspected that they would all be killed, and Michael Lidski shouted: "Let us jump! Let us at least die resisting!" More than 50 Jews leaped from the trucks and ran into the forests. The German forces pursued them, killing some and recapturing others; but according to Adelman, 36 young men got away, disappearing into the forest.[8] The remaining people capable of work (about 400) were transferred to the ghetto and labor camp in Krasne. The 700 or so women and children were locked in a barn that was set on fire, and any that attempted to escape the flames were shot. Local peasants buried the corpses. A Jew, Fivele Saposhnik, who returned to the ghetto briefly at night from the Mołodeczno labor camp later in June, found that it was like a ghost town with the smell of burned human flesh.[9] The Germans left 15 Jewish specialist workers alive at the time of the massacre, but they murdered them all as well two months later.[10]

More than 50 Jews from Gródek served in the Soviet partisan movement, and a number survived the war. Some, like Lazar Chazanovsky, remained in the forests after their escape at the time of the massacre, while others joined the partisans from the Krasne labor camp. Among the units they served in was one commanded by Colonel Kuznetzov. In early 1943, Jews from Gródek were involved in a partisan attack on the German garrison in the town, killing several of their enemies.

SOURCES Yehuda Adelman's memoir *Heroes without Medals* (New York: Vantage, 1983) provides information on the fates of a number of survivors from Gródek. In spite of some serious weaknesses—for example, blaming Nazi Germany for the Katyn massacre of Polish officers committed by the Soviet authorities—this volume also serves as a kind of Memorial Book for the Gródek community.

Documentation on the Gródek ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1473 [II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 43]); and YVA (M-9/1194).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStl 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, pp. 393, 409, lists five members of the Gendarmerie in Gródek: Brose, Fischer, Stehling, Strauss, and Winkler. Among the members of the local police were men named Kolysko and Smolsky; see also Adel-

man, *Heroes*, pp. 103–104; and YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

2. Adelman, *Heroes*, pp. 21, 28. It is unclear whether there were only 5 or 15 victims of this Aktion.

3. YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

4. Ibid.; and Adelman, *Heroes*, p. 21.

5. YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

6. Adelman, *Heroes*, pp. 21–23; YVA, M-9/1194—Baran states that on May 1, 1942, 200 young Jews were sent to the Krasne work camp.

7. Adelman, *Heroes*, pp. 21–23.

8. For the names of some of those who fled, see ibid., p. 44.

9. Ibid., pp. 23–26. Saposhnik was captured shortly after this and interrogated by Gebietskommissar Schmidt about his possible contacts with other escapees from Gródek (pp. 42–44).

10. YVA, M-9/1194, statement of Mojsze Baran.

GROZOVO (AKA KONIUKHI)

Pre-1941: Grozovo, village, Gresk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grozowo (Grossoff), Rayon Gresk, Gebiet Sluzk, Reichskommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Hrozava, Kopyl' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Grozovo is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 149 Jews living in the town of Gresk and 527 more in the villages that comprised the Gresk raion, primarily in the village of Grozovo.[1]

The Germans entered Grozovo at the end of June 1941. Due to the unexpectedly rapid German advance, only a small number of Jews were able to escape eastward ahead of the German forces. Throughout the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the area, until it was replaced by a German civil administration from September 1941. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk was Gauamtsleiter Heinrich Carl, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Lieutenant of the Schutzpolizei Müller.[2]

In August 1941, the Slutsk detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 organized and carried out an Aktion in Gresk, during which 51 Jews were shot for their alleged "communist activities."[3]

In September or October 1941, the German authorities in Grozovo established a ghetto for most of the Jews of the village in the military barracks in the nearby village of Koniukhi, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Grozovo. At least 400 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto with the exception of five families of craftsmen, who were permitted to remain in Grozovo. The ghetto area was not guarded.[4]

On December 19, 1941, a German punitive detachment (probably part of Einsatzkommando 8) from Gresk, assisted by local Belorussian police, rounded up the Jews of the ghetto. Those who attempted to flee were shot on the spot. The German forces then transported the Jews on trucks to a grave site in the forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Grozovo, where they shot them. At least three Jews, including the survivor Isaak Yazvin, managed to avoid the Aktion by hiding in a stable about 150 meters (164 yards) from the ghetto.[5]

In May 1942, the German police forces from Gresk arrived in Grozovo and shot the remaining Jewish craftsmen and their families in a ditch not far from the village of Mikhaletsy. Subsequently, Soviet partisans, including some Jews who had escaped from the Kopyl' ghetto, attacked the German garrison in Grozovo.[6] The area was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944. Among those responsible for the Aktions against the Jews in Grozovo and other crimes against the local population in Rayon Gresk were the Gendarme Schwarz, who was based in Gresk from 1942 to 1944, and the local policeman Taras Khramsevich, who was tried by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1944.[7]

SOURCES Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews of Grozovo and Gresk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L (B 162/7574); and GARF (7021-82-4).

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 70. The village of Grozovo had by far the largest Jewish population in the Gresk raion.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Ereignismeldung UdSSR No. 73, September 4, 1941, BA-BL, R 58/217.

4. BA-L, B 162/7574, II 202a AR-Z 204/67, statements of Pawel Zhuk, March 2, 1970, and Isaak Yazvin, March 19, 1970; GARF, 7021-82-4, p. 14. The witnesses speak of some 700 Jews confined within the ghetto, but this number is probably too high, given the pre-war population of Grozovo and other data on the number of victims.

5. BA-L, B 162/7574, II 202a AR-Z 204/67, statements of Pawel Zhuk, March 2, 1970 and Isaak Yazvin, March 19, 1970; GARF, 7021-82-4, p. 14, gives the date of December 18, 1941, for the murder of the Jews held in the "Koniukhi ghetto."

6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 383.

7. BA-L, B 162/7574, II 202a AR-Z 204/67, statements of Pawel Zhuk, March 2, 1970, Isaak Yazvin, March 19, 1970, and Taras Khramsevich, August 16, 1944.

HERMANOWICZE

Pre-1939: Hermanowicze, village, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Germanovichi, Sharkovshchina raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Hermanowicze, Rayon Scharkowschtschina, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Germanovichy, Sharkoaushchyna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Hermanowicze is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. There were 350 Jews living in Her-

manowicze in 1931.[1] German forces occupied the village in early July 1941. At the time of the German arrival, the non-Jewish local population looted Jewish property. The German occupation forces established a Jewish Council and ordered all Jews to wear a yellow Star of David; within a month, they forced the town's remaining Jews into a ghetto. The occupiers made the Jews destroy their synagogue and burn all ritual objects and books.[2] Then, in the fall of 1941, on orders of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie, some 60 Jewish families—altogether 270 people—were sent to the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto.[3] The non-Jewish population of Hermanowicze prevailed upon the Gebietskommissar to allow the families of the brothers Khona-Hirsh and Iosif Sosnovik, who were pharmacists, to continue to live in the town so the pharmacy could function.[4]

On November 17, 1942, a punitive unit from Szarkowszczyzna shot Boris Sosnovik while trying to escape, but Iosif Sosnovik was able to flee; he was subsequently sheltered by the Arliukevich family in Podorszczyna. His son Jakov was saved by Maria Kozinets, who was later awarded the honor of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem. Edliu Milner was hidden by the family of Efrem Savel'evich Ivanov. Partisans captured and killed the collaborator Rutnikovich, who had murdered nine Jews.

SOURCES Documentation on the German occupation of Hermanowicze and fate of the Jewish population can be found in GARF (7021-92-224) and YVA (O-3/1779); there is also a relevant testimony in the personal archive of A.E. Raychonok (PAAR). The Hermanowicze ghetto is mentioned briefly in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 221.

Gennadii Vinnitsa and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:311.
2. Testimony of Frantishek Kuntsevich in the personal archive of A.E. Raychonok; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 221.
3. Act Concerning the Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Invaders on the Territory of Hermanowicze Village Soviet, Sharkovshchina Raion, Polotsk Oblast', Belorussian SSR, April 4, 1945, GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 186; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 510. See also **Szarkowszczyzna**.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 221, testimony of Iosif Sosnovik.

HORODYSZCZE

Pre-1939: Horodyszcze, town, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodishche, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Horoditsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Haradzishcha, Baranavichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Horodyszcze is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Baranowicze. On the eve of the German occupation, there were probably around 1,000 Jews living in the town.

German mobile forces of Army Group Center entered Horodyszcze on June 27, 1941. In the first days of the occupation, German security forces murdered about 20 people, both Jews and Communist activists.[1] A German military administration was in charge of the town during the summer and fall of 1941, recruiting an indigenous police force from local residents.

On the morning of October 20, 1941, German forces of the SS from Baranowicze under the command of Waldemar Amelung arrived in Horodyszcze. Amelung demanded a large contribution from the Jewish Council (Judenrat) and also ordered about 80 male Jews to report with spades to the main square. These men were transported in trucks to the forest in Pogorzelec, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, and then to the Misznowszyna Forest, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Horodyszcze. On the pretext of digging defensive trenches, the Jews were made to dig large pits in both forests. The German forces then shot these men such that their bodies fell into the pits.

On October 21, 1941, the head of the Security Police in Baranowicze, Amelung, demanded that all Jews report to the main square. A selection was conducted, and about 70 skilled craftsmen (shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and carpenters) with their families were set apart and placed in a building located on the square. The remaining Jews, including many women, children, and the elderly, more than 1,000 people altogether, were then transported by truck or escorted by the Belorussian police and Lithuanian collaborators to the pits, where German security forces shot them. A small group of 7 men was also selected and taken to the concentration camp at Kołdyczewo near Baranowicze.[2]

Berl Kraviets, a Jew from Nowogródek, was passing by Horodyszcze with a group of Jews escorting cows to Baranowicze at the time of the roundup. As they passed Horodyszcze, they saw trucks taking Jews to be slaughtered. Kraviets even had a chance to say farewell to his cousins, because as they were led to the trucks, the road was blocked by the cows. He could see them clearly, but they only bowed their heads. They were told that they were being taken to work. As Kraviets was returning from Baranowicze, he noticed that most of the Jewish population was now missing. Only a few Jews were held in the ghetto.[3]

After the mass shooting, the remaining craftsmen, together with those Jews who subsequently emerged from hiding, were placed in a ghetto in Horodyszcze on Słonim Street, where several houses were surrounded by barbed wire. Jews from neighboring small villages were also resettled in the ghetto.[4] In November 1941, a Gendarmerie post under the command of Meister Henning was established in Horodyszcze, and it also took over control of the local police based in the town. The mayor of Horodyszcze was Alexander Jakimowicz.

In 1942, George Dynin, a Jewish teenager living outside the ghetto and pretending to be a Pole, learned from his mother, who worked as a translator in the mayor's office, about plans of the Germans and the local police to kill the remaining Jews in the ghetto. He twice passed this information to the Jews, but very few managed to escape from the ghetto in time.[5]

At the beginning of May 1942, the Germans and local police collaborators rounded up 35 Jews in the ghetto and shot them near the Orthodox church. German-led police forces shot the remaining 100 Jewish specialist workers in August 1942.[6] In November 1942, the Germans shot 100 Gypsies at the Protoslav cemetery in the town.[7] According to a Gendarmerie report from March 1943, 13 Jews who had escaped from ghettos in the Baranowicze area were captured and shot by a patrol consisting of two German Gendarmes and 30 local policemen in the village of Krasiewicze in the Rayon Horoditsche.[8]

SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Horodyszcze during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2229); BA-L; GABO; GARF (7021-81-102; 7021-148-316); NARB (845-1-6); Sta. Oldenbourg; Sta. Mü I; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/296, testimony of Yehuda Szimszonowicz).

Information on the extermination of the Jews in Horodyszcze can be found in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), p. 287. There is also a short article by Major W. Godsey, "Dos Tor Nit Zain Geshenkt!" *Einikait*, December 14, 1944, p. 2.

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-81-102, p. 37.

2. The account of this Aktion is a compilation from the following sources, which contain conflicting information on certain details: AŻIH, 301/2229; Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68, vol. H II (Soviet documents), pp. 46–50, statement of Felix I. Lichuta, December 11, 1967; Sta. Mü I 117 Js 2/72 (Göbel investigation), p. 803, statement of Jewish survivor Judel Samsonowicz; and GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 37–38, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Gorodishche (Horodyszcze), April 20, 1945, which indicates there were 1,440 Jewish victims, but this number appears to be too high. According to another source, Hannes Heer, "Extreme Normalität. Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim. Umfeld, Motive und Entschlussbildung eines Holocaust-Täters," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 2003), p. 739, more than 1,000 Jews were shot.

3. Chaim Kraviets, "Slaughters," in E. Yerushalmi, ed., *Pinkas Navaredok* (Tel Aviv, 1963), pp. 263–272. An English translation by O. Deltycki is available on jewishgenorg.

4. Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68, vol. H II (Soviet documents), pp. 46–50, statement of Felix I. Lichuta, December 11, 1967.

5. "From George Dynin," published in the newsletter of the American Gathering, *Together* (July 2006), p. 18.

6. GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 37–38, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Gorodishche (Horodyszcze), April 20, 1945; NARB, 845-1-6, p. 32, gives the figure of 235 victims, but this is probably the total for the three main Aktions in 1942.

7. R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997), p. 117.

8. GARF, 7021-148-316, p. 89, Gendarmerie Meister und Postenführer in Horoditsche Buchholz an den Gendarmerie Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, March 17, 1943.

HORODZIEJ

Pre-1939: Horodziej, town, Nieśwież powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodeia, Nezvizh raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodeja, Rayon Neswish, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Haradzeia, Niusvizh raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Horodziej is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Baranowicze. The precise number of Jews living in Horodziej at the time of the German occupation is not known, but it was probably somewhere between 700 and 1,000.

The Germans occupied Horodziej in late June 1941. By this time most of the town had been destroyed by German bombardment, and only 25 out of 460 houses remained standing. Shortly after the arrival of German forces, the local military commandant established a Judenrat composed of 12 people, which also supervised a small Jewish police force of 4 men. Male Jews between the ages of 12 and 55 and women between 15 and 50 were subjected to forced labor from 7:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. every day. The Judenrat was obliged to collect a series of extortionate "contributions."[1]

In July, the Germans and local police arrested 15 Soviet workers in the town, 3 of whom were shot on the spot.[2] The Germans appointed a local Belorussian police force in Horodziej, which was commanded by Bolesław Mackało (Matskalo). Mackało was killed by Soviet partisans in 1943. His deputy was Corporal Sergei Usowicz. From the fall of 1941, Horodziej was under German civil administration, as part of Rayon Neswish in Gebiet Baranowitsche, where the Gebietskommissar was Rudolf Werner. The local Belorussian police post in Horodziej was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post based in Nieśwież.

In late summer, Jews were obliged to surrender all gold and silver items and also to wear a "star of shame" on their chests and back. In addition, they were forbidden to trade with Christians, which made it very hard for them to feed themselves. Those who worked were supposed to receive a daily ration of 220 grams (7.8 ounces) of bread and half a kilogram (1.1 pounds) of potatoes, while those who did not work received half this amount.

In the fall of 1941, the Jews managed to bribe the German Ortskommandant to let them trade with Baranowicze for 10

weeks in order to secure their food supplies. When a Christian complained about this illegal trade, however, the two Jews who organized it, Hershl Celoticki and Khaim Melekh, had to report to the German commandant's office, where they were both tortured and beaten to death.[3]

No details are available on the establishment of the ghetto in Horodziej, though it was certainly in existence by the summer of 1942. During the winter of 1941–1942, a group of eight Jews were shot by the local Belorussian police in the Jewish cemetery in Horodziej.[4]

As the summer of 1942 approached, the Jews began to suspect that the end was drawing near. The local police engaged in skirmishes with partisans in the area, and the Germans introduced a regular roll call to ensure that no Jews had fled to the partisans. At this time, the Jews began to prepare hiding places in the ghetto in preparation for an Aktion.[5]

On July 16, 1942, a Security Police task force, including a number of Lithuanian policemen, arrived in Horodziej. First the local police surrounded the ghetto, then the German forces and their collaborators rounded up the Jewish inhabitants before escorting them to the pits. Some were transported on trucks, but most were marched on foot, under close escort by the local police. On the way to the killing site, the guards shot several Jews who were unable to keep up. Approximately 1,000 Jews were shot in Horodziej on this day.[6] In the distance, the sound of machine-gun fire could be heard for four or five hours. News of the killing soon spread to the remaining Jews in the nearby Nieśwież ghetto.[7]

Elena Vasilevna Bezhentseva, a local resident, subsequently described the scene in the town:

> Early in the morning the so-called ghetto was surrounded by police. The people were ordered to gather in the square. Some citizens swallowed the fascists' bait, but those people not wanting to go to the square were forcibly brought out by the policemen, who went through the living quarters and carried out a thorough search. After all the people had been driven out into the square the Germans arrived in trucks (about 50 men) and began a brutal punishment. They laid them all on the ground side by side, face down, and people who tried to raise their heads were brutally beaten. People who protested were shot on the spot. The children were mostly killed with sticks. After lengthy taunting, they began to load the assembled people onto trucks. . . . [A]fter this they were taken outside the town, where they were shot in a prepared ditch with machine guns. . . . The following night after the execution, one woman and her daughter, whose names I do not know, managed to crawl out of the "ditch of death."[8]

Active participants in the massacre included the local police chief, Mackało, Alexander Kudlach, and Lavrentii Konosh.[9] Local policemen also searched the ghetto for Jews in hiding after the Aktion was completed.

Shortly after the massacre of the Jews, the chief of the local Belorussian police in Horodziej, Mackało, gave orders for the head of the Judenrat, Zygmuntovich, who had been kept alive, to be escorted back to the ghetto by two local policemen. On arrival Zygmuntovich removed 25 rubles in gold coins, which had been hidden in the wooden beams of a house. Mackało took the gold from him, and when Zygmuntovich was unable to produce further valuables, he was escorted away and shot from behind by Mackało personally. Other members of the police also took Zygmuntovich's boots and other Jewish clothing to trade with the local peasants for home-brewed vodka.[10]

Two policemen from Horodziej, Alexander Kudlach and Lavrentii Konosh, were tried and executed in the fall of 1944, and another, Alexander Sen', was tried and sentenced to death in 1950.

SOURCES Documents on the murder of the Jews in Horodziej can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; AŻIH (301/2509); BA-BL; BA-L; GARF (7021-81-102); IPN; NARB (845-1-6); WCU; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2509, testimony of Yitzhak Menakher, May 2, 1947.
2. NARB, 845-1-6, pp. 54–56.
3. AŻIH, 301/2509.
4. AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 14792, pp. 17–18, statement of the accused Kudlach, July 31, 1944.
5. AŻIH, 301/2509.
6. The precise number of Jews killed in Horodziej is not known. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) Report dated February 4, 1945, mentions 1,000 Soviet citizens who were "tortured to death." The accused Alexander Nikolaevich Sen' in his own trial file gives the figure of more than 1,500 victims, which is almost certainly too high; see AUKGBRBMO, Criminal Case 35930, Archive File No. 902, pp. 39–42, interrogation on June 16, 1950. A local partisan, who gave evidence in the Kudlach and Konosh case, Mikhail K. Kananovich, estimated 700 victims in Horodziej, which is probably more reliable; see AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 14792, p. 27, statement dated July 12, 1944.
7. This account is based mainly on the detailed evidence in the case against A.N. Sen', AUKGBRBMO, Criminal Case 35930, Archive File No. 902, pp. 96–98, statement of M.F.K., June 7, 1950, pp. 99–102, statement of I.A.N., June 5, 1950, and pp. 171–173, in which the Soviet investigators conducted a crime scene visit to check out the evidence of the above two witnesses, concluding that they both had a clear view of the march route as described in their statements.
8. NARB, 845-1-6, pp. 54–56. This incident is described also by Menakher; see AŻIH, 301/2509. According to his account, of three women who crawled out from the graves, two were chased back into town by shepherds and shot there.
9. GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 95–98; see also AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 14792, case against Alexander S. Kudlach and Lavrentii I. Konosh (1944).
10. AUKGBRBMO, Archive File No. 902, Criminal Case 35930, pp. 23–25, 45–56, 71–72, 126–127, 208–230, and 331–

337. AŻIH, 301/2509, gives a different account of this incident, naming the Jew initially kept alive as Lefkovich, based on hearsay from local Christians.

ILJA

Pre-1939: Ilja, town, Wilejka powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ilia, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ilja, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Il'ia, Vileika raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ilja is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Minsk. In 1921, 586 Jews lived in the town (40.2 percent of the total population). Roughly the same number of Jews lived in Ilja on the eve of World War II.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, due to lack of transportation, only a few Jewish youths were able to flee before German forces occupied the town on July 3, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans arrested and shot those they suspected of being Communist activists, including two Jews.[1] At this time the local non-Jewish population exploited the mood of lawlessness to loot Jewish property.

During the summer of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ordered Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothing. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to implement German instructions. It also had to organize the collection and surrender of farm animals and valuables. Jews were subjected to forced labor, consisting of humiliating physical work such as cleaning toilets.[2]

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Ilja, under the command of an officer surnamed Frank. Ilja now came under a German civil administration, becoming a Rayon center within Gebiet Wilejka. The Gendarmerie also controlled the local police force, which was commanded by Mikołaj Skabiej. In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Ilja, concentrating the Jews into one part of town, although a few Jews continued to live at the tar factory outside the ghetto. Despite the prohibition on trading with non-Jews, those who performed forced labor outside the ghetto secretly bartered with the local population for food.[3]

On March 14, 1942, when Soviet partisans attacked the Chocieńczyce estate near Ilja, some of the Jews working there fled with the partisans into the forests. In response, on the evening of March 16, 1942, a detachment of the German Security Police based in Wilejka under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Grave arrived in Ilja in several cars. Grave ordered the head of the Judenrat to hand over those Jews who had connections with the partisans, but he refused to cooperate. On the morning of March 17, 1942, the Security Police, the German Gendarmerie, and members of the local auxiliary police surrounded the ghetto and drove the Jews out of their houses by force. By 11:00 A.M., about 700 Jews had been gathered on the market square. During the roundup some elderly and sick persons had to be helped to the place of assembly. Those who did not move fast enough, or who tried to escape, were shot on the spot. The police selected a group of about 40 specialist workers, including tailors, blacksmiths, barbers, shoemakers, and their families, from the Jews gathered on the market square. Realizing the fate of the majority, Rabbi Moshe David Vines called out: "Jews! Brothers! These are our last moments on earth. Let us pray in public confession."[4]

The German forces then escorted those not selected, mainly women, children, and the elderly, to a large building designed for the cold storage of vegetables, fruit, and meat on the outskirts of town.[5] The building contained a large pit, which had been prepared for the storage of ice inside. The police forces cordoned off the area. The Jews were ordered into the building in small groups. During the operation, at least three young persons attempted to escape and were shot. Before entering the barn the victims had to take off their clothes down to their underwear. Then they were driven to the edge of the pit, where four policemen from Wilejka, armed with pistols, shot the Jews in the back of the head. Other policemen reloaded the pistols to save time.

The Aktion took many hours, and at the end, the police poured gasoline on the bodies of the victims and set them on fire to ensure that any possible survivors were also killed. One account mentions that 10 Jewish girls were raped by the German police on the night before they were shot in the mass grave.[6] According to a German Security Police report, a total of 520 Jews were killed in Ilja on March 17, 1942.[7] After the Aktion the German police went through the houses of the ghetto and found approximately 60 additional Jews. These people were escorted to the same pits and were also shot there. Altogether, somewhere between 500 and 700 Jews were killed. The property of the victims was looted, and surviving Jews had to collect and bury those Jews who had been murdered on the streets of the town.

The Jewish craftsmen and their families, as well as some other Jews who had survived in hiding, more than 100 people altogether, were then concentrated in a smaller ghetto, composed of a few houses on "Shul" (Synagogue) Street surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. A few days after the Aktion, some of the craftsmen were transferred to Wilejka. Their families joined them a couple of months later, shortly before the liquidation of the Ilja ghetto.

There was terrible overcrowding in the small ghetto in Ilja. People slept on the floor with only straw for a bed. Everyone left for work early in the morning and only returned late at night, being checked by the Gestapo at the gate for any hidden food. If something was found, people could be shot on the spot. Nonetheless, Jews still tried to smuggle something in, as there was terrible hunger in the ghetto. A new Jewish Council was formed within the small ghetto, which sought to prevent a further slaughter through bribery with the meager resources remaining.[8]

The liquidation of the Ilja ghetto was conducted on June 7, 1942. Following the murder of a local collaborator by Soviet partisans nearby, a unit of German police arrived in Ilja from Wilejka. All the remaining ghetto inhabitants were herded to the same location as the first Aktion and were shot there. The

corpses of the victims were splashed with gasoline, set on fire, and burned.[9] At this time, about 150 Jews were shot and buried in pits.[10] Similar Aktions were also carried against the Jews of the nearby villages of Wiazyń and Olchowce, in which up to 100 Jews were murdered altogether, including young children.[11] A number of Jews from Chocieńczyce managed to escape to the forests after they were warned by a Jew fleeing from the Aktion in Ilja.[12] Following the clearance of the Ilja ghetto, local Gendarmerie officials secured remaining valuables. Their failure to promptly hand these over to the Gebietskommissar in Wilejka resulted in an angry exchange of letters between the civil administration and the police authorities.[13] The Red Army liberated the town on July 3, 1944.

In 1979, the regional court in Bochum tried four individuals for their participation in the murder of Jews in Gebiet Wilejka during 1942, including the Aktion against the Ilja ghetto in March 1942. Only one man was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, the remainder going unpunished.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Ilja, edited by A. Kopelovich, *Sefer Ilyah* (Tel Aviv, 1962), includes several accounts by survivors from the ghetto; there is also an extract from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission materials published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000).

The following archives contain documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Ilja: BA-BL (R 58/221); BA-L (B 162/1472 [II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42]); GARF (7021-89-6, pp. 5–55); LG-Bo (7 Ks 45 Js 3/61); NARB (861-1-10 and 4-29-112); USHMM (RG-18.002M, reel 5); and YVA (M-33/1139).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Bat Sheva, "During the Slaughter, in the Ghetto and in the Forests," in Kopelovich, *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 339–373 (hereafter cited as *Sefer Ilyah*).
2. Ibid.; Yona Riar, "The Holocaust," in *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 421–440.
3. David Rubin, "A Tale of Struggling, Toil, and Tears," in *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 317–320.
4. *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 421–440; and NARB, 861-1-10.
5. NARB, 861-1-10, pp. 26–27, statement of Josef Zhabko on December 21, 1945; BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8747–8752, statement of Stepan A. Medwezkij, December 8, 1970. There are several sources regarding the main Aktion against the Jews of Ilja in March 1942. The descriptions of eyewitnesses in the yizkor book and postwar trials are largely corroborated by the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK). The same date is given in the relevant Einsatzgruppen report and the yizkor book.
6. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg*, p. 180.
7. BA-BL, R 58/221, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 184, March 23, 1942.
8. *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 373–402, 416.
9. NARB, 4-29-112, pp. 138–139, Report of the ChGK, April 24, 1945.
10. LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, pp. 62–66.
11. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1441, gives the figure of 60 Jews of Wiazyń murdered in June 1942. In 1921 Wiazyń had a Jewish population of 137; the village of Sosenka, 76; and Olchowce, 27. See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965). See also GARF, 7021-89-6, ChGK report for the Ilya raion.
12. *Sefer Ilyah*, pp. 317–338.
13. USHMM, RG-18.002M, reel 5 (LVVA), 70-5-24.

IWACEWICZE

Pre-1939: Iwacewicze, town, Kosów powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ivatsevichi, Kossov raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Iwatsewitschi, Rayon Kossow, Gebiet Slonim, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Ivatsevichy, raen center, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

The town is located on the Grivda River, 136 kilometers (85 miles) northeast of Brest.

By 1939, Iwacewicze had about 1,500 inhabitants, of which around 120 were Jews.

In mid-September 1939, the Red Army occupied Iwacewicze. The Jewish population of Iwacewicze increased by around 300, owing to the influx of refugees from other regions of Poland.

German forces occupied Iwacewicze on June 24, 1941. Before their arrival, only senior Communist Party activists and officials were able to evacuate to the east. The German administration soon declared all state property and Jewish possessions confiscated by the Reich. Within days, they seized residences, cattle, bread, clothing, and all valuables. Jews were thrown out of their homes, which were used as quarters for the German army. The local German commandant established two prisons and a local police force.[1]

Conditions were especially harsh in the prisons, and people sometimes died of hunger. The cells were packed to the brim, and some died of lack of oxygen or simply expired. The occupying forces also conducted public executions, hanging alleged partisans in the main square for sabotage.

On several occasions, the Germans changed the composition of the police force. Initially the policemen were Poles, but suspicions led the Germans to shoot some individuals and replace those in charge. The next group the Germans used for policing consisted of Belorussians, but some of them were subsequently replaced by Ukrainians.[2] There was also a German military garrison in the town, which was located on a major supply route for rail and road transport to the front.

Ben-Tsion Lipman Kopelianskii was appointed the Jewish elder, as he was well respected and educated—having graduated from a commercial school in Warsaw—and could also speak German.[3] The Judenrat collected jewelry and precious metals from the Jews to meet German demands and had to relay all German orders.

In the second half of October 1941, the Jews of the town were moved into a separate quarter or "ghetto" on the edge of town.[4] Jews from the surrounding villages, including Lubiszczyce (7 kilometers [4.3 miles] to the northeast), were also brought to the ghetto area, which remained unfenced.[5] It was located on a few streets, which ran parallel to the main highway through Iwacewicze, and consisted of a small hotel, a school, and other houses. Every day Jews were escorted out of the ghetto for work, clearing up rubble, or working on road construction projects or at the railway station, during which they were frequently beaten. A number of Jews also worked at the sawmill, managed by a German named Storzinger, who promised to protect them in return for generous bribes.

The Jews received a minuscule ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day. The blacksmith Abram Zhuchowicki and his son, Aron, worked repairing German trucks and received a supplementary portion for their work. They also worked for local farmers in exchange for food. Otherwise Jews could get extra food only by selling their possessions, or with the help of former neighbors. Neighbors helped "their own" Jews, who represented only a small percentage of the total. Most Jews could survive only through illegal bartering, at great risk to their lives. Bartering required good organization, trust, and in many cases, the assistance of local policemen willing to turn a blind eye in return for a bribe.

Jews were forewarned of their fate when peasants came to the Jewish quarter and said such things as, "Hand over everything to us, they are coming to kill you." Only in the forest was there relative safety, but there the Jews needed to find and secure the help of the partisans.

According to the testimony of Sara Rosjanski, the German soldiers were "not all bad." One of them showed Sara a photograph of his family. He explained that he was a farmer and could not avoid being mobilized. He opposed the war. Another German warned Aron Zhuchowicki, who was repairing his automobile, that it was necessary to escape soon, since everyone would perish.[6]

In the first days of March 1942, Gebietskommissar Gerhard Erren in Słonim informed the Judenrat in Iwacewicze that all the Jews had to leave their homes by March 15. They could take with them only what they could carry. At that time there were about 600 Jews in Iwacewicze.

Sara Rosjanski's testimony indicates that the expulsion took place at Purim (early March) in 1942. Kopelianskii, head of the Judenrat, told all the Iwacewicze Jews to be ready and line up in rows in the street at 9:00 A.M. and to be dressed for winter. There was a snowstorm with knee-deep snow and temperatures below freezing. German soldiers armed with rifles and batons took away much of what they were carrying. Any Jew that was too sick to line up was shot in their bed. To evacuate the ghetto, the Germans had some sleds brought in from the nearby villages for families with younger children, including Sara Rosjanski's family. The Jews were taken or walked 20 kilometers (over 12 miles) into a designated area in the forest. Most Jews expected that they would be killed by Lithuanian collaborators, but no police squad arrived, perhaps due to the harsh winter conditions. At dusk, Kopelianskii on a sled with a German officer told the Jews that they could go to any other town—but not return to Iwacewicze. Sara's family was taken by a non-Jewish friend on a sled to the nearby town of Byteń at night, where they had cousins. That day, Chaim Utschtein, a blacksmith, developed severe frostbite of his right hand, which he eventually lost completely. Others also suffered from severe frostbite, and some froze to death.

In total, some 400 Jews headed towards Byteń, and most others to Kosów. On their arrival in Byteń, the Judenrat attempted to house and feed them and to provide some medical help. The refugees from Iwacewicze in Byteń subsequently shared the fate of the Byteń Jews.[7]

Thanks to the efforts of Storzinger, who ran the sawmill, the chairman of the Judenrat, Kopelianskii, and some other Jews were permitted to remain in Iwacewicze as "useful Jews" with temporary work permits. A neighbor of Sara Rosjanski, who worked for the Germans, gave work permits to Jacob Rosjanski, Aron Zhuchowicki, and Barrel Basser. They were ordered to clear out property from the ghetto and bury the Jews that had been shot. They were moved into a smaller separate Jewish quarter. In the spring of 1942, the Germans allowed some of the younger Jews to return to Iwacewicze from Byteń to work in the sawmill. Shortly thereafter, some 200 Jews were again in the town.[8]

About two months after the initial expulsion, the Germans conducted an Aktion in Iwacewicze in which 40 or 50 Jews were shot, presumably those deemed unfit for work.[9]

The Germans carried out the murder of the remaining Jews in Iwacewicze in late July or early August 1942.[10] At this time there were about 50 to 100 Jews in the ghetto. During the night before the Aktion, the Germans and their sympathizers surrounded the Jewish houses and captured all the Jews alive. Sara Rosjanski and many of her family were crammed into the small hotel when armed Germans entered through the rear and woke them up, shouting: "Halt! Halt!" Sara and Jacob Rosjanski with their infant son Samuel were among about 10 Jews who escaped through the window. All the other Jews were captured.[11]

On the night before, the police had ordered local Belorussians and Poles to dig a ditch 10 meters long, 5 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (33 feet by 16 feet by 6.5 feet). Sara Kopelianskii recalled that one German had suggested to her father, the Jewish elder, Kopelianskii, that he would save him. But Kopelianskii refused, as he could not save his whole family. According to Nina Lavrenchuk, when Kopelianskii stood on the edge of the ditch, he shouted at his executioners, "They bury us, but you will meet your death. The crows will peck out your eyes."

The Jews were forced to undress before the Germans shot them with automatic rifles. Those participating in the Aktion included Lithuanian collaborators with the SS and local policemen. Shleizer Rozhanskii was shot in the shop where he worked. Aron Zhuchowicki hid in a nearby garden full of tall beans and saw the Nazis escort the Jews and their crying children to the ditch. After the murders, the Germans and policeman confiscated the Jews' clothing and other belongings.[12]

According to different Soviet Commission reports, the number of Jews shot in Iwacewicze during the occupation ranged between 39 and 290, along with up to 60 non-Jewish victims.[13] The victims included Sara Kopelianskii's parents, Ben-Tsion and Miriam, Miriam's two sisters, Vasenzon and Tsira Goral'skaia, and Miriam's brother Khaim Rozhanskii and his children.[14]

Following the mass shooting in Iwacewicze, some Jews in hiding were also apprehended. On the night before the Aktion, an elderly Polish woman named Bylina arrived at the Kopelianskii home, offering to save their only daughter, Sara. After a difficult debate within the family, Sara left and hid for five days in Bylina's garden, from where she heard shooting in the distance. Also hiding with Sara was a young doctor, Beatis, from Warsaw. Unfortunately the doctor was captured by the police before he could escape to the Soviet partisans. Sara, disguised as a peasant, successfully joined the partisans. She fought in the Suvorov detachment of the Ponomarenko brigade.[15] A number of Jews from Iwacewicze and other ghettos of the region fled with the assistance of neighbors to the dense Volchy Nory Forest near Byteń. Here at least 70 Jews managed to hide out and survive until the arrival of the Red Army.[16]

When the Germans retreated in the summer of 1944, they burned down the majority of the homes in Iwacewicze and torched many neighboring villages, including Bobrowicze, Borki, and Omelna.[17] Units of the Red Army's 1st Belorussian Front liberated Iwacewicze on July 12, 1944.

SOURCES Publications relating to the fate of the Jews of Iwacewicze under German occupation include the following: *Pamiats': Belarus* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995); Moshe Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," in *Pinkes Biten: Der Oyfkum un Untergang fun a Yidisher Kehile* (Buenos Aires: Bitener Landslayt in Argentina, 1954); and "Naselennye punkty Ivatsevichskogo raiona: Administrativno-territorial'noe delenie na 1 ianvaria 2005," *Ivatsevitskii vestnik* (Ivatsevichi, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BLH; GABO (514-1-321); GARF (7021-3-19); NARB (861-1-3); TsAKGBRB; USHMM; and YVA (M-41/1010). In addition, the authors have also used some documents from their own personal archives.

Leonid Smilovitsky and Abraham Ross
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53.
2. YVA, M-41/1010, p. 17.
3. Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, letter of Sara Weis (Kopelianskaia) from Melbourne, May 10, 2006.
4. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53; GARF, 7021-3-19, p. 4; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 89. At least one source mentions the area as being surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. The Byteń yizkor book, however, states that the 600 Jews of Iwacewicze lived in a particular part of town but that no formal ghetto had been established by mid-March 1942; see Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," pp. 221–224. It is possible that the fence was erected around the smaller Jewish quarter that existed after the March 1942 expulsion.
5. According to the *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), Poland, p. 148, there were 13 Jews living in Lubiszczyce in 1921.
6. Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ivatsevichi as It Was," recollections of Sara Rozhanskii (Ross), December 12, 1990.
7. Pitkovski, "Azoy iz Untergegangen di Yidishe Kehile in Biten," pp. 221–224.
8. Ibid.; archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, letter of Sara Weis (Kopelianskaia) from Melbourne, May 17, 2006, and interview with Sara Weis on April 7, 2006, in Jerusalem.
9. BA-L, ZStl, 202 AR-Z 228/59, Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4342.
10. *Pinkes Biten*, pp. 221–224, dates the Aktion in July; BA-L, ZStl, 202 AR-Z 228/59, Erren Trial Verdict, p. 4342, dates it as probably on July 25, 1942. Another source dates it on August 11, 1942. In early August, Soviet partisans attacked Kosów, occupying it for several weeks after the German police garrison had abandoned the town and fled to Iwacewicze on August 8, 1942; see NARA, BDC collection, SS Officer File of Carl Zenner.
11. Testimony of Sara Zuchowicki Rosjanski (Ross), in the personal archive of Abraham Ross.
12. Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, interview with Sara Weis on April 7, 2006, in Jerusalem.
13. GABO, 514-1-321, p. 19, Report on Ivatsevichi (Iwacewicze) of the ChGK Investigatory Commission to the regional soviet on January 20, 1945.
14. BLH, record of interview of Sara Weis (Kopelianskaia) with Sara Shmer.
15. *Partizanskie formirovaniia Belorussii v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny, 1941–1944 gg.: Kratkie svedeniia ob organizatsionnoi strukture partizanskikh soedinenii, brigad (polkov), otriadov (batal'onov) i ikh lichnom sostave* (Minsk, 1983), p. 129.
16. Testimony of Sara Zuchowicki Rosjanski (Ross), in the personal archive of Abraham Ross.
17. "Naselennye punkty Ivatsevichskogo raiona," *Ivatsevitskii vestnik* (2005).

IWIENIEC

Pre–1939: Iwieniec (Yiddish: Ivenets), town, Wołożyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Ivenets, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Iwieniec, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Ivianets, Valozhyn raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Iwieniec is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west of Minsk. In mid-June 1941, there were probably about 1,200 Jews residing in Iwieniec.

German armed forces occupied Iwieniec on June 26, 1941, just a few days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. As a result of the rapid German advance, only a few Jews were able to evacuate with the Red Army.



Group portrait taken at a yizkor service in memory of the destruction of the Jewish community in Iwieniec, held at a displaced persons camp in 1945. USHMM WS #21025, COURTESY OF SELIG KOST

In the summer of 1941, a series of German military commandant offices (Ortskommandanturen) were in charge of the town. A few days into the occupation, rumors spread that peasants from the surrounding villages were coming to Iwieniec to rob the Jews. Some non-Jewish neighbors responded by offering to take Jewish property into safekeeping. Then the peasants arrived and took what remained, beating the Jews severely at the same time.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Iwieniec: they appointed a Judenrat and required that Jews wear the Star of David. The local police robbed the Jews and beat them frequently. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor, for example, cleaning the streets and stables and other menial tasks. In an Aktion conducted on July 14, 1941, against alleged members of the Jewish intelligentsia, local non-Jews assisted in the selection of 14 Jews, who were then arrested by German SS men from Wołożyn. The SS took these men out and shot them shortly afterwards.[2]

On September 5, 1941, German Security Police again arrived in Iwieniec. They carried out an Aktion in which, with the assistance of the local police, they killed around 50 Jews.[3] An Einsatzgruppen report dated September 23, 1941, described the Aktion as follows:

> In the Rayon town of Iwieniec, a Sonderaktion against the Jewish population was necessary, as only insignificant numbers of Jews were wearing the prescribed markings. In addition, despite unambiguous public appeals, they were not surrendering stolen property and were supporting partisan groups with both words and deeds. During the implementation of this measure, some of the stolen property was recovered, and 50 male Jews were shot for failing to comply with German orders and for terrorizing the Belorussian population.[4]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Iwieniec became a Rayon center in Gebiet Nowogrodek, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The SD-Hauptaussenstelle Baranowitsche organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Iwieniec in 1942. At first, the head of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle was SS-Untersturmführer Waldemar Amelung (who died in 1954). His successor as of April 1942, SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder, was killed on June 9, 1942. Amelung then resumed leadership of the Hauptaussenstelle until October 1943. In Iwieniec itself, there was a German Gendarmerie post, to which the local police force was subordinated. Many of the local police were Poles who had been persecuted by the Soviets.[5]

On November 10, 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Iwieniec. The ghetto was located on two very narrow streets, Mill and Shulhof. The Jews living outside this area were brutally driven into it by the local police, who continued to harass the Jews over the ensuing two nights. They shot several Jews as they were herded into the ghetto or during the police raids on the following nights. On November 11, the Jews had to erect a fence around the ghetto on three sides. The river formed the ghetto boundary on the fourth side. As a result, it was possible to sneak out of the ghetto, especially in winter when the river was frozen. Inside the ghetto about four or five families had to share each house in very overcrowded conditions. There was poor sanitation and almost no medical facilities. The Jews were able to obtain potatoes from the local peasants in exchange for bartered items or money, but bread was scarce. Jews capable of work were sent out of the ghetto via its two gates every day to perform various labor tasks. Religious services continued to be observed in the two synagogues, which were located within the ghetto area.[6]

In April 1942, the Germans assembled 120 Jewish men in Iwieniec. The German officials conducted a selection such that craftsmen with specific skills were sent to the ghetto in Nowogródek, and the remaining unskilled laborers were sent to the ghetto for forced laborers run by the Organisation Todt (OT) in Dworzec.[7]

On May 8–9, 1942, German officials sent about 300 able-bodied Jews on foot from the Rubieżewicze ghetto to Iwieniec. On arriving in Iwieniec these Jews were herded into the ghetto and had to find a place to sleep. During the day they were obliged to dig bunkers for the Germans.[8] Two weeks later, a second group of Jews from Rubieżewicze arrived in Iwieniec. The Jews brought in from the Rubieżewicze ghetto included Jews from the villages of Derewno, Naliboki, and Wołma.

On June 1, 1942, the labor commissar from Nowogródek conducted another selection. The Jews were collected in a Polish army barracks, and those aged 15 to 55 were escorted on foot to Naliboki, where they were locked overnight in a barn. Here the local police beat the prisoners and took the best clothing and shoes. The next day, the group was driven on foot to Lubcz, and those who fell behind were shot. From here the Germans sent a number of Jews by train to the Nowogródek ghetto, where many perished during the major

Aktion there in August 1942. The others were sent to the Dworzec ghetto labor camp.[9] Remaining behind in Iwieniec were elderly Jews and children under the age of 15, who had been separated from their parents. A few Jews had gone into hiding or escaped to the forest before this final selection.

The Germans liquidated the remnant of the Iwieniec ghetto on June 9, 1942. Along with the Jews of Iwieniec, other Jews from the surrounding towns and villages of Rubieżewicze, Derewno, Naliboki, Wołma, and Kamień who had been collected in the Iwieniec ghetto were also shot. The total number of victims was about 800.[10] The Aktion was organized by a detachment of Security Police from Baranowicze, which consisted of 27 men (12 Germans and 15 Lithuanians), led by the head of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Baranowitsche, SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder. Some of the local police from Iwieniec also participated in the killing. On the evening of June 9, 1942, near the village of Naliboki, partisans attacked the Security Police detachment and nearly wiped it out: 10 Germans, including SS-Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder, and 11 Lithuanian policemen were killed. After the Aktion, only a few specialist Jews, including a doctor, a chemist, and a dental technician, were permitted to remain alive in Iwieniec for a while longer.[11]

Soviet partisans briefly captured the town of Iwieniec from the Germans in June 1943. The partisans killed some of the German garrison, while many of the local police deserted and fled with the partisans at this time. However, by the end of 1943, there was open hostility between Soviet and Polish partisans around Iwieniec, as both groups began to anticipate the impending German defeat. Many of the Jews who had escaped from ghettos in the region sought refuge with the Soviet partisan units.[12]

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Iwieniec and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Sefer Ivenets*, *Kamien ve-ha-seviva: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Ivieniec Societies in Israel and Diaspora, 1973); David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, *Derevne ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv, 1968); *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'nyia khroniki haradou i raionau Belarusi. Valozhynski r-n* (Minsk, 1996), pp. 262–264; and "Iwieniec," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Biaystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 120–123.

Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Iwieniec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/3452-59); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); IPN; PUST; USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 6593, 24696, and 43261); and YVA (e.g., O-16/436; M-1/E/1574; M-33/1159).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. D. Svinik, "Der hurbn fun a yiddisher kehila," in *Sefer Ivenets*, pp. 357–358. Some of the neighbors claimed that they in turn had been robbed when Jews returned at the end of the occupation to reclaim their property.

2. *Sefer Ivenets*, p. 381; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik, gives the figure of 14 Jewish victims; BA-L, B-162/3452 (202 AR 94e/59, vol. I), pp. 70–80, cites 16 Jews shot in August or September 1941.

3. *Sefer Ivenets*, p. 381.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941. This is probably the incident described in some detail in Svinik, "Der hurbn fun a yiddisher kehila," pp. 360–361, as the murder of 76 Jews.

5. Bernhard Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front. Besatzung, Kollaboration und Widerstand in Weissrusland, 1941–1944* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998), pp. 292–293.

6. *Sefer Ivenets*, pp. 361–362, 381–383; VHF, # 24696, testimony of Genia Nowog (born 1925), # 6593, testimony of Aaron Oshman (born 1910), and # 43261, testimony of Samuel Scherb (born 1918); BA-L, B-162/3452, pp. 70–80; and YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik.

7. YVA, O-16/436, testimony of Mordechai Ralnik.

8. Eliezer Gurion testimony in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287; Yerakhmiel Segalovitsh testimony, in idem, pp. 263–267; see also idem, p. 175.

9. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–262, 286–287; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik; and VHF, # 24696.

10. The date of the mass shooting, the total number of victims, and the names of the towns and villages were taken from the inscription on the memorial erected on the victims' grave in 1994. According to the 1921 census, there were 21 Jews living in Derewno, 185 in Naliboki, 149 in Wołma, and 59 in Kamień.

11. BA-BL, R 58/221, Meldungen aus dem besetzten Ostgebieten no. 9, June 26, 1942; and II. Zug der Waffen-SS, Tätigkeitsbericht, Minsk, June 18, 1942, published in *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*, *Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes RFSS*, *Tätigkeitsberichte der 1. und 2. SS-Inf.-Brigade*, *der 1. SS-Kav.-Brigade und von Sonderkommandos der SS* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1965), p. 241. PUST, "The Account of Cavalry Captain Jarosław Gąsiewski," maintains that Poles within the local police refused to participate in the murder of the Jews—but in light of the extensive persecution of Jews by the mainly Polish local police unit prior to the liquidation Aktion, these assertions remain unconvincing. Gąsiewski's anecdote suggesting the existence of some antisemitism within the Soviet partisan leadership, however, seems more credible.

12. Chiari, *Alltag hinter der Front*, pp. 180, 293.

IWJE

Pre-1939: Iwje, *town*, *Lida powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Ive*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Iwje*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Lida*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Ive*, *raen center*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Iwje is located 115 kilometers (69 miles) west of Minsk. In 1938, there were 3,025 Jews residing in Iwje. About 1,000 more Jews lived in the nearby villages of Traby (around 600 people), Lipniszki (100 families), Bakszty (around 50 people), and Subotniki (about 15 families).

Units of German Army Group Center entered Iwje on June 29, 1941. From mid-August 1941 until March 1942, the commander of the 10th Company of Infantry Regiment 727, Oberleutnant Amberg, was the military commandant (Ortskommandant) in Iwje. After August 31, 1941, when a German civil administration was established in Weissruthenien, Iwje was a Rayon center within Gebiet Lida. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in the town, commanded by an Austrian Gendarme named Bauer.

On August 2, the Security Police selected and shot about 200 Jewish men. The Germans established a Judenrat on that fateful day right after the selection. Those appointed held their posts until the liquidation of the ghetto. The chairman of the Judenrat was Moshe Kopold, a refugee from Kraków; other members included Khaim-Leib Dvoretski, Bernard Mlinarski, Yidl Kabak, Faive Alberstein, Khone Malakhovski, Tsalke Milikovski, and Leibman. The purpose of the Judenrat was to assist the Germans in implementing their policies towards the Jews. They had to organize workers for the local military and civil authorities, and also meet the labor demands of Gebietskommissar Hanweg in Lida and the Organisation Todt.

The Jewish Police was recruited from youths forcibly moved to Iwje from nearby towns. Its commander was Yoel Girshovich, and his deputy was Leib Kalmanovich from Traby. With the help of the Jewish Police, the Germans collected a series of forced contributions in the form of gold and other valuables from the Jewish population.[1]

By October 1941, the Jews had been concentrated in a special quarter of town. Some Jewish workers received permission to work outside the town, while the rest occupied the row of houses behind the shops in the market, up to the beginning of Nowogródek Street. Six families lived in each house. Christians were forbidden to enter Jewish houses, yet peasants still came to exchange food for clothes, furniture, and valuables. Some peasants were even paid by the Judenrat to collect information about events in the area.[2]

By April 1, 1942, all the Jews from the smaller surrounding towns of Lipniszki, Traby, Bakszty, Subotniki, and other settlements had been collected in Iwje. About 4,000 people were concentrated in the ghetto. Because of the terrible overcrowding, poor nutrition, and appalling hygienic conditions, epidemics of skin diseases (eczema and scurvy) and typhus broke out. Doctors in the ghetto tried to conceal the severity of the situation, fearing the Germans might exploit the existence of disease as a pretext to purge or liquidate the ghetto.

In late April, all the Jews working outside the town were ordered to return home by May 1.[3] On May 8, police reinforcements—about 100 men—arrived by bicycle. On May 11, the Judenrat received an order from the Polish auxiliary police to provide a squad of about 100 men with shovels and spades to dig some trenches. Then Gebietskommissar Hanweg arrived, summoned the Judenrat, and announced that about 800 people (the elderly and infirm) would be shot. He promised that no harm would come to the "useful Jews" but ordered them to collect a large tribute. On the night of May 11–12, more German police arrived on motorcycles. At dawn they drove all the Jews out of their houses into the market square. Many people were shot as they were assembled. Looters came to search the abandoned houses and take whatever was left.[4]

The people gathered in the market square had to kneel and wait for several hours. Leopold Windisch, a department head in the office of the Gebietskommissar in Lida, supervised the selection of the Jews and issued orders to the guards, which included some Lithuanian auxiliaries who had been drinking. First the Jews who had legitimate working papers were selected. Members of the Judenrat checked people's papers. In total, two groups of about 200 or 300 Jews were set apart. The lives of these Jews were temporarily spared. Members of the killing squad later escorted them to the ghetto in Lida.

The rest were then led in groups of 10 families to another selection site nearby, where Windisch and Rudolf Werner, who headed the economic section in the Gebietskommissar's office, stood on opposite sides of the street. Large families with small children were directed to the church; this was a death sentence. The others were given a temporary reprieve. It took three hours to sort out 4,000 people. The police stood by and whipped those who were lucky to hear, "Get out!" About 2,500 people were escorted from the church to the pits in the Staniewicze Forest.[5]



Iwje residents view an open mass grave, 1944–1945, which may have been the site of the mass shooting of 2,500 Jews by the German authorities on May 12, 1942.
USHMM WS #23458, COURTESY OF GFH

At the killing site, the Jews had to undress, tie their belongings in a small bundle, and climb into the pit, where they were promptly shot. After each group of 100, the police and Lithuanians drank alcohol and ate food nearby. In despair, Jews buried any money they had with them. One youth, Ari Tabachnik, struggled with a policeman, bit him in the throat, and was shot dead. Others, such as Gute Goldberg and Rashke Gaskind, threatened the murderers with terrible revenge. Some boys tried to escape, but the guards shot them as they ran. Some children were thrown into the pit alive.

Approximately 1,200 Jews remained alive and were ordered to wait on their knees. They had to surrender any valuables. Then they returned to the market square, where Windisch gave a short speech, explaining why the Jews of Iwje had been shot: because of the weapons stolen by Jews from the Boytn camp, and because the Jews in America and England had started the war. The remaining Jews were mostly young men, capable of work, the "useful Jews." Only a few Jewish policemen remained alive, together with several doctors (Melamed, Siniuk, Bernson, Kaplinski, and Wolfowicz) and the members of the Judenrat, who had collected the money as a guarantee of their lives.

In the afternoon, the remaining Jews returned to the ghetto. They removed the bodies of those who had been shot inside the ghetto. The Polish police (Rayon commander: Mulitsa; town police: Zhebrik) seized 50 Jews from the ghetto to fill in the two pits, each 30 meters long by 4 meters wide and about 2 meters deep (about 98 by 13 by 6.5 feet). Some of the victims were still alive, but German Gendarmes soon finished them off. Near the pits were piles of clothes, linen, and shoes. The clothes were sold cheaply to the local population.[6]

A mood of despair prevailed in the ghetto. There were no more illusions that the reprieve would last long. Some Jews who worked outside the town encountered Russian partisans, and soon the first small group, including Vele Blokh and Berman, left the ghetto to join the partisans in the forest near Bakszty. Moshe Kaganovich became the leader of the underground partisan organization in the ghetto.

In the fall of 1942, rumors spread that the Iwje ghetto would soon be liquidated. Many people began to stay outside the ghetto overnight. (The police guarding the ghetto did not enforce the rules strictly.) Groups of workers were sent out to Mołodeczno, Krasne, and forced labor camps run by the OT in Lida. On December 31, 1942, another group of ghetto inmates was sent to Borisov. This selection caused a great panic in the ghetto, and many inmates fled to the forests and nearby settlements.[7]

Among those who escaped at this time was a group regarded as the underground partisan organization, which had made contact with the Bielski partisans. Unfortunately, several were killed or captured at the farmstead of Chrapienewo when Germans and local police from Wsielub attacked them. Others went to the Morino Forest, where they built a dugout to hold about 20 people. This group was armed and procured food from the surrounding settlements to survive the winter of 1942–1943. The surviving Jews mostly joined Soviet partisan detachments, including the Lenin, Stalin, and Bielski units, and some survived the war.

On January 20, 1943, all of those still alive in the ghetto were sent to Borisov, where they died in the peat bogs of Biala-Boloto at the end of March 1943.

SOURCES The yizkor book of the Jewish community of Iwje, edited by Moshe Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Iwie in Israel, 1968), includes several firsthand accounts of conditions in the ghetto.

The German war crimes investigation of Leopold Windisch (LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67) also contains useful information on the liquidation of the ghettos in Gebiet Lida. Other archival sources include the following: AŻIH (301/505 and 1842); BA-L (e.g., B 162/14386); GARF (7021-89-5); NARB (845-1-63); USHMM; VHF (e.g., # 5594, 16884, and 38992); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2387).

Tamara Vershitskaya

NOTES

1. Shifre, Margolin, "The Extermination," in Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie*, pp. 503–518; see also YVA, M-1/E/2387 (David Baksht) and 1772/96 (Elimelech Melamed), as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 255–256, 269; and Dr. A. Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," in Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie*, pp. 519–524.

2. September is the date given in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), 9:1155; postwar testimony cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 523, states that a ghetto had already been established in July; Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518, appears to indicate that the ghetto was not formed until mid-October.

3. Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518; Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," pp. 519–524. Some sources indicate that the Jews from Traby and Lipniszki were brought into the ghetto in the fall of 1941, but the precise date is not clear.

4. Ibid.; BA-L, B 162/14386, LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969, pp. 34–36.

5. BA-L, ZStl, LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969; Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," pp. 519–524.

6. BA-L, ZStl, LG-Ma 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969; Kaplinski, "The Slaughter in Iwje," pp. 519–524; Elimelekh Melamed, "We Covered the Pits of Our Martyrs," in Kaganovich, *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Iwie*, pp. 525–529; Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518. The Windisch trial verdict estimates the number of victims at 2,304.

7. Margolin, "The Extermination," pp. 503–518.

JEREMICZE

Pre-1939: Jeremicze, village, Stołpce powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Eremichi, Mir raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jeremicze,

Rayon Mir, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Iaremichi*, *Karelichy raen*, *Hrodna voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Jeremicze is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north-northeast of Baranowicze. Just prior to the German invasion, the village had some 700 inhabitants, of which about 100 were Jewish.

The German army first entered the village around the end of June 1941. Advancing German troops continued to pass through for two weeks, but initially no Germans were permanently stationed in the village. Shortly after their arrival in the region, the German military authorities appointed a local village elder and began recruiting a local police force, which by December 1941 comprised about seven men. The first head of the police in Jeremicze was Piotr Galecki, who subsequently became the police chief in the larger nearby town of Turzec. The police station in Jeremicze was in the former house of the schoolmaster on Turzec Street. The police helped the Germans to identify local people who had assisted the Soviet authorities. These people were initially arrested and later shot. The policemen were renowned for their brutality, robbing and beating local inhabitants. Shortly after the establishment of the local police, all the Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars on the front and back of their clothing and were subjected to a curfew and other special regulations.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the local military commandant in Stołpce was responsible for the administration of the Mir Rayon. From August 1941 this was Leutnant Göbel of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727. In August 1941, the German authorities arrested anyone in Jeremicze who had not been a resident of the village before June 22, 1941. These people were then taken away by the Germans, and nobody saw them again. It was rumored that they had been shot.

Probably in August 1941, the German authorities established a small fenced ghetto in Jeremicze. The synagogue and two other houses on "Shkolnaia Street" were surrounded with barbed wire. All the Jews were ordered to stay behind the wire, which was guarded by the Belorussian police. Altogether there were about 9 or 10 Jewish families, consisting of about 10 members in each family, including small children. Occasionally the Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto, but they suffered from hunger due to lack of food.[1]

One day in the late summer of 1941, probably at the end of August, members of the local police in Jeremicze, including Anton Czyczewski, forced two Jews into the Nieman River and then shot them in the back. News of this incident also reached the Jews in Turzec.[2]

Sometime before the end of October 1941, a large pit was dug in a meadow behind the village of Jeremicze. On November 4, men of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, arriving by truck from Stołpce organized the mass shooting of some 500 Jews in Turzec. On the same day, assisted by the local Belorussian police, the German soldiers from the same unit gathered all the Jews on the central square in Jeremicze. There was a roll call, and all the Jews had to place their private belongings onto a truck. After the roll call the Jews were formed into a column and escorted by the local police towards the pit in the meadow. As they walked they could be heard crying and screaming as they realized their fate. One Jewish woman threw her shawl into the garden of a Christian neighbor as she passed by. At the pit the Jews were shot, probably with pistols. Afterwards, local residents filled in the pit.[3]

In Turzec, at the time of the massacre of the Jews there, those Jews who were selected for work at the Nowy Świerżeń labor camp saw a truck arrive carrying the clothing and other property from the 97 Jews shot that day in Jeremicze.[4] Unfortunately there are no testimonies from Jews who lived in the Jeremicze ghetto, since probably all of them were shot on November 5, 1941. The local non-Jewish resident Olga Stankevich reported: "[A]fter the execution, Jeremicze looked horrible. The Jewish houses with their doors open were vacant, many books and loose pages were scattered all over the roads." Local people looted the Jewish houses and took furniture, clothes, and anything else that was there.[5]

SOURCES Some brief information on the fate of the Jewish community in Jeremicze is contained in the following: the yizkor book for Turzec, edited by Michael Walzer-Fass and Moshe Kaplan, *Kehilot Turets ve-Yeremits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse' Turets ve-Yeremits be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Brit, 1978); and also the memoir of Yehuda Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community, 1900–1944* (Tel Aviv, 1958).

Some documentation mentioning the fate of the Jews of Jeremicze can be found in the following archives: GARF; Sta. Munich I (117 JS 2/72); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3876). This article is based mainly on the testimonies of non-Jewish local residents collected by the British Metropolitan Police (NSY) during the course of the investigation during the 1990s of the wartime regional police chief in Mir, Semion Serafinowicz. These records are now located in the NA; transcripts of the committal proceedings held at Dorking in 1996 are in the public domain.

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NOTES

1. NSY, Yevgeny Vladimirovich Brazovsky, March 1995, and Olga Nikolayevna Stankevich, June 1995.
2. NSY, Josef Harkavy, February 1995, and Ivan Biyut, April 1992.
3. Ibid.; and NSY, Dorking, Yevgeny Vladimirovich Brazovsky, March 19, 1996.
4. NSY, Dorking, Josef Harkavy, March 25, 1996; YVA, O-3/3876, testimony of Mordechai Jalowsky.
5. NSY, Olga Nikolayevna Stankevich, June 1995, and Ivan Biyut, June 10, 1995.

KLECK

Pre-1939: Kleck, *town*, *Nieśwież powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Kletsk*, *raion center*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klezk*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kletsk*, *raen center*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

The town of Kleck lies approximately 23 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. In 1921, there were 4,190 Jews in the town (74 percent of the total population).

Units of German Army Group Center occupied Kleck at the end of June 1941. A German military administration initially controlled the town and started to recruit an auxiliary police force from local inhabitants in early July 1941. Among the first regulations imposed on the Jews was the wearing of distinctive symbols and the prohibition of trading or even communicating with the non-Jewish population. From August 1941 until February 1942 the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Kleck was manned by about 10 soldiers detached from the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, which had its headquarters in Stołpce.[1] In November 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Kleck, which also took over responsibility for the local Belorussian police.

On October 24, 1941, the German commandant ordered the arrest of 34 Jews, who he then had shot the next day. This caused many Jews to grasp that they might experience a similar fate, and they started to make preparations to escape or hide. On October 26, the Jews had to register with the work committee, and rumors about the establishment of a ghetto began to circulate. Many Jews gave their valuable items to Christian neighbors for safekeeping. The Belorussian head of the Rayon, Emanuel Jasiuk, issued an order to the town administration and the local police chief Guryn to prepare for the establishment of a ghetto in the center of town.[2]

On October 29, 1941, the German Commandant Koch ordered all the Jews to gather in the marketplace. However, suspecting some malign intent, several hundred Jews did not show up, either hiding in the surrounding countryside or staying at home. Those that did report wore their best clothing. German forces from Reserve Police Battalion 11 and their Lithuanian collaborators that arrived on trucks then surrounded the market square, and Commandant Koch conducted a selection. The Jews were split into two groups: one of about 3,800 that remained on the square; a smaller group was escorted under guard by the local police to the Great Synagogue. The German police and Lithuanian auxiliaries then marched the larger group of Jews to the Catholic cemetery and shot them into mass graves that had been prepared just prior to this event by local non-Jews.[3]

After the Aktion, the remaining Jews from the synagogue were sent home to gather their belongings and were given only a short time to move into the small area reserved for the ghetto. When joined by those who emerged from hiding and also a few Jews brought in from the surrounding villages, some 1,400 Jews were inside the ghetto.[4] Overcrowding was extreme, and the rooms were distributed to the Jews more or less arbitrarily. Around this time, a Judenrat was organized and a Jewish police force established. The head of the Judenrat was Yitzakh Tserkovitch, and other members included Isaac Tsiap, Lipe Mishelevski, and Tsalie Gendels.[5]

The ghetto was surrounded by a 3-meter-high (almost 10-foot-high) fence with barbed wire and guarded by the local police. The Jewish adults in the ghetto gathered every morning and were taken under guard by local Belorussians to perform various forced labor tasks outside the ghetto, including work on the railroad, clearing snow, and cleaning the market square. Rations consisted of only a small amount of bread per day: workers receiving 260 grams (9 ounces) and the others 125 grams (4.4 ounces) per day. However, it was possible to obtain food from outside by barter with the local population, if at extortionate black market prices, and nobody died of starvation.

As disturbing rumors spread in the ghetto of an impending Aktion, some Jews wanted to escape to the forests or make contact with the partisans. However, the head of the Judenrat, Tserkovitch, opposed these plans for fear of German reprisals against the whole community, but in addressing about 200 youths just prior to the Aktion, he concluded in tears: "Perhaps it is too early and perhaps it is too late: do as you think best."[6]

The second Aktion, which resulted in the liquidation of the ghetto in Kleck, took place on July 22, 1942.[7] It was organized by a squad of the Security Police and SD, which arrived from Baranowicze together with a squad of Lithuanian auxiliaries. They were assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the local Belorussian police, including men from the police posts in Zaostrowicze and Siniawka as well as Kleck. Once the ghetto had been surrounded during the night, the next day Jews set fire to the ghetto in an attempt to deny the Germans their remaining property and also to assist their escape. Two Jews, Itshe Finkel and Avraham Pazharik, threw prepared grenades at their attackers, and others threw rocks or grabbed improvised weapons, such as rakes or shovels. In response, the Germans and their collaborators fired into the burning ghetto, and some Jews tried to flee in the chaos. Others committed suicide or were burned alive in their hiding places. Due to the wind, the fire also spread to some buildings outside the ghetto. Ultimately about 400 Jews were escorted out of the ghetto, and the German forces shot them near the Christian cemetery. Up to 1,000 Jews were murdered in the ghetto area, and only a few dozen managed to survive in hiding or make good their escape. Local Belorussian policemen took an active part in the liquidation of the ghetto and especially in the hunt for escaped Jews thereafter, assisted also by some local peasants. Among the local policemen who actively participated in the murder of the Jews were Michał Czyczewski, Pawel Bruszkiewicz, and a man named Kirsanow.[8]

Of those Jews who fled, most took refuge in the Kopyl Forest, where they joined the Jewish Zhukov partisan unit. About 16 Jews from Kleck returned alive from serving with the partisans after the town was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES Personal accounts of survivors of the Kleck ghetto can be found in the yizkor book edited by A. Sh. Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Kletsk be-Yisrael, 1959).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/990); BA-L (e.g., B 162/3421); GABO; GAMINO (1039-1-167); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); IPN (e.g., SwSz 49); NARB (845-1-6); Sta. Munich I (117 Js 2/72);

Sta. Oldenburg (2 Js 138/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.378*0012); VHF (# 2530); and YVA (e.g., 2214/24-P).

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NOTES

1. Sta. Munich I, 117 Js 2/72 (investigation in the case of Friedrich Göbel), pp. 1228–1230, statement of Fritz Mühlemeyer, September 6, 1972.

2. Statement of Liudvig V. Petkevich, March 29, 1978, OSI, file concerning crimes in the Kleck raion.

3. Leah Fish-Meyerovitch, "Di Farnikhtung," in Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk*, pp. 352–355; Sta. Oldenburg, 2 Js 138/68, Closing Report (Einstellungsverfügung) in Eibner case, pp. 182–187.

4. Alter Meyerovitch, "Death and Vengeance," in Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk*, pp. 355–361.

5. Shteyn, *Pinkas Kletsk*, pp. 352–361.

6. YVA, 2214/24-P (Yitzhak Preiss), as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 192.

7. This date is given, for example, by Iosef Pshepyurko (USHMM, RG-50.378*0012).

8. IPN, SwSz 49, p. 130; GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 54–65; BA-L, 202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 222–265; AŻIH, 301/990, statement of Jonkiel Gelb.

KOBYLNIK (NAROCZ)

Pre-1939: Kobylnik, *village*, *Postawy powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Kobyl'nik*, *Miadel raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kobylnik*, *Rayon Miadziol*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Narach*, *Miadzel raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Kobylnik is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) north-northwest of Minsk, on the shore of Lake Narocz. On the eve of World War II, there were about 300 Jews living in Kobylnik.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Kobylnik at the end of June 1941. Before their arrival, a few young Jews managed to flee with the retreating Red Army. The Poles greeted the Germans' arrival with joy, established a militia, and went on to assist in the persecution of the Jews.

Shortly after their arrival, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Its main tasks were to enforce German regulations concerning the wearing of yellow patches bearing the Star of David and to supply the Germans with forced laborers. Groups of young men were sent daily on foot to cut trees near the village of Samsonowo, 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Kobylnik. Other tasks included construction work and, in winter, clearing of snow from the streets.[1]

At the end of July 1941, the mayor of Kobylnik, Wąckowicz, provided the Germans with the names of 48 Jews who had served the Soviet regime. On July 28, these Jews were arrested, taken to a pit, and shot. Leon Salomon, a refugee from Maków Mazowiecki in central Poland, recalls that his brother was among those who were arrested and shot as suspected Communists. Shalom Jawnowicz, the head of the Judenrat, obtained permission for the corpses to be reburied in the Jewish cemetery.[2]

In the summer of 1941, rumors began to spread that the Jews would be forced to move into a ghetto. However, the authorities did not implement a formal ghetto, as those non-Jews who lived on one of the streets designated to be within the ghetto refused to leave their houses and energetically opposed the initiative. Instead, only the wealthiest Jews were driven from their homes and had to move in with other Jewish families. All Jewish houses also had to be marked with a Star of David, which one survivor has described as an "open ghetto." The designated Jewish houses became an easy target for raids by the local police, but the fact that the ghetto was not enclosed made it easier for Jews to go out and barter possessions for food with the peasants in the surrounding area. Jewish refugees from the mass murders in Lithuania also came to Kobylnik and sought refuge there, as conditions were less stringent than in the enclosed ghettos of the region.[3]

In September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a German civil administration. Kobylnik was incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. However, the German military retained some authority in the region, as it took several months for the personnel of the civil administration to take up their posts.

On October 5–6, 1941 (at the time of Sukkot), German soldiers of the 10th Company, Infantry Regiment 747, assisted by local collaborators, conducted a large Aktion in the village. First they rounded up more than 100 Jews, had some of them dig a large pit, then shot those and others. Up to 150 Jews were shot altogether, allegedly for spreading rumors about the impending return of the Bolsheviks. Women and children were also among those killed; according to non-Jews who filled in the pit, some people who had only been wounded were buried alive. Afterwards the possessions of those who had been shot were sold cheaply to the local non-Jews.[4]

Periodically, the Jews had to meet German demands for money, valuables, and furniture. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews were ordered to surrender all their fur coats, blankets, boots, and winter clothing. Subsequently in 1942, the Gebietskommissar, Kreisobmann Schmid, in Wilejka demanded a huge monetary payment, and threatened to kill all the Jews if they did not comply. It seems this demand was probably met, as the threat was not immediately carried out.[5]

By 1942, the German civil administration had replaced most of the Polish policemen with Belorussians, as they did not trust the Poles. The commandant of the Belorussian police in Kobylnik was a man named Smolenski, and his subordinates beat and robbed the Jews mercilessly. Smolenski reportedly boasted to the Jews: "You and your money belong to me."

In the spring of 1942, a group of Jews was sent from Kobylnik to the nearby town of Miadzioł Nowy, where they worked for the Gestapo.[6]

In the summer of 1942, the arrival of Jews who had escaped from massacres in nearby towns, such as Krzywicze, brought further misfortune on the Jews of Kobylnik. When the Belorussian police discovered that these refugees had been given shelter, they arrested all the Jews concerned and shot them with their families, accusing them of supporting the partisans. In most cases, even bribes could not help those condemned. In addition, if local Jews went missing, hostages might be taken in an attempt to force their return. Jews were also arrested and subjected to humiliations and torture at the whim of the local police, although occasionally those arrested were released after a severe beating. In particular, the murder of small children by the Belorussian police cast a grim shadow over those who remained alive.[7]

On September 19, 1942, Kobylnik Jews that had fled from their workplace in Miadzioł Nowy brought news that many Jews there had escaped, and most of the rest had been murdered. In response, some Kobylnik Jews also fled into the woods. Then on September 20 (on the eve of Yom Kippur), a detachment of Security Police from Wilejka, assisted by local Belorussian police, surrounded the village. The head of the Judenrat, Jawnowicz, was informed that the Germans wanted to establish a ghetto and issued instructions for the Jews to assemble on the market square. The local police then rounded up those who did not go willingly. A number of younger Jews attempted to hide or flee, but some were betrayed by local inhabitants and dragged away by the local police. The Jews were held in a large public building for one night without food. Their main fear was that the building might be burned down with them inside, as they had heard of Jews being killed in this fashion in other places. Some tried to escape, but only a few succeeded. A small group of Jewish artisans was selected and used initially to prepare a mass grave. The next day the Germans and local police took the 100 or so Jews remaining in the building and shot them.[8]

About 50 specialist workers from Kobylnik and their families were kept alive and were transferred to Miadzioł Nowy. There they joined more than 50 locals in a remnant ghetto, living under terrible conditions. In early October 1942, a group of Jewish partisans from a Soviet unit infiltrated the ghetto. They led out many of the inmates under a hail of German fire. Some joined the partisans, and others went into hiding in the forest or escaped to the Postawy ghetto, which remained in existence until late December. Several Jews from Kobylnik were later murdered in the forest by Polish partisans belonging to the "Armia Krajowa."[9]

Some Jews of the village were saved, thanks to local residents of Kobylnik. For their rescue efforts, Joseph Tunkevitz, Adolf Zhelubovsky, and Jan Valaji were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. For intervening to help Meir Svirsky, an Orthodox priest was arrested by the Gestapo and later shot in Wilejka.[10]

According to Meir Svirsky of the Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, around 375 Jews lived in Kobylnik during the war and occupation, a figure that includes some Jews who had fled from other places in Poland. The total number of victims was probably around 320 people, since reportedly 53 Jews from the ghetto managed to survive.[11]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Kobylnik can be found in the following publications: Yitzhak Siegelman, ed., *Sefer Kobylnik* (Haifa: Va'ad Yozei Kobylnik b'Israel, Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, 1967); and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 533–536.

Documents about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kobylnik during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-10); UM-DOHA; USHMM; VHF (# 33839 and 35859); and YVA (e.g., M-33).

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NOTES

1. "Kobylnik," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536.

2. UM-DOHA, testimony of Leon Salomon, June 18, 1990; Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, p. 155; and Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536.

3. Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 155–156, describes the failure to establish a formal ghetto. VHF, # 35859, testimony of Sarah Shner Neshamit, states only that in 1941 the ghetto was not fenced in.

4. H. Heer, "Extreme Normalität. Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (2003): 737; this source gives the figure of only 42 victims. Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 159–163; this source includes a list of the names of some of the victims. VHF, # 33839, testimony of Ralph Friedman; Friedman successfully escaped from the grave digger detachment. He estimated that about 150 Jews had been rounded up in the fire station.

5. Spector and Freundich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536.

6. Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 164–167.

7. Ibid., pp. 166–173; and Meir Svirski, "Merder—kinder merder," in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, pp. 183 ff.

8. Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), pp. 124–125; and Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 174–177. Meir Svirsky of the Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel gave testimony on September 17, 1992, that in the cleansing Aktion of September 21, 1942, about 120 persons were killed. In 1992, a memorial was created at the site of the shooting, about 300 meters (328 yards) north of the village. See also Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 49, who dates the Aktion on September 27, 1942.

9. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:533–536; Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 55–61, indicates that about 50 craftsmen remained in a "small ghetto" in Miadzioł Nowy after the liquidation of the main ghetto.

See also Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 176–177.

10. Testimony of Meir Svirsky, September 17, 1992; see also Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," p. 165.

11. Testimony of Meir Svirsky, November 24, 2001. A list of the victims in Kobylnik appears in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, p. 274. There are 124 surnames and 356 individual names. Another nine families and their members are mentioned only by surname. The total number of Jews listed stands at approximately 385 persons.

KOPYL'

Pre-1941: Kopyl' (Yiddish: Kopulia), town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kopyl, Rayon center, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kapyl', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kopyl' is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 1,435 Jews were living in Kopyl' (28 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 29, 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. According to one source, the Ortskommandant was a man named Schulz. Soon after the Germans' arrival, German security forces arrested 26 young Jews and shot them in a nearby forest. At some time during the occupation, possibly in the summer or fall of 1941, another 300 people were shot in the same location—among those killed were Russians, Belorussians, and Jews, also including women and children.[2]

Shortly after the occupation, in early July 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews of the town resettled into a ghetto based on the Jewish quarter of the town. Those living outside the designated area were given only three days to move in. Jews were also required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded around the clock by Germans and the local police.[3] The population of the ghetto probably consisted of about 2,000 people.[4] The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force. Adult Jews were required to perform forced labor, which according to one account was unpaid. Food was obtained by barter with the local population. Jews with houses located around the edge of the ghetto found it easier to barter across the ghetto fence, obtaining vegetables, such as carrots, potatoes, and cucumbers.[5]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kopyl' was incorporated into Gebiet Sluzk in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk was Gauamtsleiter Heinrich Carl. In the fall of 1941, the Germans established a Gendarmerie post in Kopyl', which also took over control of the local Belorussian police (Schutzmannschaft). The head of the local police was a man named I. Gurlo, who had been a stable hand on a state cattle farm under the Soviets.[6]

According to the Jewish survivor Boris Shtein, "Any attempt to leave the confines of the ghetto was cut short by shots. Bringing food into the ghetto was forbidden and punishable by death. Almost every day healthy men like me were driven to the hardest, filthiest labor. We had to clean German and policemen's toilets (they were separate; the policemen could not use what was designated for a superior race), horse stalls (which was much more pleasant), wash their dirty underwear, and chop firewood. For the slightest disobedience the conversation was short—execution on the spot." Shtein also notes that there was starvation in the ghetto, with people dying every day, and no medical supplies.[7]

The Germans also demanded a series of contributions from the ghetto, threatening to shoot people if the money was not collected quickly enough. Jews were also brought into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, resulting in increased overcrowding. In some houses, up to five families had to share the limited space available. Among the labor tasks, some Jews were escorted out of the ghetto to chop wood in the forest. In the winter of 1941–1942, there was no shortage of firewood in the ghetto. Some Jews even had concealed radios, which enabled them to keep track of the progress of the war at the front. The next Aktion in March 1942, however, came suddenly with no warning.[8]

On March 25, 1942, the German and local Belorussian police, assisted by auxiliaries from the Baltic states, conducted a large Aktion in Kopyl'. One secondhand source indicates that Gebietskommissar Carl also came from Slutsk to personally supervise the Aktion.[9] First the police forces herded people into the synagogue, and the German authorities conducted a selection such that the skilled craftsmen and their families, comprising up to 1,000 people, were sent back to the ghetto. Those remaining in the synagogue, about 1,300 people, were then taken out and shot in mass graves about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town.[10] As some Jews were shot in hiding or trying to escape, the surviving Jews had to carry these bodies out to the pits to be buried.[11]

According to a report by the German Security Police, a group of about 200 Soviet partisans besieged the town for two weeks from May 1942, inflicting a number of casualties on the Germans, including the loss of at least two Gendarmes with their uniforms. The same report mentions that 18 partisans were captured and publicly hanged, probably once the town had been relieved by strong forces of the German police and Wehrmacht.[12] Other sources also mention the public hangings but describe the victims only as civilians.[13]

On the night of July 22–23, 1942, the German police and their auxiliaries liquidated the ghetto. Many Jews hid in cellars and other concealed hiding places. Armed Jews staged a rebellion, opening fire on the policemen, killing three of them. They also set the ghetto on fire, in order to have a better chance to escape. Two thirds of the town was completely destroyed in the battle.[14] Around 200 Jews managed to escape into the forest either before or during this final Aktion.[15] The rest were killed.[16]

A number of escapees joined the Soviet partisans, serving, for example, in the Zhukov detachment of Chapaev's brigade.[17]

However, the path to reach the partisans was fraught with danger, as the Germans threatened to kill all the inhabitants of a village if anyone there was known to be hiding Jews. Boris Shtein, who escaped from the ghetto, eventually found refuge with a friend of his father's in Stary Kopyl'. He hid in a cattle barn until the arrival of the Red Army in the summer of 1944. However, he was so exhausted that he was placed in the hospital until he learned to walk again. In the meantime, the Registration Office in Kopyl' sent notification of Shtein's "death in the ghetto" to his relatives, who had been among those evacuated to the east.[18]

SOURCES Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Kopyl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/16148); GARF (7021-82-8); and VHF (# 20980, 31329, and 50565). A brief survivor account by Boris Shtein has been published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 253–254.

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 657; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 38.
2. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Anton S. Schkiljewitsch, October 16, 1969.
3. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber; and Boris Shtein, "My Relatives Received My Death Certificate," in Meltser and Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 253. All date the establishment of the ghetto just after the Germans' arrival at the end of June 1941, i.e., in early July 1941. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Anton S. Schkiljewitsch, October 16, 1969, however, dates it after the "second Aktion" in which 300 people were shot, including non-Jews.
4. GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 91–92, cites 2,000 ghetto imates. BA-L, B 162/16148, p. 151, gives the figure of 3,000. And Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 253, cites 5,000 but these figures are probably too high.
5. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, and # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber.
6. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March, 13, 1942; and Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 253–254.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 253–254.
8. VHF, # 50565, testimony of Josif Khaet, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, and # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber.
9. BA-L, B 162/16148, p. 136, statement of Cadok Feigin, September 7, 1967.
10. GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 91–92. This figure may also be too high.
11. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg.
12. BA-BL, R 58/697, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 6, June 5, 1942.
13. BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 136, 147, 151, 184. This source dates the hangings on May 2, but the chronology in the contemporary German report is more likely to be reliable.
14. Rüstungskommando Minsk, report of July 25, 1942, in Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), p. 227; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 254; and VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg.
15. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 700, n.1065.
16. The names of 547 Jews who were killed in 1941–1942 are known; see GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 120–127.
17. VHF, # 20980, testimony of Motka Faynberg, and # 31329, testimony of Mikhail Farber; and Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 657.
18. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 254.

KORELICZE

Pre-1939: Korelicze, town, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Korelichi, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Korelitschi, Rayon Walewka, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Karelichy, raen center, Hrodno voblasts' Republic of Belarus

Korelicze is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-southwest of Minsk. In 1931, the Jewish community numbered 1,300.

The German army occupied Korelicze at the end of June 1941. At this time the town was left without authority for a few days, and according to Hasia Turtl-Glukovitsh, "at nightfall peasants from the surrounding villages entered the town with bags and wagons, broke into Jewish houses, then robbed and looted whatever they found." A few young Jewish men tried to organize resistance, but they were severely beaten.[1]

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) initially administered Korelicze. Two of the German military officials who ran the town were Erhard and Brikhoff. The Kommandantur was based in the house of Josef Bernstein. The first chief of police was Kasperowicz, a Christian from Korelicze. He was subsequently replaced by Straszke and later by Druczke. Once some of the town's ruffians became policemen, they did whatever they wanted with the Jews. Among the incidents were attacks by local policemen on the tailor Dovid Nislevits and also Joel Meierovits, which involved torture and robbery. One of the most notorious policemen, in the recollections of Jewish survivors, was a man called Bryczkowski.[2]

At the end of July 1941, a group of Germans from Nowogródek arrived in Korelicze, summoned the town's rabbi,

Israel Vernik, and ordered him with a few other Jews to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat). They all met at the rabbi's house, and Shimon Zelavianskii, Moisheke Kivelevich, and Borukh Shimshelevich became members of the Judenrat. Zelavianskii was appointed as its head, and Lipka, a refugee, became the secretary.

One of the first German orders was for the Jews to surrender all their gold and valuable items. Noncompliance was punishable by death. Further decrees followed concerning "Jewish Stars," which were to be worn on the chest and on the back, and additional contributions were levied on several occasions. All the orders were transmitted to the Judenrat, which served as a conduit between the German authorities and the Jews. A Jew from Łódź named Libhober served as an interpreter.[3]

All the Jews were registered and given identification documents. They were made to perform forced labor every day. Work tasks included the construction of a bridge over the Serawicz River and dragging out trucks that had got stuck in the mud on the surrounding roads. This work was sometimes accompanied by beatings and humiliations, such as forcing Jews to lick the wheels of the recovered vehicles.[4]

In July 1941, the Judenrat was ordered to gather all the Jewish men of Korelicze in the marketplace. At first people were made to stand in lines, then 105 men were selected and imprisoned in the Bet Midrash, guarded by the local police. The next day, those arrested were loaded onto trucks and taken away in the direction of Nowogródek. According to some accounts, local non-Jews then offered to bring the arrested men blankets and money, claiming they were still alive. But this was only a ruse to cheat Jewish relatives, as it later became known that the selected men had been shot just after they were taken away.[5]

On August 15, 1941, many Germans passing through Korelicze stopped long enough to search Jewish houses and take whatever they wanted. Then they ordered the Judenrat to present Rabbi Vernik and 10 other men. They ordered them to bring all the Torah scrolls, prayer shawls, prayer books, and other sacred items out of the two synagogues and set them on fire. They wanted to burn the rabbi, too, but only tore out his beard instead and shot some other men who tried to escape and hide in the synagogue. The rabbi was taken to Nowogródek and was murdered there several days later. After the synagogues and sacred objects had been destroyed, the Jews gathered secretly in private houses to pray.[6]

From the fall of 1941, a civil administration was established in Korelicze, which was within the Walewka Rayon of Gebiet Nowogrodek (Gebietskommissar Traub). Until March 1942, however, security was still provided by units of the 707th Infantry Division. According to the report of the division's commander, the military commandant for "Weissruthenien," von Bechtelsheim, in early November 1941, a few "Jews were shot in Korelicze for refusing to obey orders ([caught] without a star or an identity card), as well as for threatening a local policeman."[7]

The order to form a ghetto came in February 1942. The Jews of Korelicze were forced to move out of the main streets to just a few houses on the side streets around the two-story house that had belonged to the Lifshits family. About 50 people lived in each house. It was their responsibility to transfer all their belongings themselves, and they were forbidden to return home a second time. According to one account, local non-Jews "looked on, their mouths open with laughter and festive joy." A few families from the surrounding villages were also brought to the Korelicze ghetto. They included Jews from Cyryn, Sopotnica, and Mondzin.[8]

Workshops were set up for the artisans outside the ghetto. Non-Jews used to bring documents issued by the gmina (village council) authorizing them to have Jews do work for them. Later artisans were allowed to go to the marketplace, where they were recruited to work for local peasants. The work was usually without monetary compensation. Sometimes, however, Jews were given a piece of bread, potatoes, or some other food in return for their work. A few transports of Jews were sent away to the Organisation Todt (OT) camp in Dworzec.

The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Belorussian police wearing German uniforms. There was also a Jewish police force inside the ghetto. It was not difficult to escape from the ghetto, but the Germans warned that if even one person went missing, they would kill the entire Jewish population. Every evening and morning, the ghetto inmates were counted. A few non-Jews would come to the wire fence, bringing a loaf of bread or an egg to barter for some clothes.[9]

There was a group of six people who wanted to join the partisans. They were Moshe Shiling, Dovid Liphshits, Bentshe Gulkovits, Itske Hilert, Helene Kalita, and Dovid the bachelor. They acquired weapons and established contacts with some Red Army men operating in the area. Mordekhai Meierovitsh recalls that already in the autumn of 1941 on his way from Nowogródek to Korelicze he encountered a man who presented himself as a Russian major named Mikhail Kuznetsov, who had organized a partisan detachment together with other escaped prisoners of war. But there were antisemites in their group who did not want Jews to join them.[10] Some Jews from Korelicze, however, escaped later from the camp in Dworzec to the partisans.[11]

At the end of May 1942, the Germans ordered the Judenrat to draw up a precise list of all the artisans, who were then ordered to move to Nowogródek, together with their families.[12] They were given three days to prepare to leave. The news about the departure of the Jews spread through the surrounding villages. Peasants came in crowds to barter things from the Jews. They loaded wagons with Jewish possessions.[13]

Three days later, on the morning of June 2, 1942, the children and elderly were loaded onto wagons; everyone else had to walk. The entire population of the ghetto (estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500 people)[14] was driven to the marketplace, lined up in fours, everyone near their own family, women, and children. The sick and those unable to walk were murdered in their beds and brought to the cemetery to be buried.

The column started to march to Nowogródek. Some people were shot as they turned back to get a final glimpse of their birthplace. They covered the distance of 24 kilometers (15 miles) in one day, despite the heat, and were brought

straight to the Peresieka ghetto in Nowogródek, where local Jews were concentrated together with Jews from the surrounding villages and towns. They were made to wait for hours at the gates of the ghetto in the rain before being let into the stalls.[15]

During 1942, some of the younger Jews managed to escape to the forest and join the Bielski partisans. Most of the Jews from Korelicze were murdered in the massacres on August 8, 1942, and February 4, 1943, at Litovka, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside Nowogródek.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Michael Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh: Hayeha ve-hurbanah shel kehilah Yehudit* (Tel Aviv: Society in Israel and the USA, 1973), contains a number of personal accounts by survivors from Korelicze. The joint memoir of Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchel, 1998), also mentions the arrival of Korelicze Jews at the ghetto in Peresieka (Nowogródek).

Documents relating to the Korelicze ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAGO; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E-2441/2513, O-3/2106, 3149).

Tamara Vershitskaya and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Hasia Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot Yehude Korelits," in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh*, pp. 19–34. In the same volume, see also the account of Mordekhai Meierovitsh, "Meyne iberlebungen in der tseyt fun der tsveyter velt-milkhameh," pp. 235–244; and by A Native of the City, "Oyfn randt fun khurbn," pp. 212–225.

2. Ibid.; Joel Meierovits subsequently fled to the partisans and emigrated to the United States after the war. Bryczkowski is mentioned in several accounts (see, for example, Frume Gulkovitsh-Berger, "Zikhroynes fun geto," in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh*, pp. 228–231).

3. Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," Mordekhai Meierovitsh, "Meyne"; and A Native of the City, "Oyfn."

4. Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244; BA-L, B 162/3452 (202 AR-Z 94e/59 [Investigation of Johann Artmann], vol. 1), pp. 15–29, statement of Szaul Gorodinski, February 11, 1963.

5. On the cheating of the Jews, see Meierovitsh "Meyne," pp. 235–244; and A Native of the City, "Oyfn," pp. 212–225. The account of Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," also mentions the number of 105 arrestees, saying they were kept in the "synagogue" and mentioning that some members of the Judenrat were among them.

6. See the accounts of Turtl-Glukovitsh (who gives the date of August 5), "Korot"; and Meierovitsh, "Meyne."

7. BA-MA, RH 26-7976/2, report of Kommandant in Weissruthenien, November 11, 1941.

8. The quote is from Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," pp. 19–34; on the Jews brought in from surrounding villages, see A Native of the City, "Oyfn" and "Der ershter partizan fun Korelitsh," also in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh*, pp. 212–225, 255–256.

9. Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," pp. 19–34; and Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244.

10. Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244, Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," mentions the German threat to kill all the Jews if one went missing.

11. A Native of the City, "Der ershter," pp. 255–256.

12. This may have been the origin for the list of 989 names of Jews from the Korelicze ghetto, including the professions of family heads, dated May 20, 1942, GAGO, 641-2-3 (copy also at USHMM, RG-53.004M, reel 7).

13. Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244.

14. See BA-L, B 162/3452 (202 AR-Z 94e/59, vol. 1), pp. 30–42, statement of M. Meirowicz (Meierovitsh), December 7, 1960. See, however, the list of 989 names noted above in note 12.

15. See the accounts of Turtl-Glukovitsh, "Korot," pp. 19–34; Meierovitsh, "Meyne," pp. 235–244; and also that of Frumke Gulkoviysh-Berger, "Zikhroynes fun Geto," in Walzer-Fass, *Korelits-Korelitsh* pp. 228–231. See also Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 51–52, 152. According to one account, the last Jews from Korelicze were brought to the ghetto in Nowogródek in the fall of 1942, but this account is not strong on chronological details; see A Native of the City, "Oyfn," pp. 212–225. The other accounts maintain that all Jews were removed from Korelicze in May.

KOSÓW POLESKI

Pre-1939: Kosów Poleski, town and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kosovo, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kossowo, Rayon center, Gebiet Slonim, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kosava, Ivatsevichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kosów Poleski is located about 130 kilometers (81 kilometers miles) northwest of Brześć nad Bugiem (Brest). In 1931, there were 2,200 Jews living in Kosów.

On June 26, 1941, German forces occupied Kosów Poleski. At this time there were about 2,250 Jews living in the town, including a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland. The occupying authorities confiscated state property and personal belongings of the Jews.

Initially, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The Germans appointed a man named Shigideev as mayor, and a former émigré, Slavinskii, who arrived with the German forces, became head of the Rayon (Rayonchef). They recruited a local police force, initially dominated by Poles, including Viktor Demsza, Zelinski, and Wolczok. Later the Germans replaced these men for alleged disloyalty and appointed Belorussians and Ukrainians, including Ivan Zhuk and Vasilii Baibak, in their place. Ivan Mal'chik was a senior police officer serving under the German Gendarmerie.[1]

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans gathered the Jews in the main square and selected some of them. They then forced them to run in circles until they were exhausted. When the Jews collapsed, they beat them with rubber truncheons. They also cut off the beards of elderly Jews. Those

initially targeted for persecution by the occupying forces included former Polish officers, Communists, and local Soviet activists. German security forces arrested a number of these suspects and shot them individually or in small groups.

In July 1941, the German military administration introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. All Jews from the ages of 16 to 55 were compelled to perform forced labor. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks. When the Jews did not start wearing their badges immediately, the Germans shot the head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) and appointed another man in his place. Serving under the Jewish Council was the Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst).[2] Forced labor tasks included sweeping the streets, repairing the highways, cutting timber, and loading wagons at the railway station. The workday lasted from sunrise to sunset. Some Jews were taken out every day for work at Iwacewicze, 13 kilometers (8 miles) from Kosów Poleski. Other Jews worked directly for the Germans, producing leather items.

Within three months of their arrival, the German authorities had established an open ghetto in the town. Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Hoszczewo, were brought under guard to Kosów, where more than 2,000 Jews were concentrated in overcrowded conditions. Like the other ghettos in Gebiet Slonim, the ghetto in Kosów Poleski was probably not enclosed by a fence until the spring of 1942, most likely in April or May.

In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kosów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Slonim, under the control of Gebietskommissar Gerhard Erren. A Gendarmerie post was established in the town, which was commanded by Meister der Schutzpolizei Gustav Lange. At this time the German authorities demanded that the Jews surrender 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of gold, threatening to kill all the Jews otherwise. On another occasion the Germans arrested 22 of the wealthier and more educated Jews and sent them to Słonim. These men were released only in return for a large bribe.[3] The commandant, Lange, was notable for his corruption, and the Judenrat repeatedly bribed him with expensive gifts. This produced some positive results. For example, Lange permitted a Jewish-run pharmacy to operate outside the ghetto.[4]

In February 1942, some Kosów Jews were taken to Bronna Gora, in the Bereza Rayon, to dig ditches. The winter was brutal, and as many of the prisoners did not have warm clothes and boots, their hands and legs froze. They simply could not handle the exhausting labor after being weakened by hunger and disease. Worst off were the refugees who had arrived with no possessions to barter for essential foods. The Judenrat gave first priority to the local Jews. Some Jews attempted to buy false identification documents (*Ausweise*) and leave Kosów Poleski. These Jews, however, were caught and shot, including Hershel Reznik.[5]

In June 1942, the German authorities divided the Jews into three groups. Those deemed qualified for work were separated into one ghetto. A second ghetto was then established for Jews deemed unfit for labor and also for the refugees. The artisans, specialized laborers, and their families were split off into a third ghetto. The authorities decided to liquidate the second and third ghettos on July 25, 1942.

On the night of July 24–25, 1942, German police forces and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto. Many Jews hid in cellars, attics, and other places. The next morning, the police forces drove the Jews from their houses in the second and third ghettos and loaded them onto 15 trucks. A ditch 20 meters long by 20 meters wide (66 by 66 feet) had been prepared in the village of Moraczewszczyna, near the Puslowski castle, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside town. The Germans had killed the patients in the Jewish hospital during the previous night. Some craftsmen, carpenters, shoemakers, and other specialized workers were selected and transported to Słonim. At the pits, the Jews were ordered to undress, and those who refused were beaten. The Germans shot the prisoners with machine guns in groups as they stood on a wooden plank across the ditch. The mass shooting lasted the entire day.[6]

Many Jews put on talles, and the words of the Shema Yisrael prayer were heard. The Germans wanted to spare the life of a Jewish doctor, but he chose to die with the others. A man named Chaikin, the representative of the Judenrat, loudly cursed the executioners. Around 1,200 Jews were murdered on that day. Some 200 Jews successfully avoided the roundup by hiding, and a few of these then made their way to the partisans. According to Zakharia Zimaka, Lange hid a young Jewish girl who worked in his home. She later ran away and joined the partisans.[7] For a week afterwards, the grave remained uncovered, and the stench of rotting corpses filled the air. Finally Lange ordered local Belorussians to cover the grave with sand.

The Jews of Ghetto I remained alive and were soon joined by many who had survived in hiding. However, the ghetto did not exist for much longer. On the night of August 1–2, 1942, strong Soviet partisan forces led by Lieutenant Pavel Proniagin of the "Shchors" unit attacked the German garrison in Kosów Poleski, driving the Germans from the town. In the battle, five partisans were killed, but they captured and killed a number of local policemen. Among the partisan units involved was detachment No. 51, which contained a number of Jews.[8] The Jewish partisans marched down the streets shouting in Yiddish, "Come out! We are the Yiddish partisans. We want to save you." Local Jews helped them to find key supplies, but the partisans soon left town when the Germans returned with reinforcements. The partisans took the younger Jewish men with them into the forests, but they left behind the older Jews, women, and children. The returning Germans then shot these remaining 200 or so Jews the next day in Moraczewszczyna.[9]

On August 8, 1942, German forces abandoned Kosów and retreated to Iwacewicze in the face of an expected attack by strong partisan forces. Gustav Lange committed suicide shortly afterwards, as an SS investigation accused him of having a relationship with a local woman. Allegedly, when the partisans occupied the town, Lange's former mistress lived in the partisans' headquarters. Other Gendarmerie members received sentences of up to two years for stealing Jewish valuables, concealing Jews, and having relationships with local women.[10]

On July 11, 1944, units of the Soviet 19th Mechanized Brigade of the 28th Army liberated the town. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) concluded in March 1945 that at least 1,925 persons had been killed in the Kosovo raion during the occupation. Its report made no mention of the nationality of the victims.[11] In total, 1,726 civilians were killed in Kosów; the majority of the victims were women, elderly persons, and children.[12]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kosów Poleski during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats': Belarus* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995); Dovid Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," in *Fun letstn khurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), vol. 1, no. 6, pp. 48–51; and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 311–312. The ghetto in Kosów is mentioned in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 664; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 90.

A number of publications mention the Soviet partisan attack on Kosów, including Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 218; Imanuel Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk, 2003), p. 311; Lester Eckman and Chaim Lazar, *The Jewish Resistance: The History of the Jewish Partisans in Lithuania and White Russia during the Nazi Occupation, 1940–1945* (New York: Shengold, 1978), p. 154.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kosów Poleski during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GABO (514-1-321, p. 12); GARF (7021-83-19); NARA; NARB (861-1-3, p. 53); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (2938/63-T, 980/850 M-41/1010). Additional eyewitness accounts can be found in the personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. TsAKGBRB, testimony of Kazimir Ul'ianovich Ulitko.
2. Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 48–51, here p. 48.
3. Ibid.
4. Personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS), letter of Zysha (Zakhariia) Osherovich Zimak from Akko, Israel, August 31, 2000.
5. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53.
6. TsAKGBRB, testimony of Sigismund Krupinskii; Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 48–49.
7. PALS, letter of Z. Zimak from Akko, Israel, August 31, 2000; Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 48–49. NARB, 861-1-3, p. 53, gives the figure of 1,400 victims.
8. Members of the 51st detachment who risked their lives during the attack on Kosów Poleski included the commander Efraim Fedorovich, Natan Liker, Nenia Tsipinskii, Imber Aviezer, Malakh Kheniekh, and Zorakh Kremen.
9. Leybovitsh, "Bey Koseve in Polesie," pp. 49–50. Leybovitsh himself fled from the partisans shortly afterwards (if only until the following spring) because of the antisemitic attitudes he encountered there. Also see YVA, 2938/63-T (Moshe Tuchman) and 980/850 (David Leybovitsh); TsAKGBRB, testimony of Kazimir Ul'ianovich Ulitko—this source falsely dates the Aktion in early September 1942.
10. NARA, BDC, SSO Carl Zenner.
11. YVA, M-41/1010, p. 15.
12. GARF, 7021-83-19, pp. 6–12, Report on the crimes of the German-fascist invaders in Kosovo, Brest province, BSSR, January 25, 1945.

KOZIANY

Pre-1939: Koziany (Yiddish: Kazan), village, Brasław powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Koziany, Vidzy raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: first Rayon Widze, then Rayon Postawy, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kaziany, Braslay raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Koziany is located 163 kilometers (101 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. In 1897, there were 139 Jews residing in the village, comprising 18.7 percent of the total. The village had a synagogue and maintained cultural ties with the nearby city of Wilno. On the eve of World War II, there were about 300 Jews living in the village.[1]

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Jews in Koziany argued among themselves as to whether they should flee or remain in the village. Most decided to stay, especially the more religious Jews. German armed forces occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Koziany, including the marking of Jews with distinguishing badges in the shape of a Star of David, the use of Jews for forced labor, and a ban on their leaving the village. In Koziany there were no permanent German offices, only an outpost of the local Belorussian police, which was subordinated to the authority of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the village. Besides the local Jews, there were also Jewish refugees from other towns and villages in the ghetto.[2] Some of these refugees brought news of the mass killings of Jews in Wilno and other communities of the region in the period from the summer of 1941 through to the summer of 1942. At some time in 1942, probably in early January, the Germans ordered the Jews to herd the cows they owned from Koziany to Postawy.[3] During 1942, a few Jews in the Koziany ghetto began to prepare measures of self-defense and collect weapons, in preparation for an expected Aktion against the ghetto. In fact the ghetto remained in existence for almost one year.

In August 1942, the German authorities informed the Jews in the Koziany ghetto that they would be resettled to the

nearby ghetto in Postawy. On hearing this news, a group of about 60 Jews, including some women and children, fled the ghetto on the eve of the transfer. These Jews subsequently formed a partisan unit in the nearby forests, using their weapons to persuade local peasants to give them some of their food and to defend themselves against raids by the German and Belorussian police.[4]

A German police unit from Głębokie assisted by the Belorussian police gathered the remaining Jews, about 300 people, on the market square in Koziany. The Jews were then loaded onto peasant carts together with their possessions and were transported to the ghetto in Głębokie, where most remained until the liquidation Aktion conducted against that ghetto on August 20, 1943.[5] Subsequently the village of Koziany was largely destroyed in antipartisan operations conducted by the Germans starting in the fall of 1942.[6] Several Jews from Koziany managed to survive with various Soviet partisan units until the Germans were driven from the region by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

SOURCES Published sources on the Koziany ghetto include David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 325–326.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Koziany can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/6105); BA-L (B 162/1391); GARF (7021-92-211); VHF (# 17147); and YVA (M-33/1105).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Koziany," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), p. 537.

2. BA-L, B 162/1391 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 2), pp. 944–945, statement of Josef Lewin, September 25, 1962; and Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 325–326, testimony of Dr. Lazar (Loyd) Beim, New York.

3. AŻIH, 301/6105. At least one of the Jews used this opportunity to remain in the Postawy ghetto.

4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 325–326.

5. *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok* by M. Rajak and Z. Rajak] (Buenos Aires: Association of Former Residents of Glebokie in Argentina, 1994), p. 101; BA-L, B 162/1391, pp. 944–945, statement of Josef Lewin, September 25, 1962; and VHF, # 17147, testimony of Avraham Swirsky. It does not seem that any of the Jews were actually transferred to the Postawy ghetto, which was closer and was liquidated probably in late November 1942.

6. Some sources indicate that the Jews of Koziany were shot near the village by the Germans in September or later in 1942; see, for example, M. Gilbert, *Endlösung. Die Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Juden. Ein Atlas* (Hamburg, 1982), p. 128; and YVA, M-33/1105, p. 1. In our opinion, this information is inaccurate, as survivor testimony indicates that all the Jews remaining after the escape were sent to the Głębokie ghetto. These reports probably refer instead to the effects of the antipartisan operations, which also claimed the lives of many non-Jews in the region.

KRASNE

Pre-1939: Krasne, *village*, *Mołodeczno powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Krasnoe*, *Radoshkovichi raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krasnoje*, *Rayon Radoschkowitschi*, *Gebiet Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Krasnoe*, *Maladechna raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Krasne is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Minsk on the banks of the Dzwinosa River. An estimated 350 Jews lived in Krasne by June 1941.

The Germans occupied Krasne in late June 1941. Throughout the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. In September 1941, a German civil administration took over control of the region. Krasne became part of Rayon Radoschkowitschi in Gebiet Wilejka, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of discriminatory anti-Jewish policies. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up, with Shabtai Arluk, who spoke German, as its head. The Jews were forced to wear yellow markings in the form of a Star of David and were obliged to perform physical labor. They were prohibited from leaving the village. The local auxiliary police beat the Jews and routinely looted and confiscated their property.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, all the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto, which was located in poorer Jewish houses in the area of Nabereshnaia Street and partly on 17th September Street. Jews were forced to leave behind most of their possessions. Local police guarded the ghetto, which was surrounded with barbed wire. Only forced laborers were permitted to leave the ghetto under heavy guard. Anyone caught trying to escape was shot. One day 12 Jewish laborers were shot for no apparent reason.[1]

The winter of 1941–1942 was exceptionally cold, and the Krasne ghetto inmates suffered severe shortages, hunger, and disease. At this time officials from the Gebietskommissariat in Wilejka and SS men from Mołodeczno visited the village periodically, demanding valuables, furs, and other property. By the spring of 1942, the Germans had set up large repair workshops in Krasne for the Wehrmacht artillery and ground forces, known as Heeresfeldzeugpark II. There was also a Wehrmacht construction site (Baudienststelle) that was probably operated by the Organisation Todt (OT). Able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were used to work in these shops, along with hundreds of other Jews brought from ghettos in Gebiet Wilejka (Gródek Wileński, Radoszkowicze, Mołodeczno, Ilja, and Raków) and also Gebiet Lida, where several ghettos were liquidated in May 1942. In addition, 700 Jewish workers were transported from Baranowicze to Krasne on August 19, 1942.

Apart from the workshops, other labor tasks included building a railway spur from the warehouses to the railroad station.[2]

Some of the Jewish forced laborers were housed in barracks surrounded by barbed wire erected for them near the workshops. Others lived in the ghetto together with the local Jews. Local non-Jews also worked for the Wehrmacht in Heeresfeldzeugpark II, but they were kept strictly separated from the Jews. For the Jewish forced laborers brought into the ghetto, hunger, lice, fear, and occasional disappearances dominated their lives. There was not much in the way of social activities, as the Jews were focused on survival or escape. One Jewish girl who worked in the kitchen for the soldiers was able to take out potato peelings with her and trade them for milk with local farmers on the way home.[3] Such activities were risky, however, as arbitrary killings were not uncommon. In early 1943, for example, an SS-Obersturmführer, who was in charge of the Security Police post in Wilejka, shot eight Jews he encountered walking from their place of employment back to the ghetto for lunch.[4]

A number of Jews in the ghetto/forced labor camp complex organized an underground and sought to escape to the forest. The head of the Judenrat, Arluk, did not oppose this, provided the underground acted with caution, not risking the lives of the collective. The underground was urged to escape only in small numbers and to find replacements for workers who left in coordination with the Judenrat. With time, Arluk's influence declined, and the underground started to act independently. When the Jewish police were unable to prevent a group of young Jews from leaving the ghetto, the Judenrat then warned their parents that the group's departure would lead to the annihilation of the entire ghetto.[5]

According to the report delivered by Haase, the Gebietskommissar in Wilejka, at a staff meeting in Minsk (April 8–10, 1943), there were 2,850 Jews in Krasne in March 1943. Haase, however, also reported that there was no longer any need for these Jews, and therefore he had arranged with the SD for "Krasne to be cleansed [of its Jews] as soon as possible."[6] The "cleansing" Aktion had possibly already taken place on March 19, 1943, as most sources give this date.[7]

On the day of the Aktion, the soldiers of Sicherungsbataillon 28, headed by Major Haferkamp, surrounded the labor camp and the ghetto. The Jews, told that they were about to receive an antityphus injection, were assembled in the synagogue and on the square in front of it. Fearing the worst, many Jews had gone into hiding in the ghetto. Private Karl Kern, who worked as a telephone operator for the Wehrmacht in Krasne, recalled seeing the SS pull about 30 Jews, including children aged only two or three, from the attic of a small hut. Some of the children were simply thrown from a great height onto the ground and were then bludgeoned to death.[8]

From the synagogue the Jews were herded in small groups through a corridor formed by Wehrmacht soldiers to a barn on the banks of the Usha River not far from the ghetto. Here they were made to strip to their underwear and were received by men of the Security Police and SD squad from Wilejka. About 400 Jews from the Organisation Todt labor camp were brought to the killing site on trucks. In the barn, the SS men shot the Jews throughout the entire day, creating a huge pile of seething bodies, as many of the Jews had only been wounded. At the end of the day, the barn was set alight. As it went up in flames, a few Jews who were still alive tried to escape, but they were forced back into the flames.[9] About 100 Jews who had gone into hiding were uncovered over the following eight days. One Jewish girl was forced to reveal where she had hidden her valuables before being shot by a member of the Wehrmacht. The local Wehrmacht Oberschirrmeister (NCO in charge of equipment) collected a considerable amount of valuables from the Jews.[10] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, a total of 2,340 Jews were killed in this massacre, including 349 natives of the village of Krasne.[11]

Around 100 young men from the ghetto and labor camps in Krasne managed to escape before or during the liquidation Aktion and fought as partisans in the Naliboki and Białowieża Forests. Among these fighters was Chanan Alterman, who led a group of 30 Jews out to join the partisans and served as deputy commander of the "Kuznetsov" partisan detachment. Other Jewish partisans from Krasne became members of the "Kirov" partisan detachment, which blew up German trains and bridges.[12]

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jews of Krasne during the Holocaust can be found in the following publication: "Krasne," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 576–578.

Documentation pertaining to the extermination of the Jews of Krasne can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/505, 3164-66, and 4925); BA-L (B 162/1472); GARF (7021-89-14); NA (WO 309/150); NARB (370-1-1262 and 845-1-63); USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M, reel 13); VHF (e.g., # 961 and 24468); and YVA (e.g., M-33; O-3/1011 and 2084).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:186–187; "Krasne," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:576–578 and BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8649–8671.

2. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 700 n.1064; and Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:576–578. Gdaliyau Dudman, "Vishnevo during the War," in Hayyim Abramson, ed., *Vishneva, ke-fi she-hayetah ve-enenah od; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Wiscniew Society in Israel, 1971), pp. 125–148, dates the first transfer of Jewish laborers to Krasne in the "winter of 1941–42," but most other sources put this somewhat later.

3. VHF, # 24468, testimony of Morris (Moshe) Baran, born 1920; and # 961, testimony of Mina Rosenberg (née Baran), born 1928, sister of Moshe Baran.

4. NA, WO 309/150, sworn statement by Gefr. Karl Kern, July 27, 1945. The Obersturmführer concerned was probably Richard Grave, who died in 1944.

5. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 144.

6. IfZ, Fb 85/I, p. 81, contribution by the Gebietskommissar Wilejka at a meeting convened by Generalkommissar Kube in Minsk, April 8, 1943 (a copy is available also in USHMM, RG-53.002M [NARB], reel 13, 370-1-1262, pp. 103–118).

7. This date is given in VHF, # 24468; and in NA, WO 309/150. The testimony of M. Maiersohn in Gerhard Schoenberner, ed., *Wir haben es gesehen. Augenzeugenberichte über Terror und Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Rütten & Loehning, 1962), p. 124, however, dates the Aktion on April 19, 1943.

8. NA, WO 309/150, sworn statement by Gefr. Karl Kern, July 27, 1945.

9. Ibid.; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Ausstellungskatalog) (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996), p. 124; and BA-L, B 162/1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42), pp. 8649–8671.

10. NA, WO 309/150, sworn statement by Gefr. Karl Kern, July 27, 1945.

11. GARF, 7021-89-14, pp. 2 (reverse) and 26–27.

12. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:576–578.

KRZYWICZE

Pre-1939: Krzywicze (Yiddish: Krivitsh), village, Wilejka powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Kryvichi, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krywitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Kryvichy, Miadzel raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krzywicze is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north of Minsk. In 1939, approximately 800 people resided in Krzywicze, of which about half were Jews.

After the Germans occupied Krzywicze, local non-Jews frequently slandered those Jews who remained, denouncing them to the German authorities as Communist officials or sympathizers. Many of the accused were executed. A Judenrat was established to provide workers for forced labor and coordinate their assignments. Many were assigned to work along the railway line.[1] Harsh restrictions were imposed. Jews were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks, ride on trains or wagons, receive medical treatment (even from Jewish doctors), engage in transactions with the non-Jewish population, or be seen without a yellow patch bearing the Jewish Star. The Bet Midrash was set on fire, and its books and Torah scrolls were destroyed or desecrated. In the winter of 1941–1942, the Germans collected all fur garments from the Jews.[2] Throughout the occupation there were occasional arbitrary shootings of the Jewish population.

On April 28, 1942, members of the German Security Police from Wilejka, including a Waffen-SS detachment commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Lipps, arrived in Krzywicze and surrounded the village. Members of the local police and other local collaborators then forced the Jews out of their houses. The Germans and their collaborators murdered the elderly and the sick on the spot during the initial roundup. The remaining Jews were taken to the grounds of the Catholic Church on the edge of the village. Here they were ordered to surrender their gold, money, and other valuables to the police if they wanted to be saved. The few who were tempted to comply were also murdered.[3]

From the Catholic Church, approximately 300 Jews were forced to march to a deserted barn, which belonged to a man named Karlovich. There they were ordered to remove their clothes and to enter the barn in small groups. The Germans killed around 130 of them in the barn with shots to the back of the head. Then about 80 more Jews had their hands tied behind their backs and were forced into the corpse-filled barn alive, which was then set on fire. As the building burned, the Germans and local policemen drank alcohol and watched the windows and doors to ensure that nobody escaped. However, one man fled from the building and attacked a German policeman. He snatched the machine gun from him and beat him to death. Then he shot wildly in all directions, screaming in agony from his burns. Other police members finally shot him dead.[4]

During the Aktion, a number of Jews were selected as craftsmen who were still needed, such as tailors and shoemakers. These Jews were excluded from the massacre together with their families and were later joined by others who had managed to evade the roundup. On the orders of the Gebietskommissar, they were all moved into a small remnant ghetto, consisting of only two houses surrounded with barbed wire on a poor street near the river. Estimates vary as to the number of Jews in this ghetto, ranging from around 60 up to 200. These Jews were required to perform forced labor, for example, at the dairy, escorted by the local police. Their numbers were whittled down successively in random killings and arrests. Jews were robbed and brutally beaten at the discretion of the local police. Realizing that their days were numbered, some Jews escaped to the forests, especially after they had received positive news via a non-Jewish courier from other Krzywicze Jews who had already linked up with Soviet partisans operating in the area.[5]

The family of Chasia Kacowicz left the ghetto in the summer of 1942 and lived with non-Jewish friends outside the ghetto illegally for a while until someone informed on them. The family was then forced to return to the ghetto. In September 1942 there was a final roundup. About 40 remaining Jews were killed when grenades were thrown into a building where the Jews had been collected. Any survivors were finished off with knives. A few Jews had been warned in time and managed to escape. Some of those who fled from the ghetto joined the "Kalinin" partisan unit.[6]

SOURCES The main published source on the fate of the Jews of Krzywicze in World War II is Matityahu Bar-Ratzon, ed., *Ner tamid; yizkor le-Krivitsh* (Tel Aviv: Krivitsh Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-89-7); IPN (SWP 68); NARB; USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); VHF (# 6987, 9348, and 43618); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Katrin Reichelt

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1. Bar-Ratzon, *Ner tamid*, pp. 276, 285.
2. Ibid., pp. 273, 275, 278.
3. Ibid., pp. 327–328, 331, 386; *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249, SS-Uscharf. Lipps Aussenstelle Wilejka an Burgdorf, May 27, 1942; and GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 99 and reverse side.
4. Bar-Ratzon, *Ner tamid*, pp. 327–352; GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 99 and reverse side; verdict of the Bochum District Court 7 Ks Js 3/61; and IPN, SWP 68, Case against Michał Siemaszkiewicz.
5. Bar-Ratzon, *Ner tamid*, pp. 394–403; VHF, # 43618, testimony of Helene Burt (née Chasia Kacowicz), born 1930; # 9348, testimony of Aileen Frydrych (née Chaja Rabinowicz), born 1931; and # 6987, testimony of Jerry Kaidanow, born 1933.
6. VHF, # 343618, testimony of Helene Burt (née Chasia Kacowicz), born 1930; GARF, 7021-89-7, pp. 99 and reverse side; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 686.

LACHOWICZE

Pre-1939: Lachowicze, town, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Liakhovichi, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachowitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Liakhovichi, raen center, Bernas'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lachowicze is located 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. At the time of the German occupation, there were more than 3,000 Jewish inhabitants in the town, swelled by an influx of refugees fleeing from central and western Poland.

German forces occupied the town at the end of June 1941 and were welcomed by the local Polish population. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans selected some of the most respected Jewish citizens and murdered them. A few days later, 82 Jews were killed in a pogrom.[1] During the summer, the German military authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to pass on their instructions and made all the Jews wear armbands to distinguish them from the rest of the population. The Germans also forbade the Jews to trade with the non-Jewish population or to use the sidewalks.

Initially, a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town, but in the fall of 1941, a Gendarmerie post was established and authority was assumed by a German civil administration. The Gendarmerie officials who commanded the outpost in Lachowicze in 1941 and 1942 were successively Meisters Reinhold Hein (October 1941), Lustig (November 1941–August 1942), Wille (born 1897), and then Meier.[2]

At the end of October or the beginning of November 1941, the German police, assisted by Baltic auxiliaries brought in especially, as well as local Belorussian police commanded by a certain Mashkovskii, surrounded the town and began dragging the Jews out of their homes and marching them to an assembly point in front of the Gendarmerie post. Here some specialist workers were selected, and the rest were escorted away and shot in pits just outside the town, near the village of Łotwa. After this, the German security forces and their collaborators started to search for any Jews in hiding. Those who were found were also taken away and shot. By the evening, the shooting had stopped and officially only 280 Jews (the craftsmen and their families) remained. Over the following days, however, many more Jews came out of hiding, and gradually the number of survivors grew to around 1,000.[3]

On the day after the massacre, the Germans established a ghetto. The ghetto, located in the poorest quarter near the center of town, consisted of the synagogue courtyard ("Schulhof") and part of "Veinger Gas" (after the war this was the site of a canning factory). It was enclosed by a fence erected by the Jews themselves and guarded by the local Belorussian police. Inside the ghetto there was terrible overcrowding and almost no food. The Jews in the ghetto worked hard in various workshops. Their only payment was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. To supplement this, they exchanged their remaining clothes for food, but if they were caught, they were whipped in punishment.[4]

One Friday in June 1942, there was a second Aktion in Lachowicze, during which all but about 300 Jews were shot. According to various survivor accounts, the Jews themselves set fire to the ghetto during the second Aktion to make it more difficult for the Germans to search for those in hiding. The Jews received very little assistance from the local population.[5] The Aktions against the ghettos in Gebiet Baranowitsche in the summer of 1942 were organized by the office of the Security Police and SD based in Baranowicze. In the summer of 1942, this office was commanded by SS-Untersturmführer Woldemar Amelung, who was closely assisted by the Lithuanian Jósef Górniewicz.[6]

After the second Aktion, Mendel Szczupak realized that the end was near and became a member of a group of 11 Jews who began preparing their escape. Shortly afterwards they fled the ghetto, with 8 of them reaching the forests. The escapees soon made contact with a group of 25 Soviet partisans, but its leader did not accept them, as they had no arms. They were then joined by 3 more escapees from Lachowicze and linked up with the "Shchors" Soviet partisan unit, which had more than 1,000 members, including a large Jewish contingent of 130 people. The Jewish partisans fought bravely, killing some Germans and engaging in sabotage. Several of them were

killed in action and received posthumous decorations as Heroes of the Soviet Union. Most of the Jewish partisans joined the Red Army after the liberation of Lachowicze in the summer of 1944.[7] Only a handful of the Jews held in the Lachowicze ghetto survived the war.

SOURCES Some information on the ghetto and the fate of the Jewish population of Lachowicze can be found in the yizkor book edited by Yisra'el Rubin, Nisan Tuktsinski, and Avraham Lev, *Lahovits, sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv, 1948–1949).

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports for Lachowicze and other relevant documents can be found in the following archives: NARB and GARF. Jewish survivor testimonies can be found in AUKGBRBBO; AŻIH; BLH (HJF, L.1794); USHMM (RG-50.120*0066); and YVA. Information from criminal investigations and trials can be found in AUKGBRBBO; BA-L; and IPN.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Rubin, Tuktsinski, and Lev, *Lahovits*, *sefer zikaron*, p. 316. There were several Aktions conducted against the Jews of Lachowicze during the summer of 1941; see also, for example, NARA, T-175, reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 50, August 12, 1941, which reported the shooting of 22 "communists" in Lachowicze.

2. Sta. Oldenburg 2 JS 138/68, Closing Report (Einstellungsverfügung) in the case against Max Eibner, pp. 182–187.

3. AŻIH, 301/49, testimony of Mendel Szczupak. Ibid., see especially the testimony of local policeman Stepan Mikhailovich Tschernak, who was tried by the Soviets after the war.

4. AŻIH, 301/49, testimony of Mendel Szczupak; Rubin, Tuktsinski, and Lev, *Lahovits*, *sefer zikaron*, p. 316; USHMM, RG-50.120*0066, testimony of Nechama Hochbaum.

5. YVA, M-1/Q/2378/569, testimony of Segal on August 8, 1948; M-1/Q/1858/399, testimony of Zalman Rabinowicz on July 11, 1947.

6. Rubin, Tuktsinski, and Lev, *Lahovits*, *sefer zikaron*, pp. 334–337, includes an account of the postwar trial of Józef Górniewicz in Poland, mentioning his role in organizing the massacre of Jews in Lachowicze and other towns. See also IPN, SoWr 67. Górniewicz was executed in Poland on November 26, 1947.

7. AŻIH, 301/49, testimony of Mendel Szczupak.

LEBIEDZIEW

Pre-1939: Lebiedziew, village, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lebedevo, Molodechno raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lebiedziew, Rayon Molodetschno, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Lebedzeva, Maladzechna raen, Minsk voblasts,' Republic of Belarus

Lebiedziew is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Minsk. In 1897, there were 1,232 Jews residing in the small town, comprising 54.2 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Lebiedziew in the last days of June 1941. Towards the end of October, the German authorities established a ghetto there, also bringing in Jews from the surrounding villages. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was on Zarichanskaia and Vileiskaia Streets, and about 600 Jews were confined within it.[1] A fence enclosed the ghetto, and the Jews were prohibited from leaving without permission. Inside the ghetto, the Jews suffered from overcrowding and hunger. However, some food was smuggled in illegally, when Jews managed to obtain it in exchange for money or their last possessions from the surrounding villages. All Jews over the age of 14 were required to perform forced labor. One day in December 1941, SS men from Mołodeczno entered the ghetto and arrested 15 young Jews, who were then taken away and murdered. The Germans made a series of demands for contributions from the Jewish Council, which continued until the Jews in the ghetto had almost nothing left.[2]

On June 24, 1942,[3] a detachment of the Security Police from Wilejka, accompanied by a platoon of Waffen-SS, set out in the early morning hours for Lebiedziew. The vehicles arrived at the market square, and SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Grave gave instructions for the Jews to be removed from their homes and assembled on the square near the ghetto gate. Wearing black uniforms, local policemen also took part in the Aktion. As the Jews were driven out of their houses, the police shot those who were ill or infirm and those who tried to resist. After the majority of the Jews were assembled, the corpses of several young Jews found in hiding or shot trying to escape were collected and taken to a barn outside Lebiedziew. Then the Germans escorted the other young Jews into the Nieważa River and held them there for half an hour to impede any further escape attempts. Then these Jews were brought back to join the others and formed into a marching column. It is likely that Grave, as head of the Wilejka SD outpost, informed the Jews that they would be sent away to work and could take with them only very few belongings.

At 11:00 A.M., the Germans drove the Jews out to the northwest towards the village of Marków to a point only a short distance from the barn, where the young Jews' bodies had been taken. About 50 meters (55 yards) from the barn, the Jews were corralled into a group guarded by the police. Then smaller groups of Jews were escorted into the barn. The Germans killed the Jews there with single shots to the head. At the end, gasoline was poured over the pile of bodies, and the barn was set on fire. As the wooden building was burning, a Jew ran out in his burning clothes, trying to save himself. On Grave's orders, several policemen shot him.[4] At least 500 Jews were murdered in this Aktion.

Some Jews managed to hide successfully and subsequently escaped into the woods. Afterwards, the Germans also burned the ghetto houses. In December 1943, the Germans murdered 25 Jews who had been uncovered and betrayed by local inhabitants. When the Red Army drove the Germans from the region in the summer of 1944, only a few Jews from Lebiedziew remained alive.[5]

In 1979, the court in Bochum sentenced Georg Johann Hasenkamp to four years in prison but decided not to punish Josef Lengl. Both men had been accused of participation in the murder of the Jews in Lebiedziew, among other crimes.[6]

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Lebiedziew include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 374–376.

Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Lebiedziew during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-9); and LG-Bo (7 Ks 45 Js 3/61).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-89-9, pp. 29–34.
2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:374–376.
3. This is the date given by the ChGK; see GARF, 7021-89-9, pp. 29–34.
4. LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61; see also Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 490–491.
5. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:374–376.
6. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 89; and LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, verdict of April 11, 1979, pp. 74–76.

LENIN

Pre-1939: Lenin, town, Łuninieć powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Hansewitschi, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zhytkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lenin is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-northeast of Pinsk. The name "Lenin" derives from the last name of the former estate owner, Count Olel'kovich (1586), and is not related to the pseudonym of the Communist revolutionary V.I. Ul'ianov (Lenin).[1] In early 1941, including refugees from Poland, around 2,000 Jews resided in Lenin. Little thought was given to evacuating the town, even though people were aware of Germany's persecution of the Jews. Most people wanted to believe that the Red Army would stop and destroy the "Hitlerite army." Only a few Jews succeeded in fleeing, as the Soviet border guards did not allow people across the former "western" border, fearing the infiltration of German spies.[2]

German forces occupied Lenin by mid-July 1941. Many local Belorussian and Polish inhabitants from Lenin and the neighboring villages enlisted in the Red Army. The "local bandit" Boris Gergelikhes, was appointed commander of the police. The mayor of Lenin was an ethnic German named Max Firschenhaupt. His deputy was his son-in-law, Olishevskii.

By the end of July 1941, the Nazis had issued instructions for the Jews of Lenin to wear yellow badges on their clothes, and they were forbidden to communicate with the local Belorussians, Poles, and Russians. They were subjected to a curfew and also a blackout at night, were forbidden to walk on the sidewalk, and had to take off their hats when meeting a German or a local policeman. If they disobeyed these regulations, they could be shot. A Judenrat was established, headed by Aron Milner (chairman), including Itshak Kolpenitsky, Joseph Rubinshtein, and others. The Judenrat was ordered to keep track of the Jews in Lenin and to ensure that German instructions were carried out. The Nazis demanded contributions from the Jews in the form of food, warm clothes, crockery, bedclothes, money, and valuables. For disobeying the regulations, Jews were beaten, fined, and given other punishments.[3]

The Germans made the Jews reconstruct the destroyed bridges within four days, under the direction of Yankel Krevitsa. As they were forced to work, their supervisors cursed them with shouts of "Damned Jews!" More than 100 Jews were assigned to repair the roads to Mikaszewicze and Zhitkovichi, 15 people worked in the hospital, another group cleaned the



Pre-war photograph of Faigel (Fanya) Lazebnik (later Faye Schulman), a survivor of the Lenin ghetto, holding her nephew Schelemale.
USHMM WS #56404, COURTESY OF FAYE SCHULMAN

area around the gmina building, and Jewish girls had to clean the houses for the German occupants and local inhabitants. In the winter, Jews were also forced to shovel snow. Those who were too slow were kicked and beaten with sticks.

Apart from these impositions, however, Firschenhaupt helped the Jews to avoid worse problems. He convinced the initial military commandant that the Jews were needed—on account of their labor and their willingness to follow commands—and this may have contributed to the postponement of large Aktions against the Jews.

Just before Passover (at the end of March) 1942, 60 young men and adolescents from Lenin were sent to the Jewish forced labor camp in Hancewicze. On May 21, all men capable of work and aged 14 to 60 years (150 people) were collected near the club on Lachovskaia Street and taken on foot to the railroad station at Mikaszewicze. There the Jews were herded into a cattle yard. The following day, they were transported in railroad cars to Hancewicze, guarded by 10 policemen. Nobody escaped, as the Nazis threatened to kill the families of anyone who tried.[4] According to other sources, 230 Jews from Lenin and 120 from Pohost Zahorodski arrived in Hancewicze, where they performed forced labor in a German army camp.[5]

Often the Nazis and local police forced the Jews to give them "contributions" and surrender their valuables. When the daughter of Olishevskii wanted a fur jacket, the Judenrat scoured Jewish houses until they found what she wanted. Gergelikhes helped himself from Jewish houses, also taking vodka and tobacco. Frequently, Germans and policemen visited the Jews to rob them. In the fall of 1941, two young Germans regularly plundered the Jews of the town, killing people arbitrarily.

On one occasion, the Judenrat was ordered to collect 50 sets of male and female clothing to outfit a group of Belorussian youths being sent to Germany to work. In the fall of 1941, the Germans also confiscated all the Jews' livestock—horses, cows, sheep, goats, and poultry—making it even harder for them to feed themselves.[6] Following rumors that a ghetto might be established, people tried to hoard whatever food supplies they could get, especially flour and grain.

On May 10, 1942, the Nazis enclosed the Jews within a ghetto.[7] On moving into the ghetto, Jews were permitted to take only those items they could carry in their arms. Most of the ghetto consisted of Jewish homes, in which now two or three families lived per room. The inmates constructed bunk beds to sleep on, three or four levels high. A high barbed-wire fence, hung between wooden poles driven into the ground, surrounded the ghetto. The local police guarded the perimeter.

The Germans also resettled about 150 Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Chorostów, Hryczynowicze, Grabów (32 kilometers [20 miles] north-northeast of Lenin), and Milewicze (24 kilometers [15 miles] in the same direction), into the ghetto, including about 60 women and young children from the village of Wolka (48 kilometers [30 miles] to the west), whose husbands and older children had been sent to the Łuniniec ghetto. Food and accommodation for the new arrivals were organized by the Judenrat. Generally, each person helped his neighbor as much as he could.

The ghetto in Lenin, like many others in Belorussia, had only limited economic significance. Its main function was to concentrate the Jews and hold them securely until their extermination. Food supplies and medical assistance were organized by the Judenrat. Ghetto inmates received daily rations of only about 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a soup made from potato peels. Once the ghetto was created, it became almost impossible to trade valuables for food with the locals as before, though the workers who went outside daily occasionally brought in some potatoes or flour concealed in their clothes.[8]

By August 1942, the Nazis had collected about 1,850 Jews from the surrounding area in the Lenin ghetto. The majority consisted of the elderly, women, and children. A month before the Aktion, the Jews were ordered to prepare a ditch at the place known as Ogarkov, a small hill in the town's suburbs in the direction of Hancewicze. There were repeated roll calls early in the morning, during which those who were found in hiding were shot.

The mass killing was conducted on August 14, 1942. Policemen in black uniforms, including some Lithuanians, arrived early in the morning. The ghetto inmates were told they would be relocated to Hancewicze. About 25 skilled workers, including the photographer Fanya Lazebnik, who was recognized by Gebietskommissar Müller personally, were selected and locked inside the synagogue. The elderly and children were placed in trucks and taken to a hill near Polusciewicze. The others were escorted there on foot. While walking, some Jews threw their gold objects—rings, earrings, and gold coins—into the river, to prevent the Germans from having them. At the Polusciewicze Hill, a ditch had been prepared. The people were ordered to undress down to their underwear. Their clothes were thrown into the trucks. The women had their children taken from them. Then, in groups of 10 to 15, the people were forced to the edge of the ditch and shot.[9]

After the "mass killing" of August 14, 28 Jews were kept alive in Lenin to work for the Germans as tailors, shoemakers, builders, and photographers. Lubov Rabinovich was ordered to train a group of Belorussian apprentices to take over his trade within one month.

A German garrison of 100 people and 30 local policemen was based in Lenin, fighting against the Soviet partisans. An attack was planned by the "Kalinin" unit, assisted by two neighboring units (in total, about 150 people). On September 12, 1942, the partisans inflicted heavy losses on the garrison, apparently killing three German officers (including commandant Grossman), 14 soldiers, and 13 policemen. The ghetto quarter was burned down. The remaining Jews fled to the woods with the partisans.

After the liberation, Lenin was not the same. Only a few brick buildings remained. This was due to heavy fighting between the partisans and the German garrison as the town exchanged hands. In Pinsk, several Nazi collaborators from Lenin were tried. Boris Gergelikhes was given the most severe sentence, and Ivan and Nester Chopchits, Babchenkov, and Kolbasov all received 10 years in prison.

SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the ghetto and the fate of Lenin's Jews can be found in the yizkor book edited by Moshe Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin: Sefer Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Lenin in Israel and USA, 1957); in the memoir of Faye Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes in mir: Wie ich als jüdische Partisanin den Holocaust überlebte* (Munich: Lichtenberg, 1998), also available in English as *A Partisan's Memoir: Woman of the Holocaust* (Toronto, Ontario: Second Story Press, 1995); and in L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 210–257.

Additional information on the Jewish community of Lenin and the memorial sites can be found in L. Smilovitsky, "Lenin in Belarus," *Mishpokha* (Vitebsk), no. 10 (2001): 55–58; *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov Belorussii. Zhitkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1994); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

In the author's own personal archive, there are letters received from Boris Ginsburg in 2001 and 2004, from Michael Menkin in 2000 and 2004, and also from Khana Slutsky in 2004. The statement of Jakob Epstein given to the German investigative authorities can be found in BA-L (B 162, 202 AR 932/65).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. In the Slutsk raion, the village of Romanovo was renamed Lenino after the revolution, as its former name was reminiscent of the tsarist family.
2. Smilovitsky, "Lenin in Belarus," pp. 55–58.
3. See the account of Mordechai Zeytski in Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin*.
4. Bakal and Tsukerman, *Poslednie svideteli*, pp. 223–230.
5. *Pamiat'*, pp. 361–362.
6. PALS, letter of Boris Ginsburg from Ashdod, June 1, 2004.
7. The date of May 10, 1942, is given both by Zeytski in Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin*, and by Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes*, p. 84.
8. Zeytski in Tamari, *Kehilat Lenin*.
9. Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes*, pp. 95–96. Fanya Lazebnik later changed her name to Faye Schulman. There is also a photograph of the mass grave at the time of the killing on page 98.

LENINO

Pre-1941: Lenino, village, Slutsk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Lenina, Slutsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lenino is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west of Slutsk. Until 1917, the village was known as Romanovo. German armed forces occupied the settlement at the end of June 1941. Owing to the rapid German advance, only a few Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Fewer than 100 Jews remained in Lenino at the start of the occupation.

Initially, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Lenino was incorporated into Rayon Sluzk in Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk from the fall of 1941 was Gauamtsleiter Heinrich Carl.[1]

Immediately after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and compelled them to perform various forms of forced labor. In late July 1941, all the Jews of the village and from the surrounding area, about 100 people, were resettled into a ghetto located on one street that led to the cemetery. Local police guarded the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire on one side and enclosed by a river and a swamp on the other. After some time, 20 more people were added, bringing the ghetto population to 120.

The Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by an ardent Zionist. The winter of 1941–1942 was very harsh. Forced labor tasks included clearing snow from the streets. Conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with 15 or 16 people sharing a single room. Generally people helped each other, but there were some who starved. In the ghetto, some old men who were very religious spent much of their time praying.[2]

There was a Jewish female doctor in the ghetto. Despite a lack of medication, she did her utmost to prevent the spread of disease. The Jews in the ghetto heard rumors about massacres in other nearby towns, but there were no large-scale shootings in Lenino through the spring of 1942. In late May or early June, Grigorii Dorskii, who was about 20 years old, left the ghetto with his sister (the doctor) and escaped through the swamps to join the partisans. They left their mother behind, as she decided that she had to remain and look after her young nephew.

On June 12, 1942, the Germans and local police shot the remaining 70 or so Jews (mostly women, children, and the elderly) in pits that had been prepared 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the east of the village. A memorial was placed at the site of the mass grave in 1985.[3]

SOURCES The main sources for this entry are the video testimony of Grigorii Dorskii in USHMM (RG-50.378*0008) and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 722. Other relevant documentation can be found in NARB (845-1-60, p. 43). Snippets of information on the history of the Jewish community of Lenino (Romanove) can be found in Nachum Chinitz and Samson Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), pp. 488–489.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.378*0008, video testimony of Grigorii A. Dorskii, born 1922.
3. Ibid.; Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 722; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev*

Belarusi (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 78, 91. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 43, gives the figure of more than 140 victims.

LEŚNA

Pre-1939: Leśna, town, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lesnaia, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lesnaja, Rayon Nowa Mysch, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Liasnaia, Baranovichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Leśna lies about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) southwest of Baranowicze. According to the survivor Sarah Trybuch, née Ozerowicz, who fled to Leśna from Konin in 1939, there were about 70 Jews, including a number of refugees, living in Leśna at the start of the German occupation at the end of June 1941. She and her family found themselves confined within a ghetto surrounded by a wire fence that was established at some time before the end of 1942. It was guarded by armed members of the local Belorussian police, who were commanded by Ivan Jurkievich.[1] Only those Jews who were made to perform heavy forced labor were permitted to leave the ghetto. The Jews were employed in the local sawmill and at the tar factory. The Jews were escorted to work under close guard by the local police, and the work was unpaid.[2] The Germans also established a large camp for Soviet prisoners of war in the town, as it lay on a main railway line.[3]

The ghetto prisoners managed to eat only by selling their last possessions and using their last reserves of food. News reached the ghetto of the liquidation Aktions in the nearby towns but also of the existence of partisans in the surrounding forests. Only those with no family even thought of fleeing to join the partisans. Without any weapons there would be little chance of survival. One day in February 1943, when there was a severe frost, the men came back from work and reported that large graves had been prepared in the forest about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the ghetto. The ghetto inmates now became resigned to their fate.[4]

On March 13, 1943, local policemen from throughout Rayon Nowa Mysch and German police took part in the mass shooting of about 70 Jews in Leśna. In the morning the German forces and local police surrounded the ghetto and also the Jewish workers at the sawmill. They drove them out of the houses with whips, accompanied by screams of abuse and terrible crying. The Jews were loaded onto vehicles and driven away under close guard to the forest, where the German forces shot them. After the shooting, the head of the local police, Jurkievich, assisted by the policeman Józef Puszko, returned to the ghetto and collected the Jews' belongings, taking them to the police station.[5] Sarah Trybuch escaped to the forests with her two-year-old daughter Miriam, having survived the roundup hidden behind a broken-down door. She soon met up with a Soviet partisan unit that helped them both to survive until liberation by the Red Army in July 1944.[6]

In July 1972 the Polish Supreme Court upheld the sentences imposed on Wacław Woronko and Józef Puszko of seven years and five years and six months' imprisonment, respectively, for their participation in the murder of the Jews in Leśna in March 1943, among other crimes.[7]

SOURCES The testimony of Sarah Trybuch, née Ozerowicz, is located in the yizkor book for Konin, edited by Mendl Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin bi-ferihatah uve-hurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Konin be-Yi´sra'el, 1968), pp. 628–641. An English summary translation of parts of the testimony and the details of his own interview with Trybuch can be found in Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), pp. 307–315.

Relevant documentation concerning the German occupation of Leśna and from investigations into the Nazi crimes committed there can be found in the following archives: GABO (e.g., 685-1-83); IPN (SWSz 69-78 and SWB 238-39); and NARB (861-1-1).

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NOTES

1. GABO, 685-1-83, p. 7, police roster for the Leśna post, undated (1942 or 1943).
2. Sarah Trybuch, née Ozerowicz, "Yidishe partizanen," in Gelbart, *Kehilat Konin*, pp. 628–641; IPN, SWSz 69-78, verdict of the Supreme Court in the case of Wacław Woronko and Jozef Puszko on July 13, 1972.
3. NARB, 861-1-1, pp. 1–2.
4. Trybuch, "Yidishe partizanen," p. 630.
5. IPN, SWSz 69-78, Woronko and Puszko verdict; SWSz 71, pp. 534–536, statement of Alfons Siewruk on July 12, 1969.
6. Richmond, *Konin*, pp. 307–311.
7. IPN, SWSz 69-78, Woronko and Puszko verdict, July 13, 1972.

LIDA

Pre-1939: Lida, town and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Lida, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lida is located 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Minsk. In 1941, the Jewish population of Lida numbered about 8,500.

German forces entered Lida on June 28, 1941. On July 5, 1941, Security Police units of Einsatzkommando 9, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, collected about 300 Jews in the school, selected 92 educated Jews, escorted them to a site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of town, and shot them.[1] On July 8, 1941, 120 patients from the psychiatric hospitals in Minojty and Maleikovshchina near Lida were murdered, including the well-known physician Dr. Rubinovich.

From mid-August of 1941, the German troops based in Lida comprised the 3rd Battalion of the 727th Infantry Regiment. In April 1942, a Gendarmerie motorized squadron and, from the summer of 1942, the 3rd Battalion of the German 217th Reserve Infantry Regiment were based in Lida. Two Lithuanian police battalions were also garrisoned in the town for a time during the occupation.





Pre-war portraits of young Jews in Lida. On left, the Hebrew Tarbut school, 1931. On right, a gathering of friends, including Jan Szelubski (far left), January 19, 1935.
USHMM WS #21320 AND WS #34078, COURTESY OF ABA AND FRIDA GEFEN (LEFT); AND ANDRZEJ SZELUBSKI (RIGHT)

Lida became a Gebiet center, and Hermann Hanweg was appointed the Gebietskommissar. His deputy was Leopold Windisch, who as Chief of Staff and Director of the Politics, Race, and Nationalities Section was also responsible for Jewish affairs (Judenreferent). The latter was openly antisemitic, treating Jews as if they were not human beings.

During the first week of the occupation, representatives of the Jewish community were summoned to the military commandant and ordered to set up a Judenrat. It consisted of 14 members and was headed by a teacher from the Jewish high school, Kalman Lichtman. The other senior members included entrepreneur Simcha Kotok and lawyers Israel Kreczner and Benjamin Cederowicz.[2]

At this time, all men aged 15 to 60 were registered for a special labor camp. The work was very hard, with beatings and little food, and many men fell sick. After seven weeks, the labor camp was abandoned, and the Judenrat was given the task of assigning Jews to forced labor. Women ages 16 to 40 were also registered for work. Every day Jewish labor detachments were sent to clear rubble, clean the streets, chop wood, and perform other similar tasks. Their daily ration was a plate of soup made from rotting potatoes and 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread. Meat, butter, and eggs were forbidden to Jews on pain of death. They were also forbidden to have contacts with the local population or to leave the town.[3]

In September 1941, an order was posted on the streets announcing that the Jews of Lida were to leave their houses within 24 hours and move into a ghetto. They were also required to wear yellow patches, 10 by 10 centimeters (4 by 4 inches), on the left side of their chests and on their backs.

The ghetto was established in three separate quarters of the town: the most important section was on Postawska and Chlodna Streets, including the Jewish cemetery; the second section was in Kosharowa Street and Gastello Street, close to the forest of Borowka; the third was in the "Piaski," between the streets Jalowa, Zurawlinaja, and Orlicz-Dreszer. This section had been mostly Christian before and had to be cleared.[4]

Houses on both sides of Postawska Street near the river were surrounded by barbed wire. A sewing workshop was set up there, where the inhabitants of the ghetto made military uniforms. After the workshop was burned down, German forces killed a group of Jews right by the workshop.[5]

In early March 1942, Leopold Windisch, responsible for Jewish affairs within the civil administration in Lida, discovered that Jews from the ghetto were accused of having robbed an Orthodox priest. He demanded that the Judenrat hand over the thieves. The Judenrat surrendered four men, who in turn revealed that a number of Jews had escaped from the massacres in Wilno and found refuge in Lida at the end of 1941. These Jews asked for help from the Judenrat and were given the necessary documents.

All the Jews were driven from their houses by the German Gendarmerie and members of the Wermacht (3rd Battalion, Infantry Regiment 727) and were made to assemble in the square near the post office at 8:00 A.M. Numerous Jews were shot as they were being gathered together. After surrendering all their valuables, the Jews had to pass through a turnstile. During this procedure, the 4 Jews arrested for robbing the priest pointed out all those who had allegedly arrived in Lida from Wilno. Those selected, about 35 people, were then shot, along with the 4 Jews arrested previously, by the German Gendarmerie and Polish auxiliary police. About 200 of those who had stayed in the ghetto and were not subjected to being identified, mainly children and elderly people, were shot in their homes.

A week later, seven members of the Judenrat and the Jewish police, including the chairman, Lichtman, were arrested and interrogated in jail. They were then beaten and shot after gruesome torture in the prison courtyard by German Gendarmes and Polish auxiliary police. Their bodies were sent back to the ghetto one week later in a frozen and mutilated condition.[6]

The Jews were ordered to elect a new Judenrat within 24 hours. No candidates could be found. Finally, Dr. Charny was designated the new chairman. This was followed by further new regulations: for example, electricity had previously been

cut off in the ghetto, and now the Jews had to surrender all electrical appliances, such as lamps. On the suggestion of engineer Altman, a former director of the foundry "Benland," the Judenrat received permission to open a number of light-industry workshops producing goods for local consumption and the needs of the Germans. The first workshops, for carpenters, tinsmiths, and cobblers, were opened several weeks later in the technical school building on Suwalska Street. Soon other workshops for producing electrical goods, clothes, knitted garments, toys, ropes, combs, and handbags and even for binding books were established. A large garage for repairing all types of cars and other vehicles was also opened. The workshops were run by Altman and Alperstein. Inspectors from Germany oversaw their work.[7]

On the evening of May 7, 1942, the ghetto was sealed. Altman was ordered to make a list of the able-bodied Jews, with their occupations. On the same day, three trenches were excavated by local villagers. The entire action was planned by the Sipo/SD from Baranowicze (commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Grünzfelder) together with Gebietskommissar Hanweg and his deputy Windisch.

On the morning of May 8, 1942, the Jewish quarters were cleared by German Gendarmes, the Sipo/SD units, and local auxiliary police. Those who did not go to the collection points voluntarily or could not keep up, owing to old age, sickness, or infirmity, were shot on the spot. The Jews from the Kosharowa quarter were driven for selection to the square near the northern military barracks. Those from the Postawska quarter were driven into Kosharowa Street and then selected further east at the railway underpass. The Jews from the Piaski quarter were driven westward in the direction of Grodno. The German selection of "useful" Jews was conducted at the barracks by presenting work certificates, and most of the skilled workers were separated out. At the end of the selection, however, following an altercation between Gebietskommissar Hanweg and Windisch, who carried out the selection, the last 150 Jews were simply sent for execution.

Those selected were driven in columns to the shooting site. At a distance of 60 meters (197 feet) from the graves, they were made to sit back to back in rows, waiting for their turn. They were directed in groups of 10 or 15 to the trenches and made to undress. Lithuanian or Latvian auxiliaries in SS uniforms, subordinated directly to the Sipo/SD, shot them with machine guns. The children were murdered first. They were torn from their parents, thrown into a separate trench, and killed with hand grenades. In some cases, children were tossed high into the air and shot. The last rabbi in Lida, Aaron Rabinovich, was among those murdered in this Aktion.

Abram Levin escaped from the convoy and managed to hide close to the killing site. Fishel Beloborodov and Mordekhai Gershovich were both wounded, but they managed to crawl out of the pit and escape. Among the escapees were also a young boy named Kamenski and the daughter of a poor tailor.

When the Aktion was over, the Judenrat was ordered to send a group of Jews to cover the trenches with quicklime and earth. Those who survived were ordered to kneel before Hanweg and Windisch and thank them for their lives. The clothes of the victims were collected and taken to a warehouse, where they were later sorted by a group of Jews. Worn-out clothes were sold to the peasants, and the better-quality items were sent to Germany. The next day the Germans drove about 500 peasants with horse-drawn carts to spread a deep layer of earth on the grave. Some 5,670 people were murdered in this Aktion.[8]

Following the action of May 1942, there were efforts to organize an armed group inside the ghetto. One of the group's leaders was Baruch Levin, who ran a manufacturing workshop in the ghetto, though other heads of the workshops were among the main opponents of resistance activity. They still believed that the lives of "useful" Jews would be spared.

The chief aim of the group members was to provide themselves with arms, mainly rifles, to escape to the forest and join the partisans. Tuvia Bielski, the leader of a purely Jewish partisan detachment, sent emissaries into the Lida ghetto and even visited it himself twice to bring out Jews.[9] Captured arms could be obtained from the storehouses in the former Polish barracks. Some arms were also purchased from the local Christian population. The resistance group also managed to set up a small printing press and smuggle it out to the partisans.

From the autumn of 1942 until the liquidation of the ghetto in September 1943, hundreds of Jews fled to the forest. The doctors Kivelevich, Gordin, and Orliuk were brought out of the ghetto and served in different Soviet partisan detachments. P. Proniagin, the commander of the detachment named after Shchors, referred to Zorakh Kremen from Lida as the bravest of his partisans. Some escapees joined the detachment "Iskra," but most of Lida's Jews found their way to the Bielskis in the dense Naliboki Forest.

According to the testimony of I. Kardash, at the beginning of March 1943, a small group of Lida Jews and more than 2,000 who had been brought from the surrounding towns of Woronów, Iwje, Raduń, Żołudek, and smaller villages were collected in the square in front of the post office. They were led to the place called Borki (now a suburb of Lida) and shot there.[10]

Following the March Aktion, there remained about 2,000 Jews in Lida, according to an SS report from July 1943.[11] In the summer some of the remaining Jews from Szczuczyn were brought into the Lida ghetto. On September 18, 1943, the ghetto was surrounded by police. The Jews were driven to the railway station, loaded into railroad cars, and sent on two separate trains to the concentration camp in Majdanek and to the death camp in Sobibór, where virtually all of them were annihilated.[12]

About 300 Jews from Lida survived the Holocaust. Legal investigations were opened against Leopold Windisch by the authorities in Linz, Austria, in 1953 and again in 1964, but both were closed again shortly afterward, as the prosecution had no jurisdiction. Windisch was then located and tried by the West German authorities: the verdict issued on July 17, 1969, by the Landgericht (LG) Mainz sentenced him to life imprisonment.[13]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Lida, edited by Alexander Manor, *Sefer Lida* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Lida be-Yi´sra'el u-Va'ad ha-'ezrah li-Yehude Lida ba-Artsot ha-Berit, 1970),

contains several firsthand accounts. Published memoirs include those by Josef Judelevich, *Lida—Town of My Early Years* [in Hebrew] (Kefar Saba, 1965); Baruch Levin, *In the Forests of Vengeance* (Tel Aviv, 1968); Joseph Kuszelewicz, *Un juif de Biélorussie de Lida à Karaganda: Ghetto—Maquis—Goulag* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002); and Eliyahu Damesek, *Otiyot be-'oferet: Be-Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah, li-fene ha-milhamah ve-aharehah* (Tel Aviv: Bet lohame ha-geta'ot, 1983). There is also a recent short article by Valeri Slivkin, "Elimination of the Lida Jews" [in Belarussian], *Lidski Letapisets*, no. 2 (18) (2002): 23–28.

The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes can be found in NARB and GARF (7021-86-42); the files of the German trial of Leopold Windisch and Rudolf Werner for war crimes committed in the Lida District can be examined in BA-L; additional wartime documentation and the testimonies of survivors can also be found in BA-BL; USHMM (e.g., RG-02.133, RG-11.001M.01, and RG-50.030*0026); VHF; and YVA (e.g., 2838/207-A [Dr. Alpert]).

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NOTES

1. Eliahu Damesek, "The German Occupation," in Manor, *Sefer Lida*, pp. 8–17, here p. 9, dates this initial Aktion in late June, noting that 92 Jews were shot. BA-L, B 162/14386 (202 AR-Z 94d/59, LG-Mai 3 KS 1/67, verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch on July 17, 1969 [Windisch Verdict]), p. 25, states that there were more than 80 victims and that bomb craters were used for the graves. See also the report opening the case against Kurt Schulz-Isenbeck issued by LG-Düss on 7.2.1970, available at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Lida-District/si-rest.htm; and BA-BL, R 58/214 Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 21, July 13, 1941. According the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report dated August 17, 1944 (GARF, 7021-86-42, p. 3), 275 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were shot and buried in pits prepared for the storage of ammunition in Aktions on July 3 and July 8, 1941.

2. Leizer Engelshtern testimony, in Manor, *Sefer Lida*, p. 325, cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 252. The other members of the Judenrat included the bank clerk Sokolowski, schoolteachers Khaber and Zartsin, bookkeeper Shalatski, taylor Konopka, doctor Kantor, and shopkeepers Stolitski, Levin, Feinstein, Goldberg, and Sheiboim; see Slivkin, "Elimination of the Lida Jews," in Manor, *Sefer Lida*, 23–28.

3. Damesek, "The German Occupation," pp. 9–10.

4. Kuszelewicz, *Un juif de Biélorussie*, p. 44.

5. Testimony of Kshyshtof Malashkevich, "Memories of My Childhood," article in the newspaper *Prinemanskie Vesti*, November 2, 2000.

6. Damesek, "The German Occupation," pp. 10–11; see also testimony of Abram Kuszelewicz sent to the World Jewish Council, now preserved at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, OH, in box C210, file 4, pp. 25–27. A translation by Irene Newhouse can be found at www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Lida-District/kushela.htm.

7. Kuszelewicz, *Un juif de Biélorussie*, pp. 48–49, 54–55.

8. Windisch Verdict, pp. 28–31.

9. Nechama Tec, *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans—The Story of the Largest Armed Rescue of Jews by Jews during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 4, 40.

10. The precise grave site was not identified until 2001.

11. USHMM, RG-11.001M.01 (records of the RSHA, Berlin, Fond 500), reel 10, 500-1-769, file note on the expedition to Nowogródek on July 9, 1943, dated Baranowitsche, July 11, 1943.

12. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 734, 740. Gerlach cites one survivor from Sobibór who was deported from Lida; see also Jules Schelvis, *Vernichtungslager Sobibór* (Münster: Unrast, 2003), pp. 263–264.

13. Windisch Verdict.

LUBCZ

Pre-1939: Lubcz, town, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Lubcha, Novogrudok raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lubtscha, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Liubcha, Navagradok raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lubcz is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) northeast of Nowogródek. It is estimated that on the eve of the German occupation in 1940, around 1,500 Jews (about 400 families) were residing in Lubcz.[1]

Under Soviet occupation from September 1939 to June 1941, Jewish private businesses were nationalized, and most Jews worked in the newly established craft cooperatives (*artels*). The Soviet authorities suppressed most Jewish communal and political activity.

The first bombs fell on Lubcz on Tuesday, June 24, 1941. Many Jews fled the town for a few days. Upon their return they found local non-Jews in the process of looting their homes. Anyone who tried to resist was beaten up.[2]

In the first week of the occupation, the Germans established a local police force in Lubcz. The police commander was Boris Kunicki, and his main deputies included Nikolai Kamornik and Pawel Biedun. About a week or 10 days into the occupation, a group of Germans arrived and ordered all the Jews to gather in the market square. With the help of local Belorussians, they selected about 50 Jewish men and one non-Jewish Communist official. These men were loaded onto trucks and transported to Nowogródek. The Jews were told that they were being taken for work. Later local peasants reported that the men had been shot behind the military barracks in Nowogródek. On the day of the roundup, 4 Jews were killed on the streets of Lubcz. Just after this, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) took over the administration of the town.[3]

All Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars, and by the fall of 1941 they were moved into about 30 houses situated close to the synagogues. The Jews suffered from terrible overcrowding, with three or four families sharing each house.[4] In this manner an informal or "open ghetto" was established. A Judenrat and Jewish police force were formed. Chaim Bruk was head of the Judenrat, and Berl Yankelewicz from Delatycze became his deputy. Both the Judenrat and the Jewish police force were established to ensure the implementation of all German orders. The German authorities assured them that



Jewish workers posing on the porch of a mill in Lubcz, 1930s.
USHMM WS #99529, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

no harm would be done to the Jews if they followed orders and did not leave town without permission. Groups of Jews were sent to the nearby estates of Weresków and Worobjewicze to perform agricultural work, such as digging potatoes.

Closely connected to the Jewish community in Lubcz were the Jews of Delatycze, a village about 7 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of Lubcz. In 1897, there had been 461 Jews in the village, but following considerable destruction during World War I, only about 100 Jews remained. Yisrael Slonimski recalls that one week after the war started, local peasants also robbed the Jews there, breaking into houses and destroying the Torah in the synagogue. Many Jews were beaten and some were killed. The Jews fled from their houses and ran to the Niemen River, where they hid for two days. When they returned, their houses had been extensively plundered. Some other non-Jews, however, took pity on them and gave them bread, milk, and flour. A few days after the Germans arrived in Delatycze, the Jews were ordered to wear yellow stars.[5]

At the end of 1941, around the time of Hanukkah, the Ortskommandantur instructed the Judenrat that 300 Jews would be sent to the forced labor camp in Dworzec; 2 of the Jews were murdered by their German guards on the road between Lubcz and Dworzec, when they fell behind the column. The Judenrat also had to supply food to the Lubcz Jews in the Dworzec camp over the ensuing months. Some of these people later managed to escape to the partisans from the camp.[6]

According to the account of Shifra Slominski, the Germans enclosed the ghetto in Lubcz at the time of the Purim holiday, at the beginning of March in 1942.[7] On March 6, the Gebietskommissar in Nowogródek, Wilhelm Traub, ordered that all the Jews from the villages be concentrated in the Rayon towns.[8] Therefore, the remaining Jews from Delatycze and Niehniewicze, where about 50 Jewish families lived, were brought into the Lubcz ghetto at this time.[9]

Soon after this, a squad of German police entered the Lubcz ghetto and arrested the policemen Naftali Alperstein and Yitzhak Rosenblum and the head of the Judenrat Chaim Bruk. All three of them were murdered on the orders of the German commandant, apparently because of the poor hygienic conditions inside the ghetto.[10]

On March 15, 1942, the Judenrat received an order to collect all domestic animals, such as cows, goats, and poultry, and hand them over to the German authorities. On April 1, the Judenrat was instructed to send 125 workers to the ghetto in Nowogródek. Soon afterwards, the families of these workers followed them, possibly as many as 450 people.[11]

The precise fate of the remaining Jews in the Lubcz ghetto is difficult to reconstruct from the fragmentary and contradictory sources available. According to some accounts, just before the Jewish holiday of Shavuot (around May 23, 1942), a large group of Jews from Rubieżewicze, Iwieniec, and Naliboki, who had been selected by the Germans for work, arrived in Lubcz on their way to Nowogródek.[12] On their arrival in Lubcz, the local Jews were assembled and divided into two groups. More than 600 younger Jews were sent to Worobjewicze just to the south of Lubcz to work on the road between Lubcz and Nowogródek.[13] The remaining Jews, or at least those able to walk, were added to the large column of Jews being transferred to the ghetto in Nowogródek, where they arrived the following day after an overnight stop on the way. As there was insufficient room in the houses of the Nowogródek ghetto, many had to make do with a small space in a barn.[14] On August 7, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 5,000 Jews from the Nowogródek ghetto, including many Jews from Lubcz, Delatycze, and Niehniewicze, at the pits of Litowka, just outside the town.[15]

By the end of July 1942 the road construction at Worobjewicze was completed. According to some sources, the Germans and their collaborators murdered 635 Jews in Worobjewicze on August 8, 1942, presumably as a follow-up to the Aktion on August 7 in Nowogródek. Some were shot in groups, while others had to stand and wait for their turn. One group was locked inside a barn, which was then splashed with gasoline and set alight, burning alive the people inside. Those who tried to escape were murdered. According to Mikhail Palchik, Vladimir Spagar, and Eugeni Kalala—residents of Wielka Worobjewicze—three women escaped and hid themselves under the bridge near the village of Basin. Somebody reported them, and then three local policemen on bicycles brought them to the killing site. By this time the grave had already been covered with earth, and the women were shot in the quarry on Ilukova Hill. The massacre in Worobjewicze was carried out by members of the local police, gathered from throughout Gebiet Nowogrodek. One of them boasted later that when he ran out of cartridges, he killed the Jews with the butt of his rifle.[16]

Some Soviet-era sources indicate that a number of Jews were shot and buried in the town of Lubcz itself, presumably at the time of the liquidation of the ghetto (between the end of May and early August 1942). It is possible that forces of the Gendarmerie and local police murdered children and Jews who were unfit to work on the spot, however, this information is not confirmed in most accounts by Jewish survivors from Lubcz.[17]



A recent photograph of a Soviet-era memorial in Lubcz. The sign reads: "To the eternal memory of 375 people savagely tortured by the Germano-Fascist executioners, 1941–1942."
COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND REGIONAL STUDIES IN NOVOGRUDOK

SOURCES The main published source for the Lubcz ghetto is the yizkor book, edited by K. Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits': Sefer Zikaron* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Lubch ve-Delatits' be-Yisrael, 1971). There is also some relevant information in the yizkor book for Nowogródek, edited by Eliezer Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok* (Tel Aviv: Alexander Harkavy Navaredker Relief Committee in USA and Naveredker Committee in Israel, 1963). In addition, the unpublished manuscript of personal reminiscences prepared by Ellis Sampson (Ilye Shimshelevitz), "Life in the Shtetl," (in possession of the author) was also consulted.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Lubcz and Delatycze during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/27191); GARF (7021-82-102); NARB; USHMM; and YVA.

Tamara Vershitskaya and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 751.

2. Yisrael-Gershon Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," in Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits'*, pp. 331–343, here p. 334.

3. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65), vol. 1, pp. 133–138, statements of Shalom (Schmuel) Leibowicz, May 4, 1966, Wolf Solomianski, May 10, 1966, and Shifra Solomianski, May 15, 1966; see also the testimony of Shifra Solomianski, "In the Lubcha Ghetto," in Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits'*, pp. 380–387.

4. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," p. 335.

5. Yisrael Slonimsky, "Pages from the Fire," in Hillel, *Lubats' ve-Delatits'*, pp. 412–432.

6. BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 135–136, statement of Wolf Solomianski, May 10, 1966, and pp. 133–134, statement of Shalom (Shmuel) Leibowicz, May 4, 1966; Solomianski, "In the Lubcha Ghetto," p. 383. The Dworzec labor camp was actually part of the ghetto there, as young laborers lived together with the Jewish families of the town.

7. Solomianski, "In the Lubcha Ghetto," p. 384; BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 133–134, statement of Leibowicz, May 4, 1966, however, dates the establishment of the ghetto in the fall of 1941.

8. Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), pp. 156–158.

9. Slonimsky, "Pages from the Fire," pp. 415–416.

10. BA-L, B 162/27191, pp. 137–138, statement of Solomianski, May 15, 1966; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 263.

11. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," pp. 336–337.

12. Moshe Gurion testimony in David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, *Derevne ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv, 1968), pp. 253–262; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik.

13. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," p. 337.

14. Y. Yaffe, "The Final Wandering," in Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok*, pp. 319–321.

15. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," pp. 337–338; Gurion, in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 253–262; and YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik. On the fate of the Jews in the Nowogródek ghetto, see the entry in this volume.

16. GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 82 and reverse side; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 263–264; and information in the possession of the author, Tamara Vershitskaya. Some sources erroneously place Worobjewicze in the Słonim area.

17. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 263, indicates that 375 Jews from the Lubcz ghetto were shot in the cemetery in the spring of 1942. Another source summarized by Botvinnik indicates that 1,532 Jews from the Lubcz ghetto were shot, but this presumably includes all those sent to Worobjewicze and to Nowogródek. Yankelewicz, "I Was in the Ghetto," p. 337, indicates that only about 150 elderly and sick Jews remained in the ghetto following the departure of the group of workers to Worobjewicze. Some sources, however, indicate that Jews were transferred from Lubcz to Nowogródek by light railway—possibly also those unable to walk.

ŁUŻKI

Pre-1939: Łużki, village, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Luzhki, Plisa raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Luzki, Rayon Sharkovshchina, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Luzhki, Sharkoushchyna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łużki is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of Minsk. No reliable figure is available for the Jewish population of Łużki at the start of the German occupation, but it probably comprised more than 500 people.

Units of the German VI Army Corps of the 9th Army occupied Łużki between July 6 and July 9, 1941. Initially the village was under German military administration. On August 31, 1941, Łużki was incorporated into the newly formed Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Głębokie was Paul Hachmann.

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces required the Jews to wear a yellow Star of David, forced them to engage in strenuous physical labor, and forbade them from leaving the village. From the available evidence it is clear that the Nazi authorities organized a ghetto in Łużki, however, it is unclear exactly when it was established. According to one witness, Vladimir Ignatevich Metelits, it was established in the fall of 1941.[1]

Łużki was an "open ghetto," which was guarded by local Belorussian police collaborators, and was not surrounded by a fence.[2] On pain of death, the local population was forbidden to communicate with the Jews. According to some sources, the ghetto consisted of several houses in the center of the village, but witnesses M.A. Krivko and C.F. Galetski assert that it was located in a local school building.

On the day of the massacre, June 1, 1942, the Jews were removed from the ghetto, lined up in columns, and escorted by Germans and local policemen to a wood about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the village, opposite the state farm "Gorodets."[3] The guards beat many of the Jews on the way. According to the testimony of Ya.V. Atrakhimovich, some of the Jews made an unsuccessful attempt to escape. All those who attempted to escape were killed. The Germans and their collaborators drove the remaining Jews into two ditches, made them undress, and shot them.

According to a report by the office of the Gebietskommissar, on that day 528 Jews from Łużki were shot, and another 419 were killed in nearby Plissa.[4] The Ritsman, Kenigsberg, Kozliner, and Shinkman families managed to survive the roundup and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.[5] Hasia Cepelavicz feinted into the mass grave and was able to escape at night, subsequently making her way to the Głębokie ghetto and surviving the war.[6]

SOURCES A published account of the fate of the Jews of Łużki can be found in Gennadii Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 164–168.

This article is based in part on local witness testimonies in the author's personal archive. Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Łużki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1390); GARF (7021-92-219); and NARB (370-1-483).

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Recollections of V.I. Metelits (born 1921), published in Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii*, p. 165.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-92-219, p. 148, testimony of C.F. Galetski.
4. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of the Gebietskommissar in Glebokie on the Jewish Aktion, July 1, 1942.
5. Witness statement of V.I. Metelits, in the author's personal archive.
6. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60), vol. 1, pp. 690–691, statement of Ann Seidlin (nee Hasia Cepelevicz), January 23, 1962.

MIADZIOŁ NOWY

Pre-1939: Miadzioł Nowy (Yiddish: Miadel), village, Postawy powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Miadel', raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Miadziol, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Miadzel, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Miadzioł is located about 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) northwest of Minsk. It is estimated that there were approximately 200 Jews in Miadzioł on the eve of the German occupation.[1]

German forces occupied the village on July 2, 1941. Immediately on the Germans' arrival, local Belorussian and Polish inhabitants began to pick on the Jews, beating and robbing them or denouncing them to the Germans. The Germans took the Jews, both men and women, for forced labor in agriculture and also made them perform grueling physical tasks that served no real purpose.[2]

Throughout the summer of 1941, a German military commandant (Ortskommandant) administered the village. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Miadzioł was incorporated into Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. From the fall of 1941, there was a German Gendarmerie post in Miadzioł, which controlled the local auxiliary police, recruited from residents of the area. Among the more notorious police officials in Miadzioł were the German Gendarmes Sacher and Keil and the local police officers Boginsky and Rusakovich.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the compulsory wearing of yellow patches (in August), and prohibitions on leaving the village. The Judenrat was based in Miadzioł Nowy and imposed taxes on the Jews to pay the large "contributions" demanded by the German authorities. On one occasion, the Germans demanded 300 leather coats, 500 pairs of leather boots, and a large sum of money. During the first three months

of occupation, German security forces conducted at least one Aktion (possibly several) in Miadzioł, in which they murdered more than 20 Jews, most of them respected family heads. The victims were beaten or attacked by dogs before they were killed and thrown into a mass grave.[4]

The remaining Jews of the village were resettled into a ghetto, probably in November 1941, when a barbed-wire fence was erected around the town.[5] In the ghetto, the Jews were able to obtain food by trading their remaining possessions with the local population. The Jews of Miadzioł received news of the Aktions conducted against other Jewish communities in the area, and some Jewish youths organized resistance, attempting to obtain arms in order to flee and join the Soviet partisans, who had become active in the area by the summer of 1942. By the late summer of 1942, the Jews working in Miadzioł had received a tip from the local mayor that soon the ghetto would be liquidated.[6]

In mid-September 1942, shortly before Yom Kippur, a group of about 70 Jews escaped from the Miadzioł ghetto. In response, the German and Belorussian police rounded up the remaining Jews, and after selecting out the skilled workers and their families, they escorted about 70 people into the forest 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the village and shot them there. About 20 of the Jews who had escaped from the ghetto were tracked down in the woods and shot by the Gendarmerie and local police in the days after the September Aktion.[7]

About 50 specialist workers from Kobylnik were brought to the ghetto in Miadzioł Nowy in late September 1942, after a similar Aktion in Kobylnik. They joined about 50 Miadzioł Jews who were living in a remnant ghetto under terrible conditions.[8] In early October 1942, a group of Jewish partisans from a Soviet unit under the command of Ya'akov Sigalczyk infiltrated the remnant ghetto. The partisans attacked the German garrison to create a diversion and led out many of the inmates under a hail of fire. Originally, the partisans had intended only to liberate people who might be useful to them, such as doctors and dentists, but on the initiative of Sigalczyk, efforts were made to liberate as many able-bodied Jews as possible. The partisans killed a number of German Gendarmes and local police during their assault, but several partisans were killed or wounded.[9]

In total, more than 100 Jews were murdered by the Germans and their collaborators in and around Miadzioł in 1941 and 1942.[10]

A number of the Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to survive with various Soviet partisan groups or in family camps until the Red Army drove out the German occupiers in July 1944. In 1993, a monument was erected at the site where the Germans shot the Jews from the ghetto in the fall of 1942.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Miadzioł during the Holocaust include the following: Henia Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," *Fun letstn khurbn*, no. 9 (1947): 71–77; Yitzhak Siegelman, ed., *Sefer Kobylnik* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Kobylnik be-Yisrael, Committee of Former Residents of Kobylnik in Israel, 1967); Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 55–61; and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 409–11. There is also some information on the rescue of 70 Jews from the Miadzioł ghetto in David Sztokfisz ed., *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov: Monument tsum ondenk fun tsvey Yidishe kehile's* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Dokshits-Parafyanov be-Yi'sra'el uva-tefutsot, 1970).

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Miadzioł Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2930); BA-L (B 162/202 AR 629/73); GARF (7021-89-10); MA (A-331, Ya'akov Sigalczyk); NARB (845-1-63); USHMM; and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), Poland, p. 10; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds. *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 816. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," p. 71, however, states that there were 150 Jewish families (or about 500 Jews) at the outbreak of the war.

2. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," p. 71.

3. Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 188–189; and BA-L, B 162/202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, pp. 394–395.

4. Accounts of the Aktion or Aktions in July to September 1941 vary quite considerably. See, for example, GARF, 7021-89-10, pp. 2, 51, 56—this report mentions 21 victims in early September 1941. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.*, pp. 188–189—in this version, there were 45 Jewish victims. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," pp. 71–72—this account indicates there were at least two separate Aktions.

5. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 58. This source, however, notes that the Germans delayed establishing a formal ghetto in Miadzioł, as only about 150 to 180 Jews lived there. NARB, 845-1-63, p. 18.

6. Ihushe Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," in Siegelman, *Sefer Kobylnik*, pp. 151–181, here p. 174.

7. GARF, 7021-89-10, p. 56. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 73, dates the ghetto liquidation on September 23, 1942.

8. Vinnitsa, *Gorech'i bol'*, pp. 55–61; and Svidler, "Kobilnik un umgebung—in umkum," pp. 175–177.

9. It appears that there were two separate escapes from the Miadzioł ghetto in September and October, as depicted, for example, in Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 218. On the second escape, see also Boris Kozinitz, "A Partisan's Story," in Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov;* MA, A-331, testimony of Ya'akov Sigalczyk; and AŻIH, 301/2930. Menkis, "Miadel un umgegnt," pp. 71–77, appears to date her escape in the fall of 1941, but this seems unlikely—and there is confusion about the dating of certain other events in this account.

10. GARF, 7021-89-10, pp. 4–7, name list of 109 Jews murdered. Vinnitsa, *Gorech'i bol'*, pp. 55–61, gives the figure of 155 Jews killed in Miadzioł.

MINSK

Pre-1941: Minsk, city and capital, raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: center of Gebiet Minsk-Land and capital, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: capital and center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Between 1900 and 1930, Minsk was a predominantly Jewish city, with Yiddish one of four official languages there. At the beginning of Stalin's rule, Belorussia was targeted for "Russification." As a result the Jewish population had declined as a proportion of the total number of people in the city to 70,998 (or 29.71 percent of the total) by 1939.

The German invasion began on June 22, 1941. The main thrust of the German surprise attack delivered by Army Group Center was aimed directly through Minsk towards Moscow. The German encirclement forced the Red Army to abandon the Belorussian capital on June 28. This gave most citizens almost no opportunity to evacuate.

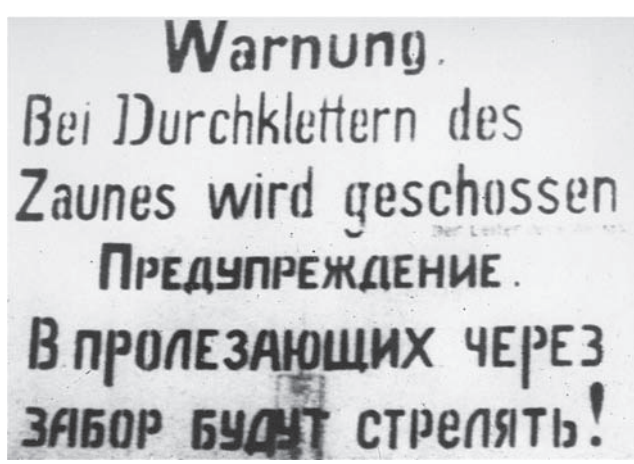
On July 19, 1941, the German Field Commandant ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Minsk. The official order permitted the Jews only five days to move from their homes into the ghetto. They could only take with them what they could carry in their hands.[1] However, the head of the Jewish Council in Minsk, Ilya Moshkin, managed through bribery to have the period allotted for transfer into the ghetto extended to two weeks. Indeed, many were still resettling into the ghetto at the end of July, and some even at the end of August. Non-Jews also had to move out of the ghetto area. Any Jews found outside the ghetto without permission faced severe punishment; German guards and local police had instructions to shoot on sight. The ghetto was formed within the boundaries of Kolkhozny Lane and Kolkhoznaia Street, Nemiga Street (excluding the Orthodox Church), Respublikanskaia, Shornaia, and Kollektovnaia Streets, Mebelny Lane, Perekopskaia, and Nizhniaia Streets, the wall of the Jewish cemetery, Obuvnaia Street, Second Opansky Lane, and Zaslavskaia Street up to Kolkhozny Lane.[2]

The Jews forced to live in the Minsk ghetto were required to identify themselves by wearing a yellow piece of fabric in the shape of a circle, 10 centimeters (about 4 inches) in diameter, affixed to their clothing on the front and back, as well as another small rectangular piece of fabric giving their name and address. This label was later a crucial means of identifying and punishing all family members and the neighbors of any Jew caught trying to escape or found to be involved in underground or partisan activities. Orders were also issued that Jews had to take off their caps in front of any German, on pain of death. All Jews were ordered to remain within the ghetto at all times, which at first was simply a defined territory but later was fenced off with parallel rows of barbed wire reaching higher than an average man's height. All Jews were required to spend the night only in the house listed on their clothing and could be shot for failing to comply.

Jews who were able to work were assigned to forced labor squads. At work they received a meager supply of food and in rare instances small amounts of money. No other food or provisions were made for ghetto inmates; thus failure to join a forced labor squad meant starvation. Those able to work were supplied with 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day and a watery soup (*balanda*)—barely enough to feed a laborer but certainly not enough to feed a family. Labor squads were used to run the brush factory and the radio factory, to build a concentration camp on Shirokaia Street, to rebuild parts of Minsk, to run the main heating plants, to clean and service the train stations, to cook and clean for the Germans, and to accomplish other similar projects.[3] Jews that were able to find places on the forced labor squads were issued an identity card (*Ausweis*)—a German document naming them as valued laborers. This document could mean the difference between life and death.

Jewish forced laborers often attempted to trade articles of value (i.e., clothing, jewelry, and household items) with Belorussians they encountered in the city for items of food (e.g., potatoes, potato skins, carrots, and flour) to supplement their meager rations and to bring home food for their children and





Left: A warning sign hangs on the barbed-wire fence of the Minsk ghetto fence. Right: A blowup of the sign, which warns, in German and Russian, that anyone climbing through the fence will be shot, 1941.
USHMM WS #73739 AND WS #73741, MUSEUM OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

nonworking family members. Likewise, children were often sent under the ghetto fence, to beg from former neighbors and others or to try to barter articles of value for food. If they were caught leaving or reentering the ghetto, they were shot dead.

Electricity to the ghetto was cut off, and no candles, heating fuel, and cooking fuel were supplied. The only heat available for ghetto inmates during the fiercely cold winters was that made by breaking apart their furniture, floors, and the like, to burn in the wood-burning ovens. Ghetto inmates were so starved that they recall collecting nettles and grass inside the ghetto and trying to make soup from it and even collecting the bones from discarded German meals sometimes thrown their way.

Typhus spread throughout the ghetto once the inmates became weakened from the dire living conditions. Children whose parents were killed or died of starvation were often absorbed into other families or given to the orphanage that operated within the ghetto. There was also a hospital inside the ghetto, serving those with typhus and other diseases. During the pogrom of March 2–3 (around Purim) in 1942, the Nazis came into the Minsk ghetto orphanage and stabbed to death all the children they found there.[4]

A bakery (which still exists) operated within the ghetto, but its bread was for the Germans and not for Jews. Aside from the hospital, the Judenrat headquarters, the Jewish Police, and the orphanage, most normal social institutions did not exist within the ghetto. There were no shops, schools, restaurants, or theater performances within the ghetto—only conditions of starvation and death. Individuals continued to pray, but the only services held were the Kaddish dirges cried out following the roundups and mass killings.

The Minsk ghetto is thought to have held about 75,000 to 80,000 Jews in the fall of 1941, with about 55,000 of these having been local Minsk Jews and the remainder from western Belorussia.[5] Despite the mass murders and killing Aktions, additional Jews came into the ghetto. In November 1941, the first transports from Germany and Austria began to arrive. Likewise, when some ghettos in the Minsk region were liquidated, the skilled laborers were spared and brought to the Minsk ghetto. Escaped Jews often migrated to the relative safety of the Minsk ghetto rather than wander among hostile Germans and Belorussians, who were afraid to offer them lasting shelter.

The ghetto was constantly subjected to raids, pogroms, and killing Aktions. Almost every night some house within the ghetto was broken into by bandits, local or imported police, or Germans coming to steal from, rape, and kill the inhabitants. Ghetto survivors state that the living conditions were not comparable to a European concentration camp because "at least there you knew at night when you had managed to live through the day that you would not face death again until the next day of horrors, but in the Minsk ghetto the terror was non-stop, twenty-four hours a day, extending beyond the daytime horrors into nightly killing, raping, and looting raids from which no one was protected."[6]

The Nazi plan to decimate the Jewish population of Minsk was carried out at first by dire living conditions and then accelerated by official "killing Aktions" or pogroms, the largest of which occurred on the dates given below. Official German figures for the number of victims are considerably lower than those given in Soviet or survivor sources, so examples of both are given:

Date of Aktion	*German Estimates*	*Soviet/Survivor Estimates*
Up to end of July 1941	5,000[7]	—
August 14–September 1, 1941	5,000–6,000[8]	—
November 7–11, 1941	6,624[9]	12,000[10]
November 20, 1941	—	15,000[11]
March 2–3, 1942	3,412[12]	8,000[13]
July 28–31, 1942	9,000[14]	25,000[15]
October 21–23, 1943	4,000+[16]	—

Few definitive figures for the number of Jews in the ghetto are available. One report, probably from the second half of 1942, mentions 20,000 Jews (11,000 men and 9,000 women) capable of work in Minsk.[17] Estimates vary about the numbers living and surviving to the very end. Some survivors say only a handful survived, perhaps 20 children, while others report up to 1,000 hiding during the final Aktion and managing to escape.

During the various Aktions, the Germans generally used Latvian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian police to aid them in cordoning off an area of the ghetto selected for "liquidation." The non-German police accompanied by German SS men went door-to-door, ordering the inhabitants out of their houses and searching for those in hiding. Out on the street, the Jews were formed into columns, with those able to display an Ausweis or work permit often spared, being allowed to step aside with their family members. "Extra" family members were often saved in these instances. Likewise "employers" often tried to preserve their workers by keeping them overnight in factories during the large killing Aktions in the ghetto.

In the first weeks of these night Aktions, many Jews constructed hiding places, or *malenas*, behind false walls, in attics, basements, and other rooms. Of course, the Germans and their collaborators searched for false walls, sometimes riddling areas they could not reach with bullets.

During some of the killing Aktions, Minsk Jews were rounded up and forced into gas vans called "soul killers" by the Minsk Jews. These windowless, closed trucks opened from the back and could hold from 60 to 100 people. The exhaust pipe of the truck was rigged so that the fumes entered this closed compartment; as a result, those inside were gassed to death by the time the trucks arrived at burial pits or in Maly Trostinets, where the corpses were thrown into pits and later burned in a crematorium erected there.[18]

In other cases the columns of Jews were loaded onto open trucks and driven to prepared pits where they were ordered to undress and pile up their clothing, and then they had to proceed naked to the edge of the pit, where they were shot in the head. Bullets were not wasted on children, who frequently were thrown into the pits and buried alive.

In one special Aktion the most beautiful girls were rounded up and taken to Yubileinaia Square, in the center of the ghetto, where they were shot in the head with exploding bullets and left to bleed to death on the square.[19]

Belorussian police were mainly employed to guard the Minsk ghetto. According to survivors, however, the most feared units were the Latvian and Ukrainian forces, although Lithuanian units also actively supported the Nazis during the various murderous pogroms.

The Germans established a Judenrat in Minsk, made up of "representatives of the Jews." The Judenrat, or Jewish Council, in Minsk was apparently formed when the Germans simply picked 12 Jews off the street in July 1941. The Jewish Council and its chairman had strict orders to carry out all instructions from the German military administration in a careful and timely manner; the chairman and his vice chairman were to be held personally responsible for everything that occurred within the Jewish community. The Germans required that the Judenrat collect "contributions" of 2 million Soviet rubles and 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold in July 1941, which was a huge sum of money at that time. Subsequent demands were for cutlery, pots and pans, and even underwear, until there was nothing more to collect. The duties of the Jewish police were to keep order in the ghetto, to organize work squads to collect and bury the dead, and to collaborate in finding and rounding up resistors. While some members of the Judenrat and police did collaborate in betraying Jews, for the most part they were compelled to serve in these positions and tried not to compromise themselves where possible.

The Minsk ghetto inhabitants began organizing resistance activities within the ghetto as early as August 1941 and worked closely with the Communist underground in Minsk. One of the Minsk underground committee leaders, Issac Cazinetz, was a Jew, but because of his non-Jewish appearance, he was able to live hidden outside the ghetto. He was responsible for many of the links forged between the Minsk city underground and the ghetto. In May 1942, he was arrested and publicly executed. He was posthumously decorated as a Hero of the Soviet Union. Hersh Smolar and others worked to create and smuggle underground newspapers and even some arms into the ghetto. The underground's most successful effort was in exploding a bomb under the bed of Generalkommissar Kube, killing him, although miraculously his pregnant wife, who was also in the bed, survived the blast. Severe retribution was visited upon both the city of Minsk and the Minsk ghetto following this event. Unorganized resistance included sabotaging radios in the Minsk radio plant, smuggling arms, and helping young people to escape and join the partisans, where they in turn fought the Nazis, blowing up train tracks and engaging in other forms of sabotage.

Those who were free of family commitments fled to the partisans, but those with family members still alive found it more difficult to leave, as this would mean probable starvation or punitive retribution for family and housemates left behind. It was not a simple matter to escape from the Minsk ghetto. Escapees had to find the partisans, and it was difficult to travel without false documents concealing their Jewish identity. The partisans did not welcome everyone and generally required potential recruits to come with a weapon in hand, not an easy task for a Minsk ghetto inhabitant to achieve. It is estimated that as many as 10,000 Jews may have escaped from the ghetto. The Minsk underground helped many ghetto inmates seeking to join the partisans.



Shalom Zorin, commander of Jewish partisan Unit 106, which was based in the Naliboki Forest near Minsk. Zorin's unit absorbed Jewish escapees from local ghettos, 1944–1946.
USHMM WS #01790, COURTESY OF MOSHE KAGANOVICH

The Germans ruthlessly tortured and killed anyone suspected of resistance activities. On October 26, 1941, the Germans made a public display of hanging 12 individuals accused of resistance activities. One of the women hanged is believed to have been Masha Bruskina, a Jewish underground leader from the Minsk ghetto. No one was allowed to cut down the victims for several days.

Levels of pre-war antisemitism were probably lower in Minsk than in many other Eastern European cities. Despite this, many Belorussians, although horrified at Nazi atrocities,



Monument placed on the site of the mass grave where Jews from the Minsk ghetto were murdered, n.d. It was created immediately after the war by survivors and victims' relatives. At present it is part of a larger memorial complex at the intersection of Melnikaite and Zaslavskaia streets in Minsk.
USHMM WS #ID31217, COURTESY OF FELIX LIPSKI

were afraid to help the Jews. Orders posted throughout the country made it clear that to harbor or help a Jew was punishable by death. A few Belorussian citizens hid ghetto children in their homes, adopting them during the war or helping to hide them in orphanages. Others gave food to ghetto inmates who worked outside in the city. Yad Vashem has named at least 389 Belorussians (including a number from Minsk) as Righteous Among the Nations for their rescue activities.[20]

From November 1941 until October 1942, a total of nearly 24,000 Central European Jews were deported by train to Minsk.[21] From the initial deportations, many were put into the Minsk ghetto. The first Jews to arrive from Western Europe were from Hamburg—hence, the Minsk Jews called all Westerners "Hamburg Jews." The Jews from Central Europe were housed in a separate area of the ghetto, which had been cleared for them during the November 1941 pogroms. Many were conspicuous by their better-quality clothing. Soon, however, they grasped the realities of the ghetto; unless they found slave labor jobs, they were destined to starve to death. Unable to speak Russian, the Hamburg Jews relied on trading with the Russian Jews across the segregated area of the ghetto, bartering their clothing and other belongings to Minsk Jews, who in turn exchanged them for money or food outside the ghetto.

Kube, the German Generalkommissar in Minsk, felt some sympathy for the Hamburg Jews and tried in vain to preserve them by writing to Nazi headquarters, pleading on their behalf. However, his appeals were denied, and the Hamburg Jews met a similar fate to the Minsk Jews. By the summer of 1942, the Germans had established a killing center at Maly Trostinets, on an estate just outside of Minsk. Some of the Central European Jews were then transported by train directly to this killing center. Upon disembarking, they were separated from their belongings and taken to pits where they were shot dead. Others were murdered using gas vans.

In 1943, the Germans began exhuming corpses from the killing pits and burning them in an attempt to cover up their crimes. The Trostinets killing center housed a small number of Jews who helped serve the functions of the killing center, but very little other labor occurred on the estate. One witness who was briefly held on the estate and another who was sent by the partisans to witness from the forests nearby and report back on events occurring there verify the arrival of gas vans and the existence of mass graves.[22]

SOURCES The personal accounts written by Hersh Smolar, which differ in their various editions, partly due to diverging political pressures at different times, provide a valuable first-hand account of resistance: see, for example, Hersh Smolar, *The Minsk Ghetto: Soviet-Jewish Partisans against the Nazis* (New York: Holocaust Publications, 1989). On the evidence regarding Masha Bruskina, see Necama Tec and Daniel Weiss, "A Historical Injustice: The Case of Masha Bruskina," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11:3 (1997): 366–377. Shalom Cholawsky is the author of two articles on the ghetto: "The German Jews in the Minsk Ghetto," *Yad Vashem Studies* 17 (1986): 219–246; and "The Judenrat in Minsk," in *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe, 1933–1945: Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference Jerusalem, April 4–7, 1977* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979), pp. 113–132.

Other publications on the Minsk ghetto include Dan Zhits, *Geto Minsk Ve-toldotav, Le'or Ha-teud Ha-hadash* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 2000); Barbara Epstein, *The Minsk Ghetto, 1941–1943: Jewish Resistance and Soviet Internationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); V.F. Balakirau et al., eds., *Minskae geta 1941–1943 gg.: Trahedyia, geraizm, pamiats* (Minsk: NARB, 2004); Carlton Jackson, *Joseph Gavi: Young Hero of the Minsk Ghetto* (Paducah, KY: Turner, 2000); and R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Judenfrei! Svobodno ot evreev: Istoriia minskogo getto v dokumentakh* (Minsk: "Asobny Dakh," 1999).

Numerous personal testimonies concerning the Minsk ghetto have been published, including E.G. Ioffe, ed., *Zhiva—Da, ia zhiva!: Minskoe getto v vospminaniiakh Maii Krapinoi i Fridy Reizman: Materialy i dokumenty* (Minsk: istoricheskaia masterskaia v Minske, 2005); Karl Loewenstein, *Minsk: Im Lager der deutschen Juden* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, 1961); *"Existiert das Ghetto noch?": Weissrussland: Jüdisches Überleben gegen nationalsozialistische Herrschaft*, ed. Projektgruppe Belarus im Jugendklub Courage Köln e.V. (Berlin: Assoziation A, 2003); and Mikhail Treister, *Probleski pamiati: Vospominaniia, razmyshleniia, publikatsii* (Minsk: istoricheskaia masterskaia v Minske, 2007).

Relevant documentation on the Minsk ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; GAMINO; GARF; NARA; NARB; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA. The author has also made use of a number of interviews she conducted in Minsk with survivors, which are in her personal archive (PAAS).

Anne Speckhard

NOTES

1. PAAS, interview with Rosa Zelenka, 2002.
2. The order to create the Minsk ghetto was published in issue no. 1 of the *Minsk Gazetta*, July 27, 1941; see also NARB, 4683-3-397, pp. 6–7, and 359-1-8, pp. 1–2. A map showing the area of the ghetto can be found in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 481.
3. PAAS, interview with Israel Elentukh, 2001.
4. Ibid., interview with Frieda Raisman, 2000.
5. *"Existiert das Ghetto noch?,"* p. 215; Smolar, *The Minsk Ghetto*, p. 143, gives a total of about 100,000 Jews passing through the ghetto altogether.
6. PAAS, interview with Frieda Raisman, 2000.
7. *"Existiert das Ghetto noch?,"* p. 213.
8. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 56–57.
9. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 140.
10. Smolar, *The Minsk Ghetto*, p. 41.
11. Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 130.
12. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 178.
13. Adamushko et al., *Handbuch der Haftstätten*, p. 130.
14. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 552, p. 197.
15. Adamushko et al., *Handbuch der Haftstätten*, p. 130.
16. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 Lfd. Nr. 552, pp. 202–203.
17. YVA, M-41/315 (NARB, 370-1-245, pp. 26–27), undated report on labor deployment.
18. PAAS, e.g., interview with Maya Krapina, 2001.
19. Ibid., interview with Frieda Raisman, 2000.
20. See YVA, collection M.31 (Righteous Among the Nations, Belarus).
21. Chernoglazova, *Judenfrei! Svobodno ot evreev*, p. 224.
22. PAAS, interview with Ilia Natovich Galperin Natomovic, 2003.

MIORY

Pre-1939: Miory (Yiddish: Mior), town, Brasław powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Miery, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Miory is located 163 kilometers (101 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, the Jewish population in Miory was around 725.

On July 2, 1941, German forces entered Miory. As soon as they arrived, a group of about 30 local Poles led by a local doctor organized a pogrom in which they demolished Jewish residences and shot the rabbi and his wife. Apparently this was done in retaliation for the imprisonment of the parish priest during the Soviet occupation, for which one Jew among the local residents was allegedly responsible.[1] A number of Poles also volunteered for service in the German auxiliary police in Miory. Among them was the son of the *sołtys* Ignacy Dąbrowski.[2]

The German authorities required the Jews to wear distinguishing markings, initially an armband and later a yellow Star of David on their clothes. The Germans also imposed forced labor on all Jews capable of work. The Jewish work details were closely guarded by the local and German police.[3] A Judenrat (Jewish Council) was soon established, headed by the miller Zvi (Cwi) Altman, which was made responsible for supplying a number of forced laborers every day. The members of the Judenrat also collected "contributions" in the form of gold, silver, boots, and sheepskin furs from the Jews of Miory. These contributions were delivered to the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie. A Jewish labor office was also established in Miory, headed by the linen artisan Mosze Liplańczyk.

In the first days of the occupation, German Security Police came to Miory and arrested two Jews who worked at the furniture factory. They were forced to dig their own graves and were then shot in the nearby forest.[4]

The ghetto in Miory was established either in the fall of 1941[5] or (according to other sources) on the Passover holiday (early April) in 1942.[6] The area between Nabrzeżna and Wielka Streets was cordoned off. In the spring of 1942, a number of Jews were brought into the ghetto from other places in the region, including 35 from the village of Przebrodzie, 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Miory, and others from Ikażń, 25 kilometers (16 miles) away. The ghetto remained "open" (unfenced), but the German administration issued a decree forbidding the Christian population from entering the ghetto area. Order was maintained by 3 Jewish policemen, who closely watched the residents in the ghetto. Jews from the ghetto worked in a furniture factory 1.5 kilometers (almost 1 mile) outside the town, near the railway station. Jewish craftsmen needed a special permit from the German chief of police to leave the ghetto and perform labor for the authorities. People in the ghetto lived under very overcrowded conditions; on average, one house had to hold up to seven or eight families.[7]

The systematic extermination of the Jews in Gebiet Glebokie began at the end of May 1942 with the arrival of SS-Untersturmführer Tangermann of the SD office in Lepel'. According to the report of acting Glebokie Gebietskommissar Petersen, on June 2, 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto in Miory with 779 Jews. "Here the Jews attempted a large-scale breakout and about 70 or 80 people may have succeeded in escaping."[8] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report records that 678 peaceful citizens, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were shot in Miory during the German occupation, while the diary of Yitzhak Aaron records that 800 Jews were shot.[9]

Several accounts exist of the liquidation of the ghetto. On June 2, 1942, at 3:00 A.M., a group of SS men, SD officials, and Gendarmes from Gebiet Glebokie, assisted by the local police, surrounded the ghetto. They seized the Jews from their homes, allegedly on the pretext of searching for weapons. The Jews were ordered to assemble on the market square to register their documents. A number of young Jews decided to rush the guards on the square. The guards shot many of the escapees, but a few dozen made it through to the nearby forest. Thereafter, the remaining Jews were guarded more closely and escorted in groups to the Krukowka Forest, where graves had been dug in advance. Nonetheless, there was another escape attempt near the grave site, and again a few Jews were able to escape from the guards. The head of the Judenrat was among those shot in the pit. Jewish property of value was confiscated by the Germans and sent to Głębokie, while the local police and other local inhabitants looted or bought cheaply remaining clothing and household items.[10]

On June 16, 1942, after the liquidation of the ghetto in Miory, members of the local police set out in 10 trucks together with SS men to exterminate the Jews of the nearby Druja ghetto.[11] In the meantime, a group of escapees from the Miory ghetto had received help from the Judenrat in Druja (located 27 kilometers [17 miles] from Miory). They obtained two bags of flour, two pots, pails, and spoons, which were used to establish a temporary camp in the forest. After three weeks in the camp, a local shepherd informed the Gendarmerie that Jews were hiding in the forest. The Jews had to abandon their camp and move to another location. Some escapees were caught and shot by the Gendarmerie and local police, and others suffered from hunger in the forest as winter approached.[12]

In the fall of 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie issued an order that all Jews who had fled underground or taken refuge in the forest could find protection and work in the ghetto in Głębokie. The head of the Głębokie Judenrat, Lederman, even passed this message on to Jews in hiding. As a result, many of the Jews in the forest made their way to the Głębokie ghetto, as did Schabtai Edelmann.[13] Of a group of 25 Miory escapees in the forest near Kozła, 24 made their way to Głębokie, and only 1 remained behind to maintain a base, to which Jews might flee if the Głębokie ghetto were to be liquidated. Some Jews from Miory subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.[14]

An investigation of the Lepel' SD-Section, which was accused of organizing the murder of the Jews in Miory, was conducted by the state prosecutor in Hamburg. The case against those serving in the SS (sygn. 141 Js 533/60) was led by the prosecutor in Hanover. The cases against the unidentified members of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) and SD (sygn. 2 Js 388/65), and against unidentified members of the SD and SS formations (sygn. 45 Js 16/73), were led by the Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Dortmund. All of these investigations were suspended because the perpetrators of the crimes could not be identified.

In the proceedings directed by the state prosecutor in Hanover (2 Js 388/65) with regard to the mass murder of Jews, Gypsies, and Russian prisoners of war in Gebiet Glebokie from 1941 to 1944, the names of the Gendarmerie officials serving in Miory were listed. These men, however, could not be located and sentenced: Gall, Gamba, Jerks (Jörks), Karl Kube, Petrowski, Schuhr, Willmann,[15] Herbert Goy, August Krüger, Leo Leidenroth, Rudinski, and Wilhelm Uppmann.

On February 26, 1954, the Provincial Court in Olsztyn (SWOl) opened a case against Bronisław Dąbrowski (IV K 31/54). As an official of the Schutzmannschaft in Miory, he was accused of collaboration with the German authorities and of taking part in escorting the Jewish population from the ghetto in Miory to the site of the mass shooting. On June 29, 1954, the high penal court in Warsaw sentenced Bronisław Dąbrowski to life in prison. However, on January 30, 1969, the Provincial Court in Opole passed a resolution for his conditional release.

SOURCES Publications containing information on the Miory ghetto and its destruction include a yizkor book edited by Mordekhai Naishtat, *Sefer Druyah U-Kehilot Miyor, Droisk, Ve-Le'onpol* (Tel-Aviv: Be-hotsa'at yots'e Druyah veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1973); Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001).

Documents pertaining to the fate of the Jews of Miory during the Nazi occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3150 and 3151; and 302/47); BA-DH (ZM 1641, A. 23); BA-L (B 162/1390); GARF (7021-92-217); IPN-Kos (Kpp 6/90); LCVA (684-1-4); NARB (370-1-483); Sta. Hannover (2 Js 388/65); SWOl (IV K 31/54); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); VHF (# 40975 and 12549); and YVA.

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 272; AŻIH, 301/3150, p. 1; and VHF, # 40975, testimony of Samuel Engel.

2. Protocols of the witness Antony Sawicki, August 5, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54.

3. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–426, testimony of Leib (Arie) Veif, July 14, 1961, and of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961; and VHF, # 40975.

4. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–426, testimony of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961. This shooting was apparently conducted on the personal order of Gebietskommissar Paul Hachmann.

5. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 362–426, testimony of Leib (Arie) Veif, July 14, 1961, and of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961; and VHF, # 40975.

6. AŻIH, 301/3150, p. 1; and VHF, # 12549, testimony of Samuel Palec, a Jewish refugee from Jonava in Lithuania, who was brought to Miory with other Jews from the village of Słobódka near Brasław in March 1942, and states that at that time the ghetto "was not yet finished." It seems likely that it may have been established in stages.

7. AŻIH, 301/3150, p. 1; and VHF, # 12549. At the end of April 1942, Gebietskommissar Hachmann strictly forbade Jews to go more than 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the ghettos in the Gebiet without a special pass issued by the Gebietskommissar.

Miory was not named specifically as one of the towns in which the Jews could still move around freely within this limit, but a copy of the order was also sent to the local council in Miory; see David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 234–235, order of Gebietskommissar in Glebokie, April 30, 1942 (English translation).

8. Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65, Supplementary volume, pp. 110ff., 124ff. and NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15, report of Gebietskommissar Glebokie, betr.: Judenaktion, July 1, 1942.

9. GARF, 7021-92-217, pp. 3–10, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, April 19, 1945; and Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Schoah* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2006), pp. 264–265—this source also mentions that 70–80 people survived, although it gives the number of Jews in the ghetto at the onset of the Aktion as 926.

10. AŻIH, 302/47, diary of Yitzhak Aron; protocols of the witness Krystyna Izabela Turowska, February 15, 1990, IPN-Kos, Kpp 6/90, pp. 29–30; AŻIH, 301/3150, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow, December 1947, pp. 1–3; Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 215; protocols of the suspect Józef Rynkiewicz, February 5, 1949, SWOl IV K 31/54; BA-DH, ZM 1641, A. 23, p. 16; and protocols of the examination of the witness Alfred Siergun, August 12, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54.

11. Protocols of the suspect Ignacy Dąbrowski, September 7, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54; and protocols of the suspect Stanisław Bąk, September 25, 1953, SWOl IV K 31/54.

12. AŻIH, 301/3150, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow, December 1947, pp. 1–3.

13. Ibid.; and BA-L, B 162/1390, pp. 362–426, testimony of Schabtai Edelmann, August 14, 1961. It seems that Schabtai Edelmann and Szabtaj Estrow are the same person! See also AŻIH, 302/47, diary of Yitzhak Aron.

14. AŻIH, 301/3150, testimony of Szabtaj Estrow, December 1947, pp. 1–3.

15. Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65.

MIR

Pre-1939: Mir, town, Stołpce powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Karelichy raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mir is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) southwest of Minsk. Just prior to the German invasion, the Mir raion had approximately 3,000 Jewish inhabitants, of whom some 2,300 lived in the town of Mir.

The German army occupied the Mir Rayon at the end of June 1941. The German occupation authorities began recruiting a local police force within a few weeks of their arrival. The police force was initially composed of about 30 local men, mainly Belorussians aged between 25 to 35 from the villages surrounding Mir.[1] On July 20, 1941, German security forces carried out an Aktion against the "intelligentsia" in Mir in which 19 Jews and 3 non-Jews were selected. The Germans transported the victims out of town by truck and killed them in a nearby forest.[2]



Exterior of a destroyed synagogue in Mir, 1946.
USHMM WS #97358, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

Initially the local military commandant in Stołpce was responsible for the administration of the Mir Rayon. From August 1941, this was Leutnant Göbel of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727. The military authorities imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews during the first weeks, but no ghetto was created at this time.

In October and November 1941, the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, organized collections of valuables from the Jews of Turzec and Mir, and also carried out mass shootings assisted by local police in which roughly 2,000 Jews from Mir and Turzec died.[3] Some Jews were sent to a labor camp in Nowy Świerzeń.

A few days after this massacre, the first German Gendarmes of the Order Police (Orpo) arrived in Mir.[4] The Gendarmerie commander in Mir was Meister Reinhold Hein, who had about 12 Gendarmes under him and also gave orders to the local Belorussian police. Oswald Rufeisen, a Jew from western Poland who arrived in Turzec just after the shootings there, pretended to be a Pole and was recruited to the police as a translator because of his excellent German. Soon he became the secretary and translator for the Rayon police chief, the Belorussian Semion Serafinowicz, who brought him to Mir. Here Rufeisen recognized some former Jewish acquaintances from his stay in Vilnius from 1939, including Dov Reznik, and he resolved to help the nascent Jewish underground as much as he could from his position under cover within the police.

According to the recollection of Cila Zakheim, "within a few days of the November Aktion the first ghetto was formed. It was not a building but a collection of houses that had survived the invasion and included Zavalna, Tartarskaia, and Wisoker Streets. There was no barbed wire fencing or guards surrounding the Mir ghetto."[5]

Available survivor testimony indicates that no ghetto was established in Turzec, although a Judenrat had been formed there prior to the massacres. In Mir a new Judenrat had to be elected in November, as several members of the first one, formed a few weeks after the German occupation began, had been murdered on November 9. Eliezer Breslin, who served in the second Judenrat, recalled the names of other members: Leiber Menaker, Shamay Berman, and Rabbi Eli Baruch

Shulman, its head. The Judenrat, consisting of about 10 persons, continued to pass on German orders for forced labor and distributed food to the ghetto population. The Jews who worked received rations of 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread per day, which they collected from a shop on a weekly or monthly basis. Forced labor tasks consisted of cleaning streets, repairing roads, clearing snow in winter, doing agricultural work, and even performing domestic service for local officials.[6]

The German authorities ordered the transfer of the remaining 800 Jews to the closer confinement of the run-down Mir castle building just outside of town in May 1942. The castle was well suited for use as a ghetto, as there was only one entrance, blocked by barbed wire, and the windows were placed at a great height. Only about 4 Jews worked in the Jewish police force that guarded the entrance once the work details returned. In fact the guard was generally quite lax, as Hein would hold the Judenrat accountable if any Jews escaped.[7]

Fearing the liquidation of the ghetto, the Judenrat paid the first installment of a bribe to the local Belorussian mayor, Bielanowicz, in June 1942, when he promised in return that he would protect them. In fact, he had no such power, as the German authorities in Baranowicze had already ordered the liquidation of the ghetto by this time. Surprisingly, an attempt by the Judenrat to bribe the Gendarmerie Meister Hein was refused. He could only promise the Jews that they would die a humanitarian death.[8]

After the mass killing on November 9 in Mir, younger Jews formed an underground organization and made preparations for resistance. Efforts to obtain weapons, however, proved difficult, and several Jews were betrayed while doing so. Only Rufeisen's quick thinking prevented any more Jews from falling into a trap laid by Serafinowicz.[9]

In the end, though, the underground members were fortunate in being able to organize their escape without a battle. In particular, they received vital assistance from Rufeisen, working from within the local police. In June 1942, Rufeisen overheard part of a telephone conversation between Hein and the Captain of Gendarmerie in Baranowicze, Max Eibner, which revealed the date of the planned "liquidation" of the Mir ghetto. Acting on this information, Rufeisen not only succeeded in smuggling more than 10 weapons into the ghetto, but he also managed to send nearly all the Gendarmes and local police on a wild-goose chase after nonexistent partisans just before the ghetto liquidation was due to take place.[10]

Nevertheless, many within the ghetto were reluctant to follow his advice to flee. The situation was hotly debated within the ghetto. Some feared that escape would only hasten the end for those who could not leave. In total, about 200 of the younger Jews decided to try their luck in the forests.[11] They did not join the partisans immediately. But most of those who survived joined the partisans at some stage, either as fighters or in the family camps, especially those organized by the Bielski brothers.

Meanwhile, Rufeisen also managed to escape, probably thanks to his good relations with the Gendarmes. Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation he was betrayed by one of the remaining Jews and confessed to Hein, "I am neither an enemy of the Germans nor a Pole. I will tell you the truth because so far I have always worked with you openly and honestly, but nevertheless I consider the planned anti-Jewish operation to be very wrong for I myself am a Jew. And this was the only motive for my action."[12] Nevertheless, the guard on him remained lax, and he was able to slip away without great difficulty. One Gendarme recalled, "[W]hen Rufeisen escaped, I had just come off duty. I was probably the first to see it. However, because we had such a good relationship with Rufeisen, I only reported what I had seen when Rufeisen was far enough away."[13]

The shooting of the remaining Jews followed shortly afterwards on August 13, 1942, as planned. A grave was prepared in advance in the nearby Jabłonowszczyna Forest on instructions from Serafinowicz. On the evening before the liquidation, a reinforced guard of local police with machine guns was set up around the castle. The next morning a number of police auxiliaries (including Latvians and Lithuanians) from Baranowicze appeared in Mir. The remaining 560 Jews, mainly elderly people and women with children, were loaded onto trucks and taken to the killing site. Members of the Gendarmerie guarded the route and were ordered to ensure that no Jews escaped. Local police also took part in the shooting.[14]

The process of searching for those in hiding continued for some time after the Aktion. According to a report by Hein, some 65 of the escaped Mir Jews had been captured and shot by August 20, 1942. Investigative records reveal that 4 Jews were found in the cellar of Mir castle about three weeks after the ghetto liquidation. Local policemen from Mir dragged them out and then shot them nearby.[15]

Not only the police but also other local inhabitants continued to be active in tracking down escaped Jews over the following months.

A number of former local police collaborators were convicted by Soviet and Polish courts after the war. The German authorities opened investigations into the activities of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, and members of the German Gendarmerie post in Mir in the 1960s but did not have sufficient evidence against named individuals to initiate criminal proceedings. Mainly thanks to Rufeisen's assistance, more than 50 Jews from the Mir ghetto managed to survive the war. Among those who gave evidence at the pretrial hearing against Serafinowicz in Dorking near London in 1996 were David Protas, Ze'ev Schreiber, Lev Abramovsky, Michael Breslin, Menachem Shalev, Israel Shifron, and Shmuel Cesler. Serafinowicz was deemed unfit for trial on medical grounds in January 1997 and died shortly afterwards. The memorial grave sites in and around Mir were restored with new inscriptions in the 1990s, once survivors were able to visit their former homes.

SOURCES The main secondary works are Nechama Tec's *In the Lion's Den: The Life of Oswald Rufeisen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), which provides an excellent biography of Oswald Rufeisen based on extensive interviews with him; and Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), which has several pages on the anti-Jewish Aktions in the Mir Rayon. Important also are the yizkor books for Mir: Nachman Blumental, ed., *Sefer Mir* (Jerusalem:

Entsiklopedia shel Galuyot, 1962); and for Turzec: Michael Walzer-Fass and Moshe Kaplan, eds., *Kehilot Turets ve-Yeremits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Turets ve-Yeremits be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Brit, 1978). Also see the memoir of Yehuda Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community, 1900–1944* (Tel Aviv, 1958).

Thanks to the large number of survivors from Mir, there are many useful testimonies at Yad Vashem (YVA) and also an early Rufeisen statement at the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH) in Warsaw. Contemporary German documentation and Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports are located both at GARF and at GABO, which also holds a number of Gendarmerie reports from Mir, including reports concerning Rufeisen's arrest (995-1-7). German postwar investigations of Lt. Göbel (Sta. München) and Eibner (Sta. Oldenburg) were examined in both of those cities and also at the Zentrale Stelle in Ludwigsburg (BA-L). The main source for the activities of the local police is the extensive investigation into the activities of Semion Serafinowicz conducted by the Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit, New Scotland Yard (WCU). In particular, transcripts of the committal proceedings held at Dorking in 1996 are in the public domain. Other material was obtained from IPN (SWKsz 72-4); BA-BL (R 2104); and AAN. The Scotland Yard investigation was given access to a number of Soviet Criminal Case files for former Mir policemen, mostly from the KGB Archives in Grodno (AUKGBRBGrO).

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NOTES

1. WCU, Serafinowicz case, Dorking committal proceedings (Dorking), Ivan Yatsevich, March 21, 1996; GARF, 7021-148-364.
2. WCU, S171B, S173C, S97, D3684, S175B, D1766, S87A.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/13, pp. 92–99.
4. BA-L, B 162, 202 AR 149/63, statement of E.F., October 11, 1966.
5. WCU, Cila Zakheim, April 22, 1993, Yoel Mazorevich, August 9, 1995, and Eli Miranski, September 5, 1993.
6. WCU, Joseph Harkavy, December 5, 1991, Eliezer Breslin, May 22, 1995, Michael Breslin, April 11, 1995, and Lev Abramovsky, February 24, 1993; Miriam Swirnowski-Lider, "The German Occupation and Liquidation of Our Little Town," in Blumental, *Sefer Mir.*
7. WCU, Oswald Rufeisen, March 1995 and February 23, 1996—Rufeisen dates the move to the castle as May 2, 1942; see also Eliezer Breslin, May 22, 1995, and Jack Sutin, May 13, 1995.
8. Tec, *In the Lion's Den*, pp. 134–135.
9. Ibid., pp. 129–131.
10. WCU, Oswald Rufeisen, March 1 and 5, 1995, and February 23, 1996.
11. AAN, 202/III/7, vol. 1, pp. 183–187, and 202/III/8, vol. 2, pp. 158–162; these reports of the Polish underground estimate 150 escapees from the ghetto. WCU, Eliezer Breslin, May 22, 1995, said that he counted 188 people leaving the ghetto. Israel Shifron, in April 1995, estimated that 220 Jews escaped.
12. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report, August 20, 1942.
13. BA-L, ZStl, 2 AR-Z 16/67, vol. 8, W.G., July 24–25, 1969.
14. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report, August 20, 1942, and p. 237, Gend. Captaincy Baranowicze Report, August 26, 1942; WCU, Sonya Damesek in July 1992 and Krystyna Szulc in October 1994; BA-L, ZStl, 2 AR-Z 16/67. Sta. Oldenburg 2 Js 138/68, vol. 1, pp. 60–62, A.F., February 14, 1969, vol. 6, pp. 1146–1155, E.F., March 13, 1969, vol. 8, W.G., July 24–25, 1969, and B.R., July 28, 1969.
15. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report, August 20, 1942; AUKGBRBGrO, Criminal Case 35133, Archive File No. 696.

MOŁCZADŹ

Pre-1939: Mołczadź (Yiddish: Meytshet), town, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Molchad', Novaia Mysh' raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Molczadz, Rayon Goroditsche, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Mouchadz', Baranavichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mołczadź is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) southwest of Minsk. In 1921, the Jewish population in Mołczadź was 1,020.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, Soviet forces withdrew, and some Jews fled with them to the Soviet Union. The Germans captured Mołczadź on June 29. On that day, they caught several Jewish youths who did not make it across the former Polish-Soviet border. The Germans murdered them on the road to Słonim. Some sources indicate that soon after the occupation, Jews living with non-Jews were forced to move to separate houses together only with Jews (perhaps creating a de facto open ghetto). However, most surviving Jews recall that no formal ghetto was established in Mołczadź.[1] Among other anti-Jewish restrictions imposed by the new German authorities, Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches, they were prohibited from having contacts with non-Jews, they were forbidden to use the sidewalks, and they were forced to surrender their horses.



The Dworzecki family poses on the porch of their summer cottage in Mołczadź, ca. 1924.
USHMM WS #25563, COURTESY OF ALICJA HERSZKOWICZ DWORZECKA

The Germans set up a local auxiliary police under the command of a rabid antisemite. They ordered the Jews to select a five-man Judenrat headed by Ehrlich, a refugee from Częstochowa. They compelled the Judenrat to collect and pay special taxes. The Germans demanded money, gold, and jewelry and subsequently clothing, shoes, furniture, and other items. Whenever a fine was levied, the Germans threatened to kill some Jews if their demand was not met promptly. The Judenrat members did everything they could to meet these demands. The Judenrat also had to supply people for forced labor. Every day groups of men and women were sent on work assignments around the town, guarded by local overseers. On their way to and from work the guards beat and humiliated the laborers. Groups of Jews were sent to various labor camps. From one group of more than 20 people sent to the camp in Kołdyczewo, several Jews managed to escape to join the partisans in the Naliboki Forest.[2]

On February 14, 1942, members of the local police, on their own initiative, removed 20 Jewish men and women from their houses. They took them to a tar pit outside town and murdered them. The Jews protested this Aktion to the German authorities in Baranowicze, which resulted in a death sentence being passed on the local police chief. However, his colleagues helped him to escape into the surrounding forests.

In January 1942, several members of pre-war Jewish youth groups made contact with Soviet partisans operating in the area and also fled into the forests. In March they and their families then slipped into the Horodyszcze ghetto. In April 1942, several youths from Mołczadź working at a farm in Dobrowszczyzna rose up and killed the antisemitic farm manager and his helpers. In early summer, a group of younger Jews, some of whom had experience in the Polish Army, formed an underground resistance group. They even approached the Judenrat to try to get some money to buy arms. From various sources, they obtained three rifles and several revolvers and began to train. There was also spiritual resistance in Mołczadź, guided by the Stołowicze rabbi. Jews met in secret to teach the children and pray for deliverance.[3]

As news spread about the liquidation of other ghettos, many in Mołczadź hoped that they would not share the same fate. In late May or early June 1942, the police ordered the Judenrat to mobilize 200 Jews to dig pits, allegedly for fuel storage tanks, in Burdykowszczyzna, next to the Russian Orthodox cemetery of Horodyszcze. On June 3, 1942, after they finished digging, the Germans shot the 200 Jews at the pits. Around this time, sensing an impending Aktion, the Jews of Mołczadź began to dig bunkers and seek hiding places. Young members of the underground set up a guard to warn of the approach of hostile forces.[4]

Before dawn on July 15, 1942, truckloads of German Gendarmes and local police from various posts in Gebiet Baranowitsche surrounded the town. At daybreak the Jews were ordered to assemble in the market square. Local police then combed the houses for stragglers. When the Stołowicze rabbi emerged in his prayer shawl, he was shot to death. The Jewish underground group sought to disrupt the encirclement by firing their weapons, hoping to create enough confusion for a mass escape. The Germans opened fire with machine guns and killed 20 Jewish fighters. Only 9 made it to the forest. Another 60 Jews fled into the Horky Forest, where, under the protection of partisans, they set up a family camp.

About 3,300 people assembled in the market square. They were lined up facing the wall, hands up, and searched for valuables. Then the Germans and local police took them in groups of 100 to the pits outside of Mołczadź. After ordering the victims to line up next to the pits and undress, they shot them. Over several days, from July 15 to July 18, approximately 3,300 Jews were murdered. The operation was probably organized by the Security Police outpost in Baranowicze, assisted by German Gendarmes and police auxiliaries from the Baltic states as well as Belorussia, including some local police from Rayon Neswish.[5]

A number of Jewish specialist workers and their families were initially spared during the Aktion and put into a remnant ghetto. In August 1942, the Germans urged everyone still hiding in the forest or elsewhere to come back to Mołczadź, guaranteeing their safety in the "new ghetto for the workers." About 200 people were gathered in Mołczadź altogether. After 20 days, on the pretext that they were heading for a new work site to dig peat, they were taken to the pits and murdered.[6]

Young men in the forest joined various Soviet partisan brigades. Jewish partisans from Mołczadź settled accounts with several collaborators from their town and participated in other acts of sabotage along the railway lines. Some were caught, turned in by informants, or killed in action. A few sought refuge in the nearby Dworzec ghetto/forced labor camp. A number of Jews from Mołczadź survived until the return of the Red Army in the summer of 1944. They included partisan fighters, people still in hiding, and refugees who had escaped to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941.[7]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Mołczadź can be found in the following publications: "Molczadz," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 404–408; Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Sefer-zikaron le-kehilat Meytshet* (Tel Aviv: Meytscher Societies in Israel and Abroad, 1973); and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 187.

Documents regarding the destruction of the Jews of Mołczadź can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBMO (Arch. No. 3617, Case No. 35694); GARF (7021-81-102); NARB (845-1-6, p. 31); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. "Molczadz," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:406; Ayalon, *Sefer-zikaron le-kehilat Meytshet*, e.g., p. 304, "there was no ghetto in Mołczadź." See also the comments of survivors posted at www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belarus/bel178.html. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Trag-*

edy (London: William Collins, 1986), p. 380, and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:442, however, both refer specifically to a ghetto in Mołczadź.

2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:407.

3. Ibid., 8:407; and Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 127.

4. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:407.

5. Ibid., 8:407; and NARB, 845-1-6, p. 31. On the participation of police from Nieśwież, see AUKGBRBMO, Arch. No. 3617, Case No. 35694, against Petr Sergeevich Korolev, born 1915, 2 vols. On the nationalities of the perpetrators, see also www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/belarus/bel178.html.

6. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:407. According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 100, the 200 Jewish specialist workers and their families had been assigned to dig peat and were moved into an enclosed ghetto in August.

7. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:408.

MOŁODECZNO

Pre-1939: Mołodeczno, town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Molodechno, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Molodetschno, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Maladechna, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mołodeczno is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, some 800 Jews lived in the town. In the fall of 1939, a number of Jewish refugees from Poland arrived in Mołodeczno, bringing the total number of Jews there in mid-1941 to more than 1,000.

German forces occupied Mołodeczno on June 26, 1941. A German military command post (Ortskommandantur 851) governed the town during the summer of 1941. Control passed to a German civil administration in September. The German Gendarmerie post then established in Mołodeczno assumed control over the auxiliary police force composed of local inhabitants. SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Grave (who died in 1944) commanded the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka, which organized most of the anti-Jewish Aktions in the town in 1942 and 1943.

The German authorities undertook a number of anti-Jewish measures during the summer and fall of 1941. These included the creation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the requirement that Jews wear an armband with the Star of David, the introduction of forced labor for Jews, and the confinement of Jews within the town limits. Jews suffered systematic robbery and beatings at the hands of the local auxiliary police.

Sonderkommando 7a carried out the first Aktion in Mołodeczno on July 13, 1941, in the course of which the Germans shot 11 Soviet activists and Communists, including 7 Jews.[1] On July 18, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9, led by SS-Obersturmführer Schneider, carried out a second Aktion in Mołodeczno.[2] According to a summary prepared for the verdict of the Regional Court in Berlin on June 22, 1962, the Aktion began early in the morning when Schneider ordered the members of the unit to round up at least 100 Jews (about 70 men and 30 women) from their houses. Then the Jews were escorted to an open field behind the town. Here a table had been set up for members of the Einsatzkommando to record the names of the Jews and collect any valuables they had with them—rings, necklaces, and watches. From among the Jews, the unit formed a "work brigade" that replaced squad personnel in digging a ditch. A police platoon constituted the firing squad. It included the platoon commander, Neubert. At the command "Fire!"—which defendant Schneider gave repeatedly—a 10-man squad fired its rifles from a distance of about 10 meters (33 feet).[3]

The third Aktion against male Jews that remained in Mołodeczno took place on October 25, 1941.[4] Apparently a detachment of the Wehrmacht carried out this Aktion.[5] After the third Aktion, the German authorities confined those Jews left in the town, mostly women, children, and the elderly, within a ghetto located on Nevskaia Street.[6] In the spring or early summer of 1942, a number of able-bodied Jews from the Mołodeczno ghetto were transferred to the ghetto/forced labor camp established by the Germans in Krasne. Not many Jews from the Mołodeczno ghetto were able to survive, but among those who did were the two children of the Jewish doctor Aron Babkis, Ada and Yakob. Babkis managed to smuggle them out with the aid of the non-Jew Anton Shnip, who initially concealed them in his own home, before transferring them to two trusted families in nearby villages. Their father, unfortunately, did not survive the German occupation.[7]

At the end of June 1942, members of the SD outpost (Hauptaussenstelle) Wilejka liquidated the ghetto and, with the collaboration of the Belorussian police, shot some 700 Jews about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town on the banks of the Usha River.[8]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a Jewish labor camp remained in Mołodeczno consisting of Jewish craftsmen employed in various German departments. A number of these Jews had been brought to Mołodeczno from Lida and Baranowicze. On the orders of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka, on or around September 7, 1942, the Belorussian police shot between 25 and 30 of the Jewish forced laborers as "unfit for work." The labor camp was closed down on July 17, 1943, when members of SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka sent more than 70 Jews from the camp to Wilejka. There they placed 15 to 20 Jews in the local labor camp; they shot the rest.[9]

At some date during the German occupation following the main mass killing Aktions, the German authorities put up a sign at the railway station that read: "No Jews here—clean."[10]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 402–404.

Information on the extermination of Jews in Mołodeczno can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/3153); GARF (7021-89-9); NARB; VHF (# 6309 and 39440); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3053 and M-31 [Anton Shnip]).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 377; and GARF, 7021-89-9, pp. 119, 125.
2. M. Drayzen, "Ocean of Blood and Tears," in Matityahu Bar-Ratzon, ed., *Ner tamid; yizkor le-Krivitsh* (Tel Aviv: Krivitsh Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1977), pp. 264ff.
3. Landgericht Berlin, 3PKs1/62, verdict of June 22, 1962, against Filbert and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 540.
4. Testimony of Chana Shafran (née Pozner), in Yehuda Cheres, *And the Shtetl is Burning* (N.p., n.d.), p. 74.
5. H. Heer, "Extreme Normalität Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim. Umfeld, Motive und Entschlussbildung eines Holocaust-Täters," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (2003), p. 735. Between 500 and 1,000 victims were shot. The 11th Reserve Police Battalion, subordinated to the 707th Infantry Division, carried out the shooting assisted by Field Gendarmes and guards from Stalag 342.
6. NARB, 861-1-10, pp. 12, 20; VHF, # 6309 and 39440. Both use the term *ghetto* to refer to the situation of the Jews in Mołodeczno in 1941 and 1942.
7. YVA, M-31 (Anton Shnip).
8. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 3/61, Indictment (Anklageschrift) against Johann Karl Förster and others, January 25, 1977.
9. Ibid.
10. GARF, 8114-1-955, pp. 107–108.

NIEŚWIEŻ

Pre-1939: Nieśwież, town and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Nesvizh, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Neswish, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Niasvizh, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Nieśwież is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. The town's population in 1939 was about 7,000, of which some 4,000 were Jews. In September 1939, many Jewish refugees who had fled before the advancing Germans arrived in Nieśwież from western and central Poland.

German forces occupied Nieśwież on June 27, 1941. Two days later, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) headed by Magalif, a refugee lawyer from Warsaw who spoke good German.[1] The Judenrat organized forced labor by every Jew over 15 years old and coordinated the collection of goods and money through the Jewish police force it had established. On September 1, the Jews were forced to move from the main streets to crowded houses on the side streets.



Adults and children congregate outside the Nieśwież synagogue, 1920.
USHMM WS #97253, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

On October 29, 1941, an order was issued by the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) for the entire Jewish population to gather in the marketplace to have their documents examined. The next morning, people turned up in their best clothes, fearing that their houses would be looted while they were out. A selection was conducted of the skilled workers on the basis of a list. Doctors, engineers, glaziers, blacksmiths, textile workers, shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters were among those sent to one side with their families. During the selection, trucks appeared on the road that led to Slutsk. Uniformed Germans, Lithuanians, and local Belorussian police surrounded the marketplace. The 585 skilled workers and family members were escorted to the high school (*gymnazium*) by the local police.[2] German soldiers and Lithuanian auxiliaries took the remainder, approximately 4,000 Jews, to be shot in pits dug at two separate sites. One large group was escorted on foot to the park surrounding the Radziwiłł palace about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the marketplace.[3] A second group of 2,000 Jews was taken to another site, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away, next to the road to Snów.

The mass shooting was carried out by the Lithuanian 12th Schutzmannschaft Battalion together with German Reserve Police Battalion 11, commanded by Franz Lechthaler. The local German commandant in Nieśwież was Anton Specht, of the 8th Company, Infantry Regiment 727. Specht was assisted by the local Belorussian police.

Shortly after the mass shooting, a German civil administration was established in Nieśwież. German Gendarmerie officers then took charge of the Belorussian police (Schutzmannschaft), which was headed by Vladimir Sienko.[4]

The surviving Jews were taken to the ghetto, an area 250 meters long and 150 meters wide (273 yards by 164 yards) surrounded by barbed wire, where they lived in very overcrowded conditions. Forced labor continued. Groups were sent to remove any valuables from the houses of the murdered Jews, which were transferred to the local commandant's office. Some of these items were sent on to Baranowicze and Germany. Others prisoners worked in workshops according to their vo-


קרן קימת לישראל אלבום-השמחות

תעודת הכשמה

Certificate marking the one hundredth birthday of Perla Mosewicka, signed by all the Jews in Nieśwież and the Polish doctor whom she assisted. She was later shot by the Germans at the age of 107.
USHMM WS #38026, COURTESY OF WANDA GLASS

cation or in the surrounding fields. The shortage of food compelled Jews to smuggle items into the ghetto.

About two thirds of the remaining Jews were Polish refugees; only one third were native to Nieśwież. The Judenrat was responsible for running the ghetto and organizing the working groups. Other members of the Judenrat included Bashinkevitch, Grinvald, Vasilevsky, and Milstein.[5] Magalif cooperated with the Germans, hoping that useful workers would not be killed. He conducted himself as if he were the absolute ruler of the ghetto, granting himself a high standard of living. Inside the ghetto he insisted on order and cleanliness. Within the Jewish community, he attempted to improve conditions, for example, permitting an illegal wedding. He was assisted by the Jewish police, which guarded the gate and had a small prison inside the ghetto.

The question of resistance arose soon after the establishment of the ghetto. The young were in favor of resistance, while the old and those with families, including Magalif, were against it, fearing any resistance or flight would endanger the entire community. Underground groups formed under youth movement activists, mainly Zionists, such as Shalom Cholawski, Siomka Farfel, Freidel Lachowicky, Yerachmiel Shklar, Nathan Messer, Bronstein, and Buzhin, and other groups led by Berl Alperovitz and Moshe Dameshek. Children were taught illegally in the teachers' houses. Resisters smuggled weapons into the ghetto. Many Jews prepared hiding places in case of an Aktion.[6]

In March 1942, rumors spread of a recent Aktion in Baranowicze, and in early summer the Germans murdered members of the Polish intelligentsia. In early July, Judenrat elections took place, and Magalif was reelected, mainly due to the relative calm in the ghetto.

On Friday, July 17, 1942, news spread of the murder of all the Jews in nearby Horodziej. Magalif called for an illegal gathering of the Jewish congregation. Kadish was said for the victims. Young people argued for fleeing the ghetto; others argued that even the young should stay with their families and not leave them to die alone. Magalif announced that only when it was absolutely clear that the ghetto was going to be liquidated should resistance be commenced. It was decided to set the Jewish houses on fire, to provide cover for those able to run into the nearby forest.[7] Nine fighting groups were organized, each consisting of five Jews.

On Monday, July 20, 1942, the German commander told the Judenrat that Belorussian policemen would replace the Jewish guards at the gate. Belorussian police from the surrounding areas cordoned off the ghetto at dusk. Many Jews went into their secret hiding places. During the night, the police fired scattered shots into the houses. In the morning, the German commander appeared at the gate, called Magalif, and told him that he needed to select only 30 textile workers without their families. The crowd heard this and shouted, "There will be no selection."[8] Magalif said: "Brothers, I know that you had no trust in me. You thought I would betray you. In this last minute, I am with you, I and my family. We are the first ones to go to our death."[9] The Germans opened fire and were surprised by a volley from the machine gun stationed on the second floor of the main (*kalter*) synagogue. Jews attacked German soldiers and Belorussian policemen, killing and wounding a few. Jews also set piles of hay alight; the fire soon spread to the houses. One German official later testified: "[M]y unit together with the Schutzpolizei, Gendarmerie, and Belorussian Schutzmannschaft, was sent to Nieśwież to cleanse the ghetto and liquidate the Jews. From the ghetto, shots were fired towards us. The shooting lasted a few hours until evening. We fired back. The ghetto started to burn. Jews ran away from the ghetto. We did not chase them, but withdrew. After a while, we approached the ghetto and searched the ruins. The ghetto was empty. Many corpses of Jews were seen lying around."[10] A few Jews broke through the Belorussian police cordon to the forest.

Thirty-two Jews escaped and joined the partisans; 26 survived and were liberated by the Red Army.

After the war, German investigations against both Anton Specht and Vladimir Sienko were abandoned without any

conviction. Specht died in 1972. The Sienko case was closed in 1982 due to insufficient evidence. Lechthaler was tried in 1961, convicted, and sentenced to three and a half years in prison.[11]

SOURCES The following memoirs of survivors have been published: Moshe Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh* (Tel Aviv: Committee of Emigrants from Nesvizh, 1948); Shalom Cholawski, *Soldiers from the Ghetto* (San Diego: Barnes & Co., 1980); David Farfel, *In Nesvizh Ghetto and Naliboki Woods* [in Hebrew] (Ramat Gan, 1995); and Ishai Mazin, *The Revolt and Liquidation of Nesvizh Ghetto* [in Hebrew] (Lod, 1999). Important also is the Nesvizh yizkor book, edited by David Shtockfish, *Sefer Nesvizh* (Tel Aviv, 1976); and Moshe Ajzenbud, *Jews of Nesvizh* [in Yiddish] (Melbourne, 1965); as well as several other more general works on the Holocaust and Jewish resistance in Belorussia.

Survivor testimonies and other documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 202 AR 116/67; 202 AR 133/81); FVA (Elka Farfel); LG-Kass (3a Ks 1/61); Sta. Trier (3 Js 1257/81); USHMM; and YVA (0-3/2746).

Zvi Farfel

NOTES

1. Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh*, p. 2.
2. Ibid., pp. 6–18; YVA, 0-3/2746; FVA, Elka Farfel, 1996.
3. FVA, E. Farfel; YVA, 0-3/2746.
4. LG-Kass, 3a Ks 1/61, Trial of Franz Lechthaler; BA-L, II 202 AR 116/67, Investigation of Anton Specht; Sta. Trier, 3 JS 1257/81, Investigation of Vladimir Sienko.
5. Ajzenbud, *Jews of Nesvizh.*
6. Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh*, pp. 26–27, 33; YVA, 0-3/2746.
7. Farfel, *In Nesvizh Ghetto.*
8. Lachowicky, *Churbn Nesvizh*, p. 40; FVA, E. Farfel; YVA, 0-3/2746.
9. S. Cholawski, in Yitzhak Zuckerman and Moshe Basock, eds., *Sefer Milhemet Hagetaoth* (Tel Aviv: Katsenelson, 1954), p. 480.
10. BA-L, 22 Js 104/61, Emil Otto Pick, October 18, 1961.
11. LG-Kass, 3a Ks 1/61, Trial of Franz Lechthaler; BAL, II 202 AR 116/67, Investigation of Anton Specht; Sta. Trier, 3 Js 1257/81, Investigation of Vladimir Sienko.

NOWA MYSZ

Pre-1939: Nowa Mysz, town, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Novaia Mysh', raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowa Mysch, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Novaia Mysh', Baranavichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Nowa Mysz is located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) west of Baranowicze. In 1897, the Jewish population of the town was 1,764 (out of a total population of 2,995), but many Jews moved to Baranowicze from the late nineteenth century, as the latter came to overshadow Nowa Mysz, once it became a major railway junction. In 1921, the Jewish population of Nowa Mysz was 632, comprising 34.8 percent of the total.[1] There were probably about 800 Jews living in Nowa Mysz just before the German invasion.

German forces entered Nowa Mysz on June 27, 1941. The area initially came under German military administration, and an auxiliary police force was soon recruited from local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration, which became fully staffed over the ensuing months. Nowa Mysz was a Rayon center in Gebiet Baranowitsche, where the Gebietskommissar was Rudolf Werner.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were forced to wear yellow patches, they were prohibited from leaving the town or having any contacts with non-Jews, their property was confiscated, and they were forced to make ransom payments. With the help of the local police, several Jews were arrested on charges of being Communists and were taken out and shot. According to one source, the remaining Jews were concentrated in a specific area and prohibited from leaving it, establishing a form of "open ghetto."[2] But the testimony of one local inhabitant indicates that no formal ghetto was established.[3] However, it is likely that some Jews from nearby villages were brought to Nowa Mysz.

In the fall of 1941, a small squad of German Gendarmerie formed a Rayon post in Nowa Mysz, which took over control of the local police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft. In Rayon Nowa Mysch, members of a Polish underground organization (that was later linked to the Armia Krajowa [Home Army]) infiltrated the local police. The Rayon chief of police, Henryk Zaprucki, was apparently also a commander within the Polish underground. The Germans tried to purge the police force of its strong Polish influence during the winter of 1941–1942, but in Nowa Mysz many Poles got around this by fraudulently claiming to be Belorussian.[4]

According to a German report dated March 12, 1942, the office of the Gebietskommissar in Baranowicze proposed that only the Rayon physician in Nowa Mysz, Dr. Milenzew, should be retained and that the two Jewish doctors, Rosa Libermann and Movscha Hilerovitsch, were superfluous. The same order stressed the need to purge the medical services in the Gebiet of all unnecessary Jewish personnel.[5]

German forces liquidated the "open ghetto" in Nowa Mysz in July 1942. A squad of German Security Police and SD arrived from Baranovichi, headed by Leutnant Amelung of the Security Police, and brought with them an "execution squad" of Lithuanians. Policemen were called in from the surrounding outposts, and under the command of the town police chief in Nowa Mysz, Wiktor Labun, they rounded up the Jews and assembled them at the fire station. A police cordon was thrown around the town to prevent any Jews from escaping. The local police escorted the Jews from the fire station to a large pit that had been prepared by local inhabitants just outside the town. The execution squad shot several hundred people in total—perhaps as many as 600. On this occasion the Germans also surrounded the killing site with machine-gun nests to prevent any intervention by Soviet partisans.[6]

According to eyewitnesses, members of the local police shot several Jews during the roundup and also more Jews, including children, over the following days as they were found in hiding.[7] Some local policemen moved into the former houses of Jews following the mass shootings.[8]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Nowa Mysz can be found in the following publication: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 429–430.

Documents regarding the destruction of the Jews of Nowa Mysz can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-81-102); IPN (e.g., SWB 221 and 273, SWOl 12, and SWSz 69-78); NARB (845-1-6, p. 59); and Sta. Oldenbourg (2 Js 138/68, Closing Report [Einstellungsverfügung] in the case against Max Eibner).

Martin Dean



Group portrait of young children in a Jewish school in Nowogródek, 1933–1935. Donor Esther Klug (née Ass), is pictured in the front row, second from left.
USHMM WS #49716, COURTESY OF ESTHER KLUG

NOTES

1. Spector and Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8: 429–430.
2. Ibid.
3. IPN, SWB 273, p. 235, testimony of Stanisław Pierechod.
4. See Martin Dean, "Poles Serving in the German Local Police in the Eastern Districts of Poland and Their Role in the Holocaust," Polin 18 (2005): 353–366.
5. Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 130–132.
6. IPN, SWB 221, pp. 39–40, statement of Józef Kielbasko, May 31, 1963; Sta. Oldenbourg, 2 Js 138/68, Closing Report (Einstellungsverfügung) in the case against Max Eibner; IPN, SWSz 69-78; NARB, 845-1-6, p. 59.
7. IPN, SWB 221, p. 115, statement of M.P. on January 23, 1964, and p. 41, statement of E.L. on June 20, 1963.
8. IPN, SWOl 12, statement of A.W.

NOWOGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Nowogródek, city, powiat and województwo center, Poland; 1939–1941: Novogrudok, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowogrodek, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Navahrudak, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Nowogródek is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) west-southwest of Minsk. According to the 1931 census, there were 6,309 Jews living in the town of Nowogródek out of a total population of 13,252. In addition, there were 4,153 Jews living in the villages of the Nowogródek powiat, including Lubcz, Delatycze, Wsielub, Niehniewicze, and Walewka.

The 8th Infantry Division of the German army entered Nowogródek on July 4, 1941. The Germans had bombed the center of town heavily on June 22, 24, 26, and 28. As a result, several dozen people were killed, and many Jewish houses were ruined and burned. At the time of the German arrival, there was some looting of Jewish homes by the local non-Jewish population. After a few days the German commandant issued orders for some of the wealthiest and most notable Jews to come to the German military headquarters (Ortskommandantur), each bringing 10 or more Jewish men with them, in order to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). When about 200 Jews had assembled, German security forces beat and humiliated them, murdering some. The Germans appointed a Judenrat from those who remained; it was responsible for organizing Jewish men to clear rubble from the streets.[1]

On July 26, 1941, with the help of the Judenrat, the Germans collected another group of men in the market square. They were formed up in lines, and about 50 of them were selected and shot on the spot. According to the memoirs of the Catholic priest Zelenkevich, on that day a military band played a Strauss waltz shortly after the atrocity, a detail also recalled by the Jewish survivor Jack Kagan.

In the fall, a civil administration took over from the military. Wilhelm Traub was appointed Gebietskommissar of Nowogródek. On September 26, 1941, a poster heralding the imposition of new restrictions on the Jews and signed by the Gebietskommissar appeared in the streets. Every Jew had to carry an identity card and wear a yellow star. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the town without an official permit, to engage in any form of trade, to attend the market, or to use the sidewalk.[2] Soon the new civil administration replaced the Judenrat. Around the end of August, the Germans arrested some 50 Jews, including the members of the Judenrat, and shot them the next day. A new Judenrat was then appointed and given strict instructions to carry out all German orders.

At the end of August 1941, the civil administration collected furniture, bedding, kitchen utensils, and other useful objects from the Jews to equip the households of the newly arrived German administrators. On November 22, 1941, Gebietskommissar Traub issued instructions to all local mayors and village elders that the Jews of the Gebiet were to gather together all valuables by November 28, 1941. Then Jewish representatives had to report to a local mayor or a village elder for a special permit and travel as a group to Nowogródek to surrender their possessions. The Jews were permitted to retain only 150 rubles for their own needs.[3]

On Friday, December 5, 1941, another order signed by Gebietskommissar Traub was published in Nowogródek. Jews who had a work certificate from the labor exchange were ordered to gather with their families in the building of the former courthouse on the morning of Sunday, December 7. The elderly and sick were to stay at home and await further instructions.[4] Dov Cohen recalls that some Judenrat members, accompanied by a Belorussian policeman and a German officer, visited his house. From a list, they read out the names of those who had to go to the courthouse at the end of Korelicze Street. When the people assembled as instructed on December 7, they had to spend the entire day outside in the biting cold. The elderly and families with children were gathered in the building of the former monastery on May 3 Street. In the evening, about 100 young men (Dov Cohen among them) were selected for a work task. The Germans ordered them to take apart the wooden fence around the marketplace at the end of Korelicze Street and take it to Peresieka, a suburb about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) away. Here they had to construct a fence around 28 houses for the future ghetto. During this horrible assignment, members of the Wehrmacht, Belorussian policemen, and Lithuanian auxiliaries watched over them. Those who could not carry heavy sections of the fence and fell down were shot immediately. The others had to carry the dead bodies on the wet, heavy pieces of the fence. Later they buried them at the side of the road near the village of Bretianka.

On December 8, the Germans organized a selection in the yard of the courthouse. Officers and men from the 7th Company, Infantry Regiment 727 (about 260 men strong, commanded by Oberleutnant Johann Artmann), surrounded the town to prevent Jews from escaping. Artmann also allocated some men to guard the courthouse, where members of the civil administration in brown uniforms carried out the selection. One group of Jews (about 1,300 people) was sent to the ghetto in Peresieka. The others were loaded onto trucks or taken on foot to the pits prepared in advance near the village of Skrydlewo, 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) behind the military barracks. Here unidentified men from the SD, the SS, and possibly members of the Lithuanian and Belorussian police shot them. The same happened to those gathered in the monastery on May 3 Street. In total, more than 5,000 people were shot. Members of the 7th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, formed a cordon around the massacre site.[5]

The ghetto in Peresieka was surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire and was guarded by Belorussian policemen and German soldiers. The Judenrat appointed Jewish Police inside the ghetto. Their tasks were to keep order in the ghetto, prevent prisoners from trading with the local population, and help the Judenrat fulfill German orders. Every morning prisoners were escorted out to do temporary or permanent work in different workshops. Some workshops were established in the courthouse buildings. Craftsmen, such as shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, and saddle makers—about 450 men and women altogether—worked there. They worked to supply the needs of the German Army (making fur gloves, boots, and so on) and also made clothes and shoes ordered by local citizens. Another 250 men worked in the workshops in the military barracks on Słonim Street, and the remainder worked in town. The daily ration in the ghetto was poor: only 200 grams (7 ounces) of brown bread, a plate of soup, and an extra portion of soup for those who worked in the military barracks. Other Jews continued to work clearing the rubble in the town and were subjected to frequent beatings. Some ghetto inmates were able to supplement their meager rations by exchanging articles such as clothing or valuables with the local population for food.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans decided to clear the surrounding villages of Jews. On March 6, 1942, Gebietskommissar Traub ordered that every Jew found in a village or hamlet in the Gebiet should be arrested by the local police and brought to Nowogródek.[6] In May about 1,500 Jews were brought to Peresieka on foot from the ghetto in Korelicze and 1,500 from the shtetl of Lubcz. On May 20, 1,000 Jews arrived from the village of Derewna, then 1,200 more came from Iwieniec and some other smaller places, including Wsielub and Walewka. The ghetto became very overcrowded, now holding about 6,500 people.[7]

In June 1942, partisans attacked a German police unit returning from an Aktion to murder the Jews in the town of Naliboki.[8] Soon after this incident, which unsettled the Germans, the Judenrat received instructions to increase the size of the Jewish Police. Non-Jewish guards were also posted, and the police entered the ghetto to take the last few things the Jews had left. According to David Wolfowicz, the ghetto began to starve.[9]

Some Jews decided to escape to the forests and join the partisans. The Judenrat was held responsible for these escapes. Gebietskommissar Traub summoned the Judenrat for a meeting, only to arrest them and have them shot. He then appointed a new Judenrat, which included Chaim Aisikowicz, Moshe Mawochowicz, Leibel Pinczuk, Moshe Zamkower, Chaim Maslowote, and Daniel Ostaszinski. To prevent more youths from fleeing to the forest, the Jewish Police would catch them and take away their shoes. It was rumored that the authorities had promised the Judenrat and its staff 150 work certificates if they would help with a forthcoming Aktion. As these rumors spread, everybody in the ghetto started to organize hiding places and bunkers in preparation.[10]

On August 6, 1942, the Judenrat issued special permits to all the craftsmen and other people whose work was considered important by the German authorities. They were also moved to the location of their workshops at the courthouse in Kore-

licze Street, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by the local police. This place was destined to become a Jewish forced labor camp.

On August 7, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators (including Estonian Police Battalion 36, stationed at that time in the town) took away most of the remaining inmates of the ghetto to the pits at Litowka, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside Nowogródek on the way to Wsielub, and shot them there. Of the 750 or so Jews then working at the military barracks, about 500 people, mainly men, were left alive. These people then occupied about 15 houses in the ghetto and lived there until the third massacre, which took place on February 4, 1943, again at the killing site in Litowka. At the newly constructed courthouse camp, German SS officers and Lithuanian soldiers selected all the children and searched for any in hiding. Then they loaded them onto a truck and took them to the pits at Litowka to be killed. In total some 5,500 Jews were killed at Litowka during the August 7 Aktion.[11]

At the courthouse, a high wooden wall was constructed all around the building, and a sentry box for the guards at the entrance gate and watchtowers at the corners were built. One watchtower had searchlights, and the area was lit at night. The labor camp was guarded day and night. Jack Kagan recalls that Belorussian guards were called "black crows" because they wore black uniforms. One could bribe them with gold to bring pistols, cartridges, food, and sometimes let a couple of inmates escape.

There was no water in the camp. Every day some people were sent out for water. It was the only contact with the outside world and the only chance to escape. The daily ration in the camp was 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and a plate of soup made from potato peels. After the massacre in Litowka, the inmates of the courthouse building camp were given numbers to wear on their clothes. Some carpenters who worked at the workshops in the military barracks on Słonim Street were also moved to the labor camp. Tailors, turners, shoemakers, carpenters, and saddle makers worked for the needs of the German Army in the buildings situated right behind the fence.[12] Members of the Judenrat at that time included Burstein and Szabakowski. The German Wilhelm Reuter was the official within the Gebietskommissar's office responsible for the Jewish question (Judenreferent), and he directly supervised the labor camp. He was notorious for his antisemitic attitude: Berl Kagan described him as a "real murderer, who never hesitated to kill a man for the slightest reason."[13]

On May 7, 1943, another selection took place. The best workers were sent to the workshops, and the remainder, about 250 people, were rounded up by the police in the yard, beaten, and taken to the killing site at the end of Minsk Street, about 400 meters (1,312 feet) from the labor camp.

At the beginning of July 1943, 11 specialists from the labor camp were sent to the prison camp at Kołdyczewo near Baranowicze. German plans existed at that time to get rid of the remaining 250 Jews in Nowogródek, but these were deferred for fear of unsettling the more than 2,000 Jews in nearby Lida.[14] Meanwhile, the Nowogródek Jews set up an escape committee headed by Berl Joselewicz. The other members of the committee were former serviceman Josef Jarmowski, electrician Rakowski, and some other Jews who were not from Nowogródek. They decided to build a tunnel. The construction began in June, and on September 26, 1943, most of the inmates of the labor camp escaped through the tunnel, which was about 200 meters (656 feet) long, 70 centimeters (2.3 feet) wide, and about 70 centimeters (2.3 feet) high. Some elderly people who could not walk hid in the loft and stayed there for four more days until the guards abandoned the labor camp, taking away its equipment and raw materials. Only then did they leave, and some also managed to survive.

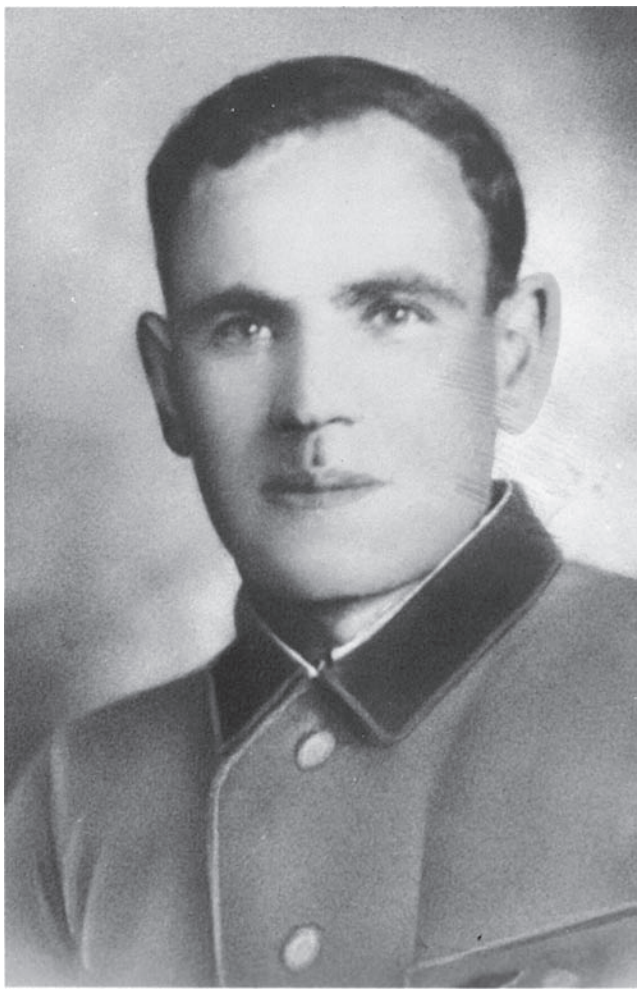
On the edge of Peresieka on the way to Litowka, there lived a "hitzler's" (dogcatcher's) family by the name of Bobrowski. They were Poles. Every prisoner of the ghetto knew that he or she could count on a plate of soup in this house, sleep one or two nights there, and learn about the location of the Bielskis' Jewish partisan detachment. Sometime in February 1943, the Germans learned about their contacts with the partisans. They killed the adults, burned the house, and sent the four children to the concentration camp at Gross-Rosen. Yad Vashem has recognized the entire family as Righteous Among the Nations.[15]

Another Pole, Baiński, and a Belorussian peasant, Konstantin Kozlovski, also helped many Jews during the war. Elena Ruvimovna Derchanskaia recalled that a Belorussian girl, Nadia Protasievich, whom she had known prior to the war from their anti-Polish underground political work together, helped her escape when she left the ghetto to construct a road near the village of Sielets.

There were also many cases where Poles and Belorussians turned in Jews to the Germans. A Pole, Belaus, who lived on an isolated farm a few kilometers from Nowogródek, reported to the Germans on a group of Jewish partisans who came to his farm for food. All of the partisans but one were killed. Later other partisans from the same detachment murdered him and his family in revenge.

From the autumn of 1941, a Jewish partisan detachment headed by Tuvia Bielski was active in the Nowogródek area. It cooperated closely with another Soviet partisan detachment, Oktiabrskii, which was headed by Victor Panchenkov. In April 1943, Bielski's detachment became part of the Kirov brigade. On June 19, 1943, the detachment was reorganized into two groups: a family detachment named after Kalinin (991 people) and a fighting detachment named after Ordzhonikidze (149 fighters). They lived through the German blockade called "Operation Hermann" in July 1943. In the fall they built a permanent camp called Jerusalem in the dense Naliboki Forest. The fighting detachment named after Ordzhonikidze participated in joint combat operations together with other detachments of the Kirov brigade.

About 1,200 Jews survived the war in the forests with the Bielski partisan detachment. They were mainly escapees from the ghettos in Nowogródek and Lida or the other towns of the Nowogródek district. When they returned to Nowogródek after the liberation, the openly antagonistic attitude of the non-Jewish population forced them to leave their hometown.





The four Bielski brothers (Tuvia, Alexander, Asael, and Aron) hailed from the village of Stankiewicze, near Nowogródek. Their partisan group was active in the Nalibocki Forest. On left, Alexander Bielski, photographed, 1945–1948; on right, Asael, photographed 1939–1941.
USHMM WS #12135 AND WS #90241, COURTESY OF MOSHE KAGANOVICH

The Gebietskommissar of Nowogródek, Wilhelm Traub, died in a prisoner-of-war camp. The West German authorities opened a criminal investigation against Johann Artmann; however, it was closed in Traunstein in 1966 due to insufficient evidence.

The memorial grave sites in Nowogródek at Skrydlevo and Litowka were renewed on the initiative and at the expense of a ghetto survivor from Nowogródek, Jack Kagan, during the 1990s.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Nowogródek, edited by Eliezer Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok* (Tel Aviv: Alexander Harkavy Navaredker Relief Committee in USA and Naveredker Committee in Israel, 1963), contains a number of brief accounts of the Nowogródek ghetto, mostly in Yiddish, in the section on "The Holocaust" (pp. 229–332). The joint memoir of Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), provides the most detailed recent account and includes a number of documents. On the Bielski partisans who operated in the Nowogródek area, see Nechama Tec, *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Some additional information on the Nowogródek ghetto can be found in *Pamiat'*: *Novogrudok District* (Minsk, 1996); and Michael Skakun, *On Burning Ground* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Documentation concerning the Nowogródek ghetto can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1905); BA-BL (R 58/697); BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 94e/59); GARF (7021-81-112); NARA (T-77, roll 1138); NARB (861-1-1); USHMM (RG-11.001M.01 and RG-22.002M); and YVA (especially O-3, M-1/E, M.31). The author also had access to the collection of wartime documents from the Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok.

Tamara Vershitskaya

NOTES

1. Kagan and Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust*, p. 40. The extensive narrative accounts prepared by these two cousins, together with the yizkor book for Nowogródek, provide the main basis for this entry. Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok*, pp. 229–332, names eight individuals who formed the first "Jewish committee."

2. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 24, 7021-81-112.
3. Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok, documents regarding the war; see also David Wolfowicz, 1948 testimony, YVA, M-1/E/2513.
4. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 94e/59 (Investigation of Johann Artmann), vol. 1, pp. 15–29, statement of Szaul Gorodinski, December 13, 1960.
5. Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 914–923, Decision of Landgericht Traunstein to close the case against Johann Artmann on January 11, 1966, due to insufficient evidence.
6. Museum of History and Regional Studies in Novogrudok, documents regarding the war.
7. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 94e/59 (Investigation of Johann Artmann), vol. 1, pp. 30–42, statement of Mordechaj Meirowicz, December 7, 1960.
8. BA-BL, R58/697, pp. 168–178, Report from the occupied eastern territories no. 9, June 26, 1942.
9. YVA, M-1/2513.
10. Ibid.; Yerushalmi, *Pinkas Navaredok*, p. 254.
11. Israel Yankelewicz, "Rosh Hashanah in the Woods," in K. Hillel, ed., *Lubats' ve-Delatits': Sefer Zikaron* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Lubch ve-Delatits' be-Yisrael, 1971), p. 389, gives the figure of 6,500 victims.
12. According to appendix no. I of War Diary No. 5, Armaments Detachment (Rüstungskommando) Minsk, there were some 350 Jews in Nowogródek conducting work on army contracts as of October 20, 1942; see NARA, T-77, roll 1138, fr. 996-97.
13. Kagan and Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust*, p. 55.
14. USHMM, RG-11.001M.01 (RGVA), reel 10, 500-1-769, file note on the expedition to Nowogródek on July 9, 1943, dated Baranowitsche, July 11, 1943.
15. See YVA collection M.31 for further details.

NOWY ŚWIERZEŃ

Pre-1939: Nowy Świerzeń, *village*, *Stołpce powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland*; *1939–1941: Novyi Sverzhen'*, *Stolbtsy raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowy Swierzen*, *Rayon Stolpce*, *Gebiet Baranowitschi*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Novy Sverzhen'*, *Stolbtsy raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Nowy Świerzeń is located about 72 kilometers (45 miles) southwest of Minsk. Under Polish rule in the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish community in Nowy Świerzeń formed around one third of the total population, comprising about 100 families (ca. 700 people).

When German forces occupied the village on June 29, 1941, they shot several Jews and burned some houses for alleged acts of resistance. After a few days, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established in Stołpce, which introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear a yellow star on their chests, using any yellow-colored material they could find. Soldiers from the Stołpce Ortskommandantur also came to the village administration, under the control of a local Christian named Szkodko, and demanded that the Jews supply pillows, quilts, blankets, soap, sugar, and other items. After a short time, the Ortskommandant ordered that a Jewish Council (Judenrat) be formed in Nowy Świerzeń, which included the rabbi, Alpert, and the butcher, Grinwald. It was headed by a man from Warsaw named Tschwerchak. The Judenrat then took on the task of collecting the goods demanded by the Germans.[1]

From August 1941 until February 1942, the Ortskommandantur in Stołpce was staffed by soldiers of the 8th Company, 727th Infantry Regiment, under the command of Leutnant Göbel.[2] In early October 1941, two Germans came to the village administration and demanded 30 Jews. They then took 18 young women and 12 young men who were working at the limestone quarry and shot them in the cemetery together with the rabbi. One woman feinted and subsequently managed to escape unscathed from the grave.[3]

On October 24, 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Nowy Świerzeń on the following day. It comprised a few houses on Stołpce Alley from the marketplace up to the bridge. There was very little time for people to move in, and the property they had to leave behind was taken by the non-Jews of the village. About five or six families were forced to share one small house, resulting in terrible overcrowding. The Jews lived like this in the ghetto for only nine days.[4]

On November 4, 1941, men of the 8th Company, 727th Regiment, based in Stołpce, assisted by the local police, conducted a large-scale massacre of the Jews in the town of Turzec in the neighboring Mir Rayon. Once all the Jews had been assembled, more than 100 able-bodied men were selected for labor and loaded onto trucks, being told they would be taken to Nowy Świerzeń to work. When they were about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town, they began to hear the sound of shooting in Turzec behind them, as the remaining Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were shot.[5]

On arriving in Nowy Świerzeń, the Jews from Turzec were placed in a makeshift camp surrounded by barbed wire just outside the village. On November 4, the Ortskommandantur ordered the Jews of the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto to assemble on the market square the next morning, bringing with them all their valuable possessions. That night local Belorussians dug a large trench in the cemetery. On the morning of November 5, two Germans collected the valuables from the assembled Jews on the market square, and the men capable of work were sent to their workplaces. Then another 20 women were selected to cook for the laborers, and the remaining roughly 600 Jews, composed of the elderly, women, and children, were loaded onto trucks and then shot in the prepared ditch by members of the Wehrmacht, assisted by the local police.[6]

The Jews who had arrived from Turzec witnessed how the Germans and local police carried out the slaughter in Nowy Świerzeń, chasing any Jews who tried to escape and shooting them. According to Yehuda Gesik, all the roads and sidewalks were covered with the bodies of those who had been shot. At the cemetery, some of the Jews were only wounded and were buried alive. After the Aktion, the 100 Jewish laborers from Turzec were moved into the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto, which was now surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. They shared

the accommodation with the 150 able-bodied local Jews who had been left alive. The Jews worked daily under armed guard in a gravel pit or in the sawmill.[7]

In the ghetto the Jews received rations of only a few sacks of flour and were expected to live off their reserves of hidden potatoes. One of the Turzec survivors, Mordechai Jalowsky, with the aid of Judenrat head Tschwerchak, was permitted by the Germans to return to Turzec, where he found some potatoes he had hidden and also recovered the clothes of his murdered children from a neighbor, which he could then barter for more food. After a time, Tschwerchak was summoned to the commandant's office in Stołpce and never returned. He was succeeded as head of the Judenrat by Kazik Reichman, a refugee from Łódź.[8]

By the spring of 1942, contact had been made with some Jews who had escaped from the Stołpce ghetto and formed a partisan unit, including a man named Posesorski. Some Jews in the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto made plans to obtain arms with the aim of escaping to the forests to join the partisans, although others, with families, feared the impact this would have on those who remained. In July 1942, the German police searched the ghetto and arrested seven Jews, who were tortured and shot after having been denounced by some of the Belorussian and Ukrainian guards. Around this time, additional Jews were brought into the ghetto from Stołpce, and it was converted into a forced labor camp run by the Luftwaffe (German Air Force). The forced labor camp now consisted of only seven or eight very overcrowded houses surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and observation towers.[9]

Up until late January 1943, around 250 Jews remained in the camp in Nowy Świerzeń. On Friday, January 29, 1943, with the assistance of the Jewish partisan Posesorski, who had maintained contacts with the ghetto, about 200 Jews fled from the camp. Shortly before, the Jews had learned that soon non-Jewish laborers would replace them, prompting them to act. In response to the mass escape, Gendarmerie Captain Max Eibner in Baranowicze, after consultation with the SD, ordered the shooting of all the Jews in the Stołpce ghetto and all but 12 specialists remaining at the Nowy Świerzeń sawmill. On January 31, the Gendarmerie in Stołpce shot 254 Jews, including at least 50 brought in from Nowy Świerzeń. Over the following days, Wehrmacht patrols continued to capture Jews found in the surrounding area, including some of those who had escaped from Nowy Świerzeń.[10]

When the group of Jews led by Posesorski linked up with the Zhukov otriad of Soviet partisans in the village of Janiszczi (known as "partisan Moscow"), the partisan commander ordered them to surrender all their valuables. The younger armed Jews were accepted into the unit, but those Jews who were unarmed were separated from the otriad a few weeks later, as the commander viewed them as only a burden.[11]

On August 8, 1943, the Gendarmerie post commander in Stołpce, Hauptwachtmeister Wilhelm Schultz, reported that the remaining 15 Jews at the Nowy Świerzeń sawmill had been shot that day, rendering the Stołpce Rayon "free of Jews (von Juden frei)."[12]

Thanks to the mass escape in January 1943, a number of Jews from the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto and labor camp managed to survive until the Germans were driven from the area in July 1944, most of them serving with various Soviet partisan units.

SOURCES Information on the Nowy Świerzeń ghetto and forced labor camp can be found in the following publications: Nahum Hinits, ed., *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no veha-'ayarot ha-semukhot Rubezevits*, *Derevno*, *Nalibok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stoyebts be-Yisrael, 1964); Benyamin Vilitovski, *The Story of a Fighter*, *One of Those Who Survived* [in Hebrew] (Or Yehuda: Kavim, 2005); and Yehuda Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*, *1900–1944* [in Yiddish] (Tel Aviv: privately printed, 1958).

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Nowy Świerzeń during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/642); BA-L (202 AR-Z 16/67); GABO (995-1-4 and 7); GARF (7021-81-102 and 7021-148-316); NARB (845-1-6 and 389-1-4); Sta. Mü I (117 Js 2/72, Investigation against F. Göbel); Sta. Oldenburg (2 Js 138/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M); WCU (Investigation of Semion Serafinowicz); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3569, 3863, and 3876).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/3569, statement of Yisrael Celkowicz, February 24, 1972.
2. Sta. Mü I, 117 Js 2/72 (Investigation in the case of Friedrich Göbel), pp. 1228–1230, statement of Fritz Mühlemeyer on September 6, 1972. The investigation concluded that Göbel was deceased, and no other persons were indicted.
3. YVA, O-3/3569, statement of Yisrael Celkowicz, February 24, 1972; and AŻIH, 301/642, testimony of Monus Josilewicz.
4. YVA, O-3/3569, statement of Yisrael Celkowicz, February 24, 1972.
5. YVA, O-3/3876, statement of Mordechai Jalowski, February 1972; and Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*. Gesik dates the Aktion on November 3.
6. YVA, O-3/3876 and 3569; Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; AŻIH, 301/642.
7. Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; YVA, O-3/3876; AŻIH, 301/642; and WCU, Interrogation of Leonid Filipovich Botyak, April 21–22, 1947 (originals in AUKGBRBMO).
8. YVA, O-3/3569 and 3876.
9. Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; and AŻIH, 301/642.
10. NARB, 389-1-4, pp. 22, 24, report of the Gend.-Hauptmannschaft in Baranowitsche to KdG Minsk, February 5, 1943, and report of Gend.-Postenführer in Stolpce, Schultz, to Gend.-Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, February 5, 1943.
11. Gesik, *The Turec Jewish Community*; and AŻIH, 301/642.
12. NARB, 389-1-4, report of Gend.-Postenführer in Stolpce, Schultz, to Gend.-Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, August 8, 1943, betrifft: Bereinigung des Kreises Stolpce von Juden.

OPSA

Pre-1939: Opsa, *village*, *Brasław powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Braslav raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian*

SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Braslaw, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Oposa, Braslau raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Opsa is located about 180 kilometers (112 miles) north-northwest of Minsk. The Jewish population of Opsa in 1921 was 334 out of a total population of 714.

German forces arrived in Opsa at the end of June 1941. A few weeks after their arrival, the Germans established a Jewish Council, which was chaired by David Lewin. The council had to enforce anti-Jewish decrees, including the wearing of a yellow badge, the performance of forced labor, and the severance of relations with the non-Jewish population. Large contributions were also collected from the Jews throughout the region.[1] The German occupiers humiliated the Jews in Opsa, on one occasion forcing them to crawl and eat grass on the marketplace.[2]

In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration was established in the region. Opsa became part of Rayon Braslaw in Gebiet Glebokie. In Opsa a police force was recruited from the local residents, and this was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie. The name of only one Gendarme who served in Opsa is known—a man called Lundner.[3]

The Jews of nearby Jody were murdered in December 1941. Shortly after this, in early 1942, some of the Jews in Opsa were reportedly transferred to the towns of Widze and Brasław, where ghettos were established.[4] According to a German report dated July 1, 1942, however, there were still 300 Jews living in a small ghetto in Opsa on that date.[5]

On the eve of Rosh Hashanah (September 12, 1942), about 50 Jewish craftsmen from the ghetto in Opsa were transferred to Brasław, where a "second ghetto" was created, after the murder of most of the inhabitants of the first Brasław ghetto in June 1942. This transfer probably marked the end of the ghetto in Opsa. According to local Belarusian sources, those Jews unfit for work, women, children, and the elderly, were "liquidated" by the Germans and their collaborators in Opsa at the end of 1942.[6]

The second Brasław ghetto existed until March 19, 1943, when the Germans and the local police surrounded it and drove the Jews to the pits to murder them. On this occasion the Jews decided to fight. About 10 of them barricaded themselves in a house inside the ghetto and resisted with weapons, killing several of their foes before the Germans destroyed the house with grenades.[7] In the summer of 1943 Soviet partisan units, including a number of Jews, attacked the German garrison in Opsa.

At least one Jew from Opsa, Motke Rosenberg, is known to have survived, having been transferred from Widze on to the Wilno ghetto and from there to various camps.[8]

SOURCES A yizkor book dedicated to the Jews of Brasław, which includes information on the community of Opsa, was prepared by Ariel Machnes and Rinah Klinov, eds., *Emesh Sho'ah—: Yad li-kehilot: Gevidment di kehile's Braslav, Opsah, Okmenits, Dubinah, Zamosh, Zarats', Ya'isi, Yod, Slobudkah, Plusi, Kislovshts'iznah, Rimshan* (Israel: Irgun yots'e Braslav veha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1986). It contains a number of survivor accounts in Hebrew, which are also extracted in English.

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community and the ghetto in Opsa can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAVO (2841-1-1); NARB (370-1-483); and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q-116; and M-1/E-1908).

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NOTES

1. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, p. 407.
4. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 939–340; Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 37.
5. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15.
6. *Pamyats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), p. 126; GAVO, 2841-1-1, p. 37. A memorial composed of a sculpture was erected at the cemetery in Opsa in 1983. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 169.
7. YVA, 1631/98-R and M-1/E-2129/1908. See also Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), p. 160; and Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, pp. 41–44.
8. Machnes and Klinov, *Emesh Sho'ah*, p. 41.

OSTROSHITSKII GORODOK

Pre-1941: Ostroshitskii Gorodok, town, Minsk raion and oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostroschitskij Gorodok, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Astrashytski Haradok, Laboisk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ostroshitskii Gorodok is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. According to the 1926 census, the population of Ostroshitskii Gorodok included 665 Jews (332 males and 333 females).[1] In the period 1927–1941, the number of Jews in the town decreased somewhat, primarily due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German armed forces occupied the town on June 27, 1941, five days after their invasion of the USSR. During this time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and the men who were eligible for military service either volunteered or were conscripted for the Red Army.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Ostroshitskii Gorodok was included in Gebiet Minsk-Land, where the Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, from early 1942, was Gendarmerie-Leutnant Karl Kalla.

Soon after the town was occupied, the German military commandant ordered the Rayon authority to register the Jews. Jews were also required to perform various types of forced labor, including some work for the Organisation Todt (OT). In late August or early September 1941, the local authorities ordered the establishment of a "Jewish quarter" in the town. According one survivor, the ghetto was unfenced but was surrounded by barbed wire. The Jews were required to wear yellow circles on their clothing. Conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and the Jews had only potatoes to eat. Local Poles and Belorussians sometimes brought food to the ghetto for the Jews. As rumors spread of the massacres of Jews in other places, some Jews considered escape, but people did not know where to go, and joining the partisans was another unknown.[2]

In early October, the Germans organized a roundup of the Jews, ordering them all to report to the main square. Some Jews hid in cellars and managed to evade the roundup. Those that reported were then either shot nearby or transferred to the Minsk ghetto.[3] Very few Jews from the Ostroshitskii Gorodok ghetto survived until the end of the German occupation in July 1944.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ostroshitskii Gorodok can be found in the following archives: GAMINO (623-1-51); GARF (7021-87-6); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel7); VHF (# 37789); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda*, *Tom X* (Moscow, 1928), p. 214.
2. VHF, # 37789, testimony of Valentin Petrov, born 1924 in Minsk.
3. GAMINO, 623-1-51, p. 1.

PARAFJANÓW

Pre-1939: Parafjanów, town, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Paraf'ianovo, Dokshitsy raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Parafianowo, Rayon Dokschizy, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Paraf'ianovo, Dokshytsy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Parafjanów lies 28 kilometers (17.5 miles) south-southeast of Głębokie. In early July 1941, when the German Army occupied the small town, about 265 Jews lived there.

In late 1941 or early 1942, the Germans established a ghetto based around two streets of the village, where most of the Jewish population had previously resided. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, and in this area two police guards were posted.[1] There was a pharmacy shop inside the ghetto, which also sold groceries. The Jews of the Parafjanów ghetto were mostly engaged in forced labor at the sawmill.[2]

There was a local police station in Parafjanów, which included the following members: Commander Antoni Maslowski, Bołesław Kniaziewicz, Piotr Czernianin, Hilary Makarewicz, Jan Janukowicz, Eugeniusz Buczak, and Eugeniusz Karwowski. The local policemen often spent time in the ghetto area, demanding valuables such as jewelry from the Jews, or just conversing with residents of the ghetto.

The liquidation of the Parafjanów ghetto probably took place on May 29 or May 30, 1942.[3] The Aktion was carried out by units of the Gendarmerie of Gebiet Glebokie, together with the local police from Parafjanów and Dokszyce; it was probably coordinated by Security Police/SD officers from Lepel' to the east. The Aktion started at about 9:00 A.M., when local policemen surrounded the ghetto. First, the German forces and their collaborators collected all the Jews from the ghetto and herded them into the fire station, having ordered them to take all of their valuables with them. The Jews had been informed that they would be resettled to a different location. It appears that Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought into the Parafjanów ghetto either beforehand or at the time of the Aktion. From the shed, where the Jews were held, local policemen escorted them to the killing site, which was about 200 meters (219 yards) outside the town.[4] Eyewitnesses recalled that the victims consisted of about 200 Jews, including the elderly, women, and children.[5] The pits used for the execution were at the same place where the town's garbage was usually dumped.

The following policemen took part in escorting the Jews to the execution site: Nikodem Derwinski, Stanisław Wojnicz, Eugeniusz Kut (later Gorecki), Józef Frąckiewicz, A. Kossak, and G. Makarewicz. With loaded rifles, these policemen were instructed to prevent any Jews from escaping. The Germans ordered the Jewish victims to deepen the pits into which they were subsequently shot. The corpses of the Jews were covered with lime fertilizer. All the property of the Jews was brought to a warehouse on the orders of the Germans.[6]

Some Jews managed to hide or escape from the ghetto and thereby avoided the initial roundup, in some cases receiving help from the local population. However, over the ensuing days the local police in Parafjanów played a particularly active role in searching for hidden Jews. In one instance, a member of the local police, Kniaziewicz, caught two Jewish men and two Jewish women and shot them personally at the same place where the other Jews were murdered. This perpetrator was well known for his cruelty towards the Jews. He volunteered to shoot these four people even though he was not actually on duty that day. The corpses of these victims were then buried by local workers.[7] Among those Jews captured by the German Gendarmerie in Parafjanów in June 1942 were Shlena Levitan and Rubin Gilbert.[8]

In 1962, a court in Warsaw sentenced Frąckiewicz and Wojnicz to 15 years, Gorecki (Kut) to 12 years, and Derwinski to 10 years in prison for crimes committed while serving in the Schutzmannschaft (local police) in the Dokszyce/Parafjanów area.[9] On October 19, 1962, Kniaziewicz was indicted in the Szczecin District Court for participating in the murder of Jews who had escaped from the Parafjanów ghetto. The verdict of the court in Poznań on March 30, 1950, sentenced him to the death penalty, but an appeal to the President of the

People's Republic of Poland, Bolesław Bierut, reduced his punishment to 15 years in prison.[10]

SOURCES The most important sources for this article were the Polish trials against Nikodem Derwinski and other local policemen from the Dokszyce/Parafjanów area, which can be found in the following archives: IPN (SWWW 715-20 and SAP 49); IPN-Kos; and IPN-Szcz (Ko 29/89, pp. 27–28).

Additional information on events in Parafjanów can be found in the yizkor book edited by David Sztokfisz, *Yizker-bukh Dokshits-Parafyanov: Monument tsum ondenk fun tsvey Yidishe kehile's* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dokshits-Parafyanov be-Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1970). The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports on the fate of the Jewish population of Parafjanów under German occupation are located in NARB (845-1-64, pp. 48–51) and in GARF (7021-92-214, p. 3).

Monika Tomkiewicz
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Protokót przesłuchania świadka (statement of) Wacława Kołotucka z dnia 18 lutego 1949 roku, akta Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Poznaniu, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Bolesławowi Kniaziewiczowi, sygn. I K 163/49, s. 9 nn.
2. Statement of Wacław Rzeczycki z dnia 21 lutego 1948 roku, akta Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Poznaniu, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Bolesławowi Kniaziewiczowi, sygn. I K 163/49, s. 11 nn.
3. BA-L, B 162/27191 (II 202 AR 932/65, vol. 1), pp. 130–132, Y. Shapiro statement, May 3, 1966—Shapiro states that the Jews of Parafjanów were shot first, on the same day that the Aktion started in Dokszyce (May 29 according to German documentation; see NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15); the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports (NARB, 845-1-64, pp. 48, 51, and GARF, 7021-92-214, p. 3) date the Aktion in Parafjanów on May 30, 1942.
4. Statement of Bolesław Wojnicz, Protokół rozprawy głównej z dnia 13 listopada 1962 roku, Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Nikodemowi Derwińskiemu i innym, sygn. IV K 160/62, s. 235 nn.
5. Statement of Bolesław Olszewski, Protokół rozprawy głównej z dnia 13 listopada 1962 roku, Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Nikodemowi Derwińskiemu i innym, sygn. IV K 160/62, s. 238 n.
6. Statement of Jadwiga Janukowicz z dnia 14 maja 1990, GKBZHwP IPN OK. w Koszalinie, o w Szczecinie, sygn. Ko 29/89, s. 27-28.
7. Statement of Bronisław Czernicznia z dnia 18 lutego 1949 roku, akta Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Poznaniu, Wydział IV Karny, sprawa przeciwko oskarżonemu Bolesławowi Kniaziewiczowi, sygn. I K 163/49, s. 6 nn.
8. GARF, 7021-92-214, p. 3. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report also mentions a commandant of the post in Parafjanów, Benz, and a Meister (presumably Gendarmerie) Hick.
9. See IPN, SWWW 715-20. All of these sentences were reduced on appeal.
10. See IPN, SAP 49. He was released in 1959.

PLESHCHENITSY

Pre-1941: Pleshchenitsy, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Pleschtschenizy, Rayon center, Gebiet Borissow, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pleshchanitsy, Lahoisk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pleshchenitsy is located some 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. In 1939 there were 827 Jews in the town (22.5 percent).[1]

The German armed forces occupied Pleshchenitsy on June 28, 1941. With the approach of the front, Soviet officials and party workers fled the town, leaving behind the archive, state property, and also prisoners in the jail. The population plundered supplies from stores and warehouses. People then buried some of this food and other loot in their gardens to conceal it from the occupiers. The church and some of the houses were set on fire by artillery and aerial bombardments. Soon after the arrival of the Germans, the temporary military commandant appointed a town elder (mayor) and recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst). An Orthodox priest was permitted to hold a service in the former church, which had been converted into a cultural center after the Bolshevik Revolution. Under pain of death, Jews were forbidden to leave their homes without a yellow patch sewn onto their chest and back. The peasants were not allowed to trade with the Jews, converse with them, or even greet them.

An open ghetto was formed on the edge of Pleshchenitsy during the summer of 1941, when a number of Jews had to exchange houses with other local inhabitants. The ghetto was guarded but remained unfenced. It existed until mid-October 1941.[2] It consisted of about 50 houses, and approximately 1,000 people were settled into them.[3] The chairman of the Jewish community and the rabbi had to compile a list of the town's Jews, including infants, within two days, indicating the professions of the men. According to the testimony of Izrail' Segal, the aged rabbi of Pleshchenitsy died in his sleep from emotional stress. The entire town turned out for his funeral, which the Nazis did not impede.[4]

The ghetto in Pleshchenitsy had no real economic significance for the Germans. Therefore, the German authorities did not concern themselves with the poor sanitary conditions in the ghetto, or provide any food. The main goal was to concentrate the Jews and isolate them from the local population. The Jews were compelled to perform forced labor, including the most arduous forms of work, without argument or any remuneration. They were used to collect garbage, clear the town of rubble, and load and distribute fuel and cargo. All contacts with the local population were prohibited.

The murder of the Jews of Pleshchenitsy was conducted shortly after the establishment of a civil administration in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien on August 31, 1941. The first Aktion was carried out probably at the end of September 1941. At this time all of the Jews from the villages of Rayon Pleschtschenizy had been concentrated in the ghetto.[5] Then it was announced in the market square that the Jews

would be resettled from Pleshchenitsy to Logoisk, where, it was said, a ghetto had been created for the entire region (volost'). People were ordered to take only their valuables and food provisions at first. Furniture, warm clothes, and kitchen utensils were to be left behind under the pretext that they would be delivered later. According to the mayor, it was planned to resettle the non-Jews from the countryside into Pleshchenitsy. The mayor personally selected the skilled workers—cobblers, tailors, carpenters, the stove maker, the blacksmith, tinsmith, the glazier, the barber, and photographer—who, along with their wives, initially were permitted to stay in Pleshchenitsy. He explained that when Russians and Belorussians had been trained for these professions, the Jews would be sent to join the others.

The "resettlement" was set for the next day. When dawn broke, carts were already standing in the market square. These were assigned to courtyards belonging to the Jews. The families loaded the carts with what they could. They carefully tied together their belongings and piled them in a corner of their homes. They were ordered not to lock the doors. Feeble elderly men and women, sick people, and pregnant women with little children were placed on the carts. The police recruited from among the local inhabitants helped and saw that order was maintained. When everything was ready, the Jews were allowed to say their farewells to those staying behind, and then they drove off.

Hirsh Aronchik, the photographer, and his wife Rakhel' categorically refused to part with their children and joined the train of carts. The Jews were taken along the forest roads to a farmstead near Palik Lake some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Pleshchenitsy. The lists were checked, valuables and money were confiscated, and the Jews were led into a barn "for a rest." The policemen who had accompanied them locked the door of the barn, which had a straw roof, and set it on fire. Those who tried to get out were shot. After an hour, it was all over. The men who had driven the carts brought news of the tragedy to Pleshchenitsy when they returned to town.

On October 16, 1941, Lithuanian volunteers, subordinated to German Reserve Police Battalion 11, murdered the remaining Jewish skilled workers.[6] On this occasion, there were more than 50 victims from Pleshchenitsy.[7] A few younger Jews managed to flee the ghetto before its final liquidation and escape into the forest; 4 of these Jews were interviewed by the Shoah Foundation in the 1990s.[8]

According to Dovid (Shmuel) Kugel', of the more than 1,000 Jews held in the Pleshchenitsy ghetto, only a few individuals survived. After the first Aktion, Kugel' was among the skilled workers left behind. On October 16, he and four other ghetto inhabitants were returning from work outside town. Belorussians warned them with the words, "Run to the forest. The Gestapo is rounding up the remaining Jews." Shmuel and his comrades went to Dołhinów, where the local ghetto was still in existence.[9]

The Nazis collected the valuables, money, bonds, and precious metal items. Personal items and clothes were given to the local police. The SD and Wehrmacht took custody of the greater part of the Jews' belongings. According to a report by the mayor of Rayon Pleschtschenizy to the Gebietskommissar concerning the sources of income for the Rayon budget in 1941, 41,011 Reichsmark (RM) were received from the sale of Jewish property, including 15,855 RM from the sale of houses; 6,686 RM from cattle and household animals; and 18,470 RM from clothes, dishes, and furniture.[10] Some of the furniture and consumer goods were turned over to the German authorities. Twenty-five gold rubles were transferred to the Reich Credit Bank (Reichskreditenkasse) in Minsk in early December 1941. The civil administration sold off the remaining Jewish property on behalf of the Rayon.[11]

During the German occupation, 2,063 people were murdered in Pleshchenitsy and the surrounding Rayon, the majority of them Jews. The town was liberated on June 30, 1944, in the course of the Minsk Offensive. According to a recent census, 7,860 people lived in Pleshchenitsy in 1999.[12]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pleshchenitsy can be found in the following publications: Izrail' Segal, *Lesnoi skitalets* (Tel Aviv: Moriaa, 2001); David Mel'tser and Vladimir Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); *Pamiats'. Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995); *Kholokost v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg. Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002); and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* [trans. from Russian by John Glad and James S. Levine] (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 182–186.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Pleshchenitsy during the Holocaust can be found in the following archival files: IPN (SWP 101-105, Case of Napoleon Piasecki); NARB (651-1-1; 391-1-22; and 370-1-486); and VHF (# 6710, 11666, 45575, and 49188).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust. A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Yad Vashem, 1998), p. 232.

2. VHF, # 6710, testimony of Vladimir Kogan Savel'zon (born 1933), in 1995, # 49188, testimony of Vladimir Zavol'ner (born 1933), in 1997, # 45575, testimony of Raisa Solovera (born 1920), in 1998, and # 11666, testimony of Dora Vudina (born 1923), in 1996; V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii Belarusi, 1941–44* (Minsk, 2001), p. 51; and NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 42–43.

3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 182–183.

4. Segal, *Lesnoi skitalets*, p. 14.

5. NARB, 391-4-64, Investigation of the Rayon mayor of Pleshchenitsy by the Gendarmerie in Borisov. The Rayon mayor was accused of enriching himself personally from Jewish property and taking bribes from the craftsmen for tempo-

rarily sparing their lives. The dating of the Aktion at the end of September is confirmed by the above document and also the testimony of Dovid Kugel in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 182–183, which states that the Jewish holiday of Sukkot (October 6, 1941) took place between the first and second Aktions.

6. NARB, 651-1-1, p. 10, and 391-4-64, which notes that the craftsmen were arrested and taken away by Lithuanian policemen.

7. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 44, gives the figure of 75 victims.

8. VHF, # 6710, 11666, 45575, and 49188.

9. Mel'tser, and Levin, *Chernaia kniga*, p. 276.

10. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, p. 55; NARB, 391-1-22, p. 25.

11. Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), p. 93; NARB, 370-1-486, p. 25.

12. *Entsyklopedyia historyi Belarusi u 6 tamakh* (Minsk, 1999), p. 513.

PLISSA

Pre-1939: Plissa, village, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Plisa, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Plissa, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Reichskommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Plissa, Hlybokae raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Plissa is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. By 1925, the Jewish population was 528 out of a total population of 1,358.

Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German forces reached Plissa within two weeks. The frontline units did nothing against the Jews, but soon the temporary German military administration (Ortskommandantur) forced them to wear a yellow Star of David and mobilized them for forced labor, such as cleaning work, while the Belorussians remained exempt. The Ortskommandantur also ordered the recruitment of a police force made up of non-Jewish local residents. Among those recruited was a man named Dombrowski.[1]

On August 31, 1941, Plissa was incorporated into the newly formed Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Głębokie was Paul Hachmann. Initially, the Jews continued to live in their own homes, but in the fall of 1941, all the Jews were moved into a ghetto composed of several houses. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence.[2] At this time the local police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft, and responsibility for it was transferred from the German military to the German Gendarmerie (Order Police).

In the fall of 1941, the German civil administration demanded that Jews surrender any valuable items, as well as all livestock, as Jews were forbidden to own animals, including domestic cats. The Germans also punished severely any Jews who tried to contact local peasants to exchange their possessions for food.[3]

At Passover (April 2) 1942, the Jews in the ghetto managed to bake matzots with their last reserves of flour. At the end of April the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie reaffirmed that it was strictly forbidden for Jews to leave the ghetto unless they were going to work in columns. Even Jewish craftsmen issued with special passes by the German authorities in order to perform work tasks were not permitted to go more than 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the ghetto.[4]

On June 1, 1942, forces of Einsatzkommando 9 known as "Trupp Lepel," assisted by the German Gendarmerie of Gebiet Glebokie and local policemen, surrounded the ghetto. They rounded up the Jews, driving them out of their houses with sticks and gathering them on the market square. Then the Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews in small groups to a large ditch that had been prepared about 800 meters (875 yards—half a mile) to the north of the village, where they shot them. The Gebietskommissar in Głębokie reported shortly afterwards that 419 Jews had been murdered in Plissa.[5]

According to one account, during the roundup a Jewish policeman named Yakov helped the Germans and their collaborators by pointing out the places where some Jews were hiding in the ghetto.[6] A few selected craftsmen and also some others who survived the Aktion were transferred, or subsequently made their way, into the ghetto in Głębokie, which was not finally liquidated until the summer of 1943.[7]

Jews from Plissa were among those who fled to the forests and joined the Soviet partisans to gain revenge. Boma Genikhovich tracked down and killed a German named Koppenberg who had murdered his father. Moshe Tsimkind successfully escaped from the Plissa ghetto, and after hiding with non-Jewish friends for three months, he subsequently served in the Soviet partisan unit of Lieutenant Medvedev.[8]

SOURCES Information regarding the ghetto in Plissa can be found in the following publications: Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 218–219; Gennadii Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 176–178; Vladimir Adamushko, et al., eds. *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Gosudarstvennyi komitet po arkhivam i deloproizdvodstvu Respubliki Belarus', 2001), p. 99; and G. Reykhman, "Moshe Tsimkind, beytarovets iz Plissy," *Evreiskii Kamerton*, March 5, 1999.

Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Plissa can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/202 AR 629/73); GARF (7021-92-219); GAVO (2841-1-1, p. 37); NARB (370-1-483); Sta. Hannover (2 Js 388/65); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 25); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/1113, p. 5; and M-41/237).

Monika Tomkiewicz and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL/202 AR 629/73, vol. 2, p. 410.
2. Vinnitsa, *List'i Istorii*, pp. 169–171.
3. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 218–219; USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 13, (GAVO, 2848-1-44), p. 11.
4. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)*

(Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 234–235, Gebietskommissar in Głębokie to the head of the local administration in Miory and Brasław, April 30, 1942.

5. NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15; *Memorial Book of Glebokie* [a translation into English of *Khurbn Glubok* by M. and Z. Rajak] (Buenos Aires: Glebokie Former Residents' Association in Argentina, 1994), p. 66. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report (GARF, 7021-92-219) recorded the murder of 325 peaceful Soviet citizens, including about 100 children between the ages of 2 and 10.

6. Reykhman, "Moshe Tsimkind, beytarovets iz Plissy."

7. Sta. Hannover, 2 Js 388/65, vol. 6, pp. 1038 ff., vol. 12, pp. 2520 ff., vol. 4, pp. 690 ff., and vol. 5, pp. 813 ff.; Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 163.

8. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, p. 165; Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 218–219.

POGOST

Pre-1941: Pogost, village, Starobin raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Starobin, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pahost, Saligorsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pogost is located 127 kilometers (79 miles) south of Minsk on the northern tip of the Soligorsk Reservoir. Before the war, there were around 500 Jews living in the village. After the Soviet annexation of eastern Poland in the fall of 1939, a number of Jewish refugees arrived in Pogost from Poland. They warned people about the Germans' treatment of the Jews, but few people paid attention to their stories.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village at the end of June 1941. Only a few Jews managed to flee or were conscripted into the Red Army. Some were unable to leave, as they lacked any means of transport.[1]

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village; authority was transferred to a German civilian administration in September 1941. Pogost was then incorporated into Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

Also during the summer, German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Pogost. A Judenrat was formed, Jews had to perform heavy labor, and they were forbidden to leave the limits of the village. On July 31, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 conducted the first Aktion in Pogost. A German report mentions that 38 Jews were shot for their alleged support of the partisans, but the number of Jews killed may have been twice this number, or possibly higher.[2]

Around the time of this Aktion, in late July 1941, the new "mayor" of Pogost, Grigorii Fedorovich Bel'ko, who had been chairman of the kolkhoz in Pogost, took the initiative in organizing a ghetto for the Jews in the former priests' residences on Tserkovnaia (Church) Street (other sources name it as Naberezhnaia Street), which were surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto inmates were composed mainly of women, children, and elderly persons. Around five families were forced to share each room, having only one bed per family. Adult Jews had to wear white armbands on their left arms bearing the image of the Star of David. The Jews received nothing to eat but potatoes.[3]

On August 24, 1941, German SS cavalrymen conducted a second Aktion in Pogost. Local police informed the Jews that a detachment of Germans would be arriving from Slutsk, and instructions were issued for pits to be dug near the buildings of the kolkhoz. Then at 5:00 A.M. on the day of the Aktion, the Jews were ordered to assemble at a large barn on the kolkhoz. From here the Jews were escorted to the pits and then lined up facing the Germans, who were armed with submachine guns, rifles, and grenade throwers. The shooting lasted more than an hour, and the account of one German cavalryman indicates that hand grenades were thrown into the crowd, and the soldiers continued shooting until there was no further movement. Some Jews hid in concealed spaces within the ghetto, and at least two Jews, Klara Fediuk and Sarah Shapiro, managed to escape on the way to or at the killing site.[4] On this day several hundred Jews were shot by men of the 4th Squadron of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment and the 5th Squadron of the 2nd Regiment.[5] Any gold teeth were removed from the corpses before the pit was covered with earth.

This second Aktion probably represented the liquidation of the ghetto, although a few Jews may have been killed over the following weeks. According to Soviet sources, more than 440 Jews were counted among those who were killed by the Germans during the occupation of Pogost in World War II.[6] Of the few Jews who managed to escape from the ghetto before or during the Aktion in late August, most survived by joining the Soviet partisans operating in the area.

When Chaim Kuntser returned to Pogost as a soldier in the Red Army, shortly after the town's liberation in the summer of 1944, he found that non-Jewish neighbors had taken over Jewish property without any legal proceedings. He managed to reclaim his mother's cow and at gunpoint obtained some compensation for his family's stable.[7]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Pogost can be found in the following publication: Chaim Kuntser, "Pohost," in N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor-Book Committee, 1962), pp. 469–471.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA (RS 4/430 and 936); GARF (7021-82-7); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24); and VHF (# 37017).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 37017, testimony of Klara Fediuk (née Podlipskaia).

2. The report of the Einsatzgruppe B on activities from the second half of July 1941 to the first half of August 1941: Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR (Berlin), Zentralarchiv, RHE

4/85 SU, vol. 7, p. 182, gives the figure of 38 Jews shot. *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 471, however, states that 80 Jews and 5 non-Jews were murdered as a reprisal for the murder of a priest by the partisans for allegedly cooperating with the Germans. The smaller of the two marked graves in the village commemorates 180 people buried there.

3. VHF, # 37017, testimony of Klara Fediuk (née Podlipskaia); *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 471; and GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 10–11.

4. VHF, # 37017, testimony of Klara Fediuk (née Podlipskaia), dates the Aktion on August 24, 1941; *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 470; and Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939-1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), pp. 196–197.

5. Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah*, pp. 196–197. A former member of the 5th Squadron, 2nd Regiment, recalled that over 1,000 Jewish men, women, and children were killed in the Aktion, but this figure is probably too high. GARF, 7021-82-7, p. 10, indicates that more than 440 people were shot on this occasion.

6. GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 5 (and reverse side), 32–35. In total, 289 murdered Jews are listed by name.

7. *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, p. 470.

POHOST ZAHORODZKI (AKA POHOST ZAHORODNY)

Pre-1939: Pohost Zahorodzki, village, Pińsk powiat, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pogost-Zagorodskii, Pinsk raion and oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Pohost-Zahorodzki, Rayon Lohiszyn, Gebiet Hansewitschi, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pahost Zaharodzki, Pinsk raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pohost Zahorodzki is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north-northeast of Pinsk. On the eve of World War II, the village had probably about 1,000 Jews.

The Germans arrived in the middle of July 1941. They established a police station in the Denenberg house and they hanged the owner of the property. Some of the local citizens enlisted in the police force. Shwartz from Pińsk was appointed the commander, Jakov Samokhowecz was appointed the village elder (starosta), and Semen Voronovskii was appointed his deputy.

In the first days of the occupation, the Jews were collected in the square near the church and were forced to watch as Moishe Pasternak, who had quarreled with the son of policeman Volodia Solonevich, was beaten. The Jews were assigned to arduous labor tasks such as chopping wood, cleaning houses, and cleaning the streets. The policemen and their families could enter Jewish houses and take what they wanted with impunity.[1]

The first Aktion against the Jews was carried out by a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment on August 10, 1941. On the pretext of an urgent work assignment, the Germans assembled about 150 Jewish men and youths over the age of 12. They then escorted them to a natural ditch near Malaia Dolina, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Pohost. The men were led into the grave next to the Kamen' Road, where the German cavalrymen shot them. Among the victims were Lazer Lutsky, the head of the Jewish organization in Pohost Zahorodzki, Rabbi Leon Shalom, and the mohel (ritual circumciser) Moishe-Meyer Bortnik. Some of the others managed to flee to the forest.[2]

The Germans established a ghetto in Pohost Zahorodzki in November 1941. It was surrounded by barbed wire and was guarded. It was located on a few blocks of the main street and was directly opposite the railroad station. Along with the families from Pohost, the ghetto also held families from the shtetl of Łunin—in total, some 200 Jews.[3] The ghetto prisoners were ordered to sew yellow markings on their clothing, and they were forbidden to communicate with the Belorussians, Russians, and Poles. One building of the Soviet judicial hall was decorated with an antisemitic banner. Posters and leaflets discussed the worldwide Jewish conspiracy. A Polish Jew named Grinbaum (Grinboim) was appointed as elder of the ghetto, and his helpers were Meyer and Yankel Rabinovich from Pohost. Later, Lazar Lutsky became the elder of the ghetto. The relationship between neighbors changed: friends and acquaintances turned away from the Jews.[4]

Skilled workers—carpenters, blacksmiths, and mechanics—worked in accordance with the wishes of the Germans and local citizens. Other Jews had to transport trees and sand, repair railroads, clear mounds, and pick up trash. Those who worked outside the ghetto tried to smuggle in some food for the small children past the local police guards.

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, the Germans began demanding money ("contributions") from the Jews: money, jewelry, and even warm clothing and gold teeth. They only had one meal a day in the ghetto. Before returning from work, the inmates were given 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread and a bowl of watery soup (*balanda*). As starvation approached, Jews started exchanging what little clothing remained from the police raids for food.[5]

Almost every night, the Jewish houses were searched, and the women were taken to the police station and raped. When Peisach Proshitzkiy (16 years old) and Mordechai Shifman (25 years old) became sick with typhus, the Germans murdered them. Then in March 1942, all the Jewish men over the age of 14 (about 120 of them) were rounded up and taken to the labor camp in Hancewicze, some 60 kilometers (37 miles) away.[6] There they worked in the forest, built the road to Baranowicze, and performed other labor tasks. Some of these men escaped to the forest and joined partisan units after hearing in August 1942 of the liquidation of the ghettos in Pohost Zahorodzki and Lenino. Others were killed trying to escape, while the remaining inmates of the camp, and those who returned, were murdered by the Germans shortly after the mass escape.[7]

On the morning of August 15, 1942, a large German force arrived in Pohost Zahorodzki to liquidate the ghetto. The Aktion was organized by the Security Police outpost (KdS) in Hancewicze (from mid-August 1942 under the direction

of Alfred Renndorfer), assisted by Latvian auxiliaries of the Security Police, as well as Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft) units from throughout Gebiet Hansewitsche.[8] The local Jews were told that a few partisans had infiltrated the ghetto and were trying to hide. All the ghetto inmates were ordered to leave their houses, taking only their children with them. As the Jews were frequently ordered to appear for roll calls in the ghetto, they did not expect that this was the end, although some Jews went into hiding in prepared bunkers. Then the Nazis stated that those who wanted to buy back their lives could do so in exchange for clothing, money, gold, and valuables. After the previous robberies, however, no one had anything left.[9]

The prisoners were kept in the square for 24 hours, closely guarded by local policemen. The Jews were neither fed nor given any water. The children cried from hunger. During this time, local policemen carefully searched the houses for the missing Jews. Then the gates of the ghetto were opened, and a large truck appeared. The Germans and their collaborators loaded people onto the truck. Those who did not fit inside the truck were ordered to run behind it. Those who fell while following the vehicle were shot on the spot. Semen Bobrov (who was about 25 or 30 years of age) jumped off the truck and hid under a bridge, but he was later found and killed.

The convoy was stopped near the suburbs of Pohost Zahorodzki between the flour mill and the lumber mill. The prisoners were undressed and taken to the top of the hill in groups. Below the hill was a ditch. Four SS men carried out the mass shooting. Not everyone was killed; some of the wounded, including children, crawled out of the grave. The Germans came back and finished them off. In total, about 600 people, men, women, children, and the elderly, were killed on that day. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the blood flowed like a river out of the ground in places.

Only three people are known to have survived the mass killing. Under the cover of darkness, the wounded Yudit Tzippershtein, Feigel Lutsky, and Rivka (Yoselewska) Goldman crawled out from beneath the dead bodies and escaped into the forest.[10]

Two days after the mass shooting on August 16, 1941, someone notified the authorities that 27 Jews, mainly youths and children, were hiding in a secret ditch in Pasternakov. They were surrounded and shot in the garden of Nikolai Misherevitza.

The Jews who succeeded in running away from the Hancewicze labor camp banded together, then split up into smaller groups scattered in the forests around the villages of Bogdanovka and Borky. There they hunkered down and waited for winter. Not everyone was lucky. Yankel Tzipershtein died in the swamp from a heart attack. The local police found Lazari Lutsky hiding in the forest and burned him to death. They also caught Avraham Tzipershtein, tied him to a horse, and dragged him until he died.[11]

After the destruction of the Jews, the Germans settled Russians from the Smolensk oblast' into the former Jewish houses in Pohost Zahorodzki. By the spring of 1943, the surviving Pohost Zahorodzki Jews hiding in the forest had created a partisan force called "Lazar Kaganovich," which was augmented by Jews from Baranowicze. The Jews from Pohost took part in attacks on the German garrisons in Telechany, Chotin, and Malkowicz.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jews of Pohost Zahorodzki can be found in the following publications: Vera Laska, ed., *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voices of Eyewitnesses* (London, 1983), pp. 265–270; Itshak Iuzhuk and Reiven Iuzhuk, *Darovano vyzhit'. Gody i sud'by* (Pinsk, 2002); *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 617, pp. 17–18; *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), pp. 514–518.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Pohost Zahorodzki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR 932/65); GARF (7021-90-29); NARB (510-1-103, pp. 72–73); YVA; and the personal archive of the author (Leonid Smilovitsky).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. S. Shapiro, *Brat'ia "Aviv"* (Minsk), No. 9–10 (2001), p. 2.
2. NARB, 510-1-103, pp. 72–73; GARF, 7021-90-29, p. 24; *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, pp. 514–515, testimony of Rivka Yoselewska in Session No. 30.
3. In 1921 there were 51 Jews residing in Łunin.
4. V. Ilenkov, "Ego skrizhali," *Pinskii vestnik*, June 2, 1999.
5. "Ia vypolnil svoi dolg," *Polesskaia pravda*, April 17, 1996.
6. Author's personal archive, letter from Itshak Iuzhuk in Rishon-le-Zion, December 24, 1999, published in Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 220–222; *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii. Zhitkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1994), pp. 361–362.
7. BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR 932/65, vol. 1, testimony of Jacob Epstein from Lenin on February 24, 1966.
8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 617, pp. 17–18. The German court dates the Aktion somewhat later in September or October. The date of mid-August 1942 is from *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, p. 515.
9. Laska, *Women in the Resistance*, pp. 265–270, testimony of R. Yoselewska on May 8, 1961, at the Eichmann Trial.
10. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, pp. 514–518, testimony of R. Yoselewska.
11. Iuzhuk and Iuzhuk, *Darovano vyzhit'*, p. 9.

POŁONKA

Pre-1939: Połonka, village, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Polonka, Novaia Mysh' raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Polonka, Rayon Nowa Mysch, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Polonka, Baranovichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Połonka is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of Baranowicze. According to one source, there were 480 Jews living in the village on the eve of the German invasion.[1]

The Germans occupied Połonka at the end of June 1941. Soon after their arrival, the German military administration recruited an auxiliary police force from local inhabitants. The area initially came under German military administration, but in September 1941 a civil administration was established, which became fully staffed over the ensuing months. Połonka was located in Rayon Nowa Mysch, Gebiet Baranowitsche, where the Gebietskommissar was Rudolf Werner.

According to a census conducted for the German authorities, dated July 12, 1941, there were 257 Poles, 238 Jews, and 105 Belorussians living in Połonka.[2] In the summer of 1941, German soldiers raided Jewish homes, helping themselves to livestock and other property. Jews were forbidden to leave the village or conduct commerce with non-Jews. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), headed by a man named Rozen, which organized forced labor and the collection of valuables to be surrendered to the Germans. Jewish men and women over the age of 14 had to perform various physical labor tasks, which included cleaning toilets as well as work in agriculture in the surrounding villages. On one occasion a German SS or police unit arrived and murdered a number of Jews, allegedly for their support of the Communist regime. When the Jewish Council was ordered to send 17 men to dig the graves for these victims, these men were also murdered.[3]

In the fall of 1941, a small squad of German Gendarmerie formed a Rayon post in Nowa Mysz, which also took over responsibility for the local Belorussian police based in Połonka. The Gendarmerie and local police in Połonka conducted a series of Aktions against the Jews and other groups over the ensuing months. During the winter and spring they arrested and shot about 20 former Soviet soldiers who were living and working on local farms in the surrounding villages and also hanged three suspected partisans in the village.[4]

At some time during 1941 or in early 1942, the Jewish families from the surrounding settlements (about 20 people) were rounded up by the local police and brought to Połonka, where a form of open ghetto existed.[5] The survivor Hirsz Lachozwianski recalled that no special ghetto was created but that the Jews were unable to move about freely. He worked at the turpentine factory a few kilometers outside the village near the Połonka railway station. While he was working there together with several other Połonka Jews, they were kept behind a barbed-wire fence.[6]

In early 1942, local policemen from Połonka arrested a Jewish woman, Mrs. Winnicka, and her two children, who were suspected of having escaped from the ghetto in Baranowicze. They escorted the 3 Jews to a ditch on the edge of the village and shot them there. Mrs. Winnicka was only wounded and escaped later from the grave, but the local policeman Jan Rudy recaptured her and shot her. Several other Jews were shot on this day. According to the Jewish survivor Israel Czernichowski, in the spring of 1942 the Germans conducted a campaign against all the elderly Jews in the village, rounding them up and shooting them with the participation of the local police.[7] Reportedly about 80 of the 300 or so Jews in the ghetto were shot just outside the village on April 18, 1942, including the cantor and the ritual slaughterer.[8]

In June 1942, local farmers began preparing a large hole just outside the village, allegedly as a military entrenchment. Understanding what this meant, the young people called on the Judenrat to organize an escape to the forests. However, others feared for the fate of those who would have to be left behind if such an escape took place, as the Germans threatened to kill everybody if even one person was missing. The shooting of the remaining Jews in Połonka took place on August 12, 1942.[9]

Gendarmerie Captain Max Eibner, based in Baranowicze, reported in late August 1942: "in order to prevent further escapes I have eliminated the Jews still present in Polonka and Mir. A total of 719 Jews have been shot." A Jew armed with a knife wounded one local policeman (Schutzmann) during the Aktion in Połonka. Given the figures known for the number of Jews murdered in Mir, it appears that about 150 Jews were shot in Połonka on August 12, 1942.[10] At the time of the shooting of the Jews, Józef Legun was chief of the local police in Połonka. The mass shooting took place early in the morning. Among the Jews who were shot were Dr. Komulinksi and the teacher Rozen, both refugees from western Poland. Policemen from the other local police stations in Rayon Nowa Mysch were also present during the Aktion.[11] After the Aktion the local police searched the former Jewish houses for any Jews hiding there. They continued to shoot any escaped Jews they encountered in the surrounding area over the ensuing months.[12]

The Red Army liberated the area in the summer of 1944. Only about 10 Jews from Połonka are known to have survived the occupation. Several local policemen were convicted in Poland and the Soviet Union after the war for their participation in the shooting of Jews and other crimes, including Jan Rudy, Bołeslaus Bakacz, and also Jan Kojpasz, who was sentenced to death by a Soviet Military Tribunal in Baranovichi in December 1950.[13] A number of others, however, escaped to the West at the end of the war and avoided punishment.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the fate of the Jewish community in Połonka can be found in the following archives: GABO (995-1-4 and 7); GARF; IPN (e.g., SWB 231 and 253; and SWSz 69-78); NARB; USHMM (RG-68, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 29); WCU; and YVA (e.g., O-33/1791; and M-1/E/806).

There is also a brief article on Połonka's Jewish community in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehilot Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), p. 520.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/806, testimony of Hirsz Lachozwianski, born 1895.

2. USHMM, RG-68, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 29 (YVA M-41/1015); GABO, 685-1-12, p. 2.

3. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:520, and YVA, M-1/E/806.

4. IPN, SWB 253, Interrogation of Franciszek Borsukiewicz, February 21, 1963.

5. Ibid.; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:520, and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:267. Both use the term *ghetto* in reference to Połonka but do not give evidence in support of this.

6. YVA, M-1/E/806.

7. IPN, SWB 231 (Case against Wincenty Andrukiewicz), pp. 24–30, statement of Israel J. Czernichowski on August 23, 1944; and YVA, M-1/E/806.

8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1012; Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:520.

9. Ibid.; and YVA, M-1/E/806.

10. GABO, 995-1-7, pp. 211–212, Hein Report on August 20, 1942, and p. 237, Report of Gendarmerie Captain Eibner, August 26, 1942; YVA, M-1/E/806. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 6:267, gives the figure of 140 Jews shot in August 1942.

11. IPN, SWSz 69-78, record of examination of the witness Pawel Charkiewicz, November 18, 1969, in the case of Wacław Woronko.

12. GABO, 995-1-4, p. 456, Gendarmerie Report, December 5, 1942

13. IPN, SWB 231, pp. 103–104, Verdict in the case of Jan Kojpasz, December 21, 1950.

POSTAWY

Pre-1939: Postawy (Yiddish: Postav), town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Postavy, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Postawy, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Pastavy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

The town of Postawy lies in the northwest of Belorussia near the Lithuanian border, about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northeast of Wilno. In 1941, the population was about 5,000, including some 2,500 Jews.[1]

German forces entered Postawy on June 30, 1941; the ghetto was established in July 1941. The Germans forced the Jews to move into an area surrounded by a wooden fence with barbed wire between Basiliana, Kolejowa, and Braslava Streets.[2]

In the same month, the Germans ordered the establishment of a Judenrat. The dentist, Dr. Rubinstein, was appointed as its chairman. Gendel Hirsch, Simon Lubotaki, and Michael Taibes were also members.

During the following months, Jews from the villages around Postawy were brought into the ghetto, increasing its population. Some of these people had fled from mass shootings conducted in other parts of Gebiet Glebokie. Survivors estimate the number of people forced to live in the ghetto at around 3,000.[3] However, the office of the Gebietskommissar in Głębokie reported to the Generalkommissar on July 1, 1942, that there were 848 Jews in the Postawy ghetto.[4] In view of the high estimates of the number of victims in the Postawy ghetto, some larger groups of Jews probably arrived in Postawy before November 1942.



Group portrait of students and teachers at the Hebrew Tarbut school in Postawy, with their bicycles, ca. May 1930.
USHMM WS #28974, COURTESY OF FANYA SZUSTER PORTNOY

The ghetto was guarded by a small squad (10 or 12 men) subordinated to the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei), which was commanded by an officer whose name survivors remember to have been William. An outpost of the German Gendarmerie was based in Postawy as well.[5] Its commanding officer was a man named Schmidt. After the war, witnesses remembered the names of other policemen appointed to Postawy as Adam, Kezik, and König.[6] In guarding the ghetto, these German units were supported by local auxiliary policemen (Schutzmannschaften) from either Lithuania, Latvia, or Belorussia. The leaders of these auxiliaries were called Alexander I and Alexander II by the inmates, who were especially afraid of the former, as he used to shoot people at random while on patrol.[7] In addition to the Sicherheitspolizei and the Gendarmerie, there was a fortified base of the Wehrmacht in Postawy.[8] In the summer of 1942 the Polizeischule für Reit- und Fahrwesen Ostland (Police Riding and Driving School) was established in the former Polish Lancer barracks near the town.[9] Thus, the German presence in this small town was quite considerable.

Every morning, the inmates left the ghetto through its only gate to perform forced labor. Besides cutting peat, male prisoners had to carry out construction work at the railway station, on the sewage system, or at German military or police facilities. Women functioned as kitchen or domestic servants for the Germans.[10] During work hours, the guards beat, tortured, and occasionally even killed Jews.[11]

Each day, Jewish craftsmen were brought to workshops in the town's Christian quarters. If the non-Jewish inhabitants had a document signed by the Sicherheitspolizei, they could take the Jews as forced laborers, paying the German authori-

ties for the work. Due to this arrangement, the inmates had some contact with the world outside the ghetto. Helpful Belorussians established contact with a group of Postawy Jews who had been hiding in the forests from early in the occupation. Their leader was Michael Friedman, whose parents were among the victims shot in July 1941. Through this channel, the Jewish upholsterer Zalman Rochman was informed of the imminent destruction of the ghetto in November 1942. Together with his family and some other inmates—about 60 persons altogether—he fled the ghetto.[12]

From the beginning of the occupation, the Gendarmes in Postawy escorted groups of people outside of town into the surrounding forests and shot them, for example, in early 1942, 30 women and 25 men were shot in the Kaschizy wood, 5 kilometers (about 3 miles) outside the town. The victims had been brought there from other Rayons. Ghetto inmates were also frequently killed arbitrarily in Postawy.[13]

Between November 19 and 26, 1942, the Germans launched Operation Nuremberg in the region of Głębokie-Lepel'-Borisov. It was the first operation against partisans carried out by Kampfgruppe von Gottberg.[14] The inmates of the Postawy ghetto were murdered by von Gottberg's troops between November 23 and 25, 1942. It was one of the first Aktions intended to "liquidate the peripheral ghettos," which meant the systematic extermination of the Jewish population in the ghettos on the edges of the Belorussian forests and swamps, conducted under the pretext of fighting partisans.[15] After the war, the commanding officer of the Police Riding and Driving School, Oberstleutnant Albrecht, stated that the first partisan activities around Postawy did not start before 1943.[16] This information reveals the true objective of Operation Nuremberg, which was the mass slaughter of innocent civilians.

It is difficult to determine exactly which units were responsible for the extermination of the Jews in Postawy. The regimental headquarters of Polizeiregiment 14 were definitely located in Postawy on November 23.[17] Elements of Sicherungsgruppe Barkholt, probably Ukrainian auxiliaries commanded by Oberstleutnant Barkholt himself, were at least responsible for cordoning off the ghetto. The following day, this task was performed by a Baltic squadron of the Police Riding and Driving School.[18] The SD unit in charge of the liquidation was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Artur Wilke, an expert in the conduct of antipartisan warfare subordinated to the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (KdS) in Minsk.[19]

The liquidation of the Postawy ghetto took several days. Groups of Jews were taken to the shooting sites on Lenin Street and to a large pit next to the railway. German policemen along with Ukrainian auxiliaries searched for those in hiding several times and set fire to many buildings. Only very few people managed to escape from this inferno.[20]

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of victims, as the population of the Postawy ghetto at the time of its liquidation is not known precisely. On November 26, 1942, Kampfgruppe von Gottberg reported that 1,826 Jews had been shot during Operation Nuremberg,[21] not including "the bandits and Jews burned in buildings and bunkers."[22] According to one survivor, there were about 1,500 Jews in the ghetto at the time of the ghetto liquidation Aktion.[23] Given the disparities in the available sources, it appears as if somewhere between 1,000 and 4,000 Jews were murdered in Postawy in November 1942.[24]

By the time the Postawy area was liberated by the Red Army in 1944, many of the Jews who had managed to escape the massacre had died of the hardships and dangers of life in the forests.

One of the first trials to deal with the Postawy massacre took place near Minsk shortly after the war. The ghetto guard Alexander I was charged by the Soviet authorities.[25] A Polish member of the local police was also sentenced to 10 years in prison in Poland for his participation in the liquidation of the ghetto.[26] Although during the 1960s, the German courts conducted many investigations into Nazi mass murders in Belorussia, the public prosecutors were not able to identify all those responsible for the liquidation of the Postawy ghetto.[27] The most important investigation was conducted against members of the Police Riding and Driving School, accused of having participated in the mass shootings in Postawy.[28] The investigation was closed without any result on April 1, 1969.

SOURCES There are two short articles dealing with the Postawy ghetto: Daniel Schmidt, "'Der grosse Weltenbrand 1939–1945.' Erfahrungswelt und Alltag eines Polizeibeamten im Nationalsozialismus," in Alfons Kenkmann and Christoph Spieker, eds., *Im Auftrag. Polizei, Verwaltung und Verantwortung* (Essen: Klartext, 2001); and Moritz Felix Lück, "Partisanenbekämpfung durch SS und Polizei in Weissruthenien 1943: Die Kampfgruppe von Gottberg," also in Kenkmann and Spieker.

The main archival source on the Postawy ghetto is the trial file of Walter Jucknies et al. (Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 21/64). The records are held in Sta. Mü and selected copies are also in BA-L (B 162/3888 [202 AR-Z 42/61]), together with some Soviet investigation files. Additional survivor testimonies can be found in VHF (# 6428 and 9920); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/496; O-3/3493, 3496, and 3498 [Shmuel Zaslavsky]).

Daniel Schmidt

NOTES

1. Instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

2. Testimony of Raja E., June 16, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64; according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report (NARB, 845-1-63, p. 45), the ghetto was not established until February 1942. It enclosed three streets in the northern part of town.

3. Testimony of Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 18, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

4. NARB, Minsk 370-1-483. In view of the high estimates of the number of victims in the Postawy ghetto, some larger groups of Jews probably arrived in Postawy before November 1942.

5. Testimonies of Zalman Rochman, June 17, 1963, Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 17, 1963, Walter Jucknies, November 3,

1965, Kurt Littau, November 5, 1964, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64. The public prosecutor supposed that the Sipo officer might have been Oskar Wiljam, who was investigated in another trial (BA-L, 5 AR-Z 14/58).

6. BA-L, Findbuch UdSSR, Heft 5, pp. 190–194.

7. Testimonies of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 17, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

8. Report of Polizei Oberstleutnant Friedrich Wilhelm Albrecht, February 22, 1965, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

9. See Schmidt, "'Der grosse Weltenbrand 1939–1945,'" pp. 255–256.

10. Testimonies of Walter Jucknies, November 3, 1965, Boris Jizhak Barkan, June 17, 1963, and Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

11. Testimonies of Raja E., June 16, 1963, and Zalman Rochman, June 17, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

12. Testimony of Zalman Rochman, June 17, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

13. BA-L, Findbuch UdSSR, Heft 5, pp. 190–191.

14. See Moritz Felix Lück, "Partisanenbekämpfung durch SS und Polizei in Weissruthenien 1943," p. 234.

15. Instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64. See also Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde. Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), p. 913.

16. Report of Polizei Oberstleutnant Friedrich Wilhelm Albrecht, February 22, 1965, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

17. Instruction of Polizeiregiment 14, November 22, 1942, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

18. Testimonies of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, and Walter Jucknies, November 3, 1965, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

19. See Klaus-Michael Mallmann, "'Aufgeräumt und abgebrannt.' Sicherheitspolizei und 'Bandenkampf' in der besetzten Sowjetunion," in Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann, eds., *Die Gestapo im Zweiten Weltkrieg. 'Heimatfront' und besetztes Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus und Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), p. 518. The unit came either from Minsk, Wilejka, or Riga; see instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

20. Testimony of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

21. Daily report of Kampfgruppe von Gottberg, November 26, 1942, in Instruction of Sta. Dortmund, April 1, 1969, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

22. Personal file of von Gottberg, BDC; see Lück, "Partisanenbekämpfung," p. 239. BdS Ostland to Reichskommissar Ostland, November 30, 1942, BA-L, Doc. Coll. USA 25; see Mallmann, "'Aufgeräumt und abgebrannt,'" p. 518. During Operation Nuremberg the ghetto in Dunilowicze was destroyed as well.

23. Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer Zikaron le-Esrim ve-Shalosh Kehilot be-Ezor Shvintsian* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Ezor Shvintsian be-Yisrael, 1965), p. 1633, contains a brief account of the liquidation of the Postawy ghetto [in Yiddish], which includes this estimate.

24. Schmidt, "'Der grosse Weltenbrand 1939–1945,'" p. 256. Christian Gerlach states that there were possibly as many as 5,000 victims in Postawy; see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 705. Shortly after the war, the Soviets estimated 4,000 victims: 1,500 Jews from Postawy and 2,500 Jews from the surrounding districts (see NARB, 845-1-63, p. 45). Considering these pieces of information, the number of ghetto inmates in Postawy seems to have increased considerably after July 1942.

25. Testimonies of Jakov Feigel, June 19, 1963, and Raja E., June 16, 1963, Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

26. IPN, SAZG 3, Verdict in the case of Stanisław Szakała on December 14, 1950.

27. Sta. Coburg 5 Js 660/64, against members of 1. SS-Infanteriebrigade (mot.); BA-L, 45 Js 3/31, against members of KdS-Aussenstelle Wilna and Glebokie; Sta. Hannover 2 Js 388/65, against members of Gendarmerie Glebokie.

28. Sta. Mü, 45 Js 21/64.

RADOSZKOWICZE

Pre-1939: Radoszkowicze, town, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Radoshkovichi, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Radoschkowitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Radashkovichy, Maladechna raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Radoszkowicze is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) northwest of Minsk. There were around 1,200 Jews in Radoszkowicze in September 1939. The German army occupied Radoszkowicze at the end of June 1941. Several Jews were killed during the initial bombing of the town, including Eliezer Godes and Dorum Chanan together with his wife and daughters. At the end of July 1941, the local military commandant (Ortskommandant) ordered the Jews to wear distinctive markings. There was also a strict curfew for the Jews, lasting from 6:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. Every day the Germans ordered all Jews ages 15 to 55 to gather in the market square at 7:00 A.M. From there, they were escorted to work on various tasks, including road building, wood chopping, and street cleaning.[1]

At the end of August 1941, authority in the area was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Radoszkowicze became a Rayon center within Gebiet Wilejka, under the authority of Gebietskommissar Schmidt. At this time, an operational unit of the Organisation Todt (OT) comprising between 25 and 50 people arrived in the town. It was headed by OT-Haupttruppenführer William Schneider, a German from Cologne. The firm used 700 Jews as forced laborers to build a highway from Mołodeczno to Minsk, to crush stones for projects, and to build barracks.[2] The OT personnel were protected by the 2nd Platoon of German Police Battalion 69, which was quartered in House no. 3 on the market square.

In the summer of 1941, a Judenrat was established in Radoszkowicze. Its members included Meszulem Wajenblum, Słoszczer, and Ber Czecis. They handled German demands for clothes, shoes, underwear, bedclothes, and money, which had to be met under penalty of death. In September 1941, the German authorities demanded the surrender of a number of nickel-plated beds by the Jews. The Judenrat assisted by the Jewish Police then confiscated these items from their Jewish owners and gave them to the Germans.

The head of the Judenrat tried to maintain good relations with the Germans. For example, he requisitioned the contents of a jewelry shop, passing them on to the Germans to keep them well-disposed.[3] The German authorities set a daily bread ration of only 200 grams (7 ounces) for the Jews. However, the Jews staved off hunger by bartering their remaining clothes and other items with their neighbors for food. Up to March 1942, sanitary conditions remained reasonable among the Jews under the careful eye of the Judenrat and the Jewish doctors Abram Szuster and Naum Wajsbort.

On March 10, 1942, Rudolf Grave, the chief of the Security Police and SD outpost (KdS Aussenstelle) in Wilejka, arrived in Radoszkowicze with a small detachment of Security Police to conduct an Aktion against the Jews. As no ghetto had been formed, Grave called on the local police and other German forces, including personnel from the OT based in Radoszkowicze to assist in rounding up the Jews.

On the morning of March 11, 1942, SS-Obersturmführer Grave issued orders for the Gendarmerie and local policemen to clear the Jews from their residences. The town had been encircled during the night to prevent any Jews from escaping. As they brutally drove the Jews to the market square, the old and infirm, as well as those who put up any kind of resistance, were shot on the spot. The Jews were gathered in front of the police station while the police continued searching the houses, also confiscating Jewish property. Finally, the Germans and their collaborators marched the Jews off in a column down Minsk Street and Ilska Street to the killing site, at two barns 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town to the east.[4]

At the two barns, Grave selected 60 craftsmen along with their families. The other Jews had to surrender any items of value and remove their top layers of clothing. The Security Police officers from the Wilejka outpost then shot the Jews at the entrance to one of the barns. At the end of the Aktion, all of the corpses were dragged inside the barn by the last remaining Jews, who were then in turn shot. Grave then closed the door and tossed a hand grenade inside, burning the corpses inside the barn. About 800 Jews were murdered there in the barn, and 60 more were shot at different locations around Radoszkowicze.[5]

At the end of March 1942, the head of the OT in Radoszkowicze, Schneider, organized a ghetto for the remaining 350 Jews (the craftsmen and their families, plus a few other Jews who subsequently emerged from hiding). A high barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, and members of the local police guarded the two gates. In the ghetto there was terrible overcrowding, with as many as 30 persons sharing one room. Mosze Kliaczkowski was appointed by the Germans as the head of the Judenrat in the ghetto.[6]

After an attack by the partisans in the area of Radoszkowicze in the late spring of 1942, five young men and women escaped into the forest. But soon they returned to the ghetto, as the partisans refused to accept them, and once in the ghetto the Germans ordered their arrest and execution.[7] In the ghetto eight young persons collected money to buy weapons and also planned to escape. However, the Judenrat tried to restrain them, warning that their flight would result in the death of each and every Jew. The Judenrat members even threatened to inform the Germans of the plan.

In June 1942, about 60 Jews were working on the road near the village of Rogowa, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Radoszkowicze. During the construction work, Hauptmann Willi Schneider arrived. His revolver accidentally discharged and wounded Chaim Szuman in the side. He then amused himself by shooting the man to death.[8] Also in the summer of 1942, a Jewish butcher from Radoszkowicze named Jakow Zager was headed to the township of Udranki, to exchange items for food. He was caught by the German Gendarmes and beaten so severely that he came down with a very high fever. He suffered for a long time, and it took the efforts of Dr. Szuster in the ghetto to save his life. The local police and the German Gendarmes also shot some other Jews they caught outside the ghetto.

The final liquidation Aktion took place on March 7, 1943. Two young persons escaped from the ghetto. Aware of German warnings that everyone would be punished if even one person went missing, the 350 remaining Jews became highly anxious, with some also trying to flee. This only caused the Germans to become suspicious and organize a roll call, which led them to discover that a few Jews were missing. The German forces assisted by the local police, including Adam Jasiński, then shot 290 Jews. About 35 people managed to escape to the forest, and the Germans still kept alive 22 specialist workers.[9] Among these 22, 5 soon died, but the remainder did not expect their reprieve would last long, and they managed to arm themselves from German supplies.

In June 1943, Filip Horman passed on a request from the 17 Jews in the remaining two houses of the Radoszkowicze ghetto to the partisan group from the Kotovsky brigade called "National Avenger," asking the partisans for their assistance in organizing an escape. On June 13, 1943, the commandant of the Krasionak partisan section dispatched several partisans to liberate the Jews from the ghetto. The group consisted of four people and was headed by Eliah Żukowski. They arrived in Udranki, which was located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Radoszkowicze. But they encountered a German blockade and had to turn back. On July 13, 1943, the 17 Jews finally escaped to the forest. Reconnaissance personnel from the Kotovsky detachment met them and took them in. On July 1, 1944, the Red Army liberated the town. Only 40 Jews returned from the forests, as 10 had been killed while serving with the Soviet partisans.[10]

After the war the provincial court in Olsztyn tried Jan Ciechanowicz for his participation in the shooting of Jews while serving as a local policeman (Schutzmann) in Radoszkowicze under German occupation. The case went to the Supreme Court in Warsaw, and on November 5, 1954, he was sentenced to eight years in prison. The German Regional Court in Bochum tried three men in 1979 for their role in the murder of Radoszkowicze's Jews. However, the court acquitted them, as it deemed they had only acted as accomplices, a crime for which the statute of limitations by then had already expired.[11]

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Radoszkowicze during the German occupation can be found in the yizkor book edited by I. Rubin and M. Rabinsohn, *Radoshkovits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun yots'e Radoshkovits be-Yisrael [u]-M. A. Bar-Yuda, 1953), pp. 199–209.

Additional information regarding the fate of the Jews of Radoszkowicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/4425); BA-L (B 162/1472 [II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vol. 42]); LG-Bo (7 Ks 45 Js 3/61); SNW (III K 970/54); SWOl (IV K 19/55); VHF; and YVA (e.g., 1436/133).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/4425, relacja Lejb Bomsztejn, June 1946.
2. Ibid.
3. AŻIH, 301/4425a, relacja Eliah Żukowski.
4. Protocols of the testimony of the accused Jan Ciechanowicz, April 9, 1954, and of the witness Jan Ganicz, March 8, 1954, from the case against Jan Ciechanowicz (SWOl, IV K 19/55). Jan Ganicz was the owner of the barns.
5. LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, p. 46.
6. AŻIH, 301/4425.
7. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 226, citing YVA, 1436/133 (Baruch Shub).
8. AŻIH, 301/4425a.
9. Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia*, p. 233. These 20 Jews continued to work as specialists in the leather-making factory. See David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 151–152; NARB, 845-1-140, pp. 33–34, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report on the Crimes of the German Occupants in the Radoszkowice raion, April 24, 1945; Protocols of the testimony of the witness Stanisław Kiciński, February 12, 1954, case against Jan Ciechanowicz, SWOl, IV K 19/55.
10. AŻIH, 301/4425a. Among those liberated were: Lejb Bomsztejn, Beniamin Zilburg, Szmuel Lapidos, Baruch Szepsenwol, Izak Elman, Reuwen Miednik, Hirsz Szelman, Abraham and Icchak Fenkel, Leon Tenenbojm, Nechemie Szulman, Pesi Bomsztejn, Chaim and Reuwen Grinbojm, Szalomon Bomsztejn, Zusman Grintlid, and Icchak Izraelski. See also Rubin and Rabinsohn, *Radoshkovits*, pp. 205–209.
11. SNW, III K 970/54; and verdict of LG-Bo, 7 Ks 45 Js 3/61, pp. 74–76.

RADUŃ

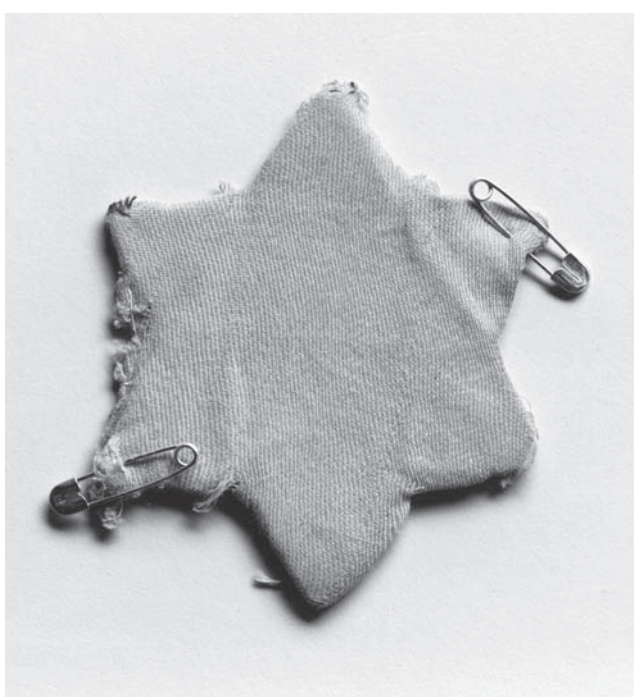
Pre-1939: Raduń, town, Lida powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Radun, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Radun', Voranava raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Raduń is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, the Jewish population of the town exceeded 1,000.

German forces entered Raduń at the end of June 1941. Initially a German military administration ran the affairs of the town. In September 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the region. Raduń became a Rayon center within Gebiet Lida, in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Lida was Hermann Hanweg. In Raduń, the German authorities appointed a former Polish army captain, Kulikowski, as mayor and established a local police force, made up of Belorussians, Poles, and Lithuanians.

The German authorities also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to assist them in enforcing their regulations. The head of the Jewish Council was Noah Dolinski, who had fairly good relations with the Polish mayor, Kulikowski, as they were both ardent anti-Communists. Among the first anti-Jewish measures the German authorities imposed were the wearing of armbands bearing the Star of David (later changed to a yellow patch on outer clothing) and the imposition of forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to eat meat, butter, or eggs.[1]

A number of survivors from Orany, Olkieniki, and Ejszyszki made their way to Raduń in the days and weeks that followed the massacres in those towns in late September 1941. For example, about 260 Jews are believed to have found refuge in Raduń from Ejszyszki.[2] On November 16, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Raduń, on Żydowska Street, where most of the Jews lived. This street was separated from the rest of the town by a fence.[3] Jews were also brought in from the surrounding villages, including Nacza, Zabłoc, and Dowgieliszki. All together, more than 2,000 Jews were confined



A yellow star bearing two safety pins, worn by Shalom Ben Shiemesh Sonenson in the Raduń ghetto.
USHMM WS #N01378, COURTESY OF YAFFA ELIACH

within the ghetto, where they had to remain unless sent out on a work detail. An unarmed Jewish police force operated inside the ghetto.

Many of the refugees were able to get residence permits for the Raduń ghetto by obtaining forged documents stating that they were natives of Raduń. According to one survivor, in the ghetto four families lived together in one house. People slept on the floors and had to share cooking facilities.[4] Often space within rooms would be demarcated by hanging up sheets to provide some privacy for individual families.

Healthy Jews of both sexes from the ghetto were drafted in shifts for forced labor in the Mieszczanca Forest about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Raduń, cutting firewood for the German army on a weekly basis. They were punished severely for not meeting unrealistically high quotas and had to work in the bitter cold. Jewish men were also requisitioned to perform various tasks in and around town, including escorting sheep to the railway station at Bastuny, working in the flour mill, and cleaning and other work for Germans and local Poles. Obtaining food was a major problem. Some formerly wealthy Jews received assistance from former Polish maidservants who helped smuggle food into the ghetto.[5]

In the first days of 1942, a German assistant to the Gebietskommissar, Stabsleiter Rudolf Werner, arrived in Raduń. With the aid of the police he conducted a house-to-house search for any Jews residing in the ghetto without official residence permits. The Aktion uncovered about 40 Jews, who were then marched out of the ghetto and murdered. They were buried on the road to Bastuny in a bomb crater from World War I.[6] Especially notorious among the Jews of the ghetto was a German Gestapo man named Kopke, who ordered the construction of a gallows in the center of the ghetto, where Jews were publicly hanged. He also shot Jews execution style, especially young girls.[7]

Despite the terrible conditions, some Jews continued to conduct religious services in secret, and improvised schools were also organized for small groups of children. At Passover, matzot were baked from flour smuggled into the ghetto. In recognition of the difficult situation, Rabbi Hillel issued permission for the young and the sick to eat nonkosher meat.

The liquidation of the Raduń ghetto took place on May 8–10, 1942. First, forces of the German Security Police, the Gendarmerie, and the local Polish police surrounded the ghetto. All groups working outside the ghetto were ordered to return, and no new details were sent out. Families within the ghetto debated heatedly whether some should try to flee or go into hiding. Suspecting their fate, a number of Jews tried to escape during the encirclement. As many as 150 were shot dead over three days and nights. However, it is believed that some 300 may have succeeded in escaping from the ghetto, some even abetted by local policemen who turned a blind eye.

On May 10, 1942, the Germans seized 100 young Jews to dig the pits at the Jewish cemetery. However, on a signal by Meir Stoler, the Jews attempted a mass escape, and although many were gunned down, about 30 of them fled into the woods.[8] As a result the Germans had to seize a new working party of Jews to complete the graves under very close guard and with brutal beatings. These Jews were given special permits to reassure them they would not be shot. Then German officials, assisted by the local police, drove all the Jews out of their houses and assembled them in the center of the ghetto. Those unable to walk were shot on the spot.



Avraham Aviel testifies during the Eichmann trial about atrocities in the Raduń ghetto, 1961.
USHMM WS #49336, COURTESY OF AVRAHAM AVIEL

Meanwhile, the Christian farmers from the countryside had come into town on wagons, "ready to begin looting once the Jews were led to their deaths."[9] The assembled Jews were escorted to the pits in a long procession. Here they were made to undress and then shot in the large pit some 25 meters long and 30 meters wide (27 yards by 33 yards).[10] The firing squad consisted of Germans and local police. Halfway through the execution, the shooting was halted, and the "specialist" grave diggers were permitted to identify their family members, who were also taken to one side. Estimates vary, but probably about 1,500 Jews were murdered on May 10, 1942, in Raduń.

About 300 Jews preserved as specialist workers (including their families) returned to the ghetto, which was reduced to

just a few houses near the gallows. The returning Jews were registered together with others who came out of hiding or even returned from the forests. However, these survivors were again assembled on the market square and forced to lie facedown. A number were shot almost at random by the local mayor, Kulikowski, and the German official, Werner, from Lida, before they were released.[11] The surviving Jews were now employed to bury the dead bodies scattered around the town and sort out Jewish property, with the most desirable items being sent off to Germany. In June 1942, most of the specialist workers were transferred to the Lida ghetto, while the other Jews were sent to the ghetto in Szczuczyn. These Jews shared the fate of the other Jews in these ghettos (the last remnant in Szczuczyn being deported to Majdanek concentration camp in September 1943).

Of those who fled from the Raduń ghetto, some managed to survive by hiding, usually with the aid of local peasants, and others served in various partisan units that operated in the surrounding forests. In July 1999, Yad Vashem awarded Antoni Gawrylkiewicz, a shepherd in the village of Korkuciany, the title of Righteous Among the Nations. He assisted in hiding 16 Jews who had fled from the Raduń ghetto, providing them regularly with food at great risk to himself between May 1942 and July 1944, when the Red Army drove out the German occupying forces.[12]

SOURCES Information on the Raduń ghetto can be found in the following publications: Yaffa Eliach, *There Once Was a World: A 900-Year Chronicle of the Shtetl Eishyshok* (Boston: Little Brown, 1998), pp. 595–609; Lieb Lewin, "At Radun," in *Fun letsten hurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 66–74; Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947), pp. 128–129; Leon Kahn, *No Time to Mourn: The True Story of a Jewish Partisan Fighter* (Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale Press, Vancouver Holocaust Education Society, 2004); and Avraham Aviel, *A Village Named Dowgalishok: The Massacre at Radun and Eishishok* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006).

Documentation and testimonies on the ghetto in Raduń can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/638, 1475, 3629); BA-L (B 162/3424-51 [II 202 AR-Z 94d/59]); GARF; NARB (845-1-8 and 4420-1-3); USHMM (RG-50.030*0372); and YVA (e.g., O-3/508, 2815, and Kaf-5 [Margolies diary]).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/638, testimony of Hersz Zuker; and 301/1475, testimony of Luba Lewin.
2. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 595.
3. Lewin, "At Radun," pp. 66–74; and AŻIH, 301/638.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0372, Interview with Dora Kramen Dimitro, July 18, 1996.
5. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 599; and YVA, Kaf-5, Margolies diary.
6. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 599; and Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, pp. 128–129, testimony of Shoel Kaplan, April 12, 1944.
7. Kahn, *No Time to Mourn*, p. 57.
8. YVA, O-3/2815, testimony of Moshe Michalowski; Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, p. 128.
9. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 601.
10. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: State of Israel Ministry of Justice, 1992), 1:495-499, testimony of Avraham Aviel.
11. Eliach, *There Once Was a World*, p. 606.
12. YVA, M.31, file of Antoni Gawrylkiewicz. Yaffa Eliach was among those who testified on his behalf.

RAKÓW

Pre-1939: Raków, village, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Rakov, Radoshkovichi raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rakow, Rayon Radoschkowitschi, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Rakau, Valozh raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Raków is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) west of Minsk. On the eve of war in September 1939, there were probably around 1,000 Jews in Raków.

The Red Army entered Raków on September 17, 1939, and imposed a Soviet regime. Private businesses were closed or nationalized, and Jewish craftsmen were organized into cooperatives. Many younger Jews found employment in government and party institutions. Jewish schools were closed and converted to the Soviet system. Zionist and Jewish communal activities were suppressed.

The Germans occupied Raków on June 26, 1941. Shortly afterwards, based on a list provided by local collaborators, the Germans arrested more than 45 young Jews suspected of Communist activity and shot them just outside the settlement. A few weeks later SS men visited Raków again and arrested and shot another 14 young people.

In the summer of 1941, the Germans appointed a four-man Judenrat, which included M. Alperowicz, Y. Obrazenski, and H. Grynholz. The Judenrat had to provide people for various forms of hard and humiliating labor. Local Poles collaborated with the Germans in the persecution of the Jews. Among those who took an active part were Oleś Szydłowski, Władysław Judzkewicz, Franciszek Łukaszewicz, and Jan Leszka.[1]

In late September or October 1941, SS men again came to Raków and surrounded the town with the assistance of local police. The Jews were ordered to assemble in the market square while the police searched their houses. The sickly and any stragglers were shot in their homes. The Germans broke into the synagogue, piled up the sacred books in the courtyard, and set them on fire. One man was thrown into the flames and burned alive. The assembled Jews were forced to

sing "Hatikva" (the Jewish national anthem) and dance, and as they did so, they were beaten with rifle butts and whips. They were ordered to turn over their money. Then 31 young men were removed from the crowd and taken to the Jewish cemetery to dig a pit. Once they were finished, more than 100 Jews were escorted to the cemetery to be shot. Their bodies were thrown into the pit. At least 1 person managed to escape.[2]

In October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in the area around the synagogue. Around 1,000 Jews were jammed into the few houses within its boundary, about 15 people to a room. Their abandoned houses on the outside were broken into and looted. Every day about 100 to 200 people were taken for forced labor. About a week after the ghetto was established, the SS demanded four bars of gold, some fur coats, and 300 kilograms (661 pounds) of shoe leather. They gave the Judenrat one hour to meet this demand, threatening to kill many people if they failed. The Judenrat members somehow managed to deliver the ransom. However, the Germans repeatedly demanded money, goods, and other valuables, leaving the Jews destitute.

While the ghetto was in existence a number of younger people escaped into the forest or found hiding places with non-Jewish farmers. By the spring of 1942, when Soviet partisans began to organize in the area, several Jews had been accepted into their groups.[3]

According to hearsay evidence given to a survivor, in February 1942, just before the liquidation of the ghetto in Raków, the policemen there made a list of the Jews in the Raków ghetto and handed it to the German police. They claimed that the ghetto would be liquidated, as the Jewish population was not useful. The list had been prepared in the residence of the pig trader Alexander Szaternik.[4]

On February 4, 1942, German and Lithuanian policemen arrived in Raków, assisted by Polish police from the posts in Raków, Gródek Wileński, and Radoszkowicze. The head of the local police, Mikołaj Sienkiewicz, ordered all Jews to assemble with their baggage at the "cold (non-Hasidic) synagogue," as they were to be sent to Minsk. Then the Jews were brutally driven into the synagogue and their belongings confiscated. The police threw several deadly grenades into the crowd from the women's part of the synagogue, which set the building on fire. All the Jews were burned alive, except for seven people. One person who had escaped from the ghetto before the Aktion was the pregnant wife of Abraham Milsztejn, Chana. But she was betrayed and then thrown into the flames, as was Szyje Megalowicz, the butcher, who also attempted to flee.[5]

Available estimates of the number of victims on February 4, 1942, diverge considerably. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports, 928 Jews were burned alive on that day.[6] The relevant German Einsatzgruppen report no. 168, dated February 13, 1942, however, surmises only that the ghetto in Raków with about 100 people was liquidated, as the Jews were agitating against the Germans among the local population. This information serves also as the basis for the conclusion of the German court in Koblenz, which maintains on the basis of one German witness that about 100 Jews were shot in a pit nearby.[7] It is difficult to reconcile these accounts, but in view of the pre-war population figures, it is likely that more than 1,000 Jews were murdered in Raków between June 1941 and February 1942. It is possible that some Jews were kept alive after the February 1942 Aktion as forced laborers and were sent or escaped to forced labor camps nearby, such as that linked to the Krasne ghetto.[8]

SOURCES Information relating to the history of the Jewish community of Raków can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 596–600; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000); and *Rossiiskaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:331.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2214 and 3164-65); GARF (7021-89-14, pp. 20, 48–54); NARB (861-1-10); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8. 596-598. On these shootings, with some divergences regarding the dates and numbers of victims, see also AŻIH, 301/3164-65, testimonies of Hilel Ejdlman; and 301/2214, testimony of Borys Grajneman. The shooting of Jews, Communist officials, and agents in Raków is mentioned also in Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 1 of the Einsatzgruppen, dated July 31, 1941; see Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 117.

2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:599–600. See also Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 131, which dates this Aktion on September 29, 1941.

3. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:600.

4. AŻIH, 301/3164.

5. Ibid.; NARB, 861-1-10, p. 27, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Radoshkovichi raion, April 24, 1945.

6. Adamushko et al., *Handbuch der Haftstätten*, p. 131.

7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 168, February 13, 1942; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978) Lfd. Nr. 552, p. 190.

8. This is suggested by Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:600, although this source may contain some errors regarding dates. For further information, see *Sefer Zikaron Likehillat Rakow* (N.p., n.d.).

RUBIEŻEWICZE

Pre-1939: Rubieżewicze, town, Stołpce powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Rubezhevichi, Stolbtsy raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rubeshewitschi, Rayon Iwieniec, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Rubiazhevichy, Stoubtsy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rubieżewicze is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Minsk. According to the 1921 population census, there were 903 Jews living in Rubieżewicze, whereas in 1939 there were about 700.

The first German forces entered the town at the end of June or in early July 1941.[1] In the summer of 1941, owing to the shortage of German manpower, much authority was wielded by the local Belorussian police, commanded by a man named Zhikher from the village of Zasule. Local non-Jews from Rubieżewicze and the surrounding area were recruited as policemen. The police office was in Meyer Osherovitsh's house.

The German military authorities introduced a number of restrictions on the Jewish population that were enforced by the local police. Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David, they had to perform forced labor, and they were prohibited from leaving the village. The Jews were also required to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which included as members Eliyah Ayzenbud, Yitskhok Gurion, Yaakov Soleveytshik, Lifshitz, and Yishayahu Shapiro.[2]

Every week, Gestapo officers arrived from Iwieniec and demanded furs, leather goods, jewelry, and other items from the Judenrat. Those who resisted were shot. The Gestapo conducted a first Aktion in Rubieżewicze on July 23, 1941, shooting 36 Jewish men and women aged 17 to 70.[3] The head of the local police, Zhikher, also demanded payments to forestall further Aktions against the Jews. As time went on, these demands became increasingly difficult to meet.

In September 1941, power was officially transferred to a German civil administration. Rubieżewicze became part of the Iwieniec Rayon in Gebiet Nowogrodek, where Wilhelm Traub was district commissioner (Gebietskommissar). In the fall and winter of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Rubieżewicze for its Jewish residents as well as for hundreds of Jews brought in from the nearby villages of Naliboki, Derewna, Wolma, Kamień, Chotów, Grań, and others. Some survivors from the massacre of the Jews in Dzerzhinsk on October 20–21, 1941, also arrived in Rubieżewicze and were not betrayed by the Judenrat, despite the fear of a German reprisal if they were discovered.[4]

The ghetto in Rubieżewicze was established on December 1, 1941.[5] The ghetto area started at Yishayahu Shapiro's house on Raków Street, and it included the entire marketplace, Synagogue Alley, and part of Koidanov Street. The Germans transferred the few non-Jews who lived in the designated ghetto area into houses vacated by Jews outside the ghetto. There was great overcrowding, with as many as 20 or 30 people living in a single room.[6] The local police sealed off the Jewish houses outside the ghetto and confiscated the furniture and other items. Before the transfer into the ghetto, the German authorities gave the Jews one day to bring potatoes and wood into the ghetto. Many of the Jews brought in from other locations had neither food nor fuel. About 15 local policemen guarded the ghetto.[7]

On December 1, 1941, the entire Jewish population of Wolma, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Rubieżewicze, was forced to march to the Rubieżewicze ghetto. The 70 Jewish families of the town mostly ran small businesses or worked as artisans. As soon as the Germans entered Wolma, Jews were beaten, tortured, and robbed. During the transfer of the Jews to Rubieżewicze, the Germans and local police (Poles, Belorussians, and Ukrainians) beat the Jews. As they could take few possessions with them, in Rubieżewicze some of the Wolma Jews risked their lives by leaving the ghetto at night in search of food. If they were caught, they were severely beaten.[8]

It was also forbidden for non-Jews to enter the ghetto. Any non-Jews discovered in the ghetto selling food were forced to wear a yellow patch on their chests and were led through the streets in disgrace to deter others. Every day, the Jews were taken to perform forced labor in agriculture and cutting wood in the forests. If there was nothing to do, they would be ordered to pry the cobblestones out of the road and then put them back. Jewish girls were sent to do the most demeaning tasks, especially cleaning toilets with their bare hands.[9]

In February 1942, the Germans ordered 100 young men to be sent to a labor camp in Dworzec. The Germans forcibly dragged young men out of their houses and loaded them onto wagons. The Jews worked in Dworzec loading rocks from the quarry. With the aid of bribes, the Jews of Rubieżewicze were able to send food and clothing to them through Polish intermediaries. At the end of March 1942, a few of the young Jews escaped from the Dworzec labor camp and returned to the Rubieżewicze ghetto.[10]

In the spring of 1942 an epidemic of typhus broke out in the ghetto. The ghetto residents observed Passover by baking matzot and holding Seders. However, during the Seder on April 2, 1942, the Gestapo broke it up, beating members of the Judenrat and looting Jewish property.[11]

On May 8–9, 1942, Gestapo officers arrived in Rubieżewicze and ordered that about 300 able-bodied Jews be collected and escorted on foot to Iwieniec, about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) away. As the column left, local non-Jews stood by, playing their harmonicas and laughing at the Jews' misfortune. When they failed to keep up, at least 12 people were killed on the way by the mounted police escorts. In Iwieniec the Jews were put into a ghetto based around the synagogue courtyard. They were left to worry daily about finding food and a place to sleep and obliged to dig bunkers for the Germans during the day.[12] A couple of weeks later, a second group of Jews from Rubieżewicze arrived in Iwieniec. Then the labor commissar from Nowogródek conducted a selection of the Jews collected there from several surrounding towns and villages. Many of

the Jews from Rubieżewicze were escorted to the town of Naliboki, where Belorussian police beat the prisoners and took the best clothing and shoes. The group was taken from there to Lubcz, then by train on to Nowogródek, where they were put into the local ghetto. Many of these Jews were murdered during a large Aktion in Nowogródek in August 1942.[13] Most of the other Jews from Rubieżewicze who were selected for labor in Iwieniec were sent to the town of Dworzec, where they worked in the forced labor camp at the quarry.[14]

The Germans liquidated the Rubieżewicze ghetto on June 8 or 9, 1942, shooting the remaining mainly elderly Jews and children (up to 350 people) in the Simkowicze Forest just to the south of the town. The mass shooting was organized by forces of the Security Police outpost (Aussenstelle) in Baranowicze, assisted by auxiliaries from the Baltic states, German Gendarmerie, and local police. Local inhabitants filled in the graves.[15]

On December 28, 1942, the camp at Dworzec was liquidated, and all the Jews there were murdered except for about 150 who escaped into the forest. Some of these escapees survived until the area was liberated in June 1944.[16]

Sources report that about 75 Jewish survivors returned to Rubieżewicze after the war and marked the mass grave in the Simkowicze Forest. Most Jewish homes had been broken into, and Soviet partisans had destroyed the police station.[17] The Soviet authorities gave the returning survivors housing and employment, but most left for Poland shortly afterwards and immigrated from there to the West.[18] After the war, a monument was erected at the site of the mass killing. Some of the Jews from Wolma and Derewna who had been brought into the Rubieżewicze ghetto were among those who survived the war.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by David Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh, Derevne ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv, 1968), includes a number of relevant testimonies by survivors; a short article on the town can also be found in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 589–592.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Rubieżewicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2849, 2993, 3302, and 3353); BA-L (B 162/3452-59); GARF (7021-81-102); NARB (750-1-72); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1574).

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trans. Steven Seegel and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Eliezer Gurion, "Tragic Recollections of the Occupation Years," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287, also 263–267.

2. Gishke Falayes testimony, in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252. Another survivor listed Velvel Shimanovitsh and Solomitsh as members in addition to Lotte Ayznburg and Yitskhok Gurion; see idem, pp. 286–287.

3. NARB, 3500-4-346, p. 19.

4. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 258.

5. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 263–267; AŻIH, 301/2993.

6. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252; AŻIH, 301/2993.

7. BA-L, B 162/3452-59 (202 AR-Z 94e/59), translation file, statement of Anton Borisewitsch, April 16, 1969.

8. Moshe Shimonovitsh testimony in Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 163–165.

9. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287.

10. Ibid.; AŻIH, 301/2993.

11. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287; AŻIH, 301/2993.

12. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 175, 263–267, 286–287.

13. Ibid., pp. 253–262; YVA, M-1/E/1574, testimony of Shalom Swinik.

14. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252, 286–287.

15. Ibid., pp. 286–287; BA-L, B 162/3452-59 (202 AR-Z 94e/59), translation file, statements of Anton Borisewitsch, April 16, 1969, and Kazimir Gajdukewitsch, April 1969. The dating of this Aktion and the fate of the remaining Jews in Rubieżewicze are not entirely clear. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 81, for example, dates the Aktion in November 1942, indicating 500 (or 1,000) victims, but these figures are certainly too high, as most Jews from the ghetto were sent to Iwieniec and then on to Nowogródek.

16. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 249–252, 263–267, and 286–287. These three accounts agree on December 1942 as the date of liquidation of the Dworzec labor camp.

17. On the capture of the police station in Rubieżewicze by partisans of the Stalin Brigade, see NARB, 750-1-72.

18. Shtokfish, *Sefer Rubishevitsh*, pp. 286–287.

RUDENSK

Pre-1941: Rudensk, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Rudzensk, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rudensk is located about 36 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 176 Jews living in Rudensk out of a total population of 1,128 (15.6 percent).[1]

German forces of Army Group Center entered Rudensk at the end of June 1941, one week after the beginning of the German invasion of the USSR. During this week, some Jews managed to leave eastward with evacuation transports, while men of military age were either drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. It is estimated that at least two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Rudensk at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the summer of 1941, Rudensk was governed by a German military commandant. From September 1941, a civil administration took over responsibility for the town, as the area became part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. Rudensk was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, where the

Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr Kaiser, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla.[2] In the fall of 1941, a Gendarmerie post was established in Rudensk, which took over responsibility for the auxiliary police force composed of local volunteers.

Following the occupation of Rudensk, the German military commandant issued an order for the Rayon administration to carry out the compulsory registration of all local Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear special distinctive badges, and they were compelled to perform various types of forced labor, including road construction work. In September 1941, all the Jews were resettled into a ghetto, which was created on Dukora Street, where several houses were designated for that purpose. According to one Jewish survivor, Aleksei Kats, the ghetto remained unfenced and unguarded, but the Jews were forced to pay a large "contribution" to the Germans.[3]

On October 10, 1941, German police forces and their Lithuanian auxiliaries arrived by truck in Rudensk. Assisted by the local Belorussian police, these forces surrounded the ghetto. They then drove all the Jews out of their houses and collected them in the square. Among those gathered together were also some Jews brought in from Minsk. The Germans and their collaborators then escorted the Jews to a nearby quarry, where they shot them. The Jews were forced to undress before being shot.[4]

According to a report by the German military Kommandant in Weissruthenien, on October 9–11, 1941, a combined force involving the 707th Pioneer Company, the Secret Field Police (GFP), the 11th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Major Franz Lechthaler), and a unit of Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft (the 2nd detachment, subsequently renamed the 12th Schutzmannschaft Battalion) shot 800 partisans, Communists, Jews, and other suspicious persons in a large-scale operation conducted in the area around Rudensk.[5] As these units conducted a number of separate Aktions against suspected partisans and Jews during this period, it is difficult to establish the precise number of victims in Rudensk. Another report, however, notes that on October 10–11, 189 prisoners were taken in the Rudensk area, of which 188 were shot. It is probable that the bulk of these 188 "prisoners" were Jews from the ghetto, although on that day 18 people were also shot in the nearby village of Sergeevichi.[6] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports that 118 Jews were murdered in Rudensk in October 1941.[7]

Marat Botvinnik states that the number of Jews murdered in Rudensk was around 300, but his sources indicate that another Aktion (probably carried out against Communist activists and male Jews) had taken place earlier in August 1941.

SOURCES The ghetto in Rudensk is mentioned in the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 131; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 76, 90.

Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Rudensk Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/4267-4272); GARF (7021-87-13); LYA (Trial of Antanas Impulevicius and others); NARB (651-1-1 and 378-1-698); USHMM; VHF (# 49936); and YVA (M-33/431).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-87-13, p. 14 (copy available in YVA, M-33/431); and VHF, # 49936, testimony of Aleksei Naumovich Kats (born 1930).
4. LYA, statement of Zinaida Fyodorovna Shlopak (born 1911), resident of Rudensk, given in the trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in 1962.
5. NARB, 378-1-698, p. 4, report of "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," October 16, 1941.
6. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 14–15, Kommandant in Weissruthenien, Abt. Ia, report of October 16, 1941, about activity in the period October 1–15, 1941.
7. GARF, 7021-87-13, pp. 6, 8, and 95.

SHATSK

Pre-1941: Shatsk, village, Rudensk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schazk, Rayon Rudensk, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Shatsk, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shatsk is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. The Jewish population of the village on the eve of the German occupation was probably in excess of 300 people.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 30, 1941. It appears likely that some Jews managed to flee or were mobilized into the Red Army in the week prior to the Germans' arrival. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Shatsk. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Shatsk was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[1] Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser was appointed Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Kalla of the Gendarmerie became the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer.

Shortly after the occupation of Shatsk, the German Ortskommandantur ordered the village council to arrange for the registration and marking of the local Jews, who were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. According to an unconfirmed source, at some date before October 1941 (probably in September), all the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto. German police forces subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3 then murdered the Jews of Shatsk in

October 1941, when they reportedly shot 319 Jews into a large pit 20 meters by 20 meters and 3 meters deep (about 22 yards by 22 yards by 3 yards).[2] Testimony regarding the murder of Jews in Uzda on October 16–17, 1941, indicates that on the eve of the Aktion there, a Jew from Shatsk stole into the Uzda ghetto and revealed that on the previous day all the Jews of Shatsk had been killed under the pretext of resettlement.[3]

In 1942, the Germans and local police shot six Jews at the Jewish cemetery in Shatsk. This incident was commemorated in 1944 by the erection of a memorial.

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Shatsk is mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 77–78. Brief information on the Jewish community can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1169.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Shatsk can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-13) and YVA (M-33/431).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. H. Heer, "Extreme Normalität. Generalmajor Gustav Freiherr von Mauchenheim gen. Bechtolsheim," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 2003), p. 737; RGVA, 500-1-25, p. 114, Report of Einsatzkommando 3, December 1, 1941 (this sources identifies the village as Scak). GARF, 7021-87-13, p. 5, indicates that 635 Jews were shot in Shatsk in October 1941. This estimate is probably too high.

3. Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 230–232.

SINIAWKA

Pre-1939: Siniawka, village, Nieśwież powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Siniavka, Kletsk raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sinjawka, Rayon Klezk, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Siniauka, Kletsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Siniawka is situated 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. According to the 1921 census, there were 379 Jews living in Siniawka, out of a total population of 514.[1]

German armed forces occupied the village on June 25, 1941. Only a few Jewish youths manage to flee the village into the interior of the Soviet Union.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Siniawka. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became part of Rayon Klezk in Gebiet Baranowitsche, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A local Belorussian police force was established in Siniawka. A Belorussian named Huryn served as police commander in Rayon Klezk during the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Siniawka. These included the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of the Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a Star of David, and a ban on their leaving the village. The local police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery and beatings, and Jews were required to perform forced labor.

German forces conducted the first large-scale Aktion in Siniawka in the fall of 1941. They collected about 500 Jews in the synagogue. Then they selected 134 mostly elderly Jews, escorted them to a ditch, and shot them. The remaining Jews in Siniawka were then moved into a ghetto.

In the summer of 1942, forces of the German and Belorussian police rounded up the remaining Jews in the Siniawka ghetto and escorted them out of the village in the direction of Pińsk. The Germans then shot all the Jews of Siniawka, together with some 130 Jews who had been brought from Zaostrowicze. The Jews were buried in a mass grave beside the road. About 600 people were murdered altogether.[3]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Siniawka and its extermination under Nazi occupation can be found in the following publications: A.Sh. Shteyn, ed., *Pinkas Kletsk* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun yots'e Kletsk be-Yisrael, 1959); "Lios Siniauskaho geta," in *Pamiats': Hist.-dak. khroniki haradou i r-nau Belarusi: Kletskii r-n.* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 280–282; "Siniawka," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 620–621; and "Siniawka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1186.

Documents about the extermination of the Jews of Siniawka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 231–233); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); and ZGABO (616-1-70).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Siniawka," in Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:620.

2. Ibid., 8:620–621.

3. BA-L, 202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 231–233; "Lios Siniauskaho geta," pp. 280–282; and ZGABO, 616-1-70. Soviet sources date the liquidation of the ghetto to June 1942.

SŁONIM

Pre-1939: Słonim, town, powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Slonim, raion center, Baranovichi

oblast', *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Slonim*, *Rayon and Gebiet center*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Slonim*, *raen center*, *Beras'tse voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Słonim is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) southwest of Minsk. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, there were probably around 20,000 Jews residing in Słonim.

At the start of the war Słonim was bombed heavily from the air, destroying and damaging many of the town's mostly wooden houses. The NKVD organized the evacuation to the east of large numbers of civilians. Many departed on foot the day the Germans arrived. Soviet officials from the east, essential workers, and their families received priority for the limited evacuation capacity. Residents of Słonim who were called up for the Red Army on June 24 soon returned home, once they saw that their Russian officers had fled.[1]

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied Słonim on June 25, 1941. Soon after their arrival the German authorities ordered all the men to report to the sports stadium, where they were held for one week. They did not receive any food—only water. Those who could prove they were residents of Słonim were allowed to go home.[2]

Słonim initially came under a German military administration. On July 10, the Ortskommandantur ordered Jews to wear yellow patches 10 centimeters (about 4 inches) in size. Jews were also forbidden to use the sidewalks, and in mid-July, they were prohibited from residing in the same house with non-Jews. The Jews themselves organized a council to deal with the many problems facing the community, especially food shortages. An official Judenrat, with different members, was formed by the Germans a little later.

The first Aktion in Słonim took place on July 17, 1941. On that day Einsatzgruppen forces arrived in Słonim with 12 large trucks. They rounded up about 2,000 men in and around the area of the community center, near the market square, and loaded 100 men onto each truck, altogether about 1,200 men. They transported them out of town and shot them in the sandpits at Petralowicze Hill. The rest of the assembled men were then released. According to the report of the Einsatzgruppe, some 2,000 people (mainly Jews) were detained with the assistance of Police Battalion 316: "of these, 1,075 were shot the same day."[3]

At the end of August, Słonim came under a German civil administration as part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Słonim was Gerhard Erren. The German civil administrators wore brown uniforms. Part of his staff did not arrive from Germany until January 1942. One of the first measures taken by the civil administration was to conduct a census, which counted 14,461 Jews in the town.[4]

In September 1941, Erren ordered all the Jews to move into a ghetto composed of four separate parts, as follows: the ghetto of the island on Zhabinka Street, the ghetto on Ulinska Street where the Judenrat was located, the third ghetto on Mikolovska Street, and the fourth ghetto on Podgorna Street. Twelve Jewish doctors and their families were permitted to live outside the ghetto.



Pre-war photograph of the Słonim synagogue and market.
USHMM WS #48362, COURTESY OF TOMASZ WISNIEWSKI

Each ghetto section also had several more small side streets apart from the main streets named. Those Jews not residing in areas assigned to be part of a ghetto had to leave their homes and move into one of the ghetto areas. At that time, in September 1941, the ghetto was not enclosed, but soon work started on erecting barbed-wire fences. There were also gates set up for entry and exit. The ghetto was guarded from the inside by the Jewish Police, who were nominated by the Judenrat, and externally by the Belorussian police. Jews entering the ghetto were searched by the Belorussian policemen, and those leaving had their work passes checked by both the Jewish and Belorussian police.

In early November, the German Gebietskommissariat official dealing with Jewish matters, Hick, issued the Jews with green and yellow certificates. The yellow certificates were issued to useful Jews (*nützliche Juden*), such as craftsmen. Initially, most Jews did not grasp the significance of these cards, but people noticed, for example, that the island ghetto section on Zhabinka Street was inhabited only by Jews with yellow cards. Those who had green cards were permitted to live in the other three ghetto sections but not in the Zhabinka Street ghetto.[5]

In early November 1941, the German authorities took about 100 Jews hostage, including members of the Judenrat, threatening to shoot them unless a ransom of 1.5 or 2 million rubles (in gold or silver objects) was paid. Strenuous efforts were made to meet at least part of this impossible demand, even though the community had already been squeezed dry by two previous levies. Then on November 14, some women and part of the Judenrat were released, but the 60 Jews remaining in prison were all shot the next day.[6]

In the meantime, the German authorities organized a large-scale Aktion against the Jews of Słonim on November 14, 1941. One Jewish survivor was prevented from returning

home after visiting a friend, as German forces had sealed off the ghetto. From the loft of his friend's house, he observed German soldiers chasing people and beating them, throwing children to the ground. The people were screaming. Then he heard the sound of engines coming from the old marketplace. Then everything went quiet for about two hours. Finally things returned to normal—shops opened, and people emerged onto the streets. Most of his family was caught in the roundup, and he never saw them again.[7]

This Aktion was a joint operation between the Gebietskommissar and the Security Police, assisted by the Wehrmacht, Latvian and Lithuanian police auxiliaries, and the Belorussian police. These forces entered the houses in the ghetto and told people that they would be resettled somewhere else. The old people, children, and women were driven on trucks to Czepielów to pits prepared in advance by other Jews, who had already become the first victims to be shot and buried in the pits that they had dug themselves.[8]

A selection took place on the market square, and those with yellow employment cards were spared. In his report dated January 1942, Gebietskommissar Erren boasted of having rid Słonim of 8,000 "unnecessary hungry mouths." He concluded that "the approximately 7,000 Jews remaining in the town were all employed in the work process, they work willingly owing to their constant fear of death, and in the spring they will be most carefully vetted and selected for a further reduction."[9]

A Jewish survivor has described the march to the pits. After being told in the square that they were being relocated, the Jews initially departed in an orderly fashion. Panic set in at the railway station, however, once they realized they were not leaving by rail but being marched off into the forest. From here the guard was tightened, and anyone who fell out of the column was shot. It was too far across open fields to the forests for a successful escape. In the distance the Jews heard machine-gun fire. After marching for one hour, the Jews were made to sit on the ground. The men were separated from the women and forced to undress. The guards beat them with rifle butts and whips.

In groups of 20 people, all naked, the Jews were escorted up to a hill. At the top of the hill two large pits, one completely full with bodies and the other half full, were visible. As he was about to be shot, the survivor feinted and only came to later, when he was surrounded by blood and bodies inside the pit. Miraculously he managed to crawl out of the pit towards fresh air and sneak back to the ghetto under cover of darkness.[10]

Several witnesses observed the participation of the local Belorussian police in this Aktion. The local police had been organized by the Wehrmacht as an Ordnungsdienst and were at this time only dressed in civilian clothing. It was formed of young men from Słonim, from the villages, and some Poles. One survivor saw Belorussian policemen going into the houses and taking people out. Others describe them being used as escorts and cordon guards during the shootings. Following the mass shooting, the policemen held a party to celebrate.[11]

In Gebiet Slonim, units of the Wehrmacht also conducted shooting Aktions against the Jews in some of the smaller villages. At the end of 1941 the civil administration issued orders for all Jewish communities of less than 1,000 people to be concentrated into the main ghettos. The Gebietskommissar in Słonim requested that the local military commandant, Glück, continue with his assistance in this process. Glück, however, replied that this was currently impossible due to the absence of necessary transport.[12]

In the ghetto, there was a soup kitchen to help the poorest Jews, and Rabbi Singer from Ostrów Mazowiecka organized services in the ghetto synagogue. In March 1942, the Germans also moved into the ghetto any apostate Jews (including at least one who had become a Christian monk) found in the area. According to one Jewish survivor, who was moved into the Słonim ghetto with his family in March, at this time the ghetto was fenced off and guarded by Jewish Police. He received only a few grams of bread each day and when he got a job as a mechanic in the waterworks, he left the ghetto each day to go to work.[13]

After the November Aktion, Jews in the ghetto formed an Anti-Fascist Committee to coordinate plans for resistance. Jews working in ammunition depots for the Germans managed to smuggle some arms into the ghetto. In the discussions whether to resist in the ghetto or flee to the forest, most people favored the latter. Contact was made with the partisans, and a number of Jews fled from the ghetto into the forests.

In May 1942, 400 male Jewish workers were assembled and deported by train to work at an SS labor camp in Mogilev. Most of these men were murdered by the end of 1942.[14]

At the end of June 1942, a squad of Waffen-SS and Security Police (KdS) from Minsk traveled to Słonim to participate in a large-scale Aktion to liquidate the ghetto there.[15] The Security Police forces were assisted by local policemen, members of the Wehrmacht, Lithuanians, and men from the Gebietskommissariat, who surrounded the ghetto area.[16] The Aktion started when Stabsleiter Rithmeyer shot the head of the Jewish labor office, Kwint. This made it clear that the Jews' fate was sealed, and the Jewish Police and others fled to their prepared hiding places. The Germans and their collaborators then entered the ghetto, driving the Jews out of their homes. Some resistance was offered by those Jews who possessed arms.[17]

In Słonim it appears that the German forces deliberately set fire to the ghetto to drive out those in hiding. One Jewish survivor concealed himself with his brother in a storeroom close to the house. From here he observed a group of Germans and Lithuanians approaching:

> The Germans were giving orders and shouting with their weapons pointed "Juden raus" [Jews come out], but nobody came out. Then an order was given to throw phosphorous grenades into the house and it caught on fire. We saw all of this through the gaps in the wooden planks of our hiding place. Since there was no room for the whole family to hide under the

> kitchen, some of my family members hid in the attic. I saw that my cousin jumped down and he was shot by a Lithuanian while he was still in the air. The Gebietskommissar, Erren, clapped his hands and shouted "Bravo Lithuanian."[18]

One of the local firemen, called out to deal with the wooden houses on fire in the ghetto, saw German soldiers and Belorussian police there next to the river. He put the pump in the river to draw water to put out the fires. When he started to pump water onto some houses, he heard people shouting and emerging from the cellars. When he aimed the hose towards the people, a German told him to stop and shot at the people in the cellars.[19]

On the day of the main Aktion, it appears that members of the Gebietskommissar's office, including Erren himself, played a leading role, while most of the Gendarmes were apparently absent on an antipartisan operation. Nevertheless, over the following days, members of the Gendarmerie and about 50 Schutzmänner were responsible for combing the ghetto once more for any survivors. Any who tried to escape were shot on the spot, while the rest were escorted to the prison. From here they were taken in batches to be shot by the Gendarmerie shortly afterwards.[20]

Approximately 8,000 Jews were killed in Słonim at this time.[21] Apart from the Aktion in Słonim, other ghetto liquidations were also carried out in the surrounding towns, for example, in Byteń on July 25.[22] In September, Gebietskommissar Erren boasted that of the 25,000 Jews originally living in the Gebiet, only some 500 remained. These people had been saved due to important considerations regarding the war economy.[23] These last remaining Jews of the Słonim ghetto were murdered a few months later, at the end of 1942.

In Słonim more than 100 Poles were arrested on the night of June 29, 1942. Among those arrested, some along with their families, were teachers, lawyers, and priests. Eleven men were transferred to Baranowicze and shot there in July. Of the remainder, about 90 were taken to be shot at Petralewicze near Słonim on December 19, 1942.[24]

About 400 Jews managed to escape to the forests from the Słonim ghetto, most joining Soviet partisan units. Many joined the Shchors unit (Company 51), which operated in the Słonim area.

SOURCES There are a number of relevant publications concerning the Słonim ghetto, including Nachum Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989); the memoirs of Ljuba I. Abramovic, *Die faschistische Gehenna am Beispiel des Ghettos der Stadt Slonim* (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1995); and Jacob Shepetinski, *Jacob's Ladder* (London: Minerva Press, 1996). The yizkor book, edited by Kalman Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 4 vols. (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Slonim be-Yisrael, 1961–1979), contains information on the ghetto. There is a short article in German by Hans-Heinrich Nolte in Gerd R. Ueberschär, ed., *Orte des Grauens: Verbrechen im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003), pp. 237–247. Brief information on the history of the Jewish community of Słonim can be found in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 18:676–677.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports for Słonim and some relevant German documentation can be found in GARF (e.g., 7021-81-103) and NARB; additional captured German documentation can be found in BA-BL, CDJC, and NARA. A number of Belorussian, German, British, and Polish criminal investigations can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGrO; BA-L; NA (WCU); and IPN. Most extensive are the investigative and the trial documents concerning Gebietskommissar Gerhard Erren (LG-Hamb (50)19/72), who was convicted in 1974 but then released on a legal technicality. There are also, many relevant testimonies collected in AŻIH (e.g., 301/2851); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor!: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." ("Oneg Shabbath")* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), pp. 172–173; BNA (WCU), D7812, S282.
2. WCU, S325.
3. Ibid., D7812; BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 32, July 24, 1941; Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, pp. 175–176—this source dates the Aktion on July 14; Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 2:40–50.
4. Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, pp. 68–69.
5. WCU, statement of Zorach Kremen, August 25, 1995 (D7808); Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 2:40–50.
6. Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 178; Likhtenshtein, *Pinkas Slonim*, 2:40–50.
7. WCU, D7852.
8. Ibid., D7812.
9. Ibid., D6249 and D6291; CDJC, CXLVa-8, Report of Gerhard Erren, January 25, 1942. GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 179–180, also gives the figure of 8,000 victims.
10. WCU, D6291.
11. Ibid., D7852, D6249, and D6291; see also BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (202 AR-Z 228/59, Indictment in the case of Gerhard Erren), p. 4277, and B 162/5093, pp. 6129–6134.
12. NARB, 3500-2-38, pp. 533–553.
13. WCU, statement of Ahron Bandt, August 14, 1994.
14. Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, pp. 132–136.
15. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1965), p. 242, Gruppe Arlt report, Minsk, August 3, 1942.
16. BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (Erren Indictment), pp. 4314–4324.
17. Ibid., p. 4302; Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, pp. 160–163.
18. WCU, D7809.
19. Ibid., S282.
20. BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (Erren Indictment), pp. 4322–4341; WCU, D7809.
21. BA-L, B 162/4614-17 (Erren Indictment), p. 4305. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue*, p. 242, Gruppe Arlt, Minsk, August 3, 1942, reported 4,000 victims. Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry*, p. 160, gives the figure of 12,000 Słonim Jews prior to the Aktion.

22. BA-L, B 162/5088 (202 AR-Z 228/59), pp. 1823–1826, and B 162/5100, p. 4344.

23. CDJC, CDXXXVI-46, Report of Slonim Gebietskommissar, September 26, 1942. See also GARF, 7021-81-103, pp. 181–182, Protocol given by Moysha Yudelevich, who was among the specialist workers saved during the June Aktion.

24. A. Galinski, "Eksterminacja inteligencji polskiej latem 1942 r. w. nowogródzkiem," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji* 23 (1972): 188–189.

SLUTSK

Pre-1941: Slutsk, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sluzk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Slutsk, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Slutsk is located 105 kilometers (65 miles) south of Minsk. In 1897, the town was predominantly Jewish, with the 10,624 Jews accounting for 74 percent of its 14,349 residents. By 1926, the Jewish population had declined to 8,358 (53.3 percent), and by 1939, it had dropped further, to 7,392 (33.7 percent).

Following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, martial law was declared in Slutsk within 24 hours. People were instructed to remain at their jobs and not give way to panic. Men began to be conscripted into the Red Army. There was no evacuation. Instead, official propaganda repeated slogans about victory over the enemy coming "with little blood and on foreign soil." Leaving work without permission was considered desertion. In the shops, people bought up foodstuffs and the necessities of life. Depositors sought to withdraw their savings from the State Bank, but only 200 rubles per customer (about one week's earnings) were permitted. Refugees from western Belorussia arrived in Slutsk, telling of the Germans' rapid advance. On June 24 and 25, the town was bombed.[1]

On the afternoon of June 26, the Germans entered Slutsk. Only a few Jews managed to escape. On the first day of the occupation, the Nazis shot 70 Jews and Soviet activists.[2] A Belorussian police force was organized. The police station was situated in the building of a kindergarten and a day nursery. In Slutsk, on the grounds of the military camp, an assembly point for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was set up.[3] In June and July 1941, German security forces conducted selections at the POW camp in Slutsk, and according to Soviet estimates, they shot between 1,500 and 2,000 Jewish servicemen. By September 20, 1941, a Stammlager (Stalag 341) was operational in Slutsk, and there the Security Police continued to select out and shoot Jews.[4]

In the summer of 1941, units of Einsatzgruppe B combed the town of Slutsk on several occasions, arresting and shooting several hundred Communist activists and Jews. For example, the Einsatzgruppen activity and situation report for the first two weeks of September 1941 noted that in Slutsk five members of the Soviet People's Court had been "rendered harmless" (one of whom was Jewish), and in total 115 people had been shot.[5]



The public abuse of an elderly Jew wearing tefillin (phylacteries) in Slutsk, ca. 1941.
USHMM WS #71234, COURTESY OF YVA

In July and August 1941, the Jews of Slutsk were required to sew yellow patches on their clothing and were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks or enter stores. Initially they continued to live in their own homes and had to perform various forced labor tasks, including construction work and cleaning. The German authorities established a ghetto in Slutsk at some time between July and October 1941.[6] The Germans ordered a fence and barbed wire to be placed around Bobruiskaia, Monakhova, and Parizhskoi Kommuny Streets, enclosing about 40 buildings, and the ghetto was guarded by local police. In the ghetto, each person had no more than 2 square meters (21.5 square feet) of living space, and the buildings were unheated. People slept wherever they could find space. At night, an armed patrol enforced a curfew (from 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.), and offenders were shot on the spot. Eli (Eliaga) Epshtein was killed on the steps of his building when he went outside to urinate at 5:00 A.M. Food was in very short supply. The Jews cooked food on "trigons" (metal stands): a thick soup of potato peelings, beets, and bran. Sometimes they were able to trade their clothing with Belorussians for potatoes. Jews who performed work were issued, 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per person per day, while the remaining prisoners were supposed to obtain their own, by risking their lives. Illegally carrying food into the ghetto was punished by death. Malka Troichanskaia was hanged on the gates of the Judenrat office when she tried to exchange clothing for flour and went a few meters outside the barbed wire. The Nazis brought additional Jews into the ghetto from the surrounding villages and small

towns, bringing the total, including some refugees trapped in Slutsk, to approximately 10,000 Jews in the ghetto.[7]

Units of German Reserve Police Battalion 11, together with two companies of Lithuanian partisans, organized a large Aktion in Slutsk on October 27, 1941. The Aktion was not coordinated with Gebietskommissar Heinrich Carl in advance. His request for a postponement of at least one day, to select out skilled Jewish workers and their families, was refused. The officer in charge of the police battalion replied that he had only been given two days to cleanse Slutsk of Jews, but he did promise Carl to spare Jews who had been issued official German passes.[8]

Carl's plan was for all Jews, including those at work outside the ghetto, to be concentrated inside the ghetto for an orderly selection. Instead, many Jews were taken straight from their factories and workshops. The Lithuanian auxiliaries conducted a brutal roundup throughout the town in which even local Belorussians suffered. They forced the Jews out of their houses and placed them in trucks; any who resisted were shot on the spot. They took the prisoners to a birch grove near the village of Selishche, stripped them, and shot them. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, after the graves were filled with earth, people who were still alive tried to crawl out.[9]

On the streets of Slutsk lay dead and wounded citizens, their belongings scattered about. Carts without horses stood abandoned everywhere. Gebietskommissar Carl submitted a report to Wilhelm Kube, the Generalkommissar of Weissruthenien, in which he complained of the unwarranted cruelty and sadism of the perpetrators. In his words, the German administration, which had won the "full trust" of the Belorussian population in Slutsk, had now lost it again. Carl's particular indignation was aroused by the murder of skilled Jewish workers: tanners, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers, who could not be replaced with Belorussians. This brought to a standstill vitally needed production for the Wehrmacht. One estimate of the number of Jews shot in Slutsk on October 27–28, 1941, is in the range between 3,000 and 4,000 people.[10] The German police battalion collected Jewish valuables during the Aktion in Slutsk, and the Lithuanian auxiliaries looted the town, taking items also from Belorussians.

Many Jews managed to hide successfully during the roundup, including some who were tipped off by the German physician Dr. Leder. Subsequently, he also smuggled food and medicine into the ghetto, assisted by two young Jewish girls who worked in the office of the military commandant. After the October Aktion, by January 1942 at the latest, the Germans established a separate ghetto on the outskirts of town, known as "Polevoe" (the field ghetto), for the elderly and those designated as incapable of work. Living conditions were much better for the Jews in the main ghetto because the prisoners who were escorted out to work every day received meager rations and had the opportunity to obtain extra food. In the field ghetto, life was harsher, as the prisoners were not allowed to cross its boundaries and had no reserves or opportunity to barter. The field ghetto was liquidated gradually. Shootings were carried out, generally on Mondays and Saturdays. Trucks came to pick up the weak and feeble and took the doomed prisoners into the forest near the village of Bezverkhovichi. The field ghetto was dissolved around Passover (March 1942). Those who were still alive were then taken to the main ghetto.[11]

At some time in May 1942, according to a German Security Police report, 30 partisans were publicly hanged in Slutsk, and 38 hostages were shot.[12] In September 1942, according to correspondence of the civil administration, some Jews were still being employed as translators in the Gebietskommissariat, as no suitable replacements could be found.[13]

The ghetto was liquidated on February 8–9, 1943. On February 5, 1943, SS-Obersturmbannführer Eduard Strauch, the commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Minsk, issued a detailed order for the forthcoming Aktion. In Strauch's order, the killing of the Jews was referred to as "resettlement," and its supervision was entrusted to SS-Obersturmführer Müller. Assisting the Security Police were more than 100 Latvian volunteers. The Jews were to be transported in six trucks, with four Latvian guards in each vehicle. Two pits were prepared in advance, and at each of them the firing squads were to be relieved every two hours.[14]

One female survivor, Mania Temchin, has described the ensuing roundup in Slutsk: "[T]he entire area was surrounded, and they began to load people onto trucks. Pinkhos was taken first. Then they took mama and the children. That was at 9:00 A.M. They took me at 1:00 P.M. I can still hear the screams of our little sisters as they were taken to be shot. Roza was shot. Children and men who had been wounded resisting were with me in the truck. We were taken down the Bobruisk highway. The truck bed was covered with a tarpaulin. Two Germans sat with us. I decided to jump off. It was better to die on the road."[15]

As many Jews went into hiding, the Germans decided to set the ghetto on fire to smoke out the remaining Jews. About 400 had emerged by evening, and these Jews were also transported to the graves to be shot.[16] The prisoners were driven to the execution site along the Slutsk–Starye Dorogi highway, which was 0.4 kilometers (a quarter of a mile) west of the village of Sloboda on the bank of the Veseika River. According to incomplete information, about 3,000 Jews in total were murdered over the course of two days.[17]

After the ghetto was liquidated, a certain number of Jews were still being held in the Slutsk prison, through which thousands of prisoners of various nationalities passed during the occupation. According to one source, around 14,000 people were tortured in the town's prison altogether, and many of these people perished.[18]

Semyon Ongeiberg escaped from the Slutsk ghetto on February 8, 1943. At night he went 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) on foot to the village of Chaplitsy and hid in a pigsty. When the peasant woman came to feed the pigs, he surreptitiously ate along with the animals from the same trough. In the village, he was hidden by Tatyana Zabrodskaia and Afanasy Rimsha. After several days, Ongeiberg went into the forest, where he lived for three months until he encountered the Kalinin partisan brigade.[19]

The Shmerkovich family—10-year-old Yuzik, 3-year-old Dora, and their father Girsh—was saved by Fenia Kostiukevich from the village of Varkovichi in the Slutsk raion. Before the war, Fenia had worked for the Shmerkoviches as a domestic helper. When the Nazis began herding the Jews into the ghetto, Girsh dug a hole in the cellar, covered it with boards, and hid there with Yuzik. Fenia passed off Dora as her daughter, had her baptized in church, and named her Ol'ga. Ella and Liuda Plotkina were saved by their domestic helper, Maria Semenovich. In 1941, the two children were on holiday at a Pioneer camp, and the onset of war left them cut off from their parents. In Slutsk, Maria and her sister Nadezhda Semenovich hid the girls in their home until October 1941, then sent them to a children's home as non-Jews, under the names Valia and Liuba, and brought them food.[20]

Slutsk was liberated on June 30, 1944, by forces of the 1st Belorussian Front, along with partisans. Much of the town had been destroyed and burned by the Germans. It is estimated that altogether at least 10,000 Jews perished in and around Slutsk during the occupation.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Slutsk can be found in the yizkor book edited by N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor-Book Committee, 1962). Additional information on the events of the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal´perin, 1997); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

Documentation regarding the ghettos in Slutsk and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/16148); BA-MA; GAMINO (Fond 1619 and 1607-1-6); GARF (e.g., 7021-87-177 and 8114-1-961); HHStA-W; NARB (e.g., 845-1-60 and 4683-3-961); RGVA (500-1-769); Sta. Koblenz; TsGAMORF (28th Army Collection, 8423-84); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.378*0011); VHF (# 39742); and YVA (e.g., M-11/76).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky, letter of Raisa Tychina from Slutsk, September 13, 2000.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 204.
3. NARB, 845-1-60, pp. 38, 40; and GARF, 7021-87-177, p. 34.
4. TsGAMORF, 28th Army Collection, 8423-84, p. 141; Aron Shneer, *Plen: Sovetskie voennoplennye v Germanii, 1941–1945* (Moscow: Mosty kul'tury; Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2003), 1:170.
5. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 57 (more than 50 victims in August) and 183 (Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 4, Sept. 15, 1941).
6. Available sources disagree on when the ghetto was established: e.g., BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, p. 134, statement of Cadok Feigin, September 7, 1967 (September); Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 248 (October); and VHF, # 39742, testimony of Mariia Aizenshtat, born 1933 (mid-July). The ghetto is mentioned explicitly in the report of Gebietskommissar Carl, dated October 30, 1941; see N-Doc. 1104-PS.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 204–205; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 132, estimate that the Germans murdered around 10,000 Jews from the ghetto altogether.
8. Report of Gebietskommissar Carl, October 30, 1941 (Nbg. Doc. 1104-PS); see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) Lfd. Nr. 546, pp. 800–810.
9. Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003), p. 191.
10. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 613.
11. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 606; and Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 248; VHF, # 39742; and YVA, M-11/76, which dates the dissolution of the "field ghetto" in May 1942.
12. BA-BL, R 58/697, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 6, June 5, 1942.
13. Wolfgang Benz, Konrad Kwiet, and Jürgen Matthäus, eds., *Einsatz im "Reichskommissariat Ostland": Dokumente zum Völkermord im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), pp. 225–227.
14. RGVA, 500-1-769, pp. 113–116.
15. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 250.
16. HHStA-W, 7 Js 140/63, Bd. 3, pp. 203–207, statement of Arthur Wilke, March 21, 1963; and Sta. Koblenz, 9 Js 716/59, statement of Frantz Mischke, June 2, 1961.
17. *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), p. 594.
18. GARF, 8114-1-961, p. 332.
19. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 204–206, testimony of Semyon Ongeiberg (New York).
20. Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Sul'man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk: Tonpik, 2004), pp. 67–68, 105.

SMILOVICHI

Pre-1941: Smilovichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Smilowitschi, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Smilavichy, Cherven' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smilovichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Minsk. At the time of the German attack on the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, there were at least 1,500 Jews in Smilovichi. Most of the population believed Soviet propaganda proclaiming that the enemy would be destroyed on its own territory. Nevertheless, the situation was very tense; local residents remembered the many refugees arriving from Poland in 1939, when almost every Jewish family in town took in several people. There was no organized evacuation from Smilovichi. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army, leaving their families to fend for themselves. Only a few people tried to leave independently. Most remained, assuming that the Germans would not harm the Jews.

On June 27, 1941, a column of refugees—about 30 families—left Smilovichi. There were a few horses and wagons, which carried children and the elderly; the majority left on foot to the east. The refugees used country roads, as the major highways were blocked by Soviet troops and under attack from the Luftwaffe; they spent nights in the fields. The group went through Cherven', Berezino, and Pogost. On approaching Mogilev, about 20 families decided to return home, believing that German forces had already blocked the road ahead. About 10 families, however, continued on and crossed the Dnieper near Mogilev; behind them Soviet troops demolished the bridge.[1]

German forces entered Smilovichi on June 29, 1941. Part of the local population, which had been on good terms with the Jews, now changed its attitude. They did not conceal their antisemitism but robbed Jews openly; a few, however, sympathized with the Jews and tried to help.

The Germans established a police station in the fire department building, on the corner of Sovetskaia and Komsomol'skaia Streets. About 40 people joined the local police. The policemen were mostly young men, aged up to 25 years, and many were known as hooligans. They acted with impunity, beating and robbing Jews. Andrei Kureichik came to the house of Moisei Gorelik and stole his bicycle. He also grabbed some boots, remarking: "You won't need these anymore."[2]

Isolated shootings of Jews, Komsomol (youth wing of the Communist Party) members, and Soviet activists began immediately after the arrival of the Germans. On June 29, 1941, a group of 50 Jewish men were arrested in Smilovichi. They were told they were needed to repair a bridge, but the Germans shot them the same day, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) outside the town, near Gudovichi. Rivka Gorelik witnessed the shootings. The Nazis also murdered the observant Jew Simcha for refusing to carry out German orders. He was hanged from the Lenin monument in the main square.[3]

In early July 1941, based on the denunciation of the peasant Pisarchik, the Germans arrested the chief architect of the new Minsk train station and his 13-year-old nephew in the village of Dukorshchina. They were brought to Smilovichi, questioned, beaten, and hanged from a telegraph pole. Each had a sign saying "Zhid" (Jew) on his neck. Pisarchik was rewarded with a pair of boots. Three days later, Boris Plaksa, Abram Teif, and Khaim Kaufman had to take down the bodies and throw them into a ditch near the market. As they carried out these orders, the Jews were forced to sing the "Internationale," the anthem of the Communist movement.[4]

From June 29 until August 1941, the Jews lived in their houses. The ghetto was created in August.[5] It comprised several streets—Minskaia (Respublikanskaia), Girsh Lekkert, Voiskovaia, Zelenaia, and some houses on Solominka Street. The ghetto contained about 100 houses, most of which had previously been occupied by Jews. The few Belorussians in the area were given houses vacated by Jews on Sovetskaia Street. About 20 or 30 Jewish families had to be relocated.

There were at least 1,700 Jews in the ghetto. Of these, over 1,000 were natives of Smilovichi, from a pre-war Jewish population of 1,500. The Germans also moved more than 100 Jews into the ghetto from the surrounding villages of Liady, Dukorshchina, Starino, Zhuravkovichi, and others. Besides this, there were approximately 200 Polish Jewish refugees, who had arrived before the German invasion. There were also no fewer than 300 Jews from Minsk in the ghetto. These Jews had fled towards Mogilev—and were trapped in Smilovichi—as they were unable to continue further east.

There were many women, children, and elderly people in the ghetto. Before the Germans' arrival, the older schoolboys (born 1924–1926) were sent to Uzliany to build an airfield. However, German aircraft fired on them, and they soon returned to Smilovichi to find the Germans had arrived.

The ghetto was enclosed by a fence, and there was a gate on Minskaia Street. On one side was the Volma River, and beyond it there was a swampy meadow on which the hay had been mown. During the roundup on October 14, 1941, many Jews fled towards the meadow, where they met their death. There was no constant guard on the ghetto; the police patrolled only intermittently. But Jews who left the ghetto without permission were taken away and disappeared forever, such as Avremul Voskovich.

Moyshe Shapiro was the head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). He was a former innkeeper, dispossessed by the Soviets. Shapiro's main function was to transmit German orders to the Jews. Jews were occupied in the Smilovichi ghetto in leatherwork and at the felt factory. Moshe Gorelik (born 1925) transported bread from the bakery to the store, managed by his former teacher Zelinskaya (a Belorussian). The workers were mostly men. The most prudent inmates prepared bunkers in case of an Aktion. Many Jews in the ghetto were related, and they helped each other out. The observant Jews still attended synagogue. There had ceased to be a kosher butcher or a rabbi even before the war. Meyer Tsarfin led religious services in Smilovichi, as the most learned observant Jew.

The ghetto inmates did not receive any rations; they had to fend for themselves. People ate vegetables from gardens in and around the ghetto, and some Jews prepared potato pancakes, which they traded for other provisions in the villages. In August 1941, all the livestock was removed from the ghetto, and conditions worsened. At that time, the ghetto was not completely isolated from the Belorussian part of town; the felt factory lay inside the ghetto, and non-Jewish workers came in

to work there. However, there was no place for Smilovichi Jews to find refuge. Soviet partisans did not become active in the area until late 1942. Belorussians feared severe German punishments imposed on those who helped Jews. Once, David Avrukhin, a former Jewish chairman of the suburban kolkhoz, appeared in the ghetto with a rifle, but he was spotted on Tatarskaia Street and killed.[6]

The Aktion in Smilovichi was planned and carried out by men of the German 11th Reserve Police Battalion, assisted by Lithuanian auxiliaries. On October 14, 1941 these forces arrived early in the morning on buses. The buses unloaded on Sovetskaia Street, and the police forces surrounded the ghetto. Jews who tried to escape were shot on the spot. Former neighbors—local policemen—chased the Jews from their homes and drove them to Chkalov Street.

When the roundup began, some Jews committed suicide. Mania Gorelik climbed onto the roof of her house and killed herself by jumping off. Aaron Finkelstein hanged himself just before the Aktion.

"Solominka" was chosen as the place of the massacre: a quarry on the right side of Minskaia Street, before the Jewish cemetery. Before being shot, the victims were forced to drop their money, jewelry, and other valuables into a bucket, and some were forced to undress. The Lithuanian "partisans" carried out the shootings, while Belorussian policemen formed the cordon. At the edge of the ditch, people were lined up, 50 at a time, and the perpetrators opened machine-gun and submachine-gun fire. Children up to 2 years of age were thrown in alive.

During the Aktion, the Nazis spared only one tailor, whose family was killed. He was instructed to train several Belorussians, and subsequently he was also shot. Isolated shootings continued after October 14, 1941. Sorka Margolin was found after the Aktion and shot in Korzuny by a local policeman. Leyzer Gorelik, who was drafted into the Red Army, served only for two weeks near Brześć; his unit was surrounded, and he returned to Smilovichi. He hid during the October 14 Aktion, then set off for Minsk. Unfortunately, a police car overtook him near Opchak. Gorelik was tied up and dragged behind the car until he died. In the "Solominka" quarry, the former secretary of the Smilovichi party raion committee, Pletnev, was shot with his two children and his sister.[7]

A German report dated October 21, 1941, stated that on October 14, 1,300 Jews, Communists, and "elements hostile to Germany" had been shot in Smilovichi. During the punitive operation, 100 rubles, silver, copper, and nickel items, and used clothing were confiscated. This property was delivered to the SS- und Polizeiführer (SSPF) in Weissruthenien.[8] Some sources, however, indicate that about 2,000 Jews were murdered in Smilovichi.[9]

Not many Jews managed to survive from the Smilovichi ghetto. German-language teacher Liubochkina adopted a Jewish girl from the hospital whose parents (refugees from Minsk) had disappeared.[10] The Germans ordered Khaim Gorelik, Izrail' Kaufman, and Itsik Plaksa to shepherd a herd of 60 cows, taken from the Jews, to Rudensk, where they witnessed an Aktion against the Jews; one day later, the same thing happened in Dukora. Gorelik, Kaufman, and Plaksa fled to Minsk instead of returning to Smilovichi, and they survived as a result.

Three days before the mass shootings, 10 Jews escaped from Smilovichi and went to Minsk, among them Maria Kaufman and her two children.[11] On October 14, 1941, a few people were able to survive in Smilovichi: Abram Teyf (born 1927) concealed himself in a hiding place in his house.[12] The Voskovich family—Zalman (1904), Iosif (1928), Masha (1930), and Nekhama (1932)—was able to get to the "Russian" part of town and climb into the attic of their house, where they hid. When policemen came to check the house, they decided that the stairs were too dilapidated, which saved the Voskovich family.[13] Moisei Gorelik was lightly wounded in the head during the shootings and fell unconscious into the quarry. He was buried under other bodies, but he later climbed out and fled to Minsk.[14]

Smilovichi was liberated on July 3, 1944. About 20 Jewish families returned from evacuation; some demobilized Jews also returned from the Red Army.

SOURCES Information on the Jews of Smilovichi and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniga, 1995), pp. 336–340; "Mestechko Smilovichi i ego obitateli," *Evreiskii Mir* (U.S.), no. 24, September 17, 1998; and "Smilovichi: Kak ono bylo i kak ono est'," "*Okna.*" *Prilozhenie k gazete* "*Vesti*" (Jerusalem), October 13, 1994.

Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Smilovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-13); LYA (trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, held in Vilnius in 1962); USHMM (RG-50.378*0005); and YVA (e.g., M-33/431 and 433). In addition, reference has been made to materials located in the personal archive of the author.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS), letter from David Eig, June 22, 2004.
2. YVA, M-33/433, p. 5.
3. Ibid.
4. PALS, letter from Moisei Khaimovich Gorelik, June 16, 1994.
5. USHMM, RG-50.378*0005, video testimony of Arkady Teif, August 1, 1995.
6. PALS, letter from M. Gorelik, July 14, 2004.
7. Ibid.; a brief description of the Aktion in Smilovichi can be found in LYA, statement of Kazimir Stanislavovich Hermanovich (born 1917), resident of Smilovichi, in the trial against Antanas Impulevicius and others, Vilnius 1962.
8. NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 3–7, Lagebericht des Reserve-Polizeibataillons 11, October 21, 1941; see also Johannes Schlootz, ed., *Deutsche Propaganda in Weissrussland 1941–1944: Eine Konfrontation von Propaganda und Wirklichkeit. Ausstellung in Berlin und Minsk* (Berlin: Freie Universität, 1996), p. 34.

9. Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk, 2003), p. 392, indicates there were more than 2,000 Jewish victims. Survivor Arkady Teif concurs; see USHMM, RG-50.378*0005.

10. Lubochkina with her adopted daughter left Smilovichi in 1948; PALS, letter from David Eig, May 18, 2004.

11. The Nazis killed Maria Kaufman in Minsk in 1942, following a denunciation when her brother fled to the partisans.

12. USHMM, RG-50.378*0005.

13. The Voskovich family perished in the Minsk ghetto on Ostrovskogo Street during the Aktion there on November 7, 1941.

14. Shimshon Shapiro perished with his family in Minsk on November 7, 1941. Moisei Gorelik found his father Khaim in the Minsk ghetto. He left for the forest in May 1943 and joined the Soviet partisans in the Naliboki Forest; PALS, letter from M. Gorelik, June 16, 1994.

SMOLEVICHI

Pre-1941: Smolevichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Smolewitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Smaliavichy, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smolevichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,385 Jews living in the town (20.5 percent of the total).

German armed forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941, four days after the German invasion of the USSR. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate the area. Some Jewish men were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 1,200 Jews remained in Smolevichi at the start of the occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Smolevichi was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[1]

Shortly after the Germans arrived, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population and their exploitation for various forms of physical labor. On July 28, 1941, the Germans conducted a first Aktion, in which 150 Jewish men were shot.[2] Then in early August 1941, all the Smolevichi Jews were moved into a so-called ghetto, which consisted of an open field surrounded by barbed wire into which Jews from nearby settlements were also brought.[3]

In September 1944, local resident Leonid Aleksandrovich Shitytskii told the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) that all the Jews were driven out of their private homes and concentrated in the ghetto. All their belongings, including clothing, foodstuffs, and furniture, were confiscated. A large number of Jews, 1,400 in total, were herded into a single spot outdoors, surrounded by barbed wire, and were given nothing to eat. For more than 25 days, the Germans tormented them, forcing them to suffer from hunger and cold. A great many were shot in the ghetto by the Germans and the police for the slightest reason—or for no reason at all. The local police and Germans were often drunk, and for their amusement they would bring several people out and shoot them.[4]

During a second Aktion on August 17, 1941, another 80 Jews were killed.[5] Then, probably on August 28, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann, based in Borisov, assisted by a unit of the Wehrmacht, liquidated the ghetto in Smolevichi. All the Jews were lined up in a column and told they were being transferred to another place. They were ordered to wear their best clothes. Then they were escorted up a nearby hill. When some Jews realized they were being taken to be shot, they refused to go any further and were shot on the spot. Women with infants and small children begged for mercy, but not one was spared. A large pit had been prepared at the designated site, and the Jews were made to undress down to their undergarments. They filed into the pit, and the Germans shot them with submachine guns. Many children were thrown into the pit while still alive.[6]

Some sources date the final Aktion in mid-September 1941,[7] but it appears more likely that most male Jews were shot first in July and August; then the women and children, after them, probably at the end of August. A German report dated in early October indicates that 1,401 people were shot. This number is corroborated by some Soviet sources.[8]

When Peter Chodosz, a Jew from Smolevichi who had been mobilized by the Red Army in the summer of 1941, returned home clandestinely in March 1942, he was informed that all of his family had been shot, and he made his way to the Minsk ghetto.[9] In the second half of January 1944, a detachment of Sonderkommando 1005 arrived in Smolevichi and burned the corpses.[10]

SOURCES The ghetto in Smolevichi is mentioned in W. Orbach, "The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 6:2 (1976): 21, 34; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1204. Additional information can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 573 and 662a.

Documents regarding the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Smolevichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-87-14); NARB (861-1-8); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 7); VHF (# 10927); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-87-14, pp. 2, 11 (and reverse side).
3. Ibid., pp. 1–2, 7–8.
4. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
5. Ibid., pp. 2, 10.

6. Ibid., pp. 7–8.

7. Manat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 79. LG-Kö, 24 Ks 1/63, Verdict of May 12, 1964, against Werner Schönemann, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 573, p. 177, also inclines more to the later date.

8. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941; GARF, 7021-87-14, pp. 7–8.

9. VHF, # 10927.

10. LG-Hamb (50) 9/67, 147 Ks 2/67, verdict of February 9, 1968, against Krahner, Goldapp, and Drews, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 662a, p. 41.

SNÓW

Pre-1939: Snów, village, Nieśwież powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Snov, Nesvizh raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Snow, Rayon Neswish, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Snou, Nesvizh raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Snów is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Baranowicze. According to one survivor, including a number of refugees from German-occupied Poland, there were 543 Jews residing in the village in 1940.[1]

The German army occupied Snów on June 28, 1941. The town was bombarded by artillery for three days, and a number of houses were destroyed. At that time there were more than 100 houses in the village. In the summer of 1941, Germans came to Snów and shot a number of Jews who had been denounced by local Belorussians as alleged Communists. Jewish girls were also seized at night and raped.

Shortly after the Germans' arrival, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, headed by a man named Dubkowski. Most of its members did their best to help the Jews, but Dubkowski and his brother, who was also a member, treated the Jews harshly, as they thought they would be safe if they did everything the Germans demanded.[2]

From October of 1941, the mayor of Snów was the Belorussian Walerian Sabicz.[3] The chief of the Snów local police from November 1941 was Piotr Korolev, who was initially in command of 12 local policemen. The local Belorussian police post in Snów was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post based in Nieśwież.

Very little information is available about the existence of a ghetto in Snów, but local resident Aleksander Sidorovich recalled in 1996:

> At first the Jews lived freely, but later a ghetto was established, probably in late 1941. The ghetto was outside the village in houses that Jews already occupied. These houses were surrounded by barbed wire. This area was on Nieśwież Street in the northern part of the village. All of the Jews had to live in the ghetto, which was guarded by policemen. Nobody else was allowed near the ghetto, to prevent people giving provisions to the Jews. The Belorussian police guarded the ghetto. Sergeev [Korolev] was the Belorussian policeman in charge, but he didn't come from Snów; he was a Russian. None of the policemen were from Snów.[4]

In February 1942, the German police, assisted by local police collaborators, shot a group of "Gypsies" (Roma) on the Gorny Snów estate. A local woman recalled that "the Snów police came in several vehicles bringing the Gypsies. The police started shooting them. They shot the old people immediately, on the spot, and threw the surviving children in the well."[5]

Jews from the ghetto were escorted every day 8 kilometers (5 miles) to work in Pogorzelce. They were beaten severely by the guards. People would be shot for begging for a piece of bread from local peasants or for other minor infractions. In the spring of 1942, Menachem Korolczuk from the ghetto made contact with Soviet partisans operating in the region, including one Jew, who urged him and others to flee the ghetto for the forest. Korolczuk tried to persuade his friends to leave the ghetto with him, and they gathered some weapons, which had been left behind by the Soviets on their retreat. By the early summer of 1942, rumors began to spread of the complete liquidation of other nearby ghettos, but the head of the Judenrat, Dubkowski, tried to reassure people that nothing would happen in Snów, and he prohibited anyone from fleeing to the forests. He summoned Korolczuk to him and ordered him to prepare a list of all the Jews. When Korolczuk refused, he knocked his teeth out, insisting this had to be done.[6]

On June 28, 1942, the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators arrested more than 70 Poles in Rayon Neswish, including lawyers, teachers, and priests. They were held for a while in the Nieśwież jail. On August 5, 1942, 73 Poles were taken by truck from Nieśwież in the direction of Snów, and then German Security Police shot them with the help of local Belorussian police. Among those killed was the Catholic priest from Snów.[7]

In the summer of 1942, the mayor of Snów, Sabicz, received instructions from the Germans to summon the Judenrat. He then arranged for some Jews to dig a large pit in a wood 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from Snów, under the pretext that this would hold tanks for the storage of gasoline.[8] A few weeks later the real purpose of this excavation became clear.

Several descriptions of the massacre of the Snów Jews have survived. On September 17, 1942, at 2:00 A.M. about 30 local policemen from Baranowicze, 15 from Horodziej, and about 20 from Nieśwież arrived in Snów. Having been given their tasks by about 12 officials of the German Gendarmerie, they drove the Jews out into the street, shooting on the spot any who resisted. The non-Jews had to stay in their houses. More than 300 Jews were then escorted along the Snów-Nieśwież road. About 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) outside the village, they turned into the forest to the pit, which measured approximately 12 meters long and 6 meters wide (39 feet by 20 feet). The Germans, assisted by their collaborators, brought people up to the pit in groups of 30, had them undress, and shot them

with submachine guns. During the shooting, no notice was paid to the fact that some people lying in the pit were still alive. They were covered over with a new group of people, and then they were buried.[9] A number of Jews managed to hide during the initial roundup and tried to escape to the forests during the following days. But with the aid of the list of Jews prepared by the Judenrat, the Germans and Belorussian collaborators knew that a number of Jews were missing and spread word that a small remnant ghetto would be established in Rubinsztejn's house. After the initial searches, a number of Jews were gathered here and initially given bread and a little milk. Then three days after the Aktion, the 40 Jews who had been found hiding in Snów were shot, once Gendarmes and local police had arrived from Nieśwież to deal with them.[10]

The hunt for other escaped Jews continued. According to a German Gendarmerie report, on September 23, 1942, seven male Jews and one female Jew who had escaped from Snów on September 17 were caught and shot in the village of Dudichi.[11] Only two Jews from Snów are definitely known to have survived the German occupation. Korolczuk, who escaped at the time of the roundup with some weapons, subsequently served in the Chapayev brigade of Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the region in July 1944.[12]

The mayor of Snów, Walerian Sabicz, was tried in Poland and initially sentenced to death in 1952, but on appeal his sentence was reduced to only 5 years. The police chief in Snów, Piotr Sergeevich Korolev, was tried in Baranowicze in 1949 and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. German and Canadian investigations were also conducted into other senior NCOs in the local Belorussian police, especially with regard to the murder of Jews and Gypsies in Snów. No prosecutions were brought to a successful conclusion, however, mainly owing to the unreliable nature of the Soviet testimonies, which provided the main evidence in these cases.

SOURCES There is a brief section in an article by Eric Haberer that deals with the crimes committed by the German police and their collaborators in Snów: Eric Haberer, "The German Police and Genocide in Belorussia, 1941–1944. Part II: The 'Second Sweep': Gendarmerie Killings of Jews and Gypsies," *Journal of Genocide Research* 3:2 (2001): 207–218. Haberer, however, argues on the basis of the evidence then available to him that no ghetto existed in Snów.

Documents on the murder of the Jews of Snów can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; BA-BL (R 6/348); BA-L; GARF (7021-81-102); IPN; NARB (845-1-6); WCU; and YVA (M-1/E/805).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, M-1/E/805, testimony of Menachem Korolczuk, born 1895.
2. Ibid.
3. Up to October 1941 there was a Polish mayor in Snów, Wąkowicz.
4. WCU, D8660, Aleksander Adamovich Sidorovich, February 2, 1996. These records are currently held in NA, London, but are subject to customary privacy restrictions.
5. WCU, D9317.
6. YVA, M-1/E/805.
7. A. Galinski, "Eksterminacja inteligencji polskiej latem 1942 r. w. nowogródzkiem," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji* 23 (1972): 188–189; see also GARF, 7021-81-102, pp. 99–101, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission Report for Nesvizh February 2, 1945.
8. IPN, SW KsZ 25, case against Walerian Sabicz, p. 42, statement of the accused on January 7, 1952; and YVA, M-1/E/805.
9. NARB, 845-1-6, pp. 54–56; WCU, D8660, A.A. Sidorovich, February 2, 1996. According to the testimony of the accused Sabicz, there were 548 Jewish victims of the Aktion in Snów; see IPN, SW KsZ 25, p. 42, interrogation of Sabicz on January 7, 1952. Piotr Sergeevich Korolev testified in his own case that 400 Jews were rounded up to be shot; see AUKGBRBMO, Arch. No. 3617, Case No. 35694, vol. 2, p. 116, Korolev testimony in court session in Baranovichi, October 28–29, 1949. YVA, M-1/E/805, however, dates the Aktion on June 17, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 2 AR-Z 16/67 (Eibner investigation), vol. 9, pp. 1771–1779 (interrogation of Korolev), March 10, 1979; AUKGBRBMO, Criminal Case 53302, Arch. No. 3617, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, and vol. 2, pp. 208–214, cited by Haberer, "The German Police," p. 215. YVA, M-1/E/805, indicates that 88 Jews were gathered in the remnant ghetto in Snów before they were shot.
11. BA-BL, R 6/348, pp. 101–107.
12. YVA, M-1/E/805.

STAROBIN

Pre-1939: Starobin, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Starobin, Saligorsk raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Starobin is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) south of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,210 Jews residing in Starobin (35.43 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941, four days after their invasion of the USSR. During this time, some Jews evacuated to the eastern regions of the country, and men liable for military service were mobilized by the Red Army.

In the summer of 1941, a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) were in charge of the town. The German military authorities appointed a mayor and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Starobin became a Rayon center in Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

According to Soviet sources, the first Aktion in Starobin took place on July 18–19, 1941, when a motorized detachment of the Wehrmacht arrived from the direction of Slutsk. The German troops surrounded the town and drove all adult inhabitants into the market square. Here they arrested the head of a local kolkhoz and his bookkeeper, allegedly for having

participated in the killing of three German officers in a nearby wood. The German soldiers beat up these 2 men and together with 370 Jewish men ages 18 to 50 and loaded them onto trucks. They drove them into a wood on the western edge of town, where they shot them all, then left Starobin.[2]

On August 5, 1941, an SS detachment about 200 strong arrived in Starobin from the direction of Slutsk and conducted a pogrom over the following two days. They arrested several hundred Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, and shot them in two locations—behind the Russian cemetery on the northern edge of town and behind the slaughterhouse on Starobin's western edge. A number of Jews were also shot in their homes or in hiding places, such as barns and cellars, during the roundup. The SS unit then departed in the direction of Petrikov.[3]

Another series of mass shooting Aktions against the Jews of Starobin took place in late August 1941, when detachments of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment were present in the town. On August 22, at 9:00 A.M., the 3rd Squadron of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in Starobin to "pacify" the town. That evening, the cavalry squadron's commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Johann Schmidt, reported to the acting regiment commander, SS-Hauptsturmführer Waldemar Fegelein, on the situation in the town, describing it as "extremely unsatisfactory." The mayor appointed by the German authorities and several auxiliary policemen had been killed, he said, and the town had no leadership; the population was being "terrorized" by Jews who had turned Starobin into a "partisan stronghold." The cavalry squadron named a new mayor, who, assisted by the squadron, formed a new auxiliary police force.[4] In addition, as evident from two wireless messages sent by the squadron to regimental headquarters on August 22, the squadron shot first 13 and then 66 "robbers," respectively.[5] On the basis of Schmidt's report, Fegelein sent the entire regiment (minus the 1st Squadron) to Starobin, and it reached the town at midday on August 23. Meanwhile, the situation in Starobin had deteriorated: the new mayor had been "murdered by three Jews," and partisans had tried to set the town on fire during the night of August 22–23. In retribution, Fegelein first ordered all male Jews to be shot and a "cleansing" of the non-Jewish population to be carried out; 21 non-Jews were shot, and 15 of the men arrested were released.[6]

As for the Jews, the 4th Squadron of the 1st SS-Cavalry Regiment (squadron commander SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Gadischke) reported in a wireless message sent to regimental headquarters on August 23, 1941, at 4:00 P.M. that 203 "robbers" had been shot.[7] On August 24, 1941, the regiment left Starobin, but on August 26 it passed through Starobin once again, leaving the 2nd Platoon of the 2nd Squadron (platoon commander SS-Untersturmführer Georg Vieth) in the village for further "pacification," a task it pursued until August 30. On August 28, 1941, at 6:00 P.M., the platoon commander reported: "Around 150 Jews of both genders have returned to Starobin. The platoon concentrated these Jews in one place."[8] A wireless message sent at 9:40 A.M. on August 29, 1941, states: "Yesterday and today, 109 robbers were shot. A search for the others is now under way. Last night, Jews returned to Starobin again. No other incidents of special interest."[9] That same day, at 4:15 P.M., the platoon commander reported: "Eighty more robbers were shot. It must be expected that additional Jews will return to Starobin at night to store food in the houses they had left. I will take the necessary steps."[10] Soviet sources indicate that the local police also participated in the Aktion on August 28–29.[11] Overall, more than 470 Jews were shot in Starobin in the period from August 22 to August 29, 1941.[12] According to the Slutsk yizkor book, some of the Jews were driven out of town on the road to Slutsk and shot in the forest there. This source also confirmed that some Jews fled to Slutsk and other places during the chaos in Starobin in the summer of 1941. It is likely that some returned subsequently to collect their own property or even to return permanently if they believed that the situation had stabilized.[13]

The Jews that survived the various mass shootings in August 1941 consisted of about 150 to 200 people, who were mainly specialist workers (craftsmen) and their families. These people were gathered together and placed in a ghetto located on Bol'shaia Korpilovskaia Street. The Jewish craftsmen, such as tailors, were kept alive to train non-Jews to take over their professions and were also used to carry out various forced labor tasks. According to the evidence of local Soviet witnesses interviewed in 1969, the Gendarmerie post in Starobin, under the leadership of an officer named Weinmann, was in charge of the ghetto and supervised the work of the Jewish specialists. The Germans shot small groups of Jews successively over the following year and a half. Weinmann and the forces of the local Gendarmerie post also participated in the final liquidation of the ghetto in the spring of 1943. Only 1 Jewish furrier and his family were left alive for some time after this final Aktion. They were also murdered before the retreat of the Germans in the summer of 1944.[14]

A number of Jews managed to escape to the forests from Starobin at the time of the massacres in August 1941 and thereafter. Most of these Jews joined Soviet partisan units in the region, serving alongside non-Jews. Notable among the survivors was Shmuel Pisarovitz, who played a distinguished role in a partisan attack on the German garrison in Pogost. When Jews returned to Starobin from the partisans in 1944, they found that much of the town had been destroyed, and local peasants had even dismantled some Jewish houses to erect them again in their own villages. A few Jews also returned from having been evacuated to the Soviet interior, but most Jews gathered in Slutsk, due to the desolate state of Starobin, where the Germans had even destroyed and burned the *matzevot* (tombstones) in the new Jewish cemetery.[15]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Starobin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publication: N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv and New York: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), pp. 465–466.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Starobin can be found in the following archives: BA-L

(B 162/16148); BA-MA (RS 4/430); GARF (7021-82-7); NARB; VHAP (Kdo.-Stab RFSS/K 24, A 154); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Some sources give a much larger Jewish population (ca. 3,050 Jews); see BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119, 124, 129. Nevertheless, a figure of 1,200 to 1,500 Jews in June 1941 seems more likely, given that some Jews fled in time.
2. BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119–120, 124–125, and 129–130.
3. Ibid. This source gives a figure of 1,000 Jewish victims for this Aktion, but this figure is probably too high.
4. VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS/K 24, A 154, SS-Kav. Regiment 1, Bericht über "Befriedung des Raumes Starobin," September 4, 1941.
5. BA-MA, RS 4/430. Schwadron, Funksprüche, August, 22, 1941.
6. See VHAP, SS-Kav. Regiment 1, Bericht über "Befriedung des Raumes Starobin," September 4, 1941.
7. BA-MA, RS 4/430, 4. Schwadron, Funkspruch, August 23, 1941, 4.00 P.M.
8. Ibid., 2. Zug, 2. Schwadron, Funkspruch, August 28, 1941, 6:00 P.M.
9. Ibid., August 29, 1941, 9:40 A.M.
10. Ibid., August 29, 1941, 4:15 P.M.
11. BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119–120.
12. According to the list of victims, 429 Jews were killed in Starobin (GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 13–19).
13. Ch. Rubnitz, "Hurbn Starobin," in Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, pp. 465–466.
14. Ibid.; and BA-L, B 162/16148, pp. 119–120, 124–125, 129–130.
15. Rubnitz, "Hurbn Starobin," pp. 465–466.

STOŁOWICZE

Pre-1939: Stołowicze, village, Baranowicze powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Stolovichi, Baranovichi raion and oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Stolowitschi, Rayon and Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Stalovichy, Baranavichy raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Stołowicze is located 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) north of Baranowicze. Following the outbreak of war in September 1939, many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland arrived in Stołowicze, bringing the Jewish population to about 1,000 people.[1]

German forces entered the village on June 25, 1941. The Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) on September 1, which was headed by Zudl Bayarski from Wilno. There was no Jewish police force. In October 1941, the Germans drove all the Jews into a ghetto on Słonim Street and the neighboring small streets. The ghetto initially remained open with no fence.[2]

On their arrival the Germans began to rob and oppress the Jews in various ways. They would come with written instructions for the Judenrat to provide various things, such as clothing, shoes, bedding, furniture, food, and contributions in money or gold. These requests all had to be met punctually and in full, or the threatened punishment was the death penalty. The Jews were terrified. They gave the Germans their prized possessions, hoping they would thereby remain alive. The Germans also compelled the Jews to perform forced labor. Jewish gravestones were taken from the cemetery and used for construction purposes.[3]

According to the child survivor Richard Vanger (born 1932), the ghetto was enclosed probably in early May 1942, consisting of about 10 houses and two barns surrounded with barbed wire, located right next to the police station. There was only one gate to the ghetto. Presumably the Germans enclosed the ghetto at this time to prevent Jews from fleeing just prior to the Aktion they were planning for mid-May.[4]

On May 13, 1942, German security forces and local police arrived in Stołowicze. They surrounded the village, assembled the Jews in the marketplace, and drove them to two trenches near Bereznianka, 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the village. On arrival the Jews were made to climb down into the trenches in groups on a kind of staircase. The Germans then shot the Jews in the trenches. Some Jews were made to arrange the bodies that had already been shot into orderly rows before being shot themselves in turn. On that day the Germans murdered almost the entire Jewish population of Stołowicze.[5]

Only a few Jews managed to escape from the shootings. Two young girls, Basia Ledowicka (16 years old) and Sonia Basiel (17 years old), survived. The commandant of the Belorussian police hid them for two days in his attic, wanting to help them. Then he told them to go, and they left in the direction of Baranowicze.[6] Moyshe Pincaigski, a miller, managed to survive in the pits and fled. Two policemen pursued him, wounding him with a bayonet and eventually shooting him dead.

After the shootings, the local police, assisted by some of the local population, continued to search for Jews in hiding. According to Vanger, after a few days the Germans offered an amnesty to any Jews who emerged from hiding, and about 20 Jews went back into the ghetto, living in the synagogue. Food was still a problem, but Jews obtained some scraps by begging. This remnant ghetto existed for about two weeks. Then Vanger received a warning from one of his father's friends to leave the ghetto that night. The friend dressed him in her daughter's clothes and sent him to hide with other friends outside the village.[7]

The remaining Jews, about 10 to 20 people, were all shot that evening. Among the victims were Itshak Bielous (22 years old), Chaim Czernichowski (36 years old), Shmuel Kangarowicz (40 years old), Michal Dworecki (45 years old), and Aba Derecinski, together with his two brothers. Some of those who fled later served in the partisans and took their revenge against the Germans and their collaborators. One survivor

who joined the partisans was Tukaszewski, who was wounded and became an invalid.

SOURCES A brief entry on Stołowicze can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1247.

This account is based mainly on the following two testimonies: AŻIH (301/2190) and VHF (# 37335). Additional documentation can be found in YVA (M-1/E/1447 and 2387).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2190, testimony of Zalmer Goldin on December 16, 1946.
2. Ibid.; according to Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1247, the ghetto was created in January 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/2190.
4. VHF, # 37335, testimony of Heniuk Rzdanuik/Richard Vanger (Wengier).
5. AŻIH, 301/2190.
6. Avraham Shemu'el Shtain, ed., *Baranovits: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Baranovits be-Yisrael, 1953), p. 467, notes that some Jews who managed to escape the massacre in Stołowicze subsequently found temporary refuge in the Baranowicze ghetto.
7. VHF, # 37335.

STOŁPCE

Pre-1939: Stołpce, town, powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Stolbtsy, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Stolpce, Rayon center, Gebiet Baranowitsche, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Stoubtsy, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Stołpce is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) southwest of Minsk. In June 1941, there were more than 3,000 Jews living in the town, including several hundred refugees from the German-occupied parts of Poland.[1]

German forces occupied Stołpce on June 29, 1941. Some Jews tried to flee, but most were turned back by Soviet officials at the old Soviet border or were overtaken by the rapidly advancing German army. A large number of houses were destroyed during the bombardment of the town. Jews who lost their homes had to find shelter with others who had been more fortunate.

Within a few days of their arrival, the German military authorities introduced a regime of forced labor for Jews ages 12 to 60: repairing roads and railways, or cleaning German offices. A local police unit was established, which enforced the anti-Jewish regulations.[2]

After a week, the Germans shot around 200 Jews together with several dozen non-Jews, allegedly as a reprisal for sniper fire directed at German soldiers. A few days later, a number of Jews were assembled at the local stadium. Several were murdered, and the rest were taken to the customs office and forced to perform humiliating labor tasks while being beaten. SS forces arrived in Stołpce and conducted a further Aktion in July 1941. Local Belorussians assisted them, pointing out where the wealthy Jews lived. The Germans then arrested 76 people and shot them in a nearby forest.[3]

About three weeks into the occupation, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Members of the Judenrat included Wolf Pras, Tunik Boruchanski, and Wajnrach (all from Stołpce), and Witenberg, Kibelski, and Kinerski (refugees from Łódź). The Judenrat was ordered to collect a large financial contribution and also to surrender valuable items and furs. Subsequently the council encountered difficulties in meeting the unceasing German demands for furniture, clothing, linens, and foodstuffs. A Jewish police force was established to assist the Judenrat in carrying out its duties.[4]

From August 1941 until February 1942, the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Stołpce comprised men of the 8th Company, 727th Infantry Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Göbel.[5] In late August or September 1941, the German Ortskommandant established a ghetto in Stołpce.[6] The ghetto was located in the worst part of town, and conditions were very overcrowded (up to 30 people sharing a room). The Germans surrounded it with thick barbed wire, and there was only one large gate, guarded by the local police and the Germans. There were no schools in the ghetto, and the rabbis went into hiding, fearing persecution.[7]

In November 1941, men of the 8th Company, 727th Regiment, assisted by the local police, conducted large-scale massacres of the Jews in Nowy Świerzeń, Mir, and other nearby places. However, no large-scale Aktion was conducted in Stołpce. From mid-November 1941, German Gendarmerie posts were established in Gebiet Baranowitsche, which assumed control over the local Belorussian police. However, the Gendarmerie outpost in Stołpce was not established until 1942, still remaining subordinated to the larger post in Mir. Among the leaders of the local police in Rayon Stolpce was Jan Szczekało.[8]

The Jewish survivor, Rochelle Sutin, has described conditions in the ghetto. Initially she was housed in an old meeting hall formerly belonging to the Baptists. Dozens of families were crammed together with only enough room to sleep. There were two wood stoves for cooking and keeping warm, but there was not much to cook, as food rations were limited to stale bread or worse. Sleeping was almost impossible due to the bedbugs in the mattresses, and during the day lice caused her skin to itch and rashes to break out. Those capable of work left the ghetto every day for the sawmill and other places in town, but the many unfit Jews remained behind in the ghetto. Rochelle brought back scraps of bark from the sawmill to be used for heating.[9]

In response to an enquiry made via the Red Cross, the Gendarmerie in Gebiet Baranowitsche reported that three members of the Kapuszczewski family, Israel, Minja, and

Nechama, were all Jews living in the Stołpce ghetto in June 1942.[10] In the summer of 1942, as news arrived of the uprising in the nearby Nieśwież ghetto in July, young Jews in Stołpce prepared to offer armed resistance, secretly gathering weapons and German uniforms. However, in late July or early August 1942, at least 500 able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were selected for work, including some of those in the underground. They were sent to labor camps run by the Organisation Todt in Baranowicze and Minsk. As this selection was not an extermination Aktion, no uprising was staged; the underground feared for the fate of the women and children. Following this selection, about 2,000 Jews remained in the ghetto.[11]

The Gendarmerie in Stołpce planned to carry out a large Aktion against the ghetto on September 23, 1942, ordering the concentration of all local policemen from throughout the Rayon, as well as members of the Latvian Police Battalion based in the town. These forces surrounded the ghetto early in the morning. A squad of the Security Police and SD from Minsk, including non-German auxiliaries, arrived in Stołpce to direct the Aktion. Some 450 Jews were sent to their workplaces, and 750 Jews, most of them women, were shot, while another 850 either managed to flee or remained in hiding in the ghetto. The Gendarmerie post commander, Hauptwachtmeister Wilhelm Schultz, reported that over the following days up to October 2 another 488 Jews, composed mostly of women and children, were brought in and shot under his supervision. Another 350 Jews were killed on October 11, including many more who had attempted to hide among the work Jews living in the reconstituted ghetto. Schultz concluded that after this Aktion there were no children or unfit people remaining.[12]

Following the killings in October, Schultz ordered for the remaining smaller part of the ghetto to be sealed off by a 2.5-meter-high (8-feet-high) wooden fence. Local peasants came to salvage any property of value from the emptied area of the ghetto. The remaining 210 Jews, roughly half men and half women, were employed at the Stöhr Company Army Base, at the Luftwaffe Supply Office, and at the Zentrale Handelsgesellschaft Ost (Central Trade Society East, ZHO).[13] In November 1942, the Jewish partisan Abraham Zaretski sneaked into the ghetto with the aim of leading out a group of Jews to join the Zhukov partisan detachment in the forest. However, the head of the Judenrat betrayed Zaretski to the Germans, who killed him, as the chairman feared the consequences of such an escape for those Jews who remained.[14]

In December 1942, about 60 Jews fled to the forest after hearing that Schultz was planning a further Aktion; 30 of them returned shortly afterwards, however, when they were offered "amnesty."[15] In late January 1943, around 200 Jewish laborers remained in the Stołpce ghetto and about 250 in the sawmill labor camp (former ghetto) in nearby Nowy Świerzeń. On Friday, January 29, 1943, about 200 Jews fled from the Nowy Świerzeń labor camp run by the Luftwaffe, as they had learned that non-Jewish laborers would soon replace them. In response, Gendarmerie Captain Max Eibner in Baranowicze ordered the shooting of all the Jews in the Stołpce ghetto and all but 12 specialists at the sawmill. On January 31, the Gendarmerie shot 254 Jews, including those brought in from Nowy Świerzeń. Subsequently, another 18 found hiding in the ghetto were shot, and guards killed 6 more as they attempted to flee from the ghetto area at night. Over the following days, Wehrmacht patrols handed over another 15 Jews captured in the surrounding area, such that 293 Jews had been shot by February 4, 1943.[16]

Some of the Jews who fled the Stołpce ghetto survived by joining the Bielski partisan unit in the nearby Naliboki Forest or by serving with other Soviet partisan units in the region.

SOURCES Information on the Stołpce ghetto can be found in the following publications: Nahum Hinits, ed., *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no veha-'ayarot ha-semukhot Rubezevits, Derevno, Nalibok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stoyebts be-Yisrael, 1964); and Jack Sutin and Rochelle Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle: A Holocaust Story of Love and Resistance* (Saint Paul, MN: Graywolf, 1995).

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Stołpce during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/554, 564, and 569); BA-L (202 AR-Z 16/67); GABO (995-1-4 and 7); GARF (7021-81-102; and 7021-148-316); IPN (SAOl 14; SWGd 27; and SWOl 50-55 and 75); NARB (845-1-6 and 389-1-4); Sta. Mü I (117 Js 2/72, investigation against F. Göbel); Sta. Oldenbourg (2 Js 138/68); USHMM (e.g., RG-02.214; RG-53.002M; and ITS (VCC—Ordner Nr. 6); VHF (e.g., # 11623 and 13957); and YVA (e.g., O-3/3569).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/564, testimony of Berko Berkowicz; and Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, pp. 25–26.
2. AŻIH, 301/564.
3. Ibid.; Hinits, *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no*, p. xv; Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, pp. 33–37; and NARA, T-175, reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 50, August 12, 1941.
4. AŻIH, 301/564.
5. Sta. Mü I, 117 Js 2/72 (investigation in the case of Friedrich Göbel), pp. 1228–1230, statement of Fritz Mühlemeyer on September 6, 1972. The investigation concluded that Göbel was probably deceased, and no other persons were indicted.
6. AŻIH, 301/564. Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, p. 39; here Rochelle states that the ghetto was created two months after the Germans arrived (i.e., in August–September). The Nowy Świerzeń ghetto was established on October 25, 1941; see YVA, O-3/3569, testimony of Yisrael Celkowicz.
7. AŻIH, 301/564; and Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, p. 40.
8. GABO, 995-1-4, p. 297; and IPN, SWOl, trial of Jan Szczekało, who was sentenced to 10 years in prison.
9. Sutin and Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle*, pp. 41–42.
10. USHMM, ITS collection, VCC—Ordner Nr. 6, p. 70.
11. AŻIH, 301/564 and 301/554, testimony of Lejzer Zarecki; VHF, # 11623, testimony of Isaac Haskell, who was among those sent to the labor camp in Minsk; Hinits, *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no*, pp. xvii, 140.
12. GABO, 995-1-4, p. 304, and 995-1-7, reports of Gend.-Postenführer in Stolpce, Schultz, to Gend.-Gebietsführer in Baranowitsche, October 3 and 18, 1942. AŻIH, 301/569, tes-

timony of Basia Pinczonslia, confirms that women and children found in the ghetto were murdered on Schultz's orders in October, leaving only 220 Jews capable of work.

13. GABO, 995-1-7, p. 307; and Hinits, *Sefer zikhron Stoyebts-Sverz'no*, p. xviii.

14. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 459–460.

15. AŻIH, 301/569.

16. NARB, 389-1-4, pp. 22, 24.

SZARKOWSZCZYZNA

Pre-1939: Szarkowszczyzna, town, Dzisna powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Sharkovshchina, raion center, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Scharkowschtschina, Rayon center, Gebiet Glebokie, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Sharkaushchyna, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus



Jewish men work in a shoe factory in the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto, 1942. USHMM WS #78937, COURTESY OF MARK FINTEL

Szarkowszczyzna is located about 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of Minsk. The number of Jews in the town on the eve of World War II was probably around 1,500.

Szarkowszczyzna was attacked and occupied on July 6–9, 1941, by German units of Panzer Group 3, commanded by Hermann Hoth, and the VIth Infantry Corps, belonging to the 9th Army. At first, the town was in the 9th Army's zone of operations; at the end of August 1941, it became part of Gebiet Glebokie in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

Among the first victims of the German occupying forces were deputy of the town council Zalman Muszkat, Hitl Mindel', Tsodik Rozoy, and Raya Friedman, all of whom were shot during the first month of the occupation. Local police chief Marian Danilecki and his assistant, Michal Klenowski, were responsible for those deaths.[1] The Germans and their collaborators concentrated initially on those whom they suspected of being Soviet activists or who might be capable of organizing resistance.

Between September and November 1941, the Jews of Szarkowszczyzna, together with those of Bildziugi,[2] Hermanowicze,[3] Nowy Pohost,[4] Szkunciki, and other nearby villages, were rounded up and placed in a ghetto. The ghetto was on the corner of the streets known after the war as Kirov and Engels Streets, on the right bank of the Dzisna River.[5] According to witness S.A. Byk, Jews forcibly confined in the ghetto were allowed to bring with them only a few household articles. All livestock was seized, and whatever the Jews left behind was also taken. To heighten security, the ghetto area was surrounded by a tall wooden fence topped with barbed wire, and a guard was posted. Jews were strictly forbidden to leave the ghetto or communicate with non-Jews. About 1,700 people were confined within the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto in conditions of terrible overcrowding.[6] Ekhiel' Lipshin was chairman of the ghetto Judenrat,[7] which organized a small Jewish police force to assist in carrying out its tasks.

Establishing the ghetto was part of the Germans' methodical efforts to weaken the inmates' will to resist. To that end, they forced Jews aged eight and older to engage in heavy physical labor, for example, building a bridge across the Dzisna River, clearing snow from the roads in winter, or working in agriculture. The Jews were starved; each worker received just 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. Violence and humiliation were deliberate. Inmates were systematically beaten and robbed and could be shot for failing to obey the German regulations.

News from outside the ghetto was also alarming. On December 17, 1941, the Gendarmerie from Szarkowszczyzna, assisted by local Belorussian policemen, murdered 450 Jews in the nearby town of Jody. The local population took the clothing of the Jews for themselves. The murderers did not cover up the grave for another month and a half, as they continued to use it to bury Jews they tracked down in hiding.[8]

At the end of March 1942 (three days before Passover on April 2), the Germans divided the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto into two parts, one for "necessary workers" and a second ghetto for the rest. All the ghetto residents suddenly claimed they had items to trade and did what they could to be registered in the "necessary workers' ghetto." At the beginning of June 1942, rumors spread about the slaughter of the Jews in the nearby towns of Miory and Brasław and then a few days later in Dzisna. At this time there were a few cases of typhus in the ghetto, and those who were sick were transferred to the Głębokie ghetto, which had a hospital. The Jews in the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto had procured some weapons secretly and began to station guards at night to warn of any suspicious movements, as most Aktions started early in the morning.[9]

According to the testimony of Y.E. Tseplovich, the Gendarmerie officer Hein (or Heidt) arrived in Szarkowszczyzna from Głębokie on June 17, 1942. Two of the Judenrat leaders met with him. When they asked about the future of the ghetto, the officer replied that there would be no Aktions. Early the next morning, however, on June 18, the German police and their local collaborators surrounded the Szarkowszczyzna

ghetto and set about killing its inhabitants. They opened fire with submachine guns and machine guns and threw grenades. Some ghetto inhabitants also tried to set the ghetto on fire, but this was mostly unsuccessful because of the recent rain. Many Jews attempted to flee, however, breaking down the ghetto fence in places and bursting through the surrounding police cordon.[10] I.I. Bakhir later testified that "a large number of Jews escaped from the ghetto into the fields, and the Germans from the punitive detachment shot at them."[11] Some 700 mostly elderly ghetto inhabitants, who were unable to flee, were escorted away and shot. The mass shooting was carried out on the eastern edge of town in two ditches on the right bank of the Dzisna River. The bodies of those who had been killed in the ghetto were later brought there as well. Nearly 1,000 Jews took part in the mass escape, however, and the survivors sought refuge in the surrounding countryside.

The Germans, assisted by the local police, recaptured about 300 of the Jews who had escaped. A large group was found hiding close to a mill near Radiuki, a village 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Szarkowszczyzna, and the Germans shot them as soon as they were found.[12] The local police did not tire; for days and weeks they continued searching for fleeing and hidden Jews.[13] Among the survivors were a number of former ghetto inmates who formed a Jewish partisan unit. As many as 500 Jewish escapees from the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto subsequently went into the ghetto in Głębokie. In August 1942, the office of the Glebokie Gebietskommissar spread news of an amnesty for those Jews in hiding if they gave themselves up and came to the Głębokie ghetto.[14] Because of the difficulties in finding a safe place to hide, many Jews accepted this offer, despite their natural doubts as to its sincerity. The Głębokie ghetto was in turn liquidated in August 1943, and ultimately only about 60 Jews from Szarkowszczyzna managed to survive until the Germans were driven from the region by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.

German forces and their collaborators murdered Jews both before and after the liquidation of the ghetto, in villages of Rayon Scharkowschtschina, such as Semionowicze, Szkoldri, and Nowosiolki.[15] Some Jews who fled from the ghetto were captured and killed: for example, in Rawiczewka, the Germans burned 7 Jews to death on December 7, 1942; 2 other men who tried to escape were shot. Ia. K. Statsevich was also killed for sheltering Jews. In June 1943, 19 Jews who had probably escaped from the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto were shot in Raypol. In September 1943, 2 other ghetto escapees were killed in Robertowo.[16]

SOURCES Information on the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto can be found in the following publications: Michael Rayak and Tsevi Rayak, eds., *Hurbn Glubok*, *Sharkoystsene*, *Dunilovitsh*, *Postav*, *Droye*, *Kazan: Dos lebn un umkum fun yidishn shtetlekh in Vaysrusland-Lite (Vilne gegent)* (Buenos Aires: Landslayt Farayn fun Sharkoystsene, Dunilovitsh, Postav, Glubok un umgegent in Argentine, 1946); Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne: Umkum fun di Yidn in Vilne un Vilner gegnt . . . : Zamlung fun eydus: Bavayzn oder dokumentn* [in Yiddish] (New York: Aroysgegebn fun dem fareyniktn Vilner hilfs-komitet in Nyu-York durkh Tsiko bikher-farlag, 1947); and Gennadii Vinnitsa, "Dve stupeni k vosstaniiu," *Novosti nedeli* (*Evreiskii Kamerton*), June 4, 2003, pp. 6–7.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews in the Szarkowszczyzna raion can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1390-91); GARF (7021-92-224); NARB (370-1-483); USHMM (Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89); and YVA (e.g., 0-33/2277). Gennadii Vinnitsa also consulted witness testimonies located in his own (PAGV) and other personal archives.

Gennadii Vinnitsa and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Testimony of Y.E. Tseplovich, GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 320. Danilecki shot several other Jews after the establishment of the ghetto, but he was himself arrested and shot by the Germans in the spring of 1942; see USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89, MS of Abraham Sosnowik, "Survival in German-occupied Poland" (1987), pp. 9, 15.

2. Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, pp. 154–155, gives the population of Bildziugi as 280 but dates the concentration of the Jews in Szarkowszczyzna erroneously as the end of 1942 (it should be late 1941).

3. On the Hermanowicze ghetto, which existed only briefly in the summer and fall of 1941, see the separate entry in this volume.

4. BA-L, B 162/1390 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 1), pp. 645–650 and 692–694, statements of Szachna Szteijnman, October 30, 1961, in Buenos Aires, and Moses Treister on January 27, 1962, in Chicago, both survivors from Nowy Pohost, who were taken to the Szarkowszczyzna ghetto in September or October of 1941. See also USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc. 1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," pp. 7–8, which dates the transfer to Szarkowszczyzna in October 1941.

5. Testimony of L.M. Shlabovsky, in PAGV.

6. Act, April 10, 1945, Concerning the Investigation of Crimes of the German-Fascist Invaders and, their Accomplices on the Territory of Szarkowszczyzna Raion, Polotsk Oblast', GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 4, states 1,600. BA-L, B 162/1391 (202 AR-Z 37/60, vol. 2), p. 936, statement of Zalman Cymmer, September 9, 1962, in Israel, gives the figure of 1,800 ghetto inhabitants.

7. Testimony of Ishayahu Cimmer, in PAGV.

8. Act, March 11, 1945, Concerning the Crimes of the German Invaders in the Village of Jody, Szarkowszczyzna Raion, Polotsk Oblast', GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 56. For more detailed accounts of the events in Jody, see Peter Silverman, David Smuschkowitz, and Peter Smuszkowicz, *From Victims to Victors* (Concord, Ontario: Canadian Society for Yad Vashem, April 1992), pp. 79–88; and also YVA (M-1/E 2129/1912 and 0-33/2277).

9. USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc.1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," pp. 24–27.

10. Report of Gebietskommissar Glebokie, July 1, 1942, to Generalkommissar Weissruthenien, W. Kube, concerning the Judenaktion, NARB, 370-1-483, p. 15; Rayak and Rayak, *Hurbn Glubok* [English trans.] pp. 66–67.

11. Testimony of I.I. Bakhir, GARF, 7021-92-224, p. 309.

12. Testimony of S.A. Byk, GARF, 7021-92-202.

13. Rayak and Rayak, *Hurbn Glubok* [English trans.], p. 67.
14. USHMM, Art & Artifacts, Acc. 1998.89, "Survival in German-occupied Poland," p. 46; S. Kaczerginski, *Hurbn Vilne*, p. 155.
15. GARF, 7021-92-224, pp. 58, 132, 260.
16. Ibid., p. 246.

SZCZUCZYN

Pre-1939: Szczuczyn, town and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Shchuchin, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schtschutschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Shchuchyn, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Szczuczyn is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) east-southeast of Grodno. In 1940, out of 3,500 inhabitants, 1,800 were Jews. Around 20 percent of the Jewish population consisted of recent refugees from central and western Poland. About 600 Jews (120 families) lived in the town of Różanka some 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the southeast.[1]

The German army entered the town on June 26, 1941, arriving via Różanka, where German units had murderd 80 Jews in a reprisal Aktion after local inhabitants had accused the Jews of assisting the Soviets. In Szczuczyn, the German occupants initially arrested scores of prominent local Jews. After holding them hostage for three days, the Germans let them return home. According to the testimony of Liber Losh, the first person murdered in the town was a Jew, hanged in the market square by the Germans as an alleged Communist.[2]

In mid-August 1941, the Germans selected 40 Jews from among those working near the Palace of Drucki-Lubecki, where they were constructing air-raid shelters. They shot them all and buried them on the spot. Among those killed were Herzl Medlinsky, Leib Levin, Yaakov Vitovsky, and Asher Yantchuk. This was the first Aktion.[3]

Among the first anti-Jewish measures ordered by the Germans was that every Jew must wear a yellow star (Magen David). Jews were not permitted to trade in the market or have any communication with the Christian population. Jews were also not allowed to enter or leave the town, and a curfew was imposed on them at night. Every Jewish man and woman under the age of 60 was obliged to perform forced labor.[4]

Initially Szczuczyn was administered by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). During the first days of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur set up a local adminstration and a police force recruited from the Polish population. Among those who joined the police were the Kotzut brothers, the Novick brothers, Yozhvaski and Naomchik, as well as Piltzky and his sons.

From the end of August 1941, control over the area was handed over gradually to the newly created German civil administration. However, the Ortskommandantur remained in place during the transition, and in October 1941, the 12th Company of Infantry Regiment 727 manned the Ortskommandantur.[5] Szczuczyn became a Rayon center within Gebietskommissariat Lida, under Gebietskommissar Hermann Hanweg. The local German civil administrator in charge of Szczuczyn was Kreisleiter Ermann. The commander of the Polish police was Wojciech Kotzut, and the local mayor was Linewicz.[6]

At the beginning of July 1941, the Germans appointed a Judenrat with the following members: Y. Paretzki, Moshe Ilutovich, Yitschak Mendel Levin, Chaim Leib Lidsky, Yosef Listovsky, Zussel Levit, and Tsvi Marshinsky. Later, the following were appointed to the Judenrat: Berl Sosnovitz, Mendel Paretski, Yudel Shavadsky, and others.

The function of the Judenrat was to carry out German orders promptly and to collect "contributions" for the Germans from the entire Jewish population. These contributions provided the Germans with money, clothes, and jewelry, in addition to the free supply of Jewish workers. The Jewish Police assisted the Judenrat. According to the recollection of Jakov Mazowecki, the policemen were Rafael Friedman, Alter Rotman, Simcha Marshinsky, and Aharon Kemenitsky. Golda Shwartz reported that "the Judenrat did everything they could and more to help." According to Mazowecki, they are credited with having organized medical services within the ghetto and establishing a soup kitchen to provide needy people with a hot meal.[7]

About a week after the formation of the Judenrat, in mid-July, the Germans published an order enclosing the Jews in a ghetto. The restricted area covered the following streets: Różanka Street and Railway Street; the market area to the power station; the two streets of the "Pliant"; Grodno Street and Vilna Street; and the market area to the non-Jewish "Meshchanin" houses (postwar: 17 September Street, Gastello Street, Komsomol'skaia Street, and Frunze Street). Once all the Szczuczyn Jews (about 2,500) were concentrated in the ghetto, another 500 Jews from Różanka and the more distant town of Bielica were brought in. Escorted by local police guards, the Jews were permitted to take with them only what they could carry in their arms. Several Jews from Różanka were also included in the Judenrat in the Szczuczyn ghetto.[8] Life in the ghetto was characterized by terrible overcrowding and food shortages.

Available survivor testimony indicates that there was no artificial wall around the ghetto. However, local resident Victor Jarmalkowich claimed that there was a barbed-wire fence. The commandant of the ghetto was a man named Petuchow. According to survivor testimony, the Polish policemen who guarded the ghetto were susceptible to bribery.[9]

About two weeks after the creation of the ghetto, the Germans ordered the local police to assemble, "for the purpose of registration," all the Jewish intelligentsia (e.g., teachers, doctors, lawyers, and religious leaders) with their families. About 10 families, some 50 people altogether, were gathered (including Rabbi Yechiel Michal Rabinowitz, the ritual slaughterer Leib Zarenstein, the dentist Lisa Dvortsky-Sapir, and several teachers). The Germans led them out of the town to the village of Topilishky (about 8 kilometers, or 5 miles, from

Szczuczyn) and murdered them there by shooting them into pits that had been prepared beforehand.

The final massacre in the Szczuczyn ghetto took place on May 9, 1942.[10] During the early hours of the morning, the members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police numbered the houses and, under orders from the authorities, announced a gathering in the synagogue square for the purpose of a general population census (including children and the sick). When the whole community had gathered, the German Stabsleiter, Leopold Windisch, appeared with his assistant and translator, the Pole Wasiukiewicz from the Gebietskommissariat in Lida,[11] the local police commander Kotzut, the head of the local council Yazhevsky, and about 25 SD men with machine guns. Once those assembled had closed ranks in order (by family), the local police commander announced that 500 men, artisans and workers, with their families would be selected and transferred to Lida. The others would be sent home. When the 500 men had been selected (including some members of the Judenrat and Jewish Police), the remaining people were marched to the market square, where they had to lie facedown, heavily guarded by Polish police.

In the meantime, a group of German motorcyclists appeared in the synagogue square, armed with submachine guns. They started shooting into the crowd. An order was given to move while the murderers surrounded the rows from all sides, shooting nonstop and directing the condemned people to the outskirts of the town towards the pits that had been prepared previously. There, a firing squad of Lithuanians and Latvians awaited them. The people were led to the pits, ordered to undress, and then made to get into them. The murderers showered them with machine-gun fire and threw grenades into the pits. They then covered the dead with a layer of a chloride compound and prepared the next group to be shot. This continued until 5:00 P.M. The following day, the remaining Jews were given permission to gather those killed outside the pit and bury them next to the common mass grave. According to various sources, between 2,060 and 2,180 Jews were killed.[12]

The approximately 500 Jews who remained alive were then returned to the ghetto. The Judenrat was reconstituted (including Chaim Leib Lidsky, Yosef Listovsky, and Tsvi Marshinsky). The public kitchen and the public bathhouse were reopened. A *minyan* was organized to say Kaddish, and an underground *cheder* for about 30 orphaned children was set up. In return for bribes, the new German Sonderführer now appointed to govern the town allowed the Jews to work in the gardens next to their houses or even to gather crops in the village fields belonging to Jews. In September 1942, the Germans started organizing groups of people and sending them to the Organisation Todt labor camps in Lida, Wilejka, Krasne, Oszmiana, and Borisov. Over the next six months, Szczuczyn was almost completely emptied of its remaining Jews.[13]

On September 17, 1943, the last Jews were deported in railway cars to the Majdanek concentration camp. Of 2,500 Jews from Szczuczyn, only 13 men are known to have survived. These men fought against the Germans in Soviet partisan groups. At least 4 Jewish partisans from Szczuczyn were killed in combat.[14]

SOURCES The main published work on the Jewish community and the ghetto of Szczuczyn is the yizkor book by L. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron li-Kehilot Shts'uts'in*, *Vasilishki*, *Ostrin*, *Novidvor*, *Roz'anke* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrin be-Yisrael, 1964). There is also some useful information in two local history publications: *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Shchuchynskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 2001); and Siarhej Donskich, *Nash Shchuchin* (Grodno, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAGO; NARB; and YVA. Further information can be found in the German investigative files regarding the case of Leopold Windisch (Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67).

Siarhej Pivavarchyk

NOTES

1. Donskich, *Nash Shchuchin*, pp. 22–23.
2. YVA, 0-3/4378, testimony of Liber Losh.
3. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 84.
4. YVA, 0-3/4378.
5. On the Aktions conducted against alleged "Jewish partisans" in the area by 12th Company, Infantry Regiment 727, see Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67 (case against Leopold Windisch), pp. 1175a–1191e.
6. *Pamiats'*, p. 204; Donskich, *Nash Shchuchin*, p. 125.
7. YVA, O-3/6922, testimony of Golda Shwartz; and *Pamiats'*, p. 204.
8. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 443–444.
9. YVA, O-3/4378.
10. NARB, 861-1-7, p. 70; *Pamiats'*, pp. 204–205; YVA, O-3/4378. Some sources date the Aktion on May 10.
11. The presence of Windisch is questionable, as some witnesses put him in Żołudek on the morning of May 9; see BA-L, B 162/14386 (202 AR-Z 94d/59, verdict of LG Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67, July 17, 1969).
12. NARB, 861-1-7, p. 70; *Pamiats'*, pp. 204–205; GAGO, 1029-1-75, p. 81; *Niamecka-faschyski genacyd na Belarusi, 1941–1944* (Minsk, 1995), p. 315; see also Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67, Dok. Bd. 2, pp. 19–21, 50–53, 79–82.
13. Lush et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 88.
14. *Pamiats'*, p. 205.

TIMKOVICHI

Pre-1941: Timkovichi (Yiddish: Timkovitz), village, Kopyl' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Timkowitschi, Rayon Kopyl, Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Tsimkavichy, Kapyl' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Timkovichi is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. By mid-1941, emigration had reduced the Jewish population to less than 1,000.[1]

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied Timkovichi on June 28, 1941, one week after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During that time, only a few Jews

managed to evacuate to the east or, like Joseph Shuster, were conscripted into the Red Army.[2] Around 900 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Timkovichi was in Rayon Kopyl, Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Timkovichi, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the compulsory wearing of distinguishing markings, and the use of Jews for forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to leave the limits of the village and had to pay large contributions to the German authorities.

According to the recollection of three Jewish survivors, the Germans established a ghetto in Timkovichi only a short time after their arrival, in early or mid-July 1941. The ghetto was composed of a number of small houses, which became very overcrowded, with as many as eight families sharing a single dwelling. The Jews in the ghetto received no food rations.[3] The survivors indicate that a barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, which was guarded at least part of the time by the local Belorussian police. However, according to one account, the Jews were concentrated first, and the fence was erected later, in the fall of 1941.[4]

On March 25, 1942, the Germans ordered all the Jews to assemble on the market square. Here they conducted a selection. A group of about 300 Jews, comprising craftsmen and their families, were directed to one side and then sent back into the ghetto. The others, probably about 600 people, were taken out of the village in the direction of Prusy and were shot into a large pit.[5]

On June 25 or 26, 1942, four German Gendarmes, assisted by the local police, escorted all the remaining Jews to a pit about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) outside the village. Here they were shot in groups of 15 to 20 people.[6]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Timkovichi can be found in the following publication: Nachum Chinitz and Samson Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv and New York: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), pp. 441–445.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Timkovichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/16148); GARF (7021-82-8); NARB; USHMM (RG-10.455); VHF (# 2409, 24546, 39429); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, pp. 441–445; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1308.

2. Isaac Kowalski, *Anthology on Armed Resistance, 1939–45* (Brooklyn, NY: Jewish Combatants Publishers House, 1991), p. 119.

3. VHF, # 24546, testimony of Naum Bratkovskii (born 1915), and # 2409, testimony of Iakov Kuchinskii (born 1929); and BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Fishel L. Kirman (born 1891), given on July 13, 1970.

4. VHF, # 39429, testimony of Ilya Shuster (born 1922).

5. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), p. 151, testimony of Fishel L. Kirman.

6. Ibid., p. 184—gives the date of June 25, 1942; the dates of the shootings given on the inscription on the memorial are March 26 and June 26, 1942. According to the list of names, there were 527 victims (GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 112 verso–120 verso). Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 700, however, dates the Aktion in late July or even early August, around the same time as the final liquidation of the nearby Kopyl' ghetto (on July 23, 1941).

URECH'E

Pre-1941: Urech'e, town, Liuban' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uretschje, Rayon and Gebiet Sluzk, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Urechcha, Liuban' raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Urech'e is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 979 Jews living in Urech'e (17.5 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the settlement on June 28, 1941, six days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. Owing to the rapid German advance, only a few Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Around 750 to 800 Jews remained in Urech'e at the start of the occupation. The first Jewish victims were shot shortly after the arrival of German forces in the summer of 1941.[2]

Initially, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Urech'e was incorporated into Rayon Sluzk, Gebiet Sluzk, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar in Slutsk from the fall of 1941 was Heinrich Carl. Under the civil administration, the local Belorussian police was transferred to the control of the German Gendarmerie (Order Police) and renamed the Schutzmannschaft.[3]

Immediately after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and compelled them to perform various forms of forced labor. In the fall of 1941, all the Jews of the town, and probably about 100 more from the surrounding villages, were resettled into a ghetto on Talskaia Street, which was guarded by the Schutzmannschaft and the Germans.[4] According to Einsatzgruppen report no. 182, dated March 18, 1942, 10 Jews from the Urech'e ghetto escaped in order to join the partisans.[5]

Early in the morning of May 9, 1942, German-led forces drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and conducted a selection. About 120 Jewish craftsmen, including tailors, carpenters, and shoemakers, were separated from the

column. Then the remaining Jews, comprosed mainly of the elderly, women, and children, were escorted to two ditches that had been prepared in advance by local inhabitants about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Urech'e on the edge of the forest. On the way to the killing site, the Germans shot 12 to 15 Jews who tried to flee. At the ditches, the Jews were forced to undress and made to climb into them, where Germans, assisted by Belorussian Schutzmänner, shot them with machine pistols, rifles, and revolvers.[6]

On that day, a detachment of the Wehrmacht, together with men of the German Gendarmerie and local Belorussian police, shot 715 Jews. Two days later another 40 Jews uncovered in hiding were shot. An entry found in the diary of a dead German soldier recorded: "The young Jewish girls pleaded, 'Don't kill us, we want to live.' Many of them did not want to be shot but jumped into the pit in front of them and were buried alive."[7] A monument was placed at the site of this mass grave in 1967.

Later in 1942, probably in late summer or fall, a detachment of German Gendarmes accompanied by Belorussian policemen under the command of the head of the Schutzmannschaft in Slutsk, Stefan Schneck, arrived in Urech'e from Slutsk and shot the remaining 100 or so Jewish craftsmen. Jewish property was collected from the victims; the Germans took the most valuable items back with them to Slutsk, and the other property, mainly clothing, was given into the custody of the police chief in Urech'e, Pavel Sevruk, for distribution among the local population. This Aktion was conducted in a ditch on the southeastern periphery of the town near the airfield.[8]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Urech'e can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/16148); GARF (7021-82-7); NARA (NO-3233); TsGAMORF (233/2374/58); USHMM (RG-22.002M and RG-22.008); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1362.

2. BA-L, B 162/16148 (II 202 AR-Z 228/75), vol. 1, p. 38, testimony of Nikolay Pavlovich Zlobin, March 12, 1947.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, testimony of Nikolay Pavlovich Zlobin, March 12, 1947; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 71.

5. NARA, N-Doc., NO-3233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 182, March 18, 1942.

6. BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, pp. 38, 43, 47.

7. See Boris Shub, ed., *Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1943), pp. 199–200. The names of 504 of the murdered Jews can be found in GARF, 7021-82-7, pp. 59–69. TsGAMORF, 233/2374/58, p. 14, Akt, June 30, 1944, records 930 Jews shot on May 8, 1942.

8. BA-L, B 162/16148, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, testimony of Nikolay Pavlovich Zlobin, March 12, 1947, and pp. 57, 63–64, testimony of the former head of the local police, Pavel Sevruk, August 7, 1959 and June 15, 1946.

UZDA

Pre-1941: Uzda, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Usda, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Uzda, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uzda is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) south-southwest of Minsk. The Jewish community of Uzda is first mentioned in records from the eighteenth century; in 1765, 263 Jews lived there. Uzda became part of Russia in 1793. In 1847, 1,618 Jews lived in Uzda; and by 1897, the Jewish population had reached 2,068, comprising 75 percent of the total population. In 1926, the share of Jews in Uzda had fallen to 62.5 percent (1,564 Jews). In 1939, the share of Jews in the local population stood at 33 percent (1,143 Jews).

Most of the men of working age were drafted into the Red Army, but older people and families with many children were unable to leave town on their own. On June 27 1941, the German army entered Uzda without encountering resistance. That same day, the Nazis used the local cemetery as an execution site, where they shot Communists who had failed to evacuate and were revealed by local inhabitants.

The German commandant soon appointed a local police chief, Dlatovskii, and a deputy police chief, Iosif Savitskii. The detachment of German Gendarmes in Uzda was led by Woland. The municipal administration, an organ of local self-government, was headed by Viktor Vitkovskii. Respected people joined it, such as Kruglik, the senior doctor at the local hospital, and his spouse, also a doctor. Brel', a well-known local Stakhanovite (an industrial laborer singled out as a role model for hard work) and a master craftsman in the cobblers' *artel* (cooperative), became town mayor.[1]

At the end of July 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to leave their homes and move into a ghetto within two days. The ghetto was established on two streets: Leninskaia and Proletarskaia.[2] Jews were also brought into the Uzda ghetto from the nearby villages of Losha and Mogilno.[3] The Jews were allowed to take with them only a few basic necessities, such as bed linen. Home utensils, furniture, cattle, and poultry were forbidden. All the ghetto's inhabitants, some 300 families, had to wear a round yellow patch on the left breast and on the back of their outer garments.[4] Jews could walk only in the middle of the road; under no circumstances were they allowed on the sidewalk. The ghetto was not surrounded by barbed wire, but orders were posted on the walls announcing the rules of conduct for Jews: full compliance with the ghetto's internal regime, no

leaving the ghetto without special permission, no talking with non-Jews, and other restrictions.[5] Any violation of these rules was met with one strict punishment: shooting. Conditions in the ghetto were very cramped. People felt cut off from the outside world and all news. They had to rely only on rumors.

The Uzda ghetto had no great economic significance. It served mainly as a place for concentrating the Jews to facilitate their annihilation at a later date. Therefore, no special measures were taken to provide for their social, medical, and material needs. Forced labor was only sporadic in nature. It is not known whether there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

In the first half of October 1941, deep pits were dug beyond the hillcrest at the far end of town on the other side of the bridge over the shallow Uzdianka River. A clay ditch located at the site was made deeper. According to some sources, this work was carried out by prisoners of war who were then shot.

The first Aktion was carried out on October 16–17, 1941. The day before, Vitkovskii, the head of the Uzda administration, convened leading figures from the ghetto in the former Thälmann Club and announced that all the Jews would be resettled to Minsk the next day. The Jews were ordered to dress in their best clothes, lay any valuables and money in the open at home, and leave the doors unlocked. Some of the Jews believed Vitkovskii. He had a reputation as a modest man and a good neighbor. That night, however, a Jew from Shatsk stole into the Uzda ghetto and revealed that on the previous day all the Jews in his ghetto had been killed under the pretext of resettlement.[6]

On October 16, at 5:00 A.M., a detachment of Security Police (subordinated to Einsatzkommando 3),[7] Gendarmes, and local policemen surrounded the ghetto. At 7:00 A.M., the German police ordered those Jews unable to walk to board the trucks. A gut-wrenching cry went up. The remaining Jews were organized into a column and led northeast towards the edge of the forest in the direction of Zabolot'e, 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) from town.[8]

Upon arriving at the killing site, the Jews were forced to undress and led to the edge of the pit in groups of 10 to 15 people. They were shot with machine guns and automatic weapons. The bodies were thrown forward into the pit by the shots fired. Those who refused to go to the site were killed on the spot and their bodies tossed into the pit. If the machine guns did not hit those standing in the firing line—as a rule, children—they were pushed into the pit alive, along with their murdered friends and family members. According to witness accounts, a German truck driver lost consciousness at the sight of this massacre, but a local driver replaced him.

On October 17, the Germans hunted down and killed Jews trying to hide in their makeshift refuges. No fewer than 1,200 people were killed in the course of two days. After the pogrom, local policeman Aleksandr (Sashka) Zhdanovich went about town boasting about how he had killed Jews. He went into considerable detail in describing the killing of Jewish girls. Other local policemen involved in the Aktion included Pavel Golub', Yosif Savitskii, and Ivan Koptur.[9]

Before the Aktion the local administration had selected seven of the best Jewish craftsmen; they and their families were spared from the mass shooting, as they were required to work for the Germans.[10] These Jews were placed in a smaller remnant ghetto in the town and may have been joined by other Jewish survivors after the first Aktion. The second Aktion took place in May 1942, when Roma (Gypsies) and, according to some sources, remaining Jewish specialists and their families—as well as possibly Soviet POWs—were killed at the Jewish cemetery. In all, 410 people were killed during that Aktion.[11]

Only a few people managed to save themselves. Edik Uel'skii (12 years old), the son of a Jewish woman and a Belorussian man, was able to tear himself away from the hands of the executioners when he was already standing naked on the edge of the pit, awaiting his fate.[12] A Belorussian family from the village Zhmaka Uzdenskaia was able to save Sima Margolin.[13] Zina and Khaim Grozovskii and their daughter Faina (10 years old) were hidden by Ales' and Tat'iana Krys'ko from the village of Bervishchi (one kilometer from Uzda), putting themselves and their seven children in danger. They hid the Grozovskiis in their home for a year and then helped them link up with Soviet partisans. The commander of the diversionary group at the core of the unit that took in the Grozovskiis was a certain Gritsenevich, also a Jew; the unit's radio operator was Sara Levin. Otherwise—that is, in partisan units without Jewish personnel—the fate of Jews roaming the forests who attempted to join them was uncertain (many were rejected or even hunted down).[14]

Uzda was liberated on June 26, 1944, by partisans of the 300th Brigade (Voroshilov), who held Uzda until the arrival of the 65th Army, 1st Belorussian Front, on July 4, 1944. On October 29, 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission arrived in Uzda and determined the sites where peaceful citizens had been shot. Upon examination, three large pits were discovered. The first of them was estimated to contain the bodies of 1,200 Jews. The second pit apparently contained 540 Jews, 120 POWs, and around 500 Belorussians. The third pit contained an estimated 950 bodies. This was the final burial site, which had been used in 1943–1944 for the murder mainly of non-Jews. The Extraordinary State Commission did not note the nationality of these victims. Another grave was found in Uzda itself, close to the city sauna. Upon opening it, officials found the bodies of 36 people who had been shot after interrogation and torture by Uzda's police and Gendarmerie. The remains of these victims were relocated to the city cemetery.[15]

According to Emanuel Ioffe, 1,610 Jews, and according to Marat Botvinnik 1,750 Jews, perished in Uzda during the occupation. However, these figures are significantly higher than the pre-war Jewish population of Uzda—1,143 according to the 1939 census. A number of Jews managed to flee east with retreating Soviet officials or were mobilized for the Red Army; and some were able to flee occupied Uzda and join the partisans. In addition to the Jews, the Nazis murdered Gypsies, POWs, Soviet activists, and Communists. Therefore, including refugees from western Belorussia and Jews from the

surrounding villages, it is likely that no more than 1,300 Jews perished in Uzda during the Holocaust.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Uzda can be found in the following publications: Sima M. Margolina, *Ostat'sia zhit'* (Minsk, 1997); Projektgruppe Belarus, ed., "Interview mit Sima Maximovna Margolina in 2001," in *"Existiert das Ghetto noch?": Weissrussland—Jüdisches Überleben gegen nationalsozialistische Herrschaft* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 78–103; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); "Evreiskii kamerton," supplement to the weekly *Novosti nedeli* (Tel Aviv), August 3, 2000; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GARF (7021-87-15 and 16); NARB (845-1-206); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (M-33/433-34).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-87-15, p. 1; and NARB, 845-1-206, pp. 169–171.
2. The description of the ghetto is based mainly on Margolina's memoir *Ostat'sia zhit'*; a brief summary can be found in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 230–232.
3. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 748, 841. From Mogilno, 61 Jews were transferred to the Uzda ghetto, and from Losha, probably around 100.
4. Margolina, *Ostat'sia zhit'*. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report gives the figure of 300 families inside the ghetto, but the number of victims it gives for the Aktion on October 16–17 (1,740 Jews) is probably too high; see below.
5. Projektgruppe Belarus, "Interview mit Sima Maximovna Margolina," pp. 82–83.
6. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 230–232.
7. BA-BL, R 70 SU/15, Jägerbericht, December 1, 1941.
8. YVA, M-33/434, p. 2.
9. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 231; NARB, 845-1-206, pp. 169–171.
10. Projektgruppe Belarus, "Interview mit Sima Maximovna Margolina," pp. 83–84.
11. Emanuel Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945 gg.* (Minsk, 2003), p. 393; *Pamiat': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia kniga, 1995), p. 613. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report of October 29, 1944, mentions only the murder of Gypsies in May 1942; see NARB, 845-1-206, pp. 169–171.
12. Margolina, *Ostat'sia zhit'*, p. 16.
13. Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei*, p. 204.
14. "Evreiskii kamerton."
15. YVA, M-33/434, pp. 8–9.

UZLIANY

Pre-1941: Uzliany, village, Rudensk raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Usljany, Rayon Rudensk, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Uzliany, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uzliany is located about 25 kilometers (16 miles) south of Minsk. By the middle of 1941, the Jewish population had declined by about one third, to around 400 to 450 people.

German forces had occupied the village by June 28, 1941, less than one week after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. According to the survivor Lazar Tsirlin, few Jews tried to flee, as although Jewish refugees had brought information about the Nazi persecution of Jews in occupied Poland, people still did not anticipate Nazi atrocities, recalling the German occupation during World War I in a generally favorable light.[1] In the short time available, a few men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 400 Jews remained in Uzliany at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant controlled the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Uzliany was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land, which was headed by the Gebietskommissar, Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser. Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla was appointed the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer. The Gebiet Minsk-Land became part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

The first German troops to enter the village looted some homes for food but did not distinguish between the Jews and the rest of the local population. Soon afterwards, however, the German military commandant ordered the agricultural administration to register and mark all the Jews in the village. A local administration and a local police force were recruited, which included former opponents of the Soviet regime. For example, a local "kulak" was appointed as starosta (head of the local administration). During the summer of 1941, probably in July, all the Jews of the village were confined within a ghetto composed of a few houses. Jews residing in the ghetto, including young boys, were required to perform various forms of heavy labor, including the repair of roads and bridges.[2]

On October 6–7, 1941, a few refugees from the nearby town of Shatsk brought news of the shooting of most of the Jews there by the Germans on October 5. Then on October 8, Lithuanian auxiliary police (Schutzmannschaften) and German policemen of the 11th Reserve Battalion surrounded the ghetto. These forces rounded up the Jews and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery just south of the village, where they shot about 375 people into a pit that had been prepared in advance.[3] A few Jews managed to escape during the roundup, most of them subsequently finding their way to the Minsk ghetto. According to the report of the German military commandant in Weissruthenien, German and Lithuanian police forces under military authority shot 630 persons in the area of

Uzliany and Rudensk, whom they deemed to be "suspicious persons without documents, communists, and Jews."[4]

SOURCES Publications regarding the ghetto in Uzliany include Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 58, 77, and 91.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Uzliany can be found in the following archives: NARB (378-1-698 and 651-1-1); and USHMM (RG-50.378 # 0009).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378 # 0009, oral history conducted with Lazar Samuilevich Tsirlin.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 77, 91.
4. Report by "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," October 16, 1941, NARB, 378-1-698, p. 4. See also NARB, 651-1-1, pp. 14–15, report of "Kommandant in Weissruthenien," October 19, 1941, which detailed activities from October 1–15, 1941; it mentions that 617 persons were shot after the police searched the villages of Dukora, Ozery, and Uzliany and the forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) to the east of Uzliany for "Jews, partisans, bandits, and other politically unreliable elements."

WASILISZKI

Pre-1939: Wasiliszki, town, Szczuczyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vasilishki, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wasilischki, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Vasilishki, Shchuchyn raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wasiliszki is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) east-northeast of Grodno. In 1940, the town had 2,596 inhabitants, of whom 2,190 were Jews.[1] Some 350 Jews lived in the nearby towns of Sobakińce and Zabołoć, located about 25 to 30 kilometers (15.5 to 18.6 miles) to the northwest.

The first German military units entered the town on June 25, 1941. Some local inhabitants presented lists of Jewish names to the German commander, alleging they were Communists. Following these denunciations, on July 26, the German authorities arrested and shot 7 Jewish men: Yakov Stein; Leizer Itche Borenstein, his son Hershl; Hersh Kavalsky, his brother Moishe; Nioma Ginzberg; and Binyamin Miller. In a subsequent Aktion a few days later, 11 more Jews were arrested and taken to Lida; nothing was heard from them again. Allegedly, one of the victims, the watchmaker Reuven Tzeshler, was denounced by a Polish colleague, to whom he had entrusted part of his property.[2]

The Germans set up a local council and a police force recruited from among the local Polish population. The chief of the Polish police was a man named Juzewski; the mayor (Bürgermeister) was Vagit Shmigira; and the offical responsible for Jewish forced labor was a certain Wolkiewicz.[3] The local police escorted the Jews assigned to forced labor each day, beating them frequently as they worked. For half a Reichsmark (RM), any Christian could buy a Jew for a day's work. The town administration made a business out of Jewish labor. When some Christians were dissatisfied with the Jewish workers, they cursed and beat them. Other Christians were more humane, however; they gave the Jews food and even allowed them to take food home for their families. On one occasion, the Jews were obliged to surrender furniture, bed linens, dishes, and antiques in order to equip the office of the commandant. On another occasion, the local authorities demanded boots, fur garments, cloth, and other valuables.[4]

In mid-July 1941, the German commandant called up 20 men, the finest *balebatim* (notable citizens) of the shtetl, and ordered them to form a Judenrat. The members of the Judenrat included Herman Sendik, Yakov Kaufman, Kalman Kravitz, Alter Venzovsky, Yonas Mones, Moishe Bass, Mordechai Lipschitz, Chaim-Berl Gordon, and Dr. Katz. The Judenrat had to carry out all the German decrees and orders and meet every request to supply Jewish workers. The Judenrat was also ordered to form a Jewish police force of 20 men to assert its authority in the ghetto. Every day the German authorities issued new decrees.

Despite difficulties in raising money, the Judenrat did manage to save some Jews temporarily by bribing certain officials. Operating in the region was a German special unit that always arrived in a particular vehicle, called *di boid* (covered wagon). The special unit carried out murders of the Jewish population. For example, those Jewish families whose men had evacuated with the Soviet forces were identified and shot by the special unit, assisted by the local police under the command of Juzewski. During Rosh Hashanah, the "boid" returned, and a number of Jews were arrested during prayers. After much hard negotiating by the Judenrat, and in exchange for a large bribe, the police released the Jews.[5]

In the fall of 1941, the German Gendarmerie arrived in Wasiliszki and assumed control of the local Polish police. The Germans established a ghetto in Wasiliszki on December 12, 1941.[6] The Judenrat was summoned and told to prepare for receiving some 200 Jews from Zabołoć, Sobakińce, and other nearby villages. A few days later, these Jews arrived and were put into houses on Kranker Street. The ghetto occupied half of Kranker Street, Foiler Street, Shulhoif Lane, and half of Vilna Street. In the ghetto, five families had to share one house. No information is available about the existence of a fence or a wall enclosing the ghetto. On moving into the ghetto, the Jews could take only what they could carry in their arms; later, some Jews who went back to visit their old houses to retrieve property were shot.[7]

All the inhabitants of the ghetto had to perform forced labor each day. Jews were forbidden even to talk to people who were not Jewish. Each ghetto inhabitant had to wear a yellow Star of David on his or her chest and back. The Germans

established a daily food ration of 125 grams (4.4 ounces) of bread per day for able-bodied Jews. As Samuel Poliachka recalls, the Germans imposed a strict policy of collective responsibility for any infringement of their instructions. A list of the people living in each apartment or house was posted at the entrance. The list was signed by the commandant of police and was certified by a seal. The police frequently inspected the ghetto at night. If someone was missing, or someone unlisted was present, then everyone in the residence would be killed. At night, it was forbidden to burn lights at home. This last decree also gave the police an opportunity to break into Jewish houses,[8] claiming that they saw lights inside. Once inside, they forced the Jews to hand over gold and money.

In the winter of 1941–1942, several groups of Jews were murdered by the German special unit and the local police, including the notorious policeman Szakowicz. Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated as food became scarce and clothes became ragged with no possibility of repairing them. In March 1942, however, the German garrison in nearby Szczuczyn (12th Company, Infantry Regiment 727) left for the front, and after that things became quieter until the ghetto liquidation in May.[9]

On May 8, 1942, many Germans arrived in Wasiliszki, together with Lithuanian policemen. They surrounded the ghetto. All Jews were ordered to surrender their valuables to the Judenrat, and no Jews were permitted to leave their houses. Only Judenrat officials and the Jewish Police were permitted to move about the streets. On May 9, 1942, the police chief Juzewski shot Chaim-Berl Gordon of the Judenrat, after taking the gold and other valuables collected from the Jews in the ghetto.[10]

On the morning of May 10, the police and SS started to chase the Jews out of their houses towards the main square near the Judenrat office, shooting some on the way. At the square, a selection took place. Among those participating in the selection were Shmigira, the mayor; the commandant of the Polish police, Juzewski; and the leader of the labor office, Wolkiewicz. Leopold Windisch, the deputy of the German Gebietskommissar in Lida, was present, together with a large group of high-ranking German police officers, who came to carry out the massacre.[11]

Those Jews who were directed to the left were escorted under severe blows to the cemetery, where mass graves had been prepared. A few tried to escape, but most of them were immediately shot by the guards. The selected Jews were then shot, and their bodies fell into the graves. According to different sources, between 1,800 and 2,159 Jews were murdered over the course of two days.[12] During the summer of 1942, the German authorities transferred the roughly 200 Jews still in Wasiliszki to the Szczuczyn ghetto, where a number of Jews from other towns in the region were also concentrated. Some of the Jews from Wasiliszki later were sent on from Szczuczyn to the Lida ghetto and to the labor camp in Lida run by the Organisation Todt (OT). Some of them were subsequently transferred to other OT camps in Wilejka and Krasne.

The Wasiliszki Jews who were taken to Lida established contact with Soviet partisans in the various forests of the region, particularly in the Naliboki Forest. During the spring and summer of 1943, a number of Wasiliszki Jews succeeded in fleeing to the forest.[13] Most of them joined active partisan units and took part in various battles.

SOURCES A most valuable collection of firsthand survivor testimonies can be found in the yizkor book for Szczuczyn (Shchuchin, Belarus), edited by C.E. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron li-Kehilot Shts'uts'in*, *Vasilishki*, *Ostrin*, *Novidvor*, *Roz'anke* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ostrin be-Yisrael, 1966). Additional information is contained in the local-history publication *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Shchuchynskaha raiona* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 2001).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/294); BA-L (B 162/14386); GAGO; GARF; NARB (845-1-8); USHMM; VHF, and YVA.

Siarhej Pivavarchyk and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Pamiats'*, p. 516.
2. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 232–234. Use has been made here of the translation by Miriam Dashkin Beckerman, put on the web by Jewishgen.
3. Ibid., p. 233.
4. Ibid., p. 235.
5. Ibid., p. 239.
6. Sta. Mainz, 3 Ks 1/67, vol. 2, Hauptverhandlung, p. 373, statement of witness E.W. on March 5, 1969, cited in Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 531.
7. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 239–240.
8. *Pamiats'*, p. 205.
9. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, pp. 240–241.
10. Ibid., p. 250.
11. Ibid., pp. 245–246; *Pamiats'*, p. 206; verdict in the case of Leopold Windisch, LG-Ma 3 Ks 1/67, July 17, 1969, BA-L, B 162/14386.
12. Volochinsky et al., *Sefer Zikaron*, p. 244; NARB, 845-1-8, pp. 52–53.
13. Among them were Katiev Shlomo, the brother and sister Mudrick, Yerachmiel Portnoy, Leizer Eisishki, Tankel Kushner, Zalman Mednitsky, Peretz Stanetsky, Avraham Gershowitz, Yehuda Shartz, Mordechai Sviatoj, Dr. Alpert and family, Tanchum Gordon, Efraim Kopelman, Yakov Shlomo Boyarsky, Moishele Zablatsky and wife, and Esther Pupko and her children.

WIAZYŃ

Pre-1939: Wiazyń, *village*, *Wilejka powiat*, *Wilno województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Viazyn'*, *Il'ia raion*, *Vileika oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wiazyn*, *Rayon Ilja*, *Gebietskommissariat Wilejka*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Viazyn'*, *Vileika raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Wiazyń is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Minsk. According to the 1921 census, Wiazyń had a Jewish population of 137.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 3, 1941, 12 days after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some of the Jews were able to evacuate or flee to the eastern regions of the country. Attacks on Jews took place at the start of the occupation, and a few Jews left for the nearby village of Chocieńczyce.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Wiazyń lay within Rayon Ilja of Gebiet Wilejka, in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A German Gendarmerie post was established in the village, which took command of the local police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft. One of the members of the local police was a man named Wjaschewitsch.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Wiazyń, including the marking of the Jews with the Star of David, the use of Jews for unpaid forced labor, and a ban on leaving the village limits. The local auxiliary police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery and beatings. In October 1941, the Jews of Wiazyń were moved into a ghetto. At this time, those who had relocated to Chocieńczyce were sent back to the ghetto in Wiazyń. The Germans liquidated the ghetto in early June 1942 by shooting all the Jews, probably around 60 people altogether, including young children.[2]

Two Jews, Lazar and Genya Sosenskiy, succeeded in escaping from the mass grave after the shooting, as they had only been wounded. However, a local man, Mikhail Filistovich, who had come to loot the grave, discovered them hiding in a barn. Despite their pleadings, Filistovich betrayed them, and they were taken back to the mass grave and shot there. After the arrival of the Red Army in 1944, the Soviet authorities tried Filistovich and sentenced him to 10 years in prison. After serving 7 years, he was released under the terms of an amnesty.[3]

SOURCES Published sources on the Wiazyń ghetto include L. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 233. Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Wiazyń can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR 629/73, vol. 3); GARF (7021-89-6); NARB; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 353; and BA-L, 202 AR 629/73, vol. 3, p. 411.

2. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 233; and GARF, 7021-89-6, pp. 81, 82, 150. The overall number of victims is estimated variously at around 20; 60 to 70; and 16. The last figure is given in the report in which the crimes committed in the village by the occupiers and their accomplices are set forth. Possibly it refers to the number of Jews whose names are known. In light of the size of the pre-war Jewish population, the estimate of 60 to 70 victims is probably closest to the truth. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1441, give the figure of 60 Jews of Wiazyń murdered in June 1942. The names of some of the victims can be found on the Internet at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/viazhin/viaz_pages/viazhin_yad_vashem.html.

3. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, p. 233.

WILEJKA

Pre-1939: Wilejka, town and powiat center, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vileika, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wilejka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Vileika, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wilejka is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, the town had a Jewish population of about 1,000 people.

Following the German invasion on June 22, only a few Jews managed to flee in time. German armed forces occupied Wilejka on June 26, 1941.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. In September, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Wilejka became the administrative center of Gebiet Wilejka in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisobmann Schmid, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Gendarmerie-Leutnant Wilhelm Nowak, succeeded in mid-1942 by Gendarmerie-Leutnant Gailke. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was set up in Wilejka, which took charge of the local police (Schutzmannschaft). Mainly responsible for the anti-Jewish Aktions in Wilejka in 1942–1943 was the SD-Hauptaussenstelle (SD main outpost) there, headed by SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf Grave, which also controlled its own squads of Latvian and Belorussian auxiliary police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Wilejka, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a Star of David, and the use of Jews for forced labor. Jews also were forbidden to leave the town, appear in public places, and walk on the sidewalks. They were required to remove their hats when encountering Germans.

Shortly after the arrival of the Germans, local ruffians broke into Jewish homes to steal property. On July 12, 1941, Sonderkommando 7a conducted an Aktion in the town, during which 140 Jews and 10 to 13 Belorussians were arrested and shot. At first, the Jews were gathered in the former synagogue and their identification papers confiscated. Then they were sent home with instructions to bring their money and valuables to the synagogue. After the skilled workers and professionals had been separated out, the rest were forced to walk 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town to the village of Stavki, where the Germans shot them. On July 30, 1941, Einsatzkommando 9 conducted a second Aktion in Wilejka.

They rounded up about 400 people, who were then driven in vehicles to the village of Porsa and shot there in five pits that had been dug previously.[1]

By December 1941, all the Jews of Wilejka, together with many Jewish craftsmen and their families brought in from Kurzeniec and other nearby communities, had been moved into a number of separate ghettos and labor camps, only some of which were fenced in. The main ghetto was located in two old army barracks. Those living in open ghettos could move about the town or even sneak back to their home communities, but they faced serious consequences if caught without official permission. According to Dorothy Kleinkopf, by early 1942 there was a so-called children's ghetto, which consisted of a large house surrounded by barbed wire not far from the prison in Wilejka. The children's ghetto was not guarded continuously, but people came to check on it periodically. As more Jews were brought into Wilejka, but the area of the ghettos remained the same, overcrowding increased and living conditions deteriorated.[2]

Food rations for the Jewish workers were quite meager: about 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread with bran and other additives per day and a watery soup. Among the work tasks performed by Jews in the Wilejka camps and ghettos were various industry-related jobs, the clearance of rubble in the town, road construction, and unloading consignments at the railroad. In the fall of 1941, a group of Jews from Kurzeniec clandestinely printed and disseminated anti-German propaganda, using paper and ink from the Wilejka printing shop, where some of them worked.[3]

In early February 1942, a main outpost of the SD (SD-Hauptaussenstelle) was established in Wilejka. Between February 5 and 28, 1942, its members shot 29 Jews.[4] On March 3, 1942—around the time of Purim—the SD-Hauptaussenstelle carried out an Aktion in which all the Jews in the "children's ghetto" were seized and shot; afterwards the building in which they were killed was set on fire, to ensure that the corpses were burned.[5] This pattern, the trademark of the Wilejka SD, was adopted for most subsequent Aktions in the town.

In August 1942 the Jews of the main ghetto (about 250–300 people) were divided into two groups, forming a "small ghetto" for craftsmen (working for the Gebietskommissar). Among work tasks carried out for the Gebietskommissar was the construction of a tennis court. Apart from the original ghetto in the barracks and the small ghetto, there was also an SD camp for Jews and a so-called commercial ghetto. During the summer of 1942, new groups of Jewish craftsmen arrived, and some of the remaining Jews (those unfit for work) were periodically escorted out in groups on trucks to the Lysaia Gora area, where the SD shot them into pits.[6]

Several hundred more Jewish workers arrived at the ghettos and camps in Wilejka in September 1942 from the Szczuczyn ghetto in Gebiet Lida. Jews from Kurzeniec learned of the destruction of all the Jews that had remained in their village at this time. The underground made plans for Jews to escape to the forest, but most people were held back by the fear of reprisals against those who were unable to leave. In early November 1942, the SD conducted a further large Aktion, in which all the Jews of the barracks ghetto and also some from the commercial ghetto were murdered, including many of the recent arrivals. Surviving Jews in the small ghetto learned from local inhabitants that the others had been taken to a small house in the woods about half a kilometer (1,640 feet) away. Here they were herded inside and shot. The building was subsequently set on fire.[7]

News of the liquidation of most of the ghettos and camps in the region caused the remaining Jews to consider escape. Once the worst of the winter was over in March 1943, a group of Jews, who had obtained weapons, fled from the small ghetto and just made it to the forests ahead of the pursuing policemen. Then on March 28, 1943, a selection of remaining craftsmen in the small ghetto was held, and some 40 to 60 Jews deemed unfit for work were shot and their bodies burned.[8]

According to the statement of Haase, the acting Gebietskommissar in Wilejka, made at a conference of the Gebietskommissars in Minsk from April 8 to 10, 1943, there were still Jews in Wilejka who were working in a harness factory and a flax scutching mill. Haase also mentioned the presence of about 50 Jews at the disposal of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle and around 100 Jews in the small ghetto, laboring in workshops subordinated to the Gebietskommissar.[9] On July 17, when the labor camp at Mołodeczno was liquidated, more than 70 Jews were brought to Wilejka, and 15 to 20 of them were placed in one of the remaining labor camps there. The others were taken out to a nearby village, where they were shot and their corpses burned.[10] The other Jewish skilled workers of the small ghetto remained in Wilejka, probably until late June 1944, when they were shot, along with prisoners from the local jail, before the Germans withdrew.[11]

No precise figure for the number of Jews murdered in Wilejka is available, but it probably exceeded 1,500, as many were brought in from other communities in the region.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Wilejka during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: K. Farber and J. Se'evi, eds., *Sefer zikaron kehilat Vileika ha-mezhozit*, *palakh Vilna* (Tel Aviv: Wilejka Society, 1972); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 165–167; "Wilejka," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 314–319; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1447. The yizkor book for Kurzeniec, edited by A. Meyerowitz, *Megilat Kurenits; ayara be-hayeha u-ve-mota* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kurenits in Israel and in the USA, 1956), also contains several testimonies relevant to the ghetto in Wilejka; also relevant is the memoir by Charles Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in Poland, 1941–1945* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1989).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Wilejka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/1294-1305, 1443-73, and 14585); GARF (7021-

89-3); IfZ; NARB (861-1-10 and 845-1-63); USHMM; VHF; YVA (e.g., M-33/1135); and ZSSta-D.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimony of witness M.M. Iastshomba in a trial in Minsk, January 20, 1946, in *Sudebnyi protsess po delu o zlodeianiiakh, sovershennykh nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami v Belorusskoi SSR (15–29 ianvaria 1946 g.)* (Minsk, 1947), pp. 198–200.

2. BA-L, B 162/1461 and 1472 (II 202 AR-Z 5/60, vols. 18 and 42), pp. 4059–4060, 8775–8776, 8800; and Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*, pp. 55, 83.

3. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 165–166; BA-L, B 162/1472, pp. 8767–8768; and Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 137.

4. BA-BL, R 58/221, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 183, March 20, 1942.

5. Ibid., EM no. 178, March 9, 1942; ZSSta-D, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 3/61, indictment of Johann Karl Förster et al., January 25, 1977.

6. Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*, pp. 61, 75–83; BA-L, B 162/1472, p. 8783.

7. Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*, pp. 75–81; and testimony of the witness M.M. Iastshomba. According to Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 497, about 70 to 80 Jews were shot.

8. Meyerowitz, *Megilat Kurenits*, pp. 316–318; GARF, 7021-89-8, p. 98; and Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei*, p. 498.

9. IfZ, Fb 85/I, p. 81.

10. ZSSta-D, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 3/61, indictment of Johann Karl Förster et al., January 25, 1977.

11. BA-L, B 162/1472, pp. 8603, 8610, 8736.

WISZNIEW

Pre-1939: Wiszniew, town, Wołożyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Vishnevo, Volozhin raion, Baranovichi oblast, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischnewo, Rayon Woloschin, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Vishneva, Valozhyn raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wiszniew is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) west-northwest of Minsk. On the eve of World War II, about 700 Jews lived in Wiszniew. Following the German invasion of western and central Poland, about 200 Jewish families from Warsaw and Łódź sought refuge in the town, swelling the Jewish population to almost 2,000.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews tried to flee, but some were turned back at the pre-1939 frontier. The Germans arrived in Wiszniew at 9:00 A.M. on June 27. All Jews were ordered to assemble by 4:00 P.M. on the grounds of the Provoslav Church. During the night, the men were taken in groups of 20 to the gmina (local administration), where they were assaulted and beaten. The women and children were sent home in the morning, but the men were taken for forced labor. They were kept at various tasks for three weeks before being sent home. Their families ventured out to bring them food but otherwise stayed indoors. The Germans set up a local militia, headed by a man named Finger, while Turunsky was appointed mayor. Survivors described these men as "cruel bloodsuckers." Two weeks later, two Jews were arrested and shot. Their families sought permission from the authorities to give them a Jewish funeral, but the response was a storm of abuse: "Thousands of soldiers from the best of German youth are lying in the battlefields and not brought to burial, and you come to ask me for the corpses of two filthy Jews!"[1]



Six teachers from the Hebrew language Tarbut elementary school in Wiszniew pose in the snow in front of their school building, 1935.
USHMM WS #24081, COURTESY OF FANYA SZUSTER PORTNOY

Two weeks later, a German officer known as "Moko" arrived in town. In August, a rumor spread that 80 Jews were going to be executed. The Jewish leadership offered Finger a huge sum of money to intercede, but he simply took the money and shrugged them off. The men were forced to dig a pit in the cemetery; on the next day 38 of them were shot and dumped into the grave.[2]

A Judenrat of five men was selected by the community to administer its affairs. It was composed of Rodensky, Yosef Menachem Rabinowitz, Yosef Bergmann, Bar-Mikhel Rubin, and Mordechai Dudman. The Germans then added five more. The secretary was Gedalyah Podversky. The Germans soon imposed their first demand for gold and silver. The German officer Moko took the money and jewelry, beat up the two

Judenrat members who delivered it, and physically kicked them out of his office. Non-Jewish neighbors passed on the message that Jews had to wear a yellow marker on both the chest and the right side of the back.[3]

Shortly after the shooting of the 38 people, in the fall of 1941, the Jews were ordered to move into a ghetto. It was located on Krewo Street and in the yard of the synagogue. Christian neighbors stood by during the roundup, awaiting the opportunity to loot and occupy the Jewish homes, as about one third of the community had to relocate. A few days after the move, the ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire with only one entry gate. Over 1,000 Jews were penned up in the small ghetto area, with seven to eight families to a house. In each house, the people organized themselves to share the washing, cooking, and other chores. An order was issued that any Jew found outside the ghetto without permission would be shot.[4]

Inside the ghetto, the Judenrat had a number of responsibilities, as recalled by one of its members, Rubin, who survived. These included organizing the lists of workers for forced labor at 28 separate locations and ensuring that those sent were in reasonable physical condition and had adequate clothing. The Judenrat tried to rotate workers in order to share the burden fairly. The Judenrat also had to meet the endless demands of the Germans for goods: wood, nails, glass, boots, uniforms, watches, bedding, underclothes for their wives, and "money, money, money." Sometimes 15 wagonloads were sent. Invariably the Jew who delivered the goods returned severely beaten and bleeding. Judenrat member Dudman, who repeatedly volunteered for this thankless job, was referred to by the community as Mordechai Ha-Tzaddik, Mordechai the Saint.[5]

The Judenrat enforced strict hygienic rules to avert epidemics. The town physician, a rabid antisemite named Dr. Fobol, denied the Jews access to all medications. The Jewish doctor in the ghetto, Gershon Podzelber, had only a bit of brandy to treat the pain of injury and disease. Food was smuggled into the ghetto in exchange for goods and valuables.[6] As Jews were constantly beaten and humiliated when working outside, living in the ghetto had the advantage of offering some respite, as inside the gates there were only Jews. During the winter of 1941–1942, about 300 Jews from Wiszniew were transferred to the labor camp in Krasne. The first to be selected by the Judenrat were refugees and single men.[7]

The first sign of a change for the worse occurred on Friday, August 28, 1942. Workers returning from forced labor were told they would not go out on Saturday. At 2:00 A.M. on Sunday, August 30, soldiers armed with machine guns surrounded the ghetto. The Jews were driven from their houses to the courtyard of the synagogue and forced to lie on the ground. Anyone lifting his head could be shot. An SS officer ordered a member of the Judenrat to conduct a roll call. When it was discovered that the rabbi was not present, he was the first to be shot, in the synagogue.[8] The Jews, watched by many of their non-Jewish neighbors, were led down the road towards Krewo and taken to the wall of a derelict building on the edge of town. Here the Germans, assisted by the local police, lined up the Jews in rows of around 30 and then mowed them down with a machine gun mounted on a truck. When the shooting started, many Jews ran for their lives, but almost all were caught and shot on the spot. The murders at the wall continued until there was no more room in the building. It was then set on fire, with most of the bodies placed inside along with the children, who were burned alive. The last to die were the doctor, Podzelber (though the non-Jewish townspeople pleaded for his life), and the town barber, Yosef Dudman (who assumed his services to the German officers were essential). In total, about 1,500 Jews were massacred.[9]

The few survivors from Wiszniew included a work detail that was out of town on the day of the massacre, three young boys who escaped to the Soviet partisans, and a handful of others who made it to safety in the turmoil of the final day. The town's yizkor book contains several accounts by survivors who joined the partisans or found ways to elude capture until the Red Army drove out the German troops. Subsequently, in the winter of 1943–1944, Soviet partisans attacked Wiszniew in a raid involving about 200 to 300 fighters, and much of the town was burned down. With the aid of the Jewish partisan fighter Noah Podberesky, the partisans captured the mayor, Turunsky, and beat him to death when he refused to answer questions.[10]

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Wiszniew, which includes a number of articles about the Holocaust: Hayyim Abramson, ed., *Vishneva, ke-fi she-hayetah ve-enenah od; sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Wiscniew Society in Israel, 1971). The Web site www.eilatgordinlevitan.com offers English translations of parts of the yizkor book. A memoir of Wiszniew by a Jewish survivor includes details about the ghetto and the survival of Jews with the Soviet partisans: Samuel Podberesky, *Never the Last Road* (College Station, TX: Virtualbookworm, 2003).

Documents on the fate of the Jewish community in Wiszniew during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-4); NARB (861-1-10); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/428 and 1011).

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Abramson, *Vishneva*, p. 111.
2. Ibid., p. 112; Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, p. 38. According to Podberesky, this incident occurred in October 1941.
3. Abramson, *Vishneva*, pp. 113, 125–148.
4. Ibid. Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, p. 39, states that the ghetto was established in early November.
5. Abramson, *Vishneva* p. 116.
6. Ibid., p. 114.
7. Ibid., pp. 125–148.
8. Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, p. 43.
9. Ibid., pp. 43–47; Abramson, *Vishneva*, pp. 117–118, 125–148. The figure of 1,500 victims is from GARF, 7021-89-4, p. 39; and NARB, 861-1-10, pp. 55–62.
10. Podberesky, *Never the Last Road*, pp. 81–87; see also Abramson, *Vishneva*, pp. 148–149.

WOŁOŻYN

Pre-1939: Wołożyn, town, and powiat center, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Volozhin, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woloschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Valozhyn, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołożyn is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) west-northwest of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was probably around 3,000 people.

In the days following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, much of Wołożyn suffered fire damage from German aerial bombardment. The German army occupied the town on June 25, 1941. Jewish survivors report that some local non-Jews welcomed the Germans warmly, especially Poles who supported the National Democrats, the most antisemitic group in Poland. Two weeks after their arrival, the Germans appointed a 12-man Judenrat, headed by the teacher Yakov Garber. At this time the German military administration required Jews to wear distinctive markings (initially an armband and later yellow patches) and forbade them from using the sidewalks. The tasks of the Judenrat included meeting German demands for contributions, in money or in kind, and for a daily quota of forced laborers. Male Jews had to work in the local sawmills, and women cleaned the Germans' quarters.[1]

In August 1941, the German Security Police carried out the first Aktion in the town, in which they murdered 45 Jews.[2] During the same month, the German authorities established a ghetto in the quarter around Krumme Gas, Dubinska and Minsk Streets, near the former location of the synagogue. The ghetto, composed of only about 50 or 60 houses, held around 3,000 people, or about four or five families per house, including a number of refugees from the nearby towns of Wiszniew, Holszany, and Oszmiana, as well as others from Lithuania. The overcrowding was unbearable. Inside the ghetto a Jewish police force was organized. The Jews in the ghetto were required to perform forced labor and received no rations. Hunger and horrible living conditions brought people close to despair. To survive, they exchanged their remaining belongings with local non-Jews for food. However, the local police guards brutally beat any Jews caught trying to leave the ghetto. The Jews also witnessed the Germans maltreating Soviet prisoners of war at a nearby POW camp.[3]

In September 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Wołożyn became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wilejka within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. A post of the German Gendarmerie was established in Wołożyn, which took over responsibility for the local police. Survivors indicate that the local police force was made up of worthless wretches from neighboring villages. The policemen would enter the ghetto at night and beat the Jews mercilessly, demanding money and valuables.[4]

On October 28, 1941, the German police ordered the Judenrat to deliver a large quantity of leather within two hours. On November 4, 1941, the Judenrat was instructed to assemble all the Jews on the street in the ghetto. The Germans then conducted a selection, and some 200 people were locked inside the local cinema. The head of the Judenrat, Garber, was informed that they would be taken to work, and he was led away with the group. Instead, the Germans escorted the 200 Jews to the local sports ground in groups of 10 and shot them there. The local police robbed the bodies, also ripping out any gold teeth, and then a group of Jews was forced to bury the corpses. After the Aktion, Shnur Kivelevitsh became the new Judenrat head, and the area of the ghetto was reduced.[5]

During the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews were forced to clear snow from the roads. Jews that had regular work outside the ghetto were issued permits to leave and reenter it. In the spring of 1942, the Germans rewarded Jews who reported for labor with an extra ration of bread, which increased their willingness to work.[6]

On May 10, 1942, members of the SD main outpost (Hauptaussenstelle) in Wilejka together with a Latvian squad, and assisted by German Gendarmerie and local police, conducted a third Aktion in Wołożyn, possibly as a reprisal for the murder of four forestry officials nearby. First they assembled around 1,000 Jews in a forge, where they were required to surrender all their money and valuables. The Jews were held here for many hours without food or water, while local inhabitants came to mock them by dancing and singing. Inspired by the words of Rabbi Reuven Chadash from Holszany, some Jews tried to resist and escape, but only a few succeeded. The SS men then divided the Jews into groups of 10 to 20 persons and escorted them to an empty house near the Jewish cemetery, where the head of the SS shot them. After the shootings, the perpetrators threw gasoline on the corpses and burned them along with the building. The SD company from Wilejka remained in Wołożyn until May 15, 1942, rounded up any Jews found in hiding, and shot them, too.[7]

After the Aktion, the ghetto area was further reduced, and only a few hundred Jews remained. However, once the Germans assured these Jews that they would work and remain safe, some Jews who had fled before the Aktion decided to return.

During the fourth Aktion on August 29, 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. On that day, the members of the SD-Hauptaussenstelle Wilejka together with the German Gendarmerie and local police surrounded the ghetto, then drove all the Jews into a large barn on Shapovalovskaia Street. Once the Jews were inside, the SS shot at the barn from all sides, killing about 450 people in total. After it was over, they threw gasoline on the corpses and burned them along with the barn. A number of Jews escaped into the forest on the night before this Aktion. Subsequently, some of the Wołożyn ghetto escapees joined Soviet partisan detachments operating in the region. When the Red Army liberated Wołożyn in the summer of 1944, only around 20 Jews returned to the town from hiding in the countryside or serving with the partisans. Pnina Hayat, for example, managed to survive with the assistance of the peasant Ivan Kovalski and his family, who gave

her and a friend food and shelter at considerable risk to themselves after the liquidation of the ghetto.

SOURCES Published sources on the ghetto in Wołożyn include the following: Eliezer Leoni, ed., *Wolozin: The Book of the City and of the Etz Hayyim Yeshiva* (Tel Aviv: Wolozhin Landsleit Associations, 1970); from this volume, the account of Yusef Shvartsberg, "Volozshin," is also available in the series *Fun letsten hurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946); M. Batvinnik, "Znishchenne Valozhynskago geta," in *Pamiats': Hist.-dak. Khroniki haradoi i r-nai Belarusi: Valozhynski o-n.* (Minsk, 1996); and Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 291–295.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Wołożyn during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/1294-1305, 1443-73, and 14585); GARF (7021-89-4); NARB (861-1-10); Sta. Dortmund (45 Js 3/61); USHMM (RG-02.129; RG-22.002M, reel 24; and RG-53.002M, reel 8); VHF (# 1429); and YVA.

Martin Dean and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 1429, testimony of Miriam Cukier, born 1924; and Pnina Hayat (née Potashnik), "What My Eyes Have Seen," in Leoni, *Wolozin*, p. 550.
2. GARF, 7021-89-4, p. 2.
3. Mendel Wolkowitch, "The Destruction of Wolozhin," in Leoni, *Wolozin*, pp. 30–31; and USHMM, RG-02.129, testimony of Leon Liberman.
4. Leoni, *Wolozin*, pp. 30, 550.
5. Ibid., pp. 31–32, 550.
6. VHF, # 1429; and Leoni, *Wolozin*, p. 546.
7. Sta. Dortmund 45 Js 3/61, indictment in the case against Johann Karl Förster and others, January 25, 1977, pp. 141–146. See also *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 247–249, SS-Uscharf. Lipps Aussenstelle Wilejka an Burgdorf, May 27, 1942; and Leoni, *Wolozin*, p. 537.

WORONÓW (AKA WERENÓW)

Pre-1939: Woronów (Yiddish: Voronava), town, Lida powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Voronovo, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronow, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Voranava, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Woronów is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Lida. In mid-1941, there were approximately 1,500 Jews living in the town, including refugees from western and central Poland.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on June 23, 1941, only one day after their invasion of the USSR. As a result, most of the Jews there were unable to evacuate and remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, a number of Jews were arrested, beaten, and shot, some as a result of denunciations by local inhabitants. For example, the German soldiers who occupied the town on June 23 seized a truck on the edge of town with 15 people in it (Russians and Jews) and shot them on the spot. A few days later, the auxiliary police arrested several young Jews who had been accused of Communist activity. These Jews were sent to Lida and killed there three days later.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Woronów. They appointed a Judenrat chaired by Hirsh Kopelman and a Jewish police force (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), headed by a man named Zalberg. At the same time they instituted the marking of Jews with badges in the shape of a yellow star 15 centimeters (6 inches) in diameter, which had to be worn by everyone over the age of eight, and a program for the use of Jews for forced labor, performing humiliating jobs. Jews also were forbidden to leave the town limits or to walk on the sidewalks. A curfew beginning at 8:00 P.M. was imposed on Jews, and on days of rest (such as Sunday and holidays), they were forbidden to appear in the streets at all. Jews were forbidden to eat meat, butter, eggs, honey, fats, milk, and sugar; the only foods allowed to them were black bread and potatoes, with water to drink. Jews were not allowed to own horses, cows, sheep, or chickens; they could have no more than 300 Russian rubles; and they were required to hand over all their valuables to the Germans. When meeting a German or a policeman, a Jew was supposed to lift his hat and stay at least 10 meters (33 feet) from the individual. The local auxiliary police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery, beatings, and mockery.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Woronów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Lida within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien. There was a German Gendarmerie post in Woronów, commanded from 1941 to 1943 by Polizeimeister Lengen, which was in charge of the auxiliary police recruited from local residents. The German Gendarmes and local police took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

The Germans conducted a large anti-Jewish Aktion in Woronów in the first half of November 1941. By that time, a so-called Jewish quarter (an open ghetto) already had been established there. On November 6, police surrounded the Jewish quarter and began searching the houses, looking for Jewish refugees from Wilno. During this time, several Jews who tried to run away were killed immediately. In the course of the searches, 288 people were caught (in all, more than 500 Jews from Wilno had found refuge in Woronów) and put in the movie theater building. They spent seven days there, subjected to torture and violations of human dignity; 5 men who tried to escape were shot. On November 14, all the Jews were herded towards the railway station and shot there by Lithuanian policemen. Among the Jews who were shot were many representatives

of the intelligentsia (an artist, Treger Grubiiash; a doctor of philology, Natan Tsimmel; a professor, Orbach; a doctor, Gershun; a mathematics professor, Idelson; and others).[3]

On December 6, 1941, a second Aktion took place in Woronów, during which 35 elderly and sick Jews were rounded up and shot. After this Aktion, in late December 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Lida, a man named Hermann Hanweg, ordered Jews to be transferred to Woronów from the villages of Dziewieniszki, Beniakonie, Konwaliszki, Soleczniki, and others. As a consequence, the number of Jews in the town increased to more than 3,000. Ten days after their arrival, the Germans arrested 28 elderly Jews from Dziewieniszki and brutally murdered them.[4] The accounts of Jews brought into the Woronów ghetto at this time describe intolerable overcrowding and hunger. An infestation of lice resulted in an outbreak of typhus. All able-bodied Jews performed forced labor felling trees and other tasks. By this time the ghetto had been enclosed by a fence about 1.5 to 3 meters (5 to 10 feet) high, which was guarded by Lithuanian, Polish, and Belorussian policemen.[5]

On the night of May 10–11, 1942, the German police and their local auxiliaries surrounded the ghetto. All the Jews were ordered to assemble in the market square, but around 500 Jews bribed their way out of the ghetto and hid in the forest. About 200 Jews hid in the ghetto itself, and 75 others were at work outside the town limits at this time. Therefore, around 2,700 Jews showed up in the square. Gebietskommissar Hanweg and his deputy Leopold Windisch conducted a selection. Those deemed fit for work were sent back to the ghetto, while the remaining Jews (1,885 people) were shot in a previously dug ditch on the northeastern edge of town (in 1964, a monument was erected at this site). During the ghetto liquidation Aktion, Munka Heikles, a butcher, attacked an SS officer with a stone and injured him and two policemen; he was then killed for this act of resistance. Another young man, Zalman Shreira, escaped naked from the killing site, but he was betrayed to the Nazis by a shepherd and was taken back to the killing site and shot.[6] The remaining Jews in the ghetto, as well as those who returned from the forest and emerged from hiding places after the Aktion (about 1,200 in total), were transferred two weeks later to the Lida ghetto. On September 17, 1943, along with the other Jews in this ghetto, they were transported to the Majdanek concentration camp near Lublin.[7]

SOURCES Information about the Jews of Woronów and their fate in the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: H. Rabin, ed., *Voronova; sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Voronova she-nispu ha-shoat ha natsim* (Voronova societies in Israel and the United States, 1971); and "Woronow," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna*, *Bialystok*, *Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 305–307.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Woronów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/566 and 3953); BA-L (B 162/3424-51, 19298, and 14386); GARF (7021-86-38); NARB (861-1-7); VHF (e.g., # 6403, 26514, and 27223); USHMM (e.g., RG-3.019); and YVA (M-33/706; O-3/3753, 4010, 7310, and 12562; TR-10/646 and 68650).

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NOTES

1. According to Moshe Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova," unpub. MSS, 1943 (USHMM, RG-3.019), in late 1940, there were 350 Jewish families (1,600 people) in Voronovo; AŻIH, 301/566, testimony of Yudel Konopka put the number at 1,500.
2. Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova."
3. GARF, 7021-86-38, p. 2 (263 people were shot); NARB, 861-1-7, p. 43; and Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova." AŻIH, 301/3953, testimony of Moyzer Plotnik, estimates the number killed at 150. Also see BA-L, B 162/14386 (LG-Ma 3 Ks 1/67, verdict of July 17, 1969, against Windisch), p. 26.
4. Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova." AŻIH, 301/566, estimates the number at 4,500. VHF, # 26514, Herman Snyder was transferred from Dziewieniszki. Also see Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:254–257. Two survivors—VHF, # 27223, Henrik Solodukhah, and # 6403, Iakov Gaukhman—indicate that there was an open ghetto in Dziewieniszki prior to their transfer to Woronów.
5. VHF, # 26514.
6. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 8:254–257.
7. Berkowitz, "Woronow, Voronova"; GARF, 7021-86-38 (this file contains the names of 1,291 victims, including 204 from Beniakonie and 108 from Konwaliszki); Sta. Mainz 3 Js 155/64, indictment of December 15, 1966, against Windisch and Werner; LG-Ma 3 Ks 1/67, verdict of July 17, 1969, against Windisch.

ZAOSTROWICZE

Pre-1939: Zaostrowicze, *village*, *Kleck powiat*, *Nowogródek województwo*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Zaostrovech'e*, *Kletsk raion*, *Baranovichi oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zaostrowitschi*, *Rayon Klezk*, *Gebiet Baranowitsche*, *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zaastravechcha*, *Kletsk raen*, *Minsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Zaostrowicze is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) southeast of Baranowicze. Very little information is available about the existence of the small Jewish community in and around Zaostrowicze before World War II.

German armed forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office governed Zaostrowicze. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Zaostrowicze was included in Rayon Klezk, Gebiet Baranowitsche, within Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zaostrowicze, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of the Jews with distinguishing badges in the form of a Star of David, and the use of Jews for unpaid forced labor. Jews were

forbidden to leave the village, and the small auxiliary police force of about seven men subjected them to systematic robbery and beatings. A ghetto was created in the village in the fall of 1941. The ghetto was liquidated in June 1942, when all of the Jews (more than 100 people) were escorted from Zaostrowicze to Siniawka and were murdered there together with the Jews of the Siniawka ghetto. German police forces shot them, and the corpses were buried in a mass grave near the road from Siniawka to Pińsk.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Zaostrowicze can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 171/67, vol. 2, pp. 231–233); GARF (7021-81-102 and 103); NARB (845-1-7, p. 39); and ZGABO (616-1-70). Additional information can be found in the publication *Karatel' zhivet v Kliftone. O fashistskikh prispeshnikakh, ukryvaiushchikh v SShA* (Moscow, 1985), p. 84. The ghetto is also mentioned in Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks 2003), p. 117.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

ZAŚKIEWICZE

Pre-1939: Zaśkiewicze (Yiddish: Zaskovitz), village, Mołodeczno powiat, Wilno województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zaskevichi, Molodechno raion, Vileika oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zaskiewitschi, Rayon Molodetschno, Gebiet Wilejka, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zaskevichy, Maladechna raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zaśkiewicze is located on the Usza River about 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Minsk and 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Oszmiana. In 1925, there were around 200 Jews living in the village.

On September 17, 1939, the Red Army entered the village, which was incorporated into the Belorussian SSR before the end of the year. German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941, four days after their invasion of the USSR. In these days, only a few Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration: Zaśkiewicze became part of Rayon Molodetschno in Gebiet Wilejka. In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zaśkiewicze, including the appointment of a Judenrat, the marking of the Jews with distinguishing yellow patches in the form of a Star of David, the use of Jews for unpaid forced labor, and a ban on their leaving the village limits. The local auxiliary police subjected the Jews to systematic robbery and beatings. According to some sources, possibly in October 1941, the village's Jews were moved into a ghetto, where they remained for more than six months.[1]

In the absence of any survivor accounts, it is impossible to reconstruct any details of life in the ghetto or to be sure of the fate of the Jews of Zaśkiewicze. The authors of *Pinkas hakehilot* indicate that in June 1942 SD men and local police surrounded the ghetto and removed all the Jews. According to one report, they shot the Jews with submachine guns and buried them in large pits in a nearby forest. It is possible, however, that some Jews capable of work were taken to the ghetto in Smorgonie and, in October 1942, were transferred along with other Jews from that ghetto to the Oszmiana ghetto, where subsequently they were murdered.[2]

Soviet sources date the Germans' liquidation of the ghetto in November 1942. These sources indicate that the Germans and their collaborators shot 71 people and that some Jews fled into the forest just before the Aktion. Zaśkiewicze was liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.[3]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Zaśkiewicze during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Zaskiewicze," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1491; and "Zaskiewicze," in Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 8, *Vilna, Bialystok, Nowogrodek* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), pp. 350–351.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-89-9) and NARB.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-89-9, p. 116. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1491, indicate that a ghetto was established in Zaśkiewicze but give no date.
2. Spector and Freundlich, *Pinkas ha-kehilot, Nowogrodek*, p. 8:351; see also Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1491. It may be that some Jews escaped from Zaśkiewicze to the nearby Smorgonie ghetto rather than being transferred.
3. GARF, 7021-89-9, p. 116. The same file also contains a list of the names of murdered Jews, mentioning 69 people (on pp. 21–22).

ZASLAVL'

Pre-1941: Zaslavl', town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Saslawl, Rayon center, Gebiet Minsk-Land, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zaslaul', Minsk raen and voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zaslavl' is located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northwest of Minsk. In 1939, Jews comprised 9.04 percent of the town's total population, numbering 248 people, with another 112 more Jews living in the Zaslavl' raion.

German troops occupied Zaslavl' before the end of June 1941. In this first week of the invasion, some Jews managed to leave eastward with evacuation transports, while adult males were either drafted into the Red Army or volunteered. Around

two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zaslavl' at the start of the occupation.

In the summer of 1941, the town was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). From September 1941, a civil administration took over. Zaslavl' was incorporated into Gebiet Minsk-Land (Gebietskommissar—Regierungsrat Dr. Kaiser, SS-und Polizei-Gebietsführer—Leutnant of the Gendarmerie Karl Kalla), which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien.[1] A post of Gendarmerie was set up in Zaslavl', and an auxiliary police unit composed of local volunteers was subordinated to it.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German commandant issued an order to the Rayon council to conduct a compulsory registration of the Jews. The Jews were forced to wear distinctive badges (an armband on their sleeves that read "Jude" or circles sewn onto the front and back of their outer clothing). The Jews were recruited into various kinds of forced labor (e.g., digging ditches, maintaining roads, or cleaning the quarters occupied by the German authorities). At the start of September 1941, all the Jews of Zaslavl' were relocated to a ghetto—a building formerly occupied by Soviet border guards. By the end of the month, the Germans had almost completely liquidated the ghetto. On September 26 and 27, 1941, all the Jewish males were killed, at least 20 people in total—12 of them burned in the ghetto building. On September 29, around 100 Jews, mostly women, children, and elderly people, were taken on horse carts out of the ghetto under the pretext of future resettlement to Minsk. They were all shot in the forest near the village of Sloboda. The mass shooting was most probably carried out by a unit of German Gendarmerie with the participation of Belorussian policemen. For a month following the liquidation of the ghetto, 35 Jewish women were kept in one of the houses on Bazarnaia Street. They were used for different kinds of forced labor until they were all shot on October 29, 1941.[2]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Zaslavl' can be found in the following archives: GAMINO (623-1-51); GARF (7021-87-6); and YVA (M-33/424).

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trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-87-6, pp. 17 (both sides), 24.

ZDZIĘCIOŁ

Pre-1939: Zdzięcioł (Yiddish: Zhetel), town, Nowogródek powiat and województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Diatlovo, raion center, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Djatlowo, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowogrodek, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Dziatlava, raen center, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus



Portrait of the Benjaminowitz family, ca. 1930, in Zdzięcioł. The donor, Chana Benjaminowitz (now Dr. Ann Benjamin), was the family's sole survivor.
USHMM WS #28968, COURTESY OF DR. ANN BENJAMIN

Zdzięcioł is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) southwest of Minsk. Just before the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Jewish population stood at more than 4,500.

German forces occupied the town on June 30, 1941. On July 14, the local military commandant (Ortskommandant) ordered the Jews to wear a six-pointed yellow star on the front and the back of their clothing. On July 15, the Germans arrested 6 Jews and took them to Nowojelnia, where they killed them on the pretext that they had previously worked for the Soviet authorities. Among the victims were Etl Ovsievitz, her daughter Dina, Shimon Leveranchik, Avraham Guzovski, and Judl Bielski. On July 23, about 120 of the most respectable citizens and members of the intelligentsia were selected from among all the Jews assembled in the square. The selection was carried out according to a list compiled by SS men who had arrived in Zdzięcioł. Among those arrested were Alter Dvoretzky and the rabbi. The local Jews bribed the Germans and attained the release of Dvoretzky and the rabbi. All the others were allegedly taken for forced labor, but two days later

it was discovered that they had been murdered in the forest near the military barracks in Nowogródek. According to Abram Kaplan—the only Jew presently living in the Zdzięcioł area—the remaining Jews then had to perform a variety of different jobs. Some worked as cleaners for the local administration, and many others worked for farmers in the surrounding villages. On October 1, 1941, all the Jews living in Zdzięcioł were registered.

At the end of August 1941, authority was transferred to the civil administration, At this time a Judenrat was formed, with Shmuel Kustin as the chairman and Alter Dvoretzky as his deputy. Soon afterwards, Dvoretzky replaced Kustin as chairman. Dvoretzky was 37 and had been educated as a lawyer in Berlin and Warsaw.[1]

One of the main tasks of the Judenrat was to ensure that all German orders were strictly implemented. On the second day of Sukkot, some Germans arrived in Zdzięcioł to requisition horses for the army. Many of the Jews decided to hide, but the Germans caught one, Jaakov Noa, and shot him. On November 28, 1941, the Jews of Zdzięcioł were made to line up and forced to surrender all their valuables to the Germans. Libe Gercowski, accused of having hidden two gold rings, was selected and shot in front of everyone. On that day the Judenrat was also obliged to provide four glaziers and 15 carpenters, who were sent to an unknown destination. On December 15, 1941, 400 men were sent to the labor camp in Dworzec to perform construction work at the airfield for the Organisation Todt (OT). On December 25, 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to surrender all their fur coats.

Alter Dvoretzky established links with the Jews living in the surrounding villages and with a group of former Red Army soldiers who were organizing a partisan force in the area. In the fall of 1941, before the ghetto was set up, Dvoretzky himself formed a Jewish underground, consisting of about 60 people. This organization was divided into 20 cells, each with 3 members. They obtained some weapons about a month before the ghetto was established. About 10 underground members were in the Jewish Police.[2]

On February 22, 1942, the authorities put up posters announcing that the Jews had to move into the ghetto, which was based around the synagogue and the Talmud Torah building.[3] According to Peretz Bousel, two Jewish families were exempted from the requirement to move into the ghetto: the families of Ben Zion Paskovsky and Betzalel Bousel, who in 1939 had owned a leather factory. Jews were also moved into the ghetto from other nearby Jewish communities, including Bielica.[4]

There was no detailed plan for the resettlement of the Jews into their new living quarters. Five or six families had to share each house, and many families were split up. Eight or more people lived in each room, with the furniture removed and replaced by improvised bunk beds. Some families, like the Kaplans, prepared secret hiding places in the ghetto, which helped them survive the massacre.

The ghetto was partly fenced by wood and barbed wire, and two local policemen guarded the gate. The Jews were not even permitted to talk to other citizens and could be shot if they attempted to obtain food from the outside. Nevertheless, peasants still brought food to the ghetto to exchange for gold, clothes, and other items. Special work permits were issued to those working outside the ghetto. The Jews were guarded when marching in and out of the ghetto in columns to perform forced labor.[5]

Upon moving into the ghetto, the underground headed by Dvoretzky had the following aims: to prepare for armed revolt if the liquidation of the ghetto was imminent; to collect money to buy weapons and bring them into the ghetto; and to try to persuade the local Christian population not to cooperate with the Germans.[6]

The group made contact with the local leader of the Soviet partisans, Nikolai Vakhonin. A number of Jews who had fled from Zdzięcioł, Żołudek, Bielica, Kozłowszczyzna, Dworzec, and Nowogródek were known to be hiding in the Lipichanski Forest. Pinya Green and Hershl Kaplinski were their leaders. On April 20, 1942, Dvoretzky and six members of the ghetto underground were forced to escape to the forest after their organization became known to the Germans. Unfortunately Dvoretzky was killed in an ambush by non-Jewish partisans shortly afterwards.[7]

After a while, a partisan detachment of more than 100 Jews was formed in the forest near Zdzięcioł, known as the "Zheteler detachment." Anyone who wanted to join the partisans first had to obtain a gun. The unit was divided into three platoons, headed by Hershl Kaplinski, Jonah Midvetsky, and Shalom Ogulnik. The battalion also included women, acting as nurses, cooks, secretaries, typists, and washerwomen. A few of them also took part in combat activities.

The unit's base was some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Zdzięcioł in the Lipichanski Forest. Its members coordinated their activities with other Soviet partisans operating there, in particular with the Orlanski detachment (renamed "Bor'ba" [Struggle] on January 5, 1943, commanded by Nikolai Vakhonin) and the Lenin brigade. The partisans attacked the railroad tracks on the Lida to Minsk line and the Wołkowysk to Białystok line. Yisrael Bousel invented a fast-acting mine, which the partisans used to derail German trains. He was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union."

On April 29, 1942, the Germans arrested the Judenrat, and at dawn on April 30, the ghetto inmates woke to shots inside the ghetto. The Germans announced through the Judenrat that all the Jews were to go to the old cemetery, situated inside the ghetto. At this time the Germans and their collaborators began driving the Jews out of their houses, beating, kicking, and shooting those who were reluctant to obey. The Gebietskommissar conducted a selection, and more than 1,000 Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, were escorted into the Kurpyash Forest south of the town, where pits had been prepared. There, the Germans shot them in groups of 20. The massacre was conducted by German and local Polish police forces.

The second massacre started on August 6, 1942, and lasted for three days, as many Jews hid in prepared bunkers. During the liquidation of the ghetto, 2,000 to 3,000 Jews were shot and buried in three mass graves in the Jewish cemetery, with roughly 1,000 victims in each grave. Slightly more than 200 Jewish craftsmen were transferred to the ghetto in Nowogródek.[8] This was the end of the ghetto and of the Jewish community of Zdzięcioł. Several hundred Jews, who had hidden, fled after the massacre; some formed a family camp in the Nakryshki Forest, where they survived until liberation.

Word of the "Zhetel partisan detachment" spread among Jews in the labor camps of Dworzec and Nowogródek, and a number of Jews tried to join them. Many were caught on the way to the forest. The Zheteler detachment also took revenge on local collaborators. For example, in the village of Molery on September 10, 1942, after eliminating two collaborators, the Jewish partisans informed the village elder of the reasons for this reprisal.

SOURCES The yizkor book of Baruch Kaplinski, ed., *Pinkes Zshetl* (Tel Aviv: Zetel Association in Israel, 1957), contains much information on the town but refers only briefly to the Holocaust period. A recent Israeli publication by Haya Lipski, Rivkah Lipski-Kaufman, and Yitshak Ganoz, eds., *'Ayaratenu Z'etel: Shishim shanah le-hurban kehilat Z'etel 1942–2002* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Z'etel be-Yisrael, 2002), deals with the fate of the town's Jews. In *Pamiats'. Diatlovo raion* (Minsk, 1997), there is a list of the Jews murdered in 1942. An article on the Holocaust in Diatlovo raion was published in *Moj Rodny Kut*, no. 2 (July 2002). Regarding the underground and the partisans, there is a memoir by Shalom Gerling, *Korot Lochem Yehudi* (Lohamei Hagetaot, 1968). Additional information can be found in Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998); and Israel Gutman, ed., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Berlin: Argon, 1993), 1:354–355.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Zdzięcioł can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/3452-59); NARB (845-1-186, pp. 37–38); USHMM (RG-50.030*0332); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/457).

Tamara Vershitskaya

NOTES

1. Gerling, *Korot Lochem Yehudi*, p. 47.
2. Ibid.
3. See oral history of Sonia Heidocosky Zissman, USHMM, RG-50.030*0332, p. 9 of transcript. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, however, states that the ghetto was set up in 1941 and held up to 4,500 people; see NARB, 845-1-186, pp. 37–38.
4. L. Losh, ed., *Book of Belitzah (Bielica)* (Tel Aviv: Belitzah Landmannschaft Organizations in Israel and the U.S., 1965), p. 347.
5. NARB, 845-1-186, pp. 37–38.
6. Kaplinski, *Pinkes Zshetl*, pp. 369–370.
7. Ibid., pp. 47, 60–63.
8. See USHMM, RG-50.030*0332; BA-L, B 162/3453 (202 AR-Z 94e/59), pp. 329–333; and YVA, M-1/E/457 (Shmariahu Furmanski). The ChGK dates the second massacre in July 1942 and estimates the total of Jewish victims at 3,500. The names of 1,601 victims have been established; see NARB, 845-1-186, pp. 37–38.

ŻOŁUDEK

Pre-1939: Żołudek, town, Szczuczyn powiat, Nowogródek województwo, Poland; 1939–1941: Zheludok, Shchuchyn raion, Baranovichi oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Zoludek, Rayon center, Gebiet Lida, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien; post-1991: Zhaludok, Shchuchyn raen, Hrodna voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żołudek is located 76 kilometers (48 miles) east-southeast of Grodno. Jews have lived in Żołudek since the end of the sixteenth century. They were mostly traders and craftsmen. In 1921, the Jewish population of the town was 1,053. In 1940, there were 2,436 inhabitants in the town, of whom some 70 percent (about 1,700) were Jewish. The Jewish population of Żołudek increased sharply in late 1939 and at the beginning of 1940, as many refugees from western and central Poland found refuge in the Soviet-occupied zone.[1]

Żołudek was occupied by the German army on June 27, 1941. As the Soviet forces withdrew, local non-Jews plundered the town. During the fighting, many Jewish houses in the center of town were burned down, and the Jewish families had to move in with friends and relatives in very overcrowded conditions. More than half of the town was destroyed in the fire. The murder by the Germans of six Jews, denounced by the local inhabitant Pastuszko as Communists, was the first Aktion against the Jews of Żołudek.[2]

At the beginning of July, a local administration and a local police force were established in the town. Local inhabitants of Polish and Belorussian nationality served in these organizations. Kulinski became the mayor of Żołudek, and Pastuszko was named as commandant of the police. At this time no German officials were permanently based in the town, which was under temporary military administration. The first order issued by the new authorities was that all Jews had to wear a white armband with a yellow Star of David on it.[3]

On July 10, 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat) that would be responsible for ensuring the implementation of all their instructions. According to the account of Moshe Birkh, no one wanted to be a member of the Judenrat. Lists of nominations were drawn up, however. The members of the Judenrat included Shlomo Nachumowski, Moshe Grejzewski, and Avraham Meir. Mendl Galay was named chairman of the Judenrat.[4]

Prior to the establishment of the ghetto in Żołudek, the Germans organized several Aktions against the Jewish population. As Nochman Shifmanovicz recalled, about 100 Jews were performing forced labor on the estate of the Czetwertynski family, where a German battalion was also based. It was a hot summer day, and many of the workers took off their

coats, on which the yellow patches were sewn. The Germans approached the workers and rounded up 22 who were found without their patches. They were given spades and taken outside the estate. The Germans then ordered them to dig their own mass grave and shot them. The remaining workers were forced to fill in the grave.[5]

On several occasions, the Germans and local police extorted valuables from the Jews. On August 10, 1941, the German military authorities ordered the collection of a large sum of money. As the Judenrat faced considerable difficulties in collecting the money, they levied a specific sum on each person, calculated according to his station and responsibilities, and went from house to house, collecting the fine.[6]

From the end of August 1941, control over the area was gradually handed over to the German civil administration. Żołudek became a Rayon center within Gebiet Lida under Gebietskommissar Hanweg. The local police subsequently came under the control of the German Gendarmerie (Order Police), commanded by SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Leutnant Albert Wystyrk in Lida.

In another instance, the chief of police ordered the Jews who were performing forced labor to bring him their gold objects. He threatened to shoot them if they refused. When the workers returned to the town, they told the Judenrat what had happened. Galay immediately went from house to house, gathering gold watches, rings, and other valuables, which he gave to the Germans. The imposition of forced labor often was accompanied by beatings and the humiliation of the Jews.

The Jews still celebrated the religious holidays, but under conditions of persecution. For example, on Rosh Hashanah prayers were held secretly in private houses. People stood guard outside in shifts to warn those praying inside, in case of any surprise Aktions. The same occurred also on Yom Kippur (October 1).[7]

The ghetto was officially established on November 1, 1941. It was located on Orla Street, as at least part of the street had survived the fire intact. On November 2, 1941, the Jews from the nearby village of Orla (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] south of Żołudek) were moved into the ghetto. There was no artificial wall and therefore also no protection inside the ghetto. Conditions in the ghetto were very severe because of considerable overcrowding. According to the testimony of Pesja Birkh (née Levit), 8 to 10 families lived in one house. The synagogue had already been converted into a residence.

The survivors of the ghetto recall that the Jews in the ghetto tried to help one another as much as they could. The Judenrat and the community worked together under these difficult circumstances. Everyone tried to act in the best interests of the whole community. Birkh, together with her friend Dvorelle, who worked in a Polish restaurant, devised a scheme to help feed the ghetto. Sometimes the police sent Birkh with her friend to the mill to bring back flour for the restaurant. On the way, when they passed the ghetto, they would drop a sack of flour from the wagon and inform people living nearby, so that they could take it into the ghetto.[8]

During the autumn and winter of 1941–42, a German special unit carried out several Aktions against the Jews in Żołudek. This Kommando came in a specific sort of truck, which the local Jews named *di boid* (covered wagon). They knew that when "di boid" arrived, a killing Aktion targeting the Jews of Żołudek was about to take place. According to Birkh, in the autumn of 1941, 32 Jews from Orla and 28 from Żołudek were killed.[9]

After 15 residents of the ghetto were murdered, a guard force was organized within the ghetto. Every night, a few men would go outside to keep watch, according to a fixed rotation. The purpose of the guard was to alert residents of the ghetto to an approaching calamity. Many had already begun to arrange hiding places, in preparation for the liquidation of the ghetto. The ghetto was not large, and therefore the guard consisted of only three men each night.[10]

According to Birkh's testimony, the local miller Kofko, a non-Jew, tried to convince the local peasants to help the Jews and not cooperate with the Germans. He could not always speak openly, but when he had the opportunity, he told them: "It is your duty to show kindness to the Jews. . . . As long as the Jews survive, it's certain that you will survive. But you should know that after they liquidate the Jews the Germans will then turn their instruments of death against you."[11]

On May 8, 1942, German and Lithuanian soldiers, together with local policemen, surrounded the ghetto. Nobody was permitted to leave the houses. The next morning, the Jews were assembled in the market square. The German officials Leopold Windisch (born 1913), deputy Gebietskommissar in Lida, and Obersturmführer Franz Grünzfelder of the Security Police in Baranowicze were in charge of the ghetto liquidation in Żołudek. They conducted a selection in the market square: 80 Jewish craftsmen were sent to the synagogue inside the ghetto, and the rest were taken and shot near the forest in large pits that had been prepared on the instructions of the mayor. The available sources disagree on the number of victims, but between 1,000 and 2,000 Jews of Żołudek and Orla were killed on May 9, 1942.[12] The craftsmen who remained alive were transferred to the ghetto in Szczuczyn. From there, some of them were subsequently transported to the Sobibór death camp. One week before the liquidation of the ghetto in Żołudek, 140 young Jews were sent to perform forced labor at the railway station of Skribovo (about 9 kilometers [5.6 miles] to the north). Later these Jews were transferred to the Lida ghetto.[13]

Some of the Jews managed to hide inside the ghetto. They saw how local inhabitants came to loot any remaining property. Local policemen also searched for Jews and killed many of them. For example, as Birkh recalled, there were five Jews who hid in a bakery. The local police found them and killed them in an especially cruel manner. She was rescued with the help of the local policeman Janish. Shifmanovicz hid in an oven and later managed to escape to the forests, where he joined a partisan unit.

After the war, a German court in Mainz investigated Leopold Windisch and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Grünzfelder was killed in a partisan ambush in June 1942.[14]

SOURCES The yizkor book for the town, edited by Aharon Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah: Gal'ed le-Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad Irgun yots'e Zeludok be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1967), includes several firsthand accounts of the ghetto written by survivors. There is also a local Belarusian "Memorial Book" for the region, *Pamiac. Shtutshin rajon* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Encyklapedya, 2001), which includes information on the ghetto.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Żołudek can be found in NARB (845-1-8). Further relevant documentation can be found in the German investigative files from the trial of Leopold Windisch (LG-Mai, 3 Ks 1/67).

Siarhej Pivavarchyk and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. *Pamiac*, p. 530.
2. Ibid., pp. 206, 530.
3. Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah*, pp. 235–236.
4. Ibid., 205–261.
5. *Pamiac*, p. 206.
6. Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah*, pp. 205–261.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.; *Pamiac*, p. 206.
9. *Pamiac*, p. 206.
10. Meirovits, *Sefer Z'eludok ve-Orlovah*, pp. 205–261.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.; NARB, 845-1-8, p. 31.
13. *Pamiac*, p. 207.
14. See LG-Mai, 3 Ks 1/67.

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SECTION VI

REICH COMMISSARIAT UKRAINE (REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE)

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

Reichskommissariat Ukraine, ruled by Reichskommissar Erich Koch, was set up in stages between August 1941 and September 1942 as additional territories were handed over from military to civil administration. The territory of Reichskommissariat Ukraine consisted of five Generalkommissariate—Wolhynien und Podolien, Shitomir, Kiew, Nikolajew, Dnjepropetrowsk—and the sixth, partial Kommissariat Taurida, in which apparently no ghettos were established.

Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien consisted mainly of the former Polish województwa poleskie and wołyńskie, the pre-1939 Soviet Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', and small parts of the Vinnitsa and Ternopol' oblasts. Generalkommissariat Shitomir was carved out of the pre-war Soviet Vinnitsa, Zhitomir, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts. Generalkommissariat Kiew consisted of the pre-war Soviet Kiev (now Kyiv) and Poltava oblasts. The area of Generalkommissariat Kiew east of the Dnieper River remained under German military jurisdiction until September 1942 but it is also dealt with in this section. Generalkommissariat Nikolajew was composed of the pre-1941 Nikolayev, Kherson, and Kirovograd oblasts. And Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk was made up of the pre-1941 Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozh'e oblasts. These last two Generalkommissariate have been combined for convenience in this volume, as they both contained relatively few ghettos and were subjected to similar German occupation policies.

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VOLHYNIA AND PODOLIA REGION



Jews are forced to march on the streets of Kamenets-Podolskii to a mass murder site outside the city, August 27, 1941. Gyula Spitz, a member of the Hungarian (Jewish) labor service, clandestinely took this photograph.
USHMM WS #28215, COURTESY OF IVAN SVED

VOLHYNIA AND PODOLIA REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT WOLHYNIEN UND PODOLIEN)

Pre-1941: parts of Vinnitsa, Rovno, Volyn', Kamenets-Podolskii, Ternopol', Brest, and Pinsk oblasts, Ukrainian and Belorussian SSRs; 1941–1944: initially Rear Area, Army Group South, then from September 1941, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: parts of western Ukraine and southwestern Belarus

Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien (GkWP) was a German administrative unit within Reichskommissariat Ukraine, stretching from Brześć and Łuniniec in the north to Kamenets-Podolskii and Iaryshev in the south. It consisted mainly of the former Polish województwa poleskie and wołyńskie, together with the pre-1939 Soviet Kamenets-Podolskii oblast' and small parts of the Vinnitsa and Ternopol' oblasts.

In 1939, the Kamenets-Podolskii oblast' contained more than 120,000 Jews, and at that time the Polish województwa poleskie and wołyńskie probably held around 350,000 Jews. As the possibilities for flight and evacuation from these western areas of the Soviet Union in late June 1941 were limited, it is likely that more than 400,000 Jews came under German occupation in the territory of what was to become GkWP. This region included a number of cities with Jewish populations of more than 10,000, including Równe, Brześć, Pińsk, Łuck, Dubno, Włodzimierz Wołyński, Proskurov, and Kamenets-Podolskii.

GkWP contained more than 120 separate Rayons in which more than 130 ghettos were established. Most of the ghettos were located in the Rayon centers and became concentration points for the Jewish population of the respective Rayon. The period of ghettoization in GkWP lasted from the summer of 1941 until the summer of 1942. A few ghettos, including those in Kupel', Balin, and Domaczów, were established in the first 10 weeks of the occupation when the region was still under German military administration. On September 1, 1941, a German civil administration took over the newly formed GkWP, with Generalkommissar Schoene, who soon moved to the region's capital in Równe, in charge. The civil administration, in the form of the 26 Gebietskommissars, was primarily responsible for the establishment of ghettos over the ensuing 12 months. The ghetto liquidation Aktions, conducted mainly in the summer and fall of 1942, were organized by units of the Security Police (Sipo) subordinated to the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz. The last ghetto to be liquidated, in Włodzimierz Wołyński, existed until December 1943.

Violence against the Jews started in the first days of the German invasion. In Volhynia (województwo wołyńskie), Shmuel Spector has identified more than 20 places where the local Ukrainian population carried out pogroms against the Jews. Although the motive was often the acquisition of property, many incidents involved acts of murder. For example, in Tuczyn, about 70 Jews were killed and many homes looted.[1] In Krzemieniec, in response to the Soviet murder of Ukrainian prisoners, Einsatzgruppe C reported that local Ukrainians "killed 130 Jews with clubs in revenge."[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, units of the Einsatzgruppen, the Order Police, and the Waffen-SS conducted a number of mass shootings directed mainly against the male Jewish population of the region. It is estimated that almost 100,000 Jews, or about a quarter of the total Jewish population, were murdered in 1941.

At the end of July 1941, Reichsführer-SS (RFSS) Heinrich Himmler ordered SS-Cavalry units to cleanse the Pripiat Marshes of criminal elements, including Jews. Clarifying instructions sent by telegram on August 1 stated: "[A]ll male Jews are to be shot. Jewish women to be driven into the swamps." A few days later, one unit commander, Franz Magill, reported that "driving the women and children into the swamps was not successful, as the swamps were not deep enough for them to sink [and be drowned]."[3] Nevertheless, men of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 5,000 mostly male Jews from Pińsk in early August. In Dawidgródek, Himmler's instructions were interpreted literally; all the male Jews were shot with the assistance of local non-Jews, but the women and children were driven out of town. After three weeks wandering in the forests, most women and children returned and moved into a ghetto with the few specialist workers who had been spared.[4]

Under military administration in July and August 1941, local police forces were recruited and subordinated initially to the Ortskommandanturen (OKs). The Jewish population was registered, required to wear distinctive armbands, and subjected to forced labor. Jewish Councils (Judenräte) were established and made personally responsible for the implementation of German regulations and demands.[5] Apart from organizing forced labor details, the Jewish Councils also had to surrender all valuable objects and pay "contributions" demanded by the German authorities. In August 1941, the military administration in the area around Równe collected more than 2,500 kilograms (over 5,500 pounds) of mostly silver items from the local Jewish communities.[6]

A series of larger massacres conducted in the late summer and fall of 1941 were more closely linked to ghettoization. Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, organized the slaughter of more than 23,000 Jews at the end of August 1941 in Kamenets-Podolskii, including about 11,000 Hungarian Jews, shortly after the establishment of a ghetto in the city center.

Selected craftsmen were then put into a smaller remnant ghetto. In Min'kovtsy, more than 2,000 Jews, including those from surrounding villages, were herded into a ghetto in August, only to be shot by Police Battalion 320 at the end of the month. A local witness, interviewed by Father Patrick Desbois, noted that the 70 or so Jews who survived in hiding were then placed in a single building, marked with a yellow Star of David on the front door.[7] On November 6 and 7, 1941, in Równe, the capital of GkWP, the HSSPF, Sipo, and Order Police shot about 15,000 Jews.[8] The victims were mostly those unable to work. The remaining 5,200 Jews were resettled into a ghetto on the edge of the city in December.

Reichskommissar Erich Koch had issued an order on September 5, 1941, to the Generalkommissar and the Gebietskommissars in GkWP that in towns with a notable percentage of Jews, ghettos were to be established that were strictly isolated (*streng abgeschlossen*) and in which no "Aryans" were permitted to reside. Jewish Councils were established to assist in the administration of the ghettos. They were to guarantee quiet (*Ruhe*), order, and security in the ghetto and to provide each day the required Jewish workforce. For every undesired event occurring among the Jews, the Judenrat was to be punished. To support the work of the Judenrat, a Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) could be established. In places with fewer than 200 Jews, no ghettos were to be established. A subsequent order was to be issued on the disposition of these few Jews.[9]

Following this order, a wave of ghettoization started in October to December 1941, with ghettos established in Berezne, Deraźne, Kołki, Horochów, and Brześć, among other places. Some of these ghettos were enclosed by a fence, and others remained open. In Bar, the Rayonchef put up posters in mid-December informing the Jews they had only five days to move into one of three separate ghetto areas. One of these ghettos was reserved for Jewish craftsmen.[10] Jews from surrounding villages often were brought into the ghettos at this time, although in some places this concentration did not occur until later. Such transfers were especially devastating for the village Jews, as they had to leave behind much of their property.



At the main gate of the Krzemieniec ghetto, Jewish children polish the boots of Jewish policemen, as German policemen look on, 1942. The ghetto fence is in the background.
USHMM WS #09525, COURTESY OF IPN



Under the supervision of a German policeman, Jews wearing circular badges are gathered with their possessions on an unpaved street during a deportation from the Krzemieniec ghetto, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #06392, COURTESY OF JOHN R. DENNIS

The process of ghettoization is exemplified by the situation in Łokacze. In early November 1941, the Jews of the town were forced to move into a ghetto concentrated around one of the synagogues. As a result, about half of the Jewish houses were confiscated. Another 800 Jews from smaller nearby towns and villages were also forced into the ghetto, in addition to the 1,400 Jews already residing in Łokacze. Therefore, at least two families had to share each house, and some people had to live in stables. Furniture was improvised from scavenged materials. The ghetto initially remained open (unfenced), but in early January the Judenrat was instructed to build a fence around the ghetto, which was completed in February. It was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and fortified by barbed wire. The enclosure of the ghetto immediately rendered trade with the local peasants much more difficult, and punishments for leaving the ghetto also became more severe. The Ukrainian police now began to shoot Jews on sight caught outside the ghetto. After 1 Jew was shot in mid-March 1942, black market prices in the ghetto shot up by 50 percent.[11]

The Jewish population was to receive only a bare minimum of food supplies; as a result, those not working were likely to starve to death within a few months. Despite the avowed aim of isolating the Jews, a total blockade was impossible to enforce. Many Jews left the ghetto every day for work, and Jewish craftsmen were often the only source of production tools and consumer goods. Death rates from starvation and disease in the smaller ghettos varied considerably, depending mainly on access to extra food supplies. Yet as Christopher Browning has noted, in the eastern ghettos such as that in Brześć, "however scant the food supply and terrible the hunger, mass starvation as in Warsaw and Łódź did not set in."[12]

The German authorities did not establish a ghetto in Pińsk until relatively late, that is, on May 1, 1942. On April 30, the

Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto within 24 hours. Few belongings were allowed, although people still brought more than was officially permitted. Non-Jewish neighbors took advantage of this sudden evacuation to steal and loot. The assigned area was the poorest and most crowded part of town. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence more than 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) in length and had three gates. The ghetto contained 240 wooden one-story houses on 23 streets, with only two water pumps. The allocation of living space per person was about 1.2 square meters (13 square feet), and each room was occupied by at least 10 people.[13] Health conditions deteriorated drastically, and cases of dysentery, typhus, and starvation-related illnesses soon emerged.[14]

There was starvation in the Horochów ghetto, as it was extremely difficult to obtain extra food. People were shot if they tried to leave the ghetto. Skilled workers received 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, while "useless" Jews received only 150 grams (5.3 ounces). Since food was so scarce, 20 youngsters built a tunnel under the fence as a way of getting out of the ghetto. They would take off their yellow stars and forage for food for their families. They mainly tried to barter items with the local population, such as clothing or jewelry, for food. The smells in the ghetto were horrible, and hygiene was almost nonexistent, with no soap, no toothbrushes, and no toothpaste.[15]

In some ghettos, Jewish craftsmen such as blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers were allowed to operate outside the ghetto area. In a number of ghettos, including those in Kobryń and Kowel, two ghettos were established, one for Jewish craftsmen and their families and another for the rest of the Jews. Some smaller Jewish communities were not ghettoized, but most were moved to the nearest ghetto by the summer of 1942. A few ghettos were literally only formed just prior to the liquidation Aktion, such as that in Powórsk. At least 15 ghettos remained open to the end, and in a few cases, fences were erected just prior to the liquidation, as the ghettos were sealed a few days in advance. At this time Jews were also sent back from labor assignments in the countryside, although these Jews sometimes had the opportunity to escape if they were tipped off in time.

In many ghettos of GkWP, there was a concerted attempt to exploit Jewish labor. In winter, Jews from the ghettos were deployed to clear snow from roads, and in the spring and summer, many were employed in agriculture. There were also deployments of younger able-bodied Jews to forced labor camps, and in some ghettos, such as Brześć, the establishment of workshops to exploit available Jewish labor. Unfortunately, little evidence has survived concerning payment of Jews for forced labor, and often payment came only in the form of extra rations. One source records that in the Kostopol ghetto inmates who worked received 5.60 rubles per day, of which 20 percent was deducted for a "Jewish tax" and another 25 percent as "income tax."[16]

During the wave of ghetto liquidations from May until November 1942, most Jews were shot in pits dug only a short distance from the ghetto. The Jews usually were marched there on foot, with the elderly and sick being taken on carts. Only occasionally was motorized transport employed.[17] Persons who attempted to hide within the ghetto during the roundups were shot on the spot, often by members of the local police. The civil administration organized the ghetto liquidations by ordering pits to be dug in advance, providing transport if required, and disposing of Jewish property after the Aktions. Some members of Gebietskommissariat staff were present during the shootings.[18] As Father Patrick Desbois has shown, many local inhabitants were requisitioned to dig the pits, press down the bodies, collect Jewish clothing, or clean up the execution site afterwards.[19]

The Aktions were coordinated by the Security Police, using manpower of the Gendarmerie and the local police (Schutzmannschaft) to round up and escort the Jews. In mid-August 1942, the German Security Police reported, for example, the shooting of 6,402 Jews in Krzemieniec, 3,399 Jews in Kamień Koszyrski, 1,792 Jews in Szumsk, and the killing of 420 Jews in Mikaszewicze. Internal correspondence within the German administration indicates that, against the wishes of the Generalkommissar, some larger ghettos were liquidated before those in the surrounding villages. The result was that the village Jews were warned, and some attempted to escape when these smaller ghettos were liquidated, as happened in Turzysk, where the Aktion took place just a few days after the liquidation of the Kowel ghetto. The ghetto liquidations were discussed at the meeting of Gebietskommissars held in Łuck on August 29–31, 1942. Here it was explained that the planned 100 percent clearance was on the orders of Reichskommissar Erich Koch. A "stay of execution" for two months was permitted only for small groups of vital workers, not to exceed 500 men. These small remnants were to disappear within this period. In Podolia, more than 2,000 able-bodied Jews were selected out from the executions in August and were sent to work in the camps along Transit Highway 4 (Durchgangsstrasse, or DG IV), which were liquidated in turn during 1943.[20]

Shortly before he committed suicide when under investigation for his crimes in the early 1960s, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, who was in charge of the outpost (Aussendienststelle) of the Security Police in Pińsk, provided a detailed account of the ghetto liquidations he organized in the fall of 1942. Over a three-month period from August to November, Rasp conducted Aktions against the ghettos in Janów, Łachwa, Stolin, Dawidgródek, Wysock, Łuniniec, and Pińsk, as well as other smaller rural ghettos, such as that in Mokrowo, during which more than 20,000 Jews were murdered. A combined force of Security Police, Gendarmerie, and local police was employed for most Aktions, with members of the Security Police generally conducting the shooting at the pits. According to Rasp, the orders for the ghetto liquidations came from Berlin and were passed on to him by his superiors, KdS Pütz and Commander of the Security Police and SD (BdS) Dr. Max Thomas.[21]

In order to facilitate the killing process, the Germans developed at least five regional killing centers in GkWP, where the Jews were brought from several different ghettos to be killed at one site. The best known of these is probably Bronna Góra, where Jews from Antopol, Brześć, Kobryń, and other ghettos



Jews are assembled for deportation in Brześć, ca. October 1942.
USHMM WS #74322, COURTESY OF ŻIH

were murdered between July and October 1942. Other concentration points included Sarny, Manivtsy (Gebiet Antoniny), Starokonstantinov, and Iarmolintsy, where Jews from several ghettos were concentrated prior to being killed. This procedure entailed some risks for the Germans, as the increased layer of concentration could result in some delay, presenting opportunities for resistance. There was a mass breakout from the improvised camp in Sarny and also some brutal resistance among the Jews held in a former barracks at Iarmolintsy.

The Jews of the ghetto in Serniki had some warning of an impending Aktion in the fall of 1942, as most of the other ghettos nearby had by then already been liquidated. Among the warning signs was the fact that Jews were no longer sent to work outside the ghetto and that the owners of items given to Jewish craftsmen for repair came to collect them, regardless of whether the work had been finished. By early September there were also rumors that pits were being prepared nearby. Then local policemen, reinforced by the Gendarmerie, surrounded the ghetto at night. Assisted by the warnings and the close proximity of dense forests, 272 Jews managed to escape from the Serniki ghetto on the eve of the liquidation Aktion.[22]

In GkWP, some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the Soviet partisans, while others hid in the countryside, lived on the Aryan side, or were hidden by non-Jews. Some Jews from Podolia escaped to the Romanian-occupied zone (Transnistria), where survival chances were much greater by the end of 1942. The attacks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in 1943, directed mainly at the ethnic cleansing of Poles from Volhynia, also made it harder for Jews to survive in hiding, and several hundred were killed by members of the UPA. Detailed figures for the numbers of survivors in GkWP are not available, but most estimates are around 5 percent or less.

SOURCES Secondary works dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and German anti-Jewish policies in GkWP include the following: I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 51–87; Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990); Martin Dean, "Lebensbedingungen, Zwangsarbeit und Überlebenskampf in den kleinen Ghettos: Fallstudien aus den Generalkommissariaten Weissruthenien und Wolhynien-Podolien," in Christoph Dieckmann and Babette Quinkert, eds., *Im Ghetto 1939–1945: Neue Forschunegn zu Alltag und Umfeld. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus*, vol. 25 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), pp. 54–73; and Stephen Pallavicini, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie" (Ph.D. diss., Sydney University, 2003).

Reference works useful in helping to identify ghetto sites include: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Father Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ogne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot, 1998); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York: n.p., 1995); A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

The video and oral testimonies of Jewish survivors and other witnesses taken by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute (VHF), Father Patrick Desbois (YIU), and others since 1990 have added considerably to our knowledge of ghettoization in this region. The documentation of several previously unregistered ghettos has been possible only with the assistance of these recently available materials. Relevant documentation

on ghettoization in GkWP can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DARO; DATO; DAVINO; DAVO; GABO; GARF; IPN; NARA; NARB; PAAKag; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIU; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/397; GARF, 7021-71-68, p. 4.
2. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 28, July 20, 1941. See also GARF, 7021-75-6, pp. 13 reverse, 20, and 49. The killings were probably instigated by the members of the Einsatzgruppe.
3. BA-MA, RS 3-8/36 Himmler Order to SS-Kav. Rgt. 2, August 1, 1941; VHAP, KdO. Stab RFSS, Report of Magill, SS-Kav. Rgt. 2, on the Pripiat Aktion from July 27 to August 11, 1941.
4. *Memorial Book of David-Horodok* (Oak Park, MI: B. Chase, 1981), pp. 62–63, 91–93, 109.
5. GABO, 2135-2-127, p. 3.
6. BA-BL, R 2104/21 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), p. 256.
7. YIU, Témoin no. 864.
8. BA-BL, R 58/218, EM no. 143.
9. DAZO, 1151-1-22, pp. 1–5, Reichskommissar to Generalkommissar and Gebietskommissars, September 5, 1941.
10. DAVINO, 1358-1c-1.
11. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), pp. 38–72.
12. Christopher R. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 131.
13. Werner Müller, ed., *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk* (Cologne: Dietrich, 2001); Nahum Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto," *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 64 (November 1997).
14. Tikva Fatal Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk, 1939–1943, through the Prism of New Documentation," *Yad Vashem Studies* 29 (2001): 149–182, here pp. 172–173.
15. Personal interview with Charlene Schiff, June 19, 2003.
16. AŻIH, 301/1268.
17. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, report to Generalkommissar on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942.
18. GABO, 195-1-300, p. 11; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59 (B 162/4952-60), statements of Wilhelm Rasp, 1961–1962.
19. Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets*, p. 97.
20. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, 7–9.
21. BA-L, B 162/4952-60, statements of Wilhelm Rasp.
22. Meylekh Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan* (Buenos Aires, 1958), pp. 9–19.


Ghettos in the Volhynia and Podolia Region
1941 - 1942
Białystok Region
Weissruthenien Region
Lublin Region
Zhytomyr Region
Eastern Galicia Region
Transnistria
Romania
Pripiat
Bereza Kartuska
Wołczyn
Chomsk
KOBRYŃ
Żabinka
BRZEŚĆ
Antopol
Horodec
Drohiczyn
Janów Poleski
Łuniniec
Mokrowo
Mikaszewicze
PIŃSK
Kożangródek
Łachwa
Dywin
Domaczów
Dawidgródek
Małoryta
Tomaszówka
Ratno
Moroczna
Lubieszów
Serniki
Horodno
STOLIN
Wysock
KAMIEŃ KOSZYRSKI
Krymno
Berezów
Opalin
Włodzimierzec
Dąbrowica
Bereźnica
LUBOML
Maciejów
Maniewicze
KOWEL
Powórsk
Rafałówka
SARNY
Klesów
Rokitno
Turzysk
Mielnica
Jezierzany
Kołki
Stepań
Czetwiertnia
Uściług
Kisielin
Rożyszcze
Zofjówka
Berezne
WŁODZIMIERZ WOŁYŃSKI
Łokacze
Torczyn
Kiwerce
Deraźne
KOSTOPOL
Ludwipol
ŁUCK
Poryck
Sienkiewiczówka
Ołyka
Klewań
Aleksandria
Tuczyn
Hoszcza
Ostrożec
RÓWNE
Korzec
HOROCHÓW
Boremel
Młynów
Warkowicze
Międzyrzecz
ZDOŁBUNÓW
Beresteczko
DUBNO
Annopol'
Demidówka
Kozin
Werba
Mizocz
Ostróg
Slavuta
Radziwiłłów
SHEPETOVKA
Berezce
Szumsk
IZIASLAV
Polonnoe
Poczajów
KRZEMIENIEC
Katrynburg
Liakhovtsi
Gritsev
Wiśniowiec
Łanowce
Teofipol'
Bazaliia
Kul'chiny
Ostropol'
Krasilov
STAROKONSTANTINOV
Kupel'
Staraia Siniava
Volochisk
Chernyi Ostrov
Medzhibozh
PROSKUROV
LETICHEV
Mikhalpol'
Derazhnia
Gorodok
IARMOLINTSY
Zen'kov
Vin'kovtsy
BAR
Smotrich
DUNAEVTSY
Ialtushkov
Balin
Min'kovtsy
Orinin
Novaia Ushitsa
Snitkov
Murovannye Kurilovtsy
KAMENETS-PODOLSKII
Kalius
Staraia Ushitsa
Iaryshev
Map Legend
Ghetto
GEBIET CENTER AND GHETTO
Regional border
Gebiet border
Rayon border
Rivers and lakes
0 5 10 20 Miles
0 10 20 40 Kilometers
N
W
E
S
Borders as of 1942

ALEKSANDRIA

Pre-1939: Aleksandria, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Aleksandriia, Rovno raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Alexandria, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Oleksandriia, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Aleksandria is located about 13 kilometers (8 miles) northeast of Równe. According to the census of 1921, 1,293 Jews lived in Aleksandria; assuming a rate of natural increase of 0.9 percent per year, more than 1,500 Jews would have been living there in mid-1941. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, leaving more than 1,100 Jews behind in Aleksandria at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Aleksandria on June 29, 1941. In July and August 1941, the village was administered by a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and after September 1941 by the German civil administration. Aleksandria was included within Gebiet Rowno, and Regierungsrat Beer was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.[1] The village had a German Gendarmerie post, which also supervised a squad of local Ukrainian police. The anti-Jewish Aktions in Aleksandria were carried out by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe with the assistance of the local German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

On July 1–4, 1941, Ukrainian nationalists carried out anti-Jewish pogroms, including the burning of synagogues and the plundering of Jewish homes. They also murdered several Jews. On July 31, 1941, pro-Soviet activists were seized and killed along with 85 Jews; the massacre was carried out by a squad of the Security Police and SD based in Równe (detached from the commander of the Security Police [KdS] in Lublin) with the assistance of the Ukrainian local police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a number of discriminatory measures against the Jews in Aleksandria: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) with nine members was appointed; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks (initially the Star of David, then later a yellow circle); they were assigned to perform hard labor, sometimes without pay; and they were forbidden to leave the confines of the village. Jews were also subjected to regular beatings and robbery by the Ukrainian police.

In late July or August 1942, the Germans ordered all the local Jews (about 1,080 people) to be concentrated in a ghetto, which was established on a side street and surrounded by a fence and barbed wire along the banks of the Horyn River.[2] Conditions in the ghetto were appalling. Children and the elderly died of hunger. Anyone caught bringing food into the ghetto was immediately shot. Every day the Germans drove groups of Jews out into the countryside to work. Any Jews caught not wearing their yellow patch might be shot on the spot, or if captured, they faced a fine of 50 Reichsmark (RM).[3]

On Yom Kippur (September 21, 1942), the ghetto was in mourning because the men had been taken out to work and did not return. On that day a Security Police unit, together with members of the Ukrainian police, arrived in town to dig pits in preparation for an Aktion. The Ukrainian and German police surrounded the ghetto, and no one was allowed out.

Over the following days, the Security Police detachment from Równe, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie, shot 903 Jews from the Aleksandria ghetto in a nearby forest.[4] On the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto, Rywa Sparberg was among about 100 Jews who managed to flee, but 85 of them were caught later by the Ukrainian and German police and murdered in a mass shooting on October 28, 1942.

SOURCES The yizkor book contains much information about the Jewish community of Aleksandria: *Natan Livneh* Shemu'el Yisre'eli, Pinkas ha-kehilah Aleksandriya (Tel Aviv, 1972). There is also a brief article on the history of the town in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 43–45.

Documents regarding the destruction of Aleksandria's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/451); DARO (R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-41); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Berlin Document Center, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-41, pp. 1 and verso, gives the date of mid-August; AŻIH, 301/451, testimony of Rywa and Cypa Sparberg, gives the date of July 22, 1942; see also DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 20, 31, which gives the date of September 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/451.
4. GARF, 7021-71-41, pp. 91–92.

ANNOPOL'

Pre-1941: Annopol', village, Slavuta raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Annopol, Rayon Slawuta, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Hannopil', Slavuta raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Annopol' is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-southeast of Równe. According to the 1926 census, there were 2,832 residents of Annopol', of whom 1,278 were Jews (45 percent). In the 1920s and 1930s, the number of Jews in the village decreased significantly, due to the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population fled to the east, and others joined the Red Army. The rapid advance of the German troops forced some of those trying to flee to return to the village. About 800 Jews remained in Annopol' at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German army occupied Annopol' on July 7, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The Germans appointed a village elder and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Annopol' was incorporated into Gebiet Schepetowka, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. German Gendarmes were not stationed permanently in Annopol'. Instead, the Ukrainian policemen based there were subordinated to the head of the Ukrainian police in Slavuta.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces introduced a series of antisemitic measures in Ukraine. All Jews had to wear yellow patches sewn onto the back and front of their clothes to distinguish them from the non-Jewish population.[1] They were forced to perform heavy labor with little or no pay and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

In the summer and fall of 1941, there were at least two anti-Jewish Aktions in the village. In the first, local police beat Jews and arrested about 20 young Jewish men. Some of them managed to escape, but those that remained were shot on the outskirts of the village, on the road to the nearby village of Ponora. In a second Aktion, in late summer or the fall of 1941, members of the local Ukrainian police, probably in cooperation with men of the German 45th Reserve Police Battalion, shot more than 100 Jews in the quarry of a brick-making factory.[2] Jewish survivor Semen Velinger recalled: "The police from the villages and our Annopol' police . . . caught all the [Jewish] men of various ages including our rabbi. There was a primitive brick factory and there were quarries there, and they took them to those quarries and shot them there—200 people." He noted that after this Aktion the entire village fell silent, as the Ukrainians also had been shaken by the brutality of the events.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the German authorities established an open ghetto in the village located on one street where Jews already lived.[4] Dozens of Jews from nearby villages, including Dovzhki, Klepachi, Velikii Sknit, and Golovli, were resettled there along with the Jews of Annopol', which resulted in considerable overcrowding.[5] The Jews in the ghetto were forced to clear snow from the streets, work on road construction, and clean up the grounds of an alcohol distillery.

On March 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. Velinger recalls: "One fine day, they forced us out of our homes; they didn't let us take anything, but ordered everyone to go to the market square. There were a few carts waiting, they put the children in the carts and off we went to Slavuta."[6] The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police escorted the Jews on the way. On arrival, the elderly and handicapped were singled out and shot immediately. The remaining Jews were put into the Slavuta ghetto. Then on June 25, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators shot them together with other Jews from the region.[7] A detachment of the Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov organized the mass shooting. The Ukrainian police selected the killing site and guarded the victims on the way to their deaths.

Several Jewish craftsmen remained in Annopol' after the transfer of the Jews to Slavuta. Of these, 3 men and 1 woman ran away on August 10, 1942. In retaliation, the German Gendarmerie shot 10 Jews two days later; together with them, 4 Jewish women were shot for having infectious diseases and another 4 for alleged "laziness."[8]

SOURCES The testimony of Semen Velinger can be found in: VHF (# 44509). A published version of this testimony and also that of Sofia Malinskaia can be found in D. Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana* (Slavuta-Netishyn-Iziaslav, 1996).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 44509, testimony of Semen Velinger.
2. Testimony of Sofia Malinskaia (September 1994) published in Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 48. This source dates the second Aktion in August 1941.
3. VHF, # 44509. This source dates the second Aktion in October 1941 and states that no Germans participated. It also indicates that there was another Aktion in December 1941 in which a beautiful young woman was buried alive on the orders of the commandant in Annopol'. See also Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 38, for another version of Velinger's testimony.
4. VHF, # 44509; this source dates the establishment of the ghetto in September or October 1941. Another source dates it in November.
5. Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 49.
6. VHF, # 44509.
7. Hoshkis, *Nazahoena rana*, p. 50.
8. IPN, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, report of Gend.-Gebietsführer Schepetowka, August 13, 1942.

ANTOPOL

Pre-1939: Antopol, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Antopol', Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Antopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Antopal', Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Antopol is located 70 kilometers (43.5 miles) to the east of Brześć. On the eve of World War II, Antopol had about 4,000 inhabitants, of whom as many as 3,000 were Jews.[1]

In accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the town of Antopol was annexed by the Soviet Union in September 1939. German military forces occupied Antopol on June 24, 1941, only two days after their invasion of the Soviet Union, giving local Jews almost no chance to flee. A few weeks after their arrival in Antopol, the Germans appointed an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*), a former postman named Chrominski, as head of the Rayon. They instructed him to organize a

local police force. According to survivor accounts, he had not been hostile towards the Jews before the war, but now he became an enthusiastic antisemite, and his police unit mostly followed suit.

The local police and the Germans heaped other abuses on the Jews. Every Jew was required to wear a Star of David armband. The local police would indiscriminately whip Jews, especially when SS men were present. The Germans made Jews wash their cars, and they or the police would beat them mercilessly while they did so. The Germans also assembled the Christian population in the Orthodox Church in the center of town and instructed them to avoid social and business contact with Jews. Posters bearing antisemitic slogans were hung in the marketplace.[2]

A Judenrat was formed, with Rozenberg at its head. The other members were Binyomin Volf, Zalmen Altvarg, Rubinshteyn, and Rabbi Volkin. The latter allowed the Judenrat to meet in his house but otherwise declined to participate in its activities. The others were chosen because they were wealthy or important members of the community. A small Jewish police force, with Borukh Hersh Rabinovitsh at its head, was also formed; its main task was to ensure the Jews obeyed German orders. A series of these followed: Jews had to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes instead of the Star of David armbands; Jews were forbidden to hold public meetings and do business with Aryans; the Judenrat had to collect a large sum of money and goods from the Jews and hand it over to the Germans.[3]

From the very beginning of the occupation, the Germans tried to reduce contact between Jews and non-Jews. Later, the Jews living on one side of Pińsk and Kobryń Streets (Antopol's two main thoroughfares) were forced to leave their homes and relocate to the other side of the streets, creating an open ghetto of sorts. They were also forbidden to walk on the sidewalks. The open ghetto was probably set up in August 1941.[4]

At the end of August 1941, German police surrounded the open ghetto. They ordered the Judenrat to collect and hand over gold, silver, jewels, furs, leather goods, Polish or Soviet currency, and various food items. Simultaneously, all able-bodied men were ordered to assemble in the marketplace to be taken to work. Many Jews tried to hide. The German forces then arrested more than 200 men in the marketplace and held them in the "Polish Synagogue." They were then taken outside the town to pits dug by local peasants and shot.[5] According to a report by the 8th Company, 3rd Battalion, Polizei-Regiment Mitte (Order Police), this unit shot 257 Jews and 8 Communists on August 28, 1941, in Antopol after gathering the men together and searching for those who were hiding.[6] The Jews were told that these men had been sent to a forced labor camp and that their relatives could send them packages of food weighing up to 5 kilograms (11 pounds). Presumably the Germans or the local police confiscated the food.

From the summer of 1941 through the spring of 1942, groups of Jews arrived in Antopol from various towns and villages in the surrounding area, including Szereszów, Żabinka, Horodec, and the Białowieża Forest. Of some 1,000 Jews who arrived from Szereszów in the late summer of 1941, about 500 were permitted to remain in Antopol rather than continue their painful odyssey, following appeals by the Judenrat.[7]

In early April 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Kobryń ordered the establishment of an enclosed ghetto in Antopol on Zaniewska and Gruszowa Streets. Gentiles had to move out of this area, and the Jews were given only 20 minutes to move in, so that they had to leave most of their possessions behind. About 2,500 Jews moved into the ghetto, including about 100 Jews from Horodec. They were packed into small houses like herring in a barrel.[8] In June 1942, the Judenrat was ordered to produce lists of Jewish skilled workers and able-bodied men. On this basis the ghetto was divided into two parts: Ghetto A for "useful Jews" and Ghetto B for "non-useful Jews." Residents of Ghetto A received special papers.[9]

Cultural life in the ghetto all but ceased. The old wooden synagogue had been converted into a grain silo by the Soviets and remained one under the Germans. The brick synagogue, which had been completed in 1888, continued to function, but only a few people still came there to pray. Antopol's two Jewish doctors continued to provide medical services for the residents of the ghetto; they frequently were called out of the ghetto to tend to ill non-Jews in the town and in the surrounding villages. The other able-bodied men and women were taken out of the ghetto every morning under the supervision of the Ukrainian police as well as Jewish Police. Most men worked as manual laborers, building and fixing roads or helping the peasants with agricultural tasks. Women worked cleaning and keeping house for the Germans.[10]

In July 1942, Ghetto B was liquidated. It was surrounded by local police and members of the SS, and its residents (about 1,000 people) were taken to the train station, where they were put on trains carrying Jews from other towns—Janów, Drohiczyn, and others—and sent to Bronna Góra, where they were shot. Immediately after the liquidation Aktion, Ghetto A was more tightly enclosed, with a guard of local police stationed at the gate.[11]

In August 1942, the ghetto once again was surrounded by armed men. By this time, many of the ghetto's Jews had constructed hiding places in concealed basements, behind double walls, and in other spaces. Thus the Germans had to conduct an active search for Jews inside the ghetto. They found several hundred and shot them outside the town. About 300 Jews remained in the ghetto.[12]

On October 15, in the evening, the mayor summoned the Judenrat and Jewish Police. They were immediately arrested and executed. The next day, in the early hours of the morning, the ghetto was surrounded once more. Because of the need to search for Jews in hiding, the Aktion lasted for four days. A handful of Jews managed to escape, but the Germans and their collaborators murdered the vast majority at the Pervomaiskoe cemetery east of the town. People were stripped naked, ordered to lie facedown in a pit, and shot with automatic weapons.[13] Among the units participating in the ghetto liquidation was the 3rd Squadron of Polizei-Reiterabteilung I, a mounted police detachment. One member of this unit was

killed by a stray bullet fired at a Jewish woman who was attempting to flee while the ghetto was being searched.[14]

SOURCES The Antopol yizkor book, *Aṇtopol: Aṇtipolye sefer-yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Aṇtopol be-Yisrael uve-Ameriḳah, 1972), edited by Benzion H. Ayalon, contains several accounts in Hebrew and Yiddish dealing with the war years. Most of the pertinent historical information can be found in those written by Gitl and Pinhas Tshernyak. *Antopol: Mi-toldoteha shel kehila ahat be-Polesyah* (Tel Aviv, 1967), edited by Yosef ben Israel Levine, is a general history of the town's Jewish community, focusing on religious life. However, it contains almost no information about the war years. A brief article on the history of the Jewish community can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 219–221.

There is also relevant documentation, including witness testimonies, in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2212); BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 369/63); GABO (514-1-255); GARF (7021-83-8); USHMM (RG-48.004M); and YVA (O-4/21, O-22/46).

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2212, testimony of Benjamin Wolf.
2. G. Tshernyak, p. 340; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 561–562—both in Levine, *Antopol*.
3. G. Tshernyak, p. 340; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 562.
4. G. Tshernyak, pp. 340–341; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 563.
5. G. Tshernyak, p. 346; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 562–563. The yizkor book dates this incident in October 1941, whereas AŻIH, 301/2212, dates it at the end of July. However, the descriptions suggest that it was almost certainly the same incident described in the German police report mentioned below, which took place at the end of August 1941.
6. USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 2, fr. 201217, report of 8./III./Pol. Rgt. Mitte, August 30, 1941.
7. G. Thsernyak, p. 341; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 564; AŻIH, 301/2212; on the expulsion of the Jews from Szereszów and their subsequent fate, see Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004), pp. 228–258.
8. AŻIH, 301/2212. GARF, 7021-83-8, p. 1a, also dates the establishment of the ghetto in the spring of 1942, giving the number of 2,500 ghetto inmates. G. Tshernyak's account, however, states that the ghetto was enclosed earlier, probably in late 1941 ("Antopoler Geto," p. 341).
9. AŻIH, 301/2212, GARF, 7021-83-8, p. 1a; G. Tshernyak, p. 341; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 563–564.
10. G. Tshernyak, pp. 342–343; P. Tshernyak, "Pe'ulato shel rofe mahteret me-Antopol," in Ayalon, *Aṇtopol: Aṇtipolye sefer-yizkor*, p. 366.
11. G. Tshernyak, pp. 347–348; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 564–565; Sta. Bielefeld 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.
12. G. Tshernyak, pp. 348–349; Shoshanah Kats, "Haye ha-eymim sheli be-gito Antopol ve-hatsalti," in B. Ayalon, *Aṇtopol: Aṇtipolye sefer-yizkor*, p. 360; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," p. 565.
13. G. Tshernyak, p. 350; P. Tshernyak, "Di yorn," p. 552; P. Tshernyak, "Antopoler Geto," pp. 566–567; GARF, 7021-83-8, p. 1a, dates the ghetto liquidation on November 15, 1942.
14. BA-L, B 162/204 AR-Z 369/63 (investigation of Hahn), vol. 1, pp. 213–216.

BALIN

Pre-1941: Balin, village, Smotrich raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Balin is located 325 kilometers (202 miles) west-southwest of Kiev and about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) north-northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1897 census, Balin had a Jewish population of 357 (22 percent of the total).

German armed forces occupied the village on July 10, 1941, almost three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, and some men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village, and it appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Balin became part of Rayon and Gebiet Dunajewzy, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

According to the testimony of Ilya Kelmanovich, some form of ghetto (probably an open ghetto) had been established in Balin by August 1941. The Jews had to wear yellow badges, and they were not allowed to leave the village. If they were found outside the village without permission, they were shot. The Ukrainian police forced Jews to perform hard labor every day. Most people had to work in the large factory in Balin. The police also robbed the Jews; if Jews did not hand over all their gold and other valuables, they were beaten. In early 1942, the police started rounding up Jews and taking them away for work somewhere near Dunaevtsy.[1]

The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life mentions the murder of about 150 Jews from Balin in the fall of 1941, but most sources date the destruction of the Jewish population in 1942. According to Ilya Kelmanovich, the mass murders started in the spring of 1942. A pit was dug not far from Balin. The police would collect Jewish men in the mornings and tell them they were going to work, but instead they would be taken to the pit and shot. In the spring or summer of 1942, some Jews were rounded up and taken to a camp at Kamenets-Podolskii. Kelmanovich decided to go into hiding but was initially turned away by a Ukrainian acquaintance of his father from before the war, as the man was scared of the punishment he might face for assisting a Jew.

Therefore, Kelmanovich left Balin and found refuge, for a time at least, with a Ukrainian woman in another village.[2]

On September 5, 1942, German and Ukrainian police liquidated the ghetto in Balin: the Jews who were not able to work were shot in a clay pit (probably the one described by Kelmanovich), and the craftsmen were herded to the ghetto of Kamenets-Podolskii, where they too were subsequently murdered. It is estimated that about 150 to 250 Jews were murdered in Balin altogether.[3]

SOURCES Information about Balin's Jewish population can be found in these publications: Avraham Rozen, H. 'Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminits-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilot Yisrael ba-'arim Kaminits-Podolsk*, *Balin*, *Dunivits*, *Zamihov*, *Zvanits*, *Minkovits*, *Smotrits'*, *Frampol*, *Kupin*, *Kiteygorod she-hushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bi-shenat 701* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965); *Kaminits-Podolsk and Its Environs* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu Foundation, 1999); "Balin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, 2000), 4:76–77; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 82.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Balin can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-815); VHF (# 15814); and YVA (M-52/179).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 15814, testimony of Ilya Kelmanovich.
2. Ibid.
3. Testimony of Ida Kats, in *Vestnik. Vypusk 2. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernowitz, 1992), p. 50. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-64-815, p. 89), 211 people were killed in Balin. According to Report 87 of the Board of the Khmel'nitskii Office of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, dated February 2, 1989 (archives of the author—PAAKru), 150 Jews were shot in a clay pit 0.6 kilometers (656 yards) north of the village. According to Report No. 02/134 ("Vedomost' o zakhoroneniiakh sovetskikh grazhdan evreiskoi natsional'nosti v period vremennoi okkupatsii fashistami Khmel'nitskoi oblasti") of the Khmel'nitskii Oblast' Nongovernmental Organization for Conservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, dated October 11, 1990 (PAAKru), 264 Jews were killed in Balin during the occupation.

BAR

Pre-1941: Bar, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Bar is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) southeast of Khmel'nitskii. In 1939, there were 3,869 Jews living in Bar (41 percent of the population).

After the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. A small number of Jews also managed to evacuate to the east. As a result, there were fewer than 3,000 Jews in Bar at the start of the German occupation.

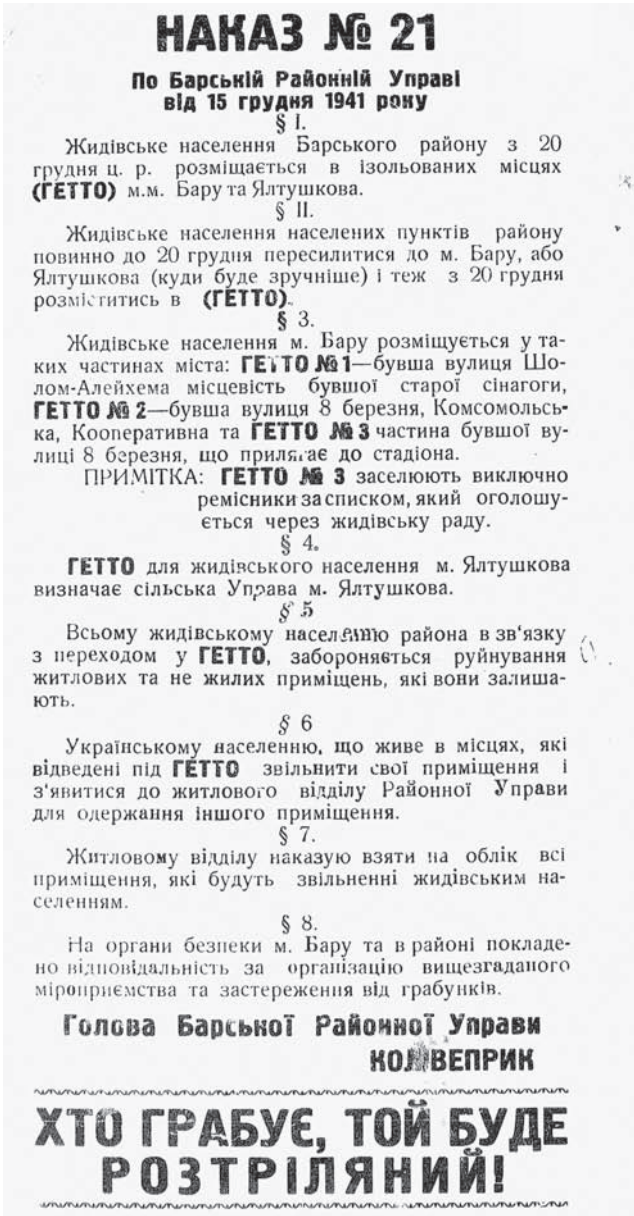
Units of the German 17th Army occupied Bar on July 16, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by the office of the local military commandant (Ortskommandantur II/757), which established a Rayon administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Bar became the administrative center of the Gebiet, which also included the neighboring Rayons (subdistricts) of Iaryshev, Novaia Ushitsa, and Murowanny Kurilowzy.[1]

The Gebietskommissar was Franz Schwarz, and his deputy was Hans Eberle.[2] The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer based in Bar was initially Leutnant Richard Schulz, who in May 1942 became the deputy of the SS- und Polizei Gebietsführer, Gendarmerie Hauptmann Willi Petrich.[3] Several Gendarmerie posts throughout the Gebiet were subordinated to him, including the one in Bar. In turn, the post in Bar had a Ukrainian police force under its control. The chief of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, Grigorii Vasil'evich Andrusiv, was appointed in July 1941. Before the war, he had been head guard at a sugar refinery. His deputy was Aleksei Keba.[4] Andrusiv had seven policemen under his command at the end of July 1941.[5] The head of the Rayon administration (Rayonchef) was a former middle school teacher, Vladimir Kol'vepryk.[6]

The Aktions against the Jews in Gebiet Bar were organized in 1942 by a detachment of Security Police (Sipo/SD) based at the outpost in Kamenets-Podolskii. The detachment was established in May 1942 and headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian policemen also played an active role in the anti-Jewish operations.

Almost immediately upon occupying the town, the Germans began a program of abuse, plunder, forced labor, and murder.

On December 15, 1941, the head of the Rayon administration, Kol'vepryk, decreed the creation of ghettos in Bar and Ialtushkov, starting on December 20, 1941. In Bar, three ghettos were set up: one on former Sholom Aleichem Street, near the synagogue; one in the area of March 8th Street, Komsomol' Street, and Kooperativ Street; and the third near the stadium. The latter was reserved for craftsmen, who were issued special certificates by the Jewish Council. Some non-Jews were displaced in order to create the ghettos, and the German authorities were concerned about preventing the Jews from destroying furniture that they had to leave behind and then preventing the local Ukrainians from stealing it.[7] When Jews were resettled into the ghetto, they were not allowed to take property with them, although some left items for safekeeping with non-Jews outside the ghetto. In the Bar ghetto, survivor Evgeniia Lerner recalled that "our life was



НАКАЗ № 21

По Барській Районній Управі
від 15 грудня 1941 року

§ I.

Жидівське населення Барського району з 20 грудня ц. р. розміщається в ізольованих місцях **(ГЕТТО)** м.м. Бару та Ялтушкова.

§ II.

Жидівське населення населених пунктів району повинно до 20 грудня пересилитися до м. Бару, або Ялтушкова (куди буде зручніше) і теж з 20 грудня розміститись в **(ГЕТТО)**.

§ 3.

Жидівське населення м. Бару розміщується у таких частинах міста: **ГЕТТО № 1**—бувша вулиця Шолом-Алейхема місцевість бувшої старої сінагоги, **ГЕТТО № 2**—бувша вулиця 8 березня, Комсомольська, Кооперативна та **ГЕТТО № 3** частина бувшої вулиці 8 березня, що прилягає до стадіона.

ПРИМІТКА: **ГЕТТО № 3** заселюють виключно ремісники за списком, який оголошується через жидівську раду.

§ 4.

ГЕТТО для жидівського населення м. Ялтушкова визначає сільська Управа м. Ялтушкова.

§ 5

Всьому жидівському населенню района в зв'язку з переходом у **ГЕТТО**, забороняється руйнування житлових та не жилих приміщень, які вони залишають.

§ 6

Українському населенню, що живе в місцях, які відведені під **ГЕТТО** звільнити свої приміщення і з'явитися до житлового відділу Районної Управи для одержання іншого приміщення.

§ 7.

Житловому відділу наказую взяти на облік всі приміщення, які будуть звільненні жидівським населенням.

§ 8.

На органи безпеки м. Бару та в районі покладено відповідальність за організацію вищезгаданого мероприємства та застереження від грабунків.

Голова Барської Районної Управи
КОЛЬВЕПРИК

ХТО ГРАБУЄ, ТОЙ БУДЕ РОЗТРІЛЯНИЙ!

Ukrainian announcement of ghettos established in Bar Rayon. The document reads:

"Order 21
Ratified by the Bar Rayon Administration on December 15, 1941

§I
Starting December 20, 1941, all Jewish population that resides in the Bar Rayon must relocate to isolated places (GHETTO) in Bar and Yaltushkov.

§II
Jewish population must relocate to Bar or Yaltushkov (whichever is more convenient) and also after December 20 be relocated into the GHETTO

§3
Jewish population has to be placed in the following parts of the city:
Ghetto #1—former Sholom-Aleichem Str., area near the old synagogue; **Ghetto #2—**former 8th of March Str., Komsomolskaya Str., Cooperatyvna Str.; **Ghetto #3**—a part of former 8th of March Str., which is located near the stadium. P.S. **Ghetto #3** should consist of craftsmen who are determined by the Jewish Council.

§4
Ghetto for Jewish population of Yaltushkov city is to be determined by local government of Yaltushkov city.

§5
It is prohibited for Jews to destroy any property when they are forced to leave their homes.

§6
The Ukrainian population that resides in the areas which are designated for the ghettos must renounce their current places of residence and apply for new residences with the local administration.

§7
It is obligatory that all the abandoned Jewish residences be registered by the local administration.

§8
It is the lawful responsibility of Bar's security forces to ensure that the abovementioned regulations are carried out and that any serious thefts are avoided.

Head of Bar Rayon Administration
Kol'vepryk

Those who steal will be put to death!"

USHMMA/RG-31-011M, REEL 3, 1358-LC-1

awful because we could not leave the ghetto in order to find some food." However, a few Jews, especially children, managed to sneak out under the wire, and some local people also brought food to the fence. From each house in the ghetto, at least one person was assigned to work each day. The work columns were escorted by local Ukrainian police (Schutzmänner) and Germans with dogs. The Jewish workers were frequently beaten and sometimes shot for no reason by the guards. During the winter of 1941–1942, many Jews from the ghetto were killed; the Germans arrested some Jews as hostages and held them in the jail. Among them was Evgeniia Lerner's father; she managed to visit him once but never saw him again after that.[8]

On August 19, 1942, the first mass killing Aktion was carried out. Early in the morning, forces of the Security Police, the Gendarmerie, local policemen, and according to one account, also members of the Wehrmacht surrounded the main ghetto. Then they drove the Jews out of their houses and collected them at the town's sports stadium. The Germans had informed the Jews that they would be transferred to a work camp, and everybody took their most important belongings along. On the sports field, the Gebietskommissar then conducted a selection, separating the younger people (those able to work) from the elderly and children and also demanding any property and ordering some persons to be shot on the spot. The group of selected workers was temporarily held in an unfinished barracks.[9] Sara Benjamini, who was 12 years old, was pushed over to the group of able workers by her grandmother during the selection, as she recognized that the others would most probably be killed. The German forces then escorted the group of nonworkers to the site of the Frunze kolkhoz, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of the town, where they shot them.[10] In total, the Sipo/SD detachment from Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot 1,742 people.[11]

After killing most of Bar's Jews, the same Sipo/SD commando carried out shootings in the other population centers of Gebiet Bar between August 19 and August 21. In Ialtushkov, several hundred Jews from the ghetto there were shot on the afternoon of August 19.[12] In Novaia Ushitsa, 707 Jews were shot; in Kalius, 240; in Murovannye Kurilovtsy, 1,170; and in Iaryshev, 212 Jews.[13]

In Bar, the remaining younger people were then put into the craftsmen's ghetto, where they also performed forced labor. During this period the craftsmen's ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire. On the night of October 14–15, 1942, German forces directed by men of the Sipo/SD from Kamenets-Podolskii surrounded the ghetto. The following morning they drove the Jews out of their houses, beating them as they went. A few Jews, including Sara Benjamini, hid in bunkers they had prepared and managed to avoid the roundup.[14] During this operation, the Sipo/SD shot all the Jews they could find in the ghetto, perhaps more than 1,000 people. A second wave of killings followed in the other population centers of the Bar district, including more than 1,000 Jews in the Ialtushkov ghetto, which was liquidated on October 15, 1942.[15]

In total, around 9,000 Jews were shot in Gebiet Bar during 1942. Several hundred Jews from the county were sent to work in a labor camp in Letichev in August 1942. The inmates there were used for road construction work on the transit highway project (Durchgangsstrasse IV), a major supply line for the German army. A small number of Jews, in part with help from locals, managed to escape being shot and were able to survive the occupation in hiding until liberation in March 1944. Some of them escaped into the Romanian-occupied zone, which by this time had become somewhat safer for Jews.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jews of Bar can be found in: B.N. London, *Ushedshie v vechnost': Zametki o evreiskoi obshchine goroda Bar* (Israel, 1997); and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:81–82. One survivor account of the Bar ghetto can be found in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 29–36.

Documents and testimonies concerning the destruction of the Jews of Bar can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67); DAVINO (1358-1-1); GARF (7021-54-1273); IPN; USHMM (RG-31.018.M, reel 11; and RG-50.226*0017); VHF; and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. According to the census of 1939, these four raions were home to 10,671 Jews: Bar raion, 5,405 Jews; Murovannye-Kurilovitsy raion, 2,079 Jews; Novaia Ushitsa raion, 2,606 Jews; and Iaryshev raion, 581 Jews. Allowing for conscription of some Jewish men and limited evacuations, 9,000 to 9,500 Jews probably remained in these raions when the Germans first occupied the area.

2. See USHMM, RG-31.002M (selected records from TsDAVO), reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 29. This document notes that Schwarz was only temporarily appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar, but his name is also recorded in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 60, 63.

3. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, 159–166.

4. Andrusiv was sentenced to death at his trial in Bar in 1966. A copy of his trial record is located at USHMM, RG-31.018.M, reel 11, KGB Archives for the Vinnitsa Oblast', D-28506. Keba lived in São Paulo, Brazil, after the war.

5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 5, Oberfeldkommandantur Winniza (Abt. VII) an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 1, 1941.

6. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Evgeniia Lerner; and USHMM, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 3, 1358-1c-1, Order No. 21, signed by Kol'vepryk.

7. DAVINO, 1358-1c-1.

8. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Evgeniia Lerner; Elisaveta Brusch (Moschel) (b. 1925), "One hundred and six members of our family perished in the ghetto, and thirty-eight at the front," in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 29–36.

9. DAVINO, R6002-1-1, witness testimony of Evgeniia Solomonovna Lavrovaia (née Lerner) given in May 1993; Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 30–31.

10. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 50–53, statement of Sara Benjamini, June 26, 1968.

11. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10, report of Gendarmerie Gebietsführer, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Petrich, August 27, 1942, regarding Jewish Aktions.

12. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, statement of Richard Schulz, February 1948, gives the figure of 213 victims. Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 38, date the shooting on August 20. The ChGK report gives the number of victims as 450; see GARF, 7021-54-1273, pp. 14, 64.

13. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10, Petrich Report, August 27, 1942.

14. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 14; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 50–53, statement of Sara Benjamini on June 26, 1968.

15. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 64.

BAZALIIA

Pre-1941: Bazaliia, town, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Basalija, Rayon center, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Bazaliia, Teofopil' raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Bazaliia is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Khmel'nitskii. According to the 1939 census, there were 410 Jewish residents in the town (12 percent of the total population). In the villages surrounding Bazaliia, there were another 163 Jews. After Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews from Bazaliia managed

to escape or were drafted into the Red Army. When the German troops arrived, about 300 Jews were still in the town.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Bazaliia on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The military authorities established a local administration and organized a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

In September 1941, a German civil administration took control of the town. Bazaliia became a Rayon center in Gebiet Antoniny. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer was appointed as Gebietskommissar in Antoniny. His permanent representative was Gerhard Friedrich, and the head of the Gendarmerie was Karl Otto Paul.[1] There was no Gendarmerie post in Bazaliia, but a unit of local Ukrainian police was located in the town, subordinated to the commander of the Ukrainian police in Antoniny. The Security Police and SD outpost in Starokonstantinov organized most of the major Aktions against the Jews in Gebiet Antoniny, which included the town of Bazaliia. SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf was in charge of the Starokonstantinov outpost.[2]

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German occupation forces imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures: Jews were ordered to wear special markings, initially the Star of David and later a yellow circle; the Jews were forced to conduct physically demanding labor and were forbidden to leave the town; and the Jewish population was subjected to forced contributions. In addition, Ukrainian auxiliary policemen robbed and maltreated the Jews.

In late 1941 or at the beginning of 1942, a ghetto was established in Bazaliia; it existed for only half a year.[3] According to one local resident, the order to establish ghettos in Bazaliia, Krasilov, and Kul'chiny was issued by Gebietskommissar Schorer and posted in public places. The Jews of the Gebiet were ordered to move to one of these areas, where they would be confined to a specific quarter (ghetto). Conditions in the ghettos were very bad, owing to the overcrowding and the isolation of the Jews from the rest of the population.[4]

In the spring of 1942, some Jews were probably transferred from Bazaliia to a labor camp in Orlintsy, close to Antoniny. The Bazaliia ghetto was liquidated in July 1942. Members of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police escorted the Jews to the village of Manivtsy, where they were held in a large horse stable on an estate at the edge of town for several days, as were many of the Jews of Gebiet Antoniny.[5] Then one morning, three or four trucks arrived, and the Germans ordered the Jews to take off their outer clothes. They were then loaded onto the trucks in groups. The trucks carried them to a forest not far from Manivtsy, and German Security Police shot them into a pit roughly 20 meters long by 4 meters wide (66 by 13 feet). German Security Police from Starokonstantinov organized the shooting. The task of the Ukrainian auxiliary police was to guard the site of the killings and to prevent victims from escaping.[6] About 200 Jewish craftsmen were shot on the grounds of the estate in Manivtsy in September 1942.[7] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report investigating the crimes committed by the German occupiers and their collaborators, 259 inhabitants of Bazaliia were shot.[8] Almost all of them were Jews.

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bazaliia can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO (863-2-44, pp. 114–126); GARF (7021-64-793 and 794); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, concluding report of March 18, 1971, and instruction of June 18, 1974. Schorer was killed in 1943, and Paul died in 1969.
2. Graf died in 1953.
3. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, pp. 368–374, statement of Petr Tomchuk, December 18, 1972. Tomchuk dates the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1942. However, other sources indicate it was almost certainly earlier than this; see, for example, DAKhO, 863-2-44, pp. 114–126.
5. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtzy), March 14, 1973.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, concluding report of March 18, 1971, and instruction of June 18, 1974.
7. Ibid., ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtzy), March 14, 1973.
8. GARF, 7021-64-794, p. 1.

BERESTECZKO

Pre-1939: Beresteczko, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Berestechko, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Berestetschko, Rayon center, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Berestechko, Horokhiv raion, Volyn' oblast, Ukraine

Beresteczko is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) west-southwest of Równe. In 1921, there were 1,975 Jews living in the town. According to the 1931 census, 2,210 Jews resided in the town, and in 1937 there were 2,625 (or 35 percent of the total population). In the mid-1930s, three quarters of all trade in Beresteczko was in Jewish hands. Most of the local craftsmen were Jews. The town's chief rabbi from 1937 until the war's outbreak was Aron Zabarsky, who was killed in 1941.

Following the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939, Polish authority in the area disintegrated. To protect itself from Ukrainian attacks, the Jewish community formed its own self-defense unit, which operated until the arrival of Soviet forces later in the month. The Soviet authorities soon closed down most private businesses and Jewish communal organizations. Local craftsmen were compelled to operate within newly established cooperatives. The Soviets also arrested and deported people suspected of disloyalty to the new regime;

some Zionist youth leaders sought refuge in Łuck to avoid arrest.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Beresteczko on June 23, 1941. In July and August, the town was administered by a military administration; on September 1, 1941, a civil administration took over responsibility for the region. Beresteczko was a Rayon center in Gebiet Gorochow, where SA-Colonel Ernst Härter was appointed as Gebietskommissar.[1] In the fall of 1941, a Gendarmerie post of several German Gendarmes was established in Beresteczko. A detachment of local Ukrainian police (consisting of a few dozen men) was subordinated to this post.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Beresteczko. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David on their outer garments. They were compelled to perform forced labor. They were not allowed to leave town. The Jewish community was subjected to forced contributions from the German authorities and individual acts of robbery and beatings by the local police.

On August 8, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Beresteczko. A unit of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD arrived in the town (most probably, part of Einsatzkommando zbV based in Łuck, under the command of Schöngarth), and with the help of the local Ukrainian police, they collected some 300 male Jews aged between 14 and 60 on the pretext of sending them to perform a work task. The men were then forced to dig a grave, and the German forces shot them.[2]

In the fall of 1941, probably in October, a ghetto was established in Beresteczko. Jews from several surrounding villages also were brought there. The ghetto was based around a single street and was enclosed by a fence 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high. It had only one exit (a gate). The local Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto and shot at anybody attempting to escape. Overcrowding in the ghetto was extreme, with a number of families living together in each house.[3]

In Beresteczko there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of six people and also a Jewish police force. The Jewish Council had to collect the forced contributions demanded by the German authorities, which amounted to "hundreds of thousands of rubles." The official rations consisted of only about 140 grams (5 ounces) of bread per day, which was probably reduced to only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) after the establishment of the ghetto. Many people died of hunger in the ghetto.[4]

Local Jewish artisans were housed in separate quarters outside the ghetto, which were not enclosed. These craftsmen were organized into workshops according to profession. Only the artisans, those performing forced labor in the surrounding area, and the men in charge of burying the dead were permitted to leave the ghetto. When they left the ghetto, people used this opportunity to smuggle in some food for the entire Jewish population. Several hundred Jews were employed in forced labor tasks elsewhere in the Gebiet, including cutting down trees and road construction. In June 1942, a group of workers from Beresteczko were temporarily confined within the Łokacze ghetto. While in Łokacze they bought up available produce, noting that conditions in the Beresteczko ghetto were much worse.[5]

The ghetto existed for about a year. In early September 1942, about 200 German and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and also the quarter in which the craftsmen resided. For three days, the Jews were not permitted to leave their houses. During this time, the German authorities instructed local non-Jews to dig two large graves 18 meters by 8 meters by 3 meters (about 59 by 26 by 10 feet), about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.

The roughly 2,000 ghetto inhabitants were escorted out of the town. The adults were forced to undress before the German forces shot them. Small children were thrown into the graves alive.[6] The Aktion was carried out by a Sipo and SD unit from Łuck, together with the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police based in Beresteczko. The property of the Jews was collected. The Germans secured the more valuable items, and the clothing was sold to the local population.

Some Jews managed to survive by hiding in bunkers within the ghetto, including a group of 17 people who remained in hiding for 11 days without food. They then sought refuge in the forests or with local acquaintances. Michael Diment encountered 2 survivors from Beresteczko in the forests at the end of September 1942. They reported that a group of more than 50 people had survived the ghetto's liquidation, but many were killed or captured after being attacked by the local police. In the confrontation, one local policeman was killed.[7] Very few of Beresteczko's Jews managed to survive in hiding or with the Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the town on April 24, 1944.

SOURCES Several personal accounts of the Beresteczko ghetto can be found in the yizkor book edited by Mendel Singer, *Hayetah Ayarah: Sefer Zikaron li-kehilot Berestets'kah, Beremelyah Veha-sevivah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Berestets'kah be-Yisrael, 1961). Short articles on the Jewish community of Beresteczko can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 51–54; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:126.

Documents on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Beresteczko can be found in the following archives: DAVO (R-66-4-15, p. 10); GARF (7021-55-1); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Leah Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg fun die Brestetshker Yidn," in Singer, *Hayetah Ayarah*, pp. 42–47.

3. Accounts vary as to the date of the establishment of the ghetto. Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg," dates the formation of the ghetto in August; Melekh Goldenberg, "Der Khurbn

Bretitshke," in Singer, *Hayetah Ayarah*, pp. 25–33, dates it some three or four months after the start of the occupation. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 366, dates it as October 5–14, 1941. The discrepancies might reflect several stages in the process of ghettoization.

4. Goldenberg, "Der Khurbn Bretitshke"; and Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg."

5. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), pp. 93–94.

6. Spector, *The Holocaust*, p. 366, dates the ghetto liquidation as September 7–9, 1942. Certificate No. 136, October 15, 1990, Volhynia Oblast branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Monuments to History and Culture, gives the figure of 3,000 victims, as does the ChGK report; see DAVO, R-66-4-15, p. 1. However, several hundred Jews were murdered or died of hunger prior to the final liquidation, while a few others escaped. Lerner, "Der Laydnsveg," gives the figure of 2,000 victims, which is probably more reliable.

7. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, p. 158.

BEREZA KARTUSKA

Pre-1939: Bereza Kartuska (Yiddish: Kartuz-Breze), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Bereza, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresa-Kartuskaja, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Biaroza, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bereza is located about 102 kilometers (63 miles) northeast of Brest. In 1921, the Jewish community of Bereza numbered 2,163 (61.3 percent), and 2,743 in 1928. After the outbreak of World War II, Bereza was occupied by the Red Army in September 1939 and subsequently incorporated into the Soviet Union, in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Bereza was captured by units of Army Group Center on June 23, 1941, only the second day of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. As a result, it was impossible for the majority of the town's Jews to evacuate.

In the summer of 1941, the town was under military administration. In September 1941, authority for the region was transferred to a German civil administration. Bereza and the surrounding Rayon were at first in Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, but from January 1942, it formed a part of Gebiet Kobryn in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien of Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Oskar Panzer.[1] Gebiet Kobryn also had a Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer, to whom the police post in Bereza was subordinated. The head of the local police in Bereza was Nikolai Stepanovich Olshevskii, who received his instructions from the German Gendarmerie officials based in the town.[2]

The first anti-Jewish Aktion in the town was the burning of the Bet Midrash by German soldiers on June 26, 1941. Soon afterwards, the local commandant ordered the Jews to wear a six-pointed star on the back and breast of their outer garments, to hand over gold and other valuables, and to pay an indemnity. Jews capable of working were sent to do various kinds of forced labor, including constructing a barracks for the Germans, for which they received 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per day. The occupiers also set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 men—Nissan Zakheim, Naftali Levenson, Fishel Beiser, Hanoch Liskovsky, Meir Rashinsky, Yaacov Moshkovich, Biniamin Shapira, Yaacov-Asher Fridenshtein, Gadl Pisetski, Yaacov Shlosburg, Leibe Danzig, and Leibel Molodowski (who served as translator)—and a Jewish police force, which was headed by Shmuel Geberman.[3] The Jewish Council and the Jewish Police were made personally accountable for ensuring that the Jewish population complied unconditionally with all the orders and regulations issued by the German authorities. During the first months of the German occupation, peasants from the vicinity still came to the town and sold foodstuffs, in exchange for materials and household goods.[4]

In the spring of 1942, a ghetto was created in Bereza and surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto stretched from Ulani Mazosha Street to Shlomo Vinshteyn's [house], where the gate was closed. The ghetto was divided into two parts: Ghetto A housed Jews fit for work and their families; Ghetto B, the Jews unfit for work. All the Jews in the ghetto were also registered.[5] Several hundred Jews from neighboring villages, including Małecz, Siehniewicze, Błuden, and Piaski, were resettled to Bereza and confined in the ghetto.[6] Several hundred Jews from Sielec were escorted to the ghetto in Bereza by members of the local police on May 25, 1942.[7] In all, the Bereza ghetto held more than 3,000 Jews. According to one survivor, "[L]ife in the ghetto was unbearably difficult. The population supported itself with supplies that were smuggled into the ghetto despite the many guards."[8]

The first Aktion against the ghetto took place on July 15, 1942. All the Jews in Ghetto B were directed to the railroad station under the pretext of resettlement to Białystok. Several Jews tried to flee but were shot by the guards. They were loaded onto a freight train, which took them to Bronna Góra, 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast of Bereza. A Security Police and SD squad then shot them in ditches that had been dug near the station earlier. A few Jews managed to hide in attics and basements within Ghetto B or in the surrounding fields; several of these Jews were subsequently smuggled into Ghetto A with the aid of the Judenrat.[9] In total, some 1,000 people were murdered.[10]

On October 15, 1942, in the course of the second Aktion, the ghetto was liquidated. That day, the Jews in Ghetto A—1,800 people—were transported away on trucks and shot by a Security Police and SD squad in the village of Smoliarka some 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) east of Bereza. Some Jews who resisted were killed in the ghetto itself.[11]

The 1st and 3rd Companies of Police Battalion 320 (Berlin), which was also known as 3rd Battalion/SS-Police Regiment 11, took part in liquidating the ghetto. The 1st Company cordoned off the ghetto and unloaded the trucks at the

execution site, while the 3rd Company cordoned off the execution site itself. At the killing site, police from the latter company also formed a corridor through which the Jews were directed to the mass grave, in which they were shot by the Security Police and SD squad.[12]

Some Jews from the Bereza ghetto, who fled to the forests after the first Aktion in July, participated in the attack on the nearby town of Kosów Poleski at the beginning of August 1942. Just prior to the ghetto liquidation, some 21 Jews were arrested at the sawmill and shot, as the Germans suspected they had contacts with the partisans. Then on the eve of the ghetto's liquidation, almost all the members of the Jewish Council, including two doctors, committed suicide by hanging themselves. There was also some armed resistance during the night before the final roundup, and Jewish youths set the ghetto on fire, but the Germans and their collaborators crushed the uprising by shooting into the burning ghetto.[13]

Nevertheless, several Jews managed to save themselves by fleeing into the woods or to the ghetto in Prużana. A number of young people from the ghetto joined the Soviet partisans, and several survived to see Bereza liberated.

SOURCES An article about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Bereza by J. Friedman, "The Holocaust Chronicle Kartuz-Bereza," can be found in I. Kowalski, ed., *Anthology of Armed Jewish Resistance 1939–1945* vol. 2 (New York: Jewish Combatants Publishing House, 1985); some additional information can also be found in *Pamiat'. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika Berezovskogo raiona* (Minsk: Belorusskaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia imeni Petrusia Brovki, 1987). The yizkor book *Kartuz-Bereza. Sefer zikaron ve-edut le-kehilah she-husmedah hy'd* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Emigrants from Kartuz-Bereza in Israel, 1993) also contains several firsthand accounts by survivors of the Bereza ghetto. Information on the history of the Jewish community in Bereza can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Bereza can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL: 204 AR-Z 392/59, II 202 AR-Z 12/66, vols. 3 and 11, AR-Z 48/58); GABO; GARF (7021-83-9); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-L, B 162/4838 (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 334/59 [investigation of Rohde]), vol. 7, pp. 1696–1699.
3. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 187–188, 197–198.
4. Moshe Tuchman, "The Destruction of Bereza-Kartuska," in ibid., pp. 197–200.
5. Ibid.
6. *Pamiat'*, p. 172. According to Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004), pp. 253–255, the Jews of Małecz were forcibly resettled to Bereza in the fall of 1941, and a number of Jews were shot in the confusion as they were being rounded up.
7. See *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 190–191; three local policemen from Sielec, Alfons Glowinski, Francisek Nowysz, and one other, were tried in Poland in the 1960s: see IPN, SWSz 68.
8. David Bakler, "On the Jews of Sielec and the Jews of Bereza Kartuska and Their Bitter End," in *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 190–191.
9. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 187–189, 191, 199.
10. According to the materials of the ChGK, around 4,000 Jews were shot; see GARF, 7021-83-9, pp. 128 (reverse), 138. This figure appears to be too high.
11. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 200–201. According to the ChGK report, the Germans shot around 3,000 people; see GARF, 7021-83-9, pp. 139 and reverse side. This figure seems to be too high. German investigative sources cite only about 1,000 victims of this Aktion; see BA-L, 110 AR 1797/95.
12. Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, report (Vermerk) of October 26, 1973.
13. *Kartuz-Bereza*, pp. 190–191, 197–201.

BEREŻCE

Pre-1939: Bereżce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Velikie Berezhtsy, Kremenets raion, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bereshzy, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Velyki Berezhtsi, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Bereżce lies on the left bank of the Ikwa River, 8 kilometers (5 miles) west of Krzemieniec. In 1921, the Jewish population of Bereżce was 181.[1]

German forces entered Bereżce in early July 1941. During July and August 1941, a German military administration temporarily governed the small town until September 1941, when power was transferred to a German civil administration. The town was in the Rayon and Gebiet of Kremenez, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bereżce: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a white armband with a Star of David on the right arm, and later a yellow patch sewn on their clothing), and they were compelled to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans established a small ghetto in Bereżce. It contained 238 Jews and was guarded by the local police, as recalled by Mikhail Tkatschuk, who subsequently became the head of the local police in Bereżce.[3]

In August 1942, the Security Police and SD, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, conducted a series of Aktions against the Jews of the Krzemieniec ghetto. In mid-August 1942, the Jews from the ghetto in Bereżce were brought in trucks and murdered along with more than 6,000 Jews in Krzemieniec.[4]

SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Bereżce can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); and IPN.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 212. This figure includes the population of both the town and the nearby hamlet of Bereżce.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, pp. 293–294, statement of Mikhail N. Tkatschuk on May 26, 1944.
4. Ibid.; IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, sygn. 77. The document has also been published in A. I. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 395.

BEREZNE

Pre-1939: Berezne, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Berezno, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresno, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; 1944–1991: Berezno, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; post-1991: Berezne, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Berezne is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northeast of Równe. In 1921, 2,372 Jews resided in the town (comprising 58 percent of the population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Berezne on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), and after September 1941, administrative authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Berezne became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kostopol within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Standartenführer Löhnert was the Gebietskommissar in Kostopol, and Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1]

The German military administration established a Ukrainian local council and a Ukrainian police force. In the fall, the local police came under the direction of a German Gendarmerie post in Berezne consisting of several Gendarmes.

Immediately after the occupation of the village by German forces, antisemitic Ukrainians massacred, slaughtered, and robbed the Jews. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized in the village, with Yoel Gilberg as the chairman. Among its tasks was the transmission of German orders and instructions to the Jewish population.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities enforced a series of anti-Jewish measures. As recalled by Tzilla Kitron, the Germans plundered their houses, and Jews tried to conceal their valuables. Jews were obliged to wear distinguishing yellow stars on the front and back of their clothes, whole families were sent to perform forced labor, bread was rationed, and people formed long lines in front of the shops.[2] According to Seweryn Dobroszklanka, a resident of the nearby village of Małyńska, the Ukrainian police robbed and beat the Jews.[3] About 300 Jews were sent from Berezne to a labor camp in Kostopol in the fall of 1941.



Portrait of the Raboy family in Berezne, 1935. Pictured are Abraham and Feiga Raboy and their four children, Buncia, Shaindel, Beila, and Aron. Only Aron survived the war.
USHMM WS #13556, COURTESY OF ARON RABOY

On October 6, 1941 (the first day of the Sukkot holiday), the German authorities established a ghetto in Berezne, surrounded by a wooden fence and barbed wire. There was only one entrance, by the road leading to the center of town. A second, separate ghetto was established for skilled workers and their families. Altogether at least 1,500 Jews lived in the two ghettos.[4] Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto unless they had a pass and were usually permitted to leave only to perform forced labor. It was somewhat easier, however, for children to evade the guards. For example, Tzilla Kitron's sister Sonya managed to visit Ukrainian friends with the aim of obtaining some food in the nearby village of Bori-Kotiy by putting on a Ukrainian peasant dress and passing as an "Aryan."[5]

From mid-June 1942, Jews from the neighboring villages, including those from Małyńska 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the north, were moved into the ghetto. On arriving in Berezne, the Jews were awaited by members of the Judenrat, but the German police ordered them to surrender all their money and valuables on pain of death. By this time people were beginning to starve in the ghetto. Each ghetto inmate received ration cards for only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day and some very thin soup. Conditions also became overcrowded, with two or three families sharing a room in decrepit buildings.[6]

On August 25, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On that day, a squad of Security Police and SD men from Równe, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, entered the ghetto and ordered all the Jews to assemble for a work assignment. Aware of the fate of neighboring communities, most of the ghetto inmates realized that this was the end. The Jews were formed into columns and marched to pits prepared in advance outside the town. At the pits, they were forced to undress, and the Germans, assisted by their Ukrainian collaborators, shot them. In total, about 3,200 Jews were killed.[7]

In the chaos of the roundup, a number of Jews tried to escape. Tzilla Kitron's parents urged her and her siblings to try and save themselves. Tzilla managed to escape across the barbed wire of the ghetto amid screams, crying, and shots from machine guns. She hid in a nearby field for the rest of the day while Germans with dogs and Ukrainian police searched for any Jews in hiding. That night she joined her sister Sonya, who chanced to be foraging in Bori-Kotiy when the Aktion started. Another Jew managed to escape with the help of the local commandant of the Ukrainian police.[8] Bracha Weisbarth was tipped off the day before the Aktion by a family friend and escaped with part of his family, taking refuge with another friendly peasant who had received a cow from them when the Soviets arrived.[9]

Approximately 200 Jews ran away during the Aktion or were fortunate to have been outside the ghetto when it began. In December 1942, more than 20 Jews were hunted down and shot by the local police, and some were also killed in the forests by Ukrainian partisans ("Banderowcy"). Of those who survived, some joined the growing Soviet partisan movement, which slowly changed the local peasants' obedience to German orders. The Red Army drove the Germans out of the region in January 1944.[10]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Berezne during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Gierc Bejgiel, ed., *Mayn shtetele Berezne: Zamlung fun zikhroynes fun Berezner landslayt in land un in oysland* (Tel Aviv, 1954); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 48–50; Tzilla Kitron, *Wanderungen: Erinnerung an das Überleben in den Jahren 1942–1945* (Hanau: Salisberg Verlag, 1994); Bracha Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight Another Day* (Jerusalem: Mazo, 2004); *Fun letsten hurbn* (Munich: Tsentral historishe komisye baym Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner zone, 1946), vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 57–58; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:123–124.

Documents concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews of Berezne, including the testimony of eyewitnesses and Jewish survivors, can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1222, 1488, and 2739); DARO (534-1-3); GARF (7021-71-42); TsDAVO (4620-3-367); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Kitron, *Wanderungen*, p. 8; see also Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, p. 16.
3. AŻIH, 301/1222, testimony of Seweryn Dobroszklanka.
4. Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, p. 19, gives the figure of almost 3,000 inhabitants of the ghetto; Kitron, *Wanderungen*, p. 8.
5. Kitron, *Wanderungen*, p. 9; see also Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, pp. 20–21.
6. AŻIH, 301/1222; in 1921 there were 39 Jews in Małyńska. Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, pp. 17–20, dates the transfer of the Małyńska Jews in July: the adult men were sent to a separate labor camp to fell trees.
7. GARF, 7021-71-42, p. 2, gives the figure of 3,680 Jews killed. According to a document dated January 4, 1946, 3,200 people were murdered (see TsDAVO, 4620-3-367, pp. 10, 21); AŻIH, 301/1488, dates the Aktion on August 25, 1942; Kitron, *Wanderungen*, pp. 9–10.
8. DARO, 534-1-3, p. 88.
9. Weisbarth, *To Live and Fight*, pp. 21–23.
10. AŻIH, 301/1222.

BEREŻNICA

Pre-1939: Bereżnica, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Berezhnitsa, Dubrovitsa raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Bereschniza, Rayon Dombrowiza, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Berezhnytsia, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Bereżnica is located 109 kilometers (68 miles) northeast of Łuck. The Jewish community identified mainly with Stolin and Turzysk Hasidism. In 1897, the Jewish population was 2,160 (out of a total population of 2,964). Subsequently the Jewish population declined sharply. According to the 1921 population census, 1,321 Jews lived in Bereżnica.

In September 1939, the town came under Soviet control. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Bereżnica in early July 1941. Immediately after the German forces arrived, an antisemitic mood gripped the local Ukrainians, who organized a pogrom in the town. Many Jews were robbed and assaulted, and a number of people were seriously wounded. In the summer of 1941, a German military administration ruled

Bereżnica. Within a few days the Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).

In September 1941, a German civil administration was established. Bereżnica became part of Rayon Dombrowiza in Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed Gebietskommissar.[1] A German Gendarmerie post and a unit of the Ukrainian auxiliary police were established in Bereżnica.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bereżnica. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the shape of the Star of David and later in the form of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. Jews were prohibited from leaving the town and were not permitted to buy goods from non-Jews. All Jews above the age of 14 were required to perform heavy manual work. Finally, the German authorities and the Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic confiscations, robberies, and assaults.

On April 14, 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Sarny issued an order setting a deadline of May 10, 1942, for the establishment of a "Jewish residential quarter" in Bereżnica.[2] As a result, an open ghetto was established, containing about 1,000 inhabitants. On August 26, 1942, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators escorted all the Jews from the Bereżnica ghetto to Sarny, shooting many of them on the way. German forces and their collaborators then murdered the remaining Jews from the Bereżnica ghetto with other Jews from the region in Sarny on August 27, 1942. A number of Jews managed to escape in Sarny, and a few of these successfully hid in the region. Some of these survivors joined the Soviet partisans fighting against the Germans, including Aaron Perlow, who was a unit commander. The Red Army captured Bereżnica from the Germans in mid-January 1944, and by 1946 about 45 Jews had returned to the town, including some that had fled east into the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941.

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 116; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 32; and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 51.

Documentation concerning the fate of the Jewish community in Bereżnica can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/7287); DARO (R293-2-1); GARF (7021-71-49); and YVA (M-1/E/1234).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. DARO, R293-2-1, p. 4, Order no. 280 of the main administration in Dąbrowica to the mayor in Dąbrowica, April 29, 1942.

BEREZÓW

Pre-1939: Berezów, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Berezovoe, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresowo, Rayon Rokitno, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Berezovo, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Berezów is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) north–northeast of Rokitno in a remote area of Polesie. In 1921, there were 58 Jews residing in the village. By the 1930s, their number had increased to about 100. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army arrived in Berezów, which became part of the Soviet Union. In the fall of 1939, it is probable that the Jewish population of Berezów was increased by the arrival of refugees from central and eastern Poland.

Soon after German forces occupied the region in July 1941, two SS men accompanied by two Poles arrived in the village of Glinne, not far from Berezów, to arrest a woman named Muszka Szuster. After saying good-bye to her family, Szuster was taken to Berezów, where the German authorities hanged her a short time later.[1]

In the summer of 1941, a Ukrainian local administration was established in Berezów, probably by forces subordinated to the Ukrainian leader Bul'ba-Borovets' known as the Polis'ka Sich, which remained more or less in control of this region until the German civil administration was established in the fall of 1941. The Ukrainian administration included a uniformed local police force armed with guns.

At the end of September 1941, local Ukrainians, apparently on their own initiative, murdered the Jews in the small villages of "Vitkovits" (possibly Wierzchowicze) and Tupik (24 kilometers [15 miles] northeast of Rokitno). A few Jews from Tupik managed to escape to "Vilevich" (probably Białowieża), where the locals protected them. In Tupik the bodies of the murdered Jews were initially left lying in the street, so that dogs and wild animals began to eat them. After a while, Jews from neighboring communities came to remove the bodies and bury them in a mass grave in the large Jewish cemetery in the village of Glinne.[2] When the bodies were buried, Nachum Bryk, an educated Jew who was the Jewish elder of the ghetto, made a speech at the funeral in which he said: "Dear Jews, do not cry [yet], for you do not know who is going to bury you."[3]

Some time before August 1942, probably between April and July of that year, the German authorities established a ghetto for the Jews in Berezów, which was surrounded by barbed wire. According to the account of Zevi Olshanski, the Jews of Berezów and its vicinity were supposed to be moved into the Stolin ghetto. However, the Jewish Council succeeded in bribing the local medical officer to issue a certificate that they were infected with typhus; as a result, the Jews were concentrated in Berezów instead.[4] Jews from the surrounding smaller villages, including Glinne, and a few elderly Jews who had remained in Bleżewo, were brought into Berezów in July 1942, where around 300 Jews were crammed into only a few houses.[5] The Jews in the Berezów ghetto did not lack food, as

people had their own gardens. They ate mainly dried bread and potatoes. However, the Germans assigned all the Jews to forced labor. Even youths were marched every day under armed guard to their workplaces. Work included peeling potatoes and cutting down trees. To prevent Jews from fleeing into the forest, the Germans conducted regular roll calls, threatening to kill Jews at random if anyone was missing.

At the end of August 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghettos in Rokitno and other towns in the vicinity, sending most of the Jews to Sarny, where they murdered them. A few of the Jews who escaped from these ghettos made their way to Berezów. Once the German authorities became aware of their arrival, they demanded from Nachum Bryk that the Jewish community pay a large ransom for the lives of these refugees to be spared. The money was collected with some difficulty, and the Jews were permitted to stay in the ghetto. However, at this time two Jews who had been working for a local Ukrainian learned of plans for the destruction of the Berezów ghetto and brought this news back into the ghetto.[6]

Early on the morning of September 11, 1942 (the eve of Rosh Hashanah), the German police, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliary policemen, surrounded the village and started to drive the Jews out of their houses, shouting, "Raus! Raus! Verfluchter Jude! Raus!" (Get out! Get out! Filthy Jew! Get out!). During the roundup, some of the Jews were shot on the spot, but more than 50 people managed to escape, assisted by the thick fog on that morning. The Germans and their collaborators escorted the rest of the Jews into the forest a few kilometers outside the village and shot them in a large pit prepared beforehand for that purpose.[7]

The Jewish escapees from the ghetto hid in the surrounding forests, living off cranberries and potatoes and whatever they could beg or steal from Ukrainian farmers. One group of Jewish survivors numbered about 15 people at one time. As the weather became colder, they stole clothes from the peasants to keep warm. The Germans were afraid to go into the woods because of the partisans, but they offered Ukrainians a reward of a pound of salt for catching Jews, as salt was scarce during the war. This made life difficult for the remaining Jews, but some local peasants around Bleżewo, and especially the Baptists (Stundists), for example, assisted them, helping to reunite family members and allowing them to hide on their property, at least for a time.[8] Due to the continued hunt for Jews into 1943, some of the escapees were captured and killed, but about 40 managed to survive until the Red Army drove the German occupants from the Berezów area in January 1944.[9]

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community in Berezów and its destruction during World War II include the following: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 48; Eliezer Leoni, ed., *Rokitno: (Vohlin) veha-sevivah; sefer 'edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Rokitno veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967), pp. 291–295; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 116.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Berezów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DARO; VHF (# 23387 and 24104); and YVA (M-1/E/402 and 1907; O-3/3402 and 3478).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick.
2. In 1921, there were 66 Jews residing in Glinne. See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965).
3. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick; the fate of the Jews of Tupik is mentioned also in Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 291–293.
4. YVA, M-1/E/402, testimony of Zevi Olshanski.
5. In 1921, the Jewish population of Bleżewo was 101. On Bleżewo, see Spector and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 157; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 38; and Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 293–295.
6. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick.
7. Ibid.; Spector and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, pp. 116, 157; and Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 293–295.
8. VHF, # 24104, testimony of Nina Merrick; and Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 293–295.
9. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 358.

BOREMEL (AKA MICHAŁÓWKA)

Pre-1939: Boremel (Yiddish: Boromel), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Boremel (aka Mikhailovka), Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Demidowka, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Baremel', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Boremel is located on the left bank of the Styr River, about 85 kilometers (53 miles) west-southwest of Równe. The Jewish population numbered 1,047 in 1897. By 1921, the Jewish population had declined to 857 (95 percent of the total).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Boremel on June 25, 1941. At the time of the German invasion, local Ukrainians took the opportunity to rob the Jews, and a few Jews were killed. Among the first victims was Yosef Feldman. The German occupying forces also ordered systematic requisitions of Jewish property and valuables.

In July and August 1941, Boremel was governed by a German military administration, and from September 1941 authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Boremel was located in Rayon Demidowka, within Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.[1]

Shortly after their arrival, the new German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat). This consisted of seven men, drawn mostly from people who had been active in the community before the war. There was also a Jewish

police force. The Jews were made to perform forced labor, and nearly all the young men were taken to Dubno and Równe for work. Most never returned, and presumably they were killed along with the other Jews in these places. Of those Jews who remained in Boremel, many were taken to work on farms in the surrounding villages. Apart from these work assignments, Jews were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the village.

Throughout the occupation there were sporadic killings of Jews. Once the Germans had established a fenced ghetto in Boremel on the edge of the village by June 1942, some Jews were killed for leaving the ghetto in an attempt to obtain some bread. Despite German prohibitions, Jews still managed to barter their remaining possessions for food.[2]

In early October 1942, German police, assisted by the Ukrainian local police, liquidated the ghetto: about 700 Jews were shot; the men and women were escorted in separate groups to the graves outside the village. According to one survivor's recollection, on the night of the murder, Moshe Shloyme Ashers set the ghetto on fire and then hanged himself. After the liquidation of the ghetto, several dozen Jews who had managed to hide were found and shot. Only a few Jews managed to survive in the forests until the Red Army drove out the German occupying forces in the spring of 1944.[3]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the annihilation of the Jewish community of Boremel: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 46; Mendel Singer, ed., *Hayetah 'ayarah: Sefer zikaron li-kehilot Berestets'kah*, *Beremelyah veha-sevivah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Berestets'kah be-Yisrael, 1960 or 1961), pp. 195–201.

Documents and testimonies regarding the destruction of the Jews in Boremel can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-46); VHF (# 37741); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Rachel Kibrik, "A Cry for Help" [in Yiddish], in Singer, *Hayetah 'ayarah*, pp. 195–201; VHF, # 37741, testimony of Shoshana Mazeh. This witness states that the ghetto was established early in the occupation.
3. Kibrik, "A Cry for Help," pp. 195–201; GARF, 7021-71-46, p. 16; Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, p. 46.

BRZEŚĆ

Pre-1939: Brześć (Yiddish: Brisk), city, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Brest, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Brest-Litowsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Beras'tse, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Brześć is located 346 kilometers (215 miles) southwest of Minsk. As of March 20, 1937, there were 21,653 Jews living in Brześć, or 41.6 percent of the total population of 52,024 persons.[1] By June 1941, the number of Jews in the city had decreased slightly.

German forces occupied Brześć for the first time on September 15, 1939. Already by September 22, 1939, the Red Army had entered the city according to the secret terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. German forces occupied Brześć for a second time on June 22, 1941, on the very first day of the German invasion of the USSR. On that day, practically all the Jews became trapped under German occupation and unable to evacuate the city.

In the summer of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the city. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Brześć was designated as a city (*Stadt*). Brześć became the administrative center of Gebiet Brest-Litowsk in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Bürgermeister Franz Burat became the Stadtkommissar in Brześć. In September 1942, he was also appointed as Gebietskommissar for Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, replacing SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle, who had served in this capacity since September 1941.

On June 24, 1941, a Security Police (Sipo) detachment of 15 men from Lublin under the command of SS-Untersturmführer Schmidt arrived in Brześć. In September 1941, this detachment returned to Lublin. In February 1942, an outpost of the Security Police and the SD (Sipo/SD-Aussendienststelle) was established in Brześć, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Ernst Berger. This detachment served under the command of the Security Police and SD in Równe, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz and organized and directed the mass killing Aktions against the Jewish population of Brześć.

From October 1941, the police unit "Nürnberg" commanded by Oberleutnant Josef Eisele was stationed in the city. This unit took part on a regular basis in various killing Aktions. At the end of 1941, around 10 men were taken from this Nürnberg unit, and they formed the core of the newly



Jews from the Brześć ghetto are forced to level the banks of the Bug River, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #74374, COURTESY OF ŻIH

established Schutzpolizei (Order Police) unit in the city. This unit was headed initially by Leutnant Karl Pressinger, who died on January 21, 1944. Pressinger was succeeded by Hauptmann Georg Bienert in March 1942. A local police unit served under the Schutzpolizei and took part in the measures taken against the Jewish population. Pressinger and Bienert served under the command of the SS-und Polizeistandortführer, Major and SS-Standartenführer Friedrich Rohde.

Beginning in July 1941, the 307th Police Battalion headed by Major Theodor Stahr was stationed in the city. It remained there for about two weeks. On July 6, 1941, the battalion, with the assistance of the Security Police, arrested 4,435 people and shot them on the following two days. Among the victims were also 400 Russian and Belorussian non-Jews, but more than 4,000 were Jewish men.[2]

In August 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in accordance with the instructions of the occupying authorities. Hirsh Rosenberg served as its head, Nachman Landau as his deputy, and Boruch Landau as the secretary.[3] A Jewish police unit was also formed, commanded by a man named Feldman. Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and later patches in the shape of a yellow circle sewn onto the left breast pocket and back of their clothing. Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the city and were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local police. In August 1941, Jews were also prohibited from trading with the locals, and non-Jews in turn could not sell anything to the Jews. Jews lost their right to walk freely on the streets and to use the sidewalks.[4] A contribution of 2 million Karbonowaz was exacted from the Jewish population, and jewelry, property, goods, Soviet money, and other items of value—an estimated 26 million rubles' worth—were taken from the Jews. On September 15, the mayor of the city, a man named M. Bronikowski, drafted an instruction for the Stadtkommissar, who then ordered the officials of the city administration not to enter into any contact with the Jews. By the order of September 17, 1941, as decreed by the Generalkommissar, the Jews in communally owned and state businesses had to report for work once a week for uncompensated labor. In addition, they were to receive 80 percent of the salary of non-Jews.[5]

A registration of the population in the city was carried out in November 1941. According to this census, there were 49,780 residents, including 17,574 Jews.[6] At this time the Jewish population over the age of 14 was also issued with identity cards, which included a photograph and fingerprint of the holder. Copies of these identity cards survived the war and can be found in the State Archives of the Brest oblast' in Belarus (GABO) and other archives.[7]

Preparatory work to construct a ghetto in Brześć had begun by November 1941, and the Judenrat is known to have registered some doubts about the small size of the area designated for the ghetto. In the first half of December 1941, the forcible resettlement of the Jewish population into a "Jewish residential district" was carried out, and the ghetto was sealed on December 15, 1941.[8] The ghetto was surrounded by fences and barbed wire and was located in an area composed mainly of small one-story houses. Shortly after its establishment, the ghetto was expanded by an area extending towards the Muchawie River, which was known as the small ghetto, as it was separated from the main (large) ghetto by a major transit road. The ghetto was guarded by the Jewish Police internally and the local police externally.[9] Jews could only leave the ghetto with a special pass and, from April 1942, only in closed formations under Jewish Police guard to reach their workplaces. Some Jews, however, risked taking off their yellow patches to sneak out of the ghetto illegally.[10]

On the initiative of the Judenrat, a hospital, store, and communal kitchen were opened in the ghetto. Due to the German need for labor, increasing numbers of Jews worked in factories and other sites outside the ghetto, and the German authorities set up workshops for Jewish artisans. Whereas in January 1942 only 4,956 residents of the ghetto were registered as employed, by June this number had increased to 7,994, of which 5,039 were females.[11]

The Jews in the ghetto received smaller rations than the non-Jewish population, in early 1942 only 180 grams (6.3 ounces) of flour per day and no potatoes or meat. To bake the flour into bread, there were four bakeries in operation, which had to serve all 17,724 residents of the ghetto. Bread was distributed at nine designated points. In April 1942, the bread ration for Jews, regardless of age and ability to perform labor, was cut to 150 grams (5.3 ounces) per day.[12]

In the spring and early summer of 1942, hundreds of young able-bodied Jews were removed from the ghettos in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk and assigned to forced labor under arduous conditions on road construction projects, farm labor, and other work at various sites throughout the Gebiet. They were housed in barracks, and many died from the inadequate food and poor living conditions.[13]

Inside the Brześć ghetto, there was no medicine available, nor much food or household goods for trading. There was also a shortage of drinkable water, since there were only two wells in the ghetto. Three or four families had to share a single house, leading to infestations of lice in the dirty conditions. Many Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease. There was a constant threat of being beaten, shot, and losing one's relatives, especially one's children. However, in the Brześć ghetto, at least, mass starvation as in Warsaw or Łódź did not set in.

The isolation from the outside world was almost total, and everything was subject to rumor. All of these conditions paralyzed the will of the people psychologically. Rumors of massacres of Jews in Distrikt Lublin and elsewhere in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien made the Jews in the Brześć ghetto very anxious. German reports from the summer of 1942 stressed that this pressure increased their willingness to work "to achieve recognition of their right to exist through intensified labor."[14] In the view of Christopher Browning, the local German authorities in Brześć were eager to continue exploiting this willing labor force. But at the end of August 1942, Reichskommissar Erich Koch, following a

meeting with Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, was insisting on a 100 percent "cleansing" of the Jews from Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien within the next five weeks.[15]

In fact, it was just over six weeks later when it became the turn of the Brześć ghetto to experience a cleansing. As of October 15, 1942, there were 41,091 persons counted in Brześć, including 16,934 Jews in the ghetto.[16] On that day in the early morning hours, the liquidation of the ghetto began. In the course of two days, around 16,000 people were exterminated.[17] Several hundred Jews were killed in the ghetto itself, including the infirm and the personnel in the Jewish hospital, Jewish Police, children at the children's home, and elderly from the home for the retired. Most of the Jews from the ghetto were sent via rail to Bronnaia Gora, near Bereza Kartuska, where they were shot and buried in mass graves. The Security Police, Police Company Nürnberg, the Schutzpolizei, the 3rd Company of the 310th Police Battalion, and members of the local police all took part in the mass murder.

Sensing the danger, a number of the Jews went into hiding. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the local police that also included a number of Poles, as well as Ukrainians and Belorussians, regularly conducted searches for Jews in hiding on the grounds of the ghetto. Jews who were captured were shot on the spot or sent to prison. The 300 or 400 Jews collected in the prison were later transported by train in the direction of Baranowicze.[18]

A number of young Jews in the ghetto created two underground organizations: "Liberation" (former Komsomol members) and "Revenge" (Zionists). The members of these organizations procured weapons and drew up plans for armed resistance. They devised a strategy to protect the ghetto and save Jews from liquidation. Worker units who were responsible for clearing the ruins in the fortress and military aerodrome were those who procured the weapons. The plan to protect and save the population intended that armed groups would open fire on the police and torch the ghetto at the moment the German forces started to liquidate the ghetto, creating a diversion that might enable some of the Jews to escape into the forest. However, the Gestapo, which was informed of all developments in the ghetto, arrested many members of the underground organizations, including those who had prepared the resistance plan, on the night before the liquidation Aktion.[19]

A number of Jews were saved, thanks to the efforts of non-Jewish residents in the city of Brześć. After identity cards were issued to the population (Jewish and non-Jewish) at the end of 1941, members of the city's Communist underground organization were able to acquire such cards for M. Popov, A. Aronin, and M. Hamburg and to save them from expulsion from the ghetto.[20] The Jewish family of Tsilia, Boris, and Lyova Pikus was hidden by the family of P. Zhulikov, the head of a local Communist underground organization in the city. Zhulikov himself perished in 1943. Boris Pikus, who died in April 1942, served as one of the points of contact between the city's Communist resistance organization and the underground resistance organization in the ghetto.[21]

After the Germans were driven from the city by the Red Army in July 1944, only some 20 Jews from the ghetto are known to have emerged from hiding and returned to Brześć.

SOURCES Secondary works dealing with the Brześć ghetto include the following: John Garrard and Carol Garrard, "Barbarossa's First Victims: The Jews of Brest," *East European Jewish Affairs* 28:2 (Winter 1998–1999): 3–48; E. Rozenblat and I. Elenskaia, "Sotsial'no-demograficheskaia struktura Brestskogo getto po materialam pasportizatsii evreiskogo naseleniia," in *Evrei Belarusi: Istoriia i kul'tura: Sbornik statei*, Vypusk 1 (Minsk, 1997), pp. 70–78; V.P. Samovich, *Rasstreliany, zamucheny, povesheny: O fashistskom genotside v Breste* (Minsk, 1994). There is also a case study on the implementation of Nazi policies based on the detailed German correspondence regarding the Jews in the Brześć ghetto by Christopher Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 116–142.

Additional information on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Brześć can be found in these publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); E. Steinman, ed., *Brisk da-Lita* (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora: A Memorial Library of Countries and Communities, 1954); *Brisk da-Lita. Oyflag in idish. Hotsaat Entsiklopedya shel galuyot* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1958); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 226–237; E. Rozenblat, *"Zhizn' i sud'ba" brestskoi evreiskoi obshchiny XIV–XX vv* (Brest, 1993); and R. Levin, *Mal'chik iz getto* (Moscow, 1996).

Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Brześć can be found in the following archives: AAN (202/III/7, t. 1); BA-BL (R 94/6, 7); BA-L (e.g., B 162/4836 and 5016); GABO (e.g., 201-1-15, 19, 1042, 6173); GARF (7021-83-10); NARA (RG-242, T-454, reel 103); NARB (4683-3-918 and 942); Ts-GAMORF (233-2374-41); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1996.A.0169); VHF (e.g., # 2321, 24998, 29502); and YVA (e.g., M-41 [GABO, 514-1-41 and 192-1-20]).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Information from GABO, as cited by Rozenblat, *"Zhizn' i sud'ba,"* p. 61.

2. BA-L, B 162/5016 (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 392/59, Bd. IV), pp. 887–888; testimony of Heinrich M., in Paul Kohl, ed., *"Ich wundere mich, dass ich noch lebe." Sowjetische Augenzeugen berichten* (Gütersloh, 1990), pp. 190–191; BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 32, July 24, 1941. See also BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 82/61, testimonies of former members of Police Battalion 307, as cited by Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, pp. 119–123.

3. GABO, 201-1-1042, p. 5, contains a list of the Judenrat members and their permanent and temporary assistants.

4. A translation of the decree, which was written in Polish and signed by the mayor, M. Bronikowski, can be found in Garrard and Garrard, "Barbarossa's First Victims," pp. 23–24. See also VHF, # 24998, testimony of Moshe Smolar.

5. GABO, 201-1-15, p. 20.

6. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 103, fr. 7, Report of Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, November 21, 1941.

7. GABO, 201-1-21 to 445. See also USHMM, Acc. 1996.A.0169 (copied from YVA, M-41/320 to 625), reels 5–17.

8. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 103, fr. 7, Report of Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, November 21, 1941.

9. VHF, # 29502, testimony of Roman Levin; BA-BL, R 94/6, Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, reports of December 23, 1941, and March 25, 1942.

10. BA-BL, R 94/6, reports of the Stadtkommissar and the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Brest-Litowsk for April and May 1942. VHF, # 2321, testimony of Iakov Gandman.

11. GABO, 192-1-20, pp. 2–3, reports of the Arbeitsamt of the Gebietskommissar, July 7 and 15, 1942.

12. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 22 (YVA, M-41/653), Das Stadtkommissariat, Ernährungsamt, Statistischer Bericht, April 23, 1942.

13. BA-BL, R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942; VHF, # 29502. It appears that only a few Jews from the Brześć ghetto were among these youths.

14. BA-BL, R 94/6, Situation Report of Stadtkommissar Brest-Litowsk, July 12, 1942.

15. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 8, Sturmbannführer Pütz to Aussenstellen der Sipo-SD in Brest, Pinsk, Starokonstantinow, Kamenez-Podolsk, August 31, 1942.

16. Information from GABO, as cited in Rozenblat, "*Zhizn' i sud'ba*," p. 61.

17. Report of the 3rd Company of the 310th Police Battalion, October 18, 1942, and the war diary of the 310th Police Battalion, entry for October 16, 1942, in GARF, 7021-148-4.

18. BA-L, B 162/4836 (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 334/59, vol. 5), p. 1141; AAN, 202/III/7, t. 1, p. 187, Polish Underground Report 252/A-1, December 17, 1942.

19. Information from GABO, as cited in Rozenblat, "*Zhizn' i sud'ba*," pp. 30–33. See also, e.g., VHF, # 24998, which mentions plans for resistance that did not materialize.

20. *Bug v ogne* (Minsk, 1965), p. 380.

21. A.I. Borovskii, *O nikh molchali svodki* (Minsk, 1970), p. 69.

CHERNYI OSTROV

Pre-1941: Chernyi Ostrov, village, raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tscherny Ostrow, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Chornyi Ostriv, Khmel'nyts'kyi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

The village of Chernyi Ostrov is located in western Ukraine, roughly 200 kilometers (124 miles) east-southeast of Lwów. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,172 Jews living in Chernyi Ostrov, representing 28.7 percent of the town's total population. At that time the Chernyi Ostrov raion had a Jewish population of 1,995.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Chernyi Ostrov on July 7, 1941. In the period since Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews fled to the east or had been drafted into the Red Army, leaving about 1,000 Jews in the town at the start of the occupation. Within a few weeks, the military administration (Ortskommandantur) appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. The chief of police was a former bricklayer, P. Iarusevich, and the deputy chief was V. Beznosiuk, a former unskilled laborer. In September 1941, a German civil administration was established, subordinated to Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck, the Gebietskommissar in Gebiet Proskurow.

Shortly after their arrival, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures; Jews were forbidden to leave the village, were required to perform forced labor on road construction and street-cleaning projects, and were marked by a yellow patch on their clothing.

On July 27, 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the settlement. At that time, they rounded up about 200 adult male Jews; around 20 managed to escape, and the rest were shot. The remaining Jews, mostly the elderly, women, and children, were soon relocated into a ghetto established in a part of town near where the synagogue had been. The Jews were able to take most of their belongings with them into the ghetto. The perimeter of the ghetto was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian police. Inside the ghetto, the Jews lived under terrible conditions. Despite the police guard, it was still possible for the ghetto inmates to barter with local peasants across the barbed wire or possibly forage for food while serving on work details outside the ghetto.[1] In May 1942, about 100 Jews from the ghetto were selected and sent along with other Jews from the region to a forced labor camp established in horse stables at Leznevo, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the northeast of Proskurov.[2]

The liquidation of the ghetto was probably organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov under the command of Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. In the early morning hours of September 12, 1942, German and local Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto and then started rounding up the Jews by banging on the doors. Those unable to move fast enough were beaten. Once the inmates were assembled, a selection took place, and about 100 Jews deemed fit to work were sent to forced labor camps near Proskurov, where they worked on road construction. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police loaded the remaining several hundred Jews onto carts and escorted them to a forest between the villages of Pavlikovtsy and Geletintsy, 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) southwest of Chernyi Ostrov. Here they were shot at a prepared killing site together with Jews from the village of Fel'shtyn. After the liquidation, Ukrainian police combed the former ghetto, searching for survivors who had hidden during the Aktion. Some 26 of these unfortunates were captured and shot at the Jewish cemetery.[3]

A handful of Jews managed to escape from the ghetto during the chaos of the liquidation Aktion; the young girl Anna Tsel'ner ran out of her grandparents' house and, owing to her size, slipped through the roundup unnoticed by the police and hid behind an outbuilding. Later she crawled through a gap in the barbed wire and fled, eventually reaching safety. After the war, the few surviving Jews soon left the area, and the community was not reconstituted.

SOURCES Information documenting the fate of Chernyi Ostrov's Jews can be found in the following publications: Iakov Khonigsman, "Tragediia evreev poselka Chernyi Ostrov," *Daidzhest*, no. 5 (22) (May 2001); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 248.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Chernyi Ostrov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-817); and VHF (# 21488).

Alexander Kruglov and Michael McConnell
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, #21488, interview with Anna Tsel'ner.
2. Iosif Groysman, interview, January 2, 2001 (in the possession of Diana Voskoboynik), states that there were anywhere from 1,000 to 3,000 Jews in the Leznevo camp. Ilya Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt': Tragediia evreev goroda Zinkova* (New York: Effect Publishing, 1991), pp. 34–37, indicates that there were only a few hundred people.
3. Khonigsman, "Tragediia evreev poselka Chernyi Ostrov"; GARF, 7021-64-817; DAKhO, 863-2-44; VHF, # 21488, interview with Anna Tsel'ner.

CHOMSK

Pre-1939: Chomsk, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Khomsk, Drogichin raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschomsk, Rayon Drogitschin, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Khomsk, Drabichyn raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chomsk is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) north of Drohiczyn. After World War I, there were more than 1,000 Jews living in the village. Under Soviet rule from September 1939 until the end of June 1941, three Jewish families were exiled to Siberia, which paradoxically saved their lives. According to some sources, there may have been as many as 1,700 Jews living in Chomsk just prior to the German invasion.

On the arrival of German forces in Chomsk in late June 1941, German forces robbed the Jews and murdered several people (both Jews and Christians), accusing them of being Communist activists. As Chomsk lay isolated in the Pripet Marshes, most German detachments bypassed the village during the first weeks of the occupation.

In early August 1941, however, a detachment of SS-Cavalry Regiment 1 under the overall command of Gustav Lombard arrived in Chomsk with instructions from Heinrich Himmler to murder all the Jews in the villages north of the main railway line from Brześć to Pińsk.[1] Moishe Kantorowitz, who obtained information from local witnesses when he arrived in Chomsk a few weeks later, pieced together a rough account of what happened.



Members of the Dror Zionist youth movement musical ensemble in Chomsk rehearse outside, ca. 1938.
USHMM WS #98682, COURTESY OF GFH

A cordon of about 150 German cavalrymen surrounded the shtetl at daybreak. Others entered the shtetl and began to gather the Jewish inhabitants. Some Jews tried to flee and were shot while running. Others then attempted to hide. With the active help of the local Christian population, the Germans searched thoroughly for all those in hiding and then escorted the entire Jewish population to a nearby meadow.

Here the 480 Jewish men among the group were ordered to dig a large ditch. Then the German cavalrymen shot the women, children, and elderly in groups, using a machine gun. The Jewish men had to throw in those bodies that did not fall directly into the ditch. This mass grave was then filled in by the Jewish men, before they had to dig another ditch, which was to be their own mass grave. After they too had been shot, local non-Jews filled in this grave. The entire Aktion lasted two days.[2]

A few, mostly younger Jews managed to escape through the German cordon, and most found refuge in nearby Drohiczyn. For a time, in August 1941, there were no Jews living in Chomsk, apart from one pharmacist who had been spared. However, in September 1941, about 80 Jewish families who had been driven from Szereszów in Gebiet Bialystok in late August 1941, and marched all the way to Drohiczyn, were permitted by the authorities to settle in Chomsk, in the deserted and plundered houses of the Jews. The Szereszów Jews included a number of artisans who earned a living by providing useful services to the farmers around Chomsk. The empty Jewish houses had been robbed of almost everything that was useful, but some firewood remained, and there were sufficient potatoes in the small gardens to feed the Szereszów Jews for several months. After the Szereszów Jews had settled in Chomsk, the German authorities also ordered the 12 or so

survivors of the Chomsk Jewish community in Drohiczyn to return home.[3]

It does not appear that an enclosed ghetto was established in Chomsk, but the Jews lived together on the street which is described in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* as a ghetto that led to the two mass graves. Knowledge of the fate of the Chomsk Jews and of the active part played by the local Christians cast a heavy shadow over the Jews from Szereszów. For example, at the school, all the non-Jewish children were now wearing the coats of the murdered Jewish children, while the newly arrived Jews were excluded from school. In view of the fear and anxiety that persisted in Chomsk, some of the Szereszów Jews subsequently moved to the Prużana ghetto, which appeared to offer more security among a larger Jewish community.

Little is known about living conditions for the Jews in Chomsk after December 1941, as Moishe Kantorowitz and his family left at that time. However, in the Prużana ghetto he was able to piece together some details about the fate of the 80 or so Szereszów Jewish families that remained in Chomsk, as one of the Bikstein brothers managed to escape from Chomsk to Prużana just after the second mass slaughter.

On the morning of September 13, 1942, the Nazi killers surrounded Chomsk and herded the remaining Jews together, escorting them to the site of the previous two mass graves. At the request of the local non-Jews, the Germans spared five artisans and their families, including a blacksmith, a tailor, and a seamstress; however, they deliberately chose those artisans with the smallest families. Subsequently these Jews were placed together in one house, forming a small remnant ghetto. The other 75 Jewish families from Szereszów, together with the last Jews from Chomsk, were all shot and buried in the same graves used for the first slaughter of the Chomsk Jews almost 14 months previously.[4]

The few Jews in the remnant ghetto were not permitted outside. The police station was across the street from the Jews' house, and the local police kept a close eye on them. Only one of the Jews is known to have escaped from the house. The other four artisans and their families, including Pola Rotenberg, were all shot a few weeks later, in accordance with instructions issued by the Generalkommissar of Wolhynien und Podolien that specialist workers could not be preserved for more than two months after the main Aktions.[5]

According to Soviet sources summarized by Marat Botvinnik, up to 2,000 Jews were murdered altogether in Chomsk in 1941 and 1942.

When the Red Army drove the Germans from Chomsk in the summer of 1944, very few of the original Jews from the village were still alive. A couple of Chomsk Jews escaped to join the Soviet partisans, and just over a dozen returned from exile in Russia.

SOURCES The main source for this entry is the memoir of Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004). Earlier testimonies from the same author include Meishke Kantorovich, *Shershev: Agony and Death of a Shtetl: In Memoriam*, which originally formed chapters 16–18 of Jacob Auerbach, *The Undying Spark* (Long Beach, NY: J. Auerbach, between 1976 and 1992). Brief information on the fate of the Jews in Chomsk can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 251–252; and regarding "Khomsk," in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 125, 137.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Chomsk under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GABO (R514-1-255); GARF; NARB; StA-Wfb; USHMM (RG-02.113); and YVA (O-3/2285).

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NOTES

1. StA-Wfb, 62 Nds Fb. 2, Nr. 1304, p. 269, report of SS Kav. Rgt. I, August 11, 1941.
2. Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest*, pp. 239–243.
3. Ibid., pp. 242–256; YVA, O-3/2285, testimony of Yossef Bender, as cited by Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 148.
4. Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest*, pp. 282–283.
5. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, pp. 8–9, Generalkommissar Wolhynien und Podolien to Security Police outposts in Brest, Pińsk, Starokonstantinov, and Kamenets-Podolskii, August 31, 1942.

CZETWIERTNIA

Pre-1939: Czetwiertnia, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Chetvertnia, Rozhishche raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschetwertnja, Rayon Roshischtsche, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Chetvertnia, Rozhyshche raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

According to Jewish survivor Fanya Rosenblatt, in the village of Czetwiertnia, located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Rożyszcze, there was a small rural ghetto that existed for a number of months before it was liquidated on October 10, 1942, almost two months after the liquidation of the Rożyszcze ghetto. Under the Soviet occupation, a kolkhoz had been established in the village on lands formerly belonging to a Polish noble family. When the ghetto was set up, Jews were brought in from other villages in the immediately surrounding area, including the villages of Susk, Łuków, Hodomicze, Łyszcze, and Sławatycze,[1] such that probably around 100 or more Jews were concentrated there. All the Jews of the ghetto performed agricultural work on the kolkhoz. They learned about the destruction of the other, larger ghettos in the area during the summer of 1942 but continued to hope that they would be retained by the Germans as needed workers.

When Ukrainian policemen came to search the houses in the Czetwiertnia ghetto on October 10, 1942, Fanya Rosenblatt's parents hid her inside the sofa. The local policemen found her nonetheless, but an older one among them took pity on her. He then helped her to flee without the Germans

noticing. All the other Jews of the ghetto were murdered on that day. A policeman named Korney, who was tasked with guarding former Jewish property, also helped Fanya to survive, assisting her to regain her family's property from local peasants in order to buy a non-Jewish identity card.[2]

SOURCES The testimony of Fanya Rosenblatt can be found in the Rożyszcze yizkor book edited by Gershon Zik, *Roz'ishts' ayarati/Mayn shtetl Rozshishtsh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Roz'ishts' be-Yisrael veha-irgunim be-Artsot ha-berit, Kanadah, Brazil, ve-Argentinah, 1976). There is also a video testimony by Fanya Rosenblatt (VHF, # 8581), prepared by the Shoah Foundation.

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NOTES

1. In 1921 the population of Czetwiertnia was only 23, but in Susk there were 32 Jews; in Łuków, 14; in Hodomicze, 11; and in Łyszcze, 15.
2. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 45–46. See also her account in the Hebrew section of the same volume, which includes more details about the ghetto.

DĄBROWICA

Pre-1939: Dąbrowica, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Dubrovitsa, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dombrowiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dubrovitsia, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Dąbrowica is located 114 kilometers (71 miles) north of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 2,536 Jews lived in Dąbrowica. In 1931, there were 2,739 Jews, and by the end of 1937, 3,225 Jews (comprising 43.4 percent of the population). In September 1939, the town came under Soviet control, resulting in the dissolution of Jewish communal institutions and the nationalization of much private property.

The Soviets began to evacuate Dąbrowica at the end of June 1941, and about 200 young Jews left with them by train towards Kiev. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Dąbrowica on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941 a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town, and in September 1941, a German civil administration took over. Dąbrowica was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar.[1] A German Gendarmerie post commanded by a man named König and a unit of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police were established in Dąbrowica.[2]

Immediately after the German forces arrived, an antisemitic mood gripped the local residents, who organized a pogrom in Dąbrowica. Many Jews were robbed and assaulted, and a number of people were seriously wounded. Soon afterwards, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was headed by Avraham Liebersohn. The German occupying authorities used the Judenrat to pass on and enforce their various orders and regulations concerning the Jewish population. A Jewish police force made up of a few individuals headed by Yaacov Perpelmazia was established and subordinated to the Judenrat.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rayon Dombrowiza. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, then later, patches in the shape of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town and from buying goods from non-Jews. Finally, the German authorities and Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic confiscations, robberies, and assaults. For example, on November 17, 1941, the town administration, headed by Mayor Rait, ordered the Jews to hand over all their goats and horses immediately.[4]

Most onerous was the imposition of forced labor. All male Jews over the age of 14 were required to perform heavy manual work, either at sawmills or at the train station, where they loaded and unloaded freight. Jewish women were sent to the fields for agricultural work. The Judenrat paid workers half a kilogram (1.1 pounds) of bread per day for their labors. One day in January 1942, when 80 men failed to show up for work, they were arrested, and the German authorities ordered them to be shot. The Judenrat paid a bribe to save their lives, but the arrested men were flogged every night for eight nights, still having to work the next day.[5]

The Jews of Dąbrowica were spared the hunger and starvation that afflicted many other communities because of a strategic connection with the local flour mill. Jews had previously owned the mill, but it had been nationalized during the Soviet period. It still had a number of Jewish workers, including the former owners. They made a special arrangement with the local ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) who managed the mill, a certain Gavrilchik, whereby the Jews could secretly remove as much as one quarter of the daily output in exchange for a complicated system of bribes and incentives that bought his cooperation. The German inspectors who periodically visited the mill were similarly rewarded for their discretion.[6]

In April 1942, the German civil administration established a ghetto in Dąbrowica. On April 14, 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Sarny issued an order to the mayor, giving him and his administration until May 10, 1942, to establish "Jewish residential quarters" in Dąbrowica and Bereżnica. On April 29, 1942, the Jews from the surrounding villages, including several hundred from Kołki, were forcibly resettled into the ghetto in Dąbrowica, raising its population to 4,327 Jews.[7] The Jews were given only three days to move into the ghetto, but some brought with them such valuable items as glass, window frames, and broken electrical equipment. As a result, on May 5, 1942, the town administration in Dąbrowica ordered the Judenrat to compel all Jews moving into the ghetto to hand over the contents of their former homes in full, including all items of value and other belongings.[8] No mention is made of a fence or other barrier in the available sources, so it was presumably an open ghetto, as was the smaller ghetto formed in nearby Bereżnica, which had about 1,000 inhabitants.

News of the massacres in other nearby towns, such as that in Kowel in early June 1942, caused a number of young people to meet secretly to plan their escape. The Judenrat tried to discourage them and even threatened to turn them in to the authorities.

The ghetto in Dąbrowica existed until the end of August 1942. On August 26, 1942, German police and Ukrainian collaborators liquidated the ghetto. As the Jews were being marched to the railway station to be transported to Sarny, about 1,500 of them fled en masse, as Leibel Landau had bribed the Ukrainian guards to look the other way, but about 200 of them were shot and killed on the spot. Of those who fled, more than 500 managed to escape to the forest, but many others were soon recaptured. Several hundred Jews made it to the nearby ghetto of Wysock, where they were killed together with the local Jews a couple of weeks later. German forces and their collaborators murdered the remaining 3,000 or so Jews from the Dąbrowica ghetto with other Jews from the region in Sarny.[9]

Many of the escapees from the ghettos died of hunger and disease in 1942–1943 or were arrested by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie and then shot. The head of the Ukrainian police in Dąbrowica, Chaim Sygal, gave evidence in 1951 regarding the shooting of some 30 Jews found hiding in and around the Dąbrowica ghetto at the end of August 1942. Then in September 1942, the 70 Jews who had been in charge of "clearing out" the ghetto were also shot.[10] Some of those who escaped from the ghetto or during another breakout in Sarny joined partisan groups. About 50 Jews from Dąbrowica survived until the town was liberated with the aid of Soviet partisans on January 10, 1944.

SOURCES Accounts by survivors from Dąbrowica can be found in the yizkor book edited by L. Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dombrovitsah be-Yisrael, 1964). Brief articles on Dąbrowica can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 61–65; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 322.

Documentation concerning the fate of the Jewish community in Dąbrowica can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3134); BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/7287); DARO (R293-2-1); GARF (7021-71-49); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/Q-1367/161; O-3/3112 and 3513).

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. In the summer of 1942, K. Sygolenko (alias Chaim Sygal, also Kovalski) was in charge of the Ukrainian police section. He was a Jew from Lwów who in the fall of 1941 (under the name of K. Sygolenko) was a collaborator in the Ukrainian nationalist paramiltary unit called "Polesskaia Sich'." After December 1941, he became a translator working for the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police chief in Dąbrowica. In 1943, he served as a translator for the Security Police and SD in Sarny; and after 1944 he worked in Königsberg and Potsdam. In 1952, Sygolenko was tried in Rovno. For further information, see T. Gladkov and B. Steklar, ". . . Vse ravno konets budet!" in *So shchitom i mechom: Ocherki i stat'i* (Lvov, 1988), pp. 173–180; and also BA-L, B 162/7287, pp. 354–356.

3. Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah*, p. 446. The yizkor book also lists the names of several members of the Jewish Council and the Jewish Police.

4. For the instruction of November 17, 1941, issued by the town's administration concerning the Jewish population in Dąbrowica, see DARO, R293-2-2a, p. 73. According to another source, most horses and other livestock belonging to the Jews had already been confiscated by the Germans in July; see Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah*, p. 457.

5. Losh, *Sefer Dombrovitsah*, pp. 446–447, 456.

6. Ibid., p. 438.

7. DARO, R293-2-1, p. 4, Order no. 280 of the main administration in Dąbrowica to the mayor in Dąbrowica, April 29, 1942. The figure of 4,327 comes from a ghetto census taken by the Judenrat including those Jews brought in from other villages; see Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, p. 61.

8. DARO, R293-2-1, p. 61, Order of the town administration in Dąbrowica to the Judenrat in Dąbrowica, no. 54/42, May 5, 1942.

9. According to the documents of the ChGK, 5,000 Jews were transported to Sarny and murdered there. See GARF, 7021-71-49, p. 4. This latter figure is almost certainly too high, even including those Jews brought from Bereżnica.

10. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, p. 65; and BA-L, B 162/7287, pp. 354–356.

DAWIDGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Dawidgródek, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: David-Gorodok, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dawid-Gorodok, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Davyd-Haradok, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dawidgródek is located on the Horyn River, about 80 kilometers (50 miles) east of Pińsk. In 1921, the town had a Jewish population of 2,832, out of a total population of 9,851. On September 19, 1939, the Red Army arrived in the town and annexed it to the Soviet Union.

The non-Jewish population of Dawidgródek—known to the Jews as *Horodtshukes*—considered themselves a distinct quasi-ethnic group, separate from both the peasants in the surrounding areas and the town's small Polish population. Jewish survivors from Dawidgródek speak more of indigenous antisemitism than survivors from other towns in the area. Antisemitic tsarist Horodtshukes had attempted to organize a pogrom in 1917. Although the Horodtshukes were not particularly

supportive of the Polish government, they fiercely resented the Soviets—with whom they came to associate the Jews.

Shortly after Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Soviet officials and their families began to evacuate from Dawidgródek; many Jews tried to flee as well but were stopped by Soviet officials stationed along the former Soviet-Polish border. By July 6, the last remnants of the Soviet government had fled. The advance unit of Oberstleutnant von Pannwitz reached Dawidgródek on July 7–8, 1941.[1] However, the initial German forces did not leave a garrison in the town, as it was not on any of the major highways.[2] A delegation of non-Jewish townspeople, led by a medical worker named Ivan Mareiko who was known for his animosity towards Jews, reported to the German headquarters in Pińsk.[3] According to Jewish survivors, the delegation reported that the Jews had been engaged in partisan activities. The Germans appointed Mareiko mayor of the town and made Lyovo Kosarev head of the local police force, which included the Tanyo brothers and Kulaga. The Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David.[4]

On July 19, Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler placed the SS-Cavalry Regiments 1 and 2 under the command of Höherer SS-und Polizeiführer Erich von dem Bach Zelewski for the systematic combing of the Pripiat Marshes for Jews, remnants of the Red Army, and potential partisans.[5] On July 28, he explicitly ordered the shooting of all adult male Jews in the area and that Jewish women and children were to be driven into the swamps.[6] On August 10, in the early hours of the morning, members of the 2nd Regiment's 3rd Squadron arrived in Dawidgródek to do away with the Jewish population. The Jewish houses in which members of the squadron stayed were empty of furniture and belongings, having been looted already by the local population.[7]

The local militia brought all the Jewish males aged 14 and older to the marketplace.[8] The Jews had been informed that they were going to be sent away for forced labor. The local police searched the houses of the Jews for men who tried to hide. Then, with the help of part of the 3rd Squadron, they escorted them to a pit near the village of Hinowsk, where the other members of the squadron were waiting. They ordered a group of Jews to line up, standing or kneeling, in front of the pit, each Jew opposite an SS man. After shooting them, they had the next row of Jews line up in similar fashion and proceeded thus until they had killed all of them—probably close to 1,000 men and youths in total.[9]

On the following day, the SS and local police expelled the Jewish women and children from Dawidgródek, following Himmler's order to "drive them into the swamps." Several Jewish men who had escaped the Aktion by disguising themselves as women were caught by the local police and killed. At this time, there were no partisan units in the forests to absorb the refugees. Many tried to enter surrounding towns, such as Stolin; others tried to hide with peasants. Eventually, many of them gradually returned to Dawidgródek, having nowhere else to go. Towards the end of 1941, most of the surviving Jews had returned, and they were forced into a ghetto surrounded by barbed wire, approximately 100 by 30 meters (328 by 98 feet) in area.[10] Each resident was given a ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day.[11] They were forced to work in various workshops that were set up inside the ghetto, primarily performing tasks necessary for the Wehrmacht. Many died of hunger or disease.[12] Some, however, managed to escape and join partisans operating in the area. The local partisan units, made up of both Jews and non-Jews, launched successful attacks on the police post in Dawidgródek.

In the summer of 1942, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, head of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD office in Pińsk, received orders from his superiors to begin liquidating the Jewish population in Polesie.[13] On September 10 or 11, 1942, Rasp arrived in Dawidgródek with a Sipo/SD detachment of 10 men. The German Gendarmerie and the local police had surrounded the ghetto prior to his arrival. They then escorted the Jews to the pit near Hinowsk, where they were shot. While the shooting was going on, a search was conducted for Jews hiding inside the ghetto and those who tried to escape. When found, they were shot on the spot and then brought to the pit by local peasants. A group of about 50 peasants then covered the pits.[14] By this point, the Jewish population had become so impoverished that no attempt was made to collect valuable items from their houses after the liquidation.[15]

SOURCES Despite Dawidgródek's small size, there is useful primary material on the town from both victim and perpetrator sources. Most of the former was found in Yitshak Eidan, ed., *Sefer zikaron: David-Horodok* (Tel Aviv, 1957), parts of which have been translated into English as *Memorial Book of David-Horodok* (Oak Park, MI: B. Chase, 1981). This book provides several survivor testimonies. The verdict of the trial in Braunschweig of Franz Magill, commander of the SS-Kavallerieregiment 2, has been published in the *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* series.

There is also information on the fate of the Jewish population of Dawidgródek in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA; GARF; Sta. Braunschweig; and YVA.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-45/28, Meldung Vorausabteilung v. Pannwitz, July 7, 1941.

2. Y. Lipshits, p. 57; and Yitskhok Nakhmanovitsh, p. 443—both in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*.

3. Lipshits, pp. 57, 62; Bas-Sheve Kushnir and Grunm Pilavin, p. 441; Nakhmanovitsh, p. 443; and Meyer Hershl Korman, p. 448—all in ibid.

4. Lipshits, p. 57; Nakhmanovitsh, pp. 443–445; and Miriam Bregman, p. 462—all in ibid.

5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 570, LG-Braun 2 Ks 1/63 (Strafsache gegen Franz Magill u.a.), pp. 41–43.

6. BA-MA, RS 3-8/36, Himmler Order to SS Cavalry Regiment 2, August 1, 1941.

7. BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, statement of Albert Colas, October 9, 1962.

8. *JuNS-V*, 20:58–59; Lipshits, in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*, p. 57.

9. *JuNS-V*, 20:58–59. And Lipshits, see p. 57; Kushnir and Pilavin, p. 442; Nakhmanovitsh, p. 443; and Korman, p. 448—all in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*. Also see BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, statement of Henschke; Sta. Braunschweig 1 Js 1409/60 (gegen Magill u.a.), vol. 1266, pp. 143–147, Max Mahn statement, July 10, 1962, and vol. 1270, pp. 69–73, Blum statement, March 8, 1963.

10. See BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Vernichtung im Raum Pinsk. Also see Lipshits, p. 58; Kushnir and Pilavin, p. 443; Nakhmanovitsh, p. 445; and Bregman, p. 463—all in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*.

11. Lipshits, p. 58, in Eidan, *Sefer zikaron*.

12. Nakhmanovitsh, p. 445, in ibid.

13. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, pp. 173–194.

14. Ibid., ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 249, statement by Nikolai Kosstjuk, February 5, 1972.

15. Ibid., ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statements by Richard Mitschke, December 17, 1962, and April 4, 1962, as cited by Stephen Pallavicini, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie: 1941–1942. A Case Study: Pinsk and Surrounding Areas" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, 2001), pp. 118–119.

DEMIDÓWKA

Pre-1939: Demidówka, *village*, *województwo wołyńskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Demidovka*, *Rovno oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Demidowka*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Dubno*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Demydivka*, *Rivne oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Demidówka is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the census, 595 Jews lived in Demidówka in 1921. In mid-1941, allowing for an estimated natural increase, there were probably around 700 Jews living in Demidówka.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Demidówka on June 25, 1941. In the first week, seven Jews were shot as Communists. Shortly afterwards, the first requisitions of Jewish property and valuables began. In July and August 1941, Demidówka was governed by a series of German military commandants (Ortskommandanturen), and from September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Demidówka became part of Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.[1] There was a Gendarmerie post in Demidówka, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police.

Soon after the start of the German occupation, Jews were ordered to wear distinctive symbols on their clothing. A Judenrat was created in the settlement, headed by Eliahu Titelboym. In total there were 10 members of the Judenrat. The Jewish population suffered from severe shortages of food. One of the Judenrat's functions was the distribution of the limited supplies of flour it received from the German authorities. However, local Ukrainians also robbed the Jews of these flour rations as well as their money.

Forced labor was imposed, and Jews were put to work on farms and in peat bogs; some men were sent to work on the estate of Count Liudochowski, in the village of Smordwa. Here they were made to run up and down stairs and were beaten in the middle of the night.[2]

In May 1942, a ghetto was created, which existed until early October 1942. On October 8, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto: approximately 600 Jews were taken out of the village on trucks and shot. More than 100 Jews were able to avoid the massacre by hiding. Of this number, 50 people were found and shot later in October 1942.[3] Afterwards, several dozen more Jews were captured and shot. After the liberation in March 1944, only about 30 Jews returned to Demidówka. According to material collected by Ilya Ehrenburg, some Jews managed to survive in the Demidówka raion with the aid of Vera Iosifovna Krasova and her daughter, who hid them from the Germans.[4]

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the annihilation of the Jewish community of Demidówka: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 65–66; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:375; and Mendel Singer, ed., *Hayetah 'ayarah: Sefer zikaron li-kehilot Berestets'kah*, *Beremelyah veha-sevivah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Berestets'kah be-Yisrael, 1960 or 1961).

Documents and testimonies regarding the destruction of the Jews in Demidówka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DARO; GARF (7021-71-46); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Yehudit Rudolf, "Life under the German Occupation," in Yitshak Siegleman, ed., *Sefer Mlinov-Muravits* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Mlinov-Muravits be-Yisrael, 1970), pp. 287–292.

3. GARF, 7021-71-46, p. 16.

4. Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, English edition trans. and ed. David Patterson (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 419–420.

DERAZHNIA

Pre-1941: Derazhnia, *town*, *Kamenets-Podolskii oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Derashnja*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Letischew*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Derazhnya*, *Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Derazhnia is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Proskurov. At its peak in 1897, as many as 3,300 Jews lived

in Derazhnia. The train station there is famous as the location for Sholom Aleichem's story "The German."[1] In 1939, the Jewish population of Derazhnia was 2,651.

The German army occupied Derazhnia on July 11, 1941.[2] Within a few weeks, the Germans established a ghetto just north of the train station that consisted of two parts separated by a main road. Initially, 1,848 Jews were registered, including 579 children and 715 "workers."[3] Jews from the nearby Jewish collective farms of Loitera and Staryi Maidan, as well as Jews from the town of Volkovintsy, were brought into the Derazhnia ghetto.[4] Before the relocations, the nearby collective of Staryi Maidan had a population that swelled many times larger than its pre-war size because Jewish refugees from other towns mistakenly assumed that farming skills would grant them special privileges.[5]

Several rows of barbed wire, which ranged from 3.3 to 5 meters (10.8 to 16.4 feet) high, surrounded the ghetto. Jews were forced to wear the Star of David on both the front and back of their clothes. On different occasions, "contributions" were collected in the amounts of 115 kilograms (254 pounds) of gold, 325 kilograms (717 pounds) of silver, and the equivalent of U.S. $59,500.[6]

Smaller group killings took place in 1941 in Volkovintsy (369 Jews), in Nizhne (70 prisoners of war [POWs]), at the railroad station (62 POWs), and at various nearby locations (about 30 Jews).[7] Strong, able-bodied Jewish workers were transferred to Letichev to work in the large slave labor camp there.[8]

Living conditions in the ghettos were overcrowded, as several families had to share each house. Local policemen guarded the ghettos, but some Jews still sneaked out, especially children, to beg or barter for food, such as milk or potatoes, with local non-Jews. Thanks to this and reserves of food within the ghetto, there was hunger but little starvation. Jews were taken for forced labor, working on excavation projects and repairing a bridge.[9]

On or about September 20, 1942, the Germans and the local police under the command of Vasil Shimkov began to liquidate the ghetto. German Gendarmes and the local police escorted the Jews in a column led by the rabbi to mass graves prepared from two ravines at the top of a hill outside Derazhnia near Nizhne. The Jews were forced to take off their clothes and place them in a communal pile and then lie face-down in the trench. A German "SS man" then shot them with a submachine gun. On this day, about 1,500 people were shot.[10] At least 1 Jew tried to escape at the killing site but was gunned down before he could get far. Some of the victims were only wounded, and small children were thrown into the mass grave to be buried alive.

According to local inhabitants interviewed many years after the events by Yahad-In Unum (YIU), a number of Jews evaded the roundup by hiding in basements and behind false walls. The Germans and local police, assisted by dogs, then searched the ghetto area for these fugitives for several weeks. Those Jews who were found were placed in a tightly guarded ghetto for a while and were then shot together in a subsequent Aktion about one month after the first. Another pit was prepared for this. Some Jews sought shelter with local peasants in and around Derazhnia. However, since the families of anyone caught hiding Jews also faced the death penalty, most Jews were advised to go (or were taken) to more remote locations, where the chance of discovery was much less.[11]

Various Soviet intelligence reports list the total number of Jews killed as between 3,378 and 3,647, but this number is probably too high.[12] The discrepancy may result in part from the killing of a sizable group of non-Jews. The entire Gypsy village of Kitanovka, outside Volkovintsy, perhaps 450 people in total, was also killed in Derazhnia.[13] Local witnesses mention Russians and others shot in the same pit as some of the Jews, for concealing Jews or other suspected offenses against the German authorities.[14]

Gendarmerie and local police chiefs at various times included Paul Reski, Deichmann, Schultz, Mugle, Stockelmann, and Minkov. The head of the local police is identified as Vasil Shimkov, and another notorious policeman who allegedly also beat and shot Jews was Dema Podnevich.[15]

No information was found about resistance in the area. Survivors listed in the Soviet sources include Shpilberg, R. Mekhel, D.R. Beldf, Lazar Akselrod, Moisevich, and A.B. Kusharsky.[16] It does not appear that these people recorded testimonies beyond the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) summaries. The only detailed testimony comes from B.Kh. Tsukerman. A tailor by the name of Melamed was also a survivor.

Several war crime trials of Ukrainian collaborators took place after the war. For example, a man named Mikhail Voitov was tried in 1950 for having served as a policeman in the village of Sharki, Derazhnia raion, during the German occupation.[17]



Portrait of the Lewin family in Derazhnia, ca. 1927. Most of the family was killed by the Nazis in Derazhnia in 1942.
USHMM WS #25519, COURTESY OF ESTER AJZEN LEWIN

SOURCES Some information in English can be found in chapter 16 (Holocaust) of David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten*

Jewish Community in Eastern Europe, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000).

Relevant documentation and testimonies can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (e.g., 363-1-30 and 363-1-58); GARF; GASBU; PRO; and YIU (nos. 712–13).

David Chapin, Ben Weinstock, and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Sholom Aleichem, *Tevye's Daughters* (New York: Crown, 1948).
2. Newspaper *Za chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
3. B.Kh. Tsukerman, "Genotsid evreev na zemle Khmelnitchnini," in Dr. Iurii Liakhovitskii, *Kholokost, "Evreiskii vopros" i sovremennoe ukrainskoe obshchestvo* (Kharkov and Jerusalem: Bensiah Library), p. 120 (reproduced in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, 2:744).
4. Ibid.; Vladimir Goykher, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto* (New York: Vladimir Goykher, 1992); and YIU, Témoin no. 713.
5. PADC, Yefrem Mankovetsky testimony, 1994.
6. Tsukerman, "Genotsid evreev."
7. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmel'nitskii Oblast' at the time of the Fascist occupation."
8. Goykher, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto*.
9. YIU, Témoins nos. 712 and 713.
10. Tsukerman, "Genotsid evreev"; statement of former local policeman V.I. Siniavski given on May 22, 1987, in material received by the Hetherington-Chalmers War Crimes Inquiry in the U.K. from the Soviet Procurators (records now in the PRO).
11. YIU, Témoins nos. 712 and 713.
12. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports.
13. Ibid.
14. YIU, Témoins nos. 712 and 713.
15. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports; Tsukerman testimony; ibid., no. 712.
16. DAKhO, 363-1-30, p. 1, and 363-1-58, pp. 55–58, ChGK reports.
17. Information received from the Ukrainian authorities by the British War Crimes Investigation, Simyon Bik testimony, 1996 (records now in the PRO).

DERAŹNE

Pre-1939: Deraźne, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Derazhne, Kostopol' raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Derashne, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Derazhne, Kostopil' raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Deraźne is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northwest of Równe. In 1897 there were 770 Jews living in the village (51.4 percent of the total population), and in 1921, 592 Jews resided there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village, but in September 1941 authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Deraźne became part of Gebiet Kostopol, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

The Gebietskommissar in Kostopol was SA-Standartenführer Loehnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann.[1] A local Ukrainian administration and a Ukrainian police force were established in Deraźne and reported to the local post of the German Gendarmerie that was established in September 1941, consisting of several German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German occupational authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the village. Jews were required to wear the Star of David for identification purposes; they had to surrender all gold and valuables; they were made to perform hard labor; they were forbidden to leave the village limits without permission; and the Ukrainian police subjected them to systematic looting and beatings. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the village, which they used to transmit and enforce their orders and regulations for the Jewish population.

On October 5, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Deraźne, where the Jews from the nearby villages were placed as well, about 1,000 people in total. The ghetto existed for almost 11 months.[2] In May 1942, most of the able-bodied men were sent for forced labor to work camps outside the ghetto, such that thereafter the inmates consisted mainly of women, children, and the elderly.[3] The women also were obliged to work in agriculture to receive food or a ration card. According to one survivor account, the ghetto remained unfenced, but all the Jews were moved in together with those who already lived in the houses around the main square. Therefore, it remained fairly easy to sneak in and out of the ghetto.[4]

On August 24, 1942, the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie liquidated the ghetto. According to Chayah Sherman's recollection, in the evening (probably of August 23), all the Jews were ordered to assemble in the main square of the ghetto. Some Jews thought of escaping, but the rabbis and members of the Judenrat warned them that probably everyone would be killed if the Jews did not comply with German demands. While the Jews were gathered in the square, Germans and Ukrainians searched attics and basements in the ghetto for any Jews in hiding. From the square, the Jews were marched three abreast through the Ukrainian villages, watched by their neighbors. Jews begged the Ukrainians for water, in vain.[5]

The Jews of Deraźne, together with those of the nearby village of Osowa Wyszka,[6] 1,868 people in total,[7] were escorted by the Ukrainian police to an area near Kostopol and then shot there by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe. In the fall of 1942, the Ukrainian police and the

German Gendarmerie caught 152 Jews in hiding and shot them in an area 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) north of the village.[8]

SOURCES An article on the destruction of the Jewish population of Deraźne can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 67–68.

Documents regarding the destruction of the Jews of Deraźne can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1268 and 2872); DARO; GARF (7021-71-47); VHF (# 22483); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/1268, testimony of A. Dereczynski.
3. Ibid.
4. VHF, # 2483, interview with Chayah Sherman.
5. Ibid.
6. According to the 1921 census, there were 700 Jews residing in the village of Osowa Wyszka. Allowing for an annual natural population growth of 9 to 10 per 1,000, by mid-1941 there would have been approximately 850 Jews. About 30 Jewish youths from Osowa Wyszka escaped to the forest and formed a partisan unit.
7. GARF, 7021-71-47, p. 1. AŻIH, 301/1268, however, gives the date of August 22, 1942, for the liquidation of all the ghettos in Gebiet Kostopol.
8. GARF, 7021-71-47, pp. 20, 22–23.

DOMACZÓW

Pre-1939: Domaczów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Domachevo, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Domatschewo, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Damachava, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Domaczów is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) south of Brześć. In 1921, the Jewish population of Domaczów was 1,337. At the time of the German occupation, including a number of refugees who had arrived from central and western Poland, there were probably about 3,000 Jews residing in the town.[1]

Units of the German 1st Cavalry Division captured Domaczów on June 22, 1941. Combat operations destroyed roughly half the houses in town; many Jews became casualties. Then the Germans began a program of restrictions, abuse, plunder, and murder.

The Germans established a ghetto within two or three months. The ghetto was quite small and overcrowded, consisting of only about 30 wooden houses. It was fenced with planks of wood along the main road and by barbed wire on the other sides. Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Leplówka, were also brought into the Domaczów ghetto.[2]



The Storch family vacations with friends in Chelmski guesthouse in Domaczów, 1938.
USHMM WS #64239, COURTESY OF HELENA JACOBS

During the summer of 1941, the town was administered by a succession of military administrative headquarters: for example, in early August 1941, Feldkommandantur 594 was based in the town.[3] The first Rayon mayor appointed by the Germans was the Pole Stanisław Gwiadziński. The Germans arrested him in early 1942 and later murdered him. The mayor of Domaczów, appointed in February 1942, was an ethnic German named Ludwig.[4]

In the fall of 1941, a civil administration took over responsibility for the region from the military authorities. Domaczów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, subordinated to the Gebietskommissar (Brest-Land), Curt Rolle. In August 1942, part of a German cavalry squadron arrived in Domaczów to reinforce the Gendarmerie post.

Shortly after their arrival, the Germans established a local police force made up of about 40 local Ukrainian and Polish volunteers, supervised by four German Gendarmes. The commander of the local police from the spring of 1942 to the summer of 1943 was Konstanty Korneluk. The tasks of the local police included guarding the ghetto and searching people returning from work to ensure they did not smuggle in any food. As Jewish survivor Faibel Stul later recalled, "[T]he Jews in the ghetto were not given any provisions; they were starving and were therefore compelled to go to their deaths on the other side of the wire in their quest for a piece of bread."[5] Local policemen also beat Jews they caught not wearing their yellow patches and demanded from the Judenrat that clothing and other items be made especially for them.

The winter of 1941–1942 was very cold, with temperatures sometimes more than 30 degrees below zero. No fuel was available to heat the houses in the ghetto, and the Jews had to burn their furniture to stay warm. There was insufficient food, and people lost their will to go on, as it appeared there was no end in sight; they were almost envious of those who died. Frequent

raids into the ghetto by the Germans and the local police terrorized the ghetto population.

According to a German report dated March 1942, artisan workshops were established for blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and other craftsmen in Domaczów in order for "Aryans" to be trained by Jewish specialists.[6] In the spring of 1942, the Judenrat asked all the Jews to assemble at the entrance to the ghetto; the younger men and women were loaded onto trucks and taken away, presumably for forced labor for digging peat and building roads, which the Gebietskommissar in Brześć demanded of all Jews capable of work.[7] According to one account, some 500 Jews were taken from the Domaczów ghetto in May 1942 for work on the Brześć-Kowel highway. Apparently those who were exhausted and weakened were shot shortly afterwards.[8]

During the summer of 1942, conditions in the ghetto for those remaining deteriorated, and some Jews, including Ben-Zion Blustein's family, constructed hiding places in anticipation of further recruitment of forced laborers or also a possible "liquidation Aktion."[9] Rumors spread of the massacre of the inhabitants from the ghettos in neighboring towns, such as Kowel and Małoryta.

On Sunday, September 20, 1942, a German special detachment arrived in Domaczów. The Jews received instructions to report to the sports stadium, where the Germans took away their gold and other valuables and forced them to strip naked. The local police then escorted them in large groups to a sandy area in the forest about 500 meters (0.3 mile) east of Domaczów. Here they were made to lie facedown on the ground. The Germans then shot the Jews and buried them in a pit.[10] At the killing site, the Germans singled out 13 Jews who were kept alive to work in the stables for the cavalry squadron.[11]

Shortly afterwards, the German Gendarmerie commander in Brześć reported that "on September 19 and 20, 1942, about 2,900 Jews were shot in Domaczów and Tomaszówka by a special command of the SD together with the cavalry squadron stationed in Domaczów, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzmannschaft [local police]. The 'Jewish Aktion' took place without any disturbances."[12] The village elder in Domaczów at the time, Moisei Naumchik, covered the graves with lime about a week after the mass shooting. He estimated that the Germans had shot about 1,000 Jews.[13] The precise number of Jews in the Domaczów ghetto at the time of its liquidation is not known. Given the departure of many Jews to work on forced labor projects prior to the Aktion, the number of Jews killed was probably about 1,000, consisting mainly of the elderly, women, and children.

In the days after the massacre, the local police repeatedly searched the ghetto area and murdered any Jews they found—some had hidden in bunkers and other hiding spots—while also looting Jewish property.

After the massacre, the Gebietskommissar in Brześć complained that he had not been informed beforehand and that consequently the local population had plundered Jewish property. The small soap factory in Domaczów was forced to close down, as all its workers had been killed.[14] In November 1942, the Gebietskommissar issued instructions for the former Jewish houses to be sold by the end of the year.[15]

The Germans issued orders that anyone hiding Jews would be strictly punished, and rewards were offered for those who turned Jews in. For example, Boris Grunsztein was handed over to the Domaczów police after he was discovered by the local blacksmith, Stanisław Szepel.[16] Most Jews who survived did so by joining the Soviet partisan movement in the area. In late 1943, the Soviet partisans launched an attack on the town of Domaczów in which they burned part of the town and killed several local policemen. In December 1943, there were eight Jewish members of the "Voroshilov" partisan group operating in the area, out of a total strength of 423 men and 26 women.[17] Only a handful of Jews survived to return to the town after its liberation by the Red Army in the fall of 1944.

Of the local policemen involved in guarding the ghetto, escorting the Jews to the killing site, and especially in hunting down surviving Jews after the massacre, several were tried by the Soviets in the period from 1944 to 1948. The Polish authorities tried the head of the local police, Konstanty Korneluk, in the 1960s. Andrei Sawoniuk, a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) in the local police, was convicted on two counts of murder by a British court at the Old Bailey in 1999. He was the only person to be successfully prosecuted under the British (Nazi) War Crimes Act passed in 1991 and was given a mandatory life sentence for the crime of murder. He died in Norwich jail in November 2005.[18]

SOURCES Documents on the German occupation of Domaczów and the fate of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBBO; BA-BL (R 94); BA-L; GABO; GARF; IPN; NARB; Sta. Dortmund; WCU; and YVA. Much of this article is based on the statement of Ben-Zion Blustein at the Committal hearing at Bow Street Magistrates Court in London in the case against Anthony (Andrei) Sawoniuk, a local policeman from Domaczów, in 1998 (cited as Bow Street, Blustein, 1998).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942; BA-BL, RD 207/3-2, pp. 7–32, *Zentralblatt Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, January 9, 1943.

2. Bow Street, Blustein, 1998; WCU, Mariya Ivanovna Onufriyuk, Officer's Information (OFI), February 1997; WCU, statement of Sergei Ulyanovich Melyanyuk, February 1997; Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 13/64 (case against Hahn), vol. 1, pp. 82–86, statement of Erwin Glas on June 18, 1968. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 148, gives a population of 14 Jews for Leplówka in 1921.

3. BA-BL, R 2104/16, p. 353.

4. Ibid., R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, February 24, 1942.

5. IPN, SWGd 72-74, Case against Konstanty Korneluk, pp. 11–12, statement of Anastasiya Andreevna Yuzvik, August 3, 1967; AUKGBRBBO, Search File for Konstanty Korneluk,

pp. 10–11, statement of the Jewish survivor Faibel Shmulyevich Stul, October 30, 1945.

6. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.

7. Ibid., R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942.

8. GABO, 514-1-195, pp. 4–7.

9. Bow Street, Blustein, 1998.

10. AUKGBRBBO, Case of Ivan Yefimovich Chikun, Arch. File No. 466, vol. 2, pp. 94–98, statement of Ivan Stepanovich Khvisyuchik, March 16, 1983.

11. Ibid., Case of Roman Antonovich Vitovskiy, Archive No. 6134, pp. 30–31, statement of the accused, January 28, 1945.

12. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, situation report, October 6, 1942.

13. IPN, SWGd 72-74, testimony of Moisei Evstaf'evich Naumchik.

14. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, situation report, October 9, 1942; Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, situation report, October 6, 1942.

15. GABO, 195-1-300, p. 11, Gebietskommissar Brest to all Rayon chiefs on the use of houses left empty by the Jews, November 14, 1942.

16. See especially AUKGBRBBO, Case of Stanislav Dmitrevich Shepel, File No. 42 (1944).

17. NARB, 3500-4-305, Partisan records of the Stalin Brigade, 1942–44.

18. *The Guardian*, November 7, 2005.

DROHICZYN

Pre-1939: Drohiczyn, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Drogichin, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Drogitschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Drahichyn, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Drohiczyn is located about halfway between Kobryń and Pińsk on the main highway from Brześć to Gomel'. In 1921 there were 1,521 Jews living in Drohiczyn. In September 1939, Soviet forces occupied the town, which was incorporated into the Soviet Union shortly thereafter. Under Soviet rule, most shops and businesses were nationalized.

German forces occupied Drohiczyn on June 25, 1941. The only Jews who managed to flee were those with close connections to the Soviet authorities, including the photographer Israel Shvarts. On their arrival, the Germans searched Jewish houses, looking for arms, and stole items of value.[1]

In the first weeks of occupation, a German military commandant controlled Drohiczyn. After a few days, he established a local administration, appointing as mayor the Pole Czaplinski, who organized a police force made up mainly of Poles. During the second week, the mayor ordered the Jews to place a Star of David on their houses and to wear yellow patches on their clothes. The Germans ordered the Jews living in the nearby villages to move into town.[2]

In early July, a detachment of Security Police arrived in Drohiczyn and arrested a number of Jews, allegedly as Communist activists. They then shot these prisoners 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town. At the beginning of August, assisted by the Christian population, units of German SS-Cavalry Regiment I, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Gustav Lombard, brutally murdered almost all the Jews in the town of Chomsk (in Rayon Drogitschin) and also in Motol, after collecting a large "contribution" from those Jewish communities. German propaganda blamed the Jews for the war, both as Communists and capitalists, supposedly influencing the governments in the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively.[3]



Group portrait of Jewish physicians in Drohiczyn who later committed suicide rather than witness the murder of the town's Jews, n.d. Among those pictured are Dr. Shekhter (third from left) and Dr. Lampel (second from right).
USHMM WS #41040, COURTESY OF YIVO

As of September 1, 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Drohiczyn was incorporated into Gebiet Kobryn, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń was Regierungsassessor Oscar Panzer.[4] In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Drohiczyn. Jews were required to perform forced labor. They were forbidden to walk on the pavements, read the newspaper, listen to the radio, communicate with Christians, or leave their place of residence; and their schools were closed down. The local auxiliary police also beat and robbed them with impunity.[5]

To assist in the enforcement of German regulations, the commandant ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Not all Jews wanted to serve on the council, but Litman Feldman was chosen as its first head, soon to be replaced by his deputy, Jakov Sidorov. Two Jewish doctors also advised the council, and a Jewish police force served under it. The council's first task was to collect from the Jews a "contribution" of 10,000 rubles and 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds) of gold within two hours, or the Germans would shoot everyone. Out of fear, the Jews promptly surrendered their watches, jewelry, and money to meet the demand. The Jewish Council also built up a reserve of cash, to meet future demands and pay bribes. Another major task it performed was the organization

of forced labor, with the Jewish Police sometimes using force to comply with German demands. The onerous burdens placed on ordinary Jews led to resentment against the Jewish Council and Jewish Police, some of whom were accused of enriching themselves.[6]

Soon after the arrival of the Germans, rumors spread in Drohiczyn that a ghetto might be established. In fact, the ghetto was set up in several stages. First, the Jews were driven completely from a few streets inhabited mainly by Poles, including the so-called Zamd, the street that led to the Jewish cemetery. Around this time (late summer 1941), several hundred Jewish refugees also arrived from Chomsk, Szereszów, and the nearby village of Kolonie, leading to considerable overcrowding in the shtetl. Meanwhile, German requisitions emptied most Jewish houses of their furniture. However, local Christians continued to trade food illegally with the Jews in exchange for clothing, supplementing the meager official ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a little fat and sugar per day.[7]

The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń ordered the Jews of Drohiczyn to move into two separate ghettos on April 1, 1942 (Passover): Ghetto A for "useful Jews" and Ghetto B for "nonuseful Jews." The "useful workers" received special papers, and a lively trade in these certificates developed in the weeks before the establishment of the ghettos, as officials sold them secretly to the highest bidder, rather than issuing them directly to the actual craftsmen. The move into the two ghettos lasted several days. Soon Ghetto A was surrounded with a fence 2.5 meters (8.2 feet) high, while some of the youths from Ghetto B were sent to forced labor camps at Piotrowicze, Radostów, and elsewhere in the Gebiet. In the camps, the Jews mainly worked constructing roads or chopping wood. They received weekly food packages from the Jews in Drohiczyn. Those working as craftsmen in Ghetto A received additional food from Christian customers in payment for their work, while in Ghetto B some trade continued, as it was not fenced in.[8]

On July 25, 1942, the Germans and local collaborators conducted an Aktion against Ghetto B. Polish and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto at 11:00 P.M. and together with members of the Jewish Police assisted a detachment of German mounted police in brutally driving the ghetto inhabitants to the market square, where they were forced to surrender their boots and other valuable items. The Aktion lasted more than seven hours, as many Jews tried to hide. From the market square the Jews were escorted to the railway station. In total, some 1,700 Jews (including some from Ghetto A) were deported by rail to Bronnaia Gora, where they were shot on arrival together with Jews from Kobryń and Antopol. Only three members of the Jewish Council survived the Aktion.[9]

Following this Aktion, a new Jewish Council was established in Ghetto A, and the Jewish Police was reorganized. Christians moved into the houses of Ghetto B, and the property left behind was collected in a special warehouse. The Christians continued to trade illegally with the Jews, so there was no starvation in the ghetto. The yizkor book also speaks favorably of the two "Russian" mayors, Kreiditsh and Borisiuk, who succeeded Czapliński: they helped the Jews to meet some of the German demands for contributions and warned them of the impending liquidation of Ghetto A.

After a while, a number of specialist craftsmen were selected from the ghetto and sent to Kobryń, which indicated to those remaining that they in turn were now becoming "unnecessary." Both at the nearby labor camp of Radostów and in Drohiczyn, the Jewish leaders tried to bribe the German authorities, in the hope that this would save them. However, the SD shot the entire Jewish Council just before the final liquidation of the ghetto in October 1942.[10]

On October 15, 1942, the local police surrounded the ghetto and drove the Jews (according to the yizkor book, about 3,000 of them) out to the railway station near the cemetery, where on this occasion the Germans shot them into a large mass grave. As they had expected this Aktion, many Jews hid inside the ghetto, and a number succeeded in fleeing. However, the Germans offered a reward of 50 Reichsmark (RM) with tobacco and schnapps to local peasants for handing over Jews, while also threatening with death those caught hiding them. The search for Jews in the empty ghetto lasted several days, and more were captured and killed (some betrayed by local peasants) in the surrounding forests thereafter. A few Jews managed to reach the Pružana ghetto in Distrikt Bialystok, sharing the fate of the other Jews there. Some survived by hiding with local peasants and subsequently joined the Soviet partisan units that grew stronger in the area during 1943. Several, such as Erial Pomerantz, died as partisans fighting against the Germans.[11]

In 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) uncovered a mass grave near Drohiczyn that apparently contained 3,816 corpses, partly tied to each other with barbed wire, including 895 men, 1,083 women, and 1,838 children. Given the breakdown of the victims by age and sex, the vast majority of these were probably Jews.[12]

SOURCES A detailed account of the persecution of the Jews in Drohiczyn can be found in the yizkor book edited by B. Varshavski, *Drohitshin*, *finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn* (Chicago: Bukh Komitet Drohitshin, 1958), especially pp. 287–303; there is also a short article in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 242–244.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Drohiczyn during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-98-28); NARB (845-1-13); StA-Wfb; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Varshavski, *Drohitshin*, *finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 287–289.
2. Ibid., p. 289.
3. StA-Wfb, 62 Nds Fb. 2, Nr. 1304, p. 269, report of SS Kav. Rgt. I, August 11, 1941; Varshavski, *Drohitshin*, *finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, p. 290.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. Varshavski, *Drohitshin, finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 289–291.
6. Ibid., p. 291.
7. Ibid., pp. 292–293. On the fate of the Jews of Szereszów, see also Moishe Kantorowitz, *My Mother's Bequest: From Shershev to Auschwitz to Newfoundland* (Canada: Moishe Kantorowitz, 2004).
8. Varshavski, *Drohitshin, finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 293–294.
9. Ibid., pp. 294–295; see also Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Aṇtopol: Aṇtipolye sefer-yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Aṇtopol be-Yisrael uve-Amerikah, 1972), pp. 564–565.
10. Varshavski, *Drohitshin, finf hundert yor Yidish-lebn*, pp. 296–299; the craftsmen in Kobryń were murdered in 1943.
11. Ibid., pp. 298–301.
12. GARF, 7021-98-28, pp. 1 and reverse, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, October 30 to November 2, 1944.

DUBNO

Pre-1939: Dubno, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Dubno is located about 44 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Równe. According to Moyshe Vaysberg and other sources, in 1939, the Jewish population of Dubno numbered some 12,000, or approximately 60 percent of the total population. In 1941, with the influx of refugees fleeing from Nazi-occupied western Poland, the number of Jews grew to about 13,000.[1]

German troops arrived in Dubno only a few days after invading the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Yehoshua Vubk writes that "shortly after the Germans entered Dubno, they established a Ukrainian police force and a municipal administration, made up of Ukrainians."[2] Ukrainian administrators included the mayor Burka, deputy mayor Servas, and a village elder (starosta), Siderovich."[3] Anti-Jewish measures took effect almost immediately, including marking, expropriation, harrassment, beatings, and killings. In three Aktions between late June and late August, the Germans and Ukrainians killed well over 1,000 Jews at the Jewish cemetery. The first took place on June 30, 1941, when 23 Jews accused of collaboration with the NKVD were killed. During the second Aktion in mid-July, 80 men, mostly leaders and prominent members of the Jewish community, were killed. The third Aktion on August 21, 1941, was directed at the more assimilated members of the Jewish intelligentsia. Ukrainian militia forced their way into Jewish houses, dragged out the men, including, according to Helen Segall, her father, Hersh Leyb Szwom, his two brothers and two brothers-in-law. Together with men caught on the street they were taken first to the market place, later to the city jail, and finally all (about 900 to 1000 men) were murdered at the Jewish cemetery that day.



A Jewish water-carrier stands next to a horse-drawn cart on the streets of Dubno, ca. 1927–1930.
USHMM WS #64353, COURTESY OF YIVO

In mid-July, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Konrad Toybenfeld was placed at its head.[4] "Rozenbaum and Bakszt were the directors of the Jewish Labor Office."[5] The Judenrat was ordered to collect sums of money and household goods as "contributions." In the first week of August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur II (V) 909 in Dubno ordered the Judenrat to collect and surrender all the Jews' gold, silver, and other valuables.[6] In December 1941, the Judenrat had to collect and deliver to the Germans all fur and woolen items. Vaysberg noted that these orders were carried out with particular care, although people did what they could to hide their valuables.[7] Jews were burying their jewelry and taking their valuables, silver, china, clothing, furs, and even furniture to their Christian Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian friends for safekeeping "until the war is over."

After the first wave of killings, life went on, but it was never the same. Jews continued to live in their own houses and kept many of their possessions. There was privation but no general starvation. By September 1941, a German civil administration had taken over from the military. According to Vaysberg, the German administration of Dubno included the commandant of the Gendarmerie, von Papke, known for his cruelty; the leader of the German Labor Office (Arbeitsamt), Hauptmann Hammerstein; Gebietskommissar Werner Broks, who was responsible for the mass killings in 1942; his representative Stabsleiter Alleter; and Inspector Wiese.[8] As news of murders committed during Aktions in Równe and other towns began to spread, people became nervous. The violence continued. Homes were vandalized by local Ukrainians, and people were arrested on trumped-up charges, jailed, and executed. "In such a way, my uncle Moniek Katz, Aunt Hana's husband, was accused of listening to the radio, arrested, beaten, and shot on February 23, 1942."[9]

The ghetto was officially established on April 2, 1942, the first day of Passover. It was located in the old Jewish section of town. Its northern border was Trzeciego Sierpnia Street, the main road leading from Zabrama in the west to Surmicze on the eastern outskirts of town. The Ikwa River marked its

southern border. People were given 24 hours to move in. They had to leave most of their belongings behind, as there was no time or space for furniture, kitchen utensils, and clothing to be transported.[10] On the same day, a very tall wooden fence topped with barbed wire was constructed between the buildings forming the outer border of the ghetto. Windows and doors facing outward were boarded up and sealed tight.[11] Helen Segall writes that she and her mother were able to move in with her "grandparents, Golda and Pinchas Ajzenberg, whose house was on the edge of the ghetto. This made the move less traumatic."[12] Some 11,000 Jews were crowded into the ghetto. It included people fleeing German persecution in other places. Bringing goods, food supplies, and other items into the ghetto was strictly forbidden and punishable by beatings, imprisonment, and even death. Nevertheless, people took risks and did it. There was hunger and epidemic diseases soon began to spread.

There were no public cultural activities in the Dubno ghetto. Religious and personal events were observed among family members in the space they occupied. Many people had books. Segall comments: "My mother, aunts, and I read a lot. My grandfather studied the Torah and prayed."[13]

People able to work gathered at the gate every morning. Here they were organized into groups. Jewish Police led them to work in the morning and back into the ghetto each evening. Work varied. It was on construction sites, on the railroad, in factories, and in workshops specializing in products needed by the Germans. Jewish Police were the main force controlling order in the ghetto. Frequently, German policemen and Ukrainian Schutzmänner (in the fall of 1941, the militia was renamed the Schutzmannschaft) would carry out inspections of returning groups, confiscating food items and punishing individuals caught with them.

In the middle of May 1942, the ghetto was divided into two sections. One side was for the *Fachleute*, skilled workers and craftsmen, and the second for *nicht Fachleute*, people without a skill. Skilled workers were given special certificates. Many tried to obtain certificates by other means. They could be obtained through connections or purchased for a high price.[14] Segall writes: "Others, like my mother, were able to move to the skilled side by arranging a fictitious marriage with a skilled worker."[15]

Segall continues: "It was a beautiful spring. Lilacs were in bloom everywhere and their sweet scent permeated the air. Everyone was nervous. Rumors spread that large, deep ditches had been dug at the abandoned airfield in Surmicze."[16] According to Vaysberg and others: "On Tuesday evening, May 26, 1942, the Jewish ghetto police received an order not to let anyone from the 'unskilled' side enter the other side of the ghetto. At midnight, three shots announced the fourth Aktion."[17] SS men, armed with guns and leather whips, together with a few hundred Ukrainian Schutzmännner, entered the ghetto, which was surrounded by armed SS and police, some with dogs. Everyone was driven out of the ghetto and gathered at the "Platz" on Sholom-Aleikhem Street, at the ghetto entrance. The very sick and disabled were shot on the spot. People who refused to leave were dragged out of their houses by Ukrainian Schutzmänner, who beat them as they herded them to the Platz. From there they were driven on trucks, or led in columns, to their places of execution. Vaysberg, other eyewitnesses, and the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that women, children, the elderly, and the sick were taken to the former airfield, behind the train station in Surmicze. The men were taken to Shybina Gora, a hill with a ravine below it, located west of the center of town and Zabrama, near the village of Kleshchikha. This Aktion was carried out by a mobile SS squad from Równe, assisted by German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Schutzmänner.

At Surmicze, the victims were brought to pits previously dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). They had to undress and, in groups of 20,[18] walk over and lie facedown on top of others who had just been shot. They were then shot by German SS men. One report of the ChGK indicated that in several pits they found remains of women and children whose mouths and noses were tightly bound by rags. They concluded that these victims died of suffocation.[19] At the end of this Aktion, approximately 300 small children who had been left behind were pushed by the SS men into a pit, into which they tossed two grenades.[20] Men who were brought to Shybina Gora were also murdered in previously dug pits in the ravine. As after the other Aktions, the graves were heaving, and blood was flowing for several days afterwards. German SS men did the killing. Ukrainian Schutzmänner were actively involved in the murders and in helping the SS. The victims' clothing was loaded onto trucks returning to Dubno, placed in warehouses, and then shipped to Germany. Most sources indicate that approximately 5,000 people were murdered on May 27, 1942.[21] That day almost every Jew in Dubno lost family members and loved ones.

Over the next four months, killings and the harassment of individuals increased. News of the liquidation of the Równe, Krzemieniec, and other Volhynian ghettos caused general demoralization and a sense of hopelessness. Whoever could bought Aryan papers, went into hiding with non-Jewish friends, or fled into the forests. Expecting the worst, almost everyone built a hiding place in his house. "In August 1942, there were about 4,500 to 5,000 Jews concentrated in the Dubno ghetto. This number included the Jews resettled into the Dubno ghetto from villages in the vicinity."[22] There was hunger, starvation, and epidemics. Vubk writes that for the Kol Nidre service, on September 20, 1942, "men gathered in a house near the river to pray. They were led by the only surviving cantor, Reb Pinkhes Shoykhet."[23]

The fifth Aktion in Dubno took place on October 5, 1942. People in the ghetto knew what to expect, and many committed suicide by taking poison, hanging themselves, cutting their veins, or jumping into the Ikwa River.[24] Jews were assembled at Rybnaia Street and from there driven on trucks to Surmicze. Hermann Graebe, chief engineer of the German construction firm Josef Jung from Solingen, witnessed the killing. In his affidavit presented at the International Military

Tribunal in Nuremberg in July 1946, he described in moving detail the slaughter he had witnessed as he stood at the killing site in Surmicze. Graebe states: "Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an SS man. The militia men acted as guards on the trucks and drove them to and from the pit."[25] Graebe describes the man who did the shooting: "He was an SS man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a submachine gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette."[26] The graves were again dug in advance; people had to undress and in groups of 20 walk down into the pits and lie facedown on top of others who had already been shot. During the Aktion, men of an SS mobile unit conducted the killing.

Eugenia Sztiwel writes that 240 people given "iron certificates" were spared and remained in the ghetto.[27] Vaysberg states that following the October 5 Aktion, in an effort to lure survivors into the open, the Germans posted notices all over the ghetto promising that no harm would come to those who would come out of hiding willingly, because they were needed for work. During the next two weeks, about 150 Jews came out of hiding. On October 23, 1942, in a sixth Aktion, except for 10 specialists, all Jews in the ghetto were killed.[28] Most sources indicate that almost 1,000 people were killed that day.[29] Segall writes that "people who remained in the ghetto in hiding places had to leave them once their food and water supply ran out. Many escaped to the woods in an attempt to join the partisans."[30] She continues: "My Aunt Natalie and her husband, Leyzer Gitrajer, were among them. Aunt Natalie, who was blond and had Aryan papers, got a job in the sugar refinery in Mizocz. Uncle Leyzer went into the woods, but was killed before the war ended."[31] Thus, by the end of October 1942, Dubno was officially declared to be cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*).

The key events in the history of the Dubno ghetto were the Aktions. The Dubno ghetto existed for less than seven months, from April 2 until October 23, 1942. Seven weeks after its establishment, even while people were still settling in, on May 27, more than half of its residents were slaughtered. During the summer of 1942, people tried to find means and ways to escape from the ghetto. Some did. There was no organized resistance or escape. Some individuals who escaped did so with the help of their Christian friends and survived in hiding. Others survived on false papers,[32] and yet others survived cold and hunger in fields and woods alone, in groups, or with the partisans.

The Red Army liberated Dubno on February 9, 1944. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, only 300 Jews from Dubno survived the war, including those who had evacuated into the Soviet interior.

SOURCES Relevant published sources on the Dubno ghetto include the following: Ya'acov Adini, ed., *Dubno: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Dubno be-Yisrael, 1966); Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995); International Military Tribunal, ed., *The Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (*IMT*) [Blue Series] (Nuremberg, 1947), 19:507–509 and 31:446–450 (2992-PS); Douglas K. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1985); Sara Gochberg de Silberstein, *Sobrevivimos* (Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2002); and Rhoda G. Lewin, ed., *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* (Boston: Twayne, 1990).

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Dubno during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/1542, 2168, 2887, and 4918); BA-BL (R 2104/21); GARF (7021-71-48); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M and Acc.1995.A.084 [Irene Zoosman memoir]); VHF; and YVA. In addition, reference is made to the author's own unpublished manuscript, Helen Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom: A Memoir."

Helen Segall

NOTES

1. Moyshe Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto," in Adini, *Dubno: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 693–706.
2. Yehoshua Vubk, "Di Likvidatsye fun Dubner Geto," in ibid., pp. 707–712.
3. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
4. Ibid.
5. AŻIH, 301/2168, testimony of Eugenia Sztiwel, July 16, 1946.
6. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462, report of OK II (V) 909 in Dubno, contains an extensive description of the valuables handed over up to August 10, 1941.
7. AŻIH, 301/2168.
8. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
15. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
16. Ibid.
17. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
18. Ibid.
19. GARF, Report of the ChGK, which examined remains in some of the graves at Surmicze on December 11, 12, and 13, 1945; see 7021-71-48, p. 23.
20. Ibid., "Protokol doprosa svidetelia," 7021-71-48, pp. 36 and reverse side.
21. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 6:33–34; and GARF, 7021-71-48, pp. 33–34. It should be noted that the dates and statistics presented in the ChGK reports and in other eyewitness accounts are often incorrect.
22. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
23. Vubk, "Di Likvidatsye fun Dubner Geto."
24. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto."
25. Testimony of Hermann Friedrich Graebe in International Military Tribunal, *The Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 19:507; the German original is at vol. 31, pp. 446–449 (2992-PS).
26. Ibid., 19:508.
27. AŻIH, 301/2168, p. 3.
28. Vaysberg, "Lebn un Umkum fun Dubner Geto"; and AŻIH, 301/2168.

29. GARF, "Protokol doprosa svidetelia," November 21, 1944, 7021-71-48, p. 37.
30. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

DUNAEVTSY

Pre-1941: Dunaevtsy (Yiddish: Dinovitz), town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dunajewzy, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dunaivtsi, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Dunaevtsy is located 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, 4,478 Jews resided in the town (68 percent of the population). Another 848 Jews lived in the villages of the Dunaevtsy raion. After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, a small group of Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and some other Jews were able to evacuate to the east. About 4,000 Jews remained in Dunaevtsy and came under German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army captured Dunaevtsy on July 10, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, establishing a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civilian administration. Dunaevtsy became the administrative center of the Gebiet Dunajewzy, which also included the Rayons of Solobkowzy, Winkowzy, and Minkowzy. The Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Eduard Eggers. His assistant and chief of staff was Robert Hornig.[1] There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Dunaevtsy, and the detachment of Ukrainian local police (ukrainische Miliz) was renamed the Schutzmannschaft by 1942 and subordinated to the Gendarmerie. The Germans set up short-term training courses in Dunaevtsy for the volunteers recruited into the local police.[2]

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Dunajewzy were mostly coordinated by a team of Security Police and SD from the outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii. This detachment was established in May 1942 and was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer.[3] The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, as well as Gebietskommissar Eggers, also participated in these Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, following the German occupation of the Ukrainian SSR, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Gebiet Dunajewzy, including marking, robbery, beatings, and forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which is referred to in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documents as a self-governing Jewish community. One of the main tasks of the Jewish communal authority was the assignment of Jews to various types of hard physical labor for the Germans.

In February or March 1942, a group of Jewish men was assigned to work at the railroad station in Dunaevtsy. For some reason, these men abandoned their work, which the Germans considered to be an act of sabotage. On the orders of the Gebietskommissar, the German authorities arrested 20 Jews to make an example of them and discourage further attempts at sabotage or resistance. One of those arrested was released, but the rest were executed: 1 was shot as he attempted to escape, and 18 were hanged, their bodies left hanging for five days before the Germans let members of the Jewish community bury them.[4]

Sometime in the spring of 1942, all the Jews were forced to move into a ghetto: a separate part of the town that was sealed off with barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. There was no well within the area of the ghetto, and the only way for the Jews to obtain water was to leave the ghetto with the guards' permission. Food rations were also minimal. Jews were taken daily under armed guard by the local police for arduous forced labor.[5]

On May 8, 1942, the Jews were assembled in the yard of the Dunaevtsy Machine Tractor Station (MTS), a storage depot for agricultural equipment. Once there, the Germans selected a number of "specialists" (tailors, carpenters, and others) and those considered fit for hard labor and gave them special passes. The remainder, some 2,300 people, were marched 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) east of the town to the phosphorous mine near the village of Demiankovtsy. About 300 of them, primarily the very old and the very young, were shot on the way to the mine by the accompanying escorts of local police and Gendarmerie as they tried to escape or were unable to keep up with the pace of the march. Gebietskommissar Eggers ordered all the Jews to undress. They were then herded into the mine in groups of 15 or more people. The policemen beat with rifle butts those who resisted and did not want to go inside. Shots were fired into the crowd of naked, defenseless people. After all the Jews were inside the mine, the entrance was blown up. Those inside died a slow, torturous death from asphyxiation and starvation. Witnesses recall hearing moaning and screaming from the mine for five days following the Aktion.

Afterwards the clothes of those who had been murdered were transported back to Dunaevtsy.[6] Most of the former policemen participating in the Aktion were rewarded by the Germans with clothes or fabrics. The "specialists" among the Jews of Dunaevtsy, about 2,000 in total, were moved back into the ghetto. Some former policemen reported that some of the Jews (about 500) were kept in the Dunaevtsy MTS, and the others (approximately 1,500) returned to the ghetto in the town. A special section of houses on one of the streets of Dunaevka (probably a section or suburb of Dunaevtsy) was fenced off with barbed wire and was permanently guarded by a group of 10 local policemen. During the day the Jews were taken out for forced labor and then locked up again at night.[7]

The liquidation of the ghetto was prepared and carried out jointly by the Security Police and SD from Kamenets-Podolskii, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police.[8] Just before the shootings began, 10 members of the

Kamenets-Podolskii Gestapo, along with the local police from the Minkowzy and Solobkowzy Rayons, arrived in the town. At 4:00 A.M. on October 19, 1942, the Gendarmerie chief Pusch assembled the police and Gendarmerie forces and assigned them their roles in the extermination of the Jews.[9] Through a local interpreter and police member Bilinsky, Pusch appointed the guards, the shooters, the escorts, and those responsible for having the victims undress and leading them to the pits. After the meeting, the police cordoned off the town and searched the attics, basements, and other hiding places for Jews. The Jews were taken from their homes to the ghetto square and arranged in groups of 200 to 300 people. They were then escorted by local policemen to the Solonichnik Forest near the village of Chan'kovo, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) west of the town, where pits had been dug in preparation. Ten policemen led the Jews in groups towards the pits and stripped them naked. Adults were shot in the nape of the neck, while children were thrown into the pits alive by the police and shot by members of the Gestapo. One of the victims, Shikogkoren, attacked one of the Gestapo men, biting him in the neck. He was immediately killed by the local policeman Magera, who was rewarded with vodka and clothing for saving the German's life. The waiting Jewish victims wept and begged the police not to kill them, but the entire group of nearly 2,000 people was shot on that day and buried in two pits.[10]

Some Jews successfully escaped the killings by hiding and survived until the liberation of the town on March 31, 1944. Several Ukrainian residents of Dunaevtsy helped these Jews to survive.

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Dunaevtsy can be found in *Vestnik. Vypusk 2. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy, 1992), pp. 57–58; more general information on the Jewish population of the town can be found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dunaevtsy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67 and II 204 AR 332/71, vol. 3); DAKhO (R863-2-44, pp. 32–33); GARF (7021-64-798); USHMM (RG-22.002M); and YVA (M-33).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, pp. 86–94, closing report, April 15, 1970.
2. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-798.
3. After the war, Fermer worked for some time for the Criminal Police in Dortmund (Germany).
4. *Vestnik. Vypusk 2*, p. 57, dates this event in November 1941; the detailed evidence from former policemen in GARF, 7021-64-798, indicates February or March 1942.
5. *Vestnik. Vypusk 2*, p. 58; according to Else Exner, the ghettoization took place sometime in spring 1942, that is, probably before the May Aktion. She also notes that the Jews were already living in a separate quarter of town, which was not enclosed, prior to the ghettoization; see BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, Bd. I, pp. 159–162, statement of Else Exner, July 14, 1971.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, Bd. I, pp. 86–94, closing report, April 15, 1970; *Vestnik. Vypusk 2*, pp. 57–58; *Podilliya u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969), p. 98; GARF, 7021-64-798, p. 53.
7. GARF, 7021-64-798.
8. Ibid., 7021-64-798, p. 108.
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 437/67, Bd. I, pp. 86–94, closing report, April 15, 1970. According to other sources, the liquidation of the ghetto was carried out in September 1942 (GARF, 7021-64-798, p. 108). It is possible that the liquidation occurred on September 19 and not on October 19, 1942. The Dunaevtsy ghetto is also mentioned briefly by Boris Leibovich Levin, who dates the two Aktions as taking place in May and October; see I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zheltaia kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov and Jerusalem: Biblioteka gazety "Bensiakh," 1994), p. 88.
10. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-9-798. Some witness reports collected by the ChGK indicate that as many as 5,000 Jews were shot on October 19, 1942, but that figure may include all the Jews of Solobkovtsy (ca. 500) and Minkovtsy (2,200) that were murdered. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 109, gives the figure of about 1,820 victims from the Dunaevtsy ghetto.

DYWIN

Pre-1939: Dywin, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Dyvin, Kobrin raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dywin, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Dzivin, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dywin is located 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) west-southwest of Pińsk. According to the 1921 population census, there were 786 Jews living in Dywin (34.2 percent of the total population). By mid-1941, allowing for the average natural increase of the Jewish population in Poland, there would have been around 1,000 Jews residing in the village.

As German forces approached Dywin after the surprise attack on June 22, 1941, there were attacks on Jews by local "bandits" in the villages around Dywin. Jews from Załuchów and Wólka Szczytyńska fled to Dywin following these attacks, taking the bodies of the victims with them for sacred burial. On June 24, 1941, the first German units arrived in Dywin. The new military authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities. Appointed as head of the Jewish Council was Abraham Engel. The German authorities also ordered the registration of the Jews. As men were being taken for forced labor, those who were not from Dywin fled back into the surrounding countryside, leaving their women and families in the village.

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans ordered a roll call of all Jewish men in Dywin and rounded up the Jews for forced labor. The work tasks included cleaning the Germans' boots and horses. The Jews feared that some men would be shot and were relieved when they were allowed to return home on completion of these tasks. A few days later, however, two Jews were shot in the surrounding countryside when they were discovered by a German patrol. Once news of this event spread, most of the men who had hidden in the forests again returned to Dywin. Some of the Jews from Wólka Szczatyńska subsequently returned to their village, and from there they were moved into the ghetto at Kamień Koszyrski.[1]

From June to August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Dywin. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Dywin became part of Gebiet Kobryn, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń was Regierungsassessor Oscar Panzer.[2] A local police force was established in Dywin. Under the civil administration, the local police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft and placed under the control of a small squad of German Gendarmerie.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish policies in Dywin. Jews were ordered to wear patches in the image of the Star of David and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village. Before the end of 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Dywin in which a number of Jews from nearby villages were also forced to reside. The ghetto was guarded by the German Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft).

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on August 12–13, 1942.[3] On August 12, German and local police surrounded the ghetto. They drove all the men into a carpenter's workshop and sealed the windows with boards. Then they took the women into the synagogue. Close to the carpenter's studio, 30 peasants spent all night digging a large ditch. On August 13, the Germans murdered the Jews from the ghetto, shooting the men first, followed by the women and children. More than 1,000 people were murdered in total.[4]

Over the following months, units of the Order Police conducted searches for Jews who had escaped. On October 31, 1942, the 9th Company of Police Regiment 15, assisted by 39 members of the Schutzmannschaft from Dywin, shot 74 Jews in the village of Samary, on the border with Rayon Ratno. In addition, one Ukrainian family (six people) was shot together with the Jews in Samary for hiding a Jewish woman.[5]

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the Holocaust in Dywin include the following: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 241–242; A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965), pp. 745–750. The ghetto in Dywin is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 88; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 115, 128.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Dywin during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-83-13); NARB (750-1-232); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 16); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva*, pp. 745–750.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-83-13, pp. 7–8.
4. Ibid.; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 128, 139, gives the figure of 1,450 Jewish victims, but this is probably too high.
5. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 346–347, Report of 9th Company, Police Regiment 15, November 1, 1942.

GORODOK

Pre-1941: Gorodok, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Jarmolinzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Horodok, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Gorodok is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Khmel'nitskii. The Jewish population of the town was 2,329 in 1939. In addition, there were another 1,632 Jews living in the villages of the Gorodok raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, there was no organized evacuation of the population from Gorodok. A number of Jews attempted to flee the town by horse and cart, but many were caught by the Germans' rapid advance and had to return. It is not known how many Jews remained in Gorodok at the start of the occupation, but it was probably in excess of 1,000 people.

Units of the German 6th Army had occupied Gorodok by the middle of July 1941. The town was run initially by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which appointed a local Ukrainian police force. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, they established a ghetto in Gorodok for the Jews. Part of the town was designated as only for the Jews, and they were forced to move into this area by the local police.[1] Jews were required to wear the Star of David and to perform forced labor. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also established.

In September 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Gorodok became a Rayon center in Gebiet Jarmolinzy, which also included the Rayons of Satanow, Michalpol, and Jarmolinzy. The Gebietskommissar based in Iarmolintsy was Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertes.[2]

Jews from neighboring villages were also brought into the Gorodok ghetto, for example, from the villages of Kuz'min (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] away), in October 1941, and Novii Shvet, just north of Gorodok. According to survivor Evgeniia Dantsis, the Jews were concentrated in one area, but it remained unfenced. Forced labor consisted of digging ditches. No food was provided to the Jews in the ghetto, but they were able to barter with local villagers. This was carried out mostly by children, who left the ghetto clandestinely.[3] At some point in 1942, several groups of Jews were transferred from the Gorodok ghetto to the forced labor camp in Leznevo.

In late October 1942, on the order of Gebietskommissar Mertes, most of the remaining Jews from the ghetto in Gorodok (at least 300 people) were rounded up and transferred under close guard by truck to Iarmolintsy by forces of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[4] In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for a number of days.[5] On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were shot in groups into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total, about 6,400 Jews were shot there over the course of about six hours.[6]

According to Dantsis, who managed to hide during the roundup in Gorodok and was sheltered by local Ukrainians, about 10 Jewish families (more than 100 Jews) also survived the roundup and remained in Gorodok, probably kept alive, with their families, as skilled workers.[7] Of these Jews, 87 were killed in December 1942 and another 16 in January 1943.[8]

SOURCES Relevant publications on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Gorodok include: A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 89.

Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Gorodok can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5071-72); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-796 and 818); and VHF (# 32340, 34283).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34283, testimony of Sofiia Vugman.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. VHF, # 32340, testimony of Evgeniia Dantsis.
4. BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 434, statement of Karl Furchert, August 30, 1962, gives the figure of 300 Jews in Gorodok, but this is probably too low; VHF, # 32340 and 34283.
5. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.
6. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, statement of Wilhelm Kurt Paul Grosse, January 8, 1960.
7. VHF, # 32340.
8. GARF, 7021-64-796, pp. 63–65.

GRITSEV

Pre-1941: Gritsev, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Grizew, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Hrytsiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Gritsev is located 22 kilometers (13.7 miles) north of Starokonstantinov. In 1939, there were 1,095 Jews living in the town (36.1 percent of the total population). In addition, there were another 218 Jews living in the villages of the Gritsev raion.[1]

Since Gritsev was located relatively far away from the nearest railway line (15 kilometers, or 9.3 miles), and many Jews hesitated to leave their homes, only a few managed to escape or join the Red Army before the Germans occupied the town on July 5, 1941. Many Jews were forced to return to Gritsev after having gone only a few kilometers to the east. Immediately after the arrival of the Germans, the Jews were humiliated and ordered to hang large Stars of David on the doors of their homes. Ten young Jewish men and women were arrested and thrown into the water in the middle of the large lake near Gritsev. The police used oars to kill those who emerged from the water, and only 1 was able to save himself and survive. A week later, 10 more young Jews were arrested and confined to a basement; 24 hours later, the Ukrainian police shot them not far from the village of Gora.[2]

In the first days of August 1941, on one of the streets that adjoined the lake, a ghetto was organized for the Jews. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by Ukrainian policemen. A German detachment arrived in Gritsev at dawn and rounded up the entire Jewish population of the town. Remaining Jewish properties and valuables outside the ghetto were looted by the Ukrainians and taken to German police headquarters. The Germans appointed one of the inhabitants, a man named Niakha (Nokhem), as the elder in charge of the ghetto. Three others were named as his deputies.

The inhabitants of the ghetto managed to buy food only by selling their possessions to the Ukrainians. Children sometimes sneaked out of the ghetto for this purpose, but the trading mainly took place through the barbed-wire fence. From time to time the Ukrainians brought food to the Jews out of sympathy. But this was generally insufficient. Scarcity and starvation resulted in many deaths among the ghetto inhabitants.[3]

At dawn on August 4, 1941, part of the 10th SS-Infantry Regiment, 1st SS-Infantry Brigade, arrived in Gritsev and gathered all the Jews of the ghetto into a school building. After the registration and selection of a group aged 15 and older, these Jews were taken by truck into a nearby wood located about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) from the town. The police separated the men and women, then lined the men up against a stone wall and shot them. They took all the young women in a second group and shot them as well. Altogether they murdered 286 people.[4]

The remaining Jews from the school were returned to the ghetto, where they realized that the Ukrainians had confiscated all of their most valuable belongings with the permission of the German authorities. The surviving women

and children were led out of the ghetto for work on a daily basis. This work included cleaning administrative buildings and the homes of the policemen and subsequently (during the winter) removing snow from the roads. Heavy labor, such as chopping wood and repairing roads, was performed by a group of 12 men under the guard of the Ukrainian police.[5]

During the selection at the school building, some of the young women had managed to avoid being taken by putting on the head scarves typically worn by old women. Some of the men escaped the Germans' inspection by hiding in concealed places inside the ghetto. Led by Isaak Bialik, a number of these men later managed to join the partisan resistance. Some of them also perished fighting against the Germans. Bialik himself survived until the arrival of the Red Army, which he then joined, to continue the struggle against Nazi Germany.[6]

On September 4, 1941, the German police conducted another selection after bringing all of the prisoners to the town's cultural center. On the previous night, one of the Germans had forewarned the Jews about the Aktion, but many did not trust him and therefore made no attempt to escape from the ghetto. The Germans spared the children, but shot a few hundred of the surviving women.

In September 1941, power was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Gritsev became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Schröder, who was later replaced by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle.

In May 1942, the remaining inmates of the Gritsev ghetto were escorted to the ghetto in Starokonstantinov and later shot there.[7] Thanks to the help of several Ukrainian families—among them the Melen'chuk family, who received the title of "Righteous Among the Nations" from Yad Vashem—a group of five women and children were able to survive.[8]

All the Jewish homes in Gritsev were either demolished for their building materials or seized by the Ukrainians. The Red Army liberated Gritsev on March 6, 1944.

SOURCES The following publications contain relevant information on the fate of the Jews of Gritsev: I. Melen'chuk, "Riatuvaly, ryzkuiuchy zhyttiam," *Den' za dnem* (Shepetovka), no. 4 (1993): 3; and Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 84.

Documents and testimonies regarding the Jewish community in Gritsev and the ghetto there can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 204 AR-Z 442/67); CAHJP (HM2/8969); and YVA (M-33/179, O-3/4019, O-3/4932, and M-31/7740).

Albert Kaganovich
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. CAHJP, HM2/8969.
2. YVA, O-3/4019, O-3/4932.
3. Ibid.
4. *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS, Tätigkeitsberichte der 1. und 2. SS-Inf. Brigade, der 1. SS-Kav.-Brigade und von Sonderkommandos der SS* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1984), p. 108, Report of 1. SS Brigade, August 6, 1941.
5. YVA, O-3/4019, O-3/4932.
6. Ibid., M-33/179, O-3/4019, O-3/4932.
7. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 263, 324.
8. YVA, M-31/7740; Melen'chuk, "Riatuvaly, ryzkuiuchy zhyttiam," p. 3.

HOROCHÓW

Pre–September 1939: Horochów (Yiddish: Horchiv), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorokhov, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorochow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Horokhiv, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Horochów is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) northeast of Lwów. According to the 1931 census, the Jewish population was 2,806. The total population of the town in 1937 was 6,260.

Most of the population did not evacuate when the German-Russian war broke out, even though trucks were available for those who wanted to leave. When the Germans arrived on June 24, 1941,[1] the non-Jewish locals rejoiced and greeted them with flowers because they hated the Communists and were pleased to be rid of them.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, on the second day of the occupation, June 25, 1941, the Germans ordered the town's residents to gather on the main square. Not everyone showed up because the order was not announced on all streets. Then the Germans threw incendiary grenades into houses around town. About half of the houses were burned.[2] The Christian population suffered most in this Aktion and blamed the Jews as a result.

Before the end of June, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established. On the request of the Ortskommandant, a squad of Security Police was sent by Sonderkommando 4a, based in Sokal, to Horochów, where they arrested and shot seven people as "communist functionaries."[3] The Germans established a Ukrainian police force, which was merciless to the Jews. They tortured any Jews they caught and robbed Jewish houses. In July 1941, there was a pogrom during which two Jews were killed, and many were beaten and robbed.[4]

The first German decrees established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). All Jews had to pay a large fine, and everyone over 14 had to wear a white armband with a Star of David. All valuable personal possessions were confiscated: gold, silver, paintings, Persian rugs, telephones, fur, radios, and musical instruments. The levies in money and gold amounted to 100 rubles per adult and 50 rubles per child.[5] One day, the Germans gathered the Jews in the marketplace and made them watch the burning of the synagogues. The Torah scrolls and prayer books were all burned.[6]

On August 12, 1941, two truckloads of Ukrainian police arrived in Horochów together with officers of the Gestapo

from Łuck. The Ukrainian police rounded up 300 Jewish men according to a list, with no involvement on the part of the Germans. The men were forced to dig a large pit near the forest, into which they were all thrown after being shot. The list of 300 men was probably drawn up from information provided by neighbors and former friends. The 300 men were local notables in the Jewish community. Another 70 or 80 people were shot on August 23, 1941.[7]

By August 1941, a permanent Gebietskommissar had replaced the temporary military commandant. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Horochów was Krause, and the Gebietskommissar was Härter.[8] Jews were not allowed to use electricity. Everyone over 14 had to engage in forced labor. Those who worked received an additional food ration. Many workers were black and blue from beatings endured during work. The local Ukrainian police guarded the Jews while they worked.

At the beginning of November 1941, all Jews had to leave their homes and gather in the marketplace with whatever they could carry. They were then herded into certain designated side streets in a very poor section of town. This became the ghetto. On the following day, a high wooden fence with barbed wire was erected around these streets. Most of the houses were dilapidated, and there was extreme overcrowding. The average housing density was two families (about 10 people) per room.[9] There were two gates, and a written permit was needed to enter or exit the ghetto. Yellow patches on the chest and back replaced the white armbands.

All women aged between 14 and 40 and all men aged between 14 and 50 had to engage in forced labor for little or no pay. Those who worked outside the ghetto wore green armbands and were known as "useful" Jews. They mainly worked as tanners, preparing leather for military use. Other people worked on road construction. Some Jews established skilled workshops for other Jews to perform skilled labor: knitting, making brushes, and other craft activities. The workshops were situated in the town in houses outside the ghetto. Some Jews not employed in skilled jobs had to stand in the water all day during the winter in a river outside the town, probably working on bridge construction.[10] Craftsmen were kept in a separate part of the ghetto from other Jews. Unskilled workers often performed meaningless manual labor, which they undid the following day.

There was starvation in the ghetto because there was no way to get food. People were executed if they tried to obtain food. Skilled workers received 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, while "useless" Jews received 150 grams (5.3 ounces). Because food was so scarce, 20 youngsters built a tunnel under the fence as a way of getting out of the ghetto.[11] They would take off their stars and look for food for their families. They always had to barter items, such as clothing or jewelry, for the food.

The smells in the ghetto were horrible, and hygiene was almost nonexistent. Soap, toothbrushes, and toothpaste were not to be found. The chairman of the Judenrat was opportunistic: he treated the people in the ghetto very badly, and his family lived well at the community's expense. For his own benefit, he did things that he was not forced to do by the Germans. There was a Jewish police force in the ghetto.

At first, there was a doctor in the ghetto. At one of the weekly roundups, however, he was taken away a month or two after the ghetto was created. Several women organized a school in the ghetto. They had to stop lessons when they ran out of things to barter for school supplies. At night, people gathered in the ghetto square to talk and get fresh air.

As a means of resistance, some young organizers stockpiled kerosene to set fire to the ghetto. Having learned of their plans, other Jews attacked them, demanding that the preparations be abandoned because they were afraid that everyone in the ghetto would be killed.[12]

When people found out about the mass murders taking place in other cities, they began to build hiding places. Jews fasted and prayed in the ghetto. In the spring of 1942, everyone was moved to a smaller ghetto, because the population had dwindled so much. Three sides of this ghetto, like the previous one, were enclosed, but one side was contained only by the river. When the guard on the ghetto increased, people became hysterical; they continued building false walls and hiding places in their homes, hoping that if they hid, they would not be found.

Preparation for the liquidation began in early August 1942. A pit was dug at the town limits near the road leading to Druszkopol.[13] Before the ghetto was liquidated, some people hid, and 200 young men escaped. However, reportedly only 8 of them survived; the others were shot by Ukrainians or died of hunger. Other people tried to escape by hiding in the bulrushes along the river and then crossing the river. The ghetto was liquidated on September 14, 1942. People were taken in eight trucks to the previously dug mass grave. It is estimated that more than 2,500 people were shot by forces under the command of the Gendarme Holberg. Jewish valuables were confiscated; some were taken by the police forces, and the rest went to the civil administration. Holberg, who was of Sudeten origin, was later killed by partisans.[14]

Among the survivors from the ghetto were Benjamin Fishman, Bessie Kisis Glinkiewicz, and Sonia Zyroff. Shulamit Perlmutter (Charlene Schiff) managed to survive in the forests until the arrival of the Red Army but soon left for the West because of the continuing hostile attitude towards Jews in the area, as the local people did not want to return the possessions they had taken.

SOURCES The main published work available on the Horochów ghetto is the *Horchiv Memorial Book* edited by Yosif Kariv (Tel Aviv: Horchiv Committee in Israel, 1966), which includes several accounts containing information about the ghetto.

Documentation and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of Horochów's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2862); BA-L (B 162/3878); GARF (7021-55-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 14; and testimony of Charlene Schiff, RG-50.030*0203); and YVA (Nazi Crimes Department of the Israeli Police, file pey-ayin 01273).

Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG 22.002M, reel 14 (GARF), Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Horochów, 7021-55-2, p. 19.
2. Ibid.
3. USHMM, RG-30 (Acc. 1999.A.0196), Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 24, July 16, 1941; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 694a, pp. 60–61.
4. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66–67.
5. Ibid., p. 96.
6. A personal interview with Charlene Schiff conducted on June 19, 2003.
7. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 89; according to the ChGK report GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20, the Aktion took place in early September, and some 350 people were rounded up and shot together with 30 people brought in from Druszkopol.
8. ChGK report, GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20a.
9. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 129. News of plans to establish the ghetto in Horochów had reached neighboring Łokacze by November 3, 1941; see Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), pp. 38–39.
10. *Horchiv Memorial Book*, p. 61.
11. Schiff interview.
12. *Horchiv Memorial Book*, p. 286.
13. GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 21.
14. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva*, p. 18, estimates that as many as 500 Jews may initially have escaped. According to the ChGK report, p. 21a, some 3,800 Jews were killed.

HORODEC

Pre-1939: Horodec (Yiddish: Horodets), village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Garadzets, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodez, Rayon Antopol, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Haradets, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Horodec is located 67 kilometers (42 miles) east of Brześć. In 1897, there were 648 Jews in Horodec (out of a total population of 1,761). In 1915, when the front reached the immediate vicinity of Horodec, most of the population fled, so that in 1921 there were only 269 Jews registered in Horodec out of a total population of 753. In 1939, Horodec was annexed by the Soviet Union, and several Jews were exiled into the Soviet interior.

The Germans occupied Horodec during the very first days after their attack on the Soviet Union in late June 1941. A few Jews were killed not long after the Germans' arrival. In April or May 1942, the German authorities forced all of the Jews into a ghetto surrounded by barbed wire. A Jew could be punished with severe beating for sneaking out of the ghetto to obtain food. Similarly, the local Christians were not allowed to enter the ghetto. The Jews were divided into those who could work and those who were unfit, the latter category consisting primarily of the elderly. Those who were able to work were given a daily regimen of forced labor.[1]

On July 26, 1942, the majority of the Jews were marched to the train station and sent by train to Bronna Góra, just outside Bereza Kartuska, where they were shot. According to one account, when the Jews were being marched to the train station, they were forced to sing the Soviet folk song "Katiusha." The day before the Aktion, about 15 skilled workers were brought on foot to the Antopol ghetto, where they remained until its liquidation on October 15, 1942.[2]

Although no information is available about the German perpetrators, some of the names of the local collaborators are known. Volodya Kazik was appointed mayor of the town. His deputy was Vanya Glavatski. Kalya Glavatski and Marian Bramkilises were members of the local militia. Vanya Glavatski and Bramkilises were killed by partisans.[3]

SOURCES The Horodec yizkor book, 'E. Ben-'Ezra and Yisroel Zusman, eds., *Horodets: A geshikhte fun a shtetl (1142–1942)* (New York: Bukh-komitet "Horodets," 1949), contains four brief accounts of the Holocaust period: two by Dovid Volinets, ostensibly the sole survivor, one by Binyomin Volf on Antopol, and a third by an anonymous Christian woman from Horodec. Information on the Jewish community of Horodec can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 245–247.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Dovid Volinets, "Fun Dovid Volinets," pp. 193–194; Binyomin Volf, "Fun Binyomin Volf," p. 194; and Anon., "A briv fun a Kristin vegen der Horodetser geto," p. 194—all in Ben-'Ezra and Zusman, *Horodets*.
2. Volinets, "Fun Dovid Volinets," pp. 193–194; Volf, "Fun Binyomin Volf," p. 194; Anon., "A briv fun a Kristin," p. 194; Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.
3. Dovid Volinets, "Vegen Horodetser mithelfer," in Ben-'Ezra and Zusman, *Horodets*, p. 194.

HORODNO

Pre-1939: Horodno, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Gorodnaia, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodno, Rayon and Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Haradnaia, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Horodno is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Pińsk. According to the 1921 census, there were 583 Jews living in Horodno, comprising 22.4 percent of the total population.

In September 1939, forces of the Red Army occupied Horodno, which was soon incorporated into the Belorussian SSR. At this time, many Jewish refugees from central and

western Poland arrived in the region. Under Soviet rule, some Polish landowners and Jews who owned stores were among those people deported to Siberia. By mid-1941, there were probably around 700 Jews living in Horodno.

Following the German surprise attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews attempted to flee Horodno to the east. Some were turned back by Soviet guards at the former Polish-Soviet border, however, and had to return home. German military forces entered Horodno during the first half of July 1941. Initially, a German military administration was responsible for the area around Horodno, but no permanent garrison was stationed in the town. In early August 1941, German mounted SS forces conducted a first Aktion in Horodno. A detachment of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 50 Jewish men over the age of 14 near the Jewish cemetery. Some Jewish men managed to hide and avoid the roundup.[1]

In August 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Horodno, which was made personally responsible for the enforcement of German regulations and demands. These included the collection of all valuable items, especially gold and silver, and their surrender to the Germans. According to the Jewish survivor Iosef Dryzhun, the ghetto was also established in August; it probably remained an "open ghetto" at this time, as Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.[2] Jews were also required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Horodno was incorporated into Gebiet Stolin, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Stolin was SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski. In Horodno there was a squad of local police, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie.

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, by May 1942, the ghetto in Horodno was enclosed with barbed wire, and additional Jews from the surrounding villages had been resettled into the ghetto.[3] Local peasants would come to the ghetto and collect Jews to work for them. The Jews were paid with food in return. Some of the ghetto inmates were also required to work maintaining the roads. Members of the Judenrat who dutifully obeyed German orders thought that they would be spared in the event of a further Aktion. Everyone looked out for himself and his immediate family first of all.[4]

Sources disagree about the date of the German liquidation of the Horodno ghetto, but it probably took place in the first half of September 1942, around the time of the Aktions in Stolin and Wysock.[5] Just prior to this, local peasants warned the Jews that the Germans had ordered the preparation of seven ditches in the forest nearby, and they advised the Jews to escape from the ghetto. However, the rabbi in Horodno reassured the Jews that God would save them and advised them to pray instead. In the opinion of Dryzhun, many more Jews could have escaped, but "religion stood in the way." Dryzhun, together with three others, cut the barbed wire around the ghetto and ran to the forests on the day of the Aktion. About 60 Jews managed to escape altogether, but around 40 of them were captured and killed by the Germans and their collaborators over the ensuing weeks.[6]

Forces of the German Security Police based in Pińsk organized the Aktion, assisted by men from the smaller SD outposts in Stolin and Wysock. A larger number of German Gendarmes and local police guarded the Jews during the roundup and the mass shooting. According to one source, about 400 Jews were escorted into the nearby forest and shot near Podralicze, located 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) east of the village in the direction of Terebieżów. Another 200 Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly (probably those unable to walk or found in hiding), were shot and buried in Horodno.[7]

Partisan activity in the area forced the Germans to abandon the town by the end of 1943, and forces of the Red Army moved into the area from the southeast in 1944.

SOURCES A brief article on the Jewish community of Horodno can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 245.

Survivor testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews in Horodno can be found in the following archival collections: USHMM (RG-50.378*0014); and VHF (# 18847, 23729).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014, oral history interview with Iosef Fayvelevich Dryzhun, August 4, 1995, states that there were 70 victims. The information page of the Stolin Jewish cultural and educational association "Bridge" (www.stolinmost.narod.ru) gives the figure of 53 Jewish men killed.
2. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014.
3. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, p. 245. See also USHMM, RG-50.378*0014.
4. Ibid.
5. The Aktions in these two towns took place around September 10–11, 1942. According to Wilhelm Rasp, the head of the Security Police Office in Pińsk, a number of Aktions were also carried out in smaller towns around Stolin at this time; see BA-L, B 162/4950 (204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2), p. 180. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014, Dryzhun, dates the Aktion in September 1943 [*sic*], but probably means September 1942. Other sources date it in July or August 1942.
6. USHMM, RG-50.378*0014.
7. Information page of the Stolin Jewish cultural and educational association "Bridge."

HOSZCZA

Pre-1939: Hoszcza, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Hoshcha, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Hoschtscha, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Hoshcha, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Hoszcza is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) east of Równe. In 1921, there were 811 Jews residing in the village (36.3 percent

of the population). By mid-1941, including some refugees, there were more than 1,000 Jews in the town.

On Sunday, June 29, 1941, the Germans bombed Hoszcza from the air, killing scores of Jewish inhabitants and destroying many houses. Units of the German 6th Army then occupied the town on July 4, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Hoszcza was part of Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.[1] There was a German Gendarmerie post in Hoszcza, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Hoszcza: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially an armband, and from September 1941, a yellow circle on their clothing),[2] and they were compelled to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. Among the forced labor tasks, Jews had to clean the streets, load trucks, and work on building a bridge. According to one account, the Jews were forced to relocate to one part of town soon after the Germans' arrival: two, three, or more families were forced to live together in overcrowded conditions.[3] This initial "Jewish quarter" was not, however, enclosed. In addition, in the wake of the bombings the Ukrainian authorities had closed down most Jewish stores, removed all their merchandise, and even dismantled them, giving the wood to local Ukrainians. In this way, many Jews lost almost all their property.[4]

In late July 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town, during which 10 Jews were arrested from a work detail and shot.[5] A subunit of the 10th SS-Motorized Infantry Regiment probably carried out the shooting; its headquarters was located in Hoszcza on July 27 and 28. A few weeks into the occupation, the Germans spread propaganda blaming the Jews for the war, in justification of their anti-Jewish measures. Local Ukrainians were forbidden to have contact with Jews, and most did not speak to them or even give them a dry piece of bread.[6]

Soon after their arrival, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council with seven members. Its head was Israel David Utzenik, and his main assistants were two local businessmen, Joseph Zawodnik and Zalman Zaltzman. The four other members, younger men with little experience in community affairs, assisted with the implementation of German orders. The Jewish Council was responsible for supplying Jews for work and for distributing the daily bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) per person from the bakery they established. These small rations were insufficient, but other goods, such as meat, butter, eggs, sugar, or tea, were unavailable. Some Jews criticized the Jewish Council, as they were sometimes seen drinking with the occupation authorities in Zaltzman's home, where they met, and they were inevitably viewed as tools of the Germans. It was suspected, for example, that when they collected utensils or money to meet German demands, they kept some of this for their own benefit.[7]

During the cold winter of 1941–1942, some Jews passed the long dark evenings confined to the Jewish quarter, gloomily contemplating suicide or playing chess.[8] News of the slaughter of some 17,000 Jews in Równe in November 1941 cast a bleak shadow over the celebration of Hanukkah. The synagogues had also been destroyed and the Torah scrolls torn apart. Some flour was found to bake matzot for Passover, but somehow the reciting of the Haggadah (Passover story) had no meaning in these terrible circumstances.[9]

By March 1942, some Jews had been issued with temporary identity cards.[10] However, many still expected the worst once the ground was no longer frozen. In the week before the Shavuot holiday, word quickly spread that trenches were being dug in the woods nearby. Many rumors circulated, and the Jews were petrified with fear.

Then, early on the morning of Wednesday, May 20, 1942, a number of trucks arrived in town. Sensing the danger, many Jews fled and went to hide with local farmers or in other hiding places. This Aktion was carried out by a squad of Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. They collected the Jews in the central square and then escorted them to the Simanoff birch forest, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from town. Here the murderers told everyone to strip down to their underwear and then shot them in pits in groups of 10. Children were crushed under the heels of their boots and were also thrown into the pits. According to Peretz Goldshtein, some 400 Jews were murdered on that day.[11] One platoon (37 men) of the 1st Company of German Order Police Battalion 33 also participated in the Aktion.[12]

After the Aktion, the survivors gradually emerged from their hiding places to find that many of their relatives had been killed and their houses plundered by local peasants. People gathered to recite Kaddish for the dead. Some Austrians based in Hoszcza, who had not participated in the slaughter, took pity on the Jews and shared their cigarettes.[13]

In the weeks that followed, news spread of the liquidation of the Równe ghetto on July 13, 1942, and survivors from other massacres in Kostopol and Tuczyn spread news of the destruction there. Surprisingly the "Jewish quarter" in Hoszcza does not seem to have been enclosed or closely guarded, although it was reduced in size, producing more overcrowding. Suspecting their fate, the remaining Jews attempted to hide their valuables with local peasants and prepare hiding places in case of need. Some farmers took money from Jews but then turned them out or betrayed them. The Judenrat continued its policy of fulfilling German demands for money or workers, although it no longer expected any good would come of it.

A third Aktion, killing the remaining Jews in the town, took place in late September 1942, when the Security Police and SD squad from Równe, assisted by the Gendarmerie and local police, shot 350 Jews. Of these about 40 were killed inside the town, where they had hidden. The bodies were buried

in the Simanoff birch forest.[14] According to a peasant named Ochrim, who worked as a fireman for the Germans, about 140 surviving Jews later returned or were brought back to Hoszcza, and 123 of these were shot in a further Aktion on November 14, 1942. He reported that 17 Jews managed to escape.[15] Another source indicates that about 20 skilled craftsmen were kept alive by the Germans in a labor camp thereafter and were killed by the local Ukrainian police on July 17, 1943.[16] According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,270 civilians were killed in the Hoszcza raion under German occupation from 1941 to 1943.[17]

The few Jews who survived did so mainly with the assistance of local peasants who hid them, sometimes in return for some form of payment. At least five peasants are known who together helped to save 18 Jews from the Hoszcza area.[18] For example, Pessah Kranzberg, with his wife, daughter, and the daughter's young friend, were helped by Fiodor Kalenczuk, who hid them for 17 months in his stable, despite the risks and the fears of his wife.[19]

SOURCES The following published sources have been used in the preparation of this entry: Peretz Goldshtein, *Let the World Know* (*Zol di velt visn)* (New York: Society of Hosht, 1965), which is an English translation of the main Holocaust narrative to be found in Re'uven Fink and Avraham Yaron, eds., *Seyfer Hosht: Yizkor bukh* (Tel Aviv: Hoshter Society of New York and Irgun yotse Hosht, Tel-Aviv, 1957); and Rochelle "Rachel" Smola Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened: A True Story of Humanity and Inhumanity*, ed. Lou Weis (Irvine, CA: R. Gelman, 1995).

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Hoszcza can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1453); DARO; GARF (7021-71-121); TsDAVO; and YVA.

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, "Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno," announcement dated September 17, 1941.
3. Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, p. 15. It should be noted that the author did not arrive in Hoszcza until September 1941.
4. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 15.
6. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
7. Ibid., pp. 9–11, discusses the Jewish Council in some detail, giving the names of all its members.
8. Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, p. 18.
9. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, pp. 19–20.
10. Ibid., pp. 9–10, has a copy of the author's own identity card, including his photograph, noting his profession of baker and also that he worked for the Rayonverwaltung (local administration) in Hoszcza.
11. Ibid., pp. 26–30.
12. See the report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942 (TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29).
13. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, pp. 26–30; Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, pp. 23–24.
14. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, p. 68; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1986), p. 403, gives the number of 500 victims.
15. Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*, p. 68.
16. Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldman Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Chronology for Hoszcza (available as an appendix to the USHMM copy of Goldshtein, *Let the World Know*).
17. GARF, 7021-71-121, p. 4.
18. Gelman, *It Could Not Have Happened*, p. 26.
19. According to Gilbert, *The Holocaust*, p. 862, Kalenczuk was honored by Yad Vashem as one of the Righteous Among the Nations. The relevant files can be found at YVA, in collection M-31.

IALTUSHKOV

Pre-1941: Ialtushkov, village, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jaltuschkow, Rayon and Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Yaltushkiv, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ialtushkov is located 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) southwest of Bar. In 1926 the Jewish population was 1,392; by 1939, the number of Jews had declined to 1,212. At that time the village of Ialtushkov was part of the Bar raion.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied the village in mid-July 1941. Very few Jews were able to evacuate during these initial weeks following the German attack on the Soviet Union. In late July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area and established an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Ialtushkov was included in the Rayon and Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Franz Schwarz, and his deputy was Hans Eberle.[1] The head of the Rayon administration (Rayonchef) in Bar was a former middle school teacher, Vladimir Kol'vepryk.[2]

Initially the Jews had to wear an armband with the Star of David on it; later they were obliged to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothes. The German authorities demanded from the Jewish population "contributions" of money, and the Jews were also required to surrender their valuables, clothing, furs, and especially any jewelry, gold, and silver items. On December 15, 1941, the head of the Rayon administration, Kol'vepryk, decreed the creation of ghettos in Bar and Ialtushkov starting on December 20, 1941. Some non-Jews were displaced in order to create the ghettos, and the German authorities were concerned with preventing Jews from destroying furniture they had to leave behind and also local Ukrainians from stealing it.[3] When Jews were resettled into the

ghetto, they were not allowed to take property with them, although some left items for safekeeping with non-Jews outside the ghetto. In Ialtushkov, according to one account, "the ghetto was set up next to the market place and surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence. The people were starving."[4]

On August 19, 1942, forces of the German Security Police, the Gendarmerie, and local policemen conducted a first killing Aktion in the ghettos of Bar and Ialtushkov. In Ialtushkov, several hundred Jews deemed unfit for work were rounded up in the ghetto. During the afternoon, the German forces and their collaborators escorted Jewish children and the elderly on foot to a sandy site a few kilometers to the northwest of the village. The policemen encouraged the Jews to keep moving by beating them with their rifle butts. At the pits, to save bullets, the Germans lined people up four deep to be shot. Some were then buried alive. Before the shooting, the people were made to undress. Afterwards the clothing of the Jews was stored in a house in Ialtushkov, and some of it was sold to the local inhabitants.[5]

Those Jews kept alive temporarily were mobilized for work mainly on road construction. In October 1942, the German Security Police conducted a second wave of killings in Gebiet Bar. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 1,194 Jews were shot when the Ialtushkov ghetto was liquidated on October 15, 1942.[6]

SOURCES A witness testimony on the ghetto in Ialtushkov can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981).

Documents and witness testimonies concerning the destruction of the Jews of Ialtushkov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67); DAVINO (1358-1c-1; R2966-1-691; R6022-1-4); GARF (7021-54-1273); USHMM (RG-31.002M); and YVA (M-33).

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trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. See USHMM, RG-31.002M (TsDAVO), reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 29. This document notes that Schwarz was only temporarily appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar, but his name is also recorded in the ChGK reports; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 60, 63.
2. RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 3, 1358-1c-1, Order no. 21, signed by Kol'vepryk.
3. Ibid.
4. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 38.
5. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, statement of Richard Schulz, February 1948, gives the figure of 213 victims. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 38, date the shooting on August 20. The ChGK report gives the number of victims as 450; see GARF, 7021-54-1273, pp. 14, 64.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 64. This figure probably represents the total of all Jews murdered in Ialtushkov during the German occupation.

IARMOLINTSY

Pre-1941: Iarmolintsy, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jarmolinzy, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Iarmolyntsy, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Iarmolintsy is located 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) south-southwest of Proskurov. The Jewish population was 1,264 in 1939 (61 percent of the total population).[1] Another 1,312 Jews resided in the villages of the Iarmolintsy raion, primarily in Sharovka and Frampol'. In the 1930s, Iarmolintsy was the center of a Jewish national sel'sovet (with 1,733 residents in 1931).

After the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and a small number of Jews was able to evacuate to the east. More than 1,000 Jews remained in Iarmolintsy at the start of the occupation.

Iarmolintsy was occupied by units of the German 17th Army in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. It established a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Iarmolintsy became the center of Gebiet Jarmolinzy, which included the Rayons of Satanow, Gorodok, and Michalpol, as well as Rayon Jarmolinzy. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertes.[2] From the fall of 1941, there was a Gendarmerie post in Iarmolintsy, which was headed initially by Gendarmeriemeister Rudolf Buchholz and, from October 19, 1942, by Gendarmeriemeister Glossat. The head of the Gendarmerie post took over responsibility for the local Ukrainian police (renamed Schutzmannschaft). The head of the Ukrainian police in Iarmolintsy was a man named Kolbasiuk, and his deputy was Omanskii.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Iarmolintsy: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created; Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols; they were compelled to perform forced labor, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused; and they were forbidden to leave the town. Already on July 9, 1941, 16 Soviet activists, including several Jews, were shot in Iarmolintsy.[3]

Sources differ somewhat regarding the precise date of the establishment of the ghetto in Iarmolintsy. On the Germans' arrival, most of the Jews lived together in the center of the town, with only a few Ukrainians and Russians living among them. According to most sources, in the fall of 1941, following the receipt of an order from Generalkommissar Schöne, the remaining non-Jews were moved out of the Jewish section of town, which was also reduced in size to only about 15 percent of the town's area, forming a ghetto. According to Jewish survivor Semyon Zelfon, the ghetto was set up about three months into the German occupation. He states that many of the former Jewish houses were demolished to create

a park, and the ghetto itself was very overcrowded, with six to eight families sharing each small dwelling. Around this time, the ghetto was also surrounded with barbed wire and was guarded externally by the local Ukrainian police.[4]

In the ghetto the Jews suffered from hunger, as they only received a bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) per day. They were only permitted to visit the local market for one hour on Sundays. However, they managed to obtain some extra food by bartering their remaining possessions with the local population.[5]

Forced labor tasks for the Jews in the ghetto included earthworks on a large dam project, needed for the construction of an electrical power plant not far from Iarmolintsy.[6] At some time in 1942, probably in April, the head of the Judenrat in Iarmolintsy was obliged to select 10 Jews who were to be hanged by the Germans as a reprisal for the killing of a German official in the town. Witnesses state that he selected 10 elderly or infirm Jews. When the Jewish elder in Frampol' was presented with the same demand for 10 victims, he volunteered himself as the first to be killed.[7]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, in June 1942, Jewish residential districts, "open ghettos," were also created in the nearby villages of Sharovka and Frampol'.[8] In August 1942, 400 Jews from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were sent to the labor camp in Leznevo, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from Proskurov; the Jewish inmates of this camp were used for the construction and the repair of roads along the main transit road, Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV.[9]

In late October 1942, on the order of Gebietskommissar Mertes, most of the Jews of Gebiet Jarmolinzy, including the majority of those from the ghettos in Gorodok and Mikhalpol', and also those from Frampol' and Sharovka, were rounded up and transferred by vehicle or on foot to Iarmolintsy, escorted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[10] In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from the Gebiet were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for several days under unbearable conditions, without food or water.[11]

As a number had been killed during the course of the concentration of the Jews and several large pits were prepared within sight of the barracks, the Jews there offered resistance to their impending murder. A member of the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft, named by one witness as Kazik Ostrovskii, was sent into the barracks to bring out some of the Jews. Instead, he was overpowered and killed by them, severing his head. Some Jews also fired rifle shots at the German and Ukrainian police who guarded the barracks externally. A number of Jews also decided to commit suicide in the barracks rather than allow themselves to be killed by their tormentors.[12]

Fearing that the revolt might get out of control, the German officials in Iarmolintsy sent for reinforcements from other nearby police posts. On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were smoked out of the barracks when the Germans set it on fire.[13] Once the remaining Jews emerged from the barracks, they were forced to undress and then were shot in groups of about 50 people into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total, probably around 6,400 Jews were shot during this Aktion.[14]

Local witnesses indicate that some Jews hid in basements and other places in and around the Iarmolintsy ghetto during the transfer to the barracks. Over the ensuing weeks after the mass shooting, more Jews were uncovered and were shot in turn. Some Jews managed to survive with the help of local non-Jews. For example, in a nearby village a Jewish boy aged 15 was hidden by an elderly woman for the rest of the occupation. The remaining Jewish houses in the ghetto were dismantled after the Jews had been shot, and Jewish clothing was recycled for use by the local population.[15]

SOURCES Publications concerning the destruction of the Jewish population of Iarmolintsy include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 21.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Iarmolintsy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5071 to 5073); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-818); VHF (# 24841, 32340, 34283, 38519); YIU (nos. 594 and 595); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrain'i. Istoricheskii Putevoditel'*. Vypusk 1. *Podoliia* (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 226.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 202.

4. VHF, # 38519; BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 404, B 162/5071, p. 318. YIU, Témoin no. 595, however, states the ghetto was not enclosed until 1942. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 202, dates the ghetto's formation in June 1942.

5. VHF, # 38519; YIU, Témoin no. 594.

6. VHF, # 38519; YIU, Témoin no. 595; BA-L, B 162/5071, p. 319.

7. VHF, # 38519; YIU, Témoin no. 595; BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 459.

8. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 202.

9. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 4, report of SS-Hauptsturmführer Hilliges to KdS Rowno, August 18, 1942.

10. BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 434; VHF, # 32340 and 34283; GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. YIU, Témoin no. 594, mentions that the Jews from Sharovka and Frampol' were brought to Iarmolintsy but does not date this.

11. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.

12. YIU, Témoin no. 595; BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–651, B 162/5071, p. 91. According to Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 21, 16 local policemen and five Germans were killed in the uprising, but these figures are not mentioned in other sources.

13. VHF, # 24841; BA-L, B 162/5072, p. 494.

14. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, for the figure of 6,400; B 162/5072, p. 460, gives the figure of 8,000 Jews shot in the mass grave near the barracks, on the basis of ChGK materials.

15. YIU, Témoins nos. 594 and 595.

IARYSHEV (AKA YARYSHEV)

Pre-1941: Iaryshev, village, raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jaryschew, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Iaryshev, Mohyliv-Podil's'kyi raion, Vinniytsia oblast', Ukraine

Iaryshev is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south-southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 509 Jews lived in Iaryshev (17.7 percent of the total population). An additional 72 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Iaryshev raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 400 Jews remained in Iaryshev at the start of the occupation.

Romanian armed forces occupied Iaryshev on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The Ortskommandant appointed a village elder and established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Steffen was made the Gebietskommissar.[1] In 1942, Leutnant Willi Petrich became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, and the Iaryshev Gendarmerie post was subordinated to his authority. The Ukrainian auxiliary police unit served under the direction of the German Gendarmes based in Iaryshev.

On the very first day of the occupation, Romanian soldiers killed 25 Jews in the village.[2] In early August 1941, the German military administration for the region, based in Vinnitsa, noted that there were 800 houses in Iaryshev and that all the Jews had been (temporarily) driven out on the orders of a "Romanian commander." At this time no militia had yet been recruited in the village.[3] Many of the Jews would later return to Iaryshev.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented on the authority of the German occupying forces in Iaryshev. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing armbands bearing the image of the Star of David and, later, patches in the shape of a yellow circle. They were compelled to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the settlement unless they were part of a forced labor crew.

In late 1941 or at the start of 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in the village, which was surrounded by barbed wire.[4] The Jews from the village of Serebrinets, 8 kilometers (5 miles) away, were brought into Iaryshev in the fall of 1941. Initially they lived with other Jews in Iaryshev, and subsequently they were moved into the ghetto.[5] When the ghetto was set up, those Jews who lived in the center of town were required to move into the area around the marketplace. Inside the ghetto there was terrible overcrowding, with as many as 40 people sharing one room.[6]

Every morning the Germans selected a number of people from the ghetto to serve on work details. The Jews were beaten frequently by both the Germans and the local police. The German authorities took some Jews as hostages in order to extract a large ransom payment. There were also shootings and acts of rape committed by Germans against Jewish women over the age of 16. Due to inadequate clothing, the Jews in the ghetto suffered from cold in the winter. Food rations consisted mainly of soup and a small amount of bread, barely sufficient to keep people alive. A variety of diseases spread among the Jews in Iaryshev, including typhus, and a number of Jews died.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on August 21, 1942, and according to an official German report, 212 Jews were shot.[8] The Aktion was organized by a squad from the outpost of the Security Police based in Kamenets-Podolskii, which was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. On the day of the Aktion, the Jews were assembled and instructed to bring with them their valuable possessions. Then they were escorted into the woods, where a large pit had been prepared. Here they were forced to undress and were shot in the pit.[9]

On the night before the Aktion, it appears that the able-bodied Jews were selected out and transported to a forced labor camp. Jewish artisans were also selected at that time and allowed to remain alive for a short period longer.

Only a few Jews were able to escape from the ghetto and survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in 1944.

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Iaryshev can be found in the following archives: DAVINO (P1683-1-13); GARF (7021-54-1263); VHF (e.g., # 47924, 41939); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 27–28. According to another source, 40 Jews were shot in Iaryshev on July 19, 1941, and

another 175 Jews were killed two weeks later; see GARF, 7021-54-1271, p. 9.

3. See the report of Oberfeldkommandantur Winniza (Abt. VII) an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941, in RGVA, 1275-3-662.

4. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 27–28.

5. VHF, # 41939, testimony taken in 1998 of Roza Veksler (née Abramson), born 1927.

6. Ibid., # 47924, testimony taken in 1998 of Leia Bandus, born 1929.

7. Ibid.; also # 41939.

8. Report of Leutnant Willi Petrich, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, August 27, 1942, on Aktions against the Jewish population. See IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. According to the materials of the ChGK, located in GARF (7021-54-1263, p. 53), on that day there were 595 Jews killed in the village.

9. VHF, # 41939.

IZIASLAV

Pre-1941: Iziaslav, town and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Saslaw, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Iziaslav, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Iziaslav is situated 68 kilometers (42 miles) southeast of Równe. In 1897, there were 5,998 Jews living in the town (47.6 percent of the total population). Before 1910 the town was known as Zaslav. According to the 1939 census, there were 3,208 Jews in Iziaslav (27.7 percent of the population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Iziaslav at the beginning of July 1941. During the two weeks from the start of the German invasion until the occupation of the town, a small number of Jews evacuated eastward, and some of the men were called up to or volunteered for service in the Red Army, so that at the start of the occupation about 3,000 Jews remained in the town.

In July and August of 1941, the town was under the authority of a German local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which also established a local administration and police force from among the residents. Among those appointed was a man named Digas, who served as "commandant" (probably chief of police), and also Bogutski, who became the town's mayor (Bürgermeister). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Iziaslav became the administrative center of Gebiet Saslaw, which included the Rayons of Plushnoje, Lachowzy, and Teofipol, as well as Saslaw. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer.[1] In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was created in Iziaslav; it controlled the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the following anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the town: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols, namely, the Star of David; they were assigned to forced labor; they were forbidden to leave the boundaries of the town; and they were subjected to systematic looting and beating by the Ukrainian police. Jews suffered from food shortages from early in the occupation and had to line up for bread; however, the local authorities on occasion removed certain Jews from the bread lines.[2]

The first anti-Jewish Aktion in the town occurred on August 24, 1941. On this day, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Martin Besser, with the help of the Ukrainian police, rounded up all the Jews, telling them to take with them their valuables for resettlement to another place, according to one survivor, to Palestine. At about 4:00 P.M. the remaining women and children were released, but approximately 1,000 Jews, mainly men, were taken away in vehicles to be shot.[3] The mass shooting was conducted on the edge of the Obluga Forest, approximately 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) south of the city. For the mass grave, the Germans used defensive fortifications, which had been prepared by the Soviet authorities in order to conceal tanks. According to a witness, the Jews were made to lie facedown in the bottom of the ditches and were shot in the back.[4]

Shortly after this mass shooting, in late August or early September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Iziaslav for the Jewish specialists selected before the Aktion and for other Jews who had managed to survive. In addition, Jews were brought into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, including Belogorodka (about 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] to the southwest).[5] It is estimated that up to 2,500 people were enclosed in the ghetto.[6]

The ghetto was located in the Old Town section of Iziaslav, which previously had been occupied by a mixed population of Jews, Ukrainians, and Russians. It included a large two-story synagogue building and about 15 to 20 houses. It was surrounded by a fence made of wooden planks and topped with barbed wire. The ghetto was also guarded by the German and Ukrainian police. Some Jews sneaked out through holes in the fence, taking off their yellow badges, to forage for food.[7]

It appears that the new arrivals were accommodated in the synagogue, which held around 500 to 1,000 Jews altogether. However, another account reports that the synagogue was used as a hospital. Some of the Jews who caught typhus were removed from the hospital periodically and shot.[8]

According to Semen Shider, there was another roundup about a month after the establishment of the ghetto, in which most of the remaining men (about 200 people) were taken away on a transport. He believes these men were also shot. After this, only a few male specialist workers remained in the ghetto.[9]

Survivors name the Jewish elder or head of the Jewish Police as Abrasha Galevich (or Kalenich). The Jewish Police were noted for some corruption in their collection of valuables from the Jews for the Germans, and they did not enjoy a good reputation. Some Jews left the ghetto under escort by the Ukrainian police for forced labor in agriculture or repairing roads and bridges. These columns sometimes received food from other local inhabitants who took pity on them and the Jews attempted to smuggle this food into the ghetto.[10]

Little information is known about resistance in the ghetto, other than individual or family efforts at hiding or escape. One survivor, however, mentions an incident in which 12 young Jewish boys from the village of Liakhovtsi overpowered their guards and managed to escape. Subsequently it appears they were all recaptured.[11]

The Germans organized another large-scale Aktion against the ghetto on June 27, 1942. After rounding up the Jews, the specialist workers and their families were sent to one side. The remaining Jews were transported on trucks to a site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) southwest of the town, where a squad of the Security Police and SD, with the help of the German and Ukrainian police, shot more than 2,000 people. Apart from the specialists and their families, a few other Jews survived by hiding in attics or behind false walls or escaping into the countryside.

After the Aktion, the remaining 140 or so specialist workers and their families were returned to a smaller ghetto area. Among the tasks they were now assigned were the sorting and repairing of the clothing that had been gathered at the killing site.[12]

Following a final roundup in January 1943, when most of the remaining Jews were shot, the ghetto in Iziaslav ceased to exist. A few Jews managed to escape and survived with the help of local inhabitants who agreed to conceal them for a shorter or longer period of time. Some of the survivors also joined with the Soviet partisans, who had become more numerous in the region by the summer of 1943.

In total, between 1941 and January 1943, around 3,500 Jews (including Jews from the neighboring villages) were murdered in Iziaslav.[13]

The German case against Martin Besser, the former commander of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, tried by the court in Regensburg in 1971, resulted in no punishment owing to his advanced age and ill health (in 1971, Besser was 79 years old).

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Iziaslav can be found in D. Hoshkis, ed., *Nezahoena rana* (Slavuta-Hetishyn-Iziaslav, 1996), pp. 115–124; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:503–504.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Iziaslav Jews can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF; VHAP; VHF (# 27799, 32021, 33649, 50048); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 33649, testimony of Sofia Finkel; # 27799, testimony of Semen Shider.
3. Telegram of Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, no. 160, of August 25, 1941 (VHAP, Record Group—Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS). On this day the battalion also conducted shootings of Jews in Baranovka and Dubrovka (Zhitomir oblast'), in total killing 1,342 people in three separate Aktions (the majority, however, were murdered in Iziaslav).
4. VHF, # 33649; # 27799.
5. Ibid., # 50048, testimony of Lida Garnaga from Belogorodka, who dates the ghetto's establishment in August 1941; # 27799, Semen Shider of Iziaslav, however, dates it in early September 1941; # 33649, Sofia Finkel, states that the ghetto was set up for those remaining after the first Aktion.
6. Ibid., # 27799, gives the figure of between 2,000 and 3,000, which appears correct, given that about 3,000 Jews remained in the town, some 1,000 were killed in late August 1941, and a few hundred were brought in subsequently from neighboring villages.
7. Ibid., # 50048; # 27799; # 32021; # 33649.
8. Ibid., # 50048; # 33649.
9. Ibid., # 27799.
10. Ibid., # 27799; # 32021.
11. Ibid., # 27799.
12. Ibid., # 50048.
13. According to the ChGK report for Iziaslav, during the period of the occupation more than 5,000 civilians were killed, as well as 6,000 prisoners of war (see *Podillia Velykii Vitchyznianii viini 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnik dokumentiv i materialiv* [L'viv, 1969], p. 113). Most of the civilian casualties were probably Jews.

JANÓW POLESKI

Pre-1939: Janów Poleski, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ivanovo, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ivanava, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Janów is located about 133 kilometers (83 miles) east of Brześć and 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) west of Pińsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of Janów was around 3,000, about half of the total. From September 1939 until July 1941, Janów came under Soviet rule. Private property was nationalized, and workers had to join cooperatives. The Jewish population was swelled by refugees from central and western Poland, but a few Jews were among those deported to the interior of the Soviet Union.

The 45th Infantry Division of the German army occupied Janów on July 7, 1941. During the first two months of the occupation, Janów remained under a military administration (Ortskommandantur). The Ortskommandant ordered the Jews to wear markings and perform forced labor. He also appointed Alter Dubinsky, the former chairman of the Jewish community, as head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). Since the members of the Judenrat were held personally responsible for the fulfillment of German orders, Dubinsky accepted this dubious honor only reluctantly.[1]

In September 1941, a German civil administration assumed control of the Polesia region. Janów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In Janów, the 2nd SS-Cavalry Squadron carried out an anti-Jewish Aktion in early August 1941.[2] They shot about 400 male Jews, age 14 and over, after pulling aside some with special skills, such as furriers.[3]

In the fall of 1941, a platoon of 26 German Gendarmes took over the policing of Gebiet Pinsk from the military and assumed control of the local police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft. The Schutzmannschaft consisted of about 100 men, the majority of whom were Ukrainians. Six Rayon police stations were supervised by the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Pińsk, including one in Janów.

In early April 1942 (around the holiday of Passover), the Germans ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Janów. The Jews were given only 18 hours to move into the ghetto and could only take 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) of belongings with them.[4] The ghetto consisted of about 68 houses on Sovetskaia Street between the market square and the mill. The ghetto was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence. Jewish carpenters quickly constructed bunk beds to deal with the overcrowding, as more than 50 people had to share each house, with only about 1.2 square meters (13 square feet) each.[5] Many Jews performed forced labor at the sawmill. Daily rations were meager: 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread per day for workers and only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) for nonworkers. Jews were strictly forbidden to trade with non-Jews or to possess meat, butter, milk, or eggs. Those who worked outside the ghetto still exploited any opportunity to gain extra food illegally, in spite of regular searches when they returned. Some Jews were shot when they were caught returning to the ghetto with any food or tobacco. Others cultivated small parcels of land in an effort to supplement their diet.

In spite of these efforts to obtain extra food, hunger was rampant and disease widespread. As in other ghettos, Jewish religious life continued. There were two rabbis and a committee for assisting the community. Inside the ghetto, there was a Jewish police force of 10 men, commanded by Szmuel Grajer from the village of Zamoszi.[6] In the summer of 1942, the Germans imposed a "contribution" on the Jews of 2.5 kilograms (5.5 pounds) of gold and 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of silver. This demand could be met only by surrendering wedding rings and pocket watches. Some Jews capable of work were sent to perform forced labor near Zhitomir. Fearing they would not return, wealthier Jews bribed the Judenrat to have their names removed from the list. Only one person, who escaped from the camp after five weeks, was ever heard from again.[7]

The murder of the Jews in Gebiet Pinsk was organized by the local outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle Pinsk), which was established in May 1942 and was under the command of SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp. The Aussendienststelle was staffed by members of the Gestapo, SD, and Kripo and was reinforced by Rasp's Kommando Metz.[8] There were 50 men serving at the outpost, including 15 Security Police officials, about 15 translators, and 20 or 30 officials of the Order Police. By August 1942, a small branch office of the SD had also been established in Janów.

The liquidation of the Janów ghetto began on September 22, 1942.[9] In the evening, Gendarmerie and local policemen surrounded the ghetto. Those capable of work (about 500 people) were kept under guard at the sawmill, and on the morning of September 23, forces of the Security Police and SD arrived from Pińsk at about 8:30 A.M. Discussions on procedure then took place between Rasp and Gebietskommissar Klein.[10]

The remaining Jews in the ghetto were assembled at the marketplace and then escorted to previously excavated pits about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where they had to undress before being shot. As the Jews approached the pits, Chana Gorodecka attacked one of the policemen, and some Jews managed to escape in the confusion.[11] The mass shooting began only after about 500 Jews had been assembled, which meant that those who arrived first had to sit naked for about an hour before the shooting began. All were shot while lying in the pit with a shot from behind to the nape of the neck (*Genickschuss*) from a automatic pistol. As the pit filled up, those who were to be shot next had to walk over the bodies of those already killed in order to lie down for their turn. When it was no longer possible for the executioners to stand in the pit because of the number of dead, they stood on the edge of the pit and shot down into it.

As many Jews had gone into hiding, the Germans and local police started to comb the ghetto. One of the Germans involved, Heinrich Oeldmann, recalled after the war that the Janów ghetto suddenly burst into flames.[12] The Jews resisted with weapons and homemade explosives. People caught on fire and turned into burning torches. Between 400 and 500 Jews lost their lives during the uprising, but about 120 managed to escape from Janów to the nearby forests.[13] According to the report of the German military economic office in Łuck for early October, "[I]n Janów . . . the entire ghetto was burned down with all its inhabitants."[14] The next morning, the mayor ordered the local population to collect the charred corpses from the streets.

On September 25, another selection was made at the sawmill, as a result of which all but 60 of the Jews held there were shot. There are conflicting estimates as to the total number of Jews murdered during the Aktion: the Germans probably murdered around 2,800 Jews altogether, including those shot or burned to death in the ghetto.[15] A few Jews who came out of hiding were permitted to join the Jews at the sawmill, but the remaining Jews were murdered a few weeks later, apart from a group who fled to the forests in time.

Of those Janów Jews who escaped to the forests, at least 50 were subsequently slain by the Nazis and their collaborators as they searched for surviving Jews. A number of Jews from Janów served in Soviet partisan formations, including the "Szelezniak" detachment. At least 7 of these people died in combat with the Germans, including Dr. Wlodawsky and a young girl named Cirinovsky.[16] Around 100 Jewish escapees from the Janów ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in July 1944.

SOURCES Information on the Janów ghetto can be found in the following publications: Mordekhai Nadav and Nachman

Blumental, eds., *Yanov al-yad Pinsk: Sefer zikaron* (Jerusalem: Irgun yots'e Yanov al yad Pinsk be-Yisrael, 1969); and Yehuda Adelman, *Heroes without Medals* (New York: Vantage, 1983).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/156); BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59); BA-MA; GARF (7021-90-27); NARA (T-77, reel 628); NARB (845-1-13, p. 23; 861-1-11, pp. 45–47); Sta. Braunschweig (2 Ks 11/63); USHMM (RG-53.002M); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1944).

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NOTES

1. Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 253.
2. Most sources date the Aktion between August 2 and August 5, 1941.
3. Sta. Braunschweig, 2 Ks 11/63, file 1266, statement of Alfred Weidlich, July 16, 1962; AŻIH, 301/156, Samuel Reznik.
4. Isr Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," in Nadav and Blumental, *Yanov al-yad Pinsk*, p. 335; AŻIH, 301/156, Samuel Reznik, dates the establishment of the ghetto in May 1942.
5. Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," pp. 335–336; V.I. Adamushko et al., eds. *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 89; AŻIH, 301/156.
6. AŻIH, 301/156.
7. Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," p. 336.
8. BA-BL, R 94/9.
9. Aplbeym, "Fun iene teg," p. 338; AŻIH, 301/156. NARB, 861-1-11, p. 46, the ChGK report for the Ivanono raion dates the Aktion on September 26–27, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZstL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 3509, statement by Patik, April 5, 1963.
11. YVA, M-1/E/1944, testimony of Rosa Ichanowicz.
12. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 12159, statement of Oeldmann, August 4, 1966.
13. Ibid., p. 1404, statement of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.
14. NARA, T-77, reel 628, report of Wehrwirtschaftskommando Luzk, first 10 days of October 1942.
15. AŻIH, 301/156; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, p. 12159, statement by Oeldmann.
16. Adelman, *Heroes*, p. 39.

JEZIERZANY

Pre-1939: Jezierzany, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ozeriany, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jezeshany, Rayon Turisk, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ozeriany, Turiis'k raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Jezierzany is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) south-southeast of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, 340 Jews were living in Jezierzany. By the middle of 1941, there were probably around 400 Jews in the village.

The village was occupied on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran its affairs. From September 1941 onward, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Jezierzany was incorporated into Gebiet Kowel, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kaempf became the Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942, and Leutnant Philipp Rapp was appointed as Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In June 1942, Kaempf was arrested for embezzlement of Jewish property and executed shortly thereafter. His successor as Gebietskommissar was Stabsleiter Erich Kassner.

The Germans also appointed a village elder in Jezierzany and assembled an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit, which served under the German Gendarmerie precinct in Turzysk.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Jezierzany. Jews were required to wear distinctive markers in plain view, at first in the image of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They were subjected to various kinds of forced labor. They were not allowed to leave the limits of the village, and they suffered from systematic robbery and assaults by the Ukrainian police. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also established in the village, through which the German occupying organs passed their orders and regulations to the rest of the Jewish population.

In the spring of 1942, an open ghetto was established in the village. All the Jews of Jezierzany were resettled into the ghetto. Jews were also brought in from the surrounding villages, such as Kupiczów (which had a Jewish population of 236 in 1921). In August 1942,[2] an SD detachment arrived from Kowel and liquidated the ghetto, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian auxiliary police. In total, 762 Jews were reportedly killed near the cemetery in the village of Sushibaba.[3] As far as is known, 6 Jews from Jezierzany and 10 from Kupiczów survived until the area was liberated by the Red Army in 1944.[4]

SOURCES Published information on the fate of the Jewish community of Jezierzany during the Holocaust can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 101–102; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), pp. 37–38.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jezierzany Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-1).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 37.
3. GARF, 7021-55-1, pp. 70 and reverse side.
4. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 38.

KALIUS

Pre-1941: Kalius, village, Novaia Ushitsa raion, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kaljus, Rayon Nowaja-Uschiza, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kalius, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kalius is located on the Dniester River about 50 kilometers (30 miles) to the east of Kamenets-Podolskii. From the second half of the 1920s, Kalius was the administrative center of a Jewish national sel'sovet. In 1931, 1,204 Jews lived in the village.[1] The Jewish population subsequently decreased by a few hundred persons as a result of the Holodomor famine in 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Around 500 Jews resided in the village on the eve of the war. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. At that time, men eligible for military service were either conscripted or voluntarily enlisted in the Red Army. Only about 400 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Kalius on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. It appointed a village elder and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from the local non-Jewish inhabitants.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Bar in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Steffen was named as Gebietskommissar.[2] The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar was initially Leutnant Richard Schulz. From May 1942 he became the deputy of the SS- und Polizeigebietsführer and Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar under Hauptmann der Gendarmerie Willi Petrich.[3]

During 1942, members of the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Bar, which included the village of Kalius. At this time SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer was in charge of the outpost. The German Gendarmerie and the auxiliary Ukrainian police also played an active role in all the Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German military administration implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kalius. Jews were required to wear distinctive markings in plain view, at first an armband bearing the Star of David and later a patch in the shape of a yellow circle. All Jews who were capable of work had to perform various forms of compulsory labor, such as chopping wood, building a bridge across the Kalius River, and building roads. The work was supervised by German overseers and the Ukrainian police, who were very cruel and who robbed and beat the Jews frequently. Jews were not allowed to leave the limits of the village.

In December 1941 or early 1942, all the Jews of the village were moved into a ghetto, and thereby a number of Jews were forced out of their homes.[4] At the start of July 1942, about 100 young, able-bodied Jews were sent to a forced labor camp in Letichev. A few dozen more Jews were sent to the camp during the following six weeks. Those who remained behind in the ghetto were murdered on August 20, 1942.[5] Altogether there were about 240 victims of this Aktion.[6] The mass shooting was organized by the Security Police detachment in Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

When Moyshe Rekhtman returned to Kalius in April 1944, after the Red Army had driven out the Germans, he found only the mass grave where the local Jews had been murdered, as all the Jewish homes had been destroyed and converted into gardens. The village had virtually ceased to exist.[7]

SOURCES The testimony of Moyshe Rekhtman, a Jewish survivor from Kalius, can be found in David A. Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe* (San Jose: Writer's showcase presented by Writer's digest, 2000), 2: 701–703. He has also published a memoir in English together with Phil Shpilberg, *Here My Home Once Stood: A Holocaust Memoir* (USA: Fourth Generation Publishing, 2008).

Documents and testimonies relevant to the extermination of the Jews of Kalius can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-803); IPN; and YVA (file M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, *Poteri evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kharkov: Tabrut Laam, 2005), p. 204.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 447/67, vol. 1, pp. 67–85, 159–166.
4. Testimony of M. Rekhtman, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, 2:701–703. Other ghettos in Gebiet Bar were created in December 1941; see DAVINO, 1358-1c-1.
5. Testimony of M. Rekhtman.
6. Report of Leutnant Petrich, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, August 27, 1942, regarding "Jewish Aktions," IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. See also GARF, 7021-64-803. According to the ChGK report, 540 Jews were murdered in the village in 1942, but the total number of Jewish deaths during the German occupation was 666. In view of the German report, this figure seems too high. Rekhtman, however, gives an even higher number of 850 Jewish victims buried in Kalius.
7. Testimony of M. Rekhtman.

KAMENETS-PODOLSKII

Pre-1941: Kamenets-Podolskii, city, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamenez-Podolsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kamianets-Podils'kyi, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Kamenets-Podolskii is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Proskurov. According to the 1939 population census, 13,796 Jews were living in the city (just over 38 percent of the total population). In the villages of the Kamenets-Podolskii raion, there were 1,255 additional Jews. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, but more than 12,000 Jews remained in Kamenets-Podolskii at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the Hungarian VIII Army Corps occupied the city on July 10, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. Initially it was Feldkommandantur 183, under the command of Unterleutnant Josef Meiler. The military administration established a local authority in the city, which was run by a man named Kibets. In addition, an auxiliary police force was established, recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants.

In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kamenets-Podolskii became the administrative center of Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk. Along with Rayon Kamenez-Podolsk, the other Rayon towns in the Gebiet included Chemerovtsy, Staraja Uschiza, Orinin, and Smotritsch. From September 1941 until August 1942, the Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Reindl. He was succeeded by Regierungsrat Rosenhauer. From November 1941 to June 1943, Leutnant Albert Reich served as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. A number of regional Gendarmerie posts, including one in Kamenets-Podolskii, were established, which were subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. From the end of April 1942 to July 1943, Gendarmeriemeister Fritz Jacob was the head of the Gendarmerie post in the city.[1] The German Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the local Ukrainian police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.



Jews are marched through the streets of Kamenets-Podolskii to a mass murder site outside the city, August 27, 1941. Gyula Spitz, a member of the Hungarian (Jewish) labor service, clandestinely took this photograph.
USHMM WS #28216, COURTESY OF IVAN SVED

Sonderkommando 10b (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D) was stationed in the city from the end of July to the middle of August 1941. Its commander was SS-Obersturmführer Siegfried Schuchart. Among its assigned tasks was that of preventing the mass deportation of Jews from the territory occupied by the Romanian forces into German-occupied territory.[2]

In May 1942, a Security Police (Sipo) outpost (Aussendienststelle) was established in Kamenets-Podolskii, which served under the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS), Dr. Pütz, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien based in Równe. SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer was in charge of the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Kamenets-Podolskii until February 1943. In July 1942, a Ukrainian Criminal Police unit became part of the outpost; it was headed by a man named Gladun. The Sipo-Aussendienststelle took a leading role in the mass shootings of Jews in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk in the summer and fall of 1942, as well as in neighboring Gebiete, such as Dunajewzy and Bar.

In July and August 1941, the occupying forces introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the city. A former member of the Ukrainian police recalls a massive anti-Jewish propaganda campaign launched by the Germans that portrayed the Jews as war profiteers.[3] The occupational authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was responsible for collecting food, furniture, valuables, bed linens, and other items demanded by the Germans. Sometimes the Judenrat also had to supply clothing and shoes for non-Jewish prostitutes who served the Germans.

Jews had to wear distinctive markings: initially white armbands with a Star of David and subsequently yellow stars sewn onto the front and back of their clothes. Those caught without the badge had to pay a fine. Fines were generally levied for the smallest offense, for example, for greeting a German in an inappropriate manner. More often than not, a fine was accompanied by a severe beating.

In late July 1941, Jews from Hungary started to arrive in Kamenets-Podolskii.[4] These Jews had been deported from Hungary following a decree issued by the Council of Ministers on the removal of all persons of dubious citizenship. The Jewish deportees were only permitted to take with them currency worth 30 pengös, food for three days, and a few personal items. They were deported to the border in freight cars, where they were transferred across the border at the rate of about 1,000 per day. Over the ensuing two weeks, more than 10,000 Hungarian deportees arrived in the area around Kamenets-Podolskii.[5]

Temporarily settled in Kamenets-Podolskii and other places nearby, the sheer number of Hungarian deportees frustrated the German authorities. They repeatedly insisted that the Jews be sent back and the deportations be halted, as they posed a threat to German lines of communication. On August 9, 1941, the military commandant's office posted announcements all across the city ordering all the Jews of Kamenets-

Podolskii to move into a ghetto, which was set up in the center of the city, in the Old Town, within 24 hours. They could take with them only 20 kilograms (44 pounds) of luggage. The non-Jews were forcibly evicted, and the area was fenced off. Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto externally, and a Jewish police force wearing white armbands maintained order inside the ghetto.[6]

All the Jews were registered, both by the Jewish community and by the local Ukrainian administration. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without permission on pain of death, and the same penalty was also decreed for non-Jews who dared to visit the Jewish quarters to trade with the Jews. The Jews were not allowed to buy food at either the marketplace or regular stores, so hunger became widespread, as was black marketeering. Every day the German army conscripted Jews, especially women, for all sorts of work outside the ghetto, and they received food as payment for this work. Witnesses recall a series of pogroms during which ghetto inmates were beaten, tortured, humiliated, hanged, or shot. For instance, a prominent Jewish physician, Dr. Goldentrester, was hanged from the balcony of his house. For days, the Germans forbade the Jews to remove his body for burial.

At the end of August 1941, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, organized the mass shooting of around 23,600 Jews in Kamenets-Podolskii. He was eager to complete this Aktion before the region was to be transferred to a German civil administration on September 1.[7] On August 25, 1941, most of the Hungarian Jews in the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto were instructed to prepare for their transport back to Hungary. At the same time, the local (Soviet) Jews were ordered to pay a "contribution" of 200,000 rubles "to buy their own lives." The Hungarian Jews were ordered to assemble the next morning at the Central Square. From there they were taken to the Cossack barracks near the train station. On August 26 and 27, the German police forces shot these Jews in the vicinity of the Cossack barracks, probably along with other Jews from the ghetto. On August 28, about 7,000 local Jews from Kamenets-Podolskii were assembled in the ghetto. They were escorted on foot to pits prepared on the outskirts of the city and then shot.[8] Jeckeln's military staff command (Stabskompanie) HSSPF Russland Süd played an active part in these mass shootings, as did men of Police Battalion 320, commanded by Polizeimajor Dall, the local Ukrainian police, and according to some accounts, men of the Hungarian army.

After the mass executions at the end of August 1941, only a fraction of the city's Jewish population remained alive, mostly craftsmen and their families who had been selected out, although they were soon joined by several hundred more Jews, who emerged from hiding places in attics and basements. Information regarding the location of the ghetto (or ghettos) in Kamenets-Podolskii from September 1941 is somewhat contradictory, but it appears that the original ghetto in the Old Town was more or less dissolved. Jewish survivors mention ghettos located in a former military barracks of a drill battalion on the outskirts of the city and also in the former Silicate Institute (later an Institute for Technology), but they disagree on which came first and the date of the transfers.[9] It is possible that both locations were used for parts of the ghetto population, either simultaneously or successively. According to another Jewish survivor, who describes being put into the annex of a large red building, which was next to the "Institute for Food Technology," conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with only one bed assigned to each family. Some non-Jews managed to smuggle food into the ghetto to friends and relatives (from mixed marriages), indicating that security was not too strict. Jews who still had money were able to purchase a little food. However, malnutrition and disease, combined with hard physical labor and brutality, meant that every day several bodies were removed on a horse and cart to be buried.[10]

The ghetto was exploited as a pool of labor for various tasks, including rebuilding bridges and repairing highways. The Germans also set up workshops inside the ghetto for artisans, such as shoemakers, tailors, and clock makers. All the profits from these workshops went into the budget of the Gebietskommissar. During the summer and early fall of 1942, hundreds of additional Jews were resettled into the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto from towns and villages in the surrounding area. From Chemerovtsy and Smotrich, all the Jews were marched to Kamenets-Podolskii, and after the skilled workers and their families had been selected out, the remaining 813 Jews were shot on August 11.[11] From other towns, such as Staraia Ushitsa, only the craftsmen and their families were transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii, while the remaining Jews were shot close to their homes.[12] According to one survivor who spent a couple of months in the ghetto, after being brought in from Chemerovtsy, in the ghetto people had only grains and rotting horseflesh to eat and gradually were reduced to skeletons.[13]

Some Jewish craftsmen worked for the SD. When the commander of the KdS in Równe, Dr. Pütz, learned of this, in August 1942, he ordered them to be shot along with their families.[14]

According to a former Ukrainian policeman, at the end of October 1942, there were up to 4,800 Jews in the ghetto.[15] On October 30, 1942, German security forces conducted another large Aktion against the Jews.[16] On that day, a squad of the Sipo-Aussendienststelle, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, reportedly shot more than 4,000 Jews. The mass graves were dug and filled in by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Around 500 Jews managed to escape or go into hiding on the night before the Aktion.[17] The majority of these Jews, however, were caught and shot over the ensuing weeks and months. According to postwar investigative sources, the last skilled workers from the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto, including about 65 workers at the jam factory, were shot in the spring of 1943.[18]

SOURCES Relevant publications on the Holocaust in Kamenets-Podolskii include the following: Avraham Rozen, H. 'Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminits-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilot Yi'sra'el ba-'arim Kaminits-Podolsk*, *Balin*, *Dunivits*,

Zamihov, *Zvanits*, *Minkovits*, *Smotrits'*, *Frampol*, *Kupin*, *Kiteygorod she-hushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bi-shenat 701* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965), also available in English as *Kaminits-Podolsk and Its Environs: A Memorial Book of the Jewish Communities in the Cities of Kaminits-Podolsk*, *Balin*, *Dunivits*, *Zamekhov*, *Zhvanets*, *Minkovitz*, *Smotrich*, *Frampol*, *Kupin*, *and Kitaygorod Annihilated by the Nazis in 1941*, trans. Bonnie Schooler Sohn (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu Foundation, 1999); *Podillia u Velikii Vitchyznianiy viyni 1941–1945 gg.: Sbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969); R.L. Braham, "The Kamenets Podolsk and Delvidek Massacres. Prelude to the Holocaust in Hungary," *Yad Vashem Studies* 9 (1973): 133–156; K.-M. Mallmann, "Der qualitative Sprung im Vernichtungsprozess. Das Massaker von Kamenez-Podolsk Ende August 1941," *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 10 (2001): 239–264; A. Kruglov, "Evreiskaia aktsiia" v Kamenets-Podol'skom v kontse avgusta 1941 g. v svete nemetskikh dokumentov," in *Golokost i suchasnist': naukovyi chasopis*, no. 1 (Kiev: Ukrains'kyi tsentr vyvchennia Golokostu, 2005), pp. 43–48.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kamenets-Podolskii can be found in the following archives: BA-L (4 AR-Z 223/59); DAKhO (R863-2-42 and 44); GARF (7021-64-799); NARA (N-Docs.); USHMM; VHF; YIU (no. 661); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Ksenia Krimer
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, 4 AR-Z 223/59 (Abschlussbericht, April 7, 1960); GARF, 7021-64-799.
2. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 202.
3. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), ChGK report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
4. RGVA, 1275-3-667, report of Feldkommandantur 183, July 31, 1941.
5. N-Doc., PS-197, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 132.
6. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116; Rozen et al., *Kaminits-Podolsk and Its Environs*, p. 67.
7. N-Doc., NO-3154, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941, gives the figure of 23,600 victims, as does BA-BL, NS 33/22, Fernschreiben des HSSPF Russland Süd, August 30, 1941; N-Doc, PS-197.
8. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 117–118.
9. Testimonies of Moisei Schwarzmann and Bina Tenneblat in Boris Zabarko, ed., "*Nur wir haben überlebt*": *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 389–390, 403–405.
10. YIU, Témoin no. 661.
11. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 5, 6, report of the Sipo-Aussendienststelle Kamenets-Podolsk, August 13, 1942.
12. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116.
13. Testimony of Semjon Waisblei in Zabarko, "*Nur wir haben überlebt*," p. 428.
14. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 5, order of KdS Wolhynien und Podolien, August 18, 1942.
15. GARF, 7021-64-799, statement of Zaloga, former company commander of the Ukrainian police, May 25, 1944.
16. Testimony of Bina Tenneblat in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivimi ostalis' tol'ko my*: svidetel'stva i dokumenty (Kiev, 1999), p. 415.
17. GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 114–115, 226.
18. BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 640–641.

KAMIEŃ KOSZYRSKI

Pre-1939: Kamień Koszyrski, *town*, *województwo poleskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Kamen'-Kashirskii*, *raion center*, *Volyn' oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kamen Kaschirsk*, *Rayon and Gebiet center*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kamin'-Kashyrs'kyi*, *raion center*, *Volyn' oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Kamień Koszyrski is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) north-northeast of Kowel. Due to substantial losses in World War I and during the political instability thereafter, in 1921 the Jewish population was only 617. Just prior to the outbreak of World War II on September 1, 1939, it is estimated that slightly more than 2,000 Jews lived in the town.[1] Under Soviet occupation from September 1939 until June 1941, businesses were nationalized and craftsmen were forced to join state-sponsored cooperatives (*artels*).

German forces first entered Kamień Koszyrski on June 28, 1941, although a permanent German presence was not established for a couple of weeks. From mid-July until the end of August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. In September 1941, power was handed over to a German civil administration. Kamień Koszyrski became the administrative center of Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk. In addition to the Rayon Kamen Kaschirsk, the Rayons of Ljubeschow and Morotschnoje were also part of the Gebiet. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis served as Gebietskommissar, based in Kamień Koszyrski.[2] A local Ukrainian auxiliary police force was established in the town, subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post composed of a few German Gendarmes. The head of the Gendarmerie was a man named Berger, and the chief of the Ukrainian police was Jaschek Mazur.[3]

The Soviet authorities abandoned the town on June 26, 1941. Many farmers from the neighboring villages exploited this opportunity and looted Jewish-owned stores in Kamień Koszyrski. They sparked a pogrom in the town, during which the properties of many Jews were plundered, and 2 Jews were killed.[4] On August 1, 1941, a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in the town from Ratno. One day later they arrested and shot 8 male Jews. On August 22, 1941, a detachment of Security Police subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C

arrested all Jewish men aged between 16 and 60. The following day, they shot about 80 of the Jewish prisoners in a forest 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of the town. Among the victims was also the first head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), Shmuel Verble.[5]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures, including the wearing of distinctive armbands bearing the Star of David (later it was changed to a yellow patch on their clothes) and the imposition of physically demanding forced labor. Jews also were forbidden to leave their place of residence. Within Kamień Koszyrski, certain streets were cleared of their Jewish population at this time, the Jewish residents being forced to move in with other Jews, creating a form of "open ghetto" by the fall of 1941.[6] Jews also faced systematic plunder and beatings from the Ukrainian auxiliary police. The Jewish Council was obliged to transmit to the Jewish population all the German regulations and demands that were imposed on them and also was held personally responsible for their fulfillment.

Among the new regulations was the requirement for Jews to surrender all valuable items and pay "contributions," which were collected by the Jewish Council and given to the Gebietskommissar. Gold, furs, and shoes were among the items surrendered. It was also forbidden for Jews to possess a number of "luxury" goods: for example, in early 1942 one Jew was publicly hanged after some cooking oil was found in his possession.

On the orders of the Gebietskommissar, an enclosed ghetto was established in Kamień Koszyrski, probably in late March or early April 1942. The civil administration also ordered some Jews from nearby villages, including from Pniewno, to be transferred to Kamień Koszyrski.[7] The ghetto area consisted of one side of Dolnik Street, extending to cover half of the market square and half of Kowel Street. By June 1942, it was surrounded by a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) fence strung with barbed wire on top. The single entrance to the ghetto was guarded day and night by members of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.[8] Altogether, some 2,300 Jews resided in the ghetto area. Within the ghetto there was no security for the Jews. In the summer of 1942, the Gebietskommissar and other German officials occasionally entered the ghetto and shot Jews arbitrarily, on the street or in their homes.

On August 10, 1942, the German Security Police from Brześć, with the assistance of the local German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, carried out the first mass shooting Aktion against the Jews of the ghetto. The police forces encircled the ghetto, and the Jews were ordered to gather at the gate on the false pretext that the entire area had to be disinfected. A selection was then conducted by the Gebietskommissar, assisted by the Judenrat, on the basis of permits issued to specialist workers. The majority of the Jews were made to strip naked and murdered in the nearby Jewish cemetery, where German forces shot them into mass graves that had been prepared in advance. Some 50 Jewish families from the village of Wielka Hłusza were among the victims, and about 130 Gypsies also were killed during the Aktion.[9] Some Jews who hid within the ghetto were dragged out and shot by the local Ukrainian police over the ensuing days. In mid-August, the Security Police reported the "special treatment" of 3,399 Jews in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk (of whom at least 1,700 had been shot within the town itself).[10]

About 600 individuals selected as useful workers, such as carpenters, were left alive in Kamień Koszyrski. After three days they were moved back into the ghetto, which was reduced in size. On November 2, 1942, about 400 Jews escaped from the ghetto. The Jews who remained behind were shot at the Jewish cemetery shortly afterwards.[11] Most of the Jews who managed to escape soon died: some perished in the woods of starvation or disease, or even at the hands of various partisan groups, while others were turned in by local farmers, whom the Germans rewarded with salt or gasoline. The German police shot these unfortunates shortly after their capture. Only about 100 of those who fled found partisan units willing to accept them, enabling many of these people to survive.[12]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Kamień Koszyrski and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 153–157; A. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk and Its Surroundings," in Yehuda Merin and Ben Zion Kaminsky, eds., *Yalkut Volyn* (Givatayim: World Union of Wolynian Jews in Israel, 1998), pp. 55–60.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kamień Koszyrski can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/530); BA-L (B 162/6338); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); IPN; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/656, 1380, 2200, 2203, and 2283).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk," p. 34.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. Michaelis died in March 1961 in Salzgitter-Lebenstedt before he could be brought to trial.
3. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 35; Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 759.
4. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk."
5. Ibid.
6. BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 71, 340, 343.
7. Ibid., B 162/6338, pp. 21, 32; Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 756.
8. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 32; Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk."
9. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 27, 32, 35 (reverse side); BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 8, 34, 44; Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 758–759. The Jewish population of Wielka Hłusza was 224 in 1921.

10. IPN, Zbior Zespolow Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji—Sygnatura 77. The documents appear to be Polish transcripts of German originals, which may have been partially destroyed or even smuggled out by the Polish Underground. Efforts to trace the original documents have proved unsuccessful. This figure presumably also includes the Jews murdered in Lubieszów at this time and possibly those of Moroczna and other places.

11. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk"; GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 35, indicates that 815 Jews were shot on this occasion, dating it (erroneously) at the end of November.

12. Biber, "The Township of Kamin-Koczirsk"; BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 45.

KATRYNBURG

Pre-1939: Katrynburg, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Katerinovka, Ternopol oblast', Ukrainian SSR: 1941–1944: Katerburg, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Katerynivka, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Katrynburg is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, the population of Katrynburg included 384 Jews. By mid-1941, there were probably some 450 Jews in the village. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered to join the Red Army. Another small group of Jews succeeded in evacuating to the east. Some 350 to 400 Jews remained in the village when German army units occupied it on July 3, 1941.

In July and August, a German military administration governed the town. Then, in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Katrynburg became part of Gebiet Kremenez in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Müller.[1] The German authorities appointed a village elder and a squad of Ukrainian policemen to assist them in running the village.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupiers introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Katrynburg. They made Jews wear the Star of David; they compelled them to perform forced labor; and they forbade them to leave the town limits. A Judenrat was formed, which was obliged to collect "contributions" for the Germans and organize the Jewish forced labor squads. Among the labor tasks performed was the felling of trees. The Jews were escorted to work by the Ukrainian police, who frequently robbed and beat them.

In the early spring of 1942, probably in March, the Germans created a Jewish residential district, an "open ghetto," in Katrynburg for the roughly 400 Jewish inhabitants of the Rayon.[2] It existed for only about four months.

On August 10, 1942,[3] a detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including members of Schutzmannschafts-Battalion 102 based in Krzemieniec,[4] carried out an Aktion in the village, during which 312 Jews were shot and killed: 114 men, 112 women, and 86 children.[5] A few Jews managed to hide from their persecutors and escaped annihilation.

The Red Army drove the German occupying forces from the town on February 5, 1944. Only about 30 Jews from the Katrynburg ghetto survived the German occupation.

SOURCES Relevant publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Katrynburg during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 175–176; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 110.

Information concerning the extermination of the Jews of Katrynburg can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); DATO; GARF (7021-75-2 and 3); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. GARF, 7021-75-3, p. 3, as cited in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 159. According to survivor testimony from the neighboring Rayon of Schumsk (AŻIH 301/2467), the ghetto there was established in March 1942.

3. GARF, 7021-75-2, p. 2.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, p. 469.

5. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, transcription of a Security Police report from SS-Untersturmführer Selm of the Rowno SD, August 15, 1942, concerning the "special treatment of the Jews."

KISIELIN

Pre-1939: Kisielin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kiselin, Oziutichi raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Osjutitschi, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lokachi raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kisielin is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) west-northwest of Łuck and 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) west-northwest of Równe. In 1921, the Jewish population of the village was 94.

At the end of June 1941, soldiers of the German 6th Army occupied the village. From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed a Ukrainian police unit from among the local population.

After September 1941, power was in the hands of a German civil administration. Kisielin was located in Rayon Osjutitschi within Gebiet Gorochow. SA-Standartenführer Härter was named Gebietskommissar and thereby placed in charge of the civil administration.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kisielin. Jews were required initially to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, later replaced by yellow patches to be worn on the chest and back. They were required to perform forced labor, they were prohibited from leaving the boundaries of the village, and they suffered robberies and assaults at the hands of the Ukrainian police.

On August 19, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Kisielin. On the outskirts of the village, close to a desolate Polish (Roman Catholic) church, two Ukrainians who were considered Soviet activists were shot along with 48 Jews.[2]

On November 1, 1941, a ghetto was created in the village, which was surrounded with barbed wire. The authorities also brought in Jews from the villages of Oziutichi, Kholopichi, Tverdynia, and Iukhimova.[3]

In August 1942, the Germans made preparations for the liquidation of the ghetto in Kisielin. Three days before the mass shooting, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. Around this time local inhabitants were requisitioned to dig a large pit about 10 meters by 10 meters (11 yards by 11 yards), which took them two days. Some Jews managed to escape from the ghetto before the guard was increased, and others went into hiding inside the ghetto. According to the recollections of local non-Jewish inhabitants, the rabbi had announced to the Jews "our hour has come, we are being taken to be killed."[4]

On August 12, 1942,[5] the Germans liquidated the ghetto. The Jews were transported to the killing site on trucks and were forced to undress and then go down into the pits. The entire population of the ghetto, about 500 or 550 Jews, was shot.[6] About 20 people were able to escape on the eve of the Aktion, but the police soon caught them, and they were also shot.[7]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kisielin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), pp. 29–30.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Kisielin Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-10); VHF (# 1973); YIU (nos. 450, 451); and YVA (M-1/E/1622).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, pp. 29–30.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. YIU, Témoins nos. 449 and 450, Agnia Chouba (born 1926) and Serguei Romaniouk (born 1930), March 30, 2007.
5. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 29. According to another account, the ghetto was liquidated on August 15–16, 1942. See GARF, 7021-55-10, p. 15.
6. GARF, 7021-55-10, p. 15.
7. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 29.

KIWERCE

Pre-1939: Kiwerce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kivertsy, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kiwerzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kivertsi, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kiwerce is located 62 kilometers (38.5 miles) west-northwest of Równe. In 1921, the Jewish population had declined to only 175, owing to the effects of World War I. By mid-1941, the Jewish population was probably around 400, including a number of Jewish refugees who arrived in the fall of 1939 from western and central Poland.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kiwerce on July 2, 1941. On the first day of the occupation, the Germans shot a number of Jews and Poles who had held key positions in the local administration under the Soviets.[1] During July and August, a German military administration took charge of the town. In September, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. As a part of Gebiet Luzk, under Gebietskommissar Lindner,[2] the town lay within the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. German officials set up a local Ukrainian administration and recruited an auxiliary police force from the local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie from September 1941.

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities instituted a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kiwerce. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was headed by two Jews named Jukelsohn and Lesznar. The council was required to pass on all the orders issued by the German authorities and was made personally responsible for their prompt implementation. Among the German directives was an order for Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; this was replaced in September 1941 by the compulsory wearing of a yellow circular patch on their clothes. Jews were forbidden to trade with or have other contacts with the local population. They also had to turn over all of their valuables to the German authorities and to carry out physically demanding work of all kinds for little or no payment. The Jews were forbidden to leave the borders of the area where they resided and were registered. The Ukrainian auxiliary police repeatedly looted Jewish property and beat the Jews.

Once the German repressions started in Kiwerce, many Jews fled to the nearby Jewish rural settlement of Zofjówka, where the Jewish population increased to about 5,000 Jews. People thought that it would be easier for them to survive in a larger community. According to the testimony of Dr. Henryk Zajfen, "[T]here was no enclosed ghetto in Kiwerce, but there was some kind of Jewish quarter" (or open ghetto). There were a number of wooden barracks near the sawmill into which the Jews who had been expelled from their homes in town were resettled.[3] This resettlement probably took place at the end of 1941 or at the beginning of 1942. All local Jews, except for the physicians, had to move into the ghetto.[4]

The Jewish community of Kiwerce was liquidated in May 1942, when 270 Jews were murdered. German security forces, consisting of a detachment of the Security Police and SD together with the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Platoon, arrived in five trucks from Łuck. Assisted by units of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, they surrounded the barracks, woke the Jewish inhabitants, and herded them half-naked and barefoot onto the trucks. The Jews were largely surprised by the Aktion, as Kiwerce was one of the first ghettos in the region to be liquidated. The Jews were escorted into the forest in the direction of Łuck and murdered. Only the Jewish physicians who lived outside the ghetto were excluded from the Aktion.[5]

Over the following months, the German authorities shot most of the Jewish physicians and their families, although a few managed to escape. For example, Mala Berenblum and her husband, who was a doctor, fled in December 1942 after purchasing forged "Aryan" papers for a very large sum.[6] Only a small number of Jews survived the German occupation in Kiwerce.

SOURCES An article on the history of the Jewish community of Kiwerce can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 176.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Kiwerce during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2162, 2167, and 2568); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-10); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2568, testimony of Dr. Henryk Zajfen, June 5, 1946.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/2568.
4. Ibid., 301/2167, testimony of Rebeka Peste, November 22, 1946; 301/2162, testimony of Mala Berenblum.
5. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29, report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942. AŻIH, 301/2568, gives the date of May 10, 1942, for the liquidation of the ghetto.
6. AŻIH, 301/2162, 2167, and 2568.

KLESÓW

Pre-1939: Klesów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Klesov, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Klesow, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Klesiv, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Klesów is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) east of Sarny. According to the 1921 census, 52 Jews lived in Klesów I, and 90 Jews lived in Klesów II, bringing the total to 142 Jews. By the late 1930s, there were about 700 Jews living in Klesów, including members of a Hehalutz kibbutz that was based there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Klesów in the middle of July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Klesów was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny, and Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Schumacher became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 onward.[1] A post of the German Gendarmerie was also established in Klesów, which took command of the local Ukrainian police force.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Klesów. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the image of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. In addition, they were required to perform forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and not permitted to buy goods from non-Jews. As a consequence, the Jews had to live in conditions of near starvation. In addition, the Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic beatings and robberies.

On July 25, 1942, the Germans ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Klesów into which Jews from the town



Group portrait of members of a Hehalutz Kibbutz (Zionist collective) in Klesów, 1930s.
USHMM WS #98726, COURTESY OF GFH

and the outlying villages were forcibly resettled. On August 25 or 27, 1942, the ghetto in Klesów was liquidated.[2] Early in the morning, the Germans ordered the Jews to assemble in the square by the railway station. Here the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie guarded them almost all day long. In the evening, they were loaded into cars of a train that had just arrived from Rokitno carrying other Jews. Before the train departed, a number of Jews deemed too ill or infirm were murdered on site in Klesów. Then the train brought the remaining 580 Jews to Sarny, where German forces and their collaborators murdered them on August 28, 1942. It is likely that among those taken to Sarny were some 150 Jews from the village of Tomashgorod, which lay in Rayon Klesow. Over the course of the next few days, the police also captured and shot 15 Jews who had been hiding in and around the ghetto.[3]

SOURCES An article on the annihilation of the Jewish population of Klesów can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 178.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Klesów can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-52); and YVA (M-1/E-1269/1234; M-1/E-1222/1196).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), p. 2.
3. GARF, 7021-71-52, pp. 11, 17, and reverse side; DARO, R534-1-3, p. 143.

KLEWAŃ

Pre-1939: Klewań, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Klevan', raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Klewan, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Klevan', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Klewań is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) westnorthwest of Równe on the banks of the Stubli River. According to the 1921 census, the population of the town included 1,527 Jews. Allowing for an average rate of population increase of 9 per 1,000 per year, by 1941 there were probably about 1,800 Jews living in Klewań.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Klewań on July 3, 1941. Between July and August 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the town. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Klewań was a Rayon center in Gebiet Rowno. An official named Beer became the Gebietskommissar.[1] In the town of Klewań, the Germans established an outpost of the Gendarmerie, commanded by a man named Fischer, who was in charge of a squad of about 30 Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. Among those who served in the police were Alexander Yankevich, Kuz'menko, and Kulakovsky.[2]

On the second day of the occupation, German forces, together with local antisemites, organized a pogrom against the Jews in Klewań. The killings were probably intended as a reprisal for the shooting of a number of German soldiers by a straggling group of Soviet soldiers in the village of Bronniki just prior to this. The Germans and Ukrainians lined the Jews up on the main square in five rows and shot them with a machine gun and automatic rifles. Then they began dragging Jews from their homes to kill them. Jews were buried in mass graves in at least two or three locations, and a number of bodies were left lying in the streets. At the end of the pogrom, the local authorities ordered some Jews to drag these corpses into the synagogue. The doors were then locked and the synagogue set on fire. In total, about 500 to 700 Jews were murdered in Klewań during the first days of the occupation, and most of the others, like Abraham Kirschner, fled or were driven out of town.[3]

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Klewań. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to pass on German orders. The small remaining Jewish population had to wear special patches in the shape of the Star of David (later a yellow circle) on their clothing. In addition, they were forced to perform physically demanding labor of various kinds. According to an order issued by the Gebietskommissar in October 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave their place of residence without official permission.[4] In addition, the Jews had to endure widespread theft and physical abuse at the hands of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and local antisemites.

By the spring of 1942, a number of Jews had returned to Klewań; about 700 Jews were living there, cooped up in only 13 houses that formed an open ghetto. There was a shortage of firewood, but the Jews were forbidden to go out into the woods to gather it. They lived together in overcrowded conditions, 20 people to a room, where they cooked, slept, ate, and bathed. According to one testimony, the Jews were starving and in rags, "people walked around dressed in sacks and barefoot, because the Ukrainians stole everything."[5] The Germans based in Klewań arranged orgies from time to time. On one occasion, two Germans entered the home of a Jewish family where the mother was bedridden. They chased away the father and then raped their 15-year-old daughter in front of her mother's eyes.[6]

On April 11, 1942, German security forces arrested 48 people in Klewań: 18 Poles and 30 Jews. The Poles were arrested as nationalist activists. As all the arrested Jews were younger people, a number of older fathers voluntarily took the places of their sons. Shortly afterwards, the arrestees were led away and shot in the woods near the train station.[7]

The murder of the remaining Jews in Klewań probably took place in mid-May 1942.[8] On May 13, 1942, the German

police commander, Fischer, issued instructions to the Judenrat for all the Jews to assemble at the station on the next day. Very few Jews obeyed this instruction, so Ukrainian policemen immediately started to search for those Jews in hiding. They discovered most of them. The Germans and their collaborators then shot those who had been arrested (probably about 600 Jews) in a forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside Klewań.[9] The mass shooting was organized by members of the German Security Police from Równe, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.

SOURCES A short article on the history of the Jewish community of Klewań can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 177–178. There is also a brief report on the fate of the Jews of Klewań in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 135.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Klewań can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1190); DARO; GARF (7021-71-51); USHMM (RG-31.017M, reel 2); and YVA (M-2/200, O-3/2881, M-1/E/2215, and M-1/E/2142).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/1190, testimony of Abraham Kirschner, November 10, 1945; and Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 135.
3. GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 11, 44, 61; AŻIH, 301/1190; and Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 135.
4. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno, announcement dated October 15, 1941.
5. AŻIH, 301/1190.
6. Ibid.
7. GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 27, 37; AŻIH, 301/1190.
8. Some sources date it, however, in mid-July 1942.
9. AŻIH, 301/1190; GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 1, 90. The ChGK report gives the figure of 1,500 victims, but this is probably too high (including the victims from the pogrom in early July 1941, as well as those killed in 1942).

KOBRYŃ

Pre-1939: Kobryń, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Kobrin, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kobryn, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kobryn', Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kobryń is located about 52 kilometers (32 miles) east-northeast of Brześć. In 1921, the Jewish population was 5,431, comprising two thirds of the total.

Kobryń was occupied by German forces on June 24, 1941. Due to the town's proximity to the frontier and the suddenness of the invasion, most Jews were unable to evacuate.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town until September 1941, when a German civil administration took over. Kobryń became the administrative center of Gebiet Kobryn in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. In addition to Rayon Kobryn, Gebiet Kobryn initially included the Rayons of Antopol, Dywin, and Shabinka. On December 1, 1941, Rayon Shabinka was transferred to Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, and Rayon Drogitschin was transferred from Gebiet Pinsk to Gebiet Kobryn in its place. Further, in January 1942, Rayon Beresa-Kartuskaja, which initially had been part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, was also included into Gebiet Kobryn.[1]

The Gebietskommissar in Kobryń was Regierungsassessor Oscar Panzer.[2] There was also a German Gendarmerie post in the city, headed by a Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. The local police (Schutzmannschaft) was subordinate to the Gendarmerie.

In the summer of 1942, an SD-Aussendienststelle (outpost) was created in Kobryń. It was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Julius Wangemann. This outpost was subordinate to the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Pütz. In the summer and fall of 1942, the local SD outpost organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Kobryń and other towns of the Gebiet.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kobryń, including forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) containing 24 members (chaired by the merchant Angelovich). Subsequently, including the Jewish Police, the Judenrat employed around 400 people in various departments.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the Bet Midrash Hayyei Adam was burned down. In the summer of 1941, between 150 and 200 Jewish members of the intelligentsia were shot by a squad of the SD near Patryka, just off the road to Brześć. The Jews were forced to surrender 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) of gold and 12 kilograms (26.5 pounds) of silver as a "contribution."[3] Subsequently in the fall of 1941, several hundred mentally ill Jews were also shot by German security forces.

In August 1941, hundreds of Jewish women and children were transferred to Kobryń from liquidated Jewish communities to the north in the area of the Białowieża Forest.[4]

In September or October 1941, the Germans organized a ghetto in Kobryń.[5] It was divided into two parts: ghetto A, which was in the southern part of town, housed Jewish craftsmen and their families, and ghetto B, in the western part of the city, housed those Jews who were unable to work.[6] Altogether, there were more than 7,000 Jews in the two ghettos, including Jews from the surrounding villages. The Judenrat established an office to assign living space to those moving into the ghetto. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, with 5 or 6 people forced to share each room. Shortly after its establishment, Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, or even move from one part of the ghetto to the other, unless escorted in a group by the Jewish Police.[7] Subsequently the area of the ghetto was reduced. Around the time of Passover in 1942

(April 2), the Germans began to construct a wall around ghetto B, making it much harder for Jews to escape.[8]

For many Jews in the ghetto, the main source of income was from selling their personal belongings. It was forbidden for Jews to do business with non-Jews, but much bartering went on nevertheless. The Jewish Police guarded the gates of the ghetto internally, so Jews were able to smuggle in some food. Despite food shortages, most families usually had some bread and potatoes, and there was almost no starvation in the Kobryń ghetto. Both Jews and non-Jews received ration cards. The Jews were to receive 70 grams (2.5 ounces) of bread per day. Supplies for the ghetto were secured because the Judenrat had good connections to the miller Józef Jadów, who was able to smuggle in considerably more flour than the Germans prescribed.[9]

In the first half of 1942, a number of mostly younger able-bodied Jews were rounded up from the ghetto and sent to labor camps around Kobryń. In Kobryń, around 500 Jews worked in a large craftsmen's workshop (the large *artel*) inside ghetto A, but many Jews were escorted daily by non-Jews to about 50 different work sites outside the ghetto. The Jews left the ghetto in columns, sometimes escorted by a 10-year-old non-Jewish boy. By 8:00 A.M., almost all the men had left the ghetto, and mainly women and children remained.[10]

On July 25, 1942, ghetto B was liquidated: approximately 200 Jews were shot near Mazura, and 1,800 people were taken by train to the Bronna Góra station and shot into large mass graves prepared nearby.[11] Jews from Antopol and Horodec who were not fit for work were shot on the same day. A squad of SD men carried out the shootings, assisted by Company 2 and Company 3 of the 320th Police Battalion: Company 3 transported the Jews in railroad cars to the station, and Company 2 was assigned to cordon off the place of execution, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) northwest of Bereza Kartuska.[12] Other Jews were shot inside the Kobryń ghetto over the following days as the Germans and Ukrainian police searched for people in hiding.

After this large-scale Aktion, which resulted in the dissolution of ghetto B, those Jews who had survived were registered and fingerprinted, then sent back to work. Children were employed to sort out the property of the Jews who had been shot. Shaken by the mass murders, the youth of the ghetto intensified efforts to organize armed resistance. A secret Jewish Committee was established. Conspiratorial cells of five people were established in four different sectors of the ghetto to limit the danger of being exposed. Arms were assembled or purchased clandestinely from local inhabitants. Small groups of armed Jews then escaped to the forests and operated as partisans, attacking outposts of the Ukrainian police and German grain stores. Initially the Judenrat was opposed to these resistance efforts, urging the youth instead to work in the workshops, as otherwise they might endanger the entire ghetto. Later the Judenrat cooperated with the resistance, and vague plans were made for Jews to escape to the forest in the event of a further Aktion. These remained largely unimplemented, mainly due to the lack of arms.[13]

On October 15, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated ghetto A. At a site 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of the city, a squad of the SD, assisted by the 315th Police Battalion, shot 4,250 Jews.[14] At this time those Jews who had been sent to camps in the surrounding area were also murdered. A number of Jews went into hiding in and around the ghetto, some remaining hidden for more than a week. Several hundred Jews may have escaped to the forest, but many of them were killed in the ensuing searches conducted by the Germans and Ukrainian police, and only a portion of them succeeded in joining the partisans.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, 72 Jewish craftsmen remained in the city for about another year; they were shot in the second half of 1943. In April 1944, Sonderkommando 1005c attempted to cover up the mass graves, removing the corpses from the ground and burning them. The 80 people who carried out this task were shot after the corpses had been burned.[15]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kobryń during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Betsal'el Shvarts and Yisra'el-Hayyim Biletski, eds., *Sefer Kobryn; megilat hayim ve-hurban* (Tel Aviv, 1951)—a translation of this book by Nilli Avidan and Avner Perry is available on jewishgen.org; Meylekh Glotser, ed., *Kobryn; zamlbukh (an iberblik ibern yidishn Kobryn)* (Buenos Aires: Kobryn Book Committee, 1951); "Kobrin," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 305–310; and Betzalel Shwartz and Israel Chaim Biltzki, eds., *Book of Kobryn: The Scroll of Life and Destruction* (San Francisco, CA: Holocaust Center of Northern California, 1992).

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kobryń can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1072, 1970, 2212); BA-L (e.g., B 162/2882, 2903); GABO (514-1-336); GARF (7021-83-18); IPN; NARA; NARB; USHMM; VHF (# 17696, 34429); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 102, fr. 169.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Ibid., p. 251; AŻIH, 301/1072, testimony of Józef Blinder; Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 381.

4. *Voennyi dnevnik (Kriegstagebuch) 322-go politseiskogo batal'ona: Tsentral'nyi voennyi arkhiv v Prage: Dnevnik oberleitenanta politsii Uhlia* (Warsaw: Za Wolność i Lud, 1965), no. 20, p. 9. AŻIH, 301/1970, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn; 301/1072; 301/1849, testimony of Szymon Kamiński; 301/2212, testimony of Beniamin Wolf, p. 4. Also see Berl Blustein, "The Destruction of Lineve," in Joseph Friedlaender, ed., *Pinḳas Pruz'ani ṿeha-sevivah: (tol) dot ṿe-ziḳaron le-ḳehilot she-hushmedu ba-Sho'ah* (Tel Aviv: Urgun yots'e Pruz'ani ṿeha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1983), pp. 151–153; and Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, p. 253.

5. AŻIH, 301/1072, gives the date of September 1. I. Beil, "The Holocaust," in Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, pp.

382–392, here p. 383, dates it two weeks after the introduction of the yellow star by the new civil administration in September.

6. M. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk, 2000), p. 105. A more precise description of the streets that formed the ghetto can be found in Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, p. 252.
7. Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, pp. 252–53; AŻIH, 301/1072.
8. Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 386.
9. Ibid., pp. 383–384.
10. Ibid., pp. 384–385.
11. GARF, 7021-83-18, pp. 8–9, 63, 72.
12. Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.
13. AŻIH, 301/1072; Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 388; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 458.
14. GARF, 7021-83-18, p. 9, and 7021-148-28, p. 62 (evidence of Zugwachtmeister Hermann Boltz, Company 7, 11th Police Regiment, taken prisoner in early 1944).
15. Ibid., 7021-83-18, p. 9.

KOŁKI

Pre-1939: Kołki, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kolki, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kolky, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kołki is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Równe. In 1921, 724 Jews were living in Kołki. By the end of 1937, there were 860 Jews in the village. According to the 1921 Polish census, the village of Czartorysk to the northeast had a population of 220 Jews, and Jews also lived in several other nearby villages, including Marjanówka (26), Komarów (15), and Kulikowicze (5).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kołki at the end of June or the beginning of July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village, and in September 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority in the region. Kołki became a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Luzk was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[1]

The following organizations were established in Kołki: a Ukrainian Rayon administration and a Ukrainian police force, subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post that consisted of several German Gendarmes. The chief of the Ukrainian police was D. Sachkovski.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) composed of five people was created in the village and was used by the German authorities to issue orders to the Jewish population; Jews were ordered to wear visible insignia in the form of a Star of David (after September 1941, in the shape of a yellow circle); Jews had to surrender all gold and valuables; they were compelled to perform forced labor without pay; and they were forbidden to leave the village without permission. The Ukrainian police also repeatedly beat and robbed the Jews.

In the summer of 1941, the local Ukrainian militia conducted an Aktion in which about 50 Jewish youths from Kołki were taken ostensibly for work but then were shot outside the village.[3]

In October 1941, the German authorities established an open (unfenced) ghetto in the village. It held more than 2,000 Jews, not only local residents but also Jewish refugees from Poland and Jews brought in from nearby villages. Semyon Menyuk, who was transferred into the Kołki ghetto from Komarów, recalls that he could take only 4.5 kilograms (10 pounds) of possessions with him, and on arrival in Kołki, people were given only an hour to find a new place to stay. Rations in the ghetto were only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day, and even this stopped after a couple of weeks. Inmates then had to exchange their clothes with local inhabitants to get something to eat. The overcrowded living quarters (as many as six families living in each room) and unsanitary conditions caused infectious disease to spread inside the ghetto, resulting in a high mortality rate.[4]

Menyuk recalls two of the German officials in Kołki as Bartz and Georg: one was a Sonderführer (agricultural commandant) and the other probably a Gendarme. Together with police chief Sachkovski, these men had absolute power within the ghetto, sometimes entering it when drunk to shoot Jews with impunity.

In late July 1942, a Security Police/SD detachment from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto, shooting the majority of its inmates. The Jews were transported to the grave site on trucks. The mass shooting took place 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) west of the village along the Stir River, in a place called Belye Berega.[5]

Menyuk and his father survived this massacre, as they were kept alive to help sort the property remaining in the ghetto. A number of Jews also managed to hide and escape the liquidation. However, some of these Jews returned to the ghetto shortly afterwards, as they were unable to survive alone in the forests. The Germans also offered rewards, for example, of cigarettes or sugar, to peasants who captured Jews for them.[6]

A few weeks after the first Aktion, the SS, with the help of the Ukrainian police, carried out a second massacre in which more than 100 Jews were killed. This time Menyuk survived by jumping from the truck on the way to the pits. According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the occupiers and their accomplices murdered some 2,000 Jews in Kołki, accounting for more than 50 percent of the victims (3,949) of the "peaceful civilian population" under German occupation.[7]

According to one source, the Jews of Czartorysk (around 200) were murdered on August 24, 1942. It is more probable, however, that this Aktion was coordinated with (or was part of) the first massacre in Kołki, which took place in late July.[8]

Daniel Kats fled to the forests in the fall of 1941, where he joined forces with other partisans. Additional Jews from Kołki escaped to the forests at the time of the two massacres

in the late summer and fall of 1942. A group of Jewish partisans from the Kołki region reportedly joined the Kovpak unit of Soviet partisans, which raided the Carpathian districts of Ukraine in the summer of 1943.

SOURCES A brief history of the Jewish community in Kołki and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 166–168. In addition, there is also a yizkor book for Kołki, compiled by Daniel Kats, *Fun ash aroysgerufn* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), which provides a literary picture of the town before the war. Its wartime section deals only with the activities of the Jewish partisans.

Documentation and the witness testimony regarding the murder of the Jews of Kołki can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2889); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-5); USHMM (RG-50.030*0159); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1312).

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trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, Oral History with Semyon Menyuk, October 25, 1990, p. 5.
3. It is not clear whether this Aktion was organized by the German authorities or by local Ukrainians acting on their own initiative.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, pp. 4–5.
5. See DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in the Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942, which notes that the "special treatment" of the Jews in the Rayons of Kołki, Zuman, and Olyka was conducted from July 26 to 29, 1942. Other sources also give late August as the date of the ghetto liquidation.
6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, p. 7; Kats, *Fun ash aroysgerufn*, p. 377.
7. GARF, 7021-55-5, p. 7.
8. See Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 285; it is also not clear from this source whether a separate open ghetto existed in Czartorysk or the Jews were brought into the Kołki ghetto before they were killed; see also note 6 above.

KORZEC

Pre-1939: Korzec (Yiddish: Korits), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Korets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Korez, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Korets', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Korzec is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) east of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 4,120 Jews lived in Korzec. By late 1937, there were 4,895 Jews in the town out of a total population of 6,560.

Following the start of the war in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees arrived from the west. Most Jews welcomed the arrival of the Red Army in 1939, as it offered them some security against the Germans. The new Soviet government eliminated private business in the town and established Soviet cooperatives. It also disbanded Jewish institutions and political parties, although some welfare work continued. Prior to the German arrival in July 1941, some 500 Jews managed to flee eastward.

Korzec was occupied by units of the German 6th Army following a heavy bombardment on July 7–8, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Korzec became a Rayon center within Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.[1] There was a German Gendarmerie post in Korzec, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police. The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized by a team of Security Police from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans applied the same anti-Jewish measures in Korzec as in other cities and towns of Ukraine: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of five men was created, which was made personally responsible for the implementation of all German orders. There was also a Jewish police force subordinated to the Judenrat. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a Star of David armband and later a yellow circle); they were made to perform forced labor; and they were beaten frequently by the local Ukrainian police. Immediately after the arrival of the German forces, Ukrainian nationalist antisemites organized a pogrom in Korzec, during which several Jews were killed, synagogues were ransacked, Torah scrolls were burned, and Jewish homes were robbed.[2]

In the summer of 1941, two anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town. During the first Aktion, on the fourth day of the occupation in July, the Germans shot approximately 120 Jewish intellectuals. They were arrested according to a list and shot 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town in a nearby forest.[3]

During the second Aktion in August 1941, Ukrainian nationalists led by Mitka Zavirukha ran wild and harassed the Jews. Zavirukha declared with great zeal that God had sent him to punish the Jews and eliminate them from the [Ukrainian] nation. On that day, SS men arrived and attacked Jewish houses, forcibly arresting Jewish men and taking them to an unknown destination.[4] In total some 350 Jewish men, including three members of the Judenrat, were taken and shot 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) northeast of Korzec in a forest near the village of Sukhovol' (in the Zhitomir oblast).[5] During the course of the Aktion, money, bond certificates, gold, and silver items were collected from 77 Jews and forwarded to Berlin by the Ortskommandant as "war booty." Among the items collected were four gold

dental crowns taken from Goldar Gobulinik and Kopel Plosker.[6]

The Jews of the town suffered from a severe food shortage, as bread was distributed only to Ukrainians. Forced labor tasks performed by Jews during the winter of 1941–1942 included building shacks, digging underground tunnels, and excavating deep trenches. About 700 Jews were put to work at a sugar refinery. Many men were conscripted and sent to work in forced labor camps. This work was particularly arduous and dispiriting for the Jews, as they had been robbed of their warm clothes and were exposed to frost and snowstorms.

By the fall of 1941, the Jews were forced into an open ghetto. That is, they were made to live in one area of town and could leave this area only with special permission; however, the ghetto was not surrounded by a fence or physical boundary. Jews traded any clothing they had left for a little grain in order to bake matzot for Passover in April 1942.[7]

The third Aktion in Korzec took place on May 21, 1942, on the eve of the Jewish holiday of Shavuot. On this day, a team of SD men from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, as well as a platoon of the 1st Company, Police Battalion 33, roused families from their beds, shooting those who were too sick to walk. A group of about 200 young men and women were separated from the rest. The remainder, totaling some 2,500 Jews, including many women and children, were shot into previously dug pits in a forest near the village of Kazak, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) north of the town. Among those shot was the physician Dr. Hirshhorn, who decided to accompany his wife to the pits even though the Germans wanted to keep him alive for his skills.[8]

Following the Aktion, the German authorities ordered those Jews in hiding to gather in front of the synagogue. Then on May 22, 1942, a new enclosed ghetto was created on Synagogue Street. It contained about 1,500 inmates, including the 200 workers who had been temporarily spared, the Jews who had hidden, and some women and children brought in from nearby villages. The Jews were forbidden to leave the boundary of the ghetto.

In the meantime the houses of the Jews were robbed and plundered. Not one family had survived the massacre intact. Those remaining thought constantly of their lost loved ones and recited Kaddish for their souls. They all sensed that their days were numbered, too, anticipating the next attack.[9]

The ghetto existed for only four months, until September 25, 1942. Within the ghetto, Moshe Gildenman appealed to the Judenrat to take revenge on the Germans and escape to the forests. However, the Judenrat continued the practices of mediation and bribery in an effort to mitigate the fate of the community, meeting all the renewed German demands. An attempt to contact the Soviet partisans by nominating two youths, Rozenshteyn and Waynshelboym, was unfortunately betrayed. Both of them were arrested by the Ukrainian police and were killed while trying to escape from their escorts on the way to Równe.[10]

On September 24, 1942, it became known that pits were being dug nearby. On that day an SD squad arrived from Równe to surround the ghetto, together with the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. In response, the Judenrat member Moshe Krasnostavski deliberately set himself and his home on fire, and within a short time, the entire ghetto was ablaze, forcing the Germans and Ukrainians to retreat. Another Judenrat member, Yukel Marcus, also committed suicide, and in the confusion a number of people broke out of the ghetto and found temporary refuge in the cemetery and elsewhere.[11] The German forces and local police, however, rounded up most of the Jews and shot approximately 2,000 people in a forest near Kazak on September 25, 1942. At the time of the liquidation, a group of men led by Moshe Gildenman escaped to the forests to take up partisan resistance against the Germans. He was known as the partisan commander "Uncle Misha."

Altogether, according to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,090 civilians were killed in Rayon Korez in 1941–1944; virtually all of them were Jews.[12]

SOURCES Articles about the destruction of the Jewish population of Korzec can be found in the following publications: Eli'ezer Le'oni, ed., *Korits (Vohlin): Sefer zikaron li-kehilatenu she-'alah 'aleha ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse-Korits be-Yisrael, 1959); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 171–175.

Documents of the ChGK and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Korzec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/260 and 2756); BA-BL (R 2104/23); DARO; GARF (7021-71-54); USHMM (RG-02.208M*28); VHF; and YVA.

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. AŻIH, 301/260; Dov Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," in Le'oni, *Korits (Vohlin)*, pp. 338–347.

3. The dating is taken from the testimony of Nyuma Anapolsky in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), p. 5.

4. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.

5. See Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 32, 34–35; K. Zakaluk, *Zhivy stablyat' pamyatnik zagiblit: Tsinogo blasnogo Zhittya* (Rivne: Uporyadnik Kirilo Kindrat, 1995), p. 98. According to the ChGK report, 250 Jews were shot on August 15, 1941, and another 80 on August 23, 1941 (GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 27 and reverse). Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, gives the number of 472 Jews murdered by the Germans in August.

6. BA-BL, R 2104/23, pp. 972–989. The receipts of the "War Booty Office" (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) list carefully all the items collected and give the names of the 77 Jews, who were probably among those shot.

7. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.
8. Ibid., and GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 32–33.
9. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.
10. Le'oni, *Korits (Vohlin)*, pp. 338–347, 402–407.
11. Ibid.
12. GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 1–3.

KOSTOPOL

Pre-1939: Kostopol, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kostopol', raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kostopol, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kostopil', raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Kostopol is located about 29 kilometers (18 miles) north-northeast of Równe. In the fall of 1939, under Soviet occupation, a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland settled in the town so that in mid-1941 approximately 4,500 Jews resided in Kostopol.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kostopol in early July 1941. During the first two weeks of the war, prior to the occupation of the town, only a small number of Jews was able to evacuate to the east, so over 4,000 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

In July and August of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, establishing a local administration and also an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Kostopol became the center of a Rayon and also a Gebiet, which also included the Rayons of Stepan, Beresno, and Derashne. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Standartenführer Löhnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann.[1] In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was created in the town, and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police was subordinated to it. Among the local Ukrainian policemen, Peter Ogrodnik was particularly notable for his sadism.[2]

Soon after the German occupation, a pogrom took place in Kostopol during which local Ukrainians beat many Jews, killing a few of them, and plundered Jewish houses. On August 16, 1941, a squad of the Security Police and SD arriving from Równe carried out the first Aktion in Kostopol. The Security Police assembled 460 Jewish men and 20 Jewish women from among the most affluent members of the community, including the head of the Judenrat, Dawid Dajan. These people were transported out of town and then shot. However, their family members were informed that they had been sent to work camps and were deceived into sending them money, which the German authorities confiscated.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kostopol: a Judenrat was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols, and they were forbidden to leave the limits of the town without special permission. In addition, they were compelled to perform forced labor in local sawmills, at the train station, at the sewage treatment plant, and in local offices, during which the Jews, including some female workers, were beaten and otherwise abused.

On October 5, 1941, a ghetto was created in Kostopol.[4] Some 4,000 Jews who had been living in the town were given only three days to move into the ghetto. In addition, another 500 or so Jews from the surrounding villages were brought in, raising the total ghetto population to about 4,500. The overcrowding in the ghetto was such that 10 or 15 people had to live in each room. In fact, the ghetto was divided into three sections. The male Jews aged 16 to 60, who mostly had been brought in from other towns, were moved into one section known as the labor camp. This was located in the prayer houses, which were surrounded by barbed wire. The women, small children, and elderly were confined within the main ghetto. This was on the *shister gas* (Cobbler's Street), which before the war had housed only about 20 families. It was also surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence, which extended down to the pond. Then the specialist workers (mostly craftsmen), members of the Jewish Council, and the Jewish Police and their families (altogether 100 families, or about 500 people) were issued special passes and lived outside the ghetto along the fence near the gate; thus, they had the opportunity to maintain connections with the non-Jewish population, exchange goods, and acquire food. Some people also bought passes to live outside the ghetto, and women even paid to enter fictitious marriages to gain this privilege, although such arrangements often worked out badly, as the men took advantage of the women.[5]

In the fall of 1941, probably on November 10, a second Aktion was carried out in Kostopol: the families of the Jewish men killed during the first Aktion were offered the opportunity to join their menfolk in the supposed "labor camps." Once they had assembled, however, they were escorted to a site 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. A squad of the Security Police and SD (part of Einsatzkommando 5, based in Równe), assisted by local Ukrainian police and the 1st Company of Police Battalion 320, which arrived from Sarny, shot approximately 1,400 people there into pits that had been prepared in advance.[6]

In the Kostopol ghetto, the Jewish workers received a daily bread ration of just over 200 grams (7 ounces), while the women and children received only half this amount. The Judenrat also established a public kitchen, which fed the families of those who went out to work during the day. Conditions in the ghetto were very dirty, leading to outbreaks of various diseases, which the Judenrat feared might lead to the liquidation of the ghetto. Just before the enclosure of the ghetto, the Gebietskommissar demanded a large "contribution" from the Jews, saying it would be used to maintain the ghetto, but in fact none of it was used for this purpose. The Jews had to surrender any valuable items they possessed, and later, in the depth of winter, they had to give up their furs and other warm clothing.[7]

The payment for work by inmates of the ghetto was 5.60 rubles per day, of which 20 percent was deducted for a "Jewish tax" and another 25 percent as "income tax." Jews were also

forbidden to eat any fat products, such as butter or lard. By May 1942, the Germans had concentrated all the young Jewish men from Gebiet Kostopol in the labor camp. This was probably intended to avoid any resistance at the time of the liquidation of the nearby ghettos.[8]

On August 26, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German and Ukrainian police forces, organized the liquidation of the Kostopol ghetto. Ukrainian and German policemen surrounded the ghetto. Then they escorted the ghetto's inhabitants to the nearby village of Chotenka, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the south, where they shot them into ditches. In total, about 4,000 Jews were murdered during this Aktion (some 2,500 from Kostopol and the rest that had been brought in from Małe Siedliszcze and Antonówka, where Jews had continued to live as farmers outside the ghetto up to this time).[9] A few Jews hid within the ghetto or managed to escape during the Aktion, but most of these people were soon caught by local Ukrainians and were handed over to the Germans, who shot them.[10]

Altogether, more than 13,000 Jews were murdered in Rayon Kostopol in 1941 and 1942.

In total, about 270 Jews from Kostopol survived the war, but most of them were people who successfully evacuated to the east in the summer of 1941. Only 15 or so of the Jews who endured the German occupation were still alive on the recapture of the town by the Red Army on January 31, 1944.

SOURCES The following published sources are of relevance for the history of the Kostopol ghetto: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 168–170 (an English translation of this article is available at www.jewishgen.org); Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66, 196; the yizkor book edited by S. Brayer, *Ha-Mered be-Kostopol: Lo hiskamnu la-lekhet ke-tson la-tevah* (Tel Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1996); and the memoir of Fayge Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates: Oytentishe shilderungen fun der shoe tekufe* (Tel Aviv: Naylebn, 1966), which presents a rare female perspective on the ghetto.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kostopol can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1268); BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 210/67); DARO (R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-55); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E-1844, M-1/Q-30, M-1/E-1616, M/11/B-98, O-3/848, O-3/2902, O-3/2904, O-16/1805, and M.31).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, p. 72.
3. GARF, 7021-71-55, p. 116, reverse side; another source gives only the number of 470 male Jewish victims.
4. AŻIH, 301/1268.
5. Ibid.; I.A. Volodarskaia, "Unichtozhenie evreev Zapadnoi Volyni 1941–1944 gg," in *Katastrofa i opir ukrains'koho evreistva (1941–1944). Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev: Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsional'nykh doslidzhen' NAN Ukrainy, 1999), p. 215; Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, pp. 64–71. This latter chapter includes more detailed descriptions of the locations of the various parts of the ghetto.
6. According to evidence given on May 12, 1960, by the former commander of the 1st Company, Police Battalion 320, Captain Alfred Weber, the Aktion took place on November 10, 1941: this source states that there were only 300 to 400 victims (see BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 210/67). According to GARF, 7021-71-55, pp. 23, 88, the Aktion took place at the beginning of December 1941, and there were some 2,300 Jewish victims (this figure appears to be too high).
7. AŻIH, 301/1268; Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, pp. 64–71.
8. AŻIH, 301/1268.
9. The settlement of Antonówka, a few kilometers to the south of Kostopol, had only about 20 Jewish residents in 1939 and should not be confused with the town of the same name close to Sarny (see separate entry in this volume); on the murder of the Jews of these two villages, see YVA, M.31 (award of the Righteous Among the Nations to Stanisław Jasinski and Emilia Słodkowska-Jasińska, February 28, 1985).
10. GARF, 7021-71-55, p. 22. AŻIH, 301/1268, dates the Aktion on August 22, 1942; another source gives the date of August 25.

KOWEL

Pre-1939: Kowel (Yiddish: Kovle), city, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kovel', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kowel, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kovel', Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kowel is located about 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Łuck. By 1921, the Jewish population of the city had reached 12,700 (60 percent), remaining at about this level until 1939 (13,200 in 1937, nearly half the total population of 27,677). After 1939, the number of Jews increased, as many Jews from the German-occupied zone of Poland took refuge in Kowel. By mid-1941, including the refugees, there were about 15,000 Jews in the city.

German forces occupied the city on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the city, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kowel became the administrative center of Gebiet Kowel, which included the Rayons of Kowel, Ratno, Mazejewo, Sabolotje, Manewitschi, Sedlischtsche, Goloby, and Turisk. The Kowel Gebietskommissar until June 1942 was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Philipp Rapp.[1] In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews, and Erich Kassner became the Gebietskommissar.

In July and August 1941, an SD-Einsatztruppe detached from the Einsatzgruppe zur besonderen Verwendung (z.b.V.) was stationed in Kowel. One of the leaders of this detachment

was SS-Obersturmführer Erwin Gay. From mid-July until early September 1941, the headquarters of the 314th Police Battalion (commanding officer: Major der Polizei Dressler) and its 3rd Company were also located in the city.[2] From October 1941, the German Gendarmerie post in Kowel took over command of the local squad of Ukrainian police. The head of the Ukrainian police until late March 1943 was Polizei-Hauptwachtmeister Fritz Manthei.[3]

In October 1942, a Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was created in the city; it was subordinated to the chief of the Security Police and SD (Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD, or KdS) in Równe. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Eggers was in charge of the Kowel outpost.

As recalled in the Kowel yizkor books, Kassner, as Gebietskommissar, and Manthei, as head of the local squad of the Ukrainian police, were most directly involved in persecuting the Jews of Kowel and in facilitating their annihilation. Kassner, a sadist, and Manthei, a virulent and committed antisemite, sought out and relished opportunities to brutalize, humiliate, and murder Jews.[4]

Except for the absence of a guarded fence surrounding the Jewish parts of town, all relevant aspects of a Nazi-ruled ghetto were present during this period. Jews were not allowed to leave the city limits (roads were patrolled); they were not allowed out on the streets between 6:00 P.M. and 10:00 A.M.; houses occupied by Jews had to be marked by yellow boards; Jews were required to display a yellow Star of David on the front and back of their clothes (replacing the initial white armband with a blue Star of David); and a 12-person Judenrat and a Jewish police unit reporting to the Judenrat were created almost immediately. The first chairmen of the Judenrat were B. Moroz and I. Sandler.[5] Jews were also forced to pay the Germans large sums of money and to surrender their valuables. They were compelled to perform forced labor, during which the local Ukrainian police beat and otherwise abused them.[6]

Killings of Jews took place repeatedly from the very beginning of the German occupation, with the assistance of the Ukrainian police units. These were recruited from among Kowel residents and people from surrounding villages. Their leader was Dr. Progov (a Kowel resident, whose wife, according to the Kowel yizkor book, "distinguished herself with her murderous deeds against the Jews even more than her husband").[7] A few weeks after the arrival of the Germans, the head of Reb Velvele (the Trisker Rebbe) was cut off and displayed in the window of the Ukrainian cooperative.[8]

Very soon after the city was occupied, 60 to 80 Jews from the intelligentsia were arrested and later shot. The arrests and shootings continued during the following weeks. Altogether, about 1,000 Jews were killed in the summer of 1941. The shootings were carried out by the SD Einsatztruppe and the 3rd Company of the 314th Police Battalion, which were located in Kowel at this time. On August 31, 1941, this company shot 88 Jews in the city.[9]

In May 1942, two ghettos were created; according to one account, on May 27, 1942,[10] it was officially announced that between 12:00 P.M. and 5:00 P.M. the Jewish population had to complete its relocation to the two ghettos, which then were sealed. Gebietskommissar Kämpf was in charge of the operation, and he personally ensured that everything went according to plan. One ghetto was in the old city, where mostly Jews had lived before. The other ghetto was in the new city between the railroad and Warsaw Street, in the "Sand." Wooden fences, over 2 meters (6.6 feet) in height and covered with barbed wire, surrounded both ghettos. Jews could enter or leave the ghettos only through the gates. At first, the guards at these gates were German Gendarmes; their posts were later taken over by members of the Ukrainian police. After this, the German Gendarmes only supervised the Ukrainian policemen and occasionally carried out patrols through the ghetto themselves. Order within the ghetto was kept by a Jewish police force. In the new city ghetto, the Jewish craftsmen lived with their families (approximately 3,500 people). The remaining Jewish population, which (including those brought in from surrounding villages) consisted of more than 10,000 people, lived in the old city ghetto.[11]

On June 3–5, 1942, a team of Security Police from Łuck organized the first Aktion, assisted by the 1st Motorized Platoon of the Łuck Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. The victims were the residents of the old city ghetto, except for those few who were able to hide or escape, as well as the Judenrat (with the exception of its then chairman, Pommeranz) and the Jewish Police. The day before the Aktion, June 2, Pommeranz received an order to compile a list of those Jews living in the old city ghetto who were not to be deported and thus needed to move to the new city ghetto. The same evening, the Judenrat and Jewish Police received an order to arrive at 8:00 P.M. at the German Gendarmerie post on Łuck Street. They were ordered to go to the ghetto in the old city and announce to the Jews living there that they would be sent to work in the east. The Jewish residents thus had to gather on the streets immediately, with a small amount of baggage; those Jews who did not obey this order would be shot. The members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, accompanied by the German Gendarmes and Ukrainian police, announced the order to the residents. As they went from house to house, armed German Gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen stood on the ghetto streets and later also checked that all the Jews had left their houses. Men, women, and children had to form lines on the streets and were then taken to the railroad station under guard. Those who tried to hide or escape, as well as the elderly, ill, and children, were shot on the spot; approximately 300 Jews were killed in this manner. (A work party of Jews from the new city ghetto buried the victims in a pit in the Jewish cemetery. Later, peasants from the surrounding area dug up the bodies of these Jews and removed rings, gold watches, gold teeth, and their clothing, leaving many naked corpses scattered throughout the cemetery.)[12] From the station, Jews were taken in a freight train to the shooting place at a sandpit near Bachów, 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) north of Kowel. After their arrival, the Jews had to undress: men had to undress completely, and women had to undress down to their underwear. They were then forced to get into the pit in groups and

to lie down on their stomachs, at which point they were shot in the back of the head. The freight train took the clothing of the victims to the Kowel railway station, where, after the clothing was unloaded, the train was filled with new victims. Thus, during the mass shootings, which lasted three days, about 9,000 Jews were killed (men, women, and children); each day, approximately 3,000 people were killed.[13] However, more than 3,500 people, comprising mainly the craftsmen and their families, were excluded from the Aktion, while almost 1,000 Jews went into hiding in the city, and about 1,000 others escaped to nearby villages or into the forests.

On June 9, 1942, a few days after the liquidation of the old city ghetto, the German authorities imposed a "contribution" of 1 million rubles (soon increased to 1.5 million rubles) on the remaining Jews. This sum had to be paid by June 15. Besides this monetary penalty, Jews also had to surrender any gold, jewelry, or precious stones. Somehow the new Judenrat managed to meet these exorbitant demands, contributing 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of gold in addition to the required money.

After the liquidation of the old city ghetto, shootings of small groups of Jews regularly took place in the new city ghetto. In July 1942, Gebietskommissar Kassner personally shot 10 Jews near the Judenrat building because a search revealed that they were hiding money and foreign currency.[14]

On August 19, 1942, the ghetto in the new city was also liquidated: about 6,500 Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery, and 150 Gypsies were shot together with the Jews.[15] A team of Security Police and SD from Łuck carried out the shooting, with the active participation of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. Approximately 1,000 Jews managed to escape the initial liquidation, but most were soon captured by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie, which regularly searched the ghetto and the surrounding area for hidden Jews. Those they found were mostly brought to the Great Synagogue, where they were subsequently left for days without food and water before being removed to the Jewish cemetery and shot. Periodically, policemen would take out groups of young Jewish girls and rape them before returning them to the synagogue to await their deaths.[16] In the days of their captivity in the synagogue, many people wrote wills, requests for vengeance, and pleas for life on the walls of the synagogue. Many of these inscriptions, in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, were copied by survivors and are listed in the Kowel yizkor book.[17]

The last shooting took place on October 6, 1942, at the Roman Catholic cemetery, where graves were found, after the liberation of the city, containing the bodies of more than 2,000 people.[18] According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, altogether in 1941–1942, about 18,000 Jews were killed in Kowel, including the Jews from the surrounding villages.[19]

At the beginning of May 1942, two emissaries from the underground movement in Warsaw, Frumka Płotnicka and Tema Sznajdermann, succeeded in entering Kowel. On their return to Warsaw, they reported on resistance groups in the Kowel ghetto who had smuggled out arms from warehouses and passed them on to Soviet partisans active in the area. The hostile attitude of the partisan unit's commander (Nasyekin) foiled the resistance groups' efforts to leave the ghetto and go into the forests, and only a few succeeded in doing so.[20] Liuba Lederhendler, a native of Kowel born in 1921, managed to survive the liquidation of the ghetto and hide in the forests surrounding Kowel. She posed as a Christian and served as a courier for the partisan units in the area, which brought her into contact with Jewish partisans hiding in the forests. Two weeks before the entry of the Red Army into Kowel, the home she was living in was blown up by Russian shelling, and Liuba, forced to leave, was recognized by a Pole, denounced to the Gestapo, and subsequently shot.[21]

On September 28, 1966, Erich Kassner was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court in Oldenburg, West Germany. Erwin Gay was sentenced to 8 years and 6 months of imprisonment in 1967 in Darmstadt, and after a retrial in 1970, he was sentenced to 7 years and 8 months of imprisonment. On September 28, 1966, Fritz Manthei was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court in Oldenburg (case 2 Ks 1/64) in West Germany. Two former members of the Ukrainian police in Kowel were convicted: V. Lapchuk and P. Belogrud. When questioned, they testified that the Ukrainian police in Kowel not only participated in the annihilation of the Jews in Kowel but also drove to Ratno, Jezierzany, Kupiczów, and Powórsk to take part in the shooting of Jews there.

SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the Kowel ghetto can be found in the city's two yizkor books: Betsalel Baler, ed., *Pinkes Kovel* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn durkhn landsleyt fareyn fun Kovel un umgegnt in Argentine, 1951); and Eli'ezer Le'oni-Tsuperain, ed., *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron li-kehilatenu she-'alah 'aleh ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kovel be-Yisrael, 1957). A short article on the Jewish community of Kowel can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 158–165. Additional information on Kowel during the wartime period can be found in Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Naukowe PWN, 2000), pp. 916–918; Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Pub. House; New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), pp. 387–399; Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S." (Oneg Shabbat)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 33.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population in Kowel can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1644, 2152); BA-L (Verdict of LG-Old, 2 Ks 1/64); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-13); USHMM (RG-50.030*0188); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Schalkowsky
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. See the Judgement of LG-Trau on May 26, 1982 (5 Ks 11, Js 9437/78).

3. On September 28, 1966, Manthei was sentenced to life imprisonment by LG-Old (case 2 Ks 1/64) in West Germany.

4. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, pp. 85, 92; Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 447, 453–458.

5. Ia. Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreev Zapadnoi Ukrainy* (L'vov, 1998), p. 152. See Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 83.

6. Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, p. 411.

7. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 83.

8. Ibid., p. 84.

9. Telegram no. 230 sent by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, September 1, 1941, 09.30; see USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, Kommandostab des RFSS, Karton 2.

10. The sources differ on this date. The anonymous source published in Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, pp. 916–918, gives the date of May 27. Another source, Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 33, gives the date of May 17. Other sources give the date of May 21.

11. Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, pp. 916–918.

12. See Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 418–422.

13. Verdict of LG-Old, September 28, 1966 (2 Ks1/64), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 638; GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 217, 222, and reverse.

14. Verdict of LG-Old, September 28, 1966 (2 Ks1/64), in *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 638.

15. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 222–223 and reverse. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 93, cites the August 19 date.

16. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, pp. 94, 98–99.

17. Ibid, pp. 485–498.

18. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 213 and reverse.

19. Ibid., pp. 215, 217.

20. See Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 446–447.

21. Ibid., p. 522.

KOŻANGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Kożangródek (Yiddish: Koz'anhorodok), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kozhan-Gorodok, Luninets raion, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Koshangrudek, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kazhan-Haradok, Luninets raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kożangródek is a town located 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of Łachwa. In 1921 the Jewish population was 783.

The Red Army occupied Kożangródek on September 17, 1939, to the relief of the local Jews. In early July 1941, the Soviets fled, and the Germans captured the town. The Germans established a ghetto (probably around March 1942) in which approximately 950 Jews were incarcerated. The ghetto was liquidated in a single Aktion on the night of September 2–3, 1942, at the same time as the Łachwa ghetto. The German Gendarmerie and local police drove the Jews from the ghetto to a killing site near the Jewish cemetery. The Aktion was probably coordinated by SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhem Rasp, the commander of the Security Police and SD office in Pińsk. Some 40 men from the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 69, stationed in Łachwa, together with a similar number from the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 306, assisted by cordoning off the ghetto and the killing site. According to Soviet sources, the Germans and their collaborators shot a total of 937 Jews (including 325 women and 301 children), who were buried in a large mass grave 12 meters long and 4 meters wide (39 by 13 feet).[1]

It appears that there was only one survivor of the ghetto, Hershel Vilk. He recalled that many Jews tried to escape at the time of the Aktion, but the Germans and their collaborators managed to catch the others. The Red Army drove the German occupying forces out of Kożangródek in July 1944. By the end of the war, most Jewish houses were damaged or destroyed. No attempt was made to rebuild the Jewish community.[2]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Łuniniec and Kożangródek, edited by Yosef Ze'evi and others, *Yizkor Kehilot Luninyets—Koz'anhorodok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Luninyets ve-Koz'anhorodok be-Yisrael, 1952), includes a section on Kożangródek, but there are no accounts by survivors. There is also a short article on the Jewish community in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 310. The ghetto in Kożangródek is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 130. See also Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 718–719.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59); GARF (7021-90-31); NARB (861-1-11); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-11, p. 4; GARF, 7021-90-31, pp. 2 and reverse; see also Stephen Pallavicini, *The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie* (Sydney University, 2003), chapter 6, which gives the number of only 500 victims of the Aktion, presumably from German investigative sources. Other sources date the Aktion on August 18, 1942.

2. Moyshe Tsipershteyn, "Der letste kapitl," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor Kehilot Luninyets—Koz'anhorodok*, pp. 223–226, here p. 224.

KOZIN

Pre-1939: Kozin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kosin, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kozin, Radyvyliv raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Kozin is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Dubno. The 1921 census recorded 550 Jewish inhabitants in

Kozin. In 1931, there were 599, and in mid-1941, there were probably around 650 Jews living in Kozin.[1]

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kozin at the end of June 1941. A military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village in July and August 1941. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited a local Ukrainian police force.

A few days after the Germans' arrival, they ordered all the Jewish men to assemble, and local Ukrainians identified alleged Soviet collaborators, who were then shot. A few weeks later, the German-appointed administration carried out atrocities against the Jews. They set fire to the synagogue and its Torah scrolls, and 20 Jews were murdered.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kozin: Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later, a yellow circular patch); they were required to perform forced labor with little or no compensation; and they were forbidden to leave the village limits.

In September, a German civil administration took over. Kozin became the center of Rayon Kosin in Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was a man named Brocks, and from the spring of 1942 the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant Eberhardt.[3] There was a Gendarmerie post in Kozin, which took over responsibility for the Ukrainian police (renamed Schutzmannschaft).

On May 23, 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto[4] that held Jews brought in from surrounding villages as well as the Jews of Kozin. The ghetto consisted of about 30 small houses. One week later, on May 30, the Germans carried out the first Aktion in the nearby village of Hranowka, just to the west of Kozin. From the ghetto they selected 372 Jews considered unfit for work,[5] and these people were shot by a detachment of the Sipo and SD from Równe, with the assistance of the 1st Company, 33rd Reserve Police Battalion.[6] Skilled workers and their families were exempted from this Aktion, and some Jews evaded the Aktion by hiding. Once the Aktion was over, many of those who had hidden returned to the ghetto under the illusion that those who were working were protected.[7]

On October 6, 1942, the German authorities liquidated the Kozin ghetto,[8] shooting some 700 Jews in the village of Hranowka.[9] Assisted by the Ukrainian police and members of the German Gendarmerie, a Sipo and SD detachment from Równe carried out the mass shooting. On the eve of this Aktion, several dozen Jews succeeded in fleeing the ghetto, but many of them were subsequently caught by the Ukrainian police and shot. All told, during the period from 1941 to 1944, the German occupiers and their collaborators killed 1,288 inhabitants among the civilian population of the Kozin raion, including 1,029 Jews.[10] Jewish victims accounted for 79.9 percent of those killed.

Approximately 30 Jews were saved by Czech and Polish farmers who hid them. The Red Army drove the Germans out of Kozin in March 1944.

SOURCES A short article on the fate of the Jewish population of Kozin was published in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities, Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 165–166.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kozin can be found in these archives: AŻIH; DARO; GARF (7021-71-53); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 33456 and 45524); and YVA (M-1/E/947, O-3/1302, 4152).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 362.
2. "Kozin," in Spector *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. AŻIH (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html); Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
5. AŻIH (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html).
6. See the report of the HSSPF in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, in TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
7. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
8. According to AŻIH data (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html).
9. GARF, 7021-71-53, p. 2.
10. Ibid.

KRASILOV

Pre-1941: Krasilov, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Krasilow, Rayon center, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Krasyliv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Krasilov is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) southeast of Równe. According to the census of 1939, 1,250 Jews lived in Krasilov (17.2 percent of the total). There were an additional 1,442 Jews living in the villages of what was then the Krasilov raion, including the village of Kul'chitsy.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east or were conscripted into the Red Army. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Krasilov at the start of the occupation.

On July 8, 1941, forces of the German 6th Army occupied Krasilov. In July and August 1941, a German military administration took control of the town. The military authorities appointed a mayor and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force.

In September 1941, Krasilov was placed under German civil administration and included in Gebiet Antoniny. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer became the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny until 1943, when he was succeeded by Gerhard

Friedrich, who had served previously as his deputy.[1] A German Gendarmerie post with four Gendarmes was established in the town; it supervised the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and autumn of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Krasilov. Soon after the arrival of the German military authorities, Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the form of the Star of David, and later the Gebietskommissar ordered them to sew yellow patches onto the back and front of their clothing. In addition, they had to perform forced labor and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.

In or around October 1941, Mikhail Grinchuk, the head of the local Ukrainian administration in Krasilov, signed a public notice prepared by the Gebietskommissar informing all the Jews that they would have to live in a ghetto. Jews from the surrounding area were brought into Krasilov by the local police and were placed initially in three long one-story buildings next to where the market was located after World War II.[2] About two weeks after the announcement, Gerhard Friedrich, the deputy of the Gebietskommissar, arrived in Krasilov and organized the creation of the ghetto, personally choosing the section of town that was to be surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto, consisting of about 25 houses, was located adjacent to the buildings that initially held the new arrivals. The Gendarmerie and local police assisted Grinchuk in obtaining barbed wire for the ghetto.[3]

All the Jewish residents of Krasilov had moved into the cramped space of the ghetto by January 1, 1942, with the exception of the Jewish craftsmen (shoemakers, glaziers, plumbers) and their families, who now lived in three buildings outside the fence. The perimeter of the ghetto was guarded day and night by two to four Ukrainian policemen. Jews were officially prohibited from visiting the market, and no rations were provided. The worst aspect was the lack of access to water in the ghetto. However, some Jews were able to trade items for food with the local population and also to obtain water after making arrangements with the guards.[4] The local non-Jewish inhabitants of Krasilov became aware that Jews in the ghetto were dying, frequently from starvation or disease.

The Jews living in the ghetto were assigned forced labor tasks by the local administration, such as repairing roads or working in the sugar refinery, which was supervised by the Ukrainian police.

On April 25 or 26, 1942, the most respected and educated Jew in the ghetto, Moisha Hammerschmid, was summoned to the Gendarmerie post. On his return he bore the scars of beatings and torture and fainted into the arms of his fellow Jews. When he came round, he started to scream in Yiddish that everyone should try to get to safety wherever they could, as they all faced death. He then explained that the Gendarmerie had ordered all the ghetto inhabitants to assemble on the square next to the fence on the morning of May 1, as they were going to be resettled. They could take with them only property up to a weight of 16 kilograms (35 pounds) for adults and 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) for children.

On May 1 and 2, 1942, most of the Jewish population of the ghetto was resettled into a "labor camp" in a stable in the village of Orlintsy, close to Antoniny. At the end of May, the Germans also began to transfer the Jewish craftsmen to Orlintsy. While escorting a group of 44 Jews on foot to Orlintsy, Ukrainian police on horseback shot 8 Jews who fell behind the column, owing to weakness. In Orlintsy at this time, some 100 Jews from various locations in Gebiet Antoniny were being held. From the labor camp, selected Jews were forced daily to drag heavy stones in a cart behind them for several kilometers. Subsequently, most Jews from the Orlintsy camp were taken to Manivtsy to be killed. The Jewish survivor Moysey Katz managed to escape back to the Krasilov ghetto shortly after his transfer to Orlintsy at the end of May.[5]

In Krasilov, Katz continued to live in the buildings for specialist workers, while some elderly Jews and children remained in the ghetto, as they were unfit for work, together with a few adults who had somehow avoided the transfers.

In July 1942, the ghetto in Krasilov was cleared. The Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police drove the Jews out of the ghetto and escorted them on foot to the village of Manivtsy. Those who were unfit were loaded onto carts. In Manivtsy, they were held for a few days and then shot along with other Jews from Gebiet Antoniny.[6] The mass murder was organized by a detachment from the Security Police and SD outpost in Starokonstantinov. The Ukrainian police guarded the victims before they were shot and cordoned off the killing site during the shooting.[7]

The remaining 300 or so Jewish craftsmen with their families in Krasilov were then moved from the neighboring buildings into the ghetto, which was also reduced in size and now surrounded with two rings of barbed wire. On about September 10 or 12, 1942, the guard on the ghetto was strengthened, and about 30 Jews managed to flee at night, anticipating a final Aktion. The remaining craftsmen from the ghetto were also shot in Manivtsy. Many of those who escaped were subsequently also caught and shot.[8]

After the last Jews had been removed from the Krasilov ghetto, any remaining property of value was taken away by the Gendarmerie to Antoniny. The local population plundered the empty houses. With the permission of the Gebietskommissar, the local Ukrainian administration sold off some of the houses for local residents to live in, while others were dismantled either for firewood or as building material. Remaining items of lesser value, such as old furniture and crockery, were also sold to the local population. The proceeds from these sales, along with other local taxes, were booked to the account of the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny.[9]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Krasilov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (R863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-793, 800); and YVA (M-33). BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 442/67: Gebietskommissariat Antoniny) contains materials on the crimes committed by officials of the German police and civil administration in the Krasilov raion. In these files, there are some detailed

descriptions of the persecution and massacres of the Jewish population.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
2. Descriptions of the ghetto are all based on postoccupation testimonies.
3. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 199–203, statement of defendant Mikhail A. Grinchuk, March 30, 1947; see also vol. 1, p. 221, statement of Yakov M. Omelyaniuk, December 21, 1972; vol. 1, pp. 275–276, statement of Moysey M. Katz, December 22, 1972.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 275–277, statement of Katz.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 277–279, statement of Katz. See also Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
6. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
7. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 280–281, statement of Katz.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 199–203, statement of Grinchuk.

KRYMNO

Pre-1939: Krymno village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zabolot'e raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sabolotje, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stara Vyzhivka raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Krymno is located about 53 kilometers (33 miles) northwest of Kowel. In mid-1941, approximately 500 Jews (about 70 families) resided in the Zabolot'e raion, primarily in Krymno.

German forces occupied the village on June 22, 1941. Until early September 1941, the village was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), and then command was transferred to a German civil administration. Rayon Sabolotje was part of Gebiet Kowel. The first Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, but in June 1942 he was replaced by Erich Kassner. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp.[1] He was head of the Gendarmerie posts located in the former Soviet raion centers and of the Ukrainian auxiliary police. One of the Gendarmerie posts was located in Zabłocie (the center of Rayon Sabolotje), and in Krymno there was also a post of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.

In May 1942, on the orders of the Gebietskommissar, a ghetto was created in Krymno, into which Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes drove approximately 400 people from the villages of Rayon Sabolotje. Ukrainian policemen guarded the ghetto and repeatedly beat the Jews. The residents of the ghetto were forbidden to leave or to communicate with local non-Jews. Each resident of the ghetto received only a small portion of bread per day, as a result of a terrible shortage of food inside the ghetto.

On September 5, 1942, a ditch was dug near the village measuring 20 meters by 4 meters by 2 meters (65.6 by 13.1 by 6.6 feet). On September 6, Ukrainian policemen, led by the chief of the Ukrainian district police, N.G. Dufanets, as well as German Gendarmes from Zabłocie: Sitzler, Kaminski, and Wagner, shot all the residents of the ghetto (at least 386 people) in this ditch, on the orders of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Rapp. Among those killed were Mindell Leizer and his wife, mother-in-law, and three children; Shana Goldman and his family of four; Borukh Roytinstein and his family of five; and many others.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, there remained a labor camp in Zabłocie in which Jewish artisans were kept with their families. On January 9, 1943, the camp was liquidated: Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes shot 101 Jews.[2]

On August 28, 1980, the Volyn' Regional Court handed down a death sentence to the former head of the Ukrainian police in Rayon Sabolotje, Dufanets, as well as to two former Ukrainian policemen in Krymno, A.L. Bubela and F.Ye. Rybachuk, who played an active role in the murder of the Jews of the Krymno ghetto. Kyrylo Zvarich, another local policeman who escaped to Britain after the war, died peacefully in Bolton in 1986 despite repeated Soviet requests for his extradition.[3]

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jewish population of Krymno can be found in the following archives: DASBU-Lu; DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-3). There are no publications specifically focused on the Krymno ghetto; more general publications containing information on the ghetto are cited in the notes.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; verdict of LG-Old, 2 Ks 1/64 (case against Erich Kassner and Fritz Manthei) on September 28, 1966.
2. Verdict of the Volyn Regional Court in the Case of Traitors of the Homeland N.G. Dufanets, A.L. Bubela, and F.Ye. Rybachuk, published in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine 1941–1944. Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987), pp. 345–352; P. Shafeta, *Stroku davnosti ne isnue* (Kiev, 1984), pp. 68–78, 128–134.
3. David Cesarani, *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals* (London: William Heinemann, 1992), pp. 195–196.

KRZEMIENIEC

Pre-1939: Krzemieniec (Yiddish: Kremenets), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kremenets, raion center, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kremenez, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kremenets', Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Krzemieniec is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) south-southeast of Łuck. In 1931, 7,256 Jews lived there (26.5 per-



Three young Luftwaffe personnel publicly humiliate an elderly Jew in the streets of Krzemieniec, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #09527, COURTESY OF IPN

cent of the population). By 1941, the Jewish population exceeded 12,000, including more than 4,000 refugees. After the start of the German invasion, several hundred young Jews were able to flee into the Soviet Union.

The Germans occupied the town on July 3, 1941.[1] During July and August 1941, a German military administration temporarily governed the town; in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The town became the administrative center of Gebiet Kremenez, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.[2] A Ukrainian local council and police force were created in Krzemieniec. The Ukrainian police, renamed the Schutzmannschaft, was subordinate to the German Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes.

According to a report dated July 20, 1941, by Einsatzgruppe C based in Zhitomir, the Soviets had killed 100 to 150 Ukrainians just before their retreat from Krzemieniec. Some of these people were apparently thrown into a cauldron of boiling water, as evidenced by the fact that the corpses, when exhumed, had no skin. The German Einsatzgruppe report states that on July 3, 1941, "the Ukrainians killed 130 Jews with clubs as a form of revenge."[3] The account of B. Shvarts indicates that the pogrom lasted for several days. He reports that Jewish stores were robbed, and Jews were badly beaten and thrown in jail. The SS and "Gendarmerie" (probably "Feldgendarmerie" of the Wehrmacht) assisted the Ukrainians, who arrived in groups from the surrounding villages to beat and kill Jews. Shvarts writes that a group of Jews bribed the German commandant to stop the murders; he estimates that about 800 Jews died during the pogrom.[4]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Krzemieniec: a Judenrat was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a white armband with a Star of David on the right arm, and then a yellow patch sewn on the shoulder, a little below the collar), and they were compelled to perform forced labor during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. It was forbidden for Jews to use the sidewalks, and they had to take off their hats when passing a German.

On one occasion, a Jewish child who had tried to buy something in the marketplace was caught and forced to dance on a table and then lick a German's spit off the table. On another occasion, German officials sent the beadle home and stole everything valuable from the synagogue. They then brought in barrels of kerosene and other flammable material and set the synagogue on fire. Only its stone walls were left standing. Afterwards, the Gestapo came to the Judenrat to "investigate" who had burned down the synagogue. They wrote an official report claiming that the Jews had burned it down themselves. Gebietskommissar Müller decided to pull down the walls of the burned-out synagogue and sow the place where it stood with grass. During the destruction of the walls, one wall fell and crushed some people.[5]

On July 23, 1941, the German Security Police arrested and killed members of the Jewish "intelligentsia" (several hundred people).[6] According to Shvarts, the Gestapo arrived in Krzemieniec and ordered the Judenrat to collect people with an academic status for forced labor. Those gathered (mostly intelligentsia and religious leaders) were taken away to be shot: 800 people were killed, destroying the fabric of the Jewish community's leadership.[7]

Soon after their arrival, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first chairman was Dr. Benjamin Katz, and other members included Dr. Buzi Landesberg and Dr. Lione Grinberg. The Judenrat consisted of well-respected individuals from the town as well as refugees from the west who knew German.[8] After Katz was murdered for his refusal to collaborate with the Nazis, Bronfeld became the Judenrat chairman (in the summer of 1942). After Bronfeld was killed by the Nazis, Dr. Mandel became chairman. The Judenrat



The burning of a synagogue in Krzemieniec, 1941.
USHMM WS #09528, COURTESY OF IPN



Jews wearing circular badges walk through town during a deportation from the Krzemieniec ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #09524 COURTESY OF IPN

was responsible for supplying Jews for forced labor and for distributing the daily bread ration of 75 grams (2.6 ounces) per person.

The head of the Jewish Police was Dr. Mandel from Kraków, who spoke German well. Two of the Jewish policemen acted as German agents: Bronfeld, a Czech Jew (who later became Judenrat chairman), and a Jew from Łódź, Itsi Diamant. Diamant was connected to an international band of thieves and swindlers. He was shot when diamonds were discovered in his house. Before the establishment of the ghetto, the Jewish Police were responsible for collecting contributions and for ensuring that people went to work as instructed. The police would go from house to house, collecting people for forced labor. The workers were fed a half-liter (16.9 ounces) of soup and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per day. Cleanliness was very important and enforced by the Jewish Police, as was the 7:00 P.M. curfew. The police helped smuggle food into the ghetto at night because they were allowed past the ghetto guards.[9]

On March 1, 1942, the remaining Jews (about 8,000 people) were driven into a ghetto.[10] The ghetto was located in the west part of town. It was 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) long and 100 meters (328 feet) wide. It was initially set up at the end of January 1942 and sealed off from the rest of the town on March 1. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence 3 meters (9.8 feet) high. Although Jews were allowed to bring in their belongings, the ghetto was so overcrowded that there was nowhere to put them, and much had to be left behind.[11]

Some 10 to 12 people died of hunger every day, owing to the meager daily bread allotment. Gebietskommissar Müller issued some 500 death sentences based on false accusations of alleged "crimes." The German authorities demanded a "contribution" of 25 tons of grain. Women and men were forced to have short hair. Jews had to dismantle the Jewish cemetery because the Germans needed the stones for their own construction projects. Müller ordered the Judenrat to set up a brothel for Jewish youths aged 16 to 19. Every youth was ordered to visit the brothel and received a special note acknowledging his visit. This order was revoked for youths whose parents could afford to pay off the Germans. In August 1941, Jews had to "contribute" more than 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold and silver to Müller.

A standard day in the ghetto proceeded in the following way: first, people stood in line in the morning at one of the three wells for water. After cleaning and sweeping the streets, people went to the kitchen for soup and to distribution points for bread. Sometimes people fought for bread when there was not enough, and the police had to intervene. The youths were taken to their workplaces; people walked in columns, with a policeman at the head. On the way back from work, people were searched and beaten if the Germans caught them smuggling anything. The hospital was not assigned any food, so workers would sometimes bring some back for the sick. There was an illegal market in the ghetto.[12]

Once, a drunken German entered the ghetto. All the adults ran away, leaving only the children. The German gave them all candy and embraced and kissed them. Then he cried and lamented, "Poor Jewish children! Why does that damned Hitler persecute you?" The ghetto guards could sometimes be bribed to let wagons of food into the ghetto.

When the Jews in the Krzemieniec ghetto heard about killing Aktions in other towns, they began to look for ways to escape death. Some people escaped from the ghetto; others built hiding places underground (bunkers). The bunkers were so small, however, that people were unable to stay in them for an entire Aktion, and many ended up coming out. Others were able to build bunkers that had electricity and sewage facilities. In mid-1942, there were about 8,500 Jews in the ghetto.[13]

One week before the final Aktion (in August 1942), the German forces made announcements in the city, inciting the local population against the Jews. On Saturday, August 9, 1942, the workers received an order to report to the trains after work to load grain onto wagons. They worked half the night, which ensured that they would be even more exhausted than usual and unable to resist when the Aktion was carried out. During the night of August 9–10, loud shooting broke out in the ghetto. The ghetto fence was torn down, and Jews were dragged out of their houses. Some people were caught in the crossfire and died in the ghetto; some people escaped to their hiding places. About 60 Gendarmes and a force of Ukrainian Schutzmänner, mainly from the locally based battalion, entered the ghetto. The Nazis claimed that the shooting throughout the night was carried out by Jews who had initiated an uprising.

The Judenrat was ordered to gather all those capable of work at the gate. The Gendarmes and the Security Police performed a selection to determine who would be removed from the ghetto. People were lined up at the gates in two long lines, and the Ukrainians stood between the two lines. The security forces led people in groups of 400 from the gate to Belaia Krinitsa under heavy guard. Those who tried to escape were shot. According to one account, 1,500 able-bodied prisoners were dispatched to perform forced labor in Belaia Krinitsa,[14] while another account gives the number as 1,200 Jewish craftsmen.[15]

The first victims of the Aktion (which took place on the following day) were the patients in the hospital and the poor, who occupied a former hotel. They were gathered in the synagogue square and taken from there to the old barracks behind the city in wagons or on foot. The victims were beaten and forced to undress and lie down in the ditches. Local Christians watched as the victims were shot. The German police and their collaborators returned to the ghetto to look for people hiding in bunkers. The cries of infants often gave people away. Sometimes the children were suffocated or poisoned by their desperate parents. Some people committed suicide with their families to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.[16] The Aktion was carried out by a team of Security Police and SD with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including the 102nd Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft battalion, based in the town before its transfer to antipartisan operations in Belorussia. About 5,000 Jews from the ghetto and half the Jews in Belaia Krinitsa were killed.[17]

On August 14, 1942, 1,500 more Jews were shot, making a total of 6,402 people.[18] A German report dated August 15 states that Jews from the small nearby ghetto in Bereżce were brought in trucks to Krzemieniec and killed along with the local Jews. The victims were 2,322 men, 2,925 women, and 1,155 children.[19] On August 16, 1942, about 400 Jews from Belaia Krinitsa were killed together with Jews captured in the ghetto and transported to the killing site in two cars. Some 200 craftsmen were brought from Belaia Krinitsa to the prison in Krzemieniec. On August 20, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD shot 1,210 more Jews (848 women and children and 362 men). During the night of September 2, 1942, Jews hiding in the ghetto set it on fire to cover their escape. Most of them were captured and shot (several hundred people).[20]

Another account states that the Germans set the ghetto on fire to kill the Jews remaining in hiding. Firemen were brought in to make sure the fire did not spread outside the ghetto. The people escaping the fire from the bunkers were killed by the firemen, Germans, and Ukrainians.[21] Additionally, 120 Jewish craftsmen from the prison were shot on September 2. Later the remaining craftsmen were killed.[22]

Sixteen-year-old R. Kravets witnessed the slaughter on August 10, 1942, and recorded the following in his diary: "Behind the town there is an old entrenchment, about a kilometer [0.6 mile] in length . . . that is where the execution took place. The removal of the Jews from the ghetto began at approximately 3:00 A.M. and lasted until late in the night." He writes that people were loaded into a truck in layers: the first people on the bottom of the truck, the next set on top of the first, and so on. There was absolute silence; no one talked or screamed or cried. Trucks returned, filled with clothing. The drunken Ukrainian policemen pocketed the victims' watches and hid clothing in secure places in the forest to pick up later for themselves. At the site of the killings, the victims were unloaded from the truck, forced to undress, and led one by one to the entrenchment.

The entrenchment was filled with human bodies, covered with chlorine. People were forced to lie down on the corpses and were shot by two Gestapo men. Some Jews resisted, not wanting to undress or get into the ditch. These people were shot on the spot and thrown into the pit. When it seemed full, a policeman covered it with some earth, and the people were led to the adjacent ditch. The Ukrainian policemen were constantly given alcohol to keep them drunk. "People were completely apathetic—they just wanted it to end, and quickly: this is a result of the famine and beatings."[23]

It appears that only a handful of Jews from the ghetto survived.[24]

SOURCES Several firsthand accounts of events in the ghetto can be found in the yizkor book, which contains material in Hebrew and Yiddish, edited by Abraham Stein, *Pinkas Kremenets: Sefer Zikkaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Kremenits be-Yisrael, 1954). There is also some material concerning survivors from Krzemieniec in M. Goldenberg et al., eds., *Kol yotsai Kremenits be-Yisrael v'batfutsot* (Booklet 11) (Tel Aviv: Organization of Kremenets Emigrants, 1974); see www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/kremenets1/kremenets1.html.

Documents on the annihilation of the Jews of Krzemieniec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1393); BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); GARF (7021-75-3); IPN; and YVA (JM/324 and JM/10598).

Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Another source indicates that the Germans entered the town on July 4; see B. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology and the Destruction of Kremenets," in Stein, *Pinkas Kremenets*, pp. 416–435, here p. 416.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 28, July 20, 1941. According to another source, 300 to 500 Jews were killed during the pogrom organized by local Ukrainian antisemites; see GARF, 7021-75-6, pp. 13 reverse, 20, and 49.
4. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 418.
5. Ibid., pp. 419–422.
6. GARF, 7021-75-3, p. 14.
7. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 420. According to Shvarts, the Aktion took place in August.
8. Ibid., p. 418.
9. Ibid., pp. 423–426.
10. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 173–174. Kruglov notes that the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report gives the figure of some 13,000 Jews enclosed in the ghetto. However, in light of subsequent reports on the fate of the ghetto's Jews, this number is almost certainly too high.
11. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 421.
12. Ibid., pp. 423–425.
13. Ibid., p. 428.
14. Ibid., pp. 431–433.
15. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.

16. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 434.
17. Evidence of the participation of the Ukrainian police battalion can be found in BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, pp. 311–324, J.K.K. on February 14, 1969, and M.D.K. on February 19, 1969.
18. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
19. IPN, Zbiór Zespołów Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji—Sygnatura 77.
20. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
21. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 435. This account also indicates that the Germans tried to spread rumors that the people hiding in the ghetto had started the fire, but the Ukrainians did not believe this, as they had seen the Nazis setting the ghetto on fire and forbidding anyone to put it out.
22. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
23. R. Kravchenko-Berezhnoi, *Moi XX vek (Stop-kadry)* (Apatity, 1998), pp. 118–119. See also A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 396–397.
24. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 435.

KUL'CHINY

Pre-1941: Kul'chiny, village, Krasilov raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kultschiny, Rayon Krasilow, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kul'chyny, Krasyliv raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kul'chiny is located 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) south-southeast of Równe. In the 1930s, the village was the center of a Jewish rural sel'sovet. As of 1931, 1,060 Jews lived in Kul'chiny. As a result of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the movement of Jews to other regions during the early 1930s, the Jewish population decreased by several hundred persons.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews (about 20 families) were able to evacuate to the east, and some Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army. About 400 Jews (including some 40 craftsmen) remained in Kul'chiny at the start of the occupation.[1]

In early July 1941, troops of the German 6th Army occupied Kul'chiny. In July and August 1941, the occupying German military authorities appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kul'chiny became part of Rayon Krasilow in Gebiet Antoniny, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer became the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Antoniny, which included Kul'chiny, were organized in 1942 by officials of the Security Police outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Starokonstantinov, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf,[2] assisted by the chief of the Gendarmerie, Karl Otto Paul.[3] The head of the Ukrainian police in Antoniny was named Galitzky.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kul'chiny. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings, first in the shape of the Star of David, later patches in the shape of a yellow circle, sewn onto their clothes. In addition, they were required to perform arduous manual labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to arbitrary robbery and humiliation by the Ukrainian police.

In late 1941 or early 1942, Gebietskommissar Schorer issued an order posted in public places to establish ghettos in Bazaliia, Krasilov, and Kul'chiny. The Jews of the Gebiet were ordered to move to one of these places, where they would be confined to a specific quarter (ghetto).[4] Shortly afterwards, a ghetto was established in Kul'chiny, consisting of about 25 houses. The Jews were made to erect the barbed-wire fence themselves. The Jewish houses outside the ghetto area remained empty or were pulled down to make room for the fence or for other purposes. Initially there was no permanent guard around the ghetto, but the Jews were afraid to go into the village, as this was prohibited. According to one account, some Jews escaped from the ghetto, and those who were caught were shot by the German security forces. The Jews were also forbidden to converse with the local Ukrainian population.[5]

From time to time, the Germans and local police came to Kul'chiny and escorted groups of Jews to perform forced labor, such as road work in Antoniny or other places. The Jews received no rations but lived on whatever they could get from the local Ukrainian population. The Germans and local police humiliated the ghetto inhabitants in every conceivable way. When they were forced to dismantle their houses and load the materials onto carts for transport to Antoniny, Jews (even young Jewish girls) were forced to take the place of the horses that ordinarily pulled the carts. The precise number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but it was about 400 or 500, probably including some brought in from nearby villages such as Kuz'min.[6]

Sometime around the end of May 1942, part of the Jewish population from the ghetto was resettled into a labor camp based in a stable in the village of Orlintsy, close to Antoniny, where they worked repairing roads and performing other tasks.[7]

In July 1942, the ghetto in Kul'chiny was liquidated. Members of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police from Gebiet Antoniny surrounded the ghetto and escorted the roughly 60 remaining Jews to the village of Manivtsy. Those unable to walk were loaded onto carts. In Manivtsy, many of the Jews of the Gebiet were collected before being taken out and shot, including those from the Orlintsy camp. Initially the Jews from Kul'chiny were held overnight in a stable in Manivtsy, and on the following day, once the grave was ready, the Jews were transported in trucks to a nearby wood.[8] As they were being unloaded, a local resident of Manivtsy recognized the Jewish teacher Solomyonnaya from Kul'chiny, who used to teach his son. The woman was pulling her hair out and shouted to a local policeman that she was a teacher; she tried to show him a document, but the policeman

knocked her to the ground with a blow to the head from his rifle butt.[9]

A German SD man shot the Jews into a pit roughly 20 meters long by 4 meters wide (65.6 by 13.1 feet). Two Jews who attempted to flee were shot dead as they ran. There were probably several such mass shootings organized here by the Security Police and SD unit based in Starokonstantinov as successive groups of Jews arrived in Manivtsy. The Ukrainian police were responsible for escorting the victims before the shootings and for cordoning off the killing site.[10] About 200 Jewish craftsmen from the Krasilov ghetto, together with some other Jews still held at Manivtsy, were shot on the grounds of the estate in Manivtsy in September 1942.[11]

After the Jews had been removed from the Kul'chiny ghetto, the Gebietskommissar took over responsibility for the empty houses. Most were dismantled, and the materials were taken to Antoniny to be used by German officials as firewood. The local Ukrainian authorities sold only a few houses for local residents to live in.[12]

There were very few survivors of the Kul'chiny ghetto.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Kul'chiny is located in the following archives: BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO (R863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-793); VHF (# 30137); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 315–316, statement of Mikhail I. Moskaliuk, March 21, 1973.
2. Graf died in 1953.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Concluding Report, March 18, 1971, and Instruction (Verfügung), June 18, 1974. Schorer perished in 1943, and Paul died in 1969.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 368–374, statement of Pyotr Tomchuk, December 18, 1972. Tomchuk dates the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-64-793, pp. 95, 98; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 209, statement of Yakov Y. Kondratiuk, December 19, 1972; and p. 217, statement of Moskaliuk, March 21, 1973.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 217, statement of Domna Moskaliuk.
7. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
8. Ibid.; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtsy), March 14, 1973; vol. 1, pp. 256–261, statement of Pyotr A. Doshchuk, January 19, 1973 (former local policeman in Gebiet Antoniny); vol. 1, pp. 287–299, statement of Vasily S. Lysink, February 1, 1973 (former local policeman from Antoniny).
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 214, statement of Nikolay S. Kravchuk, March 15, 1973.
10. Ibid., Concluding Report, March 18, 1971, and Instruction, June 18, 1974; vol. 1, pp. 256–261, statement of Doshchuk.
11. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Paska.
12. Ibid., pp. 199–203, statement of Mikhail A. Grinchuk in his own case, March 30, 1947.

KUPEL'

Pre-1941: Kupel', village, Volochisk raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kupel, Rayon Wolotschisk, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volochisk raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kupel' is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,828 Jews living in the village (43.2 percent of the total population). In the years 1927–1941, the number of Jews in the village was almost halved as a result of emigration and the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Kupel' on July 5, 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, and men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. Around 800 to 900 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The Ortskommandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Kupel' became part of Gebiet Proskurow (Gebietskommissar: Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck), which in turn belonged to Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

At the start of the occupation, it was above all the rabbi of Kupel', 55-year-old Itzhak Meir Glaser, who was tortured and subjected to violations of dignity. He managed to escape and hide. Then the Germans took 51 hostages and declared that they would be executed unless the rabbi showed up. To save these people, Glaser voluntarily came out of hiding. Nevertheless, most of the hostages perished: they had been confined within a very small space, such that they were forced to lie on top of each other; the doors and windows of this tiny room were tightly closed, and as a result almost everyone, except those in the very top layer, suffocated during the night. The corpses were buried in a pit near the monument to Lenin, and sometime later, when the smell of putrefaction became noticeable, they were reburied in the Jewish cemetery. The rabbi was murdered and buried with the hostages.[1]

In the summer of 1941 a "Jewish quarter" (an open ghetto) was established in the village. Mikhail Furman and his family, who arrived from the nearby village of Klininy shortly after the arrival of the Germans, lived there in a two-bedroom house together with two other families. He recalled that everyone in the ghetto had to wear a yellow star, and they were forbidden to go outside without wearing it—or they would be killed on the spot. The Jews were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. Every day the local police would come around and demand any gold or valuable items from the Jews. If they did not surrender their possessions right away, they were shot.

There was not much to eat in the ghetto, and ghetto residents often went hungry. However, there was a market

where they could buy or barter items for food. At the market, some Ukrainians still gave them food, even if they had no means to pay for it. The efforts of these Ukrainians saved them, as the Jewish Council (Judenrat) had requisitioned their remaining property to meet German contributions.[2]

The Kupel' ghetto was liquidated in August 1942 when about 600 Jews were resettled to Volochisk. On September 11, 1942, the Jewish New Year, they were murdered there, along with the other Jews gathered in that town. Some of the Jews managed to escape at the time of the roundup and were not resettled to Volochisk. The Ukrainian police regularly conducted raids in search of the Jews in hiding, and all those who were captured and brought to Kupel' were shot in the Jewish cemetery.[3]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jewish community of Kupel' during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Kupel," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 690; T. Perlshtein, "Kupel: In Memory of My Shtetl and the Dear Ones Who Died There" (unpub. memoirs, Oakland, 1996); and "Rav Itzhak Meir Glaser & Gitl Perelman," available at www.geocities.com/kuzja14/death_of_jews_of_kupel.doc.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Kupel' can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (R863-2-39); GARF (7021-64-795); VHF (# 39625); and YVA (M-52/179).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. DAKhO, R863-2-39, p. 74; see also the letter of Kupel' native M. Adler to Bertha Glaser (the rabbi's daughter; at that time she was in the Kemerovo oblast', involved in Zionist activity) dated June 4, 1944 originally at www.geocities.com. These events, it seems, took place on the second day of the village's occupation, that is, on July 6, 1941, and at the same time, according to ChGK documents, 100 hostages were taken, of which 89 perished (GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 139). VHF, # 39625, testimony of Mikhail Furman, also mentions 50 or 60 Jews murdered in Kupel' at the start of the occupation.
2. VHF, # 39625.
3. GARF, 7021-64-795, pp. 139 and reverse. In all, it seems 172 Jews were captured and shot.

ŁACHWA

Pre-1939: Łachwa, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lakhva, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachwa, Rayon Luninez, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lakhva, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łachwa lies on the Smierc River, 80 kilometers (50 miles) east of Pińsk. In the late 1930s, Łachwa had a total population of about 3,800. Approximately 2,300 Jews were living in Łachwa on the eve of World War II. In September 1939, approximately 350 Jews who had managed to escape from Poland found refuge in Łachwa.[1]

The first German troops reached Łachwa on July 7–8, 1941. A Judenrat was set up, headed by Dov Lopatin, who had been the chair of the Zionist organization in Łachwa before the war. Jews were compelled to wear an armband bearing the Star of David and were conscripted for forced labor.[2]

The ghetto in Łachwa was established on April 4, 1942.[3] It consisted of 45 one-story houses. About 2,350 people were forced into the ghetto, which, as in Pińsk, amounted to roughly 1 square meter (10.8 square feet) per person.[4] The ghetto was located on the river and was divided by a road that split it into a larger and a smaller part. Jews from the surrounding villages were also confined there. The ghetto was fenced in and guarded by the police force recruited from local Ukrainian and Belorussian residents. The meager food allowance for Jews in the ghetto (200 grams [7 ounces] of bread per day) drove Jews to seek food outside the ghetto. Leaving the ghetto without permission was punishable by death.

In August and September 1941, news of massacres in the surrounding towns spread in Łachwa. Beginning in January 1942, Jewish youth organized underground groups, with the first group of 5 youths coming together under the leadership of Isaac Roszczyn, the head of the Revisionist Betar youth group. Soon five more groups of 5 formed, bringing the total of underground members to 30. Other members of the resistance included Asher Hafets, Hersz Migdalowicz, Icie Slucki, the brothers Fajnberg, Lejzor Romanowski, and Lopatkin.[5] The groups established contact with partisans in the area and with the Judenrat to secure funding and weapons, although antisemitism among local partisan groups limited the effectiveness of such contacts. While efforts to secure firearms were largely unsuccessful, members did manage to acquire axes, knives, and iron bars. Some firearms and grenades, which had been purchased, were hidden in the village of Liubka Lachowska. The Judenrat and the youth movement cooperated closely. The Judenrat also had offered money to purchase arms. Some members of the youth movement were also members of the Jewish Police who worked with both the Judenrat and the underground movement.

The liquidation of the Łachwa ghetto, which lay in the administrative area of the Łuniniec Security Police (Sipo) outpost (Aussendienststelle), began on September 2, 1942. SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp and his assistant Petsch led the Aktion; SS men Patik, Balbach, and Dohmen were among the hands-on executioners.[6] All these men were part of the Sipo outpost in Pińsk. Support was given by the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 306 and by the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 69. Wehrmacht forces stationed in Łuniniec cordoned off the ghetto. The Judenrat was told to assemble all the Jews on the streets.

During the previous month, August 1942, the Jews in the Łachwa ghetto received news of the fate of the Mikaszewicze ghetto.[7] At the time this information arrived, some local

farmers had already excavated large pits in the vicinity of the town on the banks of the Smierc River. The pits were dug at night, and the victims knew full well that a mass grave had been prepared.[8]

Knowledge of the impending liquidation prompted different responses within the Jewish population. In general there was a feeling of helplessness and confusion within the community. Roszczyn and other members of his organization began to prepare for armed resistance. Although Roszczyn wanted to break out of the ghetto the night before, Lopatin asked him for time so that he could learn more about the Germans' intentions. The Judenrat raised the issue of the continued existence of the ghetto with the Germans at two levels, first, with Ebner of the Gebietskommissariat, who informed the Judenrat that the same fate awaited the Łachwa ghetto if its inhabitants attempted to escape. He demanded and received from the Judenrat a list of the names of the ghetto inhabitants. Second, the chairman of the Judenrat, Lopatin, made inquiries with the Wehrmacht and was told that "the Jewish population has an important task ahead of them" and that the pits were purely for military purposes. Lopatin was summoned to Ebner just prior to the ghetto liquidation. Ebner waived all pretense and informed him that the ghetto was to be liquidated and, in an attempt to obtain cooperation, proposed a deal whereby the doctor, the members of the Judenrat, and 30 artisans of Lopatin's choosing would be spared. Lopatin declined the offer and refused to cooperate with the Germans, choosing instead to initiate the uprising that Roszczyn had demanded.

When the liquidation Aktion commenced, trucks were parked on the street dividing the ghetto. The smaller part of the ghetto was to be liquidated first. Immediately after the Sipo forces entered the ghetto, Lopatin set fire to the Judenrat headquarters, which was the signal to begin the uprising. Other buildings in the ghetto were then set alight, and the Jews tried to escape while the ghetto was burning. Thus the Łachwa Judenrat made a conscious decision to forego the illusion of salvation and to share the fate of the Jewish population. The Sipo forces retaliated with machine gun and rifle fire[9] in an attempt to herd the Jews already assembled onto the trucks. Members of the underground attacked German forces, using axes, stones, and cleavers. Roszczyn killed a Gestapo officer with an ax and jumped into the river but was shot in the head.[10] Lopatin, who had joined the fighters, was injured in the hand but managed to flee to the forest. The Jews had some hand grenades, which they used against the Germans.[11] Chajm Chajfec was able to get the gun of a dead Gendarme and returned fire on the Germans. The resistance managed to kill six German and eight Belorussian policemen and injure some others. Approximately 1,000 Jews broke out of the ghetto, but hundreds were killed by German machine-gun fire, and only 600 managed to reach the Pripjet River. Others died in the flames, which enveloped the ghetto, and those who did not escape in the flight from the ghetto were brought to the pits and shot. Kopel Kolpanitzky recalled his flight from the ghetto: "The machine guns on the other side of the river opened fire along the length of Rinkowa Street, wounding fleeing Jews and killing them. . . . I also ran quickly, as the people who ran in front of me were shot and killed, their bodies falling next to me and their blood sprayed on my body." Many of the 600 Jews who escaped into the forests tried to join the partisans, but at least 120 died or were captured before contact could be made.[12] In the first few days after the escape, many were hunted down by the Germans and killed or handed over by local farmers.[13] Some did succeed in joining the partisans. In the ghetto, the shooting was over by early afternoon. At least 300 were murdered at the pits. Another 1,500 Jews were killed during the uprising. At the end of the war, only 90 of the escapees from the Łachwa ghetto were still alive.

The Łachwa Judenrat acknowledged the reality of the imminent murder of the Jews and rebelled. It is interesting that such rebellions mostly took place in the smaller towns. This can perhaps be explained by the more tightly knit community and less-stringent control by the Germans, which meant that the Jews had more opportunity to resist than in the larger towns. In some other ghettos, better contacts with people outside enabled more of the young Jews to arm themselves.

SOURCES Published sources include the Łachwa yizkor book: H.A. Mikhaeli, Y. Lichtshtein, Y. Moravtsik, and H. Shklar, eds., *Rishonim la-mered: Lahva* (Tel Aviv: Entsyklopedyah shel Galuyot, 1957). Also useful are the memoirs of Kopel Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-hayim: sipuro shel nitsol geto Lahva* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1999), now also available in English as *Sentenced to Life: The Story of a Survivor of the Lahwah Ghetto*, trans. Harold Jacobson (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). Another relevant publication used for this entry is Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 261–262.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/286, 2441, and 3087); BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59); Sta. Braunschweig; USHMM (RG-50.030*0260); VHF; and YVA (O-3/475, 481, 487-90, and 496).

Stephen Pallavicini and Avinoam Patt

NOTES

1. Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-hayim*, p. 34.
2. Michaeli et al., *Rishonim la-mered*, pp. 44–45.
3. Izak Lichtenberg, AŻIH, 301/2441; also Leja Romanowska, 301/286. Mikhaeli notes in *Rishonim la-mered* that the Jews were forced into the ghetto on April 4, 1942 (14 Adar, 5702), the eve of the holiday of Passover; see p. 54.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 16, p. 4449, and vol. 19, p. 4711.
5. Leja Romanowska, AŻIH, 301/286.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Otto Scholl, April 4, 1963, 2538.
7. Ibid., statement of Leon Slutzky, 9637. See also Mikhaeli et al., *Rishonim la-mered*, pp. 58–59.
8. AŻIH, 301/3087.
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Bakalczuk, February 5, 1972, 6792.
10. Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-hayim*, p. 61.

11. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Scholl, April 4, 1963, 2538.

12. Mojżesz Romanowski says that, in addition, 150 Jews were murdered by the partisans.

13. Kolpanitzky managed to hide in the pig shed of a local farmer before joining a group in the forest; see his *Nigzar le-hayim*, pp. 65–66. See also USHMM, RG-50.030*0260.

ŁANOWCE

Pre-1939: Łanowce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lanovtsy, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lanowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lanivtsi, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Łanowce is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Krzemieniec. At the end of 1937, the number of Jews in Łanowce stood at 760.[1] In the fall of 1939, several hundred Jewish refugees from western and central Poland arrived in Łanowce, but during 1940 some of these people were deported to the interior of the USSR.

After the German attack on the USSR on June 22, 1941, several Jewish families managed to evacuate to the east. However, most Jews did not want to leave or were unable to flee because of the rapid advance of the German troops. Therefore, the majority of the town's Jews came under German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Łanowce on July 3, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Łanowce became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. Regierungsrat Fritz Müller was the Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec.[2] The German commandant soon named the Ukrainian Jakov Sutski as the town's headman (sołtys) and organized a local Ukrainian police force. In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft and subordinated to the post of the German Gendarmerie established in the town, which consisted of several German Gendarmes. The senior German official in Łanowce was a man named Richter, who had a reputation among the Jews as a brutal sadist.[3]

Soon after the occupation of the town by German troops, a group of Ukrainian antisemites organized a pogrom that left 60 Jews dead, Jewish girls raped, and Jewish homes looted. Local Ukrainians also used this opportunity to settle their own personal scores.[4] A few days later, 10 respected Jews were arrested and held as hostages in prison, where they were also starved. Persons alleged to have cooperated with the Soviets were also arrested. According to local Ukrainians, the prisoners were later escorted to the nearby village of Białozórka, where they were murdered. One Jewish survivor recalls that during these initial days the Ukrainian headman announced that "Jews were forbidden to have children and that the punishment would be for the man to be castrated and the woman made barren."[5]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Łanowce. Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later replaced by a yellow patch sewn onto their chest and back). They had to surrender all gold and valuable items, and they were made to perform forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to transmit their orders to the Jewish population and to ensure their prompt enforcement. The active members of the Judenrat were Yerukham Forman (the son of Ben Avraham Mash'hes) and Abramov, a refugee from Katowice.[6]

On February 28, 1942, the German authorities ordered the Jews to construct a ghetto fence between 2 and 4 meters (6.6 and 13.1 feet) high, made of wooden planks. The work took several days to complete under the supervision of the Ukrainian police. Within two or three days of this initial order, all the Jews of Łanowce were forced into the designated ghetto area, together with the Jews from Białozórka, other nearby villages, and also some Jews from the towns of Krzemieniec and Katrynburg. In total, there were about 2,000 inhabitants of the ghetto. The Jews were permitted to take into the ghetto only what they could carry in their arms. At this time there was much theft and looting by the Germans and Ukrainians, who took valuables and furniture for themselves. The ghetto was in a small area around Targowa and Ogrodowa Streets, incorporating the Bet Midrash but only part of the large synagogue (which had been converted into a granary). Most of the houses vacated by the Jews remained unoccupied. Conditions were very crowded in the ghetto, with five or six families (about 25 people) sharing an apartment, but people tried to find room for the additional occupants as best they could.[7]

Almost from the first day, the Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger, and a number of people starved to death. Many of those who died were buried in mass graves inside the ghetto area. To ameliorate the hunger, the Jewish Council organized a soup kitchen for the needy, and the ghetto was able to obtain some food by bartering items with local peasants.

Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto only to perform forced labor. The Judenrat had to organize a certain number of laborers each day to work outside the ghetto. The Jewish Police, headed by Raphael Krepman, assisted them, using force if necessary to assemble the contingent demanded by the Germans. Those who performed forced labor were paid in the form of a bread ration, but people also used the outside work details as an opportunity to barter for extra food. On returning to the ghetto, Jews were searched by the Ukrainian police to ensure that they were not smuggling anything. Some policemen, however, were susceptible to bribes. In the spring of 1942, the Germans demanded that 20 youths be sent to Równe for forced labor. On one occasion the Germans demanded that the Judenrat supply a number of pretty Jewish girls. The community raised a large bribe to get this demand revoked, anticipating that the girls would be defiled.[8] In the depressed atmosphere of the ghetto, religious life also declined, mainly out of fear. After 10 Jews were arrested and

shot for saying Kaddish, only a few, mostly older Jews continued to pray publicly, although others continued behind closed doors.[9]

The German police liquidated the ghetto in mid-August 1942. First the ghetto was sealed off and surrounded by German and Ukrainian police. No Jews were permitted to leave for work for about four days before the Aktion. At this time people in the ghetto heard rumors that large pits were being prepared and became increasingly fearful, but few managed to escape. Then on August 14, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including members of the Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 102 based in Krzemieniec,[10] assisted by dogs, rounded up the Jews and escorted them to the two mass graves in the new Jewish cemetery. Here the Jews were forced to undress. The men were shot first into one mass grave and then the women and children into the other. The whole Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Równe.[11]

According to a Security Police report, 1,833 Jews (589 men, 783 women, and 461 children) were shot in Łanowce.[12] A small group of Jews hid and managed to escape the shooting. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police later captured most of them and shot them at the new Jewish cemetery.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report estimated the overall Jewish losses somewhat higher. It stated that the occupiers and their accomplices murdered in total 2,535 people (2,143 of them being Jews) in Rayon Lanowzy during the occupation. According to this estimate, Jews comprised 84.5 percent of all the victims.[13] Among the few Jews who survived was Moshe Rosenberg, who evaded the searches of the Ukrainian militia with the aid of local "Stundists" (Baptists) who were favorably disposed towards the Jews.[14] The Red Army recaptured the town from the Germans in early 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Haim Rabin, *Lanovits: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei lanovits she-nispu be-shoat ha natsim, 1941–1942* (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Lanowce, 1970), includes several personal accounts by survivors of the ghetto and others who fled to the east. A short article on the Jewish community in Łanowce can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 102–103.

Documents on the ghetto and the extermination of the Jews in Łanowce can be found in the following archives: DATO; GARF (7021-75-211); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 362.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432. Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Meir Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits (a kind derzeylt)," in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 329–338, here p. 329; Moshe Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 313–328, here p. 316. It is not clear whether Richter was an official of the civil administration or the senior Gendarme in the town. He was not traced by postwar German investigations into crimes in the Krzemieniec district.
4. Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," p. 314.
5. Ibid., pp. 315–316; Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits," p. 329.
6. Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits," p. 331.
7. Ibid., pp. 329–330; Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," pp. 316–317. In 1921, there were 869 Jews living in Białozórka. Krzemieniec and Katrynburg both had their own ghettos (see the respective entries in this volume), so these were probably relatives returning to join their families.
8. Beker, "Kh' bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits," pp. 330–331.
9. Ibid., pp. 332–333.
10. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, p. 469.
11. Ibid., pp. 334–335; Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," pp. 324–326.
12. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, transcription of a Security Police report from Untersturmführer Selm, of the Rowno SD, August 15, 1942, concerning the "special treatment of the Jews." According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-75-211, p. 7), the shooting of the Jews in Łanowce took place on August 2, 1942; 2,143 people were shot.
13. GARF, 7021-75-211.
14. Rosenberg, "Lanovitser in umkum," pp. 327–328. On the help given by Baptists to save a Jewish child, see Shalom Segal, "How My Daughter Was Saved," in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 95–97.

LETICHEV

Pre-1941: Letichev, town, Proskurov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Letischew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Letychiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Letichev is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) to the east of Proskurov. In 1939, the Jewish population of Letichev was 1,946 (36.4 percent of the total).

The German army reached the Letichev area during the first week of July 1941. The XLIX Mountain Corps, the 4th Mountain Division, and the 97th Light Division were involved in the capture of the town. From July 8 to July 17, major battles took place. Letichev itself was a Soviet defensive strongpoint along the main route between the cities of Proskurov and Vinnitsa, and it held out until July 17.[1] Celia Michelson reported that during the first few days of the occupation, the Germans rounded up Jewish children in a church. They forced these children, her brother Mutty Burshteyn included, to carry hot asphalt with their bare hands.[2] Shortly after capturing Letichev, Pinkhas Michels and Froim Burshteyn reported that the Germans summoned the Letichev rabbi and about 25 young and prominent Jews. These people were shot in a mass grave in Zavolk on the outskirts of Letichev.[3]

On September 20, 1942,[4] the Germans and their collaborators shot about 3,000 people in a mass grave in Zaletichevka,

on the outskirts of Letichev. In November 1942, approximately 4,000 people were shot at the same site, effectively eliminating the Letichev ghetto. In November 1943, the slave labor camp at the church was liquidated, and 200 people were shot within the camp. Including non-Jews, approximately 7,200 people were massacred in the Letichev raion.[5]

The Nazi official responsible for the massacre is reported to be Leutnant Gasha. The local Gendarme was named Peterman. A Ukrainian policeman named Sobchik was reported to have commanded some of the killings.[6]

The Gebietskommissar for Gebiet Letischew, according to documentation, was Regierungsrat Hammer.[7] According to Vladimir Goykher, who worked for German administrators making official stamps, the Gebietskommissar was named Frieber.[8] Another German, by the name of Koch (apparently Reichskommissar Erich Koch's brother), was a high-ranking administrator involved with agriculture.[9] A Ukrainian policeman by the name of Ivan Kupriyan was active in Letichev and was particularly cruel.[10]

The castle and Catholic church complex was established early in the German occupation as a prison camp, probably occupied at first by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). This fortresslike complex had thick masonry walls with two rows of barbed wire on top and was well suited for the purpose.[11] The church had a well.

On September 22, 1941, Germans rounded up Jews in the community and established a ghetto in the central part of town. This was the main Jewish ghetto. It was surrounded by barbed wire and had a main gate. During the first week in the ghetto, the Germans and their allied Hungarian troops did not guard the ghetto. On the first Sunday in the ghetto, Frieber made an address to all the Jews. Afterwards, Jews were required to wear a yellow circle with a Star of David. The gate to the ghetto was guarded.[12]

At that time, the population of the ghetto had swelled to about 7,500, owing to the clearing out of nearby towns and villages. The population of the ghetto was mostly local Jews. These prisoners suffered greatly because of disease, starvation, and violent acts by the guards. Ukrainian peasants were given passes to enter the ghetto to obtain goods and services from Jewish craftsmen, for which they paid in currency and food. Later, the German administration ordered that Jews should train Ukrainians in various trades in preparation for their replacement.[13]

The prison camp was a separate facility, located only a few hundred meters from the ghetto. Jews from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and more distant parts of Podolia were interned there in a population that ranged from 200 to 1,500 prisoners. It was guarded by Lithuanian policemen. Most of the prisoners worked at hard labor on a road-building project, starting in the spring of 1942. At first, the prisoners worked side by side with ghetto work crews; later, they had more difficult labor and were kept separated. The prison camp was emptied every day. Those too sick to leave were shot. Jews were brought in from the south periodically as replacements. The prisoners were fed 200 to 300 grams (7 to 10.6 ounces) of bread a day and some soup. Conditions in the prison camp were appalling. Lithuanian guards killed people at the slightest provocation. Burials were conducted next to the kitchen.[14]

The winter of 1941–1942 was a particularly difficult time in the ghetto. Disease was rampant. Inmates stripped houses of their wood to burn as fuel. In the spring of 1942, work commenced on the road-building project, and many people from the ghetto were also requisitioned. Unlike their counterparts in the prison camp, the ghetto Jews were paid for their work.[15]

The elder of the ghetto was named Mendel. By all accounts he was an honorable person who did his best for the Jews.[16] The elder of the prison camp was Nachman. He was a young man in his thirties, supposedly a lawyer from Vinnitsa, who apparently took advantage of the women prisoners. His assistant was Moshe, a strict disciplinarian.[17]

Starting in April 1942, the ghetto and prison camp in Letichev were controlled by the Organisation Todt (OT) for the purpose of constructing the main highway between Proskurov and Vinnitsa (the location of Hitler's Werewolf bunker). The administration of the road-building project was called Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV. The Bauabschnittsleiter (section leader) who supervised work crews in Letichev was named Otto Fach.[18] According to Goykher, the OT officers in Letichev included Franz, Hainy Keller, Feltzman, Herman Meyer, Immy Ertle, and Karl.

Ghetto workers received 117 to 124 grams (4.1 to 4.4 ounces) of bread a day, and their families received 64 grams (2.3 ounces). They were paid 225 to 564 rubles a month or 30 rubles per day for day labor. Work consisted of quarrying stone, shoveling sand, and pouring asphalt. In the winter, crews were assigned to clearing snow to keep the roadway open for military traffic.[19]

The local OT unit mobilized out of the Letichev area around October–November 1942 and relocated to the main battlefront near Donetsk.

In August 1942, the Nazis quarantined the ghetto and the prison camp for several days. Local policemen disappeared, and German gate sentries doubled. A motorcade arrived with high-ranking Nazis to inspect both the ghetto and the prison camp. Jews were required to remain inside their quarters. Moshe Rekhtman remembered the visit but did not know who the Nazis were. Goykher climbed up into the attic of his house to watch; this gave him an excellent view. He later asked Mendel, the ghetto elder, who the dignitaries were. Goykher reports that Mendel told him one was Reichskommissar Erich Koch.

By late summer 1942, the ghetto was split into two. Skilled laborers were assigned to Ghetto 2, the rest to Ghetto 1. In September, Ghetto 1 was liquidated over a two-day period. The Jews were marched out of the ghetto in large groups towards a mass grave in Zaletichevka, on the edge of town. Over the next two days, Germans and their collaborators tore apart Ghetto 1, looking for goods and for hidden Jews. Afterwards, Frieber assembled all the Jews in Ghetto 2 and demanded that everyone who should have been assigned to Ghetto 1 step forward. About 40 did so, and they were marched off to be shot. Ghetto 2 was commanded by an official named Koch to train

Ukrainians in different skills and crafts.[20] Two months later, this ghetto, too, was liquidated.

The Germans apparently used gas vans to kill a small number of prisoners from the prison camp around September 1942. They loaded the vans with the sick or weak inmates and drove around to gas them. They would then dump the bodies in the forest. This occurred on at least three different occasions.[21]

Unusual for this region, the prison camp survived for almost a year after most of the Jews in Letichev were killed.[22] Perhaps this was because of the strategic nature of the road, which required constant maintenance. There are no known survivors from the period after January 1943.[23]

There was no known resistance in the area. The survivors escaped during work details or through the relatively light security surrounding the ghetto. Most sought sanctuary in nearby Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The relatively long life of the prison camp and ghetto enabled a number of people to survive the occupation.

Survivors include Vladimir Goykher, who served as an orderly for OT officers and was mobilized from Letichev with them to the front. He escaped across the front line. Moshe Rekhtman escaped from a prison work detail and fled to Transnistria. Boris Levin was interned in the prison camp after the ghettos were liquidated. In January 1943, he escaped from a group execution of prisoners and fled to Transnistria. Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman spent some time in the Letichev prison camp but escaped together from the Proskurov ghetto to Transnistria. Abraham Shmeis, a prisoner in the camp, escaped in the fall of 1942 to Transnistria. Another prisoner in the camp, Manya Laster, also escaped to Transnistria.

There were three large-scale war crimes trials conducted by the West German government relating to OT activities on the Durchgangstrasse IV, which included the Letichev road construction project. The first took place in Lübeck in 1965. Those indicted included SS officers Franz Christoffel and Oskar Friese.[24] Otto Fach was tried in Bremen in 1970.[25] The third trial took place in Dortmund in 1971. It centered on the execution of the Jews in 1942, including those in Letichev. The defendants are not specified in the published record.[26] In all three trials, the defendants were found not guilty due to "lack of evidence," partly because eyewitness evidence could not be obtained from people who lived in the Soviet Union.[27]

SOURCES In the book by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000), chapter 16 on the Holocaust includes English translations of the archival testimonies from Jewish survivors cited in this article. Vladimir Goykher also published his own memoir, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto* (New York, 1992).

Relevant documentation, mainly from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports and other postwar investigations, can be found in the following archives: BA-L; DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-92); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2; and Acc.1997.A.0305); and YVA (e.g., O-3/7064 and 1266).

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NOTES

1. Newspaper *Za Chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
2. YVA, O-3/7064, Manya Laster testimony.
3. Ibid. Also from a letter by Pinkhas Michelson, Bnei-Brak, Israel, dated May 29, 1994. Leonid Rapoport also confirms this account. Among those executed were Velvel Michelson and a relative of Leonid Rapoport.
4. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-92, p. 2. Also see DAKhO, Fond 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, pp. 115–118; case 39, p. 76: "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmelnitsky Oblast at the time of the Fascist occupation."
6. Lev Goldenberg testimony, 1995, PADC. Goldenberg claimed that Sobchik was never caught.
7. "Vorläufige Übersicht über die Generalbezirke und Kreisgebiete in der Ukraine," Reichskommissar, February 15, 1942, Rowno.
8. Goykher, *Tragedy*. See also USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0305, Moshe Rekhtman testimony, 1995.
9. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
10. Ibid., confirmed by Rekhtman. Kupriyan was rumored to have survived the war and fled to Australia.
11. Rekhtman testimony.
12. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
13. Ibid.
14. Testimonies of Rekhtman and Moishe Einhorn—see 1981 edition of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovietish Heimland*. See also YVA, O-3/1266, Abraham Shmeis testimony.
15. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
16. Ibid.
17. YVA, O-3/7064.
18. BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 20/63, see pp. 2854, 2953, and 3351–3352. Another German witness alleged that Fach conducted a selection at the Jewish forced labor camp in Letichev in the fall of 1942.
19. "Handbook of the Organisation Todt," a recently declassified U.S. military intelligence report available at the U.S. Army Military History Institute; Goykher, *Tragedy*, confirmed by many others.
20. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
21. Rekhtman testimony.
22. DAKhO, Fond 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, pp. 115–118; case 39, p. 76, indicate that the prison camp was liquidated in late 1943.
23. The last known survivor was Boris Levin.
24. Sta. Lübeck, 2 AR 711/65 (BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 20/63).
25. Sta. Bremen, 29 Js 120/70 (BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 886/70).
26. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 10/71 (BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 440/67).
27. Karl Sauer, "Am Jom Kippur wüteten Erschiessungskommandos," *Die Tat*, December 7, 1974. See also Herman Kaienburg, "Jüdische Arbeitslager an der 'Strasse der SS,'" in *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20.und 21.Jahrhunderts 11. Jahrgang*, Januar 1996, Heft 1 (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 13–39.

LIAKHOVTSI

Pre-1941: Liakhovtsi, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Isjasslaw, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Bilohir'ia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Liakhovtsi is located 51 kilometers (31.7 miles) east-southeast of Krzemieniec. According to the 1939 census, 908 Jews were living in the village of Liakhovtsi (51.5 percent of the total population). An additional 331 Jews lived in what were then the villages of the Liakhovtsi raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In the intervening two weeks from the start of the German invasion, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 700 Jews remained in Liakhovtsi under the German occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. The German commandant chose a village elder and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became a Rayon center in Gebiet Isjasslaw. SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer was the Gebietskommissar.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Judenrat was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing markings: initially armbands bearing the Star of David, and then later a yellow circle. Jews were not permitted to leave the borders of the village.

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Liakhovtsi. Hundreds of Jews were also resettled there from the nearby small towns of Iampol' and Kornitsa. (In 1939 the Jewish population of Iampol' was 1,058; in 1923 the Jewish population of Kornitsa was 322.) Two streets, which included about 50 mostly older houses with mud floors, were assigned for this purpose. The ghetto area was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian police with dogs. The Germans were rarely visible to the inhabitants of the ghetto, who were escorted by the local police to the fields of a nearby kolkhoz to harvest potatoes and sugar beets.[2]

During the winter of 1941–1942, there was great cold and hunger in the ghetto. Some Jews were able to smuggle food into the ghetto illegally when they returned from work outside, which helped their families to survive. In addition, a few Jews who had non-Jewish friends outside the ghetto had left some of their possessions with them when the ghetto was formed. Some of these non-Jews in turn brought food to the ghetto and threw it over the fence.[3]

At the end of 1941 and the start of 1942, the first shootings were carried out in the village. More than 160 persons were killed.[4]

On July 27, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto in Liakhovtsi.[5] About 2,300 people were shot in the meadow near the village of Trostianka.[6] The mass shooting was probably carried out by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from an outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Starokonstantinov, with the aid of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

There were very few survivors from the ghetto. Ida Kritman managed to escape one week before the ghetto liquidation, with the aid of a school friend who bribed a local policeman by giving him a new bicycle. Kritman remained in hiding in sheds, attics, haystacks, and pits until the Red Army and the partisans drove out the Germans and their collaborators in early March 1944.[7]

SOURCES Publications concerning the ghetto in Liakhovtsi include Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 147–148.

Documents relating to the persecution and murder of the Jews of Liakhovtsi can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-801); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Ida Kritman, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 147–148.
3. Ibid.
4. GARF, 7021-64-801, p. 356.
5. Testimony of Ida Kritman. According to another source, the shooting took place in June 1942; GARF 7021-64-801, p. 373.
6. GARF, 7021-64-801, pp. 354, 373. It is possible that this figure for the number of victims is too high.
7. Testimony of Ida Kritman.

ŁOKACZE

Pre-1939: Łokacze (Yiddish: Lokatsh), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lokachi, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lokatschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lokachi, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Łokacze is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the west of Łuck. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population of Łokacze was 1,265. The total population of the town in 1937 was 1,790 inhabitants.

Units of the German army entered the town on June 23, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, the German military authorities appointed a Judenrat, headed by Moshe Pechornik and a man named Shainer. Expropriation, forced labor, abuse, and killing soon followed.

By August 1941, a permanent Gebietskommissar, Härter, had been appointed for Gebiet Gorochow to replace the temporary military authorities. Łokacze became a Rayon center within Gebiet Gorochow. The commander of the Gendar-

merie in Horochów was Krause, who was represented by a Wachtmeister in charge of the Gendarmerie post in Łokacze.[1]

At the beginning of November 1941, the Jews of Łokacze were forced to move into a ghetto, concentrated around one of the synagogues. As a result, about half of the Jewish houses were confiscated. The ghetto itself initially remained open. Jews from other small towns and villages nearby (including Świniuchy, Kopytów, Błudów, and Markowicze) also were forced into the ghetto. These Jews had to leave almost all their property behind, apart from bedding and a few potatoes, as almost no wagons were made available for the move. In addition to the 1,400 Jews already residing in Łokacze, another 800 were brought in from outside. This resulted in terrible overcrowding: some people moved into rooms without windows or had to live in stables.[2]

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, all the Jews were registered, including about 200 craftsmen who received a special status. On this basis, the Judenrat issued ration cards for an allowance of 140 grams (5 ounces) of bread per day. All Jews aged between 18 and 55 were placed on a schedule for forced labor. About 150 men were requested daily, mainly working as personal servants for those in power in the town. After a time, forced labor was divided into more arduous tasks out of town, such as loading grain sacks and transportation work, while those remaining in Łokacze conducted street sweeping, road repairs, and tree cutting. Favoritism shown by the Judenrat in the allocation of work caused great bitterness.[3]

A special area adjoining the ghetto was established for the Jewish craftsmen. The craftsmen also received larger rations—250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread—and were able to demand "gifts," mostly in the form of produce from local peasants, in return for their work. This in turn provided a vital source of extra supplies that could be traded within the ghetto. In the winter, firewood was in short supply as this was difficult to smuggle into the ghetto. As the Germans also carefully restricted access to mills in the area, some Jews built improvised hand mills to grind flour or prepare vegetable oil inside the ghetto.[4]

On December 20, 1941, posters were put up demanding that Jews surrender all furs, sweaters, stockings, and gloves. These items were then collected by the Judenrat and handed over to the Gendarmerie. Owing to the lack of medicine, the death toll from scabies and other diseases in the ghetto began to rise.

On January 5, 1942, the town authorities informed the Judenrat that it would have to supply laborers to build a fence around the ghetto. Shortly after this, the ghetto enjoyed a brief respite, as the local Gendarmerie chief went home on leave for 15 days, and his replacement was much more lenient. The stand-in permitted some Jews to go to the villages to obtain supplies, and he even reprimanded the Ukrainian police for beating Jews. Even the construction of the fence was briefly halted during this period.

In January, the Jewish Council in Łokacze received instructions from the Gebietskommissar to collect a poll tax of 20 rubles from all ghetto inhabitants. Michael Diment recorded in his contemporary diary: "[T]he Judenrat and the [Jewish] militia with an additional 15 Jewish musclemen called on those who had not contributed. . . . They broke into homes, shouting: 'Give us the money!' . . . All valuables found were confiscated; they also took food and flour. . . . Everyone was very angry at the way the Judenrat handled the situation. They were very bitter, but the money had to be turned over."[5]

By February the construction of the ghetto fence was completed. It was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and wrapped in barbed wire. The enclosure of the ghetto made trade with the local peasants much more difficult, and the punishment for leaving the ghetto without permission also became more severe. Whereas initially the Judenrat had been able to ameliorate punishments by bribing the local police chief, now the Ukrainian police began to shoot on sight Jews caught outside the ghetto or even while they were working. For example, a Jew named Matis was shot for leaving the ghetto on March 16, which instantly caused black market prices in the ghetto to rise by 50 percent.[6]

On April 16, 1942, the Gendarmerie requested 30 Jews from the Judenrat to bury a group of 114 Gypsies that they had shot. News of this terrible massacre had a terrifying effect on the ghetto.[7] On April 22, the Judenrat received a demand from the Gebietskommissar to produce 523 people for work by April 25. With bribes, the Judenrat managed to bargain down the number required so that on the appointed day only 200 had to leave. However, again the Judenrat was criticized, as favoritism clearly influenced the selection of those affected. The work conditions in the labor camp at Wynice were very harsh, as the workers received only the food that was sent to them from the ghetto.[8]

The town authorities also required 250 Jewish workers every day for road repair, street sweeping, and peat digging. Jews were frequently beaten and humiliated by the local Ukrainian police while performing these duties. The German authorities also ordered the dismantling of Jewish homes outside the ghetto to make use of the wood.[9]

Inside the ghetto, the Jews at least felt safe from their Ukrainian tormentors, who were not permitted to enter the ghetto. At the beginning of July, the Jewish militia scoured the ghetto searching for grain and even destroyed any hidden flour mills they found. The Judenrat had received a demand to produce 7 tons of grain and with the aid of bribes ultimately got away with surrendering only 1.6 tons. After this, flour was in very short supply. On July 10, a group of Jewish workers was sent to the Jewish cemetery to break up the tombstones and level the graves. The stone was used for paving roads.[10]

In mid-July 1942, the Germans conducted another detailed registration exercise that resulted in several additional groups of Jews being sent away from the ghetto to work. Most of the remaining craftsmen were transferred to Horochów, leaving only 36 in the craftsmen section, and of the 750 laborers registered, some 200 were sent in four detachments to various work sites away from Łokacze. Mothers feared they would never see their children again. Another 250 Jews were

assigned to peat-digging gangs, leaving the ghetto each day and returning in the evening.[11]

On one occasion, a Ukrainian farmer told the peat workers from Łokacze that Jews in other communities were being systematically murdered. The news was greeted in the ghetto with some disbelief but also concern. People argued: "the Germans need our labor, and we must continue to prove our value to them." In response, the Judenrat requested that the spreading of such demoralizing rumors should cease. The debate about these disturbing reports continued, as news came in by late August of the massacre of entire communities in neighboring towns, such as Łuck, Kowel, and Torczyn.[12]

The end came on September 9, 1942, two days before the start of the Jewish High Holidays. The German Gendarmerie and the local police first isolated the ghetto. Many Jews went into hiding or tried to flee, and some even burned their last possessions to prevent their falling into the hands of the murderers. The ghetto was emptied, and its inhabitants were driven into an open field, where they were shot and thrown into a large pit that had been prepared in advance. The Ukrainian police continued to hunt down those Jews hiding in the ghetto and in the surrounding forests for weeks after the Aktion. In total, probably about 1,500 Jews from the Łokacze ghetto were murdered, as several hundred had been transferred to other work camps or the Horochów ghetto before the Aktion.[13]

SOURCES There is a very detailed account of events in the Łokacze ghetto in English, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), based on the contemporary diary of the author, Michael Diment, which he was able to preserve. Some additional information on the town and the fate of its population can be found in the yizkor book in Hebrew and Yiddish edited by Eliezer Verba and Shimon Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats' (Polin)/Gedenk bukh far di shtetl Lokatsh* (Jerusalem: Le-ha'sig etsel Sh. Matlovski, 1993).

Documents relating to the persecution and destruction of the Jews in the area around Łokacze can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 14); VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. ChGK report for Gorokhov, GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20a.
2. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 38–45; see also *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228.
3. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 45–50.
4. Ibid., pp. 54–57.
5. Ibid., pp. 64–65.
6. Ibid., pp. 62–72.
7. Ibid., pp. 76–78.
8. Ibid., pp. 78–84; on the selection of forced laborers to work in the peat bogs, see also Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats'*, pp. 43–45.
9. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 94–95.
10. Ibid., pp. 96–99.
11. Ibid., pp. 100–105.
12. Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats'*, p. 48.
13. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001) gives the figure of 1,350 victims and dates the Aktion on September 13, 1942. Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehilat Lokats'*, p. 21, give the figure of 3,000 Jewish victims, but this is almost certainly too high. A memorial erected in Baltimore in 1983 also dates the liquidation of the ghetto on September 9.

LUBIESZÓW

Pre-1939: Lubieszów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liubeshov, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljubeschow, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Liubeshiv, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Lubieszów is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) east–northeast of Kamień Koszyrski on the Stokhod River. By 1936, the Jewish population of Lubieszów stood at about 1,500. This number probably increased by a few hundred during the Soviet occupation from September 1939 until the end of June 1941, as a number of refugees arrived from the west.[1]

At the beginning of July 1941, the first German forces entered the settlement, though a permanent German military presence probably was not established until the end of July 1941. Shortly after the start of the occupation, local antisemitic Ukrainian nationalists seized power and carried out a pogrom. Many Jews were robbed, and a number were killed. Local Jews also organized a self-defense force.[2]

At the end of July 1941, a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in the town. On the next day they arrested 43 male Jews, including Rabbi Yitzhak Aron Weingarten, and locked them in a cellar, accusing them of having collaborated with the Communists. One of the arrestees, Gershon Shniadower, succeeded in escaping and killed a Ukrainian guard in the process. Shortly afterwards the cavalry forces took the remaining 42 Jews outside the town and shot them.[3]

In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Lubieszów became part of Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis was the Gebietskommissar in Kamień Koszyrski.[4] A Ukrainian local administration was formed in Lubieszów. A Ukrainian police unit headed by a man named Wieromiejczyk served under the command of the German Gendarmerie post, which consisted of several German Gendarmes, and was based in the former monastery building.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a number of discriminatory measures against

the Jews: they forced them to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David (subsequently replaced by yellow patches on their clothes); Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits; and they were subjected to beatings by the Ukrainian police. In the fall of 1941, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Lubieszów, which had to transmit and take responsibility for the implementation of all the orders and regulations issued by the German authorities with regard to the Jewish population. From the start of the occupation, Jews were made to perform forced labor. Among the tasks performed were washing and cleaning and also loading wood at the railway station. Ukrainians and Germans watched over the Jews while they worked.[5] Between July 1941 and February 1942, the Jewish community was subjected to a series of demands for monetary contributions amounting to some 30,000 rubles.[6]

In April or May 1942,[7] the Gebietskommissar ordered the creation of a ghetto into which all the Jews of the town and also the surrounding villages of Rayon Ljubeschow were relocated. For example, the Jews from Pniewno were brought into the Lubieszów ghetto at this time. Around 2,000 Jews were confined within the ghetto.[8] The exact size of the fenced area was 450 meters (1,476 feet) long and 300 meters (984 feet) wide. Jews lived 20 per room within the ghetto.[9]

On August 10, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion in which most of the Jews from the ghetto were shot.[10] Apparently it was the Sipo/SD detachment from Brześć that carried out the Aktion, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. About 1,700 Jews were shot. Some 280 were murdered inside the ghetto itself; about 500 or 600 people were shot near the village of Wólka-Lubieszowska. The Germans took 1,100 people into the synagogue and made them undress there. Of these Jews, about 230 people were able to escape, but 870 of them were shot.[11] After this Aktion, about 70 craftsmen remained alive, and they were soon joined by most of the 230 escaped Jews, whom the Ukrainian police had rounded up. These people were moved back into the ghetto at the end of the Aktion.[12] Among the tasks these surviving Jews performed were collecting and burying the bodies of many of the Jews who had been shot and searching them at the same time for any valuables, which were also surrendered to the Germans.

The ghetto was liquidated at the beginning of November 1942. On the eve of the liquidation, the German and Ukrainian police tightened the guard around the ghetto and repaired any holes found in the barbed-wire fence.[13] During this last Aktion, one of the Jews, Machmendler, threw himself at Michaelis, the Gebietskommissar, and managed to wound him in the throat with a knife.[14] Of the roughly 300 Jews in the ghetto before the final liquidation, only about 10 survived.[15] Among the few survivors was Sara Szulman, who hid with her family in a concealed bunker within the ghetto and escaped during the night three days after the Aktion.[16]

In the postwar period, at the site where the Jews were shot in August 1942, the bodies were exhumed, and the remains of the victims were reburied in a new cemetery.

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Lubieszów and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 108–109.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Lubieszów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/549); BA-L (B 162/6338); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2283).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/549, estimates that about 2,000 Jews lived in Lubieszów just prior to the German invasion in 1941.
2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 66; BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200; AŻIH, 301/549.
3. AŻIH, 301/549, testimony of Gershon Shniadower, July 20, 1945. Shniadower is probably the most reliable witness, as he was among those arrested but managed to escape. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200; also Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 329–330. This last source indicates that there were 70 victims of the Aktion, dating it incorrectly at the time of Purim. All three sources mention the death of the rabbi.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
5. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200.
6. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 96.
7. Ibid., p. 366, gives the date of May 1942. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 199, dates the establishment of the ghetto as around Easter. According to another source (GARF, 7021-5-11, p. 111), the ghetto was established in February 1942.
8. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 179–184, 741. The ChGK materials indicate that there were 2,500 people in the ghetto (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 11). However, this number appears to be too high.
9. YVA, O-5/2-4 (JM/267), testimony of David Epstein; see also Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 122, 129.
10. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 199. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111, dates the Aktion on August 15, 1942.
11. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 113. DAVO, R66-1-4, p. 118, gives the figure of 1,760 Jewish victims. Other sources give different figures.
12. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111.
13. BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 201–202.
14. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 112, 350.
15. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 741.
16. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 202.

LUBOML

Pre-1939: Luboml (Yiddish: Libivne), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liuboml', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Luboml, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Liuboml', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Luboml is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) west of Kowel. At the end of 1937, 3,162 Jews lived in the town.[1]

German forces occupied the town on June 23, 1941. In July and August of 1941, the town was run initially by a German military administration (Ortskommandantur). In the first days of the occupation, the military authorities put up posters in the town requesting Ukrainians to report for police duty in return for wages and food. They also ordered Jews to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, imposed a curfew on them from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M., and demanded that Jews surrender all gold objects and other valuables on pain of death. The town commandant also ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The chairman was Kalman Kopelzon. The Judenrat created a Jewish police force and a labor department headed by Eliyohu Hershenhorn.[2]

During the summer of 1941, German security forces, assisted by the Ukrainian police, conducted a series of Aktions against the Jews of Luboml in which up to 900 Jews were murdered. On July 2, 1941, the Nazis shot 5 Jews they selected after ordering Jews to gather in front of the cinema.[3] In a second Aktion conducted on July 22, 1941, units of the 1st Company of the 314th German Police Battalion stationed in Luboml, assisted by the Ukrainian police, rounded up and shot about 300 Jews.[4] Another large Aktion started on August 21, 1941, and went on for several days. On this occasion, most men went into hiding except for those issued special work permits. However, the Germans also rounded up women and girls. The Jewish Council tried to obtain the release of those arrested by offering bribes, but only a few were released. It is probable that about 400 Jews were murdered at this time.[5]



Survivors pose in front of a monument they are constructing in memory of Holocaust victims in Luboml, late 1944.
USHMM WS #61732, COURTESY OF NATHAN SOBEL

From the beginning of September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Luboml became the administrative center of Gebiet Luboml. Besides the Luboml Rayon, Rayons Schazk and Golowno also formed part of the Gebiet, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Uhde was appointed the Gebietskommissar in Luboml, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Kurz.[6] The German occupying authorities also established a local Ukrainian administration in the town and a unit of Ukrainian police that was subordinated directly to the German Gendarmerie post based in Luboml. Sergei Kowalczuk was the Rayon commandant of the Ukrainian police.[7]

After the initial Aktions, the German authorities ordered Jews to surrender all livestock to the German army. At this time, Jews who lived on streets that also had non-Jewish homes were forced to move to purely Jewish streets, which caused considerable overcrowding. The civil administration then took over the vacated Jewish houses. Jews aged between 12 and 60 were also subjected to forced labor. Those working received small rations of bread while those not working received even less. However, these regulations and rations were constantly changed. As a result of the shortage of food, Jews suffered from malnutrition, and some later starved to death. In late September 1941, the Gebietskommissar ordered that Jews should now wear yellow circles on their clothes instead of armbands. The German authorities also demanded a "contribution" of 250,000 rubles, 30 pieces of gold, and 30 pairs of leather boots to be produced by the next morning—failure, they threatened, would result in another Aktion.

On December 6, 1941, on the order of Gebietskommissar Uhde, a ghetto was created in Luboml. The ghetto was located around Kusnitcher (November 11), Ribne, and Koshtshelna Streets. It was not surrounded by a fence but was guarded by several sentries (Ukrainian police) who ensured that nobody left. In the ghetto, 12 to 15 people had to share each room. The Jewish craftsmen issued with red work cards lived in a separate "ghetto" along Koleova, Chelm, and Ludmir Streets.[8]

During Passover in early April 1942, the Jews bribed Gebietskommissar Uhde to be able to bake matzot. Those leaving the ghetto without permission or breaching other German regulations faced a summary death penalty. During the existence of the ghetto, several small groups of Jews were shot for

such violations. For example, 6 Jews were shot in July 1942, and 20 in August 1942, not far from the village of Sciba.[9] Jews leaving the ghetto to work also traded small items, such as tobacco or matches, for food.

Two small armed underground groups were formed in the ghetto in 1942. They manufactured false documents giving permission to leave the ghetto, procured weapons, organized escapes, and planned armed resistance. Both groups fled to the partisans around the time of the liquidation Aktion, but only a few members of the resistance organization are known to have survived.[10]

On October 1, 1942, the Germans commenced the liquidation of the ghetto.[11] A few months before, Jews had been used to dig four large pits about 3.5 kilometers (2.2 miles) outside the town, near the village of Borki. When the Aktion started, Ukrainian police came in from surrounding towns such as Szack and Kowel, and together with the German Gendarmerie they rounded up the Jews at the marketplace and escorted them to the pits. The Germans ordered the Jews to undress and gathered up the clothes. The naked Jews were forced to stand in groups around the edge of the pit and then were shot.[12]

The Germans and their collaborators shot some 3,000 to 4,000 Jews in the process.[13] Many Jews hid in the ghetto in prepared hiding places. The Ukrainian police tore out floors and destroyed walls in the search for hidden Jews. Local peasants also sneaked into the empty ghetto to loot Jewish property. Despite these searches, some Jews evaded detection and managed to escape to the surrounding countryside. Over the following months, however, most were denounced by the local population or captured by the German and Ukrainian police. By the time the Red Army liberated the area in 1944, only about 35 Jews from Luboml (apart from those who managed to emigrate or flee before the arrival of the Germans in 1941) were still alive.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town include the following: Berl Kagan, *Luboml: The Memorial Book of a Vanished Shtetl* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1997), which is an English translation, edited by Nathan Sobel, of the yizkor book edited by B. Kagan and Y. Hetman, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Luboml* (Tel Aviv: Luboml Memorial Book Committee, 1975); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 103–108.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Luboml can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; DAVO; GARF (7021-55-7); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 362.

2. N. Sobel, "Chronology of Destruction," pp. 247–253, here p. 247, and Chayim Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," pp. 254–260, here p. 254, both in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*.

3. Rocha Gutman (Sandlboym), "Rescued from the Big Fire," in ibid., pp. 285–289, here p. 285; Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," pp. 254–256.

4. Sta. Traunstein, LG-Trau, 5 Ks 11 and Js 9437/78, Verdict, May 26, 1982. According to ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 with reverse side, 168 with reverse side), on July 22 about 400 Jews were shot in Luboml. This figure is also given by Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," in Sobol, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 247–253, here p. 247.

5. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side, gives the figure of 53 deaths; Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," pp. 254–256, indicates that many more than that were killed, estimating about 900 deaths before the establishment of the ghetto; Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," p. 247, indicates some 500 Jews murdered at this time.

6. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

7. After the war Kowalczuk migrated to the United States and was the subject of a denaturalization case in the 1980s conducted by the U.S. Office of Special Investigations.

8. Rozenblit(z'l), "Behind the Barbed Wire of Death," p. 256, and Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," p. 248, both give this date; Gutman, "Rescued from the Big Fire," p. 286, dates the establishment of the ghetto after the high holidays in the fall of 1941. Rochl Leichter, "Witness to the Destruction of Luboml," in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorid Book*, pp. 276–278, notes that the ghetto was not surrounded by a fence.

9. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side.

10. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 215, 219, 229; Sobol, "Chronology of Destruction," p. 249.

11. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side, 181 and reverse side.

12. M. Lifshitz, "The Journey from Spiritual Destruction to Total Annihilation," in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 244–245.

13. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 96, 155 with reverse sides, 168 with reverse side, 181 with reverse side, 194. According to the ChGK reports, 4,073 Jews were killed in Luboml in 1941–1942. Leichter, "Witness to the Destruction of Luboml," pp. 276–278, indicates more than 7,000 Jewish victims in Luboml altogether, but this is most probably too high.

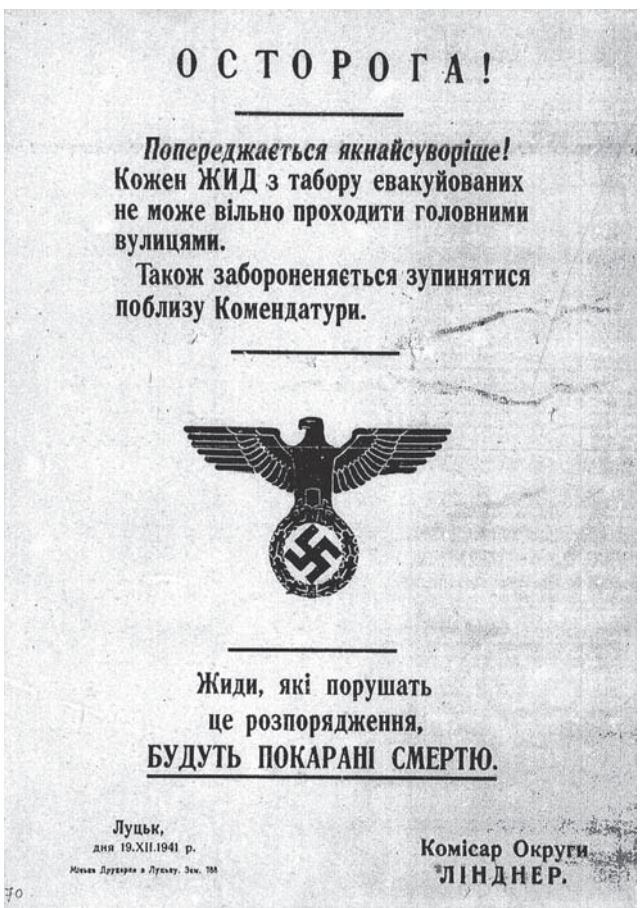
ŁUCK

Pre-1939: Łuck, city, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lutsk, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Luzk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Luts'k, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Łuck is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Równe between two branches of the Styr River in southern Volhynia in what is today northwestern Ukraine. From 1921, Łuck was the capital of the Volhynian province of the independent Polish Republic. After 1928 provincial governor Henryk Józewski offered the Jews in Łuck participation in national

politics through a nonparty bloc. In 1936, the Bund organized a strike to protest antisemitism. In 1931, Jews comprised about half of the city's population of 35,600; by the end of the decade the percentage was probably closer to 40 percent, roughly equal to the Polish population. The rest were Ukrainians, with a sprinkling of Czechs and Germans.

After the German attack on Poland of September 1, 1939, several thousand Jews from western and central Poland fled to Łuck. After the Red Army invaded Poland from the east on September 17, the Soviets made Łuck the center of the Volhynian oblast'. During the period of the German-Soviet division of Poland, Poles in Łuck were the primary target of Soviet repression. Some Jews were drafted into the Red Army, others, mainly refugees, were deported to Kazakhstan or Siberia. Some 19,500 Jews were living in Łuck in 1941 when Germany invaded the Soviet Union.


ОСТОРОГА!

Попереджається якнайсуворіше!
Кожен ЖИД з табору евакуйованих не може вільно проходити головними вулицями.

Також забороненяється зупинятися поблизу Комендатури.

Жиди, які порушать це розпорядження,
БУДУТЬ ПОКАРАНІ СМЕРТЮ.

Луцьк,
дня 19.XII.1941 р.

Комісар Округи
ЛІНДНЕР.

Ukrainian sign from Łuck, December 19, 1941:
"Caution!
Warning to the highest degree!
Any JEW evacuated from the camp may not freely pass the main streets.
Likewise it is forbidden to stop near the Kommandantur.
Jews who violate this order will be punished by death.
Luts'k
19.XII.1941
Gebietskommissar"
USHMMA/RG-31.023

The Wehrmacht reached the city on June 26, 1941. By this time much of Łuck had caught fire due to heavy German bombardments, and many shops were plundered. Very few people were able to flee the city in time.[1] The Germans discovered that the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) had murdered some 2,800 prisoners in Łuck. Most of the victims were Ukrainians. Paul Blobel, the commander of Sonderkommando 4a, arrived in Łuck in early July 1941. On July 2, notices appeared in the city summoning Jewish males of the ages 16 to 60 to appear the following day in the courtyard of the Lubart Castle with shovels to repair drainage systems. Instead, they were forced to dig a long trench, which was to become their own mass grave. Over four hours they were shot in groups of 10 to 30 by members of Sonderkommando 4a, Order Police, and army volunteers. Einsatzgruppe C reported the Aktion as a reprisal for the NKVD mass murder, among the victims of which were thought to be 10 German soldiers. The report recorded that 1,160 Jews were murdered in early July, in addition to 300 that had been shot on June 30.[2] During the first weeks, Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks, they were only permitted to shop in the marketplace between the hours of 10:00 A.M. and noon, and they were beaten by Ukrainian policemen at every opportunity.[3]

Within the German civil administration of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Łuck was the center of Gebiet Luzk, headed by Gebietskommissar Heinrich Lindner. He ordered the Jews of Łuck to choose their own representatives. The Judenrat was thus composed of interwar social and political activists: the head was Fryszberg; other members were Lejzor Dal, Rozenkranc, Korczebny, Henig, Hoffman, Rawicz, and one woman, Ojchmanowa. At some point Fryszberg, Rozenkranc, and Rawicz were beaten by the Germans while being forced to recite that "a German officer never beats anyone." Dal and Rozenkranc resigned from the Judenrat. As of August 1941, all Jews had to wear a white armband, replaced in September by two yellow patches, one to be worn on the chest, the other on the back.[4] In October 1941 Jewish skilled laborers were taken to an SS workshop on Krasne Street. About 450 people of various professions worked there under miserable conditions.[5]

At the end of November 1941, the Gebietskommissar issued an order for the establishment of a ghetto in an old part of the city, where Jews had lived before. On December 11, 1941, the Jewish population was marched, under the eyes of their Polish and Ukrainian neighbors, to a ghetto between the two branches of the Styr River. Jews were allowed to take only what they could carry, often a child. The terrain was marshy, and the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian militiamen shot many stragglers. Jewish Police carried some of the children. On December 12, these Jews were joined by the Jews of the nearby suburb of Krasne.[6] Not everyone managed to find suitable housing; the homeless were moved into schools, synagogues, and former stores and warehouses.[7]

Henceforth the Judenrat supplied daily labor brigades to perform jobs outside the ghetto. Each morning, workers were escorted through the gate of the walled ghetto by the Jewish Police. Jewish women also had to work, many of them as ser-

vants for German officials. Jews who had regular employment were issued identity cards, which in part protected them from being assigned to other forced labor tasks.[8] The ghetto was guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by the Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes.

In the ghetto, Jews suffered from cold, hunger, and overcrowding. Łuck was warmed by wood rather than coal, and there was no wood inside the ghetto. Food rations were 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread for workers, 75 grams (2.6 ounces) for nonworkers, and 30 grams (1 ounce) for children. People soon swelled from starvation. About 30 to 40 people had to share a single room. Due to these conditions, typhus spread (despite attempts to check it with medication). Each day the dead were removed from the ghetto by horse-drawn wagon.[9] Due to the fear of typhus spreading to the non-Jewish population, notices were posted around the ghetto banning members of the Wehrmacht from entering.[10]

In the ghetto there was an orphanage, a public kitchen, and an old age home run by the Judenrat. During the initial five months of 1942, the Germans demanded regular "contributions" of money, valuables, furniture, warm clothing, and other items, holding hostages as guarantees of delivery.[11] Raising taxes to pay these fines made the Judenrat unpopular, but they knew they had little choice, as their own lives were on the line. Ojchmanowa of the Judenrat was killed as a hostage.

By the summer of 1942, the Jews in the ghetto had become aware of the mass shootings of Jews in other nearby towns and started to look for an escape route from the ghetto. Dr. T. Kunitsa-Goldshteyn recalled that

> a group of youths tried to join the partisans, but every attempt to establish contact with them led nowhere. Those who escaped to the forests never returned. . . . Many people who had no chance of getting on the list of the "fortunate" [categorized as skilled workers] and did not have enough money to buy Aryan papers or take refuge with Poles dug out bunkers and hiding places inside the ghetto. These people planned to defend themselves to the bitter end. But their arms consisted of no more than axes or bottles of sulfuric acid. It was difficult even to acquire that much—it cost a large amount of money. Thus began the hunt for false Aryan papers. They were very expensive and could only be purchased with gold pieces. In addition, the documents were not a free pass out of the ghetto. It was very important to have "good looks"—i.e., to resemble the Aryan type. Women dyed their hair so it would resemble that of non-Jewish women.[12]

The Łuck ghetto was liquidated on August 19–23, 1942, by the German civilian authorities and police, with the help of Ukrainian policemen. First the Jewish Police was ordered to find all Jews in hiding, and Jewish men were sent to Hirka Polanka, 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the southwest. There they dug a trench 150 meters long and 6 meters wide (about 492 by 20 feet), with steps leading down into it. The Germans told them to dig well, laughingly explaining they were preparing the graves of their wives and daughters.[13] The men were taken to the courtyard of Lubart Castle and shot the next day. Then the women and children were taken to Hirka Polanka. The first group kneeled naked in front of the pits and fell or were pushed in after being shot. Succeeding groups had to lie facedown on the corpses. Younger children were thrown into the pits alive. Around 14,000 people in total were killed during the main part of the Aktion. However, up to another 4,000 or so Jews were pulled out of bunkers or uncovered around the city by Ukrainian policemen over the ensuing days and weeks and then shot as well.[14] On December 12, 1942, the Germans killed the 500 or so laborers of the workshop. During this Aktion, the Jews offered resistance, shooting at the SA man Glück, who was the assistant of the Gebietskommissar.[15]

The number of survivors appears to be few: Shoshana Yakubovitsch was rescued by Witold Fomienko in nearby Podhajce; Fanye Pasht, by another Ukrainian peasant named Lavrov;[16] Yoshke Liberman, by his German wife; the convert Bronisława Szczerbińska, by her sister who identified her, at Hirka Polanka, as a "Polish Catholic." A few Łuck Jews survived in the ranks of the Soviet partisans. A few Volhynian Jews probably fled to Łuck in 1943, along with Poles with whom they had been hiding, to escape Ukrainian nationalist partisans. By then German authority had weakened, and some Jews may have survived in hiding in Łuck to see the arrival of the Red Army in February 1944.

SOURCES The following publications contain useful information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Łuck: C.F. Rüter and D.W. De Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694; *Sefer Lutsk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Lutsk be-Yisrael, 1961); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkiv: Tarbut Laam, 2005); R. Metel'nits'kii, *Deiaki storinki ievreis'koi zabudovy Luts'ka* (Kiev: Dukh i Litera, 2001); and Timothy Snyder, "The Life and Death of West Volhynian Jews, 1921–1945," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, and Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 77–113.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN (Urząd Województwa Wołynskiego, 979/85/9, "Strajk pracowników Żydów"; KPZU, 165/VII-1 t. 10 24, "Zvit z zhovtnevoi konferentsii OK KPZU"); AŻIH (301/1982, 301/2565, 301/4000, 301/4941, 301/5657); BA-DH (ZA VI 322, A. 3, Heinrich Lindner); DAVO; GARF (7021-71-7); NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1446).

Timothy Snyder and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 399.
2. NARA, T-175, reel 232, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 24, July 16, 1941.
3. AŻIH, 301/4941, testimony of Jankiel Baran; *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 401.

4. AŻIH, 301/4941; USHMM, RG-31.017M (DARO), reel 2, Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno, April 1, 1942: Bekanntmachung, Generalkommissar Schoene, September 6, 1941.
5. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 441.
6. Ibid., pp. 398, 401, 418; YVA, M-1/E/1446, testimony of Fanya Pasht; AŻIH, 301/4941.
7. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 420.
8. YVA, M-1/E/1446; *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 418.
9. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 401; YVA, M-1/E/1446.
10. See the photograph reproduced in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 81.
11. *Sefer Lutsk*, pp. 398, 402.
12. Ibid., p. 422.
13. Ibid., p. 402.
14. GARF, 7021-71-7, pp. 29–30, estimates some 20,000 victims. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 30, estimates that the actual number was probably closer to 15,000. *Sefer Lutsk*, pp. 441–42, estimates 14,000 killed in the main Aktion and 4,000 subsequently.
15. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 399.
16. YVA, M-1/E/1446.

LUDWIPOL

Pre-1939: Ludwipol, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liudvipol', Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ludwipol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Sosnove, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ludwipol is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Równe, on the Słucz River. In 1941, according to one source, there were as many as 3,000 Jews living in the town, including refugees from central and western Poland. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a few Jewish families managed to evacuate to the east, but the vast majority of Jews either did not or could not leave and so remained trapped under German occupation.[1]

On July 6, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied Ludwipol. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Ludwipol became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kostopol, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Standartenführer Löhnert became the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[2]

A Ukrainian local authority was also formed in Ludwipol. From September 1941 onward, the Ukrainian police unit was subordinated to the local post of the German Gendarmerie.

Just after the occupation of the town by the German army, local Ukrainians channeled their antisemitic mood into a pogrom in which a number of Jews were robbed and assaulted.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces instituted a series of antisemitic measures in Ludwipol. Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, and they were compelled to surrender all money and valuable items and to perform hard physical labor. They were also prohibited from going beyond the borders of the town and were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the Ukrainian police. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in Ludwipol through which the German authorities passed on their orders and instructions to the Jewish population.

A ghetto was formed in Ludwipol in October 1941; Jews from the surrounding villages were also concentrated there. Altogether there were about 1,500 Jews in the ghetto.[3] On September 26, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto. On that day, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe shot more than 1,000 Jews with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the local Ukrainian police.[4] Initially, some 300 to 400 Jews were able to escape. Most, however, were ultimately captured and shot by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

Of those who escaped successfully, crossing the Słucz River, a number managed to survive in camps protected by the growing Soviet partisan movement. Among the survivors from Ludwipol was Mordechai Kleinman who as a 12-year-old boy fled to work on a Polish farm in the countryside when the ghetto was set up. Eventually he had to leave, as his employer was afraid of being denounced by Ukrainian neighbors. Mordechai then served in the Medvedev Soviet partisan unit, which included as many as 150 Jews. A partisan detachment led by Alter Fiklin burned the police station and stole German food supplies in 1943. When the Red Army liberated the town on January 10, 1944, about 40 Jewish survivors emerged from the forests.[5]

SOURCES Relevant information on the Jewish community of Ludwipol can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 109–111; Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66, 199, 366; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 761.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of Jews in Ludwipol can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/75, 1268, 2189, 2883, and 3298); DARO; GARF (7021-71-57); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2883.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/1268, gives October 5, 1941, as the date for the establishment of ghettos in all the Rayon towns of Gebiet Kostopol, including Ludwipol.

4. According to ChGK materials, during the period of the occupation, 1,297 people were murdered. GARF, 7021-71-57, p. 1.

5. AŻIH, 301/75, testimony of Mordechai Kleinman.

ŁUNINIEC

Pre-1939: Łuniniec, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Luninets, raion center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Luninez, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Luninets, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łuniniec is located approximately 55 kilometers (34 miles) east-northeast of Pińsk. On the eve of World War II, there were more than 2,000 Jews living in the town, above 20 percent of the overall population.

The Red Army seized Łuniniec in September 1939, shortly after the outbreak of war. The Soviet troops retreated near the end of June 1941, and during the first days of July, forces of the Wehrmacht occupied the town. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans killed all the Jewish doctors. They also ordered all Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothing—one patch on the chest and one on the back—and forbade them to walk on the sidewalks. The Germans then made the Jews form a Judenrat, which consisted of four men. The Judenrat was responsible for providing the Germans with Jewish goods and laborers on demand. Jews were not compensated for their labor. In addition, a non-Jew had to get special permission from the authorities to employ a Jewish artisan.[1]

On August 10, 1941, a special German unit arrived in Łuniniec to carry out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. In all likelihood this was the 4th Squadron of the 2nd Regiment of the 1st SS-Cavalry Brigade.[2] They gathered together all the Jewish men aged 14 and older, announcing on placards that they were going to be taken to work, then took them outside the town and shot them in pits that had been dug in advance. They allowed a handful of tailors and cobblers to live. Although the Germans went from house to house looking for Jews, several managed to hide successfully. Many of the men who survived, and some of the women, were sent to the forced labor camp in Hancewicze during the winter of 1941–1942. Meanwhile, the Germans continued to confiscate Jewish property.[3]

In the first days of March 1942, a ghetto was formally established in Łuniniec. There had never been a Jewish quarter or neighborhood in Łuniniec, so many Jews and even some Christians were forced to relocate. The remaining Jewish populations of the surrounding villages—including Łunin, Wólka, Dziatłowicze, and Bostyń—were concentrated in the ghetto. It was surrounded by barbed wire, and the local police guarded it. There was tremendous overcrowding in the barracks-like buildings. The daily ration was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person. Artisans, who were allowed to leave the ghetto to perform work, were carefully searched upon returning. If they were caught trying to smuggle food back into the ghetto, the police would beat them severely. To prevent the spread of lice and disease, the Germans shaved the heads of Jewish children. They also called for the formation of a new Judenrat to direct Jewish forced labor.[4]

In May 1942, a Security Police and SD Aussendienststelle (outpost) was set up in Pińsk, under the command of SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhem Rasp. Rasp's office in turn set up branch offices in the outlying Rayon capitals, including one in Łuniniec under the command of Otto Scholl. In June 1942, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin issued a special order to Rasp to liquidate all the Jews under his jurisdiction.[5] The second anti-Jewish Aktion in Łuniniec took place on September 4, 1942. Scholl and his men, with the help of the Gendarmerie, the local police, and Reserve Police Battalion 306, rounded up the Jews and brought them to pits outside the town. Rasp himself appeared with a small detachment of his men and auxiliary police. A unit of Reserve Police Battalion 69 and members of the Organisation Todt (OT) also participated, at the request of the Security Police. About 2,800 Jews were killed in this massacre. Some 100 craftsmen were permitted to remain alive, but they were killed in a subsequent Aktion in October 1942.[6]

Just prior to the mass shooting, Susi Grunberg-Gelbard wrote a letter to her husband, dated September 1, 1942, describing the situation she faced in the ghetto:

> I am sitting perhaps for the last time in this room, in which we were so happy, and write you a few parting words. I feel that you are still alive and hope that these lines come into your hands. The graves are prepared; sooner or later, probably tonight, the inevitable will happen. I don't want to die, but I will die like a "man," if I don't succeed in escaping. What I will do with the child is still not decided. The noose is so tightly closed that one cannot escape.[7]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Łuniniec and Kożangródek, edited by Yosef Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor Kehilot Luninyets—Koz'anhorodok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Luninyets ve-Koz'anhorodok be-Yisrael, 1952), has several useful survivor testimonies. There is also a short article on the Jewish community in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 263–264.

The investigative records and verdict from the trial in Braunschweig, concluded in 1964, of several members of the SS-Cavalry Brigade contain key information on the first Aktion. The verdict has been published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 570. Information on the second Aktion can be found in BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59) and also in the records of LG-Bo [see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005) vol. 34, Lfd. Nr. 741].

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community in Łuniniec can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3042, 3087); GARF; NARB; and YVA.

Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. A.P., "Kilyon ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor*, p. 66. Also in *Yizkor* see Lipe Yosilevski, "Der Untergang," pp. 178–179, 181; and Rivka Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," pp. 67–68.

2. The verdict of the trial of leading perpetrators of the SS-Cavalry Brigade (LG-Braun, April 20, 1964) describes a shooting Aktion and states it is very probable that the place concerned was Łuniniec and that the 4th Squadron carried out the shooting. The details of the Aktion fit closely with descriptions of the massacre in Łuniniec from other sources. In any event, it was almost certainly a unit of the 2nd Regiment that was responsible for the shootings. LG-Braun, 2 Ks 1/63, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, Lfd. Nr. 570a, 20:54–55.

3. Ibid.; Yosilveski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," pp. 68–69; Khayem Rubinraut, "Luninyets in di letste 25 yor," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor*, p. 120; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," pp. 179–181; see also AŻIH, 301/3087 (Mikolaj Sierzan).

4. Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," p. 69; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," p. 180.

5. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, p. 868, testimony of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.

6. Ibid.; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, Ghetto Vernichtung in Raum Pinsk, p. 1100; A.P., "Kilyon ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi," p. 66; Rubinraut, "Luninyets," p. 120; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," p. 180.

7. AŻIH, 301/3042. This document is in German but may be a transcript or translation of the original. It is presumed that Susi Grunberg-Gelbard was murdered with the other Jews of Łuniniec on September 4, 1942.

MACIEJÓW

Pre-1939: Maciejów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Matsiov, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mazejewo, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Matseiv, Turiis'k raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Maciejów is located about 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) west of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, 2,206 Jews lived in Maciejów. Based on a natural growth rate of 9 or 10 people per 1,000 annually, it is estimated that approximately 2,600 Jews were living there in mid-1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town in late June 1941. Within a few days, the German occupation forces established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) from among the wealthier Jews. The Jewish Council informed the male Jews where and when to report for work every day. Among the initial work tasks Jews performed was clearing the roads of small mines left behind by the Soviets as they retreated.[1]

In July and August, the town was administered by a German military commandant, then from early September 1941, by a civil administration. Maciejów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel. The Gebietskommissar in Kowel was Arno Kämpf until June 1942, while the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant Philipp Rapp of the German Gendarmerie.[2] Kämpf was arrested in June 1942, and Erich Kassner succeeded him as Gebietskommissar.

The Germans also set up a local Ukrainian administration and a Ukrainian police force, which was subordinated to a local German Gendarmerie post of several Gendarmes. In the summer of 1942, the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 103, recruited from the region's inhabitants, was also stationed in the town, primarily on railway protection duties.[3]

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the first anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Maciejów. The German authorities ordered Jews to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes. Jews were instructed to surrender all valuables via the Judenrat. The German authorities also threatened that if any valuables were subsequently found in a Jewish home, the people who lived there would be shot. In addition, the Germans demanded large monetary "contributions," and on one occasion they burned the Torah scrolls from the synagogue and beat the old men.[4]

In the summer of 1941, the first killing Aktions were carried out in Maciejów. These Aktions were organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Kowel together with parts of the 1st and 4th Platoons, 1st Company, Police Battalion 314 (Order Police from Vienna), assisted by the local Ukrainian police. The two Order Police platoons were in Maciejów from mid-July until early September 1941.

The first Aktion took place on July 18, 1941. The Germans collected about 400 Jewish men on the pretext of registration and took them to the former nunnery that served as a German headquarters. Here a form of "selection" took place, and those with useful skills were put to one side, while the larger group was attacked with dogs, beaten, and then shot behind the nunnery. Men of the Security Police and SD squad and the Order Police shot 325 Jews. According to survivor Jacob Biber, in the course of a subsequent Aktion about one month later, 300 Jewish women were arrested and shot in the same place. On another occasion the Germans also beat and murdered the rabbi of the town, apparently when their demands for money could no longer be fulfilled.[5]

In August 1941, the Germans and their collaborators declared a virtual "open season" on the Jews. The German police battalion and especially the local Ukrainian police (Miliz) rounded up hundreds of Jews, whom they then shot in the lime mines close to the town. Many Jews hid or fled to the surrounding countryside, but the local police still hunted them down, boasting about how many Jews they had killed. Apparently the Germans had offered a reward for every Jew discovered. The local population also plundered the abandoned Jewish houses. At least one Jew, the blacksmith Manashe, offered resistance, grabbing a rifle from his Ukrainian police escorts and battling his pursuers in a rye field before he was overpowered. After several weeks of this killing spree, the German police battalion left the town in early September, and the newly established civil administration ordered that the killing of Jews be stopped temporarily.[6]

The first Judenrat had been completely eliminated during the massacres, and a new one was appointed. It made a report

to the newly arrived German commandant, whose office was also based in the nunnery, about a German soldier who had stabbed and robbed the Jewish photographer Lichtenstein. To set an example, the new commandant court-martialed the soldier and sentenced him to death. News of this event caused even the Ukrainian police to reduce their harassment of the Jews. A number of Jews then emerged from hiding and were even joined by refugees from nearby towns, including Kowel.[7]

In the fall of 1941 the remaining Jews were made to perform forced labor without pay. Among the tasks assigned to the men were working in the sawmill, cleaning the streets, and loading freight cars, while women also worked as cleaners for the Germans. After mid-November, the trains passing through increasingly carried wounded German soldiers rather than Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and this also changed the attitude of the Ukrainian overseers, who became somewhat more amenable.[8]

According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, at the end of 1941, a ghetto was created in Maciejów into which Jews from the surrounding villages were resettled. In late May or early June 1942, the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Platoon from Łuck, together with the local police battalion of Ukrainians, carried out an Aktion against "bandits," the official word for partisans but often applied as a euphemism for Jews. In the course of this operation, four "bandits" were killed, three or four wounded, and one arrested.[9] At about this time, 200 young Jews were shot, presumably for providing alleged assistance to the "bandits" (partisans).

In mid-September 1942, word spread that the ghetto would soon be liquidated, and most Jews scattered to prepared hiding places. A detachment of Security Police and SD men arriving from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police, rounded up all the Jews they could apprehend in the ghetto and shot them in the lime pits on the edge of town. The number of victims of this Aktion is unclear, but it probably lies between 1,500 and 2,500.[10] Most of those who hid initially were denounced or captured by the local police over the following days and months.

Very few Jews managed to survive the German occupation in and around Maciejów. Including several who had escaped into Russia, only about 10 survivors came back to the town after its liberation by the Red Army on July 18, 1944.[11] Those who did survive, such as Jacob Biber, relied heavily on their good pre-war relations with individual local peasants and had to change their hiding places often, owing to the generally hostile atmosphere in the area. Jacob and his wife also lost their infant son, Shalom, when surprised in the woods by Ukrainian policemen.[12] From March 1943, many Ukrainian policemen deserted and established their own Ukrainian nationalist (Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UPA) partisan formations, but most remained antisemitic and killed any Jews they encountered. It was not until 1944 that the emergence of strong Soviet partisan units in the area offered a potential refuge for the few surviving Jews.

SOURCES Information about the persecution of the Jewish population of Maciejów can be found in the memoir written by Jacob Biber, *Survivors: A Personal Story of the Holocaust* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1986). There is also a personal testimony by his wife, Eva, in the same author's anthology of survivor accounts, *A Triumph of the Spirit: Ten Stories of Holocaust Survivors* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1994), pp. 97–122. A brief history of the Jewish community is available in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 137–139. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 366.

Documents about the persecution of the Jews of Maciejów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; DAVO (R66-4-15); GARF (7021-55-9); TsDAVO; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 42–43.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 19/266, report on the strength of the Schutzmannschaft as of July 1, 1942.
4. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 49–51.
5. LG-Trau, verdict of May 26, 1982 (forthcoming in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, case no. 878); Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 43–50.
6. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 52–66.
7. Ibid., pp. 64–67.
8. Ibid., pp. 70–72.
9. See the report of the Higher SS and Police Leader in Ukraine, BdS Ukraine, June 1–30, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 42.
10. The figure is derived from the number of Jews in Maciejów before the war, an estimate of the number of Jews killed before September 1942, and allowing for the number of Jews resettled to Maciejów from surrounding towns and villages. According to material from the ChGK (January 24, 1945), around 4,000 Jews and Ukrainians were killed in the Maciejów raion during the occupation; see GARF, 7021-55-9, p. 3. This figure is probably an overestimate. Martin Gilbert gives the figure of 1,500 for the number of Jews killed in "August 1942"; see Gilbert, *Endlösung. Die Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Juden. Ein Atlas* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982), p. 115.
11. "Eva Cherniak Biber" [survivor account] published in Biber, *A Triumph of the Spirit*, pp. 97–122, here p. 118.
12. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 88–89.

MAŁORYTA

Pre-1939: Małoryta, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Malorita, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Maloryta, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Malaryta, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Małoryta is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Brest. Just before the German invasion of the Soviet Union,

some 4,000 people lived in Małoryta, of which more than 1,000 were Jewish.

German forces occupied Małoryta on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941. A number of buildings in the town were damaged in the initial German bombardment. A few days after the Germans arrived, they announced they needed volunteers to join the police. A Ukrainian police unit was set up, and the police station was located in a private house, which had previously belonged to a Jewish person but was confiscated in 1939 by the Soviets. It was situated on the street that the Germans called Dorfstrasse, which was later called Sovetskaia. There were about 30 people in the Ukrainian police. Yarmoshuk was the commandant; he had also used the surname of Kwiatkowski under Polish rule, as before the war the Ukrainians were not allowed to serve in the Polish police. He was sacked from the Polish police when this deception was uncovered. Another policeman was Filipp Samosiuk. The policemen wore uniforms similar to the greatcoats worn by Soviet soldiers, made of a dark gray material.[1]

In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the region from the military authorities. Małoryta became a Rayon center in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, subordinated to the Gebietskommissar (Brest-Land) Curt Rolle. In the fall, a training school for the local police was established in Małoryta, to which policemen from the entire Gebiet were sent to be trained as noncommissioned officers (NCOs). The local German agricultural leader (Landwirtschaftsführer) in Małoryta was Wilhelm Zinn, and the village head (sołtys) was Konrad Strunec, who had also held this position under Polish rule.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans set up a Jewish ghetto, and all the Jews of Rayon Maloryta were moved into it. The Ukrainians who used to live in houses within the ghetto area were resettled to former Jewish-owned houses outside the ghetto. The ghetto consisted of about 50 houses in the northwestern part of town, surrounded by barbed wire. It was guarded by the local police, though not very closely. Despite official prohibitions and beatings from the local police, the Jews were still able to barter items for food with the local population. The extreme overcrowding resulted in very dirty, unsanitary conditions in the ghetto, and a number of people died.[2] The Jewish population of Rayon Maloryta was reported by the German authorities to be 1,210 in early 1942.[3]

According to a German report from March 1942, artisan workshops had been established for blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and other craftsmen in Małoryta in order for "Aryans" to be trained, presumably by Jewish specialists.[4] Some able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were assigned to forced labor under arduous conditions on road construction projects and other work at various sites in the Gebiet, where many died from the inadequate food and poor conditions.[5]

The ghetto was liquidated in July or August 1942, probably by a detachment of the Security Police, assisted by men from the Police Company Nuremberg, the German Gendarmerie, and the local Ukrainian police. The massacre of the Jews was carried out over at least two days. First the remaining male Jews were taken in groups to the ditches prepared on Pieszczatka Hill, which was about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the ghetto in a northwesterly direction, where they were shot. A few men tried to escape, but the escorting guards shot them as they fled.[6] The women and children were held overnight at an assembly point, and then the Germans and their collaborators escorted them to the mass graves in groups of 40 or 50 during the next morning. The victims had to remove their outer clothing and their shoes before being shot in three mass graves. The remaining Jewish property in the ghetto was plundered by the Germans and the local policemen. Among those who participated in the Aktion was the Ukrainian nationalist Markowski, who had been head of the Maloryta Rayon a short time before.[7]

According to the monthly report of the Gebietskommissar dated August 22, 1942, the Jews in Małoryta had been "evacuated" during the previous month; approximately 1,000 people being affected.[8]

SOURCES Captured German documents on the fate of the Jews of Małoryta can be found in BA-BL (R 94). Materials from the various ChGK reports can be found in GABO (514-1-258, p. 38); GARF (7021-83-25, pp. 64–74); TsGAMORF (32-11302-244, pp. 151–160); USHMM; and YVA. Interviews conducted in the 1990s by Britain's New Scotland Yard War Crimes Unit (WCU) in preparing for the trial of Andrei Sawoniuk, a policeman from the nearby town of Domaczów, also contain some information on the fate of the Jews in Małoryta. These records are now located in the NA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. NA, WCU, Sawoniuk investigation, statement of Vladimir Kharczuk, February 1997.
2. Ibid; GARF, 7021-83-25, p. 64; USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, p. 157.
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942.
6. NA, WCU, Sawoniuk investigation, statement of Vladimir Kharczuk, February 1997; USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, p. 157, and 233/2374/58, pp. 152–155. Both these sources date the Aktion in June 1942 and name Major Rose of the Gestapo arriving from Lutsk [*sic*] as being in charge. This was probably, however, Major of the Gendarmerie Rohse, who was at that time based in Brest-Litowsk.
7. USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, pp. 157 and reverse.
8. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, August 22, 1942. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 789, "883 Jews (including some from neighboring villages) were executed by SD troops and Ukrainian police in Maloryta on July 7, 1942"; unfortunately, it is not clear on what source this information is based. GARF, 7021-83-25, p. 64, gives the figure of 2,500 Jewish victims from the ghetto, but this is certainly too high.

MANIEWICZE

Pre-1939: Maniewicze (Yiddish: Manievich), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Manevichi, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Manewitschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Prylisne, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

The town of Maniewicze is located 59 kilometers (37 miles) east-northeast of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, there were 462 Jews living there.[1] Following the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, Maniewicze was occupied by the Soviets. Its Jewish population was swelled by several hundred refugees from the German zone of occupation, primarily Jews from Terespol, a town near Brest, reaching a total of almost 2,000 people.[2]

The Soviet army and local authorities evacuated Maniewicze in the direction of Kiev on June 25, 1941; the German army entered the town on June 28. In the intervening days, peasants from neighboring villages conducted extensive looting in the town. Some local Jews tried to leave with the escaping Soviets, but many stayed behind. The Lorber family, for example, could not leave, as the head of the family remained undecided and soon found that escape was no longer practical.[3]

The Germans ordered the creation of a Judenrat in July 1941, headed by a refugee lawyer, Dr. Frucht. The local Ukrainian police commander was Mikolai Slipchuk, formerly a teacher in a nearby school for deaf children. His assistant was Andrei Pestrak.

The first killing Aktion, directed mainly against the Jewish intelligentsia, was organized by the Germans on August 25, 1941, when 327 Jews, mostly men, many of whom were heads of families, were arrested and allegedly taken to a work camp; but in fact they were killed that day.[4]

Local Jews were allowed to remain in their homes but were restricted to the area of the town, and a curfew was imposed after dark. They were allocated 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person per day, distributed by the Judenrat. Jews suffered from hunger. Some Jewish artisans went to nearby villages secretly to work and obtain food for their families. Seven Jewish children were murdered by the chief of police Slipchuk when caught returning from a village in search of food.

The Judenrat organization included a Jewish police force. Comments by survivors indicate that the head of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police behaved properly and tried to alleviate the suffering of the community members. Suffering from cold and hunger was worst during the winter of 1941–1942. Comments by survivors regarding the local population are mixed. Some neighbors, both Poles and Ukrainians, helped with food, goods, and information. Others ignored previous good relations and allowed friends to suffer.

According to some accounts, an "open ghetto" was formed in Maniewicze in the spring of 1942 between the police station and the railway station. Some Jews were brought there from neighboring villages. It was not closed off and was guarded only ineffectively by the Ukrainian police.[5] The Germans maintained a skeleton staff of Gendarmes in the town to support the Organisation Todt (OT) civil engineering corps. Several "Todtniks" were tenants in Jewish homes; the homes were comfortable, and the Jews understood German. The Nazis set up a self-financing scheme to cover the costs of administering the ghetto. The Maniewicze Judenrat was forced to collect and "contribute" the funds, a practice employed throughout Volhynia.

Maniewicze Jews were not permitted to leave the area of the ghetto, and the Ukrainian police had the power to shoot violators on sight. Nevertheless, it was possible to escape under cover of darkness if one was careful. Faye Merin Porter (the coauthor's mother) escaped the night before the second Aktion but left behind her two young daughters, sister, and mother. She hid in a barn and later entered the forest, where she was reunited with her husband, Yisroel Puchtik (Porter).

Jewish men worked in the local parquet-flooring factory and in the loading of railroad ties. Women worked at "Polska Góra," to which they commuted by a local train. Their task was the repair and maintenance of the rail line. These women were employed by the OT, the German government contract firm dealing with large-scale military construction projects. German officials of the OT helped these women by providing them secretly with food rations. They also warned them in time of the impending liquidation of the ghetto.[6]

As a result of these warnings, 70 Jews were able to escape to the nearby forest on September 3 and 4, 1942, at the end of the work shift at the parquet factory. Some hid with a local Polish forest ranger named Słowik. This group met up with another group of young Jews from Lishnivka, a neighboring village in the forests.

One such Jew was Dov Lorber, 27, who first escaped from Maniewicze to Lishnivka, the village where his father was born. Another man from Gródek, who was warned early on, was Yisroel Puchtik. He also avoided the first Aktion. Eventually they and others joined a partisan group led by a local Ukrainian leader, Nikolai Konishchuk, aka "Kruk," the former Communist head of the village of Gryva. Kruk readily agreed to accept these young Jews in his partisan unit. Older Jews, women, and children were also accepted into a "family camp" within the forest. Another group under "Maks," a Polish commander, a major named Joseph Sobesiak, operated in the same area. Eventually several hundred Jews survived as partisans in this family camp guarded by the two partisan groups, later commanded by Soviet Colonel Anton Brinski. They later came under the command of Major General Vasily Begma and were part of the Rovno Division.

Food and other provisions were commandeered from neighboring villages under partisan control. Military supplies were dropped periodically by parachute. The Soviet army liberated the area in February 1944.

A few days before the second and last Aktion, the town's Jews were forced to move to an enclosed ghetto area in Maniewicze. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on September 5, 1942. As many as 300 Jews from the nearby village of

Trojanowka were brought into the Maniewicze ghetto just prior to this, on September 3.[7] On the eve of the liquidation, German and Ukrainian police guards, including some brought in from Kowel and Powursk, surrounded the ghetto. Then some 2,000 Jews slowly marched through the town and were escorted to a site in the direction of Czerewucha. Here they were made to strip naked and then slaughtered in four mass graves near the Christian cemetery in a wooded area called *ferdishe mogiles* (Horse Graves). The Germans gathered watches, gold teeth, and other valuables in a silk bag at the killing site. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, there was a total of 1,840 "primarily" Jewish victims, of whom the children were buried alive.[8]

Andrei Pestrak was under investigation by the British War Crimes Inquiry when he died in the United Kingdom in the late 1980s.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Yehuda Merin, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Manyevits'*, *Horodok*, *Troyanovkah*, *Lishnivkah u-Povursk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Manyevits', Horodok, Troyanovkah, Lishnivkah u-Povursk veha-sevivah ba-Erets, 2002), contains a number of relevant testimonies. The International Association of Volhynian Jews also publishes its own journal, *Yalkut Volyn*, in Givatayim, Israel. This magazine includes an article on "Maniewicze" by Yehuda Merin in vol. 45 (1989), p. 17.

On partisan activity in the area, see Jack Nusan Porter and Yehuda Merin, eds., *Jewish Partisans: A Documentary of Jewish Resistance in the Soviet Union during World War II*, 2 vols. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982; repr., Newton, MA: Spencer, 2002). Another relevant publication is the collection in Hebrew edited by Nathan Livne, *Tall as Pine Trees: Jewish Partisans in Volhynian Forests* (Tel Aviv, 1980). Finally, there is a self-published article by Joseph M. Voss (with the assistance of Dr. Levis Kochin), "Nekamah mit sekhel," which is the transcript of a lecture and memorial to the life of Dov Lorber, given at the Congregation Bikur Cholim, Seattle, WA, on February 12, 1997.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Maniewicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/926); GARF (7021-55-8); MA (A.103); NA (Home Office War Crimes Inquiry); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/1332, 2367).

Jack Nusan Porter and Yehudah Merin

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228. In 1921 in the nearby village of Trojanowka, there were 212 Jews, and in Poworsk, 37.

2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 790, gives the figure of 1,900 Jews under Soviet rule in 1939–1941.

3. Information from Dov Lorber, who later became a Jewish partisan commander in the region. For his testimony, see YVA, O-3/2367.

4. AŻIH, 301/926, testimony of Samuel Melchior; GARF, 7021-55-8.

5. Interview with Vasili Nesterovich Kulchitski conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 27, 1989. See also interview with Sevastian Stanislavovich Solubchuk by Hetherington on January 28, 1989. These records are currently located in the NA.

6. See Tzvi (Vora) Verba, "Deeds of a Child," in Porter and Merin, *Jewish Partisans*, 2:115–122; his testimony can be found in file YVA, O-3/1332.

7. Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 317; interview with Arhip Anyisomich Mifanik conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 27, 1989; interview of Isaac Kirzner and Ben Finkel by William Chalmers on September 8, 1988; interviews in the NA. See also V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), p. 33; and AŻIH, 301/926.

8. The ChGK report, GARF, 7021-55-8. See also the interview with Aleksei Stepanovich Slipchuk conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 26, 1989, NA.

MEDZHIBOZH

Pre-1941: Medzhibozh, town and raion center, Proskurov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Medshibosh, Rayon center, Gebiet Letischew, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Medzhybizh, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Medzhibozh is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) east of Proskurov, at the confluence of the Southern Bug and Buzhok Rivers. Just prior to the German invasion, the Jewish population of Medzhibozh was approximately 5,000.[1]

The German army occupied Medzhibozh on July 8, 1941.[2] On the first day of the occupation, the Germans forced Jewish men to shovel sand. Others were required to lie facedown in the mud so that officers could walk across their backs as a bridge. Others were required to sing, grovel in the grass, and dance for photographers.[3]

Within a few days, SS men came and formed a ghetto in the main part of town. The Jews were driven to one of the worst streets of the town—Bath Street—with 15 to 20 people squeezed into each room of a number of small houses. There was also considerable plundering of Jewish property during the move, as the Gestapo allowed only a short time for the move to be completed. Everything that was left behind was lost. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Those who went too close to the fence were severely punished. The German captain in charge was Willy Kepke.[4] The head Ukrainian local policeman was named Pavlovsky. Another local policeman was named Blonsky.[5]

The elder of the ghetto was Moishe Viener.[6] Work consisted of clearing snow in the winter. In the spring of 1942, work details were involved in hauling stones (in a quarry 14

kilometers [9 miles] outside of town) and road construction.[7] Workers at the quarry not only had to walk all the way there and back but also received terrible beatings. On April 14, 1942, 200 men were transferred from the ghetto to work at the front as slave laborers. What remained of Jewish property was consumed by contributions, taxes, bribes, and robbery. Food rations got smaller and averaged 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. Some Jews left the ghetto to beg or barter remaining items for food. By 1942, the Jewish inhabitants of the ghetto began to die of starvation. Initially people were taken out on a cart to be buried in the cemetery. Local inhabitants who observed these frequent processions became aware of the high rate of mortality in the ghetto. However, once the authorities began demanding money for this, they were buried in a yard.[8] Several weeks before the mass shooting in September, the Ashkenazi synagogue was razed to the ground, and fragments of the Sefer Torah were scattered to the winds.

On September 21, 1942,[9] more than 1,000 people were shot at a mass grave near Rusanovtsy, on the western outskirts of Medzhibozh at a ravine leading to the Southern Bug River. By November 2, 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports, the Germans and their collaborators massacred 2,558 to 2,588 people in total, in three trenches at the mass killing site.[10]

In the predawn hours of September 21, a truck unloaded 50 SS men at the gate of the ghetto. Fearing another pogrom (there were several perpetrated during the month of August), many people hid in bunkers they had prepared. People were so anxious that they slept in their clothes. At dawn, more than 1,000 people were driven to the mass killing site and shot. By noon, the killings were completed. SS soldiers tore apart the ghetto looking for valuables and hidden Jews. That afternoon, approximately 250 Jews were found and brought to barracks in the castle. About 80 were selected for a work detail the next morning; the rest were shot. Throughout the next three days, more Jews were discovered in the ghetto and brought to the barracks. During their time in the barracks, workers were fed 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread a day. The work detail was transferred to the prison camp at Letichev.[11]

There was no known resistance in the area. Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman spent some time in the Medzhibozh ghetto and were part of the work detail transferred to Letichev after the first mass killing. They escaped from Letichev and sought refuge in Proskurov. Later, they escaped together from the Proskurov ghetto to Transnistria.[12] Huberman returned to live the rest of her life in Medzhibozh.[13] Thirteen-year old Bronya Zats ran from the mass killing site during the executions. She swam across the Southern Bug River, and presumably the Nazis thought she had drowned. She was helped by Ukrainian farmers, and her identity was hidden throughout the rest of the occupation.[14] These three are the only survivors of the ghetto on whom documentation could be found. Apparently some Jews may also have survived by passing as Ukrainians and being sent to Germany as forced laborers in the mines.[15]

A Ukrainian policeman named Blonsky was arrested in Medzhibozh and sentenced to 25 years in prison by the Soviet authorities after the war.[16] Pavlovsky was rumored to have fled to Canada.

SOURCES Translations of many of the relevant testimonies used for this article can be found in David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000), chap. 16, "Holocaust."

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-92); USHMM; and YIU (no. 618).

David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

NOTES

1. Computed by adding 9 percent to the 1926 figures, accounting for population growth.
2. Newspaper *Za Chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
3. Testimony of Moshe Einhorn, from the 1981 edition of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovietish Heimland*, published in translation in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 683–696. The photographs could not be located.
4. Ibid.; YIU, Témoin no. 618.
5. Tevye Goldberg, interviewed by Yuliy Lifshits, Jewish Preservation Committee of Ukraine, 1998. Translated in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 805–810.
6. Einhorn testimony.
7. I. Goland and V. Dymshits, "Report of a Trip to Staray Sinyava and Pilyava: An Interview with Bronya Khalfina July 31, 1989," in V. Dymshits, *The History of Jews in Ukraine and Byelorussia*, *Expeditions*, *Monuments*, *Finds* (St. Petersburg: Petersburg Jewish University, History and Ethnography, Series Issue 2, 1994). Translated in part by Chapin and Weinstock in *The Road*, pp. 697–698. Note: Bronya Zats Khalfin was very sick at the time of the interview, and her thoughts are somewhat incoherent. A better source may be Hershel Polianker, "In Medzhibozh," *Sovietish Heimland*, no. 1 (1982): 148–158.
8. Einhorn testimony; Khalfin testimony; YIU, Témoin no. 618.
9. Einhorn testimony.
10. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-92, p. 2. See also DAKhO, Fond 363, case 39, p. 78, "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmelnitsky Oblast' at the time of the Fascist occupation." Summary translations in English are available in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 746–750.
11. Einhorn testimony.
12. Ibid.
13. Sonya and Charles Bick visited her in Medzhibozh on July 26, 1990.
14. Khalfin testimony.
15. Ibid.
16. Goldberg testimony.

MIĘDZYRZECZ

Pre-1939: Międzyrzecz, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Velikie Mezhirichi, initially, raion center, Rovno oblast', then, village, Korets raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Meshiritschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Velyki Mezhyrichi, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Międzyrzecz is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) east of Równe. According to the 1921 population census, 1,743 Jews lived in the village. By the middle of 1941, allowing for a population growth of 0.9 percent per annum, there would have been approximately 2,108 Jews living there.[1]

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (the Ortskommandantur in Korzec) governed the village, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Międzyrzecz (renamed Meshiritschi) became a Rayon center in Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.[2] There was a German Gendarmerie post in Międzyrzecz, as well as a Ukrainian police squadron.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, an antisemitic mood prevailed in the village, and Ukrainian nationalists organized a pogrom. Many Jewish homes were looted, and a number of Jews were assaulted.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Judenrat was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David.[4] They were ordered to perform heavy labor, mostly without pay. Jews could not leave the borders of the settlement. They were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local Ukrainian police.

According to Isaiah Trunk, the chairman of the Jewish Council, Abraham Shvetz, committed suicide after the Germans ordered him to deliver more than 100 young and healthy Jews, ostensibly for labor in Kiev. Reports from local non-Jews indicate that these Jews were subsequently killed in a mass grave.[5]

On May 22, 1942, an SD detachment arrived from Równe and directed an Aktion against the Jews in the village, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police. Around 1,000 Jews were killed.[6] The 37 members of the 1st Company of the 33rd Police Reserve Battalion also took part in the Aktion.[7]

Shortly after this Aktion, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Międzyrzecz. All the Jews who had survived the Aktion on May 22, and also a number from surrounding villages, were forcibly resettled into an area composed of a few empty dwellings on only two streets. The ghetto probably remained unfenced, but it was closely guarded by the Ukrainian police, so it was impossible for the Jews to leave.[8] According to Trunk, there was a youth resistance group in the ghetto, which planned to escape to the forests, but when they consulted the new chairman of the Judenrat, Isaiah Rubinstein, he replied: "Believe me, I too would have escaped together with you, but how can one abandon the ghetto? You may escape, but next day the Germans will kill everyone, including your families." Thus the German policy of threatening reprisals, if any Jew went missing, held back the youth of the Międzyrzecz ghetto from executing their escape plans.[9]

On September 26, 1942 (the Sukkot holiday), the ghetto was liquidated. The SD unit from Równe together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police shot around 800 or 900 Jews altogether.[10] Only a few Jews managed to evade the initial roundup and ensuing searches. Some of them found refuge with local peasants and managed to survive until the end of the German occupation in early 1944.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Międzyrzecz can be found in the following publications: "Miedzyrzec," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 127–130; B.H. Ayalon-Baranick, *Mezeritch gadol be-vinyana u-be-hurbana* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Mezhiritch, 1955); Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 444, 462; and "Velikie Mezhirichi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:223.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Międzyrzecz under German occupation can be found in the following archives: DARO (R48-1-10); GARF (7021-71-58); TsGAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (e.g., # 1222, 40997); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2218, 3479-80).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 363.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 66.
4. See the order of the Ortskommandantur Korez of August 6, 1941, for the Rayons of Beresowo, Hoschtscha, Korez, and Meshiritschi, DARO, R48-1-10, p. 16.
5. VHF, # 1222, testimony of Samuel Honigman.
6. According to *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:223, the number of Jewish victims was 950.
7. See the report of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, TsGAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
8. VHF, # 40997, testimony of Mordekay Tenenb'om; # 1222, Honigman, however, states that the ghetto was fenced.
9. Questionnaire 815, as cited by Trunk, *Judenrat*, pp. 444, 462.
10. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:223, gives the figure of 900 victims. VHF, # 40997, estimates that there were around 800 Jews in the ghetto prior to the liquidation Aktion.

MIELNICA

Pre-1939: Mielnica (Yiddish: Melnitza), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mel'nitsa, Goloby raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mielniza, Rayon Goloby, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mel'nytsia, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Mielnica is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) east of Kowel. According to the population census of 1921, 875 Jews lived in Mielnica. The town came under Soviet control in September 1939 and received an influx of refugees from western and central Poland. In 1941, just prior to the German invasion, there were probably slightly more than 1,000 Jews in the village.[1]

German military forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Mielnica. Authority passed to a German civil administration in September 1941. Mielnica was included in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf became the Gebietskommissar, a position he held until June 1942. Leutnant Philipp Rapp became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[2] In July 1942, Kämpf was arrested and executed for taking bribes from the Jews. He was replaced as Gebietskommissar by Erich Kassner, Kämpf's former chief of staff (Stabsleiter).

An elder was named to run local matters in the village. A number of Ukrainian policemen were also appointed. They served under the command of the German Gendarmerie outpost, based in Hołoby.

In July 1941, the first two Aktions were carried out against the male Jewish population in Mielnica: 56 young Jewish men were shot in the course of the "first Aktion," which took place at the start of the month. Some of them were betrayed by a local Polish antisemite who had been a headmaster under Polish rule and alleged that they had been Communists and political activists. The second Aktion took place in the middle of July, when some 280 men were killed. The Aktion was probably conducted by the 2nd Company of the 314th Police Battalion, which was deployed in Hołoby on July 14, 1941.[3]

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mielnica. First the Jews were registered and ordered to wear distinctive markings on their clothing. According to Leya Rog, their food ration was limited to 90 grams (3.2 ounces) of pumpernickel bread mixed with straw each day. Jews were forced to give up the land surrounding their houses to Ukrainians, including their vegetable gardens, and were compelled to cease their previous professions and other paid work. The Germans also demanded a ransom in money and gold from the Jews. A Judenrat was established that organized forced labor for the Jews, mostly in the form of cutting peat. The Jews were otherwise more or less confined to their houses and had to rely on any food that neighbors periodically brought to them secretly.[4] The remaining Jews from the Rayon town of Hołoby were brought to Mielnica in late 1941.[5]

In the middle of August 1942, a ghetto was created in the village. It was established on Bozhichnaia Street, where two synagogues were located, and was cordoned off from the rest of the village.[6] The Jews were given only a few minutes to leave their homes and all the contents. They were made to run as they carried their meager possessions with them into the ghetto, being beaten and threatened by shots fired into the air. Several families were now crammed into each house.[7]

The total number of Jews in the ghetto may have been as many as 1,200, including Jews brought in at this time from surrounding villages, such as Kaszówka. These Jews brought with them the disturbing news that non-Jews had been preparing pits on the outskirts of town.[8] The Jews were left to starve for a number of days, as they could not leave the ghetto either to work or to beg for food. At the end of August 1942, the Germans demanded a further ransom, and when the Jews were unable to meet this demand, the Germans murdered the rabbi and the head of the Judenrat.[9]

On September 3, 1942, at 4:00 A.M., five Germans and around 100 Ukrainian policemen surrounded the ghetto. They gathered the Jews at an assembly point and then marched them out to a sand quarry near the southwestern border of the village, where they shot them all. Those in hiding heard the desperate prayers of old people, the crying of children, and the constant sound of gunshots. After the Jews had been murdered, the local police continued to search for Jews hiding in and around the ghetto, murdering any they could find. Local Ukrainians also looted the empty houses, and some subsequently took them as their own homes. Only a few Jews were able to escape the mass shooting. Among them was 12-year-old Zoja Baler, who, after hiding for a few days in the empty ghetto and fleeing to the forests, found shelter for some time in a family camp protected by a well-disposed Soviet partisan commander named "Max."[10] Some escapees were murdered by Ukrainian bandits (*Banderowcy*) who roamed the forests and also killed Poles in 1943, after deserting from the local police. On March 16, 1944, when Mielnica was liberated by the Red Army, only six Jews returned to the town.

In 1974 the Ukrainian policeman Ivan A. Klomivich returned to Mielnica and was arrested by the Soviet authorities. He was tried together with his accomplices, P.D. Pravoshchik, Volka Redoshinsky, S.S. Zagurski, and A.D. Gogolyuk, for participation in the murder of Jews, Poles, and Soviet partisans in Mielnica, Kowel, and the surrounding area. All were initially sentenced to death, but for two of them the sentences were reduced on appeal to 15 years' hard labor.[11]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Mielnica contains a section in English that includes several personal accounts and articles on the Holocaust period: Joshua Lior, ed., *Melnitsah: Pelekh Vohlin, Ukra'inah: Sefer hantsahah, 'edut ve-zikaron li-kehilat Melnitsah* (Tel Aviv: yots'e Melnitsah be-Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1994). A short article on the fate of the Jewish population of Mielnica can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 134–135. The testimony of Leya Rog has been published in Boris Zabarko, ed.,

Holocaust in the Ukraine (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 246–247. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 73, 363.

Documentation and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews in Mielnica can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/299 and 2871); DAVO; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Lior, *Melnitsah*, pp. 19–45; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 820. A colorful impressionistic sketch map of the village as it was in the 1930s, including all the houses, can be found in the USHMM Archives, RG-03.017*01.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Zelda Baller Lior, "A Childhood without Childhood," in Lior, *Melnitsah*, pp. 54–60.
4. Testimony of Leya Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247; Lior, *Melnitsah*, p. 78.
5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 84. In 1931, 350 Jews were residing in Hołoby.
6. Testimony of Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247.
7. Lior, "A Childhood without Childhood," p. 55.
8. Ibid., and Leya Rog, "In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers," in Lior, *Melnitsah*, pp. 48–52. In this testimony, Rog dates the establishment of the ghetto on September 1, 1942.
9. Lior, *Melnitsah*, p. 78.
10. Testimony of Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247; Rog, "In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers," pp. 48–52; AŻIH, 301/299, testimony of Zoja Baler (born 1930); and Lior, "A Childhood without Childhood," pp. 54–60. According to some sources, approximately 200 Jews from Powórsk were also brought to Mielnica and killed at this time: see Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1019. The Jewish survivor Basia Katz, however, maintains that the Powórsk Jews were killed in trenches dug to hold gasoline tanks close to the village of Powórsk; see interview by Mr. William Chalmers on September 9, 1988.
11. Rog, "In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers," pp. 48–52.

MIKASZEWICZE

Pre-1939: Mikaszewicze, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikashevichi, Luninets raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mikaschewitsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mikashevichy, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mikaszewicze is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-northeast of Pińsk. According to the 1921 population census, there were 178 Jews living in Mikaszewicze. By June 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 or 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been more than 200 Jews in the town. The actual number was probably higher, owing to the arrival of a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland in the fall of 1939.

German forces occupied Mikaszewicze at the start of July 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled Mikaszewicze. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Mikaszewicze was incorporated into Gebiet Pinsk in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mikaszewicze. They established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities. In November 1941, the civil authorities in Mikaszewicze issued an order that Jews over the age of 10 must wear yellow markers on the front and back of their clothes and that Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks.[1] Jews were also required to perform forced labor and were robbed and beaten by the local police.

At some date before July 1942, probably in May 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mikaszewicze into which some Jews were also resettled from nearby villages.[2] Between March and May of 1942, a number of men capable of work and aged between 14 and 60 years were selected from among the Jews in Mikaszewicze and, together with Jews from Lenin and Łachwa, were transported in railroad cars to a forced labor camp in Hancewicze.[3]

On August 6, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Pińsk traveled to Mikaszewicze to conduct an Aktion against the ghetto. Assisted by forces of the Gendarmerie and the local police (Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst), officers of the Security Police shot the Jews next to the railway line. After the slaughter and in accordance with standard practice, the Security Police commander in Pińsk, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, prepared a report for the Commanding Officer of the Security Police (KdS) in Równe in which he stated that on August 6, 1942, 102 men, 159 women, and 159 children (420 Jews in total) were "executed" (shot) in Mikaszewicze. For economic and hygiene-related reasons, three engineers and two doctors were temporarily spared.[4] On the day of the massacre, the local factory in Mikaszewicze ordered that the medical instruments of one of the doctors, the female doctor, Epshtein, be collected from her house in the ghetto, as they were necessary for her work at the factory.[5]

A Jewish photographer from the nearby ghetto of Lenin, Faye Schulman, took photographs for the Germans in the summer of 1942. After she escaped to the partisans in September 1942, she was able to save some of her photographs, including one of the bodies of the Jews shot in Mikaszewicze.[6]

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Mikaszewicze can be found in "Mikaszewicze," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 269. The ghetto in Mikaszewicze is mentioned in V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 91.

Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews in Mikaszewicze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2441); GABO (2733-1-5, 36, and 40); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 22); and YVA (e.g., M-41/1024 and 1026-27).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1026), Order issued by the local authorities in Mikaszewicze, November 17, 1941.

2. Ibid., Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1024), an order issued by the local authorities in Mikaszewicze, dated July 25, 1942, mentions the existence of a ghetto in the town. The ghetto in nearby Lenin was established on May 10, 1942.

3. L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 223–230; Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 109.

4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 2, report of Sturmscharführer Rasp to KdS Rowno, August 8, 1942.

5. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1027), factory in Mikaszewicze, order regarding the collection of medical instruments belonging to the Jewish female doctor Epshtein, August 6, 1942.

6. See Faye Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes in mir: Wie ich als jüdische Partisanin den Holocaust überlebte* (Munich: Lichtenberg, 1998), p. 99.

MIKHALPOL'

Pre-1941: Mikhalpol', village and raion center in Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Michalpol, Rayon center, Gebiet Jarmolinzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mikhaylivka, Iarmolyntsy raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Mikhalpol' is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south-southeast of Proskurov. In 1897, the Jewish population was 1,392. Under Soviet rule in the 1930s, there was a Jewish kolkhoz close to the village. According to the 1939 population census, there were 728 Jews living in Mikhalpol' (34 percent of the total population) and 909 Jews within what was then the Mikhalpol' raion. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews managed to evacuate to the east or joined the Red Army. Not more than 600 Jews are estimated to have remained in Mikhalpol' at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Mikhalpol' on July 11, 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. A local Ukrainian named Nachubski was appointed as mayor of the town. In September 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Mikhalpol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Jarmolinzy, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertes was the Gebietskommissar in Iarmolintsy. Under the civil administration, the only Germans based in Mikhalpol' were the agricultural leader (Sonderführer [Landwirtschaft]), Wilhelm Knöchelmann, and his assistant, who were responsible for the various estates in Rayon Michalpol and were subordinated to the Kreislandwirt, Karl Wiegmann, in Iarmolintsy. There was also a squad of more than 10 Ukrainian police based in Mikhalpol', subordinated to the head of the Ukrainian police in Iarmolintsy. A German Gendarmerie post was not established in the village until after the increase in partisan warfare in the region during 1943.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mikhalpol'. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities, and Jews were ordered to wear identifying badges. In addition, Jews were ordered to perform forced labor and forbidden to leave the limits of the village. According to a Soviet postwar publication, in the middle of July 1941, the Ukrainian Nachtigall Battalion arrived from Lwów, and its members took part in the shootings of Jews in the village.[1]

According to the postwar testimony of German agricultural leader Wilhelm Knöchelmann, there was already a ghetto for the Jews in Mikhalpol' on his arrival there (in around November 1941). He estimated that there were about 100 to 150 Jews in the ghetto, but the actual number was most probably higher. The ghetto was a part of the village, and the Jews were housed separately from the rest of the population. "The 'commandant' of these Jews [head of the Judenrat], himself a Jew, often came to me and placed Jews at my disposal for work." The Jews were used mainly in agricultural work in and around the village.[2]

In late October 1942, the Jews from the ghetto in Mikhalpol' were rounded up and transferred under close escort to Iarmolintsy by forces of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including about 14 members of the local police in Mikhalpol'. In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for a number of days.[3] On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinov, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were shot in groups into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total about 6,400 Jews were shot there over the course of about six hours.[4]

During the occupation, which lasted from July 11, 1941, to March 27, 1944, there were 662 residents of the village killed altogether, the majority of whom were Jews.[5] Some 60 Jews were shot in Mikhalpol' itself.[6] The remainder was killed in

Iarmolintsy. Very few Jews from Mikhalpol' are known to have survived.

SOURCES Documents of the ChGK and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Mikhalpol' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5072); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-802, 818); VHF (# 8453); and YVA (M-52/179).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Krovavye zlodeianiia Oberlendera: Otchet o press-konferentsii dlia sovetskikh i inostrannykh zhurnalistov, sostoiavsheisia v Moskve 5 aprelia 1960 g. (Moscow, 1960), p. 16.
2. BA-L, B 162/5072, pp. 394–395, statement of Wilhelm Knöchelmann, September 19, 1967. The existence of a ghetto and the use of Jews for forced labor are also mentioned in VHF, # 8453, testimony of Sonia Bershtein.
3. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.
4. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, statement of Wilhelm Kurt Paul Grosse, January 8, 1960.
5. M.I. Mekheda, ed., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR: Khmel'nyts'ka oblast'* (Kiev: Holovna Redaktsiia Ukrains'koi Radians'koi Entsiklopedii Akademii Nauk URSR, 1971), pp. 655–656.
6. YVA, M-52/179, p. 19.

MIN'KOVTSY

Pre-1941: Min'kovtsy (Yiddish: Minkovits), village and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Minkowzy, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Min'kovtsy, Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Min'kovtsy is approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,635 Jews living in Min'kovtsy, accounting for 46.6 percent of the total population, and another 777 Jews in the rest of what was then the Min'kovtsy raion (2,412 Jews in total).[1]

German armed forces occupied the village on July 12, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In these three weeks, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and some of the men were conscripted into or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. At the same time, some Jewish refugees arrived in the village.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. It appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Min'kovtsy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Dunajewzy, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In July and August 1941, the German military authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Min'kovtsy: a Judenrat was set up; Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David; they were used for forced labor, such as carrying stones; they were forbidden to leave the village; and they were systematically robbed, beaten, and mocked by the Ukrainian police.

According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, in early August 1941, all the Jews remaining in the village were forced to move into a ghetto.[2] Jews from the surrounding villages, and most likely the Jewish refugees as well, also were herded into the ghetto.

The ghetto was in existence only for about three weeks; it was liquidated on August 30, 1941, when the 320th Police Battalion (commanded by Police Major Kurt Dall) shot 2,200 Jews.[3] According to a local witness, Ivan Bodnar, the German and local police rounded up all the Jews on the main street and escorted them to three large pits, which had been prepared nearby. There the Jews were forced to undress and were shot in the pits in groups of 10 to 15 people. The local policemen played an active role in the shooting. Local inhabitants looted the Jewish houses, and some were sold to people in need of a place to live.[4]

After the Aktion, the Ukrainian police caught another 70 or so Jews who had been hiding in various places. According to Bodnar, these Jews were not shot but were placed in a single building, marked with a yellow Star of David on the front door, forming a remnant ghetto. The building was not guarded, but all the Jews were registered and had to wear distinguishing markings on their chest and back. Some local inhabitants gave food secretly to the Jews, who suffered from hunger.[5]

Initially these Jews were used for various types of forced labor, and then they were sent to the Dunaevtsy ghetto and shot there in October 1942, along with the other Jews in that ghetto.[6]

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Min'kovtsy can be found in Avraham Rozen, H. Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminits-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilot Yisrael ba-'arim Kaminits-Podolsk, Balin, Dunivits, Zamihov, Zvanits, Minkovits, Smotrits', Frampol, Kupin, Kiteygorod she-hushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bi-shenat 701/'arukh bi-yede* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965). The Min'kovtsy ghetto is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 826.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Min'kovtsy can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-802); YIU (no. 684); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 50.

2. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 826.

3. VHAP, Kommando-Stab Reichsführer SS, Radiogram from the HSSPF Russland Süd, no. 56, August 31, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 247. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-64-802, p. 88), 1,840 people were shot in Min'kovtsy on August 31, 1941.

4. YIU, Témoin no. 864, Ivan Timofevich Bodnar (born 1924), February 5, 2009.

5. Ibid.

6. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 826.

MIZOCZ

Pre-1939: Mizocz, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mizoch, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Misotsch, Rayon center, Gebiet Sdolbunow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mizoch, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Mizocz is located on the Stubła River, about 26 kilometers (16 miles) south–southwest of Równo. In 1921, the town's Jewish population was 882. By June 1941, it had increased to more than 2,000, including a number of refugees from the German-occupied region of Poland. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, a few Jews fled with the retreating Red Army.

Under the Soviets, as many refugees from German-occupied Poland fled German atrocities, the Jewish population of Mizocz swelled considerably. Many of the newcomers, however, were deported into the Soviet interior before the German invasion.[1]

On June 29, 1941, two days after the Germans entered Mizocz, "local Ukrainians carried out a pogrom against the Jews" in which several Jews were killed.[2] The German military stopped it. Almost immediately, a curfew was established, and Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. This was replaced later by patches, two yellow circles, one to be worn on the left side of the chest and the other on the right side of the back. Jews had to step down from sidewalks when encountering a German. Men had to take off their hats. Signs such as "Nicht für Juden" (Jews prohibited) were posted in public areas around town. Relations with Ukrainians had also changed; many refused to acknowledge their former Jewish friends, and for their own safety they needed to act like everyone else and express their hatred for the Jews.[3] The Germans established a Ukrainian police force, headed by Mizoczyk; its main purpose was to persecute and rob the Jews.

The Judenrat was established shortly after the arrival of the Germans. According to Asher Gilberg, Aba Shtivl was the chairman.[4] Its members included Shmuel Bunis, Melekh Gusak, Moshe Berez, Yona Nemirover, Avraham Vaynshteyn, and Hirsh Goldbrener, who represented the refugees. Moshe Rudman served as secretary. There was a Jewish police force, headed by Goldbrener. Gilberg comments positively on the heads of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police. In the summer and fall of 1941, the Jewish Police assisted in collecting money, valuables, and other items demanded by the Germans as a "contribution."

In the spring of 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Zdołbunów announced that a ghetto would be established in Mizocz. All Jews from Mizocz and the surrounding villages were ordered to move into the ghetto, but the actual transfer was probably not completed until June.[5] The precise number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but the number probably exceeded 2,500, with some sources putting it as high as 3,500. The ghetto was located in the old part of town called "miasto" (the town). It bordered on the Market Square on one side and the Stubła River on the other. It remained an open ghetto and was not surrounded by a wall or other physical barriers and was not closely guarded. People were able to move in and out rather freely, conduct business, buy food, and trade belongings. There was no starvation in the Mizocz ghetto. According to Asher Gilberg, the area of the ghetto was actually enlarged after its initial establishment.[6]

From the very beginning, Jews had to perform forced labor. The work included washing wounded soldiers' laundry, snow removal, farmwork, and construction work in nearby Zdołbunów for the German firm Josef Jung from Solingen.

Despite the public hanging of Zeyde Gelman for illegal slaughtering, and several arrests, the German administration of Mizocz was relatively benign.[7] The Germans promised members of the Judenrat and others who worked for them that their lives were safe because they were needed. Despite the slaughters that were taking place in surrounding areas, the Jews of Mizocz largely believed the Germans.

Early in the morning of October 13, 1942, the ghetto was cordoned off and surrounded by a combined force of the SD from Równe, German Gendarmerie, and armed Ukrainian Schutzmänner. Everyone was herded to the "Platz" in the market square with the assistance of large dogs. Helen Segall recalls that "the crowd of people moved as one huge body as they were being chased to the market square by Ukrainian Schutzmänner, and that the collective scream of the victims sounded inhuman, deafening, and unbearable." She also remembers that as she and her Aunt Natalie ran back to the house where they had been staying, to the safety of a hiding place located between the walls of two buildings, she saw a man in brown trousers, a trench coat, and a fedora hat pouring gasoline from a large rectangular can onto the houses as he ran in the opposite direction. Segall further recalls that later as smoke began to penetrate their hiding place, they had to leave it. They discovered that the whole town was a burning inferno. Surrounded by burning buildings, together with others, they ran along the widest street downhill towards the river. They were flanked on both sides by walls of raging hot flames.[8]

Late the same afternoon, people herded to the Platz were organized into a column and marched under guard to the end of town where, on a knoll opposite the sugar factory, a huge

2-meter-deep (6.6-feet-deep) trench dug for the neighboring brick factory had been prepared, awaiting its victims. As in other Volhynian towns, people had to undress and walk in small groups into the trench and lie facedown, where they were shot by an SS man helped by a Ukrainian Schutzmann.[9] The slaughter lasted long into the night and continued the next day as people trying to escape were caught and brought there. Thus, after two days, October 13 and 14, 1942, the Jewish community of Mizocz ceased to exist.

During the summer and fall of 1942, there seems to have been the beginning of a planned resistance movement in Mizocz, when a number of young people attempted to buy weapons in Zdołbunów, but they did not succeed. Thus, the major signs of resistance were the huge fire set by ghetto residents and a brief struggle with blunt weapons while the ghetto was in the process of being liquidated. Spector and others describe the Mizocz fire as an act of resistance intended to create panic and confusion, to make it possible for a large number of people to escape. Segall writes that "at the time I resented the fire which forced us from the seeming safety of our hiding place. I believed that the fire was set to destroy all material goods and possessions so that they would not fall into German and Ukrainian hands." Actually, there is little doubt that the fire did cause panic and commotion and indeed helped a large number of people escape, although many were later caught and shot. The next day (October 14, 1942) dead bodies were strewn on the banks of the river and on both sides of the road leading from Mizocz. One of the side tragedies caused by the fire was that about 200 people died in the flames, most probably caught in their hiding places.

The Soviet army liberated Mizocz in February 1944. Very few Jews had survived. Those who survived had hidden in the forests, joined the partisans, or were concealed by their Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian friends. In 1963–1964 a series of trials of the German Gendarmerie officials were held in Nürnberg-Fürth. Joseph Paur and Wilhelm Wacker were tried and convicted for their role in the ghetto liquidations in Zdołbunów, Mizocz, and Ostróg. Paur received a seven-year prison sentence, and Wacker was sentenced for three years.[10]

Thus, the Jewish community of Mizocz, which had been there for 300 years, was exterminated during those two days in October 1942. After the old town and its ghetto were reduced to ashes, Mizocz lost its "town status." It is now listed as "a settlement with urban characteristics."

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the Mizocz ghetto include the following: Asher ben-Oni, ed., *Mizocz: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Mizots' be-Yisrael, 1961); Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 553, pp. 319–361; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1003; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 209.

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Mizocz during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1795); BA-L (B 162/1585-1601, 4691, 14154); DARO; GARF (7021-71-59); USHMM; and VHF (e.g., # 7722, 46341). In addition, reference has been made to the author's own unpublished manuscript, Helen Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom: A Memoir."

Helen Segall

NOTES

1. Yehuda Bronshteyn, "The Judenrat in Mizocz," in ben-Oni, *Mizocz*, pp. 90–94.
2. Nachum Kopit, "In the Ghetto, Forced Labor, and in the Forests," in ibid., pp. 33–53.
3. Bronshteyn, "The Judenrat in Mizocz," pp. 90–94.
4. Asher Gilberg, "The Life and Death of Mizocz," in ben-Oni, *Mizocz*, pp. 5–28.
5. *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, p. 328.
6. Gilberg, "The Life and Death," pp. 5–28. Bronshteyn, "The Judenrat in Mizocz," pp. 90–94, gives the figure of 3,500.
7. Gilberg, "The Life and Death," pp. 5–28; *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, p. 329.
8. Segall, "When the Lilacs Bloom."
9. The document compiled by the ChGK (GARF, 7021-71-59) erroneously states that "the police consisted of Germans and Hungarians." The interrogation of Vinogradski and the entry in the Diary of a Young Man located in Rivne Archive (DARO) confirm that the Schutzmänner were Ukrainians.
10. *JuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, pp. 323–334.

MŁYNÓW

Pre-1939: Młynów (Yiddish: Mlinov), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mlynov, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mlinow, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mlyniv, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Młynów is located approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 615 Jews were residing in Młynów; allowing for a natural growth rate of 9 people per 1,000 per year, it is estimated that there were some 730 Jews in the town in 1941. Besides the local Jews, several hundred Jewish refugees from the western parts of Volhynia settled in Młynów, so that there were approximately 1,500 Jews in the town at the start of the occupation. The Jewish population of Murawica (Yiddish: Muravits), the other main settlement in the Rayon, was 167 (total population, 376) in 1921.

Młynów was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on June 24, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Młynów, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Młynów then became part of Gebiet Dubno.

The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and from the spring of 1942, the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.[1] There was a Gendarmerie post in Młynów, as well as a squad of local Ukrainian police.

Soon after the occupation, Jews were ordered to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David, and they were also assigned to compulsory work. Notices posted on the streets required that Jewish men and women of ages 14 and older had to present themselves in the market square for labor, equipped with tools and cleaning equipment. Anyone who did not show up would be shot. In general, Jewish women were sent to do cleaning work and the men to work in the fields of the estate of Count Hudkiwicz. About 200 men were sent to work on the estate of Count Liudochowski, in the village of Smordwa. Jews were also brought there from the neighboring villages of Boremel and Demidówka. The director of the estate was an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) named Grüner, a cruel sadist who made the men run downstairs and beat them in the middle of the night.

Immediately upon the arrival of the Germans, a Ukrainian police force was organized. They wore a blue and yellow armband on their left sleeves. On July 5, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town: more than 10 Jewish youths were shot as alleged Soviet activists, including Chaya Kupergloz, Rivka Bar, Freydl Rivits, and Yentl Mendlkern.[2] A few weeks later, between 10 and 15 Polish political activists (together with 1 Jew) were arrested and murdered. The town's rabbi, Yehuda Gordin, was also among the first victims in the summer of 1941. He was imprisoned by the Germans and interrogated for several days before he was killed. During August 1941, the mayor of Młynów collected Jewish gold, silver, and other valuable items, which were forwarded to Berlin via Równe by the Wehrmacht.[3] Official receipts were even issued for the items collected. In a subsequent Aktion, Germans and hundreds of Ukrainian police with wagons confiscated everything they could get their hands on: bicycles, sewing machines, and furniture belonging to the Jews. This operation ended suddenly when a whistle was blown, causing some furniture to be left behind, as there was insufficient time to load it all.

In the fall of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force were set up. The former shopkeeper Hashas was appointed as the first chairman of the Judenrat; other members included Mordekhai Litvak, Chaim Yitskhak Kupergloz (the former kehillah chairman), Mordekhai Liberman, and Moshe ben Yaakov Holtsker. Among the policemen were Zelig Zider, Shlomo Shakhman, Perets Tesler, and Tsvi Gring. At this time the civil administration ordered the replacement of the white armbands for Jews with a yellow patch sewn on the chest and back.

In the fall of 1941, the Gebietskommissar in Dubno ordered the recruitment of about 50 Jews from Młynów for construction work in Równe. Ukrainian and Jewish police went from house to house looking for the men, using a list drawn up with the help of the Judenrat. Some of the men fled to the surrounding fields and villages. In place of those who had fled, the police took whomever they could find. The families of these men wept bitterly on their departure. The Germans murdered all the men once they had finished their work.

Prior to the construction of the ghetto, there was no acute lack of food, as most Jews still had some stores at home. However, in the fall of 1941, a Hungarian army unit came and confiscated the remaining stores of grain and beans from the Jews. Jews were still able to barter for food with the peasants after that time, in spite of the official ban.

At the end of 1941, the Judenrat announced that people with work certificates would not be taken into the planned ghetto. Therefore, Jews did everything they could to obtain these work certificates. There were also different categories of certificates. The "best" were "iron certificates," which were issued to dentists, goldsmiths, doctors, and other craftsmen employed personally by the Germans. In Młynów it was difficult to obtain these certificates, so some Jews traveled to Dubno with Ukrainian peasants, risking their lives to get them. On one of these illegal journeys, Yaakov Nudler—who was trying to obtain arms for the resistance—was discovered and killed.

On May 22, 1942, a ghetto was established. Two streets served as its borders: Szkolno and Duwinska. Permission was given for Jews from other streets to take their personal belongings with them. Those who were expelled from their homes moved into the houses on these streets. In a few instances, the Judenrat determined where people would stay. At this time the Jews of Murawica (about 150 people) were also brought into the Młynów ghetto. Owing to the overcrowding, the sanitary conditions worsened severely. In general, 7 or 8 people shared each room. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and had two gates guarded by Ukrainian police. The Jewish Police usually accompanied those leaving the ghetto to work. Except for those who left to do work, nobody was allowed to leave the ghetto.

Immediately after the ghetto was set up, a general feeling set in that this was the prologue to the ghetto's liquidation. A few youths, among them Moshe Mendlkern, the Nakunitshnik brothers, the Liberman sisters, and several Jewish Police tried to organize resistance. At the head of the group was Avraham Ben-Tsion Holtsker. Shlomo Nakunitshnik had connections with people in the forests who had weapons. One of the partisans, a Pole, promised to provide arms for the Jewish youth in Młynów. The youth also prepared gasoline to burn down the ghetto in order to create confusion so they might escape during the liquidation. The group obtained two rifles, which they carefully hid, but ultimately they were unable to take concerted action.

In September 1942, rumors came of the ghetto liquidations in other towns nearby, and it was discovered that local peasants had been ordered to prepare a large pit in the valley between the towns of Młynów and Murawica, known as the *kruzhuk*, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from town. The first victims killed in this pit were the Taytlman brothers, Fishl and Shlomo, who had left the ghetto without permission.

Before the liquidation, all the Jews who worked outside the ghetto on various farms were ordered to return. Some returned willingly to be with their families, while others had to be brought forcibly by the Ukrainian police.

The Ukrainian police, under German command, then surrounded the ghetto. Loudspeakers announced that it was forbidden to leave. Men, women, and children went out onto the streets. Panic and hysteria broke out. People prayed, wept, screamed, and reunited with their families. From time to time, lone gunshots and the rattle of the police motorcycles were heard. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), on September 22, 1942, a team of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot 980 Jews, and in October of 1942, another 520 Jews (sources differ as to the exact dates).[4]

On the liberation of Młynów by the Red Army in February 1944, only some 35 survivors returned to the town, and they all had moved to Równe by the end of the year.

SOURCES Much reference has been made in this article to the yizkor book edited by Yitshak Siegleman, *Sefer Mlinov-Muravits* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Mlinov-Muravits be-Yisrael, 1970); a brief article on the town can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 133–134.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Młynów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2882); DARO; GARF (7021-71-60); TsDAVO (4620-3-367); and YVA (O-3/3247, O-3/1878, M-1/E/1443, M-1/E/816).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-60, p. 5.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462.
4. GARF, 7021-71-60, pp. 5–6. See also TsDAVO, 4620-3-367, pp. 5–6.

MOKROWO

Pre-1939: Mokrowo, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mokrovo, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mokrow, Rayon Luninez, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mokrovo, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mokrowo is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) east of Pińsk. In the 1930s, there were around 250 Jews altogether living in Mokrowo and the neighboring village of Sienkiewicze.

German armed forces first occupied the two villages on July 3, 1941. Soon after the start of the occupation, all Jewish men over the age of 16 had to register for hard labor, and much Jewish property was confiscated.

According to the postwar testimony of Wilhelm Rasp, the head of the Security Police outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Pińsk from May 1942 until December 1943, a ghetto had been established in Mokrowo for the Jews living there (probably together with the Jews from Sienkiewicze), at some date before August 1942, probably in the spring of 1942. At that time there were about 280 Jews living in the ghetto. The Jews had been left in Mokrowo, rather than being transferred to a larger ghetto, as there was a plywood factory in Mokrowo, which belonged to a Jewish engineer and probably supplied war materials for the German army.

According to Rasp, in around June 1942 he received a written order from Adolf Eichmann that all the Jews in his area of command were to be liquidated. The Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) und SD (KdS) in Równe, Dr. Pütz, Rasp's immediate superior, also confirmed this order verbally. When Rasp objected that he had neither appropriate weapons nor ammunition for this task, he received a visit from the Befehlshaber der Sipo und SD (BdS) in Kiev, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Max Thomas, who accused him of disobeying orders and tasked him with counting the number of victims and securing the valuables during the ghetto liquidation Aktions. It was also his job to ensure that about one third of the Jews were kept back as workers and that there were no excesses of cruelty.

At the beginning of August 1942, Rasp traveled to Mokrowo together with the deputy Gebietskommissar in Pińsk, Alfred Ebner, to liquidate the ghetto. Ebner had received an order from Dr. Pütz to this end and insisted that Rasp and some of his men accompany him. According to Rasp, the Jew who owned the plywood factory in Mokrowo had refused to sell an industrial patent to the Germans, and this provoked the order to liquidate the Mokrowo ghetto first. Rasp and Ebner traveled by train, accompanied by a couple of Rasp's subordinates and about 5 or 6 Gendarmes, as well as around 10 or 12 members of the Ukrainian police. In Mokrowo, pits had been prepared in advance by the local mayor.

On the next morning, men of the Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie drove the Jews out of their houses and escorted them in a column to the site in the forest where the pits were ready. Here the Jews had to undress and surrender their valuables. Then they were forced to lie down in a pit and were shot in the back of the head by Petsch of the Security Police and one of the Gendarmes. Each successive group had to lie down on top of the corpses of those already shot. In total, 280 people were shot. According to Rasp, the Jewish engineer/previous owner was not shot on this occasion; he lived at this time outside the ghetto in the factory.[1]

SOURCES Some information on the Jewish communities of Mokrowo and Sienkiewicze can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 268–269. This source, however, indicates that the Jews of the two villages were transferred to the Łachwa ghetto in April 1942, where they shared the fate of the other Jews there.

The main sources for this entry are the interrogations of Wilhelm Rasp, which were conducted by the West German authorities in 1961 and 1962 as part of a larger investigation into the ghetto clearances in the Pińsk region. Rasp himself was not tried, as he committed suicide before he could be brought to trial. The interrogations can be found in BA-L (B 162/4949-4971).

Martin Dean

NOTE

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59 (B 162/4952-60), statements of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961, November 22, 1962, and letter of Rasp, May 14, 1962.

MOROCZNA

Pre-1939: Moroczna, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Morochnoe, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Morotschnoe, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Morochne, Zarechnoe raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Moroczna is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) south-southwest of Pińsk. On the eve of the German invasion of June 1941, in what was then the Morochnoe raion, there lived around 2,000 Jews. Many of these Jews resided in the village of Serniki (987 people, according to the 1921 census) and in the village of Pohost-Zarzeczny (264 people, according to the same census).

German forces first passed through the village at the start of July 1941, but authority in the region was initially seized by local Ukrainians. In August 1941, a German military administration ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Moroczna became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, which in turn became part of the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis was named Gebietskommissar in Kamień Koszyrski.[1]

A local Ukrainian administration was formed in the village, along with a Ukrainian auxiliary police squad, which served under the German Gendarmerie.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Moroczna: Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks in the shape of the Star of David (later a yellow circle). They were compelled to perform forced labor. They were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the settlement without permission. Finally, the Ukrainian police robbed and beat them more or less at will.

In early 1942, a ghetto was created into which the Jews of Moroczna and some of the surrounding villages were forcibly resettled. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was liquidated in August or September 1942, when a unit of the Security Police and SD from Brześć shot 542 Jews in the village (121 men, 147 women, 274 children) with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[2] At around the same time, 140 Jews were killed in the village of Pohost-Zarzeczny, where, according to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, an open ghetto also existed,[3] and the ghetto in the village of Serniki was liquidated a few weeks later.

According to another source, however, Jews brought in from Moroczna were among some 1,600 to 1,700 Jews who were murdered by the Security Police and SD from Brześć in mid-August 1942 during an Aktion conducted against the ghetto in Lubieszów.[4] Some corroboration for this version of events is given by a report of the Security Police based in Równe that a verbal communication had been received from the Security Police outpost in Brześć that 3,399 Jews in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk had been given "special treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*).[5]

SOURCES Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Moroczna can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/6338); DARO; GARF (7021-71-121); and IPN.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-121, p. 7.
3. Ibid.; Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 275.
4. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 350; see also GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111, which dates the Aktion in Lubieszów on August 15, 1942.
5. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbior Zespolow Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, report dated August 17, 1942.

MUROVANNYE KURILOVTSY

Pre-1941: Murovannye Kurilovtsy, town (PGT) and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Murowanny Kurilowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Murovani Kurylivtsi, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Murovannye Kurilovtsy is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the census of 1939, there were 1,014 Jews living in Murovannye Kurilovtsy (25 percent of the total population). In the villages of Murovannye Kurilovtsy raion there lived an additional 1,065 Jews.

Following the German occupation of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, several hundred of the local Jews managed to evacuate. Men were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Only about 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish

population remained in Murovannye Kurilovtsy at the start of the occupation.

Axis forces occupied Murovannye Kurilovtsy on July 19, 1941. In July and early August 1941, the settlement was initially administered by seven Hungarian soldiers, and a local Ukrainian militia had not yet been organized. At this time, Feldkommandantur 675 in Vinnitsa was responsible for the military administration of the region and had appointed Anton Kornitzki as the Rayonchef in charge of the local Ukrainian administration.[1]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Murovannye Kurilovtsy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Bar, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. A German civil servant, Regierungsassessor Steffen, served as the Gebietskommissar in Bar.[2] Leutnant der Gendarmerie Petrich served as the head of the German Gendarmerie in Gebiet Bar. Subordinated to him were several Gendarmerie posts, including the post in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Subordinated to this post in turn was a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Schutzmannschaft).

At the end of July 1941, the German military administration registered 4,800 inhabitants in Murovannye Kurilovitsy, including 600 Jews.[3] During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. Initially the German military authorities ordered that the Jews were to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. Those caught disobeying this order were severely beaten.[4] Under the German civil administration, these armbands were later replaced by a yellow circle to be worn on the chest and back of outer clothing. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established under the leadership of Iosik Gas. The Judenrat had to enforce German orders, especially the collection of money, valuables, and clothing to be given to the Gendarmerie. It was assisted in this task by an unarmed Jewish police force.[5]

At some time between October 1941 and January 1942, a ghetto was established for the Jews in Murovannye Kurilovtsy.[6] Most of the Jews were confined in a small area near the market square, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. The ghetto was overcrowded, with three or four families sharing each small house with only about one room per family. One survivor mentioned that due to lack of space some additional barracks were built for the Jews, and another stated that there were two ghettos separated by a road.[7]

Jews from the ghetto were required to perform forced labor. The tasks included work at a local quarry, in warehouses, at a grain silo, digging military fortifications, and agricultural work at a kolkhoz. Only those who worked in the offices of the "Kommandantur" (headquarters) received anything to eat. Food was scarce, and people had to eat rotten potatoes and other scraps. Once a week Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for one hour to barter remaining possessions for food at the market. Some Jews working outside the ghetto were also brought food and clothing by Ukrainian acquaintances while at work. In the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia arrived in the ghetto.[8]

On August 20, 1942, the Jews of the Snitkov ghetto were rounded up and transferred to the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Children and the elderly were transported by horse and cart, and people were instructed to take enough food for two days. On arrival they were assigned to a few buildings, each holding 50 or 60 people.[9]

On Friday, August 21, 1942, the German police organized a large-scale Aktion against the Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto.[10] Men of the Gendarmerie and local police surrounded the ghetto. Then all the Jews were ordered to assemble at a central square with food for three days and all their valuables, as they were told they would be relocated. Once they had assembled, the Jews were first required to surrender their valuables to the local police. Then a number of Jews were selected out as capable of work and were allowed to return to the Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto. The remaining 1,170 Jews were escorted about 3 or 4 kilometers (2 or 2.5 miles) outside the settlement to the Iankovo Forest, where they were all shot in three large pits that had been prepared a few days in advance. The men, women, and children were each shot in separate pits.[11] The Aktion was orgnized by an SD detachment from the office (Aussendienststelle) of the Security Police in Kamenets-Podolskii, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police assisted in rounding up the Jews, escorting them to the place of mass killing, and searching for those who had gone into hiding or escaped.

Of those selected out, about 80 young Jews were sent to the Bar ghetto in early September, where they were used to unload coal at the railroad station until the liquidation of that ghetto on October 15, 1942. On Friday, October 16, 1942, the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy was liquidated, and all the remaining 120 Jews were shot.[12] After the liquidation Aktion, Ukrainians came into Murovannye Kurilovtsy from the surrounding villages to loot any remaining Jewish property. Only a few Jews managed to escape the roundups and find refuge in the countryside or by escaping into the Romanian-occupied zone, where by the end of 1942 the chances of survival for Jews were considerably better.

Among those tried by the Soviet authorities for collaboration with the German occupants was Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat, who was accused of serving as a translator for the German Gendarmerie in Murovannye Kurilovtsy and benefiting from Jewish property. In February 1948, she was sentenced to 25 years in prison and the loss of her citizen's rights.[13]

SOURCES The ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 41; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 861–862.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Murovannye Kurilovtsy can be found in the following archives: DAVINO (R6023-4-28506); GARF (7021-54-1244); IPN; RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 28); VHF (# 20754, 25153, 34310, 46977); and YVA (M-33).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, Report of the Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Abt. VII in Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-662, Report of the Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Abt. VII in Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941.
4. Ibid.; VHF, # 20754, testimony of Zoia Korenblit.
5. VHF, # 46977, testimony of Lina Laterman; # 20754.
6. DAVINO, R6023-4-28506, dates the ghetto from January 1942; VHF, # 20754, dates it from October 1941.
7. VHF, # 20754, on overcrowding; # 46977, mentions two ghettos separated by a main highway; # 25153, testimony of Leonid Garfinkel, mentions the construction of additional barracks.
8. Ibid., # 20754, # 46977, # 25153; # 27207, testimony of Sofia Nudel'man; # 20062, testimony of Boris Vaitsman; # 43183, testimony of Polina Zil'berman.
9. Ibid., # 34310, testimony of Dina Bril.
10. GARF, 7021-54-1244, p. 3.
11. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, k. 10, Petrich Report, August 27, 1942; this figure includes the Jews of Murovanye Kurilovtsy, Snitkov, and other nearby locations. VHF, # 20754; USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 28, Vinnitsa oblast', Delo 21215, trial of Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat in 1948.
12. VHF, # 20754.
13. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 28, Vinnitsa oblast', Delo 21215, trial of Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat.

NOVAIA USHITSA

Pre-1939: Novaia Ushitsa, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Uschitsa, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Nova Ushytsia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Ushitsa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east-northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, 1,547 Jews (55 percent of the total population) were living in Novaia Ushitsa, and 1,059 more in the villages of the Novaia Ushitsa raion. These included the villages of Kalius and Zamekhov.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than 1,000 Jews are estimated to have remained in Novaia Ushitsa at the start of the occupation. This figure includes some Jewish refugees who arrived from Bessarabia.

German forces occupied Novaia Ushitsa in mid-July 1941. In the rest of July and in August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The German military authorities appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which was headed by a man named Semenov. The new local authorities took over the buildings used previously by the Soviet authorities.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became a Rayon center in Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.[1] The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar in 1942 was Leutnant Willi Petrich. Several Gendarmerie posts, including the one in Novaia Ushitsa, served under his command. The Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated to the Gendarmerie post in Novaia Ushitsa.

Mass-shooting Aktions against the Jewish population in Gebiet Bar were carried out in 1942 by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii. This Aussendienststelle was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer.

In the summer of 1941, Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing a Star of David; in the fall, these were replaced by yellow patches on their chests and backs. A few individual Jews were killed during the initial months of the occupation, including a man who was hanged and a 16- or 17-year-old boy, Itzek, who was shot by Germans or local policemen who caught him observing them robbing Jewish apartments. In addition, the authorities arrested a number of Jews, including Rabbi Shai Ruva, demanding a large ransom payment for their release. When Roitman, who was ordered to collect the ransom from the Jewish community, tried to escape, he was caught, and all those under arrest were shot.[2]

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Novaia Ushitsa. The ghetto was located on part of the market square up to the ravine, including the synagogue courtyard and Pochtovaia Street. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fence enclosed the ghetto, and there was a gate near the entrance to Pochtovaia Street. The gate was guarded constantly by the Ukrainian police. Ukrainian families living within the ghetto area had to move out, and Jewish families outside the ghetto had to move in. The overcrowding was such that many people had to live in basements. As soon as the ghetto gates were closed, the police and other local inhabitants burst into the abandoned Jewish homes and stole whatever they could find.[3]

After the arrest of Roitman, the German authorities appointed Chaim Dinits to serve as the Jewish elder (starosta). He was an observant Jew of 50 years of age. As his assistants he selected two of his sons, Yankel and Moishe, and other relatives. Among his first tasks was organizing the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto. Subsequently he also assisted the Germans in selecting younger Jews to be sent to forced labor camps in Letichev to work on road construction projects.[4]

Up until the spring of 1942, a few hundred Jews from nearby villages and settlements were resettled into the ghetto. The villages included Ol'khovets, Zamekhov, Pilipkovtsy, Kucha, Slobodka, Pesets, and Pilipy-Khrebtievskii. These resettlements brought the Jewish population in the ghetto to around 1,500. The ghetto population consisted primarily of women, children, and the elderly, as well as some artisans, such as tailors and glove makers.

Anyone caught trying to leave the ghetto faced the death penalty, which was also the penalty for starting a fire in the evening or early morning hours or even for allowing children to cry. Once a week, however, the Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto on Sundays, in columns of four people, hand in hand, to go to the market to exchange their personal items for food. Before they left, the police conducted an inspection. They confiscated any valuable items they found. Once per day, for 15 or 20 minutes, the Jews were allowed to leave to get water from a well located in the ravine near the ghetto. This usually resulted in a mad scramble, due to the limited time. Some Jews also left the ghetto illegally through the barbed-wire fence in search of food. Most Jews had non-Jewish acquaintances, former coworkers or neighbors, who did what they could to help them. Some had buried valuables, as a safeguard against an uncertain future.[5]

Each day, all the able-bodied Jews who were not craftsmen left the ghetto at 7:00 A.M. to perform various kinds of forced labor, including road repairs, street cleaning, chopping wood, cleaning the homes of local administrators, and farmwork. They returned again at 6:00 P.M. Those whose work was deemed inadequate were beaten. This work was unpaid, but leaving the ghetto provided an opportunity to exchange items for food. Inside the ghetto, a group of "concubine girls," all Bessarabian refugees, were kept for the pleasure of the police and the Germans. These girls were not required to perform physical labor, and they were fed and clothed. There were also periodic raids by the Germans and local police in the ghetto, during which they robbed and beat the Jews. In the winter of 1941–1942, the officers and policemen arrested several Jews in the ghetto. They were tortured and then murdered in a nearby forest.[6]

There was no organized resistance within the ghetto, but some Russian newspapers were smuggled in, and one group of men was arrested and shot for listening to an illegal radio after the Germans had ordered all radio sets to be surrendered. The ghetto inhabitants were aware of the destruction of the Jews in Min'kovtsy, Kamenets-Podolskii, and other places, and this made them uneasy.

On August 20, 1942, German security forces conducted a large Aktion against the ghetto in which 707 Jews were shot.[7] The Aktion was carried out by the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Kamenets-Podolskii with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. First the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto during the night. Then in the morning, assisted by Dinits and his helpers, they drove the ghetto inhabitants from their homes. The Germans conducted a selection on Pochtovaia Street. A few hundred of the younger, able-bodied Jews were sent to the labor camp in Letichev, and the craftsmen with valid work papers and their families were also selected out. Then those not selected were escorted out of the ghetto. They were informed that they would be sent to Palestine. Initially they were led along the road to Dunaevtsy, but when they turned left off the road into the forest, behind the Catholic cemetery, the Jews understood that they would be shot. The Ukrainian police took an active part in the shooting. First the Jews were made to undress, and then they were shot in groups of 5. The children were buried alive to save ammunition.[8]

After this Aktion, the Jews who remained consisted of the artisans and their families, a few hundred people in total, plus a few others who had successfully hidden during the Aktion. These Jews were then resettled into a remnant ghetto, known as the small ghetto, which consisted of only 15 houses in the original ghetto area. Each family had their own room. All of these Jews were shot during a second Aktion, on October 15, 1942.[9]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a search for Jews in hiding was ordered. Those who were captured were sent to prison and then shot near the tile factory.[10] It is estimated that only about 15 former inmates of the ghetto survived the German occupation, including a few who successfully escaped into the Romanian-occupied zone known as Transnistria.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Novaia Ushitsa and several personal testimonies of Jewish survivors can be found in Anatolii Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa* (Novaia Ushitsa and Ramat Gan, 1976 and 1999), pp. 105–147. The testimony of Mikhail Borisov Eisen, "Hard Memory: WWII Memoir [Nova Ushitsa]," 1997, has been published on the Web by Jewishgen.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Novaia Ushitsa can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-803); IPN; and YVA (M-33/97, M-52/179, O-3/1266).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138.
3. Ibid., pp. 108–118, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," pp. 1–2.
4. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138. In 1944, Dinits was sentenced to 10 years in prison for collaborating with the occupiers. After serving his sentence, he returned to Novaia Ushitsa.
5. Ibid., pp. 108–118; YVA, M-33/97, M-52/179, O-3/1266.
6. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," p. 3.
7. Report of the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, Leutnant Petrich, August 27, 1942, regarding the anti-Jewish

Aktions, IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 77), 2,620 persons were shot in four ditches to the west of the village. This figure is probably too high.

8. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 122–130, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," pp. 4–5.

9. YVA, testimony of Maria Laster, O-3/1266; Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138.

10. After liberation of the settlement, 15 corpses were found in two ditches near the fence. GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 77.

OŁYKA

Pre–September 1939: Ołyka, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Ołyka is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) east of Łuck. According to the 1921 census, 2,086 Jews lived in Ołyka. By mid-1941, assuming a natural growth of 0.9 percent per year, there were probably about 2,500 Jews in the town at the outbreak of the war. Besides these Jews, there were many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland who settled in the town in the fall of 1939, as well as 60 Jewish refugees from Czechoslovakia.[1] After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, and as the German forces approached Ołyka, about 150 Jews evacuated eastward,[2] but the vast majority of Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army entered the town on June 27 or 28, 1941. The town was caught in the fighting for several days and was severely bombarded by the Germans. By the time they had gained control of Ołyka, most of the houses had been destroyed, and many people had been killed or wounded.[3] In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Ołyka was a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[4] Survivor testimonies mention the important role played by a local administrator named Max Tauber, but they do not mention his exact rank.[5] A Ukrainian local council was set up in Ołyka as well as a local police force, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (created in the fall of 1941), consisting of several German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ołyka: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in the town (chaired by Faya Borodata), through which the Germans transmitted orders and commands to the Jewish population. The Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first an armband with a Star of David, later a yellow patch) and to surrender all gold and valuables. They were also compelled to engage in forced labor and were forbidden to leave the town. In addition, the Ukrainian police subjected them to systematic robberies and beatings.[6]

In August 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Ołyka: 682 Jewish men were caught and collected in the Radziwiłł Castle, where they were told they would perform forced labor. But instead they were escorted to the Jewish cemetery and shot.[7] A squad of the Security Police and SD from Łuck probably carried out this Aktion, with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police.

On March 13, 1942, a ghetto was created in Ołyka[8] into which Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. A Jewish police force, headed by Rosenzweig, was created to maintain order in the ghetto. The ghetto residents were forced to do various unpaid jobs. For instance, 120 people loaded timber into railroad cars at the Ołyka station 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the town; other Jews performed the same jobs at the Cuman and Rudoczka railroad stations; many Jews were also employed in agriculture.[9]

In late July 1942, a squad of the Security Police and the SD from Łuck, together with the German Order Police and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto. On the night of July 25, 1942, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. The next morning, July 26, all the ghetto residents were rounded up at the castle of former Polish duke Radziwiłł; they were told that they were going to be resettled. Meanwhile, Ukrainian police killed several sick, elderly, and disabled people in the ghetto and on the way to the castle. The attempt of several Jews to organize resistance was impeded by the Judenrat. After the liquidation of the ghetto, Ukrainian police looted all the houses in the former ghetto. Of the Jews gathered in the castle, a small group of specialists was separated from the others, and the women and children were then placed in an enormous garage in the castle, while the men were herded into a wooden barracks nearby. The doors and windows of the garage were tightly closed, and the shortage of air, intolerable heat, and overcrowding caused several women and children to suffocate there; others had been crushed as the Ukrainian police chased them into the garage, beating them cruelly. The Ukrainian police took their bodies in large wagons to the cemetery and buried them there. On July 27, the shootings began, in ditches on the former shooting range near the village of Czemeryn. Ukrainian police drove the Jews in groups of 50 to the ditch; the Jewish Police forced them to undress and to lie in the ditches facedown, after which drunken German and Ukrainian policemen shot them in the back of the head. Ukrainian peasants covered the bodies of those killed and wounded with a layer of earth, at which point a new group of Jews was brought in. At the end of the Aktion, the Jewish Police were ordered to undress. When they refused to do so, Ukrainian policemen brutally beat them, ripped off their clothing, and shot them.[10] A small number of Jews, who hid in the former ghetto or fled during the night from the barracks, were able to survive. In early 1943, the 130 remaining Jewish artisans were shot in Ołyka.[11]

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,500 civilians were killed in the Ołyka raion during the occupation, including 5,220 Jews: 720 in early August 1941 and about 4,500 in late July 1942.[12]

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Ołyka can be found in the yizkor book edited by Natan Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Olika be-Yisrael, 1972); and in an article by Shmuel Spector in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 27–31.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ołyka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2859); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-11); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Elisheva Kohen, "Shnatayim goraliyot be-Olika (1939–1941)," in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*, pp. 271–272; Yitshak Lapid, "Va-yehi bi-yemey ha-Rusim," in ibid., p. 291.
2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 53.
3. Mikha'el Grinshteyn, "ha-Kivush ha-Germani," in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*, p. 311; Shloyme Tsam, "Di letste date: T'v bov tsh'b," in ibid., p. 331.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
5. Tsam, "Di letste date," pp. 331 ff.; Dvoyre Nakonetshnik, "A meydele fun unter der erd," in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*, p. 341.
6. Tsam, "Di letste date," p. 332. Also see Berl Gal, "Di toyt-marsh fun Oliker Yidn," pp. 301–302; and Hayim Hayat, "Yeled ba-Sho'ah," p. 323—both in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilot Olyka*.
7. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73; according to other sources (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 133) on August 1, 1941, 720 Jews were shot in Ołyka; Gal, "Di toyt-marsh," pp. 298–299; Grinshteyn, "ha-Kivush," pp. 312–313; Tsam, "Di letste date," p. 332.
8. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 133.
9. Gal, "Di toyt-marsh," pp. 300–302; Hayat, "Yeled," pp. 323–324.
10. Gal, "Di toyt-marsh," pp. 302–309; Grinshteyn, "ha-Kivush," p. 314; Hayat, "Yeled," p. 324; Tsam, "Di letste date," p. 333. See also DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942, which notes that the "special treatment" of the Jews in the Kolki, Zuman, and Olyka Rayons was conducted from July 26 to 29, 1942.
11. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 186.
12. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 126, 130. According to other sources, on July 27–28, 1942, 5,673 Jews were shot (Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 185: testimony of Tsam); this figure is probably exaggerated, as other witnesses mention 3,000 to 4,000 victims.

OPALIN

Pre-1939: Opalin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liuboml' raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Golowno, Gebiet Luboml, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vyshnivka, Liuboml' raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Opalin is located in northwestern Ukraine, on the Bug River, 24 kilometers (15 miles) west-northwest of Luboml. According to the 1921 census, 516 Jews were living in the village out of a total population of 1,226. In September 1939, as per the agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union, Opalin was occupied by the Red Army and subsequently incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that there were probably about 600 Jews in the village.

At the end of June 1941, soldiers of the German 6th Army occupied Opalin. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Opalin was a village in Rayon Golowno, in Gebiet Luboml. Kameradschaftsführer Uhde was appointed as the Gebietskommissar in Luboml, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Kurz.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German occupying forces in Opalin introduced a number of antisemitic measures. Jews initially had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and, from September 1941 onward, yellow patches sewn onto the front and back of their outer clothing. Jews had to hand over all money, gold, and valuables; they had to perform forced labor for little or no pay, probably in agriculture; they were prohibited from leaving the boundaries of the village; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and assaults by Ukrainian policemen.

At the end of 1941, the Jews of Opalin were resettled into a ghetto, probably around the same time as in Luboml, where the ghetto was formed on December 6, 1941. Those leaving the ghetto without permission faced the death penalty.

The ghetto was liquidated on October 2, 1942. According to testimonies given at the trial in March 1945 of the head of the local Ukrainian police, Omlian Timoshvits, five Germans and several dozen Ukrainian police officers from Luboml arrived in Opalin on October 2, 1942. The Germans and Ukrainians gathered 582 Jews (305 men and 277 women) and brought them to a large pit prepared in the Jewish cemetery. The Jews were forced to undress and were then shot and buried in the pit.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Opalin during the Holocaust include the following: "Vishnevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:263; and "Opalin," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 41–42.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

ORININ

Pre-1939: Orinin, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Orynyn, Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Orinin is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the population census of 1939, 1,508 Jews lived in Orinin, or 25.3 percent of the total population. There were 115 additional Jews living in the villages of what was then the Orinin raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east or were inducted into the Red Army. Around 1,300 to 1,400 Jews remained in Orinin at the start of the occupation.

In early July 1941, troops of the Hungarian army occupied Orinin. In August 1941, a few hundred Jews arrived in Orinin, having been deported from Hungary for being of alleged questionable citizenship. They found refuge with the Jews of Orinin, who had been living since before the war in a section of the village apart from the non-Jewish population. The Jews of Orinin worked as shopkeepers and artisans, and there was also a Jewish kolkhoz nearby. The Hungarian Jews tried to support themselves by working mainly as laborers in agriculture.

After only a few weeks, the Hungarian Jews were assembled, having been told they would be allowed to return to Hungary. They were escorted in a column to an earthwork, which had been prepared before the war as a form of defensive entrenchment. Then a number of armed Germans arrived in vehicles and quickly surrounded the Jews. A few of the younger Jews attempted to flee, but most were recaptured or shot. A local peasant working in the fields nearby was also killed by a stray bullet. Then the Germans shot all the remaining Hungarian Jews in the entrenchment, and the grave was filled in by local non-Jews. There were probably about 250 victims of this Aktion.[1]

In September 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Orinin was included in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Reindl became the Gebietskommissar in Kamenets-Podolskii. Leutnant der Polizei Albert Reich was appointed as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942.[2] A German Gendarmerie post was established in Orinin, to which the Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated.

In the late summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Orinin. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive marks in the form of a yellow patch on their chest and back. The Jewish elder was required to collect a certain sum of gold and other valuables from the Jews and deliver it to the Germans. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and they were forbidden to have any contacts with the non-Jewish population.[3] As the Jews already lived apart from the non-Jews, these regulations established a form of "open ghetto" in Orinin. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor tasks, which included clearing snow from the main roads in the winter.[4]

At some time during the summer of 1942, the Germans liquidated the open ghetto in Orinin. The Jews of the village had an idea of what would happen, as a few days before they received news that the Jews of the neighboring village of Liantskorun' had been shot.[5] First the village was surrounded by Ukrainian and German policemen early in the morning. Then the Jews were driven out of their houses and assembled. With the aid of the Jewish elder a number of skilled workers and their families were separated out and permitted to remain in Orinin. The main group of Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, was formed into a column and escorted out of the village, having been told they were going to Kamenets-Podolskii. When after a short time they turned away from the direction of Kamenets-Podolskii, the Jews realized that they would be shot, and they started to tear up their money. They were led to a large pit that had been dug by local peasants about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of Orinin. There they were made to strip naked and were shot in the pit. One Jew who was naked managed to flee during the Aktion and was given some clothing and shelter for a time by local non-Jews who lived nearby. In total, up to about 1,000 Jews were shot. The Jews who were spared from this Aktion, about 250 people, were escorted to the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto about one month later.[6] The mass murder was carried out by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Kamenets-Podolskii, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

SOURCES A brief article on the fate of the Jews of Orinin can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 943.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Orinin can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799, 803); YIU (nos. 638–642); and YVA (M-33).

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NOTES

1. YIU, Témoins nos. 638, 639, 640, 641, 642.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. YIU, Témoins nos. 639, 642.
4. Ibid., Témoin no. 639.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 261; also 7021-64-199, p. 194 (testimony of the former policeman I.P. Chaikovskii, May 14, 1944). The records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that 1,700 Jews were murdered: 480 men, 650 women, and 570 children. This figure probably includes the Hungarian Jews killed in 1941 but may still be too high. On the specialists, see also YIU, Témoin no. 639.

OSTRÓG

Pre-1939: Ostróg (Yiddish: Ostrah), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrog, Rayon center, Gebiet Sdolbunow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostroh, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ostróg is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Równe. In 1921, there were 7,991 Jews living in Ostróg (62 percent of the total); in 1931, there were 8,171 (62 percent). In September 1939 it fell within the Soviet zone of control.

After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, a substantial proportion of the population was able to evacuate eastward, so that about 7,000 Jews remained in the town. On June 28, 1941, German forces captured the southern part of the town, but Soviet troops continued to hold the western part of Ostróg, and the fighting lasted until July 3. In this fighting, the town was badly damaged. In July and August 1941, the town was administered by a German military administration. In September 1941, Ostróg was placed under civil administration, becoming a Rayon center in Gebiet Sdolbunow, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Sdolbunow was Hundertschaftsführer Georg Marschall.

In Ostróg, a Ukrainian Rayon administration and a Ukrainian police force (commanded by Stefan Tkachenko) were established. The Ukrainian police received orders from the German Gendarmerie post, which consisted of three German Gendarmes, whose leader was Komorowski. The Ostróg post was subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Sdolbunow, who from May 1942 was Bezirksleutnant der Gendarmerie Josef Paur.[1]

During the first week of the war, about 1,000 Jews managed to leave Ostróg—some as conscripts in the Red Army, while others fled eastward together with the Soviet authorities.[2] In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German authorities implemented a number of anti-Jewish measures in Ostróg. During the very first days of the German occupation, all Jews aged 16 to 60 were ordered to report to work (on pain of death). Men were put to work clearing the streets of debris and corpses, washing military vehicles, and doing other menial tasks, while women were made to clean German offices and so forth. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols such as the Star of David (later on, a simple yellow patch); and they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town. They were also subjected to beatings by the Ukrainian police. In August 1941, units subordinated to German Security Division 213 collected more than 64 kilograms (141 pounds) of ritual items from the synagogues and prayer houses in Ostróg.[3]

The first anti-Jewish Aktion conducted in the town occurred soon after its capture: 300 Jews from the intelligentsia were arrested and shot at the old Jewish cemetery.[4] On August 4, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Ostróg. On this day, the 3rd Battalion of the 10th Regiment, 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade, assisted by Ukrainian police, gathered the entire Jewish population in the town square and marched them through what was known as the New Town to a forest southwest of Ostróg. The SS then counted and sorted them by gender, marital status, and ability to work. Women with children were sent back to town. Over the course of that afternoon, between 1,000 and 3,000 of the remaining Jews were shot, primarily those who were ill or elderly. The Aktion was overseen by the battalion commander, SS-Obersturmbannführer Emil Sator.[5]

On September 2, 1941, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Besser, entered Ostróg in the early hours of the morning and rounded up the Jewish males, who were preparing to report for their forced labor duties. Women and children were ordered to remain at home. The men were told that they were being sent for 10 days of forced labor outside of Ostróg. The Ukrainian police then led them to the sawmill outside of town. This time, many of the Jews were not deceived by the Germans' ruse, and a large number managed to escape on the way.

At the sawmill, the Jews were surrounded by members of the 45th Battalion, who sorted them by age, profession, marital status, and so forth. The Jews were then taken on trucks, in shifts, to pits in the forest where they were shot. While the Aktion was taking place, Christian leaders in Ostróg, having realized what was happening, intervened with the Germans on behalf of the Jews. It seems that this intervention may have led the Germans to release about 500 Jews who had been designated for execution. Approximately 2,500 Jews were killed in this Aktion.[6] Altogether, in the second half of 1941, around 3,500 Jews were killed in the town.

Shortly after the September Aktion, the Germans ordered that a new Judenrat be formed, as the members of the first had all been killed. Avraham Komendant was made chairman. A Jewish police force, consisting of five policemen with special uniforms, was later organized as well.[7]

In the spring of 1942, the Germans informed the Jews that they would be transferred to a ghetto. The transfer was carried out in June 1942. Non-Jews were evicted from the area of town that had been most severely damaged by the bombing, and the Jews were concentrated therein. It was then surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. At this point, there were approximately 3,000 Jews remaining in Ostróg.

On October 12, 1942, the Jews of nearby villages were moved into the ghetto, and on October 15, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe, with help from the Ukrainian

police and the German Gendarmerie, liquidated the ghetto by shooting about 2,000 Jews in the forest near Novogo. Some Jews hid or ran away. The Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie conducted intensive searches to capture these Jews. Thus, in the second half of October 1942 around 1,000 Jews were captured and shot (October 16—about 200, October 17—about 300, October 20—about 600, October 29—about 150).[8] The commandant of the Ukrainian police, Stefan Tkachenko; his deputy, Artem Meshva; the policemen Peter Tkachenko, Artem Gulichku, Ivan Martinovski, Pavel Gomenok, and others played an active role in these operations.

All in all, between 1941 and 1942, at least 6,500 Jews were killed in Ostróg. A few hundred were able to flee into the forest. Some of them died from hunger or were captured during the searches, while others survived by joining partisan detachments. Among the most notable partisans were Yakov Kaplan, Mendel Treiberman, and Pesach Eisenstein.

The Red Army recaptured the town on February 5, 1944; about 30 Jews who survived by hiding in the vicinity returned to the town, as well as a similar number from the partisans. After the war, many evacuated families returned but did not stay, leaving soon for Poland, then on to Israel and the United States.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of Ostróg include the following: M. Grinem, *Ven dos lebn hot geblit* (Buenos Aires, 1954); H. Ayalon-Baranick, ed., *Pinkas Ostra: Sefer Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Ostrog, 1960); Judah Loeb Levin, *Ostraa: Megillat Polin* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Yad Yahadut Polin, 1966); Y. Alperowitz, ed., *Sefer Ostrog (Vohlin): Matsevet zikaron le-Kehilah kedoshah* (Tel Aviv: The Ostrog Society in Israel, 1987); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 34–41; and R. Shpizel', *Katastrofa evreev Ostroha: Katastrofa evropeis'koho evreistva nid chas Druhoi svitovoi viiny. Refleksii na mezhi stolit'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'. Materialy konferentsii 29–31 serpnia 1999 g.* (Kiev, 2000), pp. 141–145.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ostróg can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; DARO; GARF (7021-71-62 and 64); TsDAVO; USHMM (RG-50.226*013); VHF (e.g., # 5883, 1692); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/144).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Verdict against Joseph Paur (January 26, 1899) and others, LG-Nürn-Fü, 1070 Ks 7/62, May 27, 1963.
2. "Ostrog," in Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:39.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/21 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle reports), p. 256.
4. Shpizel', *Katastrofa evreev Ostroha*, p. 142; Aharon Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," in Alperowits, *Sefer Ostrog*, p. 175.
5. See report of 1. SS Mot. Brigade, August 3–6, 1941, in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 232–233. According to other sources, between 1,600 and 1,800 Jews were shot (GARF, 7021-71-64, pp. 14 and reverse, 29, 31); Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 175–178. Also see Shmuel Klipatsh, "Unter der Daytshishe Okupatsye in Ostra," p. 196; Bet Ayzenshteyn-Kashav, "Di Yidn in Volin 1941–1944," p. 229; Tova (Gitele) Shteynberg-Re'uveni, "Zikhronot mi-yemey ha-Shoah," p. 250; and "Mikhtavah shel Bluma Shtirnberg," p. 245—all in Alperowits, *Sefer Ostrog*.
6. Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 181–182; and Ayzenshteyn-Kashav, "Di Yidn in Volin 1941–1944," p. 230.
7. Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 184, 186; Sima Klipatsh, "17 Khodshim in a Bunker in Ostra," in Alperowits, *Sefer Ostrog*, p. 192.
8. GARF, 7021-71-64, pp. 20–21; Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 188–189; Shteynberg-Re'uveni, "Zikhronot mi-yemey ha-Shoah," p. 241.

OSTROPOL' (AKA STARYI OSTROPOL')

1930–1941: Ostropol', village and raion center, Kamenets-Podol'skii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostropol, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostropil', Starokostiantyniv raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Ostropol' is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Vinnitsa. By 1897, the Jewish population had grown to 2,714 (36 percent of the total population). According to the 1939 population census, 1,063 Jews lived in Ostropol'. An additional 256 Jews lived in the villages of the Ostropol' raion.

Units of the German army occupied the village on July 9, 1941. During the two and a half weeks since the start of the invasion, part of the Jewish population fled to the east, and some Jewish men were conscripted or enlisted voluntarily into the Red Army. About 70 of the Jews who attempted to flee soon became trapped by German forces in the town of Liubar on the main road towards Zhytomyr, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. Around 650 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The occupying forces appointed a village elder and formed an auxiliary police squad. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Ostropol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. Regierungsrat Schröder became the first Gebietskommissar; he was later succeeded by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. Leutnant Otto Gent was named Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942. There were only about five or six Germans based in Ostropol', including several members of the German Gendarmerie who supervised the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ostropol'. Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a Star of

David and were not permitted to leave the limits of the settlement. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also appointed. In August 1941, local police from Ostropol' arrived in the village of Khizhniki and ordered the 12 Jews residing there to move to Ostropol', where they moved in with other Jewish families already living there.[1]

Living conditions deteriorated over the following months. In the fall of 1941 or in early 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto in the village. A number of Jewish houses were demolished, and all the Jews were moved together into the remaining Jewish dwellings. The ghetto, however, was unfenced and unguarded. By the spring of 1942, there were as many as 20 people sharing one room. Some Jews died of illness and starvation.[2]

All adult Jews had to report to the local administration each day and perform various forced labor tasks, including excavation work for the men and cleaning for the women. Only a few were lucky enough to receive some food in payment. Others had to survive on potato peelings or whatever they could find.[3]

The Germans liquidated the Ostropol' ghetto on May 20, 1942. On May 19, members of the Jewish Council passed on German orders for all Jews to assemble at the school at 6:00 A.M. the next morning. Once the Jews had assembled, a German accompanied by an Alsatian dog gave a speech and ordered the Jews to form a column 4 abreast to march to Starokonstantinov. On the road to Starokonstantinov, in the village of Ladygi, around 40 elderly and infirm Jews were put onto carts, ostensibly to convey them the rest of the way. Instead, they were shot in the village once the main column had moved on. On that day, more than 400 Jews were conveyed to Starokonstantinov, guarded by German and Ukrainian police.

According to Anna Nasarchuk, on their arrival they were placed into the empty ghetto in Starokonstantinov, which had just been cleared by the shooting of most of its inhabitants.[4] Almost all of the Ostropol' Jews in the Starokonstantinov ghetto were shot over the ensuing months. At the time of the liquidation of the Ostropol' ghetto, the Germans selected a number of craftsmen to remain in Ostropol' to work. These Jews were also shot in turn sometime later.[5]

SOURCES Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ostropol' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-804); USHMM (RG-22.002M); VHF (# 33782); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, statement of Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973. According to the ChGK report, GARF, 7021-64-804, pp. 50–62, 117–122, in 1942, 12 Jews from Khizhniki and 6 Jews from the village of Korzhovka were shot in 1942.
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340.
3. Ibid., and pp. 267–273, statement of Sophija Kamenjezkaja, April 2, 1973; and VHF, # 33782, testimony of Liudmila Blekhman.
4. GARF, 7021-64-804, p. 124, gives the date of June 23, 1942, and reports that 581 Jews were sent to Starokonstantinov. According to another source, the ghetto was liquidated on May 20, 1942; see ZSSta-D, Ermittlungsverfahren 45 Js 20/73 StA Dortmund, Abschlussverfügung, August 10, 1976, p. 7.
5. VHF, # 33782.

OSTROŻEC

Pre-1939: Ostrożec, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ostrozhets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostroshez, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostrozhets, Mlyniv raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ostrożec is located about 16 kilometers (10 miles) from Łuck. According to the 1921 population census, 632 Jews were living in the village.[1] By mid-1941, assuming an annual growth rate of 0.9 to 1 percent, there probably were about 750 Jews in Ostrożec. In the area around Ostrożec, many Jews also lived in the village of Targowica (located about 16 kilometers [10 miles] to the southwest). According to the 1921 population census, 660 Jews were living in this village. By mid-1941, assuming an average rate of population increase, there probably were slightly more than 750 Jews in Targowica. A few more Jews lived in other nearby villages, including the village of Peremiłowka to the southeast of Ostrożec (which in 1921 had a Jewish population of 16). Witnesses confirm that Ostrożec was an entirely Jewish shtetl on the eve of the German occupation; the non-Jews lived in a more or less separate village nearby, also called Ostrożec.[2]

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Ostrożec at the end of June 1941. At first, in July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. Then authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Ostrożec became the center of Rayon Ostroshez in Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks became the Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt was appointed the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Dubno in the spring of 1942.[3] A village elder (starosta) was appointed for Ostrożec by the German military administration. A local Ukrainian police unit was also recruited.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ostrożec. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings: according to one witness, the Star of David was later exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the front and backs of their clothes.[4] They were required to perform forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic beatings and robberies by the Ukrainian police.

In August 1941, German security forces carried out a first Aktion in Ostrożec in which 40 Jews were shot.[5] On August 1, 1941, 130 Jews were also shot in the village of Targowica.[6]

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on German orders, which had to collect "contributions" in the form of money and goods for the German authorities and supply Jews for forced labor. During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews sneaked out of the village to collect firewood, but if caught, the Ukrainian police shot them. Only a few Germans were based in the village, including an officer named Vogel. Witnesses state that Vogel had sexual relations with one or more Jewish women; as a result, allegedly he tipped off the Judenrat in advance of German roundups.[7]

In the spring of 1942, probably in April, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Ostrożec. According to Jewish survivor Anatoly Burstein, his family was transferred to the Ostrożec ghetto from Peremiłowka in March or April 1942.[8] At around this time, the Jews of Targowica were also transferred on foot to the Ostrożec ghetto, carrying what they could in their arms.[9] Local witnesses from Ostrożec disagree about when the ghetto was established, with dates ranging from late 1941 to the summer of 1942; this was perhaps because Ostrożec was a completely Jewish shtetl before the war, and the ghetto was set up incrementally, first confining Jews to the village and later bringing in Jews from outside and erecting a fence.[10]

The ghetto consisted of about half of the shtetl surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Living conditions were very overcrowded, with about four or five people sharing a room. The Judenrat assigned the newcomers to private homes, trying to distribute them evenly among the local Jews. There was no medical assistance available in the ghetto, but some women gave birth successfully despite this. According to one witness, Jewish girls were raped by drunken members of the Ukrainian police. Jews were starving but were able to exchange possessions with local inhabitants for food.[11]

After the ghetto was set up, forced labor tasks included sorting potatoes, moving stones, and road construction. Some Jews continued to work for farmers in the surrounding area—a circumstance that proved fortunate for those who were still outside the ghetto when the final roundup took place. The Jews quickly received news about local farmers digging huge graves at the Jewish cemetery, and at least 200 Jews managed to flee from the ghetto in the hours before the final roundup.[12]

On October 9, 1942,[13] German police assisted by the local Ukrainian police began the liquidation of the ghetto. Detailed accounts of the ghetto liquidation have been provided by local witnesses interviewed by Father Patrick Desbois in 2007. First Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, and then the Jews were rounded up and put onto black trucks. The trucks were then driven to the prepared pits, where the Jews were forced to disembark in a column with the rabbi at its head. Then the Jews were made to undress. They placed their clothes and valuables into a cart, on which these items were subsequently transported back to the ghetto. The Jews were then shot in groups of five people in the main pit. Small children were simply thrown into the pit, and some Jews were only wounded, so many of the victims were probably buried alive. One or two individuals attempted to flee, but the guards shot them and their bodies were brought back and buried with the others.[14]

According to witnesses, many of the Jews who escaped initially were found hiding in the ghetto, were denounced, or returned of their own free will over the following days and weeks. Shooting Aktions against smaller groups of Jews carried on for at least two more weeks. Once the main mass grave had been filled in, the earth continued to move eerily for several days. In total, at least 700 Jews were shot. The Aktion was carried out by a detachment of the Sipo and SD from Równe, with the assistance of local Ukrainian police and the German Gendarmerie.

Local witnesses state that a few Jewish girls were kept alive after the massacre and cooked for the German officer Vogel, who had intimate relations with them but more or less kept them as his prisoners. These last Jews, as well as other Jews found in hiding, were shot in the smaller pit at the Jewish cemetery at some time in the fall of 1942.[15] A few Jewish escapees managed to survive with the help of local farmers, including some from the Czech minority that lived in the area.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish communities of Ostrożec and Targowica and their fate during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), pp. 73, 363, 367; and Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:307–308.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Ostrożec can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-61); VHF (# 3150, 21494, 22892, 44907); YIU (nos. 78-79); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 363.
2. VHF, # 21494, testimony of Pola Grinstein; YIU, Témoin no. 78, Leonid Khvil (born 1935), March 27, 2007.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. VHF, # 21494.
5. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73.
6. Ibid.
7. VHF, # 21494; see also YIU, Témoin no. 79, Leonid Khvil (born 1935) and Mykola Krystitch, March 2007, who accuses Vogel of exploiting Jewish girls.
8. Anatoly Burstein, in Koval, *Kniga spaseniia*, pp. 307–308, states April; VHF, # 44907, testimony of Anatoly Burstein, states March 1942.
9. VHF, # 22892, testimony of Irvin Miller, who was among those transferred, dates it in the spring of 1942.
10. Ibid., # 3150, Nathan Peters, dates its formation in late 1941; # 21494, dates it in the summer of 1942.

11. Ibid., # 3150; # 44907, mentions cases of rape.
12. Ibid., # 3150; # 22892.
13. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 367.
14. YIU, Témoin nos. 78 and 79.
15. Ibid.

PIŃSK

Pre-1939: Pińsk, city and powiat capital, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pinsk, oblast' capital, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: raen center, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pińsk is located at the confluence of the Pina and Pripet Rivers, 222 kilometers (138 miles) south-southwest of Minsk.

The Soviet army occupied Pińsk on September 20, 1939, in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

On Friday, July 4, 1941, 13 days after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, the first advance units entered Pińsk. According to German estimates, Pińsk had around 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 35,000 to 40,000 were Jews.[1] This estimate is probably too high, however. The historian Tikva Fatal-Knaani suggests a lower figure of about 26,000 Jews.

Immediately upon the German arrival, Jewish men were seized in the streets and arrested as "Bolshevists," "looters," and "partisans," including 16 young men who were taken out of their houses on Listovskaia Street under false pretenses and subsequently shot and buried. Only 1 of them survived by hiding, wounded, under a pile of dead bodies, and reported the events to town leaders. Antisemitic decrees made normal life impossible. On the second day of the occupation, Jewish bakeries were required to supply bread for the German army under threat of the execution of 10 Jews for each missing loaf of bread. Survivors testified that Jews were forbidden to leave the city or to be seen on the streets after 6:00 P.M. or to shop in the marketplace. All Jewish men, women, and children were ordered to wear a white armband with a Star of David on their left arm; noncompliance was punishable by death. German soldiers entered homes at will and engaged in spontaneous looting. Later, there were frequent official demands for items such as radios, clothing, fur coats, fabric, gold, and china. Each requisition order carried threats of reprisal. Men were often abducted for labor details and hence avoided the streets. Those abducted returned starving after a long hard day, often bruised from beatings. Jews were afraid to go to synagogues. The streets emptied, and shops, offices, and schools closed. The Tarbut High School was used to accommodate German staff. Those working in free professions lost their livelihood, and only factory and some workshop workers received work permits.[2]



A view of Pińsk during World War I; the photo caption reads, "Russian Jews fish on the frozen Pina."
USHMM WS #48262, COURTESY OF TOMASZ WISNIEWSKI,

Christian inhabitants welcomed the end of Soviet rule and greeted the Germans with bread, salt, and flowers, while Jews watched in fear behind closed shutters. Many in the non-Jewish population collaborated with the occupation forces and observed the altered status of their Jewish neighbors with glee. Non-Jews in Pińsk did their share of looting. Soon the Nazis forbade all contacts between Jewish and Christian residents of Pińsk.

On July 30, 1941, the Ortskommandant issued an order to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 24 Jews, whose chairman was personally responsible for receiving orders and guaranteeing their "conscientious and timely implementation."[3] David Alper, principal of Tarbut High School, was chosen as first chairman of the Judenrat. He resigned two days later, realizing the nature of his task, and was killed along with 20 other Judenrat members during the first Aktion. The remaining 8 members of the Judenrat continued in this capacity until the end. Vice-chairman Motl Minsky served as acting chair because of his fluent German. Benjamin Bokshtansky was nominal chairman; Efraim Feinbron was responsible for finance; Menahem Goldman, for legal affairs; Mendl Cooper, for labor; and Moshel Aizenberg, Jechiel Zilverblat, and Meir Greenstein, for supplies. The Judenrat was organized into departments providing basic services, such as labor, sanitation, health, judiciary, supplies, and welfare. After the establishment of the ghetto, the Judenrat operated a soup kitchen and the Chevra Kadisha burial society. The Judenrat's main source of income was a bread tax, used to comply with German demands, pay salaries of employees, and provide social services. Many documents in the State Archives of the Brest Oblast' (GABO) record the Judenrat's persistent negotiations to establish bakeries, increase the flour supply, and secure bread for the orphanage and hospital.

The Jewish Police maintained order, especially around the Tarbut school, where the Judenrat offices were located and thousands of people converged to arrange their affairs. The chief of police (Asher Feldlait, later replaced by Goldberg) and 12 policemen were paid by the Judenrat. After the establishment of the ghetto, the number of policemen grew to 50. On the whole, witnesses did not recall them as cruel or abusive.

On the night of August 4, 300 men were detained as hostages to force the Judenrat to comply with the order to assemble all men between 16 and 60 for a three-day work detail. Thousands of men were herded to the railway station, robbed

of their belongings, and arranged in two long columns of 5 abreast. They were forced almost to run to Posenichi, an hour march outside Pińsk. Photos of this Aktion taken by a German soldier show the bodies fully dressed in open pits.[4] A small number escaped after being wounded and buried alive under dead bodies in the pits. One survivor, Arye Dolinko, informed the Judenrat, but this information was kept quiet to avoid endangering escapees and living witnesses.[5] During the next two days, the Nazis rounded up more Jews, including younger boys and older men as well as some women. On August 7, 2,500 more people were shot in the village of Kozliekovich. By Thursday, August 8, at least 8,000 people had been murdered, and the community's leadership was especially hard-hit. Most cultural, educational, and religious activities came to a halt. The vast majority of the survivors were women and children. Abruptly, the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment left Pińsk on August 9.[6]

On August 11, the Ortskommandant decreed forced labor ("without wages . . . food may be given")[7] for all men between 14 and 60 and all women between 15 and 50. The German civil administration arrived in Pińsk during September 1941. The first Gebietskommissar was Römpler. Upon his death in late 1941, he was replaced by Paul Gerhard Klein; the deputy Gebietskommissar was Alfred Ebner. During the winter of 1941–1942, the community's members suffered from hunger, looting, and summary murders, but remained in their homes.

The German authorities did not establish a ghetto in Pińsk until relatively late, that is, on May 1, 1942.[8] On April 30, the Jews were ordered to move to the ghetto within 24 hours. Few belongings were permitted, although people brought more than was officially permitted. Non-Jewish neighbors took advantage of this sudden evacuation to steal and loot. The assigned area was the poorest and most crowded part of town, shaped roughly like a rectangle. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence measuring 2,345 meters (1.5 miles) in length and had three gates.[9] The ghetto contained 240 wooden, one-story houses on 23 streets, with only two water pumps. The allocation of living space per person was about 1.2 square meters (almost 13 square feet), and each room was occupied by at least 10 people.[10] Health conditions deteriorated drastically, and documents from the Jewish clinic and the Gebietskommissariat health department record dysentery, typhus, and starvation-related illnesses.[11]

A list of ghetto inhabitants compiled by German authorities registered nearly 18,300 people by surname, given name, date of birth, street address, and occupation. Statistical analysis shows that men over the age of 15 made up 14 percent of the ghetto population; women over 15, 50 percent; and children, 36 percent. A total of 5,112 people were listed with workplaces: of these, 1,944 were men, and 3,168 (62 percent) were women. There were 44 distinct places of employment for ghetto workers. The Judenrat employed 1,175 people in its diverse departments. There were 999 workers who provided services to the Germans, while another 1,284 supplied the city's residents with goods and services; among them, 364 women worked in Christian households. Another 859 people labored in factories and lumber mills, and 795 in various workshops.[12]

The Judenrat offices moved to the ghetto and operated several stores to distribute daily food rations. Judenrat workers on payroll raised vegetables in a lot near the Judenrat building. Bakers were allowed a weekly excursion to bring in flour, and they often smuggled in an extra quantity, to be sold as black market bread.[13]

Some people from Pińsk joined the partisans; however, no significant military resistance is recorded for Pińsk itself. The Judenrat's members discouraged young people from fighting for fear of reprisals and because they believed German reassurances that work performed in the ghetto was essential and would ensure survival. Although some young people had managed with great difficulty to collect weapons, their plans were postponed until it was too late.[14] Some residents escaped into the swamps of Polesia and tried to join the partisans before the destruction of the ghetto, but many died in the attempt. There was very little assistance from non-Jews in Pińsk, and after the war only 17 Jews are recorded as emerging from hiding in and around Pińsk. A few righteous non-Jews had risked their own lives to save them.[15]

On October 27, 1942, Heinrich Himmler gave the order to "liquidate and destroy the ghetto of Pińsk immediately."[16] The ghetto in Pińsk was one of the last to be destroyed in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Preparations, including the digging of pits, had been under way. According to Himmler's order, 1,000 men were to be kept alive as laborers, but in the end only 60 to 70 men and women survived the massacres between October 29 and November 1, 1942.

The killings are described in Captain Helmut Saur's "Experience Report."[17] On October 29, SS and police units arrived in Pińsk at 4:00 A.M. and sealed off the ghetto by 4:13 A.M. Many Jews gathered voluntarily in the streets, still believing that reporting for work might spare their lives. Others tried to break out of the ghetto but were shot trying. Alfred Ebner had prepared a list of 400 workers for the plywood and match factories who would be spared. Captain Saur reports that nearly 10,000 Jews were killed on that first day, but his numbers are ambiguous and can be read as referring to either 16,200 or 26,200 victims. Given the list of residents dated January 1942, a total death toll of 20,000 people by November 1 appears probable.[18] The ghetto was searched four times, and many sick and elderly were killed inside the ghetto. Patients and preselected skilled workers, temporarily housed on hospital grounds, were shot in the hospital yard. All the others were marched to Dobrovalia, a village 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside the ghetto, where a pit 40 meters long, 4 meters deep, and 3 meters wide (131 by 13 by 10 feet) had been dug by local peasants. People were ordered to strip, walk into the pit, and lie facedown on top of the previously murdered; then they were shot in the head.

Those selected for work were held in jail for 11 days and then moved to a new "small ghetto" near the former Karlin Yeshiva building. Approximately 140 people lived there, including some who had survived the massacres in hiding. The medical doctors among this group were selected and killed after being denounced by local non-Jewish doctors.

People knew their end had come when tailor Leibl Sherman's workshop stopped receiving new work orders and customers came to pick up their unfinished clothing. On December 23, 1942, the remaining Jews were murdered in the Karlin cemetery.[19]

Franz Magill was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his role in the first killing wave (2 Ks 1/63, LG-Braun).[20] Gebietskommissar Paul Gerhard Klein died in 1945. The trial of Kuhr et al. (4 Ks 1/71, LG-Frank) resulted in short prison sentences for members of Police Battalion 306, engaged in the second killing wave, but for medical reasons there was no conviction of deputy Gebietskommissar Alfred Ebner.[21]

SOURCES Survivor accounts are collected in the *Pinsk Memorial Book* (hereafter *PMB*), published in three volumes by the Association of Pinsk-Karlin and the Vicinity in 1966–1977, including the testimony of David Gleibman-Globe, Yehoshua Naidich, Motl Schukhman, Haya Sherman, Golda Sherman-Galetzky, and Tzila Dolinko. Published memoirs include: Arye Dolinko, *How Pinsk and Karlin's Communities Were Destroyed* (Tel Aviv: Society of Former Residents of Pinsk and Karlin in Eretz-Israel, 1946); and Werner Müller, ed., *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk* (Cologne: Dietrich, 2001). Nahum Boneh's *The Holocaust and the Revolt*, *Offprint from the Pinsk Memorial Book*," vol. 1, pt. 2 (Tel Aviv: Association of the Jews of Pinsk-Karlin in Israel, 1977) relies on survivor testimony. E.S. Rozenblat and I. Elenskaia's *Pinskie evrei: 1939–1944* (Brest: Brestskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, 1997) is based on documents in GABO, as is the more recent analysis by Tikva Fatal-Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk, 1939–1943, through the Prism of New Documentation," *Yad Vashem Studies* 29 (2001): 149–182. Stephen Phillip Pallavicini's "The Liquidation of the Jews of the Polesie: 1941–1942: A Case Study: Pinsk and Surrounding Areas" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, 2001) also uses German postwar criminal investigations. In Polish, there is: Fanny Sołomian-Łoc, *Getto i gwiadzy* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1993).

Documents from the ghetto are kept in GABO and are available on microfilm at Yad Vashem (YVA) and USHMM as Record Group M-41. The Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg (now BA-L) holds much of the documentation used to prepare the trials against Magill (Braunschweig) and Kuhr et al. (Frankfurt/Main) (see, for example, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59). The full trial records are kept in the relevant state archives of Lower Saxony and Hesse. Survivor testimonies taken by Israeli police are located in the Moreshet Archives (MA) in Givat Haviva, Israel; additional survivor testimonies can be found in YVA.

Web sites: www.pinskjews.org.il; www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinsk1/pinsk1.html; www.jewishgen.org/databases/PinskGhetto.htm; and www.jewishgen.org/databases/Belarus/PinskGhetto-YalkutMoreshet.htm.

Katharina von Kellenbach, Nahum Boneh, and Ellen Stepak

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Vernichtung im Raum Pinsk (28 März 1963), Abschlussbericht Dr. Arzt.

2. Cf. David Gleibman-Globe, New York, 1962; Haya Sherman, Tel Aviv, 1955; Melekh Bakalchuk, Buenos Aires, 1958, and Arye Dolinko—all in *So Perished the Communities of Pinsk and Katolin* (Moscow, 2005) [English], pp. 102–103.

3. YVA, M 41/945, Ortskommandantur Pinsk (OK II/333), July 30, 1941.

4. Erich Mirek, "Enthüllung faschistischer Grausamkeiten," in Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, ed., *In den Wäldern Belorusslands: Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Dietz, 1976), pp. 172–177.

5. Dolinko, *How Pinsk and Karlin's Communities Were Destroyed*, p. 14.

6. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), pp. 560–566; Nahum Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto: Current State of Affairs," *Yalkut Moreshet* (Mordechai Anilevich Study and Research Center, Israel), no. 64 (November 1997).

7. YVA, M-41/942, Ortskommandantur Pinsk an Bürgermeister in Pinsk, August 8, 1941.

8. Pallavicini, "The Liquidation," pp. 88–100.

9. In 1993 N.M. Polehovich, a Polish Christian resident of Pinsk, drew a map that can be accessed at jewishgen.org/database/Belarus/PinskGhetto.htm.

10. Müller, *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk*; Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto."

11. Fatal-Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk," pp. 172–173.

12. Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto."

13. Boneh, *PMB* [English], 1:113.

14. Ibid., 2:343 (chap. 6).

15. Ibid. [English]: 1:129.

16. The order was received by the HSSPF in Ukraine, Prützmann, on October 27, 1942 (BA-BL, R 19/319), and involved units of the KdS Aussendienststelle Pinsk, Security Police, Order Police, and Ukrainian Schuma. Cf. Dr. Yosef Kermish, *Yad Vashem News* (Jerusalem), nos. 6–7 (January 1956).

17. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 355–356, Saur Erfahrungsbericht.

18. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 720–723.

19. Boneh, *PMB* [English]: 1:126–129.

20. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 570.

21. Katharina von Kellenbach, "Vanishing Acts: Perpetrators in Postwar Germany," *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:2 (2003): 305–329.

POCZAJÓW

Pre-1939: Poczajów (Yiddish: Potchayev), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pochaev, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Potschajew, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pochaiv, Ternopil oblast', Ukraine

Poczajów is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north of Tarnopol'. According to the 1921 census, 1,083 Jews lived in the town. By mid-1941, assuming a natural growth of 0.9 percent

per decade, there were probably about 1,300 Jews in Poczajów. After the beginning of the war, in late June 1941, several dozen Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, and a number of others were able to evacuate to the east, so that just over 1,000 Jews came under German occupation in the town.

The Germans occupied Poczajów on June 30, 1941. During July and August, a German military administration governed the town, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Poczajów was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Kremenez Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Müller.[1] A Ukrainian local administration and police were created in Poczajów. The Ukrainian police were subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post in the town, which was manned by several German Gendarmes.

Soon after the establishment of the German administration, three Jews from Poczajów went to the Gebiet center in Krzemieniec on behalf of the Poczajów Jewish community. Here they received instructions to create a Judenrat consisting of 12 members and a Jewish police force of 30 people in Poczajów.[2]

The first German repressive measures were directed against members of the Communist youth organization, whom they rounded up, tortured, and shot. Then on July 8, 1941, the Ukrainian police and a few Germans collected 106 Jews and imprisoned them in the cellar of the police station. After being beaten, the victims were taken out at night and shot in a nearby forest.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a succession of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Poczajów: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (a Star of David), they were compelled to engage in forced labor, they were forbidden to leave the village, and they were subjected to systematic robberies and beatings by the Ukrainian police. In addition, an order was issued to establish a brothel for the Germans, employing 20 girls aged 18 to 20. Fathers and mothers bribed the authorities to keep their daughters from being taken. On another occasion, 10 alleged young Communists were arrested, and a ransom of 50,000 Reichsmark (RM) was demanded from the Jewish community. When the money was paid, however, it was discovered that the 10 victims had already been shot.[4]

In January 1942, a ghetto was established in the town, which contained approximately 1,000 Jews.[5] The ghetto was surrounded by a 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) wooden fence with barbed wire on top. The Jews were compelled to erect the fence themselves. Inside the ghetto, conditions were very overcrowded, and there was a severe shortage of water. Jews were permitted to get water from the well outside the ghetto only during a two-hour period each day. Some Jews paid bribes to get permission to use horses for the collection of water.

As Jews no longer had access to the mills, inside the ghetto people used stones to make flour from wheat. At the beginning, residents of the ghetto received 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread per day. Subsequently, for two months the ration was reduced to 120 grams (4.2 ounces) per day, and finally it was abolished altogether. To prevent Jews from smuggling food into the ghetto, there were Ukrainian guards on the outside of the ghetto and Jewish Police on the inside. Sometimes the Jewish Police bribed the Ukrainian guard to allow people to smuggle in food. About 200 or 300 men performed forced labor daily, usually working on road construction or cleaning up vacated Jewish houses. Work outside the ghetto presented an opportunity to find food or firewood. Nothing could be bought for money. However, despite strict regulations to the contrary, Jews were able to barter food from the peasants in exchange for clothing or other items.

On one occasion, 40 people who were working near a village paid off the guard to let them go to the village to forage for food. In the village, Ukrainian policemen caught them and took them to the German civil administration. The German official then selected 19 of the youngest people and ordered the Judenrat to dig a grave in which the victims were buried alive.

After the Germans denied the ghetto further bread rations, the Jews formed a committee that collected money from those who still had some left and set up a soup kitchen. People waited daily outside the canteen in long lines for a bowl of soup. In this way the ghetto inmates were able to ameliorate the effects of starvation.[6]

At the beginning of August 1942, 200 Ukrainian policemen arrived in Poczajów and stayed for several days. On Saturday, when everyone had returned from work, they sealed off the ghetto. When the Judenrat asked why nobody was allowed to leave, they were told that it was a punishment for smuggling food into the ghetto.

On the following Tuesday, two vehicles containing 30 men under the command of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD arrived. The head of the Sipo ordered the Judenrat and Jewish Police to come to the gate of the ghetto. He asked the Judenrat how many Jews were in the ghetto. The Judenrat and Jewish Police then received instructions to gather all the Jews at the ghetto gate. Not all Jews came voluntarily, however, and members of the German and Ukrainian police drove people out of their homes, beating and killing those who refused to come along.

At the ghetto gate, the men and women were separated, and the sick were loaded onto wagons. The people were then escorted through the fields to a grave that had been prepared in advance. Here they had to undress. Then the Germans lined them up in groups and shot them into the grave. Finally, a few grenades were thrown in to finish off any people who were only wounded.[7]

According to internal German documentation, the ghetto was liquidated on August 12, 1942,[8] when a squad of the SD, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot 794 people (182 men, 374 women, and 238 children).[9] About 30 Jewish craftsmen were kept alive for various tasks. Once they had cleaned out the ghetto, they were made to dig their own graves and were also shot. Some of the Jews hid and were able to escape the shootings on August 12. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police hunted for these people and shot any Jews they found at the Jewish cemetery. Only a few young Jews managed to survive until the arrival of the Red Army.

SOURCES A detailed article by A. Kuperman and V. Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews," can be found in the yizkor book for the town: H. Gelernt, ed., *Pitchayever Yizkorbukh* (Philadelphia: Pitchayever Wohliner Aid Society, 1960), pp. 165–174. There is also a brief entry in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 150–152.

Documentation regarding the extermination of Poczajów's Jews can be found in the following archives: DATO; GARF (7021-75-11); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See Kuperman and Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews," pp. 165–174.
3. Ibid. This source also includes a list of some of the victims of this Aktion.
4. Ibid.
5. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 363–366.
6. These internal details about the ghetto are all taken from Kuperman and Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews."
7. Ibid.
8. R. Kravchenko-Berezhnoi, *Moi XX vek (Stop-kadry)* (Apatity, 1998), p. 121. Before the Aktion in Poczajów, a squad of the Security Police and SD conducted a mass shooting of Jews in Krzemieniec on August 10, 1942, and on August 11, 1942, they left for Poczajów and Wiśniowiec, where they also murdered the Jews.
9. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, transcription of a Security Police report dated Rowno, August 15, 1942, on the "special treatment" of Jews in the Krzemieniec district. Poczajów is listed in third place after Krzemieniec and Wiśniowiec. It is known that the Aktion in Poczajów occurred after the Aktion in Wiśniowiec. According to materials found in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Poczajów (Pochayev) raion and town, in August 1942, up to 1,900 Jews were shot; later over 500 Jews were caught and executed in the cemetery (GARF, 7021-75-11, p. 10). It appears that these numbers are much too high. According to Kuperman and Veytsman, "The Death of Pochayev's Jews," there were some 800 victims of the ghetto liquidation.

POLONNOE

Pre-1941: Polonnoe, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Polonnoje, Rayon center, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Polonne, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Polonnoe is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) west of Zhitomir. In 1897, the Jewish population was 7,910. According to the 1926 census, 5,337 Jews resided in Polonnoe. The January 1939 census recorded 4,171 Jewish residents; they comprised 30.2 percent of the total population. In addition, 675 Jews lived in the town of Poninka, and another 883 Jews lived elsewhere in the Polonnoe raion, mostly in the settlement of Novolabun'.

After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army; other Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. It seems likely that about 4,000 Jews remained in the Polonnoe raion at the start of the German occupation.

Polonnoe was occupied by units of the German 17th Army on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the city was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen). The military administration formed a local authority and an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. Polonnoe became a Rayon center within Gebiet Schepetowka. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Worbs, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Richard Höse.[1]

In early August 1941, German security forces murdered 19 Jews in Polonnoe as alleged Communist activists. On August 23, a German police cavalry squadron, subordinated to the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, Friedrich Jeckeln, shot 113 Jews in the city.[2]

On September 2, 1941, a mass shooting of the Jews was carried out by German Police Regiment South, assisted by their accomplices in the local police. The Jews were hunted down, loaded onto trucks, taken to the woods near a railway station, then shot and buried in pits. Before they were killed, they were made to strip naked, and gold teeth were removed from their mouths. According to German records, approximately 2,000 people were killed on this occasion. At the same time, in all likelihood most of the Jews of Poninka, about 500 in all, were murdered by the same police regiment.[3] More than 80 Jews from Labun' and Novolabun' were murdered in the nearby forests in the summer and fall of 1941.[4]

Another 15 families (about 50 Jews) from Polonnoe were shot in the nearby town of Liubar on September 13, 1941, by the German 45th Reserve Police Battalion.[5]

During October and November 1941, a ghetto was created in Polonnoe in three or four barracks at the granite quarry on Berezovskaia Street, which were fenced in with barbed wire. Subsequently all the Jews from Poninka, Novolabun', Bereznia, Vorobevka, and Kotelianka who were still alive were brought to the ghetto. According to Maria Tribun, in the barracks Jews slept on the concrete floor and on shared bunks; there was no heat, and food was sparse. Some local residents tried to help by bringing potatoes, beets, and bread for those in the ghetto. Nevertheless, disease, including typhus, spread among the ghetto inhabitants as a result of the miserable conditions.

Nobody was permitted to leave the ghetto, and on the way to work the local police guarded the Jews. The ghetto inhabitants were ordered to wear a special symbol on their clothes: yellow circles on the front and back, which replaced the white armbands with a Star of David initially ordered by the military authorities. Anyone deemed guilty of the slightest misdeed

was subjected to corporal punishment or even shot dead. Among the forced labor tasks was the carrying and destruction of Jewish gravestones in the cemetery.[6] In the recollection of Boris Timoshenko, "[T]he conditions of life there were terrifying—cold and hunger were common."[7]

According to Anna Kalika, the remaining Jews of Labun' were brought into the Polonnoe ghetto in mid-February 1942. "While letting us through the gate into the ghetto, we were repeatedly hit by clubs; our valuables were taken away; those who dared to disobey were shot dead right on the spot."[8]

As mentioned, most of the Jews of Poninka had been murdered before the winter of 1941–1942, and the remaining Jews, except for three families, were sent to the Polonnoe ghetto. These last three families, except for Yasha the barber, who escaped, were then escorted to the ghetto by the local police in mid-March 1942.[9]

On June 25, 1942, the German police from Shepetovka and local collaborators surrounded the ghetto. First they shot several people to intimidate the Jews. Then they selected about 15 young men and women to be sent to the Shepetovka ghetto a week later to work as craftsmen. Then the remaining people, mainly women, children, and the elderly, about 1,270 in total, were shot near Poninka.[10]

Maria Tribun escaped from the ghetto before the liquidation and was hidden with her sister in the village of Kotelianka by the family of Radion Ianiuk, whom they had known previously. Anna Kalika was transferred to Shepetovka in July 1942, where she survived the mass shooting by hiding in a ditch and was subsequently helped by forest wardens. Maria Shafranskaia was hidden by Anastasia Boriskina, even though part of her house was for a time occupied by the local chief of police and those found to be hiding Jews were threatened with the death penalty.[11]

SOURCES Several personal accounts by survivors of the Polonnoe ghetto and other information on the fate of the Jews of the Polonnoe raion can be found in the yizkor book edited by S.L. Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem: Book of Memory. Suffering of Jews that Died during the Nazi Occupation: History of Polonnoye Jews* (1993), which has been translated into English and made available on the Web by Jewishgen. There is also a survivor testimony concerning the ghetto in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 288–291.

Additional information on the Jewish communities in the Polonnoe raion and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1012; A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 181, 185–186, 197, and 230.

Relevant documentation on the anti-Jewish Aktions carried out by the German police under the authority of the HSSPF Russland Süd, Friedrich Jeckeln, in the Shepetovka-Polonnoe region in August and September 1941 can be found in the following archives: VHAP; and USHMM (RG-48.004M). Additional information can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHAP (USHMM, RG-48.004M), HSSPF Russland Süd, Jeckeln Telegram, no. 154, August 24, 1941.
3. Ibid., HSSPF Russland Süd, Jeckeln Radiogram, no. 61, September 4, 1941; Mariya Moiseyevna Tribun, "I Ought to Tell . . ." in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*, pp. 27–28. The ChGK report gives the figure of some 4,000 Jews murdered in Polonnoe on this occasion.
4. O. Lochkin, "On the Roads of War," p. 49; Anna Moiseyevna Kalika, "Memoirs of a Former Prisoner of a Jewish Ghetto," pp. 29–30—both in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*.
5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg. Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 197.
6. Tribun, "I Ought to Tell . . . ," pp. 27–28.
7. Testimony of Boris Timoshenko, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, p. 289.
8. Kalika, "Memoirs," pp. 29–30.
9. "Fight with Death," in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*, pp. 43–46.
10. "The Tragedy of Black September," in ibid., p. 78.
11. "The Saviour," in ibid., p. 49.

PORYCK

Pre-1939: Poryck, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pavlovka, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Porizk, Rayon center, Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pavlivka, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Poryck is located on the Luga River, 29 kilometers (18 miles) south-southeast of Włodzimierz Wołyński. In 1921, there were 1,205 Jews living there. By mid-1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been about 1,500 Jews in Poryck and about 1,000 more living in the villages of the Pavlovka raion.[1]

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Poryck on June 23, 1941. At first, in July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the town. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Poryck became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, where Nachwuchsführer Wilhelm Westerheide was the Gebietskommissar from late 1941.[2] The leader of the Gendarmerie (SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer) from July 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Grigat. He was in command of 18 Gendarmerie officials spread over several Rayons, including Poryck. Several German Gendarmes and a local Ukrainian police unit (consisting of a few dozen members) were stationed in the town.

At the beginning of September 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Poryck. German forces arrested about 100 Jewish men and then shot them.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Poryck. A curfew was imposed on the Jews at night, and they were ordered to wear distinctive markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, then later a yellow circle sewn onto their chests. They were called on to perform heavy forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic beatings by the Ukrainian police. The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to transmit their orders to the Jewish population. From the summer of 1941 and into 1942, the German authorities imposed a series of "contributions" on the Jewish population, compelling them to surrender all valuables and fur clothing.

In the winter of 1941–1942 or the spring of 1942, the Germans established some form of ghetto in Poryck (possibly an "open ghetto"), as they resettled the Jews from the surrounding villages into the town. This resulted in considerable overcrowding and the spread of disease, including cases of typhus. A hospital existed inside the Jewish quarter of Poryck to deal with those who fell sick.

On September 1, 1942, Ukrainian local police, supervised by the German Gendarmerie, encircled the Jewish houses early in the morning. Then the Ukrainians burst in, driving out the Jews, shooting immediately the elderly and those too sick to walk, including all the occupants of the hospital. The remaining Jews were escorted to a farm surrounded with barbed wire, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. The Ukrainian militiamen beat them and stabbed them with bayonets on the way, killing anyone who fell down wounded, such that the route was littered with corpses. At the farm the Jews were held for three days in the open air without food or drink and were brutally beaten and humiliated by the Ukrainian guards, who also robbed them of any remaining valuables. About 300 Jews, including many babies, died under these conditions or were shot during the course of these humiliations. Then the Ukrainian police chief, Pasalski, gave the order for the remaining Jews to be taken to the pits that had been prepared. Pasalski and his assistant Mojch then shot the Jews personally, after the small children had been bayoneted and thrown into the grave first. Ukrainians had gathered from the surrounding villages in search of loot and assisted the German forces by filling in the graves. One Ukrainian woman even asked for the pretty woolen dress that one of the Jewish victims was wearing as she waited to be shot.[4]

The Aktion was concluded on September 5, 1942, and in total at least 1,800 Jews from Poryck and the surrounding Rayon were murdered.[5] About 100 Jews had fled from Poryck at the start of the Aktion, but most were soon recaptured and brought back into the town. There the Ukrainian police murdered them in a most brutal way, cutting off their hands or other limbs and then burning them alive in the remaining Jewish houses.[6] This report appears to be corroborated in the diary of Michael Diment, who records an encounter with another Jewish survivor, Yankel, who had briefly hidden in the burned-out homes in Poryck after the mass killing there.[7] Sonie Rubinsztejn, who fled successfully at the last moment before the mass shooting, found refuge with a local priest whom she knew near Łokacze, who gave her shelter and trained her to pass as a Christian.[8] The Red Army liberated Poryck on July 18, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Poryck can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 152–153.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Poryck can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); MA (A262); and YVA (M-1/E/1494).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Among the villages in the raion were Iwanicze (Jewish population of 61 in 1921) and Litowiż (Jewish population of 32 in 1921). See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 216–219.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 6, 8.
4. YVA, M-1/E/1494, testimony of Sonie Rubinsztejn, August 1, 1947.
5. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 6, 8. Other sources put the number of Jews in the Poryck ghetto at around 3,000; YVA, M-1/E/1494.
6. YVA, M-1/E/1494.
7. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Lukacze Ghetto and Svyniukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), p. 150.
8. YVA, M-1/E/1494.

POWÓRSK

Pre-1939: Powórsk, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Povorsk, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Poworsk, Rayon and Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Povors'k, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Powórsk is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Kowel. In 1921, the Jewish population was only 37, but by the 1930s it had increased to more than 200.[1] In September 1939, the village fell within the Soviet occupation zone.[2]

German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. There was no permanent German garrison in the town, but a Ukrainian police force was recruited from local inhabitants, led by a man named Zakuta.

In late August or early September 1942, the Ukrainians received an order from the Germans to establish an "open ghetto" in Powórsk, and all the Jewish families came to live

on one street. There were three or four families living in each house. Just before the Jewish holidays in early September 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered all the Jews of the village (about 200 in total). On either September 2 or September 4, 1942, the Ukrainian police rounded up the Jews and escorted them to ditches that had been prepared previously by the Soviet occupying forces to hold gasoline tanks. Before they were shot, the Jews had to sit on the ground and were made to surrender any jewelry or valuables they possessed. The rabbi was the first to be led to the pits and also the first to be shot.[3]

Among the Jewish survivors from Powórsk were Basia Katz (née Eisenberg), who escaped with her entire family and migrated to Canada after the war, and Bella Fleishman.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Yehuda Merin, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Manyevits'*, *Horodok*, *Troyanovkah*, *Lishnivkah u-Povursk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Manyevits', Horodok, Troyanovkah, Lishnivkah u-Povursk veha-sevivah ba-Erets uve-hu.l., 2002) [in Hebrew, Yiddish, and partly in English], was first published in 1980 and republished in Givatayim, Israel, in 2002.

The Jewish survivor Basia Katz was interviewed in 1988 by the British Home Office War Crimes Inquiry. The original transcript of this interview is now held at the British National Archives (NA) in London.

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NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1018–1019.

2. This entry is based mainly on the recollections of Basia Katz, a Jewish survivor from Powórsk, interviewed by William Chalmers for the British Home Office War Crimes Inquiry on September 9, 1988.

3. Testimony of Basia Katz, interviewed by William Chalmers on September 9, 1988, gives the date of Friday September 4, 1942; A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 34, gives the date of September 2, 1942.

PROSKUROV

Pre-1941: Proskurov, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podol'skii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Proskurow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Khmel'nyts'kyi (Proskuriv), Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Proskurov is located about 340 kilometers (211 miles) southwest of Kiev, on the Bug River. In 1939, 14,518 Jews lived in the city (38.7 percent of the total).

Units of German Army Group South entered Proskurov on July 8, 1941. Between June 22 and July 8, only a few Jewish families left the city. Able-bodied men aged 19 to 36 volunteered for or were drafted into the Red Army. Precise figures are unavailable, but it appears that around 10,000 Jews remained in Proskurov at the start of the occupation.



A mass grave in Proskurov, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #17880, COURTESY OF JULIUS SCHATZ

Proskurov became the center of Gebiet Proskurow in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Proskurov, Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck, made his residence on Aleksandrovskaia Street.

From the start of the German occupation, a pattern of plunder, humiliation, abuse, and murder of Jews emerged. Units of Einsatzgruppe C, as well as a self-organized Western Ukrainian Bukovina Battalion, headed by Peter Voinovsky, carried out these measures.

The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Proskurov, and Liza Lindenboym was appointed its chairwoman. She was responsible for implementing all the directives issued by Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck. She appointed 10 other Jewish men and women to serve on the Judenrat. Its main function was to provide Jewish forced laborers for the Germans. Many Jews hated Lindenboym. Most survivors maintained that there was no Jewish police force in Proskurov. Iosif Groysman, however, stated that "Jewish policemen" assembled the Jews for work.[1]

In September 1941, Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck ordered Jews to assemble in a ghetto—two blocks on Kupecheskaia and Remeslennaia Streets—near the open market, surrounded by barbed wire with only one gate. Prisoners failing to appear would be shot. Ukrainian policemen supervised the assembly. The majority of people did not resist the order. The barbed wire gave the Jews a false sense of security that it "protected" them from the Germans and hostile Ukrainians. Most of the residents on Kupecheskaia and Remeslennaia Streets were Jews. Jews from other parts of the city moved in with them. Three to five families crowded into each house, 15 to 20 people per room. No one was allowed to leave the ghetto without a permit. Ukrainian policemen guarded the ghetto.[2]

The first ghetto existed less than four months. Jews worked as forced laborers. The work included harvest collection, fruit

concentration, demolition of the Jewish cemetery, the clearing of ruined houses, shoveling snow in winter, and other jobs outside the ghetto. Unless they possessed their own tools, the laborers performed nearly all work manually. Ukrainian and Lithuanian policemen guarded the Jews to and from work. They beat men and women with whips and occasionally shot those who were unable to work any longer. Shoemakers, tailors, tanners, welders, coopers, and other skilled workers labored inside the ghetto, and many received permission to work in shops outside the barbed wire, under close supervision. Children of the specialists worked with their parents. Elderly Jews, the sick, and toddlers lived in constant fear of the Germans and policemen when the able-bodied Jews left for work.[3]

Forced laborers received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily. The nonworking Jews were not entitled to food. Skilled laborers, also not entitled to food, received food in compensation for their work from local non-Jews and Germans. Townspeople and villagers traded food at the barbed-wire fence for clothing, utensils, and any commodities that the Jews still owned. Both sides risked being beaten or shot. Volodymyr Lanko, a Ukrainian agronomist, helped many people in the ghetto. Young people crawled out of the ghetto at night and begged their former non-Jewish neighbors for food. The barbed wire hardly presented an overwhelming physical barrier to young people, and the Stars of David were easy to remove; however, by daylight, the local policemen knew the faces of the Jews and would shoot anyone without a permit. Jews who did not live in the city before the war and those youths who could pass as non-Jews had a better chance of smuggling themselves in and out of the ghetto.[4]

In the first ghetto, radios and newspapers were confiscated. News passed through the barbed-wire fence by word of mouth. Ukrainian pottery makers, who traveled from town to town, carried letters and messages. The Jews in Proskurov knew that throughout the region Jews were subjected to the same conditions. In the fall of 1941, the Germans shot a Jewish minyan in the center of the ghetto. Nazi officers and administrators raped Jewish women. To protect themselves, Jewish girls smeared their underwear with lipstick; Germans cringed from the site of "blood." Following the orders of Schmerbeck, Lindenboym collected gold, jewelry, and valuables from the Jews. The Jews perceived the collection of valuables as a "contribution" to stay alive. Young people got married, and women bore children. They still believed they would survive.[5]

On November 4, 1941, SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Salmanzig organized a large-scale Aktion against the Jews in which the main ghetto was liquidated. The pretext for the Aktion was the discovery, in the basement of the State Political Directorate (GPU) building, of 25 to 30 corpses of German servicemen. On Hermann Göring's orders, a special commission headed by Salmanzig was sent to Proskurov to investigate the circumstances of these deaths. Several days later, Salmanzig reappeared in the town with a detachment of 20 to 30 men to "restore order," which meant that the Jews would be shot.[6]

Just before the Aktion, Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck ordered the Judenrat to distribute a limited number of "work certificates" to the skilled workers. The certificates contained two words (*Jude* and a trade), Schmerbeck's signature, and no names. Not every specialist received a work certificate. On November 4, 1941, after the skilled laborers left the ghetto for work, their wives, parents, and children woke up surrounded by the SS. The members of the Judenrat circulated on the street, ordering Jews to come out with their belongings, documents, and jewelry, for resettlement to Kamenets-Podolskii. A pogrom was threatened if they failed to come out. The majority of people hid in shelters in their houses. Those who came out and hundreds who were discovered were driven on foot to the textile factory on Kamenetskaia Street. Those who tried to resist or to escape on the way to the factory were shot by the SS and local policemen.[7]

Inside the textile factory, Jews left their documents, valuables, and other possessions on long tables. Nazis and policemen then drove the Jews on foot to Ruzhichnoe on the city's outskirts. The people were forced to undress before being shot. The Nazis and policemen with machine guns and dogs lined up wailing people in a long line on the edge of a natural ravine. At the edge of it, they shot rows of 15 to 20 people in the back of the head or in the back of the neck. Most executioners were drunk. After the war, the Soviets found 5,300 corpses at Ruzhichnoe, some embracing and others clutching tightly to corpses of children. Everyone in Proskurov heard and saw that the Jews were being driven to be shot that day. Some indigenous non-Jews rejoiced and plundered abandoned Jewish homes. Others were powerless to help. Approximately 20 Jews remained at the textile factory on the evening of November 4. About 5,300 Jews from Proskurov were killed.[8] In late December 1941, a new census recorded only 3,040 Jews in the city.

Two days after the first pogrom, Schmerbeck ordered the partitioning of the first ghetto into an "old" ghetto, which remained behind the barbed wire, and a "second" ghetto located across the street between Remeslennaia and Kupecheskaia Streets and Aptekarskaia and Sobornaia Streets. The skilled workers moved into the second ghetto along with specialists from neighboring towns who were resettled into the same ghetto. The Jews left in the old ghetto shoveled snow on the highway throughout the winter of 1941–1942. Germans confiscated winter clothing from Jews, non-Jews, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Ukrainians continued to toss food over the barbed-wire fence of the old ghetto. During the first winter, some Jews were killed at work, others died from exhaustion, and still others died from hunger and cold.[9]

In the spring and summer of 1942, it became easier to obtain food because of new crops. Germans confiscated horses from kolkhozy in Gebiet Proskurow and conscripted approximately 70 Jews, selected by the Judenrat, to drive the horses to the Donbass front line.[10]

Concurrently, throughout 1942, the Germans gathered and concentrated young Jewish men and women remaining in the Proskurov region in several camps along the main

road from Proskurov to Vinnitsa (Durchgangsstrasse [highway] IV). They used these people as forced laborers and hired Ukrainian workers for wages to do construction work for the Organisation Todt (OT) highway construction project.[11]

The Jews in the old ghetto were ravaged by typhus and famine fever in November 1942. Dr. Khromoy took care of the sick, although no medicine was available. Famine fever did not spread to the second ghetto. A number of escapees from nearby camps, ghettos, and mass shootings hid in Proskurov temporarily.

Rumors about an imminent pogrom spread in Proskurov in the late fall of 1942. Approximately 80 to 100 Jews fled the ghetto before the second pogrom and hid with Ukrainian friends. Many were discovered and shot, sometimes together with their hosts. Only Jews with no family left attempted to flee in the snow to Transnistria, 90 kilometers (56 miles) southeast of Proskurov.[12]

The Jews in Proskurov had no weapons for an uprising. Many able-bodied Jewish men and women wanted to join underground partisan brigades, which they believed to exist in the woods. After the war, E. Lantsman testified that in Proskurov "the shooting lasted several hours. Jews killed three SS men and five policemen recruited from the local population. Several young people succeeded in breaking through to the forest and escaping." However, it is unclear when and under what circumstances this incident took place.[13]

There is no consensus on the exact date of the second large-scale Aktion. More than 7,000 people who remained in the two ghettos of Proskurov, from the labor camps, and from the nearby village of Nikolaev were killed. The murder Aktion lasted more than one week. Most probably, it began on the night of November 30–December 1. SS men, Lithuanian Schutzmänner, and local policemen broke into the homes of the Jews in the old ghetto and into the homes of the specialists. Crying, beatings, shouts, pleading, and shootings accompanied the roundup of the Jews. People were driven daily to the execution pits dug in the village of Leznevo. Mikhail Orlov, a local policeman, testified after the war that Germans "shot them [Jews] point-blank in the back of the head and threw the children alive into pits."[14]

Including those brought into the city from outside, more than 12,000 Jewish civilians are believed to have perished in Proskurov. Only some 60 Jewish men, women, and children from Proskurov are known to have survived the Holocaust.[15]

For days after the start of the second pogrom, more than 100 Jews remained in hiding without food or water. One by one, they tried to sneak away, but most were immediately picked up by local policemen and the Germans. Policeman Ivanov saved the life of Hana Gritsershteyn by sneaking her into the house of Volodymyr Lanko, who hid Hana and Byata Beyter for 11 months. At the end of 1943, both Hana and Byata fled to Transnistria.[16]

By December 1942, Romanian-governed Transnistria offered the best possibility of survival. Iosif Groysman and Veniamin Grinberg were among those Jews who escaped to Transnistria. However, some escapees were betrayed by the locals. Every Jew who reached Transnistria met a non-Jew who helped him or her with a piece of bread or advice or simply did not betray them. The Blekhman family bribed a Ukrainian train conductor to smuggle them onto a train to Zhmerinka. In Transnistria, the survivors from Proskurov then found shelter with the local Jews.[17]

After the Soviet victory on May 8, 1945, the few Jews who had evacuated from Proskurov before July 7, 1941, gradually returned home. Only a few Jewish soldiers came back from the front alive. Three monuments, established by Jews after the war, commemorate those who perished in the Holocaust in Proskurov.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry came from the author's unpublished M.A. thesis, "The History of Jews in Proskurov, Ukraine" (master's thesis, Union College, 2001). The article by P.M. Shkrobot, "Navichno v pam'iati narodnii," in A.G. Filiniuk, ed., *Ploskyriv*, *Proskuriv*, *Khmel'nyts'kyi*, *1493–1993* (Khmelnytskyi: Podillia, 1993), pp. 46–53, includes some relevant information on the fate of Proskurov's Jewish population. The book by David A. Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev* (San Jose: Writer's Showcase presented by Writer's Digest, 2000), also includes several testimonies that touch on events in Proskurov.

Documents and testimonies in relation to the Proskurov ghetto and the fate of the city's Jewish population can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-9-813); USHMM (e.g., RG-31.002M); VHF (# 44315); and YVA (O-3/3734, 3766). A number of oral testimonies, videos, letters, and telephone interviews with survivors from Proskurov have been collected by the author and are in her own personal archive (PADV).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 5; Etya B., letter to the author, January 8, 2000; Lyusya Blekhman, personal interview, October 14, 2000; Iosif Groysman, personal interview, January 2, 2001; Veniamin Grinberg, personal interview, January 7, 2001.

2. Tatyana Uzenkel, letter to the author, December 2000; VHF, # 44315, Lyusya Blekhman, May 17, 1998; Iosif Groysman; Moishe Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto," in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, p. 693.

3. Etya B.; VHF, # 44315; Iosif Groysman; Lazar Bover, letter to the author, December 15, 2000; Klara Melamud, telephone interview concerning her husband, Mikhail Melamud, a Holocaust survivor, January 21, 2001.

4. YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 9; VHF, # 44315; Yefim Lerner, personal interview concerning his late wife Sima Lerner (Blekhman), a Holocaust survivor, December 16, 2000.

5. Etya B.; VHF, # 44315; Iosif Groysman; Yefim Lerner; Klara Melamud; Tatyana Uzenkel.

6. BA-L, B 162/20816, pp. 165ff, testimony of Karl Bauernfeind, December 22, 1964.

7. Iosif Groysman; YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 4. Available sources disagree about the precise date of the first pogrom. The testimony of Hana Vaiskop is probably the most reliable source, as she was a high school graduate at the time.

8. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-9-813, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, Act of the Judicial-Medical Committee for Investigation of the German-Fascist Atrocities in Proskurov; VHF, # 44315; Lazar Bover; Iosif Groysman; Klara Melamud; YVA, O-3/3766.

9. Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto," p. 693; Iosif Groysman. Although in Letichev and Zinkov (neighboring towns) there were no pogroms in the fall of 1941, the Jews of those towns survived the first winter under conditions similar to those of the remaining Jews in Proskurov; see the testimonies of Vladimir Goykher and Semyon Gluzman, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 710–714 and 730–736, respectively.

10. Iosif Groysman; Veniamin Grinberg.

11. Veniamin Grinberg; Goykher, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 712–714. Also see Moyshe Rekhtman, "Hard Labor in the Letichev Camp," testimony on file in USHMM; also Rekhtman, in *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 701–702.

12. VHF, # 44315; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; Etya B.

13. Iosif Groysman; Shkrobot, "Navichno v pam'iati narodnii," pp. 48–53.

14. Veniamin Lukin and Boris Khaymovich, eds., *Sto evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Podoliia*, ser. 1 (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1997), p. 184. There is no consensus on the start of the second pogrom. Witnesses give various dates in November and December. Since the pogrom lasted more than a week, November 30, 1942, seems most plausible as the first night of the pogrom; Mikhail S. Orlov, protocol of interrogation, May 10, 1944, ChGK materials, USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-9-813).

15. ChGK report, USHMM archives, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-792); list of the inmates of the ghetto and concentration camps who belong to the Khmel'nyts'kyi Oblast' Organization, signed by Boris Levin, September 11, 1994; Etya B.; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; YVA, O-3/3766, p. 13.

16. Veniamin Grinberg; Klara Melamud; Eva Oksman testimony in PADV; YVA, O-3/3766, pp. 10–13.

17. Veniamin Grinberg; Iosif Groysman; VHF, # 44315; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; YVA, O-3/3766, p. 11; Etya B.; Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto."

RADZIWIŁŁÓW

Pre-1939: Radziwiłłów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Chervonoarmeisk, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radziwilow, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Radiviliv, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Radziwiłłów is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) southwest of Równe. At the end of 1937, there were 3,120 Jews living in the town. The town came under Soviet occupation in mid-September 1939. The Soviet authorities deported many Jewish refugees from western and central Poland to the Soviet interior when these people opted not to take Soviet citizenship.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Radziwiłłów at the end of June 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. A man named Matejko was appointed as mayor, and initially Misza Zalewski was head of the local Ukrainian police. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Radziwiłłów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks was the Gebietskommissar. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post consisting of six to eight Gendarmes under the command of a man named Krause was established in Radziwiłłów in the house of a Jew named Fidel. The Gendarmerie assumed control of the Ukrainian police, now renamed the Schutzmannschaft. In the spring of 1942, Polizeileutnant Eberhardt became the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer.[1]

In the first days of the occupation, local Ukrainians and Germans robbed the Jews. On July 15, 1941, a German SS unit arrived in Radziwiłłów and organized the first Aktion, in which 27 Jews were murdered allegedly as Communist activists. Among those killed were also some wealthy Jews who had given property to local Ukrainians for safekeeping but were denounced to the Germans. On July 16, 1941, Ukrainian



A blue and white child's dress worn by Sabina Heller (née Kagan), while in hiding with the Roztropowicz family in Radziwiłłów, during the Holocaust. Sabina and her parents escaped from the Radziwiłłów ghetto. Sabina's rescuers made the dress from doll clothing.
USHMM WS #N09622, COURTESY OF SABINA HELLER

thugs organized the public burning of prayer books and Torah scrolls from the synagogue and forced the rabbi to dance a jig around the bonfire. Then on August 15, all the Jews were ordered to wait in the market square for two to three hours, during which time their houses were ransacked and looted of all valuable possessions.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Radziwiłłów. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings (initially white armbands with a blue Star of David; later, yellow circles on their chest and backs); they were prohibited from leaving the town without permission, from using the sidewalks, or from trading with the local non-Jews; and most items of Jewish property were confiscated or used to pay a succession of onerous "contributions" imposed on the community.[3]

Soon after their arrival, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jakob Furman took over as chairman of the Judenrat in the summer of 1941 after its first head, Viderhorn, an assimilated Jew from Hungary who spoke German, resigned his post once he realized the Judenrat was only a tool for the Germans to extort money from the Jews. In February 1942, a number of Jewish workers were rounded up and sent to a labor camp near Vinnitsa. In March 1942, the Germans, assisted by mayor Matejko, conducted a "robbery Aktion" against the Jews, seizing any remaining valuables from Jewish houses.[4]

On April 9, 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the town, and Jews from the surrounding villages also had to move into it. In total, 2,600 Jews were registered in the ghetto.[5] The ghetto was located in the poorest Jewish houses close to the market square. It was split into two sections divided by Poczajowska Street. About 400 Jews with certificates designating them "productive" Jews lived in the "Karee," and the remaining 2,200 "unproductive" Jews lived in the "Teich." Both ghetto sections were surrounded with barbed wire and were guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by the Ukrainian police. Due to the extreme overcrowding, with people sleeping on bunk beds and living in attics and cellars, disease and hunger were rife in the ghetto. Some Jews performed forced labor every day outside the ghetto and were escorted to their work sites by the Jewish Police. Forced labor tasks included work for the Organisation Todt (OT) on construction projects such as at the airfield, while others worked at the railroad station or for various German offices.[6]

On May 29, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators conducted an Aktion against the "unproductive" section of the ghetto (those Jews not issued with work cards by the Judenrat). A detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by men of the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 33, local Gendarmes, and Ukrainian police, surrounded this section of the ghetto early in the morning.[7] Those unable to walk or who attempted to escape were murdered inside the ghetto. First the Jewish men who had been rounded up were escorted out of town past the railroad station to a sandy place known as Suchodolie. Here the Germans forced them to undress and shot them with machine guns into large ditches prepared in advance by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Then they did the same with the women and children. Altogether, the German-led forces shot about 1,350 people. A number of Jews managed to escape and hide on the eve of the Aktion.[8]

In the summer of 1942, Jews faced the death penalty if caught outside the ghetto without permission. Those working outside continued to smuggle food in, and some local peasants threw food over the ghetto fence. However, the Ukrainian guards now began to punish non-Jews who came too close to the fence.[9] In August 1942, two Jewish girls who were caught traveling from Dubno on "Aryan papers" were handed over to the Gendarmerie in Radziwiłłów and shot on orders from the German police.[10]

By late September 1942, news of the complete liquidation of other nearby ghettos convinced the Jews that their days were numbered. As there was little chance to hide in the forests, since most non-Jews were either hostile or too scared to protect Jews, people built hiding places or sought "Aryan papers." Some hid their children during the day, fearing an Aktion while they were out at work. Then news came that Soviet POWs were again preparing ditches nearby. To preserve some record of the community, the Radziwiłłów Jews prepared lists of those who had died and those who were still alive and buried them near the Great Synagogue. When the Germans and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto, a number of Jews committed suicide, and others went to their hiding places or tried to escape.[11]

On October 6, 1942, German Security Police subordinated to the outpost in Równe organized the liquidation of the Radziwiłłów ghetto, shooting about 950 Jews at Suchodolie with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. About 500 Jews managed to escape on the night before the Aktion.[12] Many of these runaway Jews were subsequently caught and shot by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police at the Jewish cemetery. A few managed to escape to the town of Brody in Distrikt Galizien, where a formal ghetto was only established in early December 1942. Only 51 Jews from Radziwiłłów managed to survive until the Red Army drove out the Germans after fierce fighting around Brody in the summer of 1944.[13]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Radziwiłłów under German occupation can be found in the following publications: Ya'akov 'Adini, ed., *Radzivilov: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Radzivilov be-Yisrael, 1966); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 189–192. A personal testimony by Simon Winston, "I Was Born in Radzivillov," was published in *The Holocaust Centre* (Laxton, Notts., UK: Beth Shalom, 2001), pp. 16–20. Reference has also been made to the unpublished manuscript of Yitzhak Veinshein, "The Destruction of the Radzivillover

Ghetto," made available to the authors by his son Simon Winston.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Radziwiłłów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5211-14); DARO; GARF (7021-71-56); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 8639, 14471, 30242, 30256, and 46396); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," in 'Adini, *Radzivilov: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 329–331, 336; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Jafa Oks, June 26, 1963.

2. Veinshein, "The Destruction of the Radzivillover Ghetto"; "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," p. 330, dates the Aktion in mid-July 1941. GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 15, dates it on July 4, 1941. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 153–154, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion at the end of June and notes that a woman was among the victims. Other sources date this (or another) Aktion in early August 1941.

3. BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Anita Goldgart, June 4, 1963; and "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 329–330.

4. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 329–333.

5. Ibid., p. 333.

6. Ibid., pp. 333–334; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimonies of Anita Goldgart, June 4, 1963, and Mendel Turczyn, June 10, 1963.

7. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 155, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion precisely on May 29 (day 13 of Sivan). See also the report of the HSSPF and BdS Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, in TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 335–336, however, dates the Aktion on June 29, 1942.

8. GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 17; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Mendel Turczyn, June 10, 1963.

9. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 333–334.

10. BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Cwi Kiperman, June 19, 1963.

11. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," pp. 336–337.

12. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 156, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion precisely on October 6 (day 25 of Tishrei). GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 18. See also Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 199. According to Spector's sources, there were 600 Jews who escaped. "Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt," p. 337, states that the Aktion started on September 29, 1942.

13. "Radziwillow," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 17:60. This source dates the final Aktion on October 5, 1942. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 157, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964.

RAFAŁÓWKA

Pre-1939: Rafałówka, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rafalovka, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rafalowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rafalivka, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Rafałówka is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of Sarny. According to the 1921 census, 556 Jews lived in the town: 224 people resided in Nowa Rafałówka (the new part of the town) and 332 people in Wielka Rafałówka (the large part). The two parts were about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) apart. Based on an average natural growth rate of 9 persons per 1,000 per year, it is estimated that in 1941 about 660 Jews would have been living in Rafałówka at the time of the German invasion.

Following the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, many Jewish refugees from western Poland arrived in Rafałówka. After the Soviets occupied the area in mid-September, private enterprise was abolished. After war broke out on June 22, 1941, the Soviets did not allow people to cross the former 1939 border of the USSR. However, as the Soviet forces began their withdrawal on July 4, a number of Jews managed to escape to the east. Most of these people survived the war.

Units of the German 6th Army did not occupy Rafałówka until mid-July 1941, several days after the Soviet authorities had left. In the interregnum, a Ukrainian authority and local militia took charge. In these days, robbery, abuse, and occasional murders of Jewish townspeople were widespread. When representatives of the Jewish community sought protection, the response was scornful and negative. During the remainder of July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area. In September 1941, a German civil administration took charge of local affairs. The town of Rafałówka was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny, and Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed as the Gebietskommissar. In Rafałówka, a police station comprising several German Gendarmes was established, which also supervised the local Ukrainian auxiliary police, commanded by Rivachevski. Among other Ukrainians remembered for their crimes were the brothers Vladimir and Arsenti Panasiok, the brothers Georgi and Ivan Palamarchok, and Aleksei Skivchok.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rafałówka. Jews were forced to wear distinctive markings; they had to perform forced labor; and they were forbidden to leave the town without special permission.

Soon after the start of the occupation the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to serve as an intermediary authority, which also included representatives from the neighboring small Jewish communities in Olizarka and Zoludsk. The members included Her-

shel Brezniak (chairman), Zelig Lesnik, Yosef Morik, David Tanenbaum, and Gershon Gruber. The Judenrat sought to ameliorate the suffering resulting from increasingly draconian German decrees.[2] On the orders of the local German authorities, the Jews had to collect a poll tax (*Kontribution*) of 5 gold rubles (1.5 grams [.05 ounces]), or 5,000 rubles per person. Some gave more than requested, while others had to be coerced into giving. An unending stream of German demands followed: the confiscation of silver items, furs, coffee, pepper (a scarce commodity) and an order to knit socks, gloves, and sweaters for German soldiers. For almost a year the Jews stayed in their own homes, obeyed the curfew, and submitted to the German demands, including monthly roll calls.[3]

On May 1, 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Rafałówka around the area of the community synagogue and school building, which was surrounded by barbed wire. This area contained not only the local Jews of the town but also Jews from the neighboring villages, including Nowa Rafałówka, Olizarka, Wielkie Zoludsk, and Bielska Wola.[4] Altogether about 2,500 Jews were confined within the Rafałówka ghetto. People who lived within the ghetto confines remained in their own houses but had to take in those who were displaced from other neighborhoods and villages. Each family, regardless of size, was given one room. With each passing day, life grew harsher and increasingly bitter. Those who arrived without extra food were afflicted by hunger; those who had no goods to barter for food from the non-Jewish local inhabitants faced starvation. A few Jews planted vegetables in their yards. Gangs of forced laborers were sent out to work from the ghetto, cutting lumber in the forests, loading trains, and repairing roads and bridges.[5]

A Ukrainian guard overseeing one group of Jewish workers told a female acquaintance that the Germans were preparing pits where the Jews would be murdered and buried. When she reported this in the ghetto, her story was met with denial and disbelief. On Monday, August 24, 1942, the ghetto was closed off and surrounded by Ukrainian police, and no one was allowed in or out. Most people chose to remain with their families; only a few hundred Jews tried to hide or escape, as they suspected their impending fate. Zelig Lisak, who headed the Judenrat in the last days, took poison to end his life at home. On Saturday, August 29, the day set for the liquidation of the ghetto by the Gebietskommissar, the Jews were ordered into the central square for a roll call. Panic seized them when they saw military vehicles with German and Ukrainian police that had just come from the massacre of Jews in Sarny. The remaining inmates of the Rafałówka ghetto were held in the blazing sun as they waited for their deaths. Then in groups of 100 people they were escorted to a forest some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of the ghetto towards Nowa Rafałówka. There they were forced to undress, and each was shot in the back of the head into two large pits. Farmers brought in from the surrounding area covered the bodies, whether dead or alive, with a layer of sand. Police deputy Aleksei Shivchok was assigned to collect the victims' clothing and other belongings and bring them to a German warehouse.[6]

During the days after the liquidation, Ukrainian police tracked down Jews still in hiding and delivered them to the Germans. They were rewarded well for their efforts with large quantities of salt for each captive. Most of the escapees were captured and killed. The area was liberated by the Red Army on February 5, 1944. Those who survived the remainder of the German occupation hid in dugouts in the forests, found shelter with Ukrainian Baptists ("Shtundists") or local farmers, or connected up with small partisan bands. Among the Jewish partisan leaders remembered were "Yudl" (from the village of Sopaczew) and Pesach Bindes. Only some 30 Jews from the Rafałówka ghetto survived the war.[7]

At a war crimes trial conducted in June 1972 in the nearby town of Włodzimierzec, several of the Ukrainian perpetrators were convicted and punished for their murderous acts.[8]

SOURCES Personal accounts of the fate of the Jewish population of Rafałówka during the Holocaust can be found in the yizkor book edited by Pinhas Hagin and Malkah Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka ha-yeshenah, Rafalowka he-hadashah, Olizarka, Zoludzk veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Rafalowka ha-yeshenah, Rafalowka he-hadashah, Olizarkah, Zoludzk veha-sevivah, 1996). A brief summary in Hebrew of the main events can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 204–205.

Documents and testimonies concerning the persecution and murder of Rafałówka's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/291 and 1487); BA-BL; BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-66); USHMM (RG-50.120*0197 and RG-31.018.M [DASBU-Ri, Case No. 19090, vols. 1–15]); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, p. 16.
2. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, p. 176.
3. Ibid., p. 179.
4. According to the 1921 census, Olizarka had a Jewish population of 321, and Wielkie Zoludsk, 418.
5. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, pp. 145, 177–179.
6. Ibid., pp. 16–17, 161, 192; GARF, 7021-71-66, pp. 12, 28, 32; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), June 7, 1967, pp. 4–8; USHMM, RG-50.120*0197.
7. AŻIH, 301/1487.
8. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarot Rafalowka*, p. 18.

RATNO

Pre-1939: Ratno, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ratne, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Ratno is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) north-northwest of Kowel. In late 1937, there were 2,140 Jewish residents in the town.

German forces captured Ratno at the end of June 1941. In July and August, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Ratno was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942 was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp.[1] In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews, and Erich Kassner took over the duties of Gebietskommissar. The Germans established a local administration and recruited a Ukrainian police force in Ratno. The local police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes.

During the brief power vacuum after the Soviet forces had retreated, but before the German administration had been established, there was some looting of Jewish property by local Ukrainians from the villages, during which one Jew who resisted was killed. On July 6, 1941, local Ukrainian peasants organized a pogrom in Ratno, again looting property and killing several more Jews. However, on July 7, a platoon of German soldiers arrived from Kowel. Local Ukrainians initially mistook the Germans for armed Jews and opened fire. The Germans, returning fire, killed 10 Ukrainians. The German forces then conducted a reprisal Aktion, alleging that the Jews had fired on them. The Jews were made to parade on the square near the monastery, and about 30 Jews were selected and shot. The Germans shot roughly the same number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at the same time.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Ratno: on July 14, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (a Star of David), and a curfew was imposed; on July 17, a Judenrat was established, headed by David Shapiro; Jews were compelled to engage in forced labor without pay, they were forbidden to leave the village, and they were subjected to systematic beatings by the Ukrainian police. The German authorities also confiscated all the livestock of the Jews and successively took most of their valuables, furniture, and clothes. In November 1941, workshops were set up in the town for skilled Jewish workers. Survivor accounts also mention that heating materials were scarce and that the murder of Jews became almost a daily occurrence.

The fragmentary accounts in the yizkor book make no explicit mention of a ghetto in Ratno, but other sources indicate that probably in the spring of 1942 the Germans established a ghetto, which held up to 2,500 Jews (including Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Chocieszów, which had 20 families in the 1930s, and 60 families from Kortelisy).[3] In June 1942, there was a partisan raid on Ratno in which two German agricultural leaders (Sonderführer) were killed. The partisans called on the youth of the town to join them, but there was no response.[4]

A variety of dates are given in the sources for the liquidation of the ghetto in Ratno, but it probably took place in July or August 1942, when approximately 1,500 Jews were shot near the village of Prokhod.[5] The shooting was carried out by a squad of the Security Police and the SD, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, who searched the attics and cellars for several days, looking for Jews in hiding. A few hundred Jews were able to escape initially, but many of them were betrayed to the Germans by local peasants and also shot. Some managed to join those Jews who had fled to the forest earlier.[6]

About 30 Jews who remained alive after the massacre continued to work for the Germans in an *artel*, or group of craftsmen. Jacob Shteingarten, who survived, recalls that he hid in the cellar of his house during the Aktion before fleeing to a forest warden whom he knew, where he worked for a while. At one point he was also denounced and brought to Ratno, but fortunately he was permitted to continue working for the warden. When he heard in early 1943 that the remaining Jewish artisans had been shot, he fled to the forests, where he joined the Soviet partisans.[7]

Some of the Jews who fled successfully from Ratno fought in the Komarov unit of Soviet partisans around Pińsk. When Ratno was liberated on March 22, 1944, 14 survivors initially returned to the town, but most left for other countries shortly afterwards.

On August 11, 1942, the Security Police shot several Jews in the Ratno district, in the villages of Starościn and Koniszcze,[8] and the 9th Company of the 15th Police Regiment shot 74 Jews in the village of Samary on the border with Rayon Dywin on October 31, 1942; one Ukrainian family (six people) was shot together with the Jews, for hiding a Jewish woman.[9]

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,960 civilians were killed in the Ratno raion between 1941 and 1944, including some 2,600 Jews.[10]

SOURCES The yizkor book available in Yiddish, edited by Ya'akov Botoshanski and Yitshak Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne: Dos lebn un der umkum fun a Yidish shtetl in Volin* (Buenos Aires: di Ratner landslayt fareyen in Argentine un Nord-Amerike, 1954), contains one or two fragmentary personal accounts of the Holocaust period. Another version of the yizkor book was subsequently published in Hebrew: Nahman Tamir, ed., *Ratnah: Sipurah shel kehilah Yehudit she-hushmedah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ratnah be-Yisrael, 1983). An article about the Jewish population of Ratno can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 187–189. There is a survivor testimony

published in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), pp. 80–81; and some additional information in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 73, 363.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Ratno can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-148-2); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2950; O-22/53).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Botoshanski and Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 519–533, 581. See also T. Denysiuk and I.O. Denysiuk, *Ratnivshchyna: Istoryko-kraieznavchyi narys* (Lutsk, 1998), p. 66. According to Spector, there was another Aktion by the German Security Police in which they shot 280 Jews as Soviet activists; see Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73, but he gives no precise date for this, so it may be the same Aktion.

3. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 270; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 254, 660.

4. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 80–81, testimony of Leon Ginzburg, explicitly mentions a ghetto, noting that it did not exist for very long.

5. Denysiuk and Denysiuk, *Ratnivshchyna: Istoryko-kraieznavchyi narys*, pp. 68–69, gives the date of July 14, 1942. A memorial was erected at the site of the shooting of the Jews in 1995. According to Botoshanski and Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 581–583, the shooting took place on August 26, 1942: of 1,500 Jews, 1,000 were shot and 500 initially managed to escape.

6. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 80–81, testimony of Leon Ginzburg, mentions that 30 Jews fled to the forest before the creation of the ghetto, and 50 more escaped just prior to the Aktion.

7. Botoshanski and Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 581–583, testimony of Jacob Shteingarten.

8. BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, no. 19, September 4, 1942.

9. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 346–347, Report of 9th Company, Police Regiment 15, November 1, 1942.

10. *Volyn' Radians'ka (1939–1964): Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv, Chastyna 3* (Lviv, 1971), p. 124.

ROKITNO

Pre-1939: Rokitno, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rokytne, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Rokitno is located 43 kilometers (27 miles) east of Sarny. On the eve of World War I, 400 Jews lived in Rokitno, and by 1921, the census listed 663 Jews in the town. Assuming a natural growth rate of 9 persons per 1,000 per year, this number would have increased to about 800 by 1939.



Early 1930s view of the Rokitno market place. The synagogue is visible in the background.
USHMM WS #42694, COURTESY OF ANTONINA CHRUPALA

The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 assigned eastern Poland to the Soviet Union, and on September 17, 1939, the Red Army arrived in Rokitno. The Jews were forced to adapt to a new Soviet regime; several men involved in Zionist and Hebrew teaching were arrested and sent to Sarny for "reeducation."[1]

With the beginning of the German invasion in late June 1941, key targets in Rokitno, including the train station and the Huta glass factory, were bombed by the Luftwaffe. Following the Soviet retreat from Rokitno, the town was in a state of anarchy, and roving gangs assaulted and robbed Jewish residents. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Rokitno in the middle of July 1941.

According to the Rokitno yizkor book, during the temporary interregnum, an ethnic German named Ratzlaw offered to go to the German army in Sarny to persuade them to come and establish order in Rokitno. He demanded and received a wagonload of "gifts" from the Jews—fine foods and liquor—to help make the case. After three days, Ratzlaw returned and announced he had been appointed chief of police in Rokitno. The Jews were ordered to organize daily work teams to clear out the bombed glass factory, repair the train tracks, and clean Ratzlaw's headquarters. Ten German officers arrived to inspect the situation but departed shortly afterwards. Then a German police unit commanded by an officer named Henkel Sokolowski arrived to restore order and temporarily disarmed the Ukrainian police.[2]

In August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. In September 1941, it was replaced by a German civil administration. Rokitno became part of Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was the Gebietskommissar. In the fall of 1941, a local Gendarmerie post consisting of five men was established in Rokitno. The German Gendarmerie also assumed control over the local Ukrainian police, which was still commanded

by Ratzlaw. In the spring of 1942, Leutnant Schumacher of the Schutzpolizei became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer based in Sarny.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the respective German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Rokitno. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, patches on their clothes in the shape of a yellow circle. They had to mark the entrance to their house with a light-blue six-pointed star. The Jews were forced to perform hard physical labor, for which they received only half a loaf of black bread per day. Jews also were forbidden to buy groceries in shops run by non-Jews. In this way, the Jews were condemned to a food ration of only half that received by the rest of the population. Further, the Jews suffered various forms of maltreatment at the hands of the Ukrainian auxiliary police, who took the opportunity to loot and beat the Jews with impunity.[4]

Following an order issued by the chief of the Gendarmerie in Rokitno, the Jews had to hand over all their gold, silver, and other valuables. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) under the leadership of Aharon Slutzki was established in Rokitno. It had four other members: Betzalel Kokel, Avraham Binder, Nachum Katznelson, and Noah Soltzman.[5] The Judenrat had to intercede between the German occupation authorities and the Jewish population, transmitting the orders issued by the German leadership. To assist the Judenrat, a Jewish Order Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), consisting of only a couple of individuals, was established to enforce the orders of the German police.[6]

The boundaries of the Jewish ghetto were established by April 1942. On May 1, 1942, Jews were forced to move into the "open ghetto" in Rokitno. About 50 houses on the main street of the town and about 10 houses on the main market square became part of the ghetto area. The ghetto held not only the Jews of Rokitno but also Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. From its inception, the ghetto was very overcrowded; each room held at least one family, sometimes more. Soon after its establishment, the Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto area. The daily rations consisted of only 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread per person per day and 400 grams (14 ounces) of thin, watery porridge or millet every week.[7] A second, smaller ghetto was established to alleviate the crowded conditions. There was no access between the two ghettos without permission from the Judenrat.[8]

Soviet partisans were active in the area, sabotaging rail lines and bridges. Their operations agitated the Germans and led to increased cruelty towards the Jews, whom they accused of collaborating with the partisans. During this period, roll calls began, allegedly to determine whether any Jews had fled to join the partisans. Every Jew was ordered to report to the market square to be counted. After the first two roll calls, they were sent back to the ghetto. Then, on August 25, 1942, a third roll call was announced.[9] On that day, the Jews were ordered to gather the next morning for registration on the main square. Almost all the residents of the ghetto appeared on this occasion: altogether 1,630 people were counted.[10] After the registration, the Jews were not allowed to return to their apartments in the ghetto. The Germans split them into two separate groups, men in one, women and children in the other. Some Jews who suspected the seriousness of the situation tried to escape. At this point, the German and the Ukrainian police started firing at the Jews who had gathered on the market square. About 300 people were murdered at this location, about 700 people managed to escape, and about 600 people were deported in freight cars to Sarny, where they were shot on August 27, 1942.[11]

Although many Jews who managed to flee Rokitno during the third roll call were turned over by the local population to German and Ukrainian forces, others managed to find shelter by joining the partisans or through the protection of peasants, some of whom were members of the Baptist church of Russia, referred to locally as "Shtundists."[12]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Rokitno edited by Eliezer Leoni, *Rokitno: (Vohlin) veha-sevivah; sefer 'edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Rokitno veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967), includes several accounts dealing with the wartime period. A survey of the history of the Jewish community can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 200–204. An analysis of the fate of the Jews in Rokitno can be found in Yehuda Bauer, "Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia)," in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Rokitno can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/317, 717, 719, 955, 1046, 2865, 2899, and 3179); DARO; GARF (7021-71-65); USHMM (RG-50.030*0160); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 237.
2. Ibid., pp. 260–263.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. According to the Rokitno yizkor book, these anti-Jewish edicts commenced in mid-September; see Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 264.
5. Ibid., p. 266.
6. Baruch Shehori (Schwartzblat), "The Destruction of Rokitno," in ibid.
7. Ibid.; see also p. 271.
8. Ibid., p. 272.
9. Ibid., p. 273.
10. See testimony of B. Schwarzblat (AŻIH, 301/317) for a description of the August 26, 1942, Aktion.
11. Ibid.; according to the ChGK report (GARF, 7021-71-65, pp. 32 and reverse), there were 1,649 people in the ghetto, of whom 411 were murdered in Rokitno, 238 managed to flee, and about 800 were taken to Sarny and killed. According to Schwarzblat's testimony (AŻIH, 301/317), 700 people

were brought from Rokitno to Sarny. Altogether, the Germans murdered approximately 14,000 Jews of Sarny and its vicinity on August 27–28, 1942. See also Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 274, 301–335.

12. Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 334.

RÓWNE

Pre-1939: Równe, city and powiat center, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rovno, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rowno, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, and capital, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Rivne, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Równe is located about 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Łuck. At the end of 1937, about 25,000 Jews were residing in Równe, and by mid-June 1941, due to a large influx of refugees from parts of Poland occupied by the Germans, the Jewish population had increased to 28,000, despite the deportation of many refugees to Siberia for refusing to take Soviet citizenship. After the invasion of the Soviet Union by German troops on June 22, 1941, several thousand Jews managed to escape to the eastern regions of the USSR. Around 23,000 Jews remained in Równe at the start of the occupation.

Równe was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area. It was replaced by a German civil administration in September 1941. Under the German authorities, the city became the administrative center of Gebiet Rowno, which also included the following Rayons: Meshiritschi, Klewan, Korez, Alexandria, Hoschtscha, and Tutschin. Regierungsrat Beer became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Rowno was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, and the city also served as the capital of Reichskommissariat Ukraine and the residence of the Reichskommissar, Gauleiter Erich Koch.[1] In July and August 1941, an operational unit (Einsatztrupp) of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD was based in Równe. Between September 1941 and February 1942, the headquarters of the 320th Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Dall, and its 3rd Company (commanded by Hauptmann der Polizei Scharway) were deployed in Równe. As of October 1941, the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion under the command of Major der Polizei Braschnewitz was present there. In October 1941, a Security Police detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 was sent to Równe. The head of this detachment was SS-Sturmbannführer Herrmann Ling. In February 1942, this detachment was reorganized as an office of the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz served as the KdS until October 1943.[2] It was this office that organized and carried out anti-Jewish Aktions in Równe and in the entire region of Wolhynien und Podolien. Under the Sipo and SD in Równe, there was also a Ukrainian Criminal Police force, headed by Petr Grushevski. Between August 1941 and February 1942, Równe was also the location of the headquarters of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, SS-Brigadeführer Gerret Korsemann.



A group of religious Jews pose outside a building in the Równe ghetto, ca. 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #50152, COURTESY OF IPN

The first Aktion against the Jews of Równe was carried out on July 8 and 9, 1941. On the evening of July 8, members of Sonderkommando 4a, in collaboration with Ukrainian auxiliary police units, arrested 130 Jews. They forced the victims to spend the night in the courtyard of the building of the State Bank. On the morning of July 9, the victims were shot on the edge of the city.[3] The headquarters of Einsatzgruppe C, located in Równe on July 12, 1941, carried out the shooting of about 100 more Jews on the grounds of a brickyard about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Równe.[4] Several hundred more Jews were killed by a Sipo and SD squad of the Einsatzgruppe Special Duty (z.b.V).[5] Altogether, about 1,000 Jews were killed in the city in the summer of 1941. During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Równe. Initially Jews were forced to wear armbands bearing a Star of David. In September 1941, this was replaced by circular yellow patches worn on the chest and back of their outer clothing. The Jewish population was forced to carry out physically demanding work. They were not allowed to leave the city. In addition, the Jews were forced to pay the German occupation authorities 12 million rubles (1.2 million Reichsmark [RM]) as a so-called contribution. Jews were systematically robbed and beaten by the Ukrainian auxiliary police.[6] A Jewish Council (Judenrat), with 12 members, and a "Jewish Order Service" (Jewish police force) consisting of 20 people (reporting to the Judenrat) were established in Równe. The head of the Judenrat was Dr. Moshe Bergmann, the headmaster of a local *gymnazium* (high school).

In early November 1941, a major Aktion took place in Równe. The victims were mostly those unable to work. On November 5, notifications were distributed directing all Jews who had no work permit to appear in the Church Square (Kostel'nyi Ploshchad') at 6:00 A.M. to wait for their resettlement. After the Jews had gathered, they were ordered to leave their luggage in the square and were herded in columns to the

village of Sosenki. Near the village were several pits, dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in late October. Over the course of two days, all the Jews who had assembled for "resettlement" were shot in these pits.[7] Ereignismeldung UdSSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] no. 143, dated December 8, 1941, states that "between November 6 and 7, 1941, a long-planned anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out, during which about 15,000 Jews were killed. On the orders of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF), the Order Police was in charge of its organization. The detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 in Równe actively participated in its execution."[8] The organizer of the Aktion was HSSPF z.b.V. SS-Brigadeführer Korsemann. The 315th Police Battalion (under the command of Hauptmann der Polizei Klaus) and the 320th Police Battalion, assisted by the Ukrainian auxiliary police and at least one company of the 33rd Police Reserve Battalion (company commander Hauptmann der Polizei von Wiekmann), took part in the Aktion.

In December 1941, a ghetto, declared the "Jewish residential area" (an open ghetto), was established on the edge of the city of Równe. The Jews were given several days to resettle there. In this ghetto there were about 5,200 Jews, including 1,182 children under the age of 14.[9]

In April 1942, the German mayor of the city ordered the Judenrat to have all Jews clean up the streets and yards of the Jewish quarter on Sundays, or they would face the stiffest punishment.[10] On May 7, 1942, the head (*Obmann*) of the Judenrat, Dr. Bergmann, was instructed to appear before the German mayor the following day to discuss a specific matter. Presumably as a result of this meeting, the mayor issued a written order to Dr. Bergmann on May 8, stating that the 2,000 Jews still fit for work had to perform compulsory labor on two Sundays every month to clean up the Jewish quarter.[11]

On May 10, 1942, Dr. Bergmann replied in a surprisingly sharp tone to the German mayor that the German offices that employed the 2,000 able-bodied Jews were opposed to their use for unskilled cleaning tasks on Sundays, as it adversely affected their ability to do their normal work. Dr. Bergmann stressed that in accordance with his responsibility for maintaining cleanliness and other public works within the Jewish quarter, he had already instructed the sanitary commission of the Judenrat to perform a variety of tasks. The few able-bodied Jews available for work on Sundays were already employed in carrying out the sanitary work required. In view of these circumstances, Dr. Bergmann noted that he had reached an agreement with the Distribution Office for the Jewish Workforce—which received its instructions from the supervisory German Labor Office—by which 100 to 150 workers would be available for the two days of work each month. He concluded: "as I ask you, Mr. Mayor, to please revise your instruction, I hope that this number, in view of the advanced spring season, will prove to be adequate for the task."[12]

On June 19, 1942, the Judenrat in Równe complained to the German mayor that unknown persons were frequently entering the Jewish cemetery illegally and destroying or damaging gravestones. The Judenrat wanted to erect a sign warning that entering the Jewish cemetery without permission was strictly forbidden on the orders of the German mayor.[13]

The liquidation of the Równe ghetto came during the night of July 13–14, 1942. Refusing to assist the German authorities in the killing of Jews, Dr. Bergmann and another Judenrat member, Leon Sukharchuk, both committed suicide around this time.[14] The 1st Company of the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion, units of the German Security Police, and members of the Ukrainian auxiliary police forced the Jews to leave their houses in the ghetto. The police herded the victims to the railroad station and forced them into freight cars. The trains transported the Jews in the direction of Kostopol. At a quarry outside the city, the Jews were shot by the German Security Police and Ukrainian auxiliary police units.[15] The chief engineer of the German construction company Josef Jung of Solingen, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, was an eyewitness to the liquidation of the Równe ghetto. On November 10, 1945, he testified under oath:

> Shortly after 10:00 PM, the ghetto was surrounded by a large SS detachment and three times as many Ukrainian auxiliary policemen. After that, the spotlights installed inside and around the ghetto were switched on. Groups of four to six SS men and policemen broke into or tried to break into the houses. If the windows and doors were locked and the residents were unwilling to open up, the SS and police units broke down the doors and forced their way in. The people living there were driven into the street just as they were, regardless of whether they were dressed or not. Because most Jews refused to leave their homes and offered resistance, the SS and police employed force. Finally, using whips, kicks, fists, and rifle butts, they managed to empty the houses. The victims were chased out of their homes with such haste that in some cases small children were left behind in their beds. In the streets, the women called their children, and the children called their parents. That did not keep the SS men from beating the victims to make them run along the road until they reached the freight train. One freight car after another was filled, as the women and children screamed, whips cracked, and rifle shots rang out. Because some Jewish families barricaded themselves in especially strong buildings and attempts to open the doors with crowbars and beams failed, the doors of these buildings were blown open with hand grenades. Because the ghetto of Rovno was located close to the railroad station, the younger people tried to escape over the railroad line. Since the spotlights could not illuminate this sector, it was lit up with signal flares. All night long, persecuted, beaten, and wounded people moved through the illuminated streets. Women carried their dead children in their

> arms. Some children were dragged to the train hanging on to the legs or the arms of their parents. The entire time, the ghetto was filled with shouts: "Open the door, open the door!"[16]

While the ghetto was under siege, dozens of the residents tried to escape. Some victims also attempted to jump off the moving trains. Most of the escapees were young people, who formed groups or roamed in the forests on their own. Before long they joined up with Soviet partisan units, especially that of Major General Vassily Begma. After the liquidation of the Równe ghetto, the German and Ukrainian police systematically searched the ghetto territory for hidden Jews. Those found and captured were shot in the area of Belaia Street in Równe. The number of victims is not known. Altogether in the city of Równe between 1941 and 1943, between 22,000 and 23,000 Jews were murdered.

During the liquidation of the Równe ghetto on July 13 and 14, 1941, a few dozen Jews managed to hide with Graebe's help. From the chief of staff of the Gebietskommissar, Ordensjunker Beck, Graebe obtained a document stating that Jewish workers of the Jung company (100 people) were not subject to the Aktion, and during the night he protected a house in which Jewish workers were sleeping from intrusion by the Ukrainian police and SS. After the Aktion was over, he sent the Jewish workers to Zdołbunów.[17] Another small group of Jews from the Równe ghetto was saved by the initiative and support of some Ukrainian civilians. One of them, Iakov Sukhenko, was shot in 1943 for helping the Jews.[18]

In 1947, Gerret Korsemann was sentenced to 18 months in prison. He was released in 1949 and died in Munich on July 16, 1958.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Równe can be found in the following publications: Y. Margulyets et al., eds., *A Zikorn far Rovne* (Rovner Landsmanshaft in Daytshland Amer. Zone, 1947); A. Avitachi, ed., *Rovneh, sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Hosa'at "Yalkut Vohlin," Irgun yotse Rovneh be-Yisrael, 1956); *Rovno 700 Rokiv. 1283–1983. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1983); Barbara Baratz and Ruth Oelschlaegel, *Flucht vor dem Schicksal: Holocaust-Erinnerungen aus der Ukraine, 1941–1944* (Darmstadt, 1984); Douglas Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno. The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985); Barbara Barac, *Escape from Destiny* (Melbourne, Australia, 1990); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 192–220; Varvara Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by, vospominaniia o genotside evreev na Ukraine vo vremia vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: "Art-biznes-centr," 1993); Khaia Musman, *Gorod moi rasstrelianny* (New York: Kh. Musman, 1994).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Równe can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-67); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Pütz died in Poznań in February 1945.
3. Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR, no. 19, July 11, 1941, and no. 28, July 20, 1941, in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 30, 37. See also Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by*, pp. 11–12.
4. See Sta. bei dem Landgericht Itzehoe, 9 Js 766/67, Indictment, November 30, 1971, in the case against Dr. Phil. Hans Krieger and Alois Köldorfer, in the archive of Sta. bei dem Landgericht Itzehoe. See also testimony of Kiebach, the former telegraph operator at the headquarters of Einsatzgruppe C, November 1, 1963, in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, p. 31.
5. See diary of Wehrmacht Hauptmann Hanns Pilz, in E. Klee and W. Dressen, *"Gott mit uns." Der deutsche Vernichtungskrieg im Osten 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 141.
6. "The Holocaust," in Avitachi, *Rovneh, sefer zikaron*.
7. See testimony of Kristina Novakovskaia, in Yitskhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 151–152.
8. EM, no. 143, in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, p. 105. According to ChGK materials, 17,500 Jews were shot in Rovno (see *Rovno 700 rokiv*, pp. 96–99). There is a monument at the site where the Jews were killed.
9. DARO, R22-1-19, p. 14.
10. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, p. 5, German mayor of Rowno to Judenrat, April 16, 1942.
11. Ibid., pp. 12–13, letters of German mayor of Rowno to Judenobmann, Dr. Bergmann, on May 7 and 8, 1942.
12. Ibid., p. 14, Judenrat in Rowno to German mayor of Rowno, May 10, 1942.
13. Ibid., p. 21, Judenrat to German mayor of Rowno, June 19, 1942.
14. Ibid.
15. Sta. Bielefeld, Vermerk, October 26, 1973 (5 Js 703/70) in the case against Dr. Med. Fritz Pustkuchen.
16. Statement under oath of Hermann Friedrich Graebe on November 10, 1945, N-Doc. 2992-PS.
17. See Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*. The document Graebe obtained from Beck stated: "To the Jung company, Rowno. The Jewish workers at your firm are not subject to the Aktion. You have until Wednesday, July 15, 1942, to move them to the new worksite."
18. See Baratz and Oelschlaegel, *Flucht vor dem Schicksal*; Barac, *Escape from Destiny*; Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by*.

ROŻYSZCZE

Pre-1939: Rożyszcze, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rozhishche, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Roshischtsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rozhyshche, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Rożyszcze is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) north-northwest of Łuck and 51 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Kowel.

According to the 1921 census, 2,686 Jews were residing in Rożyszcze.

Following the German invasion of Poland in mid-September 1939, a few local Communists organized a militia to welcome the expected arrival of the Red Army. However, they clashed first with a retreating Polish force before the Red Army entered the town. The Jewish population of the town was increased by the arrival of hundreds of refugees from central Poland, but the Soviets also deported some Jews to Siberia, which paradoxically saved their lives. The Soviet authorities also expropriated land around Rożyszcze, establishing kolkhozy for agricultural production.[1] In mid-1941, there were in excess of 3,000 Jews living in the town.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Rożyszcze on June 25, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Rożyszcze was a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Łuck was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[2]

A Ukrainian local authority and a local police force were formed in Rożyszcze. The local police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (established after September 1941), which consisted of several German Gendarmes.

As soon as the Germans occupied the town, they killed several Jews, and Ukrainian nationalistic antisemites also started victimizing Jews through robbery, extortion, and cruelty.[3] Within a few days, the temporary German military authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force. During July 1941, there followed a series of roundups of Jews, supposedly for work assignments outside the town. First a group of about 80 of the wealthiest and most influential Jews were escorted out of town and were never heard of again. A few days later, the Germans and local police rounded up several hundred Jewish men, who also did not return. In a further roundup, the Germans took away even old people, women, and children, as all the men had gone into hiding. These people were all murdered and buried in a pit outside town.[4] These Aktions were probably conducted by a squad of the Security Police and SD, which was based in Łuck, assisted by the local Ukrainian police. Another Aktion was carried out in Rożyszcze in October 1941, when 603 people were shot (600 men and 3 women).[5]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rożyszcze. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols, and they were forced to surrender horses, cows, bicycles, and radios. They were compelled to perform work, organized by the Jewish Council, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. According to German regulations issued by the new civil administration in September 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits without special permission.

In the fall of 1941 (according to another source, on February 15, 1942), a ghetto was established in Rożyszcze. The Jews were given only two hours to move into the ghetto, taking only what they could carry with them. As the Jews entered the ghetto in the northern section of town, "Oyfn Barg" (On the Hill), most were severely beaten.[6] The ghetto, consisting of 60 one-story houses, had to accommodate not only the local Jews but also Jews brought in from surrounding villages (such as Kopaczowka Nowa and Wołnianka).[7] This influx resulted in considerable overcrowding in the ghetto's small confines, with several families sharing a single room. Altogether, there were about 4,000 Jews in the ghetto, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.

The food allocation in the ghetto was only 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of bread per person per day. Those assigned to work outside the ghetto were sometimes able to smuggle in extra food, which they obtained by bartering. One enterprising group of Jews even risked going to the Kowel ghetto to obtain rare items such as needles and thread, which were much sought after by the local peasants. However, Jews caught smuggling were severely beaten by the Ukrainian police.[8]

Among the tasks performed by Jews in the ghetto were sweeping the streets around the town, cooking for the Germans, and working in the wool factory. The German authorities also demanded "contributions" from the Jews in the form of money or leather goods. In the summer of 1942, the Jewish Council was arrested to ensure the collection of an additional tribute. Even though the "contribution" was delivered on August 10, 1942, most members of the Jewish Council were shot anyway, including Spector, Bruner, Klimbord, and Kleisman.[9]

The ghetto was liquidated about 10 days later, on or around August 22, 1942,[10] when a unit of the Security Police and SD from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot most of the Jews: in excess of 3,000 people. The Jews were transported from the ghetto to the killing site in trucks, with logistical support provided by the Luzk Gebietskommissar. Some Jews also were collected from surrounding kolkhozy or work camps. Local workers dug the grave in advance in a sandpit 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town.[11] As the Jews received some warning of the impending Aktion, several hundred of them were able to hide or escape to the forest. Most of these Jews who evaded the initial roundup were captured by the Ukrainian police and subsequently shot at the Jewish cemetery.[12] A few dozen Jews managed to survive in the forests, receiving food and shelter from Polish farmers or Seventh-Day Adventists living in the vicinity.

After the liberation of Rożyszcze by the Red Army, a group of Jews returned and lived together in one house. Some of them tried to harass those who had assisted the Germans until the Soviet authorities started putting the collaborators on trial. However, a local Ukrainian murdered one Jewish woman when she tried to retrieve her family's possessions.[13] Within a few years after the war, there were no Jews living in Rożyszcze.

SOURCES The following published sources include sections on the ghetto in Rożyszcze: Gershon Zik, ed., *Roz'ishts'*

'ayarati/Mayn shtetl Rozshishtsh (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Roz'ishts' be-Yisrael veha-irgunim be-Artsot ha-berit, Kanadah, Brazil, ve-Argentinah, 1976); and "Rozyszcze," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 200–202.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Rożyszcze can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2172 and 2435); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-11); NARA (N-Doc., PS-302); and YVA (e.g., testimony of Eva Tuzhinska Trauenstein).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 10–30 [English section].
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 31–32; AŻIH, 301/2435, testimony of Zofja Finkelsztayn.
4. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 31–32, 38.
5. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66. According to another account, the Aktion took place in December 1941 when the Germans in 10 vehicles rounded up and shot some 600 Jews in the villages of the Rayon; see GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 68–69. The shootings were probably carried out by the 2nd Company of the 320th Police Battalion, which was based in Łuck from early September 1941 until February 1942. The commander of the company was Hauptmann der Polizei Hans Wiemer.
6. Berl Schneider, "The Rozhishch Ghetto," in Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, p. 33, dates the formation of the ghetto in about November 1941 ("four months after the German conquest"); AŻIH, 301/2435, testimony of Zofja Finkelsztayn, gives the date of February 15, 1942. The discrepancy could perhaps be explained by a time lapse between the establishment of the ghetto and its enclosure with barbed wire.
7. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 129; according to the 1921 census, there were 274 Jews residing in Kopaczówka Nowa and 266 in Wołnianka (Mała and Wielka).
8. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 33–34, 37.
9. Ibid., pp. 33, 38.
10. This date for the massacre of the Jews can be found on the monument at the site of the mass grave. The yizkor book also gives the dates of August 20 and August 23, 1942, in separate accounts; see Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, pp. 15, 39.
11. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942; in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Rozhishche raion, mention is made of 4,600 Jews being shot (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66), but this figure appears to be too high. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, p. 42, mentions trucks collecting Jews who had been working in the surrounding villages.
12. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66.
13. Zik, *Roz'ishts' 'ayarati*, p. 44.

SARNY

Pre-1939: Sarny, city and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: center, Rayon and Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Sarny is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) north-northeast of Równe. The Jewish population numbered 2,808 people in 1921 (47 percent of the total population); 3,414 (45 percent) in 1931; and 4,950 (45 percent) in 1937.

After the start of World War II in 1939, many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland arrived in Sarny. Under Soviet occupation from September 21, 1939, Jewish communal property was confiscated and Jewish institutions were disbanded. More than 1,000 of the refugees from western and central Poland, together with a few local Jews accused of "crimes against the state," were transported to the Soviet interior. In June 1941, there were about 6,000 Jews living in the city.[1]

German armed forces occupied Sarny on July 5, 1941. Following the departure of the Soviets, local Ukrainians and Poles went on a killing spree for three days, murdering a number of Jews. In July and August 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. In September 1941, a German civil administration was established. Sarny became the administrative center of Gebiet Sarny, which also included Rayons Klesow, Wladimirez, Dombrowiza, Rafalowka, and Rokitno, as well as Rayon Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Albert Schuhmacher was made the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942.[2]



A view of Ul. Handlowa (Commerce Street) in Sarny during the 1920s.
USHMM WS #08011, COURTESY OF BRENDA SZYR SENDERS

In the city of Sarny itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, along with an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Germans appointed a lawyer named Mariniuk as city mayor, and a man named Kostermann served as the labor supervisor. From the beginning of September 1941 to March 1942, the 1st Company of German Police Battalion 320 was stationed in Sarny. It was commanded by Hauptmann der Polizei Alfred Beber.

Almost immediately upon their arrival, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to implement their demands. A regime of forced labor was imposed on the Jews. Men were put to work clearing the destruction at the train depot and repairing the rail lines, which had been blown up by the retreating Soviet army. Women were forced to clean toilets with their bare hands. The daily quota of forced laborers organized by the Judenrat was 300 males and 100 females. The Judenrat was also ordered to deliver 70 suits, 100 pairs of boots, and 50 sets of silverware for the officers' club, as well as an unspecified number of gold watches, chains, diamonds, and pearls.

Initially Jews were ordered to wear blue-and-white armbands with an identifying Star of David. On October 1, 1941, the armbands were replaced with a yellow circular patch on the front and back of their clothes. Jews also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. In addition, they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the city and from buying goods from non-Jews. A "contribution" of several rubles per head also was demanded from the community. Forced laborers received no monetary payment, only about 80 grams (less than 3 ounces) of bread per day. Hunger set in as the community was deprived of most basic necessities.

As additional Germans arrived, their demands increased. They required new quarters with fine furnishings. On October 28, 1941, the German Wirtschaftskommando (Economic Office) in Sarny issued an order to the Jews, giving them until October 31 to hand over all of their livestock: horned cattle, sheep, pigs, geese, and ducks. The livestock that the Ukrainians had purchased from Jews also had to be turned over. Jews were subject to a curfew from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The synagogues were seized and turned into stables and warehouses. In December, all fur coats had to be surrendered for the use of German soldiers at the front, and in 1942 the German authorities demanded 36 kilograms (79 pounds) of gold from the Jewish population.[3]

The Judenrat served as the means of communication between the occupying authorities and the Jewish population, passing on and implementing German orders and regulations concerning the Jews. A Jewish police force, headed by Yona Margulies and small in size, was organized to assist the Judenrat in its tasks.

Around Passover, on April 2–4, 1942, a ghetto was created in Sarny. It existed for four and a half months. The area was surrounded by barbed wire, and Ukrainian guards were stationed at intervals of 100 meters (328 feet).[4] Any Jew who crossed over the fence was shot on the spot. In April 1942, Jews were forcibly resettled into the ghetto from the outlying villages of Niemowicze, Czudel, Głuszyca, Horodec, Antonówka, Bielatycze, Lubikowicze, Cepcewicze, Strzelsk, and Luchcze.[5] About 8 to 10 people had to live in a single room, and sanitary conditions were unspeakable. Sickness went untreated in the absence of medical help and drugs. A number of Gypsies—around 200 to 300 people—also were resettled into the ghetto.[6] According to historian Yehuda Bauer, there was also a separate ghetto for craftsmen and their families, which was liquidated at the same time as the main ghetto.

On August 25, 1942, the Judenrat was summoned to receive a demand for a third "assessment" of 7 gold rubles per person. Utterly lacking such resources, people had to surrender the gold in their teeth to fulfill the quota. Worthy of note is the general respect accorded to members of the Judenrat in recognition of the impossible circumstances in which they found themselves. On that day, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, and no one was sent out to perform forced labor.[7]

Yitzhak Geller organized a few men into a resistance group, named for Samson's final cry: "Let my soul perish with the Philistines!" Among the members were Portnoy, Simcha Monk, and Moshe Pikmann. With a few rifles, pistols, and grenades stolen from the Ukrainians, they planned to blow up the power station, burn the houses in the ghetto, and create confusion so that people could run for their lives. But Neumann, the secretary of the Judenrat, threatened them with arrest and prevented them from taking any action.[8]

On the night of August 25–26, 1942, several people committed suicide. The next day, starting at 5:00 A.M., additional Jews from a number of surrounding towns in the Gebiet were brought to Sarny and held captive in a staging area next to the regional administrative center. There were 2,800 Jews from Dąbrowica, around 600 from Rokitno, 580 from Klesów, 1,000 from Bereżnica, and 150 from Tomaszgorod. The addition of these arrivals (in excess of 5,000 people) brought the total Jewish population assembled in Sarny to around 14,000.[9]

The slaughter began on August 27, 1942, at 2:00 P.M. The Jews from Rokitno were ordered to deliver the first 500 people to four pits that had been dug outside the town; then came the turn of the Jews from Klesów. At this point, 2 Jews with wire clippers and an axe cut a hole in the barbed-wire fence. Three buildings of the administrative center were set on fire.[10] As people fled through the opening in the fence, they were fired on with machine guns and hand grenades. Survivors estimate that some 2,500 people were shot in the rush to the fence. Another 1,000 perished in the burning buildings. Several hundred managed to escape. The rest, about 13,000 in total, were murdered and thrown into the pits. Among the victims were about 100 Gypsies, who died protesting that they were not Jews. The local people rushed to loot whatever Jewish property was left.[11]

The mass shootings were organized by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by German and Ukrainian police.[12] The forces that participated in the shootings included part of German Police Battalion 323, subordinated to Security Division 68. The unit of this battalion, commanded by Unterführer Willi Meyer, killed around 1,400

people with machine guns in the course of two days. Meyer personally shot around 200 of them.[13]

Of those Jews who managed to escape from the ghetto before and during the Aktion, many were captured and killed by the Ukrainian and German police thereafter, but some managed to organize a partisan detachment within Rayon Sarny in October 1942. This unit was based mainly in and around the village of Karasin.[14] Other escapees went into hiding if they could find sympathetic local peasants. One group of survivors mentions the courage of the "Shtundists" (Baptists), who were especially favorable towards Jews seeking help. Others found refuge with Polish villagers who feared attacks from Ukrainian nationalist partisans.[15] At the end of the war, a few survivors returned to Sarny to provide a decent burial for the victims of the massacre and to erect a memorial stone in their memory.

SOURCES Articles about the fate of the Jewish population of Sarny during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yosef Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Sarni veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1961); Yehuda Bauer, "Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia)," in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); and "Sarny," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 140–143.

Documents and testimonies regarding the persecution and destruction of the Sarny Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/707, 1237); BA-BL; BA-L; DARO; FVA (HVT-1457, 2484, and 2819); GARF (7021-71-70); USHMM (RG-06.025*02); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-71-70, p. 11; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 266–268.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DARO, R293-2-2a, p. 49; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 272–274. Also see statement by witness Josef Wolf on December 19, 1945, USHMM, RG-06.025*02 Kiev, 1945–1946 (N-18762, vol. 10).
4. GARF, 7021-71-70, p. 15; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, p. 274.
5. In 1921, there were 774 Jews residing in these villages and therefore probably about 1,000 Jews in 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-71-70, pp. 24, 46.
7. Ibid., p. 15; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, p. 275.
8. Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 276, 318.
9. See also BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), pp. 1–8.
10. Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kehilat Sarni*, pp. 276–277.
11. Ibid., p. 278.
12. GARF, 7021-71-70, pp. 46 and reverse side.
13. Willi Meyer's interrogations on October 3, 1945; on December 29, 1945; and on January 9, 1946: USHMM, RG-06.025*02 Kiev, 1945–1946 (N-18762, vol. 10).
14. Ibid., statement by witness Josef Wolf on December 19, 1945.
15. See, for example, AŻIH, 301/1237, testimony of Gitla Szwarcblatt.

SERNIKI

Pre-1939: Serniki, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Wysozk, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Sernyky, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Serniki lies in the southern sector of the Pripet marshes, just on the Ukrainian side of the border with Belarus, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south of Pińsk. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population was 987.

Thanks to its remote location, Serniki was largely ignored by the advancing German forces in July 1941. According to witness reports, local Ukrainians seized power on the retreat of Soviet forces and took part in the looting and murder of Jews in Serniki at the end of July 1941.[1] In late July 1941, the 3rd Squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment also began its murderous sweep through the Pripet marshes in the Ratno area, advancing via Kamień Koszyrski, Kucheckawola, Łachwa, Serniki, and Dawidgródek.[2] It probably passed through Serniki during the first week of August 1941. According to local witnesses, more than 100 Jewish men were arrested at the synagogue in early August 1941. They were then taken to the local schoolhouse, where they were ridiculed and humiliated for three days before being taken to the Jewish cemetery in Serniki to be shot by German-led forces.

Initially, the Germans did not have a permanent garrison in the village, but the Ukrainian police commanded by Ivan Polyukovich (known as Polivik) administered the village, and German officials visited periodically to check on things. It is not clear exactly when the ghetto was established, but Jews from the surrounding villages were forced to move into the ghetto, which definitely had been set up by April 1942 and was probably surrounded by barbed wire.[3] Jews in the ghetto were taken for forced labor, mostly felling trees in the surrounding forests. By the end of the summer, the remaining men looked like "skeletons," owing to the hard labor and insufficient food. The bulk of the ghetto's population consisted of women, children, and the elderly.

The Jews of Serniki had some intimation of the impending Aktion in the fall of 1942, as most of the other surrounding ghettos had already been liquidated. Among the warning signs was the fact that Jews no longer were sent to work outside the ghetto, and the owners of items delivered to Jewish craftsmen for repair collected them, regardless of whether the work was finished. By early September, there also were rumors that pits were being prepared nearby. Then local policemen,

reinforced by the German Gendarmerie, surrounded the ghetto at night.[4]

The liquidation of the ghetto in Serniki took place in September 1942, when about 850 Jews were murdered. Local villagers had dug the pits in the forest some 3 or 4 kilometers (1.9 to 2.5 miles) outside Serniki beforehand. The exact units responsible cannot be ascertained from German sources. On the basis of Jewish eyewitness statements, however, it is possible to conclude that between September 9 and 29, 1942, the Serniki ghetto was liquidated on the instructions of the SD in either Stolin or Lubieszów, with the support of the Gendarmerie, local militia units, and other local helpers.[5] On the day the ghetto was liquidated, a number of Germans arrived in Serniki by truck. According to one eyewitness, who also filled in the pit, some 50 Germans and policemen escorted the Jews to the pit, with the Germans at the head and the rear of the column, while Ukrainian police guarded the flanks.[6] As the column made its way to the pit, two Jewish boys broke away from the column, fled down towards a nearby river, and were shot by the armed escorts as they ran.[7]

The size of the ghetto did not warrant calling in elements of Polizei Reiterabteilung II or other police battalions in the area. However, since about one quarter of the ghetto inhabitants managed to escape, the German forces probably regretted not arranging for more reinforcements. According to one account, the Gestapo chief made a speech before the mass shooting, chastising the assembled Ukrainian police and local peasants (who had come in search of loot) for failing to guard the ghetto effectively. After this speech, the Stoliner Hasidic rabbi, Meir Viener, led the condemned Jews in a confessional (*vidui*) prayer, which many small children repeated after him word for word.[8]

The head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), Shlomo Turkenitz, assisted the flight of many ghetto inhabitants on the eve of the liquidation, although he remained behind for family reasons. About 272 people, more than half of them men between the ages of 8 and 40, managed to escape and reach the forests. The close proximity of dense forests to the ghetto, which bordered on the Stubło River, helped many Jews to escape. Of the escapees, 102 perished in the forests: between 10 and 12 died fighting as partisans; and the rest succumbed to hunger, cold, and illness or were killed by police and other local inhabitants.[9]

Forensic investigations conducted by the Australian Special Investigations Unit revealed that the victims were forced down a ramp into the pit. Some were forced to the left and others to the right. The majority were shot in the head, but some were clubbed to death. The bodies were aligned face-down, parallel, and in rows. At one end, the bodies were disorganized, suggesting that there had been some panic. The bodies that lay in the middle tended to have fewer bullets to the head. Clothing was found scattered throughout the grave, which suggested that after the executions the grave had been picked over. The investigations revealed that the perpetrators used German ammunition manufactured in the years 1939 to 1941.[10]

After the Aktion, the Jews hiding in the forest continued to be hunted down by local police and other available forces loyal to the Germans, including local foresters receiving German pay. For example, shortly after the massacre in Serniki, a neighbor observed a local forester escorting a group of Jews at gunpoint: "There were 13 people. I recognized the wife of a former [Jewish] resident of Serniki and his seven daughters, who were 10 to 20 years old. All of them lived in Serniki. The forester herded his victims up two high hills. I heard submachine gun fire shortly after. I was terrified. He returned alone."[11]

SOURCES Information about the Serniki ghetto and its destruction can be found in the following publications: Meylekh Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan* (Buenos Aires, 1958), pp. 9–19; and D. Bevan, *A Case to Answer: The Story of Australia's First European War Crimes Prosecution* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1994).

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Serniki can be found in the following archives: ANA; AŻIH; BA-L; DAVO; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/1138; M-1/E/457, 550, and 2306).

Stephen Pallavicini and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 66.

2. BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, Magill Trial, Hans Schmidt testimony, March 12, 1964, p. 62.

3. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 366, dates the establishment of the ghetto in January 1942.

4. Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan*, pp. 9–19.

5. Ibid., p. 18, dates the mass shooting on September 9, 1942 (three days before Rosh Hashanah). Other sources give the date of September 29, 1942.

6. ANA, SIU investigation into the case of Ivan Polyukovich (Ivanechko), witness statement of Stepan Sidorevich Polyukovich. Ivan Polyukovich was acquitted by a court in Adelaide in 1993 on two counts of murder under the Australian War Crimes Act.

7. Witness testimony regarding this incident is quoted in Mark Aarons, *War Criminals Welcome: Australia, a Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals since 1945* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2001), p. 480.

8. Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn partisan*, p. 19.

9. Ibid., pp. 17, 176; YVA, O-3/1138, testimony of D. Saltzman (Gavish), gives the figure of 300 fugitives; see also M. Kahanovich, *Milhemet ha-Partisanim ha-Yehudim be-Mizrah Eiropah* (Tel Aviv, 1954), p. 93.

10. ANA, SIU investigation into the case of Ivan Polyukovich. Excavations by the SIU in 1990 determined that the pit in which the Jews were murdered was some 40 meters (131 feet) long and 5 meters (16 feet) wide. It was about 2 meters (6.6 feet) deep. The bodies in the pit were stacked like wood.

11. ANA, SIU, Soviet allegation in the Australian case of Ivan Polyukovich.

SHEPETOVKA

Pre-1941: Shepetovka, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schepetowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Shepetivka, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Shepetovka is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) east-southeast of Równe. According to the 1939 census, 4,844 Jews (19.5 percent of the total population) were living in the city. Another 1,621 Jews lived in what was at the time the Shepetovka raion. This included 1,311 Jews in the village of Sudilkov.

Shepetovka was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on July 5, 1941. In the two weeks following the German invasion on June 22, probably about 1,500 Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 3,200 Jews remained in Shepetovka at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the city. The Ortskommandantur formed a local authority and established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Shepetovka became the administrative center of Gebiet Schepetowka, which included the neighboring Rayons of Polonnoje, Slawuta, and Beresdow, as well as Rayon Schepetowka. Regierungsassessor Worbs was appointed as the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Höse became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1]

A German Gendarmerie post was established in the city in the fall of 1941, when it assumed control over the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft. The first head of the Ukrainian police was Stanislav Kashperuk. At the end of 1941, he was relieved of his duties because his wife was Jewish. (In May 1942, Kashperuk was shot along with his wife, two children, and mother-in-law.) The deputy head of the police was an ethnic German, Eduard Miller, who replaced Kashperuk as the head of the police. In 1942, a Ukrainian Criminal Police (Kripo) unit was also set up, and it was headed by an ethnic German named Konstantin Neyman. Among the Ukrainian police, a man named Boleslav Kovalevskii personally killed dozens of Jews and earned a reputation for his cruelty.

Cleansing Aktions against the Jewish population in Gebiet Schepetowka, including the city of Shepetovka, were carried out by the Security Police department (Sipo Aussendienststelle) based in Starokonstantinov. The department was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police also played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Shepetovka. During the summer, Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David, later a yellow circle. They had to perform heavy physical labor, frequently without pay, and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the city. Survivors mention that young girls were threatened and abused by the Ukrainian police. Jews also had to surrender their valuables and pay onerous "contributions."

On July 28, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the city. The 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion rounded up more than 800 Jews on the pretext of forced labor and then shot them.[2] On August 23, the same battalion shot 61 Jews in Shepetovka and Korzec.[3] On September 1, another 45 Jews were shot in Shepetovka.[4]

On December 20, 1941, a ghetto was created in the city, and three streets of one-story houses were cordoned off for this purpose. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and closely guarded by the Ukrainian police. In January 1942, more than 600 Jews were brought into the ghetto on foot from Sudilkov[5] and dozens more from other nearby villages. The living conditions in the ghetto were atrocious—five to six families (35 to 45 people) lived in each house, and people had to sleep on the floor. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto, and some of those who were caught outside illegally were shot. Each morning, a guard detachment manned by the Ukrainian police would arrive, and Jews would be escorted away in groups to be exploited for different kinds of labor. The growing of food in the ghetto was forbidden, as was the exchange of personal belongings for products—although this continued to some extent illegally. The main sources of nourishment were potato peelings and other leftovers. The ghetto population suffered from typhus and other diseases. The infirm were not quarantined from the rest of the population, and the German authorities did not provide any medicine to treat serious illnesses. Instead, they undertook regular searches and shot those who were sick.[6]

The doctor, O. Stetsiuk, who on the orders of the city administration surveyed the ghetto, could only conclude that sick people should not be sent out to work, to ensure that the infectious diseases were not spread outside the ghetto. Officially, the provision of help to the infirm inside the ghetto was forbidden. Nevertheless, she wrote prescriptions for the Jews in the ghetto under Ukrainian surnames, collected the medicine from the pharmacy, and distributed it inside the ghetto, providing considerable help to the Jews. The same kind of help was given by N. Ivanets, the doctor's assistant.

On June 25, 1942,[7] under the supervision of the Gebietskommissar, the first large-scale Aktion was carried out against the ghetto in which probably around 2,500 people were shot. After this operation, only artisans and their families (about 500 people) remained in the ghetto. They were also shot on September 6 and September 10, 1942.[8] Following the last Aktion, Ukrainian police continued to search for Jews hidden in the ghetto and the surrounding area for days afterwards. Genia Bryla, one of the few survivors of the ghetto, managed to escape from her hiding place in the ghetto at night, after creating a hole in the barbed wire with her bare hands.[9]

In total, there were around 4,000 Jews killed in 1941–1942 in Shepetovka, although Soviet sources generally place the number of victims somewhat higher.[10]

On October 21, 1944, a Soviet tribunal sentenced Neyman to death. In 1963, Kovalevskii was sentenced to death and shot.

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jewish population of Shepetovka can be found in the publication of Deko O. Kedoishim, *Povist'-khronika Shepetivs'koho hetto* (Kiev, 1995).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Shepetovka can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-818); DASBU-Kh (No. 25883); NARA (NO-4818); VHF (# 3403, 5914, 32022, 34306); and YVA (M-33/104, M-52/182, M-53/164, M-53/105).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See the indictment on February 2, 1970, in the case of Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer (Sta. Regensburg). The indictment was published in part in A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 290–291. See also Kedoishim, *Povist'-khronika Shepetivs'koho hetto*, p. 32.
3. Telegram from the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln (no. 154), August 24, 1941, VHAP, file "Kommando-Stab Reichsführer-SS." The telegram is published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 242.
4. Telegram from the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln (no. 242), September 2, 1941, VHAP, "Kommando-Stab Reichsführer-SS." The telegram is published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 248–249.
5. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 57; VHF, # 5914, testimony of Anna Kalika, # 34306, testimony of Genia Bryla.
6. DAKhO, 863-2-44, p. 14; YVA, M-33/104, M-52/182, M-53/164, M-53/105; VHF, # 3403, testimony of Maria Tsimberg.
7. Kedoishim, *Povist'-khronika Shepetivs'koho hetto*, pp. 85–86.
8. Ibid., p. 103.
9. VHF, # 34306.
10. According to the ChGK materials in GARF, 7021-64-818, pp. 9 and 14, around 9,000 Jews were killed in Shepetovka. This would have meant that there were 6,000 Jews in the ghetto and another 2,000 who were brought in from Sudilkov. Based on pre-war and postwar population data, this figure is probably too high.

SIENKIEWICZÓWKA

Pre-1939: Sienkiewiczówka (Yiddish: Senkevitshivka), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Senkevichevka, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Senkewytschiwka, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Senkevychivka, Horokhiv raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Sienkiewiczówka is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Łuck. After World War I, the Jewish population was 120 out of a total of 500 inhabitants. On the eve of World War II, there were about 60 Jewish families living in the village.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Sienkiewiczówka on June 26, 1941. In July and August 1941, the village was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Sienkiewiczówka became a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Lutzk was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[1]

In Sienkiewiczówka, the Germans set up a local Ukrainian administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the local Gendarmerie post that consisted of a few German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a number of antisemitic measures in Sienkiewiczówka. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) of five people was created, through which the Germans passed on instructions and regulations to the Jewish population. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings in the image of the Star of David and, after September 1941, in the form of a yellow patch. They were ordered to hand over all hard currency and items of value. Jews had to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the village.

According to Jewish survivor Sonia Resnick-Tetelbaum, in February 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Sienkiewiczówka. All the Jews were collected together on a few streets, and additional Jews from the surrounding villages were also resettled there. About 500 people lived in the ghetto altogether. There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto, with entire families having to share one room. The ghetto was subjected to blackout restrictions at night, and Jews were forbidden to trade with non-Jews. Despite these restrictions that threatened the death penalty, Czech farmers living nearby would bring the Jews food.[2] Information gathered by Rafael Noachowicz from local non-Jewish inhabitants indicates that the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Twice a week the peasants were allowed to enter the ghetto to sell bread or flour to the Jews, but otherwise all contacts were forbidden. Jews were rationed to 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per person. Nonetheless, Jewish craftsmen manufactured items to trade with the local farmers illegally.[3]

On or around October 5, 1942, a unit of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police, surrounded the ghetto. The Jews from the ghetto were rounded up, loaded onto trucks, and taken to a site at a railway crossing near the railway station, where two large trenches had been prepared. Here the Jews were made to undress and then forced to lie down flat in the trenches in groups of 4. Then a German dressed in an apron stepped on top of the Jews and shot them in the back of the head. In the very first truck were women carrying children in their arms. Before going into the trench the names of all the Jews were recorded. Thus, the Germans would know how many Jews were miss-

ing so that they could search for them. In between groups the German marksman would take swigs to drink before reentering the trench.[4] Soviet sources indicate that more than 800 Jews were shot in the Senkevichevka raion, but this figure may be too high.[5]

In 1942, there were 11 Jews killed in the village of Uhrynów, 6 Jews killed in the village of Hubin, and 6 Jews killed in the village of Dębowa Korczma.[6]

SOURCES Some brief information about the Jewish community of Sienkiewiczówka can be found in the following publications: "Sienkiewiczówka," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 148–149; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003), p. 24.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sienkiewiczówka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2814); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-13); VHF (# 9702); YIU (no. 458); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 9702, testimony of Sonia Resnick-Tetelbaum (born 1924), 1995.
3. AŻIH, 301/2814, information gathered from local non-Jews by Rafael Noachowicz.
4. Ibid.; YIU, Témoignage no. 458.
5. P.T. Tron'ko et al., *Istoriia mist i sil URSR, Volyns'ka oblast'*, (Kiev, 1970), 26:201. This source gives the number of 800 victims. A memorial stone placed at the site in 1990 is inscribed with the number of 1,293 Jewish victims, but this figure is considerably too high; see Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'*, p. 24.
6. GARF, 7021-55-13.

SLAVUTA

Pre-1941: Slavuta, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Slawuta, Rayon center, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Slavuta, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Slavuta is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of Shepetovka. According to the census, 5,102 Jews lived in Slavuta in January 1939, and 1,410 additional Jews resided in the Slavuta raion (primarily in the village of Annopol'). Thus, there was a total of 6,512 Jews in the raion. Additionally, in 1939, 2,106 other Jews resided in the Berezdov raion (primarily in the villages of Berezdov, Krasnostav, and Kilikiev), which currently belongs to the Slavuta raion. Many of the Jews of this raion were massacred together with the Jews of Slavuta.

In 1939, then, more than 8,600 Jews lived in Slavuta and the surrounding area. After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, several hundred Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army, and several hundred more Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. As German forces occupied the Slavuta area only two weeks after the start of the war, the majority of Jews were unable to escape. Approximately 8,000 Jews remained in Slavuta at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German army occupied Slavuta in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen), which formed a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local citizens. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Slavuta became a Rayon center in Gebiet Schepetowka. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Worbs, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Richard Höse.[1] The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were under his command, including the Gendarmerie posts in Slavuta and Berezdov. In the summer of 1942, Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Mohngach replaced Höse.

Gebiet Schepetowka was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Obergruppenführer Heinrich Schöne served as the Generalkommissar and the immediate superior of Worbs. Höse was subordinated to the Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (KdG) in the region, Major der Gendarmerie Rohse.

On July 28–30, 1941, the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade swept through Rayon Slawuta. This unit shot several dozen Jews altogether in various villages of the Rayon, ostensibly for supporting the Bolshevik system.

From August 15 until September 3, 1941, the 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion was located in Slavuta; the company commander was Oberleutnant der Polizei and SS-Obersturmführer Engelbert Kreuzer.[2] This company conducted several Aktions in Slavuta: on August 18, they shot 322 Jews; on August 29, they shot 65 Jews; and on August 30, they shot 911 Jews—making a total of 1,298 Jewish victims.[3]

In August 1941, shootings of Jews, conducted primarily by the 45th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Major der Polizei and SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Besser), also took place in Berezdov (152 people),[4] in Annopol' (over 100 people),[5] and in Kilikiev (several dozen people).[6] In Krasnostav (Rayon Beresdow), almost all of the Jews were murdered (approximately 800 people).[7] Altogether, about 2,500 Jews were killed in Slavuta and the surrounding area in the summer of 1941.

On March 1, 1942, a ghetto was established in Slavuta; it was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian policemen. Besides Jews resident in the town, Jews from the Slawuta and Beresdow Rayons were also brought into the ghetto. For example, on March 2, 1942, Jews from Annopol' (Rayon Slawuta) were driven into the ghetto, while the elderly and handicapped were selected out and shot immediately.[8] On March 4, 1942, the remaining 175 Jews of Krasnostav were brought to the Slavuta ghetto via Berezdov.[9] Jews from

Kilikiev were not transferred to Slavuta, and approximately 150 of them were shot near the village in early 1942.[10]

Some 500 Jews from the Slavuta ghetto were sent to work in Berezdov and Pechivody in March 1942. Of this number, several dozen people died of hunger and illness or were shot for being unable to work. The remaining Jews were returned to the Slavuta ghetto in late June 1942, and those who were too emaciated to walk back were shot on the way. For example, 7 Jews were killed near the village of Zhukov.[11]

The Slavuta ghetto was liquidated on June 25, 1942. On this day, a squad of Security Police and SD men, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot the majority of the Jews in a deep hollow near the water tower on the edge of town; approximately 300 children were drowned in a well in the ghetto.[12] On June 25, 1942, a total of about 5,000 Jews were killed. Only Jewish craftsmen and their families (several hundred people) were temporarily spared; they were shot in September 1942.

On August 5, 1971, the regional court in Regensburg (Germany) sentenced the former commander of the 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, Kreuzer, to seven years' imprisonment. The court refrained from punishing the former commander of the 45th Police Battalion, Besser, taking into consideration his advanced age (in 1971, Besser was 79 years old) and poor health.

SOURCES The author published several documents regarding the annihilation of Slavuta Jews in August of 1941; see A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 239, 246, 247, 291.

Documents and the testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Slavuta can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-64-794 and 814); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. For extracts of the indictment issued on February 2, 1970, by the Sta. Regensburg against the defendants Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer, see Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 290.
3. Telegrams nos. 113 and 208 sent by HSSPF Russland Süd on August 19, 1941, and August 30, 1941, and radiogram no. 56 of August 31, 1941, published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 239, 246–247.
4. GARF, 7021-64-794, p. 84. The shooting took place on August 10, 1941.
5. See the testimony of Sofia Iosifovna Malinskaia (September 1994), published in D. Hoshkis, ed., *Nezahoena rana* (Slavuta, Netyshin, and Iziaslav, 1996), pp. 48–50.
6. Ibid., p. 81.
7. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty. Vypusk 13.* (Moscow, 1945), p. 35. At this place, 47 Jewish men were shot on August 7 and about 700 Jews on August 28–29, 1941.
8. See the testimony of Malinskaia (September 1994). In Annopol', by November 1941, the Jews from the surrounding villages (Dolzhki, Klepachi, Velikii Sknit, Golovli) had been concentrated and resettled on one street there together with the local Jews.
9. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, p. 35.
10. Hoshkis, *Nezahoena rana*, pp. 81–82.
11. See the testimony of Malinskaia (September 1994).
12. Hoshkis, *Nezahoena rana*, pp. 6, 50.

SMOTRICH

Pre-1941: Smotrich, town (PGT) and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Smotritsch, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Smotrych, Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Smotrich is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) north of Kamenets-Podolskii. In 1939, the Jewish population of Smotrich was 1,075, 18.5 percent of the total. In addition, there were another 1,227 Jews living in the other villages and settlements of the Smotrich raion. At this time 1,139 Jews were living in nearby Chemerovtsy, and another 1,204 Jews in the rest of the Chemerovtsy raion.

German forces occupied Smotrich on July 8, 1941. In the first two and a half weeks after the start of the invasion on June 22, a number of Jews were able to flee or were evacuated to the east. During the first days of the occupation, German security forces killed 40 Jews. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village; it appointed a local authority and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Smotrich became the center of Rayon Smotritsch in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

At some time before June 1942, probably in the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a separate Jewish residential area (an open ghetto) in Smotrich. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, the area was not separated by a fence, but its borders were marked and the Jews were prohibited from crossing them.[1]

Under the German occupation, some of the Jews of Smotrich were forced to work at the train station close to Balin, loading and unloading cargo trains. In winter they were assigned the task of clearing snow, both at the train station and from the highways. Other assignments included cleaning the horse stables belonging to the Gendarmerie, cleaning the police station and also the Gendarmerie headquarters, cleaning shoes, and doing the laundry for the Germans. A specially assigned Jewish boy had to bring milk for the Germans from the village of Balin, which lay 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away

from the Balin train station. None of the Jewish forced laborers received any payment for this work. The half-starved Jews assigned to work outside the ghetto had to walk up to 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) to their workplace and then work for the entire day. Those who were exhausted and could not keep up with the pace of work ordered by the guards were severely beaten. For a handful of dry peas, a rotten potato, or anything else that could at least partially still their hunger, the Jews ran the risk of being brutally beaten. If they were caught stealing food, their community also had to pay a fine for the "theft" either in cash or in food to compensate for the "losses incurred by the Germans." The Jewish community of Smotrich was once forced to pay a large fine in gold to put an end to the beatings of one of its members, so the Jews had to surrender their wedding rings, jewelry, and even pre-1917 gold coins.[2]

At some time in the summer of 1942, probably in late July or early August, the remaining Jews in the Smotrich ghetto, together with the Jews of Chemerovtsy, were transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii. Semjon Waisblei, a survivor from Chemerovtsy, spent one night in Smotrich on his way to Kamenets-Podolskii. It is possible there was also an open ghetto in Chemerovtsy, but Waisblei does not mention this. He states that on arrival in Kamenets-Podolskii, he was among about 20 or 30 Jews who were placed in the ghetto there, from which he escaped about three months later, when children of his age started to be killed.[3]

In Kamenets-Podolskii, most of the Jews brought there from Smotrich and Chemerovtsy were shot on August 11, 1942, by members of the Security Police and SD outpost (Sipo/SD Aussendienststelle Kamenez-Podolsk). According to the report sent to the Commanding Officer of the of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Równe, Dr. Pütz, 813 Jews were shot in total.[4]

It is estimated that during the entire period of the occupation, about 670 Jews from Smotrich were murdered.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Smotrich during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 290; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1205.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Smotrich can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799); IPN; and USHMM.

Martin Dean
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
2. Ibid.
3. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 428.
4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 5–6, report of Sipo u. SD Aussenstelle Kamenez-Podolsk to KdS Rowno, August 13, 1942.

SNITKOV

Pre-1941: Snitkov, village, Murovannye Kurilovtsy raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1944: Snitkoff, Rayon Murowanny Kurilowzy, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Snitkyv, Murovani Kurylivtsi raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Snitkov is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,181 Jews living in Snitkov. The Jewish population decreased significantly in the 1930s, owing to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, there was no organized evacuation from Snitkov, but some Jews were able to escape to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 500 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

Snitkov was occupied on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village, and it appointed a village elder (starosta) and set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Rayon Murowanny Kurilowzy, in Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military authorities appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of 12 people, which was headed by a Jewish elder. Then one day a force of 25 Germans (or possibly Hungarian soldiers) arrived and conducted a roundup, taking a number of Jews as hostages. These Jews were only released once a large monetary "contribution" had been raised. This procedure was repeated shortly afterwards by the Germans, this time to induce the Jews to surrender all their gold and silver items and any other precious metals, such as copper.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, Jews in the village, as elsewhere in Ukraine, were subject to persecution through the implementation of a number of anti-Jewish policies. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks initially in the form of a white armband bearing a blue Star of David and later in the form of yellow patches on their chests and backs.[2] They were forced into heavy labor, mostly without pay, and forbidden to leave the village. Young Jewish women were rounded up and held in the police station overnight, where they were beaten and raped by both German and Ukrainian police.[3] Forced labor tasks performed by the Jews included cleaning the streets, carrying water and wood, washing horses, and performing odd jobs for the commandant.

At some time in the fall of 1941 or the spring of 1942, a ghetto, or "Jewish residential district," was created in the village. All the Jews were concentrated on one side of Snitkov, away from the school building, where the Germans were based. The ghetto included the center of the village. It was guarded by Ukrainian police, but the Jews continued to barter their remaining possessions to obtain food from the local peasants. One survivor states that Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for just one hour each day, which was when the bartering took place. Another, however, describes how food was passed through a wire fence, but this is not corroborated by other accounts.[4]

From early 1942 onward, a group of Jews from Snitkov was taken to the labor camp in Letichev, where they were put to work doing road construction and repair.[5] Other Jews arrived in the Snitkov ghetto, including dozens of Jewish families from Bessarabia, who moved in to live with the local Jews.

The ghetto was liquidated on August 20, 1942, when the Jewish population was resettled into the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Children and the elderly were transported by horse and cart, and people were instructed to take enough food for two days. On arrival they were forced into a few buildings, each holding 50 or 60 people.[6] The Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto was liquidated the next day, when the majority of the Jews, including those from Snitkov, were shot and killed.[7] On the evening before the shooting, about 300 able-bodied Jews were selected out, including some from Snitkov. These Jews were employed to clean up clothing from the Jews who had been shot and to work at a tobacco factory for another few weeks, before they too were shot. During this period some Ukrainian inhabitants of Snitkov came to Murovannye Kurilovtsy to see if any of their Jewish friends were among those who had survived. Everyone knew about the massacre of the Jews, and people reported that the earth on top of the graves continued to move for at least three days.[8]

A few Jews from the Snitkov ghetto survived by escaping across into the Romanian-occupied zone, some paying bribes to be transferred to the Kopaigorod ghetto from the remnant ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy.[9]

SOURCES The Snitkov ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 41; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1207 .

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Snitkov can be found in these archives: DAVINO (R 6023-4-28506); GARF (7021-54-1244); VHF (# 8775, 24924, 26687, 34310, 38930, 47296); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34310, testimony of Dina Bril; # 8775, testimony of Dina Bortsukhovich; # 26687, testimony of Israel Kats.
2. Ibid., # 26687.
3. Ibid., # 8775; # 26687; # 38930, testimony of Iakov Ronshtein.
4. Ibid., # 26687; # 24924, testimony of Maiia Gol'tsman; # 34310.
5. Ibid., # 34310.
6. Ibid.
7. GARF, 7021-54-1244, p. 3. During this Aktion, 1,170 Jews were shot. This figure includes the Jews of Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Snitkov, and possibly some other nearby locations.
8. VHF, # 34310.
9. Ibid., # 47926, testimony of Riva Goikhman.

STARAIA SINIAVA

Pre-1941: Staraia Siniava, town (PGT), raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Staraja Sinjawa, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Staraia Siniava, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Staraia Siniava is located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northeast of Khmel'nitskii. According to the 1939 census, 1,237 Jews were living in Staraia Siniava (27.3 percent of the total population). An additional 605 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Staraia Siniava raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 9, 1941. In the two and a half weeks since the start of the German invasion on June 22, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Staraia Siniava at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military administration ran the settlement. The military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) appointed a local authority and formed a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Staraia Siniava became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. Regierungsrat Schröder became the first Gebietskommissar, and he was replaced later by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. In the spring of 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Otto Gent became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were subordinated to him, including the Gendarmerie post in Staraia Siniava.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Staraia Siniava. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks: at first, an armband with a Star of David; later, a yellow patch. They were compelled to perform heavy labor without pay. They were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the settlement. Finally, they were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the Ukrainian police.

On August 19, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Staraia Siniava and in the neighboring village of Piliava. The Stabskompanie (headquarters company) of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer

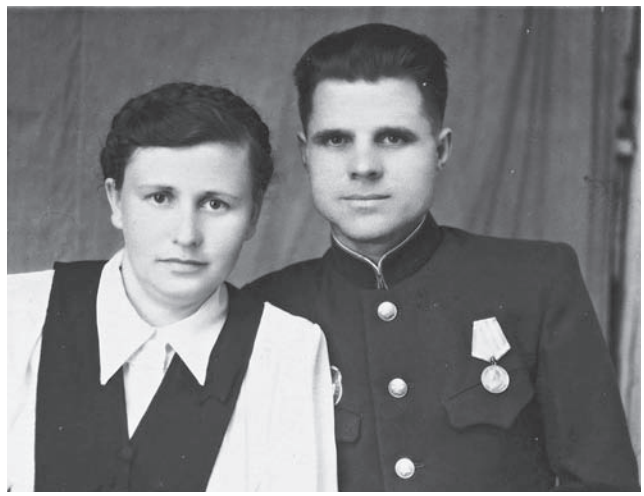
Jeckeln, shot 511 Jews.[1] The mass shooting took place in a ditch near a sugar refinery. Jeckeln personally directed the shooting.

At the end of 1941 or the start of 1942, a ghetto was created in the town. It was liquidated on July 23, 1942. On that day, the Jews of Staraia Siniava and the villages of Rayon Staraja Sinjawa, about 1,000 people in all, were driven forcibly to the Starokonstantinov ghetto and subsequently shot there.[2] At a later date, the Ukrainian police caught 80 Jews who had hidden in various places around Staraia Siniava and shot them near the sugar refinery.[3]

According to a survivor from Ostropol', Anna Nasarchuk, the Jews of Staraia Siniava were confined in the Starokonstantinov ghetto for several months together with other Jews from the Gebiet, before being killed when the ghetto was liquidated at the end of November 1942.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Staraia Siniava can be found in these archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-816); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel



Portrait of Ukrainian rescuer Piotr Gutzol and his wife, Anna Berman. Gutzol helped Berman escape the massacre of Staraia Ushitsa's Jews in 1942 and was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1994.
USHMM WS #57656, COURTESY OF JFR

NOTES

1. This telegram from the HSSPF Russland-Süd, no. 120, dated August 20, 1941, can be found in VHAP, "Headquarters of the Command of the Reichsführer SS." The telegram is reprinted in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 240. See also BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86 of September 17, 1941, and GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 21. There were 300 Jews from Staraia Siniava who were shot, and 186 Jews from Piliava. The remaining 25 victims were likely from the village of Novaia Siniava.
2. "Staraia Siniava," in V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel': Vypusk 1. Podoliia* (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 224.
3. GARF, 7021-64-7021, p. 21.
4. BA-L, B 162, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, statement of Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973.

STARAIA USHITSA

Pre-1941: Staraia Ushitsa, village and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Staraja-Uschiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stara Ushytsia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Staraia Ushitsa is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) east of Kamenets-Podolskii. In 1939, there were 753 Jews living in Staraia Ushitsa and an additional 354 Jews residing elsewhere in the Staraia Ushitsa raion, mostly in the village of Studenitsa.

Staraia Ushitsa came under German occupation in the summer of 1941, and the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. They registered the Jews, required them to wear distinguishing markings, and prohibited them from leaving the limits of the village. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor.

At some time before July 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Staraia Ushitsa. According to research conducted by Yad Vashem to honor the Righteous Among the Nations, a young non-Jew named Piotr Gutzol often brought food into the ghetto to help a young Jewish woman named Anna Berman. He offered to help her to escape, but at this time she was too scared.[1]

On July 23, 1942, the German and Ukrainian police conducted an Aktion against the Jews in the Staraia Ushitsa ghetto. According to a former local policeman (Schutzmann), by then the Jewish population of Staraia Ushitsa had been ghettoized or at least collected together in a specific quarter of the village (an open ghetto). The Aktion was carried out with the participation of the head of the SD, the head of the Gendarmerie, Leutnant Reich, deputy Gebietskommissar Peters, German Gendarmes, and local Ukrainian policemen. The head of the Judenrat had to announce to the Jews that they were to gather at the square. Family members carried the sick and the old. Some people who did not move fast enough were beaten half-conscious, causing panic and weeping among those at the square. Men and women were separated, and all were forced to sit on the ground in silence. The head of the SD announced that the Jews would be taken to Kamenets-Podolskii, and some women were allowed to return home to collect some clothes, as they had left their houses without time to dress properly.

The German and Ukrainian police searched the flats, attics, and basements for Jews in hiding, discovering quite a few, mainly men, hiding in chimneys, in between double ceilings, in cellars dug specifically for the purpose, with stacks of food and clothing in them, in barns, and in heaps of manure. Those

discovered were beaten, and some were shot. Along with the Germans, who zealously hunted down the Jews, the local policemen were instrumental in identifying Jewish homes and possible hiding places, as well as exposing Jews (especially those in mixed marriages) trying to pass as non-Jews. Regardless of their religious affiliation (being raised as Christians or atheists) or personal circumstances (marriages with non-Jews), everybody who had a Jewish relative up to the third generation was automatically considered Jewish and thus subjected to the same fate as the others. After all the Jews were brought to the square, the "specialists" among them—such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers—were told to take their tools and equipment with them and, together with their families, were escorted to Kamenets-Podolskii. The rest, approximately 300 to 320 people, were put in columns of 3, men first followed by women, with the carts carrying the sick and the old, and were taken down the old road from Staraia Ushitsa to Kamenets-Podolskii. As they marched, the head of the Gendarmerie ordered the Jews of Studenitsa (80 to 100 people) to be brought to join the Jews of Staraia Ushitsa.

Although the Germans kept assuring the column of the marching Jews that they were all being taken to Kamenets-Podolskii, the children and women started to weep as soon as they left the village. When the group turned towards the pit, the Jews recognized their fate and wept bitterly. Some people prayed, and children begged their parents to carry them in their arms; in response the Germans and local police beat and cursed them. The doomed people started to throw away any valuables, such as rings, watches, photographs, and letters. They tore up money, denying it to their tormentors. The pit measuring 12 by 6 meters and 1.5 meters deep (about 39 by 20 by 5 feet), had been dug by local peasants on the orders of Rayonchef Belokon'. During the shooting, the peasants were removed from the scene to prevent them from watching.

The Jews were ordered to undress and enter the pit in groups of five. The Germans, the Ukrainian police, and other locals who participated pushed the Jews into the pits, beating those who resisted. They were then forced to lie on the bottom of the pit, with their faces down, and were shot in the nape of the neck. The next group had to lie on top of the corpses, and they were shot in turn. A German official kept count of those murdered, making a checkmark for each group of five or more, in case a larger family refused to be separated and were shot together.

After the shooting the peasants who had dug the pit were ordered to fill in the mass grave. The Schutzmänner searched the clothing of the murdered Jews for valuables, which were sometimes sewn into the lining or hidden inside belts. Some items were taken by the Germans to be sent home as presents, given to local prostitutes in payment, or sold to the local population.[2]

The Jews of Studenitsa were murdered at the same time as those of Staraia Ushitsa. Estimates of the number of Jews killed vary from around 400 up to 700. The Jewish craftsmen and their families were transferred at this time to the ghetto in Kamenets-Podolskii.[3] After the Aktion, local policemen and other local inhabitants looted the Jewish houses. When Piotr Gutzol found the ghetto empty, he went to Kamenets-Podolskii and managed to get Anna Berman out of the ghetto there with the help of fake identity papers. Then they went to live in a small village where nobody knew them until the Red Army liberated the area in 1944. Most of the other Jews transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii were murdered there between August 1942 and the spring of 1943.

SOURCES Mention of the existence of a ghetto in Staraia Ushitsa can be found in Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 109.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Staraia Ushitsa can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799 and 816); NA (HW 16/6); USHMM (RG-22.002M); YIU (no. 683); and YVA (M.31).

Martin Dean
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. See www.jfr.org. After the war Piotr and Anna were married. Piotr Gutzol was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1994.
2. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), ChGK report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
3. Ibid.; NA, HW 16/6, Radiogram of the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Kamenez-Podolsk, summary for the period July 1, 1942–July 31, 1942, p. 5, as cited by Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 92.

STAROKONSTANTINOV

Pre-1941: Starokonstantinov, town and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Starokonstantinow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Starokostiantyniv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Starokonstantinov is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the January 1939 census, the Jewish population stood at 6,743 people; Jews accounted for 31 percent of the total population.

After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and other Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. Thus, about 6,000 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Starokonstantinov on July 8, 1941. In July and August 1941, a series of local military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) governed the town and formed a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from among local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Starokonstantinov became the administrative center of the Gebiet, which also included Rayons Ostropol,

Staraja Sinjawa, Polonnoje, and Grizew. In total, the Gebiet included some 200,000 inhabitants and 196 collective farms. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Schröder, who was later replaced by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 on was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Otto Gent.[1] The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were under his command.

In May 1942, an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was created in Starokonstantinov, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. This outpost carried out anti-Jewish Aktions in 1942 in the Gebiet Starokonstantinow and also in adjacent Gebiete. Graf received orders to carry out such Aktions from the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Pütz.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Starokonstantinov. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed; Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially, an armband with a Star of David; later, a yellow circle sewn onto the front and back of their clothing); they were compelled to engage in forced labor; and they were forbidden to use the sidewalks.

In July 1941, soon after the occupation of the town, 20 Jews were shot.[2] On August 3, another Aktion took place. On this day, four companies of SS-Infanterie-Regiment 8, SS-Panzergrenadier-Brigade 1, arrested 1,404 Jews (812 women and 592 men) in the town, of whom 489 (302 men and 187 women) were shot. The remaining Jews were divided up into several groups for forced labor.[3] The supposed pretext for this "reprisal" Aktion is described in Einsatzgruppen report no. 59:

> In Starokonstantinov . . . Jews were engaged in cleaning the barracks. Since Jews had not been reporting to work recently, the military units already were forced to round up the Jewish work force early in the morning. While working, the Jews behaved impudently and even refused to work. Of the approximately 1,000 Jews engaged in field labor, only 70 showed up to work on the following day. Furthermore, acts of sabotage on the harvesting machines were discovered. The Judenrat even spread rumors about a Russian offensive, which the Jews immediately used as a pretext to publicly threaten and curse Ukrainians.[4]

According to the account of a Jewish survivor, however, about 1,100 Jewish men and women were ordered to assemble and then transported out to the barracks. Here they were assigned to various work tasks, and those who were sick (including some who hoped to avoid work by feigning ill health) were loaded onto 18 trucks and taken away. Subsequently it was learned that these people were shot in the Novitskii Forest.[5]

Two weeks later, on August 18, 1941, approximately 150 more young Jewish men and women were shot in the Novitskii Forest.[6] Another anti-Jewish Aktion took place in the town on September 2, 1941. On this day, Police Battalion 304, which was in the town from August 21 through September 4, captured and shot at least 500 Jews.[7]

In the fall of 1941, probably in late September or early October, a ghetto holding about 5,000 people was established in the town. This first ghetto consisted of a group of houses surrounded by barbed wire, guarded by the local police. It was located behind Middle School no. 8 and extended back to the Ikopot River. Conditions in the ghetto were very crowded: people had to sleep on the floor in rows. Ghetto inmates received little food. Only craftsmen were permitted to leave the ghetto, wearing a black stripe across their yellow circles to denote this privilege.[8]

At the beginning of 1942, the ghetto was moved to the district along Iziaslav Street, on the road to Shepetovka, not far from the Novitskii Forest. Here there were a few old Jewish houses and some barracks. The new ghetto had about three times the area of the old ghetto; however, conditions deteriorated, as inmates received no food or heating materials. The unsanitary conditions caused disease to spread. A Russian woman who had close relatives there smuggled some medical supplies into the ghetto. The new ghetto was also more closely guarded, making it harder for the Jews to barter illegally. On the inside, there was a Jewish police force that wore armbands and carried clubs. Outside, the barbed-wire fence was guarded by the Ukrainian police.[9]

Just before May 20, 1942, the Germans demanded from the Judenrat payment of a "war tax" of about 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold and 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of silver.[10] Then, also on May 20, 1942, another Aktion was carried out. A team of the Sipo and SD under the leadership of SS-Hauptscharführer Graf, aided by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot most of the Jews from the ghetto, as well as some of the Jews who were brought into Starokonstantinov from the surrounding Rayons at that time. Approximately 6,500 people were murdered on this day. The Jews were driven to the "red barracks" near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS), where a ditch had been dug. Skilled craftsmen and their families were separated and returned to the town (some lived outside the ghetto), and the remaining Jews were forced to lie down in groups of 10 in the ditch, where Graf and another SS man, Werner, shot them with submachine guns.[11]

At the time of the May 20 Aktion, Jews from the surrounding Rayons of Grizew, Ostropol, Staraja Sinjawa, and Polonnoje were brought into the ghetto. A Jewish survivor, Anna Nasarchuk, recalls arriving in the empty ghetto with about 400 others from Ostropol' just after the previous inmates had been shot. The German official in the ghetto, Hedrich, warned them that the others had been killed for refusing to work and carry out German instructions. No water was available in the ghetto, and people were permitted to fetch it from the river only once a day. Nasarchuk was made to work cleaning the German barracks. The guards mistreated the ghetto inmates, and on one occasion German soldiers raped two young Jewish girls.

Over the summer there were frequent shootings of Jews from the ghetto in the nearby Novitskii Forest. In the weeks before the ghetto's final liquidation, the Jews were assembled

regularly on Sundays at the Zhdanov kolkhoz, where a few people were killed publicly as a warning. One Sunday, for example, 11 alleged saboteurs, all non-Jews, were hanged along with one Jew who had failed to report for the assembly.[12]

At the end of November 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. On this day, all the Jews in the ghetto were escorted to a field near the Novitskii Forest. The Jews were then led in groups of 10 to a ditch 300 meters (328 yards) away. They were forced to undress and lie down in the ditch, and then German and Ukrainian policemen shot them with carbines and submachine guns. The shooting was supervised by Graf. The Ukrainian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 101 also took part in the operation, and its members, on the orders of the battalion commander Hauptmann Paul Salitter, cordoned off the execution site.[13] Approximately 4,000 people were shot during this Aktion.[14]

At the killing site, Anna Nasarchuk recognized another Jewish woman from her village of Chishniki who was trying to flee, but the cordon guards shot her. Anna subsequently fell into the grave unconscious, not seriously wounded. After dark she escaped with her child, and she was even helped by a local Ukrainian policeman, whom she convinced that she was not Jewish and had been arrested by mistake.[15]

Altogether, some 11,000 Jews were killed in Starokonstantinov during the years of 1941 and 1942.

The commander of the 8th SS-Infantry Regiment, SS-Standartenführer Hans-Wilhelm Sacks, the commander of the 1st battalion of this regiment, SS-Sturmbannführer Hermann Schleifenbaum, and the commander of the 2nd battalion of this regiment, SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Tzschoppe, were primarily responsible for the Aktion of August 3, 1941. Sacks was fatally wounded in battle on August 19, 1941; Schleifenbaum died on August 30, 1943. The investigation in Germany regarding Tzschoppe was terminated following his death on August 21, 1972.

In the 1970s, in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), several former policemen of the 304th Police Battalion who participated in the murder of over 500 Jews in Starokonstantinov in early September 1941 were found guilty and sentenced. SS-Hauptscharführer Graf, who was primarily responsible for the annihilation of the town's Jews in 1942, died in Germany on November 19, 1953.

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Starokonstantinov can be found in *Podillia u Velykii Vimchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (L'viv, 1969), pp. 75–77.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Starokonstantinov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 441/67 and 442/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64); YVA (M-33); and ZSSta-D (45 Js 20/73).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 441/67, Abschlussbericht, March 20, 1973. Gent died on April 11, 1956.

2. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report (Abschlussverfügung), August 10, 1976.

3. See the report of the 1. Mot. SS Brigade dated August 3, 1941, for the period July 30 to August 3, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 232.

4. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 59, August 21, 1941. According to the Einsatzgruppen Report, only 438 persons were shot (300 Jewish men and 138 Jewish women).

5. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, Galina M. Bolshovskaia, March 29, 1973.

6. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, Abschlussverfügung, August 10, 1976. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report of March 11, 1944, notes that 300 civilians were shot near the Nove Miasto Forest by the Gestapo and SD field units in August 1941 (DAKhO, R683-2-42, pp. 31–34); an English translation is available in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1987), pp. 134–138.

7. See the verdict of Bezirksgericht Halle, October 26, 1978, concerning three members of Police Battalion 304, extract published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 300.

8. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 320-327, Aleksandra A. Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

9. Ibid., Bd. I, pp. 246–250, Nikolai Bugaishchuk, March 28, 1973; pp. 262–266, Iuvenalii Gulenko, March 29, 1973.

10. Ibid., Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

11. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report, August 10, 1976; Aleksandr Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia Kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii Sovet Ukrainy, 2000), p. 182.

12. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973.

13. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report, August 10, 1976. Most sources give November 28, 1942, as the date of the Aktion, but some date it just before or just after this. The commander of the local Ukrainian police in Starokonstantinov at this time was Kononchuk; see BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 358–362, Andrei Sagoruiko, March 29, 1973.

14. *Podillia u Velykii Vimchyznianii viini (1941–1945 rr.)*, p. 76.

15. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

STEPAŃ

Pre-1939: Stepań, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Stepan', Sarny raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Stepan, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stepan', Sarny raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Stepań is located approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Równe. According to the census, 1,337 Jews lived in

Stepań in 1921. In mid-1941, assuming a natural growth rate of 9 people per 1,000 per year, there would have been some 1,600 Jews in Stepań.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Stepań in July 1941. Before the German infantry arrived, the Luftwaffe bombarded the town, killing several Jews and damaging many houses. In July and August of 1941, the town was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen). The military confiscated foodstuffs, bicycles, and other items from the Jews but did not treat them harshly. From September 1941, command was transferred to a German civil administration, and Stepań became part of Gebiet Kostopol. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Standartenführer Löhnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wilhelm Wichmann.[1] There was a Gendarmerie post in Stepań, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police. The head of the Gendarmerie post in Stepań from the fall of 1941 was Beckmann; in 1943, he was killed by partisans.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a number of anti-Jewish measures in Stepań: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first, an armband bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow circle on their clothes); they were compelled to engage in forced labor (e.g., repairing the bridge over the Horyn River); and they were forbidden to leave the town. They were also subjected to systematic robberies and beatings by the Ukrainian police, who supervised them at work. The Ukrainian police chief was named Sasha Krumf. The Germans harassed the Jews, cutting off the beards of old men. On the orders of the head of the Gendarmerie post, Beckmann, Jews had to surrender all gold and valuables. Later, fur coats, cattle, and horses were confiscated as well. Jews from the surrounding villages were ordered to bring these items to Stepań to hand them over to the Germans.[2]

In early October 1941, a ghetto was created in the town.[3] The ghetto was located in the same district as the synagogue. The ghetto territory was surrounded by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) wooden fence, the top of which was covered with barbed wire. Another fence divided the ghetto into two parts: the synagogue and the adjacent street were reserved for adult men under the age of 55. The nearby streets were for women, children, and the elderly. A small group of skilled workers was allowed to live outside the ghetto. Not long after the construction of the ghetto, Jews from the surrounding villages—Chorost, Kryczylsk, Wołosza, Wielke Werbcze, and Kazimirka—were also concentrated there.[4] Altogether, there were approximately 2,000 Jews in the ghetto.[5]

A Judenrat was placed in charge of the ghetto. The Jews were brought together in the main synagogue and ordered to elect a chairman of the Judenrat. They chose Avraham Guz for this position, and Josef Vaks, who knew German well, as vice-chair. However, Guz stepped down under pressure from Vaks, who then assumed his position. Dodye Guberman was made secretary. A majority of the Jews saw Vaks as arrogant and unsympathetic and resented his leadership. A Jewish police force was organized to carry out the orders of the Judenrat and the Germans. An upper chamber of the synagogue was turned into a jail for Jews who disobeyed the ghetto police.[6]

Among the responsibilities of the Judenrat was the selection of able-bodied men to meet German demands for forced labor. Groups of Jews were sent out of the ghetto daily to work in the vicinity of Stepań and return in the evening. A large number of Jewish males was sent to a labor camp in Kostopol. At regular intervals, they would be returned to the ghetto and replaced by fresh workers.[7] Peasants could also "rent" Jews to work for them in the fields by paying the Germans a small fee.[8]

The Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger and severe overcrowding. The daily ration for men consisted of 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread and a bowl of soup with potatoes or onion. Women and children received only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and the same watery soup. Jews were forbidden to receive any fat, and the commandant of the Rayon even checked the bowls of the Jews to enforce this ban. Nevertheless, the Jews made a concerted effort to maintain public health in the ghetto. There was a hospital with a walk-in clinic run by Drs. Ashkenazi and Zamer. They sent nurses to maintain sanitary conditions and make house calls in the women's ghetto. A refugee from Łódź named Rayzman was in charge of sanitation for the men's ghetto.[9]

In the spring of 1942, the Jews made an effort to celebrate Passover. Local rabbis ruled that matzot could be made out of rye. There were also a series of self-declared prophets, mainly laymen, who pointed to various omens and numerological formulas to prove to their brethren that redemption was on its way.[10]

The ghetto was liquidated on the night of August 21, 1942: approximately 50 Jews incapable of marching were killed on the spot, several hundred Jews were able to escape, and the rest of the Jews were driven to Kostopol and shot near the village of Korczewie; on the way to the killing site, another 50 to 60 Jews were killed. As the Jews were taken to the killing site on wagons, many escaped simply by jumping off the wagons and running into the forests. Near Korczewie, approximately 1,500 Jews from Stepań were shot; some Jews were able to flee from the shooting place.[11]

The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police organized roundups for Jews who had fled, over the course of which several hundred Jews were captured and shot. In particular, one mass shooting of Jews captured during the roundups took place in September 1942 near Kolen'.[12] For informing on Jews, the occupants gave a reward of 1 liter (1 quart) of kerosene, and the punishment for hiding Jews was death. Despite this, several Ukrainian families hid Jews and provided them with produce, thanks to which these Jews were able to survive and lived to see the liberation in January 1944.

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 731 civilians were killed in Rayon Stepan in 1941–1944, including 553 Jews (not counting those Jews who were taken to Kostopol and shot near Korczewie).[13]

SOURCES An article about the annihilation of the Jewish population of Stepań can be found in: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 145–147. There is also a memoir of the Holocaust period by Moyshe Voshtshina (Michel Woszczyna): *Der mentsh iz shtarker fun ayzn: Mayne yorn unter di Natsis in Ukrayine* (Buenos Aires, 1991). The author is a Jew from the nearby village of Korost who was interred in the Stepań ghetto. As well as containing ample information about the ghetto, this memoir provides a rare look into the fate of village Jews in the Third Reich's Occupied Eastern Territories during World War II.

Documents and testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Stepań can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (see, e.g., the recollections of Mosze Woszczyna [also available at the USHMM, RG-02.208M, reel 16, no. 107] or 301/1268 and 2363); DARO; GARF (7021-71-71); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; Yehsa'yahu Fri, "Beyn mitsrey avadon ve-shikul," in Ganuz and Fri, eds., *'Ayartenu Stepan'* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stepan yeha-servivah be-Yisrael, 1977), pp. 221–222. Also see Y. Fri, "Haftsatsot ha-Germanim ve-hakamat ha-Geto," p. 280; and Meir Grinshpan, "Aharitah shel Stepan," p. 299—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*.

2. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 222–225; Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299. Also see Y. Koyfman and Avraham Tekhor, "Hurbana shel kehilat Stepan," p. 274; and Yitshak Vaks, "Beyn hayim le-mavet," p. 286—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*. And see Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, pp. 51–52, 67.

3. The report of A. Dereczyński, AŻIH 301/1268, gives the date of October 5, 1941, for the establishment of ghettos in all the Rayon centers of Gebiet Kostopol.

4. M. Pinchuk, "Vtecha z pekla," in *Tsinoiu vlasnoho zhyttia* (Rivne: Uporiadnyk Kyrylo Kindrat, 1995), pp. 187, 191; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 223–226; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," p. 274; Fri, "Haftsatsot," p. 280; Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, p. 77. Note that according to Voshtshina and a few other sources, the ghetto was not created until January 1942 (see Vaks, "Beyn," p. 286; and Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299).

5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:145–147, gives the figure of 3,000 Jews inside the ghetto.

6. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," p. 224; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," p. 275; "Yosef Vaks—Yoshev Rosh ha-Yudenrat be-Geto Stepan," in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*, pp. 300–301; Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, pp. 77–78. Note that while Koyfman states that the Judenrat was chosen in August 1941, Voshtshina claims that it was chosen in January 1942, around the time that the Jews were forced into the ghetto. Other accounts from the yizkor book also imply that the Judenrat was selected immediately before or after the establishment of the ghetto.

7. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 224–226.

8. Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, p. 82.

9. Ibid., pp. 78–81; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," p. 226; AŻIH, 301/1268.

10. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 228, 230; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," pp. 274–275.

11. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 4, 17–18; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 231–232. Also see Y. Fri, "Sipurey nitsulim" p. 293; and Batya Sheynboym, "Beriha me-malta'ot ha-rotsehim," p. 294—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*. Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299, gives the date of the liquidation as August 24.

12. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 8, 10; M. Pinchuk, "Tragediia y Stepani," in *Tsinoiu vlasnoho zhyttia*, p. 96.

13. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 1–3.

STOLIN

Pre-1939: Stolin, town and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Stolin is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east-southeast of Pińsk. In 1921, 2,966 Jews were living in Stolin (62.4 percent of the town's total population).

The local population greeted the Red Army with joy when it occupied the town in the second half of September 1939. Under Soviet rule, about 20 Jewish families were deported to Siberia. In June 1941, the Jewish population was probably about 5,000, owing to the influx of many Jewish refugees from Poland in the fall of 1939.

Following the German invasion of June 22, 1941, the first German units passed through Stolin on July 12. At this time, local Ukrainians started a pogrom against the Jews, but the intervention of a Jewish Self-Defense force managed to contain the violence. A man named Urbanovich was appointed head of the local militia. His subordinate, Mitior, raped Jewish women repeatedly.[1]

On August 10, 1941, forces of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment conducted a mass shooting of Jewish men in the nearby town of Dawidgródek, after which the women and children were driven from the town. Many of these refugees, as well as some from other villages, made their way to Stolin, where the Jewish Council (Judenrat) prevailed on the authorities to permit them to stay.[2]

On August 22, 1941, the new German Gebietskommissar arrived in Stolin to set up a civil administration. Stolin became the administrative center of Gebiet Stolin, incorporating the Rayons of Dawid-Gorodok and Wysozk, in addition to Stolin itself. SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski was named Gebietskommissar, and his deputy was a man named Stark.[3] On his arrival, Dziembowski ordered the Jews to parade and appointed Nathan Bergner, a refugee from Łódź who spoke German, as chairman of the Judenrat. With the assistance of a small Jewish police force, the Judenrat had to pass on and enforce all the German demands and regulations. Immediately, Dziembowski imposed an extensive list of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David on

their clothing. All Jews over the age of 16 had to perform forced labor. Jews were forbidden to pray in the synagogue, forbidden to eat fat or meat, and prohibited from engaging in conversation with Christian peasants. In addition, a "contribution" of 1 million rubles from the Jews had to be paid within 30 days.[4]

With great effort, the Judenrat managed to raise the contribution within a few days, but shortly afterwards 50 Jews were arrested by the local police as alleged Communists. Most were released after payment of a further ransom, but 2 young Jews were taken out and shot in the Zotishia Forest.

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Stolin, which took over responsibility for the local police (renamed Schutzmannschaft). Wilhelm Wacker served as head of the Gendarmerie post from April 25 to July 4, 1942. In August and September 1942, the 1st Squadron of Polizeireiterabteilung II was stationed in Stolin. Its commander was Oberleutnant der Polizei Heinz-Dieter Teltz. The anti-Jewish Aktions conducted in Gebiet Stolin in the summer and fall of 1942 were coordinated by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Pińsk, which from May to November 1942 was commanded by SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp. In July or August 1942, a Security Police post also was established in Stolin, subordinated to Rasp in Pińsk.

In the spring of 1942, the Gebietskommissar tried deputy police chief Mitior for his abuse of Jewish women and sentenced him to death. Shortly afterwards, the head of the police, Urbanovich, was killed by Soviet partisans on his way back from Pińsk. The Jews feared a terrible reprisal, as the Gebietskommissar took a roll call under the watchful eye of the German and Ukrainian police to see whether any Jews had joined the partisans. Since none were missing, the Gebietskommissar took other measures to restrain the Jews instead.[5]

In May 1942 (on the eve of the Shavuot holiday), Gebietskommissar Dziembowski ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto, which was surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence. They were joined by Jews from the neighboring villages, raising the total population to around 7,000. The ghetto area, enclosed on one side by the Bank River, consisted of America Street, part of Kostsushki Street on both sides as far as the house of Rabbi Ephraim Tessler, and also Burkan Street and both sides of Dąbrowski Street. Jews were permitted to bring with them only what they could carry in their arms.[6] Living conditions were poor, with the inhabitants receiving a daily ration of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread. Typhus, dysentery, and diphtheria were rife.[7] The ghetto was closely guarded, and the Jews who worked outside could bring nothing in or out. As one survivor recalled, "[T]he death rate reached 12 per day. Many times I saw how a mother threw a wrapped bundle—a child—on the wagon. People were swollen, deformed." Jews were also forced to pay a poll tax of 10 rubles per month.[8]

By early September, news reached Stolin of the liquidation of the Dąbrowica ghetto nearby. Rebbe Moysheleh Perlov tried to raise people's spirits, exclaiming with complete faith, "Jews, we will once more merit the defeat of Amalek and imminent salvation!" (Amalek is a biblical figure who led his army to attack the Jews [Exodus 17:8–16]. Yizkor books frequently use the term *Amalek* [or *Amalekite*] to refer to Adolf Hitler or the Nazis, and the comparison is still made today.) One Jewish survivor made a memorable visit to the Rebbe on the eve of the Aktion. SS guards and Ukrainian policemen were already positioned around the ghetto. "Suddenly, the Rebbe raised both his hands in the air and called out with great feeling, 'Our Father, our King, have pity on us and our children' [a line from the prayer 'Avinu Malkeinu' ('Our Father, Our King'), traditionally said on the High Holidays and during times of extreme crisis], and burst into bitter tears."[9]

The Germans liquidated the Stolin ghetto on September 11, 1942. Just prior to the Aktion, the Gebietskommissar summoned the Judenrat. He had them arrested, and they were taken out and shot, becoming the first victims. Perhaps as a result, plans for resistance within the ghetto were not realized. On September 10, a detachment of the Security Police commanded by Rasp arrived from Pińsk. During the night, men of the 1st Squadron of Polizeireiterabteilung II and the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. Then at 4:30 A.M., about 6,000 Jews were driven into the marketplace in front of the ghetto. Those unable to walk were shot in their beds.[10] A doctor, a dentist, and about 10 artisans were released, as their work was still required. The Germans and their collaborators then marched the Jews in groups under close escort to a wooded area 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) northeast of town, where the SD men Petsch, Balbach, Dohmen, and Kotschi shot them in a large trench. The clothes of the Jews were collected in a pile to one side of the ditch.[11]

The next day, the Germans searched the ghetto, looking for Jews in hiding. They shot those they found.[12] Very few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and survive with the partisans until the Red Army recaptured the area in 1944.

Wilhelm Rasp committed suicide in West Germany in the early 1960s while under investigation for war crimes. Adolf Petsch and Heinz-Dieter Teltz were sentenced to 15 years and to 3 years and 6 months in prison, respectively. Dohmen died not long after the war. The fates of Balbach and Kotschi remain unknown.[13]

SOURCES Articles about the Jewish community of Stolin and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Avatihi ve-Y. Ben-Zakai, ed., *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron li-kehilat Stolin veha-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Stolin vehasevivah be-Yisrael, 1952); *Havah nizakherah: Tseror zikhronot u-firke havai 'al 'ayaratenu Stolin/mesupar 'al yede Pinhas Doron (Dorts'in)* (Jerusalem: P. Doron and Z. Blizovski, 1960); and "Stolin," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 271–273.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Stolin can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L (B 162/4966); GABO; GARF (7021-71-70); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Shamai Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community."
5. Ibid.
6. Second letter to Detroit from Michael Nosantchuk, January 15, 1946, published in *The Forward*, by Yakov Nosantchuk of Detroit; and Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community."
7. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59 (Ghetto Liquidation in Pińsk), p. 2528, statement of Willi Leister, August 20, 1964.
8. Second letter to Detroit from Michael Nosantchuk, January 15, 1946. Tukel, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community," however, cites a death rate of five persons per day.
9. Batyah Kampinski-Liberman, "The Last Days of the 'Rebbe' Moysheleh Perlov," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59, p. 2522, statement of Willi Leister, February 15, 1962; BA-L, B 162/14495, verdict of LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, against Kuhr and others, February 6, 1973, pp. 103–107; and Esther Gissin Blizhuvsky, "In the Stolin Ghetto," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.
11. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59, statement of Rudolf Freyer, February 13, 1963, and statement of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.
12. Ibid., p. 3359, statement of Ludwig Vorderbrügge, March 14, 1963.
13. BA-L, B 162/14495, verdict of LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, against Johann Kuhr and others, February 6, 1973.

SZUMSK

Pre-1939: Szumsk, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Shumsk, raion center, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schumsk, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Shums'k, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Szumsk is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,717 Jews in Szumsk. In the fall of 1939, several hundred Jewish refugees from Poland settled in Szumsk (in 1940 many of them were deported to the eastern part of the USSR). After Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, several Jewish families evacuated to the east; however, most Jews did not want to or were unable to evacuate (owing to the rapid advance of the German forces). At the start of the German occupation, there were probably more than 2,000 Jews still present in the town.

Units of the Wehrmacht occupied Szumsk on July 2, 1941. In July and August, a German military administration governed the town; as of September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Szumsk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.[1] The Germans established a Ukrainian local council and local police force in Szumsk, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (created in September 1941), consisting of several German Gendarmes.

Immediately after the occupation of the town by German forces, local Ukrainians looted Jewish houses despite German public announcements forbidding this. A few days later, antisemitic Ukrainians organized a pogrom during which several Jews were killed as they attempted to defend their property.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Szumsk. They established a Judenrat, whose chairman, Weissler, was a refugee from the Polish town of Katowice. The German authorities used the Judenrat to convey their orders and demands to the Jewish population. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially an armband, then from September 1941, yellow patches). Jews were prohibited from trading or otherwise communicating with non-Jews. They were forbidden to use the sidewalks and were required to bow before passing Germans. All Jewish women were forced to cut their hair.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) formed a Labor Office (Arbeitsamt) headed by Szuldrein, a refugee from Łódź. This office assigned Jews to forced labor tasks, for example, in the sawmill, on farms, or clearing snow in the winter. Ukrainians were able to request Jews from the Arbeitsamt to do any kind of work for them. After about three months, a Jewish police force of 15 to 20 people was established, commanded by a man named Horowitz.[3] One of the tasks of the Jewish Police was to collect the "contributions" of items, such as gold, silver, and furs, demanded by the civil administration and also by Gestapo officials on regular visits.

In early March 1942 (at the time of the Purim holiday), the German administration issued orders for all the Jews from Szumsk and the surrounding villages (approximately 2,000 people) to be enclosed within a ghetto by March 12.[4] The ghetto was located in the poorest section of the town, near the synagogue and the baths. Living conditions were terrible. Jews had to live 10 or 12 people to a room, with many dying of hunger and widespread disease, especially typhus.[5] There was no hospital, but the Judenrat organized soup kitchens for the poor, which many people attended. To survive, Jews had to smuggle into the ghetto food that was bartered for their last possessions from local peasants. The smugglers were often children who escaped the ghetto through tunnels dug under the fence. When caught by the Ukrainian police, the Judenrat had to pay a "ransom" for their release.

On German instructions, several workshops for Jewish craftsmen were established for tailoring and the repair of shoes and watches. Most of the production from these workshops became gifts for the Ukrainian and German police.[6]

After five months the ghetto was liquidated. On the night of Saturday, August 8, 1942, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, shooting 11 Jews who tried to escape; they were buried in a grave within the ghetto. The Jews were forbidden to bury them in the Jewish cemetery (outside the ghetto borders) to prevent the Jews from seeing the mass grave that had been

prepared for them there. However, several Jews saw peasants returning with shovels and guessed what was happening. After the mass grave was dug, on August 13, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD from Równe, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, gathered the Jews near the large synagogue under the pretext of transferring them to another location; from there, they were taken in columns to the grave behind the Christian cemetery, where they were shot. Altogether, 1,792 Jews were shot on that day (496 men, 724 women, and 572 children).[7] Some of the Jews were able to hide in previously prepared bunkers. Without food or water, those in hiding had to drink their own urine to quench their thirst. To catch the hidden Jews, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police regularly combed the territory of the former ghetto over the ensuing few weeks. Some Jews were betrayed by the cries of their own children. The Gendarmerie and local police successively shot all the Jews who they found and captured. The last Jews, including about 100 who had been temporarily spared to help clear up the ghetto and sort the remaining possessions, had all been shot by October 1, 1942.[8] Only a couple of dozen Jews from Szumsk managed to escape from their places of concealment and survive the ensuing dangers either in hiding or with the partisans, to be liberated by the Red Army in 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Szumsk, edited by H. Rabin, *Szumsk . . . sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Szumsk* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szumsk in Israel, 1968), contains much information regarding the Jewish community of Szumsk; there is also a brief article in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 206–208.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Szumsk during the Nazi German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/2467 and 4863); DATO; GARF (7021-75-15); IPN; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2362; M-1/Q-1812/364; M-1/E/1500; O-3/2219; and O-22/54).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/2467, testimony of Ruth Melchoir, and 301/4863.
3. Ibid., 301/2467; Rabin, *Szumsk*, p. 60, indicates that in the ghetto the head of the Jewish Police was named Ackerman.
4. AŻIH, 301/2467; GARF, 7021-75-15, p. 35.
5. YVA, M-1/E/1500.
6. AŻIH, 301/2467.
7. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów Szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, p. 2. The document has also been published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 395, report by SS-Untersturmführer Selm, August 15, 1942.
8. GARF, 7021-75-15, pp. 37 verso, 42 verso. Altogether, according to the documents of the ChGK, 2,732 people, including 2,432 Jews, were killed in the Szumsk raion during the occupation; therefore, Jews comprised 89 percent of all the victims recorded (see GARF, 7021-75-15, p. 24).

TEOFIPOL'

Pre-1941: Teofipol', *town and raion center*, *Kamenets-Podolskii oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Teofipol*, *town and Rayon center*, *Gebiet Isjaslaw*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Teofipol'*, *Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Teofipol' is located 63 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Proskurov. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,266 Jews living in the town (36.9 percent of the total population). An additional 183 Jews lived in what was then the Teofipol' raion.

In early July 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied the town. During the two weeks from the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Probably around 1,000 Jews remained in Teofipol' at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force, commanded by P.T. Pasechnik. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Teofipol' was incorporated into Gebiet Isjaslaw; SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer became the Gebietskommissar.[1] In Teofipol' itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, under which the Ukrainian auxiliary police served.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Teofipol'. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks bearing the Star of David, and they were ordered to perform forced labor. Jews could not leave the borders of the town; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local Ukrainian police.

In late 1941 or in January 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Teofipol'.[2] Jews from the surrounding villages were also resettled there. For example, 29 Jews were brought in from the village of Shiben.[3] The ghetto was liquidated on January 21 and 22, 1942. On January 21, all the men—more than 400 people—were shot. On January 22, the women and children were shot.[4] In total, 970 people were killed.[5] In June 1942, another 85 Jews were shot in the village of Iampol'.[6]

SOURCES A brief article on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Teofipol' can be found in *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii: Teofipol'shchyna u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini 1941–1945 gg.* (L'viv, 1995). The concentration of the Jews from the surrounding villages and the ghetto in Teofipol' are also mentioned in I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa*

i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944) (Kiev, 1999), p. 77; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 87.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Teofipol' can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (3784-1-32, pp. 19, 35; R863-2-38, p. 128); and GARF (7021-64-816).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200; *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii*, p. 95.
3. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 169.
4. *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii*, pp. 95–96. DAKhO, 3784-1-32, pp. 19, 35, indicates that the Jews were brought into Teofipol' from the surrounding villages on Janaury 10, 1942, and that 1,540 people were shot there only two days later, as cited by Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii," p. 77.
5. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200. According to another source, there were 1,400 victims; see *Navichno v pam'iati narodnii*, p. 95. This figure, however, is likely too high because the total Jewish pre-war population was 1,449, and a few hundred people were able to evacuate or enter the army.
6. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200.

TOMASZÓWKA

Pre-1939: Tomaszówka, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Tomashovka, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tomaschowka, Rayon Domatschewo, Gebiet Brest Litowsk (Land), Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Tamashouka, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tomaszówka is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the south of Brześć, just on the eastern side of the Bug River. There were probably a few hundred Jews living in Tomaszówka just prior to the German invasion.

German troops occupied Tomaszówka on June 22, 1941. Soon a local police force was established, initially consisting of just a few policemen, but by 1943 there were 22 policemen serving there, commanded by Gregori Tabala.[1] In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration was established. Tomaszówka was in Rayon Domatschewo within Gebiet Brest Litowsk (Land). The agricultural leader (Bezirkslandwirt) responsible for Rayon Domatschewo was Werner Dressler. From the summer of 1942, a German police cavalry squadron was based in the town, primarily to conduct operations against partisans.

Local inhabitant Kiril Karvat has described the ghetto: "[F]rom the very first days of the occupation, the whole Jewish population living in Tomaszówka was herded by the Germans into a camp, which was called a ghetto. The Jewish ghetto was in the western part of the settlement. . . . The Germans put up a barbed wire fence around it. German police and soldiers patrolled the fence the whole time."[2] "I can't say exactly how many houses were in the ghetto. . . . Very strict restrictions were introduced; the local people were forbidden to go into the ghetto; if caught they might be shot."[3]

The Jewish survivor Nachum Knopmacher from Włodawa, who was in the ghetto from the fall of 1941 until the summer of 1942, described his work for the Organisation Todt (OT), including bridge and housing construction. Jews worked outside the ghetto during the day and had to return in the evening. In the fall of 1941, he saw how the German civil official in charge, Hecht, murdered a Jew named Tuwia in a cruel manner, setting his dog onto the man when he was helpless to resist.[4]

In the early summer of 1942, some 400 Viennese Jews were brought into the ghetto from the Włodawa ghetto in the Generalgouvernement for forced labor.[5] According to Knopmacher, in April 1942, all the Jews of the ghetto were assembled, and Hecht selected some 80 women, children, and old people, who were then taken out of town and shot nearby. Knopmacher mentions also that some 50 Jewish workers (mostly those from Vienna) were shot at the discretion of Krystop, a Reich German in charge of bridge construction.[6]

Kiril Karvat also describes a shooting Aktion at the end of April 1942, although in his opinion the victims probably came from the Domaczów ghetto. He saw three or four German trucks arriving from the direction of Tomaszówka. The trucks turned into a field in which a long antitank ditch had been dug by Soviet soldiers. The people dismounted from the trucks, guarded by Germans and policemen. The victims, men, women, and children, were made to undress and forced to get into the ditch in groups of about 20 people. The policemen and the German soldiers shot the Jews with submachine guns.[7]

According to a German report for June 1942, about 1,000 Jews (men and women) were engaged in construction work for the OT on the bridge in Tomaszówka, having partly been removed from the ghetto there and placed in a separate labor camp.[8]

The available sources differ as to the date of the ghetto's liquidation. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) places it in July 1942, in antitank ditches just off the road from Tomaszówka to Brześć. However, there may be some confusion between the ghetto liquidation and the shooting of Jews working on road construction in the area. Some 500 Jews were taken from the Domaczów ghetto in May 1942 for work on the Brześć-Kowel highway. Apparently those who were exhausted and weakened were shot shortly afterwards.[9]

Most eyewitness accounts, however, confirm the dating given in a contemporary German report. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Brześć stated that "on September 19 and 20, 1942, about 2,900 Jews were shot in Domaczów and Tomaszówka by a special command of the SD in connection

with the cavalry squadron stationed in Domaczów, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzmannschaft. The 'Jewish Aktion' took place without any disturbances."[10] One member of the cavalry squadron based in Tomaszówka reportedly committed suicide shortly after the liquidation of the Jews there.[11]

A Jewish survivor from Domaczów stated that the Aktion in Tomaszówka took place on the day after the liquidation of the Domaczów ghetto. A driver for the Gendarmerie in Brześć dated the ghetto liquidations in Tomaszówka and Domaczów both in September, adding that in Tomaszówka the Jews were killed in an antitank ditch.[12]

Most significantly, the key local witness, Kiril Karvat, confirmed in the 1990s that "in September 1942, together with my friend . . . we saw the Jews from the Tomaszówka ghetto being escorted by Gestapo soldiers and policemen. . . . A very big group of Jews from Tomaszówka were shot on that day. The massacre took place in the same field and ditch as the shooting of April 1942."[13]

One German witness who served in the cavalry squadron based in Tomaszówka from August 1942, Karl Vehrenberg, stated that "Jewish artisans and families, about 30 people in all, were accommodated in several houses on the outskirts of Tomaszówka, surrounded by barbed wire. They did all the work that the squadron needed doing." If his recollection is correct, this was either a remnant left after the main Aktion or those left after the bulk had been transferred to a labor camp closer to their work site. Another squadron member, Erwin Hentschke, recalls that members of the squadron served as perimeter guards during the Tomaszówka ghetto liquidation.[14]

It is not possible to determine precisely how many Jews were confined within the Tomaszówka ghetto or how many were killed. Personal accounts of the liquidation of the Tomaszowka ghetto estimate that somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews were killed during this Aktion.[15] This would imply that additional Jews must have been brought in from elsewhere, apart from the 400 or so Jews from Vienna who were sent across the Bug in April 1942. There is evidence to suggest that some Jews were transferred from Domaczów to Tomaszówka to work on road and bridge construction there.[16]

Given that several hundred Jews from the Tomaszówka ghetto probably died or were killed during the course of the summer, the figure of 2,900 killed in Domaczów and Tomaszówka on September 19–20, 1942, seems fairly reliable. Estimates for the numbers killed in Domaczów vary quite considerably.[17] From the conflicting sources, however, it seems that there were probably about 1,800 Jews in Tomaszowka,[18] including any in nearby labor camps, just prior to the Aktion.

After the ghetto liquidation, the Germans and policemen brought the clothes and underwear of those who had been shot back to Tomaszówka by truck and sold them to the inhabitants in exchange for local produce.[19]

SOURCES Fragmentary information on the Tomaszówka ghetto can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBBO; BA-BL; BA-L; GABO; NA (WCU, trial of Andrzej Sawoniuk); and WASt.

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NOTES

1. GABO, 201-1-3, p. 58, Verzeichnis der Schutzmänner der Schutzmannschaft in Tomaschowka, Rayon Domatschewo, August 8, 1943.

2. BA-L (ZStL), II 204 AR-Z 472/67, K. P. Karvat (Karwat), June 17, 1968.

3. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat, February 18, 1997.

4. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67 (Hecht investigation), Bd. I, pp. 31–38, Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.

5. Ibid. Knopmacher dates this transfer in March 1942, but it is unlikely to have been before May, as the transport of 998 Jews to Włodawa from Vienna did not leave the city until April 27, 1942; see Florian Freund and Hans Safrian, "Die Verfolgung der österreichischen Juden 1938–1945: Vertreibung und Deportation," in Emmerich Talos et al., eds., *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich: Ein Handbuch* (Vienna: öbv & hpt, 2001), pp. 767–794, here p. 793.

6. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 31–38, Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.

7. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat, February 18, 1997.

8. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Brest Gebietskommissar, section Arbeitsamt, for June 1942.

9. GABO, 514-1-195, pp. 4–7.

10. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest report, October 6, 1942.

11. WASt, Verlustmeldungen, Polizei Reiterabteilung.

12. AUKGBRBBO, Criminal File 2905, case no. 69 (Nikolai K. Lialko), p. 40, Boris S. Grunstein, September 27, 1944; and file no. 466 (Ivan E. Chikun), vol. 2, pp. 89–93, Ivan S. Khvisyuchik, March 16, 1983. See also the statement on March 24, 1970, of Erwin Glass, a former cavalry squadron member, who recalls that his comrades told him that the Jews of Tomaszówka were killed at the same time as those of Domaczów—BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 180–182.

13. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat on February 18, 1997.

14. See BA-L, 204 AR-Z 369/63 (Hahn investigation), Bd. V, pp. 178–198; ZStL, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 165–167, statement of Erwin Hentschke on March 16, 1970.

15. See the ChGK reports for the Domachevo raion and accompanying witness statements, in GABO, 514-1-195.

16. NA, WCU, statement of Baruch Greenstein, October 9, 1996. Greenstein's testimony, however, was problematic and not used during the trial of Andrzej Sawoniuk in London in 1999.

17. German witnesses, who were keen to minimize the scale of the Aktion, mention only some 500 Jews in Domaczów at the time of the ghetto liquidation. The ChGK report, however, gives the figure of 2,700 Jews killed in Domaczów; see BA-L, 204 AR-Z 369/63, Bd. I, pp. 194–196; and ChGK report, GABO, 514-1-195.

18. NA, WCU, officer's information, K.P. Karvat, February 10, 1995. Karvat in this interview gave the figure of 1,800 Jews killed in Tomaszówka.

19. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 472/67, K.P. Karvat, June 17, 1968.

TORCZYN

Pre-1939: Torczyn, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Torchin, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tortschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Torchyn, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Torczyn is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,480 Jews living in Torczyn. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that around 1,700 Jews were living there.

The village was occupied by parts of the German 6th Army at the end of June 1941. In July and August 1941, Torczyn was administered by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, control was passed to a German civil administration: Torczyn became a Rayon center within Gebiet Luzk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Łuck was Regierungsassessor Heinrich Lindner.[1]

In Torczyn, a local Ukrainian administration was formed with a Rayonchef and a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post after its establishment in the fall of 1941.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Torczyn: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, headed by Leizer Karsh, through which the German occupation authorities conveyed orders and instructions to the Jewish population. A Jewish police force was also established to assist the Judenrat. The Jews were forced to wear distinguishing marks, initially an armband bearing the Star of David, after September 1941, a yellow patch on their chests and backs. Jews were ordered to hand over all their gold and valuables. They had to perform forced labor, such as laying cables, for which they received only some bread and a watery soup. They were forbidden to leave the limits of the settlement; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

On August 2, 1941, German security forces conducted an Aktion in Torczyn. They arrested 284 people accused of collaborating with the Soviet authorities and shot them in the woods near the village of Buiani.[2] The mass shooting probably was carried out by a detachment of the Security Police that was deployed at that time in Łuck.

In February 1942, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Torczyn. The approximately 1,500 Jewish inhabitants of the settlement were given only 10 minutes to dress and grab some of their belongings before being forced into a few Jewish houses in the center of the settlement, which were surrounded with barbed wire. In addition, a number of Jews from neighboring villages were brought to Torczyn, raising the population of the ghetto to more than 2,000 people. There was considerable overcrowding, with five or six families sharing each house. A river ran through the area of the ghetto, but the water was undrinkable. The only Jews permitted to leave the ghetto were those on work details organized by the Judenrat and some craftsmen who also received better food.[3]

At the time of Passover (April 2, 1942), the Jews of Torczyn were able to obtain flour to bake matzot with the permission of Gebietskommissar Lindner in Łuck. There was also a kitchen organized by the Judenrat, which distributed soup and bread. Some Jews managed to barter their remaining possessions for food with the local non-Jews and sneaked the food in past the guards.[4] In May 1942, 150 young Jews who were fit for work were sent away, allegedly to a labor camp.

On August 23, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Łuck arrived to liquidate the ghetto, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.[5] The police forces surrounded the ghetto; after selecting out about 14 specialist workers, who were put into a warehouse, the remaining Jews were taken away on trucks to the old Jewish cemetery at the end of Sadovskaia Street. Here a large pit had been prepared the day before. Nearly 2,000 people were ordered to undress and then shot in the pit.

There was little in the way of organized resistance in the ghetto, but a number of Jews managed to escape on the night before the Aktion, and many others went into hiding at the time of the roundup. Unfortunately, most of them subsequently were caught by the Ukrainian police and shot over the ensuing days and weeks. Few Jews were able to survive. Some Ukrainian families (for example, the Krut' family) hid Jews and helped them survive until the Germans were driven from Torczyn in February 1944.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Torczyn can be found in the following publications: "Torczyn," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 95–97; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Torczyn in the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-10); VHF (# 2672, 2839, 27130); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. "Torczyn," 5:96; Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 31.
3. VHF, # 27130, testimony of Henry Karsh (born 1922), 1997; # 2672, testimony of Aaron Katz (born 1921), 1995.
4. Ibid., # 2839, testimony of Toby Kolnick (born 1923), 1995.
5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:97; DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942.

TUCZYN

Pre-1939: Tuczyn, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1991: Tuchin, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tutschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Tuchyn, Hoshcha raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Tuczyn is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Równe. The 1921 census recorded 2,159 Jews living in Tuczyn. Allowing for a natural increase in the population of about 0.9 percent per year, there were probably around 2,600 Jews living in the town in June 1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Tuczyn on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). On September 1, 1941, the area around Tuczyn was transferred to a German civil administration. Tuczyn became the center of Rayon Tutschin in Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Werner Beer.[1] The German Gendarmerie maintained an outpost in Tuczyn, to which the local Ukrainian police force was subordinated.

In the first days of the German occupation, antisemites from among the town's Ukrainian population organized a pogrom. In the course of the violence, about 60 or 70 Jews were killed and many homes looted. The next day, an Einsatzkommando of the Security Police (Sipo) and Security Service (SD), drawing on lists prepared by Ukrainians, arrested and shot 20 Jews and 5 Ukrainians as Soviet activists and Communists.[2]

Other anti-Jewish measures that followed in the summer and autumn of 1941 included the appointment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the requirement that Jews wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later, a yellow patch), the conscription of Jews to perform forced labor, and the restriction of Jews to the limits of the town. Jews were also subjected to systematic plundering and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

According to one survivor, soon after the start of the occupation, local non-Jews stopped recognizing their Jewish acquaintances. The Germans confiscated Jewish valuables and their livestock, which led to shortages of food. A clothing factory for the German army was established in the town, which used Jews as laborers.[3]

Until the late summer of 1942, the Jews of Tuczyn lived in a form of open ghetto. Herman Wajcman recalled: "[T]he ghetto was an open ghetto. You could come in and out. We actually moved into the ghetto, but we had passes to go to the factory, where we lived half of the time. It wasn't like the ghettos that were surrounded by police."[4] Apparently, with the aid of bribes, the Judenrat managed to postpone the establishment of a formal ghetto until early September 1942. Then a ghetto was established in about 50 small houses along Waskadawska Street. Living conditions were very crowded, with many people having to sleep on the floor.[5] At about this time, all the Jews from the surrounding area were also concentrated there, including from the village of Antonówka, raising the Jewish population in the ghetto up to around 3,000 people.[6]

On September 24, 1942, a unit from the regional Sipo-SD headquarters in Równe liquidated the Tuczyn ghetto with the assistance of the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. An organized resistance effort on the part of the ghetto inhabitants enabled many of Tuczyn's Jews initially to flee.

Following the murder of the Jews in Równe in mid-July 1942, refugees arriving from there told the Jews in Tuczyn what had happened. When news arrived that the Germans were preparing mass graves nearby, the leaders of the Tuczyn community decided to resist. Among the principal organizers of resistance were the chairman of the Judenrat, Hershel Schwarzman, and his deputy, Meir Himmelfarb. They planned to set fire to the houses and to attack the Germans with available weapons to enable the bulk of the ghetto residents to flee into the nearby forests. With Judenrat funds, kerosene was purchased, and some weapons, including five rifles and more than 20 revolvers, were obtained. A group of Jews who worked felling trees in the forests attempted to contact the Soviet partisans to gain some outside support. When the Jews went to pray together for the last time on Yom Kippur (September 21, 1942), Schwarzman and the other resistance leaders revealed their plans to the assembled Jews.

On the evening of September 23, the Germans surrounded the ghetto. The leaders of the uprising alerted the Jews, and those with weapons prepared to resist. At dawn the following day, the Germans and Ukrainian police entered the ghetto. In response, the Jews set fire to the houses in the ghetto and German warehouses nearby. When the Jewish fighters opened fire on their advancing foes, other Jews used the ensuing chaos of fire, smoke, people yelling, and rifle fire to break through the wooden barricades around the ghetto and flee. Herman Wajcman used some of the tombstones in the cemetery as cover as he tried to reach the forests. Several Germans and Ukrainian policemen were killed and wounded.[7] It is estimated that initially up to 2,000 Jews, including many women and children, reached the forest. Most of the fighters stayed behind to tie down the Germans, and they fell in battle or were captured and then shot. This was the fate of Schwarzman and Himmelfarb as the uprising ended on September 26.

The Germans and Ukrainian police soon organized a manhunt for the Jews who had escaped. Within three days, around half of them had been captured and killed, and many, especially women with children, realized that they could not survive in the forest and returned to Tuczyn, where they were also shot. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 753 Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery in Tuczyn during the autumn of 1942, while Ukrainian nationalist partisans in the Kudrinka Forest killed about 240 Jews. The German Gendarmerie shot more than 300 Jews, Ukrainians, and Poles in the town park.[8]

A number of Jews held out in the woods into the winter, but some died of hunger and cold, and others were denounced to the Germans or killed by peasants. A few of the younger Jewish escapees eventually joined Soviet partisan units. When

Tuczyn was liberated on January 16, 1944, only around 20 Jews remained in the area.

SOURCES Information about the revolt of the Jews in the Tuczyn ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Tutschin," in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1518–1519 (a shorter version is available in German as "Tutschin," in *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordrung der europäischen Juden* [Munich: Piper, 1995], pp. 1442–1443); Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kehilot Tutshin-Kripeh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Tutshin-Kripeh veha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967); Avraham 'Sadeh and Levi Deror, eds., *Yehude Tuts'in u-Kripah mul rotshehem: 'E'srim ve-arba' 'eduyot, gavah 'eduyot ve-khines* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad yots'e Tuts'in u-Kripeh, Moreshet Bet-'Edut 'a. sh. Mordekhai Anilevits, 1990); "Tuczyn," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 93–95; and Ze'ev Portenoy, "The Revolt of the Totszcin Ghetto" [in Yiddish], in Yehuda Merin and Ben Zion Kaminsky, eds., *Yalkut Vohlin 55–60* (Tel Aviv: Arkhiyon Vohlin be-Erets-Yisrael, 1998), pp. 38–40.

Documents about the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Tuczyn can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (e.g., 301/2901, 3178); DARO; GARF (7021-71-68); USHMM (RG-50.030*0243); VHF (# 7774, 30371, 34403); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of the Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), pp. 64, 67; AŻIH, 301/397. According to materials of the ChGK, 72 Jews were killed; see GARF, 7021-71-68, p. 4.
3. VHF, # 7774, testimony of Avraham Elbert; # 30371, testimony of Arych Katzav.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0243, testimony of Herman Wajcman (born 1926).
5. VHF, # 7774; # 30371.
6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0243.
7. Ibid.; VHF, # 7774.
8. GARF, 7021-71-68, pp. 4, 16, 17, 74.

TURZYSK

Pre-1939: Turzysk (Yiddish: Trisk), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Turiisk, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Turisk, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Turiis'k, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Turzysk is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) southwest of Kowel. According to the 1921 population census, 1,173 Jews were living in Turzysk. By the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per thousand, the Jewish population was probably around 1,400.

German forces occupied Turzysk on June 28, 1941. Soon after their arrival, German soldiers and Ukrainians looted the empty stores, and some Jews were also robbed. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs. In September 1941, power was transferred officially to a German civil administration. Turzysk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf was the Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942, and Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp was appointed Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews and executed shortly thereafter. His successor as Gebietskommissar was his chief of staff (Stabsleiter) Erich Kassner.

In Turzysk, the civil administration was represented by a Sonderführer (agricultural leader), who proved to be a great enemy of the Jews. A Ukrainian local authority was also established in Turzysk. In addition, the Germans recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post, composed of several German Gendarmes.

At the end of July 1941, shortly after the occupation of the settlement, 10 Jews alleged to be Soviet activists were shot in Turzysk.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was made up primarily of pre-war social activists. Jehuda-Leyb Ginzburg served as chairman. An unarmed Jewish police force was also established. Among the first tasks assigned to the Judenrat was the obligation to deliver a daily quota of forced laborers. These men initially were used to assist German railway officials to convert the railway to a narrower gauge, for which they were not paid. Jews were issued work cards, on which their assigned days were marked. Other forced labor tasks included agricultural work and the construction of roads and bridges.

Jews were required to wear distinctive markings in plain view from the first days of the occupation. Initially they wore white armbands with a blue Star of David, and later these were replaced by yellow patches sewn onto the front left side and the middle of the back of their outer clothing. Jewish houses were also marked with yellow symbols. The Jewish Council was required to meet onerous "contributions" in money, valuables, and useful items demanded by the German authorities. After a time the Germans started to send some Jews away to work, and these people did not return.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the Germans spread vicious antisemitic propaganda on posters and leaflets in the town, which scornfully accused the Jews of having assisted the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and threatened their destruction. Further new regulations ordered Jews to surrender all their cows and goats and banned them from leaving the limits of the town. Initially the Jews received a bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces), but this was subsequently reduced to only 100 grams (3.5 ounces). In the winter of 1941–1942,

the Germans also required the Jews to surrender all their fur items for the use of the German army. After the German advance was halted in front of Moscow in December 1941, a rumor spread among the Jews that some of their surrendered furs had been recaptured by the Soviets and were being worn by the Red Army. This news was repeated with some satisfaction among the Jews. As no access to radio or newspapers was available, most information was spread by way of gossip and rumors, recycling snippets picked up by eavesdropping on the conversations of non-Jews.[4]

At some time before mid-August 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto in Turzysk, forcibly resettling Jews there from neighboring villages. The ghetto remained unfenced, and Jews with work cards were still permitted to leave to visit their assigned work sites. For example, a number of Jews were employed regularly digging peat outside of the town.

On August 19, 1942, the Judenrat in Turzysk was confronted by a demand from the German authorities to produce half a million Karbowanez (German occupation currency), 500 good suits, and 500 pairs of shoes within 24 hours. If this demand were not to be met promptly, the Germans threatened to destroy the entire community. With great effort, the Jews managed to collect the required clothes and shoes but were unable to gather such a large sum of money.

The next day, Ukrainian police sealed off the town, not permitting any Jews to leave, shooting those they caught attempting to sneak out. Then on August 23, 1942, German forces arrived in Turzysk to liquidate the ghetto. First the Jews were ordered to assemble on the square in front of the Bet Midrash. They were instructed to bring food for one day and also to take along their most valuable possessions, as they were told that they would be transferred to the Kowel ghetto. The Germans tried to select a few specialist workers who they still needed, but at least one carpenter refused to leave his fellow Jews and remained with the main group. Then the Jews were marched in a column under close guard by the Ukrainian police in the direction of Kowel. After about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles), the Jews were ordered to stop near a clay pit used for making bricks, where a group of 10 Jews were ordered to undress and then shot. Under the supervision of several German officers, the rest of the Jews were then shot in turn. Realizing their fate, some of the Jews tried to commit suicide, and 1 even managed to seize a weapon from one of the Ukrainian guards. In the ensuing confusion, many Jews tried to flee, but most were gunned down before they could get far.

A number of Jews had hidden inside the ghetto, and when some local Ukrainians started to loot the ghetto, it seems that a few Jews may have set fire to the houses, either to deny the Ukrainians their possessions or perhaps to mask their escape. However, the Ukrainian police were still guarding the ghetto perimeter, and some fleeing Jews were forced back into the flames. When the fires eventually died down, many Jews lay dead in the ghetto and the surrounding fields. Local Poles and Ukrainians were instructed to gather the corpses and take them to the pit. They were rewarded with the possessions they found on the bodies. A number of fleeing Jews sought shelter with peasant acquaintances in the surrounding countryside, but most were caught and killed by patrols of the Ukrainian police, which scoured the area for escaped Jews over the following weeks.[5]

According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,512 Jews were shot altogether in Turzysk during the ghetto liquidation and its aftermath.[6] The mass shooting Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian auxiliary police. Also participating in the Aktion was Schutzmannschaft-Bataillon 103 from Maciejów. In 1948, four former policemen from this battalion were tried: Zaichuk, Leskovskii, Maksimchuk, and Sokhatskii.[7]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Turzysk can be found in the following publications: Nathan Livneh, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, *Trisk: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Trisk be-Yisrael, 1975); V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003); and Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Turzysk Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-1).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Spector, *The Holocaust*, p. 73; Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilat*, *Trisk*, p. 322.
3. Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehilat*, *Trisk*, pp. 320–323.
4. Ibid., pp. 321–324.
5. Ibid., pp. 325–328, 349.
6. GARF, 7021-55-1, pp. 70–71 and reverse.
7. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 13.

UŚCIŁUG

Pre-1939: Uściług, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ustilug, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ustilug, Rayon center, Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ustyluh, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Uściług is located on the Bug River, 13 kilometers (8 miles) west of Włodzimierz Wołyński. According to the 1921 census, 2,723 Jews resided in Uściług. Allowing for natural increase and the effects of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the influx of refugees in 1939, there were probably slightly less than 3,000 Jews in the town in June 1941. In September 1939, German forces bombarded Uściług, killing several Jewish and non-Jewish civilians and destroying almost

half the buildings in the town. The German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact placed Uściług just on the Soviet side of the border with the newly created Generalgouvernement. The Soviets deported about one third of the Jewish population, including many refugees from central Poland, primarily to the nearby town of Włodzimierz Wołyński.[1]

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, they bombarded Uściług a second time. The town caught fire, and a majority of the houses were destroyed. Units of the German 6th Army entered the town on June 23. In July and August, a German local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Uściług, and in September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a civil administration. Uściług then became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk. The Gebietskommissar was Wilhelm Westerheide, who had assumed his post by the beginning of November 1941, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer from July 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Grigat. He was in command of 18 Gendarmerie officials spread over several Rayons, including Rayon Ustilug; this post, manned by three or more Gendarmes, was in charge of a squad of local Ukrainian police (a few dozen men).[2]

In the summer and autumn of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Uściług: Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols such as the Star of David (later on, a patch in the shape of a yellow circle), they were assigned to forced labor largely without pay, and they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town. They were also subjected to systematic looting and beatings by the Ukrainian police. Local Gendarmerie officials organized a Judenrat, appointing Mikhel Shafran as its chairman.[3]

In the first large anti-Jewish Aktion in Uściług, German security forces shot 30 Jews in late June 1941 for allegedly having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. In October 1941, approximately 890 Jews were gathered together and marched out of town. They and their families were told that they were being relocated to a forced labor camp. In fact, they all were shot.[4]

In March 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Uściług. Soon the severe overcrowding and atrocious living conditions in the ghetto led to an outbreak of typhus. To prevent the further spread of the disease, the German Gendarmes sent Ukrainian police into the ghetto to kill anyone who was running a fever.[5] In the first half of September 1942, a unit of the Security Police and SD from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, murdered 1,847 Jews.[6] A few hundred Jews escaped to the forests, hid in bunkers, or were temporarily spared as forced laborers. The last two groups were put in a Wehrmacht forced labor camp that was liquidated in the winter of 1942–1943. Of those who escaped to the forest, some were killed by members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); others succeeded in joining units of the Polish Armia Krajowa.[7]

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Uściług can be found in these publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 32–34; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 323; and in the yizkor book edited by Arye Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila: Bevinvanah uvehurbanah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ustila be-Yisrael uve tefutsot, 1961).

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Uściług can be found in DAVO and GARF (7021-55-8).

Alexander Kruglov and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Arye Avinadav, "Sippuran shel Shetey Ahiyot," in Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila*, p. 139; Nahman Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," also in *Kehilat Ustila*, p. 239.
2. LG-Dort, Ks 45 Js 32/64, Bd. LXIII, Indictment in the case against Wilhelm Westerheide.
3. Yeshayahu Meltsman, "Al Hurvot Ayartenu," in Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila*, pp. 125–126; Avinadav, "Sippuran," p. 140; Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," pp. 240–241.
4. See Meltsman, "Hurvot," p. 126; and Avinadav, "Sippuran," p. 140. The Germans were relatively successful at concealing this Aktion from the remaining Jews, so these two testimonies do not refer to it as such, only to a large-scale deportation. The figures from the ChGK report, however, support the figure posited by Spector in *Pinkas ha-kehilot* and given here.
5. Meltsman, "Hurvot," p. 126.
6. GARF, 7021-55-8, pp. 35–37. According to the ChGK report for the Ustilug raion, 2,535 people were killed in total during the occupation; see also Meltsman, "Hurvot," p. 126; Avinadav, "Sippuran," pp. 140–141; and Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," p. 240.
7. Meltsman, "Hurvot," pp. 140–141; Burlvant, "Hurban Ustila," p. 241.

VIN'KOVTSY

Pre-1941: Vin'kovtsy, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Winkowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vin'kivtsy, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Vin'kovtsy is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) south-southeast of Proskurov. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 2,251 (52 percent of the total).

Forces of the German 17th Army occupied Vin'kovtsy in mid-July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, establishing a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Vin'kovtsy became a Rayon center within Gebiet Dunajewzy, where the Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Eduard Eggers.[1] There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Vin'kovtsy, which assumed control over the local detachment of Ukrainian police.

At some time in the summer or fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Vin'kovtsy. According to the account of Sima Lerner, she returned from another village one day and was informed by a Ukrainian policeman that she would have to join all the other Jews in the ghetto. He escorted her personally to the ghetto, where she was given yellow patches to wear on her chest and back to show that she was Jewish. The Germans fenced in the ghetto, so that nobody could leave. In her apartment, three families lived together in overcrowded conditions. They were required to perform various forced labor tasks, such as building bridges and roads. In April 1942, all the children were rounded up and escorted to the main square. Here they were told that they could only walk in certain parts of the town, whereas the dogs were allowed to go wherever they wanted. Then they were all sent back to the ghetto.[2]

In May 1942, there was another roundup. Sima's father said to her that she should not report for the roundup, as she had not done anything wrong, so he hid her and everyone else left. Soon she heard many gunshots and immediately understood what was happening. There was a pit prepared in the forest near Vin'kovtsy, and the Jews were escorted to this pit and then shot. Sima meanwhile escaped to the house of her non-Jewish aunt, where she went into hiding. Subsequently she was moved to another house nearby. Here she stayed in the basement and never went outside. During a subsequent roundup, her uncle and grandfather were killed. Sima was not found during this roundup but then fled from Vin'kovtsy.[3]

Soviet and other sources indicate that there were two or three Aktions conducted against the Jews in Vin'kovtsy in the late spring and summer of 1942. These Aktions reportedly took place on April 14, May 9, and August 6. The Aktions were probably organized by a squad of Security Police and SD from the outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Soviet sources indicate that 1,875 Jews were killed in April and 450 in May, but these figures are probably too high. According to a German report, 703 Jews were shot in "Wonkiwzi" (probably Vin'kovtsy) and Sibkiwzi on August 6, 1942. These last Jews to be shot were probably the remaining skilled craftsmen and their families. It is likely that around 1,875 Jews were shot in Vin'kovtsy in 1942.[4]

Another Jewish survivor, Iosif Shalita, has given a brief description of the ghetto in Vin'kovtsy. He states that it consisted of about five or six houses grouped together, which contained about 300 people. Around the yards of the houses there was barbed wire and beyond that a gate. The food the Jews had available to them was horrible and limited, as there were so many people. Living conditions were deplorable due to the overcrowding; people slept very little, lying down wherever they could find space on the floor. The Jews worked at a nearby kolkhoz. The work was absolutely terrible, but people thought they were safer if they made themselves useful. In the ghetto there was order; people would go to each other for help. Somehow people learned that the police were planning another Aktion two days in advance. Shalita knew he had to escape and managed to crawl through the barbed wire and left Vin'kovtsy. His testimony, however, is problematic, as he dates his escape from the ghetto in September 1943, having been there for only one month. It is possible that he was mistaken by just over one year and is describing the ghetto in the period leading up to its liquidation in early August 1942; or perhaps he is describing a subsequent forced labor camp or remnant ghetto for Jews in Vin'kovtsy in 1943.[5]

SOURCES The main sources for this entry are two VHF testimonies (# 6955 and 32327), which mention a ghetto in the town. Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-64-795); and IPN.

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 6955, testimony of Sima Lerner.
3. Ibid.
4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 2, Sipo-Aussenstelle Kamenez-Podolsk to KdS Dr. Pütz in Rowno, August 6, 1942; GARF, 7021-64-95, pp. 208–209.
5. VHF, # 32327, testimony of Iosif Shalita.

VOLOCHISK

Pre-1941: Volochisk, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolotschisk, Rayon center, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volochysk, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Volochisk is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) south of Równe. In 1926, 2,068 Jews lived in Volochisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 753 Jews living there. The same census recorded 2,926 Jews living in the entire Volochisk raion, including those in Volochisk itself. About half of the Jews in the villages of the raion lived in Fridrikhovka, where there were 521 Jews, and in Kupel'.

Volochisk was occupied by units of the German 6th Army in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the town. The Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Volochisk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Proskurow, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.[1] In Volochisk itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, to which the Ukrainian auxiliary police unit was subordinated.

The Aktions targeting the Jewish population of Gebiet Proskurow, which included Volochisk, were carried out in 1942 by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle)

in Starokonstantinov. This outpost was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Volochisk. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David and later yellow patches. The German authorities established a ghetto in Volochisk. According to the child survivor Frima Laub, shortly after the arrival of the Germans, they "fenced in about 20 blocks or so—and all the Jewish people had to move out of their homes and go to live in that area."[2] Jews were taken every day for forced labor at work sites outside the ghetto. Otherwise, they were not permitted to leave the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police.

In Volochisk, German security forces conducted at least two large-scale Aktions against the Jews. Laub describes one Aktion when many of the Jews were driven out of the ghetto and collected together in an empty factory building, where they were forced to undress and surrender all their valuables. From there the Jews were marched in a column to a site outside the town to be shot. Frima, together with her sister and her mother, managed to avoid being shot by claiming to be non-Jews who were taken there by mistake; but they were kept in prison under investigation for several weeks afterwards until they managed to escape and returned to the ghetto. Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation in September 1942, Laub escaped through the barbed wire of the ghetto and was put into hiding by her mother, initially with a non-Jewish woman in return for payment but separated from the rest of her family. However, because of German threats of the death penalty for anyone caught hiding Jews, the woman became very scared and turned Laub out on the street, and she had to find refuge elsewhere for several months. To avoid endangering another family that helped to keep her alive, Frima slept for some time under a house with a dog for warmth, until she managed to rejoin her family in the spring of 1943.[3]

In August 1942, Jews from neighboring villages—including from Kupel', Fridrikhovka, and Voitovtsy—were resettled into the ghetto. On September 11, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto, shooting all the remaining Jews. The number of Jews killed was probably around 3,000 people, although Soviet sources give numbers that are somewhat higher.[4] The mass shootings were carried out by a detachment of the Sipo outpost in Starokonstantinov, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. In the fall of 1942, Ukrainian policemen arrested and shot several hundred additional Jews who were found in hiding.

In July 1944, nine men who served in the local police in Volochisk during the German occupation were tried by the Soviet authorities. All of them were found guilty, and six of them were sentenced to death and hanged in Volochisk, while the other three received terms of hard labor. According to evidence presented during the trial, some 4,000 Jews had been murdered in Volochisk in the summer of 1942.[5]

SOURCES The ghetto in Volochisk is mentioned in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:277–278.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Volochisk can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-795); USHMM (RG-50.030*0123); and YVA (M-33/173).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.030*0123, interview with Frima Laub, May 7, 1990.
3. Ibid.
4. The documents of the ChGK indicate that more than 8,000 Jews were shot in one day. In our view, this number of victims is significantly too high. See GARF, 7021-64-795, pp. 94–96, 139.
5. YVA, M-33/173, as cited by Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 584.

WARKOWICZE

Pre-1939: Warkowicze, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Varkovichi, Dubno raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Warkowitschi, Rayon Dubno, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Varkovychi, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Warkowicze is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Równe. In 1921, there were 886 Jews living in Warkowicze (80.6 percent of the total population).

In September 1939, the Red Army occupied Warkowicze, and the area was soon annexed by the Soviet Union. At this time a Jewish kolkhoz was established near the town. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, including Jewish refugees that had arrived from central and western Poland in 1939, there were probably more than 1,200 Jews living in Warkowicze.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Warkowicze on June 27, 1941. On July 8, German security forces conducted an Aktion against members of the Jewish intelligentsia in which they shot at least three men and two women.[1] In July and August 1941, the town was under the control of a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and demanded the surrender of valuable gold and silver items, which were forwarded to Berlin.[2]

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Warkowicze was incorporated into Rayon Dubno within Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nach-

wuchsführer Brocks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant Eberhardt.[3]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German administration introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Warkowicze. Jews were required to wear distinguishing armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow patch on their chests and backs.[4] Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the town or to trade with non-Jews and were obliged to perform forced labor.

In April or May 1942, the Germans ordered the Jews to live in a certain part of the town, which became known as the ghetto.[5] The ghetto was enclosed by a fence reinforced with barbed wire, but it was not always strictly guarded.[6] About 20 families of Jewish artisans lived outside the ghetto. The Jews were required to perform the dirtiest jobs and were frequently beaten by the German and Ukrainian police. The two most notorious German policemen in the region were Papken and Hammerstein, who also participated in the liquidation of the Warkowicze ghetto.[7]

Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation, the Jews of Warkowicze began to learn from various sources, including the German press, about other towns in the region that had been rendered "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*). Then a group of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were instructed to prepare ditches at a sandpit about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town. Some Jews, especially the refugees from central and western Poland, understood these signs and fled the ghetto or went into hiding.[8]

One day in early October 1942,[9] German and Ukrainian police forces surrounded the ghetto in the early morning hours and proceeded to round up the Jews. The Jews were then escorted to the ditches on foot, with the elderly and infirm transported on trucks. On their arrival, the Germans and their collaborators shot them into the mass graves. Because many Jews went into hiding or tried to escape, the Aktion lasted two or three days, as repeated searches were made for Jews in the ghetto and the surrounding area.[10]

According to Soviet sources, around 1,500 Jews from Warkowicze were shot together with up to 1,000 Jews from the neighboring village of Ozeriany.[11] Of the many Jews who were able to escape on the eve of the Aktion, most were recaptured with the aid of Ukrainian collaborators and other local inhabitants and subsequently were shot. About 25 escaped Jews, including several from Warkowicze, found shelter with sympathetic Czechs and Poles in the nearby village of Kurdyban. During 1943, this village came under frequent assault from Ukrainian nationalist partisans (*Banderowcy*) who attacked the Polish and Czech peasants. The Jews took up arms and fought with the peasants to resist these Ukrainian attacks.[12] The Red Army drove the Germans out of Warkowicze in early 1944. According to one estimate, about 200 Jews from Warkowicze managed to survive the German occupation.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jewish community of Warkowicze can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 75–77; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:207; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1425. The Warkowicze ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 137.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population of Warkowicze during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2896); BA-L (B 162/5211); DARO (R436-1-4 and R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-48); VHF (# 9590); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. DARO, R436-1-4, p. 78, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, December 4, 1944.
2. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462.
3. Ibid., BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. VHF, # 9590, testimony of Anna Goldenberg-Schwarcz.
5. DARO, R436-1-4, p. 78.
6. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 335–336, testimony of Jefim Sacharow-Saidenberg; VHF, # 9590.
7. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 1–2, Esther Krik, New York, May 27, 1959.
8. AŻIH, 301/2896, testimony of F. Tabacznik.
9. Sources disagree on the precise date. DARO, R534-1-4, p. 81, dates the Aktion on October 7, 1942; another gives October 3, 1942.
10. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 1–2, Esther Krik, May 27, 1959.
11. GARF, 7021-71-48, pp. 52 and verso. According to Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, only 400 Jews were shot, while 1,600 escaped. In 1921, there were 796 Jews living in Ozeriany; see *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 221.
12. AŻIH, 301/2896; and Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 250–252.

WERBA

Pre-1939: Werba, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Verba, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Werba, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Verba, Dubno raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Werba is located about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southwest of Dubno. According to the 1921 census, there were 228 Jews living in Werba (57 percent of the total population). By the

middle of 1941, allowing for a natural increase of 9 to 10 persons per thousand per year, there would have been around 270 Jews living there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Werba on June 24, 1941. In July and August 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Werba was incorporated into Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks became the Gebietskommissar, and Gendarmerie-Leutnant Eberhardt was appointed as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in 1942.[1] A Gendarmerie post and a Ukrainian police unit were established in Werba.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of antisemitic measures in Werba. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, later, two yellow patches, to be worn one on their chest and one on the back of their clothing. The Jews had to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. The German authorities also ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was responsible for assigning Jews to forced labor tasks. Sometimes those sent out to perform forced labor did not return. Forced labor tasks included chopping wood for the Germans and agricultural work. No schools were permitted by the German authorities, but Jewish children still went clandestinely to Hebrew school in the teacher's house.[2]

On May 20, 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in the town on two streets. Jews from neighboring villages also were resettled there. In total, there were 367 Jews in the ghetto.[3] Accounts of survivors differ on whether there was a fence surrounding the ghetto. The ghetto inmates suffered from severe overcrowding, with around 10 people sharing a single room and others crammed into attics and sleeping on floors. There was no running water in the ghetto houses, and all water had to be collected from the well. No ration cards were issued to the Jews, but some Jews were able to sneak out and obtain food, such as bread, potatoes, and butter, from Czech colonists living nearby. The craftsmen and their families lived in a separate section of the ghetto apart from the rest of the Jews. The ghetto was guarded by the Ukrainian police who imposed a strict curfew and were tougher on the Jews than the few Germans based in the village.[4]

On May 30, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion against the Jews in the ghetto, resulting in around 285 Jews being shot near the village of Granovka.[5] The mass shooting was carried out by an SD detachment from Równe, with the assistance of a platoon from the 1st Company of the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion.[6]

The craftsmen and their families in the separate section of the ghetto were not shot at the end of May. After the Aktion, the German authorities promised not to kill those who had survived, and the few Jews who had hidden themselves successfully joined the craftsmen in the remnant ghetto. However, in August 1942, the German and Ukrainian police conducted a second Aktion, shooting the remaining Jews. Including those discovered and shot in searches just after the Aktion, around 80 more Jews were arrested and shot.[7]

Some Jews managed to escape from the ghetto in time, most of them hiding and working with local peasants. However, some of these Jews were betrayed and subsequently killed; only a few survived until the return of the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES Articles about the Jewish population of Werba can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 86; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:230.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Werba can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3057); DARO; GARF (7021-71-43); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 27031, 33586); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 33586, testimony of Nathan Alterman; and # 27031, testimony of Fred Manus.
3. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:230.
4. VHF, # 33586 and # 27031.
5. GARF, 7021-71-43, p. 2, gives the figure of 350 Jews killed. The actual number was probably slightly less; see *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:230.
6. See the report of the HSSPF in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
7. VHF, # 27031.

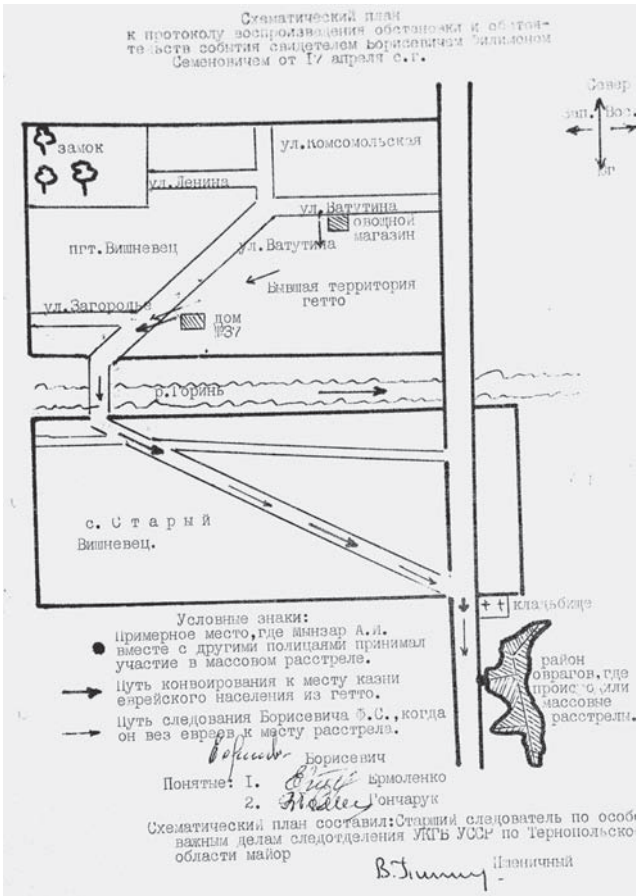
WIŚNIOWIEC

Pre-1939: Wiśniowiec (Yiddish: Vishnivits), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vishnevits, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischnewez, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vyshnivets', raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Wiśniowiec is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Tarnopol. In 1937 there were 3,000 Jews in Wiśniowiec, and at the time of the German invasion there were probably about 4,000 Jews living in the town, including some refugees from central and western Poland.

German forces captured Wiśniowiec on July 2, 1941. Almost immediately, local Ukrainian police and other collaborators, with support from the Germans, began a reign of terror: plundering, abusing, torturing, and murdering Jews.

In September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Wiśniowiec was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. The senior German official in the town was the German agri-



Sketch map of the Wiśniowiec ghetto, produced for a Soviet war-crimes investigation in 1984. The ghetto is located in the southeast quadrant of town, north of the Hoyrn River. The route taken to the killing site is marked by arrows, and the ravines where the shootings took place are indicated by hatching.
USHMMA/RG-31.018M

cultural leader Steiger, who also exercised authority over the ghetto in Wiśniowiec. Steiger received his instructions from the Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec, Regierungsrat Müller. The Ukrainian chief of the Rayon was Borisenko, and the head of the police was Bukovsky. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie.[1]

On March 16, 1942, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Wiśniowiec within only three days.[2] Several hundred Jews from the surrounding villages, including Świniuchy, Wyżgródek (Jewish population of 944 in 1921), and Oleśkincy, were relocated to Wiśniowiec around this time. Once the Jews had constructed the ghetto, more than 4,000 Jews were forced inside, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) took charge of its internal affairs.[3]

In Wiśniowiec the Jews were ordered to choose their officials from among their own ranks; however, initially nobody agreed to serve. In the end, a few Jews drew up a list of candidates, and when the candidates did not consent, the Jews entreated them to accept the positions, lest the Germans punish the town's Jews for not choosing representatives.

Among the members of the Judenrat were Shlomo Ayzenberg (the treasurer in charge of collecting the fines imposed on the Jews), Hershl Margoliot (who was in charge of the conscription of workers to meet the Germans' demands), and Yaakov Markbayn (who ran the bakery). The chairman of the Judenrat was Koylnbrener, a refugee from Łódź who spoke German. According to the view of another Judenrat member, he was reportedly warmhearted and acted in the best interests of the community, which in turn offered him loyalty.[4]

The ghetto consisted of a narrow area of the town and extended along the length of one street—from the house of Alter Leyter to the house of the Mazurs. A high fence surrounded it, and any windows along the perimeter were blocked off. Every day the Judenrat had to send between 50 and 70 Jews for forced labor. At times the Jews were subjected to brutal and arbitrary beatings from the Ukrainian police.

The houses in the ghetto were always dark and very overcrowded. Tens of people lived in one room. Cleanliness was impossible to maintain, and everyone became infested with lice. Hunger was great, and there were few possibilities of getting food from any other sources. Initially, the Jews received 140 grams (4.9 ounces) of bread per day, some salt, and water. However, the rations were progressively reduced to 100 grams (3.5 ounces), then 60 grams (2.1 ounces). The children became swollen from prolonged hunger, and the women in particular got abscesses on their skin, which bled incessantly. Every day, there were four or five funerals—all for victims of hunger and disease.

The funerals were connected with mortal danger. The Ukrainian guards also came along to the Jewish cemetery, which was outside the ghetto, to further oppress and torture the few Jews who buried the dead, making sure that nobody escaped. The pallbearers also had barely enough strength left to carry the swollen corpses, but they still carried out this solemn obligation with great care. It was also necessary to bury the bodies to prevent the spread of epidemics.[5]

Jews working outside the ghetto were able to smuggle some food in, but they had to run the gauntlet of the Ukrainian guards, who took special pleasure in breaking any eggs they found and beating up the offender. Some Ukrainian guards also exploited the hunger of the Jews and made a vast profit by selling small amounts of food or accepting bribes.

On August 11, 1942, 10 SS men arrived from Krzemieniec and brought with them scores of armed Ukrainian policemen from the entire Gebiet. According to Zev Sobol's account, one of the SS men, who stood close to Herr Steiger, the scourge of the Jews of Wiśniowiec, gave a brief speech: "Today, we are putting an end to all the Jews in the ghetto. Go and bang on every window and door, and say, 'Get out, Jews, communists, traitors! Out of your houses!' Beat with clubs and whip the Jews who do not want to come out. But pay attention not to kill them in the ghetto. Take them outside of the town, to the assigned place, and annihilate them there."[6]

The Jews were beaten severely as they were gathered together and then marched out of the town under close escort.

As they went along, a truck circled around them, and the elderly, infirm, and children were brutally loaded onto it, thereby separating children from their parents. The Jews were taken to the valley beneath the old city, in the direction of Zbaraż. The Germans used the valley as a grave—prepared carefully for this purpose. The Jews were led to the pit in groups. Two policemen ordered them to strip down to their underpants. The clothes were placed together in a pile on the side. The victims were made to lie facedown in the pit, where Ukrainian police fired on them with automatic weapons, shooting them in the head. At the end the police also checked to make sure everybody was dead. The Ukrainians carried out their work with dispatch and were rewarded with some of the clothes of the people who were shot.[7]

According to a German report prepared by SS-Untersturmführer Selm for the Commander of the Security Police and SD in Równe, during this first Aktion against the Wiśniowiec ghetto on August 11–12, 1942, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators shot 2,669 people (600 men, 1,160 women, and 909 children).[8]

Some Jews managed to hide in bunkers during the initial ghetto clearance, while Steiger selected a few others at the grave as useful craftsmen. However, according to the testimony of Ukrainian policemen, there were several follow-up Aktions over the ensuing weeks, in which the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police murdered several hundred Jews in the same manner. By November 1942 the ghetto itself was almost completely destroyed, and no more Jews were living in the town.[9]

Only a handful of Jews managed to escape the systematic murder campaign of the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators. Sobol managed to escape twice: first by falling from the bridge into the river as the column of victims was being marched to the grave site. A non-Jew subsequently denounced him to the Ukrainian police after initially hiding him, but Sobol then also managed to escape from the synagogue where he was being held. After that he hid mostly on farms, taking food from the animals. He did not make contact with the Soviet partisans until shortly before the town was liberated. Unfortunately, his brother was tracked down by a German police dog and murdered just before the arrival of the Red Army.[10]

A number of local policemen from Wiśniowiec were tried after the liberation. Among those tried were Yakov Ostrovsky and the Poslovsky brothers, who were captured and handed over to the Soviet authorities by some of the few remaining Jewish survivors. Other Ukrainian policemen sentenced by the Soviets included Aleksandr Khomits'kii and Kyrylo Filyk. Most were sentenced to 25 years of hard labor but were then released during the 1950s.[11]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Wiśniowiec, edited by Chaim Rabin, *Vishnivits: Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Vishnivits she-nispu be-sho'at ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Vishnivits, 1979), contains several survivor accounts relevant to the period of the Holocaust.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; USHMM (RG-31.018M and RG-22.002M); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk, statement of Yakov Y. Ostrovsky (frame 8602).
2. "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec," by a survivor, in Rabin, *Vishnivits*, pp. 311–325.
3. The figure of at least 4,000 is given both by the Jewish survivor Zev Sobol and the Ukrainian policeman Yakov Ostrovsky. According to the ChGK report, the ghetto initially held about 4,000 Jews but then expanded to up to 6,000, as Jews arrived from the surrounding villages; see GARF, 7021-75-3, pp. 28–32. The anonymous survivor, who appears to have been linked to the Judenrat, also estimates more than 4,000 Jews in the ghetto, including some 1,000 from Wyżgródek; see "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec."
4. "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec."
5. Ibid.
6. Zev Sobol, "The Ghetto in Wisniowiec," in Rabin, *Vishnivits*, pp. 298–310.
7. Ibid.
8. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, transcription of a Security Police report dated Rowno, August 15, 1942, on the "special treatment" of Jews in the Krzemieniec district.
9. USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk, statement of Yakov Y. Ostrovsky (frame 8602); D-27414, case against Aleksandr V. Khomits'kii, ChGK report from 1944 (frame 9417); and reel 24, Arch. no. 33533, D-91, case against Aleksandr Ivanovich M'inzar (1984).
10. Sobol, "The Ghetto in Wisniowiec."
11. Ibid.; USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-27414, case against Aleksandr V. Khomits'kii; D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk.

WŁODZIMIERZEC

Pre-1939: Włodzimierzec, *town*, *województwo wołyńskie*, *Poland; 1939–1941: Vladimirets*, *raion center*, *Rovno oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wladimirez*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Sarny*, *Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volodymyrets'*, *raion center*, *Rivne oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Włodzimierzec is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) west-northwest of Sarny. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,262 (43 percent of the total population). Allowing for a natural increase of approximately 9 or 10 people per 1,000 each year, by the middle of 1941 there would have been approximately 1,500 Jews in Włodzimierzec. They were joined by a number of refugees from Brześć and other towns following the German occupation of central and western Poland.

Four days after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, about 500 young men, Jews and non-Jews, were mobilized in Włodzimierzec. They were sent to Sarny and organized into a battalion. As the Red Army withdrew, German forces captured the battalion. The Jews were then separated out and murdered.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Włodzimierzec on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. By September 1941, the German civil administration had taken over and incorporated the town in Gebiet Sarny as a Rayon center. Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar, and from the spring of 1942, Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Albert Schumacher was the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In the town, a German Gendarmerie post was established, with several Gendarmes, who also supervised the activities of the local Ukrainian police.

Following the retreat of the Red Army, a period of anarchy ensued, during which a mob of local Ukrainians started a pogrom, tormenting and robbing Jews and killing two who attempted to resist. The looting continued until the entry of German forces. A small delegation of Jews led by Yakov Eisenberg asked the priest, Sokhazhanit, to intervene. He promised to protect Jewish lives but not their property.[2]

The summer and fall of 1941 saw the implementation of a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. First, the German authorities registered the Jews. They ordered them to wear distinctive markings: initially, armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow patch on their chest and back. Jews also had to mark their homes with a blue Star of David. They were prohibited from going beyond the limits of the town. They were not permitted to buy food from non-Jews, and as a result, they lived in a state of near starvation. The Ukrainian police subjected Jews to systematic requisitions, lootings, and beatings.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the village, with Eisenberg as its head.[3] The Judenrat served as the channel of communications between the German occupation authorities and the Jewish population, transmitting their regulations and demands. A Jewish police force for maintaining security, consisting of a few Jews, was set up under the authority of the Jewish Council.

The German authorities levied a "fine" of 4 grams (0.14 ounce) of gold for every Jew, which the Judenrat fulfilled with the aid of community members who had the means to assist. All livestock belonging to Jews was confiscated. The Jews were required to report each morning for forced labor, such as street cleaning, road repair, and work at the sawmill. Workers received payment in the form of a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread. Some Jews planted vegetable gardens as a source of additional food. In December 1941, Jews were ordered to turn in their fur garments and pay another fine in the form of fabric for clothing, jewelry, winter coats, and 5 grams (0.18 ounce) of gold and 100 rubles per head. Lacking the means to meet this demand, the Judenrat received some aid from the local Polish priest, Dominik Wałcinowicz, who also asked his parishioners to help the Jews. The head of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, Andrei Mokha, was a friend of Eisenberg and placed some restraints on the behavior of the men under his command.[4]

In late April 1942, right after Passover, the German authorities established an "open ghetto" in Włodzimierzec. Jews from the surrounding smaller communities were also taken from their homes and forced into the ghetto. An estimated 3,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto area.[5] The ghetto in Włodzimierzec existed for scarcely more than four months. As their impending fate became increasingly clear from news of massacres in the other communities of the region, the Jews of the town prayed and wept behind closed doors, reciting from Torah scrolls that had been kept hidden. In mid-August, a local Ukrainian brought word that pits were being dug on the road to Żołkinie. Eisenberg asked the German police for an explanation but was assured that this report was a false rumor. As the workweek began on Sunday, August 23, the number of Ukrainian police guarding the forced labor groups increased. They told the Jews of a plan to remove all those who were unfit for productive labor. Confronted with this threat, the Judenrat considered setting the ghetto on fire in the event of an Aktion, hoping to create enough confusion for people to flee. But after careful consideration, this idea was rejected.[6]

On August 27, 1942, all the Jews were ordered to gather on the market square, which was cordoned off by the police. The Jews were held there for a day and a night. At about 10:00 or 11:00 A.M. on August 28, some Jews tried to escape following an accidental shot, but the police opened fire, killing many Jews on the town's streets as they fled in all directions. Local policemen also finished off any Jews they found in hiding, including the nine-month-old baby of a Jewish woman named Burko, which she had entrusted to the Christian resident Anna Yerofeyevna Guzey as she fled.[7]

The Germans divided the remaining Jews into separate groups: one for the Judenrat and their families, one for specialist workers, and a third for "worthless Jews." Suddenly a Ukrainian policeman called out, "Whoever has hidden gold, silver, or other valuables can come with us and remove them from the hiding places. Those who do this will be allowed to remain alive." Some Jews also tried to move discreetly from the group of "worthless Jews" to that of specialist workers.[8]

However, the hopes that some might be preserved were soon dashed. Later that day the remaining Jews, starting with the Judenrat members and their families, were escorted by the German and Ukrainian police in the direction of the village of Żołkinie. The Ukrainian police chief had offered his friend Eisenberg a place to hide, but Eisenberg declined, saying that "the fate of my people shall be my fate as well."[9] The Jews were led to the Smoliarna Forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town, where three mass graves had been prepared. Here the men and women were separated and made to undress; then a German shot them in the trench in groups of 5 with a machine gun. Local peasants also collected the bodies of those killed in the town, taking them to be buried in

the same mass graves. In total, some 2,000 Jews were murdered during the "ghetto liquidation."[10]

Apparently the shooting was directed by a squad of Security Police and SD from the office in Równe and was carried out with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Only a few dozen Jews were able to evade the Aktion and the relentless searches that followed. Amazingly Mordechai Weissman survived by simply running as fast as he could just moments before he was due to be shot.[11]

Ukrainian Baptists and Polish peasants aided some of the escapees. Others joined various partisan units: Soviet, Soviet-Polish, and Jewish. Soviet partisan forces liberated the town on January 12, 1944. One survivor who returned, Eliahu Kutz, assisted the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in identifying collaborators and murderers. A Soviet court in Rovno tried those who were caught, sentencing them to hard labor in Siberia.[12]

SOURCES A number of personal testimonies can be found in the yizkor book edited by A. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets, galed lezekher iranu* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Vladimirets in Israel, 1963). There is also an article on the history of the town with some information about the annihilation of the Jewish population in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 84–86.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: ANA; AŻIH; BA-BL; DARO; GARF (7021-71-44); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. Schumacher (born January 29, 1891) apparently died on April 8, 1945; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), p. 7.
2. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, pp. 312, 356.
3. Ibid., p. 313. Other Judenrat members were Natan and Yaakov Cherniak (brothers) and Ben Zion Tchuk.
4. Ibid., pp. 314, 339.
5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 5:86. The figure of 3,000 ghetto inhabitants is probably too high.
6. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, pp. 316–317.
7. ANA, Special Investigations Unit, PU104/O, statements of Pavel Grigoryevich Kozoriz, Alexey Vasilyevich Khutky, and Olga Fyodorovna Dulyanitskaya, taken by the Soviet authorities in Vladimirets in January 1988.
8. Mordechai Weissman, "My Escape from the Ditches of Slaughter," in Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*.
9. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, p. 317.
10. Testimony of K.O. Koshmak in M. Gon, ed., *Holokost na Rivnenshchyni* (*Dokumenty i materialy*) (Dnipropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma"; Zaporizhzhia: Prem'er, 2004), pp. 57–58. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the Germans massacred about 2,000 Jews; see GARF, 7021-71-44, p. 4.
11. Weissman, "My Escape from the Ditches of Slaughter." An English translation of this account is also available in Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., *From a Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 208–212.
12. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, p. 359.

WŁODZIMIERZ WOŁYŃSKI

Pre-1939: Włodzimierz Wołyński, town, Włodzimierz powiat, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Vladimir-Volynskii, raion center, Volyn oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wladimir-Wolynsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Volyn oblast', Ukraine

Włodzimierz Wołyński is located about 77 kilometers (48 miles) west of Łuck. In 1937, more than 11,500 Jews lived in Włodzimierz, comprising 39 percent of the total population; Poles accounted for 43 percent; Ukrainians, 14 percent; and there were also a few Czechs, Germans, and Russians.

On June 23, 1941, the 298th Infantry Division captured Włodzimierz, receiving a warm welcome from the town's Ukrainian population. Very few of Włodzimierz's Jews could flee or be mobilized for military service beforehand.

For the next 10 months, first under military administration and then (after September 1, 1941) under civil administration, the Jews of Włodzimierz suffered systematic persecution, forced labor, and murder. Between 1,600 and 2,000 Jews were killed in this period by Wehrmacht troops, Sipo-SD murder squads, and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (many of whom were members of the Andrii Mel'nyk faction of the extremist Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, or OUN). The victims included most members of the first Judenrat, which the Germans had installed on or about July 7.

The establishment of a ghetto in Włodzimierz is dated to April 13, 1942. A 2-meter-high (6.6-feet-high) barbed-wire fence surrounded it. The external guards were Ukrainians; Jewish Police patrolled inside. Judenrat members and doctors were allowed to live outside the ghetto, but some of their female relatives found that the ghetto gave them more protection against harassment. The overcrowded ghetto was soon racked by hunger and a typhus epidemic, which was exacerbated by a shortage of medicine. Anybody caught trying to smuggle food into the ghetto was punished. The Germans assumed a ghetto population of at least 15,000 Jews in mid-1942; members of the Judenrat estimated about 18,000 Jews living there.[1]

At the end of May, the ghetto was divided into two sections. These were known to Jews as the "living ghetto" for skilled workers (set off by the right side of Katedralna Street, as well as Wodopójcza, Pawłowskiego, Browarna, and Gorka Streets) and the "dead ghetto" for unskilled workers (defined by the left side of Katedralna Street, as well as Strzelecka,

Kolejowa, and Farna Streets). The gates between the ghettos were guarded by the Jewish Police. Passage between the ghettos was limited to specific hours.[2]

Only Jews holding work permits could exit the ghetto, leaving and returning daily in groups. Forced labor assignments included such tasks as cleaning for the German police, working in a marmalade factory, delivering mineral water, and agricultural work. In August 1942, some Jews were assigned to dig sections of a ditch for a secret cable from Berlin to Kiev, which cost most of them their lives.[3]

In the last week of August 1942, hundreds of Jews were ordered to Piatydnie, several kilometers west of Włodzimierz, where they had to dig three large pits. The Jews were told that they were for a fuel depot. When the workers returned, Jews in the ghetto began to panic and to prepare hideouts. The Judenrat met with the Gebietskommissar (Wilhelm Westerheide, a 33-year-old former salesman) daily in late August. In an effort to delay the Aktion, council member Symcha Bergman gave Westerheide the best diamonds he could find. In the meantime, Jews working in agriculture were brought back to Włodzimierz, as were Jews from villages where no ghetto had been set up, such as Błażenik.[4]

In the early hours of September 1, 1942, the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. At 6:00 A.M., the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police stormed the ghetto for unskilled workers. The Jews were forced out of their houses, rounded up at one of the gates, loaded onto trucks, and driven off to Piatydnie. The forced laborers in the ghetto for skilled workers were not allowed to go to work. As the day wore on, trucks full of clothing began to return to Włodzimierz. That afternoon, the Germans and Ukrainian police entered the ghetto for skilled workers as well.[5]

At Piatydnie, the Jews were forced to undress and were shot into the pits. According to survivors, one Jew refused to undress. When confronted by a German, the Jew struck his tormentor, but he was promptly beheaded by Ukrainian policemen. Zipporah Veinshtok was one of only two Jews who escaped from the pits. Both were slightly wounded and got away under cover of darkness. They recount that members of the German administration had set up a table at the killing site so they could eat and drink during the shooting.[6]

The operation in Włodzimierz and its vicinity lasted two weeks. It is estimated that by September 15, 1942, 14,000 Jews had been murdered at Piatydnie, most from the Włodzimierz ghetto. Another 4,000 Jews were murdered in the Włodzimierz prison. As word spread that the Aktion was over, Jews emerged from their hiding places and returned from the countryside. The Jews were assured that the survivors would be left alive, and gradually the number of Jews swelled to several thousand. Many were put to work cleaning up the ghetto and sorting the belongings of the murdered Jews. Clothes and furniture were given away or sold at low prices to the local population. In November, the ghetto was divided into two, one half for skilled workers and the other half for unskilled workers. New work papers were issued to 865 people.[7]

On November 13, 1942, the ghetto for unskilled workers was liquidated in a surprise operation, resulting in the murder of about 4,000 Jews. The Germans repeatedly combed the ghetto until the end of the year. In January 1943, there were around 800 Jews officially living in the ghetto; the actual number was over 1,000. In Włodzimierz, the Germans counted 8,628 people compared to 29,600 in 1937. Soviet and especially Nazi policies had reduced the population by 70 percent.[8]

The Włodzimierz ghetto, the only ghetto remaining in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, now consisted of 17 buildings. It was no longer enclosed, and the Jews could even dispense with their outer markings. The skilled laborers worked as shoemakers, haberdashers, tailors, carpenters, masons, and photographers. There was a bakery, a small distillery, a laundry, a small production site for brushes, a sign shop, and a suitcase-maker's workshop. Conditions in the ghetto were impossibly overcrowded and filthy, and the inhabitants suffered from hunger and disease. This situation continued for a year. In October 1943, Sonderkommando 4b was transferred to Włodzimierz. By November, the Red Army was crossing the Dniepr River in Kiev. Rather than move the remaining Jews west, the Germans decided to kill them. On December 13, 1943, Sonderkommando 4b and its auxiliaries, an ethnically mixed unit, stormed the ghetto. The Jews were taken to the local prison, forced to undress, then loaded onto trucks, driven to a small wooded area near Falemicze, east of Włodzimierz, and shot. The corpses were subsequently burned on a pyre. It is believed that up to 1,200 Jews were murdered in this Aktion.[9]

Jewish resistance in the ghetto is linked to both the local prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for officers, Oflag XI (later Stalag 365), which formally transferred to Włodzimierz on September 9, 1941, and to the various partisan movements in and around the town. In the summer of 1942, a group of about 30 men, contrary to the wishes of the Judenrat, sought to make contact with nearby partisans. It was at this time that the Sipo-SD regional office for Wolhynien und Podolien reported to Berlin that an unknown partisan group, together with "Bolshevik agents" and "the ghetto," had planned to stage an uprising and liberate the POWs, mostly officers. In crushing these plans, the Sipo exposed and liquidated "36 Communist officials and 76 Jewish-Bolshevik officers."[10]

Available sources suggest there was little Jewish resistance activity in the Włodzimierz ghetto. Two young Jews with revolvers were shot during the November 1942 Aktion. Another Jew was found to have a revolver, but such isolated instances did not threaten the Nazis. There existed a small Jewish-led unit in the Włodzimierz area under Dora Zil'bert, but little is known about it. Boris Iakovlevich Bazykin led a unit affiliated with Soviet partisans under the command of A.A. Brinskii; Bazykin and his men were wiped out by the right-wing extremist Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the autumn of 1943.[11] A few Jews from the Włodzimierz ghetto may have joined the Zil'bert or Bazykin units, but making contact with the partisans was difficult.

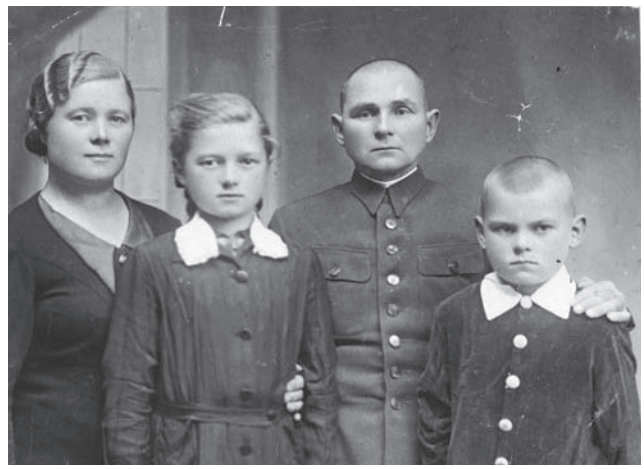
Soviet partisan units were the least dangerous for Jews, but the area was dominated by Ukrainian and Polish groups. The mother and son team of Mariia and Stepan Veremchuk escorted Jews from the Włodzimierz ghetto to the Soviet partisans under Nikolai "Kruk" Konishchuk, based near Kowel. Despite much mutual hostility and suspicion, individual activists of the Polish Home Army (AK) took in a number of Jews.[12] Jews in the ghetto made contact with the UPA but soon decided that the Ukrainian partisans were "no better than the Nazis." Indeed, by November 1943, the Germans and the UPA in Włodzimierz reached an agreement to fight the Soviet and Polish partisans together. Those Jews found among the UPA ranks tended to be pressed into service and were often murdered once the Germans withdrew.[13]

In the spring of 1943, the UPA launched a full-blown uprising against the Germans. Confined almost exclusively to Volhynia, this uprising was linked to a campaign of mass murder to drive the Poles from the region. As a result, Jews in hiding found their hideouts or cover jeopardized. Many Polish rescuers had to flee to Włodzimierz or to the west. Some Jews were murdered in the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. Despite the hazards of ghetto life, Jews in the countryside faced increased pressure to return to Włodzimierz.[14]

In addition, the partisan war spoiled German plans to move the Jewish workforce in Włodzimierz to Lublin. These considerations may at least have delayed the murder of the remaining Jews of Włodzimierz for several weeks, after the arrival of Sipo-SD forces. When the Włodzimierz ghetto was liquidated, its status as an open ghetto, close to prepared hideouts, may have given the Jews slightly better chances of survival than would have been possible in the Lublin labor camps.

Within Włodzimierz, the ratio of righteous gentiles among Poles and Ukrainians appears to reflect the demographics of the town. Among the Ukrainians, the Miaskovs'kyi family took in Paulina Cohen after her parents and brothers were killed in the November 1942 massacre. During the mass killing operation in September 1942, the Vavrysevych family provided temporary refuge for at least 13 Jews, some of whom then returned to the ghetto. Those who remained under their protection survived. Among the Poles, Helena Żebrowska and her husband, both clerks in the local German administration, saved Dosia Goldgreber and her husband. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Żebrowskas saw to it that the Goldgrebers were hidden outside the town. A Czech family helped Sara (Yukelis) Lichtmann.[15] Oleksii Mel'nichuk of Tumin, some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Włodzimierz, saved 11 Włodzimierz Jews. Mel'nichuk even joined the UPA at the urging of the Jews, using his position to warn them of UPA sweeps. He was arrested for UPA membership when the Red Army returned, but his former charges secured his release.[16]

The Red Army forced the Germans out of Włodzimierz on July 20, 1944. Around 140 Jews who lived in Włodzimierz during the Holocaust survived the war, less than 1 percent of the ghetto population at its peak. Some of those who survived were subsequently conscripted into the Red Army. At least seven Jews from Włodzimierz were killed in the last six months of the war.[17] Westerheide was tried in Germany for his activities in Włodzimierz, but he was acquitted in 1982 due to insufficient evidence.[18]



Undated portrait of rescuer, Galina Filatova-Miaskovs'koiya (second left) and her family. Filatova helped to hide Paulina Kon [Cohen], an escapee from the Włodzimierz Wołyński ghetto.
USHMM WS # 57649, COURTESY OF JFR

SOURCES Publications concerning the Włodzimierz ghetto and partisan warfare in the region include the following: *Pinkas Ludmir* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotzei Ludmir, Israel, 1962); Janusz Bardach and Kathleen Gleeson, *Man Is Wolf to Man: Surviving the Gulag* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2000); and Władysław Filar, Michał Klimecki, and Mychajło Szwahulak, "Chronologia wydarzeń na Wołyniu i w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1939–1945 [project]," in *Polska-Ukraina: Trudne Pytania*, vol. 6 (Warsaw: KARTA, 1999).

There are numerous sources available on the Włodzimierz ghetto, first and foremost the statements by survivors housed at AŻIH (301). Two of these have been published in Michał Grynberg, ed., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich: 1939–1945. Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), but all of them are also available at USHMM (RG-15.084). Testimonies by survivors and perpetrators can be found in the criminal investigations into Wilhelm Westerheide (ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62). The records at YVA, especially those concerning the Righteous Among the Nations (M.31), deserve mention. Relevant documentation can also be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAVO; GARF; IPN; NARA; and VHF.

Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 85; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; Bardach and Gleeson, *Man Is Wolf to Man*, p. 380; BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 12, July 17, 1942 (15,000); also, DP 3/2148, statement by E.M.H., July 3, 1979, p. 4 (18,000—H., as secretary to the Włodzimierz Landwirtschaftsführer received her information from Judenrat members in 1942).

2. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 440; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; 301/694, p. 2.

3. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 85–86; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; 301/694, pp. 2–3; Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, p. 110.

4. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 86, 444; AŻIH, 301/694, p. 3; 301/2014, p. 5; 301/2298.

5. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 444–445.

6. AŻIH, 301/4987, Herbst, p. 2; 301/2014, p. 7; 301/2794; Nathaniel Deutsch, *The Maiden of Ludmir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 236.

7. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 86–87, 480, 610; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 8.

8. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 87, 611; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 10; *Zentralblatt des Reichskommissars für die Ukraine*, January 9, 1943, p. 11.

9. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 87, 611; ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XVIII, pp. 61–72, statement by Wilhelm Braune; Bd. XL, pp. 305–306, letter from defense attorneys, May 31, 1970.

10. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 85; BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 12, July 17, 1942.

11. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 87; Ster Elisavetskii, *Polveka zabveniia evrei v dvizhenii soprotivleniia i partizanskoi bor'be v Ukraine 1941–1945* (Kiev, 1998), p. 89; Józef Sobiesiak and Ryszard Jegorow, *Burzany* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Navodowej, 1962), pp. 187–195.

12. YVA, M.31/6594; ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, p. 21, statement by Josef Strassberger; *Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations*, *Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 1:191–192, 2:800; Józef Czerwiński, *Z wołyńskich lasów na berliński trakt* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1985), pp. 69–70.

13. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, p. 139, statement by Peter Korduner. Dr. Hirsz Bubes was murdered in Włodzimierz by a Ukrainian nurse after the German retreat—see Louis Falstein, ed., *The Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland* (New York: Exposition Press, 1963), p. 324.

14. *Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, *Poland*, 1:228, 2:758.

15. YVA, M.31/3916; M.31/2507; *Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, *Poland*, 2:934; Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, pp. 109–122; ZSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, statement by Sara (Yukelis) Lichtmann, p. 159.

16. YVA, M.31/5926.

17. *Knyha Pam'iati Ukrainy*, vol. 1, *Volyns'ka oblast'* (L'viv: Kameniar, 1995), pp. 44–56.

18. *New York Times*, December 21, 1982.

WOŁCZYN

Pre-1939: Wołczyn (Yiddish: Voltchin), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1941–1944: Woltschin, Rayon Motykali, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk (Land), Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vouchyn, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołczyn is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) northwest of Brześć. Former Wołczyners estimate that on the eve of World War II about 500 Jews lived there (about 70 families). A German census from early 1942 indicates that 784 Jews were still alive in Rayon Motykali. Thus there were probably about 350 Jews from Czerniawczyce and other villages, in addition to those from Wołczyn, as there was no significant Jewish population in Motykali, and the same source states that most Jews had already been ghettoized.[1]

On the morning of June 22, 1941, the Germans conducted a heavy bombardment of the area around Wołczyn, destroying some Jewish homes and businesses. Soon after, they occupied the town. A few days later, Krause, a German about 50 years old, arrived with a few civilians who spoke Russian and German and began to organize a local administration. He appointed a Pole, Korszniewski, as mayor, and an ex-prisoner, Rose, also a Catholic, as head of the police. Three or four men from neighboring villages, including opponents of the Soviet government and former criminals, formed the police force.[2]

The area around Wołczyn was initially part of Distrikt Bialystok (attached to East Prussia), but on January 1, 1942, it was transferred to Gebiet Brest-Litowsk (Land), in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, forming the new Rayon of Motykali. The Gebietskommissar in Brześć (city) was Curt Rolle; he was replaced in October 1942 by Franz Burat, who retained the responsibility he had exercised previously for the surrounding Rayons. In October 1942 (just after the ghetto liquidation), the strength of the local police (Schutzmannschaft) in Rayon Motykali was 62, but most were probably based at the two police stations in Lyszczyce and Czerniawczyce.[3]

The Germans soon created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), summoning a few prominent Jews and forcing them to accept positions. They included Shlomko Zufrik, Avrum Kupershmidt, and Berenson from the mill of Kotera. The Judenrat had to collect valuables and hand over people for forced labor.

From early in the occupation, Jews were assigned to backbreaking work duties, sent to labor camps, tortured, and shot according to the Germans' moods. Some residents left for other towns such as Wysokie, which was larger and offered more places to hide.

After a few months of the occupation, a ghetto was created. The Jews could only take essential items with them to their new quarters, which were terribly crowded. The sick and children lived in the synagogue; some people lived in storehouses, barns, and even cowsheds. In Mordeku's grain barn, they put those who arrived from the town of Czerniawczyce. Across from the barn, the home of Isar Midler was taken over by officials: the chief of police, the head of the village, and the Judenrat met there.[4]

Former Wołczyn resident Shmuel Englender, who escaped his family's fate by joining the Red Army, has reconstructed the ghetto boundaries. Extending its northern and eastern borders to the Pulva River (a tributary of the Bug), the ghetto was bordered on the south by the Christian homes of Old Wołczyn and on the west by the main road, marked by a wooden fence. Englender also identified four entrances to the ghetto: only one of these was intended for ghetto inmates departing on work details, the remainder being reserved for the guards and members of the Judenrat. One exit, near the post

office, was used for removing the bodies of Jews who died from hunger and disease. In the Jewish cemetery, outside the ghetto, a pit would be dug, its size determined by the number of bodies brought over that night. No markers were left on these graves.

Around the Wołczyn ghetto, the occupiers erected a fence about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and patrolled by guards. Near the church, the fence was wooden; by the river, it was wire. According to the villager Vera Vladimirovna Shpagina: "After they put up the fence, it was impossible to get out of the ghetto without permission."[5]

Policemen were the first, and then the rest of the villagers confiscated goods from the Jewish homes. Some Jews hid things in their yards and had villagers dig out their treasures, which the Jews traded for a little food. Life in the ghetto was very harsh. There was great hunger. Jews were given only 150 to 200 grams (5.3 to 7 ounces) of bread per day. Half of it was sawdust. From time to time, there was some milk for the children. Many died from hunger and disease.[6]

Eyewitness testimony from villagers record that two or three days before the massacre, strangers arrived in Wołczyn. The guards around the ghetto were reinforced, especially near the river, where the fence was made only of wire.

On the morning of September 22, 1942, local people assisted in completing a pit just outside of town. Meanwhile in the ghetto, Krause, Rose, Korszniewski, and the Judenrat walked from one Jewish house to another and ordered everyone to congregate at the synagogue. There, the German Krause ordered that within an hour everyone should collect their belongings, dress in their best clothing, and report to be moved to a larger ghetto in nearby Wysokie. Before the end of the hour, the Judenrat and the police checked the houses again to make sure no one was there.

The sick and disabled were put on carts, as were the Jews' belongings. The rest of the Jews were ordered to walk to the edge of the village in the direction of Wysokie. They stopped at a former sand quarry, 200 meters (656 feet) from the end of Wołczyn. There they were immediately surrounded by policemen and Germans. After a while, they were told to turn right towards a "pit," about 60 meters wide by 30 meters long (197 by 98 feet). The Germans and their Belorussian and Polish helpers ordered the Jews to undress. Poltrok said, "All at once, everybody began to scream and cry. Only then did they probably understand what was going to happen."[7]

Available sources indicate that the massacre was conducted by about nine Germans and about 20 local policemen from Wołczyn and other nearby stations. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 497 people were shot on that day. It is estimated that 395 were from Wołczyn, and 102 were from Czerniawczyce.[8] The report gives some chilling details:

> The killings, by shooting, were conducted in groups of three to five people. They were led to the edge of the pit, were shot, and thrown into the pit. People were shouting, crying, and begging for mercy—nothing helped. The fascists ignored all and continued with the shootings. Those who refused to go to the pit were shot on the spot, and, sometimes when they were still alive, dragged into the pit. Some of the babies were lifted from the ground into the air, shot, and thrown into the pit.[9]

According to a German report, a few Jewish craftsmen were kept alive in Wołczyn at the time of the massacre and were presumably murdered a few weeks later.[10] Those sent previously to work on road construction projects either shared the fate of the Brześć Jews, most of whom were transported by train to Bronna Góra in mid-October 1942 and were murdered there, or were killed around Brześć as the remaining labor camps were liquidated. One local inhabitant recalled that some 500 Jews were killed in Motykali shortly after the Wołczyn massacre; these were reportedly escapees from the Brześć ghetto, who were recaptured by the Germans and local helpers.[11]

According to eyewitness Pavel Ivanovich Vivituk, after the massacre, some of the Jews' clothes were brought to a storage area behind the German headquarters; the best items were divided among the Germans and their helpers. After a day or two, people came in the evening to the Jewish homes and searched for hidden valuables. Many homes were later occupied by Germans.

The Soviets suspected anyone who had cooperated with the Germans. Many people were arrested, and the majority of them were sent to Brześć. Some were convicted and returned after a few years in prison. For example, the Soviet government arrested the head of the village, Korszniewski, who was tried not for the massacre but for cooperating with the Germans. Witnesses recall that his sentence was surprisingly light: only about six months in prison.

No Jews are known to have survived the massacre in Wołczyn. After the war, none of the Jews returned to live in the town. In Israel today, there are about 25 people with ties to Wołczyn, and a few others are living scattered throughout the United States.

SOURCES The most detailed account in English of the fate of Wołczyn's Jewish community can be found in the author's own work: Andrea Simon, *Basbert: A Granddaughter's Holocaust Quest* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), which is the main source for this entry. Also of interest is the yizkor book edited by Samuel Levine and Morris Gevirtz, *Entertainment and Ball Given by the United Wisoko-Litowsker and Woltchiner Relief* [in Yiddish] (New York: United Wisoko–Litowsker and Woltchiner Relief, 1948).

The main sources consulted were the ChGK report and associated witness statements from September 1944. The originals are located in GABO and GARF. Copies of these documents are also located in YVA and USHMM, together with the "testimony" of the local police commandant, Vasily Timofeyevich Semenyuk, relating to crimes in and around

Motykali, dated November 13, 1945. Additional documentation can be found in BA-BL (R 94/6 and 7).

Andrea Simon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.
2. Oral testimony of local non-Jewish inhabitants of Wołczyn, Vera Vladimirovna Shpagina, Ivan Pavlovich Poltrok, Pavel Ivanovich Vivituk, and Genady Mikhaelovich Kutshuk, recorded by Shmuel Englender in 1997 and made available to the author in translation; for summaries, see Simon, *Bashert*, pp. 123–145.
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, October 6, 1942.
4. Oral testimony of Shpagina and Vivituk, summarized in Simon, *Bashert*, pp. 126–128.
5. Testimony of Shpagina and others, summarized in ibid., p. 128.
6. Oral testimony of Shpagina, Poltrok, Vivituk, and Kutshuk, summarized in ibid., pp. 128–129.
7. Oral testimony of Poltrok and others, summarized in ibid., pp. 132–138.
8. YVA, ChGK report for the Wołczyn area, September 29, 1944; the original documents are in GABO (file 514-1-60) and GARF, 7021-83.
9. Ibid.
10. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, October 6, 1942.
11. Testimony of Vivituk, in Simon, *Bashert*, p. 128.

WYSOCK

Pre-1939: Wysock, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vysotsk, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wysozk, Rayon center, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vysots'k, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Wysock is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) north of Równe. In 1921, there were 893 Jews residing in Wysock, comprising 30 percent of the total population.[1]

A few days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Soviet officials packed their things and left, assuring the Jews that they would soon be back. Only a few Jews, mainly youths and Communists, went with them. For several days there was no authority in the town, but no attacks on Jews took place during this uncertain period. Jews took the opportunity to burn Hebrew or Russian books to destroy anything that might link them to the Soviets in the eyes of the Germans. A small German patrol arrived in Wysock in early July 1941, to be greeted by the non-Jews with bread and salt. Most Jews remained in their houses out of fear.

Soon the German military administration appointed a local administration made up of non-Jews, including a police force recruited from local volunteers. All Jews were registered, and the new authorities issued a series of decrees concerning the Jews. Jewish property was confiscated, and Jews were not permitted to move from one place to another or to buy and sell things. Jews were forbidden to eat meat, use the sidewalks, or assemble in groups. Jews had to wear distinguishing armbands, and a Star of David was to be placed on all Jewish houses. The synagogue and the Bet Midrash were converted into grain storage barns, and Jews dared to pray only in secret.[2]

In the summer of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which acted as an intermediary between the German authorities and the Jews. It also controlled a small Jewish police force that wore special armbands and assisted with the enforcement of German orders. Jews were subjected to forced labor; families had to devote half of their working time to public works. Work consisted of moving earth and rocks, while some craftsmen, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, worked directly for the German army in workshops. Jews had to surrender valuables and money to meet German demands for "contributions" and were also robbed and blackmailed by the local police.[3]

During August 1941, about 170 Jewish women and children arrived in Wysock from nearby Dawidgródek. They had been driven out of that town following the mass shooting of the men there by an SS cavalry unit. The Jews of Wysock took them into their houses and shared their food with them.[4] From the end of August, authority in Wysock was transferred to a German civil administration. Wysock became a Rayon center within Gebiet Stolin. SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski was named the Gebietskommissar, and his deputy was a man named Stark.[5] Under the civil administration, the armbands for Jews were exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the chest and back.

At some time before the summer of 1942, about 150 Jews from the surrounding villages were moved into Wysock. As with the refugees from Dawidgródek, they were distributed among the houses of the local Jews, and a public kitchen was established to provide them some nourishment. The Germans established a ghetto in Wysock at the end of July 1942.[6] A number of buildings in the center of the village were fenced in with barbed wire. More than 1,500 people were imprisoned in the ghetto. Isak Kaftan, a survivor of the Wysock ghetto, recalled that "living conditions were very difficult. We were forbidden to leave the ghetto. We were also not allowed to communicate with the villagers. Various diseases raged in the ghetto. The people suffered from hunger. There was a lack of water. The men capable of work were escorted out to work by the Germans and the local police."[7] The yizkor book records, however, that the ghetto was not closely guarded, and Jews were able to climb through the wire to trade possessions for food.[8]

At the end of August 1942, the Jews in Wysock received news of the destruction of the Jews in the neighboring town of Dąbrowica, which increased the level of fear in the ghetto. Soon afterwards the Germans ordered that Jews were no longer permitted to leave the ghetto, and the Jewish Police even applied pressure to ensure the return of some Jews who had

hidden in the surrounding villages. On the eve of the Aktion, no Jews were requested for forced labor. During the night, police forces surrounded the ghetto, and anyone attempting to leave was shot.

The German police liquidated the Wysock ghetto on September 9, 1942. It is estimated that approximately 1,600 to 1,800 people were killed.[9] The mass shooting was carried out under the supervision of the Security Police (Sipo) detachment from Pińsk, which arrived early in the morning in four or five trucks. First, the local police and Security Police forces surrounded the ghetto.[10] The Jews were gathered together and then escorted on foot to the pits outside Wysock. They were escorted to the pits in three groups, each using a different route. The local name for the mass killing site was "Ljado."[11]

There were two pits, about 2.5 kilometers (1.5 miles) outside the town, that had been dug shortly before the Aktion by local villagers, who were told that the pits would be used to store fuel. The pits were about 100 meters long and 10 meters wide (328 by 33 feet). The Jews knew of the excavation and suspected that the pits would not be used for the purpose alleged by the Germans.[12]

On arrival at the killing site, the Jews were told to lie down in the pits, where they were shot. The Gendarmerie and local police forces from Stolin, Wysock, and probably Dawidgródek participated in the Aktion. It took about two hours to complete the mass shooting. The perpetrators took no steps to ensure that all the victims were dead.[13] The graves were filled in by local villagers.

In Wysock, a few Jews survived initially in hiding places. The Germans and their collaborators systematically searched the ghetto, shooting any Jews they found on the spot. As one of the columns was being escorted to the killing site, a group of about 100 Jews tried to escape towards the Horyn River. The Germans shot at them as they ran away. The police forces pursued them in boats, but a number successfully escaped into the nearby forest. Some were recaptured and taken to the pits to be shot.[14] The corpses of those shot trying to escape were collected by local villagers and taken to the pits for burial.[15]

The remaining Jewish houses in Wysock were taken over by local non-Jews. Only a few of the Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in 1944. Most fled to Poland at the end of the war and emigrated from there to Israel and other countries in the West.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Wysock and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Aryeh Fyalkov, ed., *Ayaratenu Visotsk: Sefer zikaron* (Rehovot: Irgun yots'e Visotsk be-Yisrael, 1963); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 78–81.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Wysock can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/954, 2906, and 5494); BA-L (B 162/4949-71 and 14495); DARO (R534-1-4): GARF (7021-71-45); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 13); VHF (# 39321 and 44397); and YVA.

Stephen Pallavicini and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Part of the information for this entry is taken from Stephen Pallavicini's doctoral thesis, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie" (Ph.D. diss., Sydney University, 2003).
2. "In Farnichtung un Pein," in Fyalkov, *Ayaratenu Visotsk*, pp. 131–132.
3. Ibid., pp. 132–133.
4. Ibid., p. 133; AŻIH, 301/2906.
5. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
6. "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 133, states that the ghetto was formed in the month of Av (July 15–August 13 in 1942), six weeks before it was liquidated (September 10, 1942). DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 243–245, also dates the ghetto from July 1942. BA-L, B 162/4949 (II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Liquidations in the Pinsk area, vol. 1), p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972, however, dates its establishment in the spring of 1942.
7. BA-L, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.
8. "In Farnichtung un Pein," pp. 133–134.
9. BA-L, B 162/4950 (204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2), p. 180, testimony of the accused Wilhelm Rasp, gives the figure of 1,600 to 1,700 victims in Wysock. DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 243–245, gives 1,800 on September 9, 1942. BA-L, B 162/14495, Urteil LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, gegen Johann Kuhr u.a., February 6, 1973, p. 100, dates the Aktion on September 9, 1942. Also see AŻIH, 301/954.
10. BA-L, B 162/4958 (II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 10), p. 2540, statement of Josef Niederer, December 6, 1962.
11. Ibid., B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.
12. Ibid.; "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 135.
13. BA-L, B 162/II (204 AR-Z 393/59), statement of Mitschke.
14. Ibid., B 162/II (204 AR-Z 393/59), p. 5376, statement of Josef Niederer, December 6, 1962; AŻIH, 301/2906; "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 136.
15. BA-L, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.

ŻABINKA

Pre-1939: Żabinka, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Zhabinka, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Shabinka, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zhabinka, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żabinka is located about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east-northeast of Brześć. According to the 1921 population census,

445 Jews were living in Żabinka (73 percent of the total population). In the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual growth rate of around 0.9 percent per year, there were probably just over 500 Jews in Żabinka.

German forces occupied Żabinka on June 23, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, according to witnesses, a German tank destroyed the synagogue.[1]

In the period from late June until August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Rayon Shabinka was initially incorporated into Gebiet Kobryn; then as of December 1, 1941, it became a Rayon center within Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Żabinka. Jews were ordered to mark their clothes with the Star of David and later with yellow circles. They were forced to perform forced labor, forbidden to leave the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the local police.

No eyewitness accounts by Jewish survivors from Żabinka are available, but according to the book *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* by Marat Botvinnik, a ghetto was established in Żabinka before the end of 1941. The local history work *Pamiats'. Zhabinkausky raen* indicates that the enclosure of the ghetto "only with gates" meant that the Jews were able to exchange their possessions for food with local inhabitants across the boundary of the ghetto. The German administration also forced the Jews to pay heavy "contributions" in the form of gold and jewels, promising them in exchange that they would be able to live.[2]

In March 1942, the occupying authorities conducted a census in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk. According to the results, reported by the Gebietskommissar in Brześć, there were 26,465 people living in Rayon Shabinka, including 676 Jews. The same report noted that in the Gebiet, Jews had been collected into ghettos and that the Jews from the villages had been resettled into the larger places.[3]

Responsible for security in Żabinka was a Gendarmerie post consisting of four Gendarmes, subordinated to the Gendarmerie Gebietsführer in Brześć, Bezirks-Leutnant der Gendarmerie Ernst Deuerlein. The Gendarmerie in turn was in charge of a local police unit (Schutzmannschaft), which in September 1942 consisted of 56 men.[4]

Conflicting accounts are available on the fate of the Jews of Żabinka. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was liquidated in July 1942, when 339 Jews were transported to Małoryta and killed there together with the Jews of the Małoryta ghetto.[5] The book by Marat Botvinnik, however, indicates that on September 27, 1942, the Germans and local police rounded up several hundred Jews from the ghetto in Żabinka, mostly women, children, and the elderly. The Jews were escorted to a ditch at the Jewish cemetery, where they had to remove their clothing and shoes, and then were shot. In total, about 360 people were killed on that day. According to *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, on the other hand, the Jews of Żabinka were conveyed by rail to the Nazi mass killing site at Bronna Góra, where the Jews from Brześć and several other towns in the region were murdered in the fall of 1942 (Żabinka lies directly on the rail line from Brześć to Bronna Góra).

Following the liquidation of the ghetto, a Jewish labor camp containing about 100 Jews was set up in Żabinka. It was liquidated on October 21, 1942, when German police of the 10th Company of Police Regiment 15 shot all the remaining Jews.[6]

Some of the Jews were saved owing to the help of local residents. A Polish woman named Floria Budishevskaia hid a 12-year-old boy named Roma Levin and his friend Sonia Fefer in her own home. In June 1944, the local police arrested and killed Fefer. Levin was able to escape. Budishevskaia herself was arrested and shot in Brześć for hiding Jews.[7]

SOURCES Sparse information on the fate of the Jewish community of Żabinka during World War II can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 250–251; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 114, 125; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:435; *Pamiats'. Zhabinkausky raen* (Minsk, 1999), p. 238.

Documents about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Żabinka can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBBO; BA-BL (R 94/7); GARF (7021-83-15); NARA; NARB; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Pamiats'. Zhabinkausky raen*, p. 238.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942; also available at NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 102.
4. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, September 5, 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-83-15, p. 6.
6. Ibid., 7021-148-2, report of the 10th Company of Police Regiment 15, October 26, 1942. The company shot 461 Jews on that day at the Organisation Todt (OT) camp on the Brześć-Kobryń road, on the "state properties" of Zaderz and Petrowicze, and also in Żabinka. The OT camp apparently was located in the village of Chodosy (on the Brześć-Kobryń road to the southeast of Żabinka). In this camp, 196 Jews were killed. In October 2004, a monument was placed at the grave site.
7. I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), p. 443.

ZDOŁBUNÓW

Pre-1939: Zdołbunów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zdolbunov, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sdolbunow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zdolbuniv, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Zdołbunów is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 1,262 Jews resided in Zdołbunów (17.3 percent of the total population). Assuming a population growth of 0.9 percent per year, the Jewish population of the town would have been approximately 1,500 in mid-1941.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Zdołbunów on June 30, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. It established a local Ukrainian administration and an auxiliary police force made up of local citizens. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Zdołbunów became the administrative center of Gebiet Sdolbunow, which included Rayons Misotsch and Ostrog, as well as Rayon Sdolbunow. Hundertschaftsführer Georg Marschall became the Gebietskommissar.[1] From June 1942 to January 1943, his deputy was Otto Köller.

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was set up in the town (six to eight Gendarmes). It assumed control of the Ukrainian auxiliary police (Schutzmannschaft), initially of about 30 men. From June 5, 1942, to January 31, 1943, Wilhelm Wacker was head of the Zdołbunów Gendarmerie post. All the police forces of the Gebiet were subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. Leutnant der Gendarmerie Joseph Paur held this position in Zdołbunów from May 1942 until the end of the year.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a number of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Zdołbunów. After four weeks the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks on their clothing, initially armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, yellow patches. In the first days, Jews were simply seized off the street for forced labor, but subsequently the Judenrat had to supply a specific quota every day. Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits or to use the sidewalks. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police also subjected the Jews to frequent looting, beatings, and systematic terror.[3]

On August 7, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion took place in Zdołbunów. On this day, several hundred Jews were selected on the basis of lists prepared by local Ukrainians, arrested, and shot.[4] The Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD unit (from Einsatzgruppe C) based in Równe. As most members of the first Judenrat were killed in this Aktion, a second Judenrat was formed under the leadership of Symcha Szleifstein, who undertook considerable efforts to protect the interests of the community.

At some time in the spring or early summer of 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Zdołbunów. Several hundred Jews from local villages together with the remaining Jews of the town (about 1,000 people) were moved into the ghetto. In total, some 1,500 Jews were confined there.[5] Esther Barishman, a survivor of the ghetto, recalls that the ghetto was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the Ukrainian police. There was overcrowding in the ghetto, with about 5 people sharing each small room. Food rations were limited to a small amount of bread and sugar; many Jews risked sneaking out illegally to barter remaining possessions with Ukrainian farmers in the surrounding villages. There was no schooling in the ghetto, and no newspapers were available. However, there was one doctor available to help the sick.[6] Following the liquidation of the ghetto in Równe in mid-July 1942, a few Jews who had managed to hide inside the ghetto and then escape made their way to Zdołbunów and found temporary refuge in the ghetto there.[7]

During the approximately six months in which the ghetto existed, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police conducted numerous small Aktions. For example, in May 1942, a Jewish carpenter was publicly hanged. The most notorious Aktion was in August 1942. At that time, two Ukrainian policemen brutally killed an 18-year-old girl, Hanka Prussak, the daughter of the former cement factory owner. She was caught sitting on a bench in front of her house in the ghetto after the curfew. A few Hungarian soldiers who were nearby at the time heard the girl screaming and ran over to her. Having seen what the policemen had done, they beat them almost to death. Subsequently, in an attempt to improve the reputation of the local Ukrainian police, the Gebietskommissar invented the story that the girl had been killed by a Jew and demanded that the Judenrat either hand over the "killer" or surrender 10 hostages. Attempts by the Judenrat to bargain their way out of this demand were unsuccessful. Since it was impossible to find the "Jewish murderer," the Judenrat had no option but to select 10 elderly male and female Jews, who were subsequently shot by the German Gendarmerie in the quarries of the cement factory. One of the Jews was able to escape.[8]

On October 13, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On this day, a Security Police and SD squad arrived from Równe to organize the Aktion. Shortly before, the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police had received instructions to surround the ghetto and prevent any Jews from escaping. Then the Jews were brutally driven from their houses and collected at a central point to be loaded onto trucks. Those who resisted were killed on the spot; also, the German forces burned down several houses, which the Jews refused to leave. German railroad and postal workers based in the town apparently volunteered to take part in the Aktion. Many corpses were strewn on the streets of the ghetto. Those captured alive were taken on trucks to the killing site in the quarries of the cement plant in the village of Stary Mylsk. At the killing site, the victims had to remove all their clothing and lie flat in the ditch before they were shot in the back of the head.[9] According to the survivor Jakub Mendziuk, at the killing site, about 500 young men attacked the Ukrainian guards. More than half of them were killed, but a number

escaped into the forests. Mendziuk subsequently joined a Soviet partisan unit in the region in which about one third of the members were Jews.[10]

Altogether, more than 2,000 Jews were murdered in Zdołbunów in the years 1941 and 1942.

A group of Jews was saved owing to the efforts of Hermann Friedrich Gräbe, who from September 1941 to January 1944 was the manager and chief engineer of a branch of the German construction firm Josef Jung based in Zdołbunów. Gräbe assisted a number of Jews in obtaining Aryan papers and also tried to keep other Jews alive by employing them on various projects, including opening another branch office in Poltava. He also cooperated closely with the head of the Judenrat, Szleifstein, and interceded on the Jews' behalf to ameliorate ransom payments demanded by Gebietskommissar Marschall. Unfortunately, due to the suddenness of the liquidation of the Zdołbunów ghetto, Gräbe could do little to save the Jews on this occasion. However, he went into the ghetto shortly after the Aktion and managed to rescue one of his Jewish employees, Mrs. Glueckson, who had been hiding there for several days with little food or water.[11]

After the war, several former officials of the German civil administration and police in Zdołbunów were put on trial in Germany. On May 27, 1963, the Landgericht in Nürnberg-Fürth sentenced Paur and Wacker to seven years and three years eight months in prison, respectively (including the term of imprisonment before the trial). Otto Köller was acquitted. Another defendant, former Gendarme Friedrich Attinger, committed suicide before the start of the trial. On May 9, 1967, Landgericht Stade sentenced Georg Marschall to five years in prison. Marschall was convicted of being an accomplice in the hanging of a Jewish carpenter. In Poland, Rudolf Ignatowicz, an ethnic German, was sentenced to death in 1947 for capturing and handing over Jews in Gebiet Sdolbunow.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Zdołbunów can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 87–88; "Zdolbunov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:480; Douglas Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985).

Documents on the fate of the Jewish community of Zdołbunów can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/1490, 1523, and 1795); BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-50); IPN (SOJG 107); TsDAVO (3538-1-57); VHF (e.g., # 5328, 31286); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See LG-Nürn verdict, May 27, 1963, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 553.
3. AŻIH, 301/1523, testimony of Helena Sztajnberg.
4. Sources vary on the number of persons shot during this first Aktion. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 73, gives the figure of 400. GARF, 7021-71-50, pp. 37, 82, gives 450; 7021-71-50, p. 41 reverse, states that more than 700 people were killed.
5. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 367.
6. VHF, # 5328, testimony of Esther Barishman.
7. AŻIH, 301/1490, testimony of Jontel Kabcan.
8. LG-Nürn verdict, May, 27, 1963; VHF, # 31286, testimony of Elizabeth Jablonski.
9. LG-Nürn verdict, May, 27, 1963; GARF, 7021-71-50, pp. 35, 38, 83; TsDAVO, 3538-1-57, pp. 28–32; Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*, pp. 82–83.
10. AŻIH, 301/1795, testimony of Jakub Mendziuk.
11. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*, pp. 41, 48–49, 85.

ZEN'KOV

Pre-1941: Zen'kov, town, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zinkow, Rayon Winkowzy, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zin'kiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Zen'kov is located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) southeast of Iarmolintsy. Just prior to the German invasion, the Jewish population of Zen'kov was approximately 2,248.

The German army occupied Zen'kov on July 12, 1941.[1] On the first day of the occupation, a Jew offered the Germans bread and salt. A German soldier shot him on his threshold.[2] In early August, the ghetto was set up. A few weeks later, Jews were ordered to wear yellow circles bearing Stars of David, one on the front of their clothes and one on the back.[3]

A Judenrat was established in the ghetto.[4] The head of the Judenrat was a local bookkeeper.[5] One Jewish policeman was named Avroham Vasilke.[6] Jews were involved in various forms of forced labor, from working on the roads and the railroad to clearing snow. In May 1942, a group of men were taken to the front to deliver horses.[7]

Relatively few Germans were involved in the civil administration of the Zen'kov area. During 1942, there was only one official from the office of the Gebietskommissar, an SS man, and an agricultural commissioner. All the other officials were Ukrainian subordinates, mostly from the western Ukraine.[8] The Ukrainian police force in Zen'kov, which was recruited locally, initially wore armbands, then later German uniforms, and carried rifles and rubber clubs with metal tips. They were not always issued with bullets, so they often used their rifles to beat people. Policemen were involved in robbing and killing Jews and sometimes raped Jewish women before they were shot. In the summer of 1942, one man bribed a policeman to let him escape, but the policeman killed him anyway.[9]

Nevertheless, control over the ghetto generally was relatively lax. Jews were able to sneak out of the ghetto at night, and some were even able to elude their guards and avoid coming home from their work details in the evenings.[10] The relatively disorganized liquidation of the ghetto also reflects this laxity.

The mass killings were associated with pogroms. For the most part, they appear to have been carried out by local policemen with only minor German involvement. The first of these took place on May 9, 1942. To the music of a 100-piece band,[11] about 588 people were shot at a mass grave in Stanislavovka, on the outskirts of Zen'kov.[12] The next night, during a rainstorm, the bodies washed out of the grave and had to be reburied.[13]

After the May massacre, a second, smaller ghetto was created. In June 1942, more than 100 Jews were sent away to the forced labor camp at Leznevo, just to the east of Proskurov.[14] Another mass killing took place on August 4, 1942. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 1,882 Jews were killed, but this figure is probably too high.[15] A non-Jewish local inhabitant later recalled that during one of the roundups, many of the Jews were killed on the spot in their own houses. Afterwards, someone went around the ghetto and wrote the word "corpses" on those houses that contained bodies. A horse and cart were then used to transport the bodies to the mass grave.[16]

After the second large Aktion, the ghetto had shrunk to a single house.[17] A final mass killing took place on October 7, 1942, when about 150 of the Jewish craftsmen who had been spared during the summer were murdered.[18] The Germans then relocated the remaining 50 or so Jews to Dunaevtsy, where they were subsequently killed. In total, more than 2,000 Jews from the Zen'kov ghetto were massacred throughout the occupation.

The local police chief was Lisuk,[19] and another police chief in the area was Busse, from Vin'kovtsy. The Gebietskommissar in Dunaevtsy was Gemeinschaftsführer Eggers. The Nazi officials involved in the massacres in Zen'kov included Kulmann, Göbelmann, Kelin, Schramm, Grapp, and Kran. Gebietskommissar Eggers and another Nazi by the name of Hofer were responsible for the mass killings in Dunaevtsy.[20] Another Ukrainian policeman was named Grach.[21]

Some 27 Jews are known to have survived the Zen'kov ghetto.[22] Sonya Kipiler, a Jew from Zen'kov, operated a partisan unit in the vicinity of Zen'kov from late 1942 until the area was liberated in 1944.[23] Vladimir Kipiler escaped to Transnistria,[24] as did Semyon and Minya Gluzman[25] and Ida Vaynblat.[26] Shifra Reydman was hidden by a Ukrainian family.[27] The Foygelman and Abramovich families survived by hiding in an abandoned phosphate mine.[28]

The statements of several surviving Jews can also be found in the 1947 Soviet trial of a local policeman named Hutsalov.[29]

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Zen'kov, *Pinkas Zen'kov* (Tel Aviv, 1966), compiled by Yisrael Roytbard, which includes the testimony of Ida Vaynblat from letters written in 1965. A number of other accounts regarding the Zen'kov ghetto have been published in translation in David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe* (iUniverse, 2000), vol. 2, chap. 16, "Holocaust." In addition, there is a useful memoir written by Ilya Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'* (New York: Effect Publishing, 1991).

Documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Zen'kov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-795); USHMM (RG-31.018M); YIU (no. 692); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Newspaper *Za chest' rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
2. Yehudis Vaynblat-Laufer (Ida Vaynblat) testimony, from letters written in 1965, compiled by Roytbard, in *Pinkas Zen'kov*, pp. 175–193; translated in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 736–743.
3. Vladimir Kisilevich Kipiler, 1992 testimony, in Pinkas Agmon and Anatolia Stepachenko, eds., *Vinnitskaia Oblast'. Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie* (Tel Aviv: Beit Lokhamei ha-Tettaot, 1994), pp. 74–83; translated version in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 727–730. Also see YIU, Témoin no. 692.
4. Kipiler testimony.
5. Semyon Gluzman testimony recorded and translated by Vadim Altskan, July 20, 1998, USHMM; reproduced in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 730–736.
6. Vaynblat testimony.
7. Gluzman testimony.
8. Ibid.
9. USHMM, RG-31.018M (Ukrainian War Crimes Trials), reel 4, case 57654 against Mikolai Stepanovich Hutsalov, who worked for the German police in Zen'kov.
10. Vaynblat testimony; Kipiler testimony.
11. Vaynblat testimony.
12. Gluzman claims 800 people were killed, but the official Soviet records (GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 203) and Kipiler's testimony seem to support a lower number.
13. Gluzman and Vaynblat testimonies.
14. Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
15. GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 204; and Gluzman testimony.
16. YIU, Témoin no. 692.
17. Gluzman testimony.
18. Kipiler testimony.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Gluzman testimony.
22. Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
23. Kipiler testimony.
24. Ibid.
25. Gluzman testimony.
26. Vaynblat testimony.
27. V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukraini* (Jerusalem, 1997), 1:108–109.
28. Vaynblat testimony, and Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
29. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 4, case 57654.

ZOFJÓWKA (AND IGNATÓWKA)

Pre-1939: Zofjówka, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zof'iuvka, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sofjewka, Rayon Zuman, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zof'iuvka, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Zofjówka is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of the city of Łuck.

It is estimated that the Jewish population of Zofjówka in 1939 was between 1,500 and 2,000. Ivan Katchanovski notes that the population "almost doubled when the Nazis brought in Jews from nearby villages and small towns and established a ghetto."[1] Gad Rosenblatt explains the population growth after 1939 as resulting from the flight of Jews eastward following the German invasion of western Poland. He estimates that by 1941 there were 5,000 Jews in Zofjówka and 1,800 in Ignatówka, but these figures are probably too high.[2]

In late June 1941, Jews who had cooperated with the Communist regime fled to Russia. Members of the Ukrainian local police went from house to house, stealing and looting. Ukrainians from neighboring towns accused many of the Jews of being Communists and threatened to turn them in to the authorities. It was pure blackmail; the Jews paid them off in exchange for a promise of silence. Those who were unable to pay had to go into hiding.[3]

The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first chairman was Zechariah Antwerg. Later it was headed by Yosef Weisman and Motel Tcherpek. Two German officials arrived to run the town: an Austrian named Kreiser and a German named Gruber.[4]

The Germans ordered all cattle and horses rounded up for shipment to Germany, thereby destroying the economic basis of the local Jews in agriculture. Then the Germans demanded a ransom of several hundred thousand rubles, to be collected and paid within five hours. The Judenrat imposed a levy on each family, and the funds were delivered. In response to an order to organize the Jews into groups for forced labor, the Judenrat prepared a list of eligible workers. The Judenrat also appointed Jewish policemen to enforce recruitment for forced labor. Each group was sent to work on 17-day rotations, often to places as much as a half-day's march away. Those who returned were worn to the bone. Some never returned, having been tortured and killed by their German and Ukrainian guards. The Jews in Zofjówka, as also in the neighboring village of Ignatówka, were confined to their immediate area, thereby establishing open ghettos. A few, at great personal risk, would sneak out at night or just before dawn to barter clothing and jewelry for food, such as grain, potatoes, milk, or butter. Jews were denied use of the flour mill, so they devised crude illegal mills to grind the grain into rough, barely palatable flour.[5]

Jews who were craftsmen—blacksmiths, tailors, cobblers—were able to ply their trade and earn enough to buy food. But many Jews went hungry, subsisting on partially cooked rotten potatoes and crusts of coarse bread. Those in forced labor, in the forests and sawmills, received one loaf of bread a week.[6]

From September 1941, power in the area was transferred to a German civil administration. Zofjówka became part of Rayon Zuman in Gebiet Luzk, which in turn belonged to the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Luzk Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Lindner.[7] The Jews in the town of Zuman (probably about 300) were all murdered in late August of 1941.[8]

Those Jews in Zofjówka who were skilled leather workers received special attention because their products were highly prized by the German officials. Early in the occupation an unusual event occurred. In the fall of 1941, a German named Klinger appeared on the scene, assigned as the "district commander" in charge of the local leather industry. He reportedly had a doctoral degree from a German university and carried the papers of an ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*). However, a rumor quickly spread among the Jews that he was neither German nor a Volksdeutsche but actually a Jew in disguise. He treated the Jews well, restrained the Ukrainian police from their usually harsh treatment, and made his headquarters in the home of a Jewish family. The Germans loved the leather products, which Dr. Klinger brought to their headquarters in Łuck. The leather workers were not assigned to the forced labor groups, and their families were not mistreated. Then, in December, Klinger, possibly concerned that his disguise was wearing thin, announced that he was leaving for Warsaw. The Jews begged him to stay, and he agreed to postpone his departure until the first day of March 1942. On that night the Judenrat arranged a small farewell party attended by the German officials Kreiser and Gruber. After Klinger left the gathering, he was ambushed by Ukrainian police—angry, perhaps, because of his restraints on their conduct—and murdered.[9]

In his place the Germans appointed a Ukrainian overseer, Panchenko, accompanied by his son, who was a local policeman (Schutzmann). Panchenko demanded and received weekly "payments" from the Jews. Later on, after the community had been decimated by the mass murders in July 1942, Jewish partisans captured him and sentenced him to death. However, Hershel Neiden, one of the "protected" leather workers, fearful of an even harsher replacement, persuaded the partisans to let him go.[10]

The plan for the mass murder of the Jews began on July 25, 1942. The Jews from the area were rounded up by the Ukrainian police and brought to Zofjówka's main street for an "assembly." The leather workers and their families were ordered to move to the nearby town of Szaliszcze to set up their workshop as a labor battalion. The Jews from the neighboring villages of Ignatówka and Marjanowko were ordered to return home, pack up a small bundle of personal items, and return to Zofjówka within two hours. Elderly and sick Jews who were unable to move quickly enough were shot on the spot. At the sound of the shooting, many Jews ran off in every direction.[11]

On July 26 the liquidation Aktion began. Some Jews were taken first to a field to dig two pits, each 30 meters (98 feet)

long, which were to serve as mass graves. Then the remaining Jews were taken in trucks and by foot, 200 at a time, to the killing site. They were forced to undress and get into the pits, where the German forces machine-gunned them to death. An estimated 3,000 to 4,000 Jews were killed. A subsequent roundup of those Jews found in hiding led to the murder of another 1,000 on September 21, 1942. The "protected" leather workers were put to death in late December 1942. All in all, up to 6,000 Jews, including those from neighboring villages, were murdered in the Aktions in the fields near Zofjówka and Ignatówka.[12]

Some small groups and individuals escaped into the forests, many linking up with Soviet and Ukrainian partisans, including a few who joined the Kovpak division. Ivan Katchanovski provides some information on the fate of Ukrainians in the village of Klobuczyn, where some 200 survivors of the Zofjówka ghetto and a nearby village reportedly took refuge. On November 2, 1942, the Nazis, with the help of the local police, executed 137 residents (including women, elderly people, and 36 children) of Klobuczyn in reprisal for the actions of Ukrainian partisans who had helped Zofjówka Jews. These partisans took up arms against the Nazis and their collaborators, supplied weapons to a Jewish resistance group in Zofjówka, and executed a local peasant for killing Jews who escaped the Nazi massacres. The Klobuczyn partisans accepted Jewish partisans from Zofjówka into their unit and provided protection to more than 150 Jewish survivors who escaped the Nazi massacre in this village and nearby small Jewish settlements and were hiding in a forest near Klobuczyn. Many of these Jews later joined another Soviet/Ukrainian partisan unit in the region. Most were killed during combat with the Nazis.

Only about 40 Jews from Zofjówka survived until the end of the war.[13] Among those who helped them to survive was Alojzy Ludwikowski, who helped to feed more than 30 Jews hiding in several bunkers in the forest or near his home. Unfortunately, some of the bunkers were discovered by the German Gendarmes and their collaborators, and not all of those he assisted managed to survive.[14]

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Y. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot Tal Zofiowka-Ignatowka* (Givataim, Israel: Beit-Tal, 1988), mainly in Hebrew, contains a number of personal accounts. The two entries by Gad Rosenblatt (pp. 249–254) and Isaac Borek (pp. 379–387) are the major sources of information on the war years. Some additional information can be found in an article by Ivan Katchanovski, "Everything Is Illuminated. Not!" *Prague Post*, October 7, 2004 (online review at praguepost.com). "Yaromel I," a listing on the cemetery of Zofjówka, appears at the online site of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (www.jewishgen.org/cemetery).

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Zofjówka and Ignatówka can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2890); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-12); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Katchanovski, "Everything Is Illuminated. Not!"
2. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot*, p. 249.
3. Ibid., pp. 250, 379.
4. Ibid., p. 380.
5. Ibid., p. 250; Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 88–91.
6. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot*, p. 251.
7. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
8. Aleksandr Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 30; GARF, 7021-55-12, p. 4. About 500 people were killed altogether, including Ukrainians and Poles.
9. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-shoreshav; sefer korot*, pp. 252, 380.
10. Ibid., p. 252.
11. Ibid., p. 253.
12. Ibid.; see also GARF, 7021-55-12, p. 4. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218–219, Report to the Generalkommissar in Luzk, notes that the Aktions against the Jews in the Kołki, Olyka, and Zuman Rayons took place between July 26 and July 29, 1942. A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 207, gives only the figure of more than 2,000 victims for the Zuman raion.
13. Katchanovski, "Everything Is Illuminated. Not!"
14. See Wronski Stanisław and Maria Zwolakowa, eds., *Polacy-Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), pp. 391–393; see also YVA, Collection of the Righteous Among the Nations, M-31/2145.

ZHYTOMYR REGION



Jews are rounded up in Zhitomir and forced to watch the hanging of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper on the market square, August 7, 1941.
USHMM WS #17547, COURTESY OF YIVO

ZHYTOMYR REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT SHITOMIR)

Pre-1941: Zhitomir and parts of the Vinnitsa, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts, Ukrainian and Belorussian SSRs; 1941–1944: initially Rear Area, Army Group South, then from October 1941, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: parts of central Ukraine and southern Belarus

Generalkommissariat (Gk) Shitomir was a German administrative unit carved out of the pre-war Soviet Vinnitsa, Zhitomir, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts. The period of ghettoization in Gk Shitomir lasted from July 1941 until the spring of 1942. In total, there were some 58 ghettos established in Gk Shitomir. The last ghettos, mainly remnant ghettos that resembled forced labor camps, were liquidated in the winter of 1942–1943, although small groups of specialist workers survived in some places until later in 1943.

In 1939, the Zhitomir oblast' contained 125,007 Jews, and the Vinnitsa oblast' had 141,825 Jews, of which just over half—about 75,000 Jews—lived in the area that subsequently became part of Gk Shitomir. In the Belorussian portions of the region, more than 17,000 Jews lived in Mozyr' and over 7,000 in Rechitsa, the two largest urban centers. Therefore, allowing for an evacuation rate of up to 50 percent, it can be estimated that more than 110,000 Jews remained in the area of Gk Shitomir at the start of the German occupation.

The video and oral testimonies of Jewish survivors taken by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute (VHF) and other organizations since 1990 have added considerably to our knowledge of ghettoization. These have proved especially valuable in helping to identify a number of previously unknown ghettos in Gk Shitomir, for which little or no German documentation is available. At least 21 open ghettos have been identified in the region, including several not mentioned in the existing scholarly literature. For example, on July 15, 1941, a week after the occupation of the town, the German commandant established a "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) in Chudnov in a part of town that had been severely damaged in the fighting. One main street and a few side streets were reserved only for the Jews, but there was no barbed wire surrounding the area.[1] Another early open ghetto was in Baranovka, created at the end of July 1941 by the German military administration in a few small houses on Zhaboritskaya Street.[2] The Germans conducted several Aktions in Baranovka during the summer of 1941 but did not liquidate the ghetto until January 6, 1942. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report and German Einsatzgruppen reports, the Germans established an open ghetto in Radomyshl' in August 1941. A detachment of Einsatzgruppe C used this ghetto primarily to concentrate the Jews of the surrounding area for their rapid destruction within a few weeks.[3]

One striking feature about Gk Shitomir is the difference between the northern part, where there were few ghettos, most of which were short-lived (such as the ghetto in Iurovichi that existed for just over one month), and the southern part, where more than a dozen ghettos, mostly remnant ghettos set up for selected laborers and their families, existed for more than six months, that is, until the second wave of mass killings in the spring and summer of 1942. The overlap between the local ghetto inmates and the labor force used for work on Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) seems to have been much less in this region than in neighboring Gk Kiew or Gk Wolhynien und Podolien. Most of the Jewish labor used on DG IV appears to have been brought in from Romanian-occupied Transnistria in the summer of 1942, just after the liquidation of most remaining ghettos in Gk Shitomir.[4]

For the area around Vinnitsa, which was captured by the German 17th Army in mid-July 1941, the initial activities of the military administration are well documented. A provisional town administration was appointed on July 22, 1941. Then Rayonchefs were appointed in the surrounding area, while a labor office (Arbeitsamt), housing office (Wohnungsamt), and a food supply office (Ernährungsamt) were established in Vinnitsa.[5] A local police force was also recruited from volunteers and made answerable to the local mayors and the military administration. The military authorities were not always satisfied with the loyalty of Ukrainian nationalist appointees, and some were subsequently dismissed. The local police guarded the Jews as they performed their forced labor, repairing war damage in the streets and performing other tasks for the German authorities. In Vinnitsa, the Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, but there was no immediate ghettoization.[6]



Unidentified men examine a field strewn with the clothing of 4,000 Jews in Vinnitsa, 1941—1942.
USHMM WS #25246, COURTESY OF YIVO

As the research of Alexander Kruglov indicates, the first wave of mass shootings was particularly devastating in the core territories of the Zhitomir oblast'. Learning from the rapid slaughter of more than 23,000 Jews organized by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, at the end of August 1941 in Kamenets-Podolskii (area of Gk Wolhynien und Podolien), units of Einsatzgruppe C and the Order Police murdered more than 40,000 Jews in the Zhitomir oblast' (about three quarters of all those killed there) in the three months of August, September, and October.[7] Wendy Lower demonstrates that some of the larger ghettos, such as that in Berdichev, were established with the idea of destruction clearly in mind. Here Jeckeln ordered the establishment of a ghetto on August 26 and then completed the mass murder of the bulk of the ghetto's Jews (between 10,000 and 15,000 people) within three weeks, by mid-September.[8]

In the southern part of Gk Shitomir (the northern part of Vinnitsa oblast'), however, this first wave was not quite so lethal. Kruglov's estimates indicate that roughly half of the remaining Jews were killed here in 1941, with the second wave in 1942 accounting for most of the rest. In Vinnitsa, more than 5,000 of the 18,000 Jews that came under German occupation were still alive in January 1942. Some nearby towns, such as Brailov and Khmel'nik, escaped with only minor losses in the summer and fall of 1941, and both military and civil authorities pursued a more concerted policy of establishing ghettos in this area.

On October 20, 1941, the German military was replaced by a civil administration in Gk Shitomir. The Generalkommissar in Shitomir was Polizeipräsident Kurt Klemm. In Gk Shitomir, low-level administrative posts were filled mainly with reliable Ukrainians, a few Russians, and some ethnic Germans. The office of Reichskommissar Erich Koch issued orders only to establish "Jewish residential districts" (ghettos) in localities with more than 200 Jews. The inmates of the ghettos were to be prohibited from leaving the premises without special authorization.[9]

In practice, the local Gebietskommissars played a key role in establishing, overseeing, and liquidating the ghettos, alongside the offices of the Security Police and the Order Police. In Olevsk, in the northern part of Gk Shitomir, for example, on the establishment of the German civil administration, the assistant Gebietskommissar, Neukirchner, issued an order for the Jews to be ghettoized. The Polis'ka Sich (Ukrainian nationalist activists) and the local Ukrainian police then forced the entire Jewish population to move into a ghetto established on three streets. This ghetto was then liquidated within a few weeks, with the active participation of the Ukrainian police and some members of the Sich.[10]

Yet the existence of ghettos for much longer periods in places such as Ruzhin, Lipovets, Teplik, Ternovka, and Zhornishche reflects the intention of some German administrators to exploit skilled Jewish labor, where possible, at least for a few more months. Many of the ghettos were remnant ghettos, established in the wake of mass killing Aktions. This was the case, for example, in Litin. On December 19, 1941, a squad of German Security Police from Vinnitsa organized the shooting of some 2,000 Jews in the town. The German authorities selected about 200 craftsmen and their families, who were placed into a ghetto comprising a few houses on two narrow streets.[11] The Germans also subsequently permitted those Jews who had hidden during the mass shooting to enter the ghetto. Around 300 Jews were concentrated there surrounded by a fence. The Jews were prohibited from leaving on pain of death. Although food was scarce and hunger severe, nobody was allowed to go to the market to obtain food.[12]

In Ruzhin, after a mass shooting Aktion in September, a remnant ghetto consisting of a "barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire" was established for selected specialists and surviving Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. The Ukrainian village elder ordered the Jews to renovate about 200 former Jewish houses for the use of the Germans and the Ukrainian police, who guarded the ghetto. The Germans appointed a Jewish elder by the name of Yankel, who organized several craft workshops.[13]

Living conditions in most ghettos were harsh, depending especially on access to additional food supplies. Trading with non-Jews was possible for many ghetto inhabitants, but other than craftsmen, most had little to trade, and the Ukrainian population, especially in the cities, was itself short of food. Anna Grinboim, a survivor from Pogrebishche, recalled: "There was no water to drink or to wash with, no food, terrible hunger. Occasionally kind Ukrainians came and brought food they had already prepared. Every morning all the young people and all the men were taken to work." Her own work consisted mainly of cleaning—streets, bathrooms, and stores. Anna's grandmother died of hunger, as did many others. No holidays were celebrated in the Pogrebishche ghetto, and there were very few children, since most of them had been killed in the first Aktion. The most terrible thing, she recalled, was the knowledge that sooner or later there would be another Aktion to end it all.[14]

Apart from the craftsmen, who mainly produced clothing and tools for the Wehrmacht, German officials, and also (sometimes clandestinely) for the Ukrainian population, the Jews in the ghettos of Gk Shitomir were engaged in a variety of forced labor tasks. These included work in agriculture, cleaning the streets and clearing them of snow in winter, construction work, and for Jewish women, cleaning the quarters of German officials. Those who worked were more likely to receive some meager rations. Many survivors stress the deadly role of the Ukrainian police. Michael Tokar, for example, reported that "anyone who refused to work was killed on the spot. The Ukrainian police drank all the time and would beat the Jews just for fun in their drunken stupor."[15]

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. The local Ukrainian police hunted down Jews who escaped from ghettoization, and they participated in mass shootings. Ukrainian guards also harassed and brutalized Jewish labor details. In some places

Ukrainian policemen moved into vacated Jewish apartments. On the other hand, many of the few Jewish survivors state that they managed to escape death because of the bravery and kindness of individual Ukrainians. In Gk Shitomir some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the Soviet partisans, while others passed as non-Jews, hid in the countryside, or escaped to the Romanian-occupied zone (Transnistria), where conditions were much less lethal by the end of 1942. A handful were even deported to Germany as forced laborers, while passing as non-Jews.

Although the killings never completely ceased in the winter of 1941–1942, as explosives were used to prepare mass graves, for example, in Strizhavka, despite the frost, the second wave in Gk Shitomir effectively began in the spring of 1942. Following the murder of most of the remaining Jews in Vinnitsa on April 15, 1942, an intensified wave of mass shooting Aktions was organized by the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local Ukrainian police. These Aktions swept away most of the remaining ghettos in May and June of 1942.

In Samgorodok, a ghetto was established for the 500 Jews living there only in mid-May 1942, shortly before its liquidation on June 4. The local police chief selected out 10 or 15 specialist workers, who were sent to Kazatin and subsequently shot by the SD in September. Gebietskommissar Wolfgang Steudel carefully supervised the mass shooting in person.[16] Other mass shootings were carried out at this time against the ghettos in Pliskov, Monastyrishche, Lipovets, and Vcheraishe. In the small town of Gnivan, near Vinnitsa, where no ghetto was established, about 100 Jews were killed in the early part of the summer of 1942, most of whom were women and children.[17]

In early June 1942, the Generalkommissar in Shitomir reported that: "the Jewish question has for the most part been settled in my region. That valuable labor was often eliminated is well known. 434 Jews were resettled in Gebiet Illinzi, 606 Jews in Ruzhin."[8] This report reflects the intensive steps taken to reduce the remaining Jewish population of the region at this time and at least on paper to declare the region cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*). In practice, however, many hundreds of Jews remained in Gk Shitomir after this date, mostly in small remnant ghettos for craftsmen but also in some forced labor camps, including those used for road construction along the DG IV, which contained mainly Jews who were being brought in from Transnistria.

Confirmation of the active role played by the Ukrainian local police in the ghetto liquidation Aktions can be found in a German report recommending the Ukrainian Schutzmann, Wasyl Palamartschuk, in Samgorodok, for a decoration in 1943, as he had "especially distinguished himself during the resettlement of the Jews in June 1942 and in the subsequent apprehension of individual Jews who variously concealed themselves."[19]

The Vinnitsa Gendarmerie Captain issued an order in June 1942 that Jews were no longer to be employed by the Gendarmerie.[20] Most of the remaining specialist workers did not survive the summer sweep for long. At the beginning of August 1942, members of the Security Police outpost in Berdichev shot more than 300 Jewish workers. In Ruzhin, 44 Jews were shot by members of the SD on October 1, 1942.[21]

Some Jews managed to survive the roundups during the second wave by hiding in cellars and other places of concealment. They later sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. However, the Gendarmerie in the region threatened severe reprisals against entire villages if they failed to report any Jews hiding in the vicinity.[22] Over the ensuing nine months from July 1942, most of the Jews in hiding were captured by the Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft). For example, on March 1, 1943, a patrol from the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok found two female Jews, Busa and Sulka Chernus, hiding in a hayrick, and they were then "shot trying to escape."[23]

The Khmel'nik ghetto was probably the last to be liquidated in Gk Shitomir, on March 3, 1943. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, more than 1,000 people were shot on that day.[24] The 135 artisans who survived the massacre (127 men and 8 women) were put into a school building that was turned into a labor camp. The craftsmen had to train Ukrainians as their replacements; 67 people managed to escape from this camp before the remainder were killed in turn.[25] Some Jewish skilled laborers held in a Security Police prison in Berdichev were shot on January 3, 1944, just as the Germans were being forced out of the region by the Red Army.[26]

SOURCES There are only a few secondary works dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and particularly with German ghettoization policies in Gk Shitomir. Among these are: Martin Dean, "The German *Gendarmerie*, the Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft* and the 'Second Wave' of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44," *German History*, 14: 2 (1996): 168–192; Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005); A. Kruglov, *Unichtozhenie evreiskogo naseleniia v Vinnitskoi oblasti v 1941–1944 gg.* (Mogilev-Podil's'kyi, 1997); and I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 51–87.

Of the many books and articles on the Holocaust in Ukraine, the following include key information on this specific region: Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Wendy Lower, "Facilitating Genocide: Nazi Ghettoization Practices in Occupied Ukraine, 1941–1942," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 120–144; A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the*

Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000).

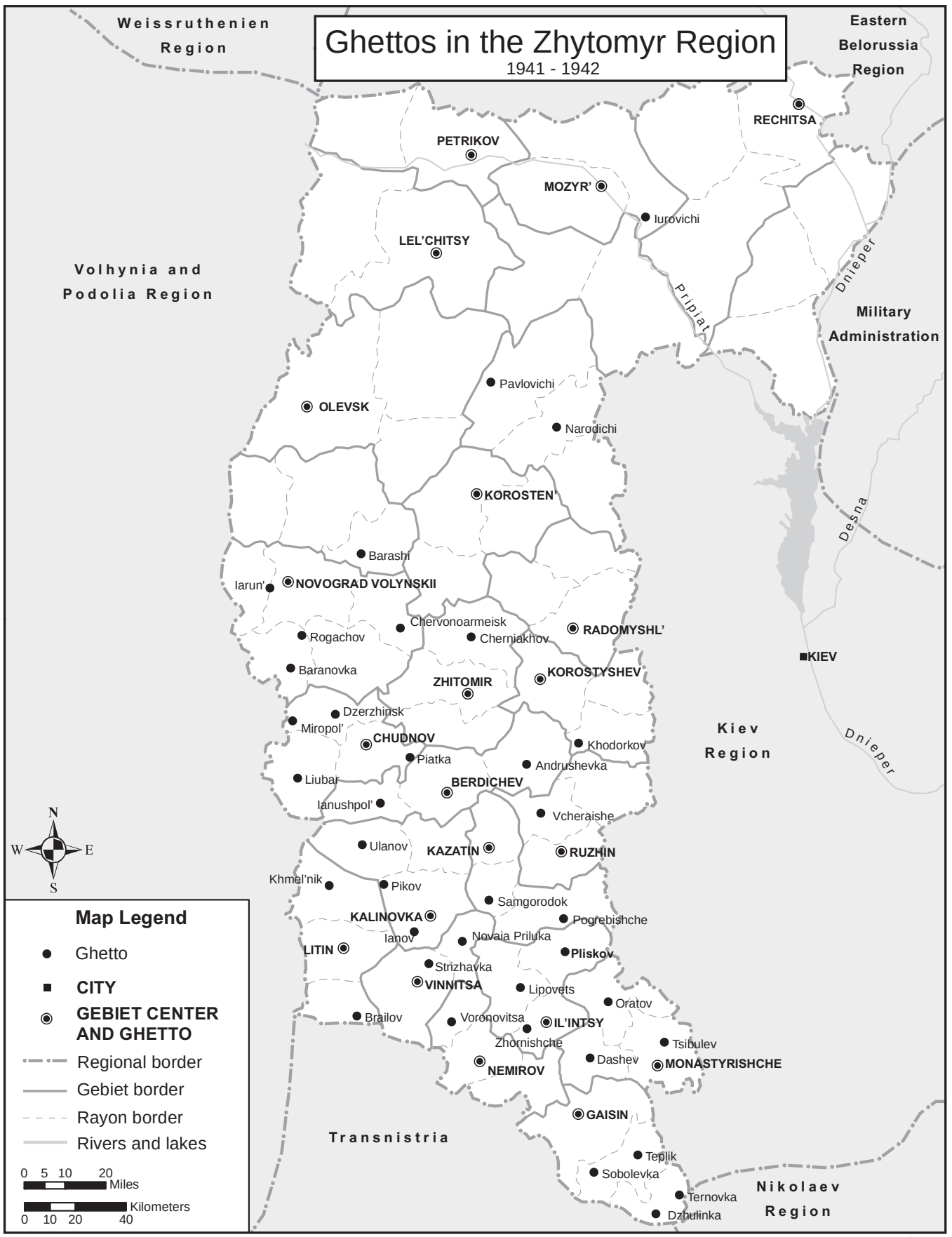
Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ogne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo "Beit lokhamei khagettaot," 1998); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York, 1995); A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAChO; DAVINO; DAZO; GAGOMO; GARF; NARA; NARB; PAAKag; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 195–205, 268–273; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225, p. 33.
2. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 53–57.
3. GARF, 7021-60-309, p. 21; BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 88, September 19, 1941.
4. See BA-L, ZStL, AR-Z 20/1963 (Ermittlungen wegen Verbrechen im Generalkommissariat Shitomir und an der DG IV).
5. BA-MA, RH 26/125-4, XLIX Corps order no. 48, July 20, 1941; RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 3–13, reports of FK 675, Abt. VII to Sich. Div. 444, August 1 and 11, 1941.
6. RGVA, 1275-3-662, reports of FK 675 Abt. VII to Sich. Div. 444, August 1, 11, 14, and 31, 1941; BA-MA, RH 22/5, Commander of Rear Army, Area South, Abt. VII, July 21, 1941.
7. A. Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944," in Brandon and Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine*, p. 278.
8. Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, pp. 76–77.
9. TsDAVO, 3206-2-30, pp. 13 verso, 23 and verso.
10. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 19 verso, 26, 32, 178.
11. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 556–557 (Abschlussbericht). This report indicates that 300 men, 500 women, and 1,186 children were murdered.
12. YVA, O-3/7372; also O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich on April 5, 2005.
13. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18; TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; M. Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu: Da budut korni nashi zhivy* (Moscow; Houston: M. Belilovskii, 1998), pp. 197–199.
14. VHF, # 20772.
15. Ibid., # 28086.
16. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 229–231; DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS and Polizei Gebietsführer Kasatin, September 30, 1942.
17. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 136/67; Vysotsky et al., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine*, pp. 162–163.
18. BA-BL, R 6/310, p. 17, Generalkommissar Shitomir, June 3, 1942.
19. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 163, Gend. Samgorodok, May 31, 1943.
20. Ibid., 1182-1-36, p. 30, Gend. Gebiet Ruzhin, June 14, 1942.
21. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 16, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 490, pp. 346–348; DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 235–238, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Ruzhin, November 5, 1942.
22. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gend.-Posten in Samgorodok and Pogrebishche, July 6, 1942.
23. DAZO, 1182-1-6, pp. 157, 164–165.
24. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229; the official figure of 1,300 is probably too high. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, p. 571.
25. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 65–66.
26. GARF, 7021-60-285, pp. 8, 48–49.



Borders as of 1942

ANDRUSHEVKA

Pre-1941: Andrushevka, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Andruschewka, Rayon center, Gebiet Berditschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Andrushivka, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Andrushevka is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 658 Jews living in Andrushevka (10.3 percent of its total population).

German armed forces occupied the town on July 16, 1941, almost three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country.

In the period from July to October 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town, and it set up a Rayon authority and an auxiliary police force, made up of local residents. In late October 1941, the military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. Until liberation on December 26, 1943, Andrushevka was part of Gebiet Berditschew in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In the summer of 1942, the Ukrainian police (Schutzmannschaft) in Andrushevka consisted of about 30 men, which was by then subordinated to a small squad of German Gendarmerie based in the town. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian police in Andrushevka was a man named Ivan Meisko.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Andrushevka. The Jews were required to wear armbands with a Star of David, perform various types of forced labor, remain within the confines of the town, and hand over all their valuables. Jews were forbidden to sell products in the market, while the local Ukrainian inhabitants were forbidden to associate in any way with Jews, and those who violated this order were subjected to flogging.

On August 19, 1941, the first Aktion took place in Andrushevka when 252 Jews were rounded up and shot in a forest 300 meters (0.2 mile) southeast of town. At this time the Ukrainians started to rob the Jews' houses, and a ghetto was established. Local Ukrainians assisted the Germans in identifying the Jews. Other Jews who were caught in the surrounding area were brought to the Andrushevka ghetto.[2]

In the ghetto, the Jews were always obliged to inform the police exactly where they were going, and all the Jews had to wear the Star of David on their chest and their back to show that they were Jewish. The Ukrainian policemen beat Jews on the street, even those they had known since before the war, simply because they were Jewish. Some local Ukrainians, however, did help out, by bringing potatoes and bread to the Jews in the ghetto, as they had nothing else to eat.[3]

The ghetto was always surrounded by both Ukrainian police and Germans. The Jews did not live in apartments but in a stable normally used for horses. Everyone slept on the floor. Several families lived together under very cramped conditions. The young people in the ghetto were forced to work every day from dawn to dusk. There was no doctor in the ghetto. If someone got sick, they were more or less left to die. The ghetto remained in existence for about nine months.[4]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in May 1942 when 223 people were shot in a forest 500 meters (0.3 mile) from the town hospital.[5] A small group of Jewish craftsmen was sent to a labor camp in Berdichev, all of whom were shot in July 1942, along with other Jews, when that camp was liquidated.

A Jewish girl from Andrushevka managed to survive, as she was outside the ghetto fetching milk at the time of the roundup. She was spotted by a German patrol but succeeded in convincing them that she was not Jewish with the help of a Ukrainian woman, who claimed she was her daughter. She survived in hiding with a Ukrainian family until the end of the occupation.[6]

SOURCES Information about the destruction of Andrushevka's Jewish population can be found in the following publications: "Andrushevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:46; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 44.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Andrushevka under German occupation can be found in the following archives: DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-60-281); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1996.A.0269 [DAZO]); VHF (# 44736); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, order no. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-281, p. 16. VHF, # 44736, testimony of Raisa Pinsker; one of the victims on August 19 was the witness's older sister.
3. VHF, # 44736.
4. Ibid.
5. GARF, 7021-60-281, p. 16; O. Herasymov, ed., *Knyha pam'iati Ukrainy. Zhytomyrs'ka oblast'. Tom 1* (Zhitomir: L'onok, 1993). According to the lists of names, 349 Jews were murdered in Andrushevka in the years 1941–1942.
6. VHF, # 44736.

BARANOVKA

1938–1941: Baranovka, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Baranowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj) Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Baranivka, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Baranovka is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) west of Zhitomir. In the census of 1939, there were only 1,447 Jews in Baranovka (22.9 percent of the total population) and 839 additional Jews in the villages of the raion, totaling 2,286.

German forces occupied Baranovka on July 6, 1941. After the start of the invasion, a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. Around 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Baranovka at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the settlement. The German military administration created a local raion authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, which took part in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civil administration. Baranovka was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj (aka Zwiahel), and Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Soon after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur instructed the raion authority to register and mark the Jews. The Jews were required to wear an armband around their sleeves and to perform forced labor (repairing roads, stockpiling timber, and other tasks). At the end of July 1941, the German military administration decreed the establishment of an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in the center of the settlement, composed of a few small houses on Zhaboritskaia Street.[2] Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly ensued.

On July 19, 1941, the first Aktion took place: 74 Jewish men were seized and killed in the center of the settlement.[3] In all likelihood, it was a detachment of the German Security Police and SD from Sonderkommando 4a (part of Einsatzgruppe C) that carried out the shooting.[4]

About two weeks later, German security forces drove out in three cars towards the town of Poninka (south of Baranovka), where they shot 100 Jews. This massacre was probably carried out by units of the 8th SS-Motorized Infantry Regiment of the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade, which was active in the area from July 29 to 30, 1941.[5]

The third Aktion took place in Baranovka on August 24, 1941.[6] German forces, directed by a detachment of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, escorted 180 people to a location 7 kilometers (4 miles) west of the settlement and shot them.[7]

In November 1941, all the remaining able-bodied Jewish men were taken to the forced labor camp in Novograd-Volynskii.[8] The women, children, and elderly remained in the ghetto until the beginning of January 1942. On January 6, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto, and the Ukrainian police shot 594 people on the northern outskirts of the settlement. These were the Jewish residents of Baranovka and also the Jews who lived in nearby villages.[9]

More than 1,000 Jews were murdered in Baranovka between July 1941 and January 1942.

During the second half of 1941, 119 Jews in total were murdered in the villages of the Baranovka raion.[10] In Dubrovka, 50 people were killed; in Pershotravensk, 40; in Seremlia, 22; in Kashperovka, 4; and in other villages, 3.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Baranovka during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 87; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 53–57.

Documents and witness statements regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the Baranovka raion can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-60-283); GAZO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Eva Gladkaia, in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 96–97; available also in English as Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 53–57.
3. Act of January 10, 1944, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vol. 13 (Voenizdat, 1945), p. 50.
4. Alfred Streim, *Das Sonderkommando 4a der Einsatzgruppe C und die mit diesem Kommando eingesetzten Einheiten während des Russlandfeldzuges in der Zeit vom 22.6.1941 bis zum Sommer 1943* (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg, 1964), p. 170.
5. See Alexander. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 228 n.17.
6. VHAP (USHMM, RG-48.004M), HSSPF-Russland Süd, Jeckeln Telegram, no. 160, August 25, 1941. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 87, date this Aktion on August 19, 1941.
7. Act of January 10, 1944, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, vol. 13, p. 50.
8. Testimony of Eva Gladkaia.
9. Act of January 10, 1944. (See note 3) Alexander
10. GARF, 7021-60-283, pp. 162–167. These numbers only included those Jews who could be identified by name. The actual number of people killed was greater than this.

BARASHI

Pre-1941: Barashi, village and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Baraschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Emiltschino, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Barashi, Emil'chine raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Barashi is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 320 Jews lived in the village (10 percent of the total population). Altogether there were 549 Jews living in the Barashi raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than half the Jewish population was able to evacuate

to the east. At that time eligible men were drafted into the Red Army or volunteered. Around 30 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied Barashi on July 12, 1941. During July and August, the German military administration created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in all the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Baraschi was a Rayon center in Gebiet Emiltschino, and Kreisobmann Dau was appointed the Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military administration issued orders for the registration and marking of the Jewish population with armbands. Jews were also required to perform heavy labor without pay.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration ordered the establishment of a small open ghetto, or "Jewish residential quarter," in the village of Barashi. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and from buying products from the local Ukrainians. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from surrounding villages. Famine quickly ensued. The ghetto existed until early November 1941.[2] At that time, all the Jews living in the ghetto were shot. There were at least 37 victims in total and probably as many as 100. The mass shootings were conducted by three SS officers, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police from Barashi and Nepoznanichi. They escorted the Jews to a bushy area 3 kilometers (2 miles) east of Nepoznanichi. The younger Jewish men were forced to dig a grave, and then all the victims had to undress. The three SS men then shot the Jews into the grave in groups of 7 to 10 people.[3]

In the fall of 1941 and spring of 1942, Jews were murdered in a number of villages within the Baraschi Rayon. There were 2 Jews killed in Simony; 3 Jews killed in Buda-Bobritsa; 10 Jews killed in Kremyanka; 15 Jews killed from Novoaleksandrovka (apparently Jews who were taken to Barashi and murdered there in October 1941); and 23 Jews from Staraia Guta (shot in March 1942). The total number of victims was 53 Jews.[4]

SOURCES Documents regarding the murder of the Jews in the Barashi raion can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/204 AR-Z 133/67); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-284).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-284, p. 3.
3. BA-L, B 162/204 AR-Z 133/67, Dok. Bd., pp. 39–45, and vol. 2, pp. 302–324. According to the documents of the ChGK in Barashi, 37 Jews were murdered. It is possible, however, that these victims included only those who had known or identifiable surnames.
4. GARF, 7021-60-284, pp. 45, 82, 128, 132, 155.

BERDICHEV

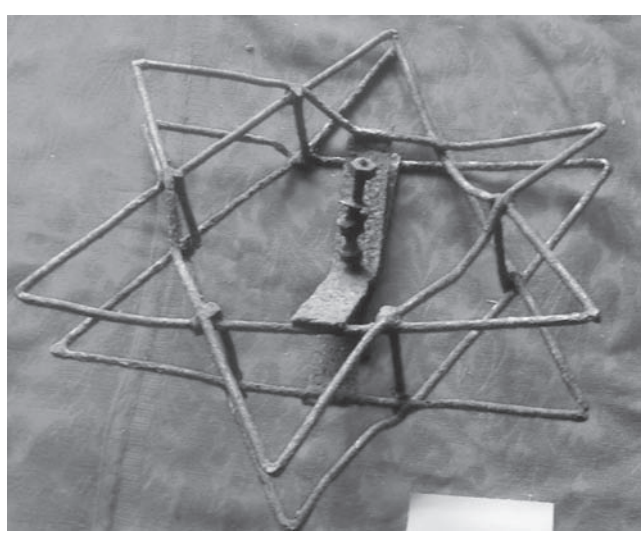
Pre-1941: Berdichev, city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Berditschew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Berdychiv raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Berdichev is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of Zhitomir. In 1939, the Jewish population stood at 23,266 (37.5 percent of the total population).

On the evening of July 7, 1941, about two weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the city was occupied by the 11th Panzer Division of the XLVIII Motorized Corps of the 6th Army. Around 10,000 people, the majority of whom were Jews, were evacuated or managed to escape from the city. An undeterminable number of Jews also relocated to the outskirts of the city, settling in nearby small towns and villages.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the affairs of the city. The German commandant established a local administration in Berdichev, headed by the ethnic German mayor Reder, who was assisted by his deputy Slipchenko and the secretary Schmidt. The Germans also established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, recruited from among the local residents. Koroliuk was appointed as its chief. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Berdichev became the administrative center of Gebiet Berditschew. Regierungsrat Erwin Göllner became the Gebietskommissar. In November 1941, three additional appointments were made. Unterleutnant der Polizei Kölle from the police administration in Breslau became the SS- und Polizeistandortführer. Oberleutnant der Polizei



An iron Jewish star that presumably was part of the ghetto fence at Berdichev, n.d. The star, which is a fraction over 1 foot long and 1 foot wide, was found in 2006 by repairmen working on pipes beneath the site of the former ghetto.
COURTESY OF YAHAD-IN UNUM

Becker from the police administration in Bochum became the head of the Schutzpolizei. Finally, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Karl Kurzhals became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Berdichev. Gebiet Berditschew encompassed the Rayons of Ianushpol' and Andrushevka, in addition to the city and Rayon of Berdichev. The new Gebiet Berditschew was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[1]

In early to mid-July 1941, Sonderkommando 4a was the first of a series of German punitive units to be active in the city of Berdichev. From the end of July to the end of August 1941, Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Schulz, was deployed in the city.

From August 26 to September 20, 1941, the military staff of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, headed by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, was present in Berdichev. Also present from September 5 to 21, 1941, was the 45th Police Reserve Battalion, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Besser. Jeckeln was in charge of all large-scale coordinated police operations. His staff and the members of the 45th Battalion carried out mass killings of the Jewish population in the city in September 1941.[2]

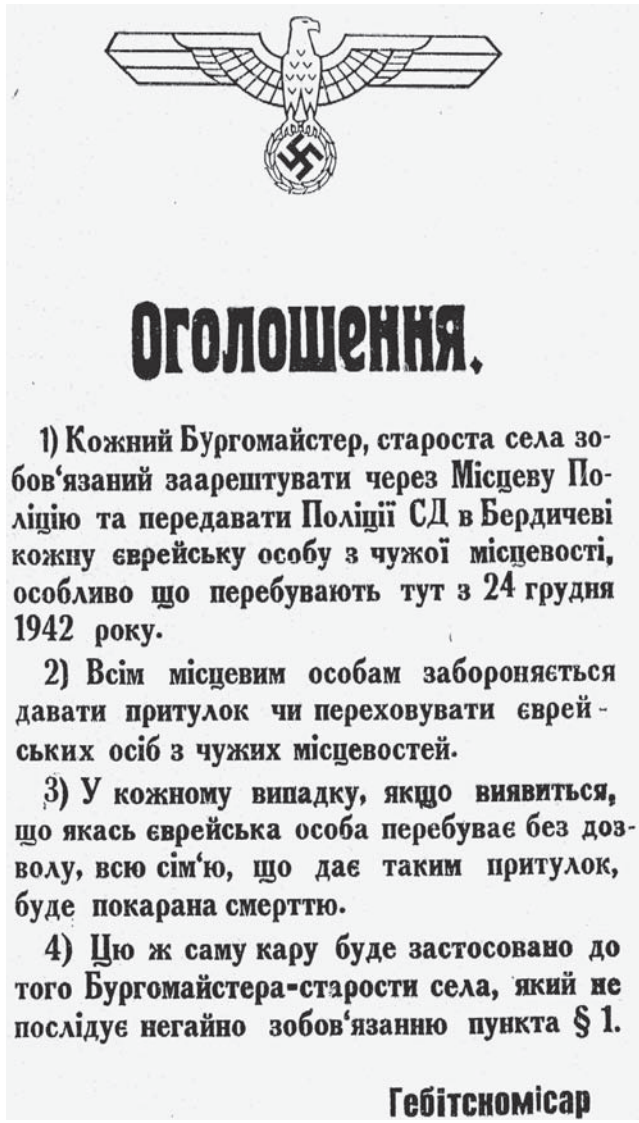
At the beginning of 1942, a local office of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was established in Berdichev. From February to June 1942, SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Sievert was in charge of the post. He was succeeded from June to August 1942 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Hülsdünker, and from the middle of August 1942 until the end of the occupation on January 5, 1944, by SS-Hauptscharführer Fritz Knop.[3]

The first murders of Jews in the city of Berdichev were carried out by detachments of the German armed forces in the form of the Waffen-SS. In the course of two days, the engineers' battalion of the SS-Division "Wiking" carried out four roundup operations against the Jews. Altogether around 850 persons were arrested and shot at a site a few kilometers outside the city.[4] Other shootings by Sonderkommando 4a, Einsatzkommando 5, and the command staff of the HSSPF Russland-Süd followed in July and August. In addition, in the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Berdichev.

On August 26, 1941, the German occupying authorities declared that a ghetto was to be established in the city and that all Jews must relocate into it over the following three days. The ghetto was located in the poorest part of the city, consisting of ancient shacks, tiny single-storied houses, and crumbling buildings in the area of the Iatki marketplace. Jews were allowed to bring in only clothes and bedding. German soldiers and local residents confiscated all their remaining property. People were forced to live five or six families to a room. Leaving the limits of the ghetto was strictly forbidden. Jews could buy goods at the marketplace only after 6:00 P.M., that is, when no goods were left. Jews inside the ghetto were frequently beaten and robbed by members of the local police.[5]

On September 4, 1941, the first "cleansing" Aktion was carried out against the Jews in the ghetto. Jeckeln ordered the arrest and shooting of 1,303 Jews, including 876 girls over the age of 12. The victims had been told that they were being sent to do agricultural work, but they ended up digging their own graves. Men subordinated to the HSSPF Russland-Süd carried out the shooting close to the village of Khazhin.[6]

On September 15, 1941, a second large-scale Aktion was carried out in the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by SS troops and local police during the night, and starting at 4:00 A.M. they brutally drove some 12,000 persons out of their



Оголошення.

1) Кожний Бургомайстер, староста села зобов'язаний заарештувати через Місцеву Поліцію та передавати Поліції СД в Бердичеві кожну єврейську особу з чужої місцевості, особливо що перебувають тут з 24 грудня 1942 року.

2) Всім місцевим особам забороняється давати притулок чи переховувати єврейських осіб з чужих місцевостей.

3) У кожному випадку, якщо виявиться, що якась єврейська особа перебуває без дозволу, всю сім'ю, що дає таким притулок, буде покарана смерттю.

4) Цю ж саму кару буде застосовано до того Бургомайстера-старости села, який не послідує негайно зобов'язанню пункта § 1.

Гебітскомісар

An undated Ukrainian sign issued by the German authorities in Berdichev, which reads:
"Announcement
1) Every Burgomaster and village elder is required to arrest through the municipal police and to transfer to the SD Police in Berdichev every Jewish person from foreign places, especially those who arrived here since 24 December 1942.
2) All local persons are forbidden to give shelter or hide Jewish persons from foreign places.
3) In all cases where a Jewish person is staying without permission, the entire family that provides such shelter will be punished by death.
4) This same penalty will apply to burgomaster-village elders who do not immediately follow the requirements of point no. 1.
District Commissar"
USHMM/RG 31.023

houses and gathered them in the market square. Many of those who could not walk were killed on the spot. On the square, Reder and Koroliuk carried out a selection of skilled workers. The bulk of the Jews were then formed into columns and escorted under close guard to the airfield, where the German forces shot them in five ditches. About 400 specialist workers and artisans were spared and allowed to return to the ghetto with their families.[7] Members of the 45th Police Reserve Battalion were among the forces that carried out the mass killing.[8] The staff company of the HSSPF (Jeckeln), including its guards, bodyguards, and chauffeurs, also took part in the Aktion, assisted by the local Ukrainian police. Local policemen and others immediately looted the empty houses in the ghetto.

On October 30, 1941, the third Aktion was carried out in the ghetto, completing its liquidation. From October 30 to November 1, 1941, Ukrainian policemen rounded up all the remaining Jews who lived in the ghetto and took them to the nearby Carmelite monastery, which served as a prison. On November 3, 1941, around 800 men were the first to be shot, followed by the women and children. About 150 specialist workers and artisans were released and forcibly resettled into the labor camp prison.[9] The shootings were carried out in the village of Sokulino. The perpetrators in all likelihood were members of the Security Police and SD detachment from Zhitomir, together with the Ukrainian police.

On February 25, 1942, the Jews who remained in the city of Berdichev were resettled into the barracks in Lysaia Gora ("Bald Mountain"). The resettlement of the roughly 350 Jews was completed on March 1, 1942. From May to June 1942, an additional 700 Jews were relocated there from the liquidated ghettos in surrounding places such as Ianushpol', Andrushevka, Kazatin, and Ruzhin. On July 16, 1942, the labor prison camp was liquidated. On the grounds of a former shooting range of the 14th Cavalry Division, around 700 captured Jews and 230 local Jews were shot.[10] The shootings were carried out by the Berdichev Sipo-Aussendienststelle on orders from Dr. Franz Razesberger, the commander of the Security Police and SD in Zhitomir.[11] Prior to the shooting, 60 artisans and specialist workers were selected out and resettled into a Security Police prison.[12] The majority of these artisans were shot on November 13, 1943, and January 3, 1944.[13]

On April 27, 1942, around 70 Jewish women and children of mixed marriages were shot. They had been registered as living in Berdichev.[14] The murders were apparently carried out by members of the Security Police outpost.

The total number of Jewish victims from 1941 to 1944 can be estimated at around 17,000 persons. According to the first postwar population census in 1959, around 6,300 Jews lived in Berdichev (11.8 percent of the total population).

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Berdichev and its destruction can be found in the following publications: "Berdichev," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:114–115; S. Elisavetskii, *Berdichevskaia tragediia: Dokumental'noe povestvovanie* (Kiev, 1991); Vasilii Grossman and Il'ia Ehrenburg, eds., "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," in *Chernaia kniga o zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovietskogo Soiuza i v lagerakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945 gg.* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 32–43; John Garrard and Carol Garrard, *The Bones of Berdichev: The Life and Fate of Vasily Grossman* (New York: Free Press, 1996); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 1999).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Berdichev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; DAZO; GARF (7021-560-285); RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memorandum (Schnellbrief) of the chief of the Security Police from October 25, 1941, in RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

2. Jeckeln was sentenced by the Soviet military tribunal and hanged in Riga on February 3, 1946. After the war, Besser was under investigation but was unable to appear before the court for reasons of health. On August 5, 1971, Engelbert Kreuzer, the former commander of the 2nd Company of the 45th Battalion, was sentenced to seven years in prison. He pleaded guilty to murdering Jews in a number of cities in Ukraine, including Berdichev; see LG-Reg, Ks 6/70.

3. On August 5, 1966, Sievert was acquitted by a court in Düsseldorf; see LG-Düss, 8I Ks 1/66. On March 9, 1960, Hülsdünker and Knop were sentenced by a court in Berlin to 3 years and 6 months in prison and 7 years in prison, respectively; see LG-Be, 3 PKs 1/57.

4. See the testimony of the former SS-Rottenführer Hans Isenmann at the court proceedings in Kiev in January 1946, in *Kyivs'kyi protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev, 1995), p. 51.

5. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 35; see also Elisavetskii, *Berdichevskaia tragediia*, pp. 81–110.

6. BA-BL, R 58/217, pp. 157–186, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 88, September 19, 1941; VHAP, KdO Stab RFSS, Telegram no. 289 of the HSSPF Russland-Süd, September 5, 1941; see also BA-L, B 162, 204 AR-Z 129/67, p. 998.

7. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," pp. 37–39.

8. See the indictment against Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer dated February 2, 1970, LG-Reg, Ks 6/70.

9. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," pp. 41–42.

10. GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 17 (and reverse side), testimony of the witness Mikhail Pekelis. According to another source, Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42, there were around 500 persons altogether in the labor prison camp.

11. On July 26, 1961, Dr. Franz Razesberger was acquitted by a court in Vienna.

12. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42.

13. Report of the city's administrative commission from May 13, 1944, GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 8. See also the testimony

of the witness Chaim Satanovskii, April 20, 1944, to be found in the same file (GARF, 7021-60-285, pp. 48–49).

14. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42.

BRAILOV

Pre-1941: Brailov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Brailow, Rayon center, Gebiet Litin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Brailiv, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Brailov is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) south of Vinnitsa. In 1931, there were about 2,400 Jews in Brailov and its environs. Comprising 96 percent of the inhabitants, they formed an overwhelming majority of the town's population.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Brailov on July 17, 1941. A number of Jews were able to evacuate or were called up to the Red Army, but the majority remained behind. On the first day of the occupation, 15 Jews were killed. The German authorities appointed Mikhail Baranchuk as the chief of the Ukrainian police, and in this position he demonstrated extraordinary cruelty to the Jewish population. The German authorities ordered the Jews to wear a yellow six-pointed star on their backs and chests. They were explicitly forbidden to leave the settlement and to trade or have any contact with the Ukrainian population in the surrounding villages.[1]

After a short time, all Jews were relocated to a ghetto. A monthly "contribution" was demanded of them in money and valuables. In July 1941, at the demand of the military commandant, Jews had to hand over 800 pieces of fabric, 120 pairs of boots, and 500 silk scarves with Nazi swastikas sewn on them, all within 24 hours. They also had to hand over 300,000 rubles in cash.

In the fall of 1941, Brailov came under the control of a German civil administration. Brailov was a Rayon center in Gebiet Litin, under the authority of Gebietskommissar Traugott Volkhammer. In Brailov there was a local post of the German Gendarmerie, commanded by Hans Graf, which assumed control over the local Ukrainian police. Probably on Graf's instructions, Jews were permitted to shop in the market for only 10 minutes every day, signaled by a policeman blowing his whistle.[2]

In November 1941, Jews had to hand over 10 women's gold watches, 12 gold bracelets, a grand piano for the officer's club, two cars, and three drums of gasoline. Orders for the collection of these goods were passed on via the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was under the leadership of Iosif Kulik. On a daily basis, about 1,000 prisoners were taken out of the ghetto for various forced labor tasks, which included bricklaying and repairing the roads. The guards shot many of them for working too slowly. A few families opened a leather-making shop in the ghetto and worked there. A linen shop was also in operation. The bulk of the production created by the artisans went directly to the Germans and local policemen.

In the early morning of February 12, 1942, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Vinnitsa, reinforced by Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police from the entire Gebiet Litin and by men of the local German customs post (Zollstelle), gathered more than 1,000 prisoners from the ghetto in the market square, outside the church. After this, searches were carried out in the homes of the Jews in the ghetto. Jews who were ill or who were found in hiding places, including children, were shot immediately. However, the German and Ukrainian forces were unable to find nearly 200 ghetto inhabitants. In contravention of German orders, some Ukrainian policemen plundered Jewish property from the ghetto.[3]

The Germans began a process of selection, and several hundred Jews were selected out according to those professions that were deemed necessary. These Jews were allowed to take their families and return to the ghetto. Gendarmerie chief Graf demanded that the remaining 800 Jews put their gold, silver, and money into a briefcase, which he had placed beside him. Then they were lined up and driven to the killing site, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Brailov, not far from the Jewish cemetery, at the side of the road leading to the village of Demidovka. During the convoy, there were a few daring attempts to escape, but most of the runaways were shot on the spot. When the transport arrived at the killing site, the German forces drove groups of Jews down into a ditch that had been dug for them a few days earlier. The Germans and Ukrainians ordered the Jews to undress and lie facedown in the ditch. Then the men of the Security Police shot them with automatic weapons. The next group laid down on top of the previous one. Iosif Kulik, the aforementioned head of the Judenrat, was permitted to return to the ghetto with his wife. But he refused to do so, and they were both shot during the course of the Aktion.[4]

The territory of the ghetto was then reduced considerably. The prisoners lived in terribly overcrowded conditions. Ghetto inmates faced the death penalty for leaving the ghetto or being found in possession of butter, eggs, or meat. By a special order, Jewish families in the ghetto were threatened with death if they gave birth to any children.[5]

In March or April 1942, the Germans shot 300 more Jews after another selection. Among those murdered in these Aktions in early 1942 were some 200 Jews from the nearby village of Mezhirov.[6] On June 8, 1942 (according to another source, April 25, 1942), Graf gathered all the remaining Jews in the market square. On the orders of Gebietskommissar Volkhammer, all those incapable of work (around 100 Jews), mainly children under 16, were selected. They were then led down into a cellar, and the German forces shot them there. Some Brailov Jews escaped the selection and managed to find hiding places. According to new instructions, the dead were to be buried in the ghetto.

In late June or July 1942, the ghetto was liquidated and the German commandant ordered a sign to be hung at the entrance to the settlement, which read in Ukrainian and German: "Brailov, cleansed of Jews [*judenrein*]." At that time, the Germans shot 503 Jews, including 286 Jews who had been returned to Brailov after escaping at different times to Zhmerinka, which was in the Romanian zone of occupation. On the

eve of the Aktion, a squad of German Gendarmerie headed by Hans Graf arrived in Zhmerinka from Brailov and demanded from the Romanian administration and Adolf Hirshman, the head of the Zhmerinka Judenrat, a list of all the Brailov Jews in the Zhmerinka ghetto. Then, under the pretext of required anti-typhus vaccinations, the Brailov Jews were taken back to Brailov from Zhmerinka. Meanwhile, Hirshman hid a small number of Brailov Jews in the Zhmerinka ghetto. This bold act ultimately saved their lives. After the liberation, however, the Soviet authorities tried Hirshman for his role in the fate of Brailov's Jews.[7]

In the late summer and fall of 1942, the Germans and Ukrainian police continued to shoot any Jews they found in hiding, but a number managed to escape to the Romanian-occupied zone, including about 12 Jewish families who were hidden by kolkhoz workers in Kopystirin (in the Shargorod raion). Some of the escapees later became partisans. A squad of the German Criminal Police in Vinnitsa arrived in Brailov in October or December 1943 to organize the shooting of the last Jews remaining in Brailov: 17 tailors who worked in a sewing workshop.[8]

The Red Army recaptured the town from the Germans on March 20, 1944.

SOURCES Additional information on the Brailov ghetto can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); in the volume of documents edited by Yitzhak Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 149–150; and in the volume edited by E. Wol'f, *Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Zhmerinskogo getto* (Jerusalem, 2001).

Documentation and survivor testimonies relevant to the Brailov ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1268); TsDAVO; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/220, 227, 2395; and O-3/3894). In addition, there is an interview conducted with Leonid Langerman in 2005, now deposited in the author's personal archive (PAAKag).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga* (Zaporozhe: Interbuk, 1991), pp. 61–67; see also Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry.*

2. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 31–32, identifies Graf as the Gendarmerie post commander. *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* names a man called "Kraft" as the commandant who amused himself at this spectacle. These men are probably the same person.

3. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, pp. 67–87, report of HSSPF Ukraine for March 1942; and also DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 10–11, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Befehl 16/42, July 20, 1942. Several Schutzmänner from Brailov were court-martialed for plundering.

4. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 31–32; see also GARF, 7021-54-1268, pp. 68, 79.

5. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 61–67.

6. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, p. 32; see also GARF 7021-54-1268.

7. Wol'f, *Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Zhmerinskogo getto*, pp. 94–95, 162–168, 226.

8. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 34–35; Australia's Attorney-General's Department, *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra: AGPS, 1993), p. 106.

CHERNIAKHOV

Pre-1941: Cherniakhov, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschernjachow, Rayon center, Gebiet Shitomir, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Cherniakhiv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Cherniakhov is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) north of Zhitomir. In 1939, 1,482 Jews (20.7 percent of the total population) lived there. Within the villages of the Cherniakhov raion, there were an additional 228 Jews.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a substantial part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Less than half of the prewar Jewish population remained in Cherniakhov at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 13, 1941. From July through October 1941, a German military command post (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force consisting of local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Cherniakhov was incorporated into Gebiet Shitomir, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[1]

After the occupation of the town, the German administration ordered all Jews to be registered and marked with armbands. The Jews were then exploited for various forms of heavy labor.

In the first 10 days of August 1941, several cleansing Aktions were carried out. Sonderkommando 4a shot an estimated 112 Jews and "Bolsheviks" in the first Aktion.[2] The second claimed 33 Jews,[3] and the third claimed 13 Jews.[4] Details of the first Aktion are found in Einsatzgruppen report no. 58 of August 20, 1941:

> After the arrival of German forces in Cherniakhov, initially it was calm, such that the remaining Jews were compelled to restrain themselves. On the following day, after the combat forces had moved on, Sonderkommando 4a discovered that in the meantime the Jews (as everywhere) were in contact with the scattered Russian partisan units that were terrorizing the entire area. A detachment sent there in response to this observation arrested all the Jewish

men they could find, and at the same time searched for terrorists still in hiding. Fifteen members of the (GPU) [State Political Directorate] and another 11 informants were exposed, along with the main criminal, a national judge named Kieper.[5]

On August 7–8, 1941, the 2nd Battalion of the 10th Motorized Unit of the 1st SS-Motorized Brigade carried out another Aktion. They arrested and shot 232 Jews.[6]

After the shooting of the Jewish men, the Ortskommandantur apparently resettled the remaining Jewish women and children into a freight car at some date in the fall of 1941, where they were held for a short time before they were shot. This brief incarceration could be viewed as a form of destruction ghetto.[7]

During the occupation of Cherniakhov from July 1941 to November 1943, according to the list of names, 571 persons were shot in Cherniakhov, including 568 Jews.[8]

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Cherniakhov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/215, 216); BA-L (B 162/19220); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-314); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 3).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Ibid., R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 47, August 9, 1941.
3. Ibid., R 58/216, EM no. 58, August 20, 1941.
4. Ibid., EM no. 60, August 22, 1941.
5. Ibid., EM no. 58, August 20, 1941.
6. See the Report of the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade from August 10, 1941, in Fritz Baade, ed., *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 103–105.
7. Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), p. 88. Lower, however, contrasts this treatment starkly with the formal ghettoization process known from the larger cities in the Generalgouvernement.
8. GARF, 7021-60-314, pp. 100–102 and reverse side. See also BA-L, B 162/19220, pp. 60–61, which also gives the figure of 571 people shot in Cherniakhov.

CHERVONOARMEISK (AKA KRASNOARMEISK)

Pre-1941: Chervonoarmeisk, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherwonnoarmeisk, renamed Pulin, Rayon center, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Chervonoarmiis'k, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Chervonoarmeisk is located 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Kiev. In 1926, 1,056 Jews lived in Chervonoarmeisk. According to the 1939 population census, 523 Jews (13.2 percent of the total population) lived in the town. Additionally, 490 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Chervonoarmeisk raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. Eligible men at that time were conscripted or volunteered for the Red Army. Around 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the town in July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Chervonoarmeisk. The German military administration created a raion authority and established a Ukrainian police unit from among the local inhabitants. The Ukrainian policemen played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Chervonoarmeisk was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj, and Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of Chervonoarmeisk, the German military administration issued orders calling for a registration and marking of the Jewish population with armbands. Jews were also made to perform unpaid heavy labor, such as the repair of roads and buildings.

At some time in the summer or early fall of 1941, the German Ortskommandantur established a ghetto or "Jewish residential quarter," in Chervonoarmeisk. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and were forbidden to buy products from the local Ukrainians. Famine quickly ensued in consequence.

According to the Jewish survivor Mark Meshok, around September 1941, Jews were rounded up in the surrounding villages, including in the village of Ocheretianki, and were brought to the ghetto in Chervonoarmeisk, where hundreds of people were collected. The ghetto consisted of only five or six houses in the center of Chervonoarmeisk, surrounded with barbed wire. It was guarded by local policemen and by the Germans. However, Ukrainians still came to the ghetto and traded food for valuable items or for work, such as sewing.[2]

The ghetto existed until December 1941, when the Germans liquidated it and all its inhabitants were shot. Just before the Aktion, the Germans spread word that all the Jews would be sent to Palestine. Then early in the morning the local police drove the Jews out of their houses only half-dressed in the freezing cold. As the Jews were escorted to the pits, local Ukrainians started to rob them, taking their coats. The elderly who could not keep up were killed on the way. On reaching Iagodenka, just to the southwest of Chervonoarmeisk, the column turned up the hill, and the men started to pray, realizing that the end was near. The Jews were surrounded by Germans and local police and were shot into the pits. Infants were taken from their mothers' arms and thrown into the pit to be buried alive.[3]

The mass murders were carried out by three SS officers with the help of the Ukrainian police and by a detachment that was subordinated to SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln, Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 274 people were shot, but this source dates the Aktion in September 1941.[4]

Mark Meshok and his mother were both saved by a local ethnic German named Fritsche (or Fricher), who lived in Iagodenka and managed to extract them both from the column of Jews and take them back to his home.[5]

In the second half of 1941, Jews were executed in a number of other villages in the Chervonoarmeisk raion. There were 6 Jews murdered in October 1941 in the village of Ocheretianki (to the northwest of Chervonoarmeisk), and 11 Jews murdered in the village of Sokolov (to the east).[6]

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jews of Chervonoarmeisk can be found in the following publication: A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 56 (in this source, the settlement is referred to as Krasnoarmeisk).

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Chervonoarmeisk can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-300); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2); and VHF (# 5812).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft and Crispin Brooks

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 5812, testimony of Mark Meshok.
3. Ibid.
4. GARF, 7021-60-300, pp. 144, 146.
5. VHF, # 5812.
6. GARF, 7021-60-300, pp. 91–92, 112.

CHUDNOV

Pre-1941: Chudnov, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tschudnow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Chudniv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Chudnov is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 2,506 Jews lived in the town (46.4 percent of the total). Additionally, there were 703 Jews in the villages of the Chudnov raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the settlement on July 7, 1941, less than three weeks after the start of the German invasion. In this period a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military authorities created a local Ukrainian administration and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local population.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Chudnov became the administrative center of Gebiet Tschudnow, and Hitler Jugend (HJ)-Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel was appointed as Gebietskommissar. The Rayons Ljubar and Dsershinsk were also incorporated into Gebiet Chudnov.[1]

On July 15, 1941, a week after the occupation of the town, a "Jewish residential district" (an open ghetto) was established in Chudnov in a part of town that had been severely damaged during the fighting. One main street and a few side streets were reserved only for the Jewish population, but the area was not fenced in. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the area and from buying products from local Ukrainians. They had their own separate shops, and the Ukrainians were forbidden all contact with the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands on their left arms, bearing a yellow six-pointed Star of David. Jewish men were required to perform heavy labor, were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town, and were subjected to beatings and robbery by the Germans and Ukrainian police.[2]

One day, probably in August 1941, Jews from Chudnov were taken to dig graves in the local park. At this time the Germans brought a number of Jews from the nearby village of Piatka into Chudnov and shot them in these graves. The grave diggers were also beaten and humiliated before they were released.[3]

On September 9, 1941, the Germans organized the first Aktion against Chudnov's Jews. About 800 or 900 people were loaded onto trucks on the pretext of a labor assignment and were taken out of the town to be shot.[4] Apparently, members of Police Battalion 303, commanded by Major der Polizei Heinrich Hannibal, carried out the shooting. The battalion was stationed in Chudnov from September 5, 1941.[5]

Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated during the fall. People were starving, it became cold, and the Jews had inadequate clothing. There was not even any water in the Jewish quarter. Those who tried to bring in water were either beaten or shot by the guards.[6]

On October 16, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Chudnov. In a document for the "Divak settlement," the head of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in Chudnov reported that "on October 16, 1941, all Jews regardless of age were shot by order of the German military commandant in Berdichev." The Ukrainian police from the town of "Divak" conducted the killings. About 500 Jews were shot altogether.[7] The German and Ukrainian police drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and gathered them in the local cinema building. From there they were loaded onto trucks and transported to a park on the southern outskirts of Chudnov. In the park, the Germans had placed boards across the pits, and they shot the Jews in groups of 5 to 10 people such that they fell in.[8]

On October 22, 1941, the Ukrainian police carried out a third and final Aktion against the ghetto. They rounded up the few hundred remaining Jews, again gathering them in the local cinema building before taking them away in vehicles to the park and shooting them in the same manner.[9]

After this last Aktion, only a small group of Jewish specialized workers remained in the town. They were held in a barracks area, which was surrounded by barbed wire.[10] In the middle of November 1941, these Jews were also shot and killed.[11] The Germans and their collaborators murdered around 2,000 Jews in Chudnov between September and November 1941.

With regard to the Chudnov raion, apart from the Jews of Piatka, between August and September 1941, an additional 111 Jews from the village of Novyi Chudnov were killed.[12]

Among the very few Jewish survivors from Chudnov, both Mariam Sandal and Polina Pekerman benefited from being able to persuade local policemen to let them go, owing to either personal friendships or their non-Jewish appearance. Pekerman also names two Ukrainian policemen who actively participated in the killings: a man named Briukhanov and an officer named Lozovoi.[13]

SOURCES Published testimonies by Jewish survivors from Chudnov can be found in these works: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); and *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem and Moscow, 1993).

Documentation on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Chudnov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO (1151-1-2); GARF (7021-60-315); TsDAHOU (57-4-225); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. See the testimonies of Polina Pekerman and Mariam Sandal (Askes), in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 195–205, 268–273; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225, p. 33.
3. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 269. In 1931 there were 791 Jews living in Piatka.
4. *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 158. See also the testimonies of M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 195–205, and P. Pekerman, pp. 268–273.
5. See telegram no. 305 of September 6, 1941, from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, VHAP, KdO-Stab RFSS.
6. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 269.
7. DAZO, 1151-1-2. In this document, "Divak" probably refers to Chudnov. See also testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 269–270, which dates the second Aktion in Chudnov on October 16, 1941.
8. Testimonies of P. Pekerman, pp. 199–205, and M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 268–273.
9. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 271.
10. Verdict of LG-Kass, 3 Ks 5/57, May 24, 1957, in the case against Konrad H., published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), 44:138–139.
11. *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 160.
12. GARF, 7021-60-315, p. 25.
13. Testimonies of P. Pekerman, pp. 195–205, and M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 268–273.

DASHEV

Pre-1941: Dashev, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Daschew, Rayon center, Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dashiv, Illintsi raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Dashev is located 76 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. Dashev consists of three parts (former villages): Staryi Dashev, Novyi Dashev, and Polevoe.

According to the 1939 census, there were 967 Jews living in Dashev (34.1 percent of the total population); in the villages of what was then the Dashev raion, there were an additional 452 Jews. Most of these Jews lived in the villages of Kitaigorod and Kal'nik.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 25, 1941, about five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During these intervening weeks, some Jewish men volunteered for or were drafted into the Red Army, and a number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward.

In the period from July to October 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) located in Gaisin governed the town. In November 1941, a civil administration replaced the German military administration. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Daschew was part of Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Werder. In Dashev itself, there was a Gendarmerie post to which a squad of Ukrainian police was subordinated; the latter, together with the German Gendarmerie, took an active part in the anti- Jewish Aktions in the Rayon. In July 1942, the head of the Ukrainian police (Schutzmannschaft) in Dashev was a man named Charilon Sachartschuk.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat); Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; they were forced to perform work on behalf of the German occupation agencies; they were forbidden to leave the town limits; and they were ordered to hand over all their valuables, including bicycles, sewing machines, and gramophones. Jews were forbidden to sell products in the market, while the local Ukrainian residents were forbidden to maintain relationships of any kind with Jews; infractions of this rule were subject to flogging. The places where the Jews lived in close proximity, both in Staryi Dashev and in Novyi Dashev, were declared to be "Jewish quarters" (open ghettos). The open ghetto in Staryi Dashev was liquidated on October 28, 1941,[2] when almost all the Jews were shot; in November 1941, around 200 Jews from the village of Kitaigorod

were herded into Staryi Dashev and shot.[3] The total number of victims was 814.[4] The shooting was carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, assisted by other German forces and the Ukrainian police. In Novyi Dashev, 165 Jews were shot, probably on December 17, 1941, followed by 37 more on December 20, 1941.[5] Ortskommandantur I (V) 275, based in the Vinnitsa region, reported on December 18, 1941, that it had received two postal saving books that had been confiscated by the Feldgendarmerie in Dashev on the occasion of an Aktion against the Jews there on December 17.[6]

According to the Jewish child survivor Basia Malinskaia, after these mass shootings, there were only about a dozen Jews (probably specialist workers and their families) left in Dashev. They all were moved into two houses in Staryi Dashev, at the very end of the town. One family lived in the last house, and in the other there lived a Jewish man who served as the "commandant" or elder of the Jewish settlement, together with a few other people. The Jewish commandant with his son kept watch on German orders, to ensure that nobody left the two houses. They hoped that if they obeyed orders, perhaps their lives would be spared. There was a well in the courtyard of one of the houses, where the families could get water and do their washing.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans conducted several roundups in the small remnant ghetto, but some Jews succeeded in hiding, either in the fields or concealed in a cellar within one of the houses. Those who were taken in the roundups, probably including the Jewish elder, all were shot in a ravine near Kupchintsy, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Dashev.[7] According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the remaining 13 Jewish specialists from Novyi Dashev were shot in May 1942.[8]

The murder of the Jews of Dashev is mentioned by the Jewish survivor Ida Kalnizkaia, whose grandparents were apparently shot there in the courtyard of their home.[9] Basia Malinskaia survived after her parents passed her on to a Ukrainian family in the village of Parkhomovka for the remainder of the German occupation. The son of the Jewish elder of the remnant ghetto also somehow managed to survive and returned to live in Dashev after the war.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dashev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/23); DAVINO; DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1266); USHMM (RG-22.002M; and Acc.1996.A.0269); VHF (# 47531); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Crispin Brooks
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
2. B. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto. Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), p. 96.
3. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 13, 23. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 5:95, gives the number of victims from Kitaigorod as 360. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 631, cites 180 Jews expelled to Dashev and shot there. It is possible that these Jews were shot in December.
4. GARF, 7021-54-1266, p. 38.
5. Ibid., p. 159. This source gives the date of the larger shooting Aktion as December 12, 1941, but German documentation reports an Aktion in Dashev on December 17, 1941.
6. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1570, OK I (V) 275, Nachweisung über beschlagnahmte Geldmittel, December 18, 1941.
7. VHF, # 47531, testimony of Basia Malinskaia, born 1932.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1266, p. 159.
9. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 171.
10. VHF, # 47531.

DZERZHINSK

Pre-1941: Dzerzhinsk (Romanov until 1933), town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Romanow (Dsershinsk), Rayon center, Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dzerzhinsk, raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukraine; [post-2003: Romaniv]

The 1939 census indicated 1,720 Jews (24.2 percent of the total population) in the town of Dzerzhinsk and 1,188 Jews living in the villages of the Dzerzhinsk raion. The town is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) west-southwest of Zhitomir.

On July 7, 1941, German forces of the 6th Army occupied the town. By then a few hundred Jews had been able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About three quarters of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dzerzhinsk at the start of the occupation. In addition, a few hundred Jewish refugees had arrived, bringing the population in the settlement to around 1,800 Jews.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the settlement. The German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Dzerzhinsk became part of Gebiet Tschudnow, and Hitler Jugend (HJ)-Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel was appointed the Gebietskommissar.[1] Shortly after the occupation of Dzerzhinsk, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration of the Jews and marking them with armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy labor, solely on account of their being Jewish.

At the end of July 1941, the Ortskommandantur declared the establishment of an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in Dzerzhinsk, designating for this purpose two streets, which were guarded by the local police.[2] Jews were

forbidden to leave the ghetto area or to buy products from the Ukrainians. As a result, the Jewish population experienced shortages of food, and starvation began to set in.

On August 25, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Dzerzhinsk. Jewish men were executed in two ditches in the forest, close to the town.[3] A company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Martin Besser and subordinated to the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, probably carried out the shooting. They murdered 549 people altogether.[4]

In the middle of October 1941, Ukrainian policemen carried out a second Aktion in the public park, killing more than 100 Jews.[5]

On October 23, 1941, the Dzerzhinsk ghetto was liquidated. The Ukrainian police shot some 850 elderly people, women, and children in the forest near the town.[6] After this Aktion, only the Jewish craftsmen and their families—around 300 people—remained in the town. On December 7, 1941, the Ukrainian policemen shot 168 of them at the former military airfield near the village of Romanovka.[7] The remaining 122 persons were shot in the public park in Dzerzhinsk on June 15, 1942.[8]

Altogether in 1941–1942, around 1,800 Jews were murdered at different sites in Dzerzhinsk.[9]

A number of Jews were also killed in the villages around Dzerzhinsk. In the villages of Miropol' and Pechanovka, 41 Jews were murdered: 16 men, 10 women, and 15 children.[10] And 253 people were killed in the village of Kamenka.[11]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population of Dzerzhinsk can be found in the following publication: Garri Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit: Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitom moimi zemliakami* (Zhitomir: Polissia, 2000).

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Dzerzhinsk during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO; GARF (7021-60-291); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, p. 51.
3. GARF, 7021-60-291, pp. 4, 60, 87–88.
4. VHAP, KdO-Stab RFSS, Telegram no. 179 from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, August 26, 1941. According to the report of April 10, 1945, after the sites were uncovered, approximately 620 corpses were found in the mass grave (GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 4). The witnesses G. Shnaiderman and B. Zel'tser said that there were around 890 people murdered (pp. 87–88).
5. Inquiry results passed to the author by the Security Service Administration of Ukraine in Zhytomyr oblast' December 4, 1991. According to the testimony of V. Pekeman, this shooting probably took place on October 18, 1941; see Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, pp. 34, 135.
6. Testimony of B. Zel'tser, May 25, 1945, GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 88. According to another source, the mass shooting took place on October 25, 1941.
7. Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, p. 35.
8. Report of May 27, 1945, GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 60.
9. Only 1,499 names of Jews killed in Dzerzhinsk are known. See GARF, 7021-60-291, pp. 61–86.
10. Ibid., p. 121. The shootings took place in September 1941 and February 1942.
11. Ibid., p. 404. The shootings took place on September 28, 1941, in December 1941, and in January 1942.

DZHULINKA

Pre-1941: Dzhulinka, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dshulinka, Rayon center, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dzhulynka, Bershad' raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Dzhulinka is located 125 kilometers (78 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, there were 212 Jews living in Dzhulinka, accounting for 4.68 percent of the population.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 28, 1941, five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews were successfully evacuated to the eastern regions of the USSR.

In the period July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) located in Gaisin was in charge of the village. In November 1941, a German civil administration replaced the military authorities. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Dshulinka was part of Gebiet Gaissin in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In Dzhulinka itself, there was a Gendarmerie post, to which a squad of Ukrainian police was subordinated.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the residential area, where most Jews were concentrated, was probably declared to be a "Jewish quarter" (open ghetto). According to one Soviet source, this "open ghetto" was only in existence for a few weeks, as in August 1941, the Germans rounded up the Jews and shot them, killing 156 people in total. The shooting took place on a tract of land where pine trees grew, near the village.[1]

SOURCES The available sources consulted for this article, however, give conflicting versions of the events. The *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* published in Kiev in 2000 by the State Committee of the Ukrainian Archives, p. 33, states that there was a ghetto in Dzhulinka, citing two documents from the State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast' (DAVINO, R-1683-1-13 and R-6022-1-27, which is cited as a list of ghetto prisoners), but it gives no further details. Other sources give different dates for the murder of the Jews of Dzhulinka. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad

Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 351, the Jews were murdered outside the town on April 2, 1942. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:381, also dates the shooting of all the remaining Jews (156 people) in August 1941. According to the ChGK (GARF, 7021-54-1240, p. 5), 156 people (Jews and Ukrainians) were shot in December 1942 and February 1943. It has to be concluded that the existing data on the "Dzhulinka ghetto" remain unconfirmed and require further research.

Additional documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dzhulinka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/2331, 2332, 26795); DAVINO (e.g., R 425-1-5, R 1683-1-13, and R 6022-1-27); and GARF (7021-54-1240).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. DAVINO, R-425-1-5, p. 13.

GAISIN

Pre-1941: Gaisin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Gaissin, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Gaisyn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Gaisin is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. In 1939, there were 4,109 Jews in Gaisin (27.7 percent of the total) and 380 Jews living in the Gaisin raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men were conscripted or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. About 2,000 Jews remained in the town when the occupation began (50 percent of the pre-war population).

The town was occupied by the Wehrmacht on July 25, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office—Ortskommandantur I (V) 275—commanded by a Major Heinrich ran the town. A raion administration and an auxiliary police unit were formed from among the local residents. In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Gaisin became the administrative center of Gebiet Gaissin, and Kreisleiter Becher was named the Gebietskommissar.[1] Gebiet Gaissin also included the Rayons of Teplik and Dshulinka, and it became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, and all Jews were ordered to wear distinctive armbands bearing the image of the Star of David. Jews were forced to perform heavy labor for the occupying German military forces and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town. They also had to surrender all their items of value. Jews were not allowed to buy products on the market, and in turn the local Ukrainians were not permitted to have any contact with them. Violators of these regulations were subjected to severe punishments.

At some date in the summer or fall of 1941, Major Heinrich ordered the creation of an "open ghetto" (Jewish residential district) in Gaisin. One street (Rabochnaia Street) was cordoned off for this purpose, and Jews were expressly prohibited from living on any of the other streets.[2]

On September 16, 1941, an anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town during which at least 1,409 local Jews were murdered, together with 29 brought in from Ladyzhin, where a similar Aktion had taken place on September 13. The shootings were carried out by men of Police Battalion 304, led by its commander, Major Karl Deckert. The battalion was stationed in Gaisin from September 6 to 19, 1941.[3] On the day before the Aktion, the local Ukrainian police marked the houses in which the Jewish victims were living. At 6:00 A.M. on the next day, members of the police battalion drove the Jews out of their houses and gathered them on the market square. From here the victims were escorted to a killing site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. Those Jews unable to walk were carried by others. At the grave site, the Jews were made to lie facedown in the ditch in groups of up to 10 persons, and German policemen shot them from behind with machine pistols. The Aktion continued until 4:00 P.M.[4] Local commandant Heinrich reported on September 17, 1941, that he had received several items of gold jewelry handed in by a Ukrainian policeman (Milizsoldat) as a result of the "Jewish Aktion" carried out in Gaisin.[5]

The ghetto in Gaisin was basically liquidated after this Aktion. Only about 150 Jewish artisan workers remained in the town thereafter. The majority of them were shot on May 7–10, 1943.[6] This mass shooting apparently was conducted by members of the local Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) along with the Ukrainian police. This Security Police outpost was present in Gaisin from 1942 to 1944 and served under the commanding officer of the Security Police and SD in Zhitomir (KdS Shitomir).[7]

In the summer of 1942, a forced labor camp for Jews was created in Gaisin. Jews were resettled there from "Transnistria," the Romanian-occupied zone of Ukraine. Jewish labor was exploited to build a bridge across the Sob River, which was part of the main road to Vinnitsa. After the completion of the building project, the Jews were shot and buried under the bridge. On October 14, 1942, 230 Jews were shot. On November 6, 1942, 1,000 Jews were shot.[8] These murders apparently were carried out by Lithuanian policemen of the 7th Lithuanian Police (Schutzmannschaft) Battalion. The military staff of the 4th Company of this battalion was present in Gaisin with one platoon from April to December 1942. The order for the shootings came from SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Christoffel, who from March to November 1942 was the head of the Second Roadbuilding Section (from Vinnitsa to Uman') and had a residence in Gaisin.

Some names are known of Ukrainians who saved Jews from extermination: Miasnikova, Kutok, and Efrosyn'ia Semeniuk. Semeniuk saved the lives of seven Jews. The German Landwirtschaftsführer (agricultural leader) Fritz Ginzel also

kept Jews in hiding. He was shot by People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) agents in 1944. The Jewish doctor Niderman was protected by his Ukrainian patients for some time, but the Germans came and arrested him in the middle of the night.[9]

A group of Jews from Gaisin participated in the partisan resistance movement. Partisan sections were based in the Shcheblianskii Forest, which was located near the town. There was a separate detachment composed of Jews, including many women, children, and elderly persons. Many Jews fought actively in the detachment, and other detachments provided the means of protection for them. In addition, at least 12 Jews in the Gaisin region were members of Soviet underground organizations.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews in Gaisin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/23); BA-L (B 162/204a AR-Z 140/67); BStU; DAVINO (R 4222-1-7); GARF (7021-54-1272); and YVA (M-33/224, M-52/432).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Acts of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the investigation of war crimes by the German occupants in the Gaisin raion from July 24, 1941, to March 13, 1944, are published in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel'—Podoliia* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 199–200. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 418, state that a ghetto was established immediately after the arrival of the Germans but do not give a source.

3. Diary of Otto Müller, a former member of Police Battalion 304, BStU, Archiv der Zentralstelle, MfS-HA IX/11, ZUV 78, vol. 6, p. 62. Other sources indicate that about 3,000 Jews were murdered in Gaisin at this time; see A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 13. The East German courts date the Aktion on September 16–17, 1941, and cite up to 4,000 victims. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1564, mentions a "Judenaktion" on September 13, 1941; this was probably the Aktion in Ladyzhin, where 486 local Jews were shot; see A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 182.

4. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 1029a, pp. 737–738.

5. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1577, report of OK I (V) 275, September 17, 1941, signed Major und Kommandant Heinrich. Among the Ukrainian police serving in Gaisin in 1942 were Michaile Moskoluk, Anton Mulja, and Stanislaus Hautkowski; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1272, pp. 396 and reverse side.

7. DAZO, 1182-1-26, p. 104.

8. M. Carp, *Cartea Neagra* (Bucharest, 1947), 3:286.

9. Lukin, Sokolova, and Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy*, p. 200.

10. Y. Maliar (Israel) and F. Vinokurova (Ukraine), eds., *Vinnitsa oblast'—Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie; Svidetel'stva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994), pp. 178–179.

IANOV

Pre-1941: Ianov, village, Kalinovka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow, Rayon and Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, post-1991: Ivaniv, Kalynivka raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ianov is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) north-northeast of Vinnitsa. There were probably around 1,000 Jews living in Ianov in 1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Ianov on July 22, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The commandant appointed a village elder and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. It became part of Gebiet Kalinowka, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer. Based in Ianov as part of the civil administration were one or two officials of the German agricultural administration (Landwirtschaftsführer).[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David (later, a yellow circle). They were required to perform forced labor, often without pay. They were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. Finally, Jews were subjected to systematic lootings and beatings by the Ukrainian police and local antisemites.

According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, in March 1942 hundreds of Jewish families were crowded into a ghetto in Ianov.[2] In mid-May 1942, a group of able-bodied Jews from the Ianov ghetto was selected and sent on foot to the village of Kalinovka, where they were placed in a forced labor camp and assigned to work on the construction of an airfield.

On May 30, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghettos in Ianov and nearby Pikov at the same time. Forces of the German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian police, and also Hungarian soldiers, who arrived from Kalinovka, rounded up the Jews in Ianov in the morning and escorted them to a prepared pit, near the Jewish cemetery, which lay approximately halfway between Ianov and Pikov (Pikov is about 10 kilometers [6 miles] to the north of Ianov). There the Jews had to wait for about two hours until additional Germans (probably an SD detachment from KdS Winniza) arrived in the afternoon to carry out the mass shooting. Some of the Jewish children were simply beaten to death or were buried alive in the mass grave. It is estimated that more than 800 Jews from Ianov were killed on this day.[3]

In the initial days of June 1942, the Germans and the Ukrainian police searched Ianov repeatedly for Jews in hiding. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), by June 12, 1942, they had shot an additional 194 Jews, so the total number of victims in Ianov exceeded 1,000.[4]

The Red Army drove the German occupiers from Ianov in March 1944.

SOURCES Publications concerning the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Ianov include the following: "Ianov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:494; and "Janov," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 559–560. The ghetto in Ianov is also mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 35.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Ianov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); GARF (7021-54-1274); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAVINO, R5022-1-176, dates it in early 1942.
3. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 190–191, 353. GARF, 7021-54-1274, p. 252, gives a total of 814 Jews from Ianov killed on May 30, 1942.
4. GARF, 7021-54-1274, p. 252. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 190–191, 353, gives slightly different figures for Ianov in early June, but these appear to be the numbers for Novyi Pikov from the ChGK records.

IANUSHPOL'

Pre-1941: Ianushpol', town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Januschpol, Rayon center, Gebiet Berditschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ivanopil', Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Ianushpol' is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. In 1939, 721 Jews lived in Ianushpol'. (In the entire Ianushpol' raion, there were only 963 Jews.)

German troops occupied the town on July 3, 1941. During July, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. Mention of this Aktion can be found in Einsatzgruppen Report no. 58 of August 20, 1941:

> In recent days, in the town of Ianushpol', where the Jewish population comprised about 25 percent of the inhabitants, the Jewish women behaved with especial insolence and impudence in response to the social restrictions imposed upon them. They became so incensed that they ripped off their own and their children's clothes. As a provisional punishment measure and to calm down the situation in general, members of the Einsatzkommando shot 15 Jewish men. Further punitive measures will follow.[1]

It is probable that a "Jewish residential quarter" or "open ghetto" was created in the town of Ianushpol' as early as July 1941. The Jews were ordered to mark their identity by wearing a piece of fabric in the shape of a yellow star on their clothing. Furthermore, they were forced to carry out physically demanding work. During the winter of 1941–1942, the Jewish inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and cold. The ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942. A unit of the German Security Police and SD, probably from the outpost in Berdichev,[2] in collaboration with members of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police, shot several hundred Jews (according to one source, 680).[3] From among the victims, about 80 Jews who were capable of work were selected and sent to the labor camp in Berdichev. According to other sources, in the town of Ianushpol' the German forces shot 520 local Jews[4] and approximately 400 Jews from other neighboring areas, together with 60 Roma (Gypsies).[5] Of the few Jews who escaped, some joined the Soviet partisans.

The other Jews of Rayon Januschpol resided mostly in the villages of Raigorodok, Krasnopol', and Stetkovtsy. In the village of Raigorodok, 157 Jews were killed between 1941 and 1942. Among the victims were Jews from Ianushpol' and other towns.[6] Two mass killings of Jews took place: one on September 10, 1941, and another in July 1942. During the second Aktion the last so-called specialist workers and their families were killed. In the village of Krasnopol', German security forces shot 35 Jews.[7] In Stetkovtsy, 12 Jews were killed.[8] Finally, in the village of Lemeshi, 5 Jews who had escaped from the ghetto in Ianushpol' were shot.[9]

SOURCES A brief article on Ianushpol' can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1474. This article specifically mentions the existence of a ghetto but does not reveal its sources.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews in Ianushpol' and the surrounding villages can be found in GARF (7021-64-812 and 7021-60-317).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 51; see also Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 160.
2. The Sipo/SD outpost in Berdichev was commanded from June 1942 by Alois Hülsdünker; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*,

vol. 16 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 490; LG-Be, 3 PKs 1/57 (Strafsache gegen Knop u.a.), p. 346.

3. GARF, 7021-64-812, pp. 172–173.
4. Ibid., 7021-60-317, pp. 68–75 (list of local Jews who were killed).
5. Ibid., p. 67.
6. Ibid., pp. 33–35 and reverse.
7. Ibid., pp. 8 and reverse.
8. Ibid., pp. 52 and reverse.
9. Ibid., p. 41.

IARUN'

Pre-1941: Iarun', village, Novograd-Volynskii raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Jarun, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Iarun', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Iarun' is located about 95 kilometers (59 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 386 Jews lived in Iarun' (19.7 percent of the total population). An additional 270 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Iarun' raion, bringing the total to 656 Jews.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the initial German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. About 80 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Iarun' at the start of the occupation.

From July until October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the settlement. The German military authorities appointed a village elder and established an auxiliary Ukrainian police squad from among the local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in all the Aktions against the Jewish population. According to witness testimony, there were several brutal killings of individual Jews by local policemen, which probably took place during the first months of the occupation.[1]

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Iarun' was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj. Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt was appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. They were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and also to perform various forms of heavy labor. Jews were forbidden to trade with the local Ukrainian population.

At some time during the summer or fall, and certainly by November 1941, a ghetto was created in the village. Jews were resettled there from the surrounding villages. For example, on November 27, 1941, seven Jews were brought to Iarun' from the village of Zakrinich'e.[3] At that same time, able-bodied men were taken to a labor camp in Novograd-Volynskii.

According to the diary of survivor Klara Garmel, "[T]he ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire. We were all driven inside it. We were made to starve and ate only what people would bring and throw through the wire."[4]

Some Jews hid with Ukrainian families outside the ghetto. In the case of those Jews who hid with the family of Maria Svidelya, they were betrayed by other local inhabitants and sent into the ghetto.[5] Other Jews hid successfully, including some such as Klara Garmel, who escaped at the time of the ghetto's liquidation. Of those in hiding, some subsequently left the village to join the Soviet partisans, while others remained hidden, aided by local inhabitants, until the area was recaptured by the Red Army.

The ghetto was finally liquidated on May 5, 1942. German Gendarmes and local police surrounded the ghetto and began to forcibly remove its inhabitants during the night. On that day, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 580 Jews were shot in a large mass grave, but the actual number was probably somewhat less than this.[6]

SOURCES Documents of the ChGK, and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the annihilation of the Iarun' Jews, can be found in the following archives: DAZO (R2636-1-19, pp. 134–135); GARF (7021-60-318); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews," *Jewish Ukraine* 24/43, December 2002 (5763 Tevet).
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-60-318, p. 43.
4. Diary of Klara Garmel, cited by Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews."
5. For further examples of Jews who were saved, see Petko, "Forgive Us Jews."
6. GARF, 7021-60-318, p. 6.

IL'INTSY

Pre-1941: Il'intsy, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Illinzi, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Illintsi, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Il'intsy is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,217 Jews living in the town. At the time of the German invasion, some Jews joined the Red Army, evacuated with the Soviet authorities, or managed to flee before the Germans arrived. However, a number of refugees from western Ukraine, who were fleeing before the German advance, became trapped in Il'intsy when the Germans arrived. It is possible that as many as 2,000 Jews were in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 23, 1941. The initial German military administration appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and exacted a tribute in gold and silver from the community. In late August the Jews were concentrated into a ghetto.

In the fall of 1941, at least one Aktion was conducted against local Jews accused of supporting the Communists. More than 40 Jewish men were arrested, beaten, and then shot in the nearby Il'intsy Forest by German security forces, assisted by the local Ukrainian police.[1]

The Gebietskommissar in Il'intsy was Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra, who usually wore a monocle. The mayor was a local ethnic German physician, Dr. Heine. The transition from a military to a civil administration in the Vinnitsa region occurred on October 20, 1941. The establishment of Gendarmerie posts, including the post in Il'intsy, followed during the winter of 1941–1942. The Gendarmerie, commanded by Meister Andreas Wagner, then took over responsibility for the Ukrainian local police (militia), which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

A second Aktion was conducted in late April or mid-May of 1942. The ghetto was surrounded by German and Ukrainian police units, including some brought in from outside. Then, early in the morning, those Jews who were hiding within the ghetto in previously prepared bunkers heard shots in the distance. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, during this Aktion approximately 1,000 Jews were shot into graves some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.[2]

In late May 1942, the Germans and local police herded the survivors into the synagogue and held them there for a few days before shooting most of them. This Aktion was coordinated by officials from the Security Police post in Vinnitsa, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local police. Estimates of the number of Jews murdered on this occasion vary between 434 and 800. Among those shot in Il'intsy at this time were also Jews brought in from the nearby rural ghetto in Zhornishche. According to the report of the Generalkommissar in Shitomir dated June 3, 1942, during the month of May, 434 Jews were "resettled" (murdered) in Gebiet Illinzi.[3] In mid-July 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Il'intsy requested that former Jewish property be made available for use by the police.[4]

In December 1942, the remaining Jews were forced to clear snow from a main road. Once again the Jews were registered. Some craftsmen were exempted from this task, as they were required to train Ukrainian youths to become their replacements. On December 23, 1942, German police forces and their Ukrainian collaborators again surrounded the ghetto. On this occasion the Germans and the Ukrainian police completely tore down the ghetto, setting fire to a factory building where Jews were hiding and shooting them as they tried to escape. Only 17 specialist craftsmen and a seamstress were temporarily spared from this Aktion.[5]

Among those who survived was Eva Dub, who hid with her mother and sisters during the May 25 Aktion, but then, unfortunately, they returned to the ghetto prematurely, believing the operation was completed. They then made their house appear derelict to deceive the policemen searching the ghetto and subsequently lived there until December. In December Eva escaped and survived with the help of local Ukrainians before fleeing to the forests.[6] A number of Jews originally from Il'intsy formed the nucleus of a Jewish partisan company, the 2nd Stalin Brigade; 39 of its 124 members were Jews from the town.

SOURCES A brief article on the fate of the Jews of Il'intsy can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 545.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Il'intsy can be found in these archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67); DAVINO (R4463-1-15); DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1243); NARA; and USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, statement of Eva Dub on June 26, 1967. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report states that 43 people were killed on November 5, 1941 (GARF, 7021-54-1243).
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, 313–316.
3. Ibid., appendix to vol. 1, trans. of Soviet material, Bild nos. 294–295, ChGK report for the town of Il'intsy, April 15, 1945 (see also GARF, 7021-54-1243); NARA, T-454, reel 22, fr. 432.
4. DAZO, R-1182-1-1, Gebietskommissar Illinzi report, July 16, 1942.
5. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, and appendix to vol. 1, Bild nos. 294–295. The ChGK report gives a total of 1,200 victims of this Aktion (see GARF, 7021-54-1243). DAVINO, R4463-1-15, p. 13, however, states that only 100 Jewish craftsmen were killed on December 15, 1942.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63.

IUROVICHI (AKA IUREVICHI)

Pre-1941: Iurovichi, village, Kalinkovichi raion, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jurowitschi, Rayon Kalinkowitschi, Gebiet Mosyr, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Iuravichy, Kalinkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Iurovichi is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of Mozyr'. By 1926, there were 1,139 Jews residing in Iurovichi, comprising 45.6 percent of the total population.

A week after the start of the war, refugees from the western districts of Belorussia arrived in Iurovichi. They were terribly frightened and spoke of the powerful German forces that were advancing eastward. Local defense units were organized, and men of eligible age joined the Red Army. But many residents of the village, especially the younger ones, could not comprehend what the arrival of the Germans might mean. As the front line approached, only a small number of residents managed to flee from Iurovichi. There were three main means of escape:

by railway from the Kalinkovichi station in the direction of Gomel', on boats and barges on the Pripiat' and Dnieper Rivers through Mozyr', and on horse-drawn carts along the highway.

On August 22, 1941, German forces arrived in Iurovichi. Until October 1941, the Jews remained in their own homes but were subjected to a series of anti-Jewish regulations, including the requirement to perform forced labor. The military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Kalinkovichi organized a local police force in Iurovichi, which was responsible for watching over the Jews.

In mid-October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto at the end of Podgornaia Street. The Jews had to wear yellow stars on their clothing. The relations between Jews and Belorussians changed. Vasilii Prishchepa, who was married to a Jewish woman, joined the local police. During the mass shooting of the Jews, he did nothing to save his family. Boris Samuilovich Katsenov was married to a Belorussian woman. At the beginning of the war, he fled to the forests and organized a partisan detachment. His wife and three children remained in Iurovichi, where they hid and somehow managed to survive.[1]

The first mass shooting Aktion took place on November 19, 1941. In the early morning, a German punitive detachment of 30 to 40 men arrived in Iurovichi from Kalinkovichi. With the help of the local police, the German forces rounded up about 250 people, including womens, children, and the elderly. As they escorted the Jews towards the Pripiat' River, the people screamed and wept. The Gemans and local policemen stopped at the riverbank and shot the Jews with machine guns and rifles. The corpses of the dead were left lying next to the river.[2] Some of the people begged to be spared or jumped into the river, but they were also pursued and shot. About to be shot, Chaim Kofman took off his sheepskin jacket and threw it at a policeman's feet; he also handed over his watch. As the officer was examining the loot, Kofman jumped into the water and swam across the river, successfully avoiding the shots directed at him. He hid for several days but was later captured and killed.[3]

The second mass shooting took place just over one week later, on November 27, 1941. A punitive unit from Kalinkovichi rounded up the remaining 200 Jews and escorted them to a ravine on the outskirts of Iurovichi. The people were lined up on the edge of a large ditch. When the Germans and policemen began shooting, the women and children let out terrible screams. According to the testimony of Stepan Kos'ian, many of the Belorussians from Iurovichi wept as they observed the shooting. When it was over, the policemen dragged the corpses into the ditch. Over the next few days, the police searched for any Jews still hiding in Iurovichi. Those whom they found were taken to the ditch and shot. Ratner, the teacher of mathematics who had escaped from the Aktion in the village, realized that his entire family had perished. He went to the site of the mass shooting, where the Germans captured and shot him.[4]

After the second mass shooting, Sergei Lutzkevich went to the site of the execution and saw a school classmate who was badly wounded. He fetched his parents, who came and took the classmate home. Two Jewish families, the Kofmans and the Karchevs, took shelter in the village of Kryshichi, even though there was a police garrison just a few kilometers away. Yulia Borisenko, the mother of five children, gave refuge to a young Jewish boy, Boris Kofman.[5]

Although the sources are contradictory, it is estimated that the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 450 Jews altogether in Iurovichi.[6] Soviet forces liberated the village on January 16, 1944.

SOURCES Publications containing information on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Iurovichi include the following: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii: Kalinkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1999); U.F. Isaenka, *Iuravichy nad Prypiatstsiu* (Minsk, 2000); Mikhail Nordshtein, "Pravednik iz Kalinkovichei," *Sovietskaia Belarussiia*, October 5, 1995; and Elena Kogalovskaia, "Mestechko Iurovichi," *Berega* 11 (2000): 4.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Iurovichi can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-L; GARF (7021-91-15); NARB (861-1-12); and YVA (M-33/1139).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kogalovskaia, "Mestechko Iurovichi," p. 4.
2. AUKGBRBGO, case 234, vol. 4, pp. 51–53, witness statement of Grigorii Vladimirovich Panglish, January 19, 1968 (available also in BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 119/67, Bd. II, p. 390).
3. YVA, M-33/1139.
4. AUKGBRBGO, case 234, vol. 4, pp. 54–56, witness statement of Stepan Grigor'evich Kos'ian, January 19, 1968.
5. Nordshtein, "Pravednik iz Kalinkovichei," p. 4.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 119/67, Bd. II, p. 390; see also the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report (GARF, 7021-91-15, p. 136; and NARB, 861-1-12, p. 40), which gives the figure of 540 victims.

KALINOVKA

Pre-1941: Kalinovka, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kalinowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir, post-1991: Kalynivka, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Kalinovka is located about 26 kilometers (16 miles) north of Vinnitsa. The census of 1939 reported 979 Jews living in Kalinovka, or one fifth of the total population, and 2,214 Jews residing in what was then the Kalinovka raion. Thanks to the railway line that ran through the area, some Jews successfully evacuated from the town soon after the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

German forces occupied Kalinovka after some skirmishes on July 22, 1941. The German occupying forces ordered Jewish men to perform heavy manual labor. A ghetto was formed on those streets where the Jewish population predominated. Jews from other streets were resettled into this confined area, and non-Jews were resettled into vacated Jewish homes. For example, Lena Konopska recalls that she and her mother had

to move into the ghetto once they were recognized as Jews, but her father, who was Polish, was permitted to live outside the ghetto area.[1] The Jews had to wear white armbands bearing yellow six-pointed stars. The authorities appointed Jewish elders to watch over the Jews. Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto. With their means of support exhausted, the prisoners of the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Kalinovka became both a Rayon center and the center of Gebiet Kalinowka, responsible also for the neighboring Rayons of Ulanow and Komsomol'skoe. Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer was appointed the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Kalinowka was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[2] In November or December 1941, a squad of several Gendarmes arrived in Kalinovka from Germany and established a post initially under the command of Meister der Gendarmerie Max Lohbrunner. The Gendarmerie also assumed control over the local Ukrainian police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst, which included about 40 men and was under the command of Zugführer (platoon leader) Roman Holdetzki. The SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer appointed in 1942 in Kalinovka was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange.[3]

In mid-May 1942, about 100 young men and women were taken from the ghetto and ordered to work on the construction of an airfield on the outskirts of Kalinovka, a project that had been started by the Soviet authorities. Jews from Kalinovka and also from the nearby settlements of Pikov, Ivanov, Ulanov, and Sal'nitsa were sent there to work. Altogether, 400 to 500 people were resettled into sheds and barracks located in the area of the airfield, surrounded by a wire fence. Some of the Jews brought here from outside Kalinovka also refer to this labor camp as the Kalinovka ghetto. However, it appears that only Jews capable of labor were placed in the camp, as those women accompanied by infants or small children were shot either during the march to Kalinovka or on arrival together with other Jews unfit for labor from the Kalinovka ghetto.[4] The prisoners of the camp were fed pea soup. The Jewish construction laborers had to work until totally exhausted, and occasionally those who lapsed were shot. Cases of suicide by hanging were not unusual. At the aerodrome the Jewish laborers also worked alongside Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), but these prisoners were accommodated in a separate barracks. This forced labor camp for Jews existed until the middle of 1943, when the last of the prisoners were shot. When the airfield was finished, the 100 prisoners who remained were removed to a stable in the village of Kordelevka, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Kalinovka. The Jews were burned alive there in compliance with higher orders. A few prisoners managed to escape from the aerodrome camp, mostly women who could pass as non-Jews and who received help from other local inhabitants.

At the start of 1942, a small resistance group formed in the Kalinovka ghetto, under the leadership of Efim Kamenetskii. They collected firearms and were even able to make contact with Soviet partisan units. They did not succeed in making any further preparations, however, or manage to establish a stronger resistance organization.

In late spring or summer of 1942, probably on May or June 30, the ghetto was encircled by the German and Ukrainian police forces early in the morning.[5] The approximately 500 Jews were gathered and led out into a stable located next to a kolkhoz in Kalinovka. An additional 200 Jews from the nearby villages of Novyi and Staryi Pikov were also transported there. Some 33 Jewish craftsmen were selected out by Gebietsführer Lange, but all the others were murdered in a pit not far from the Jewish cemetery. A small number of Jews was able to hide or escape during the roundup. The majority of them found refuge with Ukrainian acquaintances. But the commandant's office offered a reward of 100 rubles for the capture of each Jew, and a number of Jewish families were turned in to the authorities. They were placed along with the craftsmen in a few residences on the outskirts of Kalinovka. The residences were surrounded with barbed wire. A few Jews succeeded in escaping from there, but those remaining were murdered in mid-August 1942.[6]

Kalinovka was liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES In the personal archive of Albert Kaganovich (PAAKag), there are records of interviews conducted with Berta Naidorf on March 31, 2005, and Leonid Langerman on April 4, 2005, as well as a letter received from Alexander Melamud on February 8, 2004, all Jewish survivors of the Holocaust in Kalinovka.

Additional information can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 135; *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Vinnits'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 271, 275; and Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 28.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kalinovka can be found in the following archives: AHJP (HM2/7771, HM2/8969, HM2/9039); BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R425-1-261, pp. 13-16); DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1274); NARB (861-1-28); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M, reel 4 and RG-53.002M, reel 10); VHF (# 29072 and 29097); and YVA (M-37/1035; M-33/226; O-3/7201).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 28, recollections of Lena Konopska, prisoner of the Kalinovka ghetto. Nyunya Doktorovich, a young girl quoted in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 135, dates the establishment of the ghetto in 1942.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; DAZO, R1151-1-51, Map of the Generalkommissariat Shitomir, 1941–1942.

3. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 135–138, statement of E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977; DAZO, 1151-1-703,

pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.

4. VHF, # 29072, testimony of Aleksandra Shapiro; and # 29097, testimony of Elizaveta Gelfond—both transferred to the Kalinovka aerodrome camp from Ulanov in late May or June 1942, together with 300 others.

5. In Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 28, Lena Konopska notes that the survivors commemorate the first pogrom as having taken place on May 30. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), p. 354, dates the Aktion on June 30, 1942. NARB, 861-1-28, gives the date of July 30, 1942.

6. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), p. 195.

KAZATIN

Pre-1941: Kazatin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kasatin, Gebiet and Rayon center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Koziatyn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Kazatin is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 2,648 Jews were living in Kazatin (15.8 percent of the total population). There were another 1,026 Jews living in the Kazatin raion, mostly in the village of Belopol'e. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some Jews were able to evacuate, while others were called into the Red Army. Around 1,800 Jews remained in Kazatin at the start of the German occupation.

Hungarian armed forces occupied the town on July 14, 1941. From mid-July until October 1941, a military administration ran the town. The German military, which soon took over from the Hungarians, created a local administration and an auxiliary police force from among the local residents. On October 20, 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kazatin became the administrative center of Gebiet Kasatin. Hundertschaftsführer Stendel was named Gebietskommissar.[1] The Samgorodok and Pogrebischtsche Rayons were also incorporated into the new Gebiet Kasatin, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin appointed in 1942 was Leutnant Behrens. The head of the Ukrainian police in Kazatin was Zugführer Ivan Yakovenko.[2]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a number of antisemitic measures were introduced in Kazatin. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings in the form of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They had to perform forced labor in the service of the German military and occupying forces. Jews were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. They were required to hand over all valuables, and they were not allowed to buy goods at the market. In addition, local Ukrainians were forbidden to have any relations with the Jews.

In September 1941, the first Aktion was carried out against the Jews. A detachment from German Police Regiment "South" apparently directed the operation. Starting on September 5, 1941, the staff and officers of the regiment were stationed in the village of Komsomol'skoe, close to Kazatin.[3] The detachment shot 1,255 Jews on September 11, 1941, and the victims were most probably Jews from Kazatin.[4]

Those Jews who remained in Kazatin after the September operation were resettled into a ghetto.[5] Evidence regarding the work done by Jews in the ghetto comes from the survivor Nina Glozman, who recalls that after the first wave of killings she and her family hid in the village of Belopol'e in Rayon Kasatin until a local policeman recognized them. He took the family to Kazatin, where they were placed in the ghetto, performing work such as chopping wood or cleaning toilets. When the ghetto was liquidated, they were able to escape to Berdichev, where they hid with another Jewish family.[6]

In the village of Belopol'e in Rayon Kasatin about 70 Jews were murdered at the local cemetery in May 1942.[7] The Kazatin ghetto, or camp where Jewish craftsmen were held, was liquidated on June 3, 1942. More than 300 Jews and 16 Gypsies were shot near the village of Tylimonovka, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. The Jews were rounded up and escorted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police. A detachment of the SD from Berdichev carried out the shooting. About 10 Jewish craftsmen were selected out and kept alive at this time. They were soon joined by a similar number brought from Samgorodok after a selection during the Aktion there on June 4.[8]

In the months after the liquidation of the ghetto, Ukrainian police under the orders of the German Gendarmerie continued to search for Jews in hiding. On July 6, 1942, Behrens wrote to the Gendarmerie posts in the nearby Rayon towns of Pogrebischtsche and Samgorodok that he was aware of Jews hiding in the villages and forests. He ordered that all villages must report the presence of Jews. If German Gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen still found Jews, the entire village would be punished.[9]

As a result of these efforts, a number of Jews who had escaped from the Aktions in Kazatin and the surrounding towns were captured. Most of these Jews were gathered in the Kazatin ghetto or camp, and in August 1942 two SS men flew in to organize the murder of these Jews. About 200 Jews were escorted by the Gendarmerie and local police to another ditch alongside the first one, where the SS men shot them.[10]

The remaining 21 Jewish artisans were killed in the fall of 1942 at the same site; on September 28, 1942, according to a report by Leutnant Behrens, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin, 18 male and 3 female Jews were shot by an SD detachment.[11] Other Jews were shot in the fields when they were encountered by joint patrols of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.[12] For example, on January 26, 1943, the Gendarmerie post in Kazatin reported that 3 Jewish "partisans" had been "shot while trying to escape" in the village of Sestrenovka, in Rayon Kasatin.[13]

The Germans subsequently utilized the area of the "ghetto" in Kazatin, which had been used to keep Jews separate from the rest of the population, as a so-called workers' education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).[14] Movable Jewish property, including

furniture, was officially confiscated by the civil administration in accordance with an order issued by the Generalkommissar in Zhitomir, Kurt Klemm, on December 12, 1941. Much of the property, however, was taken by members of the Ukrainian police.[15]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Kazatin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); DAZO (1182-1-6); GARF (7021-54-1247); USHMM (RG-31, 1996.A.0269); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14 , KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Winniza, Nr. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
3. Telegram No. 305 from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, September 6, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 252–253.
4. Telegram No. 85, September 12, 1941, published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 254–255.
5. DAVINO, R5022-1-176.
6. Interview with Nina Borisovna Glozman, quoted in Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), p. 92.
7. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 29; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 104.
8. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 226. This report notes that 292 bodies were subsequently counted in the mass grave. GARF, 7021-54-1247, p. 158, gives the figure of 508 Jews killed, but this probably reflects the total for the two Aktions in June and August 1942.
9. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Behrens, Kasatin, July 6, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 227. The bodies of 216 persons were found in this grave.
11. Ibid., pp. 229–230; DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Behrens, Kasatin, to Gebietskommissar, September 30, 1942.
12. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 229; for example, a patrol of four Gendarmes and 15 Schutzmänner on their way to Korolevka found eight Jews hiding in a field and shot them on the spot.
13. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 158.
14. Ibid., pp. 244–245.
15. Ibid., p. 170, an den Gendarmerie-Posten Kasatin, n.d.

KHMEL'NIK

Pre-1941: Khmel'nik, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chmelnik, Rayon center, Gebiet Litin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Khmil'nyk, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Khmel'nik is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 4,793 Jewish residents in Khmel'nik (63.8 percent of the total population). Another 906 Jews were living in the surrounding villages of the Khmel'nik raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army, and several hundred Jews managed to evacuate eastward, but more than 4,000 remained in Khmel'nik at the start of the occupation. According to German statistics, in August 1941, out of 7,000 residents of Khmel'nik, 4,000 were Jews.[1]

Following an artillery bombardment in which some Jews were killed, units of the German 17th Army occupied Khmel'nik on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which recruited local residents to serve in the auxiliary police and the local administration. Some Jews recall that their former teachers became ardent Ukrainian nationalists and took an active part in the persecution of the Jews.

The first anti-Jewish Aktion took place on August 12, 1941.[2] On that day a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wadel, shot 229 Jews in Khmel'nik. They were buried outside the town near the road to Ulanov. The German Security Police reported that the Aktion was intended as a reprisal for acts of sabotage along the road (blocking the passage of cars). The detachment also hanged a leading local official.[3]

In late October 1941, the military authorities were replaced by a German civil administration. Khmel'nik became a Rayon center within Gebiet Litin. The Gebietskommissar in Litin was SA-Standartenführer Traugott Volkhammer.[4] By August 1941, the local Ukrainian police squad numbered 30 members and was headed by a certain Tarnavsky (his deputy was Shchur).[5] In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post in Khmel'nik, which was commanded by a man named Jochinke.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities established a Judenrat and introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, including markings, confiscations, curfews, and forced labor.[6]

On December 25, 1941, the Germans ordered Jews to hand over immediately all their warm clothing, especially furs, for the use of German soldiers at the front. To ensure compliance with the order, 11 Jews were taken hostage. On January 2, 1942, Gebietskommissar Volkhammer demanded a large monetary "contribution" from the Jews and ordered them to resettle into a ghetto in the Old Town, in the area of the old militia building (where the German police was based) on Shevchenko and Sholom-Aleichem Streets. Volkhammer's order also

instructed Russians and Ukrainians to mark their houses with a cross and warned that anyone who allowed a Jew into his home would be severely punished.[7] It is estimated that the total number of Jews who moved into the ghetto was around 4,500.

On January 9 and January 16, 1942, units of Einsatzkommando 5, which had now established an office of the Security Police (KdS Aussendienststelle) in Vinnitsa, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police raided the ghetto, killing most of the Jews (probably around 3,000). The several hundred Jews who survived these two Aktions, the so-called specialists—skilled professionals and their families—were then settled into a smaller ghetto together with a number of Jews who had survived in hiding. After the Aktion, the Germans organized the clearing of furniture and any remaining food from the empty houses in the ghetto.[8]

The German terror continued after these two Aktions. On January 25, 1942, an official of the Gestapo dragged Rabbi Shapiro out into the street and murdered him. His body was left lying there for several days, as the German authorities forbade its removal and burial. A group of women sent for forced labor by the Judenrat were made to dance and then lie in the snow before being brutally kicked and beaten by local policemen.[9] The Germans registered the surviving Jews and continued to exploit their labor.

Anatoly Shvidkoy, a Jewish survivor, has described the conditions in the Khmel'nik ghetto as

> hell on earth. . . . We lived with several other families in a small room without heat or light. We were always hungry. We managed to get food from local peasants in exchange for our belongings. We made friends with one peasant woman who frequently came to the ghetto boundary. Our family was caught in a roundup on three occasions, but we were released each time because my father was a craftsman.[10]

Several survivors mention the existence of contacts between the surviving remnant of the ghetto and the Soviet partisan forces. According to one account, a group of Jewish youths obtained arms and hid them in the synagogue with the aim of using them during their escape. Unfortunately the cache was uncovered, and the police arrested and shot the youths.[11] Other Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans. Among the former residents of Khmel'nik who served in the partisans were a man named Weissman, Izya Reznik, and Leva Kneloiz.

On June 12, 1942, the Germans carried out another Aktion in the ghetto during which the German and Ukrainian policemen, aided by a squad of the Hungarian army, captured and shot 360 children and old people.[12]

The Khmel'nik ghetto was liquidated on March 3, 1943. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, some 1,300 people were shot on that day (but this figure is probably too high).[13] The 135 artisans who survived the massacre (127 men and 8 women) were put into a school building that was turned into a labor camp. The craftsmen had to train Ukrainians as their replacements. Some 67 people managed to escape from this camp.[14] On June 26, 1943, the remaining Jews were divided into two groups: 14 people were selected to be kept alive, and the German forces took the other 54 Jews to the forest to be shot. After being brought to the killing site, 13 Jews attempted to flee, but only 4 managed to get away; the rest (50) were shot. It is estimated that the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 5,000 Jews in Khmel'nik between 1941 and 1943.

Several dozen Jews who survived the massacres of 1941–1943 lived to see the liberation of the town by the Red Army in March 1944. A number survived by hiding, most with the help of sympathetic local Ukrainians. Others managed to escape across the border into the Romanian-occupied area (Transnistria), where by late 1942 the chances of survival as a Jew were considerably greater than under German occupation.

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Khmel'nik and its destruction can be found in the following publications: "In the Town of Chmelnik (Vinnitsa District)," reported by A.I. Bekker, prepared for publication by R. Kovnator, in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 22–27; there are several personal testimonies by Khmel'nik ghetto survivors in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995); one further testimony can be found in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 361–362.

Documents and testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews of Khmel'nik during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1249); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.120*0252; Acc.1995.A.566); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33).

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trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.
3. See the verdict of LG-Düs, 8 I Ks 1/66, August 5, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 489–584, here p. 520; BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 60, August 22, 1941; RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. Marz 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24.
6. USHMM, RG-50.120*0252, oral history interview with Israel Guler, February 15, 1995; also Acc.1995.A.566, memoir of Emily Kessler, March 5, 1993.
7. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, pp. 23–24; Zinovy Schtivelman, "The Last Pogrom," in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 361–362.
8. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, pp. 24–25; GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.

9. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, p. 25.
10. Testimony of Anatoly Shvidkoy, published in Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 61–63.
11. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 176–181.
12. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, p. 26; GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.
13. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229; this figure seems similarly inflated. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, p. 571.
14. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 65–66.

KHODORKOV

Pre-1941: Khodorkov, village, Kornin raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chodorkow, Rayon Kornin, Gebiet Korostyschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Khodorkiv, Popil'nia raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Khodorkov is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) east-southeast of Zhitomir. The population census of 1926 indicated that Khodorkov had a Jewish community of 453. In the 1930s, the size of the village's Jewish population declined by more than half.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 12, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that period, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country.

During the months of July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. In late October 1941, a civil administration replaced the German military administration. Until liberation in November 1943, Khodorkov was part of Gebiet Korostyschew in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures implemented in other German-occupied towns and villages of the Ukraine were introduced in Khodorkov. The Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of an armband with a Star of David; they were used for various kinds of forced labor; they were forbidden to leave the village; and they were instructed to hand over all their valuables. Jews were forbidden to buy food in the market, and the local residents were forbidden to associate with Jews in any way; those who violated this order were flogged.

The first Aktion in Khodorkov took place on August 10, 1941, when 19 Jewish males were arrested and shot. On September 10, 1941, the women, children, and old people were herded into a ghetto, which was established at the nearby Vozrozhdenie ("Rebirth") kolkhoz. They remained in the ghetto until October 15, 1941, when the ghetto was liquidated, and all 149 Jews were shot.[1]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Khodorkov can be found in "Khodorkov," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 619.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Khodorkov can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-296).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-60-296, pp. 116–120.

KOROSTEN'

Pre-1941: Korosten', city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Korosten, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Korosten', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Korosten' is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) north of Zhitomir, on the Uzh River. According to the 1939 census, there were 10,991 Jews living in Korosten' (35.7 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the city on August 6, 1941. Between the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the seizure of Korosten', the majority of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Jews from places south of Korosten', including Volodarsk-Volynskii (aka Goroshki), were also evacuated from Korosten' by rail before the arrival of the Germans.[1] Approximately 12 to 13 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Korosten' at the start of the occupation.

From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The German military administration created a city administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from local residents. The Ukrainian policemen played an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Korosten' became the administrative center of Gebiet Korosten, and Regierungsassessor Helsig was appointed Gebietskommissar. In turn, the Gebiet was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Immediately after the occupation of Korosten', the Ortskommandantur introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. The Jews were forbidden to engage in any relations with the Ukrainians, including any commercial transactions. The Jews were also ordered to wear armbands with a yellow Star of David on their left arms. Jewish men were forced into heavy physical labor and were subjected to harassment and beatings by the Ukrainian police. It is possible also that a form of "open ghetto" was established. According to one testimony, all the Jews were brought to Petrovs'ka Street; however, this report remains uncorroborated.[3]

During the first three weeks after the occupation began, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a arrived in Korosten' and

carried out three mass cleansing Aktions. In the first one, 53 Jews were murdered; in the second, 238 Jews; and in the third, 160 Jews—bringing the total to 451 persons.[4] In preparation for the last Aktion, the Jews were imprisoned in School No. 5, which may have served briefly as a form of "destruction ghetto." The Ukrainian police set fire to it, and the Jews were taken out to be shot at a site located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city.[5]

In the first half of September 1941, Sonderkommando 4a liquidated the remaining Jews in the town, around 1,000 people. The shootings were directed by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, who commanded the unit. Also taking part in the executions was the head of Einsatzgruppe C, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Otto Rasch.[6] According to a report by Feldkommandantur 197, dated September 20, 1941, by this date there were scarcely any Jews remaining in the area under its control. Apart from 5,000 Jews assembled in a ghetto in Zhitomir, the setting up of other ghettos in the region was no longer considered necessary since most of the Jews in Korosten' had recently been shot by the SD.[7]

In the Korosten' area in 1943, a number of Hungarian Jews were also murdered in the vicinity. In 1942, forces of the 2nd Hungarian Army, which used them for labor purposes, had moved the Jews into Ukrainian territory. The Hungarian Jews probably had been in the Zhitomir oblast' since early 1943, when the rear services of the Hungarian army were deployed here, as well as subunits tasked with fighting against the partisans. Many workers who had already been subjected to horrible working conditions, sparse rations, and other cruel treatment died of exhaustion, starvation, and disease.

A hospital for Jews who had fallen ill was established in the village of Kupishche, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Korosten'. It occupied a few rooms in a brick building. The majority of the sick, however, lay in open barns. The grounds were surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. On a daily basis, many died of typhus. The corpses were stacked like firewood by the wall of a nearby horse stable. On April 29, 1943, the occupying forces decided to take drastic measures to deal with this source of infection. One of the barns, which held 600 persons, was burned to the ground. Those who tried to escape were shot with submachine guns. A small group of Jews did manage to escape and would later recount what happened. When this became known to the minister of defense in Hungary, V. Nagy, he ordered a special commission to investigate the matter and find the perpetrators. But the commission came to the conclusion that "the fire was started accidentally by Jews who were smoking."[8]

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Korosten' is mentioned in these publications: *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 77; and Jacob G. Frumkin et al., *Russian Jewry, 1917–67* (T. Yoseloff, 1966), 2:115. Information on the destruction of the Jewish population in Korosten' can be found also in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:160–161; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 659–660.

Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Korosten' can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-297); and TsDAVO (8-2-156, p. 28).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 159.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-60-297, pp. 6, 10, testimony of S.I. Gnedov'skyi on May 26, 1945.
4. BA-BL, R 58/216-17, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 59, August 21, 1941; EM no. 80, September 11, 1941; EM no. 86, September 17, 1941.
5. GARF, 7021-60-297, p. 297.
6. Paul Blobel, affidavit, June 6, 1947 (N-Doc. NO 3842).
7. TsDAVO, 8-2-156, p. 28, report of FK 197, September 20, 1941, as cited in V.M. Nemiatyi, ed., *History Teaches a Lesson: Captured War Documents Expose the Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Henchmen in Ukraine's Temporarily-Occupied Territory during the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)* (Kiev: Politvidav Ukraini, 1986), p. 38.
8. Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977), p. 39. See also P. Iskorostenskii, "Tragediia sela Kupishche," *Evreiskie vesti* (September 1993), in which he writes that 800 Jews perished in the fire. According to a telegram from the Reichskommissar of Ukraine on April 29, 1943, "a barn burned down on a kolkhoz farm in Kubischche, within Gebiet Korosten, and 300 Hungarian Jews were burned to death." See NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-454, reel 23, fr. 402.

KOROSTYSHEV

Pre-1941: Korostyshev, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1943: Korostyschew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Korostyshiv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Korostyshev is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,170 Jews living in Korostyshev (19.4 percent of the population). Another 83 Jews lived in the villages of the Korostyshev raion.

The town was occupied by German armed forces on July 12, 1941. In the interim between the German invasion on June 22 and the occupation of the town, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The Ortskommandantur established a town administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the measures taken against the Jewish population.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civilian administration. Korostyshev became the administrative center of Gebiet Korostyschew, and Gauhauptstellenleiter Dankbar was appointed as Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Korostyschew became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of Korostyshev, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a commanded by Paul Blobel (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) arrived in the town and shot 40 Jews "for sabotage, espionage, and larceny."[2]

After these first shootings, the military commandant ordered one street to be cordoned off and an open ghetto (Jewish residential area) established for the Jews.[3] The Jewish population was not allowed to leave the ghetto without permission or to buy goods from local Ukrainians. The Ukrainians, in turn, were prohibited from having any contact with the Jews. The Jews were required to wear an armband bearing the Star of David on their left arms. Jewish men were forced to perform various kinds of heavy labor and were subjected to harsh beatings by the Ukrainian policemen.

It is likely that in August 1941 some of the Jewish men who were performing forced labor were shot. In September 1941, Sonderkommando 4a liquidated the ghetto and shot all the Jews.[4] The mass shooting was carried out in a meadow to the south of the town (now marked by a monument). Many Jews from outlying villages—for example, 20 people from the village of Studenitsa—were shot along with the Jews from Korostyshev.

Another report, prepared by Feldkommandantur 197, dated September 20, 1941, stated that "it was also discovered that Jews in Korostyshev and Zhitomir maintained relations with the partisans. In retaliation, 60 Jews were shot in Korostyshev."[5]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), there was another mass shooting in Korostyshev, probably in May 1942, reflecting the attempt to cleanse the Generalkommissariat Shitomir of all remaining Jews at this time. The Security Police from Zhitomir, assisted by the Gendarmerie, shot up to 1,000 Jews, including about 100 children; many of these people were brought to Korostyshev from surrounding locations.[6]

SOURCES A brief article on the Jewish community of Korostyshev can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:161–162.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/204a AR-Z 127/67, vol. 2, p. 604); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-299).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 47, August 9, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 13, 15, 25.
4. According to the testimonies of witnesses, around 700 people initially were shot en masse after the liquidation of the ghetto, followed by the mass murder of about 1,000 people; see GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 25 and reverse side. According to the documents of the ChGK, in Korostyshev in August 1941 around 2,000 people were shot in all, including 198 children. This figure for the number of victims was subsequently increased to 2,486. In May 1942, 1,000 people, including 102 children, were killed, and in May 1943 [*sic*], 1,200 people, including 126 children, were shot, bringing the total to 4,200 persons. This figure was later adjusted again to read 4,686 victims. The author believes that this total is too high. See GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 1, 3–4.
5. TsDAVO, 8-2-156, p. 28, report of FK 197, September 20, 1941, as cited in V.M. Nemiatyi, ed., *History Teaches a Lesson: Captured War Documents Expose the Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Henchmen in Ukraine's Temporarily-Occupied Territory During the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)* (Kiev: Politvidav Ukraini, 1986), p. 38.
6. GARF, 7021-60-299, p. 110.

LEL'CHITSY

Pre-1941: Lel'chitsy, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Leltschizy, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-2001: Lel'chytsy, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lel'chitsy is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) west-southwest of Mozyr'. In 1939, there were 746 Jews in Lel'chitsy (29.2 percent).

Soon after the inception of hostilities on June 22, 1941, large numbers of refugees appeared in Lel'chitsy, primarily from Turov. There was no organized evacuation of the population. Men eligible for the draft were mobilized for military service in the Red Army. The remaining women, old people, and children were unable to leave Lel'chitsy in time. The only way to leave Lel'chitsy was to take the road towards Mozyr' or to get to the railway station in El'sk, but many people had no means of transportation. Older people thought they would not be bothered if they stayed behind to look after their property. The Jews remembered the Germans from 1918 and thought they would leave the civilian population untouched. Less than one third of the Jews of Lel'chitsy managed to evacuate.

Lel'chitsy was occupied by German troops on August 23, 1941. The front line quickly moved eastward. In the town, a mayor was appointed, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established, and a police force was recruited from among Belorussians and Russians. The police headquarters was located in the raion Communist Party

executive committee (*raiispolkom*) offices on Zelenyi Lane. The police helped the Germans to uncover former Soviet activists and party workers and conducted a registration of the Jewish population.[1]

In Lel'chitsy, the Jews initially continued to live in their own homes until early September 1941, fearing for their lives. Relations between the Belorussians and the Jews became guarded, and the first instances of rape and theft on the part of the peasants were noted.

The first Aktion was the work of a German punitive detachment that arrived in Lel'chitsy from the direction of Ovruch on September 5 (or September 7), 1941. The soldiers wore helmets and green uniforms. They immediately began to round up the Jews and herd them into the courtyard of the former People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) building in the town center, on the Mozyr' highway. The majority of Lel'chitsy's Jews managed to run away and hide. The Germans caught mainly Jewish refugees from Turov. In the afternoon, the Germans made the Jews line up in a column (about 300 people) and drove them to the northeast, along the Mozyr' highway to the "Zael'e" settlement. There, 500 meters (547 yards) from the last houses of the settlement was a large crater from an aerial bomb. Many men, women, elderly, and children had belongings with them—holdalls on their shoulders or bags in their hands. Mothers carried the smallest children. Armed German escorts urged them forward. Along the way, the Jews sobbed loudly and begged to be let go. The victims were not undressed before they were killed. At the site of the Aktion, there were approximately 20 German soldiers, and more patrolled the perimeter to prevent escapes. People were led to the edge of the pit in groups. Then the perpetrators opened fire, and the dead fell into the pit. The corpses remained unburied for a long time.[2]

Fedora Lipitskaia recalled that in September 1941 she heard shots and people's cries. From the window she saw a crowd of Jews being escorted by Germans. Lipitskaia recognized Jewish acquaintances with whom she had worked in a sewing *artel*. Her friend Etka cried out, "Fedora, farewell!" The column disappeared behind the hill, and soon shots rang out. An elderly Jew ran into her yard, begging her to hide him. He said that "some German superior," before the murder, gave a speech in which he said that the Jews were being shot on Hitler's orders. Three days later, this elderly man left Lipitskaia's house.[3]

The second Aktion took place in late September 1941 when the punitive detachment returned. The German soldiers, helped by the police, hunted for Jews all day. The 400 Jews they caught, mainly women and children, were herded into several Jewish houses in the center of Lel'chitsy, near the Ortskommandantur. The Nazis selected about 15 skilled workers (tailors and cobblers) with their families (more than 60 people) and let them stay in the houses. The other Jews were herded to the Zagor'e area, and those unable to walk were transported in carts. At Zagor'e, a pit had been prepared. According to Andrei Zhurovich, the pogrom lasted two days; 15 Jews were spared to bury the dead. After the job was done, they were killed.[4]

The third Aktion was carried out in the early spring of 1942. According to Oberwachtmeister der Gendarmerie Max Lessner, on the orders of the head of the Lel'chitsy Gendarmerie, a small detachment of Gendarmes arrived to round up all the Jews. They arrested about 70 Jews and locked them in one of the houses, where they were kept for two weeks.[5]

The Jews under arrest, together with their families, were locked in the Girsh home on the corner of Zelenaia Street. There were so many people in the house that there was nowhere to lie down. Elizaveta Kolesnik, who lived nearby, was asked by the prisoners to bring swaddling clothes, as a young Jewish woman was giving birth. For four days, no one was given any food. The younger Jews were forced to go to Zagor'e to dig a new pit with little steps cut into it. They complained that the ground was frozen, and it was hard to work.

When the excavations were completed, the police brought four carts, each drawn by two horses. A new selection was undertaken. Out of 70 people, the Germans set aside 12 tailors and cobblers, and the remaining Jews were put in the carts. Four policemen and eight Gendarmes beat and shouted at their victims as they set off. The women and children sobbed and held their heads in their hands, as they all understood where they were being taken. Among the police escorts were two local residents: Efim Dashkevich (shot by the Germans) and Nikolai Kholiava (escaped with the Germans). They shot the victims in the back of the head, using pistols and submachine guns, with single shots. The pit was not filled in until springtime, when the police requisitioned local residents for the task.[6]

The fourth Aktion took place in the summer of 1942. In July, an SD detachment came to Lel'chitsy from Zhitomir and shot more than 40 Soviet citizens, including the last Jews, "for ties with partisans."[7]

The Germans and police searched incessantly for surviving Jews, killing them wherever they found them. In July 1943, in the village of Buinovich, the Nazis found the five children of a man named Finster, who was married to a Belorussian. They shot three of them, and they grabbed the seven-month-old twins Ania and Fedia by their feet and smashed their heads against a tree. The Germans did not allow the children to be buried, and their corpses were pulled apart by dogs.[8]

Some of the residents of Lel'chitsy, despite the threat of death, gave aid to the Jews. Riva Lel'chuk was saved by the Belotskii family: Mariia, her mother Agaf'ia, and her stepfather Ivan. The Belotskiis hid these Jews from the end of 1941 until November 1942, when they left to join the Soviet partisans.[9]

Soviet troops liberated Lel'chitsy on January 21, 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) established that during the occupation in Lel'chitsy and the Lel'chitsy raion, 2,148 people died at the hands of the Nazis, including around 750 Jews, some of whom were refugees from Turov.[10]

In September 1970, in connection with an inquiry by the organs of justice of the Polish People's Republic, a commission came to Lel'chitsy on the instructions of the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the USSR. With the participation of witnesses, the commission inspected the site where in 1941–1942 mass shootings of Soviet Jewish citizens had occurred.[11]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Lel'chitsy can be found in the following publication: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 717.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Lel'chitsy can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 234: vol. 4, pp. 186–187, 214; vol. 6, pp. 66, 73, 77); GAOOGO (69-1-685); NARB (845-1-8, p. 42); and YVA (M-33/1127).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/1127.
2. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 77, from the transcript of questioning of witness Ivan Vasil'evich Davidiuk, born 1914, on September 16, 1970, Lel'chitsy.
3. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, pp. 185–187, excerpt from the transcript of questioning of witness Fedora Aleksandrovna Lipitskaia, born 1904, on January 10, 1968, Lel'chitsy.
4. Ibid., file 234, vol. 6, p. 66, from the transcript of questioning of witness Andrei Grigor'evich Zhurovich, born 1908, on January 10, 1968, Lel'chitsy.
5. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, p. 214, from the transcript of questioning of defendant Max Robert Lessner, born 1897, Oberwachtmeister der Gendarmerie, on March 31, 1947.
6. Of the Gendarmes, Kolesnik remembered one nicknamed "the Cook," another named Max, and a third whose surname was Schwarz. Ibid., file 234, vol. 6, p. 66, from the transcript of the questioning of the witness Elizaveta Vasil'evna Kolesnik, born 1903, on September 15, 1970, Lel'chitsy.
7. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, p. 216.
8. NARB, 845-1-8, p. 42, from the report of the Poles'e oblast' commission of the ChGK of the USSR on the crimes in Lel'chitsy, December 25, 1944.
9. In 1994, Ivan and Agaf'ia Belotskii and Mariia Zhoglo (Belotskaia) were awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations; see *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 25–26.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 106, from the report on Nazi war crimes in the Gomel' oblast.
11. Ibid., file 234, vol. 6, pp. 81–82, transcript of the examination of the mass burial at "Gorka" (the Hill) in Lel'chitsy.

LIPOVETS

Pre-1941: Lipovets, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lipowez, Rayon center, Gebiet Illinzi, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Lypovets', raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Lipovets is located 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) east of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 1,353 Jews (52.6 percent of the total population) were living in the town. An additional 993 Jews were residing in the villages of the Lipovets raion. Between June 22 and July 23, 1941, on which date German forces occupied the settlement, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Lipovets at the start of the German occupation.

Initially a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran Lipovets. In October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Rayon Lipowez was incorporated into Gebiet Illinzi, which, in turn, was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra was the Gebietskommissar, and Meister Andreas Wagner was the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] In Lipovets itself, a Gendarmerie post was established, commanded (according to Soviet sources) by an officer named Häsl or Heese, assisted by his deputy Otto Koinder.[2] The Gendarmerie assumed authority over the local Ukrainian police. Both the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police played an active role in the Aktions carried out against the Jewish population in the area.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur organized the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David and to perform various forms of heavy labor for little or no pay.

In September 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town. Some 200 people were rounded up, including 17 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) accused of being Soviet activists and Communists.[3] German forces shot them near the village of Berezovka. Among those executed were a number of Jews.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans established an "open ghetto" for the Jewish population in the settlement.[4] According to Leontii Usharenko, a Jewish survivor, the German soldiers and Ukrainian police beat Jews they caught not wearing a Star of David on their chests. The Ukrainian police helped the Germans to identify the Jews and were more stringent than the Germans. At this point no one was allowed to leave the open ghetto, except for work details. However, Jewish girls still went to the market to barter items for bread, as there was not much else to eat. Labor tasks included cleaning toilets for the Germans until late into the night. Usharenko's sister worked in a factory that made vegetable oil.[5]

In late April or early May 1942, the ghetto in Lipovets was liquidated. More than 700 Jews were shot near the village of Vikentievka, to the northeast of Lipovets.[6] Around 20 local villagers were requisitioned to prepare ditches for the mass shooting and became witnesses to the murder. The Aktion was organized by an SD detachment from Vinnitsa, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Salmanzig, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. At the site of the mass shooting, a number of Jews were selected out with the aid of a translator as specialist workers (artisans). Only the Jewish artisan workers and their families remained after that, confined to a small remnant ghetto in Lipovets. They were shot on June 3, 1942. There were 167 victims.[7]

On June 3 (or possibly May 3), 1942, the SD detachment from Vinnitsa, with the help of the German Gendarmerie

and Ukrainian police, also shot several hundred Jews from the village of Vakhnovka. The Jews were confined first within the church, while the mass grave was being prepared by 20 of the Jews about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) outside the village. The victims included 150 women, 100 children, and more than 20 men. Some of the infants were thrown into the grave and buried alive.[8] There was also a report of a shooting of Jews in the nearby village of Zozov.

Leontii Usharenko managed to escape from the remnant ghetto in Lipovets shortly before the final liquidation with the aid of a forged identity document that enabled him to pass as a non-Jew.[9]

SOURCES Documents describing the destruction of the Jews in Lipovets and the surrounding area can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204a AR-Z 138/67); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1254); VHF (# 29972); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, p. 315.
3. GARF, 7021-54-1254, p. 3.
4. DAVINO, R4422-1-36.
5. VHF, # 29972, testimony of Leontii Usharenko.
6. Ibid., # 29972, dates the Aktion on May 3, 1942—most other sources in April. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Soviet material, Bild 313–316. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 2,000 Jews from Lipovets were killed in April 1942. There were 800 people killed near the village of Berezovka, and 700 people, followed by another incident with 500 people, killed near the village of Vitsentovka; see GARF, 7021-54-1254, pp. 3 and reverse side. The documents list the number of Jews in Lipovets before the war as 1,353, and some of them went into the army and others evacuated the area. Therefore, this figure is probably too high. It is likely that at the end of April 1942 more than 700 Jews from Lipovets were executed near the village of Vikentievka. According to one source (see below), the Jews who were arrested in the villages of Rayon Lipowez were shot near the village of Berezovka. See I.S. Finkel'stein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i opor ukrains'koho evreistva (1941–1944): Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1999), p. 75.
7. VHF, # 29972; GARF, 7021-54-1254, p. 3. In the report dated January 9, 1944, compiled by the local residents and the local army section, 60 to 70 people (of indeterminate nationality) living in the town were killed in October 1942; in November 1942, 80 persons were killed; and in June 1942, 60 people were killed. See *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, Vypusk 13 (Voenizdat, 1945), p. 20.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1254, pp. 3 and reverse side. See also BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Soviet material, Bild 313–316.
9. VHF, # 29972.

LITIN

Pre-1941: Litin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Lityn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Litin is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) west-northwest of Vinnitsa. In 1939, the Jewish population of Litin was 1,410, comprising 28 percent of the total.

The Germans occupied Litin on July 17, 1941. Only a small number of Jews, perhaps 20 or 30 people, were able to evacuate via the railroad. Around 200 Jews of military age (those born between 1903 and 1924) were conscripted into the Red Army before the Germans arrived.[1]

Immediately after the occupation, German and Hungarian troops began to bully the Jewish population. In this region, the Jews suffered in particular at the hands of Ukrainian policemen who raped women and tore the beards from elderly Jewish men. According to German orders, Jews had to wear a Star of David on their outer clothing, front and back, and had to mark their homes as well. Artisans were ordered to work, often without pay. The remaining able-bodied Jews were escorted to a quarry (for stonemasonry), which was located 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Litin. They were also ordered to perform agricultural work. By the fall of 1941, many Jewish families were starving. Jews were taxed heavily and forced to pay onerous "contributions" to the occupying forces. The Germans threatened to kill the Jews if payments were not made in exchange for their security.[2] On August 18, 1941, German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 5 arrested more than 100 Jews over the age of 15, and after selecting some for a specific labor task, they shot the remaining 57 young men, apparently because they did not possess "useful" skills.[3]

In the fall of 1941, the area around Litin was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Litin became the center of its own district (Gebiet Litin), consisting of the surrounding Rayons of Litin, Brailow, and Chmelnik. SA-Standartenführer Traugott Volkhammer was appointed as Gebietskommissar in Litin.

In the early morning of December 19, a squad of German Security Police from Vinnitsa arrived in Litin. Reinforced by local Gendarmerie forces and the Ukrainian police, they surrounded the streets where the Jewish population lived. The police drove the Jews out of their homes and onto the streets. A few dozen Jews were murdered during this process. The Jews were then taken to the Red Army base located in the town. Jews from the surrounding area were also brought there, including about 100 Jews from Diakovtsev. Then the German authorities carried out a selection. About 200 specialized craftsmen and their families were removed from the group, and the remaining 2,000 or so people were escorted towards the ditches, prepared 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the military base. The German punitive detachment and Ukrainian policemen shot the Jews into the ditches. Gebietskommissar Volkhammer directly supervised the mass shooting.[4]

The remaining Jews were transferred into the ghetto over the next two hours. The ghetto consisted of a few houses on two narrow streets. The Germans also resettled into the ghetto those Jews who had hidden during the mass shooting and emerged thereafter. Around 300 Jews were concentrated inside the ghetto, which was surrounded by a fence. The prisoners were prohibited from leaving and threatened with shooting if they tried. Although food was scarce and hunger severe, nobody was allowed to go to the peasant market to obtain food. Among many humiliating restrictions, the Jews of the ghetto were not allowed to walk on the sidewalk.[5]

After several subsequent Aktions, the ghetto was reduced in size until it consisted only of one side of a single street. A Polish Jew, Nuta Gekht, who knew German well, was appointed as the elder (starosta) of the ghetto. The German commandant demanded that Gekht compile lists of those able to perform forced labor. A witness, Maria Zavodiuk-Fainshtein, was among the girls assigned to work at the German military garrison, where she had to clean the rooms, bring water from the well, chop wood, and perform other tasks. Later on, the girls were sent to the stone quarries, where they had to shovel stones into a special grinding machine: backbreaking work that left them exhausted at the end of every day.[6]

Refugees arrived in Litin from many places, as they were trying to get to Transnistria (the Romanian zone of occupation), where by 1942 conditions were somewhat better for Jews. Some of the fugitives were allowed into the ghetto and given work permits; others hid illegally within the ghetto.[7] Insofar as it was possible, the Jews of Litin directed the refugees towards the Bug River, supplying them with food, clothing, and sometimes money to assist their escape. A few hundred of these runaways were nevertheless captured and shot by local policemen. The Jews of Litin secretly gathered the clothing and other possessions, which they had retained when they were resettled into the ghetto, and collected them in their old homes and the homes of Jews who had already been shot. Often the Jews of Litin went into neighboring villages, where they exchanged the clothing and other items for food. As far as possible, the prisoners of the ghetto continued to observe Jewish traditions and holidays. They celebrated Passover (eating matzot) and Purim and fasted on Yom Kippur.[8]

Mass shootings continued on a regular basis. On December 29, 1941, about one week after the establishment of the ghetto, the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police shot approximately 100 more Jews in the ditches, mainly elderly people, women, and children: probably Jews who were found in hiding after the recent Aktion.[9]

On June 11, 1942, the next Aktion was carried out. Hungarian soldiers and Ukrainian policemen shot 167 people on the grounds of the military base. Among these victims were women, children, and the elderly, who had been seized because they were unable to work. The survivors and prisoners who remained alive in the ghetto called this the "children's pogrom." The German punitive forces used dogs to catch children who were in hiding. The authorities shot 150 Roma (Gypsies) along with the Jews. This Aktion was organized by the new Gebietskommissar named Nikesh.[10] In September and October 1942, there was another series of Aktions: on September 18, 1942, 86 prisoners from the ghetto were shot. On October 10, 1942, 260 people were shot. In the course of this Aktion, about 10 prisoners escaped to the Romanian zone of occupation. On October 25, 1942, 96 people were shot. Some of these victims were Jews found hiding in and around Litin who were brought to the ghetto to be murdered in groups.[11]

A labor prison camp was organized on the grounds of the military base in Litin, into which the Nazis resettled Romanian Jews, mostly from Bukovina. The purpose of the camp was to provide labor for the construction in 1942 of Transit Highway (Durchgangsstrasse) IV from Poland to the North Caucasus. Able-bodied men and women, including young people, were moved into the prison labor camp. The majority of the prisoners, around 1,000 men, worked on building the road. The remaining 250 women prisoners worked in the quarry, where they cut stone needed for the road-building efforts. The German state-run Organisation Todt (OT) was responsible for the project. In September 1942, the Germans liquidated the labor prison camp. On September 12, 580 people were shot, and on September 20 and 26 (by varying accounts), the remaining 520 people were killed.

Litin was liberated on March 20, 1944. Only a few dozen Jews from Litin who had escaped to various places during the occupation (some of them joining the partisans) were able to return to their homes. A number of Jews returned to Litin after having been evacuated to the east and also from the Red Army. Some of them then left permanently for other places, including Vinnitsa.[12]

SOURCES A personal testimony regarding the ghetto in Litin can be found in the following publication: Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzhenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim posviashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 309–310.

Documentation on the Litin ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); BLH (687, Solomon Boim; 686, Fira Eklis; 695, Haia Litinenski; and 862, Alexander Vaiman); DAVINO (R1683-1-13); GARF; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.226*0017); YVA (M-33/196, pp. 6–16; O-3/7372; O-3/6401). There is also the record of an interview with David Irilevich in the personal archive of the author (PAAKag).

Albert Kaganovich
trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.
2. Ibid.; YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401.
3. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; DAVINO, R1683-1-13, p. 86.
4. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 556–557 (Abschlussbericht). This report indicates that 300 men, 500 women, and 1,186 children were murdered.
5. YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.
6. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 309–310.

7. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Yevgenia Lerner.

8. YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 557–558 (Abschlussbericht).

10. After the war, he was tried in the Soviet Union.

11. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 187.

12. YVA, O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.

LIUBAR

Pre-1941: Liubar, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljubar, Rayon center, Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Liubar, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Liubar is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,857 Jews residing in the town of Liubar (70.26 percent of the population) and 542 additional Jews living in the outlying settlements of the Liubar raion.

On July 7, 1941, German parachute brigades landed in Liubar, where they faced Soviet infantrymen, but with the aid of supporting land forces of the German XLVIII Corps they soon secured the town.[1] In the two weeks prior to the occupation, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, but most were unable to get access to the transportation, money, and official permission from their place of work that were necessary. Approximately 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Liubar. The temporary German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents. The local mayor was the former teacher Kudimov, and the police was headed by F.U. Kiian.[2]

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. The occupying forces incorporated Liubar into Gebiet Tschudnow, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Dr. Blümel was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.[3]

Just after the occupation of the town, the Jewish family of Hirsh Halperine, consisting of four individuals, was accused of sabotage and shot. Shortly afterwards, the Germans shot four more Jews, whom they accused of being Soviet activists.[4]

On the orders of the Ortskommandantur, the Rayon authority organized the registration of the Jews. Jews were also required to wear a distinguishing armband on their sleeves and were forced to perform heavy labor, in groups divided according to sex.

In July 1941, the German military commandant established an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) in Liubar, designating several streets in the center of the town where the Jews had to live. Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, famine developed inside the ghetto.[5]

On August 9, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in the town. They arrested 300 Jewish men on the pretext of forced labor and then shot them to the northeast of Liubar, near the village of Iurovka.[6] In all likelihood, the shooting was carried out by members of Police Regiment "South," part of which was stationed in Liubar at that time. This Aktion was accompanied by looting and beatings carried out by the Ukrainian police, which lasted for several days.[7]

On September 13, 1941, men of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion conducted a second Aktion in Liubar.[8] The aim of this Aktion was to liquidate the ghetto and annihilate the entire Jewish population of the town. More than 1,000 Jews were shot in a sand quarry, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Liubar.[9]

Ukrainian policemen subsequently hunted down inside the ghetto those Jews who had managed to hide during these Aktions. The remaining Jewish craftsmen (including tailors, shoemakers, and cap makers) were at first moved into the school building, then relocated into the building of the former children's home, which was guarded by members of the Ukrainian police. They went to work in the building of the former military commissariat, where they made clothing and boots for the police. At the end of October 1941, all of these Jews (about 250) were also shot in the sand quarry.[10]

In the fall of 1941, a total of 1,536 people were murdered in the sand quarry near the town: 1,199 Jewish residents of Liubar, 190 Jewish refugees (60 from Polonnoe, 30 from Gritsev, 27 from Slavuta, and 73 from Ostropol'), and 147 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[11]

In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police also killed the Jews who were living in the villages of the Liubar raion. In the village of Malenkaia Derevichka, 4 Jews were killed; in Novyi Liubar, 46 Jews (including 34 in September 1941); in Staryi Liubar, 19 Jews; from Velikaia Volitsa, 12 Jews (killed in Liubar); from Strizhevka, 24 Jews (killed in Liubar); in Staraia Chertoriia, 12 Jews; in Novaia Chertoriia, 207 Jews (on November 27, 1941); and in Pedynka, 4 Jews.[12]

SOURCES There is a survivor account in the volume of survivor testimonies edited by Boris Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 1999), pp. 160–164.

Documentation concerning the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the town of Liubar and the surrounding raion can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 131/67); DAZO (1151-1-703); GARF (7021-60-302); NARA; USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See intelligence report of the 60th Inf. Div. (Mot.) to the headquarters of XLVIIIth A.K., July 13, 1941; NARA, RG-242, T-314, reel 1146, fr. 425.

2. E. Zakharov-Zaidenberg, "Tak bylo unichtozheno vse evreiskoe naselenie Liubara," in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 160. Among the Ukrainian police serving in Liubar in 1942 was Stanislaus Kulschitzki; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 160.

5. Ibid., pp. 160–61. On the ghetto, Perl Kantor commented: "There was no real ghetto in Liubar. So why was one created in a matter of days? And who gave the order to shut in the Jews if even the Russians in Liubar had forgotten they were Russians?" See Perl Kantor, "After All," published in the newspaper *Vesty*, April 27, 1995.

6. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 161. In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), this Aktion is not mentioned; see GARF, 7021-60-302.

7. Summary of German Police Decodes 275–323, August 21, 1941, p. 5, in NA, HW 16/6, pt. 1.

8. Telegram no. 444, from HSSPF Russland-Süd, September 15 and 17, 1941, VHAP, KdO Stab RFSS. The telegram states that "the 45th Reserve Police Battalion completed the 'cleansing Aktion' in Liubar."

9. GARF, 7021-60-302, pp. 4, 7.

10. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 162–164. In the documents of the ChGK, this Aktion is not mentioned; see GARF, 7021-60-302.

11. GARF, 7021-60-302, pp. 4, 7.

12. Ibid., 7021-60-302, pp. 27, 62, 140–141, 171, 199, 201, 268, 391, 363, 405.

MIROPOL'

Pre-1941: Miropol', *town*, *Dzerzhinsk raion*, *Zhitomir oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Miropol*, *Rayon Romanow (Dzherzhinsk)*, *Gebiet Tschudnow*, *Generalkommissariat Shitomir*; *post-1991: Myropil'*, *Romaniv raion*, *Zhytomyr oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Miropol' is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) west-southwest of Zhitomir. According to the census of December 16, 1926, there were 1,143 Jews living in Miropol'. In mid-1941, approximately 600 Jews lived in the town.

German forces occupied Miropol' on July 6, 1941 two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. A number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east during this intervening period. Men of eligible age were called up or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. It is estimated that roughly 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Miropol'. The German military administration created a local authority and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The local police played an active part in the repressive measures taken against the Jews.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Miropol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Tschudnow, and Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel became the Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, by order of the Ortskommandantur, the local authority organized the registration and marking of the Jews, who were required to wear distinguishing armbands. Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor tasks (such as repairing roads) under the guard of the Ukrainian police, solely because of their ethnicity.

At the end of July 1941, the Ortskommandantur announced the establishment of a ghetto (Jewish residential district) in the center of the settlement.[2] Jews were prohibited from going beyond the limits of the ghetto and from buying products or even conversing with Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly ensued.

At the end of July 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Miropol'. Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe C shot 24 Jews for refusing to work.[3] At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, a further Aktion took place in the settlement. The Ukrainian police shot 157 Jews in the park: 29 men, 66 women, and 62 children. Two days later, the Ukrainian police arrested and shot a Jewish family of four.[4]

During the first half of October 1941, another Aktion was carried out in Miropol': 94 people—14 men, 31 women, and 49 children—were shot in the park.[5] After this Aktion, only the Jewish craftsmen and their families remained in the settlement. These 100 people were shot by the Ukrainian police on February 16, 1942.[6]

Also in December 1941, the Ukrainian police brought into Miropol' nine Jews (eight women and one child) who had been hiding in the village of Kolodiazhnoe. They were then shot in the public park.[7] In 1941 and 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered some 400 Jews in Miropol' in total.[8]

On January 5, 1987, a criminal court in the Zhitomir oblast' sentenced to death two of the former Miropol' policemen, Les'ko and Gnatiuk. In addition, one other policeman was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

SOURCES Some information regarding the Miropol' ghetto has been published in Garri Fel'dman, ed., *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit: Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitom moimi zemliakami* (Shitomir, 2000).

Documents dealing with the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Miropol' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO; GARF (7021-60-291); PAAKru.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Testimony of Liudmila Blekhman, in Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhit*, p. 39.

3. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 47, August 9, 1941; see also Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 139.

4. Information obtained by the author from the State Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) in the Zhitomir oblast', December 4, 1991, and February 4, 1992 (PAAKru).

5. Ibid. The executions probably took place on October 13, 1941; see GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5.

6. PAAKru, letter from the SBU in Zhitomir oblast', February 4, 1992. See also GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5.

7. PAAKru, letter from the SBU in Zhitomir oblast', February 4, 1992.

8. According to the materials of the Dzerzhinsk raion commission for the investigation of crimes committed by the occupants and their collaborators in the Dzerzhinsk raion, 960 Jews were killed in Miropol'. GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5. As this figure is not supported by the materials in the files, it is probably too high.

MONASTYRISHCHE

Pre-1941: Monastyrishche, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Monastyrischtsche, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Monastyryshche, raion center, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Monastyrishche is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,398 Jews (74.4 percent of the total population) were living in Monastyrishche. In the villages of the Monastyrishche raion, including the former Tsibulev raion, there were an additional 1,449, bringing the total to 2,847 Jews. Besides the town of Monastyrishche, there were four other small Jewish communities in the Monastyrishche raion: Sarny, Tsibulev, Terlitsa, and Lukashovka.

German armed forces occupied Monastyrishche on July 22, 1941, one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. The Luftwaffe bombarded Monastyrishche from the air, and due to the rapid German advance, only a minority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Jewish men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population, or around 1,000 people, remained in Monastyrishche at the start of the occupation.

In July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled Monastyrishche. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Ukrainian police played an active part in implementing the anti-Jewish measures and robbing the Jews. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Ivan Mel'nikov (or Melnik).[1] Other policemen known for their exceptional cruelty were Chichikoza, Koretskii, Koval', Tabik, Shchipets, Khmelevskii, Mel'nik, and Liuliava. After the war, some of these men escaped to Canada.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Monastyrishche became the administrative center of Gebiet Monastyrishtsche. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Werder. The Gebiet, in turn, was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Soon after the occupation of the town, the Ortskommandantur ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jews were required to wear armbands with the Star of David and to perform heavy physical labor of various kinds, usually for little or no pay. A Jewish Council, or Judenrat, was also established, headed by a man named Khaskel'. It served as an intermediary body between the occupation authorities and the Jewish population, issuing work assignments to the Jews. Among the work tasks was the cleaning of latrines that were reserved only for the Germans.

In August 1941, the Germans organized a first Aktion in the course of which at least 10 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were arrested and shot.[3] Probably within about one month of the occupation, the remaining Jews were moved into an open ghetto, located on a few streets designated for this purpose. There was considerable overcrowding, with about 10 people sharing each small room. The houses were not fenced off and guarded, but the Ukrainian police harassed the inmates and made it very hard for anyone to escape from the ghetto. No rations were issued, and there was severe hunger in the ghetto, leading to a number of deaths. The Jews exchanged anything they could with local Ukrainians for some food, such as potatoes and beets. However, they were beaten and could be shot if caught outside the ghetto illegally. Those who worked outside the ghetto also received some bread from the Ukrainians.[4]

Despite the difficult conditions, the Jews still made considerable efforts to observe Jewish holidays. Aware of the massacres that had taken place in other towns, many families prepared hiding places behind false walls inside the ghetto, which might provide at least a temporary refuge when the Germans conducted another Aktion. According to the account of Natalia Ulitskaia, both the Ukrainian police and the Germans forced Jewish girls to go with them at which time they raped them.[5]

The Germans organized the liquidation of the ghetto on May 29, 1942, when all the Jews were rounded up by the Ukrainian police and brought to the market square on the pretext of a work assignment. After a few dozen skilled workers were selected from the group, the rest were taken out and shot in a ditch about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. On that day, Jews from Sarny, Tsibulev, Terlitsa, and Lukashovka were also shot.[6] A total of 1,600 Jews were killed, including around 1,000 from Monastyrishche. A number of Jews evaded the roundup in their hiding places; some of these people then fled the ghetto into the countryside, while others emerged subsequently and joined the remaining Jews.

Around 120 to 140 craftsmen from Monastyrishche and other neighboring Jewish communities were then resettled into a special remnant ghetto for skilled laborers together

with their families (about 400 people altogether). Five houses on one street were designated as a ghetto space, now closely guarded by the Ukrainian police. However, children would still sneak out of the ghetto to try to barter items for food at the market.[7] In August or September 1942, Jews declared unfit for labor were taken behind the mill and shot. In November 1942, another group of Jews was shot in retribution for the escape of several Jews from the ghetto. The remaining 70 Jews were shot directly in one of the houses on the eve of the Germans' retreat from Monastyrishche (March 10, 1944). Their corpses were burned together with the house.

The few surviving Jews mention the existence of some antisemitism in Monastyrishche, even before the war, and especially the brutality of the Ukrainian police. However, most of those who survived were helped by Ukrainian acquaintances. Sofia Zaitseva stressed that her father was popular with many Ukrainians, who were willing to hide her and her brother despite the risks involved, after their father had been killed.[8]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Monastyrishche can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and VHF (# 5095, 15564, 29577, 36257, 39908).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. *Zoria: Hromad'sko-politychne vydannia Monastyryshchens'koho raionu*, no. 42 (May 29, 1999); testimony of Nikolai Zadernovskii, www.iremember.ru/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=563&Itemid=24; and Report of the Monastyrishche Settlement Council of People's Deputies, no. 77, April 29, 1999. VHF, # 29577, testimony of Fania Kogan, however, gives the figure of 30 members of the intelligentsia being arrested.
4. VHF, # 29577; # 36257, testimony of Natalia Ulitskaia; # 39908, testimony of Aron Spektor; # 5095, testimony of Eda Zadernovskaia; # 15564, testimony of Sofia Zaitseva.
5. Ibid., # 29577, # 36257, # 39908.
6. Ibid., # 29577, # 36257, # 5095.
7. Ibid., # 29577.
8. Ibid., # 39908, # 36257, # 15564.

MOZYR'

Pre-1941: Mozyr', city and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mosyr, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Mazyr, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mozyr' is located 133 kilometers (82.6 miles) southwest of Gomel'. In 1939, 6,307 (36 percent) of the city's 17,477 inhabitants were Jewish.

German armed forces first entered Mozyr' on August 22, 1941. A wave of killings and abuse began immediately. In early September 1941, forces of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 150 people as "looters." Most of the victims were Jews.

The city administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 members under Eisha Izrailevich Koifman and his deputy Iosif Iankelevich Berdichevskii. On October 20, 1941, Mozyr' became the seat of Gebiet Mosyr, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir, with Wolfgang Przyrembel as Gebietskommissar. In January 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Wilhelm Kellermann became Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Mozyr'.[1] Ivan Podbereznyi was the chief of the local police, assisted by Titov, Kholodnyi, Tokarskii, Suprun, Telepun, Krupskii, and others, in all about 35 men. Podbereznyi had previously been a Communist Party member and chief of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) in the El'sk raion.[2]

At some time in the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mozyr' on Romashov Rov Street, where there were primarily one-story wooden buildings.[3] The Germans placed 15 to 20 Jews in each of the run-down houses, without sufficient food or medicine. A number of Jews died from disease or malnutrition during the ghetto's short existence.

The Jewish Council was assigned the tasks of accommodating the ghetto inmates, maintaining internal order, and interacting with the German authorities. The council members were in fact hostages of the Nazis, however, because the majority of the ghetto inmates were not fit for work, and the ghetto in Mozyr' had very little economic significance.

By decree of the town authority, Berdichevskii drew up a list of ghetto inhabitants, which included 273 names. The majority of them were women, elderly people, and children, ranging in age from a few months to 90 years old.[4]

Jews from Skrigalov, Kopatkevichi, Prudok, and Glinishche were resettled into the Mozyr' ghetto. A little later, 38 more Jews arrived from the Kamen' sel'sovet. Another 111 Jews came from El'sk, Petrikov, Narovlia, Sloboda, Meleshkovichi, Mikhalok, Iur'evichi, Ogorodniki, Zapol'e, Prudok, and Red'ki. With all the new arrivals, there were 433 Jews living in the Mozyr' ghetto as of January 1, 1942, according to Berdichevskii's list.[5]

At the end of 1941, a group of Jewish carpenters and their families decided to take their own lives. According to R.A. Sherman, they gathered at 19 Pushkin Street, next to where they had lived before the war. They cast lots, and it fell to Khaia Gofshtein to set the fire. Around 40 people perished in the blaze.[6]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in January 1942. On January 6, the ghetto inhabitants were transferred to the Mozyr' prison. They were allowed to take only a small supply of food and personal items. Their remaining property was to be left at home, and the doors were to be left unlocked. On the morning of January 7, the women, old people, and children were separated from the men and taken about 1 kilometer

(0.6 mile) from Mozyr' towards the village of Bobr, to a hill beneath which lay a large gully. They were escorted by German Gendarmes, soldiers of a Czechoslovak battalion, and Belorussian policemen. The infirm, sick, and exhausted were carried on four carts. In the meantime, about 200 men were shot in the prison yard. They were led out in groups, placed against the wall, and shot by policemen under the command of the Germans. Then the Jewish cobblers from the prison workshop were ordered to transport the men's corpses on sleds to a ditch on the edge of town.

The women, children, and elderly taken to the hill were ordered to undress, lay their clothes and things in piles, and then climb to the top in groups of three or four. Those who were too weak to climb on their own were dragged by the arm or prodded with bayonets. The people guessed that their execution was imminent; a horrible cry arose; and the women cried and begged for mercy. At the top of the hill, the victims were lined up in a row and shot. The bodies rolled down into the gully. The Aktion lasted two hours. Then the Germans and the local police went down and finished off the wounded. The bodies were piled in a stack, and the side of the hill facing the gully was blown up so that the earth rolled down to cover the mass grave. The layer of soil turned out not to be very thick, however, and dogs were able to dig up and carry off human remains. The indigenous police collected the Jews' belongings. Two or three days later, the police once again sent the shoemakers from the prison to the ditch and made them take all the bodies (about 300 corpses in total) to a single site and bury them.[7]

A second group of Jews was taken to the Pripiat' River, where, according to the witness testimony of Aleksandra Kozlovskaia, they made holes in the ice. The Germans then drove the doomed Jews towards the holes and forced them to jump beneath the ice. Those who resisted were shoved into the holes with rifle butts.[8] In total, around 700 Jews were drowned in Mozyr' during the occupation.

During the Aktion of January 9–10, 1942, the teacher Liza Lozinskaia succeeded in hiding. The next day she was discovered, brought to the market square, and tied to a telegraph pole. The Nazis hung a sign around her neck that read: "I sabotaged the implementation of German laws and orders." Then the Germans proceeded to practice throwing knives and daggers at her.[9]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a small group of craftsmen remained in the prison; they were shot by the German Gendarmerie in May or June 1942.[10] The shooting was supervised by Rosenberg, the head of the town's SD section; Oberleutnant Tizze and Oberwachtmeister Urlich, both of the Order Police; and the chief of the indigenous police, Podbereznyi, who assigned 10 local policemen to assist the German Gendarmerie.

In the winter of 1943, the newspaper *Mozyrskie novosti*, which was published with the Nazis' permission, wrote that the town had been living without Jews for two years and could rightfully consider itself an example for the solving of the Jewish question in Belorussia.[11]

Following the liberation of the city in January 1944, the Soviet authorities uncovered at least five mass grave sites in and around Mozyr':

1. The Jewish cemetery in the Mozyr' city limits has 18 graves of equal size lacking mounds, tablets, or any other markings indicating a burial site. There are 50 to 55 bodies of elderly people, women, and children in each grave, a total of 960 to 1,000 people.
2. The territory of the former Sipo-SD prison on Pushkin Street has five graves with 55 bodies in each, altogether 275 people.
3. The gully at the end of Romashov Rov Street contains four graves, three of which were approximately of similar size, with 95 to 100 bodies in each. The fourth grave, 400 square meters [478 square yards] in size, held 850 bodies. The total body count was 1,230 to 1,250.
4. The gully on the Mozyr'-Bobr road is the site of two graves containing the remains of more than 1,000 people.
5. At the end of Svidovka Street are two graves. More than 600 people were buried in the first; in the second, a grave of smaller dimensions, are seven bodies: an elderly man, four women, and two children.

In the course of the exhumations, it was ascertained that some of the people were buried alive, while others had their hands tied behind their backs with barbed wire. Several bodies bore marks of violence and torture.[12]

Mozyr' was liberated on January 14, 1944. During the occupation, 4,700 of the city's inhabitants perished, including more than 1,500 Jews.[13] Kondrat Bogdanik turned over to the Soviet 61st Army's counterintelligence section, SMERSH, partial lists of ghetto inhabitants (237 names) stolen by him in March 1942 from the Mozyr' town authority. These documents provided the basis for investigation of Nazi crimes in Mozyr'. They were then given to the archive of the KGB in the Republic of Belorussia, where they were kept until after 2000.

SOURCES Information concerning the fate of the Jews of Mozyr' can be found in the following publications: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika mozyrskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1997); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii* (Tel Aviv, 2000), pp. 213–214; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–44* (Minsk, 1963); "Mozyrskie straniitsy Kholokosta," *Berega* (March–April 2002); "Mosada na belorusskoi zemle," *Berega* (September 2000); Iakov Gutman, "Pliaski i pamiat': Mozyr'," *Den'*, September 29, 2001; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk:

Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981).

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jewish population of Mozyr' can be found in these archives: AUKGBRBGO (see especially criminal case no. 10454 against Ivan Podbereznyi); GARF (7021-91-20 and 273); NARA; NARB (845-1-12, 861-1-12); YVA; and ZGAMO (310-1-15).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. NARA, T-454, reel 100, fr. 1029, RFSS, Schnellbrief of January 31, 1942.
2. AUKGBRBGO, case against I.P. Podbereznyi, January 21, 1944.
3. NARB, 861-1-12, pp. 2, 8–9, 845-1-12, p. 32; GARF, 7021-91-20, p. 4.
4. AUKGBRBGO, Podbereznyi case, pp. 141–146, 197.
5. Ibid., pp. 148, 151.
6. *Pamiat'*, pp. 201, 209.
7. NARB, 861-1-12, p. 2; 845-1-12, p. 32; ZGAMO, 310-1-15, pp. 4, 12, 14.
8. GARF, 7021-91-273, pp. 6–8.
9. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 274.
10. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 1/78, Verfügung vom 19.1.1978, p. 19.
11. *Mozyrskie novosti*, December 20, 1943.
12. "Mozyrskie stranitsy Kholokosta."
13. GARF, 7021-91-20, p. 4.

NARODICHI

Pre-1941: Narodichi, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Naroditschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Korosten, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Narodychy, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Narodichi is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) north-northeast of Zhitomir. In 1939, the Jewish population of Narodichi was 1,233, comprising less than half of the total population.

German forces occupied Narodichi on August 22, 1941. In the two months from the start of the German invasion, the Jewish population in town changed dramatically. Many Jews from Narodichi managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union, while Jewish refugees from the cities arrived in this remote town seeking shelter. In 1941 the Jewish population in Narodichi was wiped out rather quickly in two (or possibly three) massacres. One occurred on September 9, 1941, and another "on a cold rainy day" in mid-November. Einsatzgruppe C reported on September 11, 1941, that "in Narodichi, 208 terrorists, and, in a nearby barn, 60 terrorists were arrested and shot in the course of a large-scale Aktion."[1]

A Ukrainian peasant, Mykola Stepanchik, recalled what he had witnessed in 1941 when he was 11 years old. His home was located on the road leading to the mass shooting site. On the morning of the killing Aktion, a member of Sonderkommando 4a had shooed him away, threatening him if he did not leave the field near his house, where pits were being prepared and guards were cordoning off the area. A German Gestapo man told him in Ukrainian: leave now or you will be killed. He was tending his cow in that field. He was curious and hid in the crops where he could still see what was happening. First a truck appeared with the Germans and a group of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The POWs dug a large pit. The Germans took a lunch break and then returned at about 3:00 P.M. The truck arrived several times, carrying groups of about 40 or 50 Jews on each occasion. The adult Jews, including mothers with infants, were separated from the children. The Jews had to crouch down in rows of 10 near the swamp. They were on their knees next to the pit. The Germans had rifles and automatic weapons and stood only about 5 meters (16 feet) from the Jews. There were six Ukrainian policemen, but they did not shoot. One Ukrainian policeman placed straw on top of the bodies in the pit. Then the rain came. There were no passersby during the Aktion. Everyone in town heard the gunfire.[2]

The Sonderkommando unit, however, soon moved on and left behind the now mostly orphaned Jewish children, who had been brought by the local Ukrainian police to the local cinema/club building, the former synagogue, as an unusual form of open remnant ghetto. The local militia was led by a Ukrainian chief named Khrenovsky (a photographer) and his deputy Artem Orel. It appears that the children were left there, more or less abandoned for about two months, with only two elderly women, who were supposed to care for them. They were given no food rations or water and had to depend on the local inhabitants to survive. Stepanchik recalls that some of the children wandered the streets, looking for food. According to evidence collected by Symon Gorevsky (and deposited at Yad Vashem, file # 9314) and Arkady Fedorovsky (who had joined the Red Army in 1941, lost 24 of his family members in the massacres, and returned to Narodichi in 1944), the former orthodox priest in the town went door to door, confronting locals, demanding that they donate food, and proclaiming that if they did not help these poor children, they would be punished by God. Some shared their food, but most avoided the club/cinema and spread rumors that the priest had gone mad.

In November 1941, the 72 children were shot by three German Gendarmes, assisted by local Ukrainian policemen, including Khrenovsky and Orel. They were forced to run naked in the Jewish cemetery, while being shot by one Gendarme who had mounted a machine gun on a tripod and two others who held semiautomatic pistols. The children's bodies were hastily buried in the cemetery; the ground was hard.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 370 Jews were shot in Narodichi in November 1941.[3] It is not clear if this figure also includes the Jews

who were shot in September or not, but it appears to conflict with the smaller number of child victims cited by witnesses. Given that Narodichi was also a Rayon center, where German and Ukrainian police were stationed, additional Jews may have been brought there from surrounding villages. It is possible that there was a third Aktion in November, at which time Jewish inhabitants from the villages were shot. In 1944, Fedorovsky and other local inhabitants erected a monument to the "823 Soviet Jews Shot in Narodichi." The local Ukrainian police chief Khrenovsky was judged by a Soviet military tribunal and shot. The names and fates of the German perpetrators remain unknown.

SOURCES Published sources include: *Knyga Pam'yati Ukrainiiny: Zhytomyrska Oblast'* (Zhytomyr, 1994), 12:18. The testimonies of Arkady Fedorovsky and Symon Gorevsky, edited by Leonid Skolnik, have been published in Israel as an article titled "The Dead Kept Silent, What about the Living?" [in Russian] in the journal *Kamerton*. The story of the children was told to Fedorovsky by Luba Friedman, the only child to have survived the massacre and the war. She crawled out of the pit and joined the partisans.

Documentation about the murder of the Jews of Narodichi can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); GARF (7021-60-297); and YVA (# 9314). The interview with Mykola Stepanchik is located in the personal archive of the author (PAWL).

Wendy Lower

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941.
2. Interview with Mykola Stepanchik in Narodichi, conducted by Wendy Lower, Boris Kogan, and Felix Starovoitov, September 29, 2009.
3. GARF, 7021-60-304, p. 8, as cited by A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiati zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 57, 63.

NEMIROV

Pre-1941: Nemirov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nemirow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Nemyriv, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Nemirov is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 3,001 Jews were living in Nemirov (36.7 percent of the population), while another 161 Jews were living in the villages of the Nemirov raion.

After the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men from Nemirov were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Some Jews were also able to evacuate to the east. According to German data, the town had a population of 8,000, including 3,000 Jews, in August 1941.[1] However, some additional Jews from the surrounding villages were probably brought into the town at the time of the establishment of the ghetto.[2]

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Nemirov on July 22, 1941. In July and August, the town was run by a local military commandant (Ortskommandantur), which set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force employing local non-Jewish inhabitants. On October 20, control of the town was turned over to a German civil administration. Nemirov became the administrative center of Gebiet Nemirow, which included the Rayons of Woronowiza and Sitkowzy. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Herbert Sittig, a longstanding member of the Nazi Party.[3] In the autumn, the German Gendarmerie, the Reich's rural police force, established a post in Nemirov, which also took over the Ukrainian auxiliary police force (Schutzmannschaft).[4] A certain Gerchanivskii was appointed chief of the Ukrainian police at the end of July 1941. In August 1941, he had 32 indigenous policemen under his command.[5]

During the summer and autumn of 1941, a series of measures were introduced in Nemirov including the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat); Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings and to work at forced labor and were plundered, beaten, and humiliated.

By September, perhaps even late in August 1941, the German authorities in Nemirov set up a ghetto consisting of three narrow streets surrounded by barbed wire with a guard at the gate. Five or six families were made to share a residence in the ghetto. No communication was permitted with non-Jews, who were not even allowed to come close to the ghetto fence. Not all of the Jews were relocated to the ghetto; some of them continued to live outside its confines. Able-bodied men and also some women capable of performing hard labor were selected from the ghetto every day. They were put to work constructing the road from Nemirov to Gaisin, a segment on the key supply line, Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV, and were also used to load and unload heavy construction materials. Such work enabled these Jews to procure foodstuffs from the local population and bring them back into the ghetto. As a result, there was not widespread starvation within the ghetto.[6]

The first killing operation in Nemirov was carried out on November 24, 1941. Assisted by the men of a construction company of the Luftwaffe, the Gendarmerie, and the local police, about 20 men of the Security Police and SD organized the roundup of the Jews from the ghetto and their concentration in the local Palace of Culture. Here a selection took place: craftsmen and their families were sent back to the ghetto, and the remaining Jews were escorted partly on foot and partly by truck to pits that had been dug in advance behind the Polish cemetery, where men of the Security Police squad shot them.[7] In all, some 2,680 Jews were killed that day.[8] It appears that a squad of Einsatzkommando 5 under the direction of SS-Oberleutnant Theodor Salmanzig, stationed in Vinnitsa, carried out the shooting.[9]

Some Jews survived the first Aktion in hiding. After the slaughter, the Germans reduced the area of the ghetto by half.

Those adults who remained alive were escorted daily to the road construction site. No fuel was available for heating, and the death rate from cold and hunger rose. The ghetto guards became more severe, and those who became ill were taken out and shot.[10]

On June 26, 1942, the ghetto in Nemirov was liquidated. The Jews were driven into the synagogue, where 200 to 300 young and strong men and women were selected and sent to a labor camp. The rest, perhaps as many as 500, were shot behind the Polish cemetery in pits that had been dug in advance.[11]

The Red Army liberated Nemirov in the spring of 1944. On their return, their former neighbors welcomed back the Jewish family of Rozengaft, and they were able to reclaim their apartment and even some clothes. Grigory Rozengaft was immediately mobilized to the front.[12]

SOURCES The testimonies of survivors of the Nemirov ghetto can be found in the following publications: testimony of S. Bronshvag in Yitshak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 229; and testimony of A. Rozengaft in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my, Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), p. 381.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Nemirov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1250); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (RG-50.226*0002); and YVA (file M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. *Vinnychchyna v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Odessa: Majak, 1971), p. 72. In its report of September 18, 1944, the ChGK commission in the Nemirov raion noted that in September 1941, 3,460 Jews were shot in the town of Nemirov. In reality, the first mass shooting of Jews came at the end of November 1941. The figure of 3,460 probably refers to the number of Jews enclosed in the ghetto, not the number of those shot.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. In September 1942, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Nemirov was Oberleutnant Karl-Gustav Heinze; see DAZO, 1159-1-9, p. 37, KdG Shitomir, Kommandobefehl 30/42, September 3, 1942.
5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675, an Sicherungsdivision 444, August 25, 1941.
6. Witness testimony of S. Bronshvag, p. 229; witness testimony of A. Rozengaft, p. 381; USHMM, RG-50.226*0002, oral history interview with Riva Isakovna Braiter.
7. Witness testimonies of S. Bronshvag and A. Rozengaft; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, concluding report (Abschlussbericht), May 29, 1974, pp. 16–18.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1250, p. 12. It is possible that the figure is too high.
9. Salmanzig died in September 1943.
10. Witness testimony of A. Rozengaft.
11. Witness testimonies of S. Bronshvag and A. Rozengaft.
12. Witness testimony of A. Rozengaft.

NOVAIA PRILUKA

Pre-1941: Novaia Priluka, village, Turbov raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Priluka, Rayon Turbow, Gebiet Winniza, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Nova Pryluka, Turbov raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Priluka is located about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the northeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,247 Jews lived in the Turbov raion, which included Turbov itself. The majority of these Jews lived in the village of Novaia Priluka.

From the end of June until July 20, 1941, the date on which German armed forces occupied the village, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. In addition, some Jewish men were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Probably around 500 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the village. The Germans appointed a village elder and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. In late October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. From that time until the eventual liberation in March 1944, Novaia Priluka was located in Rayon Turbow, Gebiet Winniza, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Gemeinschaftsführer Halle became the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Baumgärtner was appointed in 1942 as Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.[1] By the summer of 1942, the local police force (Schutzmannschaft) in Turbov had reached the strength of 30 men.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David and to perform various forms of heavy labor.

On July 31, 1941, German security forces carried out the first Aktion in Novaia Priluka, during which around 70 Jewish men were shot.[3] In a second Aktion, another 110 Jews were shot.[4] The Jewish women, children, and elderly people who remained alive were resettled into a ghetto. When the ghetto was liquidated on July 24–25, 1942, around 300 Jews were executed.[5] It is likely that the shooting was carried out by the SD detachment from Vinnitsa, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

SOURCES A brief entry on the Jewish community of Novaia Priluka can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 901.

Documents regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Novaia Priluka can be found in the following archives: DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1257); and USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmanschaft Winniza, order no. 15/42, July 11, 1942.
3. DAVINO, R4422-1-18, p. 38.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 2,500 Jews were shot in Novaia Priluka in 1941. The author believes this figure is much too high. See also GARF, 7021-54-1257, p. 64.

NOVOGRAD-VOLYNSKII (AKA ZVIAGEL')

Pre-1941: Novograd-Volynskii, city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Nowograd-Wolynskyj (renamed Zwiahel), Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Novohrad-Volyns'kyi, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Novograd-Volynskii is located 84 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 6,839 Jews living in the city (28.8 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the city on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During those weeks, part of the Jewish community was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The military authorities established a local administration and set up an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active part in the measures taken against the Jewish population.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city of Novograd-Volynskii became the administrative center of Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj. Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj in turn was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. They were required to wear armbands with a six-pointed star. Jews were also required to perform various kinds of heavy labor. According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, the Jews were moved to an "open ghetto" in the city in August 1941 by order of the military administration. The Jews were not permitted to leave its borders or to buy products from the local Ukrainians. As a result, hunger and famine quickly ensued.

At the end of July 1941, the first mass murders of the Jewish population were carried out. The first victims were those accused of acts of sabotage. At that time, 800 Jews were shot in a bomb crater, in the area of the Machine-Tractor Station (MTS). In the backyard of a house for invalids, where another bomb crater was located, 200 more Jews were shot. In the area of the MTS, the victims were led out in groups of 100 to 200, and in the backyard of the house for invalids, there were four groups of 40 to 50. In addition, more than 100 were shot in the yard of a bakery, in a former ditch for grain.[2] It is likely that at least some of these murders were carried out by the 8th SS-Motorized Brigade, which was commanded by SS-Standartenführer Sacks. The military staff and a detachment of this unit were stationed in the city on July 27–28, 1941.[3] Also present in the city at that time was a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, which "in cooperation with the Wehrmacht and Ukrainians" arrested and shot "34 political commissars, agents, and others" in a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.[4]

Around the middle of August 1941, Sonderkommando 4a carried out another cleansing Aktion. The Wehrmacht "handed over [to Sonderkommando 4a] 230 civilian prisoners who had been captured. Of these, 161 persons were executed. They were accused of being Jews, Communists, looters, and saboteurs."[5]

At the end of August 1941, another mass execution was carried out in a grove near the former Red Army Building (Dom Krasnoi Armii). Altogether there were more than 700 victims, including women and children.[6] It is possible that this shooting was carried out by the Police Brigade "South," which at the time was active in the region.

In September 1941, the open ghetto in Novograd-Volynskii was finally liquidated. At an old military firing range, around 3,200 Jews were shot, including those from outlying villages.[7] It is likely that the executions were carried out by the staff company of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, commanded by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln.

The last mass execution of the Jews was carried out by the 1st SS-Motorized Brigade, which received orders on September 8, 1941, from the Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS. On September 12, 1941, the brigade arrived in the city. SS-Untersturmführer Max Täubner, the commander, found out from the city's mayor that there were still 319 Jews in prison, whom the Wehrmacht had confined there for labor purposes. Täubner ordered these Jews to be shot in a ditch outside the city that had been dug in advance by the Ukrainian police.[8]

From November 1941 to November 1942, a labor camp existed in the city. Able-bodied Jewish men were resettled to work there from Baranovka, Rogachov, Iarunia, and other towns and villages. The prisoners of the camp were used to build railway lines. In November 1942, with the help of the partisan movement, some of the prisoners attempted a mass escape but were arrested and shot.[9]

SOURCES The ghetto in Novograd-Volynskii is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 905. The *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 77, only registers a camp for civilians and a prison in the city. Other relevant publications include: E. Klee, W. Dressen, and V. Riess, eds., *"Schöne Zeiten": Judenmord aus der Sicht der Täter und Gaffer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Y. Büchler, "'Unworthy Behavior': The Case of SS Officer Max Täubner," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:3 (Winter 2003): 409–429; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Biblioteka Institut iudaiki, 1999), pp. 98–101.

Documents pertaining to the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Novograd-Volynskii can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/5575); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-300 and 305); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-305, pp. 3 and reverse side.
3. BA-L, B 162/5575 (202 AR-Z 1212/60, Bd. XXX), p. 7090, as cited in Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), pp. 166–167.
4. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 38, July 30, 1941.
5. Ibid., R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 60, August 22, 1941. The documents refer to a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5; however, it is more likely that this was a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, as Einsatzkommando 5 was operating further south.
6. GARF, 7021-60-305, p. 5.
7. Ibid., pp. 9, 67, 163, 182–183. Among those murdered were Jews from the outlying villages of Tesnovka (17 people), Barvinovka (13 people), Staraia Romanovka (10 people), and Sloboda Chernetskaia (14 people).
8. See Klee, Dressen, and Riess, *"Schöne Zeiten,"* pp. 184 ff.
9. Witness testimony of Eva Gladkaia, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 98, 101.

OLEVSK

Pre-1941: Olevsk, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Olewsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Olevs'k, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Olevsk is located 130 kilometers (81 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 2,858 Jews lived in Olevsk, comprising 42.2 percent of the total population. An additional 866 Jews resided in the villages of the Olevsk raion.

The bulk of the Jewish population evacuated east with the Red Army as the Wehrmacht advanced into central Ukraine in early July 1941, leaving only about 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population behind.

By late July, German troops still had not appeared in the town. One resident recalled hearing rumors that the Germans were not coming to Olevsk at all.[1] From July to October 1941, a German military administration was nominally responsible for the region around Olevsk; in practice, Ukrainian forces of the "Polis'ka Sich," answerable to the pragmatic nationalist leader Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', seized control of the town in late July. By August, Bul'ba-Borovets' had appointed Petro Smorods'kyi as commander of the Sich garrison in Olevsk; he had under his command between 300 and 600 militiamen there.[2]

Bul'ba-Borovets' and the Sich soon set up their own local government in Olevsk. Boris Simonovich, a local resident and Sich member, was appointed as leader of the raion council.[3] He began appointing other local officials in late July.[4] Most important, the Sich took over all police responsibilities in Olevsk.

From August through October, the Jewish population lived in a perpetual "state of anarchy" under Sich rule, as they were


Начальник Окружної Міліції у Сарнах і Командант партизанських відділів „Поліська Січ" Тарас Боровець зі своїм штабом.

Photograph of the Chief of Police in Sarny, Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', and other members of the Ukrainian paramilitary unit, Polis'ka Sich, published in the occupation newspaper, *Volyn'*.
COURTESY OF JARED MCBRIDE

frequently subjected to "robbery, brutality, and killings." In addition to organizing pogroms, the Polis'ka Sich assigned Jews to various forced labor tasks, mainly aimed at torturing and humiliating them. Whether they were forced to build a bridge over the Ubort' River or clean lavatories in town, these jobs were accompanied by "whippings, cursing, and mockery at every step."[5]

The Sich regularly terrorized the Jews in their own homes. They broke into Jewish apartments on Komsomol'skaia and Oktiabr'skaia Streets to steal food and clothes. Sometimes these incursions turned deadly. One afternoon Zeriuk and three other members of the Polis'ka Sich broke into the apartment of Munia Shapiro, looking for goods. In Shapiro's room, Zeriuk beat Shapiro with his rifle butt and then shot him three times, as well as another Jew who was there. The bodies of the two young men lay for almost a week in the apartment, where they began to rot.[6]

In addition to physical abuse, economic burdens were also imposed on the Jews. After a census, the head of the raion council, Simonovich, levied a collective tax of 100,000 rubles on the Jewish population.[7] Living conditions under the "Olevsk Republic" are characterized by the Jewish survivor Iakov Keselev Shklover: "the livestock were treated better than us." The Sich initiated anti-Jewish measures and killed people with total impunity in Olevsk, even before there was any discernible German presence in the town.[8]

In early November 1941, personnel of the German civil administration arrived in Olevsk and established their authority.[9] Olevsk became the administrative center of Gebiet Olewsk, which also included the Rayons of Slowetschno and Luginy, as well as Rayon Olewsk. Gebiet Olewsk now formed part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[10] In Olevsk, the Gebietskommissar was a man named Fischer, who was accompanied by an entourage of assistants.[11]

On the establishment of the German civil administration, the assistant Gebietskommissar in Olevsk, Neukirchner, issued an order for the Jews to be ghettoized. The Polis'ka Sich and the local Ukrainian police forced the entire Jewish population to move onto three main streets—Komsomol'skaia, Oktiabr'skaia, and Stalina—while the Russian and Ukrainian populations were removed from these streets to create a purely Jewish ghetto. The Jewish population was ordered to wear the Star of David at all times, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, chaired by Elik Kats, the son of a local fireman.[12] The Jews of Olevsk had to endure terrible overcrowding in the ghetto, as many families were forced to share a single apartment. The Jewish population was still not free of terror from members of the Sich, who routinely vandalized and broke into apartments.[13]

In mid-November 1941, a new group of Germans, possibly an SS detachment from Einsatzkommando 5, arrived in Olevsk and made preparations for the liquidation of the ghetto. According to internal Sich documentation, on November 18, SS-Captain Hitschke requisitioned members of the Sich for the forthcoming Aktion, and about 50 Sich soldiers and two Sich commanders agreed to participate.[14] In Varvarovka, a village located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Olevsk, local Ukrainians were ordered to dig two large pits near the Ubort' River.[15]

At nightfall on November 19, German forces, members of the Polis'ka Sich, and local Ukrainian police cordoned off the Jewish ghetto. The Jews were ordered to gather with their belongings at a collection point for registration. The German-led forces then scoured the ghetto area, beating and dragging out anyone found hiding. The old and sick were simply shot on the spot. Around 15 elderly people were killed on the streets.[16] A few Jews, including Ovsei Srulevich Reiblat and Tevel' Gershkov Trosman, miraculously managed to evade the roundup. The bulk of the Jews from the ghetto were herded into sheds and stables near the train tracks, where they spent the night huddled together like animals, awaiting their slaughter.

On the morning of November 20, 1941, the Jews were driven to the village of Varvarovka in trucks. Upon arrival, all the Jews had to remove their clothes, which were subsequently taken back to Olevsk in the trucks. The waiting Jews were then taken in groups of 15 to 20 people under heavy guard to the two pits located about 400 meters (1,312 feet) behind the village. The shooters, who were mostly Sich members and local policemen, lined up about 5 meters (16 feet) behind their respective victims and took aim.[17] When they fired, the victims' bodies fell into the pits. The sound of gunfire and screams could be heard in Varvarovka throughout the day. In total, they shot 535 Jews on that day.[18]

Local inhabitants looted Jewish property from the empty ghetto. Over the ensuing weeks, members of the Polis'ka Sich and the local police also hunted for the few Jews who had managed to escape, conducting thorough sweeps of the forests. Local inhabitants were threatened with severe penalties for hiding or assisting Jews. These searches uncovered at least 15 more Jews, who were then shot near the same pits at the Ubort' River.[19]

Only a handful of Jews from the ghetto managed to survive until the end of World War II.

SOURCES The main source on the Olevsk ghetto is Jared McBride's unpublished essay "Eyewitness to an Occupation: The Holocaust in Olevsk, Zhytomyr, Ukraine," which was first presented at the conference in 2008 in Paris titled "The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives," cosponsored by the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yahad-In Unum, the CDJC, and the Sorbonne. Other published sources, mainly related to the little-known history of the Polis'ka Sich, are listed in the notes.

The main documentary source on the fate of the Jews of Olevsk during World War II consists of the postwar Soviet investigations to be found in an extensive file in GARF (7021-149-31). Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7317-18); DARO (R30-2-112);

DAZO; GARF (7021-60-307); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2); VHF (# 43260); and YVA.

Jared McBride and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-149-31, p. 83.
2. Ibid., pp. 67 (verso side), 75 verso, 106 verso; Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', *Armiia bez derzhavy: Slava i trahediia ukrains'koho povstans'koho rukhu: Spohady* (Winnipeg, Canada: Nakladom t-va "Volyn'," 1981), p. 158. Iakiv Iosypovych Brechko, a member of the Sich stationed in Olevsk, reported seeing 600 soldiers at the garrison; see Iosyp Patsula and Ievhen Shmorhun, eds., *Povstans'kyi rukh otamana Tarasa Bul'by-Borovtsia: Doslidzhennia, spohady, dokumenty* (Rivne: Azaliia, 1998), p. 115.
3. Portions of the records of the raion council are located in DAZO, 1445-1, files 1–8.
4. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 67 and verso.
5. Ibid., pp. 32, 107 verso.
6. Ibid., pp. 13, 83 verso, 106 verso–107 verso.
7. Ibid., pp. 106 verso, 178; it is difficult to discern when this tax was levied and whether the German administration played any role in the affair. We can be sure that it was Simonovich, though, who organized the tax.
8. Ibid., p. 107 verso; it is noteworthy that Ukrainian residents complained of Sich members stealing from them as well. See pp. 67 verso, 75 verso, and 84 verso.
9. Bul'ba-Borovets' notes that the Gebietskommissar arrived on November 5. He then informed Sigolenko that the Polis'ka Sich would now fall under German command; see Bul'ba-Borovets', *Armiia bez derzhavy*, p. 166. Father Artemiy Selepyna also gives a vivid account of the arrival of the Germans; see Roman Petrenko, *Slidamy armii bez derzhavy* (Kiev: Ukraïns'ka vydavnycha spilka; Toronto: Doslidnyi instytut "Studium," 2004), pp. 137–139.
10. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
11. For the most extensive list of Germans who governed the Olevsk raion, see GARF, 7021-60-307, pp. 1–1 verso. Spisok nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov, sovershavshikh zlodeianiia vo vremenno okkupirovannom Olevskom raione Zhitomirskoi oblasti.
12. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 19 verso, 26, 32, 178.
13. Ibid., pp. 85–86.
14. DARO, R30-2-112, pp. 9–10. The Sich report of this incident records that Sich leader Kirill Sigolenko told Hitschke that the Sich had already been demobilized and that they were not to be used against women and children. Nevertheless, the participation of a number of Sich members in the Aktion is well documented. See also T. Gladkov and B. Stekliar, "Vse ravno konets budet!" in *So shchitom i mechom: Ocherki i stat'i* (L'vov: Kameniar, 1988), p. 177.
15. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 26, 110.
16. Ibid., pp. 12, 25–26, 83–84, 178.
17. Ibid., pp. 3, 13, 19 verso, 26, 69 verso, and 179; Pavel Kharchenko, one of the drivers who was present at the Aktion, told acquaintances that only two Germans reportedly took part in the shootings, but it was mostly conducted by Sich members and local Ukrainian police.
18. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 585 Jews were killed in total in Olevsk; see GARF, 7021-60-307, p. 161.
19. Ibid., 7021-149-31, pp. 4, 13, 95 verso.

ORATOV

Pre-1941: Oratov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Oratow, Rayon center, Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Orativ, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Oratov is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) east of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 114 Jews lived in Oratov (4.7 percent of the total population). An additional 385 Jews lived in the villages of the raion.

Between June 30 and July 27, 1941, the date when the German armed forces occupied Oratov, part of the Jewish community was able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 70 to 80 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Oratov. In late October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Oratow was part of Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. SA-Oberführer Werder became the Gebietskommissar.[1] In Oratov itself, a German Gendarmerie post was created under whose command a Ukrainian police force served. Both played an active role in the measures taken against the Jewish population in the Rayon.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur created a local administration and organized the registration and marking of the Jews. All Jews were obligated to wear white armbands with the Star of David. They were also ordered to do various kinds of heavy labor.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, an open Jewish ghetto was established in the town.[2] Apparently Jews were resettled there from outlying villages as well. On October 15, 1942, when the ghetto was liquidated, 74 Jews were shot.[3]

In 1942, Jews living in the villages of the Rayon Oratow were also killed. In May 1942, 18 Jews were shot in the village of Staryi Zhivotov, 3 Jews were shot in the village of Chagov, and 38 Jews were shot in the village of Balabanovka.[4]

SOURCES The Oratov ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 45. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 942, dates the mass shooting of the Jews of Oratov on October 15, 1941 [*sic*].

Documents relating to the elimination of the Jews of Oratov can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1238); and DAVINO (R1683-1-10 and 13).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

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1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAVINO, R1683-1-10 and 13.
3. GARF, 7021-54-1238, p. 127.
4. Ibid., pp. 15, 21, 119.

PAVLOVICHI

Pre-1941: Pavlovichi, village, Ovruch raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pawlowitschi, Rayon and Gebiet Owrutsch, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Pavlovychi, Ovruch raen, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Pavlovichi is located about 170 kilometers (106 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. A few Jews lived in the village on the eve of the German invasion in June 1941.

German armed forces occupied Pavlovichi in the first half of August 1941. Evgeniia Gural'nik (born 1928), who was fleeing from Novograd-Volynskii, along with other Jews, became trapped in Pavlovichi by the rapid German advance. According to Gural'nik, shortly after the start of the occupation, the commandant of the area, probably based in Pokalev, announced that Pavlovichi would become "a Jewish colony" and that Jews were being brought there from the surrounding area.[1]

One day during the first weeks of the occupation, all the Jews were rounded up and held naked in a warehouse for hours until a German official appeared. He then announced that they were being given a present of their lives and that they would live and work there. The Jews performed forced labor in agriculture and only received about 1 liter (4 cups) of skimmed milk per person for food. The Jews survived by bartering their possessions with local inhabitants.

In Pavlovichi the Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, with about 10 people sharing a room. All Jews had to wear armbands, and their place of residence was heavily guarded by the local police. Gural'nik recalls a particularly cruel policeman, Ivan Harpina, who regularly robbed the Jews with the help of his colleagues. Teenage Jews were beaten heavily, and on one occasion a Jewish man was tied to a horse and dragged for several kilometers behind it. Some young Jews were shot after being denounced as former Komsomol members.

The "Jewish colony" or ghetto in Pavlovichi existed until December 25, 1941, when two cars carrying a German detachment arrived at 4:00 P.M. and rounded up all the remaining Jews. They were escorted to the Polish cemetery, where a pit had already been prepared by some of the Jews, who had been told it was for storing turnips. The Jews were ordered to lie facedown in the pit and were shot in the back. Then the next group had to lie down on top of the corpses. As the shooting was not completed that day, the Germans carried on the next day. Gural'nik managed to survive pressed up against the wall of the pit and then escaping at night. She witnessed the shooting the following morning from under a pile of straw. She was helped by a forester and his wife, who gave her some clothing, and also subsequently by other local peasants.[2]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Pavlovichi can be found in the testimony of Evgeniia Gural'nik located at VHF (# 33101).

Martin Dean
trans. Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. VHF, # 33101, testimony of Evgeniia Gural'nik.
2. Ibid.

PETRIKOV

Pre-1941: Petrikov, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Petrikow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Petrykau, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Petrikov is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) west of Mozyr'. In 1939, the Jewish population of Petrikov was 1,074 Jews (18.6 percent of the total).

Petrikov was occupied by the Germans on July 29, 1941, and then again, after a brief Soviet reoccupation, on August 19.

Petrikov became the center of a Gebiet comprising the Petrikow and Shitkowitschi Rayons; it was attached to Generalkommissariat Shitomir in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. There was a garrison of up to 1,000 soldiers and policemen in Petrikov. The Gendarmes were housed on the premises of the former Petrikov raion committee of the Belorussian Communist Party; the SD, on Volodarskii Street; and Sonderstab R, in a former pharmacy. A sapper unit and six armored cutters for patrolling the river were stationed on the banks of the Pripiat'. A system of controlling the movement of the local population was also instituted.[1]

Separate killings of Jews, members of the Communist youth organization (Komsomol), and Soviet activists began in the summer of 1941. Aron Fainshtein (born 1871), who ran the pharmacy, was tied by his legs to a horse and dragged through the streets of Petrikov until he died. Fania Kustanovich (born 1936) was thrown into a fire because her mother Klara refused to reveal the hiding places of Red Army soldiers who had been caught behind German lines. Afterwards, Klara herself was shot.[2]

The Nazis also persecuted and shot Jews in the surrounding villages. According to the testimony of Yevgenii Dus', starting in the first days of August 1941, the Germans made a list of all the Jews in the Koptsevichi sel'sovet and demanded they report every day to the police station. Jews were forced to perform senseless work such as dragging a cart loaded with water, bricks and stones, scrap, and garbage from one place to

another while the Germans laughed, insulted, or mocked them.[3] On September 15, 1941, an SS execution squad arrested the chairman of the kolkhoz, P.K. Gramovich, and a worker, L. Pasovskii, who were then led into the woods and brutally tortured. In August 1941, 4 people were shot in the village of Sekerichi.[4] At the end of September 1941, 25 Jews from Koptsevichi were placed in a vehicle under the pretext of being dispatched to Petrikov for interrogation and transported to the edge of Zheleznitsa, where they were shot.[5]

Until the end of September 1941, Jews lived in their own houses in Petrikov. They were obliged to wear distinguishing markings and had to unquestioningly carry out German orders. They were watched by a police force selected from local inhabitants. After the first mass execution, in September 1941, a ghetto was set up. To that end, the Germans allotted three buildings on Volodarskii Street. Many of these buildings lacked doors and windows. The ghetto was fenced off by barbed wire and placed under guard. The inhabitants themselves had to see to feeding themselves, providing their own heating, and coping with other problems of survival. The Jews were only able to leave the ghetto at night. Teacher Faina Raskina, Zaivel' Peschanskii, and another person named Branets were killed for violating the internal regulations of the ghetto as established by the Nazis. The Nazis also refused to let them be buried in the Jewish cemetery. Every day at 6:00 A.M., those who were physically able were taken out to work, either logging or clearing snow from the roads. The ghetto existed until April 1942.[6]

The first Aktion was conducted on September 14, 1941 (or September 22, according to other sources), when a punitive squad of around 100 men, probably from the 1st SS-Cavalry Brigade, arrived on motorboats along the Pripiat'. They ordered the Belorussians and Russians to mark their homes with the sign of the cross. At the time, the Jewish community was observing the Jewish New Year in the synagogue. At Bliuma Gertsulina's house, the executioners demanded she say where her valuables were hidden and then shot her. They killed a tenth-grader, Borukh Gertsulin, on Karl-Liebknecht Street. They chased the Jews—adults and children alike—in groups of 30 to 40 into the river. At the inlet Bychok, they forced them to lie facedown in the mud and then shot above their heads so that nobody would get up. Then they gathered around 400 people and told them all to undress and get in the water. The Germans opened fire with machine guns from the cutters. The dead and wounded floated in the water. Afterwards, the Germans finished off the wounded.

The next day, the Nazis sought out the surviving Jews within the town and killed them on the spot where they found them. A group of Jews were driven to a cattle yard at the kolkhoz "Chervonnyi ogorodnik" (Golden-red Gardener) and shot there. The executioners burned down 35 houses on Third International Street and 17 houses near the pier. In several of the houses, they burned adults and children alive.[7]

A second Aktion followed on February 15, 1942, when a punitive squad consisting of Germans and Hungarians passed through Petrikov and conducted a cleansing Aktion—a search for Jews who were still alive—in Rayons Kopatkewitschi, Petrikow, and Oktjabr. The squad burned some of the Jews seized, while others were stripped and chased in the frost towards the village of Belki, some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Petrikov, where they were then shot. In all, there were around 200 victims.[8]

The third Aktion took place in the last days of April 1942. The German Gendarmerie roused the remaining Jews at 4:00 A.M. and led them to a slaughterhouse about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) northeast of Petrikov. The Jews were locked up in a barn, and each was undressed separately and then led out to be shot. The local inhabitants were forbidden not only to bury them but also even to go near the bodies. They were allowed to do so only after two weeks.

In the following months, the Nazis and their accomplices hunted down surviving Jews who had hidden in the countryside with the assistance of Belorussian acquaintances. In March 1942, 23 Jews were killed in Kopatkevichi (Petrikow Rayon); in July 1942, 22 Jews in the village of Smetanichi; and on November 7, 1942, 20 Jews from the village of Babunichi. In February 1943, a police detachment of 15 men under the command of the chief of the indigenous police post in Koptsevichi, Igor' Tseslik, unexpectedly appeared in the village of Brinev. They arrested the family of Boris Komissarchik (four people), led them out to a kolkhoz barn, stood them up against the wall, and shot them with machine guns.[9]

Several Petrikov Jews survived the war. Among them was Ginda Gutman, whom the executioners had thought to be dead. She hid in the village of Belanovichi and then made her way to the village of Makarovka in the Kiev oblast', where she pretended to be a Pole under the name of Stepanida Beniak. Together with a group of Ukrainian women, "Stepanida" was sent to work in Germany.[10]

Petrikov was liberated on June 29, 1944. During the years of occupation, 770 Petrikov Jews perished at the hands of the Nazis and their accomplices. Of these, it was possible to determine the names of only 132 families, including 66 women (50 percent) and 48 children aged 15 and younger (36.4 percent).[11]

SOURCES Relevant information on the destruction of Petrikov's Jews can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats'. Petrykauski raen* (Minsk, 1995); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and *Kholokost v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg. Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002).

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Petrikov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; NARB (845-1-12); and YVA (M-41 JM/11219, and M-33/429).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. YVA, M-41 JM 11219.
2. Klara Kustanovich was posthumously awarded the medal "For Wartime Services." See *Pamiats'*, p. 275.
3. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, p. 215.
4. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 224–225.

5. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, pp. 215–216.
6. NARB, 845-1-12, pp. 47 and verso.
7. YVA, M-33/429; see also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 117/67 (Nazi crimes in the Petrikov region), vol. 3, Closing Report dated September 3, 1973, which gives the date of September 21–22, 1941, for these first killing Aktions. And see GARF, 7021-91-22, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, December 19, 1944.
8. *Pamiats'*, pp. 275–276.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 224–225.
10. *Pamiats'*, p. 278.
11. Estimated by the author using ibid., pp. 326–329.

PIATKA

Pre-1941: Piatka, village, Chudnov raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Pjatki, Rayon and Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: P'iatka, Chudniv raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Piatka is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1926 census, there were 870 Jews living in Piatka (24 percent of the total population). In the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s, the number of Jews in the village declined substantially.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 7, 1941, almost two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military duty in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward. About 250 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In the period July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village, and it appointed a village elder and an auxiliary police force manned by local residents. In November 1941, a civil administration took the place of the German military administration. Until its liberation in late December 1943, Piatka was part of Gebiet Tschudnow in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures implemented in other German-occupied Ukrainian towns and villages were introduced in Piatka: Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of armbands with the Star of David, made to do forced labor, and forbidden to leave the village. They had to hand over all their valuables. They were forbidden to sell products in the market, and the local Ukrainian inhabitants were not allowed to have any contact with Jews. Those who violated this order were flogged.

In August 1941, the first Aktion took place in the village. In its course, a group of Jewish men were arrested and shot in a park in Chudnov.[1] The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, which was set up in the synagogue building. Every day the Jews were led out to work on harvesting sugar beets. The ghetto was liquidated on October 24, 1941, when more than 200 people were shot on the northern edge of the village near a dilapidated mill (in 1950, a monument was erected at the site of the shooting).[2] The shooting apparently was the work of a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, with active participation by Ukrainian police. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Ukrainian policemen hunted down Jews who were in hiding and shot them. Thus 7 captured Jews were shot a few days later.

Later in the occupation, a Jewish fugitive from the Chudnov ghetto, Mariam Sandal (Askes), found refuge in the nearby village of Maloselka (about 5 kilometers [3 miles]) from Piatka, as her grandfather was from Piatka and enjoyed a good reputation with many of the local peasants, who knew him as the cooper from Berdichev. According to Sandal (Askes), there were no Jewish survivors from the village of Piatka.[3]

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jews of Piatka can be found in these publications: "Piatka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2008); "Piatka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 985–986; and I.O. Herasymov, ed., *Knyha pam'iati Ukrainy. Zhytomyrs'ka oblast'*, vol. 11 (Zhytomyr: L'onok, 1996).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Piatka can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-315); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my. Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), p. 389.
2. Archives of the Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost" (Holocaust Research and Educational Center), Moscow; "Piatka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6; Herasymov, *Knyha pam'iati Ukrainy*.
3. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), in Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 343–344.

PIKOV

Pre-1941: Pikov, village, Kalinovka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pikow, Rayon and Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Pikiv, Kalynivka raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pikov is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) north-northeast of Vinnytsia. In June 1941, there were probably around 1,200 Jews living in Pikov.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Pikov around July 22, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The German commandant appointed village elders and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. It became part of Gebiet Kalinowka, within Gene-

ralkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer. The SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kalinovka appointed in early 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange.

At the end of July 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in the village, and Jews from neighboring settlements were also brought to the ghetto. According to survivor Leonid Langerman, a certain Bronitzky, who had been appointed as the village elder in Uladovka, issued a decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from there, such that his family moved to Pikov. On arrival there, all the Jews were forced to move to the center of the village in Novyi Pikov; if anyone tried to escape, they were immediately killed. The Ukrainian police was very active. The Jews had to wear badges and armbands, and there was also a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to help enforce the German restrictions on the Jews. Everyone was forced to work on the kolkhoz—including women and children; they harvested potatoes, beets, and other vegetables. A group of men were forced to build a road through the town to the neighboring town of Ivanov and did not receive any pay.[1]

Another survivor, Eudokiya Manko, recalled that all the Jews were forced to perform hard labor and wear badges on the left side of their chests and bands on their left arms. With these markings, they were not allowed to go outside, to the market, or to the houses of other Ukrainians. Nevertheless, she hid her badge in order to go out to find food. All she was able to find was a little bit of bread and a few potatoes.[2]

In mid-May 1942, a group of able-bodied Jews from the Pikov ghetto were selected and escorted on foot to the village of Kalinovka, where they were placed in a forced labor camp for about 500 Jews and assigned to work on the construction of an airfield. The barracks for Jews were fenced off with barbed wire, and anyone who attempted to leave the site of the airfield was shot. The prisoners were given food once a day—150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and an unsalted pea soup.[3]

The Jews in the Pikov ghetto lived in great fear, since they knew it was just a matter of time until there would be a pogrom; the Germans could enter Jewish houses at any time, and the Jews had to do whatever they would demand. At night, the family of Eudokiya Manko all stayed together in one bedroom without a light, as they had so little kerosene. They never talked about the future (it was taboo) but reminisced about the past. Eudokiya saw a pit being prepared for what was to be the mass shooting, and after her mother and sister had been killed, she managed to escape into the forests.[4]

The Germans liquidated the Pikov ghetto on May 30, 1942. A force of about 30 German policemen that arrived in Pikov was enthusiastically assisted by the Ukrainian police, who abused and tortured the victims before they were killed. Jewish survivor Galina Lisitsyna, who had recently arrived in Pikov, recalled that in May or June the Germans arrived and organized a roundup of the Jews. She observed the Jews being led away into vehicles, and fortunately she was able to make her escape. As she escaped through the forest, she also saw how the Germans shot the Jews. The Jews were led through a corridor of guards supervised by a senior German and were then lined up 5 people at a time to be shot into a pit. The mass shooting took place near the Jewish cemetery that was located about halfway between Pikov and Ivanov (located about 10 kilometers [6 miles] to the south). According to Soviet sources, 960 Jews from Pikov were shot.[5]

In the first two weeks of June 1942, the Germans, assisted by the Ukrainian police, conducted two more Aktions, rounding up any Jews they found in hiding and shooting them. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in these Aktions first 76 and then 44 Jews were shot.[6]

The few Jews that survived from the Pikov ghetto managed to escape at the time of the mass shootings or from the Kalinovka labor camp and survived with the help of non-Jews in the region until the Red Army drove out the German occupiers in March 1944.

SOURCES Publications mentioning the Pikov ghetto include the following: Boris Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), pp. 83–85; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 988.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Pikov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1274); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); VHF (# 115, 18247, and 23337); and YVA.

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 18247, testimony of Leonid Langerman; and also the published testimony by Langerman in Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 83–85.
2. VHF, # 115, testimony of Eudokiya Manko.
3. Testimony of Langerman, pp. 83–85.
4. VHF, # 115.
5. *Vinnichchina v period Velykoi vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr.* (Khronika Podii), p. 29, as cited by Aleksandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 14, 24; and BA-L, B 162/7364, pp. 190–191—this source, however, gives the total of only 800 to 900 Jews from Ivanov and Pikov murdered altogether but is probably based mainly on the reports of the ChGK.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1274.

PLISKOV

Pre-1941: Pliskov, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pliskow, Rayon center, Gebiet Illinzy, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Plyskiv, Pohrebyshche raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pliskov is located 59 kilometers (37 miles) east-northeast of Vinnitsa. The census of 1939 recorded 793 Jewish residents in Pliskov (24.4 percent of the total).

German armed forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941, one month after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this time, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews succeeded in evacuating to the eastern regions of the country. Some of those who had tried to flee, however, were forced to return. As they traveled back to Pliskov, they were robbed by Ukrainian policemen on the roads. On their return, they found that their houses had been ransacked, and almost no possessions remained.[1]

In the period from July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The German military administration appointed a mayor (named Ivanko) and formed an auxiliary police force headed by Mileli Chirskii (after the war, he moved to Australia).[2]

In late October 1941, a German civil administration took over from the Wehrmacht. Until liberation in January 1944, Rayon Pliskow was part of Gebiet Illinzy in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In Pliskov itself, from the fall of 1941, there was a Gendarmerie post, which was in charge of a squad of about 30 Ukrainian policemen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, various anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Pliskov. According to Jewish survivor Tsilia Rabinovich, Jews were required to wear badges and were not allowed outside without them. They also were taken for forced labor. They had to farm potatoes and beets, but they were not allowed to take anything home with them.[3] Another survivor, Mikhail Rossinskii, notes that the Germans came to the Jewish houses and said, "Give us anything of value that you have!" Then they entered the houses and took what they wanted.[4]

In Pliskov, the Jews initially remained in their own houses, but since the Jews all lived on one side of the village and the non-Jews on the other, a kind of "open ghetto" already existed. According to Rossinskii, in the summer of 1941, the Germans took away about 30 of the few remaining men and said that they were being sent on a work assignment; subsequently it was discovered that the men had been shot. Other sources indicate that 23 Soviet activists were shot in a nearby forest in September 1941. Rossinskii's father was not arrested at this time, as he worked making leather items for the German soldiers. However, for safety his father sent Mikhail to work on the nearby Kolkhoz Raskopana, inhabited mostly by non-Jews, as he feared an upcoming Aktion.[5]

The German Security Police organized a major Aktion against the Jews of Pliskov and the surrounding area in late October 1941, during which 513 Jews were shot. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, actively assisted by the Ukrainian police, carried out the mass shooting.[6] Mikhail Rossinskii, who had returned to Pliskov to get a winter coat, was captured by a local policeman who recognized that he was Jewish. Mikhail was taken to the site of the mass shooting. Just in time, he managed to flee into the forest. Despite being wounded in the foot, he made good his escape.[7]

According to Tsilia Rabinovich, a formal ghetto (or remnant ghetto) was established in Pliskov after the October Aktion for the more than 250 Jews who remained. These prisoners probably consisted of specialist workers and their families who had been selected out and other Jews who emerged from hiding. Conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and Tsilia had to sleep on the floor. Her father constantly urged her to escape, as she did not look Jewish. He obtained false papers for her with her actual date of birth.

On May 23, 1942, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. On the following morning they rounded up the Jews and loaded them onto trucks. In total, about 250 people were transported away to be shot in a pit not far away, together with Jews from other ghettos in the area.[8] According to local policeman A.T. Natiagolovo, interrogated by the Soviet authorities in 1944, the Aktion took place in July 1942 under the direction of the head of the Gendarmerie, Schuster. The local police and the "Gestapo" (about 30 men) transported around 200 Jews into the Fruzinkovskyi Forest and shot them. According to Natiagolovo, the role of the local police consisted of guarding the victims during the shooting and filling in the grave afterwards.[9]

Tsilia Rabinovich managed to evade the roundup by hiding behind a false wall. She heard, however, how Germans discovered and took away another family from the attic of the same house. After she had fled from Pliskov at night, she heard gunshots from the killing site.[10]

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Pliskov during the German occupation include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1000; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 256; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 45.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Pliskov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Bd. I u. Anhang); DAVINO (R5022-1-176 and R6022-1-40); DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1269); USHMM (e.g., RG-31, 1996.A.0269); VHF (# 32533, 34943); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34943, testimony of Mikhail Rossinskii; # 32533, testimony of Tsilia Rabinovich.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.
3. VHF, # 32533.
4. Ibid., # 34943.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1269, p. 6; testimony of Yakov Dekhtyar (Baltimore, MD), February 25, 1998 (www.plisk

over.com/PliskovHistory.htm); BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 135, November 19, 1941. VHF, # 32533, dates the Aktion on October 25, 1941; other sources give October 22.

7. VHF, # 34943.
8. Ibid., # 32533.
9. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Anhang zu Bd. I (Soviet materials), Bild Nr. 250.
10. VHF, # 32533.

POGREBISHCHE

Pre-1941: Pogrebishche, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pogrebischtsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Kasatin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Pohrebyshche, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pogrebishche is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) east-northeast of Vinnitsa. In 1939, the Jewish population of the settlement was 1,445 (15.2 percent of the total). In addition, there were another 259 Jews residing in the villages of the Pogrebishche raion. Jews in Pogrebishche were aware of the Germans' persecution of the Jews in Poland from radio and press reports, but some people dismissed this merely as Soviet propaganda. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews tried to flee before the advancing German forces, but the majority stayed behind and awaited their arrival.

The German army initially occupied the town on July 22, 1941. They immediately established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, and a curfew was also imposed on them after 9:00 P.M. Germans and the Ukrainian police would enter Jewish houses and rob their possessions. One Jewish survivor reported that his mother was raped by a German.[1]

In August 1941, German officials in black cars arrived in Pogrebishche and took away 20 Jews ostensibly for a work assignment, but instead these people were shot. This incident was repeated again two weeks later. These were Aktions conducted by the Security Police, directed initially against alleged Communists and Soviet activists. Sensing the danger, some Jews prepared to hide or flee on the next occasion when the Germans returned.[2]

As the Jews and non-Jews mostly lived in separate parts of the town, a form of open ghetto already existed. The Germans prohibited the Jews from buying food at the market or having other contacts with non-Jews. However, some Ukrainians continued to supply Jews with eggs and other food items. All Jews over the age of 13 were required to perform forced labor. Only those who worked were entitled to receive any food.[3]

In September (or October) 1941, the German and Ukrainian police, probably under the direction of Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe C, conducted a mass shooting of the Jews in Pogrebishche, which was directed particularly against children, the elderly, and others incapable of work. Before the Aktion there were probably more than 1,000 Jews living in the settlement. According to Anna Grinboim, after the Aktion only about 200 remained.[4] One Soviet source gives the figure of 1,360 Jews killed and dates the Aktion at the end of October, but Jewish survivors date it earlier.[5] After the Aktion a small ghetto was formally established for the remaining Jews, who were moved to just one or two streets. The other Jewish houses were looted and locked up. Jewish survivors do not specifically mention a fence, but they note that Jews could not leave because the Ukrainian police patrolled the ghetto's perimeter all the time.[6]

The transition from a military to a civil administration in this area occurred on October 20, 1941. Rayon Pogrebischtsche was located in Gebiet Kasatin of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The German Gebietskommissar was Hundertschaftsführer Steudel.[7] The head of the German Gendarmerie post in Pogrebishche was Meister der Gendarmerie Bruno Mayrhofer.

Overcrowding in the ghetto was terrible, as about five families had to share each house. The Jews were always hungry. Now under the civil administration, instead of an armband, the Jews had to wear yellow stars on their chest and back. Although they had been robbed repeatedly, Jews were still able to buy some food from the Ukrainians with the few valuable possessions that they had managed to preserve.[8]

Grinboim recalled of the ghetto: "There was no water to drink or to wash with, no food, terrible hunger. Occasionally kind Ukrainians came and brought food they had already prepared. Every morning all the young people and all the men were taken to work." Her own work consisted mainly of cleaning—streets, bathrooms, and stores. Anna's grandmother died of hunger, as did many others. No holidays were celebrated in the ghetto. There were very few children, since most of them had been killed in the pogrom. The most terrible thing, she recalled, was the knowledge that sooner or later there would be another Aktion to end it all.[9]

Michael Tokar stated that "anyone who refused to work was killed on the spot. The Ukrainian police drank all the time and would beat the Jews just for fun in their drunken stupor." Tokar was in the Pogrebishche ghetto until the beginning of February 1942. At that time a group of prisoners was transferred to Vinnitsa for labor, and he was among them.[10]

By early summer 1942, the German Gendarmerie had established a training school for noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in the Ukrainian police (now renamed Schutzmannschaft) in Pogrebishche, commanded by a man named Robowski. Stationed in the same barracks was also a Gendarme, Max Roth, who supervised the so-called railway protection police in the region, which was also composed of Ukrainian auxiliaries stationed along the railway.[11] In May or June 1942, the Jews in the ghetto learned from a translator who worked for the Germans about an impending Aktion, and a number of Jews went into hiding or fled the ghetto.[12]

In June 1942, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Heinrich Behrens ordered the execution of the remaining Jews of

Gebiet Kasatin, who were being temporarily held in a barracks in Pogrebishche. As a result, those Jews who were rounded up were taken to a pit, where the Ukrainian auxiliaries translated the German orders to the Jews. The Jews were forced to undress, then line up for an SD squad from Berdichev, and were shot. In August 1942, after intense searches by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmes, 200 more Jews were gathered in the barracks. Behrens telephoned the SD post in Berdichev and agreed to assist the SD in the killing Aktion by providing about 40 Ukrainian police and some German soldiers who were stationed nearby. When the SD squad arrived at the local airfield, Behrens was there to greet them and then drove the killing squad to the Talymynivka ravine, which was the execution site near the barracks.[13] The Gendarme Max Roth also recalled the arrival of about four SD men in Pogrebishche during the summer of 1942, in connection with the murder of Jews being temporarily housed in the barracks of the Schutzmannschaft School while it was empty between training courses.[14]

Some of the Jews who fled were taken in by Ukrainains, but the danger of being discovered remained great. For example, Anna Grinboim decided to leave her initial protector after a policeman discovered her hiding on top of the stove. Her protector, an acquaintance of her father's, quickly improvised, saying that she was her niece. But she feared the police might soon return and arrest her.[15]

German Gendarmes, assisted by the Ukrainian police, continued to hunt for Jews in hiding for many months after the liquidation of the ghetto. In May 1943, Mayrhofer reported:

> On May 7, 1943, at 9:00 P.M., following a confidential report, eight Jews, that is, three men, two women, and three children, were flushed out of a well-camouflaged hole in the ground in an open field not far from the post here, and all of them were shot while trying to escape. This case had to do with Jews from Pogrebishche who had lived in this hole in the ground for almost a year. The Jews had nothing else in their possession except their tattered clothing. The few items of food they possessed, which lay strewn about the camp, were given to the village poor, as was the still somewhat-usable clothing. The burial was carried out immediately, on the spot.[16]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Pogrebishche can be found in the following archives: BA-L (204a AR-Z 137/67); DAVINO; DAZO; GARF; USHMM; and VHF (# 20772, 27058, 28086, 28092, 29156).

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 20772, testimony of Anna Grinboim; # 27058, testimony of Grigorii Sirota; # 28092, testimony of Ida Miretskaia; # 28086, testimony of Michael Tokar.
2. Ibid., # 20772; # 27058; # 28086; # 28092.
3. Ibid., # 20772; # 27058; # 28086.
4. Ibid., # 20772.
5. *Vinnichchina v period Velykoi vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr.* (Khronika Podii), p. 23, as cited by A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 13, 22–23.
6. VHF, # 20772; # 27058; # 29156, testimony of Dvoira Khanis.
7. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
8. VHF, # 20772; # 27058; # 29156.
9. Ibid., # 20772.
10. Ibid., # 28086.
11. DAZO, 1182-1-35, p. 2, 1182-1-17, p. 150; BA-L, AR-Z 204 137/67, pp. 388–394, statement of Max Roth, January 21, 1966.
12. VHF, # 20772.
13. BA-L, AR-Z 204 137/67, vol. 2, Abschlussbericht, pp. 227–228.
14. Ibid., AR-Z 204 137/67, pp. 388–394, statement of Max Roth, January 21, 1966.
15. VHF, # 20772.
16. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 163, report of Meister d. Gend. u. Postenführer Mayrhofer to Kasatin SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, May 13, 1943.

RADOMYSHL'

Pre-1941: Radomyshl', town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radomyschl, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Radomyshl', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Radomyshl' is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,348 Jews living in the town (20.1 percent of the total population). Additionally, 129 Jews resided in the villages of the raion.

German armed forces occupied the town in mid-July 1941, approximately three weeks after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were drafted into or enrolled voluntarily for the Red Army. Slightly less than 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military administration ran the town, appointing a mayor to administer its affairs. The Germans also created a Rayon administration and recruited a Ukrainian police force from among the local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions in Radomyshl'.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Radomyshl' became the administrative center of Gebiet Radomyschl, and Gauhauptstellenleiter Drechsler was named as Gebietskommissar. The Gebiet also encompassed the Rayons of Potievka and Malin.[1]

A few weeks after the occupation of the town, in August 1941, the German military administration in Radomyshl' established an open ghetto for the Jews. All the Jews were moved onto Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Streets (as they were known under the Soviet regime).[2] Jews were prohibited from going beyond the ghetto's borders. They were not allowed to buy products from the Ukrainians, and the Ukrainians in turn could not have any relations with the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands on their left arms, marked by yellow six-pointed stars. Jewish men were called on to perform heavy labor and were subjected to systematic robberies and assaults by the Ukrainian police.

In the first half of August 1941, two Aktions were carried out in the town. On August 5, 1941, a request was issued for Sonderkommando 4a (Sk 4a) to come to Radomyshl' and enforce security there. Sk 4a, which was a mobile squad of the Security Police subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C, arrived in the town shortly thereafter, and its members then arrested and shot the local mayor and his deputies as "Bolsheviks." They also shot one resident who had participated in the Soviet expulsion of Ukrainians and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). A number of Jews were also arrested and shot, apparently for violating the regulations issued by the occupying authorities. In total, Sk 4a murdered 113 persons during this Aktion.[3] One day later the same detachment carried out a second Aktion. In total during the two operations, Sk 4a shot "276 Jewish communist functionaries, saboteurs, Komsomol members, and communist agitators."[4]

At the end of August 1941, a part of Sk 4a was based temporarily in Radomyshl'. Among the reasons for choosing Radomyshl' as a base were the available food supplies and functioning infrastructure in the town, including a large dairy, a slaughterhouse, and a brewery.[5] Conditions significantly worsened in the ghetto at the end of August 1941. Jews were resettled into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, and the Jewish houses became terribly overcrowded. On average, 15 people had to live in a single room. Sanitary conditions therefore became extremely poor. Jewish corpses were carried out of the houses on a daily basis. It became impossible to provide sufficient rations for the Jews, especially for the Jewish children. The danger of an epidemic was constantly present.[6]

On September 6, 1941, Sk 4a, under the command of SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, liquidated the ghetto in Radomyshl'. The Security Police forces gathered the Jews together and loaded them onto trucks with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The Jews were then driven to a clearing in the forest several kilometers outside the town. The staff of Sk 4a shot the 1,107 adult Jews, and the Ukrainian police shot the 561 children, bringing the total number of those murdered during this Aktion to 1,668.[7]

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 694a; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1048; and Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Radomyshl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216 to 217); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, AR-Z 269/60, investigation of Kuno Callsen); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-309).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-309, p. 21 (testimony of S.K. Boguslavs'kii, May 26, 1945).
3. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 58, August 20, 1941.
4. Ibid., EM no. 59, August 21, 1941.
5. *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, p. 143; see also Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 45.
6. BA-BL, R 58/217, EM no. 88, September 19, 1941; according to Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 87, the Jews brought in from the surrounding areas by the SD were crammed into an old school, where they began to die of hunger and disease.
7. BA-BL, R 58/217, EM no. 88, September 19, 1941. For further details on the circumstances of the mass shooting, see LG-Darm, Ks 1/67 (Gsta), verdict against Kuno Callsen and others, November 29, 1968, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694a.

RECHITSA

Pre-1941: Rechitsa, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Retschiza, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Rechytsa, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rechitsa is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) west-southwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population of Rechitsa was 7,237 (27.3 percent of the total).

In July and August 1941, at least 4,000 Jews were evacuated from Rechitsa by rail and road, and in barges on the Dniepr River, before the Germans arrived.[1]

German military forces occupied the city on August 23, 1941. Initially Rechitsa was administered by a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In October 1941, the town became the center of Gebiet Retschiza in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Among the German units based in Rechitsa were detachments of the Sicherheitspolizei (initially Sonderkommando 7b), Geheime Feldpolizei, Feldgendarmerie, and Schutzpolizei. A detachment of Waffen-SS was also based there for a time.[2] The Germans established a local police station on Vokzal'naia Street, appointing Korzhevskii chief of police. A man named Chalovskii became assistant mayor.[3]

For the first two months of the occupation, the Jews were allowed to live in their own houses. The former *melamed* (religious teacher) Malenkovich was ordered to compile a list of the remaining Jews in Rechitsa.[4] Soon the Germans began taking people away for "work," and they were never seen again. In September 1941, Sonderkommando 7b reported shooting 216 Jewish men in Rechitsa.[5] Several individual killings of Jews also occurred during these first weeks.[6]

In November 1941, a new commandant arrived in Rechitsa and declared that he would not take over the town while "kikes and Communists remain alive."[7] Shortly after November 20, 1941, the Jews, obeying an order posted throughout the town, gathered at the cultural center, and from there they were sent to two two-story buildings on the grounds of a former prison in the factory area, on the corner of Frunze and Sovetskaia Streets. The Germans set up a prison-style ghetto there. The ghetto territory was surrounded with barbed wire about 2 meters (6.5 feet) high. There was a gate for entering and leaving the area. The prisoners were kept in unusually crowded quarters, with 40 people in each room; this meant that they were forced to stand. In the daytime, when the able-bodied were taken off to work, there was a bit more space available. The ghetto was closely guarded by police.[8] Also placed in this ghetto were undesirable prisoners of war (POWs), Communists, and Soviet activists, including some non-Jews.[9] Around 300 prisoners from the "ghetto" were taken away on trucks and shot on November 25.

Some details of this Aktion are known. The policemen told the Jews that they were being taken to pick cabbages and carrots at the kolkhoz. The trucks stopped at the edge of town in the area of the wine distillery, near an antitank ditch dug during the first weeks of the war. Three German officers were in charge of the operation. The Jews realized that they would be shot, and a few tried to run away but were killed by rifle fire. The guards stole whatever they could from the Jews, including earrings, rings, and bracelets. Boris Smilovitskii, before he died, shouted, "Bandits, fascists, you spill our blood now, but remember, the Red Army will win and avenge us!" According to eyewitnesses, the perpetrators were in "a drunken state."[10]

Those Jews who did not appear in response to the order were rounded up by the Germans and the police and placed in the ghetto by December 12. At the same time, Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Rechitsa. According to Iakov Gutarov, his grandparents were brought to Rechitsa along with other Jews from a nearby settlement and later shot there.[11]

The details of subsequent mass shootings are unclear, but it appears that the Germans took out groups of Jews from the ghetto prison to be shot on several other occasions in December 1941.

According to the testimony of Il'ia Kolotsei, the occupying authorities ordered the Jews to sew white and yellow patches on their clothing and sent them out to work. Kolotsei saw how 10 Jews were mocked as they were used in place of draft animals to haul a wagon with a barrel of water out of the ghetto. A German soldier sat on the barrel and drove them forward with a stick. Around the same time, under police guard, Jews spent two weeks digging a large pit on the grounds of the ghetto, near the toilet.[12]

The last group of prisoners was not taken to the ditch on the edge of town but was lined up next to the pit dug in the ghetto area. The majority were women, children, and old people. Many of the mothers had infants in their arms. Then two Germans described as Gendarmes, with a metal chain on their chests (probably members of the Feldgendarmerie subordinated to the Wehrmacht), took the first person out of the line. One of the Feldgendarmes bludgeoned the man on the head, and the local policemen standing next to him threw the body into the ditch. This scene was repeated until all the Jews were killed. Then the policemen covered the corpses with dirt and dispersed.[13]

Accused of organizing and carrying out the murders of the Jews of Rechitsa and Rechitsa raion were Oberleutnant Fischer, the head of the Rechitsa Gendarmerie; Gebietskommissar Blüming; a colonel named Orlitschek; and others.[14] According to one estimate, some 1,300 to 1,400 Jews died in Rechitsa at the hands of the Nazis during the occupation (around 18 percent of the pre-war population).[15]

During the years of Rechitsa's occupation, only a few Jews escaped with their lives. On the eve of the Aktion on November 25, Larisa Borodich (born 1930) was brought to the assembly place with her mother Khaia and other members of her family.[16] At night Khaia helped Larisa climb over the barbed wire and told her to go to Lidia Nazarova's home. For a few months, she was hidden by the Bogdanov, Gorshkov, Ferentsov, Kozorev, and Stankevich families. On May 1, 1943, she joined the Soviet partisans.[17]

Ol'ga Anishchenko, a teacher at the Rechitsa Teacher Training Institute, managed to save Masha Raikhlina, a kindergarten teacher who had been one of her students. When neighbors found out that Ol'ga was sheltering a Jewish woman, she found Masha a new place to hide, then sent her to the Frunze partisan detachment of the Voroshilov partisan brigade. In 1997, Anishchenko was awarded the title "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.[18] Girsh Slavin was protected by the entire village of Zhmurovka, in the Rechitsa raion. During the pogrom in the Rechitsa synagogue, a man named Atamanchuk managed to rescue the Torah scroll, and after the war he helped the victims' relatives find and rebury the remains of their loved ones.[19]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Rechitsa during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Albert Kaganovich, *Rechitsa: Istoriia evreiskogo mestechka Iugo-Vostochnoi Belorusii* (Jerusalem, 2007); Boris Umetskii, *Rechitsa. Kratkii istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk, 1963); *Pamiat'. Rechitsa. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1998); Leonid Smilovitskii, "Rechitsa," in *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo,

2000), pp. 259–277; Leonid Smilovitsky, "My Rechitsa" [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 60 (1995): 125–132; A. Kaganovich, "Evrei Rechitsy v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1943 gg.," in *Uroki Kholokosta: Istoriia i sovremennost'* (Minsk, 2008), pp. 6–11; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk: Belarus', 1963), pp. 268–272, 295; and Raisa Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg. Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997).

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Rechitsa and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (Case file 234, vol. 4); GAGOMO (1345-1-1); GARF (7021-85-217; 7021-85-413); NARB (861-1-6); RTKIDNI, formerly RGASPI (69-1-818); and YVA (M-33/476; M-33/481). Some additional material is located in the personal archive of author Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel and Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 264.
2. GARF, 7021-85-217, p. 14.
3. PALS, letter of Mikhail Balte and Sara Ber from Rechitsa, January 12, 2000.
4. One source indicates that more than 400 Jewish families were registered, AUKGBRBGO, 1-234, vol. 4, pp. 4–7, 14–17.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 90, September 21, 1941.
6. YVA, M-33/476, p. 19.
7. PALS, letter from the Rechitsa Local Museum, March 29, 2002.
8. A. Dvornik, "'Poslednii svidetel'," *Aviv*, no. 7 (1998): 2; letter from Avraam Dovzhik dated September 28, 2001; testimony of Tamara Kuz'minich on August 7, 2005—all as cited by Kaganovich, *Rechitsa: Istoriia evreiskogo mestechka Iugo-Vostochnoi Belorusii*, p. 300.
9. YVA, JM/20006, pp. 1–2, 74–75 verso.
10. *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii*, pp. 270–271. Testimony of Dar'ia Ignat'evna Seleverstova, February 8, 1968, AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 4, pp. 11–13, gives further details of this Aktion and estimates 500 people were killed.
11. YVA, page of testimony of Iakov Gutarov, June 15, 2001. Gutarov himself managed to run away and hide.
12. Testimony of Il'ia Vasil'evich Kolotsei, February 8, 1968, AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 4, p. 8.
13. Ibid., p. 9.
14. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, pp. 11–13.
15. Ibid., file 234, vol. 4, p. 4.
16. Chernoglazova, *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 116.
17. PALS, letter from the Rechitsa Local Museum, March 29, 2002.
18. See *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), p. 74.
19. PALS, letter of Maria Rubinchik, May 25, 2002.

ROGACHOV

Pre-1941: Rogachov, village, Baranovka raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rogatschow, Rayon Baranowka, Gebiet Zwiahel (Nowograd-Wolynskyj), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Rohachiv, Baranivka raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Rogachov is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) west-northwest of Zhitomir. In June 1941, there were about 300 Jews living in the village.

German forces occupied Rogachov on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During those weeks, a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of military age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Rogachov at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. The German military administration appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents. The local police played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Rogachov was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyj, where Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village elder and Ukrainian policemen to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. They were forced to wear armbands bearing a six-pointed star and to perform heavy labor solely on account of their race. At the end of July 1941, on the instructions of the German military administration, an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) was formed in the center of the village. The German regulations prohibited Jews from leaving the ghetto without permission or from buying products from the Ukrainians. As a result, food was in very short supply for the ghetto inhabitants. Jews caught violating the rules and going beyond the borders of the ghetto without permission were shot by the Ukrainian police. The German authorities and local police also forced the Jews to hand over all their valuables and good articles of clothing.[2]

In August 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the village. A number of Jews were escorted into the forest and shot. On October 1, 1941, the day of Yom Kippur, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, the German security forces and their collaborators assembled the Jews in the local assembly hall (*klub*). They separated the families of the craftsmen (reading out 20 or 25 names) from the rest, then placed all those remaining into trucks, drove them into the forest 4 or 5 kilometers (about 2.5 to 3 miles) to the east of the village, and shot them. The small children stayed behind in the assembly hall. Two days later, the Ukrainian policemen also transported the children on carts into the forest and shot them there. In

November 1941, after having been confined within three houses in the interim period, the craftsmen and their families were relocated to the "ghetto" in Novograd-Volynskii.[3]

SOURCES A relevant survivor testimony has been published in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 41–44.

Documents dealing with the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Rogachov can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-283).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES:

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Grigorii Vainerman, in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), p. 79; an English translation is available in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 41–44.
3. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 79–80.

RUZHIN

Pre-1941: Ruzhin, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rushin, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ruzhyn, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Ruzhin is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 1,108 Jews lived in Ruzhin, about one quarter of the total population. There were also 633 Jews residing in the nearby village of Belilovka and 2,056 Jews in all living in the Ruzhin raion (4.22 percent of the total). Only a small number of Jews were able to evacuate from the area with the retreating Red Army.

German forces occupied Ruzhin on July 17, 1941, and almost immediately began robbing and humiliating the town's Jews; they even captured one incident on film.[1] Shootings began as early as September 10, when 750 Jews in Ruzhin were shot.

The official transition from a military to a civil administration in the Shitomir region occurred on October 20, 1941. Ruzhin, as a Gebiet center in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, was responsible also for the Rayons of Popilnia and Wtscherajsche. The German Gebietskommissar in Ruzhin was Regierungsassesor Ganglhoff. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin and also SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer there was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Gustav Dutkowski.[2] Among the senior local policemen in Ruzhin were Josef Rudenko, Artur Reglin, and Dmitri Wosnjak, who were responsible for a squad of about 40 Ukrainian policemen in the Ruzhin Rayon and about 100 in the entire Gebiet.[3]

After the September Aktion, the remaining Jews were placed on one bank of the river in a ghetto consisting of a dozen houses enclosed by a wire fence. The Germans also brought into the ghetto Jews found in the surrounding villages, including from Veselovka and Belilovka, where similar Aktions had been conducted. In forming the ghetto, the local Ukrainian elder in Ruzhin, Kachanovski, ordered the Jews to vacate some 200 homes and rebuild them for the use of the Germans and the local Ukrainian police, who guarded the ghetto. The Germans appointed a Jewish elder by the name of Yankel. He organized several craft guilds, including guilds for cobblers and tailors.[4]

The craftsmen worked mainly to fulfill the orders of the police. In exchange for food, they also performed work for members of the local population who came to the ghetto fence with their requests. The craftsmen shared their food with the other Jews in the ghetto, as the captives received no rations. Young Jews were sent to work on construction sites and perform other forced labor tasks, and the local police sometimes gave them the leftovers from their own meals. Once a week Jews were brought before the local German commandant for a roll call. In December 1941 and January 1942, onerous financial "contributions" were levied on the Jews.

On April 30, 1942, the local police rounded up 90 Jewish men from the ghetto, saying that they would be escorting horses to the front lines. One managed to run away, but the rest were never heard from again. At the same time, local policemen entered the ghetto and took away everything that had been produced by the craftsmen, including their unfinished products. This caused great anxiety among the ghetto inhabitants, and some of them started to prepare hiding places. However, very few could finish these bunkers, as on the next day, May 1, 1942, the Germans, together with local Ukrainian police under the command of police chief Josepf Rudenko, entered the ghetto and selected 250 to 300 people. This group of Jews was escorted in a single column (the children were put onto several horse-drawn carts) to the grain storage facility and locked inside. Afterwards, in groups of 25 or 30, they were taken to a specially prepared ditch at the site of the Novyi Mir kolkhoz, made to lie on the ground or on top of the corpses of previous victims, and shot in the back of the head by the German Security Police, assisted by the Gendarmerie and local police.[5] Several Germans photographed the mass shooting. In his report dated June 3, 1942, the Generalkommissar, Kurt Klemm, reported that for the most part the "Jewish question" had been settled in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, as 606 Jews had been "resettled" in Ruzhin.[6] On June 14, 1942, in accordance with orders from the captain of the Gendarmerie in Vinnitsa, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin reported that no more Jews were being employed at the Gendarmerie posts in his district.[7]

On the orders of the Germans, a number of Jewish workers and their families had been excluded from the Aktion. Some of these people were transferred to other forced labor camps in the region, such as to the camp at Nadonesi.[8] About 200 Jews were retained to work in and around Ruzhin, sorting the possessions of those who had been shot and also as specialist craftsmen.[9] On the orders of the Germans, the Jewish crafts-

men taught the basics of their craft to a group of local Ukrainians. According to the postwar evidence of police chief Rudenko, in the summer of 1942 the police conducted another raid on the interned Jews and set aside about 100 specialist workers. The local police then escorted the other approximately 100 Jews to a killing site, where German police forces shot them. The remaining specialists were interned within a separate residential area (probably in the nearby village of Balamutovka) and had to report daily to the Gendarmerie.[10]

A number of Jews had successfully managed to hide at the time of the roundups and had escaped into the surrounding countryside. Some of them subsequently returned to the camp in Balamutovka. In September and October 1942, the local police in Ruzhin were ordered to capture and kill all the Jews remaining in the area and reported that they had shot several.[11] At the end of September, more than 60 Jews were collected at the office of the Gendarmerie in Balamutovka, later to be shot at the grave site in Ruzhin. Realizing that they were about to be killed, the Jews started to flee across the orchards towards the forest in the direction of Ruzhin. A number of these prisoners were shot while fleeing, and 20 more were recaptured and shot subsequently. The SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin reported that the SD from Berdichev shot 44 Jews in Ruzhin on October 1, 1942.[12] Around 10 Jews managed to escape and hide in the woods.

The last Jews in Ruzhin were probably shot in 1943. On March 1, 1943, the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin wrote to the Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin, requesting that the remaining Jews be registered by name, together with their occupations, and asking at the same time whether the "ditch" was ready.[13]

The Red Army liberated Ruzhin on December 28, 1943.

SOURCES Among the available published sources are: M. Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu: Da budut korni nashi zhivy* (Moscow: M. Belilovskii, 1998); Iu.M. Liakhovitskii, *Evreiskii genotsid na Ukraine v period okkupatsii v nemetskoi dokumentalistike 1941–1944* (Kharkov and Jerusalem, 1995), p. 138; *Nemetsko-fashistskii okkupatsionnyi rezhim na Ukraine: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev, 1963), p. 389; and Martin Dean, "The German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft and the 'Second Wave' of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44," *German History* 14:2 (1996): 168–192.

Relevant documents, including survivor testimonies on the fate of the Jews of Ruzhin during the Holocaust, can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 6/310); BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67); DAZO (1182-1-36, 1452-1-2); GARF (7021-60-310); TsGAMORF (236-2675-134); VHF (# 20509, 25047, and 40731); and YVA (E-1149; M-33/126; M-37/316; M-52/438; M-52/444; O-3/7260).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48, Military report on crimes committed by the Nazi German occupying forces in Ruzhin.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also DAZO, 1151-1-9, pp. 37–39, KdG Shitomir KdO Befehl 30/42, September 3, 1942; see also 1182-1-15, which contains a list of local policemen (Schutzmänner) in Ruzhin dated September 27, 1942. Copies of material from DAZO can also be found at the USHMM (RG-31, Acc. 1996.A.0269).

3. DAZO, 1182-1-36, p. 170, recommendation for an award for bravery regarding Josef Rudenko (born October 7, 1914); 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Orders 14/42 and 18/42, July 11 and 25, 1942. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 (Ruzhin and Vcheraishe), vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18, statement of Fania Feiga (Zipora) Esterowicz (née Duchowna), July 1, 1957. Esterowicz describes the ghetto as a "barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire." Also see TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu*, pp. 197–199.

5. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; and BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946.

6. BA-BL, R 6/310, p. 17, report of Generalkommissar Shitomir for the month of May, dated June 3, 1942. This figure probably includes those murdered in Vcheraishe on May 1, 1942 (200–300), as well.

7. DAZO, 1182-1-36, p. 30, Gend. District in Ruzhin to Gendarmerie Captaincy in Vinnitsa, June 14, 1942.

8. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18, statement of Fania Feiga (Zipora) Esterowicz (née Duchowna), July 1, 1957.

9. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48.

10. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946, and pp. 143–144.

11. DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 214, 275–278, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin, monthly reports for September and October 1942.

12. DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 275–278, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, monthly report for October, November 5, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946. Rudenko also describes the incident in the fall of 1942 when about 40 Jews were shot following an attempted escape.

13. DAZO, 1452-1-2, p. 144, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin to Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin, March 1, 1943.

SAMGORODOK

Pre-1941: Samgorodok, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Kasatin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Samhorodok, Koziatyn raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Samgorodok is located 41 kilometers (26 miles) northeast of Vinnitsa. In 1926, the Jewish population in the town was 1,243.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Samgorodok on July 20, 1941. Soon after their arrival, the German authorities registered the Jews. According to the records of Feldkommandantur 675, based in Vinnitsa, in August 1941 there were 3,000 people residing in Samgorodok, of whom 700 were Jews.[1]

Initially the military authorities ordered Jews to wear a white armband with a Star of David. Subsequently they had to wear a Star of David patch on their clothing. A large contribution was collected from the Jewish population, and over time virtually all Jewish property was confiscated. The Jews were also forced to perform physical labor. On one occasion they were forced to clean the area around the church and then run around it. Those who failed to carry out such orders were severely beaten. It was also forbidden for the Jews to buy or barter food items, and even their access to water from the well was restricted.[2]

According to the Jewish survivor Semen Beger, who was only 11 in 1941, shortly after their arrival the Germans rounded up all the Jews and forced them to live concentrated together in the center of the town, forming an open ghetto. On Sundays there was a market in Samgorodok that the Jews were able to visit, which was also attended by peasants from the surrounding villages. On one occasion the Jews who had attended the market were brutally beaten by the Ukrainians.[3]

The transition from a military to a civil administration in the Vinnitsa region occurred on October 20, 1941. Rayon Samgorodok was located in Gebiet Kasatin of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The German Gebietskommissar in Kazatin was Hundertschaftsführer Steudel. The chief of the local police in Samgorodok was Anton Nikolaevich Vashchenko, who was tried by the Soviet authorities after the war. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok from February 1, 1942, was Oberwachtmeister Josef Richter. He was killed by Soviet partisans on August 20, 1943.[4]

On May 16, 1942, the German authorities, assisted by local Rayonchef Shvabskii, forcibly resettled the Jewish population into a separate part of town on the other side of the river. The Jews did not take much of their personal property with them as they suspected that an Aktion would soon be conducted against them, and in any case, there was little room in this second ghetto. The overcrowding was such that between three and five families occupied each house.[5]

Then on June 4, 1942, German police forces, men of the Hungarian army, and the local Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto at 3:00 A.M. Under the command of police chief Vashchenko, the local policemen collected the Jews from their houses and drove them into the middle-school building. Those who tried to escape, refused to go, or were too infirm to walk were shot on the spot. On that morning 24 local peasants were ordered by the police to dig a grave 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town on the road to Germanovka. The grave was approximately 10 meters long by 8 meters wide and 3 meters deep (33 by 26 by 10 feet).

At about 10:00 A.M, the German forces, Hungarians, and local police escorted the column of Jews to the grave site. Two carts carried the elderly and unfit. At the grave the Jews were forced to remove their clothes and were led down into the ditch, where two or more SD men who had arrived from the Security Police outpost in Vinnitsa shot them.[6] Gebietskommissar Steudel, who oversaw the Aktion, ordered the peasants to move away and lie facedown on the ground until the shooting was completed. Then they returned to help the local policemen fill in the grave.[7]

During the Aktion, 492 Jews were shot (including about 240 children), together with 15 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[8] The local police chief in Samgorodok, Vashchenko, later "confessed" that he "selected the specialist workers, who were to be employed on various tasks by the Germans, and under my direction the Samgorodok police kept the Jews under strict guard during the shooting."[9] About 10 or 15 Jews were selected and sent to Kazatin as specialist workers; they were subsequently shot there by the SD in September.[10]

Some Jews, such as Moshe Berger, managed to survive the roundup by hiding in cellars and other places of concealment.[11] They later sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. However, in early July the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin, Behrens, sent a memorandum to the Gendarmerie post commander in Samgorodok, Richter, writing that he was aware of Jews hiding in the villages and forests and instructing that all villages must report the presence of Jews. He warned that if Gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen found Jews, "the entire village was to be punished."[12] Over the following months, most of the Jews in hiding were captured by local police patrols. For example, on March 1, 1943, a patrol from the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok found two female Jews, Busa and Sulka Chernus, hiding in a hayrick, and they were then "shot trying to escape" (a euphemism used by the Germans to report their summary execution). On March 19, three more Jews were captured by the Gendarmerie in Samgorodok, and the SD was informed.[13] A Ukrainian Schutzmann, Wasyl Palamarchuk, based in Samgorodok, was recommended for a decoration in the summer of 1943, as he had "especially distinguished himself during the resettlement of the Jews in June 1942 and in the subsequent apprehension of individual Jews who variously concealed themselves."[14]

The Red Army liberated Samgorodok on January 1, 1944. Among the Jewish survivors from Samgorodok were Elisabeth Lifshitz and Mark Bresman.

SOURCES Several references to events in Samgorodok can be found in the author's article, "The German *Gendarmerie*, the Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft* and the 'Second Wave' of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44," *German History* 14:2 (1996): 168–192.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Samgorodok can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 204a AR-Z 188/67); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); DAZO (e.g., 1182-1-6); GARF (7021-54-1261); RGVA (1275-3-662, 1323-2-228); USHMM; VHF (# 23382); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, report of Feldkommandantur 675 in Vinnitsa, August 25, 1941.
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 252–255, statement of Elisabeth Akimovna Lifshitz, September 23, 1944; and vol. 1, pp. 221–224, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Samgorodok, October 26, 1944.
3. VHF, # 23382, testimony of Semen Beger.
4. DAZO contains detailed records of the Gendarmerie and local police in Gebiet Kasatin in fond 1182-1; for those serving at the Samgorodok post, see especially files 1182-1-18, 22, and 32. Copies of material from DAZO can also be found at the USHMM (RG-31, Acc.1996.A.0269).
5. VHF, # 23382.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, closing report on the Kazatin investigation.
7. Ibid., ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 232–237, 242–245, statements of Feodosy Fyodorovich Repetazkiy on August 27, 1953, Grigorij Stepanovich Rapatzkiy on November 8, 1944, and Abraham Likandrovich Palamarchuk on February 27, 1970.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 252–255, statement of E.A. Lifshitz, September 23, 1944. A list of the heads of 102 Jewish families in Samgorodok and the size of each family can be found in vol. 1, pp. 225–228.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 229–231, statement, of A.N. Vashchenko, June 2, 1953.
10. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gebietskommissar, September 30, 1942.
11. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 238–241, statement of Moshe Naumovich Berger, February 27, 1970.
12. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gend.-Posten in Samgorodok and Pogrebishche, July 6, 1942.
13. Ibid., 1182-1-6, pp. 157, 164–165.
14. Ibid., 1182-1-6, p. 163, report of Gendarmerie in Samgorodok, May 31, 1943.

SOBOLEVKA

Pre-1941: Sobolevka, village, Teplik raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sobolewka, Rayon Teplik, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Sobolivka, Teplyk raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Sobolevka is located 103 kilometers (64 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. In 1926, 1,168 Jews lived in the village, while 23 more Jews lived in the three surrounding villages of Brodok, Orlovka, and Velikaia Mochulka.[1] According to the available sources, only 434 Jews were still residing in Sobolevka in 1939 (7 percent of the total population).

The village of Sobolevka was occupied by German troops on July 28, 1941, five weeks after the start of their invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time a number of Jews had managed to escape to the east. When German troops arrived in Sobolevka, about 400 Jews were still residing in the village. The German occupiers named an administrative head (starosta) for the village and created a local police force. Between October 1941 and the liberation in 1944, the village was in Gebiet Gaissin, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher, and Leutnant Pösselt commanded the Gendarmerie forces in Gebiet Gaissin.[2]

At the beginning of September 1941, a ghetto was established in Sobolevka. However, it was not strictly guarded. The head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the ghetto was Ioyna Zhornitzkii. In April 1942, about 100 young Jews were selected and sent to a labor camp. The German forces, assisted by their collaborators, shot the rest of the ghetto inmates, about 300 people, on May 27, 1942. The shooting Aktion took place in a forest about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the village. Jews had dug the pits over the course of two months, thereby digging their own graves. Among those murdered were Rabbi Srul' Chechelnitzkii and his family.[3]

Due to the help of some of the local Ukrainian inhabitants, a number of Jews survived the Aktion. Among those who helped to hide Jews were the Moiko family, Anatoly Magera (who saved four individuals), and the Liakhovski family (which saved three people).[4]

SOURCES Information about the killing of the Jews of Sobolevka can be found in an article by L. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka. Istoriia proshlogo bez budushchego (XVII–XX veka)," in *Istoki: vestnik Narodnogo universiteta evreiskoi kul'tury v vostochnoi Ukraine, Khar'kov* (Kharkov, 1999), no. 4, pp. 124–135.

The files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) investigations into the crimes committed by the German forces and their collaborators can be found in DAVINO (R6022-1-43) and in GARF (7021-54-1237).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka," pp. 124–126.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka," pp. 132–133. According to the ChGK report (GARF, 7021-54-1237, p. 50), 382 Jews (90 men, 150 women, and 142 children) were shot on May 27, 1942. In reality, this figure probably represents all the Jews who were killed or died during the German occupation.
4. Trachtenberg, "Sobolevka," p. 134.

STRIZHAVKA

Pre-1941: Strizhavka, village, Vinnitsa raion and oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Strishawka, Rayon Winniza-Land, Gebiet Winniza, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Stryzhavka, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Strizhavka lies 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Vinnitsa and was the location of a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) prison. Before the war, more than 300 Jews lived in the village.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Strizhavka on July 19, 1941, four weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. In the interim, a small number of Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men were drafted or volunteered for service in the Red Army. About 230 Jews remained at the start of the occupation.

In July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. It appointed a village elder, Vladimir Chaikun, and set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In late October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Strizhavka became part of Gebiet Winniza (Gebietskommissar: Gemeinschaftsführer Halle), which belonged in turn to the Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures employed in other German-occupied villages of Ukraine were introduced in Strizhavka: Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David (later, a yellow circle); they were used for forced labor; they were prohibited from leaving the village; and they were systematically robbed and beaten by the Ukrainian police.

In the latter half of December 1941, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) north of Vinnitsa, construction of Hitler's field headquarters, his Werwolf bunker, began. Security in the construction area was in the hands of the Reichssicherheitsdienst (RSD), Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Friedrich Schmidt (deputy: SS-Untersturmführer Karl Danner). They began their activities by checking the nearby villages for the presence of Jews and Communists, who allegedly could present a threat to the building project.

In particular, while questioning the village elder of Strizhavka, they learned that the Jews of the village (221 people) had been resettled into a ghetto and were working on a kolkhoz, though their work performance was inadequate. Schmidt and Danner stated that "as all the Jews are supporters of the Communist regime and represent a threat to the security of the German Army," they must be removed immediately from the construction area.[1] The "removal" of the Jews was carried out on January 10, 1942. Members of Organisation Todt (OT) and military servicemen created a mass grave by means of an explosion and filled it in after the Aktion. The participants in the Aktion were four officials of the Security Police from Vinnitsa (subordinated to the Sipo/SD chief there, Theodor Salmanzig), who did the actual shooting of the Jews, 20 officials of the Feldgendarmerie and Schutzpolizei, and all the members of Schmidt's group, who drove the Jews from their houses, brought them to the grave, and formed a protective cordon around the execution site.[2] On January 11, 1942, Ukrainian policemen arrested 12 more Jews in Strizhavka and moved them to the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp at Vinnitsa, where they were shot on January 12. Finally, on January 13, the village elder of Strizhavka handed over to Schmidt's group 3 more Jews, and SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Bunde passed them on to the SD in Vinnitsa.[3]

SOURCES Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Strizhavka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/8466: Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner); DAVINO (R6023-5-3, 4); and RGVA (1323-2-230).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. RSD, Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, Unterkunft, December 24, 1941, in DAVINO, R-6023-5-3, pp. 64, 83, and R6023-5-4, pp. 99–103.
2. RSD, Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, Unterkunft, January 12, 1942, in RGVA, 1323-2-230, pp. 6–7; BA-L, B 162/8466, Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner, Bd. II, pp. 299–318, Einstellungsverfügung (closing remarks), Munich, October 11, 1972.
3. BA-L, B 162/8466, Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner, Bd. II, p. 304.

TEPLIK

Pre-1939: Teplik, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Teplyk, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Teplik is located 111 kilometers (69 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, a total of 1,233 Jews (or 23.5 percent of the total population) lived in Teplik. Between the end of June and July 26, 1941, when German forces arrived in the town, about 200 Jews managed to flee to the east. Several dozen Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army or voluntarily joined the military forces to defend the town. When German forces occupied Teplik, there were probably some 1,000 Jews still residing there.[1]

After the town was occupied, a German military administration assumed authority in August 1941. In the fall of 1941, the temporary military authorities gradually handed over authority to a German civil administration. Until the liberation of the area in March 1944, Teplik and the Teplik Rayon belonged to Gebiet Gaissin in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher.[2] The Gebietskommissar in Gaisin was responsible for the Rayons of Gaissin and Dshulinka, as well as Teplik. Once the civil administration was firmly established, the Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated to the local Gendarmerie post in Teplik. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

A short time after the occupation of the town, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the area. The Jews had to wear white armbands with the Star of David on them in order to show in public that they were Jewish. They were also forced to carry out various kinds of physically demanding work. In December 1941, all the Jewish fami-

lies were forced to move to two streets behind the main street, bordered on one side by the local river.[3] This area was called the ghetto, but it remained unfenced as an "open ghetto." In total, about 1,000 people were concentrated in the ghetto, including Jews brought in from some of the neighboring villages, although there remained a separate ghetto in Sobolevka, within the Teplik Rayon.[4] The local Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto.

During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews aged between 13 and 45 who were able to work had to clear snow from the streets of Teplik under the close supervision of the Ukrainian police. The Ukrainian policemen abused their position of power to beat the Jews and steal from them.[5]

At some time in the first few months of 1942, the Germans also established a Jewish forced labor camp (ZAL) in Teplik on the site of the former local club, which held 200 to 300 Romanian Jews from Bukovina, including women and children. Local policemen also guarded this camp, which was under the command of German Polizeimeister Otto Brettin in the summer of 1942.[6]

The food rations in both the ghetto and the labor camp were very poor, and many Jews died of disease and starvation. The local population was forbidden to give them food.[7] Jews from the ghetto and the labor camp were made to work on the Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV construction project, building the road from Vinnitsa to Uman'. Some Jews from the ghetto had to perform agricultural work, while others worked as bakers or tailors or performed various cleaning tasks for the Germans.

In April 1942, approximately 250 Jews between the ages of 13 and 45 who were capable of work were transferred from Teplik to a labor camp in Raigorod, at that time under Romanian occupation.[8] On May 26, 1942, most of the remaining Jews in the ghetto were shot by a detachment of the Security Police, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie, the local Ukrainian police, and Lithuanian auxiliaries. Filipp Biberman recalls being woken at 4:00 A.M. and being brutally driven by men in uniform out of the ghetto to a site near a park about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) out of town. The elderly, the sick, and children were transported on carts. At the killing site, the Jews were forced to undress, and German SS men shot them with machine guns.[9] According to one local witness, the forensic examination of the bodies conducted by the Soviet authorities after liberation revealed that many of the women and children had been buried alive in the mass grave.[10]

Biberman managed to escape on the way to the park and hid behind some bushes. Then he went to the house of some school friends, the Kazachinsky family, who gave him food and clothes but were too scared to hide him. He then hid in the cemetery but was spotted by some local inhabitants the next day and taken to the commandant's office. His mother, sisters, and blind grandfather were among those shot on May 26. From Teplik, he was sent to the forced labor camp in Raigorod and managed to survive the war.[11]

After the Aktion on May 26, 1942, about 40 Jews, mostly carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers, remained in the ghetto. Their families also survived the liquidation Aktion.[12] Most of these people were murdered in 1943. The inmates of the Jewish forced labor camp either were murdered together with those from the ghetto or were transferred to other labor camps.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, the number of Jews murdered in Teplik was 769: 279 men, 330 women, and 160 children. Among these victims were apparently also 530 Jews (175 men, 280 women, and 75 children) who had been deported to Teplik from the Bukovina area. It is not clear whether the Jewish craftsmen murdered in 1943 are included in this figure.[13]

SOURCES Relevant publications on the Jewish community of Teplik and its fate during the Holocaust include Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1302–1303. One testimony regarding the fate of the Jews of Teplik can be found in the collection of published testimonies edited by Boris Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 192–194.

Documents on the murder of the Jews in Teplik can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/2332); DA-VINO; GARF (7021-54-1237); USHMM (Acc. 1995.A.512); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/6169 (II 213 AR-Z 20/63 [Friese and others, DGIV], vol. 18), p. 3227.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512, personal testimony of Filipp Biberman, born 1931. According to Konrad Schweser, the German construction leader with the Organisation Todt in Teplik, the Jews were not concentrated into one quarter of the town until April 1942; "about four to six weeks before the mass shooting" at the end of May 1942, see BA-L, B 162/2332, pp. 33–57, statement of Konrad Schweser, January 18, 1962. However, Schweser himself did not arrive in Teplik until April 1942.
4. See the entry in this volume on Sobolevka.
5. Sophia Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 192–194.
6. BA-L, B 162/6169, pp. 3226–3246. This site will be dealt with in a later volume covering Jewish forced labor camps (ZALs) and other types of camps.
7. Ibid., B 162/2332, pp. 375–392.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1237, p. 101; Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," pp. 192–194.
9. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512, personal testimony of Filipp Biberman.
10. BA-L, B 162/2332, p. 382, statement by the Jewish survivor Srulya Benevica Volosina, September 27, 1967.
11. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512; it is not clear if Biberman is referring to the German commandant or to the Ukrainian commandant or "warden" named in his testimony as Kozar. Biberman returned briefly to Teplik in 1945 and then lived in

the eastern regions of the Soviet Union before migrating to New York City in 1988.

12. Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," pp. 192–194.

13. GARF, 7021-54-1237, pp. 87–88, 102.

TERNOVKA

Pre-1941: Ternovka, village, Dzhulinka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ternowka, Rayon Dshulinka, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ternivka, Bershad' raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ternovka is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,488 Jews living in the Dzhulinka raion, including the 212 Jews in Dzhulinka itself. Most of the remainder—about 1,276 Jews—lived in Ternovka.

Between late June 1941 and July 26, 1941, when the village was captured by German armed forces, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, while a few dozen men were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. From August 4, 1941 onward, the functions of the Ortskommandantur in the village were performed by Armee-Gefangenensammelstelle 15.[1] In late October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. From this date until liberation in March 1944, the village was incorporated into Rayon Dshulinka, in Gebiet Gaissin, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Pösselt.[2] Subordinated to the latter were several Gendarmerie posts, including one in Ternovka. The Ternovka post was in charge of several Ukrainian policemen.

On August 19, 1941, on the instructions of the Ortskommandantur, the men of the 602nd Wachbataillon and the 414th Landesschützenbataillon searched the residences of Jews with the aim of confiscating weapons and "hidden property." No weapons were found, but they took clothing and nine bales of dried wool from the Jews. At about this time, the Ortskommandantur ordered the Jews to wear white armbands with the Star of David.[3] Subsequently the Jews were made to wear yellow stars on the left side of their chests.[4]

In the summer, or more likely the fall of 1941, the German authorities established an open ghetto, or "Jewish residential district," in Ternovka. All the Jews were moved together onto one or two streets in the center of the village. The Jews were permitted to take with them some of their property, such as bed linens, cooking utensils, and furniture, but the rest had to be left behind. The Ukrainians were not allowed into the ghetto, and the Jews were not permitted to leave, except for work assignments, such as agricultural labor on the nearby kolkhoz. The Jews lived in crowded conditions, with several families in each dwelling.[5]

Despite the restrictions, local Ukrainians came to the ghetto and traded food for the Jews' remaining possessions, such as clothing or shoes. There were therefore few cases of starvation in Ternovka. There were no mass killings of Jews before the summer of 1942, but sometimes groups of about 10 Jewish men were taken away for forced labor and were subsequently shot. The Germans also robbed the Jews of any valuables. People were scared to go outside.[6]

In the winter of 1941–1942, able-bodied Jews under the guard of Ukrainian policemen were ordered to clear the snow from the roads and were beaten and humiliated while doing this. In the spring of 1942, a group of young Jews were transported to a labor camp. Several Jewish families ran away into the Romanian zone of occupation.

On May 27, 1942, the first large-scale Aktion was carried out against the Ternovka ghetto. German and Ukrainian police arrested and shot most of the Ternovka Jews in a pit in the forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the village.[7] After the Aktion was completed, the ghetto was reduced in size; it consisted of only a few residences near the market square. In these homes lived the Jewish artisans and their families and also those Jews who had been in hiding and thus escaped the mass shooting on May 27. For example, Raisa Teplitskaia remained hidden for three days without food and water; when she emerged she saw dead bodies lying everywhere. However, she was able to enter the remnant ghetto unmolested. Severe overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and semi-starvation resulted in an outbreak of epidemic typhus. At the start of March 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Only a few artisans were left alive. A small group of Jews survived by going into hiding.[8] In total, in the years 1942–1943, at least 756 Jews of the village of Ternovka were killed.[9]

A few Jews survived from the Ternovka ghetto. They passed as non-Jews, went into hiding with the assistance of local Ukrainians, or fled to the Romanian-occupied zone, which by 1943 had become considerably safer than on the German side of the Bug River, where hardly any Jews remained alive.

SOURCES The Ternovka ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), pp. 407–410; Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 225.

Documents dealing with the destruction of the Jews of Ternovka can be found in the following archives: DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1240); RGVA (1275-3-664); USHMM (RG-31.027); and VHF (# 445).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-664, p. 4, report of the Ortskommandantur in Ternovka, August 22, 1941.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. RGVA, 1275-3-664, pp. 4 and reverse side, report of the Ortskommandantur of Ternovka, August 22, 1941.

4. VHF, # 445, testimony of Roza Nemirovskaia; USHMM, RG-31.027, interview with Raisa Kivovna Teplitskaia.

5. VHF, # 445, Nemirovskaia states that the ghetto was made immediately after the Germans arrived. Testimony of Lidia Stepchuk-Goikhma, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 407, dates it in the fall. USHMM, RG-31.027, Raisa Kivovna Teplitskaia dates it within six months of the occupation (probably sooner).

6. VHF, # 445.

7. Testimony of Grigorii Umanskii, in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944*, p. 225; VHF, # 445.

8. Testimony of Goikhma, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 408–410.

9. I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i opir ukrains'koho evreistva, 1941–1944: Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1999), p. 76. The Jewish victims are listed there by name. The ChGK's figure of 2,400 murdered Jews (see GARF, 7021-54-1240) seems to be far too high unless this includes other Jews brought into Ternovka for labor, perhaps from the Romanian zone of occupation.

TSIBULEV

Pre-1941: Tsibulev, village, Monastyrishche raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zybulew, Rayon and Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Tsybuliv, Monastyryshche raion, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Tsibulev is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, Tsibulev had 434 Jewish residents, 7.3 percent of the village's total population.

German armed forces occupied Tsibulev on July 22, 1941, just one month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By then, some of the local Jews had managed to escape eastward, fleeing ahead of the advancing German army. Other Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for service in the Red Army. About 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, the village was under the command of a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which created a village council headed by an elder. The military administration also established an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents. In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village of Tsibulev was located in the Rayon and Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village council to register and mark the local Jewish population, requiring them to wear armbands with the Star of David. In addition, the Jews were used for forced labor.

The first killing of Jews occurred in late July 1941. At that time, all six members of the rabbi's family were publicly shot.[1] On September 25, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first Aktion in the village in which 78 Jews were killed, according to the Einsatzgruppen report "for insolence towards the Ukrainian population."[2]

No detailed information has been found about the living conditions of the Jews in Tsibulev during the occupation, but it appears that, as in the nearby Rayon center of Monastyrischtsche, the remaining Jews of the village were forced into some form of ghetto in the summer or fall of 1941. In any case, more than 200 Jews remained in the village throughout the winter of 1941–1942.

According to an account prepared for publication by Ilya Ehrenburg: "The winter of 1941–1942 was a severe one. The Germans forced unclothed women and barefoot old men to work." The same report mentions the murder of about 100 children, shot and buried in a pit not far from the village.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942, when all its inmates were herded to Monastyrishche to be shot there together with most of the remaining Jews of the Rayon. On the way there, 105 children and around 50 elderly people were taken out of the column and shot in the forest.[4]

According to the account prepared for *The Complete Black Book*, an eight-month-old baby boy was cast onto the road as the Jews were being transported away in the hope that he might be rescued, but a German smashed the baby's head against the side of a vehicle. Tamara Arkadevna Rozanova hid a Jew in her cellar, but the Germans burned down her house, and Rozanova was herself only spared by chance.[5]

SOURCES Relevant information can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 28; "Cybulev," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 284.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Tsibulev can be found in the following archive: BA-BL (R 58/218).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), Memory of the Holocaust Program, Cherkasy oblast', village of Tsibulev.

2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941.

3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, p. 28.

4. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine.

5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, p. 28.

ULANOV

Pre-1941: Ulanov, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ulanow, Rayon center, Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ulaniv, Khmil'nyk raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ulanov is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) north-northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,188 Jews were living in the village (70.5 percent of the total population). Altogether, in 1939 there were 1,754 Jews living in the Ulanov raion, with most of the others residing in the nearby village of Sal'nitsa.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. At that time, some men of eligible age were conscripted into or enrolled voluntarily in the Red Army. More than 80 percent of the total pre-war Jewish population remained in Ulanov at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the village in July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village's affairs. The military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Lorenz. Initially there were seven men serving under him.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur organized the registration of the Jewish population. The Jews were required to wear armbands on their sleeves and also to perform various forms of heavy manual labor. In August 1941, the German military administration recorded a village population of 1,200, a figure that included some 1,000 Jews.[2]

At the end of October 1941, authority passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Ulanov was incorporated into Gebiet Kalinowka, and Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Kalinowka became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[3] In November or December of 1941, a squad of four Gendarmes arrived in Ulanov from Germany and established a post initially under the command of Josef Rückl. The Gendarmerie also assumed control over the Ukrainian police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst, which consisted of about 30 men.[4]

At some time prior to December 1941, the German authorities in the village ordered the creation of a ghetto. One street was cordoned off in the center of Ulanov and was surrounded by barbed wire. Jewish families lived together in this confined area.[5] Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and were forbidden to buy goods from the local Ukrainians. Starvation quickly broke out in the ghetto as a consequence. In December 1941 and in the spring of 1942, more than 450 Jews from the village of Sal'nitsa were resettled into the ghetto.[6] Probably in mid-May 1942, several hundred able-bodied Jews were taken in two groups to an airfield site near Kalinovka, where a Jewish forced labor camp was established.[7]

The ghetto was liquidated on June 10, 1942.[8] The Gendarmes in Ulanov received notice of the forthcoming Aktion, as they were instructed to prepare the necessary pits in advance. The Gendarmerie and local police, including forces brought in from Kalinovka under the command of the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange, rounded up somewhere between 600 and 1,200 people from the ghetto and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery opposite the Gendarmerie post on the edge of town. Here a small squad of the Security Police and SD, probably from Vinnitsa, carried out the shootings, while the Gendarmerie and local police guarded those waiting to be shot. The Gendarmerie based in Ulanov also carried out at least two subsequent shooting Aktions at the same site against smaller groups of Jews uncovered in and around the town over the ensuing weeks.[9]

Only a few Jews managed to survive the Ulanov ghetto by escaping and either hiding in the surrounding countryside or successfully concealing their Jewish identity.[10]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Ulanov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R4422-1-39; R1683-1-10); GARF (7021-54-1234); RGVA (1275-3-662); VHF (# 29072, 29097, and 51316); and YVA. Microfilm copies of much of this documentation are also available at the USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII) in Winniza an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. BA-L, B 162/7364 (ZStL, 204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 135–138, statement of E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977.
5. Ibid.; Heinisch commented that the ghetto was in existence on his arrival in Ulanov in November or December 1941. Also see DAVINO, R4422-1-39; R1683-1-10.
6. GARF, 7021-54-1234, p. 4.
7. See the entry in this volume for the Kalinovka ghetto.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1234, pp. 1, 5.
9. Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 7. According to the findings of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), during the course of the three Aktions in June 1942, there were 3,285 Jews killed. This number appears to be significantly too high. E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977, stated that the number of Jews in Ulanov at the time could not have exceeded 600; see BA-L, B 162/7364, pp. 135–138.
10. VHF, # 29072, 29097, and 51316, video testimonies of Aleksandra S., Elizaveta G., and David F.

VCHERAISHE

Pre-1941: Vcheraishe, village and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Wtscherajsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Rushin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Vcheraishe, Ruzhyn raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Vcheraishe is located 57 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 494 Jews lived in the village (12.9 percent of the total population). Additionally, 131 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Vcheraishe raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate, but others who tried to leave were forced back by the rapid German advance. At that time, men of military age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 400 Jews remained in Vcheraishe at the start of the German occupation.

The village was occupied by German armed forces in mid-July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Vcheraishe. The German military commandant set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local villagers. Soon after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. The Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

Between August 10 and August 23, 1941, Einsatzkommando 5 "inspected" the village on two separate occasions. During the first Aktion, the German Security Police shot 22 Jews and Communists; during the second one, they shot an undisclosed number of Jews and activists.[1]

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Vcheraishe was initially incorporated into Gebiet Rushin, where Regierungsassessor Ganglhoff was the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Rushin formed part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2] The head of the local police in Vcheraishe from April 1942 until December 1943 was the ethnic German Feldwebel in the Schutzmannschaft, Arthur Reglin. In July 1942, the Gendarmerie post in Vcheraishe had a nominal strength of four Gendarmes and 40 local policemen (Schutzmänner).[3] By 1943 Vcheraishe had been transferred to the neighboring Gebiet Kasatin, where the police forces were commanded by Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Behrens.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, all the Jews of Vcheraishe were forcibly resettled into an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) on one street. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from outlying villages. Several families were forced to share a single house. People had to sleep on wooden bunks or on the floor. The local physicians were forbidden to provide medical care to the Jews, and the local population was forbidden to sell them food. Despite some illegal bartering for food, people suffered from hunger in the ghetto, and in the overcrowded conditions diseases spread rapidly. The Jews were routinely beaten by the local police as they were escorted daily out of the ghetto to various forms of manual labor.[4]

On May 1, 1942, a large Aktion took place in which about 200 Jews were brutally dragged out of their houses in the ghetto and were assembled by the German Gendarmerie and the local police. Once the skilled workers had been selected, these forces then escorted the bulk of the Jews to the ditches that had been prepared in the forest about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Vcheraishe near the village of Budenovka. Some Jews were shot on the way. Four Gestapo men (members of the Security Police and SD from Berdichev) then shot the Jews in a mass grave.[5] Warned by the head of the village, Vladyk, some Jews managed to escape or hide during the Aktion, but most returned to the run-down houses of the ghetto a few days later, as they were unable to find refuge among the surrounding population.

A second Aktion was carried out about six weeks later when about 40 Jews were shot. After these two Aktions, around 40 artisans remained behind in the village. The Gendarmerie and local police continued to search for any escaped Jews in the surrounding countryside for many months afterwards. On June 9, 1943, Meister der Gendarmerie Strumpf in Vcheraishe reported that he had "resettled" (shot) 3 Jews who had been found wandering around in Rayon Wtscherajsche.[6]

For over a year, the remaining Jews continued to perform forced labor, registering every day with the police. At the end of July 1943, 6 of the Jews escaped.[7] When this was discovered at the daily roll call, the Germans decided to kill most of the few Jews left. On July 31, 1943, the Gendarmerie post in Vcheraishe reported that the SD in Berdichev had "resettled" 24 Jews in the village.[8] According to witness evidence, the Jews were shot by two Gestapo men at the cemetery.[9] After this Aktion, only about 7 Jews remained. To prevent an escape, they were placed in cells and employed only for special work assignments. On one occasion Soviet partisans attempted to liberate them, but 4 of the 7 detainees were shot in the ensuing exchange of gunfire.[10]

Altogether about 300 Jews were killed in the village of Vcheraishe between July 1941 and August 1943, including more than 100 children.[11]

SOURCES There is a brief testimony by Sofia Rozenberg, a survivor of the open ghetto in Vcheraishe, published in Boris Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), pp. 79–81.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Vcheraishe Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R58/216); BA-L (ZStLII 204 AR-Z 128/67); DAZO (e.g., 1182-1-6); GARF (7021-60-289); USHMM (RG-31); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 58, August 20, 1941; and EM no. 60, August 22, 1941; Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 160, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 3, Berichtszeit 15.8.–31.8.1941, reported that

22 functionaries, plunderers, and saboteurs were executed in Vcheraishe.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Gend. Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 15/42, July 11, 1942. For lists of the Wtscherajsche Schutzmänner, see also there 1182-1-15, p. 3, list dated June 1, 1942; and 1182-1-24.

4. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

5. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 Ganglhoff (Rushin), vol. 1, pp. 139–140, confrontation between witness A.F. Smoljanskij and accused Arthur Reglin, December 30, 1951.

6. DAZO, 1182-1-6, Gend. Posten Wtscherajsche an SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kasatin, June 9, 1943.

7. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

8. DAZO, 1182-1-6, Gend. Posten Wtscherajsche, July 31, 1943.

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 Ganglhoff (Rushin), vol. 1, pp. 138–140.

10. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

11. GARF, 7021-60-289, p. 3.

VINNITSA

Pre-1941: Vinnitsa, city, raion, and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Winniza, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Vinnytsia, capital, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Vinnitsa is located 198 kilometers (123 miles) southwest of Kiev. In 1939, there were 33,150 Jews living in the city (35.6 percent of the total population).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, about 18,000 Jews remained in the city.

German armed forces occupied the city on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration ran Vinnitsa. On July 22, 1941, the Feldkommandant appointed a local administration and an auxiliary police unit recruited from among local inhabitants. In October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Vinnitsa had its own city administration (Winniza-Stadt) within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Fritz Margenfeld was named the city commissioner (Stadtkommissar).[1] A variety of police units, including Einsatzkommando 6 and parts of Einsatzkommando 5, along with local auxiliaries, provided the forces to back up German edicts.

In the summer of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Vinnitsa. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. Jews were required to wear distinctive armbands bearing the image of the Star of David. They were forced into different forms of heavy labor for the German military forces and occupation administration. The Jews were not allowed to leave their place of residence without permission, had to surrender all items of value, and were prohibited from buying products at the market. The local Ukrainian residents of Vinnitsa were not permitted to have any contact with the Jewish population.

The main functions of the Judenrat were to assign Jews to different labor tasks, to maintain order within the community, and to look after the health and welfare of the Jewish population. But in the first days of its existence as an organization, the Security Police and SD liquidated the first Judenrat, and another one was established in its place. The military commandant's office also collected a massive fine or "tribute" from the Jews of the city.[2]

The German police conducted a series of mass executions in the summer and fall of 1941, first of Jewish Intelligentsia and then of ordinary Jewish citizens. In a large Aktion on September 19, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion shot more than 10,000 Jews. Then on April 15, 1942, about 4,800 Jews were shot in the Pianichanskii Forest. After this Aktion, approximately 1,000 Jews, all artisans, remained alive.

From among the Jewish artisans, the mechanics and technicians were immediately sent to Zhitomir,[3] and those left



Waffen-SS and Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) members look on as an Einsatzgruppe member prepares to shoot a Ukrainian Jew kneeling on the edge of a corpse-filled ditch near Vinnitsa, n.d.
USHMM WS #64407, LC

behind were assigned to different groups for specialized labor tasks. About 150 Jews were resettled into a labor camp run by the Organisation Todt (OT), which was located in a former military barracks at the end of Krasnoarmeiskaia Street.[4] Some 26 people who worked as cabinetmakers, as coopers, and as other specialists formed a work team at the carpentry factory. They lived in makeshift barracks, consisting of a former stable on the grounds of the factory.[5]

The majority of the Jewish artisans lived in the "ghetto," which was located in a cordoned-off area on the former Kommunisticheskaia Street.[6] On May 15, 1942, 801 Jewish specialist workers were recorded in Vinnitsa.[7] Among the crafts represented, there were tailors, dyers, and leather workers. There was also overcrowding in the ghetto, with at least 12 people per room. According to one witness, conditions were slightly better in the ghetto than in the other labor camps in Vinnitsa, as the beatings were less frequent and there was more food in the ghetto.[8] The majority of the artisans were shot during the course of 1942 and 1943. For example, in March 1943 a number of elderly people were taken from the ghetto and shot; and the last remaining Jewish leather workers were "removed" in September 1943.[9] A small group of Jews were able to escape and survived with the help of local Ukrainian residents in Vinnitsa.

At least 17 Jews in the city were members of the underground organization, including six Communists, three members of the Komsomol youth organization, and eight unaffiliated (nonparty). At least nine of these Jewish resistance fighters were killed in combat against the German occupying forces.[10] A small number of Jews were able to flee into the forests and join the partisan resistance.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Vinnitsa: *Vinnychchyna v period Velykoi Vitchyznianoi viiny 1941–1945 rr.: Khronika podii* (Kiev, 1965); *Vinnychchyna v roky Velykoi Vitchyzianoi viiny 1941–1945: Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Odessa, 1971); Y. Maliar and F. Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast': Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie: Svidetel'stva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994); A. Kruglov, *Unichtozhenie evreiskogo naseleniia v Vinnitskoi oblasti v 1941–1944 gg.* (Mogilev-Podol'skii, 1997); Y.M. Finkel'shtein, *Kniga muzhestva i skorby* (*Evrei Vinnitsy v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny*), vol. 1 (Vinnitsa, 1999); and A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreiskoi obshchiny Vinnitsy v 1941–1942 gg. v svete nemetskikh dokumentov," *Istoki: Vestnik Narodnogo Universiteta Evreiskoi Kul'tury v Vostochnoi Ukraine*, no. 7 (2000). Information on the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist unit "Bukovyns'kyi Kurin'" can be found in V. Veryga, "Bukovyns'kyi Kurin' 1941," in *Na zov Kyiva: Ukrains'kyi natsionalizm u II svitovii viini: Zbirnyk statei, spohadiv i dokumentiv* (Kiev, 1993).

Documents and testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Vinnitsa can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 136/67); BA-MA (RW 30/201); DAVINO (R1312-1-13); GARF (7021-54-1236); RGVA (e.g., 1323-2-230 and 1275-3-662); TsDAVO (R3637-4-116); USHMM (RG-50.226); and YVA (M-33).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel



Undated portrait of rescuer Boris Bochkov (top right) and family. Bochkov hid two Jewish escapees from the Vinnitsa ghetto, Yuri Rakhman and his father, for which he was honored as Righteous Among the Nations in 1995 by Yad Vashem.
USHMM WS #57644, COURTESY OF JFR

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März, 1942, Berlin, March 13, 1942. After the war, Fritz Margenfeld was under investigation by the West German authorities for some time. The state prosecutor in Stuttgart discontinued the investigation on July 28, 1971.
2. RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 17–18, Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Winniza, report, August 14, 1941.
3. Testimony of Boris Pritsker, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 105.
4. Testimony of Iurii Rakhman, in ibid., p. 61.
5. Testimony of Pritsker, in ibid., p. 105.
6. Testimony of Rakhman, in ibid., p. 63.
7. DAVINO, R1312-1-13, p. 24.
8. Testimony of Rakhman, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 63; USHMM, RG-50.226.0027, interview with Iurii Rakhman.
9. USHMM, RG-50.226.0027, interview with Iurii Rakhman; BA-MA, RW30/201, Military Economic Administration Vinnitsa, report for July to September, September 30, 1943.
10. Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, pp. 174–175.

VORONOVITSA

Pre-1941: Voronovitsa, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronowiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Nemirow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Voronovytsa, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Voronovitsa is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 860 Jews lived in the

village. An additional 70 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Voronovitsa raion.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Voronovitsa on July 21, 1941. The majority of the Jewish population did not evacuate and remained in town. The speedy advance of the German troops caught them off guard, and even many of those who attempted to leave were forced to turn back and return home on foot. From July until October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. It established a local administration and formed an auxiliary police unit from among the local residents. A man named Lishchuk was initially appointed head of the Ukrainian police at the end of July 1941. In August 1941, there were 10 policemen under his command. At this time there were 2,000 residents of the village, including 1,000 Jews.[1]

On October 20, 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Voronovitsa was incorporated into Gebiet Nemirow. Kameradschaftsführer Sittig was appointed as Gebietskommissar.[2] In 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Karl Heinze served as the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Nemirov.[3] He had authority over the Gendarmerie post in Voronovitsa, commanded by a man named Lorenz. In the summer of 1942, the nominal strength of the Gendarmerie post was four Gendarmes and 40 local policemen (Schutzmänner).[4]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was tasked with collecting a large "contribution" from the Jews. Jews were ordered to wear an armband bearing the Star of David and later a yellow circle on the front and back of their clothing. They were forced into daily hard labor: cleaning, cutting wood, and loading railway cars. The local police ensured that the Jews complied with German regulations and orders.

A ghetto was set up in August 1941 in the southwestern part of the village. It was not fenced off, but whenever a Jew ventured outside the two streets where the Jews were forced to reside, he or she would be severely beaten and sometimes killed. The policemen Kostiuk, Kondratiuk, Mudrik, and Kravchuk were especially zealous in abusing and torturing the Jews. A new head of the police, Panas Boiko, was appointed once the ghetto was established. Alongside these brutes, there were decent people among the local population, and some of them risked their lives to smuggle food to the inmates of the ghetto.[5]

On November 11, 1941, the Jews were herded into the building of the former Catholic church, where the Germans singled out about 30 Jewish craftsmen. The following morning, the remaining Jews were loaded onto trucks and taken to large silage pits behind the sugar refinery in Stepanovka, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) to the east of the village. The Jews were ordered to undress and were shot by a squad of five or so SD men using machine pistols. Among the victims were women, children, and the elderly. The mass shooting lasted the entire day. The policemen were drinking alcohol at the execution site during the Aktion. According to investigative records, somewhere between 600 and 900 Jews were shot in this first Aktion.[6]

A number of Jews managed to escape from the Aktion into the forests and fields, but hunger and cold soon forced the fugitives to return to the ghetto, where they discovered that their houses had been plundered. The survivors of the massacre were placed in the few remaining houses. In the second Aktion, which took place on December 3, 1941, 380 Jews were murdered.[7] Security Police officers from Einsatzkommando 5, which was based in Vinnitsa at this time, organized the two Aktions with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. The commander of the Security Police detachment in Vinnitsa was Theodor Salmanzig.

On May 27, 1942, the ghetto in the village was liquidated. On that day, 270 Jews were shot in a ditch near the Stepanovka sugar refinery.[8] This mass shooting was carried out by a detachment from the Security Police and SD post in Vinnitsa (consisting mainly of former members of Einsatzkommando 5), assisted by the Ukrainian police.

Some Jews who had escaped from the massacres in Generalkommissariat Shitomir in 1941 and the first half of 1942 passed through the Voronovitsa area in an effort to cross the Bug River and make it to the Romanian-occupied zone to the south (Transnistria), where conditions for Jews were comparatively better.[9]

In August 1942, a labor camp was created in the village. Around 500 Jews were taken there as prisoners, many of whom were from the ghetto in Mogilev-Podolskii, at that time under Romanian administration.[10] The prisoners were utilized for building roads. On January 20, 1943, 280 Jews deemed unfit for labor were shot near the Machine-Tractor Station (MTS) in Stepanovka. On May 24, 1943, the prison camp was liquidated, and all the remaining prisoners (270 people) were killed.[11]

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Voronovitsa can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL II 204a AR-Z 141/67); GARF (7021-54-1260); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM; VHF (# 30099); and YVA (M-33).

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trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAZO, 1151-1-9, pp. 37–39, KdG Shitomir, Kommandobefehl Nr. 30/42, September 3, 1942.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 23–30; DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 15/42, July 11, 1942.

5. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz, a survivor from Voronovitsa, received by Vadim Altskan at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Boiko is listed in German Gendarmerie documents as an NCO in the Schutzmannschaft; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14. The existence of a ghetto is also mentioned by the *Report of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project*, prepared in 1996, see www.iajgs.org.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6, gives the figure of 630. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz, states that some 1,500 Jews were shot during the Aktion on November 12, 1941 (this figure is probably too high). BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 14–16, gives the figure of some 900 victims.

7. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 14–16. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz—this source again gives a much higher number of victims of this Aktion.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6.

9. VHF, # 30099, testimony of Elina Zinaida.

10. Testimony of D. Mann, in B. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), p. 32.

11. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 7.

ZHITOMIR

Pre-1941: Zhitomir, city, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Shitomir, Rayon and Gebiet center, capital of Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Zhytomyr, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Zhitomir is located 136 kilometers (85 miles) west-southwest of Kiev. According to the 1939 population census, 29,053 Jews lived in the city of Zhitomir (30.6 percent of the total population).



Jews rounded up by the Wehrmacht to view the hanging of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper on the Zhitomir market square, August 7, 1941.
USHMM WS #17549, COURTESY OF DÖW

On July 9, 1941, German forces of the 1st Panzer Division occupied the city, just 17 days after the German invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, nearly 20,000 Jews evacuated the city. Eligible men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. No more than 7,000 Jews remained in Zhitomir at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military administration ran the affairs of the city. The Wehrmacht established a city authority in Zhitomir and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Zhitomir became the administrative center of Gebiet Shitomir. Regierungspräsident Kurt Klemm became the Gebietskommissar. Gustav Magass was appointed as Stadtkommissar. SS-Oberführer Otto Hellwig served from November 1941 to May 1943 as the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In October 1942, Gauleiter Ernst Ludwig Leyser was appointed as deputy to the Gebietskommissar. Initially the head of the Schutzpolizei was Hauptmann Friedemann from the police administration in Dresden; he was succeeded by Hauptmann Netzbandt. They each served under Gotthilf Oemler, the Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO) in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.[1]

From July to September 1941, Sonderkommando (Sk) 4a, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, was the first of the various punitive German units to be deployed in the city of Zhitomir. Starting in October 1941, Einsatzkommando (Ek) 5 was deployed in the city. It was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Meyer. In January 1942, part of Ek 5 was reorganized into the office of the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, which was headed until the end of 1942 by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Franz Razesberger.[2]

The first murders of Jews in Zhitomir were carried out by Sk 4a upon its arrival in the city. As of July 26, 1941, the unit had killed 363 persons; between July 27 and August 9, 1941, it killed 1,015 people; between August 10 and August 23, 1941, it killed 266 people. Of these 1,644 people who were murdered, the majority were Jews.[3]

At the end of July, Sk 4a shot 148 Jews "for robberies and engaging in communist activity." Following that Aktion, Ek 5 killed another 74 Jews in the city.[4] The best-documented anti-Jewish Aktion during this period was carried out on August 7, 1941, when 2 Jews were hanged and 402 Jews were shot in public.[5]

Further mass executions of Jews were carried out at the end of July 1941 by the 3rd Company of the 45th Police Reserve Battalion, commanded by Oberleutnant Berensen.[6] Altogether, in the months of July and August 1941, around 2,000 Jews were murdered in the city of Zhitomir. Many of the mass shootings took place in a wooded area about 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) west of the city.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zhitomir. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Jews were ordered to wear

distinctive armbands bearing the Star of David. Jews were also subjected to forced labor.

In August 1941, a ghetto or Jewish residential quarter was created in Zhitomir. A number of streets—Chudnovskaia, Ostrovskaia, and Katedral'naia—were cordoned off for that purpose, enclosing an area of roughly 500 by 400 meters (547 by 437 yards). Inside the ghetto area was the largest synagogue and also a former prison building, both of which were used to house Jews, together with a number of residences. The ghetto was overcrowded, with about 5 people sharing each room. Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and they were forced to perform the dirtiest and hardest work.[7] According to one witness, the ghetto was fenced with barbed wire, but it was still possible for the inhabitants to barter items for food. The Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto, but Jews were able to leave its area for one or two hours per day, and some non-Jews also approached the fence.[8] A local census taken on September 5, 1941, registered 4,820 Jews in the ghetto.[9]

On September 19, 1941, Sk 4a carried out a large-scale Aktion against the prisoners in the ghetto. The following details are taken from Einsatzgruppen report no. 106, dated October 7, 1941:

> After the resettlement of the Jews into the designated area by the Feldkommandantur, at the behest of Sonderkommando 4a, the situation in the markets and other public places appeared to calm down considerably. At the same time, stubborn rumors began to die out and it appeared that the concentration of the Jews had largely denied communist propaganda its basis of support. Within a few days, however, it seemed that the mere concentration of the Jews without the establishment of a formal ghetto was not sufficient and in a short time the previous problems emerged again. Various offices reported complaints about the insolent behavior of Jews in their places of work. It was ascertained that the Jewish living quarter was the source for the dissemination of [communist] propaganda among the Ukrainians, which asserted that the Red Army would soon return to recover its lost territory. The local police was shot at from concealed positions both at night and in broad daylight. Furthermore, it was established that Jews were selling their belongings for cash and trying to leave the city in order to settle in Western Ukraine—that is—on territory that was already under a civil administration. All these developments were confirmed, but the Jews concerned were only rarely captured, since they had sufficient possibilities to escape arrest.
>
> Therefore, on September 18, 1941, a meeting was convened with the Feldkommandantur on this issue, which concluded that the Jews of Zhitomir should be radically and completely liquidated, since the previous warnings and special measures had not produced a noticeable relief.
>
> On the evening of September 18, 1941, the Jewish quarter [*Judenviertel*] was encircled by 60 Ukrainian policemen. At 4:00 A.M. on September 19, 1941, it was cleared. The transport operation was carried out using 12 trucks, which had been made available by the Feldkommandantur and also the city administration of Zhitomir. Once the transport was completed, and the necessary preparations [digging the grave] had been completed with the assistance of 150 prisoners, 3,145 Jews were registered and executed.[10]

Charna Glibovskaya, who managed to escape from the ghetto at this time by telling one of the guards she was a Ukrainian from a children's home who had only come to look at the ghetto, says that the Germans duped the Jews before the Aktion by announcing that they would be resettled to the west for a better life. She understood, however, that the Germans wanted to kill the Jews and made good her escape.[11]

In October 1941, Ek 5 and the Ukrainian police shot the majority of those who had remained alive in the ghetto after the Aktion on September 19. On October 5, 1941, a local newspaper reported that 340 Jews were still living in the city of Zhitomir.[12] These people were doctors, craftsmen, and skilled laborers, resettled into a special labor prison camp.[13] In April 1942, a few hundred artisans and skilled laborers from Vinnitsa were added to the population of the camp.[14] At least a part of the workforce was responsible for the building of Himmler's field command post (Feldkommandostelle Hegewald), which was located a few kilometers south of the city. In the second half of 1942, the majority of the prisoners in the labor camp were shot. On August 19, 1942, 237 Jewish laborers were executed.[15] At the end of October and November 1942, there were two separate mass shootings: during the first one, approximately 60 people were killed, and during the second, around 300 Jews. These shootings were carried out by an SS-Feldgendarmerie company under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Karl Gillner, which was stationed in Zhitomir from May to November 1942.[16] In 1943, all the remaining Jewish artisans—only a small group by this time—were murdered.

From September 15, 1941, to November 26, 1943, a number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were incarcerated in what was designated as POW prison camp no. 358 (*Kriegsgefangenen-Stammlager* 358), located in Boguniia, on the western outskirts of the city of Zhitomir. The prison population included Jews and Communists or those suspected of being Jews and Communists. SD forces separated them from the rest of the POWs and regularly took them out to be shot in the nearby woods. Friedrich Buck, former chauffeur in the prison, testified that during the first few months of the prison's existence, he and five or six other chauffeurs transported 1,200 to 1,400 Jewish POWs to the site, where they were shot.[17]

Of the 7,000 or so Jews trapped in Zhitomir by the German occupation in July 1941, only around 20 people are known to have survived to be liberated by the Red Army in December 1943.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), pp. 73–74, 79–83, which deals especially with anti-Jewish violence in Zhitomir during the first months of the occupation, including photographs of the public hanging of two Jews; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univesity Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694 (hereafter cited as *JuNS-V*); Y. Maliar (Israel) and F. Vinokurova, eds., *Vinnitskaia oblast': Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie. Svidetelstva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994); and Bernd Boll and Hans Safrian, "Auf dem Weg nach Stalingrad: Die 6. Armee 1941/42," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), pp. 260–296, here pp. 270–272.

Documents on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Zhitomir can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-18); BA-L (e.g., II 204 AR-Z 8/80); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-294); RGVA (1323-2-121); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.226*0009); TsDAHOU (57-4-225); VHF (e.g., # 31379); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March, 13, 1942. See also the memorandum (Schnellbrief) of the Security Police chief of October 25, 1941, in RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34; and the Abschlussbericht d. Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I).

2. Abschlussbericht betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I).

3. Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 30, 37, 38, 47, 58, 86 (BA-BL, R 58/214-217). See also the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Ukrains'ke slovo* (Zhitomir), August 3, 1941. It included an announcement that the shooting of Jews in the city was a reprisal for alleged Jewish arson attacks. GARF, 7021-60-294, p. 116.

4. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 58 (BA-BL, R 58/216). Details about the operations can be found in Schwurgericht bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, Urteil vom November 29, 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Kuno Callsen u.a., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694.

5. See Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators & Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), pp. 107–117.

6. On these murders, see the report of January 3, 1942, by Major Rösler, commander of the 528th Infantry Brigade, in *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 108–112.

7. VHF, # 31379, testimony of Michail Blioumenfeld; GARF, 7021-60-164; 7021-60-294, p. 118; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225. A German translation of the Soviet protocol dated February 5–16, 1944, can be found in BA-L, B 162/5681, pp. 129–137.

8. VHF, # 31379.

9. GARF, 7021-60-294, pp. 83, 118. See also report of Feldkommandantur 197, September 20, 1941, which reads: "In almost all the territories of the Feldkommandantur there are no Jews left. Only in Zhitomir, there still remained approximately 5,000 Jews on September 18, assembled in a ghetto." NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 34, fr. 46.

10. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 106, October 7, 1941 (BA-BL, R 58/218). On the details of this operation, see Schwurgericht bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, Urteil vom November 29, 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Kuno Callsen u.a., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694.

11. USHMM, RG-50.226*0009, interview with Charna Glibovskaya.

12. Abschlussbericht d. Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I, p. 73).

13. BA-L, 204 AR-Z 1301/61, p. 4, statement of Karl Kietzmann, September 9, 1960, as cited by Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 234.

14. Testimony of the witness Boris Pritsker, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 105.

15. *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukraine* (Dnepropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma"; Zaporozh'e: Prem'er, 2004), p. 117.

16. Abschlussbericht betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I, pp. 75–76).

17. Ibid., p. 83.

ZHORNISHCHE

Pre-1941: Zhornishche, village, Il'intsy raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Shornischtsche, Rayon and Gebiet Illinzi, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Zhornyshche, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Zhornishche is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 375 Jews resided in all the villages of the Il'intsy raion, but most lived in Zhornishche.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 16, 1941. The German occupation forces appointed a village headman (Gordienko), a chairman of the village council (Kozovenko), and two Ukrainian policemen. The village headman was sentenced to 15 years in a corrective labor camp after the war, and the chairman of the village council was killed by partisans in February 1943.

In August 1941, the German Security Police organized the first Aktion against the Jews in the village. They arrested and shot 13 Jewish men, including one teenage refugee from Vinnitsa.[1]

In September 1941, a ghetto was created in the center of the village, to which all Jews were relocated—both local residents and refugees from Vinnitsa. The ghetto was guarded by the local policemen, the village headman, and the chairman

of the village council to ensure that nobody left without permission. Jews had to wear armbands with a blue Star of David on a white background. A certain number of Jews were assigned to various work tasks, mainly in agriculture, each day.[2]

In October 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a civil administration. Zhornishche was located in Gebiet Illinzi, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar in Il'intsy was Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra. The Gendarmerie post in Il'intsy was commanded by Meister Andreas Wagner. The German Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the Ukrainian local police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

On May 27, 1942, a team of Security Police assisted by the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft surrounded the Zhornishche ghetto at night. These forces rounded up all the Jews living there (some 200 to 300) and escorted them to Il'intsy. Here they were shot, together with Jews from the Il'intsy ghetto, in pits just outside the town.[3]

Some Jews evaded the roundup by hiding, including Boris Yavorsky and two of his siblings, who hid in an attic. The three children (aged 8, 13, and 15) survived with the help of non-Jewish friends, the Vershigora family. They received shelter and food in return for work and were not betrayed to the authorities. Subsequently they moved to the Romanian-occupied area, where they became inmates of the ghetto in Pechera. Only about 20 Jewish residents of Zhornishche are known to have survived.[4]

SOURCES The testimony of Boris Yavorsky concerning the fate of the Jews of Zhornishche has been published in the volume edited by Boris Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 385–387. The ghetto in Zhornishche is also mentioned in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 116. A brief article on the Jewish community in Zhornishche can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:453.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, p. 385 (testimony of Boris Yavorsky).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 386.
4. Ibid., pp. 386–387; GARF, 7021-54-1243, pp. 45, 99.

KIEV REGION



A member of Sonderkommando 4a orders Jews to undress at the killing site at Lubny in Generalkommissariat Kiew, October 16, 1941. Piles of clothing can be seen in the background; from the Johannes Hähle photographic collection.
USHMM WS #83022, COURTESY OF A-HIS

KIEV REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT KIEW)

Pre-1941: Kiev and Poltava oblasts, Ukrainian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1943: initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then from September 1941 (west bank of the Dnieper River) or from September 1942 (east bank of Dnieper) Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1943: Kiev and Poltava oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1954: Kiev and Poltava, and part of Cherkassy oblasts; 1991: Ukraine

Generalkommissariat Kiew (GkK) was a German administrative unit carved out of the pre-war Soviet Kiev and Poltava oblasts. In contrast to western Ukraine, especially Distrikt Galizien, where a number of ghettos existed until the summer of 1943, in the eastern and central regions of Ukraine almost all ghettos were destroyed in the fall of 1941 or the spring and summer of 1942. Judging from available sources, such as Soviet and German wartime situation reports, war crimes trial records, and survivor testimonies, it appears that the longevity of the ghettos in GkK depended on the will and whim of the local German military and civil administrations. In accordance with Nazi guidelines, German officials aimed at the total annihilation of Soviet Jews as the most dangerous racial and political enemy of the Third Reich. However, they retained a substantial degree of autonomy in administering the ghettos, depending on the specific needs of the army and the civil administration. In localities with large Jewish populations, the Germans created some "work ghettos," whose inmates were temporarily deployed to perform a variety of agricultural and construction tasks. Other Jewish ghettos became merely "death traps," serving as collection points until the killing units arrived in the locality or the local administration had the manpower necessary to complete the mass murders.

Before the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939, Kiev oblast' contained the largest Jewish community of the Ukrainian SSR—297,409 people including 224,236 in the city of Kiev. In Poltava oblast', the majority of Jews—32,740 out of 46,928—also lived in the largest urban centers of Poltava and Kremenchug. Since Soviet contingency plans prioritized the evacuation to the east of industries, specialists, and state and party functionaries, large numbers of Jews who belonged to these categories and their families were evacuated in the summer and early fall of 1941. From Kiev alone, about two thirds of the Jewish population—approximately 140,000 people (of the total 335,000 evacuees)—left in July to September of 1941. Similarly, between 50 and 70 percent of the Jews in Poltava oblast' were also evacuated.[1]

In late September 1941 in the area west of the Dnieper River, the German military was replaced by the civil administration. Kiev oblast' on the west bank was named the Generalkommissariat Kiew and became a part of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU). The east bank of Kiev oblast' and the entire Poltava oblast' remained under the jurisdiction of the Rear Area Army Group South until September 1942, when it was also transferred to the RKU. The Generalkommissar in Kiev supervised the district chiefs, or Gebietskommissars. Military commandants performed similar functions in the east bank area. On both sides of the Dnieper, low-level administrative posts were filled mainly with reliable Ukrainians, Russians, and some ethnic Germans.

The blueprint for ghettoization in the Soviet Union was the "Brown Folder," which defined ghettos as the means to separate Jews from the rest of the population and exclude them from social, cultural, and economic life. In his May 1941 provisional guidelines, Alfred Rosenberg, who would head the Ministry of the Occupied Territories, proposed that Jews in the occupied territories were to be removed from all spheres of public life, concentrated in ghettos, and forced to work on construction and in agriculture. All Jewish property was to be registered and confiscated. After the war broke out, several additional decrees stipulated the deployment of Jewish men and women aged 14 to 60 into labor details and the supervision of the ghettos by the Jewish Councils and the Jewish Police.[2] The RKU government issued similar instructions to create "Jewish residential districts" in localities with over 200 Jews. The inmates of the ghettos were to be prohibited from leaving the premises without a special authorization. Although on paper Jewish laborers were to be paid for their services, special taxes were levied on Jews so that most payments came back to the RKU treasury.[3]

The German military matched the initiative of its civil counterparts. In mid-July 1941, the commander of Rear Area Army Group South Karl von Roques ordered the creation of Jewish ghettos and the formation of labor details deployed for clearing rubble and repairing streets; Jewish communities were to pay for transportation and equipment. Jewish religious services were prohibited and religious artifacts confiscated. Further directives of the German High Command specified the racial definition of a "Jew" according to Nazi regulations, authorized the registration and labeling of the Jews, and ordered the formation of Jewish Councils.[4]

The ghettoization process began with the registration and labeling of Jews by the Ukrainian town and village councils. The councils also assisted the military in selecting ghetto sites, often in large vacant structures, such as stables, abandoned factories, schools, or military barracks. The size of the ghettos varied according to the Jewish population. Thus, in a large pre-war Jewish enclave in Belaia Tserkov', up to 4,000 Jews from the town and vicinity were ghettoized in the former military barracks and a brick factory. In Zvenigorodka, the ghetto was confined to several houses, where at least 2,000 Jews from the district and Jewish refugees from western Ukraine and

Belorussia shared a very limited space. In the east bank area, one of the largest ghettos was in Kremenchug, where about 3,000 Jews were confined to a military barracks. In contrast to many ghettos in GkK, the military commandant in Kremenchug ordered the ghetto fenced, to prevent "Jewish sabotage." In Piriatin, the ghetto grew from several hundred to 1,500 Jews by the spring of 1942, while in Kobeliaki, around 100 older Jews were confined to a ghetto on the town's outskirts. Since the Kobeliaki military commandant expected that the ghetto would soon be liquidated, food rations for the inmates were drastically reduced.[5]

That the Germans expected the ghettos to exist only for a short time is attested to by their makeshift character—most were unfenced, and in a number of places, like Lokhvitsa, most Jews were allowed to live in their pre-war houses and apartments. Some small Jewish communities of several dozen individuals were not ghettoized. As long as the German Army needed Jewish skills, a number of blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers were allowed to operate outside the confined areas. In total, during the second half of 1941, about 25,000 Jews were confined within about 26 ghettos in GkK and the area then still under military control; of these ghettos, 7 had already been liquidated by the end of the year.

Life in the ghettos was strictly regulated by numerous restrictions and prohibitions. Entering and leaving the premises was forbidden without a special permit. The Ukrainian police set up checkpoints, and those who avoided ghettoization or were apprehended outside the ghetto were shot as a deterrent for others. Maintaining contact with non-Jews was also prohibited, although in Zvenigorodka ghetto inmates were occasionally allowed to go to the local market to buy food. The Germans appointed Jewish elders, selected from the Jewish intelligentsia or religious Jews. For example, in Uman one of the councilmen was Dr. Rabinovich (later hanged by the Germans), while in Belaia Tserkov' some members were of more modest social origin. The elders were to oversee the collection of valuables, money, and furniture from ghetto inmates, and in the countryside, of cattle and poultry. In several large ghettos the administration ordered the formation of a unit of Jewish Police to enforce order among the inmates. Survivors from Uman recall the policewoman Ida Teplitskaia-Shkodnik, who in an attempt to curry favor with the Germans was especially brutal to her fellow Jews.[6]

Day in the ghetto began with the formation of labor details. Under the supervision of the Jewish Councils, all inmates with the exception of small children were dispatched for various forced labor tasks. In the summer and early fall of 1941, Jews in Piatigory, Boguslav, and Skvira collected the harvest and were initially remunerated with grain. In Chernobyl', the ghetto residents had to collect scrap metal; in Ol'shana, they cleaned fuel containers and repaired roads; in Cherkassy and Korsun' Shevchenkovskii, they cleaned the streets, and in Tarashcha and Boguslav, they repaired roads. Some Jewish women cleaned German officers' quarters and worked as maids in German hospitals. In winter, the Jews in the ghettos were deployed to clear snow from roads. In some localities, Jewish laborers received rations of flour or millet or between 200 and 400 grams (7 and 14 ounces) of bread a day; nonworking family members received only 200 grams. Because of German food rationing and corruption among Ukrainian councilmen, by late September or early October 1941, most ghettos faced starvation.[7]

The threat of death was an ever-present psychological burden as the Germans used reprisals for any alleged "transgressions" such as unfulfilled work quotas or violation of the curfew. For example, in Uman, when fire broke out in a German office, several Jews were publicly hanged. The conditions became especially precarious as the first cold set in. Since the ghettos had no heat or electricity, and water had to be brought in from neighboring wells, they were soon hit by a wave of epidemics. Fearing the spread of disease, in some ghettos, such as Ol'shana and Kremenchug, the Germans allowed Jewish medical personnel to attend the inmates. In Zvenigorodka, Dr. Starosel'skaia performed complicated surgery without necessary medication or equipment. Jewish dentists also treated Jews and German officials.[8]

Robbery, economic exploitation, and deliberate starvation of Jews served as the tools for the ethnic "remapping" of Ukraine. In the fall of 1941, the killing units returned to the localities they had "combed" in the summer. On September 21, local rabble and German soldiers carried out a vicious pogrom in Uman, sparked by antisemitic agitation in the town newspaper *Uman'skyi holos*, which caused Einsatzkommando (Ek) 5 to complain that it had disrupted their "planning" for the orderly mass execution of the Jews. Once order was restored, on September 22 and 23, Ek 5 and the Order Police murdered about 1,400 Uman Jews. A group of young Jewish women was spared and deployed to help build roads using grave stones from the Jewish cemetery.[9]

The attitudes of the Ukrainian population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. All survivors and eyewitnesses stress the deadly role of the Ukrainian police, which in many localities supervised the ghettos and robbed the Jews at will. These policemen hunted Jews who escaped or avoided ghettoization, and they participated in mass executions with or without German supervision. Ukrainian guards also constantly harassed and brutalized Jewish labor details. Some Ukrainians and Russians entered ghettos to barter food for Jewish valuables, money, or furniture, enriching themselves at the expense of their former neighbors. In other instances, Ukrainians moved into empty Jewish apartments.[10] On the other hand, Jewish survivors admit that they managed to escape death because of the bravery and kindness of individual Ukrainians and Russians. Galina Klotsman, who posed as a Ukrainian in Piatigory, recalls that local Ukrainians were helpful to her, while one policeman warned the ghetto inmates of impending Aktions. The Kremenchug mayor, Synytsia Verkhovs'kyi, provided Jews with false baptism certificates and was later executed by the Germans.[11]

The speed of destruction in the eastern regions of the USSR impeded organized resistance in the ghettos. In contrast

to Lithuania, Belorussia, and Eastern Galicia, where the traditional communal structures of Jewish communities contributed to resistance, in Soviet Ukraine it came mainly in the form of individual acts of defiance. Thus, in GkK some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the partisans, while others avoided registration, wandered in the countryside, or posed as Ukrainians or Russians.[12]

In comparison to Reichskommissariat Ostland (the Baltic regions and Belorussia), where economic considerations forced the German civil administration to slow down the killing, there was very little letup in the annihilation in GkK. Problems with food supplies in urban centers—largely due to Soviet scorched-earth policies and German requisitions—caused the German administration to reduce food rations for non-Germans, especially Jews. Those incapable of work were deemed "superfluous mouths" and were marked for annihilation. Once the ghettos in GkK had been robbed of their financial means, they outlived their usefulness. Hence, racial and economic considerations drove the resumption of mass murder.

With the assistance of the German military and civil administration, Einsatzgruppe C and the forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Friedrich Jeckeln (from late October, Hans Prützmann) continued their murderous task. The same ruse was used to allay the fears of the victims—public announcements indicated that the ghetto inmates would be "resettled," and Jews had to have warm clothing and provisions for several days. Between the end of September and the end of November 1941, Jeckeln organized several mass shootings in Kremenchug, which resulted in the deaths of 8,000 Jews from the city and its environs. By December, the majority of Jewish males had been murdered on both sides of the Dnieper River. In small localities the Ukrainian police did the killing or escorted victims to the collection points for mass executions.

The "second sweep" in central and eastern regions of Ukraine began in the winter, rather than in the spring of 1942. It appears there was no specific instruction from Berlin to resume the annihilation, but local German officials took the initiative as soon as they had the means to carry it out. Again, the "Jewish question" was viewed as the core of economic and security issues. Thus, the administration expected that the murder of Jews would solve the food-supply problem. In addition, since Jews were allegedly fomenting resistance, their murder would nip the growing partisan movement in the bud. In January 1942, Einsatzgruppe C and the HSSPF murdered Jews from the ghettos in Zolotonosha, Zen'kov, and Kremenchug as part of an antipartisan sweep through the region. Military commandants stimulated the killing by requesting that the "Jewish problem" within their jurisdiction be solved as soon as possible. Simultaneously, the killing also accelerated in the RKU area. In the first months of 1942, Gendarmes and Ukrainian police shot more than 500 Jews in Belaia Tserkov' in several Aktions.[13]

In early spring, RKU headquarters ordered the "removal" of all Jews not employed in German enterprises and construction. On March 1, Reichskommissar Erich Koch authorized Prützmann to take over the "Jewish affairs." He was assisted by the Chief of the Security Police and SD in the RKU Max Thomas. Thomas ordered all the Sipo/SD commanders to report how many Jews were still in the areas of their jurisdiction and to begin their liquidation.[14] On March 17, 800 Jews from the Shpola ghetto were murdered, and 500 younger inmates were sent to construction camps near the town, where they had perished by December 1942. The German administration also spared 13 Jewish tailors and blacksmiths, who survived until 1943. The destruction of the Uman ghetto proceeded along similar lines. On April 22, 1942, the Germans selected able-bodied inmates for the so-called Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) strategic construction camps. The remaining Jews were shot.[15] In the Zvenigorodka ghetto the Germans concentrated approximately 1,500 Jews from the town and the district. In June they separated out able-bodied individuals who were assigned to the DG IV. Jewish craftsmen and their families were also temporarily spared until August 1943. The remaining 1,375 people were shot in a nearby meadow.

Thus, by the summer of 1942 the majority of the ghettos had been destroyed. Nevertheless, the German civil administration still retained small Jewish enclaves, disregarding Heinrich Himmler's insistence on the total liquidation of Jews. In



SS-Obergruppenführer Hans Prützmann, Higher SS and Police Leader of Ukraine-Russia South (right), reports to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #60411, COURTESY OF JAMES BLEVINS

Uman, Gebietskommissar Rudiger still maintained a small remnant ghetto until the winter of 1942–1943.

Most surviving Jews were employed on the DG IV. The SS transferred those exempted from the ghetto massacres to a series of construction camps, including those in Smel'chintsy, Budishche, and Nemorozh along the road. The ghetto in Buki was converted into a labor camp, once those incapable of work had been shot and other working Jews were brought in. Conditions in the camps were similar to life in the ghettos except that the numbers of inmates were smaller, and those incapable of work were immediately liquidated. The inmates lived in barracks, pigsties, and stables; wore armbands with the Star of David; and were prohibited from leaving the quarters. Receiving rations of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily, they labored 14 hours a day felling trees or working in stone quarries. Constantly brutalized by Ukrainian and Lithuanian guards, the camp inmates were subjected to frequent "selections," and those no longer able to work were shot. The last Jewish labor camps were liquidated in the summer of 1943.

The history of the Jewish ghettos in the GkK reveals the relatively decentralized Nazi ghettoization policies. Although the ghettos served German economic interests by performing a wide variety of work tasks, the availability of Ukrainian laborers rendered them only temporarily useful and hence easily discarded. In addition, the smaller numbers of Jews remaining here—in comparison with Weissruthenien or Wolhynien und Podolien—made the killing process easier and quicker. Hence, the existence of the ghettos depended entirely on the will of the local civil or military administration. Simultaneously with the liquidation of the ghettos, the local German administration—the DG IV is the case in point—retained small numbers of Jewish laborers to be killed more slowly through work (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Very few Jews survived from these ghettos, leaving only a fragmentary picture behind for historians.

SOURCES There are very few secondary sources dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and particularly with German ghettoization policies in GkK. Of the many books and articles on the Holocaust in Ukraine, the following include key information on this specific region: Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Yitzhak Arad, "Alfred Rosenberg and the 'Final Solution' in the Occupied Soviet Territories," *Yad Vashem Studies* 13 (1979); Wendy Lower, "Facilitating Genocide: Nazi Ghettoization Practices in Occupied Ukraine, 1941–1942," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 120–144; Norbert Müller, "Massenverbrechen von Wehrmachtorganen an der sowjetischen Zivilbevölkerung im Sommer/Herbst 1941," *Zeitschrift für Militärgeschichte* 8:5 (1969); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ogne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998); F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York, 1995); I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie katastrofu: Spasshiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty, martirolog, svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov-Jerusalem, 1996); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAChO; DAKiO; DAPO; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 92, p. 15.
2. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (*IMT*) (Nuremberg: n.p., 1947), 25:302–303.
3. TsDAVO, 3206-2-30, pp. 13 verso, 23 and 23 verso.
4. NARA, RG-242, T-315, reel 2217, fr. 111.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M.15 (Osobyi Fond # 1323), reel 80, p. 18; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 499–504, reel 33, fr. 000391; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 2, p. 75; TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 36–39; DAPO, r-3388-1-688, pp. 5–6.
6. USHMM, RG-31.018 (SBU), reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 24, 32, 33–35.
7. USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0015, 0022, 0024; USHMM, SBU, reel 3, case. 19896, vol. 3, p. 14, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 24, 32, 33–35; TsDAHOU, 62-9-4, pp. 157–158, 166-3-351, pp. 1–3, 166-3-256, p. 1, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; DAChO, r-51-1-20, p. 10.
8. TsDAVO, KMF-8/2/157, t. 1, p. 244; USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0016 and 0032; DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30; USHMM, SBU, reel 7, case. 7250, p. 97.
9. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 234, fr. 976, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 119; USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 19–20, 163.
10. USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 33–35, reel 5, case. 4452, vol. 2, pp. 7–24; TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39.
11. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 499–504; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 2, pp. 75, 238, 4620-3-236, p. 144; TsDAHOU, 62-9-4, pp. 157–158, 166-3-242, pp. 37–39; DAChO, r-51/1/20, p. 10; USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0015.

12. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2722586, EM no. 94; T-501, reel 33, fr. 391, reel 349, fr. 483, 486, 569–570, 611.

13. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 235, fr. 2722675, EM no. 156; T-501, reel 7, fr. 415, 424; USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, fr. 100899, 100950, 100955; BA-L, B 162/6650, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Polizeiregiments 'Süd,' Bd. 2, pp. 376–377.

14. TsDAVO, 3206-2-3, pp. 12–14; 3206-2-14, pp. 5–6; KMF-8-2-175, pp. 99, 148; NARA, RG-242, reel 39, fr. 000259-000261, 000267-000268; BA-L, B 162/1570, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Robert Mohr, Bd. 1, p. 56.

15. USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 15–17, 21; TsDAHOU, 1-22-269, vol. 1, p. 118, 166-3-351, p. 3; GARF, 7021-65-241, pp. 46, 87–88; TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 7.


Ghettos in the Kiev Region
1941 - 1942
Map Legend
Ghetto
CITY
GEBIET CENTER AND GHETTO
Regional border
Gebiet border
Rayon border
Rivers and lakes
0 10 20 40 Miles
0 10 20 40 Kilometers
Eastern Ukraine Region
Zhytomyr Region
Nikolaev Region
Dnepropetrovsk Region
Desna
Dnieper
Psel
Chernobyl'
KIEV
Fastov
Skvira
BELAIA TSERKOV'
TARASHCHA
Boguslav
Piatigory
Zhashkov
Buki
Sokolovka
Man'kovka
Tal'noe
UMAN'
KORSUN' SHEVCHENKOVSKII
Cherkassy
Gorodishche
Ol'shana
SMELA
ZVENIGORODKA
Shpola
ZOLOTONOSHA
PIRIATIN
Lokhvitsa
Zen'kov
LUBNY
POLTAVA
KOBELIAKI
KREMENCHUG
N
W
E
S

BELAIA TSERKOV'

Pre-1941: Belaia Tserkov', town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Belaja Zerkow, Gebiet and Rayon center, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Bila Tserkva, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Belaia Tserkov' is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. On the eve of the German invasion, there were 9,284 Jews in Belaia Tserkov'.

After the beginning of the Soviet-German war, approximately half of the Jews of the city managed to evacuate. On July 16, 1941, the Germans captured Belaia Tserkov', and in August the military administration ordered Jews from the town and the surrounding area to move into a ghetto located in the former Red Army military barracks and in a brick factory with no light or water. Between 2,000 and 4,000 ghetto residents were registered and made to wear identifying insignia. A council of elders was established to assign Jews to various work tasks, especially collecting the harvest, street cleaning, and tree felling.[1] On August 19–20, 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a shot adult Jews near POW Camp (Stalag) 334; about 500 people were murdered. On August 22, under the supervision of a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, led by SS-Obersturmführer August Häfner, the Ukrainian police shot 90 Jewish children. The murder of the children marked the beginning of the attempt to exterminate the Jews in the USSR.[2] According to some sources, there was another mass shooting of about 3,000 Jews in the city at the beginning of September 1941.[3]

In October 1941, the military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. Belaia Tserkov' was integrated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The district commissar (Gebietskommissar) in Belaia Tserkov' was Regierungsrat Dr. Stelzer. Among the leaders of the Ukrainian police in Belaia Tserkov', notorious for his brutality, was Anton Spak.[4]

Several hundred Jews remained in the ghetto and were deployed to clean the streets. The Ukrainian police closely supervised the Jews and guarded the ghetto. In January 1942, the Gendarmes and Ukrainian police carried out a further Aktion, capturing about 30 old and sick Jews, who were taken to the site near the POW camp and shot. In February, in a large sweep through the district, the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police escorted several hundred Jews to the town where they were placed in two prisons. Then 100 Jews incapable of work were shot. On March 15, 1942, the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police murdered about 500 Jewish men, women, and children at Stalag 334. The last large killing Aktion took place in early May, when the Security Police from Belaia Tserkov', the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police murdered all the remaining Jews in the ghetto. As late as September 1943, the Germans were bringing Jews from the surrounding countryside to Belaia Tserkov', where they were murdered.[5]

SOURCES Background information on the Jewish community of Belaia Tserkov' can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 99. On the murder of the Jewish children, see Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 138–151; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 598–605.

References to the murder of the Jews of Belaia Tserkov' can be found in documents from the following archives: BA-L (B 162, AR-Z 269/60, AR-Z 11/61, AR 1.477/62, AR-Z 1.163/62, and AR-Z 21/58); NARA (RG-242, T-175 and T-501); USHMM (RG-06.025*02 and RG-31.018M); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 19, file 312; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 000886, reel 33, fr. 000886; F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii*. (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 51–52.

2. NARA, RG-242, T-175 (Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86, September 17, 1941), reel 233, fr. 27222379; T-501, reel 7, fr. 000886; USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 19, file 312; BA-L, AR-Z 269/60, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Sk 4a, Bd. 34, pp. 374–375.

3. Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), pp. 108–111.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. On the activities of Anton Spak, see *Their True Face* (Kiev: Ukraina Society, 1978), pp. 50–57. Spak retreated with the Germans and later migrated to Canada.

5. USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 2, file 133; microfiche 19, file 311, 312; USHMM, RG-31.018M, Acc.2002.97, "Postwar war crimes trials related to the Holocaust," reel 3, spr. 56527, ark. 14, 24, 62rev-63, 106rev-107; BA-L, B 162/3785, p. 174 (AR-Z 11/61, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Sk 4b); BA-L, B 162/2643, pp. 1849–1857, 2645, p. 3175 (AR-Z 21/58, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Erich Ehrlinger u.a.); BA-L, B 162/5999 (AR-Z 1.163/62, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Dienstelle des KdS Kiew), p. 4.

BOGUSLAV

Pre-1941: Boguslav, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Boguslaw, Gebiet Korsun, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Bohuslav, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Boguslav is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) south-southeast of Kiev on the Ros' River. According to the 1926 population census, the Jewish population of Boguslav was 6,432 out of a total of 12,140.[1] The 1939 census reported the figure of 2,230 Jews, or 25.53 percent of the total population. An additional 195 Jews were residing in what was then the Boguslav raion (including 125 Jews living in the villages of Medvin).[2] This considerable decline in the Jewish population was due mainly to the migration of Jews to other areas.

The German Army occupied Boguslav on July 26, 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. Following the invasion, most Jews managed to evacuate eastward, while those eligible for military service were either drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. Only around 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Boguslav under German occupation. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military administration set up a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. The latter took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In November 1941, the military authorities were replaced by a German civil administration. Boguslav was incorporated into Gebiet Korsun, where Gemeinschaftsführer Lomann was appointed as Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Korsun was in turn part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[3]

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the newly established Jewish Council (Judenrat) to register all the local Jews. They were forced to wear a distinctive armband on their sleeves and were employed for forced labor tasks (including road maintenance and construction work).

In August 1941, the German occupying forces conducted a first Aktion in Boguslav, in which 45 people (including some Jews) were seized and shot as Communists and Soviet activists.[4] On August 15–20, 1941, the military commandant ordered all the Jews to be resettled into one area of the town (Proval'naya Street), which was declared to be a "Jewish residential district."[5] This open ghetto was liquidated one month later, on September 15, when a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 shot 322 Jews and 13 Communists.[6]

In September 1941, German forces shot 49 Jews in the village of Medvin I and more than 100 in Medvin II.[7] These shootings were probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5.

According to one source, some Jewish skilled workers remained in Boguslav after the Aktion in September 1941; the Germans shot them in July 1943, shortly before retreating.[8] A few Jewish children from Boguslav managed to survive the occupation in hiding.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Boguslav can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKiO (4758-2-5); GASBU (79-1-937); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 56.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. DAKiO, 4758-2-5, p. 3.
5. GASBU, 79-1-937, p. 100 (intelligence report: "On the history of the anti-Jewish pogroms carried out by the German fascists in Boguslav in 1941").
6. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 92.
7. DAKiO, 4758-2-5, pp. 63–65.
8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 165.

BUKI

Pre-1941: Buki, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Buki is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northeast of Uman'. According to the census of December 16, 1926, there were 1,114 Jews living in the entirety of what then was the Buki raion.[1] According to the 1939 census, 546 Jews (17.64 percent of the population) lived in Buki, with 183 more residing in the villages of the Buki raion: in total, 729 Jews. The reduction of the raion's Jewish population by one third in the years 1927–1938 was due to the death of Jews during the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and to the resettlement of Jews to other towns and villages.

German armed forces occupied Buki on July 19, 1941, almost one month after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, some of the Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. About 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Buki at the start of the occupation.

In the period from July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office governed the town. The German military administration set up a town council headed by a starosta, or elder, and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Buki became part of Gebiet Taraschtscha, which in turn was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Soon after Buki was occupied, the German military commandant's office ordered the local authorities to organize the

registration and marking of the Jews with an armband displaying a six-pointed star, as well as their use for various types of forced labor.

As early as August 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in Buki, in which they shot several dozen Jews. The shooting took place near the Gornyi Tikich River on the southeastern outskirts of the town. Today a granite monument stands there, bearing this inscription: "To the victims of fascism from their mourning relatives and countrymen." In the fall of 1941, members of the Jewish "intelligentsia" were shot in a livestock burial ground 100 meters (about 328 feet) northwest of the village. Those Jews still alive, along with the Jews of the surrounding villages, were forced to move into a ghetto set up at a former landowner's country house, about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 miles) from the center of Buki. In May 1942, those Jews who were unable to work were shot, while those deemed fit for work labored in a quarry. Additional Jews capable of work were brought in to the Buki labor camp from Man'kovka and Piatigory in the second half of April 1942.[3] This work camp was liquidated in 1943 when the Germans shot all the remaining prisoners.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto and forced labor camp in Buki can be found in the Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," report on the village of Man'kovka, Cherkasy oblast'; and in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 51.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznyi perepys liudnosti 1926 roku* (Moscow, 1929), 12:210.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy District, village of Man'kovka; directive issued by the Man'kovka Area Council No. 41 from March 18, 1999; and Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 51.

CHERKASSY

Pre-1941: Cherkassy, city, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherkassy, Rayon center, Gebiet Smela, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Cherkasy, oblast' center, Ukraine

Cherkassy is located 26.5 kilometers (16.5 miles) south of Zolotonosha. In 1939, there were 7,637 Jews living in Cherkassy.

The Germans captured Cherkassy on August 22, 1941, but the majority of the Jewish population was evacuated or managed to flee before the German advance. Much of the city was destroyed in the fighting. The military administration organized the registration of the Jews and ordered them to wear distinctive armbands. The military administration also ordered the establishment of a Jewish Committee consisting of three people that was to take responsibility for the actions of the Jewish community and to pass on German instructions. Initially the Jews still lived in their homes or with relatives if their houses had been occupied or destroyed. Jews ages 15 to 65 were taken by the Ukrainian police to perform menial labor tasks. Some Jews were also robbed by the Ukrainian police.[1]

In October 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority from the military. Cherkassy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Smela. The Gebietskommissar in Smela was Regierungsrat Schwehr.[2]

On October 10, 1941, the German authorities ordered the creation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") near the customs office within two days, which was supervised by the Ukrainian Rayon administration and the Ukrainian police. The ghetto consisted of just three streets. Approximately 900 ghetto inmates, including women and children, were deployed for cleaning the streets. In November or December 1941, the Security Police from Kiev (Einsatzkommando 5), the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police liquidated the ghetto, murdering the majority of its Jewish inhabitants. According to some sources, there was a further Aktion in early 1942, when almost all of the remaining Jewish population was murdered.[3]

With the help of a friend, the Ukrainian woman Aleksandra Shulezhko organized a Children's Home for orphans, which by the end of 1942 had collected about 100 children, some 25 of whom were Jews. She saved the Jewish children by changing their names and nationalities when registering them. The Red Army recaptured the city on December 14, 1943. Yad Vashem honored Shulezhko as a person "Righteous Among the Nations" for her work.[4]

SOURCES Information on the Holocaust in the city of Cherkassy can be found in the following archives: DAChO (R49-1-20); DAKiO (4758-2-52); GARF; TsDAHOU (166-3-256; 62-9-4); USHMM (RG-50.226); and YVA (M-31, M-33, and M-52).

Alexander Prusin and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0024, interview with Dmitri Mironenko.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942, p. 25.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-256, p. 1; 62-9-4, pp. 157–58; DAChO, R49-1-20, p. 10. DAKiO, 4758-2-52, p. 43 reverse side, indicates that the liquidation of the ghetto took place in November 1941 with more than 300 victims. See also Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia*

of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 246–247.

4. YVA, M-31. See also the useful article by Esther Rechtshafner, "Research on Cherkassy," available at www.jewishgen.org/Ukraine/Kiev/chergassy/cherkassy_3.htm.

CHERNOBYL'

Pre-1941: Chernobyl', town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschernobyl, initially in Gebiet Nowo-Schepelitschi, then Gebiet Chabnoje, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Chernobyl', Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Chernobyl' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north-northwest of Kiev.

In 1926, the Jewish population of Chernobyl' numbered 3,165 (39 percent of the total population). According to the 1939 census, there were 1,783 Jews living in Chernobyl' (21 percent of the population).[1] The significant decline in the Jewish population by almost 1,400 in the years 1926–1939 is explained by the resettlement of Jews to other areas, as well as by the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and political repression.

German armed forces occupied the town on August 25, 1941, two months after the invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this time, many Jews were evacuated or fled to the east, and reservists born between 1905 and 1918 were called up for military service. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Chernobyl' on the arrival of the German army.

In the period from the end of August until November 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration created a raion council (*uprava*) and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, recruited mainly from local residents. Between September 12 and 14, 1941, units of the 1st SS-Brigade conducted security operations in the region between Chernobyl' and Ovruch, in which they killed 437 Jews. At this time, however, most remaining Jews capable of work and their families were left alive in the larger towns.[2]

In November, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Chernobyl' initially became part of Gebiet Nowo-Schepelitschi, within Generalkommissariat Kiew, in Reichskomissariat Ukraine. Subsequently it became part of Gebiet Chabnoje. The Gebietskommissar in Nowo-Schepelitschi and then in Chabnoje was Nachwuchsführer Venediger.[3]

Soon after the town's occupation, the German commandant ordered the council to register and mark the Jews (they were made to wear armbands). In October 1941, by order of the Ortskommandantur, a small "Jewish residential area" (open ghetto) was created in the town, and all the Jews were forcibly moved into it. Jews from the ghetto were compelled to perform forced labor. Among the assigned tasks was the collection of scrap metal.

German security forces liquidated the ghetto on November 19, 1941,[4] by shooting all the Jews. More than 500 Jews were killed in total.[5] The Aktion was probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Chernobyl' can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-52); GARF (7021-65-241); and USHMM (RG-31.002M and RG-31.018M).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.

2. Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), p. 205. The Brigade also reported that the Ukrainian police (Miliz) had assisted in the arrest of Jews, handing them over to the German army.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; and USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 34.

4. The date of the shooting is taken from the inscription on the memorial erected at the site of the execution. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 248, however, dates the Aktion as occurring on November 7, 1941.

5. DAKiO, 4758-2-52, p. 43 reverse.

FASTOV

Pre-1941: Fastov, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Fastow, Rayon center, Gebiet Wassilkow, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Fastiv, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Fastov is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, there were 3,545 Jews living in Fastov.[1] The 1939 census recorded a Jewish population of 2,149, or 10.37 percent of the total.[2] This considerable decrease in the number of Jews in the period from 1926 to 1939 was due largely to the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 22, 1941, one month after the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this intervening period, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men liable for military service entered the Red Army as conscripts or volunteers. Around 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration created a town council and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force consisting of local residents, which took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Fastov became part of Gebiet Wassilkow. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Döhrer.

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the newly created Judenrat to organize the registration and marking of the Jews (they were required to wear armbands), as well as the collection of a monetary "contribution" and the use of the Jews for various types of forced labor. In August 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a conducted the first Aktion in the town, in which its members seized and shot 261 Jews between the ages of 12 and 60 and one "terrorist." Before the detachment's arrival, the Wehrmacht (a detachment of the Geheime Feldpolizei and members of a Landesschützenbataillon) had already shot 50 Jews and about 30 snipers (partisans).[3]

The remaining women, children, and old people in the town were then moved into an open ghetto. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 6, 1941, by shooting all the Jews. The victims included not only the local Jews but also Jewish refugees from Zhitomir and Jews from the Jewish kolkhoz in the village of Veprik.[4] In total, up to 1,000 Jews were murdered in the town in the period from August to October 1941.[5]

A few Jews from Fastov managed to survive by going into hiding or assuming a non-Jewish identity.[6]

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L (B 162/5641–72); DAKiO (4758-2-49); USHMM; VHF (# 42017, 47413, and 47453); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.
3. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941; see also BA-L, 114 AR-Z 269/60, Concluding Report, December 30, 1968.
4. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), "Memory of the Holocaust" Program: Kiev oblast'.
5. According to lists of names, 120 people were killed in the town, including 85 Jews (DAKiO, 4758-2-49, pp. 5–6), while information from the town soviet indicates that 172 people were killed (ibid., p. 4).
6. VHF, # 42017, testimony of Mikhail Roitman, who assumed a non-Jewish identity; # 47413, testimony of Boris Goldschmidt, who went into hiding with the aid of non-Jews; and # 47453, testimony of Galina Kuchinskaia, who also went into hiding.

GORODISHCHE (IMENI G.I. PETROVSKOGO)

Pre-1941: Imeni G.I. Petrovskogo (former Vorontsovo-Gorodishche), town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Petrowskowo, (later renamed Woronzowo-Gorodischtsche), Rayon center, Gebiet Smela, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Gorodishche, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Gorodishche is located 107 kilometers (67 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, 570 Jews (4 percent of all residents) were living in the town. At that time, it was a settlement named after G.I. Petrovskii.

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Gorodishche at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The Ortskommandantur established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Nosar', and a certain Zhuk served as his deputy.

In December 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Gorodishche was incorporated into Gebiet Smela, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military ordered the registration and marking of all Jews. The Jews had to wear distinguishing armbands, and they were forced into various kinds of heavy physical labor, such as road construction and repair.

In the fall of 1941, by order of the German military administration, a ghetto was created in Gorodishche. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and were not allowed to buy goods from Ukrainians. As a result, the inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease.

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on March 29, 1942. All the remaining Jews in Gorodishche, around 300 Jews altogether, including some from nearby villages, were driven into a courtyard by the Gorodishche police. At dawn the next morning they were taken out and shot by the Ukrainian police and the German Gendarmerie in a ditch near "Sadstantsiia."[2]

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Act of the Gorodishche Town Commission dated March 7, 1944, published in *Karatel' zhivet v Kliftone: O fashistskikh prispeshnikakh, ukryvaiushchikhsia v SShA* (Moscow: Iuridicheskaia literatura, 1985), p. 40. According to another source (*Karatel' zhivet v Kliftone*, p. 22), the ghetto was liquidated on April 4, 1942.

KOBELIAKI

Pre-1941: Kobeliaki, town, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Kobeljaki, from September 1942, center of Gebiet Kobeliaki, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kobeliaky, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Kobeliaki is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Poltava on the River Vorksla. On the eve of World War II, there were 360 Jews in Kobeliaki (3.85 percent of the town's total population).

The Germans occupied Kobeliaki in September 1941, and until September 1942, it remained within the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South. The military administration set up a ghetto on the outskirts of the town. Adult Jews were taken from the ghetto to perform menial jobs. The ghetto was not guarded. Due to shootings and starvation the number of ghetto inmates declined rapidly. According to German reports, by the end of December 1941 there remained mainly older Jews in Kobeliaki, who received "very small rations" of food.[1]

On January 19, 1942, Group 719 of the Secret Field Police (GFP) reported that men of the German police had been fired upon from the Jewish ghetto. Since they were unable to find the culprits, the GFP suggested to the military commandant in Kobeliaki that 56 Jews be shot as a reprisal. The commandant ordered that the guard around the ghetto be strengthened, and between January 21—26, 1942, the GFP, the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police shot the remaining Jews in the ghetto (about 100 people) in a mass grave 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) to the east of the town.[2] Then in March 1942, with German consent, the health department of the Ukrainian town council, the Ukrainian police, and the personnel of the town hospital carried out the murder of about 25 Jewish children and elderly people by giving them lethal injections.[3]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community in Kobeliaki can be found at the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project: Ukraine (2001), published on the Web at www.jewishgen.org. Documentation on the destruction of the Jews in Kobeliaki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/204 AR-Z 48/68); GARF (7021-70-1119); NARA (RG-242, T-501); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU [Poltava oblast'], no. 7250, trial of Makar I. Sklyar, and no. 17576, trial of Mikhailo I. Khodot and others); and TsDAVO.

Alexander Prusin

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 7250, ark. 97; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 000499 and 000504; TsDAVO, f. KMF-8, o. 2, spr. 157, t. 2, p. 75.
2. GARF, 7021-70-1119, pp. 33–34; USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 17576, ark. 68zv., 90, and 125; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 349, fr. 000568.
3. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 17576, ark. 88-88 verso and 193–194; and GARF, 7021-70-1119, pp. 33–34. See also Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnya govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 129, which dates the murder of 25 children (using morphine) in March 1943, probably incorrectly, as this source dates the mass shooting of the Jews in December 1942.

KORSUN' SHEVCHENKOVSKII

Pre-1941: Korsun' Shevchenkovskii, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Korsun, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Korsun' Shevchenkovskyi, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Korsun' Shevchenkovskii is located 122 kilometers (76 miles) south-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, 2,486 Jews were living in the Korsun' raion, most of them (2,449) in the town. In 1939, a census recorded 1,329 Jews in the town itself (14.2 percent of the total population) and another 570 Jews in villages (Shenderovka and Steblev) in the Korsun' raion, as it was then constituted, for a total Jewish population of 1,899.[1] The decrease in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 was mainly the result of the migration of Jews to other regions during that period.

German forces occupied Korsun' on July 30, 1941, five and a half weeks after Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In the interval, a significant number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up or volunteered for military service. Roughly one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town following the occupation.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Korsun' during the summer and fall of 1941. The German military administration established a municipal authority and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, both staffed by local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police took an active role in the implementation of anti-Jewish measures during the occupation.

In November 1941, governing authority shifted to a German civil administration. Korsun' became the administrative center of Gebiet Korsun. The Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Lohmann. Gebiet Korsun was part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskomissariat Ukraine.[2]

By order of the German military commandant's office soon after the occupation, the municipal authority organized the registration of all Jews, required them to wear armbands identifying them as Jews, and subjected them to various kinds of manual forced labor. Among the labor tasks performed by

the Jews of Korsun' were trash collection and cleaning the streets.

In October 1941, the German military administration in Korsun' ordered the creation of an "open ghetto" in the town, for which purpose several houses were commandeered. The Germans forbade the Jews from leaving the limits of the ghetto to buy produce from the Ukrainians.

The Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto in November 1941 when they shot the Jews of Korsun'[3] as well as Jews brought from the town of Kanev[4]—altogether 543 people.[5] The shooting took place in a ravine known as "Rezanii Iar."

SOURCES Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Korsun' Shevchenkovskii can be found in the following archival files: DAKiO (4758-2-24 and 26).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 55.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzen Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10 März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Information from the Cherkassy oblast' branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Remembrance, no. 72, October 15, 1990, PAAKru.
4. DAKiO, 4758-2-24, pp. 11 and reverse side.
5. Information from the Cherkassy oblast' branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Remembrance, no. 72, October 15, 1990, PAAKru. DAKiO, 4758-2-26, pp. 5–6, contains a list of 74 of the Jews from Korsun' who were shot when the ghetto was liquidated.

KREMENCHUG

Pre-1941: Kremenchug, city, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Krementschuk, initially under the control of Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd) and (from September 1942) center of Gebiet Krementschuk, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kremenchuh, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Kremenchug is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west-northwest of Dnepropetrovsk. In 1939, there were 19,880 Jews residing in Kremenchug.

In the weeks after the start of the German invasion in June 1941, about two thirds of the Jews of Kremenchug managed to evacuate to the east. Units of the German 17th Army captured Kremenchug on September 9, 1941, and the city remained under the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South until September 1942. One week after capturing Kremenchug, the military administration ordered that Jews be registered with the city council and that they wear the Star of David on their sleeves. Between September 13—26, 1941, Sonderkommando 4b, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Herrmann, arrived in Kremenchug and shot 125 Jews.[1]

On September 27, 1941, the military commandant ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto located in a barracks on Lenin Street no. 22 in the suburb of Novo-Ivanivka, where they were deprived of all possessions and documents. Altogether about 3,000 Jews from Kremenchug and the vicinity were concentrated in the ghetto. After their departure, the Ukrainian policemen and city rabble plundered the empty Jewish apartments; some Ukrainians also attempted to seize Jewish apartments.[2]

The German administration imposed a special curfew on the ghetto, and Jews were not allowed to visit the "Aryan" quarters or communicate with Ukrainians. The Ukrainian city council, headed by Synytsia Verkhovs'kyi, was authorized to organize Jewish labor details for various tasks such as cleaning streets. Those working in the labor details received 400 grams (14 ounces) of bread daily; those remaining in the ghetto received only 200 grams (7 ounces) per person. The German administration imposed several "contributions" on the ghetto, which were collected by the Jewish council of elders. The Germans and Ukrainian police often raided the ghetto, robbing Jews of their remaining possessions. In late September, the Germans discovered that city council chief Verkhovs'kyi had procured false certificates of baptism for Jews through a local church (allegedly in return for large bribes). He was subsequently arrested and executed.[3]

On October 28, 1941, the forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader South Russia (HSSPF Russland-Süd) collected about 2,000 Jews from the Kremenchug ghetto and the surrounding countryside and murdered them outside the city at a place known as the Sand Hill.[4] About 500 Jews remained in the ghetto. Between November 5—19, German forces subordinated to HSSPF Russland-Süd murdered 285 more Jews (147 men, 101 women, and 37 children) in Kremenchug in a series of Aktions.[5] On November 24, 1941, the local military headquarters (Ortskommandantur 239) reported that Kremenchug was "almost cleansed of Jews." Nevertheless, a number of Jews still lived in the ghetto. They were again registered, and the registers were handed over to the HSSPF. Some Jewish doctors and nurses were also spared to work at local hospitals. In January 1942, during a large antipartisan sweep through the Poltava region, the Germans shot all the remaining Jews they could find in Kremenchug. Altogether about 8,000 Jews from Kremenchug and its vicinity lost their lives during the war.[6]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Kremenchug can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 676. The ghetto in Kremenchug is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), pp. 129–131.

Documentation relating to the murder of the Jews of Kremenchug can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, AR 6700045, AR-Z 6000013); DAPO (R-3388-1-688); GARF (7021-70-917); NARA (RG-242, T-501, reel 33; NO-5384; NOKW-2272); NARB (861-1-36); TsDAHOU (57-4-270 and 166-3-242); TsDAVO (KMF-8-2-157); USHMM; VHAP; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 111, October 12, 1941.
2. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; GARF, 7021-70-917, p. 11 and reverse, testimony of E.A. Bradebur, November 14, 1943; DAPO, R3388-1-688, p. 5.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 36–37; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 000391; DAPO, R3388-1-688, pp. 5–6.
4. GARF, 7021-70-917, p. 4, gives the figure of 3,000 Jews killed in this Aktion.
5. See the reports of HSSPF Russia South published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 279–280.
6. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 1, p. 244; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 000398; DAPO, R-3388-1-688, pp. 6–7.

LOKHVITSA

Pre-1941: Lokhvitsa, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Lochwiza, initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); from September 1942, center of Gebiet Lochwiza, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Lokhvytsia, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Lokhvitsa is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south of Konotop. In 1939, there were 614 Jews residing in Lokhvitsa and another 114 Jews residing in the villages of the Lokhvitsa raion.

The Germans occupied Lokhvitsa on September 12, 1941, signifying also the completion of the encirclement of Soviet armies to the east of Kiev. Many Jews from Lokhvitsa were evacuated or managed to flee before the arrival of the Germans. The town remained under the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South and then Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B) until September 1942, when it became the center of Gebiet Lochwiza in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

In early October 1941, the German military commandant ordered the creation of a ghetto, which restricted the Jews to the most densely Jewish-populated areas of the town. The ghetto consisted of two separate sections: the first included part of what was then called Lane III (later, Tupikova Street); and the other section included two Jewish quarters in the area of Gogol' and Tel'man Streets. The ghetto was not sealed, but the Ukrainian police set up checkpoints, and Jews apprehended outside the ghetto were shot on the spot. In addition to the town's Jewish residents and those Jews fleeing from further west who became trapped in Lokhvitsa, the Germans also brought some Jews from surrounding villages to the ghetto. For example, in December 1941, Jews from the village of Sencha were brought to the Lokhvitsa ghetto.

With the onset of winter and left with no means to survive, adult Jews sneaked out of the ghetto to collect wood or to exchange any valuables they had left with the Ukrainians for food. The Ukrainian auxiliary police in Lokhvitsa, which in April 1942 comprised 116 men,[1] escorted the Jewish labor details tasked with cleaning the streets of mud, snow, and ice.

In early May 1942, additional Jews from the vicinity of Lokhvitsa, including a few from the nearby town of Chervonozavodskoe, were brought to the ghetto.[2] On May 12, 1942, a Sonderkommando headed by Karl Plath (operating under the auspices of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South) and the Ukrainian police escorted 287 Jews outside the town to the northeast and shot them in a ravine near the village of Blagodarovka. After the mass shooting, the edge of the ravine was blown up to cover the bodies.[3] Feldkommandantur (V) 239, responsible for a large area including the town of Lokhvitsa, reported on June 17, 1942, that a "Jewish Aktion" (Judenaktion) had been conducted in Lokhvitsa on May 12, 1942, and that thereafter only a few individual Jews remained within its jurisdiction.[4]

Farmers working on a kolkhoz near Lokhvitsa assisted the female Jewish doctor Tsipa Sherman, who was living there on Aryan papers as a medical student. When she was arrested following a denunciation, the farmers wrote a petition asserting that she was a good worker and definitely not a Jew. Shortly afterwards she was released.[5]

Soviet forces drove the Germans from Lokhvitsa in the fall of 1943.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Lokhvitsa can be found in: BA-MA (RH 22/203); the Lokhvytsia Ethnographic Museum (Lokhvyts'kyi krayeznavchyi muzei im. G.S. Skovorody), file 6/R/2); and YVA (M.31/6386).

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NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 18, fr. 815.
2. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 338. In 1939 the Jewish population of Chervonozavodskoe in Lokhvitsa raion was 89. Most Jews managed to flee before the arrival of the Germans.
3. Interview with Vera Riazanskaia, July 22, 1998, Lokhvytsia; Lokhvytsia Ethnographic Museum, file 6/R/2, pp. 1–10. Some sources indicate there may have been 340 victims in total, although only 287 people are recorded in the list of names—information supplied by Alexander Kruglov.
4. BA-MA, RH 22/203, Feldkommandantur (V) 239, Abtlg. VII, Monatsbericht May 16 to June 16, 1942.

5. YVA, M.31/6386, as cited by Frank Golczewski, "Die Revision eines Klischees: Die Rettung von verfolgten Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg durch Ukrainer," in Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzel, eds., *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit: Regionalstudien II*, *Ukraine*, *Frankreich*, *Böhmen und Mähren*, *Österreich*, *Lettland*, *Litauen*, *Estland* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996), p. 66.

MAN'KOVKA

Pre-1941: Man'kovka, *town and raion center*, *Kiev oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mankowka*, *Rayon center*, *Gebiet Uman-Land*, *Generalkommissariat Kiew*, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Man'kivka*, *Cherkasy oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Man'kovka is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) north of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 105 Jews residing in Man'kovka, where they comprised 2.2 percent of the local population, and an additional 719 Jews lived in the other settlements of the Man'kovka raion.[1]

Man'kovka was occupied by units of the German 6th Army in late July 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. During the chaos following the invasion, some local Jews managed to flee eastward, ahead of the advancing German troops. Jewish men born between 1905 and 1918 found themselves conscripted into military service. On the arrival of German forces in Man'kovka, about 70 percent of the community's pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

Between July and October 1941, Man'kovka was ruled by a German military administration (Ortskommandantur), which established a village council and appointed a local mayor. The military administration also set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In November 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority over Man'kovka, which became a Rayon center in Gebiet Uman-Land, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In December 1941, the Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Peterson.[2]

Shortly after the German invasion, the military administration ordered the village council to register the Jews and required them to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. The military administration ordered all able-bodied Jews to perform various kinds of physically demanding labor for little or no pay.

In late 1941, all the Jews of Man'kovka were forced to relocate into a separate area within the town designated as a ghetto. On April 18, 1942, those Jews able to work were transferred to a labor camp in Buki. Those ghetto residents deemed unfit for work, mainly children and the elderly, numbering about 50 people, were shot on May 2, 1942.[3] A few Jews managed to survive by joining Soviet partisan units operating in the area.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Man'kovka and its fate during the Holocaust include the following: Aleksandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Khar'kov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 204; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:378.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 55.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; and USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-31, p. 9.
3. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Man'kovka; directive no. 41 issued by the Man'kovka Area Council, March 18, 1999.

OL'SHANA

Pre-1941: Ol'shana, *town*, *Kiev oblast'*, *Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Olschana*, *town and Rayon center*, *Gebiet Swenigorodka Generalkommissariat Kiew*, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Ol'shany*, *Cherkasy oblast'*, *Ukraine*

Ol'shana is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) northeast of Uman'. Due to the effects of World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian Civil War, the migration of Jews to the cities, and the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933, the size of the Jewish community declined considerably from 1,233 in 1897 to only 195 in 1939.

German forces of Army Group South captured Ol'shana on July 25, 1941. In August the military administration (Ortskommandantur) ordered the Jews to surrender all their valuable items such as gold, as well as furniture, cattle, and poultry. In October 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) shot all the adult Jewish males (up to 100 people) in Ol'shana.[1] In the fall of 1941, Ol'shana was transferred to the German civil administration. The town became a Rayon center within Gebiet Swenigorodka, in Generalkommissariat Kiew. The Gebietskommissar in Swenigorodka was Hannjo Becker.

Sometime between August and October 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto, which was set up in a few dozen houses in the northern part of town. Jews from the smaller settlements around Ol'shana were also ordered to move into the ghetto. All inmates over the age of 12 had to wear special armbands, and Jews were forbidden to speak to local Ukrainians. The military commandant appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) within the ghetto. The German and Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto, and Jews apprehended outside its limits without permission could be shot. The Ukrainian and German police also searched the ghetto frequently, looking for concealed valuables. Inside the

ghetto, several Jewish doctors and nurses provided medical services to the inmates. The German military and the local Ukrainian administration forced all ghetto inmates, with the exception of small children, to perform a variety of forced labor tasks, including cleaning fuel containers, repairing roads, collecting the harvest, and clearing snow. The Jews were beaten at work, and sick or weak Jews were shot.[2]

During the winter of 1941–1942, the number of ghetto inmates declined due to deaths from sicknesses, starvation, and the terror imposed by the German administration and the Ukrainian police. Some Ukrainians supplied food to their friends in the ghetto. On May 2, 1942, the German administration formed the remaining 100 or so ghetto inmates into a column and marched them to Zvenigorodka, where the Jews were divided into two groups: the elderly and small children were put into a ghetto, while the older children and younger women were sent to forced labor camps at Smil'chyntsi and Nemorozh, which were established for the construction of the new highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV).[3] In June, many of the Jews from Ol'shana perished during the liquidation of the Zvenigorodka ghetto. On November 2, 1942, the Germans murdered the inmates of the Smil'chyntsi camp; and on August 23, 1943, the remaining Jews at Nemorozh were murdered.[4]

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ol'shana can be found in Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ognie katastrofy (shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partisanskogo dvizheniia* (Kiryat-Haim, Israel: Beit Lokhamei ha-gettaot, 1998), pp. 205–209; and in Boris Zabarko, ed., "*Nur wir haben überlebt.*" *Holocaust in der Ukraine: Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 54–55.

Additional information can be found in the following archives: DAChO; DASBU (spr. 19896, tom. 3); GARF (7021-148-11); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 13; and RG-50.226.0032); and VHF.

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NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 243; I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zheltaia Kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Khar'kov: Biblioteka gazety "Bensiakh," 1994), p. 100.

2. Agmon and Maliar, *V ogne katastrofy*, p. 205; letter of Nina Umanskaia published in Leonid Koval', ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:121–124; DASBU, spr. 19896, tom. 3, ark. 14 (USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 13); Zabarko, "*Nur wir haben überlebt*," p. 54; USHMM, RG-50.226.0032, interview with Tatyana Pit'kina (Shnaider); another testimony by the same person can be found in Liakhovitskii, *Zheltaia Kniga*, pp. 100–101. According to the deposition of I.T. Nesterenko, the former chief of police in the Ol'shana district, there were 103 Jews; see GARF, 7021-148-11.

3. USHMM, RG-50.226.0032, interview with Tatyana Pit'kina (Shnaider).

4. Ibid.; Agmon and and Maliar, *V ogne katastrofy*, pp. 205, 209.

PIATIGORY

Pre-1941: Piatigory, village, Tetiev raion, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon Tetijew, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Piatigory is located about 69 kilometers (43 miles) north-northwest of Uman'. According to the census of December 1926, 531 Jews were living in Piatigory. By 1939, however, the Jewish population had declined to less than half this number.

Two German light tanks entered Piatigory on July 16, 1941. In the four weeks from the start of the German invasion, part of the Jewish population attempted to evacuate to the east using horses and carts or traveling by rail. Some, however, such as the family of Galina Klotsman, were forced to turn back by the rapid German advance. On their return, by July 10, the family found that their house had been robbed; Galina's father was then conscripted into the Red Army, just before the Soviet authorities abandoned Piatigory.[1]

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Piatigory. Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant ordered the registration of the Jews and required them to wear distinguishing armbands. On July 31, 1941, German security forces shot 2 Jews in Piatigory as hostages. Then on August 28, 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to report to the school building. They selected 17 male Jews over the age of 14. These men were taken away and shot, including the father of Raisa Zelenkov.[2]

The remaining women and children, together with a few male specialist workers, were held in the school building, and some form of ghetto was probably established in Piatigory. The female Jews were required to perform farmwork every day. Some Jews who had evaded the roundup passed themselves off as Ukrainians and worked for a time on nearby kolkhozy, but eventually most were denounced and forced to register as Jews with the Gendarmerie and local police in Piatigory. Half-Jews, however, were treated with somewhat greater leniency, not being required to wear armbands.[3]

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civilian administration. Piatigory was incorporated into Gebiet Taraschtscha, where Kameradschaftsführer Wurach served as Gebietskommissar.[4]

On April 26, 1942, those Jews capable of work—namely, the young and couples without children—were selected and transferred to the Buki labor camp, where they worked in a nearby quarry.[5] The 133 Jews that remained in Piatigory were shot in a local park on November 16, 1942. According to the testimony of Raisa Kleter (Zelenkov), who with several other Jews from mixed marriages was spared at the killing site along with her daughter, German Gendarmes, including a man named Hochmann, and local Ukrainian police were responsible for the shooting.[6]

SOURCES The recollections of Raisa Zelenkov, "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," have been published in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book:*

The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 169–185. An oral history by the same woman, now called Raisa Kleter, can be found in VHF (# 37434). Another relevant oral testimony can be found in USHMM (RG-50.226 # 0015).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 169–185, here p. 170; and USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015, Oral History interview with Galina Iosifevna Klotsman, born 1923.

2. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 170–171; and A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 87, 90.

3. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 169–185, does not use the term *ghetto*; however, VHF, # 37434, testimony of Raisa Kleter (aka Zelenkov), has been indexed by the Shoah Foundation as describing the ghetto in Piatigory. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:312, also states that a ghetto was established in Piatigory.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 51; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 985; and USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015.

6. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta*, pp. 89–91. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 6:312, indicates that 133 Jews were shot on November 16, 1942, but the source for this is unclear. "In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region," pp. 169–185, dates the shooting in November 1942, but gives no numbers. VHF, # 37434, testimony of Raisa Kleter (aka Zelenkov), however, dates the shooting in November 1943 (*sic*).

PIRIATIN

Pre-1941: Piriatin, town and raion center, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Pirjatin, initially under the control of Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), subsequently (from September 1942) center of Gebiet Pirjatin, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Piriatin, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Piriatin is located on the Udai River 142 kilometers (88 miles) to the east-southeast of Kiev. According to the population census of 1939, 1,747 Jews lived in Piriatin (12.68 percent of the total).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and particularly during August and September 1941, a small portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Yet more than 80 percent of the Jewish population remained in Piriatin and came under German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Piriatin on September 18, 1941. A military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the township and the Rayon until September 1942. A local administration and Ukrainian auxiliary police force were created, serving under the German occupying forces.

In September 1942, power was transferred into the hands of a German civil administration. Piriatin was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew and became the administrative center of Gebiet Pirjatin, which included the Rayons of Pirjatin, Tschernuchi, and Sentscha.

Shortly after the occupation of the township, the German administration ordered all Jews to be registered and marked. The Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing six-pointed stars in plain view. A large amount of Jewish property was confiscated, including any items of value. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places. Jewish men had to perform various forms of forced labor.

At some date between the end of September 1941 and the beginning of 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Piriatin. At the end of March or the beginning of April 1942, the Jewish population in the ghetto numbered 1,530 persons.[1] On April 6, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto. Almost all the Jews, mainly old men, women, and children, were shot in the woods at Pirogovskaia Levada about 3 kilometers (1.9 mile) south of the town.[2] The Jews were made to undress, and their remaining property was taken from them. Then the Germans forced them into a pit and shot them in groups of 5 with submachine guns. The graves were filled in by local non-Jewish residents, including Pyotr Chepurenko. As he worked, he saw several Jews who had only been wounded, including a five-year-old boy, trying to climb out of the pits. However, they were immediately shot and killed by Germans and local policemen who were still overseeing the operation.[3]

The mass shooting was apparently organized and carried out by the SD unit "Sonderkommando Plath" (headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Plath). On May 18, 1942, it is likely that this command force carried out another Aktion in the town. On this occasion the SD shot 380 Communists and Soviet activists, along with 25 Roma (Gypsies) and 163 Jews belonging to various families.[4]

SOURCES A brief description of the mass shooting on April 6, 1942, can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 57.

Documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Piriatin can be found in the following archives: DAPO (R3388-1-1086; R-1876-8-98); GARF; NARA; and YVA (O-3/3951).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 643, report of Feldkommandantur 607 on activities during the period from March 18 to April 15, 1942; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6:235–236, dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of 1942, but it is unclear on what sources this is based.
2. DAPO, R1876-8-98, p. 1; see also International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project, available at www.jewishgen.org/cemetery/e-europe/ukra-p.html.
3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 57.
4. DAPO, R3388-1-1086, p. 1.

SHPOLA

Pre-1941: Shpola, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schpola, Rayon center, Gebiet Swenigorodka, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Shpola, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine.

Shpola is located about 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) east-southeast of Zvenigorodka. According to the 1926 census, 5,401 Jews lived in what was then the Shpola raion. This included the Jews living in the town of Shpola.[1] The 1939 census counted 2,397 Jews living in Shpola (16.24 percent of the total population). The decline in the Jewish population by more than half between 1926 and 1939 can be explained mainly by the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

Shpola was occupied by German forces on August 1, 1941, five and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During this period, the Germans bombed Shpola, and some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. It is estimated that just over 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents, which played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, power was transferred to the German civil administration. Shpola became part of Gebiet Swenigorodka, and Oberbannführer Becker became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Swenigorodka was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with armbands. The Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor tasks, such as street cleaning, construction work, and cutting wood.

At the start of September 1941, the Germans conducted the first Aktion in Shpola, during which 160 people, including members of the intelligentsia, were seized and shot.[3] A detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 apparently carried out these killings.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Shpola on the orders of the German military administration. A few streets were cordoned off and surrounded by barbed wire. The ghetto was guarded by the Ukrainian police, and Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto or buying products from the Ukrainians. Some non-Jews secretly gave food to people in the ghetto, but famine developed; after a time, some 10 or 12 people were dying of starvation or disease each day.[4] In the ghetto a Jew named Gofman, under the direction of Ukrainians, assigned Jews to specific work tasks each day. There were also police raids in the ghetto in the fall of 1941: the Germans selected men in good physical condition, and they were taken away, never to return.[5]

The Jews were confined within the ghetto for more than half a year. Just prior to the ghetto's liquidation, a few Jews were able to escape following tip-offs from well-disposed Germans. On May 13, 1942, the German forces and their collaborators started to liquidate the ghetto. The 117th Battalion of the Ukrainian police force (Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 117) combed the ghetto and rounded up more than 800 Jews. They kept the Jews in custody until May 17. From May 14—17, members of the battalion conducted "clearing operations," searching Jewish homes for any people who were hiding.[6] On May 17, 1942, the German-led forces shot 760 of the captured Jews. The able-bodied were selected out and forcibly resettled into a labor prison camp in the village of Brodetskoe, where they were used to build highways. A small group of 13 craftsmen was allowed to remain behind in the town, but they were shot in 1943.[7]

The 255 Jewish workers in the labor prison camp in the village of Brodetskoe were killed on December 15, 1942. On the same day, 105 Jews in the prison camp in the village of Shestakovo were also shot.[8]

Only a handful of Jews survived from the Shpola ghetto. The Berezenko family was among the Ukrainian families in Shpola who helped to hide fugitive Jews for a while.[9]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Shpola can be found in the memorial book in Hebrew edited by David Cohen, *Shpolah: Masekhet haye Yehudim be-'ayarah* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Shpolah [Ukrainah] be-Yirsrael, 1965); this book, however, contains very little information on the period of the German occupation and the destruction of the community.

Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Shpola can be found in the following archives: BA-L (Dok.-Sammlung UdSSR, Band 245e, pp. 419–422; Band 245Ag, pp. 180–205); DAChO (R2479-1-1); GARF (8114-1-965); USHMM (RG-50.226, # 0037 and # 0041); and VHF (# 7367, 23060, 29751, and 46014).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznyi perepis liudnosti 1926 roku* (1929 All-Union population census) (Moscow, 1929), 2:210.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. GARF, 8114-1-965, p. 51. A published version of this can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 185–186. There is also a report on the Jewish men who were arrested and executed on August 21–22, 1941; see *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev, 1992), no. 9, p. 5.

4. GARF, 8114-1-965, p. 51; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1172, date the establishment of the ghetto to late September 1941.

5. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0041, Oral History with Fira Zamenskaya.

6. Account of June 15, 1942, from the supervising officer (Aufsichtsoffizier) of Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 117 to the commander of the Gendarmerie (KdG) in Kiev, DAChO, R2479-1-1, p. 27.

7. GARF, 8114-1-965, pp. 51–52.

8. Ibid., p. 52.

9. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0037, Oral History with Klara Semyonovna Vinokur.

SKVIRA

Pre-1941: Skvira, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1944: Skwira, Gebiet Belaja-Zerkow, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Skvyra, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Skvira is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. The 1939 census recorded that only 2,243 Jews lived in the town (comprising 20.3 percent of the total population).[1] The Jewish population in Skvira had declined by more than half since 1926, when the population had been 4,861 (33.6 percent).

German forces occupied Skvira on July 14, 1941, almost a month after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that interval, a large part of the Jewish population had managed to evacuate to the east. Men eligible for military service were either called up or volunteered for the Red Army. About 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Skvira under German occupation. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town during the summer and fall of 1941. The Germans created a town administration and an auxiliary force of Ukrainian policemen, both composed of local inhabitants. In November 1941, governance passed to a German civil administration. Skvira became part of Gebiet Belaja-Zerkow in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Stelzer.[2]

Among the German punitive units active in the Skvira region from the end of August until the end of September 1941 was Einsatzkommando 5, at that time under the command of SS-Standartenführer Erwin Schulz. The staff unit and other detachments of Police Regiment South were also in Skvira



Jewish women assembled by the German authorities in preparation for a mass murder near the Skvira ghetto, September 1941. The German caption on the back of the original reads: "They will be massacred."
USHMM WS #17060, COURTESY MJH/CHS

for several days from September 18, 1941. By order of the military commandant, soon after the German occupation of the town, the newly created "Jewish Soviet" (Jewish Council) organized the registration of the Jews, the collection of "contributions," and the wearing of identifying armbands. Jews were made to perform various kinds of heavy labor, including bringing in the harvest, for which they initially received some payment in the form of grain from the military administration.[3]

In August 1941, the German authorities created a "Jewish residential area," or ghetto, in the town on Taras Shevchenko Street, which was only partially fenced in with barbed wire. Ukrainians continued to live on the same street. The Jews lived in overcrowded conditions in small houses or cottages. The Jews ate whatever they could find, but they received little assistance from the local population. The Ukrainian police entered Jewish houses and robbed them of their valuable possessions. From mid-September 1941, the Jews were no longer permitted to go to work.[4]

The ghetto existed for just over a month and was liquidated on September 20, 1941. On that date, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators broke into the ghetto at dawn and ordered the Jews onto the street. They rounded up some 850 Jews and confined them in schoolhouse no. 2. From there they took them on foot or in vehicles to the Jewish cemetery. At the cemetery they shot them in four pits.[5] Men from Einsatzkommando 5, assisted by a detachment of Police Regiment South, carried out the mass killing. Several days after this Aktion, the occupiers shot around 140 more Jews in what had been a stable.[6]

SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Skvira during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-41); DASBU (79-1-937); and VHF (# 44779).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DASBU, 79-1-937, p. 22, "Report concerning the Totally Criminal Acts of the German-Fascist Occupiers in Skvira raion, Kiev oblast'."
4. VHF, # 44779, testimony of Mikhail Bykov.
5. Ibid.; and act dated January 1, 1944, Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders, published in *Voenizdat*, no. 13 (1945), pp. 5–6.
6. *Voenizdat*, no. 13 (1945), pp. 5–6.

SMELA

Pre-1941: Smela, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Smila, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Smela is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1926 population census, there were 5,978 Jews in what was then the Smela raion, which included the town. The 1939 census indicated that only 3,428 Jews lived in the town of Smela (10.1 percent of the total population). There were another 106 Jews in the villages of the Smela raion.[1] The decrease in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 by more than 40 percent can be explained mainly by the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German forces occupied Smela on August 4, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this period, some of the Jewish population was able to flee to the east, and Jewish men were conscripted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Approximately one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Smela at the start of the German occupation.

More than 400 people, including some Jews, were killed in the first two days of the occupation.[2] The murders were probably carried out by SS soldiers of the Wiking Division, which was active in the region at that time.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administrated the town. The commandant set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the German military commandant and the local administration registered the Jews and made them wear armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy physical labor (such as the repair of roads and buildings). The head of the Rayon, Rayonchef Streidenberger, was especially vigilant regarding the Jews, chastising his subordinates for violations in their registration and employment—most likely resulting from bribes.[3]

In October 1941, a detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei or GFP) attached to the 213th Security Division (Sicherungsdivision 213) shot 55 partisans, 37 collaborators of the partisans, and 17 Communist Party functionaries in Smela.[4] Jews also were among the 109 people who were killed.

In November 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Smela became the administrative center of Gebiet Smela, which included the Rayons of Tscherkassy and Woronzowo-Gorodischtsche. Regierungsrat Schwehr became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Smela was in turn part of Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[5]

At the end of 1941, the German administration ordered the formation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in Smela. A few streets were cordoned off. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and from buying products from local Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly developed in the ghetto. In January 1942, eight Jewish families from the settlement of Rotmistrovka were resettled into the ghetto.[6] A Jewish boy, Dmitro Mironeneko, who arrived in January 1942 from Cherkassy, noted that the Jews of Smela had not yet been killed by the Germans. He registered himself in Smela and lived for several weeks in the home for invalids. He was fortunate that he left the town in February, sensing the danger of an upcoming German Aktion.[7] It is probable that the Smela ghetto was liquidated at the end of February 1942, when the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police arrested 512 Jews and subsequently shot them.[8]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Smela can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-40 and 42); GARF (7021-65-241); NARA (T-501, reel 6, fr. 371); TsDAHOU (166-3-358); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); and USHMM (RG-50.226*0024).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 57.
2. P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Smila: Istoriia mist i sil URSR—Cherkas'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), 26:495.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-358, p. 41.
4. NARA, T-501, reel 6, fr. 371, Report of the 213th Security Division to the head of the home militia detachment "Iug," October 30, 1941.
5. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
6. DAKiO, 4758-2-40, pp. 4 and reverse.
7. USHMM, RG-50.226*0024, interview with Dmitri Mironenko.
8. See the report of the Higher SS and Police Leader and the head of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the period from March 6 to April 1, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317.

SOKOLOVKA

Pre-1941: Sokolovka (Yiddish: Justingrad/Sokolievka), village, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Sokolowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Sokolievka, Zhashkiv raion, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Sokolovka is located 192 kilometers (119 miles) south of Kiev and 32 kilometers (20 miles) north of Uman. Available documentation indicates that on the eve of the German occupation there were more than 150 Jews residing in the village of Sokolovka.[1]

The village of Sokolovka was occupied by the units of the German armed forces on July 24, 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. By late July, when the German forces entered the village, an unknown number of Jews had fled eastward. The young Jewish males who left the village either volunteered for the Soviet army or were drafted into its units.

Between July and October 1941 the village was under the command of a German military administration, which recruited some local residents to serve on a newly established village council, with a mayor, or in an auxiliary police force. In November 1941, local administrative authority was taken over by a German civil government. Sokolovka became part of Gebiet Taraschtscha in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Jews were registered and obligated to wear armbands bearing the Star of David on the sleeves of their outer clothing. Furthermore, Jews were now organized into labor details and forced to carry out the most physically demanding work, often without payment. On September 19, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first Aktion against the Jews of Sokolovka, in which they shot 35 Jews.[2] The remaining Jews of Sokolovka were then forced to resettle into a ghetto. The Jews were confined to the ghetto until the Germans conducted a further Aktion in May 1942. According to local residents, the Germans escorted the Jews into the forest and forced them to dig their own graves. The Germans shot the adult Jews and buried the children alive.[3]

This Aktion did not, however, affect skilled laborers, who were allowed to stay in the ghetto and continue their work. In September 1942, another smaller shooting Aktion was carried out, and in the summer of 1943 all the remaining skilled workers were shot. In the period from 1941 to 1943, a total of 146 Jews were killed in Sokolovka.[4]

A female doctor of the family of Yehoshua Abramov traveled to Sokolovka soon after the Germans were driven out by the Red Army. She did not find any Jews living there. The Jewish houses were empty and in ruins.[5]

SOURCES On the history of the Jewish community of Sokolovka before the Holocaust, there is a yizkor book edited by Leo Miller and Diana F. Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad: A Century of Struggle and Suffering in a Ukrainian Shtetl* (New York: Loewenthal Press, 1983).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Association of the Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Sokolovka.
2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941.
3. Miller and Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad*, p. 57.
4. Association of the Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat'" Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Sokolovka.
5. Miller and Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad*, p. 57.

TAL'NOE

Pre-1941: Tal'noe, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Talnoje, initially a Rayon center, Gebiet Uman-Land, then center of Gebiet Talnoje, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Tal'noe, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Tal'noe is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,866 Jews living in Tal'noe (15.6 percent of the total population).[1]

On July 29, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied Tal'noe. A number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east before the Germans arrived. On August 10, 1941, a short time after the start of the occupation, on orders issued by the military commandant in the town, Degen, around 1,000 Jews were gathered outside the commandant's office for registration. There they were told that they were being led to Uman'. These Jews were escorted out of Tal'noe in two columns, then killed near the village of Belashki, a few kilometers to the southwest, by German soldiers and auxiliary police forces under the leadership of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). According to a German military report, the ethnic German who had assumed authority in Tal'noe and organized the anti-Jewish Aktion had to be dismissed soon afterwards, when the Germans discovered that before the invasion he had been a Communist Party member who had defamed the Führer.[2]

Immediately after the Aktion in August, around 100 remaining Jews, including Jews from mixed marriages, were rounded up in the town. The authorities relocated them, together with the half-Jewish children and their non-Jewish spouses, to a small ghetto. The ghetto consisted of three single-story houses with adjoining courtyards and was surrounded by a fence. Jews were also brought there from the villages surrounding Tal'noe. Those confined within the ghetto had to live in crowded and unhygienic conditions. Periodically the Germans ordered them to perform various kinds of forced labor. Some of them had to work within the ghetto itself.[3]

According to somewhat contradictory information published in the *Black Book*, either at the time of the first Aktion or subsequently on September 20, 1941, in Tal'noe itself the Germans also killed 30 elderly and infirm Jews who were unable to perform labor.[4] During the following months, the Germans and local police continued to shoot Jews for any violation of German regulations. One Jewish woman named Ratushnaya was hanged because a German was dissatisfied with the milk she delivered to him, and her body was left swinging outside the commandant's office for a long period of time. Those living in the ghetto suffered from disease and starvation. Sometimes members of the local Ukrainian population brought them something to eat and passed food to them through the fence.[5]

On April 6, 1942, the Germans and local police murdered 115 of the ghetto inmates near the town's slaughterhouse as they liquidated the ghetto. Among the 115 victims, there were 80 children. They took the children of mixed marriages by force and shot them in front of their non-Jewish mothers, who remained alive. A few of the Jews of Tal'noe, including several children, were able to escape and hide among the local population.[6]

A brave young Jewish resistance fighter, Zigmunt Grossbart, who spoke good German, obtained a job under a false identity at the office of the German Gebietskommissar in Tal'noe, Kameradschaftsführer Meede. He exploited this position to assist other resistance fighters in obtaining weapons; he also stole two telegrams in March 1943 that prevented the German Gendarmerie from receiving outside assistance from Kiev for an antipartisan operation.[7]

The Red Army liberated Tal'noe on March 16, 1944.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Tal'noe during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Vladimir Lidin, "Talnoe," in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 20–21; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 86–92.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Tal'noe can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-44); RGVA (1275-3-664); USHMM (RG-11.001M.13); VHF (# 42320, oral testimony of Maria Gatiatulina); and YVA (M-33/178; and O-3/6158).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1286.

2. RGVA, 1275-3-664, p. 8, Lagebericht Ortskommandantur I (V) 839, Uman, August 30, 1941. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 20, dates the first Aktion on September 19, 1941. This date conflicts with the above-cited German report from the end of August.

3. Lidin, "Talnoe," pp. 20–21; VHF, # 42320, also mentions the existence of a ghetto in Tal'noe.

4. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 20. This source, however, describes the first Aktion and the selection of those unfit for work as having taken place at the same time.

5. Ibid., p. 21; and VHF, # 42320.

6. DAKiO, 4758-2-44, p. 6. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 21, gives the date of April 17, 1942, for the liquidation Aktion.

7. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 388.

TARASHCHA

Pre-1941: Tarashcha, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Taraschtscha, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Tarashcha, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Tarashcha is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north of Uman. According to the 1939 population census, 1,140 Jews lived in the town (13 percent of the total population). Additionally, 250 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Tarashcha raion.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 23, 1941, just over one month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate eastward during this intervening period. Men of an eligible age were called up to serve in the Red Army. About three quarters of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Tarashcha at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of German commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) ran Tarashcha and established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from among local residents. In August and September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 (Einsatzgruppe C) was based temporarily in Tarashcha in the school building and took over the responsibilities of the Ortskommandantur from the departing military forces.

In November 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Tarashcha became the administrative center of Gebiet Taraschtscha. Kameradschaftsführer Wurach was appointed as Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Taraschtscha included the Rayons of Zhashkov, Tetiev, Buki, and Stavishche and was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew within Reichkommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant issued an order for the Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jews were also obliged to perform forced labor that included road repair work. The Jews were also forbidden to buy food and other products at the market, and the Ukrainians were not allowed to sell them anything.

About one week after the Germans' arrival, all the Jews were ordered to resettle from their own residences into a few designated buildings on one street in Tarashcha (Proletarskaia Street) within two days, establishing a ghetto. However,

some Jews, including the local blacksmith, were initially exempted and only moved into the ghetto about a month later. The Ukrainian police were in charge of the ghetto and robbed the Jews of their belongings. Even children in the ghetto were put to work, sewing Jewish stars; there was no school in the ghetto.[3]

German security forces started killing the Jews in Tarashcha in a series of sporadic Aktions from the first day they arrived. The precise dates and numbers killed in each Aktion are, however, difficult to reconstruct precisely from the fragmentary and sometimes contradictory recollections of the witnesses. In August 1941, two Aktions directed against the Jewish population were carried out. At the very beginning of the month, the SS military-engineering platoon of the "Wiking Division" shot around 400 Jews.[4] At the end of August, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C (either from Einsatzkommando 5 or from Sonderkommando 4a based in Belaia Tserkov') shot 109 Jews.[5]

The detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, which was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Jung for at least part of the time it was based in Tarashcha, also conducted a series of Aktions to round up and kill the Jews living in the smaller villages surrounding the town. On each occasion, about 20 or 30 Jews were shot with the assistance of the local village heads (*starostas*) and the Ukrainian police.[6] On or around September 10, 1941, Einsatzkommando 5 carried out a third Aktion in Tarashcha and shot a few hundred Jews. Among those shot at this time were Jewish women who had been working as cleaners at the base occupied by the Einsatzkommando.[7]

On November 9, 1941, the "open ghetto" (Jewish residential district) in Tarashcha was more or less liquidated, and most of the remaining Jews were shot.[8] This mass shooting was again probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5. Altogether up to 1,000 Jews were exterminated in Tarashcha between August and November 1941. On each occasion, the Jews were searched for any valuables before being escorted out of town. The Germans then shot and buried them in a large mass grave dug in a gravel pit located between the Jewish and Orthodox cemeteries, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of Tarashcha.[9]

After the last Aktion, a handful of specialist workers and their families remained in a small remnant ghetto or labor camp in Tarashcha for another year or so. Three boys who escaped from the ghetto were captured and then beaten to death. One Jewish child, Miriam Gopman, managed to survive, as she was smuggled out of the ghetto by a Ukrainian policeman who took her to live with his brother, who initially did not know that she was Jewish. When her Jewish identity was discovered, she had to leave; she survived the remainder of the occupation by passing as a Ukrainian. Shortly after her departure from the ghetto, the Germans killed the remaining Jews there, including her mother and father, apparently for refusing to reveal where she had been hidden.[10]

SOURCES Documents on the destruction of the Jews of Tarashcha can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5224-30, 4630, and 14211); DAKiO (4758-2-45); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reels 2, 4, and 5); and VHF (# 8746).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1288; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 56.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DAKiO, 4758-2-45, p. 8; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam: University Press, 1998), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 525 (Landgericht Düsseldorf 8 Ks 1/66, verdict of August 5, 1966); and VHF, # 8746, testimony of Miriam Gopman (née Shir).
4. Testimony of the former SS-Rottenführer Hans Wilhelm Isenmann is in the transcripts of judicial proceedings in Kiev from January 1946. Isenmann himself shot 60 Jews. Information can be found in L. Abramenka, ed., *Kyivs'kyi protsess: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev: Lybil', 1995), p. 51. On this first Aktion, see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 536, which notes that the perpetrators reportedly wore black uniforms, as opposed to the field gray worn by most Einsatzgruppen personnel.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86, September 17, 1941.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 526–527.
7. Ibid., pp. 527–528, 550. SS-Untersturmführer Huhn directed the operation. According to the testimony of the witness and collaborator Rössler, the former translator for the squad, around 300 people were shot in this Aktion.
8. DAKiO, 4758-2-45, p. 8; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 538, which notes that according to one Jewish survivor, the main killing Aktions stretched over a period of about four months.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 524–525, 535. A monument to the Jewish victims erected after the war is located on the site.
10. VHF, # 8746.

UMAN'

Pre-1941: Uman', city, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Uman, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Uman', Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Uman' is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. According to the census of January 1939, there were 13,233 Jews in Uman', or 29.81 percent of the city's population.

German troops occupied the city on July 31, 1941. Sonderkommando 4b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günter Herrmann) arrived shortly afterwards and carried out

the first anti-Jewish Aktion—executing the Jewish intelligentsia. On the pretext that "certain questions" had to be clarified, the Jewish intelligentsia was ordered to appear at the municipal administration. The 80 men who appeared on August 13, 1941, were arrested and then killed.[1] Sometime later, 6 Jewish doctors (including Burshtein and Gitis) were publicly hanged in a prominent place.[2]

Ortskommandantur I/839, which administered the city at the time, appointed a new Jewish Council in the second half of August 1941 and ordered that Jews register and wear white armbands bearing six-pointed stars. Registration was accompanied by the beating of Jews with sticks, rifle butts, and lashes. German soldiers and Ukrainian policemen often robbed Jewish homes, and individual Jews were killed.

A large Jewish pogrom occurred in the city on September 21, 1941. German soldiers and Ukrainian policemen rounded up more than 1,000 women and children, forced them into the cellar of the Pioneer Palace on Lenin Street, and tightly sealed all the doors and windows. As a result of the overcrowding in the cellar, many women and children suffocated.[3] The next day the surviving women and children were released, but the men who had been rounded up and placed in the prison were shot by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, dated October 20, 1941, described these events as follows:

> According to observations made by Einsatzkommando 5, over the last few weeks a large number of Jews from near and far have gathered in Uman'. The population of Uman' before the outbreak of the war was about 55,000, of which about 10,000 were Jews. In spite of the large-scale flight of Jews originally living in Uman' after the outbreak of the war, due to many [new] arrivals, the number has been reported at about 8,000. A good intelligence network was discovered among the Jews of Uman'. Information about many events at the front and in the rear areas was passed on by the Jews not only to their coreligionists but also to the Ukrainian population. They very quickly received information about the Aktions against Jews conducted in the vicinity. A two-day Aktion was planned in order to combat this source of danger in Uman'.
>
> Already on September 21, 1941, contrary to the plan, excesses were perpetrated against the Jews by members of the militia with the participation of numerous German soldiers. During these events, Jewish apartments were completely demolished and robbed of all utensils and valuables. In this operation, almost exclusively German soldiers were involved. Spot checks of the apartments of militia members, which a squad from Einsatzkommando 5 conducted immediately after its arrival in Uman', were without any result.
>
> Due to the unplanned excesses against the Jews in Uman', the organization of the Aktion by Einsatzkommando 5 suffered extraordinarily. Above all very many Jews now received advanced warning and fled the city. . . .
>
> In the remainder [of the Aktion], 1,412 Jews were executed by Einsatzkommando 5 in Uman' on September 22 and 23, 1941.[4]

Also worth noting is the report by Ortskommandantur II/575, September 25, 1941: "On September 21–22, 1941, the SD carried out a round-up of Jews. To prevent excesses and robbery, the department sent patrols out throughout the city on September 21, and on September 22 assigned guards to certain places to prevent disturbances and other incidents. Individual servicemen from the Luftwaffe and Organisation Todt attempted to take part in the anti-Jewish Aktion, but the Feldgendarmerie of the Ortskommandantur prevented this in order to guard against Wehrmacht involvement in political actions which should be conducted only by the SD."[5]

Soon after the Aktion on September 21–23, the Jews of the city were ordered to move to a residential district (ghetto) that had been set aside for them near the marketplace on Rakovka, Vostochnaia, Nekrasov, and other streets, in agreement with the city administration. The local commandant's office—Ortskommandantur II/575 (V)—ordered that the move to this district be completed by the end of September 1941.[6] The Jewish district was not isolated and only lightly guarded, but Jews were forbidden to leave it, and Ukrainians were forbidden to enter. Those who violated this order were severely punished by being beaten and heavily fined. A Jewish elder and his assistant administered the district. Samburskii was appointed as the elder; his assistant was Tabachnik. They had at their disposal three Jewish police officers, one of them a woman. With their assistance the elder collected the "contributions" that were periodically imposed on the Jews. If Jews refused to hand over gold or valuables, Jewish police officers placed them face down on a trestle bed and beat them on their backs and buttocks until they agreed to hand over what was demanded of them.[7]

A week after the move into the ghetto, German Police Battalion 304 carried out a further Aktion in the city, with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The battalion arrived in Uman' from Kirovograd on October 7, and at 4:00 A.M. the next morning, German and Ukrainian police began herding Jews to the market square. From the market square they were taken to the prison, where they were forced to undress; their money, valuables, and papers were confiscated. From the prison the Jews were taken to three large trenches in Sukhoi Iar outside the city and shot. Sick people, cripples, and small children were driven to the trenches in trucks and murdered. In all, that day Police Battalion 304 shot 5,400 Jewish civilians from the city and 400 Jewish prisoners of war.[8] A memorial has been erected on the site.

After the Aktion on October 8, 1941, about 1,500 Jews remained in the "open ghetto," compressed together now onto one street. Starting on January 8, 1942, they were forced to wear round yellow patches 8 centimeters (3.2 inches) in diameter on their backs and chests. The Jews were sent out every

day under Ukrainian police escort to perform various jobs (shoveling snow, moving rocks, and repairing roads). From time to time public executions of Jews were carried out. On January 5, 1942, 2 men and a woman were publicly hanged.[9] According to a report on March 7, 1942 (for the period from February 2 to March 5) by the Higher SS and Police Leader—issued by the Senior Commander of the Order Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine—the Gendarmerie in Uman' executed 3 Jews, 2 former Ukrainian police commanders, and 6 partisans. According to his report for March 6 to April 1, 1942, first 5 Jews were publicly hanged, and subsequently another 8 people were hanged, including 1 Jew and the commanding officer of a Ukrainian police detachment.[10]

Security Police and SD forces under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Xaver Schnöller, assisted by German Gendarmes, and Lithuanian and Ukrainian police auxiliaries, liquidated the ghetto in Uman' on April 22, 1942. During the Aktion, those Jews fit for work were selected and to a labor camp in the Gaisin raion. Those not fit for work were escorted to a nearby forest, where Lithuanian and Ukrainian police took part in shooting them under German direction.

Also involved in clearing the ghetto were members of the 1st platoon, 2nd Company of the Polizeisicherungsabteilung an der Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) (German police assigned to supervise forced laborers on road construction work). According to testimony by members of this unit, SS-Brigadeführer Jürgen Stroop, in charge of security for the entire length of the DG IV project, ordered the ghetto to be liquidated to prevent Jews fleeing to the partisans and to confine those fit for work in secure labor camps. The ghetto was surrounded at dawn, and most Jews were assembled on the market square for the selection. A few hid within the ghetto, however, and a number were shot as the Germans and their collaborators searched the ghetto, including the attic of the synagogue, looking for those in hiding.[11] After the liquidation of the ghetto, 50 to 60 Jewish craftsmen remained in the town; they were shot in 1943.

A group of former policemen from Police Battalion 304 were convicted at several trials in the former East Germany. They were accused of killing Jews in several cities in Ukraine, including participation in the Aktion in Uman' on October 8, 1941. Three former members of the battalion were convicted and sentenced to death in Halle on October 26, 1978.

SS-Sturmbannführer Günter Herrmann, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4b, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in Düsseldorf on October 12, 1973. His unit organized the shooting of Jews in Uman' in August 1941.

In 1970, the Staatsanwaltschatt in Lübeck closed the investigation of Xaver Schnöller and Robert Deneke, who took part in the liquidation of the Uman' ghetto, because there was insufficient evidence.

SOURCES There are no books or articles devoted exclusively to the history of the ghetto in Uman'. Accounts by Jewish survivors from Uman' can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 2000). The documentary collection *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), edited by A. Kruglov, contains several documents relating to the destruction of the Jews of Uman' in 1941.

Relevant documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Uman' can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAVO; USHMM (RG-11.001M.13); VHF (e.g., # 30123 and 51179); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochividtsev o katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem, Moscow: Yad Vashem and GARF, 1993), p. 185 (testimony of M. Faingold).
2. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 130 (testimony of M. Demb).
3. *Nezvestnaia Chernaia kniga*, pp. 185, 194 (testimony of R. Dudmik); and ibid., p. 131 (testimony of M. Demb).
4. NARA, T-175, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 119, October 20, 1941, pp. 4–6.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13 (RGVA), 1275-3-662, p. 40, Ortskommandantur II/575 (V) [in Uman'] an Feldkommandantur 676, September 25, 1941.
6. Ibid.
7. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 133 (testimony of M. Demb).
8. Former Stasi Archive in Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (now Bundesarchiv), original file ref.: MIS-HA IX/11, ZUV 78, Bd. 6 (diary of Otto Müller, a former member of the 304th Police Battalion); see also *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), vol. 1, Lfd. Nr. 1029, pp. 731–746, Verdict of BG Halle 1 Bs 23/75, August 28, 1975 (case against members of Pol. Batl. 304).
9. See the testimony of M. Faingold in *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga*.
10. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317.
11. See BA-L, II 213 AR-Z 20/63 (Friese and others, DG IV), vol. 18, pp. 3259–3279.

ZEN'KOV

Pre-1941: Zen'kov, town and raion center, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Senkow, Rear Area Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); after September 1, 1942, Rayon center, Gebiet Gadjatsch, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Zin'kiv, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Zen'kov is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west of Khar'kov. According to the 1926 census, there were 608 Jews living in Zen'kov. The 1939 census, however, recorded only 142 Jews

residing in the town.[1] This sharp decline in the Jewish population between 1926 and 1939 was due to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and to the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on October 9, 1941. In the more than three months since the start of the German invasion, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern USSR, and men liable for military service entered the Red Army as conscripts or volunteers. About 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zen'kov at the start of the occupation.

From October 1941 to September 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur 258 in Gadiach) was in charge of the town. The German military administration established a town council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force (Hilfspolizei) composed of local residents. Authority was transferred to the German civil administration in September 1942. Zen'kov (renamed Senkow) became a Rayon center in Gebiet Gadjatsch in Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

In late 1941, all the remaining Jews of the town were herded into a single house, which served as a temporary ghetto. In late January 1942, the Germans shot all the Jews, 19 in total, in the quarry of a brickyard on the southeastern edge of town.[2] In addition to the local Jews, four Jewish families from the village of Grun' (in Sumy oblast') were also shot; the German police had brought them to Zen'kov on January 18, 1942.[3] It is possible that the 7 Jews who were recorded as having been shot in the town cemetery in January 1942 were these same Jews.[4] The shootings of the Jews were apparently the work of the 303rd Police Battalion (commanded by Police Major Robert Franz), part of which was based in Zen'kov from December 25, 1941.[5] On February 1, 1942, in the course of a "cleansing Aktion" (Säuberungsaktion) in Zen'kov, this battalion was engaged in "executions by shooting in accordance with the laws of war."[6] This is possibly a reference to the shooting of Jews in Zen'kov.

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/22); GARF (7021-70-950); NA (HW 16/54); NARA (RG-242, T-501, reels 6 and 33); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); and VHAP (Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 6/12).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Zen'kov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:483.
2. Poltava Oblast' Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments: List of burial sites of victims of shootings of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality during the occupation of the Ukraine in 1941–1944, Poltava oblast' (archive of the author); GARF, 7021-70-950, p. 1, reports only that all remaining Jews were killed.
3. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 1284 and 1293.
4. Poltava Oblast' Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, PAAKru.
5. See Fernschreiben no. 2083, December 25, 1941, 14.30, from HSSPF Russland Süd to RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Chef Orpo (VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 6/12; and NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 6).
6. See Fernschreiben, February 2, 1942, from Einsatzstab HSSPF Russland Süd to RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Chef Orpo, Chef Sipo (NA, HW 16/54, GPD 605; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 10; and BA-MA, RH 22/22).

ZHASHKOV

Pre-1941: Zhashkov, village and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Shaschkow, Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Zhashkiv, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zhashkov is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) north of Uman'. The 1939 population census counted 877 Jews in Zhashkov (14.58 percent of the population) and 299 Jews in the villages of the Zhashkov raion, bringing the total number to 1,176 Jews.

German forces occupied Zhashkov on July 19, 1941, nearly one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this month, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zhashkov at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Zhashkov. The German military administration created a local council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civilian administration. Zhashkov became a Rayon center in Gebiet Taraschtscha, where Kameradschaftsführer Wurach was named as Gebietskommissar.[1]

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement in July, the German military commandant ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with yellow stars. At the end of July or beginning of August 1941, the German military administration ordered the formation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in the center of the settlement. One street was cordoned off. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to buy products from the Ukrainian locals; as a result, famine quickly ensued. The Jews in the ghetto were required to perform forced labor every day. Among the tasks performed was the cleaning of toilets.[2]

In 1941, a number of Jews were murdered in the settlement and in the villages of the Zhashkov Rayon.[3] On March 15, 1942, able-bodied Jews were selected and sent to various forced

labor camps, including those in the villages of Buki and Antonovka.[4] The remaining Jews in the Zhashkov ghetto—more than 100—were shot in September 1942 (exact date unknown) in a quarry located 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) to the east of the settlement.[5] In Zhashkov during 1941 and 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered around 500 Jews in total.[6]

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Zhashkov can be found in the following archives: DAChO; and DAKiO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communes in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "The Memory of the Holocaust" (*Pamiat' Kholokosta*), Cherkassy Province, Town of Zhashkov; and Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:107, testimony of Ol'ga Zuslina.
3. In the summer of 1941, German soldiers and policemen murdered around 300 Jews in the Zhashkov raion. See F.D. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel' skii tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), p. 39.
4. Koval, *Kniga spaseniia*, 2:107, testimony of Ol'ga Zuslina.
5. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, p. 39. Another account indicates that 150 Jews were shot in 1942 at the boundary of Berestova, between the villages of Petrovka and Okhmatov. Administrative report by the administration of the Cherkassy Provincial Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, no. 72, October 15, 1990, addressed to the Council Head of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in Kiev.
6. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communes in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "The Memory of the Holocaust" (*Pamiat' Kholokosta*), Cherkassy Province, Town of Zhashkov.

ZOLOTONOSHA

Pre-1941: Zolotonosha, town, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Solotonoscha, from September 1942, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Zolotonosha, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zolotonosha is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) east-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,087 Jews residing in Zolotonosha.

The Germans entered Zolotonosha on September 19, 1941. In the weeks prior to the Germans' arrival, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate or flee to the interior of the Soviet Union. According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, on the third day after the occupation of the town, the German commandant ordered the execution of 300 local citizens. Among those killed were many refugees from western parts of the Soviet Union, and it is most likely that a high proportion were Jews.[1] The German unit responsible for the shooting was probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a. The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, from which they were taken to perform menial jobs such as cleaning streets and repairing roads.

On November 21, the German commandant announced that all Jews would be "resettled" to Kremenchug the following day. They were ordered to gather all their valuables, money, and best clothes and to assemble near Gestapo headquarters at 9:00 A.M. on November 22, 1941. On that day guards were posted all over the town, and they thoroughly searched the Jewish apartments and the neighboring houses for any Jews who went into hiding. The Gestapo men robbed the assembled Jews of all their valuables. The Jews were then escorted under close guard to a ravine about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of Zolotonosha to the northwest, where they were shot. Involved in the Aktion were forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, namely, Police Battalion 303, men of Sonderkommando 4a, and members of the Ukrainian police, commanded by the Ukrainian police chief in the town, Vladimir Ivanovich Kalanchuk. The precise number of victims, Jewish men, women, and children from Zolotonosha and its environs, is unknown, but estimates range from 600 up to 3,500 or more.[2]

In the ensuing period until the spring of 1942, several hundred more Jews were successively brought in to Zolotonosha from the countryside and confined in the ghetto. In January 1942, during a German antipartisan sweep through the Poltava oblast', a number of Jews were shot in Zolotonosha. The rest were murdered by men of Sonderkommando "Plath" in June 1942.[3]

SOURCES Regarding the murder of the Jews in Zolotonosha, see *Nimets'ki okupanty na Poltavshcnyni (1941–1943): Zbirnyk dokumentiv* (Poltava: Vydavnytstvo "Zoria Poltavshcnyny," 1947), pp. 24–29. An English translation can be found in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987), pp. 151–155.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAPO; GARF; NARA (T-501, reel 6, fr. 1013); and TsDAHOU.

Alexander Prusin

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-70-952, p. 1. This Soviet report named German officers Hauptmann Greisching and Oberleutnant Ilger as being responsible.
2. *Nimets'ki okupanty na Poltavshchyni (1941–1943)*, pp. 24–29. The figure of 3,500 victims can be found in DAPO, R-4085-3-2276, p. 2. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 797, gives the

figure of at least 1,000 killed. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 142, 144, however, gives a figure of probably only around 600 in light of the pre-war Jewish population of only 2,087.

3. TsDAHOU, 166-2- 34, p. 1; DAPO, R-1876-8-98, p. 1; and R-3388-1-1086, p. 1.

ZVENIGORODKA

Pre-1941: Zvenigorodka, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Swenigorodka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Zvenigorodka, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zvenigorodka is located 156 kilometers (97 miles) south of Kiev and about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northeast of Uman'. In 1926, there were 6,584 Jews in the town (36.5 percent of the total population); in 1939, there were 1,957 (14 percent of the total population).

On July 29, 1941, German forces occupied Zvenigorodka. In the intervening five weeks after the start of the German invasion, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and a number of Jewish men were called up to the Red Army. Others stayed behind, believing they had nothing to fear from the Germans as they were not members of the Communist Party. Approximately 1,300 Jews remained in Zvenigorodka at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from western Ukraine who became trapped in the town as they tried to flee eastward.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military commandant established a local administration in the town and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents.

In December 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Zvenigorodka became the administrative center of Gebiet Swenigorodka, which also included the Rayons of Shpola, Ekaterinopol', Mokraia Kaligorka, and Ol'shana. Oberbannführer Hannjo Becker became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Swenigorodka was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1] A squad of German Gendarmerie based in the town supervised the local Ukrainian police.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the German military commandant ordered the local administration to register the Jews, who were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jews were forced to perform heavy manual labor (such as repairing roads, cleaning, and construction work), during which they were frequently beaten. A few weeks later, in September 1941,[2] an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") was established on the orders of the German military commandant, on Comintern Street, Gul'kina Street, and several other small streets in the northern part of town. Jews were also brought to the ghetto from the surrounding villages of the Swenigorodka Rayon. Several families had to share each house. The ghetto was not surrounded by barbed wire, but Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto area or communicating with the local population. Jews were permitted to visit the market for only a short period in the afternoon. Ukrainian police guards manned checkpoints around the ghetto to enforce these regulations. The Ukrainian policemen and German officials often entered the ghetto and took clothing, dishes, shoes, and any valuables. At night drunken policemen assaulted and robbed the Jews in their houses.[3]

In September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Lehmann, arrived in Zvenigorodka, where it was based for several weeks.[4] At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, Lehmann's mobile squad of Security Police conducted the first Aktion in Zvenigorodka, seizing about 100 Jewish men and shooting them.[5]

German regulations prohibited the Jews from buying products from the local Ukrainians. However, although entering and leaving the ghetto was forbidden without a special permit, some Ukrainian civilians still came to the ghetto to exchange food for Jewish clothing and furniture. Conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with several families sharing each house. Due to lack of food and heating materials, some ghetto residents died of starvation and disease, including at least one death from typhus. There also were arbitrary arrests and individual killings of Jews conducted by the local police and the Germans.[6]

In the ghetto, there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was established on the orders of the German authorities. The head of the Jewish Council was a man named Lazurik. Among the tasks of the Jewish Council was the organization of daily Jewish labor details, including the repair of roads and cleaning latrines. There was a clinic headed by Dr. Starosel'skaia, who still managed to perform complicated surgery without adequate medications or equipment. There were two dentists, one of whom, Lisa Prober, also treated the locally based German officials. The Germans closed down the clinic in the ghetto after a short time, but the residents continued to improvise medical services despite the lack of medicine and bandages.

At the beginning of May 1942, the German authorities transferred about 100 Jews from the ghetto in the town of Ol'shana.[7] They brought them to Zvenigorodka at the end of the day, and at night they put them in a prison. The next morning, they selected the able-bodied Jews among them for assignment to a labor camp. Those who were not considered fit to work were sent to the Zvenigorodka ghetto.[8] On May 5, 1942, by order of the Gebietskommissar, the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie rounded up the able-bodied Jews to perform road repair work on the Transit Highway IV (Durchgangsstrasse IV) project. These Jews were resettled into a labor camp that was created in the stables in the village of Nemorozh.[9] On May 17, 1942, around 150 Jews were resettled in Zvenigorodka from the village of Ekaterinopol',[10]

bringing the total number of people in the ghetto to around 1,500. On June 18, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. Before the liquidation, a group of Jewish craftsmen, their families, and other able-bodied individuals were selected out. The remaining 1,375 people were shot in the nearby meadow.[11] The shooting was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD subordinated to the Commander of the Security Police (KdS) in Kiev, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. The Jewish craftsmen survived in the town until August 1943, when they were also shot.[12]

Fanya Shubinskaya managed to flee when the labor camp at Nemorozh was liquidated and survived with the help of Zinaida Shchaslyva in Novaia Greblia.[13]

SOURCES Published testimonies about the ghetto in Zvenigorodka can be found in collections edited by Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izd. "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998), pp. 15–33, 148–167; and in that edited by Boris Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 2000), also available in English as *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); there is also a testimony by L. Kraslovskaia published in *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev), nos. 1–2 (1994), p. 4.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Zvenigorodka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 26/68); DAKiO (4758-2-18 and 20); GARF (7021-148-11 and 7021-65-241); USHMM (RG-50.226*0016); and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov and Alexander Prusin
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Agmon and Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine*, p. 151, testimony of Lubov Krasilovskaya; see also USHMM, RG-50.226*0016, Oral History with Lubov Krasilovskaya.
3. Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 363–364.
4. Verdict of LG-Düss on August 5, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 523.
5. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia, p. 4; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in der Ukraine: Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 278.
6. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia; Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), pp. 363–364.
7. Testimony of T.E. Shnaider (Pit'kina), in Iu. M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie katastrofu: Spasshiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty, martirolog, svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov-Jerusalem, 1996), p. 139. According to the deposition of I.T. Nesterenko, the former chief of police in the Ol'shana Rayon, there were 103 Jews; see GARF, 7021-148-11.
8. Testimony of Grigorii Basovskii, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 46–47.
9. DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30.
10. Ibid., 4758-2-18, p. 4.
11. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia; DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30. Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova) dates the mass shooting at the beginning of May 1942, see her Testimony, pp. 363–364.
12. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaia.
13. Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), pp. 363–364.

NIKOLAEV AND DNEPROPETROVSK REGIONS



The bodies of two Jewish men hang from a gallows outside a market building in Novomoskovsk, 1942.
USHMM WS #25240, COURTESY OF YIVO

NIKOLAEV AND DNEPROPETROVSK REGIONS (GENERALKOMMISSARIATE NIKOLAJEW UND DNJEPROPETROWSK)

Pre-1941: Nikolaev, Kherson, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'e oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Generalkommissariate Nikolajew und Dnjepropetrowsk, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Mykolaiv, Kirovohrad, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizh'e, and parts of the Kherson and Cherkasy oblasts, Ukraine

In these two southeastern regions of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the German occupying authorities established around 18 ghettos, which probably contained up to 24,000 Jews. Research has uncovered 11 ghettos or probable ghetto sites in Generalkommissariat (Gk) Nikolajew that contained up to 19,000 Jews and another 7 such sites in Gk Dnjepropetrowsk, which held around 5,000 Jews. The period of ghettoization extended from August 1941 until the spring or early summer of 1942. It was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen and Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD, or KdS), Wehrmacht, Order Police, SS, the German civil administration, and various non-German auxiliaries.

As the German forces of Army Group South advanced eastward in the late summer of 1941, much of the area concerned came temporarily under the administration of the 444th Security Division, which was responsible for securing areas in the immediate rear of the frontline troops. Most of the Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk regions were occupied by German forces between early August and early October. Malaia Viska, about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Kirovograd, was captured at the beginning of August. Krivoi Rog was taken on August 14, and the city of Nikolaev on the Black Sea coast fell on August 17. Further to the east and south, Dnepropetrovsk was captured on August 25, and Zaporozh'e on October 4, 1941.

Precise figures for the number of Jews who managed to evacuate are not available. According to the calculations of historian Alexander Kruglov, of the 26,419 Jews residing in the Kirovograd oblast' in 1939, approximately 12,000 (about 45 percent) were murdered during the German occupation. That means that probably around 50 percent of the Jews were able to evacuate or flee. The figures for the Dnepropetrovsk oblast' are that of 129,439 Jews registered in 1939, probably around 35,000 were murdered (about 27 percent). The higher rate of evacuation here is probably explained by the concentration of Jews in industrial centers and the location further east, giving people more time to leave.

For Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler the murder of the Jews was the first step in a large-scale plan for the demographic restructuring and resettlement of the occupied territories. By the end of August 1941, the Einsatzgruppen and other German security forces had widened the group of Jews targeted for extermination to include women, children, and the elderly, and they had begun wiping out entire Jewish communities. In Ukraine, this shift was demonstrated most clearly by the large-scale massacre of Jews at Kamenets-Podolskii in late August 1941, in which more than 20,000 people were murdered.[1]

This transition to mass murder by Einsatzgruppen C and D, assisted by Order Police forces subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) South Russia (Friedrich Jeckeln), in mid-August, meant that the establishment of ghettos in the region was conducted only in a few places and on an ad hoc basis. On August 28, 1941, the commander of Rear Area, Army Group South, General Franz von Roques, ordered that ghettos were to be established in places, especially towns, with a larger Jewish population only if this was necessary or useful. It was to be deferred if the administrative tools were insufficient or if it might result in more urgent tasks being neglected.[2]

In late August and early September 1941, the German military administration established the first ghettos in the region in the towns of Pervomaisk and Novaia Odessa. These short-lived ghettos served mainly as collection points to facilitate the destruction of the Jews later in September.[3]

Available records for Krivoi Rog reveal the series of anti-Jewish measures implemented in this town, where no ghetto was established. In August 1941, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C shot 39 Communist officials, 11 saboteurs and plunderers, and 105 Jews there.[4] By mid-September, Jews were required to perform forced labor, to wear distinguishing armbands, and to use separate shops. They were also forbidden to slaughter livestock and had to surrender any foreign currency, precious metals, jewels, or other valuables. Feldkommandantur (FK) (V) 538 was then examining the question of whether it would serve its goals to establish a ghetto there—but by mid-October, all the Jews had been shot with the assistance of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.[5]

The establishment of the ghetto in Kherson, which existed for only two weeks, is well documented in contemporary German reports, survivor testimony, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, postwar German investigations, and published accounts. Sonderkommando 11a issued an order that the Jews could only reside on certain streets, thereby establishing a ghetto on September 7. The ghetto was located in a remote section of the city, near the crossroads of Frunze and Rabochnaia Streets, and a Jewish police force was created. Overseeing the ghetto was SS-Scharführer Baron Leo von der Recke of Sonderkommando 11a. On a daily basis the Jews were summoned to perform various forms of humiliating and heavy physical labor.[6]

On September 24–25, 1941, Sonderkommando 11a organized the liquidation of the Kherson ghetto.[7] Prior to the Ak-

tion, the Jews were informed that they would be resettled to Palestine. A few Jews managed to escape, but most of these people were subsequently captured and killed. When the Aktion started, the Jews were marched on foot to a factory site on the edge of the city. From there they were conveyed on trucks to an antitank ditch 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) northeast of the city, near Zelenivka. The Jews were shot in groups by two rifle squads. Those waiting could hear the shots.[8] Soviet forensic experts estimated that more than 8,000 people were buried in the mass graves.[9]

A similar ghetto was established in Nikolaev to facilitate the mass murder of around 7,000 Jews there under the supervision of Sonderkommando 11a, also in September 1941. However, Feldkommandantur 193 reported somewhat misleadingly on October 5, 1941, that "in Nikolaev and Kherson the Jews had been 'evacuated' by the SD. The intended establishment of ghettos therefore was not completed. Also in the countryside, as far as can be determined here, the Jews had in the meantime disappeared."[10] In fact, ghettos had been briefly created in Nikolaev and Kherson by Sonderkommando 11a as part of the destruction process, but FK 193 misrepresented this, as by October these ghettos had been completely liquidated.

In many places in Gks Nikolajew and Dnjepropetrowsk, no ghettos were established, especially in the Zaporozh'e oblast', where the only ghetto discovered was in Novozlatopol'. Instead, the remaining Jews were killed in mass-shooting Aktions or by other means, without formal ghettoization. In Dnepropetrovsk it was reported that about 70,000 of the 100,000 Jews originally living there had fled before the arrival of the Germans. Of the remainder, more than 10,000 were shot by units subordinated to HSSPF Russia South (especially Police Battalion 314) on October 14–15, 1941.[11] It appears that the Wehrmacht (FK 240) made preparations for the establishment of a ghetto in Dnepropetrovsk, but the rapid massacre of some 15,000 Jews by the SD soon rendered this unnecessary.[12]

In Zaporozh'e, where about 4,000 Jews were living at the start of the German occupation, the German military authorities also did not deem it "appropriate" to move the Jews into a ghetto. Jewish medical personnel were still working here, but it was planned to exclude them as quickly as possible, allowing for the health-care needs of the population.[13]

The area of GK Nikolajew was officially transferred from military to civilian control in mid-November 1941, when Generalkommissar Oppermann took over the region.[14] In December 1941, part of Gk Dnjepropetrowsk was officially transferred to a civil administration, although the military commandants continued to play an important role in these areas for several months more. Both Generalkommissariate were divided up into a number of Kreisgebiete, each administered by a Gebietskommissar. In Gk Nikolajew, there were three Stadtkommissare (for the cities of Kherson, Nikolaev, and Kirovograd) and 13 Gebietskommissare. In Gk Dnjepropetrowsk, there were four Stadtkommissare (for Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozh'e, Krivoi Rog, and Kamenskoye) and 16 Gebietskommissare.[15] However, the eastern section of Gk Dnjepropetrowsk was not handed over from military to civilian administration until October 1942.

With the handover to the civil administration, the Ukrainian militia was formally dissolved, and a Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft was created under the control of the Order Police, which was composed of the Schutzpolizei in the cities and the Gendarmerie in the towns and country areas. The Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (KdG) in Nikolajew was Major Gansinger. By November 1942, there were approximately 410 Gendarmes subordinated to the KdG Nikolajew, in charge of nearly 5,000 local policemen (Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst). In Gk Dnjepropetrowsk about 600 officials of the Schutzpolizei and 400 Gendarmes were responsible for some 6,000 Ukrainian auxiliaries. The Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO) Dnjepropetrowsk was Colonel Gotthilf Hoffmann. Small outposts of the Security Police were established in major cities such as Nikolaev, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'e.

In some areas of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, ghettos were not established until after the arrival of the civil administration at the end of 1941. This was the case in Aleksandrovka, in Kamenka, and also in Bobrinets, where Gebietskommissar Holzmann ordered the establishment of an enclosed Jewish residential area in late December. In the absence of much survivor testimony or German documentation, historians are forced to rely on other sources to identify ghettos in these regions. For example, information on the ghetto in Bobrinets comes from the ChGK and a postwar NKVD report from 1946. The ghetto in Bobrinets was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by the local police.[16] It existed only until early February 1942, when more than 300 people were shot just outside the town.

A variety of different structures were used as ghettos in these regions. The small ghetto in Novaia Praga (Gk Nikolajew) was established at the end of 1941 in a building in a schoolyard. Jews from nearby villages were also resettled into the ghetto, which was not liquidated until the following summer.[17] In Pavlograd (Gk Dnjepropetrowsk), the German authorities established a Jewish "prison camp" or "ghetto" in the spring of 1942, on the grounds of a large factory.

As already noted, following the large-scale massacres in major cities in September and October 1941, conducted mainly by mobile units of the SS and police, the remaining smaller ghettos were liquidated successively from February through the summer of 1942, mostly by the Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft, with close coordination by the civil administration. The Zlatopol' ghetto (Gk Nikolajew) was subjected to at least three separate Aktions by German police and their Ukrainian helpers. In some of these Aktions, conducted on instructions from the Gebietskommissar, the Jews were murdered using poison gas.[18] The Aleksandrovka ghetto was liquidated in March 1942, when several hundred Jews were shot by German and local police, again coordinated by the Gebietskommissar, as was the case at another mass shooting of Jews, near the village of Izrailevka, although these Jews had not previously been ghettoized.

In July 1942, Generalkommissar Oppermann in Nikolajew reported curtly that "only individual Jews had appeared in one Gebiet and that a corresponding report had been passed on to the SD."[19]

In Gk Nikolajew and Gk Dnjepropetrowsk there were a number of rural Jewish settlements, most notably in the Stalindorf Jewish national raion. On October 20, 1941, FK (V) 246 reported that in "Rayon Stalindorf" only just over 2,500 Jews remained, compared with a figure of more than 7,000 registered there in 1939. "Most of those [that remained] had been excluded from the economy and they stayed completely calm. Through the repeated Aktions of the police, the Jewish question was becoming ever less important."[20] This reflected the pattern in the Jewish agricultural settlements that a number of Jews remained on their respective kolkhozy and were liquidated in successive Aktions from the fall of 1941 through the summer of 1942. In a few kolkhozy/villages, however, survivors recall some form of open ghetto being established, where Jews were concentrated together with only limited access to food and restricted movement, as well as forced labor.[21]

Despite the above-cited report of the Generalkommissar Nikolajew indicating that almost all Jews had been removed by July 1942, the exploitation of Jewish labor remained an issue into 1943. In Aleksandrovka, for example, some Jewish craftsmen were spared from the main Aktion in the spring of 1942 and continued to live and work in the ghetto for some time afterwards.

In several other ghettos in these regions, Jews were selected for work and sent to labor camps during the liquidation Aktions in the spring and summer of 1942, where they survived for several months more. In March 1942, when most of the remaining Jews in Rayon Mala Wiska were shot, those Jews able to work were selected and sent to a labor camp in the Rayon center. These Jewish prisoners had to live in the stables of a sugar refinery, and they worked on building and repairing roads.[22]

In Novovitebskoe, where the Jews had been isolated in an open ghetto, located on a single street, those deemed fit for work were selected in April 1942 and taken to a nearby labor camp run by the SS and the Organisation Todt (OT), where they were used to build the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV or DG IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. On May 20, 1942, around 300 young Jews were transported from the ghetto in Ingulets to another labor camp in the village of Novoselovka, which was also part of the DG IV project.

In only a few cases is information about the existence of a Jewish Council, or Jewish elder (starosta), available. The main functions of such officials included the assignment of Jews to forced labor and the raising of contributions. Jewish responses included, on rare occasions, physical resistance in the face of death and also suicide. A number of Jews tried to hide and escape, but many of these were captured shortly after the ghetto liquidation Aktions.

In view of the small number of survivors from these regions, little information is available about the reactions of the local population. A number of accounts mention the brutality of local Ukrainian and ethnic German policemen and administrators. The local police robbed the Jews, beat them, and in a number of locations, played an active part in their murder. A few instances of non-Jews helping Jews are recorded. They provided food to Jewish acquaintances and, in rare cases, warned Jews or helped them to escape (including older local policemen). For example, Nikifor Cheredenko, a farmer from the village of Prishib, traveled several hours by cart to rescue the Tsviling family of Jews shortly before their scheduled arrest. In Prishib, the other local inhabitants also did not give away the family, even though they were known to be Jews, having lived there before the war.[23] Generally, however, those that did escape from the ghetto had the best chances of surviving if they could pass as non-Jews and were able to get away from their home village, where they might be recognized. A few were even sent to Germany as Ostarbeiter (eastern workers).

The last occupying German forces were driven from the region by the Red Army during 1944. Precise figures are not available, but it seems likely that of the Jews trapped by the German occupation in the ghettos of this region, only a few hundred managed to survive. The postwar populations in these towns and cities were composed overwhelmingly of Jews who had returned (or arrived) from the Soviet interior or had served in the Red Army.

SOURCES Only limited research has been conducted into the Holocaust in these regions, partly due to a lack of detailed sources. Among those publications dealing with all or part of these regions, the following are worthy of mention: Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); Michael Gesin, "Holocaust: The Reality of Genocide in Southern Ukraine" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2003); I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zheltaia Kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov: Biblioteka gazety "Bensiakh," 1994); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000–2007); S.F. Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e* (Zaporozh'e, 2003); and Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DADO; DAKherO; DAKO; DAMO; DASBU; DAZPO; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 33/22, HSSPF Jeckeln to RFSS, August 27–30, 1941.

2. Order of General von Roques, August 28, 1941, BA-L, Versch, vol. 4, p. 891, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 81.

3. GARF, 7021-68-182, pp. 157, 190–193.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 86, September 17, 1941.

5. Situation report of Feldkommandantur (V) 538, September 14, 1941, BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR III, pp. 768–769, 774; and RGVA, 1275-3-665, OK I/253 Krivoi Rog, October 15, 1941.

6. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Cherson vom 22.8. bis 10.9.1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-636); Oleksandr Ivanovych Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines: War, Genocide and Identity in the Kherson Region of Ukraine, 1941–1944" (Master's thesis, Edmonton University, 2004), pp. 49–53; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 33 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), pp. 452, 458–459.

7. GARF, 7021-77-421, pp. 11, 13, and reverse.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, pp. 448–449.

9. See *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vypusk 13 (Voennoe izdatel'stvo NKO, 1945), pp. 59–62. According to the testimony of SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Barth on September 12, 1947, Sonderkommando 11a executed around 5,000 Jews in Kherson with the support of Sonderkommando 10b; see NARA, N-Doc. No-4992.

10. RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 41–53, FK 193 an Bfh. rückw. H. Geb. Süd, October 5, 1941.

11. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 135, November 11, 1941.

12. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13 (RGVA), reel 92, 1275-3-666, report of Feldkommandantur 240, Dnjepropetrowsk, October 19, 1941, p. 3.

13. Ibid., 1275-3-661, pp. 41–42, report of Abt. VII, FK 676, November 2, 1941, with attached report of Abt. VII, FK 676, October 21, 1941.

14. BA-BL, R 94/9, Order of the Führer, November 4, 1941.

15. USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-19.

16. Correspondence of the NKVD-chief for the Bobrinets raion, March 30, 1946, in *Evreiskie vesti* (Jewish News), Kiev 1994, # 23–24, p. 15; and GARF, 7021-66-124.

17. Testimony of S. Peskova, personal archive of Fiodor Plotnir, a regional ethnographer from Novaia Praga; F.F. Oksanych, "Nova Praha—selyshche khliborobiv: Korotkyi istoryko-kraeznavchyi narys," in the Aleksandria (Ingulets) State Ethnographic Museum.

18. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, Report of the HSSPF and chief of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for March 6 to April 1, 1942.

19. BA-BL, R 6/94, Gk Nikolajew, situation report for July 1942.

20. Situation report of Feldkommandantur (V) 246, October 20, 1941, BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR III, pp. 793–804, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges*, p. 155.

21. VHF, # 40734, testimony of Sofia Goldshtein regarding the Fraidorf ghetto.

22. DAKO, 6656-2-1, p. 41.

23. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 205–207.


Ghettos in Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions
1941 - 1942
Military Administration
Dnieper
Kiev Region
Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia
Aleksandrovka
Zlatopol'
Novaia Praga
Malaia Viska
Dobrovelichkovka
Bobrinets
Bug
Pervomaisk
Nikolaev Region
Romanian Administered
Novaia Odessa
NIKOLAEV
Novomoskovsk
Pavlograd
DNEPROPETROVSK
Novozlatopol'
Novovitebskoe
Kamenka
Fraidorf*
Fraidorf*
Ingulets
Dnepropetrovsk Region
Taurida Region
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Black Sea
Crimea
Map Legend
Ghetto
GENERAL COMMISSARIAT CENTER
GENERAL COMMISSARIAT CENTER AND GHETTO
Regional border
Rivers and lakes
0 10 20 40 Miles
0 20 40 80 Kilometers
*Undetermined which of these same-named villages contained the ghetto.
N
W
E
S
Borders as of 1942

ALEKSANDROVKA

Pre-1941 and post-1943: Aleksandrovka, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Aleksandrowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Oleksandrivka, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Aleksandrovka is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 population census, there were 565 Jews residing in Aleksandrovka, or 10 percent of the town's total population. At that time, another 117 Jews were counted in the villages of the then Aleksandrovka raion.[1]

On August 5, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, German armed forces occupied the town. In this interim period, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Aleksandrovka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. The chief of the raion police in Aleksandrovka was a man named Filonenko, and his deputy was Zakrevkii.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Aleksandrovka was incorporated into Gebiet Snamenka, in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. All Jews had to wear Stars of David, and they were forced to perform various kinds of physical labor, such as road construction.

In December 1941, on the orders of the German authorities, a ghetto was established in Aleksandrovka, consisting of four streets that were fenced off. At this time, in the winter of 1941–1942, Jews were also brought to the ghetto from neighboring villages, such as Stavidlo. Initially Jews were able to go to a market nearby, and they exchanged remaining items of property for food. Some food was also delivered to the ghetto fairly regularly. The Jews in the ghetto were repeatedly robbed; the Germans took away items such as samovars and furniture. Living conditions were very primitive, with people sleeping on straw covered only by their clothes. Jewish adults went out every day to perform forced labor, leaving the children behind.[3]

There was a Jewish elder in the ghetto; he was a former beer trader. According to one of the survivors, he acted in a very cruel manner. German soldiers were stationed nearby, but they did not act aggressively towards the Jews.[4]

In the spring of 1942, probably at the end of March, the Germans assembled the Jews in a cowshed and conducted a selection. A few Jewish craftsmen with their families were spared and sent back to the ghetto, while the other Jews were taken away to be shot. Testimony from the trial of two local policemen indicates that the Jews from Aleksandrovka were probably taken away on trucks with other Jews from the Rayon, about 300 people altogether composed mostly of women, children, and the elderly, to a ravine near the village of Ivangorod. The Aktion was supervised by Gebietskommissar Lange and carried out by about 25 local policemen and around 100 members of the German SS and police. The victims were forced to undress before they were shot. The local policemen were rewarded with bottles of vodka for their participation.[5]

Following the Aktion, the Jewish craftsmen and their families were not permitted to leave the area of the ghetto, but occasionally older local policemen would let them out. Thanks to a warning from one of the policemen, some Jews escaped shortly before the remaining Jews were shot in the spring of 1943. The family of Anatolii Zvanskii then survived in hiding with the help of local inhabitants until the Red Army liberated the region in the winter of 1943–1944.[6]

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Aleksandrovka during the Holocaust include Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 211–212.

Documents on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Aleksandrovka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-66-123); VHF (# 43727 and 43350); and YVA (O-4/72-1).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. VHF, # 43727, testimony of Mark Babenko, and # 43350, testimony of Anatolii Zvanskii.
4. Ibid., # 43350.
5. Ibid.; and testimony of former policeman Zhilenko in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 211–212. Jews from Elizavetgradka, Krasnosel'e, and Ivangorod were also shot in Aleksandrovka. The findings of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 1), however, note that more than 600 Jews were shot in Aleksandrovka in the fall of 1941, along with 49 Jews from the village of Krymki and 72 Jews from the village of Sosnovka. These two villages lay within the Aleksandrovka raion.
6. VHF, # 43350.

BOBRINETS

Pre-1941 and post-1943: Bobrinets, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1991: Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine.

Bobrinets is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) south of Kirovograd. According to the census of 1926, the town had 2,265 Jewish residents (20.4 percent of the total population); in 1939, there were only 654 Jews remaining (14 percent of the total).

This population decline was mainly due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions. In what under German occupation was to become the area of Gebiet Bobrinets, in 1939 there were also 353 Jews in the Ustinovka raion, 189 in the Bobrinets raion, 123 in the Rovnoe raion, and 21 in Vytiazevka. According to a German report dated October 10, 1941, there were 33 Jews registered in Rayon Rownoje at that time.[1]

Forces of the German XIV Motorized Corps occupied Bobrinets on August 6, 1941. By the time German troops arrived in the town, several hundred local Jews had escaped to the east. All men of military age were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. About 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population was still in town when the German forces arrived. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the town. For part of that time, it was under the control of the 444th Security Division. The military authorities established a local administration in Bobrinets and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants.

In mid-November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The town became the administrative center of Rayon and Gebiet Bobrinets. Three other towns also became Rayon centers within the Gebiet: Vytiazevka, Ustinovka, and Rovnoe.

A short time after the start of the occupation, the German military authorities gave instructions to register all the Jews of the town. They also ordered the Jewish population to wear special armbands on their sleeves. The German authorities forced the Jews to perform physically demanding work of various kinds (such as repairing the streets and damaged buildings). While conducting forced labor, the Jews were also subjected to humiliations and beatings at the hands of the local Ukrainian police. At the end of December 1941, the Gebietskommissar, Gemeinschaftsführer Holzmann, ordered the establishment of an enclosed Jewish residential area. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by the local police.[2] At the beginning of January 1942, one inmate managed to escape from the ghetto. As a punishment, the German police killed 10 Jews, burning them alive in a house. At the end of January or at the beginning of February 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They shot all remaining ghetto residents—344 persons in all—in an area to the southwest of the town. Among the victims were 20 men, 180 women, 120 children, and 24 older persons. In May 1942, the German forces shot another group of 20 Jews close to the regional hospital (12 women, 6 children, and 2 older persons).[3] Including the killing of another 5 Jews on August 10, 1942,[4] the total number of Jewish victims in Bobrinets was 379.

In the late spring of 1942,[5] the Gebietskommissar in Bobrinets issued orders for some 25 Jews scattered in the surrounding villages of Rayon Ustinowka to be arrested and brought to the local police station in Ustinovka. Another 35 to 40 Jews were brought to Ustinovka from Bobrinets, where they had been collected from the other outlying Rayons of the Gebiet.[6] In the village of Izrailevka, there were about 60 Jews still living in their own homes who had not been confined to a ghetto.[7]

The Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft) escorted the Jewish women, children, and men from Izrailevka to a freshly dug pit near Izrailevka, to which those held in Ustinovka were also brought. Members of the Security Police, Gendarmerie, and Schutzmannschaft then shot the Jews in the pit. The Bobrinets Gebietskommissar and the Rayonchef in Ustinovka, a local ethnic German by the name of Friedrich Strohmeier, stood by and observed the massacre.[8] Having taken away the "racially pure" Jews that morning, some policemen were sent back to Izrailevka to collect about 20 half-Jewish children, who were then killed as well. In total, more than 100 people were murdered at this site.[9]

SOURCES The correspondence of the NKVD chief of the district of Bobrinets from March 30, 1946, can be found in *Evreiskie vesti* (Jewish News) (Kiev, 1994), nos. 23–24.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Bobrinets and the surrounding raions can be found in the following archives: ANA; GARF (7021-66-124); DAKO; and Sta. Dortmund.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13, reel 92, 1275-3-664, p. 39.
2. GARF, 7021-66-124, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Bobrinets raion, p. 2.
3. See the correspondence of the NKVD chief for the Bobrinets raion dated March 30, 1946, in *Evreiskie vesti*, nos. 23–24, p. 15.
4. Testimony by the witness M.D. Globodzinskii of Bobrinets, GARF, 7021-66-124, p. 2.
5. The precise date of the Aktion is not clear from the Soviet witness statements. The main surviving eyewitness dated the shooting in May or June 1942; see Australian Special Investigations Unit (SIU), statement of Ivan Konstantinovich Zhilun, December 23, 1989. However, the German Generalkommissar for the Nikolajew Generalkommissariat reported in the spring of 1942 that there were no longer any Jews or half-Jews in his region as of April 1, 1942.
6. SIU (SBU Kirovograd), statement of Alexander A. Gibner (Hübner), March 20, 1947, at his own trial. See also the additional evidence collected by the SIU in the case of Heinrich Wagner and by Sta. Dortmund in the case of Ernst Hering (45 Js 30/93).
7. SIU, statement of Ivan K. Zhilun, December 23, 1989.
8. See SIU (SBU Kirovograd), statements of Alexander A. Gibner, March 20, 1947, and April 1, 1947, at his own trial; F.F.S., March 1, 1958, and I.K.K., February 13, 1958, in Criminal Case File No. 4419 (Mefodii Marchik).
9. LG-Kö (4. grosse Strafkammer, 1. Jugendkammer), Verdict (Urteil) B. 104-28/97 in der Strafsache gegen Ernst Hering, December 19, 1997 (Hering Verdict), pp. 43–49; in June 1991, a team of forensic experts employed by the Australian SIU exhumed the mass grave near Izrailovka. The skeletal remains of 19 children aged less than 11 years were uncovered, lying at the top of the grave. Under these bodies, a layer of soil was found and beneath that the remains of more than 100 adult humans.

DOBROVELICHKOVKA (AKA DOBROVELICHNEVKA)

Pre-1941: Dobrovelichkovka, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dobrowelitschkowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Perwomaisk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Dobrovelichkovka, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Dobrovelichkovka is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) west of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 census, 366 Jews (10.3 percent of the total population) were living in Dobrovelichkovka.[1]

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dobrovelichkovka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the implementation of most of the anti-Jewish measures imposed by the German occupiers.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Dobrovelichkovka was incorporated into Gebiet Perwomaisk, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Lafrentz.[2]

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military authorities ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews. They had to wear distinguishing armbands, and they were forced into various kinds of heavy physical labor such as road building and repair work.

According to one uncorroborated source, in the fall of 1941, on the orders of the German military administration, a ghetto was created in the town. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and were not allowed to buy goods from Ukrainians. As a result, starvation quickly ensued. The Germans shot the Jews of Dobrovelichkovka on December 23, 1941. On that day, 207 Jews (40 men, 57 women, 45 elderly people, and 65 children) were shot in a ditch to the northeast of the town near the village of Mar'evka.[3] A number of Jews living in Rayon Dobrowelitschkowka, for example, 18 from the village of Lipniazhka, were also murdered in the fall of 1941.

SOURCES The main published source used for this entry is *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev, 1994), nos. 23–24, p. 15.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. See the memorandum of the head of the Dobrovelichkovka RO NKVD, in *Evreiskie vesti*, nos. 23–24, p. 15.

FRAIDORF

Pre-1941: Fraidorf, village, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Friesen (Stalindorf), Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Fraidorf is located approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. The Fraidorf village/kolkhoz was located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from Stalindorf.[1]

In August 1941, German armed forces occupied Fraidorf. The number of Jews that remained in Fraidorf at the start of the occupation is unknown. During the first months of occupation, a German military commandant's office governed the village. The Germans requisitioned livestock and food supplies in the area. They appointed a young ethnic German kolkhoz worker named Filip as the village head (starosta), and a man named Mazur served in the local Ukrainian police.

According to Sofia Goldshtein, a Jewish survivor from Fraidorf, soon after the start of the occupation the local police "kicked us out of our house, and took everything we had, our chickens, cows, and other possessions. There was an order that all the Jews had to move to a single street, several families to a single house. We couldn't take anything with us, not even a cow."[2]

The ghetto in Fraidorf existed from the summer of 1941 until the spring of 1942. The Jews in Fraidorf also suffered from harassment by the local police, and some Jews were murdered as alleged Communists. Living conditions in the open ghetto were overcrowded, with six people sharing a single room. Those capable of work were taken out to perform unpaid agricultural labor, looking after horses and cattle. The Jews had to trade their last remaining possessions, such as bedding, to obtain food. Since the family of Anna Surzhenko had good relations with the family of the starosta, having helped them during the famine, she was able to leave the ghetto to barter items and was not troubled by the local police, who had been warned not to harm her. Most other Jews were not so fortunate. Local inhabitants warned the Jews to flee, but most remained in the ghetto, as they could not abandon sick and dependent relatives.[3]

At the end of 1941, authority in the region was transferred to a German civil administration. The village of Fraidorf was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, headed by Gebietskommissar Dr. Frick, which lay within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk.

In March 1942, a number of young Jews capable of work, together with other Jews from Rayon Stalindorf, were marched together following horse-drawn wagons about 25 kilometers

(15.5 miles) to a labor camp established in a stable near the village of Langovka. These Jews were used to construct the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. Soon after the young Jews' departure, the Germans shot all the remaining Jews in a ravine near the village. The total number of Jewish victims in Fraidorf is unknown. In 1939, there were 7,312 Jews living in the Stalindorf Jewish national raion. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, 3,911 Jews were shot in the Stalindorf raion during the German occupation, most of them between May 1942 and August 1943.[4]

After the war, the local Ukrainian policeman Mazur was tried and punished, but the ethnic German Filip fled with the German army and thereby evaded punishment.

SOURCES The article by Yakov Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," available at http://xeroxsuperoffer.ru/index.php?_f=stalindorf_en.htm, gives a concise history of the Stalindorf national raion.

Relevant information can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-57-70); and VHF (# 40734 and 41136).

Martin Dean and Crispin Brooks

NOTES

1. Pasik's article "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," includes a detailed map of the Stalindorf national raion, which, however, shows two villages named "Fraydorf," one about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) west of Stalindorf and one about the same distance to the southeast. From the available oral testimonies, it has not been possible to determine which Fraidorf the witnesses lived in, only that they both lived in the same place.
2. VHF, # 40734, testimony of Sofia Goldshtein.
3. Ibid., and # 41136, testimony of Anna Surzhenko.
4. Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon."

INGULETS (AKA GAR SHEFER OR SHIROKAIA)

Pre-1941: Ingulets, village, Novolatovka sel'sovet, Shirokoe raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ingulez, Rayon Schirokoje, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Inhulets', Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Ingulets is located 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. On August 6, 1941, German armed forces occupied the village, about seven weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this time, some Jews were able to evacuate, while able-bodied men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Ingulets at the start of the occupation.

During the first months of occupation, a German military commandant's office governed the village. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, Jews living on nearby kolkhozy were ordered to move to Ingulets, and the Germans requisitioned the livestock and food supplies there.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites began to persecute the Jews. Several dozen Jews, accused of being Communists and Soviet activists, were shot. Most Jews continued to live together in their own houses, but they were subjected to a number of restrictions. According to the survivor Mariia Evtukhova, who uses the term "ghetto" to describe conditions in Ingulets at this time, the police never fed them. However, "since she had a Ukrainian passport, she was able to go to the market and the Ukrainians would sell her bread, potatoes, and other foodstuffs, so her family didn't go hungry. She shared this food with everyone in the ghetto."[1]

At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, headed by Gebietskommissar Regierungsrat Dr. Frick. In turn, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog became part of Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk. However, Germans were rarely visible to the Jews in Ingulets, who were very much at the mercy of the local Ukrainian police.

While she was in the ghetto, Mariia knew of many people who tried to commit suicide, but few were successful. The Ukrainian police occasionally drowned Jews; it appears that they did this merely because they were Jewish. One time, Mariia witnessed the police beat eight children and two elderly people to death and then throw them into a pit. Almost every night, the police would take girls and young women away from the ghetto and rape them; but they did not kill these women. In December 1941, the Germans organized a mass execution of elderly Jews. They were all assembled and then escorted with their hands behind their heads into the forest to be shot.[2]

On May 20, 1942, around 300 young Jews were transported to a labor camp in the village of Novoselovka. These Jews were used to build a highway between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. In late May or early June 1942, the remaining Jews in Ingulets were taken over a bridge and concentrated in a small group of houses, creating a more clearly defined (but still open) ghetto. By this time the Jews had scarcely any possessions left. The Jews remained in this ghetto for up to two weeks. On about June 10–11, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto. First, they instructed the Jews to gather in the club building, and on the morning of June 11, 1942, they shot them all in a ravine near the village.[3] Mariia Evtukhova managed to escape from the ghetto with two members of her family just before the mass shooting. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission documents, around 1,200 persons were shot. However, this number includes at least 50 Ukrainian Communists from the Shirokoe settlement who had dug the pits for the mass shooting in the ravine near the village.[4]

SOURCES Relevant published sources include the following: *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: "Epos," 2000), 4:508; *Sholom-Aleikhem* (Krivoi Rog), no. 7 (2004), and nos. 1–4 (2005); and "Nikoly bil'she," *Tkuma: Vestnik Tsentral'nogo Ukrainskogo fonda istorii Kholokosta "Tkuma,"* no. 10 (60) (2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-57-71); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 11); and VHF (# 30084).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 30084, testimony of Mariia Evtukhova.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Also see testimony of Raisa Leibushevna Bogomol, in *Vozrozhdenie pamiati: Vospominaniia svidetelei i zhertv Kholokosta*, no. 1 (Dnepropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma," 2008), pp. 68–69.
4. GARF, 7021-57-71, p. 8.

KAMENKA

Pre-1941: Kamenka, village, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sofijewka, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kamianka, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Kamenka is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. In the 1930s, the village became the center of its own Jewish sel'sovet with 1,458 residents, as part of the Stalindorf Jewish national raion.[1] By June 1941, the Jewish population had decreased significantly, owing to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

On August 16, 1941, the village was occupied by German armed forces. In the weeks prior to this, some Jews were able to evacuate from the village, and able-bodied men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily.

In the first months of the occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. The village became part of Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, which was headed by a Nazi official named Dr. Frick, who served as Gebietskommissar. Together with Krivoy Rog, the village of Kamenka lay within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites persecuted the Jewish population. Dozens of Jews were shot, accused of being Communists and Soviet activists. In September 1941, all Jews were moved into an unfenced ghetto, consisting of one street in the village. Jews were not allowed to go beyond the boundaries of the street and were required to wear white armbands. There were about three or four families living in each house. Living conditions were very unsanitary, with no place to bathe, and Jews ate mostly soup, kasha, and corn. Jews were robbed or forced to surrender clothing such as fur items and other valuable possessions. The Jews were taken out to perform forced labor every day, mostly in agriculture or clearing snow from the roads. Children were also put to work removing the husks from corn.[2]

At the end of April or in early May 1942, the Germans and local police rounded up the Jews and selected those fit for labor. These people were transported to a labor camp surrounded with barbed wire in the village of Avdot'evka, where they were exploited for work in a quarry and the construction of a highway between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. On days off, they were allowed to return to see their relatives in the village. The Kamenka ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942, when all the Jews remaining there, mostly the elderly and children, were shot. The total number of Jewish victims from Kamenka was more than 200.[3]

SOURCES The testimony of Ol'ga Teitelman has been published in *Shabat Sholom* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 10 (1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: TsDAVO (4620-2-358, p. 27, Inquiry of the Kamenka sel'sovet); and VHF (# 24086 and 35008).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Yakov Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," available at www.evkol.nm.ru/stalindorf_en.htm. His article includes a detailed map of the Stalindorf national raion.
2. VHF, # 35008, testimony of Ilya Boltianskii (born 1924); # 24086, testimony of Ol'ga Teitelman (born 1928).
3. TsDAVO, 4620-2-358, p. 27; and VHF, # 35008 and 24086.

KAMENKA-SHEVCHENKOVSKAIA

Pre-1941: Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Aleksandrowka, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1991: raion center, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia is located about 66 kilometers (41 miles) north of Kirovograd. The 1939 census reported 618 Jews in Kamenka (7.92 percent of the total population) and 737 Jews in the entire Kamenka raion. By the summer of 1941, however, the Jewish population also included a few refugees from Poland, who were forewarned about the brutality of the Germans.

German forces occupied Kamenka on August 5, 1941. During the six weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Kamenka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from among the local population. The latter took an active part in all the anti-Jewish measures. In chronological order, the chiefs of police were: at the start, the

former tsarist army officer Gladkikh; from the end of 1941, I. Nuzhdenko; and from the end of March 1942, a man called Briukhovetskii. Gladkikh was placed in charge of the prison at the end of 1941. The Ukrainian police received their orders from the German Gendarmerie. In November 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kamenka became a Rayon center in Gebiet Aleksandrowka, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar in Aleksandrovka was a man named Lange.

On their arrival in Kamenka on August 5–6, 1941, German soldiers conducted an Aktion in which several Jews were killed, including some children. More than 200 Jews managed to survive by hiding or fleeing to the surrounding villages, and they returned to the town over the following days. As Philip Portianskii recalls, on his return to Kamenka, he and his family received registration numbers from the local administration, and they were forced to wear distinguishing marks so that everybody knew they were Jews. At that time there were 268 Jews registered in Kamenka.[1] Jews were also required to perform heavy labor in groups segregated according to sex. At some date after October 19, 1941, two ghettos were established in Kamenka. A ghetto for craftsmen (including blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors, and cabinetmakers) with their families was set up at the Pokrov sovkhoz (state-owned farm); all the remaining Jews were herded into another ghetto located in what was then the raion hospital building.[2] According to the testimony of Portianskii, who was probably in the noncraftsmen's ghetto, as his father was a laborer, it was an ugly camp on the edge of the village. There were neither bedclothes nor soap. However, with the help of the police chief (probably still Gladkikh), he was able to escape.[3] Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, starvation soon ensued. According to the regulation of January 10, 1942, issued by the Ukrainian police chief Nuzhdenko, Jews were only permitted on the street between 7:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. Ukrainians were also forbidden to shelter Jews in their homes or to speak with them. For violating this regulation, Jews would be shot, and Ukrainians faced 30 days in prison and a fine.[4]

In February 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto for noncraftsmen on the hospital grounds. They rounded up the 280 Jews living there and shot them.[5] At the beginning of March 1942, a second Aktion was conducted in which the ghetto for craftsmen was liquidated. At night, by decree of the Gebietskommissar, the more than 100 Jews who remained in that ghetto were arrested and taken to the horse stable in the yard of the police station. Then they were taken out in groups of 8 to 10 into the cellar of the police station building and shot by Ukrainian policemen.[6]

Altogether more than 400 Jews were murdered in Kamenka in February and March of 1942.[7]

The Ukrainian policemen from Kamenka also participated in the shooting of Jews in other nearby settlements. At the end of March 1942, under the chief of police, Briukhovetskii, they set out and shot Jews in the town of Aleksandrovka. Together with German forces and Ukrainian policemen from Aleksandrovka, they shot more than 300 Jews from Aleksandrovka in a ravine near the village of Ivangorod.[8]

A number of the local policemen in Kamenka were tried by the Soviet authorities at the end of the occupation. Among them were the policemen F.I. Tsvirkun, F.T. Zhilenko, and also Seregi Piven', named by one survivor as a policeman with the worst reputation for atrocities.[9]

SOURCES Information on the activities of the local police in Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia can be found in the collection of published documents edited by Yitzhak Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 209–212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAKO (1004-1-35); GARF (7021-66-123); TsDAVO (166-2-5); USHMM (RG-50.226 # 0026); and VHF (# 43727).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0026.
2. O.H. Shamrai, "Ekonomichni zbytky, naneseni nimets'ko-fashysts'kymy okupantamy na terytorii Kam'ians'koho raiony," in *Cherkashchyna v konteksti istorii Ukrainy. Materialy Druhoi naukovo-kraeznavchoi konferentsii Cherkashchyny (do 60-richchia Peremohy u Velykii Vitchyznianii viini 1941–1945 rr.)* (Cherkasy: Vash Dim, 2005), p. 265. See also the affidavits of the former policemen F.I. Tsvirkun and F.T. Zhilenko in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 209–212. DAKO, 1004-1-35, p. 53, indicates the establishment of the "ghetto" at the end of December 1941. USHMM, RG-50.226.0026, Philip Portianskii, dates the formation of the camp in early November.
3. USHMM, RG-50.226.0026.
4. TsDAVO, 166-2-5, p. 10.
5. Certified Statement, October 15, 1990, No. 72, Cherkassy Oblast', *Ukrainskoe obshchestvo okhrany pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury*, addressed to the Head of the Advisory Board of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Memorials of History and Culture in Kiev. An official memorial now stands at the place of the shooting (the Kamenka district hospital).
6. Testimony of F.I. Tsvirkun; see Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 210–211.
7. DAKO, 1004-1-35, pp. 53–54.
8. Testimony of the former Kamenka policeman F.T. Zhilenko; see Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 211–212.
9. Ibid., pp. 209–212; and VHF, # 43727, testimony of Mark Babenko.

KHERSON

Pre-1941: Kherson, city, Nikolaev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Cherson, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Kherson, center, Kherson oblast', Ukraine

Kherson is located about 58 kilometer (36 miles) southeast of Nikolaev. According to the 1939 census, 16,145 Jews were living in Kherson (16.65 percent of the total population).[1] On August 19, 1941, eight weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet

Union on June 22, the SS Motorized Brigade "Leibstandarte-Adolf-Hitler" occupied the city. By that time, more than half of the Jewish population had been able to evacuate to the east. More than 7,000 Jews remained under German occupation (40–45 percent of the pre-war Jewish population).

From August until October 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. Oberstleutnant von Rochow was in charge until September 5, 1941. Oberstleutnant von Lepel succeeded him until September 16, 1941, and after that date, Hauptmann Barth.[2] The military administration established a local council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from among the city residents. The police force initially consisted of 157 men.[3]

In November 1941, the Germans established a civil administration. Kherson was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Bürgermeister Mattern was named the city mayor (Stadtkommissar). Major Heinrich Hannibal of the Order Police (Schutzpolizei) became the senior commander of the SS and Police Leader (SS- und Polizeistandortführer) in the city. Hauptmann Lang of the Schutzpolizei administration in Wiesbaden became the new head of the Schutzpolizei. He was later succeeded in this position by Hauptmann Fischer.[4]



Portrait of rescuer Yevgenia Zamoroko-Lysenko (standing), 1937–1939. Zamoroko helped to falsify papers for her former student, Masha Gurevich-Spivak. Spivak's family was murdered in an anti-Jewish Aktion in Kherson. Zamoroko was honored posthumously as Righteous by Yad Vashem in 2007.
USHMM WS #37367, COURTESY OF NIKOLAY ZAMOROKO

Starting on August 20, 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 11a, consisting of 13 men commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Eberhard Heinze, was stationed in Kherson.[5] From the end of September to the start of November 1941, the entire force of Sonderkommando 11a, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was located in the city; after that, only a part remained.

In the spring of 1942, a regional Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was set up in Kherson. It served under the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The first person in charge of the Kherson Sipo-Aussendienststelle was SS-Sturmscharführer Kurt Steffen. In June 1942, he was succeeded by SS-Obersturmführer Waldemar Kolter.

On August 23, 1941, the Sonderkommando formed a Judenrat and ordered the Jews of the city to wear a Star of David 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter as a distinguishing mark on their left breast pockets and backs as of August 25. From August 24 to August 27, 1941, the Jews were ordered to register and hand over to the Judenrat all money and objects of value. Anyone failing to comply would be shot.[6] After marking and registering the Jews, Sonderkommando 11a issued orders that they could only reside on certain designated streets, establishing a ghetto on September 7. The ghetto was located in a remote section of the city near the intersection of Frunze and Rabochnaia streets. A Jewish police force functioned within the ghetto. Overseeing the ghetto from its establishment to its liquidation was SS-Scharführer Baron Leo von der Recke of Sonderkommando 11a. On a daily basis, the Jews were summoned to perform various forms of humiliating and heavy physical labor. According to one source, Jews were forced to clean toilets and were harnessed to carts instead of horses or obliged to pull heavy trucks with the engines switched off.[7]

Almost immediately after starting to impose these restrictions, Sonderkommando 11a began shooting Jews. On August 29, 1941, the city's commandant announced the "execution" (by shooting) of 100 Jews and 10 "leading Bolsheviks" as a reprisal measure, and on September 6, 1941, the shooting of 100 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women.[8] As of September 10, 1941, 400 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women had been killed.[9] Just a short time later, 17 more Jews were shot for not wearing the Star of David.[10]

On September 24–25, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and the remaining Jews were shot.[11] Prior to the Aktion, Jews in the ghetto were informed that they would be resettled to Palestine. Sarah Yudkovich realized the likely purpose of the operation and escaped from the ghetto on September 23, fleeing to the hospital in search of help. However, the staff there were too afraid to assist her.[12] At this time the Germans searched the hospital, assisted by local policemen, who were better able to identify the Jews. The two most notorious native policemen, Val'ka the German and Grishka the Gypsy, shouted: "Who is hiding Yids here, big and small?" One of the Jewish doctors was stabbed in the buttocks by a local policeman before they left.[13]

When the Aktion started, the Jews were first marched on foot to a factory site on the edge of the city. From there they

were conveyed in groups on trucks to an antitank ditch 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) northeast of the city, near the settlement of Zelenivka. The Jews were shot in groups of 10 to 12 by two rifle squads of the same size into two graves simultaneously. Those waiting their turn could hear the shots. Women and children screamed and clung to each other.[14] According to evidence from the postwar German legal investigation, one 12-year-old blond Jewish girl was spared by the personal intervention of a senior SS officer, Heinze.[15] Soviet forensic experts estimated in 1944 that more than 8,000 people were buried in the mass graves.[16] Among those shot at this site were possibly also some Jewish Soviet prisoners of war, as the Jews were already being separated out from among the other Red Army captives held in the city from September 1941.[17] Assisted by the local police and denunciations from the local population, German security forces continued to hunt down and kill Jews who had gone into hiding over the following weeks and months.

In January 1942, another mass Aktion was carried out. The victims were around 400 Jews living in mixed marriages, who had been quartered separately in September 1941.[18] Einsatzkommando 12 was probably responsible for this killing Aktion.

SOURCES Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kherson can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKherO; GARF (7021-77-420 and 421); LG-Mü I (IV 9/69 Paul Zapp); NARA (N-Docs., NOKW and NO series); RGVA; and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 25.

2. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Cherson vom August 22 to September 10, 1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-636); Report of the Ortskommandantur II/915, September 18, 1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-1839).

3. NOKW-636.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memo (Schnellbrief) of October 25, 1941, from the chief of the Security Police, RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

5. NOKW-636; Eberhard Heinze died in Poznań on January 22, 1945. Sonderkommando 11a was itself a subunit of Otto Ohlendorf's Einsatzgruppe D.

6. Order from Sonderkommando 11a to the Jews in the city of Kherson on August 23, 1941, LG-Mü I, verdict of February 26, 1970—IV 9/69—in the case against Zapp and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, p. 451.

7. NOKW-636; Oleksandr Ivanovych Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines: War, Genocide and Identity in the Kherson Region of Ukraine, 1941–1944" (Master's thesis, Edmonton University, 2004), pp. 49–53. Melnyk cites DAKherO, r-1479-1-11, p. 26, regarding the types of forced labor imposed. Also see *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, pp. 452, 458–459; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 618.

8. GARF, 7021-77-420, pp. 153 and reverse.

9. NOKW-636.

10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 107, October 8, 1941.

11. GARF, 7021-77-421, pp. 11, 13, and reverse.

12. Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines," pp. 55–56. Yudkovich was shot with the other Jews of Kherson.

13. Ibid., p. 53, citing Zubris, "Ne zaroslo travoiu zabuttia," *Nadniprians'ka Pravda*, September 21, 1995.

14. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, pp. 448–449.

15. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 437.

16. See the report of the court medical experts on March 23, 1944, in *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vypusk 13 (Voennoe izdatel'stvo NKO, 1945), pp. 59–62. According to the testimony under oath of former SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Barth on September 12, 1947, Sonderkommando 11a executed around 5,000 Jews in Kherson with the support of Sonderkommando 10b; see NARA, N-Doc. NO-4992.

17. Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines," p. 54, citing DAKherO, r-3562-2-32, p. 106.

18. GARF, 7021-77-420, p. 117; Melnyk, "Behind the Frontlines," p. 48, notes that 150 female Jews living in mixed marriages with Ukrainians remained alive after the mass killings in September 1941, citing DAKherO, r-1824-1-95, p. 2.

MALAIA VISKA

Pre-1941: Malaia Viska, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mala Wiska, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Mala Vyska, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Malaia Viska is located about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Kirovograd. In 1939, there were 207 Jews living in the town (2.56 percent of the total population). Another 101 Jews resided in the villages of the Malaia Viska raion.

The town of Malaia Viska was occupied by German troops at the beginning of August 1941, five and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, some of the local Jews fled the town and managed to escape to the east. All men, Jewish or non-Jewish, of military age were drafted into the Red Army. A number of others joined the Soviet forces voluntarily. When German troops occupied Malaia Viska, only about one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population was still in the town. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the administration of the

town. The Ortskommandantur organized a local administration and established a unit of Ukrainian auxiliary police recruited from local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the town. Malaia Viska initially became the center of Gebiet Mala Wiska under the command of Gebietskommissar Hinz. Several other towns and their raions, such as Khmelevoe, Novo-Arkhangel'sk, and Podvysokoe, belonged to the Gebiet. Gebiet Mala Wiska was part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.[1] By 1943 the administrative structure had been reorganized, and Malaia Viska became a Rayon center within Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod.

Shortly after the occupation of the town by German troops, the Ortskommandantur ordered several anti-Jewish measures. First, members of the Jewish population were forced to register and to wear distinguishing armbands identifying them as Jews. In addition, the Jews were ordered to carry out physically exhausting work, for which they received little or no payment. All these individuals were settled or relocated into a specific area of the town (an open ghetto). The first Aktions against the Jews of Malaia Viska and its environs came in September 1941. On September 19, a detachment of the 8th SS-Regiment shot 17 Jews.[2]

According to the report of Ortskommandantur I/829 (based in Novaia Ukrainka), on October 10, 1941, there were 53 Jews still residing in Malaia Viska. At that time the head of Rayon Mala Wiska was an ethnic German named Johann Sartisson, and the head of the Ukrainian police (Hilfspolizei) was Jakob Chomitsch.[3] Most of the remaining Jews were murdered between February and March 1942, when a general Aktion against the Jews in Rayon Mala Wiska took place. During the Aktion, those Jews able to work were selected and sent to a labor camp in Malaia Viska. These Jewish prisoners had to live in the stables of a sugar refinery, and they worked on building and repairing roads.[4] This labor camp was closed in 1943. It is assumed that all the prisoners were then killed.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and killing of the Jews in Malaia Viska can be found in the following archives: DAKO (6656-2-1); RGVA (1275-3-3); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 1. SS-Infanteriebrigade (mot), Abt. Ic, report of September 26, 1941.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-3, p. 40, Ortskommandantur I/829 (Nowo-Ukrainka), report of October 14, 1941, appendixes I and II.
4. DAKO, 6656-2-1, p. 41.

NIKOLAEV

Pre-1941: Nikolaev, city and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nikolajew, capital, Gebiet and Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Mykolaiv, oblast' center, Ukraine

Nikolaev is located about 400 kilometers (249 miles) south-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 population census, 25,280 Jews were living in Nikolaev (15.2 percent of the total). German armed forces occupied the city on August 17, 1941, about eight weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In these weeks, the majority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. One of those who escaped by rail recalled: "Every time there were bombings, the train stopped. We got out and took cover underneath it. Once the planes flew away, we got back in the train and it started moving again."[1] Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than 6,000 Jews remained in the city at the start of the occupation.[2]

From August 18 until October 1941, German Field Commandant's Office no. 193 (Feldkommandantur 193) ran the affairs of the city. The commandant established a local administration in the city, and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force consisting of 195 men was recruited from among local residents.[3]

Starting in November 1941, a German civilian administration assumed authority in the region. Nikolaev became the administrative center of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. National Socialist Motorist Corps (NSKK)-Obergruppenführer Oppermann was appointed as Generalkommissar. Oberbürgermeister Nickau was named the city mayor (Stadtkommissar). SS-Brigadeführer Tittmann became the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Nickau and Tittmann held these positions until September 1942. Major Witzleb, who was transferred from Aussig, was in charge of the Schutzpolizei in the city. He served under Unter-Leutnant



Residents of an AJDC-supported Jewish home for the aged pose in the dining hall in Nikolaev, ca. 1928–1929.
USHMM WS #29877, COURTESY OF AJDC

Weiberg, who was Commander of the Order Police (KdO) for Generalkommissariat Nikolajew.[4]

From August 18 until the end of September 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 11a was based in Nikolaev. Sonderkommando 11a, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D under the command of SS-Oberführer Otto Ohlendorf. From mid-September to the end of October 1941, Einsatzkommando 12 was also active in Nikolaev. From September 8 until early November 1941, Ohlendorf's headquarters staff (Gruppenstab) was deployed in the city.

Einsatzkommando 5, headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans Sandner, was stationed in Nikolaev from early November 1941. In February 1942, an office of the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) was created for the entire Generalkommissariat in Nikolaev; SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Leopold Spann was the commander until September 1943.

When Sonderkommando 11a arrived in the city, it began conducting searches for civilians, who were then taken by the Wehrmacht to collection points for prisoners of war. Around 4,000 people were seized. Among those arrested and then shot were 227 "suspicious Jews, political functionaries, and released prisoners."[5] Sonderkommando 11a also appointed a Judenrat, which had to register the entire Jewish population of Nikolaev. Forced labor groups were assembled from among the able-bodied Jews aged 16 to 60. They were assigned tasks according to the needs of various German units in the city.[6]

At the end of August or the beginning of September 1941, the Jews of the city were concentrated in a ghetto located on Pushkin Street. Order was kept inside the ghetto by an internal Jewish police force.[7] The ghetto only existed for a little over two weeks. On September 14, 1941, the Jews received an order to assemble with their luggage at 10:00 A.M. on September 16 at the Jewish cemetery, for resettlement to another place in Ukraine. The Jews continued to report at the cemetery until September 18. On September 21, Sonderkommando 11a began the mass shooting of the Jewish population. The first people sent out to be shot were Jewish males older than 14. Women and children were subsequently subjected to the same fate. Over the course of three days, around 7,000 Jews were taken out and shot in ravines located between Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Nikolaev. Attempts to escape were prevented by a ring of perimeter guards. When the shooting was over, the Germans detonated explosives in the ravine area, and the corpses were covered with earth. Local residents from the Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka villages were also assigned to fill in the graves. The best clothing worn by the Jews was taken in six cars to Nikolaev, and the less valuable clothing was distributed to the local inhabitants of the Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka villages. Local inhabitants also complained that blood from the Jewish corpses had contaminated the water supply. They said that "they didn't want to drink Jewish blood."[8]

At the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944, 50 prisoners were ordered to dig up the corpses and burn them. Members of the German civil administration recall that this resulted in a terrible stench throughout the city for days. After they had finished, the prisoners themselves were shot and killed and their bodies burned.[9]

There were very few survivors from among the several thousand Jews who were briefly interned within the Nikolaev ghetto.

In January 1946, a Soviet Military Tribunal in Nikolaev sentenced to death and promptly hanged Hans Sandner, Franz Witzleb, and Heinrich Schmale for crimes committed in occupied Soviet territory. A court in Munich sentenced Paul Zapp to life in prison on February 26, 1970.



Defendant Otto Ohlendorf, commander of Einsatzgruppe D, pleads "not guilty" during his arraignment at the Einsatzgruppen Trial, September 15, 1947. Seated behind him wearing a bowtie is Gustav Nosske, whose Einsatzkommando 12, along with Sonderkommando 11a, participated in murder operations around Nikolaev.
USHMM WS #43043 COURTESY OF NARA

SOURCES Published sources on the mass killing of the Jews of Nikolaev include: Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 241–251; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724.

Relevant documentation on the murder of the Jewish population of Nikolaev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAMO; GARF (7021-68-180 and 181); NARA (e.g., N-Doc. NO-2066); RGVA (e.g., 1275-3-662); Sta. Mü I; USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *Haaretz*, March 20, 2009, quoting Ella Lifshitz.
2. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 50, Feldkommandantur 193 (Abt. VII), Nikolajew, October 5, 1941, Bericht für August/September 1941.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 101, October 2, 1941.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memo (*Schnellbrief*) of the chief of the Security Police from October 25, 1941, RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

5. BA-MA, RH 20-11/488 (N-Doc. NO-2066), Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Nikolajew vom August 18 biz sum August 31, 1941; LG-Mü I, Verdict of February 26, 1970—IV 9/69—in the case against Zapp and others in *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724. See also the report of Ortskommandantur I/853 from August 31, 1941: "Last week the SD executed 230 Jews who refused to be registered and who had encouraged the remaining Jewish population not to serve the German military-administrative authorities." NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 56, fr. 257.

6. N-Doc. NO-2066.

7. GARF, 7021-68-180, pp. 32–34, testimony of L.P. Kozuk, July 14, 1944; Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 204/61, vol. 15, p. 199, testimony of the former SS-Obersturmführer Albrecht Zöllner, April 24, 1967.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, p. 447.

9. GARF, 7021-68-181, pp. 3 (and reverse) and 16 (and reverse); LG-Mü I, Verdict of February 26, 1970—in *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724. The burning of the corpses was carried out from the end of November 1943 until the middle of January 1944 by Sonderkommando 1005b. The unit commander was SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritz Zietlow. See LG-Darm, Verdict of March 13, 1969—Ks 22/67—in the case against Helfsgott and others, in *JuNS-V* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 701; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 685.

NOVAIA ODESSA

Pre-1941: Novaia Odessa, town and raion center, Nikolaev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowa Odessa, Rayon center, Gebiet Wosnessensk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Nova Odesa, Mykolaiv oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Odessa is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) north-northeast of Odessa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 228 Jews living in Novaia Odessa.[1]

German armed forces occupied Novaia Odessa in mid-August 1941, about six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Novaia Odessa at the start of the German occupation.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the registration of the entire Jewish population. The Jews were also moved into several buildings in a separate district near the local school, and the area was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews were forced to wear the yellow Star of David and were prohibited from leaving this area on pain of death. They were also required to perform forced labor.[2]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, German forces liquidated the ghetto in September 1941, removing 125 Jews and shooting them.[3] According to one survivor testimony, the Germans shot the elderly and infirm first and then shot all the remaining Jews about two weeks later.[4] German investigative sources indicate that the mass shooting was carried out by a detachment of Sonderkommando 10b. Some Jewish refugees from Bessarabia may have been among the victims.[5]

In mid-November 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. The town became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wosnessensk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Around this time, a Jewish family of five was also shot.[6]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhizn' i smert' v epokhu Kholokosta: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 2006); Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 234; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 117.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-68-182); Sta. Mü I (22 Js 203/61); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 1).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 55.

2. Zabarko, *Zhizn' i smert'*, pp. 192–194.

3. GARF, 7021-68-182, pp. 157, 190–193.

4. See Zabarko, *Zhizn' i smert'*, pp. 192–194. This witness, Arkadii Bykovskii, dates the destruction of the Jews to mid- and late November 1941.

5. Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 8, p. 1752, testimony of Siegfried Suchart, who indicates that about 100 men, women, and children were shot. This source supports the contention that the mass shooting took place in September 1941.

6. GARF, 7021-68-182, p. 162.

NOVAIA PRAGA

Pre-1941: Novaia Praga, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Praga, Rayon center, Gebiet Adshamka, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Nova Praha, Oleksandriia raion, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Praga is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-northeast of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 census, 113 Jews (1.2 percent of the total population) lived in Novaia Praga, and another 57 lived in the villages of what was then the Novaia Praga raion.[1]

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied

the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Novaia Praga at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Novaia Praga was a Rayon center within Gebiet Adshamka, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar in Adshamka was Kameradschaftsführer Lange.[2]

At the end of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Novaia Praga. A building in a schoolyard was used as the ghetto.[3] Jews from nearby villages were also resettled into the ghetto. The German police liquidated the ghetto on June 9, 1942, when they took out the elderly and children (29 people) and shot them 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Novaia Praga.[4] Jews, whom the Germans deemed able-bodied, were forced to work in a labor camp that was guarded by Latvian policemen. The prisoners of the camp were sent to work in a quarry. Sometime in 1943, the camp was liquidated and all the prisoners were shot.

SOURCES Published sources include *Tkuma: Vestnik Tsentral'nogo Ukrainskogo fonda istorii Kholokosta "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 10 (60) (2005), p. 3. Relevant documentation can be found in DAKO (1004-1-35).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Testimony of S. Peskova, from the personal archive of Fiodor Plotnir, a regional ethnographer from Novaia Praga; F.F. Oksanych, "Nova Praha—selyshche khliborobiv: Korotkyi istoryko-kraeznavchyi narys," in the files of the Aleksandriia (Ingulets) State Ethnographic Museum.
4. Testimony of Leonid El'bert, published in *Tkuma*, p. 3; and DAKO, 1004-1-35, p. 67.

NOVOMOSKOVSK

Pre-1941: Novomoskovsk, city and raion center, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowomoskowsk, Rayon center, Gebiet Dnjepropetrowsk, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Novomoskovs'k, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Novomoskovsk is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) north-northeast of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the 1939 census, 757 Jews resided in the city (2.6 percent of the population). By the time the city was occupied, the number of Jews had decreased by several hundred due to the evacuations in August and September 1941 of some Jews to the east.



A column of Jews is marched along a muddy road by Ukrainian guards during an Aktion in Novomoskovsk, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #76412, COURTESY OF APMO

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city on September 27, 1941. Until August 1942, the city was governed by Ortskommandantur I/837, which consisted of four officers, one civilian official, 16 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 16 soldiers, as well as 30 people recruited from among the local residents to perform guard duty (Hilfswachmannschaften).[1] The commandant's office established a city council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force; in April 1942 the latter consisted of 162 people, headed by V.F. Tkachenko and his deputy Ivan F. Shchenderei.[2]

From mid-November 1941 until mid-January 1942, Secret Field Police Group no. 725 (GFP-Gruppe 725) was located in the city; and from mid-January until May 1942, GFP-Gruppe 711 was based there.

On the third day of the city's occupation, the commandant issued an order that all Jews must register and wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David on their left arm. Jews were also required to appear every morning at the municipal government building for work assignments. In November 1941, the Germans established an unfenced Jewish residential district (an "open ghetto") in Novomoskovsk, which was located in two large houses on Lesnaia and Kuznechnaia Streets.[3] These streets were flooded in the spring by the Samara River and formed, as a result, a kind of island. By the end of December 1941, all the Jews of the town had been moved into the ghetto—those who were reluctant to move being forcibly resettled. There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto.[4]

In mid-March 1942, on the orders of the German Security Police in Dnepropetrovsk, the local police collected all the Jews from the ghetto, telling them they would be relocated. They were then escorted to a five-story flour mill, together

with some other Jews from the surrounding area, where they were held without food or water for a day or so. Their property items were also collected and confiscated by the police. On March 16, 1942, 2 Jews were publicly hanged on the marketplace. Then the remaining Jews (approximately 350 people) were escorted by the local police and German soldiers in a column to a sandpit on the outskirts of the city, behind the bridge on the road to Pavlograd. The Jews were forced to undress and then shot in the back of the neck by German Gestapo who had arrived from Dnepropetrovsk.[5] Some 30 suspected partisans were shot together with the Jews.[6]

The shootings were probably carried out by SD Sonderkommando Platt (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Platt) with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and the German Feldgendarmerie. The German Gestapo packed the valuable items in two large suitcases and took them back to Dnepropetrovsk. The remaining property of the victims was distributed among the local police.[7]

SOURCES Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Novomoskovsk can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7177); DADO; GARF (7021-57-68); NARA (T-501, reel 18); TsDAVO (3538-1-53); and VHF (# 20288).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 18, fr. 586.
2. Ibid., T-501, reel 18, fr. 815. I.F. Shchenderei was tried and convicted by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1947.
3. BA-L, B 162/7177, p. 343, interrogation of Vasilii V. Han, April 12, 1947, in Ufa, which specifically mentions the existence of a ghetto in Novomoskovsk, established between October and December 1941 by the local police. The other witnesses in this file do not mention the ghetto but were only asked about the mass shooting of the Jews.
4. VHF, # 20288, testimony of Leonid Gol'verk (born 1930).
5. A. Farimets, "Ekho Proshlogo," in *Tkuma: Vestnik Nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 6 (37) (2003), pp. 6–7. BA-L, B 162/7177, pp. 330–365, there are contradictions concerning the number of Jews shot and also the dating of the Aktion in the German investigative files (some stating April 16, 1942), but otherwise the witness descriptions of the events largely concur.
6. TsDAVO, 3538-1-53, p. 48.
7. BA-L, B 162/7177, pp. 334–336, interrogation of I.F. Shchenderei, April 21, 1947. Shchenderei claims that 364 Jews were registered in Novomoskovsk just prior to the shooting.

NOVOVITEBSKOE

Pre-1941: Novovitebskoe, Novovasil'evka sel'sovet, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowo Witebsk, Rayon Sofijewka, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Novovitebs'ke, Dnipropetovsk oblast', Ukraine

Novovitebskoe is located 96.5 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. There were only 277 Jews living in Novovitebskoe in 1941. On August 18, 1941, about eight weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the village. During that time, some of the Jews was able to evacuate.

In the first months after the village was occupied, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites persecuted the Jewish population. All the Jews were isolated in an open ghetto, located on a single street, and Jews were not allowed to go beyond its designated borders. Jews deemed fit to work were selected in April 1942 and taken to a nearby labor camp run by the SS and the Organisation Todt (OT), where they were used to build the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV, DG IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. In May 1942, the ghetto was liquidated, and all the Jews there were shot. Most of the remaining Jewish forced laborers working on the DG IV in camps around Sofievka were shot during the winter of 1942–1943.[1]

SOURCES Sources on the ghetto and/or the labor camp in Novovitebskoe are listed in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 69.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Novovitebskoe can be found in: BA-L (B 162/6169, pp. 3280–3282); and TsDAVO (4620-2-358, p. 7).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. BA-L, B 162/6169 (II 213 AR-Z 20/63, vol. 18), pp. 3280–3282.

NOVOZLATOPOL'

Pre-1941: Novozlatopol', village, Guliaipole raion, Zaporozh'e oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowo-Slatopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kujbyschewo (Kuibyshevo), Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Novozlatopil', Zaporozh'e oblast', Ukraine

Novozlatopol' is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) east-southeast of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the 1939 population census, there were 4,701 Jews living in the raion (30 percent of the total population), including 1,109 Jews in the village of Novozlatopol' itself (50 percent of the total population).

The village was occupied by units of the German 17th Field Army in early October 1941, nearly three and a half months after the initial Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. A number of Jewish men of eligible age escaped the occupation by conscription into the Red Army or by voluntary enlistment.

During the first months of the occupation, when the mass murder of the Jewish population was carried out, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Novozlatopol' and the surrounding Rayon. The German administration appointed a village elder and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the entire Jewish population. Jews were also forced into various kinds of heavy labor.

Information on the fate of the Jews of Novozlatopol' and the surrounding settlements is sparse and somewhat contradictory. According to one witness, I.P. Pliasovitsa:

> From the very first days of the Germans' administration of the raion territory, headed by the bloodthirsty officer Miller and the police chief Petkovskii, they began gathering together the Jewish population, ostensibly for shipment to Palestine. The order was given to take along their best clothing and food for the journey. After taking them to the Gendarmerie building, they made them dig four pits to serve as their own graves, and then the shooting started. Before being led to the pit, they were made to undress, and the perpetrators took the clothing for themselves. Those who offered any resistance were tossed into the pit alive. To drown out the cries and groans of the people thrown into the pit alive, the German accomplices beat on metal pails and buckets. For the same purpose, they also started up a tractor engine, but nothing could muffle these people's groans. When each pit was full of corpses, the police forced the kolkhozniks to fill them in with earth. The victims who were still alive moved about in the pits, and the earth rose up in these places.[1]

According to the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, hundreds of Jews from the area were "ghettoized" in Novozlatopol' in November and December 1941, prior to being murdered in a large-scale Aktion, which commenced on December 20, 1941. This source estimates that a few thousand Jews from Novozlatopol' and the surrounding area were executed, and some were expelled to Staryi-Kermenchik and perished there.[2]

According to other sources, the mass shooting of the Jews was probably not carried out until sometime in early February 1942. The approximately 800 victims were from Novozlatopol' and other villages in the raion. The bodies were buried in four pits on the outskirts of the village.[3] The killings were organized, in all likelihood, by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 12, which was deployed in Guliaipole at that time, assisted by the Ukrainian police and local ethnic Germans.

Some local non-Jews, however, risked their lives in efforts to save Jews. For example, in early February 1942, Nikifor Cheredenko of the village of Prishib traveled several hours by cart to rescue the Tsviling family (former neighbors, then living in Friling, Novozlatopol' raion) shortly before their scheduled arrest and transfer to Novozlatopol'. He had to smuggle them through German patrols and quickly supplied them with false identity papers. However, the other villagers of Prishib also had to keep the secret in the face of repeated German investigations into the "new arrivals." The Tsviling family was one of the very few that survived in the Novozlatopol' Jewish national raion. Another Jew who survived was Ruvim Gershovich Platok, who fell into the pit alive and was buried but at night somehow managed to climb out and find refuge in the area.

At the end of the occupation, the police chief Petkovskii and the local German "colonists" Simon, Bauer, Krebs, and Risselman were tried by the Soviet authorities and found guilty of having committed mass murder in the Novozlatopol' raion.[4]

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jews of the Novozlatopol' raion can be found in the following publications: S.F. Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e* (Zaporozh'e, 2003); and Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 205–207. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 907, but reports the "ghettoization" of the Jews of Novozlatopol', unfortunately does not cite any sources for this.

Documentation pertaining to the elimination of the Jews of Novozlatopol' can be found in the following archives: DAZPO (1335-6-6; 1662-1-1; 1844-1-1 and 3); GARF (7021-61-29 and 8114-1-952, pp. 132–133); and TsDAHOU (57-4-14).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. DAZPO, 1662-1-1, p. 5, as cited in Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e*, pp. 38–40.
2. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 907.
3. DAZPO, 1335-6-6, p. 182, inquiry of the executive committee of the Guliaipole Council of Peoples' Deputies, No. 08-27/86, February 17, 1986. In DAZPO, 1844-1-3, the number of 800 victims is given, together with a list of Jewish residents of the Novozlatopol' raion who were killed during the occupation. This list—which is not complete—includes the names of 661 persons.
4. DAZPO, 1844-1-3, p. 93, as cited in Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e*, pp. 39–40.

PAVLOGRAD

Pre-1941: Pavlograd, city and raion center, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pawlograd, city and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Pavlohrad, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Pavlograd is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Dnepropetrovsk. In 1939 the Jewish population stood at 2,510 (7.4 percent of the total population).

In the three and a half months following the initial German invasion of the USSR, a considerable number of Jews from Pavlograd were able to evacuate to the east. Jewish men of military age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily.

On October 11, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied the city. From the middle of October 1941 until August 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/829) controlled the city. The Ortskommandantur established a local administration and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which in April 1942 consisted of 158 men.[1] Shortly after the occupation of the city, the commandant issued an order calling for all the Jews to be registered and requiring them to wear armbands bearing the Star of David on their left arms. All Jews were also ordered to appear in front of the city headquarters each morning for compulsory labor.

The first shooting of Jews in the city was apparently carried out at the end of 1941.[2] During the spring of 1942, the German authorities established a Jewish prison camp or "ghetto" on the grounds of factory no. 359. Local Jews from Pavlograd, as well as Jews from the surrounding area and possibly some refugees, were resettled there. The camp was liquidated in June 1942, and all the prisoners were shot. In total, around 2,000 persons were murdered. German forces assisted by Latvian collaborators conducted the shootings.[3]

SOURCES The "ghetto" in Pavlograd is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 65.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Pavlograd can be found in the following archives: DADO; GARF (7021-57-68, pp. 100–101); NARA; TsDAHOU (57-4-212, p. 60); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 11; and RG-22.005M, reel 2); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 18, fr. 814.

2. From November 1941 to January 1942, according to one source, 3,672 persons were killed in Pavlograd. See GARF, 7021-57-68, p. 103. In our view, this figure is much too high. These shootings were probably carried out by GFP-Group 711, commanded by an officer named Färber. In December 1941 and the first half of January 1942, this unit was stationed in Pavlograd.

3. Ibid., pp. 100–101; TsDAHOU, 57-4-212, p. 60. According to the inquiry (no. 23/1297) conducted by the committee of Pavlograd's City Council, on July 15, 1999, 2,100 Jews were annihilated on the grounds of the factory (now called "Palmash") where the prison camp was located. These victims were mostly Soviet citizens; the others (670 persons) were "Polish Jews." In our view, this figure is also too high. A Soviet intelligence report for 1942 mentioned that the Germans killed 1,000 Jews in Pavlograd; see USHMM, RG-22.005M (Russian State Archive for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History), reel 2, 69-1-1090.

PERVOMAISK

Pre-1941: Pervomaisk, city and raion center, Odessa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Perwomaisk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Pervomais'k, raion center, Mykolaiv oblast', Ukraine

Pervomaisk is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) southeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 6,087 Jews (18.5 percent of the total population) living in Pervomaisk.[1]

The city was occupied on August 2, 1941. From August to November 1941, a German military commandant's office controlled the city. Initially, it was Feldkommandantur (V) 676; then, after October 1941, it became an Ortskommandantur headed by Major Georg Truckenbrod. In December 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city of Pervomaisk, including its left-bank regions Ol'viopol' and Bogopol', became the administrative center of Gebiet Perwomaisk, headed by Gebietskommissar Kameradschaftsführer Lafrentz. The Gebiet formed part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In October 1941, the right-bank part of the city, called Golta, came under Romanian administration as part of so-called Transnistria. It became the administrative center of the Golta uezd, headed by Lieutenant Colonel M. Isopescu.

In the first days of the occupation, hundreds of Jewish residents of the city were killed.[2] It is likely that the pogrom was carried out by Romanian soldiers who had occupied the city.

In August 1941, the German Feldkommandantur (V) 676 conducted the registration of the remaining Jews in the city, numbering around 2,000 people. They set up a Judenrat and resettled the Jewish population into a designated part of the city, which "had previously been a Jewish ghetto." The Germans also assigned different forms of compulsory labor to the Jews.[3]

A German report by Feldkommandantur (V) 676, dated September 21, 1941, seems to imply that most of the Jews from the ghetto were shot in mid-September: "the final resolution of the 'Jewish question' by the recent measures was received by the population as a just punishment for the immeasurable suffering inflicted upon them by Bolshevism. Since these measures were conducted without informing the Feldkommandantur in advance, it was not possible to preserve the currently very much-needed Jewish craftsmen."[4]

According to other sources, forces of the German Security Police rounded up the Jews from the ghetto and others found around Pervomaisk and shot them in several Aktions conducted between September 1941 and the spring of 1942. The Security Police was assisted by the local police, headed by an ethnic German named Geitel. One source indicates that about 30 to 40 Jewish artisans who survived the various Aktions in Pervomaisk were shot on an unspecified later date, in 1942 or 1943.[5]

From the Romanian part of the city, Golta, Jews declared unfit for labor were sent to the nearby Akmechetka camp. At the same time, a small group of Jewish artisans was sent to a newly created labor camp. In the middle of 1942, several hundred Jews were deported from Romania to Golta. In late 1942

and early 1943, the population in the two ghettos and labor camp in Golta stood at around 500 persons. In the spring of 1943, some of them were transferred to other camps. By October 1943 the population of Golta Jews numbered 300. The majority of them survived, but some died of hunger and disease.[6]

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-69-82); RGVA (1275-3-661); USHMM; and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 21.
2. *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Mykolaivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1971), p. 664.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-661, p. 12, Report of Feldkommandantur 676 (V), September 8, 1941.
4. Ibid., 1275-3-661, pp. 20–23, Report of Feldkommandantur 676 (V), September 21, 1941. This interpretation is not confirmed by other sources cited below. It is possible that additional Jews were found in the surrounding areas and then shot in groups over the following weeks and months.
5. Testimony of eyewitnesses V.I. Iaremchenko and R.Ie. Berman at the court proceedings in Kiev, January 17–28, 1946. See *Kyivs'kyi protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev, 1995), pp. 83–85; GARF, 7021-69-82, pp. 242, 246. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in Pervomaisk, 120 Jews were shot in November 1941, 3,600 Jews in December 1941, and 1,600 Jews in February–March 1942. These figures, however, appear to be too high.
6. D. Deletant, "Ghetto Experience in Golta, Transnistria, 1942–1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18:1 (Spring 2004): 9–18.

ZLATOPOL'

Pre-1941: Zlatopol', town, Novomirgorod raion, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Slatopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: part of Novomyrhorod, Kirovohrad oblast', Ukraine

Zlatopol' is located about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Kirovograd. In 1939 the Jewish population numbered 1,047 (26 percent of the total population).[1]

German forces occupied the settlement on August 1, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zlatopol' at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. It established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local residents.

In November 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Zlatopol' became the center of Rayon Slatopol in Gebiet Kirowograd, and later in Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Shortly after the occupation of Zlatopol', the Ortskommandantur organized the registration and marking of the Jews with armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy forced labor tasks, such as the repair of roads and buildings, solely because of their race.

In the fall of 1941, the German military administration established a "ghetto camp" for the Jews in Zlatopol'.[2] Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainian local inhabitants. As a result, starvation quickly ensued among the ghetto inmates.

In November 1941, the first Aktion was conducted against the Jews of Zlatopol'. German security forces assisted by Ukrainian police used chloropicrin gas to suffocate 174 Jews in a basement.[3] During the second Aktion in February 1942, on the instructions of the Gebietskommissar, the Ukrainian police suffocated 202 Jews, also using gas.[4] In May 1942, a third Aktion was carried out in the same manner, killing 183 Jews.[5] Altogether, 559 people were killed in the course of these three Aktions.

In June 1942, the German Gendarmerie captured 14 Jews who had been hiding and shot them in the forest nearby.[6] By June 1942, 240 Jews remained in the ghetto.[7] On September 30, 1942, around 100 Jews were shot in a deserted mine shaft near the village of Maslovo. When they were taken out of the building and led into the car for transportation to the killing site, a number of young Jews offered resistance. Armed only with metal bars, they threw themselves at the German and Ukrainian police, slightly wounding some of them.[8] After this, only the craftsmen and their families remained in the ghetto. They were exterminated at some time later in 1942 or in 1943.[9]

Between 1941 and 1943, the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 800 Jews in Zlatopol'.

SOURCES The ghetto in Zlatopol' is mentioned in the following publications: *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:486; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 93. There is also a survivor testimony published in Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 246–249.

Documents relating to the persecution and annihilation of Jews in Zlatopol' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKO; GARF (7021-66-123); TsDAHOU (57-4-170); TsDAVO (3676-4-317; R4328-1-1); USHMM; and YVA (O-33/154-1-4).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 27.

2. "Zlatopol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:486, indicates the building of a children's home was used for this purpose. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1514, dates the establishment of the "ghetto camp" to December 1941. TsDAVO, R4328-1-1, pp. 61–62, 67–68, calls it a "ghetto camp" established in the forest on the outskirts of town.

3. GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 55.

4. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, Report of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) and chief of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the period from March 6 to April 1, 1942.

5. GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 55.

6. TsDAHOU, 57-4-170, p. 73, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, No. 12, July 17, 1942.

7. Testimony of Iosif Iakovlevich Butovetskii, in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, p. 247.

8. Ibid., pp. 247–248; the Butovetskii testimony has also been published in *Yalkut Moreshet* 45 (June 1988): 179–184.

9. Available sources indicate that 83 Jews were murdered in 1943; see GARF, 7021-66-123, pp. 55 and reverse side.

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SECTION VII

REGIONS OF THE USSR UNDER GERMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION

Following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German forces penetrated deep into Soviet territory, reaching the outskirts of Moscow by November 1941. From August 1941, the western sections of occupied territory were handed over successively from German military administration to civil rule as Reichskommissariate Ostland and Ukraine were established and gradually expanded eastward through the end of 1941 and into 1942.

In this volume, those parts of the occupied Soviet Union that remained under German military administration during the occupation have been divided into three regions in accordance with the boundaries of the respective Soviet Socialist Republics at the time of the German invasion in June 1941: Eastern Belorussia, Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, and Russia. In 1941, before the German occupation, Crimea formed part of the Russian Federation, but here it is combined with Eastern Ukraine, as it also was occupied by forces of German Army Group South.

The Eastern Belorussia Region covers the Vitebsk and Mogilev oblasts and also parts of the Gomel', Minsk, and Poles'e oblasts of the Belorussian SSR. During the period when the ghettos in Eastern Belorussia were established and liquidated from the summer of 1941 until the summer of 1942, the region was occupied by the German army, and specifically it came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte).

The Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region covers the Chernigov, Khar'kov, Stalino, Sumy, and Voroshilovgrad oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as German-occupied Crimea, during the period of German military occupation. During the period when most of the ghettos in the Eastern Ukraine Region were established and liquidated from the fall of 1941 until the summer of 1942, the region was subordinated primarily to Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd). The four ghettos established in the Crimea lay within the Rear Area of the German 11th Army.

The Occupied Russian Territory covers primarily the area of the pre-1941 Kalinin, Leningrad, Orel, Smolensk, and Tula oblasts. The ghettos established in this region between the summer of 1941 and the spring of 1942 lay primarily within the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Groups Center and North, although some, such as that in Kaluga, remained under the control of German frontline troops. In addition, during the German offensive against Stalingrad, in the summer and fall of 1942, a few ghettos were established in the areas occupied by German Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A) in the Rostov oblast', the Ordzhonikidze krai, and the Kalmyk and Kabardino-Balkar ASSRs (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics).

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EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION



Jewish men remove guns from a barrack in Mogilev, July to October 1941. The German caption reads: "collection of looted guns."
USHMM WS #74318, COURTESY OF ŻIH

EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION

Pre-1941: Vitebsk, Mogilev, and parts of the Gomel', Minsk, and Poles'e oblasts, Belorussian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-2001: Republic of Belarus

The entirety of the eastern Belorussia region lay within the Belorussian SSR in 1938. After June 1941 and until the spring of 1942, the German military authorities and the Einsatzgruppen established some 101 ghettos or points of concentration for Jews in eastern Belorussia, divided as follows: 41 in the Vitebsk oblast', containing about 30,000 Jews; 31 in the Mogilev oblast', holding some 38,000 Jews; 15 in what is now the Gomel' oblast', with approximately 13,000 Jewish residents; and 14 in the Minsk oblast', with about 16,000 Jews. For some locations a lack of information has made it very difficult to determine whether or not a ghetto existed there. Most ghettos were located in the Rayon centers, sometimes also holding Jews brought in from surrounding villages, although several Rayons contained 2 or more ghettos. The period of ghetto formation was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen), Wehrmacht, Order Police, Waffen-SS, and various non-German auxiliaries.

According to the 1939 census, there were more than 250,000 Jews living in the region of eastern Belorussia. Thousands of Jewish refugees arrived from western Belorussia in the first days after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, but many other Jews were evacuated, fled in time, or were recruited into the Red Army. However, a systematic evacuation of key personnel, mainly Communist Party and state officials, as well as industrial workers, was possible only from a few larger cities with good railway connections. For example, in Orsha, located on a main railway line, only about 25 percent of the Jews remained at the start of the German occupation, whereas in Polotsk, probably around 75 percent of the 1939 population was trapped there, although this number included many refugees from further west.

In the first two months, the rapidly moving units of Einsatzgruppe B, supported by SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted a number of killing Aktions directed against suspected Communists and the Jewish leadership. In August 1941, Einsatzgruppe B and other units initiated large-scale killings of Jewish women and children. For example, in Surazh, Einsatzkommando 9 carried out the total annihilation of the Jews on August 15, 1941, without forming a ghetto.[1] The liquidation of most of the larger ghettos established in the main cities was conducted in October and November 1941; but many ghettos in smaller towns and villages were not liquidated until the first six months of 1942. The limited personnel of the Einsatzgruppen, poor roads and communications, and the cold winter of 1941–1942 all contributed to the prolongation of the killing Aktions into the spring and summer of 1942.



An elderly woman sits among the ruins of her home, destroyed by the German attack on Vitebsk. The original German caption reads: "This was Vitebsk!"
USHMM WS #09468, COURTESY OF PATRICIA MARK

The military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) appointed a local Belorussian administration and a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) in each Rayon. The first anti-Jewish measures introduced by the military included the wearing of identifying markings and the introduction of forced labor. Other regulations included restrictions on trading with non-Jews and confinement to the limits of the settlement.

The commander in charge of Rear Area, Army Group Center (Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Mitte, or Berück Mitte), General der Kavallerie Max von Schenckendorff, issued an order for the creation of separate Jewish quarters on July 13, 1941. It stated that Jews were to be concentrated in a closed community in houses only occupied by Jews.[2] Among the first ghettos established in eastern Belorussia were those in Slavnoe (according to survivors, on July 9), Zembin (mid-July 1941), Ostrovno (on July 19), Krupki (July), and Bogushevichi (late July or early August). Ghettoization, however, was not a high priority. Subsequent guidelines issued by the Army High Command (OKH) in mid-August, and circulated by the Berück Mitte on September 12, advised that fenced ghettos were only to be established when the location of the Jewish quarter in relation to the non-Jewish residential area made it necessary for the effective guarding of the Jewish quarter, which could not be achieved by other means. Such ghettos were only to be established in towns with larger Jewish populations and only if other more urgent tasks would not be neglected in consequence. Jews could leave the Jewish quarters only for work assignments or with special permission

from the Ortskommandant.[3] These orders, which left much initiative to commanders at the local level, explain how the patchwork of open ghettos, enclosed ghettos, and also other places with no resettlement of the Jews came about.

As a result of the flexible guidelines, at least 17 unfenced or open ghettos (*Judenviertel*) were established in eastern Belorussia; but there were significant variations, even among these. In Beshenkovichi and Chashniki, Jews were not resettled, but they were forbidden to leave the town, and their houses were marked with wooden Stars of David. In Tolochin, the Jews were resettled into a separate area, which was not fenced but was guarded by the local Belorussian police. In Osipovichi, the Jews were confined to certain streets that they could not leave, but the area remained unfenced and non-Jews living there were not resettled. In Trudy, all the Jews were concentrated in three houses, from which the non-Jews were removed.

Among reasons given for establishing ghettos was the Germans' need for more housing space, especially in places that had witnessed considerable destruction. Another motivation was the aim of restricting Jews' access to the food supply. The ghettos also served the additional purpose of trapping much of the Jewish population in preparation for the killing Aktions.

A variety of different sites were used as ghettos. Many were established in the poorer parts of town, often where Jews had lived before in the small wooden houses typical of the region. In the village of Grodzianka, a long, wooden construction similar to a barracks served as the ghetto. The Jews of Tal'ka were concentrated in a former pioneer camp, and those of Pukhovichi in the former sanatorium of the postal service. In Gorodok, the ghetto was fenced on three sides, with a river forming its boundary on the fourth; a watchtower was built at the highest point along the ghetto fence. In the small village of Obol', a single house served as the ghetto. In Shumilino, the ghetto consisted of 10 houses "surrounded with barbed wire. Old cans and bottles were hung on the wire, and if somebody touched it, they rang. A guard with a machine gun sat on a watchtower, and he opened fire at everybody who came close to the wire."[4]

In most cases the ghettos were established and overseen by the Ortskommandanturen, but in some cases, especially in larger cities, the Einsatzgruppen also played a leading role. In Orsha, the ghetto was established following a decision taken in the office of the Ortskommandantur. It consisted of between 25 and 40 houses, where about 2,000 people were concentrated. The Jews were given three days to move in. On one side, the ghetto was bordered by the Orshitsa River, and on the other sides it was enclosed with barbed wire and guarded. The Jewish cemetery was included in the ghetto area.[5]

In September 1941, Egon Noack, commander of Vorauskommando Moskau subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, arrived in Mstislavl', and after consulting with the mayor and the head of the local police, he ordered the creation of a ghetto in the "Sloboda" section of town. All Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto, while local Belorussians were evacuated from this area. During this visit, the Security Police under Noack collected fur coats from the Jews, and after the ghetto was established, the Security Police shot 30 Jewish men.[6] Ghettoization was often accompanied by anti-Jewish violence and the confiscation or looting of property. In Mogilev, the Jews allegedly tried to sabotage resettlement into the ghetto, which resulted in the Security Police shooting 113 Jews.[7] In Ostrovno, on the day of the resettlement, a young Jew who refused to move into the ghetto was shot and killed. During the resettlement of the Jews into the Polotsk ghetto, the Nazis confiscated Jewish property, beating many Jews in the process.

Most ghettos in the region were severely overcrowded, and despite the short duration of many of them, epidemics of typhus and other diseases linked to malnutrition, exposure, and overcrowding were common. In the Lepel' ghetto, some of the houses had neither doors nor windows. Jews were crammed 30 to 40 people to each house. The ghetto inmates were forbidden to leave their houses or even to look out the windows. In winter they were forbidden to take water from wells; they could only melt snow instead.[8] In Vitebsk, the area of the ghetto was so severely damaged that the Jews had to scavenge in the ruins to find some makeshift shelter. In the Liuban' ghetto, each house contained at least three or four families.

A survivor of the Liozno ghetto, B. Chernyakov, has described conditions there: "The police burst into ghetto houses in the winter at any time of the day or night. They broke the windows, beat the Jews with sticks and whips, and chased them out into the freezing cold. Not a single window pane remained in one of the houses . . . even though 40 people lived there in –40° weather. Infested with lice, the people slept on rotten, wormy straw. A typhus epidemic broke out, claiming several lives every day."[9] Survivors report from a number of ghettos that the Germans supplied no food at all to the inmates, which meant that deaths from starvation occurred, in some cases on a large scale.

Most historians argue that the exploitation of the Jews for labor was only of marginal importance in the ghettos of this region, since much of the heavy industry had been evacuated or destroyed by the Soviets, and sufficient non-Jewish manpower remained. Nonetheless, Jews were used for forced labor in almost all eastern Belorussian ghettos. Forced labor tasks included cleaning the streets, repairing roads, digging military defenses, and cleaning or craft work for the German occupying forces. Sometimes, however, forced labor was intended merely to humiliate the Jews. In Parichi, Jews were taken out each day for forced labor, and when there was no work for them, the authorities still made them move sand from one place to another.

In September 1941, the Wehrmacht forbade the use of Jewish workers other than in closed columns.[10] According to historian Christian Gerlach, this order effectively excluded Jewish craftsmen from the economy and accelerated the process of destruction. As the measure was implemented, it was accompanied by the mass murder of most of the Jewish population in the larger cities. Since the Jews of eastern Belorussia were much less involved in crafts and light industry than those in the former Polish regions, they could be replaced more easily. The acute food shortages in the cities, exacerbated by the

Germans' own "Hunger Plan," led German authorities to starve out and shoot Jews en masse. Fear of disease spreading became another reason to liquidate those that remained.[11]

Among the main units responsible for the murder of the Jews in eastern Belorussia in the fall of 1941 were Einsatzkommandos 8 and 9 of Einsatzgruppe B. Einsatzkommando 8, assisted by Police Battalions 316 and 322, murdered more than 6,000 Jews in Mogilev in two large Aktions in October. Another Einsatzkommando 8 detachment shot 7,000 Jews in Borisov, assisted by the local Belorussian police. Detachments of Einsatzkommando 9 carried out mass shootings of Jews, for example, in Vitebsk, Ianovichi, and Sirotino. Wehrmacht units participated in anti-Jewish Aktions, for example, in Krupki and Krucha, and provided support to the operations of the Einsatzgruppen. A report by Ortskommandantur I (V) 324 in Parichi reflects the suddenness of developments: "on October 18, 1941, a security command of the SD in Bobruisk appeared in Parichi and liquidated the Jews living here."[12]

Indigenous forces and other auxiliaries also played an important role. Apart from the Ordnungsdienst based in every town and village, men of the collaborationist Russian National People's Army (RNNA) and Ukrainian auxiliaries also participated in ghetto liquidation Aktions.

About 25 of the eastern Belorussian ghettos existed for less than two months, such that they can be considered destruction ghettos. Of these, 16 were liquidated in the fall of 1941 and the others in the first six months of 1942. In some places, such as Drissa or Osveia, the Jews were collected together in a "special camp" or ghetto for only a few days before they were shot; others existed for a few weeks, such as in Klimovichi or Gorodok, and in most respects resembled other ghettos.

From a few ghettos, selected skilled workers were spared initially from the killing Aktions, but this was usually for only a few weeks. In Mogilev a forced labor camp for Jews was established alongside the ghetto, which later also held non-Jews before its liquidation in 1943. Jews from western Belorussia were sent to a forced labor camp near Borisov in December 1942; they were shot there after a few months in 1943.

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in the eastern Belorussian ghettos other than the names and professions of some Jewish elders and council members. As elsewhere, their tasks included registering the Jews and meeting German demands for forced labor and "contributions." They also probably allocated housing and provided some social services, including rudimentary medical care. In Vitebsk and a few other ghettos, there is evidence of a Jewish police force. In Tal'ka, Jewish elder Meyer Rabinovich was shot when he protested about the treatment of the Jews in the ghetto.[13] Attempts were made to maintain religious observance and other social activities despite the difficulties. In Shchedrin, the Jews prayed at home, as there was no synagogue within the ghetto boundaries. Efforts were also made to bury the dead according to Jewish rites.

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. Jewish survivors from Ianovichi recalled their non-Jewish neighbors with great bitterness, as with the coming of the Germans, the attitude of the local population towards the Jews changed drastically: "The locals could come to a Jew and take away whatever they wanted, even a cow . . . ; they might also beat you with a stick."[14] The German authorities also spread virulent propaganda against the Jews. The establishment of ghettos gave non-Jews the opportunity to loot property that was left behind. In most ghettos in the region, Jews were able to barter their last possessions for food with the non-Jewish population despite German prohibitions. In Borisov, the initial mood of support for the anti-Jewish measures gave way to fears that the remaining local population might also be killed once the full scale of the massacres became known.[15]

From the end of 1941, a number of Jews escaped from the ghettos to join the growing Soviet partisan movement. Many Jews served with distinction in the Soviet partisans and carried out attacks against German garrisons and the local police. Despite some antisemitism in the ranks of the partisans, official Soviet policy treated all nationalities equally, and Soviet units offered some refuge to Jews escaping from the ghettos. Other Jews survived in hiding, usually with the help of a number of non-Jews.

Many of the Jews in the small open ghetto in Kolyshki were fortunate to be liberated by the Red Army. The German authorities had collected the Jews in a few intact houses marked with distinctive symbols. The Jews suffered from frequent robberies in the "ghetto," and some Jews caught foraging outside the village were shot. On February 9, 1942, a Soviet reconnaissance unit recaptured Kolyshki, and a few days later some of the Jews moved deeper into Soviet-held territory, with the unit commander's approval. Unfortunately, more than 100 Jews who remained behind were murdered in March, after the Germans' return.

The ghettos liquidated in the first six months of 1942 were mainly smaller ones in more remote towns and villages, although a few were larger, such as that in Beshenkovichi, which contained more than 800 people. The Khotimsk ghetto was liquidated in early September 1942 and was probably not the last ghetto in the region, as Belorussian sources date the liquidation of the Sloboda ghetto to October 1942.

On liberation by the Red Army, very few Jewish survivors of the German occupation remained in eastern Belorussia. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documented the mass grave sites and obtained some descriptions of ghettos from local inhabitants. Just as German trials of Einsatzgruppen members have helped to piece together the daily brutality of the killing squads, now the trials of Soviet collaborators located in the Committee for State Security (KGB) archives are beginning to help historians gain a clearer picture of the attitudes among the local population during the persecution and murder of the Jews.

SOURCES Of the secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of eastern Belorussia, the following are recommended: Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche*

Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944 (Hamburg: HIS, 2000); Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997); Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982); Daniel Romanovsky, "The Holocaust in the Eyes of *Homo Sovieticus*: A Survey Based on Northeastern Belorussia and Northwestern Russia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13:3 (Winter 1999): 355–382; and Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42" (presented at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies Symposium on "The Holocaust in the Soviet Union," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, November 2003), available at jewishgen.org.

Of use in helping to identify smaller ghettos were the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Comittee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm*, *1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000–2007); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel' E.S. Gal'perin, 1997); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000); Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998); and Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Slovo Pamiati* (Orsha: Orshanskaia Tipografiia, 1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GAGO; GAMINO; GAMO; GARF; GAVO; IfZ; IPN; MA; NA; NARA; NARB; RGASPI; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/388a (Berlin trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 [Filbert] held in 1961), p. 47; Soviet sources date the Aktion in Surazh on July 28 or August 2, 1941.
2. Berück Mitte, Abt. VII/Mil. Verw., Verwaltungsanordnungen Nr. 2, July 13, 1941, NARB, 409-1-1, p. 71, as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 524.
3. Berück Mitte, Abt. VII/Kr.-Verw., Verwaltungsanordnungen Nr. 6, September 12, 1941, as cited in ibid., p. 525.
4. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii, as cited by A. Shulman and M. Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997), p. 33.
5. See Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 66–69.
6. See Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 4, p. 152, statement of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and vol. 1, pp. 48–49, statement of Klingelhöfer, July 1, 1947.
7. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230.
8. Testimony of Roza Fishkina, GARF, 7021-84-104. See also Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 46–48.
9. B. Chernyakov's letter, in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 187–188.
10. OKW/W.F.St./Abt. L (IV/Qu), Betr.: Juden in den neu besetzten Ostgebieten, September 12, 1941 (BA-MA), as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 578.
11. See ibid., p. 645.
12. BA-BL, R 2104/25, report of OK I(V)324, n.d.
13. BA-L, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Semen Panschey and Kondrat Molchan; Dok. Bd. II, statement of Anna Koreny.
14. YVA, O-3/4614.
15. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS.



Borders as of 1942

BARAN'

Pre-1941: Baran', town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Baran, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Baran', Orsha raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Baran' is located a few kilometers to the southwest of Orsha. The 1939 census registered 81 Jews living in Baran' (out of a total population of 1,589).

German armed forces captured the settlement on July 16, 1941, three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were conscripted for military service in the Red Army. Slightly more than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the German occupation.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Baran' throughout the occupation, from July 1941 until February 1944. The German military administration established a local authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered all Jews to be registered and marked with badges and required that the Jewish population perform various forms of hard labor. In September 1941, all the remaining Jews in the settlement were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, consisting of just two houses, 19 and 21 Ialtinskaia Street.[1] The German commandant forbade Jews to go out onto the street after 6:00 P.M. As the Jews suffered from hunger, they exchanged valuable items for food with the local population.[2]

After about seven months, on April 8, 1942, the Germans, assisted by the local police, liquidated the ghetto; all the Jews—about 42 to 45 people—were shot and buried in a mass grave located about 300 meters (328 yards) from Sorokin Street.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Baran' ghetto can be found in the publications of Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshanskaia Tipografiia, 1997), pp. 55–57, and *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 92–93. See also "Baran'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, 2000), 4:84.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission regarding the extermination of the Jews of Baran' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); and GAVO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., "Baran," in *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1:86–87.
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 55.

BATSEVICHI

Pre-1941: Batsevichi, town, Klichev raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bazewitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Batsevichy, Klichav raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Batsevichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) due north of Bobruisk.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the area around Klichev in early July 1941. According to the testimony of Issak Moiseyevich Gershovich, the German military authorities established a ghetto in the town of Batsevichi by early September 1941. The Jews in the ghetto were served by a Jewish doctor and his wife, who was a midwife. The ghetto consisted of a few small cottages, in each of which lived about 25 to 30 people crammed together. One night in December 1941, German forces arrived in Batsevichi and shot all the Jews. Since the 1939 Soviet census recorded only 192 Jews living in the Klichev raion outside Klichev, it is likely that fewer than 100 Jews were murdered in Batsevichi.

In late February 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (Einsatzgruppe B) conducted a reprisal Aktion in Batsevichi, following an attack on German police forces nearby. During the Aktion, 47 inhabitants of Batsevichi, including men, women, and children, were murdered.[1]

SOURCES The ghetto in Batsevichi is mentioned in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 428.

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NOTE

1. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Bd. II, Lfd. Nr. 1044, p. 288.

BELYNICHI

Pre-1941: Belynichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Belynitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Bialynichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Belynichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 781 Jews living in Belynichi, comprising 24.8 percent of the total population.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 9, 1941, about three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In this interim period, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the course of the occupation, which lasted from July 9, 1941, until June 29, 1944, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a town administration and a police force recruited from local residents. Shortly after the occupation began, the town administration, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also required to perform heavy physical labor.

In September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (headed by Dr. Otto Bradfisch) arrived in Belynichi from Mogilev and conducted the first Aktion. On the pretext of sending Jews out to work on a bridge construction project, the German punitive squad rounded up more than 150 Jewish men. They escorted them about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) out of town and then shot them, burying the bodies in two pits.[2]

After the Aktion in the fall of 1941, all the remaining Jews of Belynichi, together with Jewish families from some neighboring villages in the Rayon, were resettled into a camp or ghetto "*Kvartal-Lager*" established in a specific quarter of the town. The ghetto was strictly guarded; the Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and non-Jews were also forbidden to enter.[3] This resettlement was most probably conducted under the supervision of Ortskommandantur II/936, which was based in Belynichi in mid-October 1941.[4]

On December 12, 1941, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. At 9:00 A.M., a detachment of the German Security Police and SD based in Mogilev (Einsatzkommando 8), assisted by the local Belorussian police, gathered the remaining Jews of the ghetto, about 600 people, into a large column. The Jews were told that they were being resettled to Esmony, a village about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the northwest of Belynichi. The Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews along the road into the Mkhi woods to a site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where two large pits measuring 40 meters by 30 meters (131 feet by 98 feet) and 3 meters (10 feet) deep had been prepared in advance. Here the Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were forced to undress down to their underwear and lie facedown in the ditches; after one row was complete, the Germans shot the Jews; and then the next row had to get ready. After this horrendous deed was finished, the Germans transported the clothing and shoes of the murdered Jews back to Belynichi, and from there the most valuable items were sent to Mogilev in automobiles; the remaining less valuable items were distributed by the Germans among their collaborators.[5]

Between April and June 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 shot several hundred more Jews in villages near Belynichi (presumably those who had not been brought into the Belynichi ghetto in the fall of 1941).

SOURCES Publications that mention the Belynichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Belynichi include the following: V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 135; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 104; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 294–295.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Belynichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/II 202 AR 625/67, vol. 1); BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-88-34); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.
2. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1. According to another source, the shooting of Jewish men took place in October 1941, in two ditches on the edge of Charopol'. In 1965, an obelisk was placed at the site of the shooting; see Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 294.
3. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b, map of Heeresgebiet Mitte as of October 9, 1941.
5. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1. A list containing the names of 360 of the murdered Jews can be found in GARF, 7021-88-34, pp. 30–37; among those murdered were apparently 224 refugees from western Belorussia. See also NARB, 861-1-9, p. 123.

BEREZINO

Pre-1941: Berezino, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Berazino, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Berezino is located just over 100 kilometers (62 miles) east of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 1,536 Jews (31.8 percent of the total) lived in Berezino. An additional 786 Jews lived in the villages of the raion, bringing the total Jewish population to 2,322.

German military forces had occupied the town by early July 1941, just over a week after the start of the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this period, several hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

During the entire occupation period, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The Germans created a local authority and recruited a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among the local residents.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the local authority organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. By the end of July, some Jews of the Rayon from outside the town were also concentrated in Berezino. Jews were forced to perform various forms of heavy labor, including

carpentry work. In August or September 1941, German security forces arrested and shot 150 Jews from the town.

In the summer or fall of 1941, a ghetto was created on Internatsional'naia Street in Berezino, which after a few weeks was surrounded by barbed wire. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from other villages nearby. Jews were prohibited from bringing food products into the ghetto from the villages and were beaten by the local police when caught. Nevertheless, Jews continued to sneak out to beg for food, as some Jews were dying of hunger. Those who died were buried in the Jewish cemetery.[1]

The ghetto was liquidated on January 31 and February 1, 1942. Einsatzkommando 8, a 20-man detachment of the Security Police and SD subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, shot 962 Jews, including the elderly, women, and children.[2] According to the evidence of a former member, the 1st Company of the 12th Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion, commanded by Zenonas Kemzura, also participated in the Aktion.[3]

The killing site was cordoned off by members of German Landesschützenbataillon 452. According to the diary entry of one member of this unit, the ghetto was only 500 meters (547 yards) from his window; he could hear the screams and shouts as the houses were cleared systematically, and any Jews trying to flee were shot on the spot. The Jews were escorted in a column to two wooden huts near the ditches, where they put their valuables into the first and their outer clothing into the second hut. Then they were escorted on a path through the snow to the grave. They got down into the grave and were killed by two SS men, who took turns shooting. Some children later were found hiding in the ghetto and were also murdered.[4]

The local Belorussian police took part in the Aktion. One well-dressed local policeman from Berezino boasted shortly afterwards: "We finished off the kikes, all of them. In the end of December and beginning of January [*sic*] we liquidated the kike ghetto. We shot a thousand of them. Children were taken to the river and drowned in ice holes."[5] Sometime after the Aktion, the Ortskommandantur in Berezino sent to Berlin $273 in U.S. currency, which had been confiscated from the Jews who were shot.[6]

Liza Aizendorf was hidden inside the ghetto with her other siblings by her grandmother, who gave herself up, as an empty house was likely to be searched thoroughly. Liza managed to escape with her sister three days after the Aktion. She survived the German occupation despite being denounced by local people on more than one occasion and eventually joined a Soviet partisan unit. After the Germans fled, she also participated in reprisals taken against local collaborators.[7]

Jews were also murdered in the villages of Rayon Beresino. In December 1941, German forces shot 380 Jews in the village of Bogushevichi. Sometime in early 1942, 200 Jews were shot in the village of Pogost.[8]

SOURCES Published sources on the fate of the Jews of Berezino during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 114; and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 197–198.

Documents and testimonies on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Berezino can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104); GAMINO; GARF (7021-87-2); NARB (861-1-8); VHF (# 7691); YVA (Oral History of Zinaida Krasner); and ZSSta-D (45 Js 35/64).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 1; testimony of Liza Aizendorf (Zorina), in Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 197–198; and VHF, # 7691, testimony of Elizaveta Aizendorf (née Zorina).

2. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 684. According to the materials of the ChGK, the Germans shot around 1,000 Jews in Berezino at the end of December 1941; see GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 1; and NARB, 861-1-8, p. 113.

3. See the trial proceedings against Antanas Impulevicius, Zenonas Kemzura, and others, in Vilnius, October 10–20, 1962, statement of the accused Juozas Knyrimas. Kemzura was sentenced to death, as was the commander of the battalion, Major Impulevicius (in absentia, as he was living in the United States).

4. ZSSta-D, 45 Js 35/64, pp. 22–24, diary of P.H. (transcript), cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 684 n. 983.

5. Unfortunately for this local policeman, his interlocutors were Soviet partisans in disguise, and they shot him shortly after these incautious words, as he had boasted also of having personally murdered two children. See David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 431 (Isaak Moiseyevich Gershovich [New York], Commissar of the 277th Partisan Regiment, 2nd Klichev Partisan Brigade, recollections from his wartime diary).

6. BA-BL, R2104/Beutebuch Russland VI, no. 9584, pp. 30–31, report dated April 29, 1942.

7. Testimony of Liza Aizendorf (Zorina), in Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 197–198.

8. GARF, 7021-87-2, pp. 6 (Bogushevichi) and 16 (Pogost).

BESHENKOVICHI

Pre-1939: Beshenkovichi, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beschenkowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Beshankovichy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Beshenkovichi is situated 51 kilometers (32 miles) west-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 1,119 Jews lived in the town, making up 26.3 percent of the population. The main part of the town is situated on the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River, where the majority of

the Jews lived. On the right bank of the river is the suburb of Strelka. Only 21 Jewish families lived in this suburb in the late 1920s; just prior to the war there were even fewer. The other main location with a sizable Jewish population in the Beshenkovichi raion was Ulla, which had 516 Jews in 1939 (20.4 percent of the total population). The Jewish population of the raion (excluding Beshenkovichi and Ulla) was 385, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Ostrovno and Svecha.

There was no mass evacuation or flight of Jews from Beshenkovichi. Many Jews failed to flee from the town because of the rapid German advance and lack of good roads. Only four Jewish families fled successfully from Strelka.

On July 5, 1941, the German XXXIX Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group seized the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River from Beshenkovichi to Ulla; thus Ulla and the main part of Beshenkovichi, except for Strelka, were captured by the Germans. The right bank (Strelka) was taken no later than July 9. On July 12, forces of the V Army Corps of the 9th Army (Infantry) entered Lepel' and Chashniki; on July 13, they entered Ulla (5th Infantry Division) and, most probably, also Beshenkovichi. Both towns became part of the Rear Area, 9th Army (Strauss). From August 1941 onward, Beshenkovichi was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte), being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; from October 13, 1941, Beshenkovichi was under the control of Ortskommandantur I/79.

A survivor, Yakov Genin, stated that a former math teacher, Ivan Ivitskiy, became the police chief. Witnesses attest that the men of the local police, including Ivitskiy, confiscated Jewish houses for themselves.[1]

Beshenkovichi suffered severely from the fighting. Many wooden houses were burned down. The Belorussian police began to confiscate Jewish houses and give them to non-Jews. There was no formal ghetto in Beshenkovichi; the Jews were resettled into a certain district of the town and ordered to mark their houses with plywood Stars of David. A survivor says that some craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, and the like) were lodged together in the same house; they worked for the Germans and were not subjected to forced labor. In Strelka, all the Jews were resettled into one house, which had belonged to someone whose first name was Shaye. The house was guarded at night. The Jews of Beshenkovichi also were ordered to wear a patch with a Star of David on their clothes. Forced labor was introduced: every morning all the Jews, men and women, had to gather in the town's park for distribution to the workplaces. Genin described the kinds of forced labor: "We loaded grain, repaired roads with picks. Most often we dismantled brick buildings, crushed bricks, and covered roads with it. In addition, we sawed trees in the forest and in the park for timber, and sometimes, when there was no work, the Germans made us dig pits or simply drag stones from one place to another."[2]

There were isolated killings before February 1942. Genin stated that the Germans killed some Jews "just for fun," but later "there were some more or less 'planned' shootings," victims of which were young strong men. The mass shooting of Jews took place on February 11, 1942. The perpetrators of the killing were members of Einsatzkommando 9 (Schäfer). On that day, all young and middle-aged men who were at work were taken from their workplaces and locked inside a stable; the rest of the Jews—women, children, and old people—were captured in a roundup carried out in the town by the local police. Some Jews offered resistance.

On the morning of the same day, the Germans gathered the town's Belorussians who had carts with horses. The Belorussian witness R.Sh., who participated in that operation, said: "The town commandant came out and spoke in Russian. . . . He said, 'You are liberated from the Jewish yoke, you are free people now,' something like that."[3]

The Jews—women, old people, and children—were formed into a column, which was escorted by the German and local police across the frozen Zapadnaia Dvina to Strelka and then to a nearby forest, where pits had been prepared. The Einsatzkommandos went separately. Some Jews tried to flee from the column; the police shot them, and the locals with the horse carts, who were following the column, had to pick up the bodies, put them onto the carts, and bring them to the pits.

The people brought to the forest near Strelka were all shot; then the men who had been locked in the stable were also taken there and killed. Later, the "specialists" (artisans) and the Jews who had fled from Beshenkovichi and were found in the vicinity were killed in another pit.

After the mass killing, the German authorities organized the sale of Jewish belongings to the local population.

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B, 855 Jews were killed on February 11, 1942, in Beshenkovichi.[4] Some 13 Jewish "specialists," who worked for the Ortskommandantur, and their families were spared on this day; they were killed in the fall of 1942.

The inscription on the monument erected at the site of the murder after the war states that 1,068 "innocent Soviet citizens" perished there on February 11, 1942. This figure includes either Jews who were killed before the last Aktion and the "specialists" or the non-Jews killed by the Nazis there—or both these groups.

Genin gives a rather negative description of the attitudes of non-Jews to the Jews in the town of Beshenkovichi during the war: "We heard from the Germans—Jude, Jude! The same attitude we got from part of the local population." Remarkably, he speaks positively about the attitude towards him shown by Soviet soldiers, whom he met after he crossed the front line in 1942.[5]

There are no recorded cases in Beshenkovichi where non-Jews attempted to rescue Jews, other than cases in which non-Jews attempted (unsuccessfully) to rescue their close Jewish relatives (in-laws).

The ghettos in Ulla and Ostrovno within Rayon Beschenkowitschi are dealt with in separate entries. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 93 Jews were killed in the villages of the Svecha sel'sovet (10 kilometers [6.2 miles] west of Beshenkovichi). Mass shootings of civilians

took place also in Bocheikovo (19 kilometers [11.8 miles] west-southwest of Beshenkovichi; 84 people killed), Sokorovo, Makarovichi, and other sel'sovets. It is not clear from the documents the extent to which there were Jews among the victims in these places.

SOURCES The personal story of Yakov Genin, who survived the massacre in Beshenkovichi, was published in Yiddish as Meyer Brukazh, "Der lerer," *Birobidzhaner Shtern* 253 (December 23, 1973).

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1). Relevant German documentation is located in RGVA (500-1-770), BA-BL (R 58/217), and BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). YVA contains not only all the witness statements consulted (O-3/4676 to 4680) but also copies of some German documentation (see O-51-Ossobi/43 and M-29-FR/208).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4676 and O-3/4677.
2. YVA, O-3/4676.
3. As cited by Daniel Romanovsky, "The Holocaust in the Eyes of the *Homo Sovieticus*," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13:3 (1999): 378 fn.24.
4. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B vom 16. bis zum 28. Februar 1942, in RGVA, 500-1-770.
5. YVA, O-3/4676.

BOBRUISK

Pre-1941: Bobruisk, city and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babruisk, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bobruisk is located 110 kilometers (68 miles) southwest of Mogilev. According to the census of 1939, there were 26,703 Jews living there (31.6 percent of the total population). The initial advance of German forces into Soviet territory in late June and July 1941 induced some of Bobruisk's Jews to evacuate to the east, while a number of male Jews were called up into the Red Army. No precise figure exists for the number of Jews in the city on the day it was occupied.

On June 28, 1941, units of the 3rd Panzer Division, as well as elements of the 4th Panzer Division and the 1st Cavalry Division, entered Bobruisk. Initially, the city was part of the German 2nd Army's zone of operations, but from August 1941 the territory of Bobruisk was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. The various administrative tasks in the city were divided between the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/274) and the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 581), but the former unit was subordinated to the latter.

From the first days of the occupation, the Germans ordered the inhabitants to observe a strict curfew and forbade them to leave "the limits of their residential area." Jews were forced to wear yellow six-pointed stars. Additionally, the Germans demanded that the Jews hand over their money, gold, jewelry, and furs. One of the first measures taken by the Germans was to register the entire population and compile a list of the Jews of Bobruisk. At about the same time, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which also served to separate the Jews from other segments of the population.

The Bobruisk ghetto was established in the area defined by Novoshosseinaia, Zaturenskogo, and Bobrova Streets.[1] According to M.G. Kogan, by July 30, 1941, 10 days after its establishment, all the Jews of Bobruisk had been relocated into the ghetto. In the meantime, the local population plundered what was left of the Jews' property. The ghetto was enclosed by a fence and guarded. The prisoners were prohibited from leaving its confines.

These oppressive German policies forced people to live under absolutely intolerable conditions. Ghetto prisoners had to endure extreme overcrowding, with as many as 35 people sharing a room. In the ghetto it was forbidden to heat furnaces and cook food. It was possible for the Jews to obtain something to eat only by secretly escaping from the ghetto at night and bartering personal possessions for food.[2] Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot immediately. Inhabitants of the ghetto were perpetually exhausted. Many Jews died from starvation and disease. Prisoners of the ghetto were also not able to wash. Some inhabitants of the ghetto succumbed to despair and attempted to commit suicide by hanging themselves. The Germans and their collaborators came to the ghetto for entertainment, selecting beautiful girls and raping them. The chief of police would enter the ghetto and shoot anyone in sight. Similar visits by the murderers would end, as a rule, with the murder of between 15 and 20 Jews. On a regular basis, Germans would round up teenagers and bring them to the hospital, where their blood would be taken. Inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to do heavy physical labor (digging and railway construction work).[3] Jews were forced to assist the Germans in defusing mines by dragging large rakes across the minefield. Many peopled died as the mines exploded. The Germans set dogs on those who tried to hide.

It seems that those with particular skills had a special status. Administrative correspondence between the municipal government and local enterprises, dated between September 13 and 18, 1941, reveals that the Jews H.M. Krichevski, R.S. Stison, L.A. Liakhovskoi, R.O. Ginsburg, N.B. Rozovski, and U.A. Golodez were entrusted with restoring a pharmacy and received special passes and bandages.[4]

According to Kima Rutman, some Jews from western Belorussia were also brought to the Bobruisk ghetto.[5] He also saw how elderly Jews dug holes in the ground in which they secretly placed their Talmuds, prayer books, Torahs, and talles, as well as lists of prisoners of the ghetto.

In July 1941, the mass killings or Aktions began. Not everything about them is known, making it difficult to present a complete account of the destruction of Bobruisk Jewry.

From the available evidence, it has been determined that between September and October 1941, Einsatzkommando 8 (headed by Dr. Bradfisch) conducted three mass shootings in

and around Bobruisk, during which 407, 1,380, and 418 Jews were killed, respectively.[6] The largest Aktion during this period was conducted by the SS-Cavalry Brigade in September 1941, in which some 7,000 Jews were killed in the area next to the airfield.[7]

Little is known about Jewish resistance in the city. The 1,380 Jews mentioned above were murdered supposedly because of their dissemination of propaganda directed against the German authorities. According to another Einsatzgruppen report, Jews in Bobruisk had shown open resistance against the orders issued by the German occupation authorities and had openly incited the population to acts of sabotage.[8]

The history of the Bobruisk ghetto came to an end on November 7–8, 1941. According to one source, the Aktion began on November 6, 1941.[9] In the early morning, Belorussian policemen and German soldiers rounded up the Jews, forcing them out of their homes. They shouted instructions about a journey to Palestine, while beating Jews with rifle butts. They forcibly loaded the Jews into trucks that took them to the village of Kamenka. The loading process continued until evening. The place of extermination was 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Bobruisk, near the road to Slutsk. Earlier, prisoners had dug three large ditches in the area. As Jews arrived, they were ordered to remove their clothes and footwear, then shot.[10] According to German sources, on November 7–8, 1941, 5,281 people were killed. The mass killing was carried out by units of Einsatzkommando 8 and Police Battalion 316.

A letter addressed to the commandant of the city of Bobruisk from the Belorussian mayor, Stankevich, reported that "the warehouses of the city contain the newly arrived property from the 'ghetto.' As these items were transported quickly, they arrived in a chaotic condition and were sorted first before their sale. After the goods were unloaded and organized, a number of military officials and private citizens visited the warehouse, selecting whatever items they wanted."[11]

After the extermination of November 7–8, 1941, the Germans declared that the territory of Bobruisk was "free of Jews," although a few craftsmen from the ghetto were kept alive, as their work was still required. Part of the ghetto remained fenced in, and four houses on Novoshosseinaia Street held tailors, shoemakers, and blacksmiths.

In addition to keeping the Jews alive for their work, the Germans exploited their continued existence in another way. It was apparent that a considerable number of inhabitants from the ghetto had managed to survive. The occupiers posted announcements declaring that there would be no further punitive measures against the Jews and that they were invited back into the ghetto. The bait worked, as some of the surviving prisoners, having no other choice, returned. The Germans waited until December 30, 1941.[12] On that day, the police surrounded the rump of the ghetto, and all the Jews were placed into trucks and driven to a place of extermination. It is estimated that the Germans murdered up to 2,500 people during this Aktion.[13]

The exact number of survivors has not been determined. Evidence exists about only a handful of individuals.

For rescuing Maria Minz, Bronislav Altshuler, and Guini Maz, the award of "Righteous Among the Nations" was granted by Yad Vashem to the Belyavsky family (Efrosiniya and son Alexander), the Yalovik family (Julia and son Victor), and the Micholak family (Stephanida and daughter Galina), respectively.[14]

Starting in the fall of 1943 and continuing until January 1944, the German occupiers took the remains of the Jews killed at Kamenka, at Elovkin, and at the Jewish cemetery of Bobruisk and burned them, trying to hide all traces of the murder. This barbaric act was carried out by prisoners who were themselves later killed. In those places where the Germans did not have enough time to conduct similar operations, they tried to disguise the mass graves under freshly sown fields and new roads.

SOURCES In Christian Gerlach's book *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weisrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), there is, among many other things, a brief examination of the destruction of Bobruisk's Jews (see pp. 599–600). The subject of the Holocaust is also examined in the regional history work: *Pamiats' Babruisk* (Minsk, 1995). See also R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997), pp. 181–182.

This entry is based primarily on documentation from the following archives: GAMO (858-1-62 and 858-1-74); GARF (7021-82-2); YVA (O-3/3754); and materials in the personal archive of the author (PAGV). Additional materials can be found in BA-L (B 162/1548-49); and NARA (T-175, reels 233–234).

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
2. Testimony of Mikhail Kogan, published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 272.
3. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
4. GAMO, 858-1-62, p. 2.
5. Testimony of Kima Rutman, published in Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 268.
6. See NARA, T-175, reels 233–234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 92, September 23, 1941; EM no. 108, October 9, 1941; and EM no. 124, October 24, 1941.
7. See BA-L, B 162/1548-49 (II 202 AR-Z 64/60).
8. NARA, T-175, reels 233–234, EM no. 108, October 9, 1941; and EM no. 92, September 23, 1941.
9. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints; testimony of Mikhail Kogan, published in Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 273.
10. GARF, 7021-82-2, p. 18, testimony of P.F. Khomichenko.
11. GAMO, 858-1-74.
12. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
13. GARF, 7021-82-2, p. 32, report of the ChGK for the Bobruisk oblast', January 1945.
14. Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shul'man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 33, 71, 112.

BOBYNICHI

Pre-1941: Bobynichi, village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bobynitschi, Vetrino Rayon, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babynichy, Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bobynichi is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Polotsk. In 1920, there were 170 Jews living in the village out of a total population of 219. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town in early July 1941.

A ghetto was established only one month before the final murder of the local Jews; it consisted of a single house, the former kolkhoz management building. The building was guarded. On January 15, 1942, a Belorussian squad headed by two Germans, most probably the same unit that conducted Aktions in the nearby villages of Voronichi and Gomel', appeared in Bobynichi; to judge from some of the names, they were probably Belorussian policemen from Polotsk. These men assembled 106 (108, according to one account) Jews (53 of them women), tied the hands of the young people, put the children, the old, and the sick onto horse carts, and led them to a nearby Belorussian cemetery. A pit had been dug beforehand. On the spot, the members of the squad shot the adult Jews and threw the children into the pit alive. A Jew named Isaak Ioffe was only wounded and went to a local hospital in search of assistance. At the hospital, Dr. Butko, however, betrayed him to the punitive squad, which shot Ioffe near the hospital and brought his body to the pit at the main killing site. The pit was filled in three days later on the orders of the mayor, Filipp A. Spasibeko. Of those killed in Bobynichi, 14 were not local Jews; they were probably refugees from the "western regions."[1]

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF and NARB.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-210; and NARB, 3797-1-9 and 861-1-13, p. 143.

BOGUSHEVICHI

Pre-1941: Bogushevichi (Yiddish: Bushavitz), village, Berezino raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Boguschewitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babushevichy, Berazino raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bogushevichi is situated 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Minsk. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 3, 1941. Some of the Jews were evacuated or succeeded in fleeing eastward. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bogushevichi. Jews were registered and forced to wear yellow patches; they had to perform forced labor; and they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

In late July or early August 1941, the military authorities established a ghetto in the village, located in a school building consisting of two floors. Both local Jews and others from surrounding villages, including the Jews of Seliba, were forced to move into the ghetto. In total, there were around 400 Jews in the Bogushevichi ghetto. There was no electricity in the ghetto, and the toilet facilities were located outside the building. A number of Jews were taken away and shot during the summer and fall of 1941.[1]

Survivors state that they rarely saw Germans while in the ghetto but recall vividly local police coming to the ghetto while drunk, demanding "Jewish gold." Forced labor tasks included harvesting potatoes, and Jews who worked outside the ghetto were also able to beg for extra food from their non-Jewish neighbors.[2]

According to survivor testimony, at least some of the Jews from the Bogushevichi ghetto were transferred to the Berezino ghetto in October or November 1941, around the time of the first snowfall.[3] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, however, indicates that German security forces assisted by the local police liquidated the ghetto in December 1941, shooting most of the remaining 380 inmates in a forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of the village.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bogushevichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-2); NARB; VHF (# 6551, 7052, and 20880); and YVA (M-33/420).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 6551, testimony of Roman Plaksa; # 7052, testimony of Evgeniia Guzik; and # 20880, testimony of Zinaida Elkind.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., # 7052 and # 20880.
4. GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 6; YVA, M-33/420, p. 14; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 60.

BORISOV

Pre-1941: Borisov, city and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Borissow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte), then (from

1942) Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: Barysau, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Borisov is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 10,011 Jews living in Borisov out of a total population of 49,108 (20.4 percent).

After capturing Minsk on June 28, 1941, the enemy advanced on Borisov. Some Jews were able to flee with the withdrawing Soviet Army, but the majority remained behind. German forces occupied Borisov on July 2, 1941, and soon began a pattern of theft, abuse, and murder.

The ghetto in Borisov was established on the edge of the city in the area bounded by Slobodka, Sovetskaia, and Krasnoarmeiskaia Streets. All the non-Jews living there were forcibly expelled by the local authorities and ordered to move into Jewish houses elsewhere. The transfer of Jews into the ghetto began on the morning of August 27, 1941; it was supposed to be completed within one day. The Jews were forbidden to use any form of transportation and had to carry everything in their arms. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, with only one gate on Zagorodnaia Street (later Ruben Ibarruri Street). Belorussian police guarded the ghetto, in which there was terrible overcrowding, leading to unsanitary conditions and the spread of disease.[1] The chief of police, David Ehof (Egof), assisted by the local administration, rounded up about 1,000 Jews living in the city suburbs and surrounding villages, resettling them into the ghetto.[2]

Khatskel' Berkovich Baranskii (born 1895) was ordered by the Nazis to become head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The population of the ghetto was in excess of 7,000 people, and food rations consisted of only about 100 to 150 grams (3.5 to 5.3 ounces) of bread per person per day. Finding additional food was very difficult, as communication with the local population was strictly forbidden, and this regulation was enforced by severe punishment. Hunger and sickness soon became widespread. The police escorted ghetto inmates daily to perform forced labor, which entailed construction work and cleaning the streets. The ghetto inmates were ordered to surrender their best clothing and also to pay large contributions in money and valuables. Mayor Stankevich prepared lists of the Jewish belongings collected and reported these to the economic section of the German army. The more valuable items were delivered to the State Bank (Reichskreditkasse).[3]

In late September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann "liquidated" 321 Jews in Borisov in reprisal for acts of sabotage, allegedly carried out by Jews in the town. Another 118 Jews were shot in Borisov as alleged plunderers. In early October 1941, responsibility for Security Police operations in the Borisov area was transferred to Einsatzkommando 3, based in Minsk.[4] The order to liquidate the Borisov ghetto was issued in mid-October 1941 by the head of Einsatzkommando 3, SS-Obersturmführer Schlegel. The mass-shooting Aktion was planned for October 20, 1941. In the northern suburbs, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city, a large ravine near the airfield was prepared as a mass grave (close to the Borisov-Zembin Road). Using Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) as manpower, three ditches, more than 100 meters (328 feet) long, 5 meters (16 feet) wide, and 3 meters (10 feet) deep, were dug in the ravine. Although the order for the liquidation of the ghetto was secret, the Jews soon got wind of it. They appealed to Mayor Stankevich for a stay of execution. Stankevich allegedly promised the Jews that he would intercede with the senior German general on their behalf, as they had successfully paid the recently imposed "contribution" of 300,000 rubles in gold and other valuables.[5] A number of Jewish specialists were selected and transferred to the Minsk ghetto.

For the Aktion, which began at 3:00 A.M. on the morning of October 20, more than 100 local policemen from throughout the Borisov region had been assembled, together with SS men and Latvian auxiliaries from Minsk. First the Jewish men were driven out of the ghetto. Then the women and children were also taken along Polotsk Street towards the airfield, following the men at a considerable distance. The authorities ordered everyone else to stay indoors so as not to be shot by local policemen. As there was insufficient transportation, some of the women and children had to walk. The guards beat them with metal clubs. Shooting could be heard throughout the day. Trucks returned from the forest with the victims' clothing. Anyone present in Borisov that day had no illusions about what was happening. The mood of the non-Jewish population was transformed: some of those who the previous evening had approved of the executions, saying that the Jews deserved their fate, now asked: "How is it possible to kill off 6,500 Jews all at once? When will it be our turn?"[6]

According to the testimony of Oberwachtmeister Soenneken, a translator with the German forces temporarily in Borisov during the mass shooting, the first 20 people were told to jump into the ditch and were shot from above. The next group had to rearrange the bodies of those killed ahead of them, to make room so that they in turn could be shot. "When the ditch was full, the Jews had to put a layer of sand over the bodies and had to trample upon both sand and bodies." The most horrible scenes took place in these mass graves.[7]

After the Aktion, local police thoroughly searched the territory of the ghetto and elsewhere in Borisov for any Jews in hiding, looting Jewish property at the same time. During this operation, some of the houses in the ghetto were set on fire. The shooting of about 750 Jews found in hiding continued throughout Tuesday, October 21.[8] Altogether, on October 20–21, 1941, 7,245 Jews were shot in and around Borisov.[9]

On November 11, 1941, Feldkommandantur (V) 244, which assumed responsibility for Borisov only after the massacre, ordered that the ghetto area could be entered only with the permission of the Feldkommandantur. The aim of this order was to prevent any looting and secure remaining Jewish property for the German authorities.[10]

The local policemen played an active role in the murder of the Jews. From August to November 1941, 14 men comprised the main leadership of the police, 10 were section leaders, and 73 were ordinary policemen. After the liberation of the city, 5

were sentenced to death and at least 16 imprisoned. It is impossible to determine what happened to the majority of the police force. Not all were tried. A number of former policemen escaped with the Germans; some changed their last names and used false papers; others opportunistically joined the Soviet partisans; and after the liberation of Belorussia in the summer of 1944, some joined the ranks of the Red Army. A few policemen were captured several years after the war. Aleksander Varfalomeevich Mironchik returned from the front with many decorations. His recollections of managing a warehouse for the police and commanding the "Kommunar" partisan division were included in the book *Pamiat'* (Memory), devoted to Borisov and the Borisov raion. In fact, Mironchik was not the manager of a warehouse but the head of the police squad in Novo-Borisov and an accomplice in the murder of the Jews.[11] Former policemen Stepan Buryi and Konstantin Mozalevskii were tried and punished after returning from the front with Soviet decorations. Peter Logvin and Konstantin Pipin were both released after serving prison sentences, and 68-year-old Feodor Petrovskii, assistant chief of police in Novo-Borisov, was released early, owing to his advanced age. In 1947 a Soviet Military Tribunal sentenced David Ehof to 25 years' imprisonment.

In early 1943, an SD translator in Minsk, Heinrich Schneider, brought an order to Borisov for the bodies of the Jews to be dug up and burned at night. In October 1943, Soviet POWs completed this task over about five nights, after which they were shot.[12]

According to the calculations of Aleksander Rosenblium in *Pamiat' na Krovi*, only slightly more than 50 Jews from the Borisov ghetto survived until the end of the occupation. Most were saved with the help of local citizens. Nine people from Borisov have been awarded the title of "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem, and many more assisted with the survival of Jews in and around the city.

SOURCES Aleksander Rozenblium has published a monograph on the Jews of Borisov, *Pamiat' na krovi: Evrei v istorii Borisova* (Petah Tikva, 1998), which contains much information on the destruction of the community during World War II, including a list of people who saved Jews in Borisov and the names of those they saved. Other relevant publications include the following: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'nye khroniki gorodov i raionov Belorussii: Borisov i Borisovskii raion* (Borisov, 1997); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Borisov: A Mirror of the Holocaust in Belorussia. Review of Aleksander Rozenblium, *Pamiat' na krovi: Evrei v istorii Borisova*," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 42:2 (2000): 106–110; Leonid Rein, "Local Collaboration in the Execution of the 'Final Solution' in Nazi-Occupied Belorussia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20:3 (Winter 2006): 381–409; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and *Aviv* (Minsk, 2001), nos. 11–12.

Documentation concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews in Borisov under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-19 and R 2104/26); BA-L (B 162/6715-19); GAMINO (635-1-24, 31, 51, 74, 88, 184, and 6343-1-12); GARF (7021-87-3); NARA (N-Doc. 3047-PS); NARB (861-1-8, 845-1-206, and 4-29-111); USHMM (RG-53.002M, reel 6); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/421; M-41/316 and 2396).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-8, pp. 66–69; GAMINO, 635-1-24, pp. 220–222; GARF, 7021-87-3, pp. 3, 20.

2. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6 (NARB, 845-1-206), p. 318, testimony of accused David Ehof, February 28, 1947.

3. See Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat'ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., *"Nazi Gold" from Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), pp. 34–37, 134–135. For his services in collecting gold, silver, and other precious valuables from the murdered Jews, Stankevich was awarded a decoration by the Germans, presented in Berlin.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217-18, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941, p. 16, and EM UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941, p. 4; Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 6 der Einsatzgruppen, October 31, 1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230.

5. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS, Soennecken report on executions of Jews in Borisov, October 24, 1941. An English translation can be found in *International Military Trials: Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Red Series) (repr. Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1996), 5:772–776.

6. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6, pp. 318–323, Ehof testimony, February 28, 1947.

7. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS.

8. Ibid.; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6, pp. 318–323, Ehof testimony, February 28, 1947. Ehof was accused by the Nazis of having obtained Jewish property illegally; see BA-BL, R 2104/26, p. 108.

9. Rozenblium, *Pamiat' na krovi*, pp. 61, 63.

10. YVA, M-41/316, p. 2, FK (V) 244, Standortbefehl no. 1, November 11, 1941. Subordinated to Infantry Division 339, FK (V) 244 was appointed the senior commandant in Borisov on November 7, 1941.

11. A.B. Mironchik died in 1986 and was buried in Borisov; information about his crimes became known publicly only after his death. On his service as police chief in Novo-Borisov, see GAMINO, 635-1-31, p. 22.

12. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 228, testimony of David Ehof, February 23, 1947; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6 (NARB, 845-1-206), p. 313.

BOROVUKHA 1-IA (PERVAIA, THE FIRST)

Pre-1939: Borovukha 1-ia (Pervaia, the First), military settlement, Polotsk raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Borowucha, Rayon Polozk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Baravukha 1-ia (Pervaia), Palotsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Borovukha 1-ia is located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northwest of Polotsk. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the settlement in mid-July 1941. During the occupation, a German garrison was billeted in the former "military settlement" of Borovukha 1-ia. The German military authorities appointed Andrei Markin as mayor (Bürgermeister) of the settlement, and soon after their arrival, they ordered the Jews who lived there to wear white Stars of David on their clothes. In October 1941, the Germans surrounded Borovukha, combed the settlement and its vicinity, and assembled all the Jews they had found, 115 in total, in a military barracks there, beating them during the roundup. Two days later, 50 of them—men, unmarried women, and old people—were taken in trucks to a field and shot there.[1] The rest of the Jews were placed in a house surrounded with barbed wire. The inmates of this makeshift "ghetto" did not receive any food. Some Jews occasionally left the house (it is unclear whether it was with or without the permission of the Germans) and exchanged various items for food.

On January 13, 1942, a punitive squad appeared in the town. It took all of the 65 Jews, among them 40 children aged less than 16, and also women and old men, from the house, under the pretext that they would be sent to perform forced labor, and killed them in the area of a former tank training ground. Witnesses say that some of them, when they were driven to the tank training ground, were barefoot and without warm clothes. Mayor Markin and the German commandant, Leutnant Kremer, allegedly took an active part in the annihilation of Borovukha's Jews.[2]

SOURCES Documentation on the murder of the Jews in Borovukha can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-92-221); TsGAMORF (239-2187-100, p. 57); USHMM (RG-06.025*04, Bobruisk Trial, doc. no. 808, p. 174); and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-221, p. 5, ChGK report for the Polotsk raion, April 15, 1945; see also USHMM, RG-06.025*04, Bobruisk Trial of Bruno Jushkus, doc. no. 808, p. 174, testimony of Pavel Danilovich, Shunevich.
2. Ibid. TsGAMORF, 239-2187-100, p. 57, ChGK report for Borovukha I, July 7, 1944, states that all the Jews from the Jewish kolkhoz Sovetskaia Belorussiia were gathered in one house and then shot with all family members at the firing range (*poligon*): 140 to 150 people. This probably refers to the same incident, although the number of victims may be too high.

BUDA-KOSHELEVO

1938–1941: Buda-Koshelevo, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Buda-Koschelewo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Buda-Kashaleva, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Buda-Koshelevo is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Gomel'. A Jewish kolkhoz with 11 families was established there in 1924. From 1925 to 1928, three more kolkhozy were created on the outskirts of the township. Their population consisted of 49 Jewish families. The 1939 census showed that there were 496 Jews living in Buda-Koshelevo (14.7 percent of the total population).

Towards the end of June 1941, war refugees from western Belorussia began to arrive, and their numbers quickly swelled. The Red Army called up able-bodied men, forming a combat battalion of 310 soldiers under the command of Dovolev to defend the town and deal with deserters.[1] The population largely believed Soviet propaganda asserting that the Red Army's setbacks were temporary and that soon the enemy would be crushed.

Buda-Koshelevo had a railway station, but the authorities used all available rolling stock to evacuate state property rather than local inhabitants. German planes pounded the town from the air. Most of the population either lacked the means to flee or feared they would perish on the road. The memory of decent treatment of the Jews by the German army in 1918 still deceived some people. Only a few Jews were fortunate enough to escape to the east.[2]

Buda-Koshelevo was occupied by German forces on August 14, 1941. They rapidly imposed their authority, placing the town under military command, with a garrison of around 50 men. Sonderführer Albrecht was the commandant; Bühlheim was chief of the punitive detachment; Hoffmann and Neidicke served as deputies. The chief of the local police was Marchenko.[3] He was replaced in November 1941 by Vasilii Mikhalenko.[4]

Buda-Koshelevo was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. Geographically, the Zhlobin-Gomel' railway line split the entire area in two. There were eight subdistrict regions (volosti) in the northern part. The five volosti in the south lay along the left bank of the Dnieper River.

Police posts and garrisons were established in the villages of Rogin', Merkulovichi, Gubichi, Zabab'e, Chabotovichi, and Pirevichi, among others. District and subdistrict authorities opened police stations and selected between 7 and 10 policemen from among the local residents. In Buda-Koshelevo, initially there were 15 policemen, a chief of police, and a police investigator, Voititskii.[5] The German authorities set up a prison on Sovietskaia Street for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who worked at the railway station and on other town infrastructure. Subsequently they were transferred to Gomel' and Rogachev.[6]

No anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town during the first two months of the German occupation, but relations between Jews and Belorussians changed for the worse. More than 400 Jews still remained within the town. At first, Jews were allowed to live in their own homes, monitored by the local police, but they were obliged to carry out German orders without question. On October 26, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto. All Jews had to resettle into the two-story stone school building. Buda-Koshelevo Chief of Police Marchenko organized the roundup.

The overcrowding was excessive: 50 or 60 people were crammed into each of the building's six rooms in an area no larger than 40 square meters (431 square feet). The overflow

lived in the corridors. The prisoners suffered terribly from hunger, and there was no heat. The windows lacked glass panes and were boarded up. Cold and exhaustion brought on disease and then the first deaths.[7]

The authorities did not feed the Jews, who were living on their own scanty reserves or on whatever was passed on to them by acquaintances among the Belorussian or Russian population. Some of the inmates bartered personal belongings for food. Such trafficking was forbidden, and it had to be done discreetly. Daily, Jews were led off to perform forced labor for up to 14 or 16 hours. Under the pretext of security searches, the Germans seized the Jews' most valuable personal belongings. They also raped girls and young women.

The guards periodically beat up the prisoners, insulting and abusing them "for fun." On November 23, 1941, police officer Kukharenko wounded Dania and Khaia Khankin, Lev Vilenskii, Gurar'e, Estin, and Epstein with a rifle. The situation of the Jews became worse when Mikhalenko replaced Marchenko as chief of police. Under Marchenko, Jews were sometimes able to barter items for bread and potatoes or to receive things from acquaintances and neighbors. When Mikhalenko took over, all these practices were stopped, and conditions became unbearable. Everything worsened for the ghetto inmates. Verbal abuse and beatings were routine. The wounding and murder of prisoners by the police became more frequent.[8]

The Buda-Koshelevo ghetto did not exist for long. On December 27, 1941, two vehicles arrived in Buda-Koshelevo with policemen from Gomel'. Chief of Police Mikhalenko ordered increased vigilance and doubled the number of guards assigned to the ghetto from 6 to 12 men to prevent any chance of escape. The police separated the men from the women. Then they began to lead the prisoners, 2 at a time, into a separate room where Mikhalenko and the German officers sat. The Jews were strip-searched, and money, documents, and usable clothing were all seized. The occupiers and their collaborators placed the Jewish men—some 170 of them—in a room where all the windows were tightly sealed, and no water was available. A stove burning continuously filled the room with stuffy heat; breathing became difficult. The inmates were so tightly packed that they could not even turn around or sit down. In this state they spent the night; then at 5:00 A.M., on December 28, 1941, police officers began to lead the Jews out to be shot. Mikhalenko stood on the stairwell between floors in the school and checked them off. First they took the men into the courtyard, then the women.[9] The police lined up the prisoners in a column and herded them to an antitank ditch in the village of Krasnyi Kurgan behind the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). Mayor Prusov and Chief of Police Mikhalenko supervised the Aktion.

They ordered the men to undress and began to lead them down into the ditch in groups. Three or four Germans made them lie facedown. Then the German marksman approached and killed each one with a single shot from his submachine gun. They laid the second group of men on top of the bodies of the first. About an hour after the start of the Aktion, police officers Kosmilo, Kabaev, Filip Oleinikov, and Dmitrii Kuzikov led the women to the antitank ditch. Mothers held infants in their arms. The police hauled older children and elderly men to the site in carts. All of the prisoners were made to undress. Then the police brought them to the ditch and shot them. Infants were killed with their mothers, older children along with the adults.[10]

The slaughter was accompanied by continuous cries of pain and grief. People begged for mercy, wept, and cried out. The killings went on from 8:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. On that day, 485 people were murdered. The murder squad only covered the bodies with snow; in the spring they were buried in the ground. Personal belongings of the Jews were given to a store in Buda-Koshelevo, which sold them.[11]

The police had arrested a Belorussian, Evgenii Venglinskii, who, together with his Jewish wife and their child, was confined in the ghetto, where they all lived until the ghetto liquidation Aktion. The Venglinskii family escaped the fate of the others under lucky circumstances. They were able to convince one of the policemen who understood Russian that they had ended up in the ghetto "by mistake" and were not in fact Jews. Evgenii gave the policeman his leather coat. In exchange, the policeman put the family into a separate room. From the window, the Venglinskiis saw the Jewish inmates marched off to the antitank ditch. They hastily fled Buda-Koshelevo and wandered the countryside of the Zhlobin raion until they met up with Soviet partisans in May 1942.[12]

On the eve of the mass shooting, the police summoned inmate Hirsh Shvets to see the chief of the punitive detachment, whom they had told that Shvets was an especially skilled shoemaker. Shvets was put to work by the police and subsequently transferred to Gomel'. For the next two years, he was obliged to work for the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). When the Germans retreated from Gomel', they took Shvets away to Germany, where he was eventually liberated by the Red Army.[13]

Red Army units of the 4th Infantry Division and the 231st Armored Regiment of the Belorussian 48th Army liberated Buda-Koshelevo on November 27, 1943. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in the town in November 1944, found that 1,287 civilians and 282 POWs had died at the hands of the Germans during the occupation of the town. Of the 485 Jews who were murdered on December 28, 1941, only 120 family names could be determined.[14]

During the German occupation, the population of the Buda-Koshelevo raion decreased from 41,459 in 1941 to 23,595 in May 1944, 57 percent of the pre-war figure. In the town, the population decreased from 3,371 in 1941 to 2,886 in 1944, or 86 percent of the pre-war figure.[15] However, the general information collected by the ChGK does not specify the ethnicity of the victims.

SOURCES Some information on the town of Buda-Koshelevo under German occupation can be found in the book: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; GAGOMO; GARF (7021-85-35); NARB; and TsAKGBRB.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. Ibid., 4-33a-16.
3. Marchenko was killed by partisans in October 1941.
4. Mikhalenko remained chief of police in Buda-Koshelevo until July 1942, when he became chief of police in the Svetilovichi Rayon. In September 1943, he retreated with the German forces to the Glusk Rayon. There he joined punitive Police Battalion no. 10 "Panin," where, with the rank of staff-captain, he commanded a company. He was twice awarded a German medal for bravery and was recommended for a third. At the beginning of July 1944, the "Panin" battalion was sent across the Vistula to an area where it was disbanded. From the proceedings of the military tribunal trial of Vasilii Avrahamovich Mikhalenko (born 1884); AUKGBRBGO, file 8579, pp. 360–371.
5. GAGOMO, 1345-2-2, pp. 2–4.
6. NARB, 3934-1-9, p. 2.
7. TsAKGBRB.
8. GAGOMO, 1345-2-2, pp. 3–4.
9. From the decision regarding the arrest of V.A. Mikhalenko, November 1, 1945, see AUKGBRBGO, file 8579, p. 51.
10. Interrogation of Mikhail Leonovich Kuznikov (born 1908), February 8, 1944, ibid., p. 178.
11. Interrogation of accused Ivan Adamovich Fomin, February 19, 1944, ibid., p. 109.
12. Interrogation witness Venglinskii (born 1914), October 26, 1945, ibid., pp. 112–116.
13. Interrogation in Buda-Koshelevo of witness Hirsh Hedelevich Shvets (born 1886), October 27, 1945, ibid., pp. 120–122.
14. Document of the ChGK, November 27, 1944, concerning the crimes of the Fascist German invaders on the territory of the Buda-Koshelevo raion, GARF, 7021-85-35, pp. 8–11.
15. Report dated November 27, 1944, concerning the population of Gomel' oblast', GAGOMO, 144-5-6, p. 218.

BYKHOV (AKA STARYI BYKHOV)

Pre-1941: Bykhov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bychow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Bykhau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bykhov is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) south of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 2,295 Jews (20.8 percent of the population) lived in Bykhov. An additional 408 Jews lived in the villages of the raion, making a combined Jewish population of 2,703.

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied the town in the first half of July 1941. In the period before the Germans' arrival, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age joined the Red Army. However, the rapid German advance trapped some Jewish refugees in Bykhov who were fleeing from locations farther west. Probably between 2,500 and 3,000 Jews were in Bykhov at the start of the German occupation. During the fighting, the town burned for three days, damaging or destroying many Jewish homes.

During the entire period of occupation from July 1941 until June 1944, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed Bykhov.[1] According to Soviet sources, the Ortskommandant in the fall of 1941 was Oberleutnant Martus.[2] Shortly after the occupation began, the German administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. The German authorities instructed the Jews to sew yellow stars onto their clothing; however, because the fire in the town had destroyed most of the available yellow fabric, Jews who had no yellow material made their stars out of white fabric instead.[3] The Germans also obliged the Jews to perform various forms of heavy labor.

On August 29, 1941, forces of Reserve Police Battalion 322, belonging to Police Regiment Center (Mitte) shot 84 Jews in Bykhov.[4] On September 5, 1941, the Germans conducted another Aktion in Bykhov. They rounded up about 250 Jews capable of work and took them out of the town, seemingly for road construction, but instead they shot them all.[5] They conducted the shooting in the Gan'kov ditch, located on the southern outskirts of the town. People in Bykhov could hear the victims' screams.[6]





Exterior and interior views of the Bykhov synagogue; the interior reveals extensive wartime damage; 1988.
USHMM WS #97249 AND WS #97260, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

At some time in the fall of 1941, most likely in September, just after the murder of the 250 people, the Germans made a list of all the remaining Jews and collected them in the Sapega Castle. Some local inhabitants describe this incarceration as a "ghetto,"[7] although the Germans also imprisoned some non-Jews ("Soviet Party activists") there together with the Jews. Local Belorussian police (*politsais*) guarded the area around the castle.[8]

According to one witness, his future wife went to the ghetto several times to take food to a Jewish friend, Khava Markhasina, who had been imprisoned. "The Jews were living in ghastly conditions, and people were tortured, too. She remembered that when she went up to the second floor, the wall next to the railings . . . was drenched in blood. The last time she went, a policeman warned her not to come back any more, because it could end badly for her."[9] Even the dark-haired Belorussians were frightened, fearing the Germans might kill them simply because they looked like Jews. There was also a rumor that some local non-Jews had managed to "buy" a child from the ghetto and pass her off as their own.[10]

Soviet sources state that the Germans held the Jews in the castle without any food or water for about a week. Then German security forces escorted them on trucks to an antitank ditch located near Voronino, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) east of the town, where they carried out a mass shooting.[11] One Jew, Moishe (Mikhail) Kats, reportedly jumped from one of the trucks at full speed and escaped into the forest. He was 25 at the time. They fired a submachine gun round at him but did not pursue him. He managed to stay alive, walking to Sumy in the Ukraine, where he spent the rest of the occupation.[12] At the antitank ditch, the Germans forced the victims to undress and pile their shoes and clothes neatly at one side, before shooting them in groups. Descriptions of the Aktion, together with forensic evidence, indicate that some victims, especially children, were probably thrown into the pit and buried alive. At this time (in the fall of 1941), a number of allegedly Communist non-Jews were also killed.[13] A few Jews who evaded the mass shootings and subsequent searches hid with non-Jews, and some subsequently fought with Soviet partisan detachments.

Soviet estimates put the number of people murdered by the Germans in Bykhov in 1941 to be in excess of 4,000.[14] However, in view of the pre-war Jewish population of only 2,703 for the entire raion, it seems unlikely that the number of Jewish victims exceeded this (allowing for a number of Jewish evacuees who were probably more or less replaced by the refugees who became trapped in Bykhov).[15] Other evidence seems to indicate that many of the Jews of the surrounding villages were shot close to their homes (rather than being brought in to Bykhov). For example, in the village of Gomarnia, 14 people were shot "as Jews," 71 in the Mokria sel'sovet, and several Jewish families in the village of Seliba.[16]

In late 1943, the Germans attempted to cover up their crimes by exhuming the corpses from the mass graves around Bykhov and burning them. They used Soviet prisoners of war from the camp at Pribor to conduct this work, then shot them once the task was complete.[17]

SOURCES The testimonies of several witnesses from Bykhov have been published in Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 34–44.

Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Bykhov can be found in the following archives: BA-MA; GAMO (306-1-9 and 10); GARF (7021-88-35; and 7021-148); NARB (861-1-8 and 9); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8; RG-48.004M, reels 1 and 2; and RG-53.002M, reel 7); VHAP; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft and Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur II 340 was based in Bykhov, as was Feldkommandantur 194, and III. Battalion of Police Regiment Mitte; see BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. GAMO, 306-1-10, pp. 66–67.
3. Reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925) in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 39–40.
4. VHAP, K1/1003386, 392, HSSPF Russland Mitte an RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS und Chef Orpo, August 29–30, 1941.
5. See the diary of O. Berger, a staff drill sergeant (Stabsfeldwebel) in the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Security Regiment, in GARF, 7021-148.
6. GARF, 7021-88-35, p. 11; NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 234, 236; and reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925), in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 39–40.
7. See, for example, the reminiscences of David S. Lakhtyrev and Dora M. Gekht, in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 38, 42.
8. Reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925), in ibid., pp. 39–40.
9. Reminiscences of Georgii D. Menshagin (born in 1924), in ibid., pp. 40–41.
10. Ibid., pp. 34–44.
11. NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 234, 236.
12. Reminiscences of Mila A. Rudakova (born in 1924), in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 42–44.
13. Ibid., pp. 34–44.
14. NARB, 861-1-9, ChGK report for the Bykhov raion indicates that in fall 1941 Ortskommandant Martus imprisoned 4,679 persons (including some non-Jews) in the castle, who were shot shortly afterwards.
15. GARF, 7021-88-35, pp. 1, 11, 17.
16. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, p. 35.
17. Ibid., pp. 35–37.

CHASHNIKI

Pre-1941: Chashniki, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschaschniki, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chashniki, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chashniki is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,109 Jews lived in the town, making up 31.6 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Chashniki raion (without the town of Chashniki) constituted 867 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Chereia and Lukoml'.

Owing to Chashniki's location far from major highways and with no easily accessible railway station, only a few Jews were able to leave the town in 1941 before the Germans captured it.

The German forces (XXXII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group) entered Chashniki on July 4, 1941. From August 1941 onward, Chashniki was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Chashniki was under the control of Feldkommandantur 181.

The Germans put together an indigenous local administration in Chashniki, including a local police force. The mayor of the town was Kalina, a former construction engineer who had worked for the town's health administration (*gorzdrav*); the head of the Belorussian police was Tislenok;[1] but it was his deputy Mikhail Pakhomov who was known for his hatred and atrocities towards the Jews. At the same time, a Jew named Chereiskii was appointed the elder of the community. According to witnesses, Chereiskii's only function was to appoint Jews to do forced labor, in accordance with German instructions issued to him. The witnesses do not refer to a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Chashniki, nor do they refer to a Jewish police force.

The Germans did not establish an enclosed ghetto in Chashniki, possibly because the whole Jewish population lived in the central part of the town. Some Jews were resettled from their houses, and their houses were turned over to non-Jews. The Germans gave instructions to mark all Jewish houses with plywood Stars of David; all Jews were ordered to wear a patch with a Star of David on their clothes. The Jews were forbidden to leave the town and to communicate with non-Jews. Witnesses do not mention any large-scale resettlement of Jews from other places to Chashniki in the period from July 1941 to January 1942.

The Germans did not supply the Jews with food. However, the survivors' accounts make no mention of starving. Most of the town's Jews had plots of land and could sustain themselves with what they grew on them. The day before the German entry into Chashniki, the town dwellers, including Jews, pilfered barley from the stores of the alcohol factory abandoned by the authorities, and this helped them to survive.

From the very beginning the Germans imposed compulsory labor on the Jews. Young people were sent to work at the railway station (quite far from the town center) and the fuel depot nearby, as well as at the officers' mess.

At the end of September 1941, a group of Jewish young people (according to various estimates, about 50 to 100 people, mainly males but also some females) were sent to a nearby peat farm to cut peat and load it onto carts. The work lasted until November. These laborers did not receive any food, but they were allowed to return home on Sundays in order "to collect some food for the next week." In fact, the young workers had to leave the labor camp at night and go to the villages to exchange clothes, utensils, and other items for food.

Witnesses make both positive and negative comments about the attitude of the surrounding non-Jewish population. Some locals maintained contacts and trade with their Jewish neighbors. On the other hand, the survivors say that it was not only Germans and members of the Belorussian police who robbed the Jews—many other people took food, clothes, and other items. Attempts to stop the robbers or to complain to the Germans sometimes ended with the one making the complaint getting a beating instead.

On September 13, 1941, the Germans murdered all the Jews of the small town of Lukoml', in the Chashniki raion, purportedly in reprisal after a Soviet straggler (presumed to be a local Jew) killed a German officer there.[2] It is unclear exactly who carried out the killings, although one witness mentions the participation of the Belorussian police. Local informants speak of some 300 victims.[3] The news of this Aktion and subsequent rumors of other mass killings in nearby towns unsettled the Jews of Chashniki, but they were unable to gain much information about them.

The Jews of Chashniki were murdered on February 14–15, 1942. On the morning of February 14, about 100 young people were sent out of the town to clear snow from nearby roads. Thus the most youthful part of the Jewish population was moved away from the place of the future Aktion. At about 1:00 P.M., a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Oswald Schäfer) entered Chashniki on horse-drawn sledges, coming from the direction of Beshenkovichi.[4] From the morning of the same day, the Belorussian police began to assemble the Jews in the building of a former church, which had been turned into a "House of Culture" during the Soviet period. According to eyewitnesses, many Jews refused to go to the church, and towards dusk the area resembled a battlefield: there was shooting, and the police stormed some houses. Some Jews tried to flee and were killed on the run, some of them quite far from the town center. A group of policemen intercepted the young people who were returning to the town after clearing the snow and escorted them to the church.

About 1,000 Jews of Chashniki spent the night in the church, closely guarded by the Belorussian police. On the morning of February 15, at around 10:00 A.M., the police drove the Jews to some pits near the village of Trilesino. After a delay during which the Germans deepened the pits, the mass shooting began. The killers, both Germans and local police, took several people (probably an entire family) in turn, made them undress, placed them on the edge of the pit, and shot them with machine guns. Before the shooting, the Secret Field Police (GFP) unit that was responsible for rounding up the Jews (together with two volunteers from a local Luftwaffe unit) searched them for any valuables. The Aktion lasted all day. Over the following days the police combed the town and its vicinity and found some Jews who were trying to hide.[5]

After the Aktion, the belongings of the murdered Jews were collected, sorted, and under the auspices of the SD, handed

over to the mayor to be sold to the Belorussian population. The proceeds were credited to the town's account.[6]

About a dozen mainly younger people, who had left the town some days before the shooting or succeeded in running away, survived the mass murder. Of those who survived, Zalman Solomonov, Fira Kharkevich (née Kaplan), Semen Shapiro, Arkadii (Abram) Pukhovitskii, Roza Topash (née Pukhovitskii), and Boris Plavnik were interviewed in 1985–1987.[7]

The murderers themselves estimated the number of those killed at 1,180.[8] The list (probably incomplete) compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report in 1944 indicates 700 Jewish victims. Of them, 321 (45.9 percent) were born in 1924 and later and thus were under draft age; 103 were born in 1901–1923 (draft age, 14.7 percent); and 276 (39.4 percent) were born in 1900 and before. The second group breaks down to 34 men and 69 women; the third group, to 125 men and 151 women.[9] The disproportionately large number of children in this sample may be ascribed to the fact that among them there were children from large cities who were staying with their grandparents in Chashniki for the summer and that families with many children were less inclined to flee from the Germans.

The mass shooting of the Jews of Chereia, also in the Chashniki raion, took place on March 5, 1942. There may have been a similar form of "open ghetto" there prior to the shooting, as in Chashniki. The murderers shot the Jews at two locations: one was near the school, and the second was outside the town. It is unclear who the murderers were. The Germans spared some "specialists" for a while, but several days later they were also finished off together with the Jews who were found hiding in the vicinity after the first Aktion. The last mass shooting took place near the Khalnevichi road, west of the town. The ChGK report lists 201 Jews killed in Chereia.[10]

SOURCES The author has published a more detailed account of the fate of Chashniki's Jews in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 1 (1992): 157–199. That essay also includes published versions of the main eyewitness accounts now located in YVA. The other major published source is G. Linkov, *Voina v tylu vraga* (1st ed., Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1947; 2nd enlarg. ed., Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1959).

The documents of the ChGK for the Chashniki raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-15). Relevant German documentation is located in the following archives: RGVA (500-1-770) and BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). Witness statements and copies of some of the German documents can be found in YVA (O-3/4690–4706, O-51.Ossobi/43 and M.29.FR/208).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. The eyewitnesses call him Chislenok; the difference can be attributed to the Belorussian pronunciation.
2. See YVA, O-3/4706; there are some discrepancies with the version published in Linkov, *Voina v tyla vraga*.
3. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 131 names of Jews; the informants were Nadezhda (an eyewitness, non-Jewish) and Yefim Rutman (not a witness).
4. YVA, O-3/4692.
5. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B von 16. bis 28. Februar 1942, in RGVA, 500-1-770; also YVA, O-3/4698, O-3/4699, O-3/4702, O-3/4703.
6. BA-MA, RH 26-201/17, p. 4, report of Sicherungsbrigade 201, Abt. VII, March 15, 1942.
7. Their interviews are now located in YVA as O-3/4690–O-3/4695.
8. Tätigkeits- u. Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B von 16. bis 28. Februar 1942.
9. GARF, 7021-84-15.
10. Ibid.

CHAUSY

Pre-1941: Chausy, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschaussy, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chavusy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chausy is located 157 kilometers (98 miles) north of Gomel'. According to the 1939 population census, 1,272 Jews (17.6 percent of the total population) lived in the town of Chausy. In addition, another 252 Jews lived in the villages of the Chausy raion. Following the German invasion of Poland and the Soviet occupation of its eastern part in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees from Poland arrived in the town.

German military forces occupied Chausy on July 16, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east before the arrival of the Germans, owing to the town's good rail and road communications, and men of eligible age were called up into the Red Army. A little more than half the prewar Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

Under German occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town; almost immediately it set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents. Shortly afterwards, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. The Jews of Chausy were exploited for various kinds of forced labor.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7b (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B) carried out two Aktions in the city. The men of Sonderkommando 7b murdered 31 Jews in the first Aktion, allegedly for being in contact with Soviet partisan forces.[1] In a second Aktion shortly afterwards, the Security Police (of Sonderkommando 7b) shot 20 Jews who were allegedly active Communists.[2]

At some time in the month of August, the German authorities established a ghetto in the suburb of Kozinki. A few weeks later, probably in late September or early October 1941, German security forces assisted by the local police liquidated the ghetto.[3] They rounded up all the Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, deprived them of any remaining valuables,

and escorted them to a site about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of town on the banks of the Pronia River, where a ditch had been prepared. The few Jews living in the nearby village of Dranukha were also brought to the same site at this time. Just as the shooting was about to start, a courageous teacher named Dora Ruvimovna Kagan jumped out of the crowd and confronted the head of the German police Danilov, shouting: "We are defenseless and can't fight you. But you can't kill us all. Millions of Soviet people are left, they will avenge us. Our innocent blood will be on their banners." According to another account, she spat in the face of Danilov before being cut short by machine-gun fire. Some of the Jews were only wounded as they fell into the ditch. After the grave had been filled in, the moans of the wounded could still be heard for many hours.[4]

Shortly afterwards the German authorities also rounded up and shot Jews born in mixed marriages with one Jewish parent. Among those shot was blond-haired, 18-year-old Ira Grubnykh, whose grandfather was a Jew.[5] Estimates of the number of Jews murdered vary according to different sources. In total, the Germans and their collaborators shot more than 675 Jews in Chausy.[6]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Chausy can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 473; and Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 272–273.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Chausy can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216); BA-L (ZStL/202 AR-Z 81/59, vol. 20); GAMO; GARF (7021-88-48); NARB (861-1-9, pp. 285–286); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 67, August 29, 1941.
2. Ibid., Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73, September 4, 1941.
3. Sources disagree regarding the date: Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 272, date it on August 16, 1941, but this is unlikely; GARF, 7021-88-48, indicates the end of September; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 305, dates it on October 9, 1941. See also BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 81/59, vol. 20, pp. 11, 126, which also gives contradictory dates.
4. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 272–273.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-88-48, pp. 1 and reverse, gives the figure of 624 Jewish victims for the final Aktion. To these must be added those reported by the Einsatzgruppen prior to this. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 305, indicates that around 1,000 Jews were murdered, but this figure is probably too high.

CHECHERSK

1938–1941: Chechersk, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschetschersk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chachersk, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chechersk lies about 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Gomel' on the Sozh River. In 1939, there were 977 Jews in the town, 18.2 percent of the total population.

After the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, all able-bodied men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. In Chechersk, the local authorities formed a rifle battalion of 239 men commanded by Levkovich. The unit included many Jews. Although Chechersk was 37 kilometers (23 miles) away from the nearest railroad station, and despite the lack of an organized evacuation, nearly half of the Jewish population managed to leave before the arrival of the German army in Chechersk. Most of them hoped to return home soon.[1]

German forces occupied Chechersk on August 16, 1941, placing the town under the administration of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Commandant von Maibaum assumed military command in the town; Heimann was in charge of the agricultural command office; Kondrat Ganzhin became the head of the Rayon, and Golubovskii, chief of the Rayon police. The German occupiers also set up military strong points in the villages of Pokat', Nisimkovichi, Poles'e, Zales'e, Beliaevka, Rovkovichi, Merkulovichi, and Dudichi. In these thinly populated settlements, the village elders were assisted by two or three local policemen.[2]

No anti-Jewish activity took place in Chechersk during the first two months of the occupation; then things changed for the worse. Chumakov became head of the town police and recruited Chechikov, Zbaromirskii, Bel'kin, Ginsher, Kozlov, and Zatikov, among others. Prisoners were held in a jail set up in a building of the veterinary training school in Chechersk.[3]

Until October 1941, Jews in the town continued to live in their own homes under the control of the local police. They strictly followed the orders issued by the German authorities. In October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto. They arrested all the Jews in Chechersk and held them under guard in the town hall and in nearby houses. Gypsies were confined at a separate location. In the course of interrogations, accompanied by beatings, jewelry and other valuables were taken from the Jews.

The ghetto in Chechersk had no purpose other than to concentrate the Jewish population and prevent those held from escaping before they were annihilated. Consequently, the German authorities took no measures for sanitation, medical services, or the social welfare of the prisoners in the ghetto. They forced the Jews to work without question or

compensation. This included heavy labor. Often their warders ordered the inmates to perform degrading and senseless tasks: to swat flies in the commandant's office; to drag carts with water, bricks, firewood, and trash from one place to another; and to dig ditches and then fill them up again.[4]

It was forbidden to feed the prisoners. Sometimes their keepers brought them rotten potatoes but did not provide any other food. If a local inhabitant attempted any communication with an inmate, the guards immediately put a stop to it. Despite the threat of starvation, the authorities prohibited local inhabitants from giving bread to the Jews. In effect, all contact with the local inhabitants was suppressed.

Because of the poor quality of the food, the ghetto inmates suffered from all kinds of gastric ailments. Many of them began having bloody diarrhea from dysentery. Untimely death became the norm. Hunger also provoked mental disorders.

The ghetto in Chechersk existed for about three months. The 435 inmates included mostly elderly men, women, and children. Of the total, 289 were Jews, and 146 were Gypsies.[5]

The annihilation of Jews in the ghetto took place in two main stages. In the first, at the end of November 1941, the Germans slaughtered 84 elderly men and women. Germans and their collaborators transported the weaker inmates to the site of their execution in motor vehicles; those able to walk they herded on foot. Local inhabitants working in a field who witnessed this activity asked the police where they were taking these prisoners. Their warders explained that they were "going to Gomel' for medical treatment." The Germans executed this first group in an antitank ditch outside of Chechersk.

The second mass shooting took place towards the end of December 1941. Members of the Gestapo arrived from the military commandant's office in Gomel' and instructed the local police concerning this Aktion. In the town hall, early on the morning of December 28, the police began searching the prisoners. They beat them, stripped them naked, and seized whatever personal possessions the victims still had with them. The Germans took gold, watches, and other valuables; the police took clothing and underwear, which they tied into small bundles and hid in their houses. A tailor, Samuil Baskin (born in 1896), who was considered a specialist worker by the Germans, witnessed one of these search-and-seizure operations that took place in an adjoining room.[6]

Before the Aktion began, the Germans and the police went around the town to gather the Belorussians and Russians into the square in front of the town hall. To instill fear, the Germans obliged the assembled local citizens to observe the treatment of the Jews before their execution. At a temperature well below freezing (–30 degrees Centigrade [–22 degrees Fahrenheit]), the Germans made the prisoners strip to their underwear, remove their shoes, and stand in the snow. Then they brought several wooden sledges into the square. At the command of Mayor Ganzhin, the police took from their parents the younger children, including infants, and threw them onto the sledges. Eyewitnesses said that "weeping and wailing filled the streets of Chechersk." Everybody was crying, including the Belorussians who witnessed the scene. Ganzhin asked the Jews, "Why are you crying? Don't be afraid, they're not going to do anything to you, just take you around a bit and let you go."[7]

The Germans and the police counted the prisoners again, then lined them up in a column 4 abreast and marched them along Sovietskaia Street to the killing site. The place chosen for this purpose was an antitank ditch 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the town and not far from the village of Krasnyi Bereg, on the Chechersk-Zabolot'e road. Following the column of prisoners surrounded by members of the punitive expedition and policemen were sledges with the children. When they had all arrived at the site of the Aktion, the column halted, and the first group of male prisoners was ordered to lie face-down in the snow. These were the strongest and healthiest inmates. A member of the punitive party would pin down a doomed Jew by placing a pitchfork without center tines on the neck of the victim so that he could not move his head, while a second German executioner shot him in the back of the head with a pistol. Policemen with pitchforks dumped the bodies in the ditch. Then it was the turn of the next rank of 4 prisoners. The Jews awaiting execution began weeping and crying out. People bid good-bye to one another, and children begged their mothers to take them back home. The Germans, however, paid not the slightest attention. They laid out children in the snow and beat them to death with spades. They grabbed the legs of infants like piglets, beat their heads on the frozen ground, and threw them into the ditch. Many were still alive. By 8:00 P.M., things finally quieted down. The punitive detail covered the bodies with snow. The next day, Ganzhin rounded up local inhabitants and forced them to bury the dead.[8] Some 500 people perished in the two Aktions, including the Gypsies. The Germans spared only 5 individuals who were tailors or shoemakers, whom they sent to Gomel'.[9]

After the mass killings, Ganzhin and the military commander in Chechersk, von Maibaum, held a banquet at police headquarters "to mark the deliverance of the town from the Jews."[10] The police department received a cash reward. In January 1942, Mayor Ganzhin awarded Leonid Chechikov 400 rubles for his zeal in guarding the Jews, participating in removing them to the site of their execution, and arresting partisans.[11]

During the years of the German occupation of the Chechersk raion, 130 inhabited localities were destroyed, while in the town itself some 300 houses were burned down. Before their retreat, German troops mined many buildings and streets in the town. Troops of the Soviet 61st Belorussian Army Front liberated Chechersk on November 27, 1943, in the course of the Gomel'-Rechitsa operation. When the war ended, the population of the Chechersk raion had dropped from 41,845 in 1941 to 30,991 in May 1944, a loss of 26 percent. Comparable figures for the town itself are 5,138 for the pre-war population, and 2,265 at the time of liberation, a loss of 59 percent.[12]

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in Chechersk on December 22, 1943, established that the Germans were responsible for killing 1,137 people in Chechersk and other communities in the raion; that included 716 people who had previously lived in other raions

of the republic. The commission's documents do not identify the dead by nationality.[13]

SOURCES Other than those listed in the notes, published works about the fate of the Jews in Chechersk include Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

The main archival sources include AUKGBRBGO (file 2724); GAGOMO (560-1-3, 1345-1-13); GARF (7021-85-44); NARB (861-1-6); PALS; TsAKGBRB; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. *Pamiats': Chechersk raion* (Minsk, 2000), pp. 205–208.
3. NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 207 and reverse.
4. *Sovietskaia Belorussia*, May 16, 1995.
5. GAGOMO, 560-1-3, pp. 2–3.
6. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, pp. 50–51, witness testimony of Samuil Motelevich Baskin (born 1896), October 9, 1944.
7. TsAKGBRB, Minsk.
8. Ibid.
9. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, witness testimony of Vladimir Stepanovich Pugin (born 1924), May 18, 1944.
10. PALS, excerpt from the diary of the secretary of the Chechersk underground party district committee, Pavel Dedik, Gomel', 1944, p. 146.
11. On December 29, 1944, the NKVD Military Court for the Gomel' oblast' sentenced Leonid Timofeevich Chechikov to 15 years of hard labor plus 5 years' deprivation of his civil rights. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, p. 89.
12. Data concerning the population of Gomel' oblast' as of May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
13. NARB, 3922-1-2, pp. 22–23.

CHERIKOV

Pre-1941: Cherikov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherikow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Cherykau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Cherikov is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 949 Jews were living in Cherikov, comprising 14.8 percent of the total population. In addition, there were 132 Jews living in the villages of the Cherikov raion.[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, about four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The town was taken only after bitter fighting, which resulted in considerable destruction.[2] In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the entire German occupation, which lasted until October 1, 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur established a Rayon administration and a police force recruited from local residents. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur 846 was based in Cherikov.[3]

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the local authorities, on the instructions of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also required to perform forced labor. The wearing of the Jewish Star of David was strictly enforced.

In August 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town. A detachment of Sonderkommando 7b shot a group of Jews.[4] On October 29, 1941, the Ortskommandant in Cherikov ordered the shooting of Salmon Plotkin for repeatedly defying the order to wear the Jewish star and for allegedly having contacts with the partisans.[5]

Very little information is available about living conditions for the Jews in Cherikov under the German occupation. Two secondary sources use the term "ghetto" in connection with the town, and according to Marat Botvinnik, it appears that some Jews from the surrounding villages and settlements were brought into Cherikov at some time before the mass shooting of the Jews.[6] It is likely that some form of open ghetto was established in Cherikov, with Jews prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.

Available accounts indicate that before killing the Jewish population of Cherikov in late October or early November 1941, German security forces, assisted by the local police, rounded up the Jews near the town hall, informing them that they would be resettled to another locality. The Jews were then escorted on foot to a site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of the town near the mill, where a ditch had been prepared.[7] Two Germans shot the Jews in the ditch in small groups. Six local Belorussians were ordered to fill in the ditch afterwards. One of these men recalled: "The Jews cried, screamed, and the Germans beat them with whips, dragged them to the ditch by force, tore children away from their parents, and threw them into the ditch. It was so horrible that I still don't understand how I kept from going mad."[8]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, the mass shooting took place on November 7, 1941.[9] It was conducted by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 as part of an antipartisan sweep conducted by units of Security Division 221. Einsatzgruppe B reported later in December that 786 Jews of both sexes had been shot in Cherikov and Klimovichi.[10] Estimates of the number of Jewish victims in Cherikov range from 238 up to 500, but since at least 500 Jews were murdered in Klimovichi, the actual number in Cherikov was probably towards the lower end of this range.[11]

In 1943, members of the Soviet partisan detachment known as "Thirteen," which contained a number of Jews, conducted anti-German operations near Cherikov. Following a police ambush, the Jewish partisan Girsh Izrailitin exploded a grenade rather than be captured, which resulted in the deaths of 16 local police collaborators, including the head of the Cherikov police.[12]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population in Cherikov can be found in the follow-

ing publication: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 481.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Cherikov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-MA (RH 26-221/19); GAMO; GARF (7021-88-49 and 8114-1-955); NARB; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 39, 71.
2. See Konstantin Simonow, *Kriegstagebücher* (East Berlin, 1979), 1:15–52, 147.
3. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
4. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on police activity from August 24–30, 1941. Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Zentralarchiv, ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI, p. 47.
5. GARF, 7021-88-49, p. 9, Ortskommandantur Tscherikow, Bekanntmachung, October 29, 1941, signed Ortskommandant Saup. See also BA-MA, RH 26-221/19.
6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 266; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 306.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 266; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 275–276; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 306; and GARF, 7021-88-49.
8. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 266.
9. GARF, 7021-88-49, pp. 1 and reverse side, 6, and 7 with reverse side.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 9.
11. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 481, gives the lower figure of 238. In 1969 an obelisk was erected at the site of the mass shooting. GARF, 8114-1-955, pp. 9 and reverse, gives the higher figure of 500. Other estimates fall between these figures. The ChGK for Klimovichi estimates at least 800 Jews killed there in early November 1941; see NARB, 861-1-9.
12. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 231.

CHERVEN'

Pre-1941: Cherven' (until 1925, Igumen), town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tscherwen, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Cherven', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Cherven' is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,941 Jews in the town out of a total population of 6,376 (30.4 percent).

With the beginning of military operations, all men of military age were mobilized into the Red Army. Only a small number of Jews were able to flee before the rapidly advancing German forces. Units of the German 10th Panzer Division entered Cherven' on July 1–2, 1941. The Germans established a military administration (Ortskommandantur), and soon after their arrival they recruited a local police force. Grigorii Rusetskii was appointed chief of police, and Filip Razmyslovich, Maksim Kitov, Dmitrii Zenkovich, Karl Zhdanovich, Shirshov, and Iakovlev were among those who enlisted.[1]

In August 1941 a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, then based in Minsk, arrived in Cherven' and murdered 139 people, also collecting 125,880 rubles from town residents; the victims probably consisted primarily of male Jews.[2]

Then in the fall of 1941, the occupying forces ordered Griadka and Sovetskaia Streets in Cherven' to be cleared. Jews were resettled into these streets, which hitherto had been inhabited predominantly by Belorussians. According to eyewitnesses, during the resettlement, the smith Borukh Gelfand put up some resistance. For his actions, Gelfand was subjected to horrific torture: nails were hammered into his head.[3] It is estimated that nearly 2,000 Jews lived in the ghetto. The ghetto in Cherven', like that of many other places in Belorussia, was of no particular economic significance. Its main function was to concentrate the Jews and prevent them from fleeing, to facilitate their subsequent extermination. The Jews were ordered to carry out their assigned forced labor tasks, including arduous physical work, calmly and obediently. The Jews were isolated: Belorussians and Russians were not allowed even to approach them, and they were systematically starved. The Jews' valuable possessions were seized.

The Jews in the Cherven' ghetto continued to suffer from persecution and starvation into the winter of 1941–1942. The mass killing of the remaining Jewish population was conducted on one day between January 31 and February 2, 1942. At this time Cherven' lay within the command area of Feldkommandantur 244 of Security Division 286. The killing Aktion was organized by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, the command of which had just been taken over by SS officer Heinz Richter, based in Mogilev.[4]

At 6:00 A.M., the ghetto was surrounded by reinforced units of German and local Belorussian police. Search parties looked for Jews even outside the confines of the ghetto, in Cherven'. In the town hospital they found Gitlina, whose leg had been amputated and, in a separate room, a Jewish woman who had recently given birth. Both women were taken from their beds and sent to the ghetto.[5] When all the searches had ended, the people were herded along the road towards the village of Zametovka in the Kolodishchi sel'sovet. The column of Jews was stopped at the place known as Glinishche. The policemen in sleighs brought with them shovels and a box of ammunition. The mass shooting began at noon. In the winter frost, the prisoners were ordered to remove everything except their underclothing and then, in groups of 30 or 40 people, were escorted into the ditches and shot with automatic rifles. The Belorussian policemen played an important role in the Aktion. Among

those who showed the greatest eagerness were Rusetskii, Razmyslovich, Kitov, Zenkovich, and Zhdanovich.[6] On that day, approximately 1,400 people were shot. The German authorities ordered local Soviet citizens to fill in the pits. Because the ground was frozen, the pits were only lightly covered, and dogs started to scavenge the corpses. Therefore, they issued new orders for the pits to be filled in again more thoroughly.[7]

According to Soviet sources, during the occupation in Cherven' and in the Cherven' raion, 6,321 citizens of various nationalities lost their lives, including 766 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and 1,240 people who were burned inside buildings during the course of German reprisals against the Soviet partisans.[8]

Cherven' was liberated by the Red Army on July 2, 1944.[9] After the liberation, three mass graves were found in the town: around the Jewish cemetery on Minsk Street (1,750 people); near the natural boundaries around Kurgane and Kirpichnoe (400 people); and on Bobruiskaia Street (315 people).

SOURCES There is no specific publication focused on the fate of the Jewish community in Cherven' during the Holocaust. For further details on the memorialization of the victims, see L. Smilovitsky, "Attempt to Erect Memorial to Holocaust Victims Blocked by Soviet Belorussian Authorities," *East European Jewish Affairs* 27:1 (1997): 71–80.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Cherven' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-17); NARA; YVA (O-53/24; M-33/435); and ZSSta-D. In addition, the author's personal archive (PALS) contains some correspondence from the survivor Tsodik Rytov, received in 1998.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. According to the testimony given to the ChGK by Ol'ga Lavrent'evaia (born 1907) and Ol'ga Ivenents (born 1891), see YVA, M-33/435, p. 24; O-53/24, p. 673.
2. NARA, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2722201, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 73, September 4, 1941.
3. PALS, letters from Tsodik Rytov (Israel) dated September 17 and December 3, 1998.
4. The available sources differ on the date of the mass shooting. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur II/252 was based in Cherven'; this unit was probably still in place at the end of January 1942.
5. According to the testimony given to the ChGK by Aleksandr Korotko (born 1920), YVA, O-53/24, p. 67.
6. YVA, M-33/435, pp. 2–8.
7. According to the letter of Lt. F.S. Tunik, September 23, 1944, published in *Sovetskie evrei pishut Il'e Erenburgu, 1943–1966* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 158. German sources indicate that 1,342 Jews were killed in Cherven' on January 31 (or February 1), 1942, by a unit of Einsatzkommando 8; see ZSSta-D, 45 Js 35/64, Bd. I, pp. 59–79, Verfügung dated September 8, 1967. The Einsatzgruppen reports erroneously give the figure of 15,000 victims, but probably 1,500 was intended; see EM no. 186, March 27, 1942, NARA, T-175, reel 233.
8. YVA, M-33/435, pp. 2–8.
9. Cherven' was liberated by the 110th and the 348th Artillery Divisions of the Soviet Army along with the Budinov, Zukov, and Kalinin partisan detachments. Jews comprised between 10 and 15 percent of these partisan units.

DARAGANOVO

Pre-1939: Daraganovo, village, Starye Dorogi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Daraganowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Darahanava, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Daraganovo is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of Bobruisk. In 1926, there were 60 Jewish families living in Daraganovo. By mid-1941, migration had slightly reduced the Jewish population of the village.

German armed forces captured Daraganovo in early July 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were called up to active duty in the Red Army. About 100 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, the village was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military administration created a village authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village authority to make arrangements for the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as for their use in various types of forced labor.

On September 6, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in the village, in the course of which 11 people were accused of being Soviet activists and shot. The remaining Jews were forced into a ghetto, for which several houses on the edge of the village, on Pesochnaia Street, were allocated. The Germans liquidated the ghetto in May 1942, shooting 73 Jews in a forest north of the village. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, stationed in Bobruisk, carried out the shooting, in which the Ordnungsdienst also took an active part. On January 25, 1943, the children of mixed marriages were seized and shot in the village. In 1976, a monument was erected at the site of the mass grave.[1]

SOURCES The following published sources contain some information on the annihilation of the Jews of Daraganovo: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 303; V. Zaitsev and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin, comp., and Il'ia Al'tman, ed., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4: Sbornik* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*

before and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 292.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Daraganovo can be found in the following archives: GAMO; and GARF (7021-82-8).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. According to the list of names, the number of victims was 85 (GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 65–66).

DOBRUSH

Pre-1941: Dobrush, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dobrusch, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dobrush, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dobrush is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) east of Gomel' on the Iput' River. The town has a railway station on the Gomel'-Unecha line. In 1926, there were 372 Jewish inhabitants (2.7 percent of the total population of 13,800).

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many refugees arrived in Dobrush. Dobrush was strategically significant, as it lay on the main rail line through Briansk to Moscow, so the Luftwaffe bombed the town. More than two thirds of the Jews in Dobrush managed to leave the town, either as staff of a factory or government organization or independently on foot towards Gomel'.[1]

German forces occupied Dobrush on August 22, 1941. During the German occupation, Dobrush was subordinated to Rear Area, Army Group Center. The Germans appointed M.G. Sobolev to be the mayor and Karp Amel'chenko as his deputy. The former examining magistrate of the Dobrush raion, Fedosii Semenchik, became chief of police, and Anufii Klimenkov was the prison warden.[2] The police, the jail, local authorities, elders of the volost', and local communities were all subordinated to the German military command and the mayor.

No anti-Jewish Aktions took place in Dobrush during the first two months of the occupation. Jews were allowed to live in their own homes but were forbidden to visit public places, to go onto the main streets of the town, or to maintain contacts with Belorussians and Russians. Jewish children above age 10 and all Jewish adults were required to wear yellow patches on their outer garments.[3] At the end of October 1941, the Gestapo ordered Mayor Sobolev to evict the Jewish population from within the town limits of Dobrush. In the municipal records Vasilii Zheldakov recorded the names of the 106 Jews who were displaced. To calm them, the police informed the Jews that this was in preparation for their deportation to Palestine. On the appointed day, the authorities ordered the Jews to assemble at the town police station, from which they were escorted 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) south of the town to two outbuildings of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). The police categorically forbade the Jews to enter the town limits. The guards starved the prisoners and escorted them to perform the hardest and dirtiest labor. Jews had to drag logs out of the river, clean streets, and unload freight cars. The local police and the Germans humiliated the Jews.

The liquidation of the ghetto was planned to take place at the same time as the execution of Communists and Soviet activists. The arrests of 19 Communists (18 men and 1 woman) took place on November 17, 1941. In the last days before the Aktion, the external perimeter of the ghetto was tightly guarded. On November 20, Gansevskii and Morozov made Jews dig a large ditch, 10 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (about 33 by 6.6 by 6.6 feet).[4] On the morning of November 21, at 10:00 A.M., eight policemen escorted the Communists in closed motor vehicles from the Dobrush jail to the MTS. The police took the Jews in a column of fours to within 50 meters (164 feet) of the ditch and made them kneel down. The police formed a cordon to prevent escape. Three officers of the Security Police, from the detachment in Gomel' (commanded by Wilhelm Schulz) of Einsatzkommando 8, directed the Aktion, assisted by 25 local policemen and 10 Germans.[5] Among the local policemen present were Semenchik, Gansevskii, Sukalin, Lapunov, Khatskov, Kachanov, Kachalin, and Davydulin. A number of local residents, including many relatives and friends of the non-Jewish victims, came to the killing site, although Sobolev had instructed the policemen to keep observers at a distance.

First to be shot were the Communists; then it was the turn of the Jews. The policemen searched them, making them remove their clothing. Sukalin, Kachalin, and Lapunov undressed and searched the women. Khaia Kosolapova, in her early twenties, a Soviet clerk, tried to run away, but the policemen Sukalin and Kachalin caught her and dragged her back to be shot. As she was killed, Kosolapova shouted, "Goodbye, comrades, you who know me. I am dying for my homeland, for Stalin. Long live our Red Army!"[6]

The Germans went about their gruesome task as if they were slaughtering livestock. They would bring two or three victims to the ditch, where the German executioner stabbed the children with a knife and threw them, still alive, into the ditch. Police officer Khatskov was especially active in shoving people into the ditch. Among the first victims were members of the Aronchik family: the wife, husband, and four children. The mother, Basia Aronchik, 32 years old, held her 2-year-old son in her arms; the next-oldest child clung to her skirt, and the two older children followed behind. One of the older children appealed to Semenchik, begging him, "Dear Uncle, you know me. Dear Uncle, spare me, I want to live! I sat at the same desk as your boy in school, and I never did anything bad to anyone! Save me!" Whereupon a policeman grabbed him and threw him into the ditch, then shots rang out. The women and children sobbed so loudly that their wailing and moaning could be heard at a distance. Those only wounded were buried alive.[7]

The killing went on from 10:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. In total, 125 people were killed: 19 Communists and 106 Jews. After

the mass shooting, the search began for those who had escaped by hiding. A week later, a 13-year-old girl named Ishevskaia, who had miraculously survived in Dobrush, sought out Amel'chenko to request some of the belongings of her parents, who had been killed. Amel'chenko arrested her and turned her over to the German commandant's office to be shot.[8]

The German occupiers used Jewish property to reward collaborators and as an incentive to the local population to be cooperative. Most of the property was distributed after the resettlement of the Jews into the MTS barracks, where the ghetto was established. The authorities took some of the Jewish belongings as fines or "contributions" in place of money: ornaments, gold and silver, and personal items. Finally, they took clothing, undergarments, and footwear removed from victims before the executions on November 21. After the mass shooting, the victims' belongings were hauled away in eight carts to the authorities' headquarters. German members of the punitive expedition and the police took some of the loot; whatever remained that was still usable was sold off to local inhabitants or distributed among those who worked for the authorities.

According to German investigative sources, a detachment of Security Police from Sonderkommando 7a based in Klintsy arrived in Dobrush at the end of March or the beginning of April 1942 and murdered another 70 Jews, who were being held in three to five houses in a wooded area to the north of Dobrush. The Security Police, assisted by the local police (Ordnungsdienst), shot the Jews into a ditch.[9] These were presumably Jews who survived the first Aktion or were captured in the area subsequently and held until a second Aktion could be organized.

Units of the Red Army liberated Dobrush on October 10, 1943. On the same day, the 48th Army counterintelligence unit "Smersh" arrested a group of active collaborators with the German occupiers who had committed crimes against local civilians. The collaborators were tried by a military tribunal.[10]

During the years of occupation, the population of the Dobrush raion declined by about 30 percent, from 31,244 inhabitants in 1941 to 21,791 in May 1944. In the town of Dobrush itself, the population fell almost 40 percent, from 13,815 to 8,399.[11] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in the town on December 16, 1943, established that 576 civilians (including 199 persons in the town of Dobrush) and 18 prisoners of war (POWs) perished in the Dobrush raion during the German occupation. Opening the mass grave near the MTS revealed 124 bodies buried there: 70 of them had bullet wounds; 10 showed signs of having been struck with a blunt object; and 44 had no visible injury, which suggested that they were buried alive.[12] Of the 124 bodies, 67 were women, 57 were men, 32 were children up to 10 years old, and 49 were elderly persons. Most of the bodies were found in awkward positions, which indicated an agonizing death.[13]

So far, of the 106 ghetto inmates, it has only been possible to establish the family names of 53 victims: 22 men and 31 women.[14]

SOURCES Publications relating to the fate of the Jews of Dobrush under German occupation include the following: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 2 vols. (Minsk, 1999).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; GAGOMO (1318-1-8); GAOOGO (144-5-6); GARF (7021-85-38); NARB (4-33a-65); USHMM; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Robert Haney and Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. *Pamiat': Dobrushkii raion*, 1:256.
2. From the interrogation of defendant Feodosii Ivanovich Semenchik, April 1, 1945, Grodno. AUKGBRBGO, file 6936, p. 17.
3. GARF, 7021-85-38, pp. 1, 10, 22.
4. From the verdict of "guilty" in the case of accomplices in Nazi crimes in Dobrush, October 29, 1943, AUKGBRBGO, file 15884, vol. 1, pp. 455–460.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, p. 771.
6. AUKGBRBGO, file 15884, vol. 1, p. 49.
7. Excerpt from the examination record of witness Anna Prof'evna Zhurbenkova-Kotsuba (born 1906), October 16, 1943, Dobrush, ibid., vol. 1, p. 48.
8. Interrogation of Mikhail Nazarovich Lapunov, ibid., vol. 1, p. 106.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, p. 771; and vol. 23, (1998) Lfd. Nr. 620, p. 166.
10. The Military Field Court, 73rd Nozybkov Infantry Division, based on a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, USSR, dated April 19, 1943, sentenced these individuals to death by hanging: Vasilii Nikolaevich Zheldakov, Karp Anatol'evich Amel'chenko, Leonard Boleslavovich Gansevskii, Mikhail Nazarovich Lapunov, and Daniil Fomich Sukalin. Petr Abramovich Levin was sentenced to be shot. Sentenced to 10 years' loss of freedom in a corrective labor camp, confiscation of belongings, and disenfranchisement for 5 years were Elena Vasil'evna Zheldakova, Ivana Eliseevicha Tsubrikova, and Anufria Efimovicha Klimenkova. The sentence was final and not subject to appeal: AUKGBRBGO, file 14884, vol. 2, p. 683.
11. Data regarding the population of Gomel' oblast' on May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
12. AUKGBRBGO, file 6936, p. 110.
13. Ibid., file 15884, vol. 1, p. 456.
14. According to *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 1:347–350.

DRIBIN

Pre-1941: Dribin, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Drybin, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dribin is situated 64 kilometers (40 miles) to the northeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 563 Jews living in Dribin, comprising 17.9 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 14, 1941, about three and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army.

During the entire German occupation until October 1, 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) exercised authority in the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a raion authority and a police force composed of local residents.

Shortly after the occupation began, the raion authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews ages 16 to 50 were also required to perform heavy physical labor.

On September 30, 1941, all the Jews of the town were settled into an open ghetto, which consisted of 11 houses. The ghetto in Dribin existed for only one week. On October 6, 1941, the Jews were assembled and instructed to wear their best clothes and bring their prized possessions. German forces of Einsatzkommando 8 then organized the destruction of the ghetto. Assisted by the local police, German forces escorted the Jews into a forest 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the town, where they shot them all, around 400 in total. The Jews were also robbed of all their property by the perpetrators.[1]

SOURCES The Dribin ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 138; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 291, 298.

Relevant documentation can be found in GARF (7021-88-37); NARB (861-1-9, pp. 152–153); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8; and RG-53.002M, reel 7).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-88-37, pp. 2 reverse and 10; and NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 152–153.

DRISSA

Pre-1941: Drissa, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); 1962: renamed Verkhnedvinsk; post-1991: Verkhniadzvinsk (Drysa), raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Drissa is situated about 60 kilometers (38 miles) northwest of Polotsk. In 1939, 825 Jews lived in the town, making up 30.1 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Drissa raion (without the town of Drissa) included 677 people, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Volyntsy and Borkovichi, as well as in Borovka, the northern suburb of Drissa.

The 19th Panzer (Armored) Division of the LVII German Army Corps of Panzer Group 3 forced its crossing over the Zapadnaia Dvina River at Dzisna in the Drissa area on July 3, 1941; the town of Drissa was taken on the same day. The fighting at the Dzisna-Drissa bridgehead went on until July 6. On July 10, 1941, the German 14th Panzer Division of the newly formed 4th Panzer Army captured Volyntsy and Borkovichi. The rest of the Drissa raion was captured by the 19th Panzer Division (southern part) and by the XXII Army Corps of the 9th Army by July 13, 1941.

From August 1941 onward, Drissa was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Ortskommandantur 262 was based here. From January to March 1942, Drissa was under the authority of Feldkommandantur 749.

Drissa is situated close to a railway, and many Jews managed to leave the town before the Germans captured it. After the war, 12 or 13 Jewish families returned to Drissa; many others remained in the places to which they had been evacuated.[1]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in February 1942 the Germans assembled 769 Jews from Drissa in a "special camp" (ghetto). Shortly afterwards, most probably on February 10, they shot them into a mass grave at the local Jewish cemetery in groups of 10 to 15 people. Infants were thrown into the ditch alive or shot in the air. Some people who were only wounded were also buried alive. The murder was perpetrated by a "punitive squad," most probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9, supported by the men of the Ortskommandantur and local policemen (*politsais*). The victims were brought to the killing site in trucks, which were driven by local drivers.[2] Everything was done in full view of the local non-Jewish population. After the massacre, the perpetrators burned down the ghetto; thus, those who attempted to hide in the ghetto perished in the flames.

A group of young people succeeded in fleeing from Drissa before the ghetto was established; they crossed the front lines and survived. Some others tried to run away during the Aktion but were captured by the Nazis and killed.[3]

The estimate of the number of Jewish victims made by the ChGK—769 people—seems to be excessive, taking into account that there was a successful mobilization into the Red Army in Drissa and that some Jews succeeded in evacuating the town. On the other hand, many Jewish refugees from the western areas settled in the Osveia-Drissa area; most probably, the Germans resettled the Jews from Borovka into the ghetto in Drissa.

In Borkovichi, 30 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Drissa along the Polotsk-Daugavpils railway, no less than 60 Jews were killed; 10 Jews were killed in the village of Iustianovo (7 kilometers [4.4 miles] south of Drissa); and 16 Jews were killed in the village of Ianino, 1 or 2 kilometers (0.6–1.2 miles) north of Drissa. (Information on the fate of the Jews of Volyntsy, also in the Drissa raion, can be found in the entry for that ghetto—see **Volyntsy.**)[4]

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Drissa raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-215) and NARB (861-1-13). Other relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-DH (e.g., ZM 635); BA-MA (RH 26-201/17); and YVA (O-3/5499).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Testimony by Yona Gildin, YVA, O-3/5499.
2. GARF, 7021-92-215 (see also NARB, 861-1-13, p. 85). Christian Gerlach, referring to documents of the 201st Security Division, writes that "at least" 93 Jews were killed in Drissa; see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 684.
3. YVA, O-3/5499.
4. GARF, 7021-92-215.

DUBROVNO

Pre-1941: Dubrovno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dubrowno, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dubrouna, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dubrovno is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, 2,119 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.4 percent of the population. Another town in the raion with a considerable Jewish population was Liady (897 Jews, or 39.2 percent of the total population in 1939; see **Liady**). The rest of the Jewish population of the Dubrovno raion (without the town of Dubrovno) constituted 222 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Baevo and Rossasno (see **Rossasno**). After World War II, the town of Osintorf (18 kilometers [11 miles] north of Dubrovno) was switched from Orsha raion to Dubrovno raion. The number of Jews in Osintorf is not clear; most probably, they numbered between 10 and 30.

The "Dneprovskaia textile mill" was not evacuated by the authorities (Dubrovno lies rather far from the railway); only some sections of it were blown up. This means that there was no large-scale evacuation of the population from the town (in other towns such as Orsha or Vitebsk, the evacuation of industrial plants helped thousands of Jews to escape the Nazis).

Dubrovno was captured by the German forces (17th Panzer Division of the XLVII Army Corps of the 2nd Panzer Group) on July 16,[1] after which it was in the rear area of the 2nd Army (Infantry). From August 1941, Dubrovno was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 286th Security Division; the Secret Field Police (GFP) Group 723, subordinated to this division, was quartered here. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report mentions an Ortskommandantur in Dubrovno under Kommandant Major Hänschin.

The Germans put together an indigenous local administration in Dubrovno and its Rayon, including a local police force. The mayor of Dubrovno was Skvarchevskii, the former



Russians and Jews at forced labor building a bridge in Dubrovno, n.d.
USHMM WS # 81533, COURTESY OF NARA

head of a peat factory. The head of the indigenous police in the volost' was Kulikovskii. The mayor of Osintorf was I. Trublin.

The town of Osintorf served as the base for forming one of the Russian "armies," which was to fight on the German side to fulfill police functions: the Russian National People's Army (Russkaia Natsional'naia Narodnaia Armiia, RNNA). In 1941, under the aegis of the headquarters of Army Group Center, the "Trial Battalion Graukopf" was formed, mainly from Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The members of the battalion wore Soviet uniforms and had Soviet weapons but carried German insignia. In the spring of 1942, the Battalion Graukopf was transformed into the RNNA. The local population called its servicemen *narodniki*.[2]

Information on the Holocaust in Dubrovno is scanty. A ghetto in Dubrovno was established in the fall of 1941. According to the ChGK, it was located in the area called "the camp '*zhilkoop*' " (which may be interpreted as an abbreviation of "dwelling cooperative"). Eyewitnesses, both those who gave testimonies to the ChGK and those from Gennadii Vinnitsa's collection, mention physical abuse of the Jewish inmates. A non-Jewish witness says: "I went to the Kommandantur to receive an Ausweis (identity card) and saw *politsais*

[men of the indigenous police] there, who put 10 Jews on the ground and beat them with sticks."[3] In December 1941, the inmates of the ghetto were shot by a German "punitive squad"; the local commandant was also present at the execution site. According to the ChGK, the execution site was an area beyond the Dneprovskaia textile mill, where a mass grave had been prepared beforehand; according to Vinnitsa, it was a sand quarry close to the Jewish cemetery. Witnesses attest that the Nazis employed sadistic methods of killing.

Both the ChGK and Vinnitsa indicate that the Nazis spared artisans and their families from this Aktion. The artisans and their families were killed in February 1942.

The ChGK estimates the number of Jews killed in December 1941 at 1,500 and the number killed in February 1942 at 300. In other individual and group shootings that took place in Dubrovno, the Nazis killed an additional 185 Jews. The total number of Jewish victims in Dubrovno was 1,985. At the same time, the list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains only 330 names of Jews.

The Jews of the town of Osintorf were killed in March 1942. The witnesses who were interrogated by the ChGK in 1945 estimate the number of those killed at 20. The witness Shmuglevskii, who, according to his words, "was under custody" together with these doomed Jews, said that among them there were seven women and five children under 16. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK refers to 10 Jews killed. Of them, the families Ginsburg and Simkin were killed in October 1941 in Osintorf, and the Khanins, in February 1942 in Dubrovno. It is not clear whether the witnesses of the ChGK included these 10 or only some of them (the Ginsburgs and Simkins) among those 20 people on whom they gave information.[4]

In the village of Barsuki, 11 kilometers (7 miles) east-southeast of Dubrovno, two Jewish women married to non-Jews were killed.

SOURCES In the book by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pages 16 to 31 deal with the Holocaust in the Dubrovno raion.

The documents of the ChGK for the Dubrovno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-6), as can those for Osintorf (7021-84-10).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Heinz Guderian, *Erinnerungen eines Soldaten* (Heidelberg, 1951), pp. 154–157.
2. A.M. Litvin, "Antysavetskiia vaenna-palitseiskiia farmiravanni na terytoryi Belarusi w hady Vyalikai Aichyinai vainy 1941–1944 hh." (Ph.D. diss., Minsk, 2000), pp. 69–70.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 18.
4. GARF, 7021-84-6 and 7021-84-10.

ELIZOVO (YELIZOVO)

Pre-1941: Elizovo, town, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Elisowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Elizava, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Elizovo is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 303 Jews living in Elizovo, accounting for 6.7 percent of the total population. Following the occupation of Poland in September 1939 by German and Soviet forces, a number of Jewish refugees settled in Elizovo, bringing with them information about the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

German armed forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 1, 1941, just over a week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, the Germans bombed the town, and a few Jews managed to flee eastward or were conscripted into the Red Army. Probably about two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Elizovo at the start of the German occupation.

On the first day of the occupation, the Germans collected about 100 people, Jews and non-Jews, and murdered them in an Aktion in reprisal for the killing of a German soldier in the vicinity.[1] Throughout the occupation period (from July 1941 to February 1944), a German military commandant's office was in charge of Elizovo. The German military administration established a town council and a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

The German authorities soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. For example, Jews were forced to wear yellow circular patches on the back and front of their clothes; they were forbidden to have contact with non-Jews; they were forbidden to keep pets; and young Jewish men and women were taken for forced labor, building a road between Elizovo and Svisloch'.[2]

A few weeks into the occupation, probably in August 1941, the remaining Jews in the town were herded into a ghetto, for which a few buildings were allocated. According to Jewish survivors, the ghetto was not fenced in.[3] Some Jews gave their property to non-Jews for safekeeping, but in one instance the peasant Kabanov subsequently handed the items to the German authorities, who demanded the surrender of all Jewish property.

On October 8, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Elizovo, in which a dozen or so Jews who had been sent to work on the road were taken to the forest and murdered. On October 14, the Germans conducted a brutal Aktion in the nearby village of Svisloch', in which a number of Jews were killed. Then in the winter of 1941–1942, probably in early November 1941, the Germans rounded up the Jews of Elizovo, humiliated them by making them sing, and forced them to surrender their warm clothing for the German armed forces before releasing them again.[4]

On January 21 or 22, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the glass factory building in the town and set it on fire. Then the next day an SS squad arrived and conducted a reprisal Aktion in which they shot most of the remaining Jewish men, about 28 people. Before burying the bodies in two large

graves, the Germans removed any gold teeth from the corpses' mouths.[5]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on April 5, 1942, shooting all the remaining Jews. A few Jews managed to evade the roundup and hide in the surrounding countryside or make their way to join the Soviet partisans. In total, at least 100 Jews were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators in and around Elizovo in 1941–1942.

SOURCES Information on Elizova can be found in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 304, 312.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Elizovo can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; VHF (# 38244 and 38470); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova (born 1924); and # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai, dates this event on November 3, 1941; # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova, however, describes a similar incident but dates it in early January 1942.
5. Ibid., # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai, dates the partisan attack on January 21, 1942; # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova, dates it on January 22, 1942.

EZERISHCHE (YEZERISHCHE)

Pre-1941: Ezerishche, town and center, Mekhovoe raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jeseritsche, Rayon Mechowoje, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Eziaryshcha, Haradok raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ezerishche is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north of Gorodok. The Mekhovoe raion had 235 Jews in 1939, most of whom lived in Ezerishche (estimates range from 60 to 175). The next-largest contingent lived in Mezha (perhaps as many as 86 people). German armed forces of the XXIII Corps of the 9th Army captured Ezerishche on July 17, 1941.

Sometime in October 1941, the Jews were resettled into the building of a former inn: a long, one-story building near the railway station. The building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded. According to other witnesses, the "ghetto" included two buildings, one wooden, the second made of bricks, and was not surrounded by barbed wire.[1] The discrepancy in the witness accounts may be ascribed to the deterioration of the Ezerishche Jews' situation in the late fall of 1941 and the winter of 1941–1942.

In February 1942 (or perhaps in early December 1941),[2] all the Jews were escorted from the "ghetto" across the railway to a marsh to the northwest of the village and were shot there near pits that had been dug previously. The shooting was carried out one family at a time; before the killing, the victims were ordered to undress. The killing was somewhat haphazard, and many victims, merely wounded, were buried alive.

The number of Jews killed in Ezerishche is unknown. One of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) records gives an estimate of 200 victims, which is probably an exaggeration; other ChGK records and witnesses state that 150 or 175 were killed; some local witnesses reported 60 dead, which seems to be too low an estimate. According to all the witnesses, a number of professionals (such as pediatrician Frida Bentsman, two other physicians, two pharmacists, and the school principal Khait) were all killed on that day.

Elsewhere in the Mekhovoe raion, a number of Jews, possibly as many as 86,[3] were killed in Mezha (36 kilometers [22 miles] northeast of Gorodok) in February 1942; in Bychikha (about halfway between Gorodok and Ezerishche, along the railway), no fewer than 6 Jews were killed near the railway station; there were also other places in the area where Jews were killed.

SOURCES Information can be found in Gennadii Vinnitsa's *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), p. 32.

Documentation on the Ezerishche ghetto can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-9); and YVA (O-3/4608).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 32.
2. GARF, 7021-84-9, ChGK report, dates the massacre as February 1942. Vinnitsa, *Gorechi' i bol'*, also gives this date. However, the ChGK report, undated, deposited at the archive of the Gorodok Museum of Local History (Gorodokskii Kraevedcheskii Muzei), indicates early December 1941, as do the witnesses interviewed in 1985 (YVA, O-3/4608).
3. Eighty-six "peaceful citizens" were shot by the Germans in Mezha during the occupation, according to the estimate of the ChGK. The main shooting took place in February 1942; it is unclear whether all the 86 people counted by the ChGK were killed on that day or whether some of them (who therefore may not have been Jewish) were killed later. See GARF, 7021-84-9, pp. 2–4.

GLUSK

Pre-1941: Glusk, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Glussk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Hlusk, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Glusk is located 46 kilometers (29 miles) southwest of Bobruisk. In 1939, 1,935 Jews lived in Glusk (37.8 percent of the total population).

According to the testimony of Yankel Gurevich, at the beginning of the German invasion many citizens of Glusk were distraught and did not know what to do.[1] Grigory Brum

stated that no one in Glusk knew how long the war would last, but most assumed that if they waited, the war would soon end. It was widely believed that even if Glusk were to be occupied, the Jews would be left unscathed. The majority of Jews in Glusk were unable to evacuate because of the rapid German advance. German forces entered the city on June 27–28, 1941.[2]

Although during the course of the first month no anti-Jewish Aktions took place, the situation changed quickly. The Germans organized a police force from local citizens, under the command of Makarov. Jews were ordered to wear a yellow six-pointed star on the front and back of their clothing. Some form of ghetto was established (probably an open ghetto), but most Jews continued to live in their own houses, which were also marked with a Star of David. Survivor testimony uses the term "ghetto" explicitly, but it remains unclear if the ghetto area was enclosed by a fence or if it was guarded.[3] Jews were forbidden to leave the settlement without permission or trade with non-Jews. They were ordered to report to a labor camp daily, from which they were sent to perform various tasks. At night they were released. The Jews were used for the most arduous forced labor: repairing roads, digging ditches, and clearing forests. Galina Gelfer, who was only 14 at the time, recalls digging the ground, sweeping the streets, cleaning, and washing for the Germans.[4] Some of those sent to work each day did not return. Those who could not work or walk in the column fast enough were shot. According to Michael Epstein (Epshtein) the policemen insulted and tortured the Jews with more glee than the Germans. According to the account of Juliy Aizenshtadt, on November 29–30, 1941, the Nazis put on a show in Glusk. They collected the spectators at the nursery school and forced them to watch as the Jews were made to carry horse manure in their hats. The Nazis laughed and whipped them. They ordered the hairdresser Maizus to climb a large pear tree and jump down: he broke several bones. Avremul Mashnitser was placed backwards on a horse; then they whipped the horse, which galloped off. Avremul, grabbing for the horse's tail, hit his head against the sharp corner of a roof, fell off, and died. The Nazis laughed. One of them held a goat and stroked it, as if to demonstrate to everyone present that the animal was better than the Jews.

Many predicted the upcoming extermination. In the ghetto, people heard about the extermination of the Jews in Bobruisk and other places. On the morning of December 2, 1941, the Jews were ordered to gather in the square in front of the commandant's building and to bring their valuables, linen, and a little food. Then the policemen began searching the Jewish houses. People shouted and ran into the streets while the policemen chased after them, caught up with those who fell behind, beat them, and forced them into the square. A small group of Jews hid in the garage of the military commissariat in Glusk, but they were found.

According to Galina Gelfer, who hid in the attic of an empty store overlooking the assembled Jews, the women and children were loaded into three big black trucks, possibly gas vans, and apparently were killed by gassing before their bodies were thrown into the pits at Myslotino Hill, 1 or 2 kilometers (0.6 or 1.2 miles) from Glusk. As the vans were relatively small, a number of trips were necessary. The Germans, with dogs, and local policemen escorted the remaining Jews to the same pits on foot.[5] These Jews were then shot at Myslotino Hill. Between 1941 and 1943, this place was often used to murder not only Jews but also those who were deemed to be "suspect" in Glusk and in the Glusk raion. In addition, Jews were also shot and buried at the western outpost near the furniture factory and at the Jewish cemetery. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that the total number of "peaceful citizens" murdered in Glusk was about 3,000;[6] this figure probably includes more than 1,000 Jewish victims.

Close to 100 Jews escaped owing to special circumstances: expert craftsmen received permission from the Nazis and were allowed to live in their own houses, outside the ghetto area; some left the night before the extermination because they were forewarned by their neighbors; others did not report to the square in front of the commandant's building on December 2, 1941, but hid and thereby escaped the German trap; and finally, a few wounded Jews even emerged from the pit into which they had been shot.

At the beginning of December 1941, one of the Jewish groups that had escaped from Glusk assembled in the forest and, with the help of local peasants, traveled to the village of Rudobelka, where they hoped to join the partisans. When they arrived, they realized that there were no partisans, but they were also pleasantly surprised to find that there were no Germans either and that the local peasants were willing to share their food with them. In the spring of 1942, more than 20 Jews from Glusk (the Brum family [Chema, Hannah, Girsh, and Tzilia], the brothers Isaac and Boruch Graizel, Michael Epshtein, Alter Epshtein, and others) met in the village of Slavkovichi. There, from local inhabitants and the Soviet soldiers stranded behind German lines in the Glusk raion, the partisan force "Budennyi" was created under the command of Red Army Captain Boris Tzikunkova.

In total, the force consisted of 184 partisans, including more than 20 Jews. Alter Epshtein fled the "ghetto" along with his wife and his 8-year-old son; two of his daughters had been killed during the massacre of the Jews of Glusk. Alter was a tailor for the partisans, while his wife baked bread for them. Several of the Jewish women acted as nurses. Before the war, Markman worked as an arms specialist in the military town of Urech'e, near Starye Dorogi. He repaired the old weapons and created automatic rifles. In April 1944, during the German blockade of the partisan zone, many Jews were killed. Alter, to avoid being captured by the Germans, blew himself up with a grenade.

Another group of Jews from Glusk (Juliy and Naum Aizenshtadt; Kasriel, Abraham, Ida, Yankel, and Rachel Gurevich; and others) became partisans in the "Red October" detachment, which combined with the brigade named after "Shchors" under the command of Fyodor Pavlosky (the first Belorussian partisan to be honored with the title "Hero of the Soviet Union").[7] Yankel Gurevich became the commander of their Uritskiy machine-gun platoon (under the command of

Chavkin). After Belorussia was liberated in July 1944, the Jewish partisans from Glusk were called up to the Soviet army and fought until the end of the war.

Glusk was liberated on June 27, 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Glusk can be found in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005).

Documents on the murder of the Jewish population of Glusk can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF; NARB (845-1-60); USHMM (RG-22.002M and Acc.1995.A.537); and YVA. The author also has in his personal archive (PALS) letters written after the war by former inhabitants of Glusk.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman



Group portrait of 11 boys and girls from the Stalin School in Gomel', 1941. Among those pictured is Sonya Lishansky, seated second from right in the first row, the only Jewish child in this photograph known to have survived the Holocaust in Gomel'.
USHMM WS #58242, COURTESY OF SONYA LISHANSKY

NOTES

1. PALS, letter from Yankel Gurevich in Tel Aviv, July 10, 1994. This letter has been published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 198–199.
2. PALS, letter from Grigory Brum in Ahdod, September 22, 1997.
3. See Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 332; see also the testimony of Olga Shulman in Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzhenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim povsiashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 296–300.
4. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.537, handwritten memoir of Galina Gelfer.
5. Ibid.
6. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 25; GAMO, 2952-2-139, p. 8; GARF, 7021-82-6, p. 21 (USHMM, RG-22.002M).
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 333.

GOMEL' (GOMEL' OBLAST')

Pre-1941: Gomel', city, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gomel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Homel', raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Gomel' is located 300 kilometers (186 miles) southeast of Minsk. In 1939, Jews numbered 40,880 (27.3 percent of the city's total population).

In the first weeks of the war, the population of Gomel' benefited from the fact that German forces only occupied the city about two months after the start of the invasion, and many people managed to evacuate in the interim. By the time the Germans took the city on August 21, 1941, about 80,000 inhabitants had fled, but some 4,000 Jews remained (about 9 percent of the pre-war total).

After occupying Gomel', the Germans set up a temporary military administration. During August and September 1941, they established branches of the Security Police in Gomel' and other towns of the region. During the occupation, security forces in the city included units of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, or GFP), the Field Gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie), the Order Police (Schutzpolizei), a local police force, and a guard company subordinated to the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur).[1]

Local policemen, villagers, and city residents captured, handed over to the Germans, and often themselves killed Jewish soldiers in the Red Army who had avoided encirclement by the enemy or escaped from prisoner-of-war (POW) camps. In July 1941, David Komisarenko fled the POW camp in the Gomel' area. He was subsequently detained by two policemen who identified him as a Jew. Some of the captured Jewish servicemen tried to hide their ethnicity. When they were identified as Jews, they died terrible deaths. In the winter of 1942–1943, the Germans discovered Jews among the POWs in Durchgangslager (Dulag) 121 in Gomel'. The policemen stripped them in the severe cold and poured water on them so that they would freeze to death.

After the German occupation of Gomel', Jews were soon identified with the help of the local population and required to wear special yellow marks on their chests and backs. In September or October 1941, four separate ghettos were created in Gomel'. The resettlement of the Jews lasted about a week. On only half an hour's notice, they were escorted away, carrying with them nothing but bed linen. Later, local policemen and Germans returned to Jewish houses and took everything of value; what remained was put in a warehouse.[2]

The main ghetto in Gomel' was in the Monastyrek district. It housed some 800 Jews from the center of the city. The second ghetto was on Novo-Lubenskaia Street. It held about 500 people, including 97 Jews who were brought to Gomel' from Loiev. The third ghetto was on Bikhovskaia Street. The Jews who lived in Novo-Belitsa, on the left bank of the

Sozh River, were put into a separate ghetto. In September 1941, 200 ghetto inmates were moved from Novo-Belitsa to Monastyrek. They were tortured, and the beards of the religious Jews were cut off.[3]

Very cramped quarters, unsanitary conditions, no medical care, and a lack of rudimentary conveniences were typical of all four ghettos. A single room of 20 square meters (215 square feet) was usually shared by seven people or more. They had almost no belongings, making housing them easier. The number of ghetto inmates rapidly declined due to disease, transfers, and killings.

Before the war, the Monastyrek district of Gomel' was populated by workers. It consisted mainly of one-room houses, with several families living in each. When the district became a ghetto, to accommodate more people, all the inner partitions in the houses were demolished, and three-tiered bunks were installed. All the inmates of the ghetto, including infants, were registered, and a list was compiled of specialists and intellectuals. The German authorities promised good jobs and meals, but in return the Jews were required to hand over all their money, furs, and gold and silver articles. After this initial demand was met, the Germans soon came back asking for more.

This procedure took place in all of Gomel's ghettos. Threatening to shoot hostages, the Germans collected wedding rings, gold and silver articles, coins, laundry and toilet soap, bedding, linen, clothing, and other items. German soldiers in groups and individually would go on "excursions" to Jewish houses, where they took all they wanted. Belorussian policemen followed suit.

The food was bad. Ghetto inmates, as well as POWs, were given a gruel made of buckwheat skins, barley bran, or frozen potatoes mixed with water. Later the inmates were given 150 to 200 grams (5.3 to 7 ounces) daily of "ersatz bread" made of acorns—and not even that every day. Not everyone received the gruel because they did not have their own dishes. Sometimes the food was just dumped into hats or cupped hands.

A significant number of Jews in the ghetto had large families or were aged or sick. Most of the inmates were women and children. There were almost no adult men or youths of draft age. Few of the elderly retained their illusions of the Germans as "a cultured nation" that had left the Jews alone in 1918 and even protected them from Russian "pogromists."

The ghettos were guarded vigilantly, and under threat of severe punishment, it was forbidden to leave them without special permission. Schwech, the military commandant of Gomel', issued an order that "all contact with Jews, such as greetings, handshakes, or conversation, must be avoided." It was prohibited to exchange goods and food, to communicate, or to pass on information. Those who violated the rules were beaten, deprived of food, and sent to penal jobs. Often such punishment was carried out in public as a lesson to others. Jews could be killed with impunity for any misdemeanor. Leaving the ghetto was allowed for only two reasons: going to work or transporting the dead to the cemetery. All inhabitants of the ghetto, including family members, were punished and could even be shot for leaving the ghetto without permission.[4]

Ghettos served as places where Jews were assembled and isolated for rapid extermination. Thus there were no long-term programs, health services, or sanitation measures. The inmates had to fend for themselves. Like the ghettos of the entire region, the ghettos in Gomel' resembled concentration camps. Jews were seldom sent to do work vitally needed for the city, the region, or the Wehrmacht. More often they were assigned to odd jobs—cutting firewood, rooting out stumps, sweeping and cleaning streets, emptying garbage pits, burying corpses, and removing unexploded mines, shells, and bombs. At railroad stations, Jews cleaned and washed carriages, loaded and unloaded them, moved sleeping cars, and cleaned spur tracks, roads, and the aerodrome.[5] At work, they were beaten with canes and whips, and the weak and the sick were shot. Refusal to go to work could end tragically. In Gomel', in September 1941, it was decreed that every fifth inmate would be shot if someone did not report for labor.[6]

Jews were deliberately not assigned professional jobs. Instead, intellectuals, doctors, teachers, engineers, and other professionals were given hard manual labor. Often they were forced to perform deliberately senseless and humiliating tasks—to drag big carts with tubs of water; to carry bricks, firewood, and garbage from one place to another; to dig pits and then fill them up again. Only in dire need did the Germans fall back on the expertise of Jewish "specialists," for whom temporary exceptions were made. An order of September 28, 1941, issued to the SS-Cavalry Brigade, which was operating in the region, read: "It is understood that craftsmen may be spared."[7]

From August through December 1941, the German occupiers systematically carried out the extermination of the Jews in Gomel'. They killed the first group of 10 people on the pretext that they had participated in sabotage shortly after the Germans entered the city. In October 1941, 52 Jews "who had posed as Russians" were executed. On the orders of Kommandant Preis-Müller, Sonderführer Hartman and Kracht murdered more Jews in the woods near Davidovka village on October 7 and 22.[8] Besides units of Einsatzgruppe B, SS units subordinated to the Reichsführer-SS headquarters staff, units of the Order Police, the Secret Field Police, the Gendarmerie, and other locally based units took part in the execution of Jews.[9]

Some of the Gomel' Jews died in prison and labor camps in the city itself and elsewhere in the Gomel' region. Hundreds of Jews died at the peat extraction site in Kabanovka and at other labor camps to which they had been moved from detention centers and ghettos. Executions were carried out in the prison yard, on the Gomel'-Chernigov highway, and at the third-, sixth-, and ninth-kilometer markers on the Rechitsa highway, among other sites. Most of those killed were shot at kilometer 3 (mile 1.9) of the Rechitsa highway, near the grounds of the machine-tractor repair shop and in the Leshchinets Forest area not far from Davidovka village.[10]

Burial of the dead was conducted with mockery. Excrement was dumped into the ditch with the bodies. Beginning in November 1941, crowds of German soldiers and officers would gather at the ditch with the bodies of those shot, laughing

merrily and taking photographs. These activities took place almost daily as new German units arrived in the city.[11]

Early in November 1941, a notice in big letters appeared on the wall of the timber mill. It said that on the following day, under pain of death, no inhabitants were allowed to leave home before 9:00 A.M. By 6:00 A.M. the next morning, all the policemen of the third police district in Gomel' arrived at Monastyrek. Soon, about 100 men under the command of the Security Police showed up as well. Some of the policemen encircled the area of the ghetto. The others, together with the Germans, began driving Jews out of their homes by force. Inhabitants were not allowed to take anything with them. Several members of the eviction party put a bucket on the head of an old man and made him dance while they pounded on the bucket with sticks and laughed. Two mentally retarded youths were shot on the spot in their own house.[12]

By 10:00 A.M. the roundup was over. Six trucks were provided for those who could not walk on their own in the ragged column of those on foot. Children were tossed into the trucks "like heads of cabbage." The column was halted near the machine-tractor repair shop, where there was an antitank ditch. The Jews were forced to lie down in the ditch and then were shot with submachine guns. Many of them were buried alive. Eyewitnesses recounted that "the earth was breathing and steaming."[13] According to a report of Einsatzgruppe B, 2,365 Jews were "executed" in Gomel' in a special Aktion, which probably took place in November 1941.[14]

While Jews were being driven from the Monastyrek ghetto to the site of their execution, Vera Kozlova helped save Lazar Mill, from Gomel', and his friend David, who was from Novo-Belitsa. The young woman hid the pair in the attic of her house and later provided them with women's clothes that they used to escape safely from Gomel' to Novo-Belitsa over the Sozh River bridge. Lazar and David managed to find local partisans and joined their unit.[15]

Khana Khoroshina had ended up in the ghetto with her parents and younger brother. In November 1941, she fooled the guards and found shelter with the family of her school friend Ania Dereviashkin. The Dereviashkins hid her in the daytime and at night took her to another friend, Lida Mikhalkina, who at dawn escorted her back to the Dereviashkins. This procedure continued until May 1942, when Khana got the chance to become a guide for a blind woman who was going to the Krasnogorsk raion in Briansk oblast' of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Khana stayed there in a village until the Soviet army arrived.

In March 1942, a number of Jews were captured by the Gendarmerie in the countryside around Gomel' and were taken to the Gomel' prison, where they were subsequently shot by men of the Security Police.[16]

During 1942, Heinrich Himmler created special units known as Sonderkommando 1005, led by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel. Their task was to reopen graves, exhume and burn the corpses, and take other steps to conceal mass burial sites.[17] A detachment of Sonderkommando 1005 was active in Gomel'. Jews, POWs, and local inhabitants removed bodies from the pits and burned them in piles. Then tractors plowed up the ground, and it was sown with grass. The Red Army drove German forces out of Gomel' on November 26, 1943, in the Gomel'-Rechitsa offensive. During the years of occupation, the population of Gomel' had decreased from 145,217 in 1941 to 47,163 in May 1944, 32.5 percent of the pre-war level.[18]

When the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) arrived in Gomel', it determined that during the occupation the Germans and their accomplices had exterminated tens of thousands of people in prisons, four ghettos, and five POW camps.[19] Mass graves were discovered in the following locations: an antitank ditch on the grounds of Brilevsky Garden (2,500 victims); 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Gomel' in the woods between the villages of Davidovka and Leshchinets (12,000 victims); in the woods at the 7 kilometer (4.4 mile) marker on the Rechitsa highway beyond Davidovka (1,080 victims); 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Gomel' on the other side of Davidovka (5,000 victims); on the grounds of the city jail (126 victims); and on Plekhanov Street (160 victims). Many Jews were among those shot in the antitank ditch on the grounds of the machine-tractor repair shop (6,000 people).[20]

SOURCES The following publications provide information on the ghettos in Gomel' and the extermination of the city's Jewish population: *Gomel' Oblast'* (Gomel', 1988); Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), pp. 28–29; Daniel Romanovsky, "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo v promyshlennykh raionakh Vostochnoi Belorussii v nachale nemetskoi okkupatsii (iul'-dekabr' 1941g.)?" *Vestnik evreiskogo universiteta* 22 (2000); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 213–214; "Kak eto bylo. Poslednie dni Gomel'skogo getto," *Edinstvo* (Gomel'), nos. 5–6 (1991); Aron Shneer, *Plen*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 2003); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42," available at www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/Gomel Ghettos.htm. The book *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), p. 58, contains information on people from Gomel' honored as Righteous Among the Nations.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Gomel' can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (file 234, vol. 6); GAGOMO (1345-1-9 and 15); GAOOGO; GARF (7021-85-217, 7021-85-413, 7021-85-415); NARA (N-Doc. NO-5520); NARB (4-33a-65, 861-1-12); RGASPI (69-1-818); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-85-217, p. 14.
2. NARB, 861-1-6, p. 4.
3. GARF, 7021-85-413, p. 15; 7021-85-415, p. 40.
4. GAGOMO, 1345-1-9, pp. 4, 181–203, 226–227.

5. Ibid., 1345-1-15, pp. 3–6.
6. NARB, 861-1-12, p. 25.
7. RGASPI, 69-1-818, p. 142.
8. From information addressed to P.K. Ponomarenko, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belorussian Republic, GAOOGO, 144-5-1, p. 5.
9. YVA, O-53/3.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 105.
11. YVA, M-33/479, p. 12; M-33/480, p. 42.
12. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, testimony of Tamara Kirick (born 1926).
13. Ibid., testimony of Adelia Bel'skaia (born 1904).
14. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 8 (December 1–31, 1941), in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 268.
15. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, testimony of Vera Kozlova (born 1919).
16. NARA, N-Doc. NO-5520, statement of Wilhelm Förster.
17. Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 29.
18. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, pp. 167–168, 218.
19. GAGOMO, 1345-1-12, p. 34.
20. From a report addressed to P.K. Ponomarenko, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belorussian Republic, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 11.

GOMEL' (VITEBSK OBLAST')

Pre-1941: Gomel', village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gomel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Homel', Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

In the village of Gomel', located 21 kilometers (13 miles) south of Polotsk, the Jewish population in 1920 was 129 (out of a total population of 140).

The area was occupied by the German army in July 1941 and came under the administration of Rear Area, Army Group Center. In October 1941, 18 Jews, most or all of them men, were killed near the village of Sviatitsa, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of Gomel', by a German squad that had arrived from Vetrino. The victims were forced to dig their own grave. Zalman Kurman was forced to bury those killed, after which he was also killed. The rest of the Gomel' Jews, 80 people, were assembled in three houses; they were killed in January 1942, most probably by the same unit that perpetrated the murder of the Jews in Voronichi, close to the nearby village Dvor-Gomel' (1 kilometer [0.6 mile] north of Gomel'). The list of victims of the German occupiers in Gomel' compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in 1945 contains the names of 93 Jews. One Jewish woman married to a non-Jew survived both massacres.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210).

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GORKI

Pre-1941: Gorki, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Horki, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gorki is located 60 kilometers (38 miles) northeast of Mogilev. In 1926, there were 2,343 Jews in Gorki, or 27.8 percent of the total population; in Gory, 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) east of Gorki, there were 355 Jews. In 1939, 2,031 Jews lived in the town, making up 16.3 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Gorki raion (without the town of Gorki) numbered 510 people, the largest number of whom lived in the small town of Gory and the village of Lenino (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] northeast of Gorki).

Gorki is the site of the Belorussian Agricultural Academy. Thus the authorities were most interested in evacuating the academy's equipment, students, and workers, including many Jews among the latter, who were evacuated in advance and in an organized manner. On June 27, Gorki underwent the first air raid, suffering heavy bombing. The authorities called on the population not to panic, which was interpreted as a prohibition on leaving the town without permission, but at the same time they started to organize the evacuation of state property and officials. On July 3 and 6, 1941, respectively, two evacuation trains left the local railway station, taking mainly students and workers from the academy. Then the raion party committee left Gorki. Some of the local Jews who did not work or study at the academy tried to evacuate on their own, mainly on foot.

Although many Jews left the town after July 6, the main flight from Gorki, according to eyewitness accounts, took place on July 12, hours before the town's capture by the Germans. Hundreds of people, both Jews and non-Jews, tried to leave; some of them perished during an aerial bombardment that day, many were intercepted by advancing German forces, and others succeeded in fleeing the town.

The German forces (XLVI Army Corps of the 4th Panzer Army, formerly 2nd Panzer Group) entered Gorki from the south on July 12, 1941. They were followed by units of the IX Army Corps, belonging to the 2nd Army. From August 1941, Gorki was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 286th Security Division; Gorki was under the control of Feldkommandantur 199.

When the Germans were entering Gorki, two young Komsomol members, "carrying out Stalin's order" (regarding scorched-earth tactics), set fire to the town, and part of Gorki burned. One of the arsonists, Faikin, was Jewish. According to a survivor's account, he managed to hide in the countryside but in 1942 was found by the Germans, most probably after some locals denounced him. One witness says that in 1942 she saw Faikin hanging on the gallows, with a board on his chest bearing the inscription: "I am a yid. When the Germans were coming, I carried out Stalin's order to burn down the town."[1]

During the first days, the occupiers assembled the Jews on the square in front of the academy, formed them into a line, and announced their new regulations concerning the Jews. At this time, they imposed the wearing of "Jewish Stars" on clothing and established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Gorki.[2]

Despite the fact that some witnesses mention a ghetto in Gorki, most probably there was no formal ghetto in the town. However, since much of the town had burned, the Jews were collected together in the area of town known as Mstislavskaia Hill, or Mstislavka, on Mstislavskaia and Internatsionalnaia Streets. The Jewish residential area in Mstislavka was not fenced in,[3] but Jews were not permitted, or feared, to leave the area. Survivor accounts reflect a degree of fear towards the locals felt by the Jews.

Einsatzkommando 8 organized the mass murder of the Jews in Gorki on October 7, 1941.[4] In the morning, the Germans and Belorussian police assembled all the Jews at the Mstislavka area and escorted them to the Belyi Ruchei Forest, where they shot them all. Einsatzgruppe B reported that 2,200 Jews had been "liquidated in eight localities" in the Gorki area. It is unclear how many of these Jews were from Gorki. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jewish victims in the town at 300 people.[5]

Elsewhere in the raion, no fewer than 34 Jews were killed in Gory, and at least 19 Jews were killed in the suburban kolkhoz "3-ia Piatiletka" on the outskirts at Sloboda, most probably in August or September 1941. After an initial killing Aktion, a small ghetto composed of only two houses was established in Lenino for the few surviving Jews and those from nearby villages; they were killed later, in Gorki.[6] No fewer than 20 Jews were killed in the village of Rudkovshchina, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Gorki along the P-15 road. Two Jews were killed in nearby Vereshchaki. One Jew was killed in the Sharipy sel'sovet (12 to 13 kilometers [about 8 miles] northwest of Gorki). In the village of Naprasnovka, Maslaki sel'sovet (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] west-northwest of Gorki), according to the interrogations made by the ChGK, on March 22, 1942, German forces killed 250 Jews; before the massacre, they imposed a "contribution" in gold and valuables on the Jews and beat them severely. The victims were buried in eight pits, 200 meters (219 yards) west of Naprasnovka.[7]

SOURCES The book by W.M. Livshyts, *Ishlo w byassmertsa Horatskae beta* (Orsha, 1995), contains a short description of the Holocaust in Gorki and a list of the victims.

The documents of the ChGK for the Gorki raion can be found in GARF (7021-88-36). Relevant German documentation is located in BA-BL and BA-MA (RH 26-286/6). Witness statements can be found in YVA (O-3/4657-67) and VHF (# 42387).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4660.
2. Ibid., O-3/4659.
3. VHF, # 42387, mentions a "Jewish street" but notes that it was not enclosed by barbed wire.
4. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133.
5. GARF, 7021-88-36.
6. Stefan Yevmenenko, YVA O-3/4666. See also **Lenino**.
7. GARF, 7021-88-36, pp. 9–10. See also **Naprasnovka**.

GORODETS

Pre-1941: Gorodets, village, Rogachev raion, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodez, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Haradzets, Rahachou raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gorodets is located about 85 kilometers (53 miles) north-northwest of Gomel'. In 1926, the Jewish population of Gorodets was 607, comprising 69 percent of the total.

German forces occupied the village on July 9, 1941. Many Jews managed to flee east into the Soviet interior. According to the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, in September 1941, the Jews in Gorodets, composed of 200 local Jews and 400 refugees from Bobruisk and other settlements, were concentrated within a large building where they were confined for a month under conditions of overcrowding, starvation, and abuse. In October the Jews were brought to the Brogtsev camp, and then on November 6, most of them were executed nearby. Those that escaped this Aktion were murdered in February 1942.

One Soviet source also indicates that the German occupying authorities established a ghetto in Gorodets in September 1941, which existed for about one month before it was liquidated in October.[1]

SOURCES Publications mentioning the fate of the Jews of Gorodets during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 445; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 108; and Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42," available at www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/GomelGhettos.htm.

Documentation relating to the ghetto in Gorodets can be found in the following archive: GAGOMO (1345-1-15).

Martin Dean

NOTE

1. GAGOMO, 1345-1-15, p. 55.

GORODOK

Pre-1941: Gorodok, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Haradok, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gorodok is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,584 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.7 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Gorodok raion (without the town of Gorodok) constituted 136 people.

German forces (18th Motorized Division of the LVII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group) occupied Gorodok on July 11, 1941.[1] Before its capture, the Luftwaffe bombed the town heavily on July 4. This early air raid, as well as the fact that Gorodok was situated on a railway, precipitated the evacuation and mass flight of much of the town's population, including many Jews. After the war, Gorodok had a comparatively large Jewish population,[2] which probably indicates that quite a number of Jews successfully left the town.

Gorodok was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center; it was situated in the realm of the 403rd Security Division and Ortskommandantur 763, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 815. The names of the local collaborators of the Nazis are not well documented. A survivor stated that the registration of the Jews in Gorodok was carried out by someone called Binya Shklyar; it is unclear whether he was the chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).

Shortly after the beginning of the occupation, the German authorities registered all the Jews, and then they introduced the wearing of yellow patches on their clothes and forced labor. Eyewitnesses recollect that some labor tasks were of a purely humiliating character. For example, one day the Jews of Gorodok were forced to pull up grass in the town using their bare hands. On another occasion, according to an eyewitness account, the Germans organized the systematic robbery of the Jews. A witness recalls: "Germans, together with local policemen [*politsais*] entered the more affluent Jewish houses, dragged out their property, showed the [Belo-] Russians the Jewish belongings, and suggested that people take some of it; but the best things were taken by [the Germans] themselves." According to the witness, some Belorussians took Jewish possessions, but others refused.[3] The same witness recalls a pogrom that took place in the town: "A real pogrom, I knew about such things only from books!"[4] At the same time, according to another witness, the Germans did not close the synagogue in Gorodok initially, and some Jews gathered for prayer there; some others, however, feared that the Germans would take them from the synagogue and gathered for a *minyan* in a private house on Karl-Marx Street.[5]

From July 20 to the middle of August 1941, a subunit (Teilkommando) of Sonderkommando 7a was based in Gorodok. In charge of the Teilkommando was Obersturmführer Richard Foltis of the SD. During this period the Jewish Council was established. Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of Dr. Walter Blume, organized the first, "partial" shooting of Jews in the town in the first half of August. On the day of the Aktion, the Teilkommando, reinforced by other men from Sonderkommando 7a, assembled 120 to 200 people, healthy men and several young and healthy women, under the pretext of assigning them to construction work. The people were told to report to the assembly place with shovels. The order did not alarm the Jews (since forced labor was a routine occurrence). Once the people had assembled, the Germans escorted them to the village of Berezovka (1.5 kilometers [about 1 mile] south of the town) and shot them there. During the Aktion, a Jewish man was shot while trying to escape.[6] Only after this first shooting did the Germans establish a ghetto in Gorodok for the remaining Jewish population.

The ghetto was situated in the center of town, on a slope, a steep bank of the Gorozhanka River. It was fenced on three sides with barbed wire, and on the fourth side, the river formed its boundary. According to witnesses, the fence was erected within two weeks of the Jews being resettled into the ghetto area. At the highest point of the ghetto fence, a watchtower was built, and a guard watched over the ghetto. The ghetto consisted of a building belonging to a former technical college (*tekhnikum*) and several houses. The tekhnikum building was in poor condition: its windowpanes were broken, as were the stoves.

The ghetto prisoners did not receive any food. Some children managed to get through the barbed wire and bring some food into the ghetto. However, contagious diseases soon spread among the ghetto population. Thus there was a high rate of mortality inside the ghetto. The corpses were taken from the rooms to a corridor. From time to time, the Germans took out small groups of Jews and murdered them. For example, several days after the ghetto was established, on one morning, the Germans took 20 Jews out of the ghetto and shot them.

At some stage, the ghetto prisoner Sonya Dobromyslova, "Di Sheine," in an attempt to stop the epidemics, succeeded in persuading the town's authorities to permit the ghetto's Jews to wash themselves in the public bath adjacent to the ghetto perimeter and to cleanse themselves of lice. The Jews washed themselves, but after a few days, local policemen entered the ghetto and took a rather large group of Jews to be shot.

On October 14, 1941, the Gorodok ghetto was liquidated; its remaining 394 inhabitants were shot on the pretext of the danger of epidemics spreading to the non-Jewish population.[7] On that day at 4:00 A.M., the Germans and the local police escorted the remaining Jews through the Volkov Posad area of the town to the forest at the Vorob'evy Hills. The route was exhausting (the path went uphill), and many ghetto inmates were old, and all were emaciated, so the guards shot some Jews on the way. At the Vorob'evy Hills, members of the SS shot the Jews in pits that had been dug beforehand. After the mass shooting, the ghetto was burned down.

SOURCES A rather small book on non-Jews who rescued Jews in the Vitebsk region, by A. Shulman and M. Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997), describes, among other things, the Holocaust in Gorodok. The article by A. Shulman, "Evreiskii Gorodok," *Mishpokha* 4 (1998), also deals with the ghetto of Gorodok.

Documentation on the Holocaust in the Gorodok raion can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); GARF (7021-84-5); LG-Ess (29 Ks 2/65); and YVA (TR 10/388 and TR 10/388a; O-3/4602-4607).

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NOTES

1. N.K. Andriushchenko, *Na zemle Belorussii letom 1941 goda* (Minsk, 1985), pp. 143–144.
2. According to Shulman, in 1980 there were 202 people in Gorodok whose nationality recorded on their passports was "Jew." See Shulman, "Evreiskii Gorodok," p. 54.
3. YVA, O-3/4603 (Anna Kuksinskaya).
4. Ibid. Some hints on the pogrom may also be found in Shulman and Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi*, p. 29.
5. YVA, O-3/4607 (Galina Bukhbinder).
6. Ibid., O-3/4602, 4603, 4605, and 4607; LG-Ess, 29 Ks 2/65, verdict of December 22, 1966. See also *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, vyp. 12, p. 58.
7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 149.

GRODZIANKA

Pre-1941: Grodzianka, town, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodsjanka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Hradzianka, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Grodzianka is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 150 Jews living in Grodzianka, out of a total population of 1,247.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village on July 1, 1941, about 10 days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. In this intervening period, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were inducted into the Red Army. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) named Mukin, the former director of the post office, and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Grodzianka. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor without pay; and they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

On August 15, 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the village. In its course, a few dozen Jews (probably mainly Jewish men) were rounded up and taken to the Christian cemetery. Apparently this site was chosen as a special humiliation for some of the Jews who still observed their religion. Threatening them with automatic weapons, the Germans forced the Jews to dig a long trench in the cemetery. Then the Germans made them lie down in groups in the trench, where they shot them in the back of the head. For several days afterwards, the ground continued to move on top of the mass grave.[1]

In the summer or fall of 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews of Grodzianka, together with Jews from the surrounding small villages, to move into a small ghetto. After the Jews were rounded up and resettled into the ghetto, some local inhabitants stole the property that was left behind in the vacated houses, arguing that the Jews would not need these items anymore. The ghetto was located near the railway not far from the post office in the former Vinokur house: a long structure made of wood, which was reminiscent of a barracks. The house was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police. Because the available accommodation was insufficient, some Jews had to sleep on the floor or even outside. The German authorities did not provide the Jews with food. The Jews, including some children, had to sneak out of the ghetto at great risk to beg or barter for food from their non-Jewish neighbors. Some people helped them, but others chased them away immediately. It was only through such support in the village that the Jews could stay alive in the ghetto.[2]

The area around Grodzianka became a center of Soviet partisan resistance during the winter of 1941–1942. Some Jews from the village managed to escape from the ghetto and served with the Soviet partisans. Parents of young children also tried to smuggle them to safety by hiding them with non-Jews in the surrounding countryside. The Germans threatened to kill anyone caught hiding Jews, however, and many people were reluctant to give them shelter. In Grodzianka, the Germans and local police could shoot a Jew with impunity if they were in a bad mood or as a reprisal for the latest partisan attack.[3]

The ghetto in Grodzianka was liquidated on March 4, 1942, when 86 of the 92 Jews then present in the ghetto were shot. The shooting was carried out on the instructions of the commander of Kampfgruppe Dietrich, Police Captain Karl Dietrich. This Kampfgruppe had been formed in Mogilev in late February 1942 to combat partisans; it consisted of four companies of Ukrainian police, with German SS and police officials playing leadership roles in these companies. In response to several partisan attacks against the German outposts in the area between Klichev and Cherven', Kampfgruppe Dietrich was combing the region from east to west in early March 1942, when it encountered the small ghetto in Grodzianka. The shooting itself was conducted by Ukrainian police of the 2nd Company, commanded by Police Lieutenant Willi Schulz. The Ukrainians escorted the Jews, mostly women, the elderly, and children, under close guard to a large pit that had been dug on the morning of the Aktion on the edge of the forest. The Ukrainians shot the Jews in the pit, using rifles and pistols. After a time, the scene at the mass grave became increasingly chaotic, with the Ukrainians shooting almost randomly at the Jews who had been herded into the pit, with the result that many of the victims may only have been wounded when the pit was covered with earth.[4]

In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the names of 93 murdered Jews are listed.[5]

For the shooting of Jews in Grodzianka, as well as for other crimes, Willi Schulz was sentenced in 1967 to six years and six months in prison.

SOURCES Publications containing relevant information about the murder of the Jews of Grodzianka include: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vols. 22 (Lfd. Nr. 604) and 25 (Lfd. Nr. 644); and

My ne mozhem molchat': Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste, Vypusk 4: Sbornik, comp. D.V. Prokudin, ed. I.A. Al'tman (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008), p. 31. The testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko (Lanevskaia) can be accessed at www.mishpoha.org/library/04/0415.shtml.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Grodzianka can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko (Lanevskaia), available at www.mishpoha.org/library/04/0415.shtml.
2. Ibid.; this source seems to imply that the ghetto was established before the August 1941 Aktion. See also, however, V. Zaitseva and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in Al'tman, *My ne mozhem molchat'*, p. 31.
3. Testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko.
4. See the verdict of Landgericht Detmold (2 Ks 1/65), December 22, 1965, against Karl Dietrich, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 22, Lfd. Nr. 604; and the verdict of Landgericht Detmold (2 Ks 2/66), February 16, 1967, against Willi Schulz, in idem, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 644.
5. GARF, 7021-82-5, pp. 170–173.

IANOVICHI

Pre-1941: Ianovichi, town, Surazh raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Janowitschi, Rayon Surasch, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ianavichy, Vitsebsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ianovichi is located about 36 kilometers (22.5 miles) east-northeast of Vitebsk and 13 kilometers (8 miles) south of Surazh. Ianovichi had a more significant Jewish population than the raion center, Surazh. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, Ianovichi had 709 Jewish residents (34.8 percent of the total population). In the town of Surazh, there were 461 Jews in 1939 (15.4 percent of the population). The rural Jewish population of the Surazh raion (excluding the towns of Surazh and Ianovichi) was fewer than 100 people.

Ianovichi was captured by the Germans most likely on July 12, 1941, the same day as Surazh. According to the witnesses, an avalanche of refugees passed through Ianovichi from Vitebsk on July 9; not many Jews from Ianovichi joined this wave. The survivors blame local physician Dr. Yefim Lifshits, who had studied in Germany and who dissuaded local Jews from evacuating, claiming that the Germans were a "cultured people" and would not harm the Jews.

The mayor of the Ianovichi volost' under the German occupation was Vasilii F. Vysotskii. The Germans established a Jewish Council in Ianovichi; its head was Dr. Lifshits, and his deputy was Labkovskii, the pharmacist.

Jews had to perform forced labor, mainly improving roads and constructing a military airfield. The Jews who had been members of the pre-war kolkhoz "International" continued their agricultural work. At the beginning of August, the Jews were registered, on the orders of the local German commandant, Daum.

In the neighboring town of Surazh, it appears that no ghetto was formed. The murder of the Jews of Surazh was one of the first Aktions in the region in which the Germans annihilated all the Jews in one location. Einsatzkommando 9 carried out the murder of the Jews of Surazh on August 15, in conjunction with an antipartisan operation.[1] The record of the exhumation carried out by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that 674 persons were killed; some of the victims were not local Jews but Jewish refugees from Vitebsk who failed to leave Surazh before the Germans arrived.[2]

Sometime in the middle of August, Einsatzkommando 9 also sent a detachment to Ianovichi. This unit carried out the first mass shooting of Jews in the town; an eyewitness states that it was the same group that acted in Surazh: Schneider's detachment. On August 15 (according to other sources, August 17 or even 19), 1941, the detachment selected 149 Jews, mostly young and healthy men, with shovels, for some "forced labor." At the same time, the local police surrounded the town, cordoning off the exits. The SS took the men to a square in the town's center and ordered them to sit down on the ground, to look ahead and not to turn their heads. After all the men were assembled in the square, they were brought to Valki village, 1.5 to 2 kilometers (about 1 mile) southeast of the town, and shot there. The Einsatzkommando described those killed as "NKVD spies and political functionaries."[3]

Only after this first shooting was a ghetto established in Ianovichi. All non-Jews were resettled from an area adjacent to the Vitebsk road (Unishevskogo Street), and Jews were settled in this area. The ghetto was divided into two parts by the Tadulino road, and non-Jews were permitted to use this road. Jews and non-Jews were prohibited from communicating with one another. The ghetto was not provided with food, but there were some vegetable plots within its area, which helped the inmates sustain themselves. Some youngsters ventured through the barbed wire surrounding the ghetto and exchanged items for bread. Every time the Germans discovered that the barbed-wire fence was damaged, they beat Lifshits.

The ghetto was liquidated on September 10, 1941. On this day, Einsatzkommando 9 appeared once more in Ianovichi, assembled the rest of the ghetto population—women, children, and old people—brought them in trucks to the village of Zaitsevo, around 5 kilometers (about 3 miles) east-northeast of Ianovichi, and shot them there in an antitank ditch. The SS did not even attempt to conceal this Aktion. According to eyewitnesses (peasants of the Zaitsevo village), the first batch of victims that was brought to the execution site from the ghetto consisted of young girls; the Einsatzkommando men raped them and then shot them. Only after this was the rest of the ghetto population brought to the site, some in trucks, others on foot.[4] The Einsatzgruppe reported that 1,025 Jews of Ianovichi "underwent special treatment" because of the danger of an epidemic.[5]

The Jewish survivors from Ianovichi who were interviewed after the war refer to their wartime non-Jewish neighbors with great bitterness. For example, witness B.E. says that with the coming of the Germans, the attitude of the local population towards the Jews changed drastically: "The locals could come to a Jew and take away whatever they wanted, even a cow. . . . [Belo-]Russian boys turned their backs on the Jewish boys straight away, even those with whom [we] had studied at school. They broke off all communication [with Jews] openly/demonstratively . . . some pointed their finger at us: 'Jew-mug' [*zhidovskaia morda*]; they might also beat you with a stick."[6] The non-Jewish witnesses from Ianovichi who were interviewed at the same time express no less acrimony towards their former Jewish neighbors, attesting that they were cowards. All this indicates that relations between Jews and non-Jews during the German occupation were poor. On the other hand, the same B.E. describes a peasant who came to the Tadulino road and threw a parcel of food over the ghetto fence.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the former Surazh raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-13 and 13a). The events in Surazh and Ianovichi are mentioned in the Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 73 and 92 of the SD. They were also discussed at the trial of the former members of Einsatzkommando 9 held in 1961 in Berlin; the materials of the trial can be found, for example, in YVA (TR-10/388 and TR-10/388a), as can eyewitness accounts of the events in Surazh and Ianovichi (O-3/4611-4618).

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NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/388a (Berlin trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 [Filbert] held in 1961), p. 47; the ChGK dates the mass murder of the Jews in Surazh as July 28 or August 2, 1941.
2. GARF, 7021-84-13, 7021-84-13a; YVA, TR-10/388.
3. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73; see also YVA, O-3/4613, 4614, and 4615.
4. GARF, 7021-92-220.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92; also YVA, TR-10/388, p. 69; also YVA, O-3/4614.
6. YVA, O-3/4614.

KHOLOPENICHI

Pre-1941: Kholopenichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Cholopenitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khalopenichy, Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kholopenichi is located about 114 kilometers (71 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 500 people. In addition, another 388 Jews resided in the remainder of the Kholopenichi raion. Most of these Jews probably resided in the small village of Shamki (Schamki), about 6 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of Kholopenichi, which had been founded as a Jewish agricultural colony in the late nineteenth century and had a population of 310 Jews in 1925.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 5, 1941. During the occupation, which lasted until the summer of 1944, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. An auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from local inhabitants. In early October 1941, the 3rd Battalion of Infantry Regiment 354 was based in Kholopenichi and presumably ran the Ortskommandantur at that time.[1]

Very little information is available about the living conditions of the Jews in Kholopenichi and Shamki during the summer of 1941. It is known that a number of refugees from other towns further to the west, including Minsk and Borisov, became trapped there by the German advance and were housed together with the local Jews. In nearby Zembin, the Jews were registered and moved into a ghetto by August 1941, on instructions from SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann of Einsatzkommando 8, then based in Borisov. It is possible that a similar procedure was carried out in Kholopenichi, which also lay within Schönemann's area of operations. On the basis of evidence given in the trial of David Egof, the head of the Belorussian police in Borisov in the fall of 1941, and other investigative sources, historian Christian Gerlach and also *The Black Book with Red Pages* refer to the existence of ghettos in both Kholopenichi and Shamki by September 1941.

In late September 1941, a German punitive detachment of more than 100 men armed with submachine guns arrived in Kholopenichi. The unit was composed of a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Borisov commanded by Schönemann, together with German soldiers of the 12th Company, Infantry Regiment 354,[2] and members of the local Belorussian police. On the pretext of resettling the Jewish population to another locality, the German soldiers went to all the Jewish houses and gathered the Jews on the premises of a social club. Those who were unable to walk were taken in carts. In total, around 800 people were collected there. Then under heavy guard, they all were escorted from the social club to the "Kamennyi log" (Stone Ravine) 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town, where they were shot. On that same day, also at the Kamennyi log, the punitive detachment shot a number of additional Jews who had been brought there from the village of Shamki. The German punitive detachment forced 36 local inhabitants, at gunpoint, to bury the corpses. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report estimates that altogether the German detachment shot 1,600 "innocent citizens" from Kholopenichi and Shamki.[3] However, in light of the 1939 population figures and the likelihood that some Jews had managed to evacuate, the total number of victims was probably just over half this number.

According to the report of the Einsatzgruppen no. 124, dated October 25, 1941, a large Aktion was conducted in Cholopenitschi (Kholopenichi), in which 822 Jews were "liquidated." The alleged reason for the complete liquidation of the Jews there was to prevent them from providing any possible support to the numerous partisans said to be operating in the area.[4]

SOURCES The existence of a "ghetto" in Kholopenichi is mentioned in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229; and Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 586–587, which cites a number of German investigative sources. Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 126, however, refer only to a site of destruction of the Jewish population.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kholopenichi and Shamki can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-L; BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-87-16); NARB (861-1-8, p. 195); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. The Aktion in Kholopenichi is mentioned in the diary of Richard Heidenreich, as cited by Hannes Heer, "Killing Fields: Die Wehrmacht und der Holocaust," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), p. 61. According to the research of Christian Gerlach (*Kalkulierte Morde*), however, the Aktion is misdated in this source as taking place in October—other more reliable sources indicate September 25, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-87-16, p. 4. This source dates the Aktion in early September 1941.
4. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

KHOTIMSK

Pre-1941: Khotimsk, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Chotimsk, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khotsimsk, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Khotimsk is located about 168 kilometers (105 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. The Jewish population in 1939 was 786 (roughly a quarter of the total).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Khotimsk on August 15, 1941, less than seven weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union. During that interval, a number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while the local authorities called up eligible men to serve in the Red Army. However, several hundred Jews remained in Khotimsk under the Germans. Throughout the occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Khotimsk. The Ortskommandantur established an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

By order of the military commandant soon after the occupation, the local authorities registered the Jews, required them to wear distinguishing patches, and assigned them to various kinds of forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to leave the town on pain of death.

Little information is available about the living conditions of the remaining Jews in Khotimsk between the summer of 1941 and the summer of 1942. It appears that some Jews from other towns where massacres had already occurred arrived in Khotimsk, warning the inhabitants of their likely fate.

On July 12, 1942, the Germans collected the Jewish population of Khotimsk in the building of a Jewish school under the guise of registration and tortured them in various ways. During this roundup, they shot 24 Jews.[1] The Jews were then held in the school building as a makeshift ghetto for almost two months, under conditions of hunger and overcrowding. During this period some Jews were taken to prepare large pits. Fearing the worst, the pharmacist poisoned himself and his family, rather than submit to being shot by the Germans.[2] On September 3–5, 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, assisted by men of Reserve Police Battalion 91 (which was stationed in Khotimsk from July 1942), shot more than 300 Jews, mostly women, children, and the elderly, at the site of the flax mill.[3]

A number of Jews were active in the Soviet partisan groups in the Khotimsk region, including Boris Veniaminovich Levertov, who was decorated with the order of the Red Banner. Soviet partisan detachments disrupted German communications and blew up trains.[4]

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the fate of the Jews in Khotimsk during the Nazi-German occupation include *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 471; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 621.

Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Khotimsk may be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAMO; GARF (7021-88-47 and 532); NARA (T-315, reel 1678); NARB (4683-3-1047); USHMM (RG-22.002M); VHF (# 44385); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. NARA, T-315, reel 1678, p. 72, KTB Sich. Div. 221 Ia, July 12, 1942; GARF, 7021-88-532, p. 18. These sources corroborate each other, giving July 12, 1942, as the date of ghettoization. On the existence of a ghetto, see also NARB, 4683-3-1047, p. 58.
2. VHF, # 44385, testimony of Galina Myrkina (born 1923), interviewed in 1998.
3. BA-L, ZStL, V 205 AR 512/63, vol. 1, pp. 90, 155 ff., 213–214, and vol. 8, p. 1023. According to *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 471, the ghetto was liquidated on September 4, 1942, with 800 victims. This figure is almost certainly too high. GARF,

7021-88-532, gives the figure of 652 Jewish victims, probably for the entire German occupation.

4. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages* (*Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews*) (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 387–389.

KLICHEV

Pre-1941: Klichev, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klitschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klichau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Klichev is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Mogilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 433 Jews living in Klichev.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the area around Klichev in early July 1941. Some Jews managed to escape in time to the interior of the Soviet Union. According to some sources, the Germans established a ghetto in Klichev in the second half of 1941, which may have contained up to 600 Jews. In early 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto, shooting 300 Jews at the Jewish cemetery.

In April 1942, German forces reported that Klichev had been captured by Soviet partisans, resulting in the burning of grain storage facilities. German forces recaptured the town shortly afterwards. The Red Army drove out the German occupation forces in the summer of 1944. A small number of Jews managed to survive the German occupation in and around Klichev, either in hiding or by joining the Soviet partisan forces, which were very active in this region.

SOURCES The ghetto in Klichev is mentioned in the following publications: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 442; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 299, 309; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:108.

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KLIMOVICHI

Pre-1941: Klimovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klimowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klimavichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Klimovichi is situated 124 kilometers (77 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 1,693 Jews lived in the town, making up 17.7 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Klimovichi raion (without the town of Klimovichi) constituted 706 people, the bulk of whom lived in the town of Rodnia (16 kilometers [10 miles] southeast of Klimovichi) and in the villages of Lazovitsa (6 kilometers [4 miles] southeast of Klimovichi), Miloslavichi (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] northeast of Klimovichi), Khotovizh, and Karpachi (15 kilometers [9 miles] north of Klimovichi).

Klimovichi lies on a railway line. A more or less organized evacuation began on July 5, but it did not involve the whole population. For example, on July 14 all the Communist Party authorities (the raion committee, or *raikom*) with their families evacuated in 30 trucks;[1] there were some Jews among these party leaders. According to survivors, most of the Jews tried to leave the town independently in August 1941, many of them in horse-drawn carts. Some of the first refugees successfully escaped the Germans; those who left later and those who headed eastward, in the direction of Khotimsk and Roslavl', did not. According to witnesses, many of those who attempted to evacuate were forced to return to their houses, which had been completely plundered by the local population in the meantime.

German forces belonging to the 2nd Panzer Group (commanded by Heinz Guderian) took Klimovichi in the course of the Roslavl' operation. Roslavl', an important railway junction northeast of Klimovichi, fell to the Germans on August 3, 1941, thereby cutting off the main route out of town to the east. On August 9, 1941, the 3rd Panzer Division of the XXIV Army Corps entered Klimovichi. The Germans had captured the entire raion by October 8–10. Klimovichi came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The 221st Security Division controlled the area;[2] Feldkommandantur 549 exerted authority in Klimovichi.

The Germans put together a local administration in Klimovichi in which a man named Ustinovich served; he is described by witnesses as "the chief of the Russian Gestapo." Appointed as Jewish elder was Froim Rodin, the former head of the town's fire brigade. The military authorities ordered Jews to affix "Jewish stars" to their clothes (on the chest and on the back) and to houses owned by Jews. Jews had to perform various types of forced labor and were subjected to many other restrictions on their liberty. The man who supervised Jewish forced labor was Shcherbakov, a former Russian member of the Jewish kolkhoz in Mikhalin.[3]

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans took 10 or 12 prominent Jewish men and formed a "committee" headed by Shcherbakov, which had to collect gold and any other valuables in the possession of Jews. When these men failed to collect the full sum that the Germans demanded, the latter took them and Rodin as hostages and placed them in the local prison, in the building of a former bank. After having held the hostages in the prison for about 10 days, the Germans and the local police (*politsais*) shot all of them except one, a bricklayer.

According to one account, the "contribution" that led to these murders was the second one; it was preceded by a first "contribution," which the Jews had collected in full. According to another account, in mid-October the Germans resettled the Jews of Klimovichi on one street, forming an "open ghetto."[4]

On November 6, 1941, the Belorussian police sent younger Jews to work near the alcohol plant. After that, the Germans and the politsais began to round up the rest of the Jews from their houses. The Jews were told to take warm clothes and

valuables with them. They were then brought along the Timonovo Road to the area of a former airfield, 500 meters (547 yards) south or southwest of Klimovichi, and placed in unused garages near the town's hospital. From this place, the Jews—who had been told to leave all their belongings in the garage—were taken in batches of 10 or 15 people and shot in a former fuel storage pit near the airfield. Men of the 221st Security Division organized the massacre, aided by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9.[5] The witnesses attest that the killers were not the SS in black but "Germans in green uniform." Some of the killing was perpetrated by the politsais; some children were killed with shovels rather than by guns. According to other accounts, the perpetrators tossed Jewish children into the pit, which contained some water, and the children drowned.[6] Many were buried alive.

Some of those sent by the Germans to perform labor in the morning managed to survive. The politsais let them go home at 3:00 P.M. Many succeeded in fleeing from Klimovichi. According to some witnesses, it was German soldiers at the alcohol plant who warned the young Jews that their relatives were all being killed at this time.[7]

After the large-scale murder Aktion on November 6, the Germans sold items previously belonging to the Jews in a shop. The Germans kept the specialist workers alive, and together with the politsais they caught many of the Jews who had fled from Klimovichi on the day of the murder and put them into the prison. Witnesses estimate that together with the specialists there were about 80 Jews in the prison (and perhaps also in an adjacent house). After some days, these Jews were also sent to perform forced labor tasks.

Sometime in December (or on November 27–28) 1941, the SS came to Klimovichi and shot those Jews who had fled from the Aktion on November 6. The Jews were taken directly from their working place, led to "Chalk Hill," the location of a former lime plant, and shot there. Again, some young Jews managed to flee.[8] According to the survivor Leitus, in the first days of December, the Nazis transferred Jews from the nearby villages of Golovchin, Krugloe, and Pelshichi to Klimovichi, held them several days in a makeshift ghetto, and on December 12, killed them.[9] It is unclear whether she is describing the same murder Aktion or another one.

The specialists were killed later, maybe in 1943, in the Vydrenka Forest, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jews killed in Klimovichi at 900; the same number was inscribed on the monument erected at the site of the large massacre by the victims' relatives in the late 1950s. The relatives reburied those who had been killed at Vydrenka and Chalk Hill at the same place, the site of the large massacre. Most probably, about 700 of these victims were killed on November 6, 1941: Einsatzgruppe B reported that as part of an antipartisan sweep conducted by units of Security Division 221, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 shot 786 Jews of both sexes in Klimovichi and Cherikov.[10]

In April 1943, some SS men appeared in Klimovichi. With the support of the Belorussian police and the "chief of the Russian Gestapo" Ustinovich, they carried out the extermination of children of mixed origins (those with non-Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers). They assembled seven non-Jewish women married to Jews and put them in the local prison. Then they took away all their children, and on April 12 (or 13), 1943, in the night they killed them at the same prison, according to one witness, "without any of the children making a sound" (most probably, the children were poisoned). The children were buried at Vydrenka Hill. The same squad also carried out the murder of Gypsy women and of Belorussian women ill with certain diseases.[11]

According to witnesses, Jewish and non-Jewish relations were quite good in Klimovichi both before and under the German occupation. Of those Jews who were in Klimovichi when the Germans entered the town, 15 managed to survive the German occupation—many of them because non-Jews hid them. Raya Shkolnikova was even hidden by a Belorussian policeman. Non-Jews provided Jews with food. At the same time, many Belorussians and Russians volunteered to serve in the police and collaborated with the Gestapo, participating in the denunciation of Jews. Many Jews were denounced by their former non-Jewish neighbors.

Elsewhere in the raion, in Miloslavichi, the Nazis shot no fewer than 115 Jews.[12] In Khotovizh, 40 Jewish and 7 Gypsy families were killed near the Jewish cemetery.[13] At the kolkhoz "Bliung" (literally meaning "flourishing" in Yiddish; 7 kilometers [4.4 miles] north of Klimovichi), at least 8 Jews were killed, and in Kuleshovka (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] north of Klimovichi), 6 Jews. In the village of Khodun (18 kilometers [11.2 miles] north of Klimovichi), a Jewish woman married to a Belorussian was killed. In Rodnia on December 17 (another version: on the night of December 8–9), 1941, about 50 or 60 Jews were taken from their homes and shot in a depression near the Jewish cemetery.[14] In Dubrovitsa (19 kilometers [11.8 miles] west of Klimovichi), 4 Jews were killed, and in nearby Popekhinka (17 kilometers [10.6 miles] west-southwest of Klimovichi), 1. In Pisliatino (25 kilometers [15.5. miles] east of Klimovichi), 5 Jews were killed. In the sel'sovet Semenovka (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] southeast of Klimovichi), 2 Jews were killed.

SOURCES The essay by Sh. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," appeared in Moshe Zhidovetskii, ed., *Sbornik statei po evreiskoi istorii i literature* (Rehovot, Israel, 1992), pp. 857–876.

The documents of the ChGK for the Klimovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-15 and 7021-88-38); relevant German documentation is located in BA-MA (RH 31-770 and RH 26-221/156); witness statements and other documentation can be found in YVA (O-3/4726–O-3/4736; and M-29. FR/213).

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NOTES

1. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 860.
2. BA-MA, RH 26-221/156.
3. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 863. It is unclear whether Shcherbakov was the mayor.

4. GARF, 7021-88-38.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December, 19, 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-88-38.
7. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 870.
8. Ibid., p. 871; also YVA, O-3/4730.
9. YVA, O-3/4732.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 9.
11. Witnesses Polina Stelmakova and Tatyana Nemkina, YVA, O-3/4729, O-3/4735.
12. GARF, 7021-84-15.
13. *Pamiats': Klimavitskii raion* (Minsk: Universitetskae, 1995), pp. 386–387.
14. GARF, 7021-84-15.

KOKHANOVO

Pre-1941: Kokhanovo, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kochanowo, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kokhanau, Talachyn raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kokhanovo is situated about 27 kilometers (19 miles) east-southeast of Orsha. In 1926, the Jewish population of the village was 480.

German forces captured the village in early July 1941. According to Gennadii Vinnitsa, the ghetto was established in September 1941, on Orshanskaia Street; it took up half the street. Apart from the local Jews, Jewish inhabitants from the village of Galoshevo were also brought into the ghetto. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 300 people were confined within the ghetto, which was surrounded by a fence and barbed wire.[1] Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans ordered the shooting of 15 Jewish youths, apparently in reprisal for some real or suspected act of resistance. According to a local witness, the Solovei family, consisting of four people, was also killed by the Germans in punishment for the flight of 15-year-old Meyer Solovei from the ghetto.[2] Another ghetto inmate named Gil' escaped from the ghetto several times but was forced to return on each occasion, as he received no assistance from the population in the surrounding countryside.[3]

The mass killing of the ghetto Jews in Kokhanovo took place in January 1942. The killing site was at the Jewish cemetery near the railway; the pit was dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in advance. One source states that the Germans also had to use explosives because of the frozen ground. Before the killing, local policemen took the best clothes from the victims. After the mass shooting, local inhabitants were made to cover the corpses with earth. The ChGK estimated the number of victims at 228, mostly women, children, and the elderly.[4]

SOURCES The book by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), deals briefly with the Holocaust in Kokhanovo (pp. 124–126). The documents of the ChGK for Kokhanovo can be found in GARF (7021-84-14).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-14, p. 12.
2. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 124–126.
3. Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 183.
4. GARF, 7021-84-14, p. 12.

KOLYSHKI

Pre-1941: Kolyshki, village, Liozno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kolischki, Rayon Liosno, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kalyshki, Liozna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kolyshki is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Vitebsk. Estimating from available census data for 1939, there were roughly 420 Jews living in Kolyshki on the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Units of the German V Army Corps, 9th Infantry Army, occupied the Liozno area in mid-July 1941. Rayon Liosno became part of Rear Area, Army Group Center. There was no significant evacuation from Kolyshki, but some Jews managed to leave; at the same time, some refugees from other places, including Vitebsk and Ianovichi, were stranded in the village just at the moment the Germans arrived.

There was no formal ghetto in Kolyshki. Many Jewish houses were burned down during the fighting, and the small Jewish population of the village gathered together in a few intact Jewish houses. According to survivors, the Germans knew which houses were Jewish because non-Jewish boys showed them; Jewish houses were marked with distinctive symbols. The Germans ordered the Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothes; some witnesses state that the order was issued the day after the Germans entered the village,[1] while others date this order in August.[2] The Germans also confiscated all the cattle from the Jews.

Witnesses recollect the first months of the German occupation as a period of incessant robbery. Both the Germans and the local police (*politsais*) robbed the Jews. Everything could be taken away: food, clothes, matzot that remained after Passover, even Soviet state loan bonds.[3] It was hard to distinguish organized confiscation from primitive robbery.

Some Jews were killed in the first months of the occupation. According to a survivor's account, a rather aged Jew was killed during the first days on the pretext that he was an arsonist who had set some houses in Kolyshki on fire. He was killed in the morning; the Germans who came to his home waited for him to finish his morning prayer, then took him out and killed him. (The witness Sofya Gorelik calls him

Daniil Pudovik; according to her, they forced him to dig a pit, then stunned him with a shovel and buried him alive.)[4] The survivor Raisa Khamaida's father, Abram, was also killed by the Germans. Raisa recollects: "They came to our home and said: 'Give us some tobacco.' . . . But did we have tobacco? They brought my father to the courtyard—it was December 1941—and forced him to run around the house, and they beat him with rifle butts until he dropped dead." The Nazis also killed the mentally ill daughter of the teacher Lazar Shnol, as well as a certain Velvele Merzlyak.[5] In October, six Jews (according to other versions, four or five) made expeditions from Kolyshki into the countryside to barter items for food and were killed by some Germans they met.[6]

On February 9, 1942, a Soviet reconnaissance unit appeared in Kolyshki, and some days later some of the Jews left Kolyshki. The survivor Sofya Gorelik says: "After several days the reconnaissance men gathered us and said: 'We shall be triumphant, but there will be fighting here.' We asked: 'May we leave with you?' The commander said: 'That is the reason why I called you here.' And he explained that everyone must get packed and leave for Ponizov'e immediately." The majority of Jews left for the Ponizov'e village, which was 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast, in Russia. Those evacuated stayed in Ponizov'e until March and then were evacuated farther to the rear. The same witness said: "We lived several days in Ponizov'e, and the district party committee instructor, or somebody else, gathered us and told us the same things that the scouts in Kolyshki had said: 'We shall be triumphant, but there will be fighting here, and nobody knows who will be here tomorrow,' and so on. 'You must go, and especially persons of Jewish extraction; go, we shall give you transportation.' "[7]

Not all the Jews left with the Red Army in February 1942; unfortunately, some remained in Kolyshki (even Sofya Gorelik recollects that she, her aunt, and her cousin required considerable effort to convince her mother to leave Kolyshki). On March 17, 1942, a mixed German-Belorussian squad appeared in Kolyshki. The men were dressed in white camouflage cloaks; thus they managed to surround the village and enter it unnoticed. The men drove the Jews out of their houses and set the houses on fire. Some Jews were killed during the roundup; according to a survivor, the Nazis burned children of the Rabinovich family alive in a bonfire in the center of the village. The rest were escorted in the direction of Liozno and killed, most probably in the Adamenki Ravine. The number of victims is unclear; the list compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) gives 148 names of Jews killed; it is unclear whether the list is complete. The roundup in Kolyshki was carried out hastily, and some Jews managed to evade it. Thus, the survivor Olga Notkina says that the politsais saw them but did not touch them because, most probably, they took them for non-Jewish marauders.[8]

Before the war, in 1938, Kolyshki was the site of one of the most infamous antisemitic incidents in the Belorussian SSR (documents from a journalistic investigation of the incident can be found in the archive of the Belorussian Yiddish newspaper *Oktiabr*). Nevertheless, some Kolyshki survivors attest that they were rescued by their non-Jewish neighbors. For example, Raisa Khamaida and her mother survived because their neighbors told the Germans that they were not Jews but Russian refugees. There were also other cases of Jews being rescued by local inhabitants.[9]

SOURCES The events in Kolyshki are described in Arkadii Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," *Mishpokha* 8 (2000): 68–78. Relevant witness statements on the events in Kolyshki can be found in YVA (O-3/4718 and O-3/4719).

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NOTES

1. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," p. 75.
2. YVA, O-3/4718.
3. See, e.g., ibid., O-3/4719.
4. See ibid.
5. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 75–76; see also YVA, O-3/4719.
6. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 75–76; see also GARF, 7021-84-8.
7. YVA, O-3/4719. The detailed account given by Sofya Gorelik contradicts the allegation made by Shulman in his essay ("Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," p. 76) that the reconnaissance unit men did not warn the Jews of Kolyshki about the impending danger and did not let them evacuate.
8. GARF, 7021-84-8; YVA, O-3/4718; Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 76–77.
9. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 76–77.

KOPYS'

Pre-1941: Kopys', town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kopys, Rayon Orscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Orsha raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kopys' is situated about 22 kilometers (14 miles) south of Orsha. In 1939, the Jewish population of Kopys' was 405, 9.9 percent of the total.

The Germans captured the town on July 11–13, 1941, in the course of very heavy fighting (it was in this sector of the front that the XLVII and XXIV Motorized Army Corps of Panzer Group 2 had to force the crossing of the Dnieper River). Only a few local Jews escaped to the east before the Germans arrived. In the first half of August, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B "liquidated seven [former Communist] functionaries in Kopys' for alleged arson and plundering."[1] The Jews were required to wear distinguishing armbands and a yellow star on their backs as well.

In December 1941, the German authorities resettled the Jews of Kopys' into a small ghetto consisting of several buildings in the area of a linen factory, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. Local witnesses indicate that the area was fenced and guarded by the local police. In total, at least 250 Jews were confined within the ghetto.[2] One survivor recalls that there were about 10 people per room in the ghetto

and that some had to sleep on the floor. The Jews obtained food by bartering items with the local population. Rumors spread in the ghetto about the murder of Jews in larger towns, but people feared that there was nowhere for them to go. On the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto, a few Jews escaped into the surrounding countryside. For example, Alexander Shmyrkin fled with his school friend after his mother told him to run.[3]

On January 14, 1942, a German "punitive squad" (in the words of Belorussian eyewitnesses) assisted by local policemen carried out a mass shooting of the town's Jews. The pits close to the area of the linen factory had been prepared in advance. The murderers picked out groups of 15 people, ordered them to undress, forced them to lie in the pit, and shot them with pistols. According to the estimate of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 230 Jews were killed in this way. The majority of the victims were women, children, and the elderly. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 143 Jews. Some Jews were spared from this massacre, most probably "specialists." For example, the tailor Yevel (Yoel) Melikhan and his two sons were not killed until May 15, 1942.[4]

SOURCES Most of the information on the Kopys' ghetto is based on interviews conducted by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa with local residents in the 1990s, published in his books *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 93–95, and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 53–54. The Kopys' ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 177; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 657–658; and Wila Orbach, "The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2:6 (1976): 32.

Documentation from the ChGK for the Orsha raion can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); USHMM; VHF (# 39401); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 137, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 2 der Einsatzgruppen (July 29 to August 14, 1941).
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 53.
3. VHF, # 39401, testimony of Alexander Shmyrkin. Shmyrkin, however, claims that the ghetto was not enclosed or guarded, and he dates the liquidation Aktion in November 1942, which seems unlikely.
4. GARF, 7021-84-10, statement by Khaya Melikhan.

KORMA

Pre-1941: Korma, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Karma, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Korma is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) north of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 981 Jews in Korma (40.3 percent of the population).

Following the German invasion, all men of military age, including many Jews, were called up into the Red Army.

Korma was occupied by German troops on August 15, 1941. During the first weeks of the occupation, the Korma Rayon was administered by military units subordinated to Rear Area, Army Group Center. The Wehrmacht established so-called field and local commandants (Feld- und Ortskommandanturen), which set up local administrations in the towns and surrounding Rayons and appointed local mayors. For a period in 1941, Ortskommandantur 353 was based in Korma. In the area around Korma, the Germans established several military garrisons, the largest being in Korma itself, consisting of more than 200 soldiers.

The military forces supervised a local police unit recruited within 10 days of the German occupation. The chief of police in Korma was Denis Makarenko.[1] A Ukrainian named Nikolay Gurov became chief of police for Rayon Korma, and Mitrofan Blatov was appointed as the head of the Rayon (Rayonchef) because he spoke German.[2] The military commandant was initially Major Max Rozmaisel, a Czech by nationality; he was subsequently replaced by Fritz Essel. The surname of the local head of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, or GFP) was Reger. Leutnant Glazer was the chief of the Department of Agriculture, and a person named Schein was in charge of the punitive detachment.[3] A curfew was imposed on the civilian population from 9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. Everyone over the age of 16 was obliged to carry a personal identification card, and those found without one could be severely punished.

After the occupation of the town by German forces, shops and private apartments were looted. The Germans ordered the Jews to sew fabric in the shape of yellow stars onto the outside of their clothes.[4] In September 1941, German soldiers and some younger officers from the military headquarters in Gomel' arrived in Korma. Together with Makarenko and four policemen, they went to the houses of the Jews and registered every person. After this procedure, the Jews were ordered to stay in their houses and were not permitted to leave their places of residence. Two ghettos were established in Korma: one for the Jews residing in the town, the other for the Jewish population of the surrounding area. Most of the population in both ghettos consisted of women, children, and the elderly. According to different sources, the number of people residing in the two ghettos ranged between 500 and 700 prisoners. One of the ghettos was located in the brick buildings of the Jewish school, which had belonged to the synagogue before, on School Street. The other ghetto was established in the buildings of the former financial department of the town administration of Korma and was located on Abaturov Street. The ghetto areas were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police units.[5] In addition, a prison and a concentration camp for the non-Jewish local population were also set up in Korma. The German authorities placed a Latvian named Aleksandr Stsepuro in charge of both ghettos. Before the war, Stsepuro had

been the head of the Health Department in Korma. However, the military commandant and the Feldgendarmerie retained ultimate responsibility for the administration of both ghettos.[6]

The ghettos in Korma were not established primarily for the purpose of exploiting Jews economically. They served only to concentrate the Jews and to prevent them from escaping before the Germans murdered them. For this reason, the German authorities did not concern themselves with the poor sanitary conditions or make provisions for medical help or other social assistance inside the ghettos. The ghetto areas were much too small for the number of inmates, and the Jews faced terrible overcrowding and extremely unhygienic conditions. The food delivered into the ghettos for each person was only half the ration received by non-Jews in Korma. Meat and butter were prohibited to the Jews. A daily ration of 120 grams (4.2 ounces) of bread, 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of flour, and 10 grams (0.4 ounces) of buckwheat was provided for each person per day. The residents of the ghettos tried to alleviate the shortage of food by digging up potatoes and living off their small stocks of groceries. All contact between the Jews and the local population was forbidden. Though the non-Jewish population also suffered from hunger and there was a strict prohibition on illegal trade into the ghettos, some local inhabitants still sold bread to the Jews. Nonetheless, many children in the ghettos died of starvation and weakness.[7]

Every morning the residents of the ghettos were herded into the market square, and from there they were sent to various work assignments. Those Jews unable to work were humiliated by the Germans and publicly beaten by the police. Every morning the Jews left the ghettos in groups; one police guard was in charge of 20 people. The Germans made the Jews perform forced labor all day. Among the main tasks performed were cleaning toilets, clearing garbage, and road construction. This physically demanding work was sometimes too much for people, and the death rate under these conditions was high.[8]

The ghettos in Korma existed for approximately two months. The Aktion to liquidate the two Jewish ghettos was carried out on Saturday, November 8, 1941. On the previous evening, 50 members of a special SS police unit arrived from Gomel', wearing uniforms bearing the emblem of a death's head. The Germans and local police escorted the ghetto inmates to a grave site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town and forced some of the victims to excavate a large pit about 42 meters by 12 meters and 0.5 meters deep (138 by 39 by 1.6 feet). The victims were forced to undress completely before being shot. At this time the Germans and their collaborators beat them with rubber sticks and extracted any gold crowns from their teeth. Members of a punitive squad commanded by the head of the local police, Makarenko, actively participated in this killing Aktion. The Jews were forced to lie facedown on the ground and were shot in the back of the head from behind. Among the victims were many elderly people, women, and children, including Aron Libman (born 1879), Genya Girshon (born 1896), the physician Dora Gordon, and others. The young children were thrown into the pit and buried alive.[9] After the killing Aktion, the police seized the livestock that had belonged to the Jews. The trade department of the German administration in Korma was responsible for all former Jewish property. The proceeds from the sale of Jewish property were paid into the account of the German administration.[10]

The town of Korma was among the first settlements in Belorussia to be liberated. Troops of the Soviet 3rd Army of the Belorussian Front recaptured the town on November 26, 1943. According to Soviet figures from May 1944, the population of the Korma region declined from 45,050 to 34,272 during the period of German occupation (a loss of about 24 percent). In the town of Korma itself, the number of inhabitants fell from 2,434 to 928.[11] Members of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) exhumed the mass graves in Korma in November 1944. They discovered that there was no sign of bullet wounds on the corpses of the children under six years of age. It was assumed that these victims had been beaten until they were unconscious and then buried alive. The ChGK concluded that the German occupants killed a total of 1,173 people in the Korma raion. In the town of Korma itself, 728 civilian inhabitants and 132 Soviet prisoners of war had been murdered. The ChGK compiled a list of the names of 634 families that were victims of the German invaders. The main concern of the commission's work was not to establish the nationality of the victims but rather to identify the perpetrators.[12]

SOURCES Information on events in Korma during World War II can be found in the following books: *Pamiats': Karmianski raion. Historyka-dokumental'naia khronika haradou i raionau Belarusi* (Minsk, 2003); and *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 279.

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community in Korma can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (case no. 391); GAGOMO (1345-1-5); GARF (7021-85-215); NARB (4-33a-65); and YVA (M-33). In the personal archives of the author (PALS) there is also a letter from Khatskiel Merkhasin in Denver (CO, USA), dated November 9, 2004.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Denis Makarenko was shot by Soviet partisans in May 1942.
2. Protocol of Mitrofan Blatov (1899), March 6, 1944. See AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 32.
3. YVA, M-33/474, p. 15: list of German-Fascist war criminals on the occupied territory of the USSR for the Korma raion, Gomel oblast', Belorussian SSR.
4. Protocol of Proskov Kortel'chik (1893), November 17, 1941, AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 380.
5. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-85-215.
6. GAGOMO, 1345-1-5, pp. 4, 9, 220.
7. TsAKGBRB, Minsk.
8. AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, pp. 30–31.
9. GARF, 7021-85-215, p. 13.
10. AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 375.
11. According to the figures for the Gomel oblast' for May 1, 1944, see GAOOGO (former Party Archive), 144-5-6, p. 218.
12. GARF, 7021-85-215, pp. 1–2, 9.

KOSTIUKOVICHI

Pre-1941: Kostiukovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kostjukowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post 1991: Kas'tsiukovichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kostiukovichi is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,134 Jews living in Kostiukovichi, comprising 18.6 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on August 13, 1941, approximately seven weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim, a large part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the occupation, which lasted until September 28, 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established to control the town. On the orders of the German military administration, Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks and were forced to perform heavy physical labor. The Ortskommandantur set up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. The mayor of the town was Mikhail Grigorevich Borisevich, and the chief of police was Nikolay Ivanovich Roslavtsev. The town mayor registered the Jews of the town and handed over the list to the German Security Police. For his collaboration with the Germans, including his participation in the murder of the Jews, Borisevich was sentenced to death by hanging by a Soviet military tribunal at the end of the occupation.[1]

Very little information is available regarding the living conditions of those Jews who remained in Kostiukovichi under the German occupation. In November 1941, the director of the bank, a Jew, was shot for alleged connections with the partisans. According to two secondary sources, *The Black Book with Red Pages* and *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, a ghetto existed there from the fall of 1941 until September 1942. It is likely that the Jews lived in some form of open ghetto until the mass shooting of the Jews, dated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in September 1942.[2]

On September 3, 1942, all the Jews were told that they would be traveling to Palestine and were ordered to gather on the road. They were all a short distance outside the town on the way to the Kommunary railway station when the Germans and their collaborators shot them in groups of 50 in pits prepared beforehand. Before being shot, the Jews were forced to undress down to their underwear, and policemen and Germans collected their valuables.[3] According to some sources, in March 1943, another 161 Jews were shot near the rope factory. On April 14 and 15, 1943, policemen from Kostiukovichi shot another 14 Jews.

A forensic examination of the two main grave sites, conducted by the ChGK in December 1943, revealed that out of 536 corpses examined, 128 were adult males, 265 were adult females, and 143 were infants and children up to the age of 15. The investigation demonstrated that 253 victims had gunfire wounds to the head, chest, or abdomen; 23 had skull injuries made by blunt objects; 87 had wounds in their extremities; and no injuries were found on 173 corpses. These injuries indicated that many people had been killed by shooting from firearms at close distance, but others had been buried alive.[4]

SOURCES Mention of a "ghetto" in Kostiukovichi can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 267–268; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 300, 310. Additional information on the murder of the Jews in Kostiukovichi can be found in the following publications: I.M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:171–172; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 665.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kostiukovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-39); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 267.
2. GARF, 7021-88-39, p. 1.
3. Ibid.; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 431. According to another source, the shooting of the Jews took place in November 1941. The perpetrators were from Einsatzkommando 8.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 267–268.

KRASNOLUKI

Pre-1941: Krasnoluki, village, Kholopenichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krassnoluki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krasnaluki, Chashniki raion, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krasnoluki is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. On the eve of the German occupation in June 1941, probably around 300 Jews resided in the village.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Krasnoluki in early July 1941. During the occupation, which lasted until the summer of 1944, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. An auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from local inhabitants. In early October 1941, a company of Infantry Regiment 354 was based in Krasnoluki and presumably ran the Ortskommandantur at that time.[1]

Very little information is available about the living conditions of the Jews in Krasnoluki during the summer and fall of

1941. It is possible that at some time in the fall of 1941, some form of open ghetto was established in the town, as was the case in the nearby town of Chashniki.

On March 6, 1942, German security forces gathered together in a few houses 305 Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, and then escorted them to a pit about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town, where they shot them all.[2]

SOURCES The "ghetto" in Krasnoluki is mentioned in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 97. Other secondary sources, however, including, Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:188, do not mention the existence of a ghetto in Krasnoluki.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Krasnoluki can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-87-16); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. GARF, 7021-87-16.

KRASNOPOL'E

Pre-1941: Krasnopol'e, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Krassnopolje, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krassnapolle, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krasnopol'e is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) southeast of Mogilev. According to the census of 1939, there were 1,181 Jews living in Krasnopol'e (33.1 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on August 15, 1941, roughly seven weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22). During this period, a large proportion of the Jews in Krasnopol'e managed to evacuate to the east, and the Soviets began to induct eligible men into the Red Army. Probably around 400 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation. Throughout the occupation (from August 15, 1941, until October 1, 1943), the German military Feldkommandantur in Propoisk governed Krasnopol'e. It established a raion administrative council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local citizens. In October 1941, Feldkommandantur 544 was based in Propoisk.[1]

Following orders issued by the German military administration, shortly after the start of the occupation, the Rayon council organized the registration of the Jews and required that they wear distinguishing marks on their chests. The German authorities also made Jews ages 14 to 60 perform various forms of heavy labor.

The occupying authorities created a ghetto in Krasnopol'e in September 1941.[2] Units of Police Battalion 322 liquidated the ghetto in two Aktions on October 22 and 25, 1941. Just prior to this, the German authorities forbade Jews to leave the ghetto.[3] In the first Aktion, the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 322 seized and shot 121 Jewish men; in the second Aktion, the 1st Company of the same battalion shot 3 Jewish men and 216 Jewish women. Altogether, the Germans massacred 340 Jews in the two Aktions. The German report gives as the reason for the shootings "incitement to insurrection" (*Aufwiegelung*) and "support for the partisans." The Jews were shot and buried about 700 meters (766 yards) to the northwest of the town.[4] Jewish children left behind were shot about two months later.[5]

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Krasnopol'e can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika haradou i raenau Belarusi: Krassnapolle raen* (Minsk, 2001), pp. 198–199; and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 236.

Documents relating to the persecution and extermination of the town's Jewish citizens can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-88-40); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM (RG-48.004M); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. BA-MH, RH 26-221/14b, map, rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte, as of October 9, 1941.
2. NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 329, 333 reverse side, and 336 reverse side.
3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 236.
4. Kriegstagebuch des Polizei-Bataillons 322, entry dated October 22, 1941, in USHMM, RG-48.004M, reel 2. Soviet sources estimate the number of victims considerably higher (1,000 to 1,500) and report further anti-Jewish Aktions in 1942 and 1943; e.g., Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 300. The evidence for this, however, is unreliable.
5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 236.

KRICHEV

Pre-1941: Krichev, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kritschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krychau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krichev is situated about 95 kilometers (59 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,362

Jews living in Krichev. They made up 8.5 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the occupation, which lasted from July 17, 1941, to September 30, 1943, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a town authority and a police force composed of a number of local residents. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur (V) 256, subordinated to Security Division 221, was based in Krichev.

Shortly after the occupation began, the town authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform heavy physical labor, such as road repair work.

In August or September 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in Krichev, moving all the Jews (about 80 families in total) into several houses next to the church. The Jews had to wear patches bearing a Star of David and were forbidden to walk freely about the town.[1]

German security forces liquidated the Krichev ghetto in November 1941. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 130 Jews were shot near a flax-processing mill, and 60 to 80 Jews were killed on the grounds of a cement factory.[2] However, it is likely that in total more than 300 Jews were murdered in Krichev. The mass shootings were carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, with the help of the Belorussian local police.

In November 1941, in the Krichev raion, 122 Jews were killed in the village of Moliatichi and 30 Jews in the village of Antonovka.[3] According to an Einsatzgruppen report, in November 1941, several Aktions were conducted in Krichev and the surrounding area for reasons of "security and order," which resulted in the shooting of 1,231 Jews of both sexes.[4]

SOURCES Publications mentioning the ghetto in Krichev include the following: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 266–267; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 140; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 300–301; Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003), p. 117; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:208–209.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L; BA-MA; GARF (7021-88-41); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. "From the testimonies of witnesses Pechkurova, Yakushovka, Kurbako, and Gritova," in Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 266–267.
2. GARF, 7021-88-41, pp. 3–4; NARB, 861-1-9, p. 239. A list of 34 deceased Jews of the town can be found in GARF, 7021-88-41, pp. 32–33.
3. GARF, 702-88-41, pp. 6–7 (Moliatichi); p. 8 (Antonovka); pp. 34–36 (Moliatichi). The shootings in Antonovka occurred on November 14 and 17, 1941.
4. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941.

KRUCHA

Pre-1941: Krucha, village, Krugloe raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krutscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krucha, Kruhlae raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krucha is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Mogilev. According to the 1926 census, Krucha had a Jewish population of 297, comprising 52.4 percent of the total. In the 1930s, the number of Jews in the village decreased slightly.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 8, 1941, approximately two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During those weeks, some of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, but some remained in Krucha, as they did not want to leave behind elderly relatives. Most men of military age were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. No more than 120 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In late September or early October 1941, the German military authorities resettled all the remaining Jews in Krucha on Kozlina Street in a separate part of the village, creating an open ghetto. In October 1941, more than 100 Jews in Krucha were shot by the Germans and Belorussian police, who wore white armbands. German forces of the Wehrmacht liquidated the ghetto on October 10, 1941, by shooting at least 114 people 400 meters (437 yards) south of the village (in 1968, a memorial was placed at the site of the shooting). After the shooting, the bodies of the Jews were thrown into a pit, where a local non-Jew was ordered to arrange them neatly. Some Jews, who feigned death or were only wounded, were buried alive.[1]

A number of Jews tried to run away to a nearby forest during the murder Aktion. However, the policeman Ivan Skochek ran after them and caught two of them. These two Jews were then shot by the pursuing Germans. At least two others are known to have survived and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.[2]

The shooting was carried out by soldiers of the 3rd Company (company commander: Hauptmann Friedrich Nöll) of the 1st Battalion of the 691st Infantry Regiment of the 339th Infantry Division. The order for the shooting was given by the commander of the 1st Battalion, Major Alfred Commichau,

on the grounds that the Jews were allegedly assisting the partisans. After the war, the former commander of the 3rd Company, Friedrich Nöll, and the former first sergeant (Hauptfeldwebel) of the company, Emil Zimber, were found guilty and sentenced by a court in Darmstadt (Germany) to three and two years of imprisonment, respectively.[3]

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the destruction of the Jewish population in Krucha include the following: Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 111–113; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 398, pp. 375–378; *Pamiats': Kruhlianskii raion* (Minsk: Belaruskaia entsyklapedyia, 1996), pp. 369–370; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944: Begleitbroschüre zur Ausstellung* (Hamburg: HIS, 2004), pp. 28–29.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archive: GAMO (306-1-10, pp. 117–119).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Kruchanskii sel'savet," in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 450; GAMO, 306-1-10, pp. 117–119; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12, Lfd. Nr. 398, p. 375. See also *Pamiats': Kruhlianskii raion*, pp. 369–370. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 111–113, give the number of victims as 156.

2. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 111–113.

3. LG-Darm, verdict of May 8, 1954 (2 Ks 2/54), published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12, Lfd. Nr. 398; LG-Darm, verdict of March 10, 1956 (2 Ks 2/54), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 13 (1975), Lfd. Nr. 429; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*, pp. 28–29.

KRUGLOE

Pre-1941: Krugloe, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krugloje, Rayon Krutscha (Krucha), Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kruhlae, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krugloe is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Mogilev. In 1939, 238 Jews lived in Krugloe, making up 19.5 percent of its population, and 375 Jews lived in the rest of the Krugloe raion, the bulk of them in the village of Krucha, 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) west of Krugloe.

Owing to Krugloe's location, far from major highways and with no easily accessible railway station, only a few Jews were able to leave the village in 1941 before the Germans captured it. Witnesses do not mention any organized evacuation of the population from Krugloe.

Krugloe was captured by German forces (XLVII Army Corps of the 4th Panzer Army, formerly of the 2nd Panzer Group) on July 8, 1941. Ortskommandantur I/532, subordinated to the 9th Infantry Army, was established in Krugloe. From August 1941, the town was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Most probably, Krugloe, like nearby Tolochin, was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 683 stationed in Orsha.

According to the survivor Yevgenii Elman, in the first days of the occupation the Germans ordered the appointment of a Jewish elder: Meyer Pevzner, a former tailor. His first job was to compile a list of all the Jews residing in Krugloe. The Germans also introduced the wearing of "Jewish Stars." Some Jews continued to work in the kolkhoz; the Germans also took Jews (only Jews) for forced labor, repairing roads.

On September 15, 1941, the Germans ordered Pevzner to assemble all male Jews ages 15 to 60, with shovels and other work tools, near the Ortskommandantur. According to Elman, a German punitive squad had arrived in Krugloe the previous day. Not all the Jews turned up; as a punishment, the Germans shot Pevzner on the spot. The rest of the male Jews, some 60 to 100 men, were brought to a nearby forest and shot there.[1] Subsequently there were other murders of groups of Jews in Krugloe.

The testimony of Honya Epshtein, who was brought to Krugloe from Shepelevichi on December 12, 1941, together with the other remaining Jews from the Shepelevichi ghetto, provides a description of the Krugloe ghetto. There were about 25 to 30 people living in each house. Other Jews were also brought there from Teterino. Epshtein's family had to sleep on the floor without pillows or mattresses. Water could only be obtained from the "Jewish well" or the Drut River. There was almost no food. People survived on frostbitten potatoes and whatever meager rations were distributed. Leaving the ghetto entailed risking one's life, as all contacts with the local population were forbidden. Jews caught outside the ghetto were publicly executed at regular intervals. The number of ghetto inmates gradually declined, so that in the spring of 1942, those few Jews who remained were relocated into two small houses on the edge of town. This "two-house ghetto" was surrounded with a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) fence and was closely guarded by the local police. Despite the risks, Jews continued to sneak out to obtain food from sympathetic peasants in the villages of Ostrov, Pavlovo, and Ogloblia, who gave them bread. The police took a roll call every day, and if anyone was missing, they would search for them and cruelly beat everyone.[2]

The remaining Jews in the Krugloe ghetto, about 200 people, including the resettled Jews, were murdered by the German occupants using gas vans in June 1942. Eyewitnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention the German officer whom they call Nikodemus as the main perpetrator of the mass murder.[3] Epshtein managed to hide successfully under the floorboards for several days after the Aktion, despite repeated searches. He escaped at night to the village of Ogloblia, where the Shevchik family fed and clothed him, before he fled further away

from Krugloe, as he knew the local police were still searching for him.[4]

A monument was erected at the killing site by the victims' relatives in 1962, which states that 515 Jews were killed at this spot. Among the victims were also Jews from the villages of Teterino (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] south of Krugloe), Khatkovo (16 kilometers [9.9 miles] east-northeast of Krugloe, now in the Shklov raion), and Shepelevichi (about 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] to the southwest).

Nineteen Jews were killed in the village of Golovchin (22 kilometers [13.8 miles] south-southeast of Krugloe along the P-26 road) in early October 1941. Kh. Zelikova and her five children were shot and killed in Novoprud'e (5 kilometers [3.1 miles] north of Krugloe).

SOURCES The testimony of Honya Epshtein has been published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 295–298.

The documents of the ChGK for the Krugloe raion can be found in GARF (7021-88-42); and in GAMO (306-1-10). An eyewitness account can be found in YVA (O-3/4674).

Daniel Romanovsky and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4674.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 295–298.
3. GARF, 7021-88-42.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 297–298.

KRUPKI

Pre-1941: Krupki, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krupki is located 118 kilometers (73.3 miles) northeast of Minsk.

In 1939, there were 870 Jews out of 3,455 inhabitants (25.2 percent) in Krupki. German forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941. Only a few of Krupki's Jews managed to flee either by road or by rail at the start of the invasion; the majority found themselves trapped under German occupation, together with some refugees from western Belorussia.

The Germans organized a police force consisting of local inhabitants, which was led by Timofei Svitkovskii, a former officer in the Red Army. A man named Baranovskii became head of the Rayon, and successively, Karon', Pavkovets, and Evtishevskii served as town mayor. The commander of the local punitive detachment was Ivanov. The military commandant was a German officer named Gebel (or Goebel). Belorussians Ivan Dranitsa, Vladimir Khvashchevskii, Mikhail Titovets, Vasilii Koran', Daria Urgulevskaia, Dmitrii Molosai, Fedor Kondratenko, Vasilii Balbas, Vasilii Asipovets, and Ul'ian Keyzo served in the local police.[1]

In July 1941, the Germans organized one of the first ghettos on occupied Belorussian soil in Krupki. The Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without written permission from the mayor. All Jews were obliged to wear distinguishing marks on their clothing and had to perform forced labor. No detailed information is available on whether the ghetto was guarded or on the existence of a fence enclosing it. However, about 1,000 Jews lived within the ghetto. It appears that the Germans did not make long-term plans for the ghetto and its inhabitants; instead, they used it only as a place to collect and hold Jews temporarily until their extermination. There was also a prison in Krupki for people suspected of concealing Jews or those viewed as disloyal or hostile to German rule.[2]

The Germans conducted a series of initial killing Aktions against the Jews in Krupki between July and mid-September 1941. The largest Aktion took place at the cemetery, half a kilometer (about a third of a mile) outside Krupki. The Germans murdered more than 100 people, including the elderly, women, and children.[3]

On September 16, 1941, the German occupying authorities separated the Jewish men from their families and other ghetto inmates, and they threatened to kill them if their relatives failed to produce a ransom in the form of fur clothing.

The Germans conducted the main liquidation Aktion against the ghetto on September 18, 1941. At 7:00 A.M., the Germans gathered all the Jews on the market square near the town council building and declared that they would be sent to Germany for work. The Jews were ordered to take with them only their money and other valuables. They were also told to keep their doors unlocked and to hand the keys to the mayor. All the Jews were checked according to a list. Then the German forces escorted them along Sovetskaia Street in the direction of the village of Lebedevo, leading them off to the swampy bank of the Strazhnitsa River on the other side of the Minsk-Moscow highway. Along the way, many Jews began to suspect their fate once the column passed the railway line and continued on towards the swamp. During the march, everyone was prohibited from stopping or talking; those who disobeyed were beaten with sticks.[4]

The column stopped near Panskoe village, at the First of May kolkhoz in the Shatski sel'sovet, where before the war there had been a quarry and now two large pits had been prepared.[5] The Jews were ordered to sit down on the ground 50 meters (164 feet) from the pits. The guards ordered some of the prisoners to carry a few wide planks, which were then thrown across the trenches. Then 10 people were chosen, including a woman with two children. The mother carried her baby, 10 or 11 months old, in her arms, while the other child held her hand. The prisoners were escorted to the trench and were ordered to strip down to their underclothing. The Germans put the clothes on trucks and wrenched the children away from their mothers. The Germans ordered the Jews, now undressed, to walk across the planks. Panic began to envelop the crowd, and heartrending screams were heard.

Doomed to die, the Jews turned around and were shot in the head by the guards. A volley of rounds was fired, and 9 Jews fell into the trench. An old man who remained standing was shot again to finish him off. Another officer grabbed a child by his legs and smashed him head first into the ground, then let him fall "like a chick" into the trench.[6]

The Aktion in Krupki was carried out by a section of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Borisov under the command of Werner Schönemann, assisted by the locally based unit of the Wehrmacht. Obergefreiter Richard Heidenreich of the 12th Company, 354th Regiment, made a note in his "diary" about the Aktion in Krupki. The evening before, the senior lieutenant selected 15 men with "strong nerves." Once they had been informed of their task, they marched to the nearest swamp. The victims were ordered to get into the ditch, and the shooting detail stood over the victims. As Heidenreich describes it: "10 shots were heard and 10 Jews fell down. It continued like this until we had killed them all. Only a few people kept a stiff upper lip. Children clung to their mothers, and women to their husbands. I won't forget this image for a very long time."[7] A large part of the Belorussian police was also present at the Aktion. Commander of the police Svitkovskii, military commandant Gebel, commander of the punitive detachment Ivanov, commander of the Rayon Baranovskii, and policeman Broneslav Zakrevskii all actively participated in the Aktion. According to Maria Shpunt, at first the killing site was surrounded by several hundred guards, but later, once many Jews had been killed, some policemen were permitted to go to the mess hall for dinner.[8]

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B dated October 25, 1941, 912 Jews were murdered in Krupki that day.[9] After the shooting, local Belorussians were ordered to bury the corpses. According to Anton Krukovskii (born 1883), the bodies of the dead were placed in rows in two pits: one 60 meters long and 3 meters wide (197 by 9.8 feet), the other 15 meters by 3 meters (49 by 9.8 feet) and just over 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep. The corpses were packed almost to the top of the pits. When the Germans came to bury the people, they killed a man, a woman, and a little boy who were still alive. After covering the pits, the Belorussians were allowed to go home. Individual Jews caught subsequently were also shot.[10]

In March 1942, men of Einsatzkommando 8 also shot the Jews in two villages, one north and one south of Krupki. In each case, 15 Jews were shot.[11] In 1943, the Germans, with the help of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), exhumed the mass grave and burned the corpses. Afterwards, the Soviet POWs were murdered.

Some Jews survived the Aktion. Among them were Sofia Shalaumova (born 1920), Maria Shpunt, and her younger son. After counting all those who had been killed, the Germans ordered men from the surrounding villages to cover the mass grave. The work was not finished, however, because some Belorussians noticed that the trench was "breathing" and that they needed to wait. After hearing the shots, Sofia, for example, fell into the trench at the proper time without being wounded. Among the peasants who were burying the bodies, she recognized her acquaintance Nikolai Bogdanov and asked him not to cover her with earth. He did as she asked.[12]

Maria Shpunt tried to persuade the Germans to let her live by claiming that she was not Jewish. While she pleaded for her life, 11 people from her group were killed, and Maria, with her baby, was placed on a pile of breathing bodies as the German soldiers went to get a new group of Jews. The woman took advantage of this pause, crawled out of the pit, and ran into the brush; though the Germans shot at her, she got away unscathed.[13]

SOURCES Information on the Krupki ghetto and the fate of the Jews of Krupki can be found in the following publications: Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998); "Esli by zemlia mogla govorit'," *Novosti nedeli* (Tel Aviv), April 13, 2000; Hannes Heer, Christian Reuther, and Johannes Bacher, eds., "*Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*": *Visuelle Konzeption und Gestaltung der Ausstellung* (Hamburg: HIS, 1996). Further details on the war period can be found in the local history publications *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Krupskaho raiona* (Minsk, 1999). On the dating of the murder of the Jews in Krupki, see Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), pp. 586–588.

Documentation concerning the murder of the Jews in Krupki under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAMINO (634-1-4, 7, 8, 9, 12; and 686-1-5, 10, 19); GARF; NARA; NARB (861-1-8); YVA (M-33/425); and in the personal archive of the author (PALS) (letters from Petr Antonovich Bulakh and Lubov [Mosinoy] Koichu).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/425, p. 4.
2. GAMINO, 634-1-4, 7-9, 12; and 686-1-5, 10, 19.
3. NARB, 861-1-8, p. 222-a, testimony of Nina Dashkevich (born 1927).
4. YVA, M-33/425, pp. 9–12.
5. "Esli by zemlia mogla govorit'."
6. PALS, letter from Petr Antonovich Bulakh.
7. Heidenreich diary, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 9/64, Verfügung vom Sept. 9, 1969, pp. 3 f., cited in Heer, Reuther, and Bacher, "*Vernichtungskrieg*," p. 114.
8. GARF, 7021-87-7.
9. NARA, T-175, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941; Heidenreich diary, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 9/64, Verfügung vom September 9, 1969, pp. 3 f.; NARB, 861-1-8, p. 222a. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 573, LG-Köl, 24 Ks 1/63, verdict of May 12, 1964, p. 178.
10. YVA, M-33/425, p. 714.
11. LG-Bonn, 8 Ks 2/62, verdict of February 19, 1964 (published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, (1978) p. 564).
12. PAGV, letter from Sofia Yakovlevna Shalaumova, July 7, 1998.
13. YVA, M-33/425, pp. 8–9.

KUBLICHI

Pre-1941: Kublichi, village, Ushachi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kublitschi, Rayon Uschatschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kublichy, Ushachy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kublichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Polotsk. Before September 1939, it lay close to the border with Poland. In 1926, it had 546 Jews, according to the population census. The Jewish population of the Ushachi raion (without Ushachi) consisted of 306 people, the bulk of whom lived in Kublichi. Extrapolating from the rate of population decline in the raion in the period 1926–1939, the Jewish population of Kublichi was probably somewhere between 230 and 300 in 1939.

German forces of Army Group Center captured Kublichi on July 3, 1941. There was no organized evacuation. According to survivors, the authorities (among them some Jews) abandoned Kublichi by car after the local unit of the Red Army had left the village. Only a few Jews, mainly men and party or Komsomol members, tried to flee before the Germans entered the village, but almost nobody succeeded.

There was an "interregnum" in Kublichi between the departure of the Soviets and the arrival of the German army. During this period, peasants rushed into Kublichi to rob the abandoned shops and warehouses. According to the survivor Vera Gilman, the peasants tried to prevent the Jews from joining in the plunder. They cried: "Yids, you've got riches enough, soon the end will come for you too."[1]

The occupiers appointed local authorities and ordered Jews to register. The registration of Jews was conducted in the square before the Kommandantur and was accompanied by a selection of those fit for work (starting at age 13). There were various kinds of forced labor in Kublichi. Jews were subjected to different forms of abuse; some were killed. For example, according to Gilman, a Jew named Shneiderman appeared at work one day without the yellow patch on his clothing. The Nazis told him to undress and carved a six-pointed star on his back with a knife; when he tried to resist, they killed him (by setting their dogs on him). The Nazis also killed other Jews in Kublichi.

In the fall, most probably in September 1941, the Jews were resettled to Lepelskaia Street; this was the first "ghetto" in Kublichi. The witnesses differ on whether the street was fenced in with barbed wire. The ghetto was not guarded, but there was a high mortality rate among the ghetto inmates.

In the winter of 1941–1942, there was a resettlement of Kublichi Jews to Ushachi. It is unclear from the witness accounts when this resettlement took place. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the Jews of Kublichi were brought to Ushachi together with the Jews of Usaia and Bobynichi in December 1941. Gilman dates this event on December 10, 1941. Nonetheless, both Kublichi survivors Vera Gilman and Nikolai (Kolia) Gilman attest that when they arrived in the ghetto of Ushachi, it was empty, because all the Jews of Ushachi had been killed. This could only mean that the Kublichi Jews arrived in Ushachi in January 1942. So a more probable date for the resettlement is January 1942, maybe even January 12, when the Jews of Ushachi were shot.

Before the resettlement to Ushachi, some Jewish "specialists" were separated and spared in Kublichi for a while. The eyewitnesses, both Jewish and non-Jewish, give varying information on the names and even on the number of those who were spared. Vera Gilman claims that 15 families of specialists (such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers) were singled out and placed in a separate house as early as November 1941; at the same time, the rest of the Jews were resettled into the building of the former maternity hospital. The building was guarded by the local police. Some people from the "maternity hospital" were used for labor too. Gilman attests that there was some cleavage between the specialists (who lived under somewhat better conditions than the rest of the Kublichi Jews) and the maternity hospital dwellers. When the latter came to the specialists asking for some bread for their children, the specialists refused, saying: "You will be killed in any case, and we are permitted to live."

So, according to Gilman, on the day of the resettlement from Kublichi to Ushachi, at 6:00 A.M., the residents of the maternity hospital in Kublichi were driven out of the building and ordered to leave all their warm coats, *valenki* (warm felt boots), and good clothing behind. Half undressed, they were taken on horse sleds and brought to the Ushachi ghetto. Some people died of exposure on the way. After the deportation of the Jews from Kublichi, a local shop sold Jewish belongings to the Belorussian population.

The new arrivals were settled in the houses of the former Ushachi ghetto; they found the ghetto abandoned by its former inmates. The ghetto was guarded. According to the survivors, the resettled people found graffiti in Yiddish in one of the houses: "They are bringing us to be shot. If somebody survives, let him avenge us" (*Undz firt men shisn. Ver vet zikh rateven un bleibn lebn, nemt nekome far undz*). Old people put on their talles (prayer shawls) and prayed.

Some days later, the Jews of Kublichi were killed too. On the morning of the day when the Nazis began to drive the Kublichi Jews out of the Ushachi ghetto, somebody set the ghetto on fire. Some of the Kublichi Jews were killed on the spot, and the rest were brought to the same pits on Doletskaia Street where the Ushachi Jews had been killed, and they were shot there. It is unclear when and how the specialist Jews from Kublichi were killed.

The ChGK estimated the total number of Jews killed in Ushachi at 925. This number is almost certainly too high, taking into account that there were only 893 Jews living in Ushachi and its raion in 1939.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

The documents of the ChGK for the Ushachi raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-223). Eyewitness testimonies can be found in YVA (O-3/2244 and O-3/4708-4717).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. YVA, O-3/2244.

LAPICHI

Pre-1941: Lapichi, village, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lapitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lapichy, Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lapichi is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the census of 1926, there were 709 Jews living in the village. By mid-1941, emigration had considerably reduced the Jewish population.

German forces captured the village in early July 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, a few Jews managed to evacuate to the east, but many who tried to leave were forced to return by the rapid advance of the German forces.[1] About 300 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

Throughout the German occupation, from July 1941 to June 1944, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German commandant established a village authority and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. Soon after the occupation, the German commandant ordered the village authority to register and mark the Jews and organize their exploitation for various types of forced labor.

On August 18, 1941, the first Aktion took place, in which a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 shot 107 Jews who were accused of engaging in sabotage and supporting the partisans.[2] Survivor Inna Viktorovna Voinova, who stayed in Lapichi after her attempt to flee from Minsk was blocked by German forces, recalled that on August 18 (Aviation Day in the Soviet Union) rumors spread that the Red Army would come and save them. Instead, Germans and local police (*politsai*) surrounded the town and escorted all the Jewish men into the woods and shot them. After this first Aktion, mostly women, children, and the elderly remained in Lapichi, living in constant fear as news of further executions in the region arrived daily.[3]

Information on whether a ghetto existed in Lapichi is very sparse. According to Voinova, the Germans did not permit Russians and Jews to live together, but otherwise her testimony seems to indicate that most Jews continued to live in their own homes. In January 1942, the Germans and local police surrounded part of the town and gathered all the Jews there into three houses. Everyone expected that this was the end, but most Jews were sent home and ordered to pack up their warm clothing (presumably for donation to the German army). However, 10 or 12 people—some old men and a few teenagers—were kept behind and then shot next to the village fence.[4]

The women and children remained alive until April 1942. Then, in a single day, Germans and local police from Osipovichi surrounded the village, gathered all the Jews together, and shot them in a large ditch. More than 140 people were murdered in this Aktion.

Voinova recalls that her survival was due to a fortunate circumstance: "When the Germans came to take everyone away, my Aunt Tonia told them that there was a Russian girl whose parents had been arrested and that she lived in the house. The German ordered me to go to the other half of the house, where a Russian family lived. And so I continued to live."[5]

Different relatives of the famous Yiddish poet Moshe Kulbak died in all three of the Aktions conducted against the Jews of Lapichi, which meant that they were buried in three separate graves.

SOURCES Inna Viktorovna Voinova's recollections of her experiences in Lapichi during the war were published in *Sovetish Heymland*, no. 8 (1990), and are available in English translation on the Web at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/kurenets/k_pages/kulbak.html. Other relevant publications include V. Zaitsev and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin and Il'ia Al'tman, eds., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4: Sbornik* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 568; "Lapichi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5: 263-264 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi Fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 705; and Marat Botvinnik, in *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Lapichi can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-82-5); and NARB.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "War Survivors," available at www.levins.info/history/SurvivedWar.html.
2. See the report of the 252nd Infantry Division for August 18, 1941: "Of the total of 179 prisoners, the SD shot: 107 Jews and three partisans," cited in Hannes Heer, "Die Logik des Vernichtungskrieges. Wehrmacht und Partisanenkampf," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1997), p. 117. According to Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, 75 Jewish males were shot in a forest near the village in August 1941. In 1993, their remains were reburied in the Jewish cemetery in Osipovichi.
3. Testimony of Inna Viktorovna Voinova, born in Minsk in 1931, available at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/kurenets/k_pages/kulbak.html.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

LENINO

Pre-1941: Lenino (until 1918, Romanovo), village, Gorki raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Gorki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lenina, Horki raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lenino is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) to the northeast of Mogilev. In 1923, under the Soviets, the Jewish population of Lenino was 498, of whom 41 worked as artisans, while most others were engaged in agriculture.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the village in the second week of July 1941. According to one witness, about 70 Jews were murdered by the Germans and the *politsais* (local police) shortly after the arrival of German forces. The Jews who managed to flee from Lenino, as well as some who lived in nearby villages, were then assembled in Lenino (about 60 Jews altogether) and confined in two houses, as a form of small ghetto; they were subsequently transferred to Gorki, probably in the fall of 1941, and murdered there together with the local Jews. Three Jewish "specialists" continued to work for the Germans in Lenino until the summer of 1942, when they were also killed.[1] During the occupation, probably about 140 Jews from Lenino and the surrounding villages were murdered by the German occupying forces and their collaborators.

SOURCES Information on Lenino can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 722; and in Uladzimir M. Liushyts, *Ishlo u byassmertse Haradotskae Heta* (Orsha, 1995) pp. 7–8.

There is a testimony regarding the fate of the Jews in Lenino at YVA (O-3/4666).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. Stefan Yevmenenko, YVA, O-3/4666.

LEPEL'

Pre-1941: Lepel', town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lepel, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lepel', raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lepel' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,919 Jews lived in the town, comprising 13.9 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Lepel' raion (without the town of Lepel') was 289 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small town of Kamen'.

German forces (XXXIX Army Corps, Panzer Group 3) entered Lepel' on July 3, 1941. From August 1941, Lepel' was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). From August 1941 until July 1942, the Lepel' area lay in the realm of the 403rd Security Division; from July 1942 it fell under the 201st Security Division, with its headquarters in the village of Borovka, northeast of Lepel'. The town of Lepel' was the site of Feldkommandantur 181. In 1941–1942, Ortskommandantur I/851 was based in Lepel'.

The German military authorities appointed Yu.N. Nedelko, a former schoolteacher of physical training, as the mayor of Lepel', and Voitekhovich became head of the Belorussian police.[1]

Survivors Roza Fishkina and Semyon Feigelman give good accounts of the situation of the Jews in Lepel' under German occupation. From the start, the Germans shot those whom they suspected were Communists and provoked local people into robbing and murdering Jews.

Both survivors attest that some days after the arrival of the Germans the new authorities introduced the first anti-Jewish measures. One day, early in the morning, they woke up the Jews of Lepel' and assembled them on a boulevard in the town's center for a meeting. All Jews, including small children, old people, and the sick "who had been unable to get up from their beds for several years," in the words of Fishkina, were told to come to the assembly place. The assembly was accompanied by beatings and other kinds of violence; the boulevard was guarded by German soldiers, so some Jews thought that it was a deportation or mass execution. But once there, the Jews simply had to listen to an officer read out new regulations restricting Jewish life. Among other things, forced labor was introduced. A Jewish committee was appointed with the Jewish elder Gordon at its head.[2]

A ghetto was established in Lepel' at the end of July 1941. It included the streets Leninskaia, Volodarskaia, Vokzal'naia, and Bannyi Lane (according to another account, Leninskaia, Vokzal'naia, and Kanal'naia Streets). According to Fishkina, the houses in this district of the town were wretched: some of them had neither doors nor windows nor wooden floors. Jews were crammed 30 to 40 people to a house. The ghetto inmates were forbidden to switch on the light, to go out of their houses "without any business," and to look out of the windows. In winter they were forbidden to take water from wells; they could only melt snow instead. The ghetto inmates did not receive any food.

Every day, the ghetto Jews were escorted to forced labor. On the way they had to sing a song, of which the only words were "Juden kaputt" (the Jews are finished). Fishkina does not mention the Jews being used for any vital or systematic tasks; their work included cleaning the streets of snow, cleaning cesspools without any tools, cutting firewood, transporting bricks, and doing other menial tasks. During the work, "traitors" (local collaborators, most probably, local police) beat the Jews with sticks, trying not to miss anybody.

Germans and *politsais* (local police) robbed the ghetto Jews of their belongings. As can be inferred from Fishkina's account, Mayor Nedelko imposed a "contribution" of gold and

valuables on the ghetto Jews. Raising the contribution proved difficult, and many Jews were killed during the course of its collection. Nedelko may also have tried to extort money from the Jews for protecting them from mass killing. In any case, it is clear that the population, Jewish and non-Jewish, had some knowledge of the forthcoming liquidation of the ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on February 28, 1942.[3] On the morning of this sunny but very frosty day, the local police, headed by the deputy commander of the Belorussian police in Lepel', Pavel Sorokin, surrounded the ghetto and began to assemble it's inhabitants. Later the SS appeared. Some Jews were killed on the spot, which may mean that they put up some resistance. The rest, who, despite the heavy frost, were dressed only in light clothing, were taken in trucks to the killing site: pits near the village of Chernoruch'e, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of the town. The initiator of the killing was Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Wiebens, the head of Einsatzkommando 9. Immediately after the mass murders of Jews in Beshenkovichi and Chashniki, Wiebens turned to the Lepel' Kommandantur with a request to hand over the Jews of Lepel' to him for liquidation. The deputy commandant, Major Hirschberg, tried to object, claiming that he needed these Jews as manpower for constructing a major road (*Rollbahn*). As a result, two weeks later Wiebens's representative appeared in Lepel' once more with a new order, and the killing took place.[4] It is unclear what other units, apart from Wiebens's men, took part. Fishkina mentions also that *narodniki*, or men of the Russian National People's Army (RNNA), participated in the Aktion.

The Vitebsk Regional Commission for Assistance to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of victims as 1,000 or (another estimate) 980 people.[5] The trial of Einsatzkommando 9 (the main defendant being Wiebens) held in West Berlin in 1966 estimated the number of victims of the Lepel' ghetto at 1,100.[6]

In the village of Kamen', 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northeast of Lepel', in 1926 there were 426 Jews living in the town (80 percent of the population). There was no formal ghetto in Kamen'. Jews were forbidden to leave the town but continued to live in their own houses. The wearing of yellow stars was introduced. Jews continued to perform agricultural labor at the local kolkhoz.

According to the ChGK, 158 Jews of Kamen' were killed on September 17, 1941. On the day before, the Nazis assembled all the Jews in a building where there had been a wool factory before the war. On September 17, all the male Jews of the town were loaded onto trucks and taken in a northwesterly direction to the cemetery of Borki to dig a mass grave, after which they were killed. Then the Nazis came to the town to take women and children to the massacre site. Before the women were taken to Borki, the teacher Dora Baselovich cried to the others: "Don't believe the Germans! They took the men not for working but for digging pits for us!" The women and children were killed at the same place.[7] According to the only survivor, Meise (Moisei) Aksentsov, a German officer from the local garrison informed Jews some days before the murder that they would be killed, but nobody ran from the town. On September 17, when he was brought with the other Jewish men of Kamen' to dig the mass grave, Aksentsov shouted, "Run away," attacked a nearby policeman, and hit him on the head with a shovel. The crowd of Jews scattered, but all were mowed down by machine-gunners except for Aksentsov himself, who ran in the direction of the nearby boggy lake, where he succeeded in hiding among the rushes. On this day his wife and four children were killed.[8]

In February 1942, 26 Jews of the village of Pyshno, 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Lepel', were transferred to Lepel' and shot there, together with the local Jews, on February 28.[9]

Elsewhere in the raion, the nine members of the Jewish Fishman and Klibanov families were killed in the Poliany sel'sovet, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) east of Lepel'. Six Jews were killed in the village of Zateklias'e, some 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) west of Lepel'. A one-year-old child of mixed parentage was killed in the area of the village Zabolot'e, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) southeast of Lepel'.

SOURCES In the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 35–40, 45–54) deal with the Holocaust in the Lepel' raion. The events in Lepel' were discussed at the trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 held in West Berlin in 1966, so a description can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Lepel' raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-104) and GAVO (2088-2-3). Copies can be found also in BA-L (ZStL, Ordn. 423, pp. 280–380) and in YVA (O-53/23). The only extant oral account of the events in Kamen' (although not by an eyewitness) can be found in YVA (O-3/4682).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-104.
2. Testimony of Roza Fishkina; see ibid. For Feigelman's account, see Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 46–48.
3. Both survivors, S. Feigelman and Roza Fishkina, name this day as the date of the last Aktion.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 23:517. This source erroneously dates the killing on April 28.
5. GARF, 7021-84-104; GAVO, 2088-2-3.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 23:517.
7. GAVO, 2088-2-3, pp. 192, 199; Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 35–40.
8. YVA, O-3/4682. Aksentsov died in 1955; his story was retold by his nephew Grigorii Raikhelson from Vitebsk, who claims that he heard this story from Aksentsov many times.
9. GAVO, 2088-2-3, p. 190.

LIADY

Pre-1941: Liady, town, Dubrovno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljady, Dubrowno Rayon, Rear Area,

Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liady, Dobrouna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liady is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-northeast of Orsha. In 1939, 897 Jews lived in Liady, making up 39.2 percent of the population.

Liady was captured by the Germans on July 18, 1941. According to the survivor Vyacheslav (Betsalel) Tamarkin, an evacuation from the town, started by the local authorities on July 14, failed because the Germans advanced rapidly, and the evacuees found themselves caught in the Germans' rear area.[1]

Liady suffered greatly in the fighting, and most of its houses were destroyed. The Nazis resettled most of the Jews into a special quarter of the town (a form of "open ghetto"), which was not fenced in; the houses of the area were crammed full of people. A Jewish Council was established. The mayor of the volost' (administrative district) of Liady was Ostapenko.

The occupiers did not disband the "Jewish" kolkhoz, and in the words of Tamarkin, a survivor and a former kolkhoznik, "[f]ormer members of the kolkhoz 'Nayer Lebn' toiled now as slaves for the [German] police chief."[2] Moreover, the Nazis did not force the Jewish kolkhozniks to wear the patch in the form of the Star of David on the chest and on the back, which they forced on the rest of the Liady Jews. Thus the Jewish kolkhozniks were perceived as "privileged" Jews, and it was rumored that all the Jews of Liady would be killed, but the agricultural workers would be spared.[3] Sometime later, at the end of the summer, however, the Jewish kolkhozniks were also resettled into the Jewish area of the town.

There was a flour mill in Liady, and the Germans let the old Jewish millers stay there. The millers, Bogorad and Minkin, were allowed to ask the Jewish Council for whatever number of Jewish workers they "needed" to load the flour for the Germans. Although the Jews were forbidden to mill rye for themselves, and the Belorussian police and *narodniki* (Russian National People's Army [RNNA] men) kept an eye on this, the mill workers managed to provide the Jews of Liady with grain.[4]

Later in the fall of 1941, the Germans drove groups of Jews, including former kolkhozniks, to forced labor: cobbling the main street of Liady with bricks. During this work, the Jews were forbidden to carry bricks in barrows; to work in gloves; to use such tools as picks, shovels, and crowbars; or even to stand up straight.[5]

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans carried out their first killing Aktion; the survivor Faina Kogan (née Velikovskaia) dates it on September 27, 1941. Some days prior to this, they caught several Jewish youths (Sara Malkina, Tanya Kalner, Isaak Kuznetsov, Izya Yukhvich, and three people who were not from Liady) who had left the ghetto and gone east—according to one version, to form a partisan unit, according to another, to cross the front line. The Germans gathered the young Jewish people of the town and abused them. They forced a group of young men to crawl along the main street without using their arms and legs. Another group was sent to a nearby hollow to dig a pit there. Then they gathered all the Jews of Liady at this hollow and brought the seven Jews who had been arrested and publicly shot them in the pit.

The next morning, the Germans once more assembled all the Jews at the local Jewish cemetery. Tamarkin writes:

> [T]he Nazis started sorting out people into women, men, and children. They separated the young boys from the girls, forming two columns, and brought them to the benches. They would put a girl on one bench and a boy on the other one; then they whipped them with rods. After the whipping they threw everyone into a barn. . . . The men of the punitive squad announced that they would free the youngsters if the Jews collected a certain amount of gold and silver valuables by the morning. They picked 29 "intellectuals" from the men's group, took them away and shot them behind the new Jewish cemetery.[6]

In March 1942 the local police and narodniki resettled the Jews of Liady into a school building that had been prepared in advance: the windows were boarded up with planks, and the building was surrounded with barbed wire; in the corners of this fence, watchtowers were erected. The prisoners of this new "ghetto" received neither food nor water; according to an eyewitness, the people were crammed together so densely inside the building that it was impossible to lie down. Sometimes the Nazis took some people from the ghetto for work; this allowed the Jews to get some food. Typhus epidemics broke out in the ghetto, and many prisoners died.[7]

At the end of March, it was rumored in the ghetto that the Germans had driven local peasants to deepen antitank ditches on the eastern, Russian side of the Mereia River. This rumor compelled some people to flee the ghetto. On April 2, 1942, the Jews of the Liady ghetto were brought across the Mereia to the Russian side and shot there.[8]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,860 Jews were killed in Liady; this is probably an exaggeration, even taking into account that some Jews were brought to Liady or came there by themselves from nearby villages and that some Jewish refugees from Poland remained in the town under the occupation.

The village of Baevo is situated 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) southeast of Dubrovno, or 13 kilometers (8.1 miles) south of Liady at the border with Russia. No ghetto was established there; the local Jews were mainly agricultural workers. In early October 1941 a "punitive squad" arrived in Baevo from Gorki (Mogilev oblast'). The squad assembled all the Jews from the village, escorted them to the Mereia River (the border with Russia), and shot them in an antitank ditch near the village of Pakhomovo.[9] According to the ChGK, 115 Jews were killed here. The ChGK compiled a list of 34 Jewish households annihilated by the Nazis in Baevo.

A mixed Russian-Jewish family, the Bruevs, was hidden in the village. In March 1942, the Jewish mother and her three daughters of mixed parentage were transferred to the ghetto

of Liady; the Russian father was left behind. Remarkably, the latter, Boris Mefodievich Bruev, managed to ransom his daughters from the Liady police and bring them back to Baevo. In another mixed family, the punitive squad murdered the Jewish mother in October 1941, but her fair-haired children were spared. In March 1942 they were also transferred to Liady.[10]

In Rossasno, the Jews were first assembled in the building of a local school, which was guarded by the indigenous police. On April 2, 1942, they were brought in horse-drawn sledges to Liady and killed together with the local Jews.[11] According to the records compiled by the ChGK, 74 Jews were killed.

SOURCES The book of memoirs by V.L. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne* (Moscow, 1998), deals with the Holocaust in Liady. A short essay by Gennadii Vinnitsa, "Liadniaskoe getto," appeared in *Evrei Belarusi: Istoriia i kul'tura* 1 (1997): 128–133. In the book by the same author, G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 16–31) deal with the Holocaust in the Dubrovno raion.

German documentation concerning Liady may be found in BA-MA (RH 26-707/15). In the 1980s, an amateur historian, a school principal from Liady named Lev Erenburg, collected witness accounts and newspaper clippings pertaining to the Holocaust in Liady. Parts of this archive were copied and brought to YVA (O-3/4670). The papers of Vyacheslav Tamarkin are located in USHMM (RG-10.094). Documents of the ChGK can be found in GARF (7021-84-6); a video testimony can be found at VHF.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, p. 62; see also YVA, O-3/4670.
2. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, p. 99.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Ibid., p. 104.
5. Ibid., p. 102.
6. Ibid., pp. 113–114; see also YVA O-3/4670. According to Kogan (Velikovskaia), whose father Zalman Velikovskii was also among the "intellectuals" shot by the Nazis, they selected 27 people.
7. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, pp. 116–118.
8. GARF, 7021-84-6; *Krasnoarmeiskaia Pravda*, October 31, 1943.
9. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 16.
10. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
11. Ibid., p. 29. See also **Rossasno**.

LIOZNO

Pre-1941: Liozno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Liosno, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liozna, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liozno is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 711 Jews lived in the town, making up 17.3 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Liozno raion (without the town of Liozno) constituted 691 people, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Kolyshki, Babinovichi, and Dobromysli. Based on the Jewish population of these towns in 1930 (951 in Kolyshki, 262 in Babinovichi, and 204 in Dobromysli), there were probably around 420 Jews in Kolyshki, 115 in Babinovichi, and 85 in Dobromysli at the start of the war.

Liozno was captured by German units of the V Army Corps, 9th Infantry Army, on July 16, 1941; Dobromysli was the site of heavy fighting, and it was captured on July 19.

The Liosno Rayon became part of Rear Area, Army Group Center. An Ortskommandantur was established in Liozno, with Hildebrant as the commandant.[1] The chief of the local police in Liozno was Chepik, later Piskunov. Another officer of the local police, Konstantin Turkov, played an instrumental role in the murder of the Jews in Rayon Liosno, as did his subordinates Liarskii, Savitskii, Karavaev, Popov, Seleznev, and others. Some Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) witnesses describe Turkov as a sadist who boasted of killing 500 people with his own hands. The starosta (village elder) of Kolyshki was Roman Korotkii; a survivor characterizes



The Vinogradov family poses in a garden with Polina, the Jewish girl from Liozno whom they saved and adopted (after 1945). Mother Yuliana and daughter Iraida (later Savelieva) were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1997 by Yad Vashem.
USHMM WS #57695, COURTESY OF JFR

him as a man with a measure of conscience who had some compassion for the Jews.

On December 5, 1941, the Soviet counteroffensive from Moscow began. In January 1942, the Soviet 4th Shock Army (under the command of Colonel General A. Eremenko) struck a blow at the junction of German Army Groups Center and North, one of the weakest points of the German front, aiming to recapture Vitebsk. After a number of successful advances, in the first days of February, units of the 4th Shock Army broke through to the approaches of Vitebsk and stopped 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) outside the city. A corridor (the so-called Surazh gate) emerged between Usviaty and Velizh, on the Belorussian-Russian border. On February 6, the Soviet 358th Infantry Division reached Ponizov'e (Russia), close to Liozno and Ianovichi. In February, a Soviet reconnaissance unit appeared in Kolyshki.[2] Some days later, in the course of their counteroffensive, the Germans regained Kolyshki and drove back the advanced Soviet units 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) away from Vitebsk.

Liozno is situated on the highway between Vitebsk and Smolensk; thus many Jewish refugees from Vitebsk, Minsk, Bobruisk, and Orsha were there when the Germans captured it. The refugees swelled the town's Jewish population. During the fighting, some of the town's dwellings were burned. The occupiers ordered Jews to wear armbands bearing a Star of David and resettled them into a ghetto. The ghetto consisted of 30 to 40 houses along one street; the survivor B. Chernyakov estimates its population at 600. In winter the situation in the ghetto deteriorated considerably. Chernyakov writes:

> The police burst into ghetto houses in the winter at any time of the day or night. They broke the windows, beat the Jews with sticks and whips, and chased them out into the freezing cold. Not a single pane remained in one of the houses where there had formerly been a cobbler's shop, even though 40 people lived in that house in –40° Centigrade [–40° Fahrenheit] weather. Infested with lice, the people slept on rotten, wormy straw. A typhoid [*sic*., typhus] epidemic began. Several people died every day.

According to the same eyewitness, in the fall of 1941 the Germans arrested, abused, and shot six aged Jewish men.[3] In addition, sometime during the winter, Vulf Grinshtein, a Jew married to a non-Jew, was killed. The *politsai* (local policeman) Yevgenii Lyarskii came to Grinshtein's wife and demanded "gold and a gold watch." When she refused, Lyarskii threatened to kill her or her husband. Some days later, Lyarskii came into Grinshtein's house with several other policemen and once more demanded gold. When the Grinshteins refused, the policemen beat up Grinshtein and shot him.[4]

At the end of February 1942, at the request of the local Ortskommandantur, the ghetto in Liozno was liquidated. Some days before (various accounts date it on February 23, 24, or 27), a six-man German squad from Einsatzkommando 9, accompanied by a detachment of the Liozno auxiliary police headed by Turkov, appeared in the town. In the night, the town was surrounded by the police, some of whom assembled the ghetto Jews in a big barn on Komsomolskaia Street. During the night, 20 people froze to death in the barn. On February 24 (or 25 or 28), the police started moving the people from the barn to the Adamenki Ravine (2 or 3 kilometers [about 1.5 miles] northwest of Liozno) and shooting them there. The Jews of Liozno were killed together with the Jews of the surrounding villages. The killing was conducted mainly by the local police. Before the killing, the police ordered the Jews to undress. According to a situation report of Einsatzgruppe B, 361 people were killed at that time. After the liquidation of the Liozno Jews, their belongings were sold in a local shop to the non-Jewish population.[5]

Taking into account that some Liozno Jews were killed before the last Aktion and that, according to Chernyakov, the mortality from disease in the ghetto was high in the winter months, we can assume that many more than 361 Jews perished in Liozno. Chernyakov may be close to the real number of victims when he estimates that 600 Jews were concentrated in the Liozno ghetto and met their deaths in 1941–1942.

On February 25 or 27 (according to various sources), a police unit headed by Turkov appeared in Babinovichi (27 kilometers [16.8 miles] southwest of Liozno). The squad took "more than 20" Jews from the village and escorted them on horse sledges to Adamenki; however, the politsais shot most of them on the way. The list compiled by the ChGK gives 26 names of Jews killed; it is unclear whether the list is complete.[6]

The roughly 40 (36 according to the ChGK) Jews of the village of Dobromysli (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] southwest of Liozno) were assembled into one house and then shot at the end of February 1942 in the Adamenki Ravine by a Belorussian police unit that came from Liozno. See also **Kolyshki** for information on the fate of the Jews in that village.

Elsewhere in the Liozno raion, no fewer than 15 Jews were killed in the village of Ryzhiki, Babinovichi sel'sovet (26 kilometers [16 miles] southwest of Liozno); at least 9 Jews were killed in the Sutoki sel'sovet (8 kilometers [5 miles] southwest of Liozno); in the Zamsheno sel'sovet (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] north of Liozno), 6 Jews were killed, members of the Altman family. In Emelianovo, 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) north of Liozno, 20 people were killed in the winter of 1942; it is unclear whether they were Jews. There are some indications that in Veleshkovichi (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] north of Liozno, Zamsheno sel'sovet) a number of Jews were killed by local inhabitants or at least with their assistance.[7]

SOURCES The events in Liozno are mentioned in I. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 240–241. On the military operations in this region during the winter of 1941–1942, see A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 434–440.

The documents of the ChGK for the Liozno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-8); relevant German documents can be found in BStU (ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI); and BA-MA (RW 46/499).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. The ChGK documents identify it as OK I/991.
2. GARF, 7021-84-8.
3. B. Chernyakov's letter, in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 240.
4. GARF, 7021-84-8, witness Kulagina.
5. The majority of the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK date the Aktion on February 23–28. According to them, some of the Liozno Jews were killed on February 24 or 25, the others, on the following days; see ibid. Contrary to that, Einsatzgruppe B's Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht (BStU, ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI, pp. 176 ff.), as well as Chernyakov's letter, date the whole action on February 28.
6. GARF, 7021-84-8; Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 240.
7. Rumors about a killing of Jews in Veleshkovichi circulated in Vitebsk in 1941; see YVA, O-3/4720.

LIPEN'

Pre-1941: Lipen' (formerly Kholui), village, Osipovichi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lipen, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lipen', Asipovichy raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lipen' is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1926 census, Lipen' had a Jewish population of 441. By 1941, migration had slightly reduced that number.

Units of Army Group Center captured the village in early July 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, some of the Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Slightly more than 200 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration appointed a village head and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from among local residents.

Soon after the occupation of Lipen', the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration of the Jews, who were made to wear yellow stars. They were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. In August 1941, all the Jews in the village were moved into a ghetto consisting of several houses.

Descriptions of the ghetto by two Jewish survivors present certain inconsistencies. According to Vladimir Kasperskii, the ghetto was on one street that ran from the club to the river. It was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police.[1] Sarra Kossperskaia, on the other hand, who was married to a Russian with whom she continued to live, maintains that the whole village was a ghetto and that it was not fenced in. She states that there was no heat, little food, and no ration cards. There were also a few Jewish refugees in the ghetto from places farther to the west. Local policemen entered the ghetto and robbed the Jews.[2]

The ghetto in Lipen' existed for about two months. German forces liquidated the ghetto in October 1941 by shooting all the Jews, a total of more than 200 people. Some Jews tried to hide at the time of the roundup, but most were uncovered with the help of the local police. The Jews were shot close to the Svisloch' River.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Lipen' during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 734; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 304; "Lipen'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Lipen' can be found in these archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; RTKIDNI (69-9-14); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24); and VHF (# 32020 and 44150).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 32020, testimony of Vladimir Kasperskii.
2. Ibid., # 44150, testimony of Sarra Kossperskaia.

LIUBAN'

Pre-1941: Liuban', town and raion center, Liuban' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljuban, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liuban', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liuban' is situated 152 kilometers (94 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 1,077. In addition, 214 Jews lived in the villages of the Liuban' raion.

Liuban' was occupied by units of the German army on July 8, 1941. On August 2, 1941, an unknown German military unit arrived in Liuban' and gathered the adult males of the town in the courtyard of the kolkhoz. The Germans then selected all the Jews, some 150 to 200 men, loaded them onto trucks, and drove them off in the direction of the village of Kostuki. Later that day, it became known that the Germans had shot the men in gravel pits between Kostuki and Dubniki, about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Liuban'. Among those murdered were Giler Retschin, Alter Levin, and Aron Kustanovich. Following this first Aktion, many of the remaining Jewish men went into hiding.[1]

The head of the local police in Liuban' was Aleksandr Gidronovich. The Germans shot him in 1943, apparently for aiding the Soviet partisans.[2]

At the beginning of September 1941, the German authorities concentrated the Jews of Liuban' and the surrounding area into a ghetto on the west side of town. The ghetto was in a separate quarter behind the market square around Pervomaiskaia

Street and was surrounded by barbed wire. About 1,000 people were confined within the ghetto. Each house contained three or four families. German soldiers from the Ortskommandantur and local policemen guarded the ghetto.[3] On German orders, all inhabitants of the ghetto had to wear a yellow star on the front and back of their clothing. Jews could not leave the ghetto without an escort, not even to buy food. Every day the Germans forced adult Jews to work cleaning the streets, repairing roads, digging military defenses, and performing other tasks. The German authorities also spread virulent propaganda against the Jews.

In the fall of 1941, German forces repeatedly entered the ghetto to conduct pogroms, beating Jews without reason and stealing their property. Germans from the local commandant's office demanded "contributions" in gold from the Jewish elder, Boris Molina, threatening to shoot the Jews if their demands were not met. On several occasions, gold was collected and handed in to the commandant's office. The Germans also arrested and shot some non-Jewish Soviet activists, as reported by a certain Mayevski, who was only wounded and managed to escape.[4]

On November 8, 1941, after an attack on Liuban' by Soviet partisans during the night of November 6–7 (in honor of the day of the October Revolution), the German garrison, reinforced by German troops from Urech'e, together with the local police arrested up to 50 Jewish men and shot them the same day. Among the innocent people murdered in this reprisal Aktion were Josef Levin, Samuel Gurevich, David Epstein, and Hayim Lvovitsh.[5]

Fanya Lvovitsh described the desperate predicament of those who remained just prior to the liquidation of the ghetto: "Escaping from Liuban' was impossible. First, there was nowhere to run to. Jews had no safe haven. Second, for every Jew who escaped they murdered 100 others."[6]

At the beginning of December 1941, a German punitive unit consisting of more than 100 SS men arrived in Liuban'. It was rumored that they came from Glusk, where they had just killed all the Jews. For three days, together with soldiers of the commandant's office, they plundered the ghetto, beating the Jews and demanding their valuables. Then on December 4, 1941, the German forces surrounded the ghetto, together with the local police, and began to drive all the ghetto inmates out onto Pervomaiskaia Street.

Survivors of the massacre, Mot Kustanovich and part of his family, managed to hide in a bunker they had prepared. During the remainder of the day and the next two days, they heard shots from rifles and machine pistols, as well as victims pleading for their lives. More than 1,000 residents of the ghetto, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were murdered on December 4. Most were escorted out of town in a large column and were murdered near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS) on the edge of town. The graves were dug and filled in by local residents, who saw children's clothing strewn by the wayside on the road back to town. Over the following days Jews uncovered in hiding were either shot inside the ghetto or taken to the mill by the peat marsh on the west of town and murdered there. The Kustanovich family is known to have hidden successfully until the night of December 9–10, when they fled under cover of darkness to join the Soviet partisans.[7]

SOURCES The yizkor book for Slutsk, N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), contains some information regarding the Jewish community of Liuban', including a letter by Fanya [Lvovitsh] concerning the events of the Holocaust. Information regarding memorial sites in the town can be found in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 70.

Information on the destruction of the Jews of Liuban' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 56/75); and GARF (7021-87-5).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 28–31, statement of Mot S. Kustanovich on May 5, 1969, pp. 32–35, and statement of Nikolay Lagun on May 8, 1969. Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteha*, pp. 456–457, Fanya [Lvovitsh], "A letter from Lyuban" (translated from Yiddish by Paul Pascal), gives the figure of 200 for this first Aktion.
2. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–27, statement by Makar Suchan on April 29, 1969. Suchan served in the local police from the end of November 1941 to the summer of 1944.
3. On August 9, 1941, the Ortskommandantur in Liuban' was OK I/685 (BA-MA, RH/26/221-17), but especially during the initial German advance, the military commandant's offices changed location quite frequently.
4. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–44.
5. Ibid.; Fanya [Lvovitsh] ("A letter from Lyuban"), who lost her father in this Aktion, dates it on November 8.
6. Fanya [Lvovitsh], "A letter from Lyuban."
7. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–44.

MAR'INA GORKA

Pre-1941: Mar'ina Gorka, town and center, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Marjina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mar'ina Horka, center, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mar'ina Gorka is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 786 Jews living in Mar'ina Gorka.

Mar'ina Gorka was occupied by units of the German army at the beginning of July 1941. As the Red Army was retreating, local inhabitants killed 11 Soviet soldiers. Sometime in August 1941, about 70 or 80 inhabitants of Mar'ina Gorka (mostly Jewish men) were arrested and taken to the police courtyard where they were held captive and systematically abused for one week. The Germans cut off their beards, cut stars into their heads, forced them to crawl, and beat them with rifle butts, whips, and sticks. Among those held was a

Jew named Isaak Fried, who with the others was forced to eat grass and jump from a roof. After about a week, the captives were driven to the cemetery and shot.[1]

At the end of August or in early September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mar'ina Gorka in the area of Gorky Street, May 1 Street, and Soviet Street. Some 600 people were confined within the ghetto, mainly women, children, and the elderly. The local population was forbidden to enter the ghetto, and Jews were forbidden all contact with their former neighbors.[2]

In the second half of September 1941, Gendarmerie Wachtmeister Bruno Mittmann drove to Mar'ina Gorka from Minsk together with some 20 Gendarmes and 27 Schutzpolizei (Schupo) to carry out an Aktion against the local Jewish population. In charge of the Aktion was SS-Brigadeführer Carl Zenner, as well as Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla. The Aktion had been ordered personally by the newly appointed Generalkommissar in Weissruthenien, Wilhelm Kube.[3]

Early in the morning, the Germans and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and forced the Jews to assemble on Lenin Square. The people were beaten severely, and children cried and screamed; those who could not walk were dragged along by the others. The Jews were then loaded onto trucks and conveyed to the Blon' Collective Farm just north of Mar'ina Gorka. One woman, Goda Kogan, called out to a non-Jewish friend as she was driven away: "Live well! We won't see each other again!" Another Jewish woman sprang from the moving truck into the river and was shot by the German guards.[4]

At Blon', the Jews were made to undress in a pigsty and then taken up the hill of Popova Gorka in groups of 10 to be shot with machine guns. The Jews from the nearby Pukhovichi ghetto were also escorted to Blon' on foot that day and were shot together with those from Mar'ina Gorka. Children were thrown into the grave and buried alive. According to one account, some women were raped before they were shot. The shootings lasted nearly all day. The Germans attempted to drown out the noise of the shooting by running tractor engines.

The Rayon mayor, Leonid Derban, was present at the killing site. Clothing and other valuables taken from the victims were loaded onto trucks and taken to Mar'ina Gorka. These items were subsequently sold at the communal shop or stolen by the police. Some 67 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were also taken to the killing site on trucks later in the day, and the Germans shot them in a separate mass grave next to the Jews.[5]

The German Einsatzgruppen report states that the Aktion against the Jews in Mar'ina Gorka "became necessary because the Jews were sabotaging all the instructions issued by the occupying authorities. The work assigned to them was done with great reluctance. Nine hundred and ninety-six Jewish men and women were given 'special treatment' in order to break this spirit of resistance."[6] Of these, probably some 500 came from the Mar'ina Gorka ghetto and the rest from nearby Pukhovichi. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report estimates 970 bodies in one grave and 67 in another nearby.[7]

Bruno Mittmann (born 1901) was tried in Minsk in 1946 for the murder of the Jews in Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi, among other crimes. The Soviet authorities sentenced him to death and hanged him.[8] Local policeman Nikifor L. Moshenok was convicted in 1946 for service in the German police. In his interrogations, he admitted guarding the Jews during their roundup and execution but denied having personally taken part in the shooting.[9] In the records examined for this entry, no mention of Jewish survivors could be found.

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Mar'ina Gorka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); GARF (7021-87-12); NARA; NARB; USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M, reel 12); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Olga Androsik, on March 25, 1968, and Sinaida Bartasevich, on December 18, 1945.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 132–133: Bruno Mittmann at the Minsk trial in January 1946 dated the Aktion on September 28, 1941; Dok. Bd. I, p. 120, Nina Sinoveyna, a local inhabitant of Mar'ina Gorka, dated it on September 24. The ChGK report of September 28, 1944 (USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 [GAMINO, 15-3-457]), gives the date of September 17, 1941; USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. The reason for this intervention by Kube may be related to a previous Einsatzgruppen report about the Jews of the Marina Borka [*sic*] district fleeing to the woods, joining with the partisans and plundering the area; see Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 87–94, statements of Sinaida Bartasevich and Valentina Cherepko in December 1945.
5. Ibid., Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny and Sinaida K. Bartasevich in September 1944.
6. USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.
7. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 (GAMINO), 15-3-457. The report includes a sketch of the grave site near Blon'.
8. Records from the Minsk trial can be found in USHMM, RG-06.025 (Selected Records of the FSB concerning war crimes investigations and trials in the Soviet Union).
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, p. 126, statement of Nikifor L. Moshenok, July 11, 1946.

MOGILEV

Pre-1941: Mogilev, city, raion, and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mogilew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mahiliou, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Mogilev is located about 200 kilometers (124 miles) east of Minsk. According to the census of 1939, Mogilev's 19,715 Jews made up 19.8 percent of the city's population.

The German invasion of the Soviet Union prompted the evacuation to the east of a considerable number of Jews and the conscription of part of the male Jewish population into the Red Army. The exact number of Jews remaining in Mogilev at the start of the occupation is not known.

Units of the Wehrmacht entered Mogilev on July 26, 1941. Occupied Mogilev was at first located in Panzer Group 2's zone of operations and then came under Rear Area, Army Group Center. Authority in the city was divided between the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/292 under Major Krantz) and the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 191 under Oberst Jatschwitz), with the former subordinated to the latter. Later, they were replaced by Ortskommandantur I/843 (1942–1943), Ortskommandantur I/906 (1943), and Feldkommandantur 813 (April 1942–1943).

In the very first days of the occupation, the Germans imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews in Mogilev, including a curfew, markings on their clothes, and forced labor. The creation of a Judenrat by the Nazis further isolated the Jews.

In early August 1941 the Germans registered the city's Jewish population, which, according to the witness testimony of N.G. Sorkin, documented 14,000 Jewish residents.[1] The Judenrat was forced to take an active part in implementing this measure. The occupiers then used this information to prepare the lists of persons for execution.

The Jews were divided into three categories. In the first group were those considered capable of heading up a resistance movement or becoming active participants in the anti-Fascist struggle. They were executed first, with 80 Jews being killed in August 1941 by Einsatzkommando 8 under Dr. Otto Bradfisch.[2] Among the victims were party workers Astrov and Khavkin and business manager Rozenberg.

The second category included the bulk of the Jewish population, which initially had been subjected to confinement in an isolated area. On August 13, 1941, a notice appeared, signed by the head of the city authority, Felitsin: "By order of the Herr Kommandant of the city of Mogilev, all persons of Jewish nationality, both genders, are to leave the city limits within 24 hours and relocate to the Ghetto zone. All persons failing to comply with the stated order in the stated period of time will be forcibly moved by the police and the property of those people will be confiscated."[3]



Jewish women carrying bundles walk towards an assembly point in Mogilev, 1941.
USHMM WS #68378, COURTESY OF GFH

Mogilev's Jews, or a great many of them, were herded into the ghetto on Grazhdanskaia Street in the Podnikol'e quarter. Jews from Kniazhitsy and the Vorotyn' area were also relocated here.[4] In September 1941, the ghetto was moved to the bank of the Dubrovenka River, with borders running from Bykhovskii Market to Vilenskaia Street (later Lazarenko Street). Mayor Felitsin selected the territory for the ghetto. A small number of Jews left Mogilev upon hearing of the relocation to the ghetto.

Bada Iudina went to Mstislavl', where she soon found herself among prisoners of the ghetto there. To save herself, she claimed to be a Belarussian woman and was sent to work in Germany.[5] A student from the Mogilev Pedagogical Institute, Inessa Parkhovnikova, set out for the village of Polykovichi, where she hid with a friend's family.

Confinement to the ghetto was accompanied by the killing of Jews as well. People were shot on the doorstep of their own homes. According to a German Security Police report, "[I]n Mogilev, the Jews also tried to sabotage their resettlement into the ghetto. One hundred and thirteen Jews were liquidated."[6]

Between 40 and 60 people were forced into each house in the ghetto on the Dubrovenka. Foodstuffs were not provided. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. The ghetto was a "closed ghetto" and was guarded by the Feldgendarmerie and Belorussian policemen. All those who were capable of work were sent to do hard physical labor. Young people were regularly beaten, while old men were mocked and their beards and mustaches were shorn. The shooting was almost continuous. Accused of impertinent behavior, 337 Jewish women were executed.[7] Two Jews were killed because they were not wearing the yellow patch. Another 2 were shot as alleged agents of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Three Jews were shot after being discovered with explosive material, and 4 for refusing to work. Eight Jews were accused of incitement and propaganda and then shot.

According to several sources, besides the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River, there were other places for concentrating Mogilev's Jews, which appeared in September–October 1941 somewhere on Vilenskaia Street and in an enclosed part of a field next to where the Hotel Mogilev stands today.[8] These should be classified as holding places for victims before execution. A longer period of confinement is connected with the Dimitrov Factory (Strommashina).

In October 1941, the occupiers carried out two Aktions aimed at the destruction of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River. The first mass killing took place on October 2 and 3, 1941. The executioners were from Einsatzkommando 8, Police Battalions 316 and 322, Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft

Battalion 51, and a police detachment called "Waldenburg." In all, 2,073 Jews were shot. The first 65 Jews were killed right in the ghetto on October 2. The remaining 2,008 people were first driven into the Dimitrov Factory and then shot on October 3, 1941, in the Mashekovskii Jewish cemetery.[9]

The second Aktion was carried out on October 19, 1941. Einsatzkommando 8, Police Battalion 316, and Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 51 all participated in the Aktion. This mass shooting, which claimed the lives of 3,726 Jews, took place predominantly in the villages of Kazimirovka and Novoe Pashkovo.[10] The annihilation of the ghetto inmates followed approximately the same scenario in both cases: "Fall of 1941. When it was already very cold, the Germans arrived in the ghetto in many vehicles, and began to force the Jews from their homes and load them onto the motor vehicles. Screams, noise, crying arose from the ghetto. Those who were not able to walk were shot on the spot. I saw this with my own eyes. All the vehicles were covered with a tarpaulin."[11] The exact date on which the 4,800 Jews reportedly murdered in Polykovichi took place remains unresolved.

In Mogilev, the Germans used "mobile gas chambers" or "gas vans" to kill some of their victims. This instrument of death looked like a large, black-colored enclosed truck. They killed people by feeding the vehicle's own exhaust fumes into the hermetically sealed chamber where the victims were held.[12]

After the liquidation of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River, remaining Jewish property there was plundered. The deserted homes were combed in the search for valuables, high-quality clothing, and household objects.

The destruction of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River marks the end of what is conventionally seen as the first phase in the history of the Holocaust in Mogilev. It should be noted that the second period is less clear and more problematic in terms of reconstructing the events. This second phase is connected to a large extent with the fate of the Jews relegated to the third category drawn up by the Nazis after the census. At issue here are the specialist workers and craftsmen whom the Nazis needed and therefore spared from liquidation until later. The saddlers, shoemakers, locksmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, tinsmiths, tanners, glaziers, and painters who were thus selected were confined on the premises of the Dimitrov Factory. At the end of September 1941, around 1,000 Jews were driven into the forced labor camp established there.[13]

At the beginning of its existence, the camp probably was filled only with Jews and was a kind of closed ghetto for hard labor, which also had its own 15-man Jewish police force. It was guarded externally by local police, and the Jews were forbidden to leave its premises. According to the testimony of L.M. Naimark, after the liquidation of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka, a considerable number of Jews were taken to the Dimitrov Factory and killed there.

Work for the camp's Jewish inmates consisted of hard physical tasks. These could have something or nothing at all to do with an inmate's vocation. The inhabitants of the forced labor camp were also fed poorly. Every Sunday, the Germans carried out a purge.[14] The corpses were buried in two pits, right where they were shot. A typhus epidemic also broke out as a result of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions.

According to Sorkin's testimony, the camp contained not only Jews. The ratio of Jews to non-Jews, however, has not been determined. After a visit by Heinrich Himmler on October 23, 1941, the camp was expanded. On the basis of witness testimony, it is estimated that the capacity of the camp was about 2,000 people, and during its existence between the fall of 1941 and the fall of 1943, up to 4,000 people probably passed through the camp, most of whom were killed.[15]

Sometimes contingents of Jews from elsewhere were sent to Mogilev. For example, approximately 400 Jews were brought to the camp from Słonim on May 26, 1942. Available testimony indicates that up to 4,000 Jews were liquidated in the camp in a single Aktion in 1942 (the exact date is not known).[16]

To cover up the evidence of their crimes, the Germans in the fall of 1943 exhumed their victims' remains from the mass graves in Polykovichi, Novoe Pashkovo, and Kazimirovka and burned them.

A small number of Jews survived. As for losses, the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) of October 8, 1944, gives an overall figure of 10,000 Jews murdered.[17] However, the aforementioned document says nothing of the shootings in the camp at the Dimitrov Factory. The total number of Jews who perished in Mogilev, therefore, may be as high as 14,000 people.

SOURCES One of the first attempts to describe the Holocaust in Mogilev was the essay by Ida Shenderovich, "Zabytoe getto," published in the collection *Historyia Mahiliou: Minulae i suchasnasts'* (Mogilev, 2003), pp. 92–101. Another key source of information is the detailed monograph by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), in which the author examines the murder of Mogilev's Jews, citing many archival collections. Other relevant publications include the following: Andrej Angrick et al., "'Da hätte man schon ein Tagebuch führen müssen.' Das Polizeibataillon 322 und die Judenmorde im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Mitte während des Sommers und Herbstes 1941," in Helge Grabitz et al., eds., *Die Normalität des Verbrechens. Festschrift für Wolfgang Scheffler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1994), pp. 32–85; *Pamiats': Mahiliou* (Minsk, 1998); Ida Markovich Shenderovich, *Martirolog: Spiski evreev, pogibshikh vo vremia vtoroi mirovoi voiny: Mogilev* (Mogilev: "Dzhoint," 2001); Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shul'man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk: Tonpik, 2004); and *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1044, pp. 284–286.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Mogilev during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L (e.g., B 162/3337); BA-MA (e.g., RH 26-286/10); BLH (video testimony of N.G. Sorkin); GAMO (260-1-15); GARF (7021-88-43); NARA; NARB (e.g.,

570-1-1 and 4683-3- 943); PAGV; PAIMSh; RGVA; USHMM (e.g., RG-53.006M, RG-48.004M, and RG-53.002M); VHAP; VHF (e.g., # 31372 and 43212); and YVA.

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BLH, video testimony of N.G. Sorkin.
2. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 3 (August 15–31, 1941), in Peter Klein et al., ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 159.
3. GAMO, 260-1-15, p. 14.
4. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 111, testimony of K.P. Bazylenko.
5. PAGV, testimony of B.G. Iudina.
6. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230.
7. Ibid.
8. Material in PAIMSh.
9. USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, KTB of Pol. Btn. 322, October 2–3, 1941, and report of 9. Company, Pol. Rgt. Mitte, October 15, 1941.
10. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941; and Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 7 (November 1–30, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 253.
11. TsAKGBRB, t. 1, gr. 7, op. 7, por. 4, arkh. no. 1277.
12. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 113, testimony of V.V. Kurochkin.
13. NARB, 570-1-1, p. 137 reverse; BA-MA, RH 26-286/10.
14. BLH, video testimony of N.G. Sorkin.
15. BA-L, B 162/3337 (202 AR-Z 52/59, vol. 4), p. 637.
16. Ibid., pp. 453, 634, 637, 641–642, as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 771–772.
17. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 120, ChGK report, October 8, 1944.

MSTISLAVL'

Pre-1941: Mstislavl', town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mstisslavl, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mstsislau, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mstislavl' is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) east-northeast of Mogilev. In 1939, 2,067 Jews lived in Mstislavl' (19.7 percent of the population).

Soon after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, refugees from western Belorussia began arriving in Mstislavl'. No organized evacuation from the town was undertaken. Young adult males were mobilized into the Red Army. Most women, the elderly, and children were unable to escape on foot, and it was difficult to get a place on the few available trains. Many families decided not to leave their property behind unprotected. On July 14, 1941, the Germans entered Mstislavl'.

During the battles, some Jewish homes were burned, and people had to move to other houses. Soon after their arrival, the German forces arrested Communist activists, officials of the local administration, and some Jews. A local police force was established under the command of police chief Kureshev. The local police assisted the German authorities in controlling the Jews: all Jewish houses were marked with six-pointed stars, and all Jews were registered. Every day the Jews had to report to the marketplace to be assigned to forced labor; those unable to work were beaten. Compulsory labor tasks included the cleaning of cesspools and lavatories.

Probably in September 1941, Egon Noack, commander of Vorauskommando Moskau of Einsatzgruppe B, arrived in Mstislavl'; after consulting with the mayor and the head of the local Russian police, he ordered the creation of a ghetto in the "Sloboda" section of town. All Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto, while local Belorussians were evacuated from this area. During this visit, the Security Police under Noack ordered the collection of fur coats from the Jews, and after the ghetto was established, the German Security Police shot about 30 male Jews.[1]

Some testimonies, however, indicate that there was no formal ghetto in Mstislavl' and that the Jews were taken from their own houses to be shot. Only the Jews from the collective farm in Kazemirovka were taken to town the day before the mass shooting and were held on Leninskaia Street, which used to be the "Jewish street" before the war. At the beginning of the occupation, some Jews from the western part of town had also moved there after their houses burned. Therefore, it appears that the area around Leninskaia Street, which came to be heavily populated by Jews, was some form of "open ghetto" and apparently was not enclosed.[2]

On October 14, 1941, a punitive unit commanded by Field Marshal Krause and consisting of Germans and some Ukrainians arrived in Mstislavl'. Krause ordered an Aktion against the Jews to be carried out the next morning. At 7:00 A.M., the Jews were driven from their homes, and 30 older men were transported to the Leshenskii ditch, where the Germans shot them, leaving the bodies unburied. Young women were forced into shops and sexually abused; if they tried to defend themselves, they were shot on the square. The rest of the Jews were gathered in the yard of the pedagogic school. Among them were also Jews from Zarech'e, on the opposite bank of the Vikhra. In early October, the Germans had announced through loudspeakers that the Jews of Zarech'e should prepare for resettlement to Palestine. On October 15, 1941, the Germans and local residents escorted the Jews of Zarech'e to Mstislavl' in columns.

At the school, the guards took the Jews into classrooms, forced them to undress, took their valuables, and sent them back half-dressed to the yard. Among the Jews, rumors soon spread about the killings. At 3:00 P.M., the Jews (at least 700 people) were separated into two columns, one for men and one for women.[3] Then the Germans and local policemen escorted them out of town.

The Germans and local policemen escorted the Jews to the west of Mstislavl' to the Kagalny Ravine between the Zamkovaia and Troitskaia hillocks (near the Inovskii sel'sovet, 2 kilometers [1.2 miles] from town). First they selected 50

Jews to dig the pits, then they killed them. Then the others were forced to undress completely and to lie down in the pits, where they were shot from behind in groups of 10.[4] Some witnesses claim that the local police conducted the shootings while the Germans guarded the site.

The schoolteacher Minkina begged to save the life of her six-year old son, whose father (Orlovski) was Russian. In reply, the Germans stabbed her child with a bayonet and threw him into the pit.[5] When the shooting was over, the local police checked the dead bodies, and recognizing that two women were still alive, they finished them off.[6]

The report of the Einsatzgruppen recorded that "900 Jews were executed in Mstislavl' as they had [allegedly] provided food, clothing, and shelter to partisans passing through the area."[7] Another source indicates that the Germans and their collaborators murdered some 700 citizens of Mstislavl' at the mass grave site, most of whom were Jews but including 35 Roma (Gypsies) and 168 Belorussians, shot there subsequently.[8]

Some Jews who had the opportunity to escape decided to die with their relatives. Rusya Zhits was hidden by her friend Nadezhda Lipitskaia, but when the shooting began, she gave herself up because she could not abandon her sick mother. Fanya Eselevich was not taken with the convoy because she was married to a Russian, and the Germans did not recognize her as being Jewish, but when she saw that her relatives, including her eight-month-old son, had been killed, she decided she had no reason to live.[9]

After the shootings, remaining Jewish property was looted. On December 18, 1941, Ortskommandantur I (V)/256 reported the transfer of jewelry and other valuables, which had been secured by the town administration as the property of Jews who had been "finished off" before the unit's arrival in Mstislavl'.[10]

Only a few Jews managed to escape the roundup on October 15. When the Germans and police came for the photographer Eselevich, he and his wife, with three daughters (Fania, Mina, and Khaia) and the grandchildren, were at home. Mina and Khaia managed to escape through the backyard of their neighbors Valentina and Ada Vasil'evy. The twin sisters Vasil'evy gave Mina and Khaya their birth certificates and smuggled them out of town at night. In the village of Kazimirovo, the Germans took the two refugee girls for Belorussians and sent them to Germany as forced laborers (Ostarbeiter). After the war, Mina lived in France, and Khaia returned to Belorussia.[11]

At the time of the mass shooting, Boris Mikhlin (13 years old) hid in the creek that led to the Vikhra River, and nobody found him. Liubov Basnoi was also rescued from the column of Jews.[12] A German looked at her and said: "You don't look like a Jew." She understood this as a sign and, without hesitating, escaped from the column and hid in the town. Ilya Josifovich Malkin lost his children in the massacre on October 15. He managed to escape on his own and joined the Soviet partisans. He survived until the liberation by the Red Army, swearing to avenge his family and bring Nazi criminals to justice. The partisan group "Kazankov" was established by Semen Leibovich Sheinin and Iakov Moiseevich Malkov, who escaped from the mass shootings at the very last moment.[13]

The town was liberated on September 29, 1943, by units of the 344th Rifle Division (Colonel Strakhov) and the 196th Tank Division (Lt. Colonel Dukhovny). No Jews were left in Mstislavl' on their arrival. The 49th Army conducted the first investigation into the murder of the Jews on October 4, 1943,[14] estimating that 1,300 people had been murdered, including children and adults. On November 1, 1943, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission found a concealed mass grave near Mstislavl'. In Kagal'nyi Rov, they discovered at least 20 pits full of bodies. After conducting a forensic examination and interviewing witnesses, they established the identities of about 650 people.[15]

SOURCES Witness testimonies and other information relating to the fate of the Jewish population of Mstislavl' under the German occupation can be found in the following publications: Vladimir Tsypin, *Evrei v Mstislavle* (Jerusalem, 2006); Y. Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Moscow: Tekst, 1993), pp. 274–275; F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetelśtva Krasnoy Armii* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Biblioteka Kholokosta, 1996), pp. 22–23; David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednye svidetely* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 243–244; and *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2002, and June 20, 2003.

Documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Mstislavl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/14); BA-L; GARF (7021-88-45 and 8114-1-966); NARB; SAPAMO; Sta. Kiel (2 JS 762/63); TsGAMORF; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. See Sta. Kiel, investigation of Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 4, p. 152, statement of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and vol. 1, pp. 48–49, statement of Klingelhöfer on July 1, 1947.
2. Vladimir Tsypin, *Evrei v Mstislavle* (Jerusalem, 2006), p. 199.
3. Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, pp. 274–275.
4. YVA, M-40/MAP/81.
5. GARF, 8114-1-966, p. 282.
6. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, pp. 22–23.
7. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 7, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 252; see also BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.
8. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 264; Tsypin (*Evrei v Mstislavle*, p. 158), believes the figure of 900 victims is too low since other estimates of the number of victims in the ravine range from 1,400 to 2,000.
9. N.T. Lipitskaia, "Ya byla ochevidtsem massovogo rasstrela evreev," *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2002.
10. BA-BL, R 2104/14, pp. 512–514.

11. M. Khutortsova, "Nezabyvaemoe," *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2003.
12. L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 243–244.
13. PALS, letter from Vladimir Tsypin in Iavnee, July 2, 2004.
14. TsGAMORF, Fond 49th Army-9733-120, p. 47.
15. *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii. Mstislavl'skii raion* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 467–472.

NAPRASNOVKA

Pre-1941: Naprasnovka, village, Gorki raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Naprassnowka, Rayon Gorki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Naprasnavka, Horki raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Naprasnovka is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northnortheast of Mogilev. In 1930, the Jewish population was 248.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the village in July 1941. Evidence regarding the treatment of the Jews under German occupation is sparse, but in the view of the Belarusian historian Marat Botvinnik, a form of ghetto or concentration camp was probably created for the Jews in Naprasnovka at some date before the mass shooting in March 1942. Prior to the killing Aktion, the German occupying forces imposed a "contribution" in gold and valuables on the Jews and beat them severely. According to the interrogations conducted by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in December 1944, on March 22, 1942, German forces and local police killed 250 Jews, including many women, children, and elderly people. The victims were buried in eight pits in a wood 200 meters (219 yards) west of Naprasnovka.[1]

SOURCES Information on Naprasnovka can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 874; in Uladzimir M. Liushyts, *Ishlo u byassmertse Haradotskae Heta* (Orsha, 1995), pp. 7–8; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 297, 308.

Documentation on German crimes in Naprasnovka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-36, pp. 9–10); NARB (845-1-6, p. 55, and 861-1-9, p. 303); copies are also available at USHMM and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky and Martin Dean

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-88-36, pp. 9–10.

OBCHUGA

Pre-1941: Obchuga, town, Krupki raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obtschuga, Rayon Krupki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Abchuha, village Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Obchuga is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1923, there were 272 Jews, who mostly lived in the center of the town. Between the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the arrival of German forces in early July, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east.

Soon after the start of the German occupation, the German authorities imposed the wearing of a yellow Star of David on their clothes and an evening curfew on the Jewish population. The German military administration also ordered the recruitment of a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) and placed a man named Pogorelskii at its head. It is not clear exactly when the ghetto was established in Obchuga, but at some time before the summer of 1942 all the Jews were moved into 10 houses on Logovskaia Street. The area was enclosed by barbed wire, and the Germans placed a sign at the entrance of the ghetto that read: "Anyone entering will be shot; anyone bringing food will be shot."[1]

On May 5, 1942, Germans and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and shot most of the Jews (about 440 people). The few survivors of this Aktion were shot in June 1942.[2] Forces of the Red Army recaptured Obchuga from the Germans in June 1944. After the war, partly owing to the loss of its Jewish population, the Soviet authorities downgraded the town of Obchuga to the status of a village settlement.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Obchuga include the following: Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Listy istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 169–175; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 685; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 918. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229, implicate the head of the police in Borisov, David Egof, in the murder of the Jews of Obchuga, citing materials presented at his trial in 1947.

Additional documentation, including the statements of local witnesses, can be found in PAGV. There are statements by local witnesses from Obchuga in the records of the East German trial of Georg Frenzel conducted by Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) in 1970. Some relevant information may also be found in the trial record of David Egof in AUKGBRBMO.

Martin Dean
trans. Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Listy istorii*, pp. 169–171.
2. Ibid., pp. 172–173.

OBOL'

Pre-1941: Obol', *village*, *Shumilino raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obol*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Obal'*, *Shumilina raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Obol' is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Polotsk. On the eve of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Obol' had a Jewish population of several dozen people.

German armed forces captured the village on July 8, 1941, about three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. About 10 or 15 Jews remained in the village at the onset of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration created a village authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents.

Soon after the occupation of Obol', the Ortskommandantur ordered the village authority to conduct the registration and marking of the Jews and required them to perform forced labor. In the fall of 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were placed in a ghetto, for which one small house was allocated. The ghetto was in existence for about seven months; during that time, several Jews died. On June 2, 1942, the Germans and local police liquidated the ghetto, shooting all six of its Jewish inmates at the cemetery.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Obol' during the Holocaust include the following: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 186, 196; and "Obol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obol' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-12); and GAVO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

OBOL'TSY

Pre-1941: Obol'tsy, *village*, *Tolochin raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obolzy*, *Rayon Tolotschin*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Abol'tsy*, *Talachyn raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Obol'tsy is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) west-northwest of Orsha. In 1923 the Jewish population was 353 out of a total of 382 residents.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village in early July 1941. The Germans established a ghetto there on August 14. About 150 people (25 families) were moved into two single-story buildings of a school.[1] The ghetto was guarded by the local police; the chief of the guard unit was Pavel Kuntsevich.[2] The inmates wore armbands with a yellow star; forced labor was imposed. Boris Etin became the Jewish elder.

According to survivors' accounts, Jewish youth from Obol'tsy collected arms abandoned by the retreating Soviet forces. On March 5, 1942, news of the murder of the Jews in Smoliany, Orsha raion, reached the ghetto. The survivor Anna Iofik recollects: "The decision to flee came immediately. We waited until midnight. Then some 60 Jews, headed by Semion Iakovlevich Iofik [the pre-war chairman of a Jewish kolkhoz in Obol'tsy], escaped from the school and suggested to the local policeman Linich that he let us go, and when we had reached the forest, he should shoot over our heads. Otherwise, Semion Iakovlevich said, we will use our weapons against you. Iakov Iofik and Aron Levin had rifles."[3] Leonid Kogan, 16 years old, even succeeded in getting his 4-year-old sister Raisa out of the ghetto.

The number of 60 escapees, as well as certain other details of these accounts, may be an exaggeration, but the fact is that a number of young Jews from Obol'tsy later fought in Soviet partisan units, including the Zaslonov brigade.

The ghetto was liquidated on June 4, 1942; the Aktion began at 5:00 or 6:00 A.M. The remaining approximately 100 Jews of Obol'tsy were shot in a pit close to the site of the ghetto.[4] The list of victims compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) contains 37 names.[5]

SOURCES Publications regarding the ghetto in Obol'tsy include the books by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 126–128; and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 27–29. The ghetto is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 165.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obol'tsy can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-14, pp. 28–29); RTKIDNI (69-1-1067); and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-14, pp. 28–29; Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 27–29.
2. RTKIDNI, 69-1-1067, testimony of the partisan Sonia Amburg.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 127.
4. RTKIDNI, 69-1-1067, Sonia Amburg.
5. GARF, 7021-84-14.

ORSHA

Pre-1941: Orsha, *city and raion center*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Orscha*, *Rayon center*, *Rear Area*, *Army*

Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Orsha, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

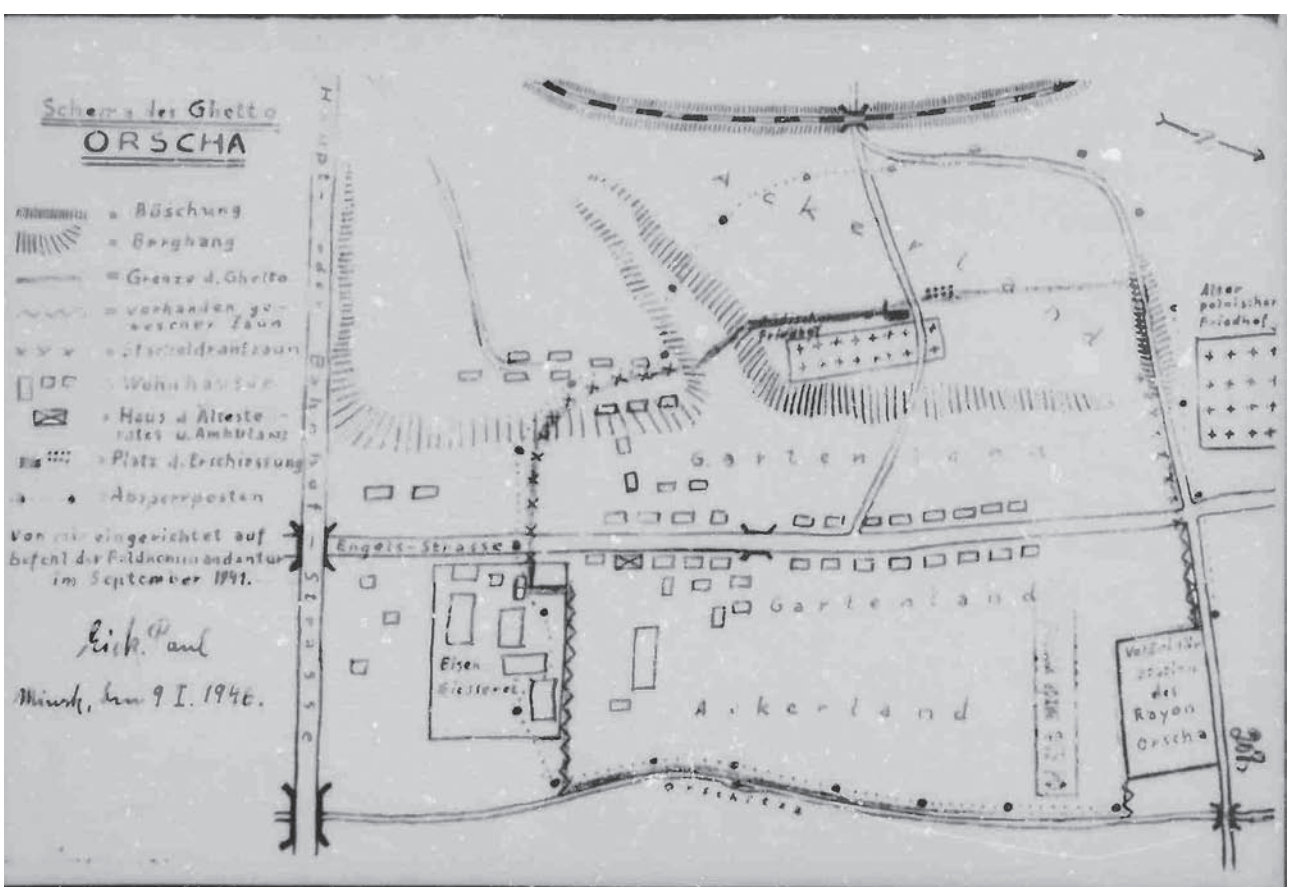
Orsha is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) south-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, 7,992 Jews lived in the city of Orsha (21.3 percent of the total), and 589 Jews (3.6 percent of the total) lived in the neighboring district of Orshanskii zheleznodorozhnyi poselok (Orsha Railway Settlement, in the census of 1939 referred to as Orshanskii zh.d.). After 1938, in the Orsha raion, there were also the towns of Kopys', Orekhi-Vydritsa (now Orekhovsk, 123 Jews, or 3.35 percent of the total population in 1939); and Baran'. The rest of the Jewish population of the Orsha raion (excluding the towns of Orsha, Baran', and Kopys') included 627 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Smoliany (950 Jews lived here in 1926) and Osintorf. After the war, the borders of the Orsha raion were changed, and Osintorf was included in the Dubrovno raion. (See also **Baran'**; **Dubrovno**; **Kopys'**; and **Smoliany**.)

Before World War II, Orsha was one of the most important railway junctions in the western part of the Soviet Union. The Germans bombed Orsha on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941, and a further heavy bombing raid followed on the night of June 24–25, when the city center was severely damaged. This event impelled many Jews to leave Orsha, which, with its railway tracks, depots, and industrial plants, seemed to be a dangerous place.

Orsha was captured by units of the German 2nd Panzer Group in the course of the Smolensk operation between July 10 and July 20, after heavy fighting.

Ortskommandantur I/906 was initially responsible for Orsha's administration. From August 1941 onward, Orsha was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The area was in the realm of the 286th Security Division, with its headquarters based in Orsha. The city was under the control of Feldkommandantur 683, and of Ortskommandantur I/842, subordinated to it.

A key role in the genocide of Orsha's Jews was played by the commandant of Ortskommandantur I/842, Baron von Ascheberg, and his deputy, Paul Karl Eick, who appeared in the city at the end of July. Eick was attached to the Ortskommandantur as an officer for special tasks and was subordinated directly to the 286th Security Division. Before his arrival, the Ortskommandantur had registered the Jewish population and ordered the Jews to wear a black armband with a yellow star on it. Some witnesses recollect that, apart from this, the Orsha Jews wore star-shaped patches on their backs. A witness at the Minsk trial in 1946 related that the "[Belo-]russian population was allowed to remain outdoors until 7:00 P.M, the Jews, until



Sketch map of the Orsha ghetto, January 9, 1946, prepared for the Minsk trial by Paul Eick, who in September 1941 built the ghetto "on the order of the Field Commandant's Office."
USHMM RG-06.025*03, MICROFICHE 13, FILES 514–517

6:00 P.M. Food was scarce, and when it was sold at the market, according to a commandant's order, two separate queues were formed: one for the [Belo]russian population and one for the Jewish population. Food products were allotted to the Jewish population only if something remained after the [Belo-]russian population had finished their purchases."[1] It is not clear whether the Judenrat in Orsha was formed before Eick's arrival or after it (witness accounts diverge on this point). The chairman of the Jewish Council was Kazhdan, a former bookkeeper. Only one survivor refers to a Jewish police force, which helped to guard the ghetto in Orsha.[2]

Upon his arrival, Eick imposed a "contribution" on the Jews, amounting to 150,000 rubles. According to Eick's testimony at the Minsk trial, the Jews were able to pay 125,000 rubles in valuables and cash, of which the cash was left for Orsha's city authority, and the valuables (silver and gold, according to the testimonies at the Minsk trial) were transferred to the Reichsbank in Berlin.[3] Forced labor was imposed on the Jews; it consisted mainly of clearing the city of the ruins left after the bombings.

In early September, Eick, following a decision made at a meeting in the office of the Ortskommandantur, established a ghetto. It consisted of 39 houses on Engels Street (also known previously as Gorodnianskaia),[4] where about 2,000 people were to be concentrated. The Jews were given three days to move into the ghetto. On one side, the ghetto was bordered by the Orshitsa River, and on the other sides it was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. The ghetto also bordered the Krasnyi Borets ("Red Fighter") Iron Foundry. The Jewish cemetery was included in the ghetto area.[5]

The ghetto inmates were crammed together under severely overcrowded conditions; in some houses, according to one survivor's account, they even divided rooms with planks horizontally, thus creating more space for sleeping.[6] The Germans provided inadequate food (a witness at the Minsk trial speaks of 10 to 15 grams (0.4 to 0.6 ounce) of flour and some potato per person per day). Typhus epidemics broke out in the ghetto.[7] According to witnesses, some younger Jews managed to leave the ghetto and exchanged various possessions for food with the local non-Jewish population. Despite the barbed-wire fence, ghetto inmates suffered from intrusions by people whom the witnesses at the Minsk trial called "German soldiers." Most probably they were locals, perhaps men of the local police. Whoever they were, the intruders robbed Jews of their belongings and sometimes raped women. Ghetto inmates tried to complain about this to Eick, but to no effect.

The first mass shooting of Jews in Orsha was carried out by Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Dr. Alfred Filbert) of Einsatzgruppe B, in August 1941. In this month, a group of Jews, 43 people, were killed.[8] A large mass shooting of Jews in Orsha took place in September 1941 when Einsatzkommando 8 (commanded by Dr. Otto Bradfisch) and part of Einsatzgruppe B, on its way to Mogilev, shot an unknown number of Jews of both genders.[9]

The liquidation of the Orsha ghetto was carried out by the forces of the local SD with the participation of the Ortskommandantur, primarily von Ascheberg and Eick. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), it took place on November 27, 1941. In the evening of November 26, the ghetto was surrounded by members of the Feldgendarmerie, commanded by Eick. The mass shooting began at 7:00 A.M. The Jews were brought from the ghetto in groups to the Jewish cemetery, where Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had dug pits. The victims were ordered to undress and made to lie down in the pits; then they were shot with automatic rifles. In this one-day Aktion, 1,873 people were murdered.[10]

In April 1942, several Jewish families, 53 people in total, were murdered. It is unclear whether these were "specialists" or Jews discovered in the countryside.

In September 1943, the Nazis attempted to erase the traces of the mass murder. Using a labor force of Soviet POWs, they exhumed and burned the bodies of those who had been killed in 1941–1942; the operation continued for five days. Nevertheless, in 1944 the ChGK was able to estimate that the total number of bodies buried in Orsha was 6,000 (not all of them were Jews).

The town of Orekhi-Vydritsa is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of Orsha. According to the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in December 1941, 7 Jewish men were brought to the nearby village of Briukhovo and killed there. The rest of the Jews, mainly women and children, were killed in April 1943. Estimates by witnesses of the number of Jews killed during the last Aktion range from 30 to 50. Such a late (for eastern Belorussia) killing of Jews appears unusual; it may actually have occurred in 1942. The list of victims prepared by the ChGK contains 14 names, 6 of which sound Russian, and suggesting, perhaps, that the victims may have been Jews passing as "Aryans."

Elsewhere in the Orsha raion, a Jew named Finkelshtein, who had worked as a driver in a local kolkhoz, and his two sons were killed in the village of Krashino (about 10 kilometers [6.2 miles] southeast of Orsha). Fourteen Jews were killed in the Krasnyi Bereg kolkhoz in a northern suburb of Orsha. Three Jews, the Vingrover family, were killed in the village of Mezhevo and nine in the village of Shemberevo (5 and 13 kilometers [3.1 and 8.1 miles] northwest of Orsha, respectively). A Jewish blacksmith was killed in the village of Ozerok (22 kilometers [13.7 miles] from Orsha along the Lepel' railway). A Jewish woman married to a Belorussian was killed in the Tuminichi sel'sovet (about 15 kilometers [9.3 miles] west-southwest of Orsha). A Jewish woman was killed in the village of Solov'e (5 kilometers [3.1 miles] northeast of Orsha).

SOURCES The events in Orsha are described in the trial of Nazi war criminals held in Minsk in January 1946; the proceedings of the trial were published as *Sudebnyi protsess po delu o zlodeianiiakh, sovershennykh nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami v Belorusskoi SSR (15–29 ianvaria 1946 goda)* (Minsk, 1947). With some precautions, the information found in this book can be useful. In the book by a local historian from Orsha, Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), considerable attention is devoted to the Holocaust in the city. There is also a short survivor testimony published in Rima Dulkiniene

and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 81–82.

Christian Gerlach concludes that there were one or two massacres perpetrated by Einsatzkommando 8 in Orsha, with 600 to 800 Jews killed in each of them; in one of the massacres, he suggests that as many as 3,000 Jews may have been killed. See Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 600.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews in the Orsha raion during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216); BA-MA (RH 26-221/17a, and 17b; and RH 26-286/3); GARF (7021-84-10); RGVA (500-1-770); USHMM (RG-06.025*03); and YVA (e.g., O-3/11082, O-3/4617, and O-3/4618).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 169, testimony of Gladkov.
2. YVA, O-3/11082, testimony of Zinaida Suvorov [*sic*]. Given the considerable age of the witness at the time (1999), it should be construed carefully.
3. USHMM, RG-06.025*03, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 13, files 514–517, interrogations of Paul Eick (born April 24, 1897) from December 1945.
4. The eyewitnesses at the Minsk trial mention only "20 to 25 houses" in the ghetto. However, 39 buildings can be counted on the ghetto sketch that Eick drew for the Minsk trial, including one long barrackslike building. See Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 66–69.
5. Ibid. Eick's sketch of the ghetto bears an explanatory legend, "Von mir eingerichtet auf Befehl der Feldkommandantur im September 1941," signed "Paul Eick."
6. YVA, O-3/11082, testimony of Zinaida Suvorov.
7. An eyewitness, Basia Pikman, wrote to Ilya Ehrenburg: "Twenty old Jewish carpenters . . . gathered at the home of Eli Gofshtein on Pushkin Street, poured kerosene on the house, and burned themselves alive." See Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 205. The story told by Pikman evokes doubts. The eyewitnesses at the Minsk trial in 1946 did not mention this extraordinary incident. Further, why was it that fire did not lead to a greater fire in the surrounding area? And what a dreadful method for a group suicide. Perhaps Pikman, who was not a local inhabitant (she had come to Orsha from Minsk), retold some gossip, which possibly distorted a real tragic event.
8. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 67, August 29, 1941. "In Orsha, 43 Jews were found, some of whom were actively spreading atrocity stories, while others acted as snipers. Among them there were two Party officials." Most probably, all were shot, although the report does not state this directly.
9. Neither the published protocols of the Minsk trial nor the documents of the ChGK in 1944 mention this mass shooting. The murder (or two murders) is (are) discussed in the trial of members of Einsatzkommando 8 held in Munich in 1961. The verdict estimates the number of those killed at 600 in one Aktion and 200 in the other; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), 17:677.
10. According to the eyewitness Skakun, a former official of the city authority (*uprava*), this was the number of food ration cards he was ordered to remove from the uprava's card file; see *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 168.

OSIPOVICHI

Pre-1941: Osipovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ossipowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Asipovichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Osipovichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,694 Jews living in Osipovichi (12.3 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on June 30, 1941, just over one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, the Germans bombed the town, and a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. Around 1,200 to 1,300 Jews remained in Osipovichi at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town, setting up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. Immediately after the town's occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the town administration to register and mark the entire Jewish population and imposed a program of forced labor on the Jews. At the end of July or at the start of August 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 carried out the first Aktion in the town. A group of Jews was shot as Soviet activists.[1]

In August or September 1941, a ghetto was created in the town.[2] It included the following streets from Rosa Luxemburg to Vera Khoruzhaia: Kommunisticheskaia, Chumakova, Oktiabr'skaia, Gorky, Raboche-Krest'ianskaia, Polevaia, Kalinin, and Serov; and these streets in their entirety: Karl Liebknecht, Krasnoarmeiskaia Sotsialisticheskaia, Revoliutsionnaia, Karl Marx, Promyshlennaia, and Protasevichskaia. Jews who lived in the northern part of town and in other places were resettled into this area, on Oktiabr'skaia and Promyshlennaia (now Golanta) Streets. Non-Jewish inhabitants were not evicted from their homes. The Jews living in the ghetto were still able to exchange possessions for food. A ration card system was introduced in the town, and a daily ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread was issued to each Jewish cardholder. On the left side of the chest and on the back, Jews were required to wear large circular yellow patches. They were forbidden to go to public places such as the markets and the movie theater; to teach children in schools; to greet and engage in conversation with the Belorussian population; to walk on sidewalks; to go outside the boundaries of the ghetto; and to gather on the streets in groups of more than three persons. For failure to comply with any of these restrictions, there was only one punishment: death by shooting. Every morning all able-bodied Jews over the age of 14, including most women (only those with

infants were exempted), were taken out of the ghetto to perform forced labor, tearing down ruined barracks and other buildings and working at the railroad station and other sites.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized in the ghetto. One of its three members was Afroim Khavkin, who before the war had been the chief accountant of the *voentorg* (military store). The members of the Judenrat were appointed by the German Ortskommandantur on the recommendation of the town's mayor, a man named Goranin. Before the war, Goranin had been a construction technician for Military Construction Administration no. 76 in Osipovichi. It is known that, as directed by the Ortskommandantur, the members of the Judenrat registered the Jewish population.[3]

On October 11, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in the town. A combined force of SS, Wehrmacht, and local police entered the ghetto and seized at least 300 Jewish men, women, and youths, all of working age. The Jews were brought to a barracks, where all their valuables were confiscated. Then they were shot by an execution squad made up of men from the 7th Company of the 339th Infantry Division, which was based in Osipovichi until November 1941.[4] The remaining women, children, and elderly were left in the ghetto. The ghetto was liquidated on February 5, 1942, when an SS detachment arrived and shot all the remaining Jews at the Jewish cemetery.[5]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Osipovichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yehuda Slutski, ed., *Bobruisk: Sefer zikaron le-kehilat*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Bobruisk in Israel and the USA, 1967); V. Zorin and G. Ershova, *Osipovichi: Istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk, 1972), p. 53; "Asipovichy," in *Pamiats': Belarus'. Respublikanskaia Kniha* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsyklapedyia, 1995), p. 391; V. Zaitseva and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin and Il'ia Al'tman, eds., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 946; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 311; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6:161.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Osipovichi can be found in the following archives: GAMO (852-1-1, p. 169); GARF (7021-82-5); NARB (845-1-60, p. 57); USHMM (RG-50.378*031); VHF (# 34546); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on the Aktions conducted at the end of July and in the first half of August 1941, in Johannes Hürter, "Auf dem Weg zur Militäropposition. Tresckow; Gersdorf, der Vernichtungskrieg und der Judenmord. Neue Dokumente über das Verhältnis der Heeresgruppe Mitte zur Einsatzgruppe B im Jahre 1941," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (2004): 560.

2. GAMO, 852-1-1, p. 169; NARB, 845-1-60, p. 57; "Asipovichy," in *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 391; and VHF, # 34546, testimony of Aleksandra Utevskaia (Otyevskaya).

3. Zaitseva and Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta"; and USHMM, RG-50.378*031, testimony of Aleksandra [Sara] Otyevskaya; as she was married to a non-Jewish man, Otyevskaya managed to avoid being registered.

4. Bezirksgericht Erfurt, verdict of December 13, 1962, against Werner Kurt Ha., in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die ostdeutschen Verfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 1072, pp. 243–245. In October 1941, OK (I) 304 was the Ortskommandantur in Osipovichi.

5. Zaitseva and Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta"; USHMM, RG-50.378*031.

OSTROVNO

Pre-1941: Ostrovno, village, Beshenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrowno, Rayon Beschenkowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Astrouna, Beshankovichy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ostrovno is located 20 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Beshenkovichi. In 1939, fewer than 300 Jews lived in the village of Ostrovno.

The XXXIX Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group captured Ostrovno in early July 1941. Before their arrival, about half of the Jewish population of the village managed to evacuate or flee to the east. From August 1941 onward, the village came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center.

On July 19, 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Ostrovno. The ghetto consisted of 10 wooden houses on one side of the main street; it was not fenced. On the day of the resettlement, a young Jew who refused to move into the ghetto was shot and killed. On September 30, 1941, the Jews of Ostrovno were killed for "hostile behavior and insubordination to orders." Einsatzgruppe B, which reported this, indicated having shot 169 people. Immediately after the mass shooting, the Germans organized the sale of Jewish belongings to local peasants for food.[1] According to a survivor, after the liquidation of the ghetto, the authorities organized a feast in the town: "People drank [liquor], ate, danced and kissed one another."[2] The same survivor stated that Jewish/non-Jewish relations deteriorated under the occupation; for example, a Belorussian family denounced a Jew who came to them and asked to be hidden. She herself narrowly escaped being denounced by a former kolkhoz chairman in a nearby village, to which she fled after the mass shooting in Ostrovno.

SOURCES The book of memoirs by Raisa Ryzhik, *Spasi i pomilui: Ocherk moei zhizni* (Vitebsk, 1997), deals with the ghetto in Ostrovno and its annihilation. The existence of a ghetto in

Ostrovno is mentioned also in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 952.

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1). Relevant German documentation is located in BA-BL (R 58/217). In YVA can be found the witness statements consulted (O-3/4615-18).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124; see also YVA O-3/4615, O-3/4617, O-3/4618.
2. Ryzhik, *Spasi i pomilui*.

OSVEIA

Pre-1941: Osveia, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Osweja, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Groups North, then Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord/Mitte); post-1991: Asveia, Verkhniadzvinsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Osveia is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Polotsk. In 1939, 350 Jews lived in the town, making up 15.1 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Osveia raion (without the town of Osveia) was fewer than 100 people.

The Osveia raion, including the town of Osveia, was taken over by the forces of Army Group North (not Army Group Center, like the rest of the Vitebsk region). On July 5, 1941, the Red Army abandoned all the area west of the Sarianka River. The forces of the II Army Corps of the 16th Army took over the area to the north of the Zapadnaia Dvina bend, including the town of Osveia, mainly on July 12, 1941.

From August until December 1941, the Osveia raion was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group North; it was within the area controlled by the 281st Security Division, stationed mainly in Latvia. At the beginning of December 1941, the raion was transferred to the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, and became part of the realm of the 403rd Security Division.

At the start of the occupation, the German authorities did not resettle the Jews into a ghetto. They introduced the wearing of yellow Magen Davids (Jewish Stars) and forced labor, initially making the Jews clear the debris that remained after the heavy bombing and conduct repair work on the roads.[1]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in February or March 1942 the Germans assembled the Jews of Osveia in a "camp" (ghetto), and five days later they shot them in pits that had been dug in a town park. According to one survivor, a Belorussian policeman whose mother worked at the Kommandantur warned him and some other Jews about the impending Aktion, and several young people succeeded in fleeing from the ghetto.[2]

The witnesses interrogated by the ChGK give the number of Jews killed as 650, which seems to be an exaggeration. A list of the victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 149 Jews.[3] The book *Pamiats': Verkhniadzvinski raion*, volume 1, gives a different number of Jews killed in the Osveia park: 459. A list of the victims of the Osveia ghetto given in the book contains 178 names, "assembled from all extant documents";[4] 25 of them share the surname of Gelfand.

Elsewhere in the raion, no fewer than 37 Jews, members of the Karl Marx kolkhoz, were killed in Kokhanovichi, 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Osveia (or 16 kilometers [10 miles] northeast of Drissa).[5]

SOURCES The ghetto in Osveia is mentioned in V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 99.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Osveia under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-92-218); and YVA (O-3/6907).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/6907.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-92-218.
4. *Pamiats': Verkhniadzvinski raion* (Minsk, 1999), 1:326.
5. GARF, 7021-92-218.

OZARICHI

Pre-1941: Ozarichi, town, Domanovichi raion, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Osaritschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Azarychy, Kalinkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ozarichi is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) west of Gomel'. The 1939 census indicated that 1,059 Jews lived in Ozarichi, or 46.9 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the settlement in the second half of August 1941. In the weeks following the German invasion on June 22, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Probably around one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Ozarichi at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire course of the occupation, a German military administration was in charge of the settlement. The local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) created a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In the summer and fall of 1941, the German military administration imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ozarichi. Jews were forced to wear yellow patches in the shape of a star, they were obliged to perform forced labor, and they were forbidden to trade or speak with non-Jews.

By October 1941, the German authorities had established a ghetto on a part of one street in Ozarichi, which (according

to historian Marat Botvinnik) was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews in the ghetto were unable to buy food and suffered from hunger. Belorussians sometimes came at night and brought food, such as potatoes or bread, for the Jews. Some Jews from other places were also incarcerated in the Ozarichi ghetto. Forced labor included cleaning the Germans' vehicles; if they were not spotless, some of the workers might be shot immediately. Some children from the ghetto were taken to a nearby hospital in order to give blood for use, presumably, by the German army. Jews in the ghetto tried to help each other as best they could, and some of those who died were buried secretly according to Jewish ritual.[1]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews suffered from the cold. By this time, Jews were aware of the mass shootings in other places, and some planned to escape. Jewish survivors recall that the local policemen were brutal, robbing them and beating anyone who tried to escape. The cruelest policeman was known as Senka. "He was ready to kill anybody for moonshine and tried to gain as much favor with the Germans as he could."[2] In February 1942, Abram Volfson and his sister fled the ghetto, encouraged by a resistance fighter named Taras, who came periodically to the ghetto. Efim Golod, who was nearly blown up by a mine when collecting weapons for the local police, managed to escape by running away as he was being escorted to the site of the mass shooting in March 1942.[3]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on March 3, 1942, when all the Jewish inmates were shot near the Jewish cemetery.[4] The shooting was apparently carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8. The precise number of Jewish victims is unknown, but it was probably several hundred. Based on the list of names prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), at least 263 people were murdered.[5] In February 1942, there were also shootings of Jews in nearby villages. In the village of Davydovka, 74 Jews were shot, and 12 Jews were shot in the village of Semenovichi.[6] Another source indicates that some Jews from Ozarichi were among 133 Jews murdered in Karpilovka in late March or early April 1942 by members of Infantry Regiment 727, following an antipartisan sweep through the region.[7]

Estimates of the number of Jewish victims in Ozarichi may have been complicated by the existence of three Wehrmacht internment camps for evacuated civilians there in March 1944, in which the appalling conditions resulted in the rapid deaths of several thousand people, including many women and children.

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Ozarichi can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 258–261; V. Smoliar, "Zhizn' i smert' Beni Matiuka," *Mishpokha* (Minsk), no. 2 (1996): 79–80; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 958; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 220.

On the Wehrmacht camp established in 1944, see, for example, Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), pp. 247–257; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 111.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 26-707/5); GARF (7021-91-12); NARA; USHMM; and VHF (# 312 and 51237).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 312, testimony of Abram Volfson, and # 51237, testimony of Efim Golod.
2. "Efim Golod, Ozarichi Ghetto Prisoner," in Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 258–261.
3. VHF, # 312 and 51237.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 261; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, dates the ghetto liquidation in February 1942. At the end of October 1943, the corpses were burned. This source gives the figure of 6,000 Jews in the ghetto, which is clearly too high.
5. GARF, 7021-91-12, pp. 98–100.
6. Ibid., pp. 32–33 and reverse side.
7. BA-MA, RH 26-707/5.

PARICHI

Pre-1941: Parichi, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Paritschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Parychy, Svetlahorsk raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Parichi is located 115 kilometers (72 miles) west-northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 1,881 Jews out of 3,736 inhabitants of Parichi (50.4 percent of the total) and another 1,750 Jews (3.29 percent of the rural population) living in the villages of the Parichi raion.

There was no organized evacuation from Parichi after the German invasion began on June 22, 1941. Attempting to leave the town on foot was a hazardous choice in view of the rapidly advancing German forces and the danger of punishment by the Soviet authorities. The only other option was to get a ride aboard a barge on the Berezina River, which would then proceed slowly down the Dnieper River towards Ukraine. Older people recalled the relatively good behavior of the Germans in 1918. Relying on this assessment, many people stayed in Parichi to protect their homes and property. It is estimated that more than half of the Jewish population remained in Parichi at the start of the German occupation.[1]

By June 30, 1941, German tanks had forced their way across the Berezina to the north, and on July 5 they entered

Parichi for the first time. Initially, the German forces were thrown back by Soviet resistance on July 11, but on July 21 the Germans occupied the town. Resistance within the Parichi raion continued a few days longer; the 4th Soviet Army abandoned the line of the Berezina only on August 13, 1941.

By mid-August, the Parichi raion was completely occupied by German forces. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) assumed control over the local administration (in the fall of 1941, it was OK I(V)324). Parichi lay within the jurisdiction of the 203rd Security Division based in Bobruisk. Military commandant's offices were also established in the villages of Shatilki and Chernin. Officials of the Ortskommandantur in Parichi put those arrested into a local school building as a makeshift prison, and they requisitioned bread and other agricultural products for the German army.[2]

The mayor, Nekrashevich, was in charge of the local administration. The administration had separate departments for political affairs, agriculture, finance, commerce, industry, road construction and transportation, medicine, and veterinary matters. Yakov Mishutin headed the general administration in Parichi, while also taking charge of the department of commerce. The sel'sovets were transformed into military districts and governed by local village headmen (starshiny). Each headman had at his disposal a clerk and a police detachment of between 20 and 50 men. Village elders (starosty) were appointed in the villages, each with 2 to 5 policemen for assistance. Nekrashevich himself organized the police in Parichi, and in August 1941, there were 15 people who signed up as the first volunteers. Ivan Krik, a former accountant, became the chief of police. The policemen helped the Feldgendarmerie of the German army in searches for former Soviet activists, party workers, and members of the combat battalion. They also conducted the registration of the Jewish population.[3]

Among the policemen, there were former neighbors, acquaintances, and relatives of the Jews. These people did not always help the victims. Before he joined the police squad, for example, Ivan Ments killed his Jewish wife, Fridl Nisman, and their two children. Then there was the Jewish teacher Masha Papernaia and two of her children, who hid with relatives in the nearby village of Davydovka. She was denounced to the Germans by her own mother-in-law.[4]

Until September 1941, the Jews lived in their own homes and were required to perform labor, but there were no large-scale killings. According to the report of the investigative commission of the Red Army, "in order to separate the Jews from the rest of the population the Germans made them wear a six-pointed Star [of David]." At the end of September 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews to be resettled on Bobruiskaia Street, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by local policemen. Estimates of the number of Jews confined within the ghetto range from 1,100 to 1,500.[5]

Jews were taken out each day for forced labor, and when there was no work to be done, the authorities made them move sand around on the bank of the Berezina River. The Germans did not feed the Jews, and according to survivor accounts, famine was an even greater torment than fear, because one could never get used to starvation. People dreamed of being able to eat. The most valuable products were flour and fat. There were no livestock, poultry, and other domesticated animals in the ghetto. No one ate meat or fruit; occasionally there were some carrots, potatoes, or cabbages, which enabled the ghetto prisoners to cook vegetable soup. Bones were warmed up after they had been salvaged from the trash in the German mess hall, and Jews extracted any fat they could find to prepare a jellied broth, which they ate or used for barter.[6]

According to a report by Ortskommandantur I(V)324: "on October 18, 1941, a security command of the SD in Bobruisk appeared in Parichi and liquidated the Jews living here."[7] The German security forces appeared in the streets, armed with rifles and whips and accompanied by the local police. They rounded up all the Jews in the ghetto and assembled them under close guard at the former hotel, where the Ortskommandantur was based. The chief of the local police Krik directed his men to "fish out" the Jews.[8]

The prisoners were then loaded onto trucks and transported in groups to the vicinity of Bol'shaia Luzha, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Parichi between the villages of Vysokii Polk and Belitsa. Some of the Jewish men were ordered to dig a ditch. When they had finished, they had to undress and climb down into the mass grave, where they were shot. After them came a line of women, children, and the elderly. At first, the murderers lined the people up in rows in the ditch and shot them using automatic fire. Then they put them on the ground and shot them, finishing off the wounded with shovels. The mass shooting began at 7:00 A.M. and continued until the evening. The report of Einsatzgruppe B stated that a "special Aktion" was conducted against the Jews of Parichi, as they displayed a hostile attitude towards the Germans and had close links to the partisans. In the course of the Aktion, 1,013 male and female Jews were shot.[9]

The Germans spared the boot maker M.V. Kaplan and his family from the mass shooting, as he was a master craftsman. He spoke fluent German and thus also functioned as a translator. The Germans shot him and his family in 1943. All the belongings of the Jews were confiscated. The Feldgendarmerie and officials from the Ortskommandantur searched the empty houses of the Jews and collected some 7,000 rubles in cash and more than 18,000 rubles in bonds, which were to be forwarded on to the Reich Treasury War Booty Office in Berlin.[10] The department of commerce in the Parichi town administration assumed responsibility for the distribution of less valuable materials such as clothes, which were sold for the benefit of the Rayon Paritschi administration.[11]

In February and March 1942, the 40 men of the punitive detachment shot Jews in the various settlements of Rayon Paritschi, principally: in Kovchitsy (318 people), Shatilki (351 people), Pechishche (82 people), and Davydovtsy (129 people). The remaining possessions of these Jews were also looted.[12]

In March 1944, the Germans attempted to cover up the crimes. They ordered the exhumation of the corpses, then poured tar and flammable material on them and burned them in bonfires.[13]

Only a handful of Parichi's Jews were able to survive the German occupation. On October 18, 1941, as the Jews were being transported to the killing site, the neighboring Belorussians began shouting that 12-year-old Boris Gorelik was Russian, because his father was married to a non-Jewish woman. Availing herself of the opportunity, Musia Papernaia, the grandmother of Boris, snatched her grandson from the line. He then ran into the forest.[14]

Also on that day, 11-year-old Emma Igol'nikova and her mother could find no room in an overcrowded truck. The policemen ordered them to wait for the next convoy. The mother helped her daughter climb over a fence. At that moment, a submachine gun round was fired, killing the mother. Emma ran away and hid in the village with friends of her parents until January 1942. Then she encountered partisans who were foraging, and she joined the partisan detachment.[15] In the Parichi raion, two families—those of N. Gaishun from the village of Kovchitsy and Mariia Chaplinskaia from Parichi—have been recognized by Yad Vashem for saving Jews.

Elka Steinbuk ended up in the last line of prisoners being taken to their deaths. At the pits, she was only lightly wounded in the arm and pretended to be dead. When the executioners left, she escaped from under the corpses and made her way to the hamlet of Sakirits. Then she lived with the peasants, passing as an "Aryan" until eventually she was denounced.[16]

The Soviet army liberated Parichi on June 26, 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) determined in April 1945 that during the occupation of Parichi and the Parichi raion (which included the towns Kopchitsy, Shatilki, Shchedrin, and Pechishche and the villages Krupki, Ala, Shupeika, and Malmony), there were 3,271 people murdered, including 1,728 women and 862 children.[17] In the ChGK documents, the nationality of the victims was not specified.

SOURCES Information and testimonies can be found in the following published sources: *Pamiat': Svetlogorskii raion—Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika* (Minsk, 2000); *Not to Be Forgotten: Eye-witness Accounts of the Holocaust from Melbourne Residents* (Melbourne: Association of Former Inmates of Nazi Concentration Camps and Ghettoes from the former Soviet Union, 2003); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Righteous Gentiles, the Partisans and Jewish Survival in Belorussia, 1941–1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11:3 (Winter 1997): 309; and David Meltser and Vladimir Levin eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996). There is also a "letter from Paritsh" to be found in the Bobruisk yizkor book, edited by Yehudah Slutski, *Bobroysk: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Bobroysk u-venoteha* (Tel Aviv: Tarbut vehinukh, 1967), pp. 804–805.

Documentation on the extermination of Parichi's Jews under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 10503 of the accused Y.F. Mishutin); BA-BL (R 2104/25); GAGOMO (1809-4-6); NARB (4-29-113 and 845-1-60); TsAKGBRB (statement of A. Dolgitskii, April 10, 1945); TsGAMORF (233-2374-58); USHMM; and YVA (M-33/1151).

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NOTES

1. *Not to Be Forgotten*, p. 106.

2. NARB, 4-29-113, pp. 758, 797, 801–802, 808; GAGOMO, 1809-4-6.

3. Statement of Aleksandr Dolgitskii (born 1898), April 10, 1945, in TsAKGBRB.

4. When the husband of Masha Papernaia returned from the front and realized what had happened, he killed his mother. The NKVD arrested Ivan Mikhailovich Ments on June 30, 1944; see TsGAMORF, 32-11302-244, p. 64 (copies of these documents can be found in USHMM, RG-22.008).

5. TsGAMORF, 233-2374-58, pp. 58–59, 172–174, and 32-11302-244, pp. 61–72, reports of the Red Army investigation into crimes committed by the Nazi German occupying forces in Parichi, June 28, 1944. See also information from files located in TsAKGBRB examined by Leonid Smilovitsky; one source dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of October 1941.

6. Statements of the accused Yakov Frantsevich Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, pp. 9–14, 39.

7. BA-BL, R 2104/25, report of OK I(V)324 in Parichi, n.d.

8. YVA, M-33/1151, pp. 94–95; Slutski, *Bobroysk*, pp. 804–805.

9. USHMM, RG-30, Acc. 1999.A.0196, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941. Figures in the various ChGK reports vary. USHMM, RG-06.025*04 (FSB collection from Moscow), Military Tribunal Bobruisk, Case N-19095 against Alexander Edmund Conrady, vol. 3, box 43, 694 report for the town of Parichi, 1945, gives the figure of 872 victims of the Aktion on October 18. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 33, gives the figure of more than 1,700 victims in October 1941. See also statement of the accused Y.F. Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, pp. 9–14.

10. BA-BL, R 2104/25.

11. Statement of accused Y.F. Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, p. 39.

12. YVA, M-33/1151, p. 87.

13. NARB, 861-1-12, pp. 157–158; TsGAMORF, 32-11302-244, p. 62.

14. Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 247.

15. *Not to Be Forgotten*, p. 107.

16. Slutski, *Bobroysk*, pp. 804–805. According to the yizkor book, the woman was subsequently denounced and killed by the Germans. A similar story concerning a person named "Steinbuk" is mentioned also in the various ChGK reports. See NARB, 845-1-60, p. 33; and TsGAMORF, 233-2374-58, pp. 58–59.

17. From the ChGK SSR report on the victims of the German-Fascist aggressors in Parichi, April 10, 1945, YVA, M-33/1151, pp. 83–85.

POLOTSK

Pre-1941: Polotsk, city and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Polozk, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Polatsk, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Polotsk is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) west-northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 6,464 Jews lived in the city (21.9 percent of the total). The Jewish population of the Polotsk raion (without the city of Polotsk) consisted of 621 people, who lived in the nearby "military settlement" Borovukha 1-ia (the First), in the village of Trudy, and in some other places. (See also **Borovukha 1-ia** and **Trudy**.)

After July 15, 1941, Polotsk and its raion found themselves in the Rear Area, 9th Army, administered by Ortskommandantur 930. Later in the summer of 1941, Polotsk came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Ortskommandantur 262 and, from the end of 1941, Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division were both based in the city. In July 1942, Feldkommandantur 815 was transferred to Vitebsk, and Polotsk became the site of the 201st Security Division's headquarters. There were Ortskommandanturen also in Dretun and Trudy.

The mayor of Polotsk was Kichko, and later Dmitrii Petrovskii; his deputy in charge of Rayon Polozk was Bubnov. The chief of police was Albert M. Abukhovich (or Obukhovich). The Belorussian police numbered 50 men, all of them volunteers. Numerous local policemen actively participated in the mass murder of Jews, among them Shastitko, N. Oguretskii, Avlasenko, V. Pravilo, and others.

Abram Sherman, a former carpenter, was appointed Jewish elder (starosta) in the city of Polotsk; the deputy elder, according to witnesses, was Apkin, a former bicycle repair mechanic. Sherman's main function was assigning ghetto inmates to forced labor; some witnesses describe him as a brutal man who punished those guilty of any "violation" with a lashing.

With the occupation came registration, markings, forced labor, and the killing of some Jews whom the Germans accused of being Communists.

The first ghetto was established on the initiative of the local Ortskommandantur in early August 1941. It was situated in the city center, not far from the railway station, and had a total area of some 135,000 square meters (161,459 square yards). The ghetto extended from Kommunisticheskaia Street in the south to Internatsional'naia Street (formerly Evreiskaia; the street does not exist now) in the north, and from Sakko i Vantsetti Street in the west to Gogolevskaia in the east, thus enclosing 13 blocks of buildings, although some of the houses were wrecked. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire but not guarded. Ten families lived in each house. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. The entrance to the ghetto was from Gogolevskaia Street, where there was a sign saying "Ghetto." Non-Jews from this area were resettled in former Jewish apartments. During the resettlement of the Jews to the ghetto, the Nazis confiscated valuables and other belongings; many Jews were beaten in the process.

In the middle of August, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Dr. Alfred Filbert) was sent to Polotsk,[1] and this unit carried out an Aktion. The victims were Jewish men (maybe also some women). According to a survivor, removing the men from the city did not greatly frighten the rest of the ghetto population; those who stayed in the ghetto believed the Germans' story that the men had been taken for forced labor: harvesting or something else. The number of victims and the date of the first Aktion remain unclear.[2]

Witnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention some Jews killed in the fall of 1941 on the outskirts of Polotsk. One witness mentions a killing of 22 to 25 Jews who lived in Zapolot'e (northwest of the city center, across the Polota River); other witnesses mention "around 25 Jews" killed, who lived on Lepel'skaia and Krasnoznamennaia Streets (south of the city center, on the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River). It is not clear whether these Jews were killed within the framework of the Aktion carried out in August or in a separate Aktion.

In mid-September the ghetto was transferred to a former brick factory in Lozovka (now a northern suburb of Polotsk).[3] This resettlement was accompanied by the confiscation of valuables and other belongings from the Jews. The new ghetto consisted of 10 barracks and maybe also some other premises. Some of the Jews had to live outdoors. The new ghetto was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police. Forced labor was imposed, and food was rationed, limited to 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person each day. Some young people managed to escape from the ghetto and exchange clothes, household utensils, and other items for food. A survivor recollects that sometimes Germans would come to the ghetto to rob Jews, even forcing women to strip naked to be searched. Some people died of starvation and disease. According to a non-Jewish witness, more than 500 corpses were removed from the ghetto and buried.[4]

On November 21, 1941, the majority of the Jews of Polotsk were shot in the area of a former firing range in the military settlement Borovukha 2-ia (the Second), close to Lozovka. According to the survivor Mikhail Minkovich, four pits had been prepared at this place beforehand; about 15 Germans and no fewer than 30 local police (*politsais*) participated in the murder of 2,300 Jews. Before the shooting, the victims were ordered to undress. Witnesses attest that the perpetrators tossed small children alive into the pits. Some Jews succeeded in fleeing from the killing site; only 2 of them survived until the end of the war.

Some relatively small-scale murders of Jews in Polotsk must have taken place in December 1941. Forces of Einsatzgruppe B killed, most probably, more than 200 Jews "for sabotaging German orders."[5]

On February 3, 1942, the last 615 Jews of Polotsk were killed. The killing site is described by the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK as "in Lozovka, in a grove near the railway

crossing." The perpetrators were most probably members of Einsatzkommando 9, with some participation by men of the 201st Security Brigade.[6] According to the ChGK, three "specialists," among them a tailor, were spared for the time being. Some individual Jews, most probably including the specialists, were killed after February 1942.

The extant data do not permit an exact determination of the number of Jews who were killed in Polotsk by the Nazis. The ChGK's witnesses estimate the number of Jews killed at between 2,500 and 8,000. Some Jews fled the city or were drafted into the Red Army; others took refuge there. For these reasons, there may have been as many as 7,000 or 8,000 Jews in the city when the Germans arrived. Nonetheless, Minkovich's estimate that 2,300 people were killed by the Nazis in Borovukha 2-ia during the great Aktion of November 1941 seems reliable. By adding to this 250 people killed in December 1941, 615 people killed on February 3, and then 500 people who, according to a witness, died in the second ghetto and were buried, we obtain a total number of victims of the second ghetto: 3,665. To this must be added an uncertain number of Jewish men (and maybe some women) killed by the Nazis in August 1941; taking into account that in other ghettos of the area the number of victims of the "men's" Aktion generally was no more than one quarter of the entire Jewish population, a maximum estimate for the number of victims probably lies in the range of 4,800 to 4,900. By adding the victims of individual killings in 1941 and "specialists" killed in 1942, we can say that probably around 5,000 Jews in total perished in Polotsk under the German occupation.[7]

Elsewhere in the Polotsk raion, in the Domniki sel'sovet, to the east of Polotsk, 4 Jews were killed in Kotliany, and 8 Jews in another village. According to witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in the village of Zamozh'e (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] east of Polotsk), of the same sel'sovet, three Jewish families, 17 people, refugees from Polotsk, lived in the bathhouse during the winter of 1941–1942. Sometime in the winter, a German unit arrived from Polotsk, beat the Jews, and then burned them in the same house. According to the account, the Jews who rushed to the windows to get out of the burning house were met with bullets and killed. According to other witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in March 1942, on the order of the local Kommandant named Schulz, 21 Jews of the village of Kazimirovo (22 kilometers [13.7 miles] northeast of Polotsk), Iurovichi sel'sovet, 4 Jews from Iurovichi, 3 Jews from the nearby village of Sitenets, and probably some more Jews who were found in the territory of the sel'sovet were assembled and locked up in a barn in Kazimirovo. Then the Germans put them in trucks, brought them to a nearby forest, and shot them there. According to another source, the murder took place on February 13 or 16, 1941, and 70 Jews were killed.[8] In Bel'skii sel'sovet, 8 Jews were killed in the sovkhoz "Pobeda" (later Sel'tso-Beloe, to the northwest of Polotsk) in December 1941 by a squad that arrived from Borovukha 1-ia. Four Jews were killed in Zales'e, east-southeast of Polotsk, and 14 Jews in Novye Goriany, 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southeast along the Vitebsk highway.

SOURCES The testimony of an unknown witness regarding the Polotsk ghetto is published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 285–287. Other relevant publications include *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumentalnaia khronika Polatska* (Minsk, 2002).

Documents on the Polotsk ghetto and events in the Polotsk raion under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-MA (WF-01/13302, F 42358, F 56828); GARF (7021-92-220 and 221); LG-Be (3 PKs 1/62 [case against Dr. Filbert], vol. 22); NARB (846-1-64 and 861-1-13); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 90.
2. Depositions of the survivor Mikhail Minkovich; see GARF, 7021-92-220, pp. 115–116; see also Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287.
3. Dates given by witnesses vary; see GARF, 7021-92-220.
4. *Pamiats'*, pp. 411–412; see also GARF, 7021-92-220; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287; and E.G. Ioffe et al., eds., *Kholokost v Belarusi 1941-1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002), pp. 231–238.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 149 (December 22, 1941), mentions "special Aktions" carried out in Polotsk and three villages of the area in which 286 Jews were killed.
6. BA-MA (BarchP)F 42358, pp. 142, 145, KTB 201. Sich. Brigade, reports of February 3 and 10, 1942, as cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 684.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287, give the figure of around 5,000 Jews in the first ghetto.
8. Interrogation conducted by the ChGK; see GARF, 7021-92-221. For another version of the events in the Iurovichi sel'sovet, see YVA, O-33/270.

PROPOISK (SLAVGOROD)

Pre-1941: Propoisk, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Propoisk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); 1945: renamed Slavgorod; post-1991: Slauharad, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Propoisk is located about 112 kilometers (70 miles) north of Gomel'. According to the 1939 census, 1,038 Jews were living in Propoisk (22 percent of the total population).[1]

German armed forces occupied the town on July 30, 1941, approximately five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were

called up to the Red Army. Around 150 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the entire occupation, the town was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The Ortskommandantur set up a town authority and a police force consisting of local residents.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the town authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform various kinds of heavy labor.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7b arrived in the town and carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. The Security Police officers arrested 19 Jews accused of being "instigators and Communist agitators" and shot them.[2]

In August 1941, an open ghetto was established in the town. German security forces and local police collaborators liquidated the ghetto in November 1941. First, on November 5, the Germans gathered all the Jewish men, took them out of town, and shot them. Then on November 14, they assembled all the Jewish women, on the pretense that they would harvest potatoes, but again they shot them all, close to the pit in which the men were buried. After this, only the children remained in the ghetto. On November 28, 1941, a woman warned the remaining children that the execution squad was on its way, but most were unable to escape or hide. Policemen rounded up the children and threw them onto a truck. Reportedly the children were then drowned in the lake.[3] One source estimates the total number of Jewish victims in November as 117.[4] The killings were apparently carried out by the SD, probably assisted by men of the 1st Company, 317th Police Battalion, which was stationed in Propoisk from November 1941 to March 1942.[5]

During the roundup, 11-year-old Vladimir Smolitskii managed to hide and subsequently survived by wandering among the villages, where various people gave him temporary food and shelter, probably assisted by the circumstance that he did not appear to be Jewish. In the fall of 1943, he was liberated by the Red Army, and despite his youth, he became the "son of a field-engineer battalion," serving as a messenger with the troops in Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.[6]

SOURCES Publications on the ghetto in Propoisk include the following: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 244–245; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 466; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 293, 304–305, and 312.

Relevant archival documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-532, pp. 4–6); and SHLA (Abt. 352 Lübeck Nr. 1.645, pp. 44–56).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.

2. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on police actions from August 24 to 30, 1941. Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Zentralarchiv, ZUV 9, vol. 31, p. 47.

3. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 244–245.

4. *Pamiats' Belarus'*, p. 466. GARF, 7021-88-532, pp. 4–6, gives the number of 115 Jews shot, including women, the elderly, and children.

5. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 698, citing SHLA, Abt. 352 Lübeck Nr. 1.645, pp. 44–56, statement of J.B.

6. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 244–245.

PUKHOVICHI

Pre-1941: Pukhovichi, town, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Puchowitschi, Rayon Marina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pukhavichy, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pukhovichi is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 976 Jews living in the Pukhovichi raion (without the raion center, Mar'ina Gorka), most of them in Pukhovichi. A number of Jews worked on two kolkhozy, one Jewish and the other mixed, not far from Pukhovichi.

Pukhovichi was occupied by units of German Army Group Center at the beginning of July 1941. The head of the local police in Pukhovichi was Alexander Goncharik. During the second half of August 1941, a German punitive unit arrived in Pukhovichi. On instructions from the Rayon mayor, Derban, and with the aid of the local police, the German unit rounded up more than 90 Jewish men. These men were interrogated by the Germans in turn and beaten cruelly before being sent back to the group. They were then loaded onto trucks and transported to a site behind the Jewish cemetery in Pukhovichi, where they all were shot. Two Russian women who had worked for the Soviet administration were shot together with the Jews.[1]

At the end of August or in early September 1941, the Germans assembled all the Jews of Pukhovichi in the courtyard of a barracks and told them they were going to be sent to Palestine. In preparation for this they had to move into the former postal service sanatorium, which formed a makeshift ghetto.

In the second half of September 1941, Gendarmerie Wachtmeister Bruno Mittmann drove to the area of Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi from Minsk together with some 20 Gendarmes and 27 men of the Schutzpolizei to carry out an Aktion against the local Jewish population. In charge of the Aktion was SS-Brigadeführer Zenner, as well as Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla. The Aktion was carried out on orders

issued by the newly appointed Generalkommissar in Weissruthenien, Wilhelm Kube.[2]

In Pukhovichi, the Rayon mayor, Derban, instructed the local police to surround the Jewish "ghetto," as a German police unit had arrived. Among the local police who participated in the Aktion were the leader Goncharik, Alexander Mayevskiy, and Fedor Mayko. The Jews were instructed to put on their best clothes and to take their most valuable belongings with them. When the column was ready, the Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews to the Blon' kolkhoz near Mar'ina Gorka.

At Blon', the Jews were made to undress in a pigsty and then taken up the hill of Popova Gorka in groups of 10 to be shot by German police with machine guns. The Jews from the nearby Mar'ina Gorka ghetto were also taken on foot to Blon' on the same day and were shot together with those from Pukhovichi. Children were thrown into the grave and buried alive. According to one account, some women were raped before they were shot. The shootings lasted nearly all day, and the Germans tried to drown out the noise from the local inhabitants by running tractor engines.[3]

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Pukhovichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); GARF (7021-87-12); NARA; and USHMM.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny, Anna Biryukova, and Nadezhda I. Syrez, September 1944.

2. Ibid., ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 132–133: Bruno Mittmann at the Minsk trial in January 1946 dated the Aktion on September 28, 1941; Dok. Bd. I, p. 120, Nina Sinoveyna, a local inhabitant of Mar'ina Gorka, dated it on September 24; the ChGK report of September 28, 1944 (USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 [GAMINO, 15-3-457]), gives the date of September 17, 1941. Also see USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. The reason for this intervention by Kube may be related to a previous Einsatzgruppen report about the Jews of the Marina Borka [*sic*] district fleeing to the woods, joining with the partisans, and plundering the area; see Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

3. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny, Anna Biryukova, and Nadezhda I. Syrez, September 1944.

RIASNO

Pre-1941: Riasno, village, Dribin raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rjassno, Rayon Dribin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rasna, Drybin raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Riasno is located about 55 kilometers (34 miles) east-northeast of Mogilev. According to figures from the 1939 census, there were approximately 350 Jews living in Riasno.

The village was occupied on July 14, 1941, about three weeks after the German attack on the USSR on June 22. At that time, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army. Many Jewish refugees also arrived and settled in the village, adding to the population. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents, including Fedor Hot'man and Fedor Terent'ev.[1]

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Riasno. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor without pay, were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and were subjected to systematic beatings and robbery by the local police.

In September 1941, the German authorities established some form of ghetto for the Jews in the center of the village. According to historian Marat Botvinnik, it existed for about six months. The ghetto was liquidated on March 3, 1942, when a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 from Krichev numbering 30 or 40 men arrived in Riasno. With the help of the local police, they collected the entire Jewish population (men, women, children, and old people) and escorted them to a killing site about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) to the east of Riasno. Here the Germans ordered the Jews to remove their clothes down to their underwear. Then the Jews were ordered to get into the prepared ditches, and the Germans and their collaborators shot them with machine guns. At least 410 persons, including Jews from the village and Jewish refugees, were murdered.[2] On March 18, 1942, Landesschützen Battalion 285, which formed the Ortskommandantur in Riasno, reported that money had been found in the clothes of Jews who had been "liquidated" (*erledigt*) that month by a German punitive unit assisted by the local police.[3]

In April 1942, only a few weeks after the liquidation of the ghetto, the mayor of Mogilev sent several hundred civilian evacuees who had just arrived from the Russian town of Gzhatsk from Mogilev to Riasno, where they were accommodated in the former ghetto.[4]

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Riasno can be found in the following publication: "Rasnianski sel'sovet," in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 430. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), names Riasno as a ghetto on page 291.

Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Riasno on the basis of Soviet official commissions, German documents, and the testimonies of witnesses can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216-220, R 2104/28); GARF (7021-88-37); NARB (861-1-9); TsGAMORF (Fond 49th Army, opis' 9733, delo 120, p. 46); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-9, p. 166.

2. TsGAMORF, Fond 49th Army, opis' 9733, delo 120, p. 46; GARF, 7021-88-37, pp. 1–2, and 7; and NARB, 861-1-9, p. 163, all give the figure of about 600 Jewish victims. See also BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 194, April 21, 1942.

3. BA-BL, R 2104/28, report of Landesschützen Battaillon 285, March 18, 1942.

4. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 194, citing Mikhail Badaev, ed., *Pamiat' khranit vse*, (Smolensk: "Smiadyn," 1995), pp. 81–82 (testimony of Anna Ivanova, 16 years old in 1942).

ROGACHEV

Pre-1941: Rogachev, city and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rogatschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rahachou, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rogachev is located 121 kilometers (76 miles) north-northwest of Gomel.' In 1939, the Jewish population was 4,601 (30.3 percent of the total).

Shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a great many refugees started to arrive in Rogachev from Minsk, Bobruisk, and other places in western Belorussia. As the tide of refugees increased, schools and other buildings were taken over to accommodate them. Some refugees continued moving east across the Dnieper River, but many remained in Rogachev. Fewer than half of the Jews managed to leave, either as members of labor collectives of enterprises and organizations or on their own initiative by foot in the direction of Gomel' before Soviet forces destroyed the bridges across the Dnieper.[1]

German forces entered Rogachev on July 3, but resistance continued. Rogachev finally surrendered on August 19, 1941, as Army Group Center swung south towards Gomel' and Kiev, outflanking the city.

The territory of the Rogachev raion was administered by the German Rear Area, Army Group Center. In Rogachev, a local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and a field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 528 (V)) were established. In the building of the former Machine Tractor Station (MTS), an office of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP-724) was established, and units of the military Feldgendarmerie and the Security Police and SD all operated in the city. According to Soviet sources, in the Rogachev raion, Major Marlo and his deputy, Major Diller, were in charge of the Feldkommandantur; Captain Zipke headed the agricultural commandant's office (Landwirtschaftsführer); Oberleutnant Rudolf headed the Ortskommandantur; Oberleutnant Mentrop (or Matron) was the head of the Security Police (Gestapo) branch; Kresse headed the punitive squad; and Lobikov became head of the local Belorussian police. The German authorities established camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at Gadilovichi and Dvorets near Rogachev, as well as in Novyi and Staryi Dovsk, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the northeast.[2]

The first victims of the Nazis were Soviet activists and Jews. German security forces conducted mass shootings near the timber mill, in the basements, and around the building of the central warehouse in Rogachev. Among those shot were Pribylskii, the former chairman of the timber mill executive committee; Frumenkov, a member of the raion party executive committee (*raiispolkom*); and Admiralov, the kolkhoz chairman.[3]

Initially, under the German occupation the Jews continued to live in their own homes. They were not permitted to go out into public spaces, walk along the main streets of the city, or engage in relations with non-Jews. In September 1941, the Nazis introduced measures for their complete isolation from the Belorussians and Russians. On September 9, the Rogachev administration began implementing an order for the resettlement of the Jews into the building of the city's heating and power plant. Then the process of selection began. Able-bodied men were taken away to a labor camp and quartered in the basement of a former military warehouse. In the course of the resettlement, Jews had to leave behind all their belongings at their old place of residence, leave their doors unlocked, and leave the keys in a visible place. The police watchmen guarded the ghetto around the clock. They used rubber batons to beat prisoners for their own "amusement." Since the Germans did not entirely trust the local police in Rogachev, only those men were armed who were given the task of guarding the Jews.[4] The Germans led away groups of Jews to perform the most grueling and dirty labor, using methods that amounted to torture. The Jews had to clear stone and brick rubble and carry sand and water without proper tools. Often the labor was very degrading. They made women and young teenage girls clean up feces with their hands in lavatories that were designated "Only for Germans." There were many similar incidents.[5]

To survive, Jews had to rely on their own modest reserves of food, barter, or gain the assistance of the local Belorussians. The Belorussians provided some buckwheat, frozen turnips, cabbage, and a small amount of bread. As a rule, the local residents helped out their "own" Jews free of charge. Those who were married to Belorussians or Jews from nearby villages were assisted by former neighbors and fellow villagers. These more integrated Jews were only a small minority of those in the ghetto. Most Jews had to barter goods for food, which was forbidden. They did so anyway, despite the risk to their lives. The barter trade required careful organization and mutual trust, and in many cases, Jews worked with local policemen who looked the other way. Escape from the ghetto was impossible. Sometimes the Belorussian policemen and the Germans would beat Jews they caught bartering, to teach them a lesson.[6]

The first Aktion was organized by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Gomel', under the command of Wilhelm Schulz, on November 6, 1941. The chosen site for the mass shooting was a very large antitank ditch about 120 meters by 10 meters, and 5 meters deep (394 by 33 by 16 feet), behind the cardboard factory and the bread-making plant on the banks of the Drut' River.[7] The German Security Police and their helpers selected several hundred Jews from among ghetto inhabitants in Rogachev and drove them in groups towards the river in trucks, where they ordered them to undress. With the assistance of local policemen, the SS men lined up their victims at the bottom of the ravine in groups of 10, then shot them in the back of the head with their automatic weapons and rifles. They finished off the wounded with the butts of their firearms and with shovels. They seized young children by the legs, smashed their heads on the frozen ground, and threw them into the ditch. According to the German Einsatzgruppen report, 2,365 male and female Jews were murdered for their alleged support of the partisans in the course of an Aktion in Gomel', Rogachev, and Korma.[8]

The second Aktion was conducted on December 1, 1941. Under the guise of escorting them out for a work assignment, the Germans took 72 Jews from the ghetto and used them for clearing roads near the villages of Novyi and Staryi Krivsk. Afterwards they shot all of these people.

The third Aktion was carried out on January 1, 1942, at Starina, near the village of Khatovnia. The Germans shot 172 Jews there.

The fourth Aktion took place on February 12 (or according to another source, in March), 1942, in an antitank ditch 70 meters (230 feet) from the Drut' River. This time, the Jewish victims included the children from mixed marriages, who were gathered from the surrounding villages. They also included the Jewish special laborers who had been set apart during the first Aktion. According to witnesses, six Roma (Gypsy) families were shot together with the Jews.[9]

On December 27, 1941, 260 Jews from the village of Sverzhen', in the Rogachev raion, were shot.[10]

The Nazi German occupiers carried out the killings at a Russian cemetery that came to be called "the valley of death" (*dolina smerti*). Around 1,000 people were killed there. Later, 10 mass graves were unearthed; they were 3 meters in length, 6 meters in width, and 3 meters deep (almost 10 by 20 by 10 feet).

In the spring of 1942, the Drut' River flooded, and the water washed away the soil, revealing a few hundred Jewish corpses. According to the testimony of Nina Barantseva, several bodies were recognizable. There were some adults who held children in their arms as they died, not wanting to let them go. The German authorities ordered the local residents of Rogachev to rebury the exposed corpses.[11]

In November and December 1943, part of Sonderkommando 7a arrived in Rogachev to carry out Operation "Wettermeldung" ("Weather Report") under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Stertzinger. They removed 20 Soviet POWs from the SD prison in Rogachev for work as slave laborers to burn the corpses. The unit cordoned off the site of the Jewish graves so that no local residents could witness the events. They informed the POWs that they would be leaving for work in Germany, giving them vodka and cigarettes. Five of the men passed out from the stench of rotting corpses. The corpses were removed from the graves with iron hooks and placed in stacks, covered with tar, and cremated. The remaining ash was transported away in trucks.[12]

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Rogachev, some people managed to escape. Tat'iana Duktovskaia saved the life of Liuda Mazheiko. In May 1941, Tat'iana arrived in Rogachev from the city of Chita but did not manage to evacuate in time. After the liquidation of the ghetto, Liuda's father Vladimir spoke with 18-year-old Tat'iana and persuaded her to pass off his 5-year-old daughter as her own. The German authorities required a medical certificate, and a Doctor Zubets issued a statement saying that the time of "birth" could not be determined. For 3 years, Tat'iana hid Liuda in the countryside, moving her from one village to another.[13]

A German army officer took in eight-year-old Alevtina Igol'nikova, who lost both her parents in the fighting on July 3, 1941. For several months, he kept her in his home, then sent her away to be raised by a woman named Anastasia Tristenetskaia.[14]

On February 24, 1944, forces of the 1st Belorussian Front liberated Rogachev. In November 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) ascertained that 3,700 people were murdered by the German occupants in Rogachev, and 6,353 perished in the raion. The surnames of 2,233 victims (about 35 percent) were established.[15]

The national affiliation of the victims could not be determined precisely by the commission. Overall, during the occupation the population of the Rogachev raion decreased from 57,115 in 1941 to 28,000 in 1944 (49 percent of the prewar population level).[16]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Rogachev under German occupation can be found in the following publications: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika Rogachevskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1994); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 408; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 1963); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1086.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Rogachev can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (240); GAGO (1345-1-15); GARF (7021-85-217a, 218); NARB (4-33a-65; 861-1-6; 3500-2-38); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (M-33/477-478). Relevant German documentation can be found in BA-L; BA-MA; and NARA. There is also a letter received from Naftolia Farber dated May 5, 2002, in the personal archive of the author (PALS).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. PALS, letter of Naftolia Farber from Rekhovot, Israel, May 5, 2002.
2. AUKGBRBGO, 240.
3. GAGO, 1345-1-15, p. 2.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/21, Appendices to War Diary Ia, p. 317, FK 528 (V) in Rogachev, September 13, 1941.
5. TsAKGBRB.
6. GARF, 7021-85-217a, p. 2.
7. Ibid., 7021-85-218, p. 23.
8. NARA, T-175, roll 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 148, November 19, 1941; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), p. 679 (LG-Mü I, 22 Ks 1/61, verdict of July 21, 1961). NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 99–100, indicates that as many as 3,000 Jews were killed in Rogachev during the first 10 days of November.
9. YVA, M-33/477–478, p. 38.
10. *Pamiat'*, p. 171.
11. AUKGBRBGO. According to one published source, on November 28, 1943, in Rogachev the Germans set fire to 200 Jews in a shed. The nationality of those murdered is not known with certainty, but it is possible that all of them were Jews. See *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii*, p. 231.
12. Interrogation of SS-Rottenführer Erwin Hansen of Sk 7a, April 24, 1944, NARB, 3500-2-38, pp. 431–433.
13. In 1997, Tat'iana Dutovskaia received the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." See *Evreiskii kamerton*, October 5, 2004.
14. It is not explained whether the rescuer of Igol'nikova knew that she was Jewish. See Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 408.
15. YVA, M-33/477–478, p. 5.
16. GAOOGO, 144-155-6, p. 218.

ROSSASNO

Pre-1941: Rossasno, village, Dubrovno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Dubrowno, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rossasna, Dubrouna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rossasno is located a few kilometers to the northeast of Dubrovno on the southern bank of the Dnieper River. In 1939, the Jewish population of the Dubrovno raion (without the town of Dubrovno) consisted of 222 people, most of whom lived in the villages of Baevo and Rossasno. There were probably around 100 Jews living in Rossasno at the beginning of June 1941. Only part of the Jewish population remained in Rossasno at the start of the German occupation in mid-July 1941.

At first the German occupiers did not resettle the Jews into a ghetto, and the Jews continued to live in their own homes. They were forbidden to leave the limits of the village, and for this reason at least one person, a woman named Khaia, was shot by the local police in the village of Goncharovo.[1]

Approximately one month before the murder of the Jews of Rossasno, in early March 1942, the Jews were gathered together in the local school building, where they were held until the start of April. These were predominantly children, old people, and women. Few details are available about this confinement, but historian Gennadii Vinnitsa conjectures that the school served as a form of ghetto, as they were held there for almost one month and during that period they were guarded by the local police. Thus the ghetto served as a collection point until the Germans were ready to consign them to their deaths. On April 2, 1942, the inmates of the small ghetto in Rossasno were loaded onto sleighs and taken to Liady.[2] On that day, the Jews of the Liady ghetto together with those from Rossasno were brought across the Mereia River to the Russian side, where the Germans shot them and buried them in a mass grave.[3]

Information from the Zonal State Archive (ZGAGO) in Orsha reveals the names of 58 of the Jews from Rossasno who were murdered. It is likely that the number of Jews killed was higher than this. The *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* indicates that 74 Jews from Rossasno were murdered in total.

SOURCES A short section on the Rossasno ghetto, including the 58 victims' names, can be found in the work by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 28–31. Of use also is the entry for "Rossasno" in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:376–377.

Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 28–31.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-84-6; and *Krasnoarmeiskaia Pravda*, October 31, 1943.

ROSSONY

Pre-1941: Rossony (until 1939, Stanislavovo), village and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rasony, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rossony is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Polotsk. According to the census of 1939, the Jewish population of the Rossony raion consisted of 419 people, 49 of whom lived in Rossony.

Units of the German XXIII Army Corps of the 9th Army, supported by the LVII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group, initially captured the Rossony raion. The western part of the raion (west of the line Iukhovichi-Kliastitsy) was taken by these two Army Corps on July 14, 1941. On July 15, the Germans advanced quickly to the east, overrunning Rossony, and by July 16, they were close to the shores of Lake Neshcherdo. By July 17 the entire raion was in German hands. From August 1941 onward, Rossony was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, near the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommis-

sariat Weissruthenien). This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Rossony was under the control of Ortskommandantur 262.

In the fall of 1941, the local commandant in Rossony, Otto Lenz, ordered the Jews of the raion to be resettled to the village of Rossony, where a ghetto was established. The ghetto was fenced with barbed wire and guarded. A sign was erected near the ghetto gate, announcing that any inmate who crossed the fence and left the ghetto would be shot. The Nazis confiscated all the belongings of the ghetto Jews, including clothes and even food supplies. In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Rossony ghetto inmates at 488. The inmates received no food, and many of them died before the ghetto was liquidated. In January 1942, the Germans and the local police escorted the Jews out of the village to the northeast, where they shot them near the Osinniki road, in three pits that had been dug beforehand. Before being murdered, the victims were instructed to undress. The mass grave remained open until April 1942, when it was closed on the orders of Mayor Iazutov.

The number of Jewish victims in Rossony named by the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK seems to be exaggerated, taking into consideration that the whole Jewish population of the raion prior to the war was only 419 people. It should be noted that the raion was situated close to the Polotsk fortified area (Polotskii ukrepraion), part of the pre-war fortifications of the old Soviet-Polish border line, and therefore it may have attracted dozens of refugees from western, formerly Polish, areas.

Jews of the Starye Dvory sel'sovet (later Krasnopol'e sel'sovet) were killed mainly by the German staff of the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Demekh that was situated 2 or 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) east of Krasnopol'e, on the northern side of the Drysa River, close to the camp. According to the depositions made for the ChGK in 1945, the men of the Demekh garrison were engaged in cleansing the vicinity of Jews; the Jews were first collected in the camp and then killed. For example, in August or September 1941, five Jewish families (about 15 people) from the village of Karpino, 2 to 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) north of Krasnopol'e, were shot near the Demekh camp. According to a witness interrogated by the ChGK, 12 Jews (four families) from the Krasnopol'e village were assembled in September 1941 under the pretext of their registration and the issuing of new personal documents, then murdered in the same place; according to another witness, 7 Jews from Krasnopol'e were killed near Demekh, and 2 others managed to flee; it is unclear whether this refers to one and the same Aktion or two different ones.

Elsewhere in the raion, 36 Jews from the Maxim Gorky kolkhoz (most probably the village of Albrekhtovo) were killed in the Albrekhtovo sel'sovet (later Biriuzovo sel'sovet).[1] Eight Jews from the village of Vladimirovka were shot near the road to Trodovichi (3 or 4 kilometers [about 2 miles] northwest of Krasnopol'e). On September 21, 1941, a squad of three German soldiers from the Krasnopol'e garrison arrived at the village of Shuliatino (later a part of the Amosenki village, 6 kilometers [4 miles] west of Krasnopol'e along the Rossony road). The squad arrested 6 Jewish peasants when they were working in the fields and shot them on the spot. According to a witness in the village of Berezovka near Krasnopol'e, partisans executed the starosta, who had denounced a local Jewish woman to the Germans. In January 1944, in the village of Shalashniki, Germans shot a Jew named Hirsh Gilevich.

SOURCES Information can be found in *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia khronika Rasonskaha raiona* (Minsk, 1994). The documents of the ChGK for the Rossony raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-222).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-222.

SENNO

Pre-1941: Senno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sianno, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Senno is located about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, the last pre-war census recorded a total of 1,056 Jews living in the town, 24.5 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Senno raion (without the town of Senno) was 165. In 1939, there were 569 Jews living in the nearby raion center of Bogushevsk (32 kilometers, or 20 miles, east of Senno).

The XLVII Motorized Army Corps of the 2nd Panzer Group entered Senno on July 6, 1941. However, the battle for this town between the German motorized corps and the Soviet 14th and 18th Tank Divisions went on until the evening of July 8. Bogushevsk was taken on July 10, 1941; on July 14, it was in the operational area of the V Army Corps of the 9th Army.

From August 1941 onward, Senno was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. In 1941, the Senno raion was the realm of Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division. Later, until mid-February 1942, Senno was under the authority of Feldkommandantur 181 of the 286th Security Division, with Ortskommandantur 846 located in the town. From mid-February 1942, Senno was returned to the authority of Feldkommandantur 815.

In Senno, the Germans appointed former school principal Samuil Davidovich Svoiskii as the Jewish elder. The Germans resettled the Jews of Senno at least twice, most likely several times. At each new place the Jews were settled more densely, and the regime was stricter than at the previous one. For example, initially the Germans turned a blind eye to communication between Jews and non-Jews; later they punished such communication. In the fall of 1941, most probably in October, the Germans established a formal ghetto in the town's upper area, Golynka, mainly on Voroshilov Street. The Jews were

crammed 45 to 50 people to a house; Belorussian policemen guarded the ghetto. According to a witness interviewed by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto Jews received 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of bread per person per day.

On October 16, 12 Jews were shot for "showing up late for work." At the end of December 1941, the ghetto of Senno was liquidated. On December 29, a punitive squad appeared in Senno. The SS and the local police surrounded the ghetto. The next day the SS drove Jews from their houses and declared that they were to be moved to Orsha. Instead, the Jews were brought from Golynka to the village of Kozlovka, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) east of the town, on a hill, and ordered to dig pits. On the sunny and frosty day of December 30 (according to other accounts, December 31), all the Senno Jews were shot. The Aktion lasted from 8:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. that day. According to all accounts, the Belorussian police played a crucial role in the massacre.[1]

The ChGK documents vary in their estimates of the number of victims, ranging from 850 to 965. The inscription on the monument erected in Senno says there were 850 victims of the massacre.

Apart from the town of Senno, a Jewish family by the name of Bekker—11 people, among them six children—was killed in the village of Zabor'e, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Senno.

The nearby raion center of Bogushevsk was the site of one of the earliest wholesale massacres of Jews in the Vitebsk area. Although witnesses date the Aktion differently,[2] the killing most probably took place in early September 1941.

According to both the ChGK and the witness Sofya M., the execution in Bogushevsk was a reprisal Aktion for an abortive attempt on the life of a German officer. Indeed, on September 4, 1941, a skirmish took place between partisans and the German garrison of Bogushevsk. Its details, minus the exaggerations made by Soviet official historiography, roughly correspond to the description made by both Sofya M. and the ChGK. According to these witnesses, an SS squad arrived in town following this skirmish and, with the assistance of the Belorussian police, assembled all the population of this small town in the square in front of the raion party committee (*raikom*) building. Then the Germans and *politsais* (local police) began to check the identification documents, sending the Russians and Belorussians to one side of the square, the Jews to the other side. According to the ChGK, they released the non-Jewish women and children and told the rest of the people that their fate would be decided by the Orsha commandant. The commandant arrived and ordered the shooting of all the Jews and several non-Jewish men. The people were machine-gunned on the spot; 20 non-Jewish men were ordered to bury the bodies.[3]

An inscription on the monument erected in Bogushevsk after the war states that 86 Jews were killed in the town on the day of the massacre. The ChGK documents give a different figure: 64 Jewish victims. The eyewitnesses in the town are divided between these estimates concerning the number of victims.

SOURCES For additional information, see Gennadii Vinnitsa's book *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Senno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-11); for the former Bogushevsk raion, in GARF (7021-84-2). Some information on the German authorities in this vicinity can be found in BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). Eyewitness accounts can be found in YVA (O-3/4683-89).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-11; YVA, O-3/4683-89.
2. The ChGK report of March 29, 1945, dated the mass murder of the Jews in Bogushevsk in October 1941; another ChGK document, dated June 26, 1944, gave a date of September 5, 1941; see *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vyp. 14 (Moscow, 1945), p. 42. According to the survivor Sofya M., the killing took place on August 9, 1941. The survivor describes the day as a warm one; she says that the Jews had not been registered, marked by patches, stripped of their property, or resettled up to that day. The Belorussian witnesses interviewed by Vinnitsa also point to August as the month of the mass murder; see Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 118–119.
3. GARF, 7021-84-2; YVA O-3/4689.

SHCHEDRIN

Pre-1941: Shchedrin (Yiddish: Seliba), town, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schtschedrin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shchadryn, Zhlobin raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shchedrin is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) west of Zhlobin. In 1926, there were 1,759 Jews living in Shchedrin.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, most men of military age in Shchedrin were mobilized for service in the Red Army. As the town was some distance from the railroad, it did not suffer from aerial bombardment, and because there was no organized evacuation, only a small part of the population managed to leave the town. Those who left expected to return soon. A number of Communists and sel'sovet activists stayed behind to conduct underground work in Shchedrin.

German armed forces occupied Shchedrin in July 1941, and within 10 days a local police force was recruited, made up of Belorussians and Poles who were natives of Shchedrin and the neighboring villages. Adam Rudinskii became the town's mayor, and his deputy was a man named Kuchinskii. The senior police officials were Vladislav Semashko and Antanas Trizno. The local administration helped the Germans search for Communists and Jews and also registered the Jews.

Relations between the Jews and the Belorussians changed with the arrival of the Germans. The Jews lost their civil rights, and anyone could take their property with impunity. The keeper of the kolkhoz granary, a man named Rubinshtein, was shot for refusing to give a policeman his leather

boots. Zimel' Kimmel'man, his wife Malka, and his young daughter were hidden in the village of Solotin in the home of a peasant they knew, a man named Anan, in return for a sum of money. Anan took the money, but then at night he informed the Germans, who shot the Jews.

The Jews, 1,560 in total, remained in their homes in Shchedrin until early August 1941, when the Germans forced them all to move onto two small streets, "Sair gas" and "Bod gas," where a ghetto was created. It was partially enclosed by barbed wire, and policemen were posted at the ghetto gates. The Germans appointed Antanas Trizno to be in charge of the ghetto. The Jews were strictly forbidden to go into the center of Shchedrin without special permission. When the blacksmith Berl inadvertently violated this ban, he was shot on the spot.[1] Several families had to share each apartment. There was no synagogue within the ghetto, so the Jews would gather to pray in their apartments.[2]

The most attractive girls were rounded up and taken to a brothel for the German soldiers. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow six-pointed stars on the front and back of their clothing. Not everyone had fabric of that color, and feverish searching began because the Nazis threatened to kill anyone who failed to comply with the order by a certain date. The police forced those who had committed offenses to eat sand.

The Jews had to organize their own supplies of food. They bartered with the local residents for potatoes and vegetables, and some received help from relatives and Belorussian neighbors. Each day, under escort, the Jews were led out of the ghetto to perform forced labor from dawn until dusk. They were made to work in workshops, in the gristmill, and in the sawmill; to clean cesspools and toilets; to repair roads; and to collect garbage. For performing work, a Jew received a daily ration of only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread, in contrast to 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread for a non-Jew, even though the output quota for Jews was three times greater.[3]

Jews were among the Nazis' first victims in Shchedrin, well before a large-scale Aktion took place. In July 1941, the Germans shot two men named Pishchalo and Khort, who had secretly taken cheese and dairy products from the Shchedrin creamery to the village of Shatilki, where there were still Soviet troops. Pishchalo was killed in the yard of the Kommandantur in Shchedrin, and he left behind five orphaned children. Khort was taken into a tea shop and severely lashed; then he was blindfolded and taken to the Jewish cemetery, where he was made to dig his own grave and then shot. After this, Trizno drove two Germans to the village of Uspalishche, where they murdered Khort's wife and raped his 15-year-old daughter Sasha. Sonia Asovskaia was hanged in the yard of the creamery just after her 5-year-old son was shot before her eyes. Permission to remove her body was denied for a long time, as the authorities wanted to remind the Jews daily of the severe punishments they faced. Before the arrival of fall in Shchedrin, 17 Communists had been shot.

The son of Boris Porton came to Shchedrin in the summer of 1941 on vacation from Vitebsk, where he was studying. He was among 11 Jewish men who were forced into a shop that sold kerosene and were beaten there. Porton's son and the shop manager, a man named Zverev, were the first to be handed spades and taken to the cemetery. When Boris Porton was told that his son had been taken away to be shot, he ran after them, crying, "Spare my son, kill me!" The Nazis killed Boris, and next they shot his son and Zverev.

Iosel' Samardin took two grandchildren to the village of Kitin, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Shchedrin, and asked friends to hide them. After the ghetto was established, the Germans announced that they would kill anyone found to be hiding Jews. Acting on a report to the authorities, the policeman Semashko discovered Samardin's grandchildren and shot them.[4]

In December 1941, there were rumors that a German punitive detachment would be sent to Shchedrin, and people began to go into hiding. The cobbler Wol'fson was found in a haystack and stabbed with bayonets. The pharmacy manager Arkadii Kheifets, who had leg problems, was taken to the fire station and harnessed to a wagon with a barrel of water. When Kheifets fainted, they sent for his wife Sonia. She grabbed a vial of liquid and ran to her husband. They both poisoned themselves and died on the spot.[5]

The Germans planned the destruction of the ghetto for March 8, 1942. In the days before the mass shooting, the police surrounded the ghetto and began to force the Jews out of the houses. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the prisoners were beaten with whips, people were screaming and sobbing, and parents shielded their children with their own bodies to protect them from the blows. The Jews were herded into groups, and then, under the guard of policemen on horseback and Germans on motorcycles, they were driven into the school building. Many mothers carried their children in their arms. The cemetery grounds were cordoned off, and no Belorussians were allowed to enter.[6] The chief of police, Mikhail Govor, and three Germans met the prisoners at the school gates and questioned them.[7]

Simultaneously, the German authorities mobilized peasants from the neighboring villages, who were ordered to dig a pit in the Jewish cemetery about 30 meters long and 5 meters wide (98 by 16 feet). On the morning of March 8, 1942, the Jews were taken in groups of 90 to 100 from the school to the cemetery, guarded by local policemen and four German soldiers.[8] They were led to the edge of the pit, then had to undress and lie facedown in the pit in groups of 10. A German officer then killed the people with a submachine gun, firing single shots. Policemen from Parichi also participated in shooting the Jews. The Aktion ended late in the evening.

Estimates of the total number of Jewish victims murdered in Shchedrin on March 8, 1942, range from around 1,000 up to 2,000.[9] Among the victims were a number of Jews brought to Shchedrin from neighboring villages and some refugees. After the mass shooting, the Nazis checked the registration lists of the Jews and found that 17 were missing, including Girsh and Tsilia Erenburg, Grigorii Ol'shanskii, and Sara Livshits. After two or three days, the German security forces that conducted the Aktion left Shchedrin and went to the village of Kitin. For a week, with local assistance, the police continued

to hunt for escaped Jews in hiding. Tolik and Tsezik Kuchinskii rode on horseback from village to village, looking for Jews in exchange for a reward. The police arrested about 10 people, whom they killed in a common grave.[10] The Germans gave most of the Jews' clothing to Rudinskii, the town's mayor, who sold some of the things and distributed the rest to the local policemen.[11]

Not all of the survivors of the Aktion on March 8, 1942, escaped with their lives. Two Jewish girls froze to death near the village of Pekalichi, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Shchedrin, after local residents denied them shelter. Luba was caught by 20-year-old Pavlik Prokopovich, who had been a school classmate of hers in Shchedrin and who served in the local police in Parichi. Prokopovich also killed the physics teacher from his school, Isaak Galerkin. (After the arrival of the Red Army, Prokopovich was sentenced to 20 years in corrective labor camps.) Only a few Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to join Soviet partisan units and take part in the resistance against the Germans.

Soviet forces recaptured Shchedrin in the second half of June 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) of the USSR uncovered, at a distance of 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Shchedrin, a mass burial site measuring 20 by 10 meters and 1.2 meters deep (66 by 33 by 4 feet). There they discovered 1,100 corpses, arranged haphazardly. On most of the victims, there was no clothing of any kind.[12] The ChGK established that in all more than 9,000 civilians, including more than 1,000 Jews, had died at the hands of the Nazis in Shchedrin and the surrounding villages during the years of German occupation.[13]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Shchedrin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 219, 232; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1169; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi. Homel'skaia voblasts'* (Minsk, 1986); Moisei Liakhovitskii, "Mestechku Shchedrin—100 let," *Rodnik* (Minsk), no. 25 (April 1993).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Shchedrin can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (813); NARB (12-1-4; 861-1-2; 845-1-60); TsAKGBRB; VHF (# 6936); YVA (M-33/1151, p. 103); and ZGAMO (463-3-8). In the personal archive of the author (PALS) are the letters sent by Nadezhda Khoroneko from Kiryat Ata (Israel) on September 12 and October 23, 2004.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. TsAKGBRB.
2. VHF, # 6936, testimony of Dora Polonskaya (born May 25, 1927).
3. TsAKGBRB.
4. See also PALS, letter of Nadezhda Khoroneko, September 12, 2004.
5. Ibid., October 23, 2004.
6. Testimony of Mikhail Kharitonovich Govor, April 9, 1945; see AUKGBRBGO, 813.
7. NARB, 861-1-2, pp. 93–95.
8. Ibid., 845-1-60, p. 33.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, states that there were 1,600 (or 2,000 victims). YVA, M-33/1151, p. 103, gives the figure of 1,100 corpses found in the mass grave.
10. YVA, M-33/1151, p. 104.
11. Testimony of Mikhail Fedorovich Govor, October 27, 1948; see AUKGBRBGO, 813, pp. 3, 35–36.
12. From a ChGK report for Shchedrin, July 30, 1944, YVA, M-33/1151, p. 103.
13. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 267.

SHEPELEVICHI

Pre-1941: Shepelevichi, village, Krugloe raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schepelewitschi, Rayon Krutscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shapialevichy, Krublae raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shepelevichi is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Mogilev. German forces occupied the village on July 8, 1941, slightly more than two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During those two weeks a few of the Jews in the village managed to evacuate eastward. Several dozen Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

On their arrival, the Germans immediately appointed a local police force. Among the local inhabitants who served in the police were Semion Vladyko, Makar Golovkov, and a man named Petrok. The Jews were registered by the new authorities. The local policemen frequently entered Jewish homes and robbed the Jews of anything they wanted, threatening that they would shoot them. The Germans also imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to sew yellow stars on their clothes. They were forbidden to buy foodstuffs, use the sidewalks, or speak with Belorussians.[1]

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Germans arrested 3 Jewish men in Shepelevichi and shot them near the Mokrov cemetery, not far from Belynichi, after forcing them to dig their own graves. In mid-October, news arrived of the murder of 81 Jews in the nearby village of Es'mony, 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the south; the perpetrators may have used gas vans or may have shot their victims. The pretense for the killings may have been a report by Infantry Regiment 691 that the local Jews there were supporting the partisans.[2] Then on October 29, 1941, a truck with Gendarmes arrested the father and uncle of Honya Epshtein and shot them in the neighboring village of Stai. The German Gendarmes (probably Feldgendarmerie of the Wehrmacht) were assisted by the local police, who also took the clothes and boots of the victims.[3]

On November 15, 1941, all the Jews of Shepelevichi were driven out of their houses and escorted by local police carrying spades to a quarry about 500 meters (547 yards) outside the

village. Here a military unit with machine guns was awaiting them. The Germans conducted a selection, according to principles that remained unclear. Then they shot about 30 or 40 people, including women, babies, old men, and teenage boys. The bodies were buried in a mass grave that had been prepared in advance. The screams of those who were shot could be heard some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away.[4]

After the shooting, the remaining Jews were put into several houses, in what Honya Epshtein has described as a small remnant ghetto. At first the ghetto was very overcrowded. Germans or policemen came regularly to the houses, however, to take people out and shoot them. On December 12, 1941, the few remaining Jews were transferred to the Krugloe ghetto, where they shared the fate of the other Jews gathered there, most of whom were shot in the first half of 1942, except for a few who managed to escape.[5]

According to one account in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 144 people from Shepelevichi were shot in 1941, including 57 women and 52 children. This account by Alexander Tikhonovich Dasevich does not mention whether all the victims were Jewish.[6]

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Shepelevichi can be found in Honya Epshtein, "My Father's Boots," in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 295–298; and Ida. M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 108–111.

Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 108–109, testimony of Ivan Ivanovich Pliskach.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 295; BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.
3. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 295–296; and Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, p. 111, testimony of Nadezhda Nikitovna Sharoiko (née Golubeva).
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 296; and Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 108–111, testimonies of Pliskach and Sharoiko.
5. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 296.
6. GARF, 7021-88-42, Akt no. 55, December 26, 1944, pp. 1 and reverse side.

SHKLOV

Pre-1941: Shklov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schklow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shklou, raen center, Mahiliov voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shklov is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 2,132 Jews lived in Shklov, comprising 26.7 percent of the total population. In addition, there were some 457 Jews living in the Shklov raion, most in the village of Starosel'e (about 200).

The German attack on the Soviet Union forced many Jews to evacuate to the east. In addition, some Jewish men were called up to the Red Army. Therefore, it is not known exactly how many Jews remained in Shklov under the German occupation.

Units of the German XLVI Panzer Corps, subordinated to Panzer Group 2, captured the town on July 11, 1941. The region of Shklov was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. The town was controlled by the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which reported to the 286th Security Division based in Orsha. According to one German report, about four fifths of Shklov was destroyed in the fighting, which together with the supposed threat of disease provided an incentive for relocating the Jews to ghettos.[1]

By the end of July 1941, the city council, consisting of eight local non-Jews, forced the Jewish population of Shklov and the towns of Zarech'e and Ryzhkovichi, located in the southern suburbs, into two ghettos.

The first was located in an area near the Orthodox church in Ryzhkovichi, which was fenced off by barbed wire and guarded by Belorussian policemen. Some Jews were able to remain in their own houses within this area,[2] but others had to sleep in the open. The Jews were able to leave the ghetto and trade their property for food. The German officers and soldiers, exploiting the absolute lawlessness, robbed the ghetto inhabitants, taking everything that was at all valuable. According to the testimony of B.M. Galperin, the Taruch family was thrown into a well, and one Jew, after having his gold teeth knocked out, was murdered.[3]

It appears that in August 1941 some of the Jews were herded into a second ghetto, this time a closed ghetto, located in Shklov on L'nozavodskaia Street. The inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to live in horribly cramped conditions. Each house held between 100 and 150 people. The ghetto inmates were not allowed to leave their houses after 6:00 P.M. The Jews were regularly beaten. In order to transmit its instructions to the Jews, the Germans created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), but very little is known about its activities in Shklov.

Galperin recalls "how they buried the wife of the Shklov rabbi. They allowed her to be buried at the cemetery and even provided a horse. I carried her torn jacket on the street and was horrified to see that it was covered in lice. My mother said quietly, 'My child, the lice ate her.'"[4]

From the first days of the occupation, the German forces spread their propaganda, which exploited and inflamed interethnic hatred. For example, they distributed leaflets proclaiming that the "the days of Judeo-Bolshevik commissars in Russia are over" and that "the biggest enemy of society are the kikes [Jews]." In Shklov a newspaper was published by Loshakov that included antisemitic articles.

The first Aktion or mass shooting was conducted in Shklov at the beginning of August 1941, when Sonderkommando 7b of Einsatzgruppe B murdered 84 Jews. According to the Einsatzgruppen report, the victims "comprised 22 arsonists, 25 looters, 22 terrorists, 11 functionaries and franc-tireurs and 4 people who had spread malicious rumors."[5]

It is possible that this initial Aktion was a response to some actual displays of resistance, but it may also have been merely a pretext used by the Germans to justify their preemptive measures against the Jewish "intelligentsia." Participation in sabotage was the reason alleged for the shooting of 627 Jews living in "Schidow" (in or near Shklov) in October 1941, as well as the murder of 812 men and women (presumably in Shklov itself) by units of Einsatzkommando 8.[6] It is possible that the 627 Jews were the inhabitants of the Ryzhkovichi ghetto, and the 812 Jews were from the ghetto in Shklov.[7]

According to local testimony, in October 1941, the Germans transported the prisoners from the ghetto in Ryzhkovichi across the Dnieper River on boats to Zarech'e. In the center of the village, the Jews were forced to the ground and searched, with all their valuables being taken. Then they were organized into a column and were herded by German soldiers towards the village of Putniki.[8] The Jews were shot in an antitank ditch.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report dated December 18, 1944, mentions that near the village of Putniki, 2,700 people were executed or buried alive, but the report does not state whether those killed were all Jews.[9]

The inhabitants of the second ghetto, located in Shklov, were taken by the occupiers in motorized vehicles and driven to the ditches around the villages of Zarech'e and Ryzhkovichi. They were made to undress down to their underwear, forced to lie on the ground, and were shot. Many were beaten beforehand, and children were thrown into the ditch alive. The number of victims estimated by the ChGK is approximately 3,000 people.[10] In light of the pre-war Jewish population, however, it seems unlikely that the total number of Jewish victims in Shklov was much over 2,000.

According to the testimony of S.M. Petrovskoy, the Germans conducted the shootings in the autumn of 1941 and in December 1941. Furthermore, according to R.A. Sher, an eyewitness of the events, Rogner, senior lieutenant of the "secret police" (probably the Geheime Feldpolizei), played an active role in these executions, as did his assistants Julius Ewald and Obergefreiter Emil Eger.

Before the war, a Jewish cemetery was located in the village of Ryzhkovichi (in the southern suburb of Shklov), but during the war it was completely destroyed. The tombstones were leveled to the ground, and local citizens took the stones and bricks for their own building purposes.

Aleksandra Shuminaia and Liza Ratsevskaia both survived the war, serving in the "Chekist" partisan brigade. Tatiana Pushilina, who ran away during the shootings, became a fighter in the "Kerpicha" brigade. The Soviet partisans did not initially believe Iakov Shumin, who also fled from the site of the massacre, and he was forced to prove to them that he was not a traitor to his homeland.

In the village of Ganchvichi, Maria Dubovskaia protected Clara Altshuler, even against the wishes of her husband and son. For saving Asia Tzelinina and Anastasiia Dereviago, Nadezhda and Efim Shutikov were awarded the honor of "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.[11]

According to the wishes of the relatives, in Shklov in 1955 the bodies of the murdered Jews were exhumed and moved to the Jewish cemetery in Ryzhkovichi, where a memorial was placed.[12]

On the Iskra kolkhoz, near Ryzhkovichi, the Germans herded 96 Jews into a large barn near the judicial hall. At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, they were shot. Among those murdered were 30 men, 40 women, and 26 children.[13]

Starosel'e is a village about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the northwest of Shklov. The exact date of the massacre of the village's Jewish population is not known. The few survivors state that it occurred in August or September 1941, while the memorial to the victims states that it occurred in 1942 (without a more specific date or month). The night before the killing, all the Jews were herded into a school. In the morning, the Jews were formed into a column and ordered to march to the Brinkov Forest, located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the village. There, in two predug ditches, the Jews were shot.[14] Approximately 200 people were killed. Maria and Iosef Tsukerman survived and later joined the partisans. Braina Surina also avoided being killed by crossing the front line into Soviet-controlled territory.

SOURCES The first article on the Holocaust in Shklov was published by the author: "Tragediia evreev Shklova," in *Evrei Belarusy. Istoriia i kul'tura*, vols. 3–4 (Minsk, 1998), pp. 128–136; some relevant information can also be found in the publication *Pamiats': Shklov raion* (Minsk, 1998).

Documents and other materials relating to the fate of Shklov's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/215); GARF (7021-88-50); PAGV; VHF (# 49152); USHMM; and YVA (O-3/4668 and M-31).

Gennadii Vinnitsa
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 36, July 28, 1941.
2. VHF, # 49152, testimony of Aleksandra Shumina.
3. Testimony of B.M. Galperin, in R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg.: Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal'perin, 1997), pp. 202–204.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-BL, R 58/215, EM no. 50, August 12, 1941; and Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 2, July 29 to August 14, 1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 137.
6. USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196, reel 234, EM no. 124, October 25, 1941; see also Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Die Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230, which mentions only the killing of 627 Jews.

7. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 599, assumes that both these figures refer to the ghettos in Shklov and states that 1,459 [*sic*] Jews were killed there in October 1941: the correctly added total should be 1,439.
8. PAGV, testimony of Z.D. Surin.
9. GARF, 7021-88-50, p. 1.
10. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-88-522, pp. 4–5, gives the figure of 3,000 victims and dates the Aktion in September 1941.
11. See YVA, M-31.
12. YVA, O-3/4668, p. 1.
13. GARF, 7021-88-50, p. 1.
14. PAGV, testimony of Z.D. Surin.

SHUMILINO

Pre-1941: Shumilino, town and raion center, Sirotino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schumulino, Rayon Sirotino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shumilina, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shumilino is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 376 Jews lived in the town, making up 16.4 percent of the population.

German armed forces of the 3rd Panzer Group captured Shumilino on or about July 10, 1941. Shumilino was included within the Rear Area, Army Group Center, in the realm of the 403rd Security Division, and its Ortskommandantur 262 was established in Shumilino. Only a few Jewish families succeeded in fleeing the advancing German forces.

Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches on their clothes. The ghetto was established on Pionerskaia Street sometime in August 1941. A Jewish survivor recalls:

> During the first weeks [of the German occupation] nobody touched us. . . . After something like a month . . . they set aside about 10 houses inside the town limits, where there is a cemetery now, resettled the [Belo-]Russians out of the area, and drove all the town's Jews together into this place. So a ghetto appeared. It was surrounded with barbed wire. Old cans and bottles were hung on the wire, and if somebody touched it, they rang. A guard with a machine gun sat on a watchtower, and he opened fire on everybody who came close to the wire.[1]

Several Jewish families were settled into each house.

According to a commission report prepared by the Red Army, all the Jews of Shumilino were herded into a ghetto, which Russians were forbidden to enter and the Jews were forbidden to leave. The Jews were given nothing to eat. The Germans hanged the town elder and put a sign on his corpse, "This is how the Russian people treat saboteurs."[2]

There was, however, a natural exchange through the barbed wire: Jews exchanged their belongings and valuables for bread and potatoes. The guards—local police—turned a blind eye to the exchanges but demanded their share of the valuables and items bartered. Some children succeeded in crawling under the wire and went to the villages to barter. Forced labor at the local railway station was imposed on the Jews.[3] The survivor Yakov Magelnitzkii stated that there were Jewish policemen in the ghetto and that the Germans very rarely entered the ghetto.[4]

Forced labor was introduced for the Jewish men. According to the same witness, one day the men did not return from their work, so it was clear to the other ghetto inmates that they had been murdered by the Nazis.[5] In November 1941, rumors spread that all the Jews would be killed. It was probably the local policemen (*politsais*) who started these rumors. Two old men hanged themselves in the ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on November 19, 1941. Germans and local police took the Jews from the ghetto to the site of the former peat-cutting facility "Dobeevskii Mokh" and shot them there. The number of people killed is unclear.[6]

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report of March 12, 1945, states that 493 "Soviet citizens, predominantly from the Jewish population," were killed in the Sirotino raion.[7] It is estimated that probably around 300 Jews were killed in Shumilino.

Yakov Magelnitzkii managed to escape at the time of the liquidation and wandered from one hiding place to another; though local inhabitants were generally helpful, they would not allow him to stay for long periods. After staying for a while with the Pyatnitskoye family, he joined the Soviet partisans in the fall of 1942.[8]

SOURCES An essay on the events of 1941 in Shumilino by M. Mishin and A. Novich titled "Pravedniki mira" was published in *Mishpokha* 1 (1995); in an abridged form, the essay was included in the book on the non-Jewish rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust in the Vitebsk region by Arkadii Shulman and Mikhail Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997). In the book by G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 171–176) are devoted to the events in Shumilino.

The documents of the ChGK for the Sirotino raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-12) and in NARB (861-1-4). The accounts of Yakov Mogelnitzkii can be found in YVA (O-3/7729) and in USHMM (RG-50.378 #007). A commission report prepared by the Red Army is located in TsGAMORF (336-5136-151, pp. 85–86).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii, cited by Shulman and Ryvkin in *Porodnennye voinoi*, p. 33.
2. TsGAMORF, 336-5136-151, pp. 85–86.
3. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii; see also Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 172–174.
4. YVA, O-3/7729; see also the oral testimony by the same witness, USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.
5. YVA, O-3/7729; USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.
6. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 174–176.
7. GARF, 7021-84-12.
8. USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.

SIROTINO

Pre-1941: Sirotino, village, Sirotino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sirotino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sirotsina, Shumilina raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Sirotino is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the Sirotino raion (without the town of Shumilino) consisted of 332 people, the bulk of whom lived in Sirotino.

On June 28, 1941, the Germans bombed Sirotino from the air. Nevertheless, there was no mass evacuation from the town. Units of the German 18th Motorized Division, 3rd Panzer Group, captured Sirotino after heavy fighting on July 10, 1941, on their advance from Polotsk to Gorodok. The town and its area were defended by the 19th Army of the Soviet Western Front. In the severe fighting, much of the town was burned.

Sirotino was included in the Rear Area, Army Group Center; it was situated in the realm of the 403rd Security Division, and Ortskommandantur 262 was established in nearby Shumilino.

Under the German occupation, the former technician Borodulin became the head of the Sirotino Rayon, and the former bookkeeper Koroshkov became Sirotino's mayor.[1]

After taking over Sirotino, the Germans turned the local synagogue into a stable; they forced old Jews to burn the Torah scrolls and other religious literature in the presence of the rest of the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear round yellow patches on their clothes.[2] The Germans also introduced forced labor for Sirotino's Jews. Some Jewish men did roadwork, including repaving a central road with cobblestones. Those Jews who were members of the former Jewish kolkhoz continued to work in the fields.

In September 1941, the Germans conducted the first Aktion in Sirotino. A unit of Einsatzkommando 9 arrived, arrested about 30 or 40 males, taking many of them from their work in the fields, and informed them that they would be sent immediately to Vitebsk for forced labor. Then the SS and the indigenous police loaded the Jewish men into two or three trucks and transported them in the direction of Vitebsk. All these men were shot; according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the place of their murder was Gniloi Most, halfway between Sirotino and Shumilino.[3]

Most probably, it was after this first Aktion that a ghetto was established in Sirotino. The ghetto consisted of four or five ramshackle houses close to the Jewish cemetery. The Jews were densely packed into these houses. The ghetto was not surrounded with barbed wire.

The ghetto was liquidated late in the fall of 1941. On November 18, 1941 (the date is marked on the monument erected in Sirotino after the war), the Germans and indigenous police surrounded the ghetto and brought the Jews to the killing site, a ravine 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, and shot them there. Rumors that the Jews of Sirotino would be killed began to spread in advance. Some young people, among them Ester Lupilova, managed to leave the ghetto a few days before the Aktion. Some others, among them Grigorii Skoblov, fled on the day of the massacre. According to the ChGK, the number of Jews killed in Sirotino in the two Aktions was 178.[4]

As evident from the survivors' accounts, Jewish relations with non-Jews in wartime Sirotino were rather bad. The survivor Skoblov claims that "all the people in Sirotino were traitors," meaning that many local men volunteered to serve the Germans, and he ascribes that to the impact of collectivization: in 1930 the Jews had supported the kolkhoz, while the Belorussians had not. The survivor Lupilova, in her account, dwells on cases of robbery and abuse of Jews by local non-Jews.[5]

SOURCES Sirotino ghetto survivor Grigorii Skoblov published a short article titled "Zabyt' nel'zia" in *Mishpokha* 9 (2001). Another short article on the Holocaust in Sirotino by Klara Mindlina, "K istorii odnogo pamiatnika," was published in *Evrei Belarus* 1 (1997). Relevant information can also be found in the book by G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Sirotino raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-12) and in NARB (861-1-4). Survivor accounts can be found in YVA (O-3/4596 to O-3/4601).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Mindlina, "K istorii odnogo pamiatnika," p. 137.
2. Skoblov, "Zabyt' nel'zia."
3. YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4599. The Aktion is not mentioned in the Einsatzgruppen reports. Gniloi Most is mentioned as the place of the murder in the ChGK report; see GARF, 7021-84-12. No place with such a name can be found on a modern map. The same ChGK report dates the Aktion on September 24.
4. ChGK report of March 12, 1945, GARF, 7021-84-12. A similar estimate was given by Skoblov and other witnesses interviewed in 1985 (YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4598). The same Skoblov, in his essay "Zabyt' nel'zia," and Vinnitsa in *Gorech' i bol'* write about several hundred victims, an estimate that is probably too high.
5. YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4599. See also O-3/4596 (Beilinson).

SLAVNOE

Pre-1941: Slavnoe, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Slawnoje, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Slaunae, Talachyn raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Slavnoe is a railway station located 65 kilometers (41 miles) southwest of Orsha. The census of 1939 does not give precise information for the Jewish population of Slavnoe, but there were about 200 Jewish inhabitants who resided in the village mainly on three "Jewish streets."[1]

The Germans bombed Slavnoe from the air during the first days of the invasion. According to a witness, Jews made an

attempt to leave the town (they went, with horses and carts, in the direction of Krucha, to the southeast) but were intercepted by the Germans, who landed an airborne unit in their path. The Germans captured the town on July 6, 1941.

According to survivors, a ghetto was established on July 9, 1941, on Tolochinskaia Street. Its population was 143; the people were crammed together, with three families in each house. Jews were forced to wear armbands with a "yellow star." The ghetto was fenced on one side with barbed wire and was guarded by the indigenous police. All Jews aged 10 and older were made to perform forced labor: road construction, cleaning military barracks, and similar tasks. The survivor Vera Pogorelaia describes the forced labor: "Men were engaged in hard work. . . . Children collected pine and fir cones in the forest for them to be sent to Germany. The quota was high, so they worked from [morning] dark to [evening] dark. In winter people were sent to clear snow from the Moscow-Minsk railway."[2]

The Germans did not allot any food to the ghetto inmates. Some young people, however, managed to leave the guarded compound and exchange belongings for food. Sometimes Jewish refugees from other ghettos appeared in Slavnoe. An epidemic of typhus broke out in the ghetto. Reportedly Belorussian medical workers, at the risk of their lives, entered the ghetto in Slavnoe to treat people suffering from typhus.[3]

The ghetto of Slavnoe was liquidated on March 16, 1942. Pogorelaia recollects this day:

> On March 16, 1942, in the morning, I and some other girls washed the floor in the military barracks. As soon as we heard shots, we put on our coats and went outside. Right away we saw two trucks full of SS men beyond the railway; they went in the direction of the ghetto. The shots became more frequent. . . . When the rest of the soldiers entered the barracks, an elderly [German] soldier came close to us and said: "Run away from here. They are killing the Jews in Slavnoe."[4]

The ghetto's inmates were shot near the village of Gliniki, about 1 or 2 kilometers (about 1 mile) east of Slavnoe. Who the perpetrators were is not clear; witnesses call them Feldgendarmerie. Taking into account the date of the Aktion, most probably it was the same unit that carried out the murders in Tolochin; that is, it was a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 that came from Orsha. The monument erected on this site in 1959 mentions 106 victims. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jews killed in Slavnoe at 150; Pogorelaia stated the number was 143. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 118 names.

Some ghetto Jews succeeded in saving themselves from being killed, among them S. Shpunt, Moisei Gutkin, the sisters Lyubov' Belenkaia (née Fridliand) and Vera Fridliand (Pogorelaia), and some others. Many others who fled from the killing site were subsequently denounced by local peasants; for example, a neighbor denounced the two-year-old daughter of the survivor Lyubov' Belenkaia, hidden by a peasant woman, and the girl was killed immediately.

Slaveni is a village 14 kilometers (9 miles) west-southwest of Tolochin, or 6 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Slavnoe. In this village, 120 Jews were killed on March 16, 1942 (the same day as in Slavnoe). The corpses were burned over several days. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 96 names.[5]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Slavnoe include the books by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 132–136; and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 24–25. The ghetto is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 165, 183; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1198.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Slavnoe can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-14); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); YVA; and ZGAGO (162-7-7).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 24.
2. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol*,' p. 132.
3. Ibid., p. 130.
4. Ibid., p. 136.
5. GARF, 7021-84-14.

SLOBODA

Pre-1941: Sloboda, *village*, *Beshenkovichi raion*, *Vitebsk oblast'*, *Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ssloboda*, *Rear Area*, *Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Slabada*, *Beshankovichy raen*, *Vitsebsk voblasts'*, *Republic of Belarus*

Sloboda is located about 65 kilometers (41 miles) northwest of Vitebsk.

German forces occupied the village on July 6, 1941, about two weeks after the German attack on the USSR on June 22. In this period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were inducted into the Red Army. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Sloboda. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor; they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village; and they were subjected to systematic beating and robbery by the local police.

In early August 1941, all the Jews remaining in the village were forced to move into a few houses. Jews from neighboring villages—Bortniki, Sokorovo, and others—also were placed in this ghetto. The ghetto was in existence for more than a year, until October 1942, when it was liquidated by shooting

all the Jews, some 350 in number, in two ditches in a nearby forest.

On the day of the liquidation, a few individuals were saved. Reportedly, the physician Zarogatskaia and Anna Gurevich hid Ivan and Anastasiia Zhernosek. Two children, a boy and a girl, also were hidden and saved from the violence, but their surnames are not known.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Sloboda can be found in the following publications: A. Shul'man, *Sto let spustia. Mesto ego uzhe ne uznaet ego . . .* (Vitebsk, 2008); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 168, 188.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

SMOLIANY

Pre-1941: Smoliany, town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ssmoljani, Rayon Orscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Smaliany, Orsha raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smoliany is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) west-northwest of Orsha. In 1926, 950 Jews lived in the town (52.8 percent of the total).

German forces of Army Group Center captured the town on July 9, 1941. At the start of the occupation, the Jews were permitted to remain in their own houses. It seems that the situation in Smoliany was less harsh than in Orsha. The eyewitness Zinaida Suvorov stated that she brought food from Smoliany to her relatives in the Orsha ghetto. Later some Jews managed to flee from Orsha and found refuge in Smoliany.[1]

The Germans established a ghetto in Smoliany, which consisted of some 30 houses on Shkol'naia Street, with the synagogue at the end of the street. According to one source, between 700 and 840 Jews resided there. The ghetto was not enclosed, and the Jews were still able to leave it to exchange their remaining possessions for food with local non-Jews. It would have been possible for many of the Jews to escape, but most did not want to abandon their families.[2] Some sources date the establishment of the ghetto in the fall of 1941, just before the first snow, and others in March 1942.[3] According to Sarra Leyenson, it was only sealed off just before the liquidation in early April 1942, when Jews were brought in from the surrounding villages.

Suvorov stated that one day before the mass shooting the Germans distributed some flour to the Jews "to bake matzot for Passover." They did it, most probably, to calm the Jews, because the Jews of Smoliany were well aware of the liquidation of the Orsha ghetto. Nobody had time to use this flour, because the next morning the Germans conducted a mass shooting of the local Jews.[4]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in Smoliany on April 5, 1942, on the second day of Passover. They prepared the ditches on the day before the Aktion in the forest at Gubinskaia Dacha, about 3 kilometers (2 miles) east of the town, using explosives. A force consisting of 15 Germans in uniform, four officers, and local police escorted the Jews to the ditch and shot them there.[5] A number of Jews tried to hide and escape, but most were found by the local police. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) laid the responsibility for the massacre on the local commandant Kregel, or Kroegel. The ChGK estimated the number of victims at 610 people. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 254 Jews.[6]

SOURCES In the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), there is a short section on the Smoliany ghetto (pp. 51–53). The Smoliany ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 177; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1204; and Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 282.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Smoliany under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); VHF (# 14353 and 35029); and YVA (e.g., O-3/11082).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/11082.
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 51–53.
3. Vinnitsa, ibid., dates it on March 9, 1942; VHF, # 35029, testimony of Sarra Leyenson (born 1915), dates it in the fall of 1941.
4. YVA, O-3/11082.
5. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 51–53.
6. GARF, 7021-84-10.

STARYE DOROGI

Pre-1941: Starye Dorogi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Staryje Dorogi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Staryia Darohi, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Starye Dorogi is located 107 kilometers (67 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,085 Jews living there, representing 28.6 percent of the population.[1]

In the summer of 1941, slightly more than 1,000 Jews were living in Starye Dorogi. The populace largely believed the official propaganda claiming that in the event of war the enemy would be defeated on foreign territory. According to the testimony of Liubov' Bukengol'ts, the residents heard about the approaching war, but only the arrival of refugees from Poland put them on guard.[2] The declaration of war was not followed by an organized evacuation. All men of military age were called up to the Red Army, and their families were left to survive on their own. Part of the population tried to flee the

town independently, while another part remained, not suspecting the danger that threatened. Those who decided not to leave were motivated chiefly by a desire not to be parted from their property, concerns about health or old age, and the expectation of a rapid victory by the Red Army.

Those who managed to get to the nearest railroad station, just outside of Starye Dorogi in the direction of Osipovichi, before June 26, 1941, succeeded in escaping. They were among the refugees sent to Central Asia, the Urals, and Siberia. Other Jews left on foot or used motorized or horse-drawn transport (carts). Mania Ansolis was saved because she was studying at the Belorussian State University in Minsk and was unable to return to her parents in Starye Dorogi. She walked to Gomel' and from there traveled to Kirgizia. Elena Kuptsova, with her mother and grandmother, walked to Rogachev and from there traveled by various means to Syzran' in the Kuibyshev oblast'. Basia Dubina traveled to her mother in Starye Dorogi from Moscow in December 1940, on maternity leave. On May 19, 1941, she gave birth to a son. On June 24, with her baby in her arms, and together with her parents and relatives of her husband, she set out for Bobruisk. The family managed to board a train only in Orsha, and from there they were evacuated to Kazakhstan. Some Jews found that they were encircled and were forced to return home.[3]

Starye Dorogi was captured by the Germans on June 28, 1941. German authority was exercised by a series of local military commandants. In October 1941, units of the 1st Battalion, Infantry Regiment 691, were quartered in the town, which at that time was in the operational area of the 339th Infantry Division.[4] A local police force was established during the summer, based in the building of the former militia district branch on Pervomaiskaia Street. Among those recruited were people who were dissatisfied with the Soviet authorities. The head of the police was a man named Subtsel'nyi.

The ghetto was established on the grounds of the former Jewish school on Kirov Street. Along with the school, several houses were fenced in and guarded. There were approximately 750 people in the ghetto. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow armbands and forbidden to interact with non-Jewish Belorussians or Russians.[5]

With the arrival of the Germans, the attitude of local inhabitants of Starye Dorogi towards the Jews changed. Some no longer hid their antisemitism and stole from the Jews, while others felt sorry for them and even attempted to help them. The Nazis cruelly persecuted anyone attempting to help or rescue the Jews. Doctor Shapelko concealed two Jewish women in the hospital, but when it became known, the women were shot and the doctor was hanged. The agronomist Kunbin and Anna Koroleva were killed for concealing Jews and supporting the partisans.[6]

Before the mass slaughter, there were only individual murders of Jews, Komsomol members, and Soviet activists in Starye Dorogi.[7] Among the first victims were Dr. Livshits and his sons. According to the testimony of the prisoner of war Sipnov (a Russian), who had escaped from Starye Dorogi, a group of Jews, including women and children, were driven into the river by the Nazis, who cried out, "Swim, you dirty kikes!" But when they tried to reach the other side of the river, the Germans opened fire. No one returned from the river alive.[8] Scores of Jews in Starye Dorogi were shot on August 6, 1941.[9]

A major Aktion was carried out in Starye Dorogi on January 19, 1942. A punitive detachment, with police assistance, drove the remaining Jews from the ghetto along the Bobruisk-Slutsk highway to a sand quarry near Kasharka. The victims were made to undress in the bitter cold and then were shot at a previously prepared site. On the same day, Jewish families and individuals were shot in the nearby villages of Verkhutino, Gorki, Paskova Gorka, and Iazyl', in the Starye Dorogi raion.[10] A German report in early February stated that as of February 1, 1942, there were still 239 Jews in Rayon Staryje Dorogi, but it is not clear if this reflected the number still alive before or after the above-mentioned Aktions.[11]

The survivors from Starye Dorogi consisted only of a few dozen young Jews, who managed for a variety of reasons to escape the town before the liquidation of the ghetto and joined the partisans.[12] Among those joining the partisans was Samuil Gol'dberg. He was accepted into the Kirov detachment on the recommendation of Aleksei Ivanov, who had been a doctor before the war, a native of Podares'e in the Starye Dorogi raion, and a former lodger of Gol'dberg's.[13]

Starye Dorogi was liberated on June 28, 1944. A number of Jews returned to the town from their places of evacuation. It was decided to put them into surviving houses and return to them any belongings they could prove had been theirs.

SOURCES Some relevant information can be found in the local history volume *Pamiat': Starodorozhskii raion. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belarusi* (Minsk, 1998). Personal accounts of local inhabitants can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 268–269. Additional details can be found in the journal *Evreiskii mir*, no. 718 (August 13, 1998). The ghetto in Starye Dorogi is mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 80.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA; GARF (7021-82-8 and 8114-1-961); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24). In addition, a number of letters from the personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS) were used, including those from Liubov' Bukengol'ts, Starye Dorogi, January 13, 2000; Mania Ansolis, Ashdod, Israel, March 23, 2001; Nikolai Blumenshtein, Starye Dorogi, January 27, 2001; Elena Kuptsova, Haifa, Israel, August 22, 2002; and Basia Dubina, Tel Aviv, Israel, February 22, 2002.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Eliyana Adler

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem, 1998), p. 232.

2. PALS, letter from Liubov' Bukengol'ts, January 13, 2000.
3. Ibid., letter from Mania Ansolis, March 23, 2001.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14 b.
5. PALS, letter from Nikolai Blumenshtein, January 27, 2001.
6. *Neizvestnaia "Chernaia kniga." Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev, 1941–1944 gg.* (Moscow, 1993), p. 267.
7. PALS, letter from Nikolai Blumenshtein, January 27, 2001.
8. GARF, 8114-1-961, p. 328.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 80.
10. *Pamiat': Starodorozhskii raion*, p. 117.
11. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, FK 581 (Bobruisk)—Verwaltungsgruppe, situation report of February 10, 1942.
12. *Evreiskii mir*, no. 718 (August 13, 1998).
13. PALS, letter from Elena Kuptsova, August 22, 2002.

STRESHIN

Pre-1941: Streshin, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Streschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-2001: Streshyn, Zhlobin raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Streshin is located 105 kilometers (65 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population was 531, about one third of the total.

On the outbreak of war, men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army. Despite the absence of an organized evacuation, part of the population managed to leave Streshin in time. They embarked on boats and barges on the Dnieper or left on foot. On August 13, 1941, the 145th Infantry Division of the Red Army, which was defending Streshin, received the order to withdraw. The next day, the German XLIII Corps crossed the Dnieper and, not encountering serious resistance, pushed on towards Buda-Koshelevo and Uvarovichi.[1] German forces captured Streshin on August 14, 1941. The Germans established new organs of authority in the village. Verbitskii became mayor of the Rayon; his deputy was Migai. Vasilii Kashparov became chief of a new police force; his deputy was a man named Gerasimov. Among the policemen were Savelii Bodilovskii, Anton Kurganov, Grigorii Genov, Bodrunov, Drozdov, Foma Gritskov, and Ponomarev. These men volunteered for service, assisting the Germans to find Soviet activists and Communists, and they also organized the registration of the Jews in Streshin.[2]

In September 1941, the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators established a ghetto in Streshin, which initially contained some 480 Jews.[3] On the orders of the mayor Verbitskiy, the chief of police Kashparov assembled the Jews at a site on Kul'mashevka Street, which was closely guarded. The new local authorities forbade the inmates all contact with local Belorussians and made them wear a yellow cloth patch on the left side of the chest as a distinguishing mark. Leaving the area of Kul'mashevka Street, and especially the limits of Streshin, was strictly prohibited. Breaking the rules resulted in fines and exposure to further punishment. Chief Kashparov's deputy, Gerasimov, kept an eye on the inmates to spot any infraction of the restrictions placed on the Jews. The local authorities named Zalman Melamed as head of the ghetto. They required him to report daily to the police that all Jews were present. In February 1942, the police shot a Jewish woman who had left the limits of Streshin without permission. At about the same time, the police arrested a Jewish soldier who had been hiding behind the German lines. They killed him on the bank of the Dnieper.[4]

The ghetto had no major economic significance, and the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators paid no heed to the unsanitary conditions in which the inmates had to live. The occupiers' overriding goal was the concentration of the Jews and the prevention of escape before their extermination. The prisoners had to take care of their own subsistence. Forced labor tasks included collecting trash, clearing obstructions, loading and unloading fuel, and performing other menial tasks. Kashparov himself beat those Jews who did not follow orders, and he instructed the Belorussian police to follow his example. In mid-September 1941, the police beat Berko Rabinovich, Yosel' Khasin, and Zil'bert for failing to remove firewood from the police quarters.[5] Some individual killings of Jews took place in the fall and winter of 1941. L.P. Khodorenko witnessed the shooting of two young children whose father, Klebanov, was serving in the Red Army.

According to a German report, on February 1, 1942, 394 Jews remained alive in the Streschin Rayon, presumably most, if not all, in the Streshin ghetto.[6] On March 30, 1942, the German authorities moved them all to Zhlobin, where they were housed on Tovarnaia Street and in the barracks of a poultry farm. On April 1, 1942, Kashparov, the mayor Verbitskii, and the latter's deputy, Migai, traveled to Zhlobin. The Zhlobin chief of police had requested that Kashparov personally witness the killing of "his Jews."

The mass killing Aktion began on April 14, 1942, in a field at the village of Lebedevka, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Zhlobin. At that same place, on April 12, the Nazis and their collaborators had already killed around 1,000 Jews from Zhlobin. On April 14, the police brought the Streshin Jews to two large pits dug at the site. The Zhlobin policemen were posted as guards. Soon several vehicles arrived, carrying about 8 or 10 Germans. Some 20 Jews—elderly men and women and children—were unloaded from the truck, and Kashparov checked them off a roster. The German translator ordered the Jews to undress and lie facedown on the ground. Then members of the German killing squad opened fire with submachine guns. The Germans threw the children into the grave still alive; people were screaming; mothers clung to their children and begged for mercy. A younger man, perhaps 25 years old, who had served in the Red Army and lived for a while behind German lines before his capture, managed to shout, "You will pay for spilling our blood! For all this you will answer with your own black blood!" Several times an enclosed, black gas van pulled up to the pit, and the police extracted Jewish corpses from inside. A German officer, noticing the "curiosity" of the Belorussian police, explained that this was a special vehicle in which the victims were killed with carbon monoxide gas.[7]

Among the victims were some half-Jews: Sonia Kalinovskaia-Pesina (born 1904) and her children; Raia Malashkova-Elkina (born 1919) and one child; Basia Rudnitskaia-Shapiro (born 1915) and two children; and Sara Makei-Nekhamkina and her two children. Having refused to leave the ghetto, Sara's non-Jewish husband, Nikola Makei (born 1908), died with her. The Germans also shot three young Babitskii children (two brothers and a sister), who had some Jewish grandparents.[8]

The Aktion lasted about five hours. Streshin chief of police Kashparov, mayor Verbitskii, and his deputy Migai all played an active role. Kashparov shot seven people with a revolver.[9] When the shooting was over, around 5:00 P.M., the large pit had been filled with bodies. According to eyewitnesses, this mass "was moaning and stirring." Nevertheless, the punitive authorities ordered it to be covered with earth. It is possible that Jews from the neighboring villages of Krasnii Bereg, Pirevichi, Staraia Rudnia, and Kazimirovo perished together with those from Streshin.[10] Gel'shtein, a teacher, somehow escaped the mass killing of April 14, 1942. When Commandant Horn became aware of this, he gave the order that Gel'shtein be found and shot, which was duly carried out.[11]

When the Germans had arrived in Streshin, Jewish property was considered "ownerless" and thus subject to plunder. Taking Jewish belongings was not considered a crime. At the beginning of 1942, Kashparov ordered the arrest of the Kaganovich family, whom the Germans sent to Zhlobin, where they were shot. The Streshin authorities gave the Kaganoviches' house and belongings to Degtyarev, a policeman related to Kashparov. The police tore down the Kaganovich house for firewood. Policeman Genov took for himself two beds, a sewing machine, and a bicycle. After the liquidation of the ghetto and the mass shooting, the remaining belongings of the Jews were auctioned off.[12]

Red Army troops of the 1st Belorussian Front liberated Streshin on November 21, 1943. A number of Nazi collaborators were arrested and brought to trial at the end of the occupation, among them Kashparov, Bodilovskii, Kurganov, and Genov.[13]

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jews of Streshin under German occupation include Izrail' Slavin, "Tragicheskaia arifmetika," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), February 15, 2001; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1252; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 219.

Documentation on the Streshin ghetto and its liquidation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 234, vol. 6; and file 10560); BA-MA (RH 26-203/3); GAGOMO (1345-1-8); GARF (7021-85-41); NARB (861-1-6); and USHMM (RG-53.002M, reel 7).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. Statement of defendant Saveliy Kaspovich Bodilovskii, January 20, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, pp. 145–146.
3. GARF, 7021-85-41, pp. 2, 7; and NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 144, 381.
4. Statement of defendant Vasilii Evstratovich Kashparov, January 8, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 40.
5. Statement of witness Efim Ilarionovich Bodilovskii, December 13, 1943, ibid., p. 74.
6. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, FK 581—Verwaltungsgruppe-, Lagebericht, February 10, 1941.
7. Statement of defendant Vasilii Evstratovich Kashparov, January 22, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 58.
8. Slavin, "Tragicheskaia arifmetika."
9. In the Streshin raion in October 1943, partisans seized Verbitskii together with Migai and hanged them both (L.S.).
10. GAGOMO, 1345-1-8, p. 3; GARF, 7021-85-41, pp. 2, 7.
11. AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 311.
12. Ibid., p. 310.
13. The counterespionage unit SMERSH operating with the 170th Rechitska Infantry Division arrested Vasilii Kashparov, Savelii Bodilovskii, Anton Kurganov, and Grigorii Genov in early December 1943 upon the liberation of Streshin. The military field court of the 4th Infantry Division in open session sentenced Bodilovskii and Kurganov to 20 years' penal servitude; Kashparov and Genov, to death by hanging. The latter sentence was carried out on February 22, 1944, in Streshin. AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, pp. 316–318.

TAL'KA

Pre-1941: Tal'ka, village, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Talka, Rayon Marina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Tal'ka, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tal'ka is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 976 Jews living in the Pukhovichi raion (without the raion center, Mar'ina Gorka). Most of these Jews lived in Pukhovichi, but about 200 lived in Tal'ka, to the southeast, and a few more lived in other neighboring villages.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied the village in early July 1941. In early September, several hundred Jews from Tal'ka and the surrounding villages were concentrated in a former Soviet pioneer camp about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the village, forming a makeshift ghetto. Those who were too slow in moving into the ghetto were beaten. No food was provided to the Jews, and they were made to perform forced labor, such as road construction, tasks sometimes beyond their physical capacity. The local police who guarded the ghetto cursed the Jews. When Jewish elder Meyer Rabinovich protested about the treatment of his community, he was shot together with two other Jews.[1]

In mid-September 1941, units of the German Gendarmerie arrived in Tal'ka and together with the local police surrounded the ghetto. They escorted all the Jews into a forest about 500 meters (547 yards) away and shot them into a ditch in groups of about 15. Before the shooting, the German officer made a speech condemning the Jewish population and praising the German race.

During the shooting, Raisa Surbayeva pleaded for the life of her infant, but a German Gendarme shot both her and her child. Another woman attempted to bribe the head of the local police, Kulobizian, with 300 rubles, but he took the money and shot her anyway. The property of the Jews was taken to Pukhovichi by the Gendarmerie, but the local police also stole part of it.[2]

According to a German Einsatzgruppen report, 222 Jews were "liquidated" in Tal'ka for "persistently spreading anti-German propaganda and terrorizing the local inhabitants with price gouging." From Tal'ka, the same German police force went on to carry out a similar mass shooting of the Jews from the neighboring Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi ghettos.[3]

In the records examined for this article, no mention of Jewish survivors of Tal'ka could be found.

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Tal'ka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-L (ZStL, II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); and GARF (7021-87-12).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Semen Panschey and Kondrat Molchan in 1945; Dok. Bd. II, statement of Anna Koreny in September 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

TOLOCHIN

Pre-1941: Tolochin, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tolotschin, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Talachyn, Talachyn raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tolochin is located about 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,292 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.2 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Tolochin raion (excluding the town of Tolochin) consisted of 978 people; they lived in the town of Kokhanovo (480 Jews in 1926; the 1939 census does not give the Jewish population of the town) as well as in the villages of Slaveni, Slavnoe, Obol'tsy, Drutsk, and several other places.

German forces of Army Group Center (18th Panzer Division of the XLVII Army Corps, Panzer Group 2) captured Tolochin on July 6–7, 1941. In the second half of July 1941, this area came under the control of the 286th Security Division; on July 18, Ortskommandantur II/650 assumed authority in Tolochin; it was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 683, stationed in Orsha.[1]

Only a few Jews succeeded in leaving the town before the Germans arrived.[2] The Germans established a ghetto in Tolochin in September or October 1941. According to historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, it consisted of 15 houses on Nikol'skaia Street and had 2,000 inmates. It was not fenced with barbed wire but was guarded by the local police. Jews were forced to wear a yellow patch in the shape of the Star of David on their clothes. The Jews were made to perform various forced labor tasks, including road construction. In October, 3 (or 4) men were hanged in the central square "for their refusal to report for work." A Jewish youth who pilfered a can of food from a starch mill was hanged from the gate of the factory.

There were some cases of people fleeing the ghetto. For example, the blond-haired Mariya Shapiro, assisted by a local policeman she knew, left the ghetto, went to Orsha, and with forged documents volunteered as an "eastern worker" (Ostarbeiter) and was sent to Germany.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated on March 12 (or 13), 1942.[4] Its inmates were killed near the town in the field of the kolkhoz Rekonstruktor (now Raitsy, a northwestern suburb of Tolochin).[5] According to witnesses, the victims were led to the pits in batches of 30 and killed there. A group of Jews tried to run away while being escorted to the killing site, and some were successful. However, a number of those who fled were found by the Nazis and killed the next day. The perpetrators were most probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B.[6]

The number of victims is not clear. The estimate of 2,000, made by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) and used also by Vinnitsa, seems too high. The town had only around 1,300 Jews before the war, and some of them were drafted into the Red Army or succeeded in evacuating. It seems unlikely that this unimportant railway station would have attracted many Jewish refugees coming from the west. Einsatzkommando 8 reported that it had murdered 1,551 Jews in March, and there is reason to assume that the victims were Jews from the Tolochin raion. Estimating the number of those killed in March 1942 in Slavnoe at 150, and in Slaveni at 120, one can infer that the number of Jewish victims in Tolochin was no greater than 1,280.

Drutsk is a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) southeast of Tolochin. The ChGK mentions six Jews (the Dardyk family) killed there. Documents and witness accounts give conflicting impressions of the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the area. After the liberation, an investigating commission set up by the Soviet authorities confiscated cows from local people who had "acquired them in an illegal way" during the occupation: had taken them from Jews.[7] This means that the robbery of Jewish property under German rule was rather widespread. However, despite some denunciations, other local Belorussians risked their lives to assist Jews.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Tolochin include the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 124–143, which deals with the Holocaust in Tolochin and the Tolochin raion.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Tolochin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-MA (RH 26-286/3); GARF (7021-84-14); NARA (T-177, reel 1141); NARB; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-286/3.
2. Shalom Cholawski, *Be-sufat ha-kilayon: Yahadut Beilorusiya ha-Mizrakhit be-Milkhemet ha-Olam ha-Shniya* (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 49.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 141–143; GARF, 7021-84-14.
4. GARF, 7021-84-14. NARA, T-177, reel 1141, fr. 478–479, Wi Kdo Orscha, Lagebericht Nr. 4, March 27, 1942, gives another date: March 15, 1942. It is the survivors who maintain that the date of the Aktion was March 12.
5. Information gathered from a personal conversation with Gennadii Vinnitsa.
6. The extant SS sources do not mention this Aktion in Tolochin. At this time, Einsatzkommando 8 was stationed in Mogilev with Teilkommandos in Borisov, Orsha, Gomel', and Bobruisk, while Einsatzkommando 9 was stationed in Vitebsk with Teilkommandos in Smolensk, Nevel', and Polotsk. Logistically, it was easier for a unit of Einsatzkommando 8 to reach Tolochin from Polotsk. Besides, only this command reported a large number of Jews killed in March 1942.
7. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 142.

TRUDY

Pre-1941: Trudy, village, Polotsk raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Polozk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Trudy is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Polotsk. In 1926, the Jewish population was 126 (out of a total of 1,463).

Nine Jewish families were living in the village prior to the war; and in the summer and fall of 1941, 46 refugees, most probably all of them Jewish, arrived in Trudy from Polotsk. The Germans occupied the village in July. The village was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which introduced forced labor for the Jews but did not provide them with any food. The military commandant recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of volunteers recruited from the local population. Yuhan Ivanovich Leiburg (an Estonian) became the head of the police in Trudy, and his deputy was Stepan Lopukhov. The local police took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews.

In November 1941, the Germans established a kind of ghetto in three houses.[1] A non-Jewish witness Z. states that in November the mayor of the local *volostnaia uprava* (village authority), Kirill Kosoryga, and two leaders of the local police, Leiburg and Lopukhov, came to his house and demanded that he abandon it because Jews were to be settled there; 17 Jews were moved into Z.'s house. The witnesses interviewed by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) state that on February 4, 1942, the Germans (according to some accounts, local Kommandant Ernst Schuldes) assembled all the Jews in one house and demanded that they surrender all their valuables, promising that in return they would receive food—according to some accounts, that they would also be set free. The Jews gave up the valuables they had and received some bread from the Germans, but on February 6 they were assembled in this house again. A punitive squad, most probably not German but either local or manned by some other collaborators, arrived from Polotsk in the night, and its members got drunk in Trudy. The next morning they brought the Jews to the Riabinovka Forest, 700 meters (766 yards) south of the village of Zheltsy, and shot 76 Jews. Four non-Jews were murdered at the same time. The shooting Aktion lasted two or three hours, because the men of the squad were armed only with rifles. According to the witnesses, the perpetrators killed small children by hitting them with rifle butts or tossed them up and tried to hit them while in the air. In the evening of that day, the Germans sent local peasants to bury the bodies.[2]

In December 1943, the local Investigation Commission exhumed 60 corpses (of 80 buried) from the pit in the Riabinovka Forest, including the bodies of 19 children, 27 women, and 14 men.

SOURCES The existence of an informal ghetto in Trudy is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 101; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1336.

The documents of the ChGK for the Polotsk raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-221).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-221, p. 5, ChGK report for the Polotsk raion, April 15, 1945, testimony of Pavel Danilovich Shunevich.
2. Ibid.

UKHVALA

Pre-1941: Ukhvala, village, Krupki raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uchwala, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ukhvala, Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ukhvala is located 118 kilometers (73 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. German armed forces occupied Ukhvala in early July 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate eastward, and men of suitable age were inducted into the Red Army. About 200 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the occupation up until June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The German military administration

formed a village authority and police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents.

In about mid-July 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the village in which around 80 Jewish males were arrested and shot in the nearby forest. The women, children, and old people remaining in Ukhvala were forced to move into a ghetto, for which five houses were set aside; around 30 people lived in each house. All Jews from the age of seven up were required to wear a yellow armband. The women were forced to perform various types of work in support of the German garrison: they did the German soldiers' laundry, washed the floors in the school used to house the German garrison, and peeled potatoes for the German soldiers. The Jews themselves lived on rotten potatoes, bran, and grass. On May 4, 1942, the ghetto in the village was liquidated, and all the Jews were shot.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ukhvala can be found in the following publication: A. Shul'man, "Posledniaia obstanovka," in *Mesto ego uzhe ne uznaet ego . . .* (Vitebsk, 2008).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Ukhvala can be found in the following archives: GAMINO; and GARF (7021-87-7).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

ULLA

Pre-1941: Ulla, town, Beshenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Beschenkowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ula, Beshankovichy raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ulla is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, Ulla had a Jewish population of 516 (20.4 percent of the total).

On July 5, 1941, units of the German XXXIX Army Corps, 3rd Panzer Group, captured Ulla. From August 1941 onward, Ulla came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. About half of the Jewish population managed to evacuate the town or flee to the east ahead of the advancing German forces. In the summer of 1941, the local German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) established a local administration in Ulla and organized an auxiliary police force of local inhabitants.

In December 1941, the German authorities resettled the remaining 200 or so Jews into a large administrative building (one witness calls it a *kazarma*—"military barracks"), establishing a "ghetto" in the town, which was fenced with barbed wire. The local Belorussian police guarded the building. Jews were permitted to leave the building to exchange their possessions for food as long as they returned by the evening.[1]

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 204 (or 206, according to another document) Jews from Ulla were killed by the Nazis on January 17, 1942, at the area of a former "military settlement," half a kilometer (0.3 mile) southeast of Ulla. Non-Jewish witnesses interviewed by Gennadii Vinnitsa state that on the day of the mass murder the Germans forced those locals who had horse carts to bring old people from the ghetto to the place of the mass killing at the military settlement.[2]

According to the ChGK, no fewer than 70 Jews were killed at the Lenin kolkhoz of the Khotino sel'sovet (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] southwest of Ulla); 2 of those killed were young people (one of them, a student) who had come back from other places to see their parents over the summer.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ulla can be found in the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 144–147. The existence of a ghetto in Ulla is also mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1360.

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1) and NARB (845-1-7).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 144–146.
2. GARF, 7021-84-1; another report, NARB, 845-1-7, p. 1, gives the figure of 350 victims, dating the shooting on December 5, 1941.

USHACHI

Pre-1941: Ushachi, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uschatschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ushachy, raen center, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ushachi is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, 487 Jews lived in the town, making up 23.8 percent of the total population. The Jewish population of the Ushachi raion (without the town of Ushachi) constituted 306 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small town of Kublichi.

There was no organized evacuation from Ushachi because the town had no significant factories. Some Jews who held senior positions in the administration managed to flee, but the majority remained in the town. Ushachi did not suffer much damage from the fighting.

Ushachi was captured by units of the XXXIX Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group on July 3, 1941. On July 15, 1941, when the 3rd Panzer Group moved east, the area was occupied by the XX Corps of the 9th Army. From this time on, Rayon Uschatschi belonged to the Rear Area, 9th Army. Later in the summer of 1941, Ushachi came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). There was a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Ushachi.

The Germans imposed forced labor on the Jews. For example, the Jews had to haul out the timber that remained in

the Ushacha River, a tributary of the Zapadnaia Dvina, when timber rafting was stopped because of the war. Some work tasks were senseless and purely humiliating: for example, they forced girls to pull water in big barrels for the horses of the German cavalry. According to a witness, during the first days of the occupation the Germans pulled down a Lenin statue using a tractor, then forced Jewish youngsters to break up its pedestal with hammers.[1]

Eyewitnesses (non-Jewish) mention a certain Azril Nemtsov, who most probably was the Jewish elder in Ushachi. Before the war, Nemtsov was an employee (possibly a manager) of the Administration for Leather Procurement (Zagotkozh). According to Anna Shnitko, he had to collect gold and valuables from the Jews and was beaten for the small quantity of gold he was able to gather for the Germans.

A ghetto was established in Ushachi in October 1941 on Oktiabr'skaia Street. It was fenced with barbed wire, most probably in November 1941, and guarded by a sentinel. According to various witnesses, it consisted of 10 to 15 houses. Barter between Jews and non-Jews continued, at least in the initial stages of ghettoization. Non-Jewish witnesses attest that Belorussians came to the ghetto to exchange food for fabric and clothing; sometimes Jews also left the ghetto to conduct barter transactions.

In December 1941 or, more probably, in January 1942, the Nazis resettled Jews from nearby Usaia (29 kilometers [18 miles] east of Ushachi), from the Kublichi ghetto (18 kilometers [11.2 miles] to the west), and perhaps also from Bobynichi (17 kilometers [10.6 miles] northwest of Ushachi) into the ghetto of Ushachi.[2] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of people resettled at 500; this may be an exaggerated number.

Judging from the interviews with non-Jewish witnesses conducted in the 1980s, Jewish/non-Jewish relations under the German occupation were tense but not hostile. All the witnesses stated that they deplored the passivity and cowardice they saw in the Jews. Soon after the ghetto was established, the stove maker Mikhail Grokholskii came to the ghetto and told the Jews that things looked bad for them and advised them to flee to the forests. However, one Jew denounced Grokholskii to the Germans. As a result, Grokholskii, his denouncer, and two other Jews were arrested by the German police and interrogated; the two arrested Jews testified that it was not the stove maker Grokholskii who came to the ghetto, and Grokholskii was released.[3]

The Ushachi Jews in the ghetto were murdered on January 12, 1942. Two weeks prior to that, local residents were drafted to dig pits near the Russian Orthodox cemetery on Doletskaia Street, to the south of the town's center, ostensibly "for potatoes"; the labor took much time because the ground was frozen. Rumors circulated immediately that in fact the pits were "for the Jews." Panic spread in the ghetto, but a German officer who came to the ghetto succeeded in calming the Jews, saying that the pits were indeed for potatoes and that the Jews would be resettled to Polotsk. In any case, before the mass shooting took place, the people of Ushachi already had some foreknowledge of what was to come. In spite of this, very few Jews attempted to flee the ghetto. There are no records of Jews from the Ushachi ghetto having survived the war.

On the day of the ghetto liquidation, the Belorussian police went down the streets through which the Jews were to be led to the killing site and ordered all the residents to lock their doors and not to let in any Jews. The Jews were told that they would be moved to Polotsk. People took food and clothing with them, and while they were being formed into a column, four abreast, they remained relatively calm; some were even greeting Belorussian acquaintances who happened to pass by. The column was escorted mainly by the Belorussian police; only a few Germans were present. When the column turned south towards Doletskaia Street, the Jews realized where they were being led and, according to non-Jewish witnesses, began to throw their photographs, letters, clothing, valuables, and other things away on their way to the killing site.

According to the non-Jewish witnesses, the main perpetrators of the killing were indigenous local police (*politsais*). The victims were brought to the pits in groups of four; near the pits they were told to undress. Witnesses attest that many people were still alive when they were thrown into the pits.

According to Kublichi survivors Vera Gilman and Nikolai (Folya) Gilman, when they arrived in the Ushachi ghetto under guard, it was empty because all the Jews of Ushachi had been killed. The new arrivals found graffiti in Yiddish in one of the houses: "They are bringing us to be shot. If somebody survives, let him avenge us" (*Undz firt men shisn. Ver vet zikh rateven un bleibn lebn, nemt nekome far undz*). Old people put on their talles (prayer shawls) and prayed.

Some days later, the Jews of Kublichi were killed too. On the morning of the day when the Nazis began to drive the Kublichi Jews out of the Ushachi ghetto, somebody set the ghetto on fire. Some of the Kublichi Jews were killed on the spot; the rest were brought to the same pits where the Ushachi Jews were killed and were shot there.

After the ghetto liquidation, the Germans distributed the belongings of the Jews among the population. In addition, some local people dug up the mass graves looking for gold and valuables, sometimes also for clothing.[4]

The ChGK estimated the total number of Jews killed in Ushachi as 925 people. This number is almost certainly exaggerated, taking into account that there were only 893 Jews living in Ushachi and its raion in 1939.

SOURCES A relevant publication is Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 195.

The documents of the ChGK for the Ushachi raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-223). Eyewitness testimonies can be found in YVA (O-3/2244 and O-3/4708-17).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), p. 149.
2. See Ehrenburg's archive, YVA, P-21/II-44.

3. Details of the incident with Grokholskii are given by his son, also a witness; see YVA, O-3/4710.

4. Accounts of non-Jewish witnesses: GARF, 7021-92-223; also YVA, O-3/4708–4714.

UVAROVICHI

Pre-1941: Uvarovichi, town, Buda-Koshelevo raion, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uwarowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Uvaravichy, Buda-Kashaleva raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uvarovichi is located some 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 517 Jews living in the town (11.3 percent of the total population).

After military operations started in June 1941, all men of eligible age were called up to serve in the Red Army. In July 1941, a combat battalion of 588 men under the command of Klimenok was organized in Uvarovichi, which defended the town and punished deserters.[1] Uvarovichi was not located directly on the railroad and therefore was not subjected to German aerial bombardment. Many refugees who arrived in Uvarovichi from the former Polish areas and other western regions of Belorussia reported on the Nazi treatment of Jews. While some residents fled or were evacuated before the rapid German advance, others remained until it was too late, reassured by official Soviet propaganda asserting that the enemy would soon be defeated. Overall, less than half of the Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, primarily families and the elderly who were unable to leave.

On August 16, 1941, German forces arrived in Uvarovichi and quickly organized a new local administration. Fedor Makarenko, an accountant under the Soviets, was appointed mayor of the town. He served in this position until November 1941, when he was replaced by Lev Revnovskii (mayor until September 1943). Makarenko remained as his deputy and simultaneously presided as a local judge. Makarenko and Revnovskii organized an administration with departments for agriculture, finance, public services and utilities, education, police, and other functions. They oversaw the administration of the agrarian communes and assisted in the appointment of village elders. Radchenko became the head of the Uvarovichi Rayon; Anton Dzvinskii, the chief of police; Leonid Antipov, the superintendent of police. Koksekov and Titorenko served as police detectives.[2]

An "open ghetto" existed in Uvarovichi by the fall of 1941. Jews were not permitted to leave their separate residential area, which was guarded by the local police. The Jews remained in their own homes and were prohibited from using the town's main street or having any contact with local non-Jews. They were required to perform forced labor as demanded by the German army and the local administration.

At the end of October 1941, the German military commandant in Gomel' issued instructions for all the Jews of Rayon Uwarowitschi to be rounded up by November 10, 1941. Revnovskii and Makarenko also signed this order and transmitted it to the headmen (elders) of the villages where the Jews were living. The Jews from the surrounding area were then all sent to Uvarovichi with their cattle and other property and were resettled on Naberezhnaia Street. Only the Jews from the village of Gut did not appear as instructed. Makarenko issued new orders for their transfer and gave them only 24 hours to comply. On the next day, 47 people, mostly women, the elderly, and children, were conveyed to Uvarovichi by wagon, with a police escort.[3] In total, 17 Jewish families (about 250 people) were brought to Uvarovichi.[4]

On November 15, 1941 (according to another source, on November 18), an SS punitive detachment under the command of four German officers arrived from Gomel' (probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8). With the help of the local police, German security forces assembled the Jews they could find in the former courthouse building. Then they escorted them in a column to a killing site prepared in advance. They selected a grain warehouse located on a kolkhoz not far from the cemetery on the outskirts of Uvarovichi (about 500 meters [547 yards] to the southwest of the town, near a windmill). There were three silage pits (*silosnye*) there, each 8 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 3 meters deep (26 by 13 by 10 feet). The Germans made the Jews kneel down under guard and then escorted them into the ditches in groups of five. The Jews were made to lay facedown, and the security forces then shot them in the back of the head.

Among those who actively participated in the mass murder were Hoffmann, the German agricultural commandant (Landwirtschaftsführer) in Uvarovichi, and his deputy, Drescher; the Sonderführer Steinmeyer and Ronfleisch [phonetic]; Anton Dzvinskii, the chief of the Uvarovichi district police; Grigorii Novikov and Mikhail Titorenko, the heads of the first and second police departments; Mayor Lev Revnovskii; the policemen Kirpichev, Zhurov, and Baranchukov; and Trusov, the headman (elder) of the village of Ivanovka. After the mass shooting, Makarenko handed over Jewish cattle and property to the Germans, who had collected all the personal belongings of those killed. The Germans took the most valuable items and then rewarded the local policemen from the spoils. Whatever remained after that, Mayor Revnovskii distributed among the local Belorussian population.[5]

On November 27, 1943, the 4th Infantry Division and the 231st Tank Unit of the 48th Army of the Belorussian Front liberated Uvarovichi. It was one of the first Belorussian settlements to be recaptured. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) arrived in Uvarovichi in February 1944. It ascertained that 633 residents of the Uvarovichi raion (including 290 people of the town itself) had been killed by the German occupying forces. The villages of Goleevka, Alekseevka, Zadorovka, Zesel'e, Klenovitsa, and Reshetniki were completely destroyed.[6] Between 1941 and 1943, the population of the Uvarovichi raion declined from 48,563 to 35,906 (74 percent of its pre-war level). The population of Uvarovichi itself fell from 3,887 to 2,544 (65.4 percent of the 1941 total).[7] The Soviet authorities arrested and tried several local collabora-

tors, among them Fedor D. Makarenko, who was initially sentenced by a military tribunal to 15 years, which was subsequently commuted to 10.[8]

SOURCES There is a short article on Uvarovichi in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1368. The book *Pamiats'*: *Belarus*' (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995) contains information on Uvarovichi during World War II but mistakenly states that the mass shooting took place in 1942.

Archival sources on the events in Uvarovichi under the German occupation include the following: AUKGBRBGO; GAOOGO (144-5-6); and NARB (861-1-6).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90, report of the military branch of the Gomel' Oblast' Communist Party Committee (*obkom*) on the status of the national militia detachment of the oblast' on August 1, 1941.
2. AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 73.
3. Ibid., p. 29, witness testimony of Fyodor Alekseevich Drobyshevskii, October 26, 1945.
4. Ibid., p. 16, interrogation of accused Fedor Dmitrivich Makarenko, July 4, 1947.
5. AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 79.
6. NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 413–416.
7. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218, data on the population of the Gomel' oblast' on May 1, 1944.
8. See AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 118.

VETKA

Pre-1941: Vetka, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wetka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vetka, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Vetka is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) north-northeast of Gomel' on the Sozh River. In 1926, the Jewish population was 2,094 (35.5 percent), and in 1939, 944 (15.7 percent).

Following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, men of military age were mobilized into the Red Army. Vetka was some distance from the nearest railroad station and therefore was not subjected to aerial bombardment. Despite the absence of an organized evacuation, part of the population succeeded in fleeing. Some left on foot, taking with them the elderly and children on carts, hoping they would soon be able to return.

Vetka was occupied by German forces on August 18, 1941. Within 10 days, a local police force was established, commanded by Vasily Samsonov. In September 1941, on direct orders from the military commandant in Gomel', the local police registered the entire Jewish population. The Jews continued to live in their own houses.[1] According to the book *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, however, the German authorities ordered that the Jewish population of the entire Rayon be herded into Vetka (probably in September), establishing an open ghetto there that held more than 400 people. The Jews were ordered to stay within this residential area and were made to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David. Living conditions in the open ghetto were inhumane, and the Jews were regularly compelled to perform hard labor for 12 to 14 hours at a time.[2]

On December 1, 1941, six officers from the Gomel' Gestapo arrived in Vetka. They ordered the commandant in Vetka to assemble all the Jews regardless of age, gender, or health for a registration at 8:00 A.M. on December 2. Furthermore, it was stressed that those Jews who disobeyed the order would be shot on the spot. By 10:00 A.M. the following day, the registration of the Jews had been completed on the main square. The keys to every household were confiscated. Then the police searched the Jews' homes and brought out all those who had not registered. Subsequently, 360 Jews were herded into a stable and imprisoned there—among them were adolescent youths and infants in their mothers' arms. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the Jews screamed: "What are you going to kill us for?"[3]

The same day that the Jews were isolated, the theft of their belongings began. According to German instructions, all valuable items were taken from the Jews' homes, placed in eight trucks, and driven to Gomel'. On the evening of December 2, "Max," the officer in charge, ordered Samsonov, the commander of the police, to assemble all his men on December 3 to assist in the "resettlement" of the Jews.[4]

The first Aktion in Vetka took place in December 1941 on the orders of Kauman, the acting commandant of Rayon Wetka; Fritz Zhano, the police chief of Rayon Wetka; and Leutnant Max. On the morning of December 3, 1941, all the Jews were formed into a column and led 400 meters (437 yards) from the center of Vetka to a ditch on the southern edge of town close to a large grain elevator. Among the assembled Jews were many women, children, and the elderly. The policemen ordered groups of 10 people to lie down in the ditch. Three Germans standing on the edge of the ditch then shot them with automatic weapons. After the mass shooting, the policemen ordered local citizens to cover the bodies in the mass grave.[5] When the German murderers left, the former neighbors of the Jews—policemen, local citizens, and peasants from local villages—divided up whatever belongings remained.

The second Aktion took place in September 1942. Orders from Gomel' led to 61 Jews and Gypsies being shot about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside Vetka. According to the findings of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the Gomel' oblast', in total during the years of German occupation, the Nazis and their accomplices murdered 631 "peaceful citizens" in the Vetka raion.[6]

According to incomplete data, in the two main Aktions and in other killing operations, more than 500 Jews died; however, until recently only 217 surnames of the victims could be established, including those of 134 women (62 percent) and 69

children (32 percent) of up to 15 years of age of both genders. Among the deceased, people aged between 50 and 60 years old made up 8.3 percent, and those older than 60 constituted 18.4 percent.[7]

Among the few Jews who were able to escape and avoid the shootings was Isaac Pevzner, who was not called up to the army, owing to his nearsightedness, and was unable to evacuate Vetka because of his elderly parents. During the two years of occupation, his wife, Anastasia Nabokina, hid Pevzner in Vetka (first in the cellar of their house and later in a ditch in the garden). Because she refused to betray the hiding place of her husband, their one-and-a-half-year-old daughter was killed in Anastasia's arms.[8]

Another known survivor was Elena Markovich-Shanovich. The Germans murdered her father David in the autumn of 1941. Elena's mother was told that David had committed the crimes of being born a Jew and of serving in the Red Army. Thanks to neighbors who decided to help her, the girl was saved. They drove her to the town of Soboli, and when the Germans arrived there, they took her to another town from which Elena ran into the woods and joined the partisans.[9]

The Survivors Registry of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has information on more than 15 survivors from Vetka. Of these Isaak Gutin (born 1924) and Semin Starin (born 1933) apparently remained in or around Vetka during the German occupation. Most of the others were evacuated to the east in time or were in other cities during the German occupation.[10]

Vetka was liberated on September 28, 1943. Some of the Jews (about 30 families) returned from their evacuation to the east, but most soon moved to Gomel'.

SOURCES Apart from general works on the Holocaust in Belarus, such as Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), there is also an article in Russian dealing specifically with the Jews of Vetka by David Fabrikant, "Jewish Vetka: History and Geography," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), September 6, 2001. The ghetto in Vetka is also mentioned in the local history volume: *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1 (Minsk: BelTA, 1997), p. 192; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1390; and Marat Botvinnik, *Kholokost v knigakh "Pamiat'" Respubliki Belarus'* (Minsk: Kovcheg, 2008), pp. 83–84.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Vetka during World War II can be found in the following archives: AMVDGO (12-1/8-1, vol. 1); PALS; and YVA (M-33/461).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi: Homel'skaia voblasts'* (Minsk, 1985), p. 119.
2. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1, p. 192; see also Botvinnik, *Kholokost v knigakh "Pamiat'" Respubliki Belarus'*, pp. 83–84.
3. YVA, M-33/461, p. 3.
4. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1, p. 192.
5. PALS, information from the political committee of the Vetka raion, November 3, 1992.
6. AMVDGO, 12-1/8-1, vol. 1, p. 118.
7. Author's estimate based on materials in the book *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 2 (Minsk: BelTA, 1998), pp. 107–109.
8. Fabrikant, "Jewish Vetka: History and Geography."
9. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 2, p. 28.
10. See *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000), vol. 3, p. 402, and vol. 4, p. 714. An updated electronic version of the Survivors Registry is available on the Web at www.ushmm.org.

VETRINO

Pre-1941: Vetrino, village and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wetrino, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vetryna, Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Vetrino is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Polotsk. Neither the 1926 population census nor that of 1939 provided a separate listing for the population of the town of Vetrino. According to the census of 1926, 737 Jews lived in the Vetrino "agricultural raion" (not congruent with the Vetrino raion of 1938). According to the 1939 census, the Jewish population of the Vetrino raion was 395 people.

Before World War II, Vetrino (with its railway station on the Polotsk-Grodno line) was a border checkpoint on the frontier with Poland. The area was well fortified. These circumstances made Vetrino a point where many refugees from the "western regions," the areas annexed by the USSR from Poland in 1939, assembled. Judging from the partial list of victims compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in 1945, the town's Jewish population had almost doubled, owing to the influx of refugees from the western regions before the Wehrmacht captured Vetrino.

The western part of the Vetrino raion, including the village of Vetrino, was captured by the Germans in the course of their operation to seize Polotsk between July 6 and July 11, 1941; the village of Vetrino was taken over on July 11, 1941. It was the LVII Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group that captured the area: the same corps that entered Polotsk at this time. The eastern part of the raion was captured by July 15, after the fall of Vitebsk.

Vetrino was heavily bombed from the air, mainly on June 26 and 27, 1941. However, the evacuation of the population from Vetrino failed: most of those Jews who left the village were forced to return.

Like nearby Polotsk, the Vetrino raion was in the rear area of the German 9th Army; later in the summer of 1941 it came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. It was under the authority of the Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division.

The ChGK names the German commandant of Vetrino as Geiger; according to this source, he was responsible for ordering the mass killing of the Jews in the village.

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans registered the Jews in Vetrino and confiscated their property, including food supplies. Forced labor was introduced for the Jews. Two weeks after the Germans arrived in Vetrino, the local mayor, Sinkevich, issued an order for the resettlement of the Jews to Polotsk. After staying in Polotsk for three days, the Jews from Vetrino were allowed to return to their homes. Most probably, the German authorities had planned to resettle the Vetrino Jews in the Polotsk ghetto, but they then abandoned this plan.

In September 1941, the Vetrino Jews were resettled into a ghetto in Vetrino, which consisted of three houses on Chkalova Street. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. Locals were prohibited from having any contacts with the Jews and from giving any parcels to them, on pain of death.

On January 11, 1942, a German punitive squad came from Polotsk in two cars. The Germans and the local police formed the ghetto Jews into a column of about 30 people, escorted them to a nearby boggy area, and shot them. The pits had been dug beforehand; the bodies were buried three days later. A group of 13 Jews (the Kantor and Rabinovich families, and two unmarried women) hid in a potato cellar. They were found after the massacre of the ghetto inmates, interned in a local prison, and some days later killed in a nearby forest. According to one account given to the ChGK, it was Mayor Petrov who found and interned them.[1]

In 1945, the ChGK opened the mass grave; 59 names are recorded on the list of those killed compiled by the commission, among them 14 children aged 1 to 14. Among the 59 Jews killed in 1941–1942 in Vetrino, 27 were refugees from the western regions.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-210; NARB, 3797-1-9.

VITEBSK

Pre-1941: Vitebsk, city, raion center, center of Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Witebsk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vitsebsk, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Vitebsk is located 221 kilometers (137 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 37,095 Jews lived in the city, comprising 22.2 percent of the population. Between the census of 1939 and June 22, 1941, 3,820 Jewish refugees from Poland settled in the Vitebsk region, of whom, most probably, between 1,800 and 2,000 settled in the city of Vitebsk.[1] The Jewish population of the Vitebsk raion within its pre-war borders (without the city of Vitebsk) numbered 538.



Jews at forced labor pushing a German field kitchen in Vitebsk, 1941.
USHMM WS #25123, COURTESY OF YIVO

In early July 1941, with the approach of German forces, Soviet authorities began to evacuate the most important industrial enterprises along with their workers, including many Jews. Thousands of Jews left Vitebsk between June 22 and July 8; at the same time, many Jewish refugees from northwestern Belorussia entered the city, swelling its Jewish population; not all of them succeeded in continuing their trek eastward. According to eyewitness accounts, the number of Jewish refugees in Vitebsk under the German occupation was significant.

The city fell to units of German Panzer Group 3 on July 11, after two days of fighting, during which the city suffered considerable damage, partly because of large fires that the retreating Soviets set. Sonderkommando 7a of Einsatzgruppe B, which entered the city that month, reported that Vitebsk was much more devastated than even Minsk.

Vitebsk became the headquarters of the 9th Army, coming under the authority of its rear area command (Korück 582). From August 1941 onward, Vitebsk fell under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The 403rd Security Division had its headquarters there, along with those of its subordinate commands, Feldkommandantur 815 and Ortskommandantur 282.

The first mayor of Vitebsk was Vsevolod F. Rod'ko from western (formerly Polish) Belorussia, who had been known as a Belorussian nationalist leader in the interwar period. Lev G. Brandt, a local ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*), was appointed as his deputy. A Belorussian police force was formed, headed by P.A. Shostak, also from western Belorussia. Formally the police was subordinated to the *uprava* (local authority); in fact, it acted on the orders of the Feldgendarmerie.[2]

The German military authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Vitebsk; the Germans demanded that only local Jews, not refugees, should make up the council. It included D.S. Blen, a former director of the House of Children's Artistic Education; Kagan, a former schoolteacher of German;

Leitman, a former bookkeeper in a chemical *artel*; Beizerman, a schoolteacher; and also V.T. Tsadikman, I.O. Glezerman, and D.Kh. Ginzburg.[3] With the assistance of the Jewish Council, the authorities registered the Jewish population. An announcement on July 17 stated that the registration of the Jews would be conducted on July 18–20; those liable for registration included not only Jews but also *Mischlinge* (half-Jews) of the first and second degrees, as well as everybody cohabiting with a Jew.[4] The registration did not cause a panic among the Jews, but it took a long time; on July 26, Sonderkommando 7b reported that only 3,000 Jews had been registered. It is unclear how many Jews were registered in total; estimates vary from 10,000 to 16,000.

The Germans shot several groups of Jews between July and September 1941. On July 20, they ordered all Jewish men ages 15 to 50 to assemble at the Lenin Park. They formed the Jews into several rows, arbitrarily selected 30 men from each row, and then shot them as a punishment for the failure of some Jews to affix yellow badges to their clothes.[5] At the end of July, some Jews were shot publicly for "failure to report for work."[6] At about this time, the second Aktion took place: 300 Jewish men, mainly the younger and stronger ones, were taken for "hard labor" on the outskirts of Vitebsk; they were even given picks and shovels. All of them were shot in the vicinity of Mazurino and Ulanovichi (northern suburbs of Vitebsk); a notice posted by the commandant the next day informed people that they had been "executed" for committing arson in the city.[7] Witnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention a mass shooting of members of the Jewish intelligentsia near Tulovo on August 26, 1941. In early September, the military authorities permitted Einsatzkommando 9 to select 397 Jewish prisoners from the civilian internment camp (*Zivilgefangenenlager*) whom they regarded as terrorists, and the Einsatzkommando shot them. On September 4, Einsatzkommando 9 reported shooting 149 Jews from the "NKVD leadership, political functionaries, as well as persons evading forced labor."[8] There were also some other shootings of groups of Jews in this period, albeit on a smaller scale.

On July 25, the Feldkommandantur ordered the Jews to move to the right (in Vitebsk this means the western) bank of the Dvina by July 28. Soviet forces had blown up the bridge across the Dvina before their retreat, and the Germans prohibited the civil population from using the pontoon bridge they had constructed, so the only way to get across was by boat. Many of the locals who lived close to the river had boats; they offered to take Jews across the river in return for payment. Some Jews made primitive rafts.

The Germans turned the river crossing into a slaughter of the Jews. German soldiers in boats in the middle of the Dvina overturned boats and rafts that were carrying Jews and their belongings; Jews who could not swim were left to drown. Other soldiers, who remained on the right bank, did not let the Jews disembark onto the bank; some even shot at the boats. According to various estimates, some 200 to 300 Jews perished during the crossing.[9]

The Nazis established an area of Jewish residence in the northern part of the right bank along the Il'inskii Embankment (former Nizhne-Naberezhnaia). The city's inhabitants dubbed this area the "pale of Jewish settlement." This "pale" consisted of several sites of Jewish residence. Some of the city's Jews were crammed into a former vegetable store, others into the yeast plant, the former flyers' club, the tobacco factory, a house at 30 Komsomol'skaia Street, and other places.[10] This pale of settlement can be regarded as the first ghetto of Vitebsk. Einsatzkommando 9 (under Filbert), which entered Vitebsk either in the last days of July or on August 1–2, found the ghetto already in existence, "fenced and guarded by Jewish orderlies."

The second, much smaller "ghetto" was established at the metalworkers' club (Dom metallistov) and in the surrounding area. It was set up sometime in September; the exact date is unclear. On September 16, 1941, the uprava issued an order forbidding the citizens "of non-yid origin" (*nezhidovskogo proiskhozhdenia*) to remain in the ghetto area, as well as forbidding "all yids" to leave the ghetto area, which gives a rough indication of the date of the second resettlement. All the Jews from the previous ghetto area were crammed into the metalworkers' club. Because of the shortage of medical workers in Vitebsk (only 29 "Aryan" doctors remained in the city), some Jewish doctors were allowed to stay outside the ghetto fence.

The second ghetto was enclosed by the Il'inskii Embankment, Engels Street, Komsomol'skaia Street, and Kirov Street. At both corners of the embankment, barriers were established. The ghetto was fenced. There was a narrow passageway from the ghetto to the river near one of the barriers, and the inmates were able to collect water from the Dvina. The passageway was also fenced; later it was closed. The main entrance to the ghetto was on Engels Street. After the great fire, the right bank, where Jews had been made to resettle, was an area of scorched, charred ruins, according to an eyewitness; there were almost no buildings fit for habitation. People created makeshift dwellings from bricks, planks, and old beds. Having no firewood, the inmates broke window frames from wrecked houses and burned them for cooking and heating.[11]

In the period of existence of the larger ghetto, some Jews were made to perform forced labor, mainly clearing the city of ruins and rubble left after the fighting and the fire and performing services for the local garrison. Work columns were escorted in the morning across the pontoon bridge to their workplaces, and in the evening they were led back to the ghetto.

Neither in the first, larger ghetto nor at the metalworkers' club did the Germans provide the inmates with food, except on rare occasions. The Jews soon exhausted the food supplies they had brought with them; non-Jews came up to the ghetto fence and exchanged food for clothing. The rate of exchange was very unfavorable for the ghetto Jews, because famine prevailed throughout the city. There was no water supply in the second ghetto other than one pipe from which water poured constantly. There was a permanent queue of inmates at this

pipe. All the witnesses attest that the mortality rate from starvation in the ghettos of Vitebsk was very high.

The number of Jews who perished from hunger and disease is not clear. Soviet witnesses who gave their testimony to the ChGK estimated the rate of "natural deaths" in the Vitebsk ghetto variously: from between 30 people a day in September to 70 people a day in early October, which adds up to between 1,100 and 2,600 deaths from September 1 to October 8. It was not until September that the deaths began in the ghetto of Vitebsk. Historian Christian Gerlach estimates the total number of deaths at between 5,000 and 10,000, which would mean that a majority of the Jews who remained in Vitebsk starved to death or perished from typhus, rather than being shot by Filbert's Einsatzkommando.

The Vitebsk ghetto was liquidated on October 8 and 10, 1941, under the pretext of the "danger of an epidemic" (*Seuchengefahr*). Einsatzkommando 9, quartered in Vitebsk at this time, with the assistance of the Belorussian police, brought the last Jews of the Vitebsk ghetto to the Tulovskii (Ilovskii) ravine near the village of Sebiakhi, east of Vitebsk, and shot them.

A survivor, a man of mixed Jewish-Belorussian parentage, says that when he came to the ghetto fence on October 10 to find his mother, the ghetto site was empty; all its inmates were gone.[12]

The number of Jews killed by Filbert's unit has been a matter of dispute. Ereignismeldung 124 of October 25, 1941, reports a figure of around 3,000 Jews killed; however, Ereignismeldung 148 of December 19, 1941, mentions 4,090 Jews killed in Vitebsk. Some scholars are inclined to think that these reports deal with two different mass murders—one in October, the other in December 1941—and therefore they add these numbers together (thus arriving at the estimate of 7,000 or even 8,000 victims). Christian Gerlach questions whether the Einsatzgruppen reports deal with one or two Aktions. Both reports mention the same Aktion on October 8 and 10, 1941; the second total simply is more accurate than the previous one. The witnesses who gave testimonies to the ChGK may have exaggerated the numbers of victims, but it is unlikely that they would completely forget the second mass shooting of Jews in Vitebsk. No survivors mention a second Aktion, either.

Mikhail Ryvkin and Arkadii Shulman interpret the accounts collected by the ChGK to mean that the mass murder continued until October 12, rather than until October 8. On the basis of several witness accounts, they maintain that some group shootings of Jews (and prisoners of war) also took place in Vitebsk during the second half of October. The number of victims in this subsequent October Aktion was 800.[13] According to Ryvkin and Shulman, in early November another relatively small group of Jews was shot.[14] The precise fate of the Vitebsk Jews in late 1941 is still a subject of debate among scholars.

The Jewish doctors and artisans who were left in the city were killed at about the same time. They may have been included in the report of December 19, 1941. Some Jews continued to live clandestinely in Vitebsk even after this; thus the list of prisoners arrested between July and September 1942 and detained in the city's SD prison contains more than 120 Jews.[15]

The number of Jews who perished in Vitebsk in 1941 may be estimated at between 6,500 and 13,000. The most probable estimate is 7,500, which constitutes 20 percent of the pre-war population of Vitebsk; this means that 80 percent of the Jews evacuated or fled from this industrial city. If there were indeed two separate mass shootings of Jews (probably separated by a very short interval, and they might have been conflated in the memories of the witnesses into a single event), the most probable estimate of the number of victims is 10,500.[16]

It is not clear in which villages of the Vitebsk raion Jews were killed. Some sel'sovets (Dolzha, Borovliany, Nikolaevo) are notable for the large number of people killed in them by the Nazis. It is unclear whether there were Jews among these victims.

Jewish/non-Jewish relations in Vitebsk in 1941 were not uniform. On the one hand, some survivors attest that in the first weeks of the occupation some "shady characters" were trying to break into their houses and rob Jewish belongings.[17] On the other hand, the partisan Yevdokiya Spiridonova in 1941 escorted many Jews from Vitebsk to a partisan base at the former peat-cutting facility "20 let Oktiabria" (20th Anniversary of the October Revolution), and from there they were taken across the front line to the Soviet side in 1942.[18]

SOURCES In the late 1940s, a short memoir by Iv. Ivanov (a pseudonym), "Iz nedavnego proshlogo: Vitebskoe getto," appeared in *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* [a leftist journal in Russian, which was published in New York and Paris] 32:1–3. An essay by Ph. Friedman, "Umkum fun vitebsker yidn," appeared in the collection *Vitebsk amol*, ed. I. Trunk (New York, 1956). A book of memoirs written by a wartime German soldier with leftist leanings, Paul Koerner-Schrader, *Ostlandreiter* ([East] Berlin: Dt. Militärverlag, 1961), devotes much attention to the ghetto of Vitebsk. The fictionalized story of the extermination of Vitebsk Jews, the novel by Aleksandr Tverskoi, *Turetskii marsh* (Moscow, 1983), must not be neglected, either, despite its numerous historical mistakes. A. Zeltser and D. Romanovsky have published an account of the fate of the Jews of Vitebsk in: *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 4 (1994): 198–228. This essay also includes published versions of some eyewitness accounts now located at Yad Vashem. See also "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo v promyshlennykh gorodakh Vostochnoi Belorussi v nachale nemetskoi okkupatsii (iiul'–dekabr' 1941 g.)?" *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta* 4:22 (2000): 151–172. In 2004, the book by Mikhail Ryvkin and Arkadii Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei: Tragediia Vitebskogo getto*, was published in Vitebsk. Despite its journalistic, nonacademic style, this book represents the first history of the Holocaust in the city. Christian Gerlach's *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999) also includes a detailed analysis of the murder of the Jews of the Vitebsk ghetto.

The documents of the ChGK for Vitebsk and the Vitebsk raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1, 3, 4). The trial against members of Einsatzkommando 9 that was held in

Berlin in 1962–1963 dealt extensively with the events in Vitebsk and its vicinity; its materials can be found in the respective German regional archive; part of the material has been copied for the YVA and is deposited there as TR-10/388; the court decision can be found in the published collection *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 18 (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press: 1978) Lfd. Nr. 540. Relevant German documentation is deposited also in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg (BA-MA, RH 22, 23, and 26). At the Yad Vashem archives, not only witness statements (O-3/4124, O-3/4720–O-3/4722) but also copies of the German documentation from the Freiburg archives (see YVA, M.29.FR/215–M.29.FR/244 and others) can be found.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-21-2075.
2. N.I. Pakhomov, N.I. Dorofeenko, and N.V. Dorofeenko, *Vitebskoe podpol'e*, pp. 22–25.
3. Information from the Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore (VKM), as cited by Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 46–47.
4. Ibid., p. 48.
5. Ibid., pp. 55–56.
6. BA-BL, R58/215, EM no. 34, July 26, 1941.
7. Ivanov, "Iz nedavnego proshlogo," p. 27.
8. YVA, TR-10/388, p. 69.
9. GARF, 7021-84-3; YVA, O-3/4720.
10. YVA, TR-10/388, p. 46.
11. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 63–64.
12. Testimony of Georgiy Shantyr, Oral History Collection of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University in Jerusalem.
13. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 96–101.
14. Ibid., pp. 130–131.
15. Ibid., pp. 132–133.
16. For arguments in favor of the lower estimate, see Romanovsky, "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo," pp. 151–172.
17. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, p. 87.
18. Ibid., pp. 49–50.

VOLYNTSY

Pre-1941: Volyntsy, village, Drissa raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolynzy, Rayon Drissa, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Valyntsy, Verkhniadzvinsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Volyntsy is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Polotsk. On July 10, 1941, the German 14th Panzer Division of the newly formed 4th Panzer Army captured the villages of Volyntsy and Borkovichi. From August 1941 onward, the Drissa raion, including the village of Volyntsy, was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center.

In January 1942, the remaining 84 Jews in Volyntsy were assembled "behind a fence" (that is, in a ghetto surrounded with barbed wire). About one month later, a punitive squad of about 20 men arrived in Volyntsy from Drissa in two cars; they drove the Jews from the ghetto, forming them into a column, 4 abreast, and escorted them to a nearby forest, where a pit 8 meters by 2 meters (26 by 7 feet) had been dug beforehand, and shot them. Members of the local population could observe the massacre with their own eyes, as the killers conducted the Aktion close to the town's marketplace. After the massacre, the Germans sold part of the Jews' belongings to the locals and took away the most valuable objects.[1]

SOURCES According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 170, 189, the Aktion in Volyntsy took place on February 2, 1942. The mass shooting of the Jews of Volyntsy is also mentioned in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 132.

The documents of the ChGK for the Drissa raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-215); USHMM; and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-215.

VORONICHI

Pre-1941: Voronichi, village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronitschi, Rayon Wetrino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Varonichy, Polatsk raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Voronichi is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Polotsk. In 1920, there were 65 Jews living in the village out of a total population of 163.

Forces of German Army Group Center captured Voronichi during the first days of July 1941. It appears that very few Jews fled the village before their arrival. According to witness accounts collected for the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in early November 1941, an SS unit arrived in three cars. They arrested 6 Jewish men, told them to take shovels, and escorted them to the Ostivki Forest, where the SS told the Jews to undress and then shot them. A local policeman, Semen Rumakov, who took part in the Aktion, was rewarded with a coat that had belonged to one of the victims. At the end of November, the authorities, including the village elder (starosta) Konstantin Harbuk (or Gorbuk), assembled the Jews of Voronichi, 62 people in total, in a ghetto, which consisted of two houses and was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. During the ghetto's existence, some men came from time to time to Voronichi from the Vetrino authority; they interrogated Jews, beat them, and took their belongings. According to another account, before the ghetto was established, Harbuk regularly came to the Jewish houses and extorted valuables and good-quality belongings from them, promising that those who gave things to him would not be resettled to the ghetto in Polotsk.

On January 16, 1942, a Belorussian police squad from Polotsk, 12 men, headed by two Germans, arrived from Bobynichi. Supported by Harbuk and the local policeman Rumakov, they began to assemble the Jews from the ghetto. Some Jews attempted to flee; they were shot at and wounded. The men of the squad beat the wounded with rifle butts. According to one account, they put out the eyes of 17-year-old Sonia Vaiman, who had attempted to flee, and then killed her. A Jewish woman, Malka Rubin, tried to hide with her 3-year-old son, but Harbuk found them. The rest of the Jews from the ghetto were led to an old cemetery and shot. In all, 62 people were killed on that day, among them 28 children ages 1 to 14 years. The men of the police squad collected the clothing of the victims.

A total of 68 Jews were killed in Voronichi.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210, p. 104).

Daniel Romanovsky

ZEMBIN

Pre-1941: Zembin, village, Borisov raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sembin, Rayon Borissow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zembin, Borisau raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zembin is located about 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1926, there were 838 Jews out of 1,199 inhabitants of the village (69.9 percent).

German armed forces occupied Zembin on June 30, 1941. With the exception of the Shifrin family (with many children), who traveled to the east a few days before the Germans arrived, most Jews found themselves under German occupation. Some families with more than 20 carts fled to the Berezina River but became encircled by the rapidly advancing German spearheads and were all forced to return to Zembin. Because there was shooting on the streets that night, some of the inhabitants decided to hide near the swamp, but two days later they also returned to the village. One week after the Germans arrived, the Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks on their chests and back: a yellow circle 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. They were also forbidden to communicate with non-Jews.[1] A police force was formed in Zembin, headed by Vasiliy Kharitonovich (chief of police) and Feofil Kabakov, his deputy.[2]

In mid-July 1941, houses on Gatskaia and Raboche-Krestianskaia Streets, not far from the Jewish cemetery, were enclosed with barbed wire, and a ghetto was formed. More than 900 people were confined in the ghetto. The Jews were compelled to perform a variety of jobs meticulously, without pay and without questioning the orders given to them. They were used for collecting garbage, cleaning the area, loading and unloading fuel, and doing other menial tasks. The Germans had no long-term plans for the ghetto in Zembin but simply used it as a place to gather and contain the Jews before exterminating them. In mid-August, the German authorities chose 18 of the strongest men to dig a pit 800 meters (about half a mile) outside Zembin at a place called Zagornoe, ostensibly as a dump for useless military equipment. The pit was 46 meters long and 3 meters wide (about 151 by 10 feet). This task took several days to complete; however, the earthen stairs leading down into the pits aroused suspicion.[3]

In the early morning of August 18, 1941, policemen Gnot and Golub went through the ghetto and declared that according to a German order all the Jews were to gather at the marketplace. This was done under the pretense of checking documents and resettling the people from Zembin. When the Jews had gathered at the predetermined place, Gendarmes with dogs encircled them. Policemen organized the prisoners into columns and led them into the forest. The guards demanded order and shouted and hit those who stepped out of line. Not far from the forest, behind which was the pit, the column stopped, and people were ordered to kneel; after that, they were permitted to sit down to "rest." At first, 20 of the healthiest men were led away. There were few men in the ghetto, because the majority had been mobilized into the Red Army. Shots were heard. Then one by one, groups of 15 to 20 people were taken away and led to the pit. A young teacher shouted: "Don't cry, these are fascists! Either way they will have to pay, our people will avenge us!" She was among the first killed. Families sat together in small groups, planning to die together. People were ordered to undress and lie down in the pit in line, then were shot. Among the victims was a cadet from the Military Aviation College who came to Zembin before the war to visit relatives.[4]

According to the testimony of Rema Asinovskaya-Khodasevich, people instinctively crept away from the edge of the field where they were sitting and waiting for execution, hoping to avoid being the next group selected to die. The German translator Lutske shouted: "Ten people! Not everyone will be killed, examinations are conducted there, don't panic!" A sick old man named Shenderov, who was brought with the help of his relatives, died from a heart attack due to anxiety before his turn came.[5]

Only two children, both Khasia Khodasevich's, were spared, supposedly because they came from a mixed marriage. Following her mother's advice, the elder child took her four-year-old brother by the hand and approached the German officer who was in charge of the execution. The girl said that she was in the crowd of Jews by accident. The officer consulted David Ehof, an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) who was formerly a teacher of German in Zembin and later became the chief of police in Borisov, and demanded that he confirm what the child was saying. Ehof answered in the affirmative, and the children were sent to a car. One boy, a classmate of theirs, ran behind them and begged: "Remka, tell them that I'm your brother, that I'm Russian!" But he was seized and thrown into the pit. According to the testimony of Stanislav Turchinovich, afterwards the guards ordered local Belorussians to bury the corpses and fill in the grave. When

the work was almost completed, an old Jewish woman who had been missed initially was brought in and executed. The pit was dug out again, and she was placed inside. The Belorussians feared that the Germans would kill them because they were witnesses, but the Germans let them go home.[6]

That day more than 750 people were murdered, including more than 250 children.[7] The Aktion was conducted by the chief of the Borisov SD, Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann, Gestapo men Berg and Walther, the commandant in Borisov, Scherer, and the commandant in Zembin, Ilek. The policemen Rabetski, Kursevich, Golub, Glot, Deshkovich, Orehov, and Kontur, as well as the Oniskevich brothers—who received copious amounts of alcohol—also took an active role in the massacre.[8]

In its own report, Einsatzgruppe B claimed that it had received "repeated complaints . . . that all the Jews there were working against German instructions" and that many had recently arrived from elsewhere. In postwar testimony, however, a member of the Einsatzgruppe, Willy Kremers, noted that in Zembin there were no attempts by the Jews to flee. Nevertheless, the Einsatzgruppe report concluded: "in order to prevent any further opposition, a number of Jews were rendered harmless."[9]

Zembin was liberated on June 30, 1944. In August, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Borisov raion was able to confirm the murder of only 5 Jews in Zembin: Gil and Liba Beneson, Meer and Haia Kats, and Fania Harik. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, through the efforts of the historical-educational society Svet Menory, 222 surnames of Jews who were killed in Zembin were established.

SOURCES The ghetto in Zembin is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); and David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005). The book by Aleksandr Rosenbloom, *Pamiat' na krovi* (Petah Tikvah, 1998), pp. 89–117, includes the family names of some of the Jews murdered in Zembin. Additonal information on the fate of the Jews of Zembin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A. Rosenbloom, *Sledy v trave zabveniia. Evrei v istorii Borisova* (Borisov, 1996); *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika Borisova i Borisovskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1997), pp. 421–431; *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi. Minskaia voblasts'*, vol. 1.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Zembin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 184/67, Dok. Bd. I); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (M-33/422).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. *Pamiat'*, pp. 421–431.
2. YVA, M-33/422, p. 8.
3. *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi*, 1:70.
4. Rosenbloom, *Pamiat' na krovi*, p. 66.
5. Rosenbloom, *Sledy v trave zabveniia*, p. 34.
6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 255.
7. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 495, gives the figure of 760 victims; according to another source, YVA, M-33/422, p. 11, there were 927 people killed, including 255 children.
8. TsAKGBRB; on the Aktion in Zembin, see also the interrogation of David Ehof on March 7, 1947, BA-L, 202 AR-Z 184/67, Dok. Bd. I, p. 210.
9. Einsatzgruppe B, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht für 24-31.8.1941, cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999) p. 570; BA-L, 202 AR-Z 81/59 (investigation against Bradfisch et al.), Bd. III, statement of Willy Kremers on June 15, 1962. In this case, it seems that German reports of resistance were probably exaggerated to justify the brutal murder of women and children.

ZHLOBIN

Pre-1941: Zhlobin, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Shlobin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zhlobin, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zhlobin is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, 3,709 Jews (19.2 percent of the total) resided in Zhlobin.

When the war began, several hundred men eligible for military service were conscripted into the Red Army. Due to German air raids, few people managed to evacuate by train, but more than half of Zhlobin's Jews escaped on foot towards Gomel' before Soviet troops blew up the bridges over the Dnieper River on August 13, 1941.[1]

A combat detachment of 500 men, including many Jews, defended Zhlobin tenaciously. German forces captured the town on July 3, 1941, but were driven out again 10 days later by the Soviet 63rd Infantry Corps. Only on August 14, 1941, did the Germans secure Zhlobin.[2]

Under German occupation, the mayor was Nikolai Zabelin, and Ivan Dombrovskii volunteered to head the town guard, selecting his 30 subordinates. Chernousov was head of the town police; Turchanovich headed the Secret Field Police (GFP); Stolypko was head of the Political Section; and Kozhemiakin headed the Investigation Section. The Shlobin Rayon police was headed by Mikhail Kashin, who commanded 150 men.[3]

The murder of Jews in Zhlobin began in the late summer or fall of 1941. A detachment of Einsatzgruppe B shot 31 Jews in the town in September 1941, as alleged saboteurs or plunderers.[4]

At first the Jews lived in their own homes, but they were forbidden to go to public places, use the main streets in the town, and associate with non-Jews. Ol'ga Sorkina was arrested for speaking with Russians. In October 1941, two ghet-

tos were set up on the southern outskirts of town. The first was in the dormitory of a school for training factory and mill workers. The second was in three converted huts on the other side of the railway and a hut near the bakery. The elder of the first ghetto was an old man named Zalman; the elder of the second ghetto was Bizur, assisted by a man named Samchen. Dombrovskii registered a total of 1,145 Jews. Adults able to work were used for forced labor.[5]

Jews from surrounding towns and villages also were brought to Zhlobin. Ermolenko, the assistant mayor of Zhlobin, ordered the Rayon police under Kashin to round up the 300 Jews of Karpilovka. Initially, the Jews could take their property with them (cattle, food, and clothing), but later the cattle were taken away. The local police guarded the ghetto around the clock, in shifts.[6]

The food that people brought with them, obtained by barter or given by Belorussians, was their only means of subsistence. Generally the local population helped, without payment, "their own" Jews who were married to Belorussians, and village Jews were helped by former neighbors, but people in these categories formed only a small part of the ghetto population. Most people had to rely on illegal barter, which required great organization and trust. Sometimes it was necessary to bribe the police to turn a blind eye.[7]

The guards beat the Jews with rubber batons. It was impossible to escape from the ghetto, and sometimes the Germans and policemen beat Jews for "amusement." During the night of December 31, 1941, and January 1, 1942, Kashin publicly shot two Jews, Ginzburg and Garelik, for attempting to escape.[8] On February 10, 1942, Feldkommandantur 581 in Bobruisk reported that 739 Jews were residing in the Shlobin Rayon.[9]

The plan to liquidate the ghetto of Zhlobin was kept secret. There were rumors about a mass shooting, but not everybody believed them. The evening before April 11, 1942, policeman Trofim Tomkov and police chief Kashin, on the pretext of road repair work, assembled about 40 men from the village of Lebedevka with shovels. But the peasants were sent into a field, to an old antitank ditch, and ordered to dig pits. On April 12, 1941, Kashin ordered Zhlobin policemen to go at 7:00 A.M. in trucks to the ghetto, where German forces were already at work.[10]

Germans and local police herded the Jews out of their houses, counted them, and then "loaded" them into 30 closed trucks, 40 persons per vehicle. The column left the town and came to a halt 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the village of Lebedevka. The Jews were herded out of the trucks and led to the killing site, the antitank ditch. Then 20 meters (66 feet) from the ditch, the Jews were ordered to undress. Some 20 policemen cordoned off the area, while the others forced the people to remove their clothing. The shooting was directed by the assistant mayor, Ermolenko, and the chief of police, Kashin. The first to be shot were the 30 most able-bodied Jewish men. The police brought the victims to the edge of the pit, where a plank lay. The adults had to stand on the plank, and Mikhailovskii hit them with a stick on the back of the neck; as each one fell forward, the other policemen opened fire with submachine guns. The last to be killed were small children.[11]

By 3:00 P.M. the massacre was over, and it was "suggested" that the peasants of Lebedevka cover the pit (containing around 800 corpses).[12]

The killing of the Jews of Zhlobin continued from April 12 to April 15, 1942. In the field between Zhlobin and Lebedevka, it is estimated that at least 1,200 people were shot, primarily elderly people, women, and children. According to the statement of Artem Vasil'chenkov, as the burial was in progress, a 10- to 12-year-old girl raised herself from the pit, resting on her arms, and screamed, "Finish me off or let me go!" A German noticed this, took his pistol from its holster, and killed the child with two shots. On April 14, 1942, the Jews of the village of Streshin (480 people) were killed at the same location.[13]

During the occupation, the Nazis and their collaborators killed more than 10 Jewish mothers with children from mixed marriages whose non-Jewish husbands were serving at the front. Nikolai Makei, a Belorussian, chose to die with his Jewish wife, Sara Nekhamkina, and their children, seven-year-old Vladimir and six-year-old Tamara. The Babitskii brothers and their young sister were killed, though their Jewish origin was three generations in the past.[14]

Quite probably, the pits near Lebedevka contain, along with the inmates of the Zhlobin and Streshin ghettos, some Jews from the neighboring villages of Krasnyi Bereg, Pirevichi, Dobrogoshcha, Staraia Rudnia, and Kazimirovo.

Few survived the liquidation of the Zhlobin ghetto. The witness Basia Palei (born 1906) was searching for food in the countryside during the shooting. When she returned, her husband and three children had been killed. El'ka Sorkina (born 1925) jumped from a truck on the way to the killing site, hid, and managed to find the partisans.[15] Aleksandra Kushner helped save Nadezhda Gorevaia and her son by her Jewish husband, who was in the Red Army. She hid them in her home and later helped them reach the partisans. Boris Glakovskii (born 1941) was saved by Tina Makovskaia and her mother, Aleksandra Reviakova. The father of Boris, Semen Isaakovich, a militia officer, perished in the defense of Zhlobin in 1941. Semen's wife, Tsilia Shaevna, and their four children (ages 1, 4, 6, and 10) were put into the ghetto. On April 12, 1942, during transport to the execution site, Tsilia managed to hand Boris to Tina, who saved him.[16]

On June 26, 1944, Zhlobin was liberated by troops of the 1st Belorussian Front. At the end of the occupation of Zhlobin, only about 20 percent of the pre-war population of 20,909 people remained.[17] Representatives of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), visiting Zhlobin, ascertained that a total of 3,091 people were murdered in Zhlobin and the Zhlobin raion by the Nazis, without specifying whether they were Jews or non-Jews. The ChGK established 548 names of the murdered Jews from Zhlobin.[18]

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Zhlobin during the Holocaust can be found in

these publications: *Pravedniki narodov mira v Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004); Izrail' Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), February 15, 2001; and *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Zhlobin can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (files 1354 and 5823); BA-MA (RH 26-203/3); GARF (7021-85-214, 413); NARB (4-33a-65; 845-1-55; 861-1-1, 6); and PALS.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki"; and PALS, letter from Moisei Dvorkin, October 16, 2004.
2. PALS, letter from Izrail' Slavin, September 23, 2004; and NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
3. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 120, Efim Barzens, July 14, 1944.
4. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 205, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppen no. 5, September 15–30, 1941.
5. AUKGBRBGO, file 1354, p. 28, Ivan Dombrovskii, April 4, 1944.
6. Ibid., file 5823, pp. 28, 312, Mikhail Kashin, August 1, 1945.
7. L. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii* (Tel Aviv, 2000), pp. 46–48.
8. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 252, Mikhail Kashin, August 1, 1945.
9. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, Lagebericht FK 581, February 10, 1942.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 119, Mikhail Vasil'evich Mulev, July 14, 1944.
11. Ibid., p. 132, Stanislava Bronislavovna Rokhlina, August 23, 1944.
12. Ibid., p. 37, Ivan Evdokimovich Pashkovskii, October 31, 1944.
13. Ibid., p. 25, Artem Vasil'chenkov, December 5, 1944.
14. NARB, 861-1-6, p. 14.
15. Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki."
16. In 1996, Tina Makovskaia and Aleksandra Reviakova were posthumously awarded the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." See *Pravedniki narodov mira v Belarusi*, p. 52.
17. Gomel' oblast' population data, May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
18. NARB, 845-1-55, p. 46.

ZHURAVICHI

Pre-1941: Zhuravichi, village and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Shurawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zhuravichy, Rohachou raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zhuravichi is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north-northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population was 616, 25.7 percent of the total.

When hostilities began, all the males eligible for military service joined the Red Army. In late June 1941, a local combat battalion of 180 men was formed, commanded by a man named Gerasimov, which performed security tasks in Zhuravichi.[1] As Zhuravichi was not on the railroad, it did not suffer from aerial bombardment, nor did many refugees from places further west arrive there, who might spread news about the Nazis' treatment of the Jews. Soviet officials did not order an official evacuation, and only a small part of the Jewish population managed to leave the town in time. They left on foot, dragging along the elderly and children in carts, hoping for a speedy return.

German forces entered Zhuravichi on August 14, 1941, and the German military administration appointed new local officials during the first 10 days of the occupation. A man named Filipchenko became the Rayon head (Rayonchef). The first chief of police, Vakhnalev (September–December 1941), was later replaced by Grigorii Alesiuk (December 1941–February 1943), a former district militia officer in the Zhuravichi People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).[2] A number of local residents were recruited to serve in the police.

In the summer of 1942, in connection with the strengthening of the partisan movement, Alesiuk called on the youth to join the Zhuravichi police, increasing police manpower from about 100 up to 500 men.[3]

Until September 1941, the Jews remained in their own homes. They were forbidden to appear in public places and to converse or trade with Belorussians and Russians. The Jews were required to perform forced labor for the German military authorities and the local administration.

A ghetto was set up in the town in September 1941. The Germans ordered Vakhnalev, assisted by the police force, to round up all the Jews of Zhuravichi and the village of Novye Zhuravichi,[4] a total of 170 people, and herd them into the garden of the kolkhoz named for the "Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution." They were quartered in six buildings, some of which had previously served as a school. The ghetto, which was guarded by local police, remained in existence for about four months. Food was scarce, the buildings were not heated, and no medical assistance was provided. The Jews presumed what their fate would likely be, but they did not escape because they were bound to each other by mutual responsibilities. The Germans appointed Jewish "elders," who maintained order, received demands for forced labor, and were made personally responsible for ensuring that no Jew escaped or hid.[5]

In the final days of December 1941, the German military administration (Ortskommandantur) in Zhuravichi ordered a pit to be prepared for the mass killing of the Jews. Alesiuk allocated 40 policemen, 10 of whom were sent to dig the pit, while the rest were posted in a circle around the ghetto as guards. The Jews were locked in the barn and kept there until the Germans arrived. Then 12 Germans, probably of the Security Police, drove up to the barn in a covered truck and began loading the prisoners for transport to the pit. They brought out 30 people at a time, loaded them in the truck, and drove them beyond the Zhuravichi hospital into a pine forest.

Most of the victims were old people, women, and children. Among others, they included Iankel' Aleshinskii (70 years of age), his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, and a man named Bogorad (38–40 years old) with his sister (26). Among the victims were also the kolkhoznik Mikhail Mazurov and the barber Moisei Starovoitov, who were both married to Russian women and had taken their surnames. Five or six trips in total were made that day. The doomed prisoners were led to the edge of the pit and shot with rifles and submachine guns in the presence of the policemen. The police buried the corpses. A number of local policemen assisted the Germans in carrying out the mass shooting of Jews in Zhuravichi.[6]

Alesiuk arranged for victims' belongings to be guarded, and two days later the Jewish possessions were taken to the Rayon authority. The best items were appropriated by the Germans, and the others were sold at a store, with the profits going into the coffers of the Rayon authority.[7]

Soviet forces liberated Zhuravichi on November 25, 1943. It was one of the first populated localities in Belorussia to be liberated. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which reached Zhuravichi in March 1944, determined that during the occupation of the town and the raion of the same name, the Nazis and their accomplices had killed 2,477 civilians, including 144 people in Zhuravichi itself. The population of the Zhuravichi raion decreased from 42,298 in May 1941 to 28,100 in May 1944: 66.4 percent of the pre-war level.[8] Some of the Nazis' accomplices, including G.V. Alesiuk, were arrested and tried.[9]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Zhuravichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publication: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Zhuravichi and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in these archives: AUKGBRBGO (case 5745, trial of Alesiuk); GAOOGO (144-5-6, p. 218); and NARB (4-33a-65, p. 90).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90, Information from the Military Section of the Gomel' Okrug Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia about the personnel of the defense force detachments on August 1, 1941.
2. Grigorii Vasil'evich Alesiuk, born in 1895, worked in the militia from 1922 to 1941; in August 1941 he avoided evacuation and remained in occupied territory.
3. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, p. 52.
4. Novye Zhuravichi is a village 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the small town of Zhuravichi.
5. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, pp. 86–88.
6. Ibid., pp. 89–92. This file names many local policemen who participated in the Aktion against the Jews.
7. Ibid., p. 68.
8. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
9. Alesiuk was arrested on February 16, 1946, and held in Prison No. 1 in Gomel'. He was tried on April 27, 1946, in Zhuravichi, and the military tribunal of the MVD for the Gomel' oblast' sentenced Alesiuk to death by shooting. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, p. 113.

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EASTERN UKRAINE AND CRIMEA REGION



Two Jewish men are forced by German troops with the 6th Army to hang three other Jews in a village outside of Khar'kov. All five of the Jewish men were eventually hanged as suspected members of the resistance, 1942.
USHMM WS #67069, COURTESY OF YIVO

EASTERN UKRAINE AND CRIMEA REGION

Pre-1941: eastern part of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941 1943: (Crimea occupied 1941–1944), initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then 1942–1943: Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B); 1943: eastern part of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean ASSR (from 1945, Crimean oblast', RSFSR, from 1954, Ukrainian SSR); post-1991: eastern part of Ukraine and Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Between the fall of 1941 and the summer of 1942, the Germans established around 19 ghettos in the military-occupied territory of eastern Ukraine and Crimea; as many as 19,000 Jews may have been confined within these ghettos. Most of these ghettos existed for only a few weeks, prior to the rapid extermination of the Jewish population. With reference to the Soviet administrative divisions as of 1939, the ghettos were distributed as follows: six in the Chernigov oblast'; two in the Sumy oblast'; four in the Stalino oblast'; and three (possibly four) in the Khar'kov oblast'. In addition, there were four ghettos (or camps mainly for Jews) in German-occupied Crimea.

German forces penetrated into eastern Ukraine following the Battle of Kiev in August and September 1941, reaching, for example, the town of Priluki, Chernigov oblast', on September 18. German forces captured Belopol'e in the Sumy oblast' and Artemovsk in the Stalino oblast' on October 7 and 14, respectively. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Khar'kov on October 24, 1941. Kramatorsk and Stalino were also occupied in late October. The greater part of the Crimean peninsula was captured by units of the German 11th Army in the second half of October 1941.

Due to the passage of several months after the start of the invasion before these regions were occupied, a considerable portion of the Jewish population was evacuated or able to flee. German registration statistics for the number of Jews encountered have survived for several locations. For example, in Khar'kov, just over 10,000 Jews were registered from a 1939 Jewish population of 130,250. Even allowing for considerable underregistration, probably less than 10 percent of the Jewish population remained. In Dzhankoi, Crimea, on their arrival, the Germans discovered only 44 Jews out of a pre-war population of 1,397 (less than 4 percent). In some smaller locations, such as Voikovshtadt and Alushta in Crimea, or Shchors (Chernigov oblast'), about one third of the Jews came under German occupation. Regarding Yalta, on the southern tip of the Crimean peninsula, Soviet documentation indicates that at least 1,120 Jews were evacuated from the city in an organized fashion. However, other Jews fleeing before the German advance became trapped there, such that the number of Jews killed in Yalta probably exceeded 50 percent of the city's pre-war Jewish population of 2,109.[1]

The two largest ghettos established by the Germans in eastern Ukraine and Crimea were those in Khar'kov, holding about 10,000 Jews, and in Stalino, which held up to 3,000 Jews. Three other ghettos had populations in excess of 1,000: those in Priluki, Artemovsk, and Yalta. Of the remaining ghettos, only those in Dzhankoi, Enakievo, and Shchors had populations of around 500 Jews—all the others containing less than 150. The two ghettos in the Sumy oblast' and the two (or three) smaller ghettos in the Khar'kov oblast' all probably held less than 40 Jews each.

In many large cities of eastern Ukraine and Crimea, however, as well as in many towns in these regions, no ghettos were established. Instead, the remaining Jews were killed in mass-shooting Aktions or by other means without formal ghettoization. In Mariupol', for example, after introducing the wearing of the Star of David and establishing a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to register the Jews in mid-October 1941, the German authorities initiated the murder of 8,000 Jews on October 18. The Jews were assembled briefly in a barracks on the edge of town for a few days before being taken in groups to be shot and buried in an antitank ditch on the Maxim-Gorki Kolkhoz, a few kilometers outside the city. The mass shootings conducted here by Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D went on for several days, with most Jews being murdered on October 20–21.[2]

The Wehrmacht was responsible for imposing a series of anti-Jewish measures following its arrival in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. In addition to the registration of the Jews and the introduction of distinctive markers, Jews were also required to perform forced labor. In Yalta, Sonderkommando 11a was mainly responsible for introducing the anti-Jewish measures, including the formation of a Jewish Council and the introduction of a six-pointed star, to be worn by the Jews on their chests and backs. All money and valuables had to be surrendered to the Germans via the Jewish Council.[3]

The process of ghettoization is documented for only a few of the ghetto locations. In Khar'kov and Stalino the local Ukrainian administration played an active role in its implementation. According to the testimony of the deputy mayor, Eichmann, on orders from Einsatzkommando 6, the mayors of the city districts and the police chiefs in Stalino organized the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto.[4] In Khar'kov, probably prompted by Sonderkommando 4a under the command of Paul Blobel, the city administration issued a resolution on November 22 excluding Jews from working in public institutions and ordering that they be resettled into one district. The city administration also registered the Jews in early December, prior to their resettlement on December 16. The Wehrmacht commandant in the city signed the placards, which ordered the Jews to move into the ghetto or be shot.[5]

A variety of different structures were used as ghetto sites. In Khar'kov, for example, the ghetto was established in the barracks of a factory district on the outskirts of town. In Yenakievo, four large barracks were also used for the ghetto. In Stalino, the ghetto was located in a settlement named "Belyi Kar'er" (White Pit) at a former quarry on the outskirts of the city. The cottages in this settlement were virtually destroyed before the Jews moved in. In Artemovsk, the Jews were confined within the cellars of the town's administrative headquarters. In Priluki, two school buildings were used for the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire.

Five open ghettos are known to have been established in Borzna, Gorodnia, Korop, Semenovka, and Shchors, all in the Chernigov oblast'. In Gorodnia, the ghetto was established several weeks after the town was first combed by a detachment of Sonderkommando 7b in late September 1941, which had resulted, according to an Einsatzgruppen report, in the shooting of 21 allegedly "thieving Jewish terrorists."[6] The "Jewish residential district" consisted of only one street and was liquidated in December after only about a month. In some of these open ghettos, individual specialist Jews, such as a dentist, were left alive for a while longer after the main shooting Aktion, as their services were still required. These open ghettos reflect a pattern similar to the open ghettos established by the military authorities further to the west, for example, in areas that were subsequently incorporated into Generalkommissariat Zhitomir.

Since most of the ghettos were improvised and several served primarily as holding pens until the Jews could be murdered, the living conditions were deplorable. A detailed description has been given by a survivor of the Khar'kov ghetto: "Hundreds of people were settled in barracks intended for 60 to 70 people. In the ghetto the Germans starved people and prevented them from going out to get water and food. At night people were prevented from going outside even for the needs of nature. Anyone spotted violating the established regime was immediately shot. Many people became sick and died. The corpses of the dead remained in the barracks."[7] The Jews were robbed and plundered by the German and Ukrainian police; and local people plundered their vacated apartments. Jews attempting to leave the ghetto were shot by men of the German police battalion on guard. The Khar'kov ghetto existed for only about three weeks before all the inmates were shot.[8]

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in these ghettos, as there is little to no information available on them. Such councils were definitely established, for example, in the ghettos in Priluki and Yalta. In Yalta, the Jewish Council was made responsible for organizing the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto and also organized workshops, a hospital, and a Jewish police force inside the ghetto.

The exploitation of forced labor was not a significant factor in the establishment of most of these ghettos, but it occurred in several, including the ghettos in Stalino and Dzhankoi. To the northwest of Khar'kov, in both Dmitrovka and Bogodukhov, small groups of Jews were confined within a single building and taken out daily to perform forced labor—in the case of Bogodukhov, for several months before the Germans shot them. There is a report of a third small ghetto, in Danilovka, not far from Bogodukhov, but it was not possible to locate this site with certainty using available maps.[9] In the open ghettos of the Chernigov oblast', forced labor for Jews was introduced prior to ghettoization and presumably continued up until just before the liquidation Aktions. The ghetto in Belopol'e, established in 1942 for the remaining Jews found there, was intended as a means to exploit them as forced laborers.[10]

There is little detailed evidence of organized resistance in these short-lived ghettos other than attempts to evade registration and ghettoization and some escape attempts that often cost Jews their lives. In the enclosed ghetto of Priluki, tunnels were dug to enable young Jews to sneak out and scavenge for food. Those who did escape successfully from the ghettos often received some assistance from, or managed to pass as, non-Jews. Those from mixed marriages had better chances for these reasons. Jews also had more success if they moved away from their former place of residence, to reduce the danger of their being recognized and denounced.

A few of the ghettos or camps in these regions also included some non-Jewish prisoners. In Dzhankoi, non-Jewish peasants who had assisted the Jews were confined with them. Available sources indicate that the ghetto or camp in Kramatorsk may also have contained non-Jews, either alongside the Jews or possibly after the Jews had been murdered. In Alushta, Crimea, Gypsies were confined with the Jews in a single building closely guarded by the Tartar militia.

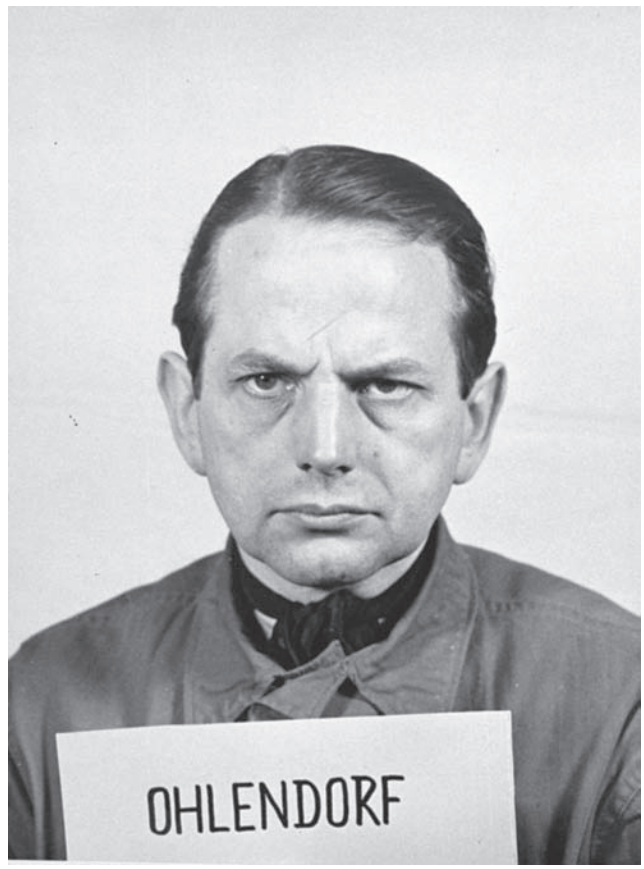
Places of temporary confinement for Jews, or destruction ghettos, which existed for only a few days, were established at several locations in Crimea, most notably in Feodosiia and Evpatoriia. These locations have not been given separate entries in this volume because the Jews were confined for only a week or less.[11] For example, in Feodosiia, about 800 Jews were held in a prison "ghetto" for a few days as an integral part of the killing Aktion there in early December 1941.[12] In Evpatoriia, around 750 Jews were confined from November 21, 1941, in a former military school building. Exactly how long they were held there is uncertain. However, contemporary German documentation suggests it was only hours, or a few days, before the men of Sonderkommando 11a shot them all. The town was declared to be free of Jews by December 15.[13] In Simferopol', the Germans established a Judenrat and subjected the Jews to making large monetary contributions and forced labor, but no formal ghetto was established. From December 9, 1941, Sonderkommando 11b ordered the Krimchaks and Jews to assemble at several collection points; then they shot them successively over the following four days, implying some temporary confinement during the course of the Aktion. In the weeks that followed, additional Jews were found and shot, bringing the total number of Jews murdered in Simferopol' to around 10,000, in addition to 1,500 Krimchaks. The children of mixed marriages involving Jews were murdered here using a gas van in July 1942.[14]

In the winter of 1941–1942, the advance of the Red Army successfully liberated one ghetto in Crimea. After capturing the village of Voikovshtadt in November 1941, the German

authorities established a small ghetto in one building on the outskirts of the village for the less than 100 Jews who remained. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Romanian troops. The landing of Soviet forces on the Kerch' peninsula on December 26, 1941, forced the Germans to retreat, enabling the Red Army to liberate the remaining Jews in the Voikovshtadt ghetto. They were then evacuated, together with the Soviet forces, before the Germans reoccupied the village in May 1942.[15]

Nearly all the ghettos in this region existed for only a few weeks. Most of the mass shootings conducted to liquidate the ghettos were organized by the respective detachments of Einsatzgruppen C and D, assisted by locally based units of the Waffen-SS, the Wehrmacht, the Order Police, and Ukrainian, Tartar, or other native auxiliaries. Some of the smaller Aktions, however, were conducted without the participation of the Einsatzgruppen. Large ditches or ravines were used in most cases for the mass shootings, but in Artemovsk the Jews were shot in an alabaster mine, which was sealed afterwards, once the task was completed. By July 1942, all of these ghettos had been liquidated.

The last occupying German forces were driven from the region with the conquest of the Crimea by the Red Army during the course of April and May 1944. Precise figures are not available, but it seems likely that of the Jews trapped by the German occupation in this region, only a few hundred managed to survive. The postwar populations in these towns and cities were composed overwhelmingly of Jews who had returned (or arrived) from the Soviet interior or the Red Army.



Mug shot of Einsatzgruppen Trial defendant Otto Ohlendorf, former commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe D, which murdered over 90,000 civilians, mostly Jews, in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, 1947.
USHMM WS #09929, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

SOURCES Relevant secondary publications concerning the Holocaust in eastern Ukraine and Crimea include the following: Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), also available in German as Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and Norbert Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944): Germanisierungsutopie und Besatzungsrealität* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).

Published sources include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 1–39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–); Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002); and M.I. Tiaglyi, ed., *Kholokost v Krymu: Dokumental'nye svidetel'stva o genotside evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii Ukrainy, 1941–1944* (Simferopol, 2002).

Relevant archival collections include the following: ASBUDO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DACgO; DADnO; DAKhkvO; DARMARK; DASBU; DASO; GAARK; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; TsGAMORF; USHMM (e.g., RG-31.018M); VHF; YiU; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. For data on the evacuation of Jews from Yalta, see DARMARK, R-137-9(d)-7, pp. 32–34.

2. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 211–225; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 311–315.

3. GARF, 7021-9-59, p. 25, report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the crimes of the Nazi-German occupiers in the city of Yalta, July 17, 1944.

4. See the Eichmann trial in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.

5. DAKhkvO, 2982/2/1/3; and I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza: Kniga Drobitskogo iara. Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty o natsistskom genotside evreiskogo naseleniia Khar'kova v period nemetskoi okkupatsii 1941–1942*, no. 1 (Kharkov: Osnova, 1991), pp. 80–81.

6. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

7. *Dokumenty obviniaiut: Sbornik dokumentov o chudovishchnykh prestupleniiakh nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na sovetskoi territorii*, no. 2 (Moscow: Ogiz-Gospolitizdat, 1945), pp. 307–309.

8. BA-BL, R 2104/25 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), Pol. Btl. 314 report on 83 dollars and 850 Swedish Crowns handed in, dated January 24, 1942, signed Christ, Obltn. d. Schupo. u. Kp. Führer.

9. From late October 1941, all the Jews in Danilovka (12 people) were confined within a single house. The Germans took two young girls away and subjected them to rape and torture for several days. Sometime later, all the Jews were shot. Source: Report of the deputy commander of the Political Unit of the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade to the head of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army, dated March 17, 1943 (TsGAMORF, Collection of the 5th Guards Tank Army, 4982-35, p. 419), published in F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 54–55. The report places Danilovka in the Bogodukhov raion. However, the only place named Danilovka that could be found on a detailed postwar map of the area is Malaia Danilovka, a little further to the east in the Dergachi raion. Owing to the sparse and uncertain nature of this information, no separate entry has been prepared for Danilovka.

10. Andrej Angrick, "Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), p. 204.

11. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 127–128, uses the term "ghettos or places of temporary confinement."

12. Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944)*, pp. 200–201, uses the term "ghetto" with regard to Feodosiia, but most other accounts do not.

13. Ibid., p. 199, interprets the contemporary German documentation as suggesting the Jews were killed only hours after their initial confinement or over the following days. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 128, gives December 2 as the date for the liquidation of this temporary place of confinement. For a slightly different interpretation, based more on testimony from German war crimes investigations, see Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 346–347.

14. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 170, February 18, 1942; Tiaglyi, *Kholokost v Krymu*, pp. 64, 98–102; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 338–344. It does not appear that gas vans were deployed for the murder of the inmates of any of the ghettos described in this essay. For further information on the fate of Krimchaks, Karaites, Mountain Jews, and Roma in Crimea, see, for example, Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944)*, pp. 187–194.

15. M. Goldenberg, "Kerchensko-Feodosiiskaia desantnaia operatsiia v sud'be evreev i krymchakov Vostochnogo Kryma," *Tkuma. Vestnik nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk, 2004), nos. 4–5 (47–48), p. 2.



Reich Commissariat borders as of September 1942
Ukraine oblast' borders as of May 1941

AKHTYRKA

Pre-1941: Akhtyrka, town and raion center, Sumy oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Achtyrka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Okhtyrka, Sumy oblast', Ukraine

Akhtyrka is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south of Sumy. Records from the 1939 census reveal that 277 Jews lived in Akhtyrka (almost 1 percent of the town's population). The town was occupied by German troops on October 14, 1941, about 16 weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before the arrival of German troops, about 90 percent of the local Jews managed to escape to the east. There were many Jewish men who were recruited into the Red Army, while others joined voluntarily.

During the entire period of the German occupation of Akhtyrka, from October 1941 to September 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was responsible for the administration of the town. The German military authorities established a local government and also an auxiliary police force recruited from the local Ukrainian population.

A short time after the German occupation of the town, the German military authorities issued an order that the Jews had to register and wear armbands on their sleeves. In addition, they were forced to conduct various kinds of physically demanding work. In November 1941, Feldkommandantur 198 counted 29 Jews in Akhtyrka.[1] In December 1941, all the Jews of the town were "gathered at one place," which meant that they were resettled into a form of ghetto. During December three Jewish women died.[2] Between the end of January and the beginning of February 1942, all the Jews of the ghetto were murdered in a series of shooting Aktions.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Akhtyrka can be found in the following archives: DASO; GARF (7021-74-487); and NARA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 893 report of Feldkommandantur 198, November 29, 1941.
2. Ibid., report of Feldkommandantur 198, December 31, 1941.

ALUSHTA

Pre-1941: Alushta, town and raion center in the Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Aluschta, (in 1941–1942) Rear Area, 11th Army; post-1991: Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Alushta is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southeast of Simferopol' on the coast of the Black Sea. According to the 1939 census, there were 251 Jews living in Alushta, comprising 2.6 percent of the town's total population. Another 277 Jews lived in the settlements of the Alushta raion, comprising about 1 percent of the raion's total population, excluding the town of Alushta itself.[1]

Units of the German 11th Army occupied the town on November 2, 1941, four and a half months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this interim period, according to a report compiled by the statistical office of the town authority of Simferopol' in February 1942, 120 Jews managed to evacuate eastward,[2] while men eligible for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Around 100 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the period of occupation—from November 1941 to April 1944—a German military administration was in charge of the area around Alushta. The German occupying forces operating in the town included a detachment of Sonderkommando 11b, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D. This detachment was sent to the town immediately following its occupation and was active there until the summer of 1942; it was primarily this detachment that conducted the mass shootings of Jews. Its commander, until February 1942, was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Stamm, who simultaneously performed the duties of town commandant. Stamm consulted almost daily with the local mayor and the "militia" recruited from local Tartars.

Soon after the occupation of Alushta, the German commandant ordered the town authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, who were required to wear white armbands bearing a yellow six-pointed star. Then the Jews were gathered together in a single building, which was sealed from the outside and guarded by a Tatar militia; Gypsies were also placed in this building along with the Jews.[3] This building served as a prison-style ghetto.

On November 24, 1941, units subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D conducted the first Aktion against the Jews of Alushta. On that day, in retribution for a partisan attack on a German column of vehicles (three Germans were killed, and six were wounded), 32 Communists and 30 Jewish men from the village of Bium-Lambat and from Alushta were shot.[4]

In early December 1941, German security forces conducted a second Aktion in Alushta, in which all the Jews and Gypsies were shot in a ravine in the park of Sanatorium no. 7.[5] At the beginning of January 1942, Einsatzgruppe D reported that Alushta and the area around it had been rendered *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews).[6]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Alushta can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); GAARK (R-1289-1-5); GARF (7021-9-31); and Sta. Mü I (22 Js 205/61).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research

Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:40; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 36; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 31; and M.I. Tiaglyi, *Mesta massovogo unichtozheniia evreev Kryma v period natstistskoi okkupatsii poluostrova (1941–1944): Spravochnik* (Simferopol: BETS "Khesed Shimon," 2005), p. 27. This source indicates that of the Jews living in the Alushta raion, only 20 were evacuated.

2. GAARK, R-137-9-7, p. 6.

3. See the interrogation of Hans Stamm, May 10, 1966, Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 205/61, p. 2456.

4. See BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 156, January 16, 1942. Bium-Lambat: correctly, Biiuk-Lambat, now Malyi Maiak.

5. GAARK, R-1289-1-5, p. 84. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:40, dates the final liquidation on December 5, 1941, noting that 250 Jews were shot (in view of the above-cited evacuation figures, this number roughly reflects the losses for both Alushta and the surrounding Alushta raion). In his interrogation on May 10, 1966, Stamm denied responsibility for the murder of the Jews and Gypsies, but other members of Sonderkommando 11b conceded on interrogation that they were aware of the murder of these prisoners; see Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 346, fn. 475.

6. See BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 150, January 2, 1942. This report indicates that the Jews of Alushta were shot before December 15, 1941.

ARTEMOVSK

Pre-1941: Artemovsk (until 1924 known as Bakhmut), city, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Artemowsk, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Artemovsk, Donets'k oblast', Ukraine

Artemovsk is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Donetsk. The 1939 census reported 5,299 Jews in the city (9.56 percent of the total population).

Troops of the German 17th Army occupied the city on October 31, 1941, more than four months after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The majority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. However, approximately one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population remained under German occupation.

From the start of the occupation until its end in September 1943, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The German military authorities set up a city administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, which took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews. The man appointed to be in charge of the city administration was Golovnya, a former German-language teacher.

Sonderkommando 4b, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C, was stationed in the city from mid-November 1941 until the summer of 1942. SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Joachim Sommerfeld was its commander.[1] It was this unit in particular that organized the murder of the remaining Jews in Artemovsk.

On November 18, 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all Jews to be registered and to wear "a white armband three fingers wide" on their right sleeves. The Jewish population was also conscripted to perform different forms of heavy labor.[2]

In the middle of December 1941, Sonderkommando 4b planned to carry out a "cleansing Aktion" in Artemovsk. However, this operation was halted on orders from the chief of staff of the 17th Army, "to await clarification from the front."[3] When the go-ahead was finally given, the Sonderkommando made preparations to murder all the Jews of Artemovsk.

On January 7, 1942, the newspaper *Bakhmutskii vestnik* (*Bakhmut Herald*) published an article titled "The Treatment of the Jews in the City of Bakhmut" in which the Jews were ordered to assemble "in the park where the former NKVD railway was located" with "the aim of [establishing their] isolated accommodation." Every Jew could bring along up to 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of luggage and food supplies for eight days.[4] Upon their arrival at the meeting point, the Jews were then resettled into the cellars of the city's administrative headquarters, where they remained until the middle of February 1942.[5] From these cellars they were taken on February 15, 1942,[6] to a deserted alabaster quarry where members of Sonderkommando 4b shot them. There were 1,224 Jewish victims of this Aktion.[7]

On January 12, 1973, in the criminal case against former members of Sonderkommando 4b for their participation in the murder of the Jews in Artemovsk, the court in Düsseldorf declared:

> At a later point during their visit to Artemovsk, the defendant [Fritz] Braune—who was then commander of Sonderkommando 4b—informed the defendant Sommerfeld—who was then in the city with the detachment—about the order of the former commander for murdering all the Jews in Artemovsk, and at the same time delivering instructions to put together lists of all the Jews living there for the sake of their future liquidation. The defendant Sommerfeld then ordered the local police to put together the lists. After that was done, the defendant Sommerfeld took the results to the defendant Braune. A few days later, the defendant Braune again came to Artemovsk, where he supervised the rounding up of all the Jews and preparations for their mass execution. Both of the defendants consulted with an officer from the intelligence section who was on the staff of the XLIV Army Corps, which was then functioning as part of the German 17th Army. Together they inspected the situation in the city and selected a site for the execution, in the quarry of a former alabaster production facility.
>
> The rounding-up of the Jews went on for one or two days, and was carried out by the local police. The Jews were taken into a large building in the city,

> and placed under guard. Altogether there were at least 300 Jewish men, women, and children. The cleansing Aktion was carried out sometime between the end of January and early February 1942. On an unspecified day, the defendant Braune, his deputy at the time, Thiemann, and some of the members of the Sonderkommando came to Artemovsk to take part in the operation. At night the victims were taken in large trucks . . . to the alabaster mining area. . . . Upon their arrival, the trucks headed off about 80 to 100 meters [262 to 328 feet] and into the mining gallery [*shtol'nia*]. There the victims had to lie down in groups in the large cavern, which had been carved out of the stone. The cavern was located 30 or 40 meters [about 98 to 131 feet] from the parking lot, next to the mining gallery. Near the entrance door to the cavern from the mining gallery, there was an entrance in the rock, which measured less in length and width than the doors. Floodlights were set up in the car parking area and in the cavern where the shootings would take place. After the victims entered the cavern, the members of the Sonderkommando unit killed them with shots to the back of the head. . . . The shooting went on for a few hours, and when it was over, the entrance to the cavern was sealed from the outside.[8]

Despite the threat of being killed, some local residents hid Jews in their own homes. For around 19 months, the family of Dr. D.V. Plygunovaia hid a Jewish girl. Sofia Skibina and Ksenya Chistiakova, the residents of the house at 8 Tsiolkovskaia Street, gave shelter to a young Jewish boy, Tolia Wainshtein. A doctor named Ionov handed out passports of dead ethnic Russians to the Jews. A doctor named Balashova gave false testimony about some deaths in order to save the lives of the captured Jews. Aleksandra Smirennomudrenskaia and her son Nikolai hid a 12-year-old girl named Pana Olykus, but they were caught and murdered together.[9]

SOURCES A short article on the fate of the Jews of Artemovsk ("Artemovskaia tragediia") by S. Tatarinov was published in 2000; see *Katastrofa evropeis'koho evreistva pid chas druhoi svitovoi viiny: Refleksii na mezhi stolit'—Zbirnik naukovykh prats'*; *Materialy konferentsii 29–32 serpnia 1999 r.* (Kiev: Instytut iudaiky, 2000), pp. 114–115.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Artemovsk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/14472); GARF (7021-72-30); and StA-N.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. In 1973, Sommerfeld was sentenced by LG-Düss (8 Ks 3/70) to six years in prison.
2. Tatarinov, "Artemovskaia tragediia," p. 114.
3. See the report on the activities of the 1st Staff unit of the 17th Army for the period from December 13, 1941, to March 10, 1942 (memorandum for December 14, 1941), in StA-N, Bestand KV-Anklage, N-Doc. 3350.
4. GARF, 7021-72-30, pp. 3–4.
5. Ibid., p. 21.
6. Ibid., pp. 22–23.
7. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 177, March 6, 1942, in BA-BL, R 58/220. According to the report, "Sonderkommando 4b executed 1,317 persons, including 63 political activists, 30 saboteurs and partisans, and 1,224 Jews. By these means the city of Artemovsk was 'cleansed' of its Jewish population." Information on the executions and activities of Sonderkommando 4b are for the period February 13–19, 1942.
8. See the verdict of LG-Düss (8 Ks 3/70), December 1, 1973, BA-L (B 162/14472).
9. Tatarinov, "Artemovskaia tragediia," p. 115.

BELOPOL'E

Pre-1941: Belopol'e, town and raion center, Sumy oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Belopolje, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgruppe Süd); post-1991: Bilopillia, Sumy oblast', Ukraine

Belopol'e is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Sumy. According to the 1939 census, there were 125 Jews living in Belopol'e (about 0.72 percent of the town's population).[1] In the 1930s, the town was located close to a railway junction and had an electricity-generating plant and a tractor station. Local industries included machine construction and metalworking factories, a flour mill, and a sugar plant.

The town was occupied by German troops of Army Group South on October 7, 1941, about four months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before the arrival of German troops, a number of local Jews managed to escape to the east, and some Jewish men were recruited into the Red Army. During the entire period of the German occupation of Belopol'e, between October 1941 and September 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town.

In the fall or winter of 1941, German authorities sent the remaining Jews they could find in Belopol'e to work cutting peat. Subsequently these people were transferred to Konotop, where they were shot by members of the 1st SS-Infantry Brigade or other German occupation forces.[2]

According to a report by Feldkommandantur (V) 200, based in Konotop, dated June 1942:

> The Jewish question in this area was taken care of in the months of October and November 1941 by the 1st SS-Infantry Brigade, which was deployed here. In May 1942, a further 24 Jews were discovered in the town of Bilopillia [Belopol'e], whose housing in mass accommodations and their subsequent sending away to forced labor was authorized.[3]

In the view of historian Ilya Altman, the concentration of these 24 Jews in an unguarded building and their subjection

to forced labor there prior to redeployment for forced labor elsewhere can be viewed as a form of "open ghetto."[4]

SOURCES Relevant documentation, including the files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission's (ChGK) investigations into the crimes committed by the German occupying forces and their collaborators in Belopol'e, can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/201); DASO; GARF (7021-74-486); NARA (RG-238, T-501, reel 33, frame 351); and TsDAVO (CMF-8-2-157, p. 205).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 28.
2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 145. This source dates these events to early 1942.
3. BA-MA, RH 22/201, FK V (200), Abt. VII, Dem Kommandierenden General der Sicherungstruppen und Befehlshaber im Heeres-Gebiet Süd, Abt. VII, Betr. Tätigkeitsbericht zum 20.6.1942, as cited by Andrej Angrick, "Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), p. 204.
4. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 97–98.

BOGODUKHOV

Pre-1941: Bogodukhov, town and raion center, Khar'kov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Bogoduchow, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Bogoduhiv, Khar'kiv oblast', Ukraine

Bogodukhov is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west-northwest of Khar'kov. In 1920, the Jewish population was 288, and by 1939, it had declined to 136.

German armed forces of the 6th Army occupied the town in mid-October 1941. Soon after this date, all the Jews remaining in Bogodukhov were rounded up and forced to live together in one building, creating a de facto ghetto. The Jews suffered from starvation and only received 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread per day. They were obliged to wear armbands, and those Jews fit for work were taken to perform forced labor.

On June 23, 1942, the Germans escorted the remaining Jews (34 or 35 people) into a nearby forest and shot them. Among those killed were a number of children.[1]

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Bogodukhov include Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 167; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:150.

Information on the destruction of the Jews of Bogodukhov during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAKhkvO (3746-1-202, pp. 5 and reverse side); and USHMM (RG-22.016, folder 20 [TsGAMORF, 236-2675-42, p. 201]).

Martin Dean
trans. Edward Hurwitz

NOTE

1. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-42, p. 201; and DAKhkvO, 3746-1-202, pp. 5 and reverse side. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, p. 167, however, date the destruction of the Jews of Bogodukhov to November 1942.

BORZNA

Pre-1941: Borzna, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgruppe Süd); 1943: Chernigov oblast'; post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Borzna is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) southeast of Chernigov. In 1939, a total of 326 Jews were registered in the town (3.1 percent of the total population).

On September 11, 1941, about 10 weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, German troops occupied Borzna. By this date, two thirds of the Jewish population had escaped to the east. All the available men of military age were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. Only about one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

During the entire period of German occupation between September 11, 1941, and September 8, 1943, the local German military commandant (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town of Borzna. The German military administration established a local administration for the Borzna Rayon and an auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants.

A short time after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant responsible for the Borzna Rayon ordered the registration of the Jews. They were also obliged to wear distinguishing marks in the form of armbands on their sleeves. In addition, the Jewish population was forced to carry out hard physical work of various kinds. In November 1941, all the Jews of the town were settled into a "Jewish residential area" or open ghetto. The ghetto area consisted of one street. In February 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto and shot its residents. The shooting Aktion was carried out close to the village of Shapovalovka, and all the Jews of the ghetto, a total of 108 persons, were murdered there.[1] Throughout the entire German occupation of Borzna, according to Soviet sources, altogether 126 civilians were murdered.[2] Therefore, the Jewish population formed 85.7 percent of the civilian victims in the town.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Borzna can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-34).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-78-34, p. 18; *Vaad Ukrainy programma "Pamiat' Kholokosta," Chernigovskaia oblast'*.
2. "Borzna," in P.T. Tronko et al., eds., *Istoriya mist i sil URSR: U 26m Chernihivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972).

DMITROVKA

Pre-1941: Dmitrovka, village, Bogodukhov raion, Khar'kov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Dmitrowka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Dmytrivka, Khar'kiv oblast', Ukraine

Dmitrovka is located about 7 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of Bogodukhov. German armed forces of the 6th Army occupied the village on October 16, 1941. Soon after this date, over the course of three or four days, all the Jews remaining in Dmitrovka and the surrounding villages were rounded up and placed in one of the barns of a kolkhoz. This barn actually served as a temporary ghetto for the Jews. Jews deemed fit for work were used each day to perform road construction work. After a few days, the girls were raped by groups of soldiers, and all the Jews, at least 40 people, were shot.

SOURCE Report of the senior instructor of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army to the head of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army on August 16, 1943 (TsGAMORF, Collection of the 5th Guards Tank Army, 4982-35, p. 418), published in F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow, 1996), p. 54.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

DZHANKOI

Pre-1941: Dzhankoi, town and raion center, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Dshankoj, administered initially by the Rear Area, German 11th Army; post-1991: Dzhankoi, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Dzhankoi is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) northeast of Simferopol'. According to the census of January 1939, there were 1,397 Jews living in Dzhankoi and 2,610 in the entire Dzhankoi raion.

German troops occupied the town on October 31, 1941. Ortskommandantur II/939 administered the town. It was headed by Hauptmann Weigand, who was subordinated to Generalleutnant Döhla, the commanding officer of the Rear Area of the German 11th Army (Korück 553).

At the beginning of January 1942, a subunit of Sonderkommando 10b arrived in Dzhankoi from Kerch'. The unit, which remained in the town until August 1942, was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Siegfried Schuchart.

In September 1942 a Security Police post was established in Dzhankoi. It was subordinated to the commanding officer of the Security Police and SD in Simferopol'. A Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer (Gendarmerieleutnant Fitzke) based in the town was in charge of four Gendarmerie posts.

Since the town was occupied four months after the start of the war, most Jews managed to evacuate. The Germans found only 44 Jews there on their arrival. The Ortskommandantur ordered the mayor to place them in a ghetto on November 7, 1941.[1] The first Jewish Aktion was carried out in early December 1941, when 15 Jewish men were shot in District 21 by the Gendarmerie during the course of some house searches.[2]

In mid-December 1941, a "concentration camp" was established in the town. Jews both from within the town and the surrounding district were held there. The Jews were used for various work tasks in the town and were guarded by the local militia.[3] The camp was located in the attic of a dairy in the center of the town. G. Purevich, who managed to escape with the help of a Ukrainian acquaintance, recalled the conditions in the camp:

> The crowding and congestion were intolerable. The children were tormented by hunger and thirst. Every morning we found that several had died. . . . [The Jews] were driven to hard labor—hauling rocks. The guard made sure that each person hauled one rock. Anyone who collapsed from the weight was shot on the spot. . . . When I found myself in the attic and saw what was going on there . . . I almost went mad. . . . In the congestion I met all the Jews who had not been evacuated from Dzhankoi—many Jewish collective farmers from the surrounding countryside and also non-Jews. The non-Jewish peasants were being held here for helping the unfortunate or for giving them food.[4]

According to Purevich, "[E]very day several dozen people were selected from among us and taken to the trench made into a grave." He mentions also that one Jew was appointed by the Germans as responsible for the camp as a form of Jewish elder. However, he soon became very unpopular with the other inmates after denouncing the ghetto's quartermaster, Radchenko, for secretly helping the Jews with extra rations as much as he could.[5]

The Germans decided to liquidate the camp because of the danger of epidemics spreading from it. A report by the 1c Department of the 11th Army staff dated January 1, 1942, for the period December 16–31, 1941, describes the liquidation as follows:

> One particular incident, the creation of the "Jewish concentration camp" in Dzhankoi, led to repeated

> negotiations between the SD, the 1c/AO, the Field Gendarmerie, and ourselves. According to a report by the Ortskommandant of Dzhankoi, hunger is rampant in the camp and there is a danger of an epidemic, so that the "cleansing" had to be carried out immediately. The SD refused to carry out the Aktion because it did not have enough men, and it demanded that Field Gendarmes undertake it. Field Gendarmes should in principle not be involved in such Aktions. Only after we stated that we were prepared to make available the Field Gendarmes to cordon off the camp did the SD chief issue orders to carry out the Aktion, which would presumably be done on January 2, 1942.[6]

An SD unit from the Gruppenstab in Simferopol' carried out a "Jewish Aktion" on December 30, 1941: 443 Jews were shot in a hilly area near the road to Simferopol'.[7] The passage quoted above suggests there may have been a second Aktion, shortly after that on December 30, but witnesses who refer to two Aktions may also be referring either to smaller killings carried out beforehand or to others later.[8] In early January 1942, Ortskommandantur II/939 sent back to Berlin a number of items of property confiscated from Jews who had been arrested and placed into the "Jewish camp" in Dzhankoi between December 5, 1941, and January 3, 1942, by the Field Gendarmerie.[9]

Subsequently the local military commandants from time to time arrested additional Jews who had gone into hiding and handed them over for execution by the SD. In late February 1942, the Ortskommandantur handed over to the SD "the Jew Alterman, who had escaped from the Jewish camp here."[10] Six Jews were handed over to the SD in Dzhankoi in April, and two more were handed over "for execution" in June 1942.[11]

SOURCES There is a firsthand account of conditions in the "ghetto" of Dzhankoi by G. Purevich in Vasilii Grossman and Il'ia Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga: O zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lageriakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Oberih, 1991), pp. 291–292.

Documents regarding the Jewish camp or "ghetto" in Dzhankoi can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/15); NARA (T-501, reels 56–59); and Sta. Mü I (22 Js 203/61).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. N-Doc., NOKW-1582, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, November 10, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56, fr. 422.
2. NOKW-1592, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, December 10, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56.
3. NOKW-1593, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, December 20, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56, fr. 535.
4. Testimony of G. Purevich in Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 291–292.
5. Ibid.
6. NOKW-1866, NARA, T-501, reel 59, fr. 291.
7. NOKW-2231, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, January 1, 1942, NARA, T-501, reel 57, fr. 218; Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 6, pp. 1347–1349, and vol. 11, statements of Oskar Rimmele.
8. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 360–361, interprets the documents as indicating two Aktions, one on December 30, 1941, and the second on January 2, 1942. According to the testimony of Siegfried Schuchart, Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 5, pp. 1113–1114, before the Aktion that he led, there had been a previous Aktion in the town conducted by men from the Gruppenstab of Einsatzgruppe D in Simferopol' in which the Jews still living in town were murdered; in the second Aktion, those from the surrounding countryside were killed.
9. BA-BL, R 2104/15, p. 556.
10. NOKW-1811, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, February 28, 1942, NARA, T-501, reel 57, fr. 345.
11. NARA, T-501, reel 57, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, July 10, 1942; NOKW-1696, OK II/915 report dated April 9, 1942.

GORODNIA

Pre-1941: Gorodnia, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Gorodnia is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) east–northeast of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,359 Jews residing in Gorodnia and 1,427 Jews in the entire Gorodnia raion. According to the 1939 census, 731 Jews resided in the town (comprising 10.33 percent of the total population).[1] The decrease in the Jewish population between these two dates was most probably due to the migration of Jews to other regions and also the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

The German Army occupied the town on August 28, 1941, almost nine weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this time the majority of Jews were either evacuated or fled to the east, while many of the men were conscripted into or volunteered to join the Red Army. Those remaining behind at the start of the German occupation represented only about 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population (about 100 people).

During the entire period of German occupation (from August 28, 1941, to September 24, 1943), the town was administered by the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration of the Jews and compelled them to wear distinctive markings (an armband). The Jews were also forced to perform all kinds of heavy labor tasks.

According to an Einsatzgruppen report, in the second half of September 1941, the town was combed by units of Sonderkommando 7b, which shot a "leading Bolshevik, as well as 21 thieving Jewish terrorists."[2] Probably in November 1941, all those Jews who remained in the town were relocated to a special "Jewish residential district" established for them (an "open ghetto"), consisting of one street. On December 20, 1941, this ghetto was liquidated when the German forces shot almost all the Jews (82 people). The life of 1 Jew was temporarily spared until October 24, 1942, when he was also shot.[3] In total, 289 citizens were murdered in Gorodnia during the German occupation.[4]

SOURCES Documents of the Soviet "Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders" and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of Gorodnia's Jews can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-6).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Michael Rosenbush

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941. The activity and situation report for November, however, cites the liquidation of 165 "Jewish Terrorists" in Gorodnia; see Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 6 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR (Berichtszeit v. 1.10.-31.10.1941), published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230.
3. GARF, 7021-78-6, pp. 94–96.
4. P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Gorodnia: Istoriia mist i sil URSR: U 26 m.* (Kiev, 1972).

KHAR'KOV

Pre-1941: Khar'kov, city and oblast' capital, Ukrainian SSR (of which it was also the capital from 1919 to 1934); 1941–1943: Charkow, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Khar'kiv, Ukraine

Khar'kov is located 478 kilometers (299 miles) east-northeast of Kiev. In January 1939, there were 130,250 Jews in Khar'kov, comprising 15.64 percent of the city's population.

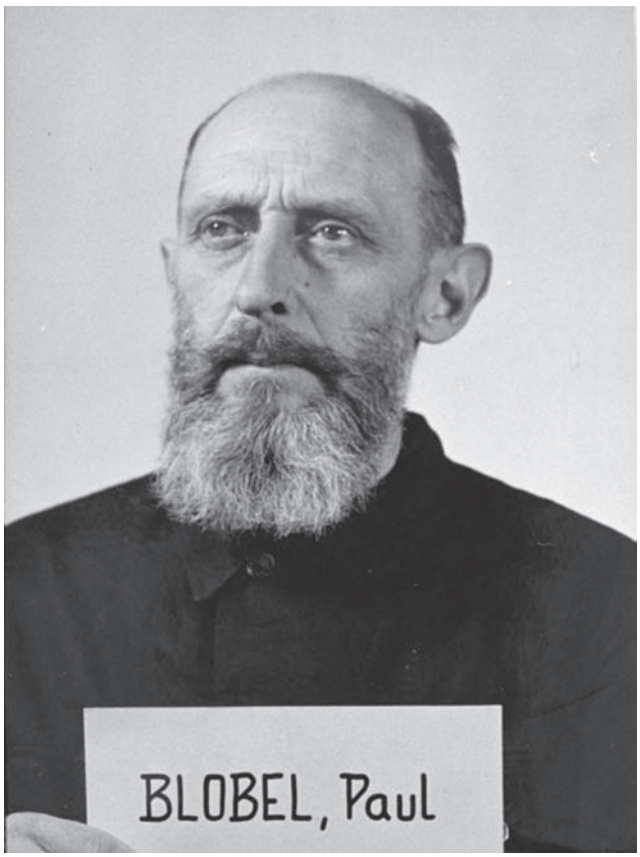
Units of the German 6th Army occupied Khar'kov on October 24, 1941. Anticipating that acts of sabotage and diversion would occur in the city, on October 17, 1941, the 6th Army ordered: "Jews and Bolsheviks should be taken first for collective reprisals. Saboteurs and persons offering armed resistance would be hanged in public." To force the population to report mined buildings, hostages were to be held in them, again preferably Jews.[1] In compliance with this order, the 57th Infantry Division (commanded by Generalmajor Anton Dostler) had by the end of October shot three civilian political commissars and publicly hanged seven saboteurs, one of them a woman.[2] At a conference on November 4 at Field Command (Feldkommandantur) 787 (commanding officer Colonel Laudenbach), which was in charge of the city, it was stated: "The cleansing operation continues, but the work is difficult because unlike other cities no material and no lists have been found in Khar'kov. . . . Jews, who are often left behind as messengers, arouse the greatest suspicion. Since most of the Jews are still hiding, an Aktion against the Jews is anticipated only after some time. First of all, an order to the 'chief rabbi' of the Jews here to 'secure' Jewish property by turning in all cash and foreign currency."[3] A series of explosions in the city on November 14 resulted in further reprisals. Among those killed by the blasts were Generalleutnant Georg Braun, the commanding officer of the 68th Infantry Division, and his chief of staff. As a punitive Aktion, 200 "Communists" were immediately shot or hanged and 1,000 hostages arrested.[4]

The municipal administration, headed by Oleksii I. Kramarenko, was actively involved in both the terror and the anti-Jewish measures taken in the city at this time. In its first announcement (prior to November 3, 1941) the municipal administration ordered "the Jewish population of the city" to elect a committee by November 5. The committee was then to appear at the municipal administration for confirmation. Seventy-one-year-old Efim Gurevich, a doctor of medicine and a professor, was elected head of the Jewish community.[5]

Kramarenko responded to the events of November 14 by ordering the mayor of the fifth district, A.P. Orobchenko, to assemble in the district office "no less than 50 Communists and Jews (more is permitted)."[6] The mayors of the other 18 districts probably received similar orders that same day. The "Communists and Jews" who were assembled with the assistance of German soldiers were held as hostages at the Hotel International. On November 22, the "presidium" of the municipal administration deliberated on "the Jewish question." The resolution on this point read: "Jews have no right at all to work in state or public institutions. Except for the head of the community, Jews are not to be admitted to the administration offices. Jews must wear armbands on their sleeves. All Jews are to be resettled into one district. The attention of the German command should be drawn to the desire of the population to take measures against the Jews."[7] On December 5, the municipal administration passed a resolution to start registering the city's population on December 6. Jews were to be registered on separate lists. The total number of registered Jews came to 10,271: 1,959 children under the age of 16 (960 boys and 999 girls) and 8,312 people over the age of 16 (2,907 men and 5,405 women).[8]

The main contingent of Sonderkommando 4a, commanded by Standartenführer Paul Blobel, arrived in Khar'kov in mid-November 1941. Blobel began the "final solution of the Jewish question" in the city by concentrating the Jews in one place. According to the report of Einsatzgruppe C:

> An area was chosen, where the Jews could be housed in the barracks of a factory district. Then, on



Mug shot of Paul Blobel, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4a and later Sonderkommando 1005, taken during the Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1947.
USHMM WS #09921, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

> December 14, 1941, the city commandant issued a summons in which the Jews of Khar'kov were told to move to the area by December 16, 1941. The evacuation of the Jews went off without a hitch except for some robberies during the march of the Jews in the direction of their new quarters. Almost without exception, only Ukrainians participated in these robberies. So far, no report is available on the number of Jews who were arrested during the evacuation. At the same time, preparation for the shooting of the Jews is under way. 305 Jews who spread rumors against the German Army were shot immediately.[9]

The text of the summons mentioned above was approximately as follows: "The entire Jewish population of the city of Khar'kov is to report to the machine-tool factory for work and residence. Precious objects and money are to be surrendered. Anyone found in the city after 4:00 P.M. on December 16 will be shot."[10] Dr. L.P. Nikolayev observed the transfer of the Jews: "I saw how they went down Pushkin Street and gathered in groups in front of the 'Hotel Krasnaia.' It was a very sad sight. They were thin and pale, dressed in ragged clothes with suitcases, baskets, and packages. They wanted to make a deal with the cart-drivers, but the latter demanded outrageous prices from them."[11]

The "barracks of a factory district" were the barracks of a machine-tool factory in the city's tenth district.[12] There were 26 barracks, and in early December 1941, 861 people were still living in them (each barracks had between 3 and 71 inhabitants). On December 12 and 13, all these people were resettled to make room for the Jewish population.[13]

The following table, compiled from the documents of the municipal administration, shows the number of Jews resettled to the tenth district on December 15–16, 1941.

District	*Number of Registered Jews*	*Moved to Tenth District* (some numbers open to question)	
		Number of Families	Number of Persons
1	522	84	250
2	1,239	312	1,500
3	1,247	441	1,455
4	108	30	100
5	386	157	518
6	1,403	446	1,494
7	84	25	80
8	816	231	802
9	26	8	25
10	60	20	60
11	1,525	278	1,525
12	117	41	122
13	1,468	351	1,158
14	193	36	126
15	94	23	58
16	201	37	130
17	578	156	467
18	47	13	40
19	157	50	150
Total	10,271	2,739	10,060

In September 1943 a report prepared by the municipal commission for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Khar'kov described the conditions in the "Jewish district" or "ghetto" as follows:

> The doors and windows in the barracks to which the Jewish population was herded were broken, and the plumbing and heating were ruined. Hundreds of people were settled in barracks intended for 60 to 70 people. In the ghetto they had established, the Germans starved people and prevented them from going out to get water and food. At night people were prevented from going outside even for the needs of nature. Anyone spotted violating the established regime was immediately shot. Many people became

> sick and died. The corpses of the dead remained in the barracks. Taking them outside was not permitted. . . . Every day the Germans made new demands to deliver warm clothing, watches, and other valuable objects. If these demands were not met because the objects were not available, "soldiers" [probably German police, ed.] took several dozen people away from the barracks and shot them.[14]

This description is largely corroborated by contemporary German documentation. A report from Police Battalion 314 indicates: "from December 17, 1941, to January 7, 1942, the companies took it in turn to guard the ghetto. During the guard duty of the First Company, Jews trying to leave the ghetto who did not stop when called were shot by the ghetto guards."[15]

The account of Maria M. Sokol, who managed to escape from the barracks just before the final liquidation, gives further details of conditions there. She slept on the floor in the freezing cold, and her hands and feet grew numb. She suffered from hunger but notes that some Germans would let people go to the market or fetch water if they were bribed. But the Germans also shot people at will, killing about 50 people per day prior to the order for the general execution of everyone.

After concentrating the Jews in one spot, Sonderkommando 4a set about exterminating them. But first, on December 24, 1941, about 200 Jewish patients from the psychiatric hospital were murdered, although the pretext given for their removal from the hospital was that they were being transferred to the Jewish community.[16] On December 27, several hundred Jews who had been concentrated at the factory settlement were executed after being told that they were being sent to work in the Poltava oblast'. The total liquidation of the Jews began on January 2, 1942. It lasted several days because Soviet air raids repeatedly interrupted the shootings, which took place in a ravine outside the city (Drobitskii Iar). In all, more than 9,000 people were shot.[17]

SS-Obersturmführer Victor Woithon, an officer of Sonderkommando 4a who took part in the shootings, recalled at his trial in Darmstadt in 1967:

> It was a horrific picture. Several layers of corpses lay at one end of a trench 60 to 80 meters [about 197 to 262 feet] long. There was movement in the trench. . . . I saw one man who shouted, "Finish me off," and although there was still shooting up ahead, I went down into the trench and finished him off with a pistol. . . . Then I ordered that a carbine be given to me because it has a great penetrating force and with a pistol I could not get to the people who were still alive in the lower layers. Walking on the mountain of corpses, which gave way under foot, was horrible. At this point Blobel ordered me to come out of the trench because there was still shooting. He accused me of being careless. . . . Eight men did the shooting. Others loaded the magazines or sorted the valuable objects.[18]



The Pustova family poses with Maya Reznikova (front row, wearing glasses) and her baby daughter, 1962. Yad Vashem honored members of the Pustova family for helping Reznikova's family, including Maya's mother Rebeka, whose escape from the Khar'kov ghetto they facilitated. USHMM WS #64261, COURTESY OF JFR

Several hundred sick or elderly Jews who could not get to the new place of residence because of their physical condition did not obey the order to resettle into the tenth district. They were assembled at the synagogue on Meshchanskaia Street where they soon died of cold and hunger.[19] The murder of the Jews of Khar'kov, although clearly racially motivated, should also be seen in the context of the general hunger of the city's civilian population resulting from the requisition of food for the German army. In November 1941, a report by the Corps Intendant (supervisor) of the German LV Army Corps considered evacuating the Russian population due to the threat of widespread starvation.[20] More than 500 people died of hunger in January 1942, and by April, more than 2,000 city residents were starving each month.[21]

In addition to the sick and elderly, some Jews were still hiding in the city. To expose them the municipal administration issued Order no. 53, dated January 24, 1942, to all district mayors to establish (until the question of a Ukrainian police was resolved) a special unit consisting of three groups. The first group was charged with exposing "Communists, Bolsheviks, Jews, and others." This group was to check "all suspicious persons and to prepare lists of all Communists, Jews, and Bolsheviks in the district."[22] Jews who had been exposed were handed over to the Security Police for execution. According to Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 187 of March 30, 1942, in addition to "193 agitators and seditious elements," 64 Jews were executed.[23]

In total, about 12,000 Jews were exterminated in Khar'kov in 1941–1942. Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C was primarily responsible for the extermination of the Jews of Khar'kov. The American military tribunal at Nürnberg sentenced the unit's commanding officer, SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, to death in 1948. He was executed in 1951.

Generalmajor Dostler, who at the end of the war had the rank of Infantry General, was sentenced to death by an American military court in Rome on October 12, 1945. In 1947 the

Soviet military tribunal in Berlin convicted 15 policemen from the Third Platoon of the Third Company of the Reserve Police Battalion 9. (They were all sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment.) This platoon, which was commanded by Zugwachtmeister Tecklenburg, was most active in killing Jews in Khar'kov. In 1948, former SS-Haupsturmführer Heinz Hellenbroich, who had served in Sonderkommando 4a from October 1941 until February 1942 and was one of the organizers of the extermination of Khar'kov's Jews, was executed by a French military tribunal.

In 1967, a group of officers and noncommissioned officers from Sonderkommando 4a, some of whom had taken part in executing Jews in Khar'kov (i.e., Victor Woithon and others), was brought to trial in Darmstadt, West Germany.[24]

The 314th Police Battalion, which arrived in Khar'kov in early December 1941, was also involved in exterminating Jews. A West German investigation of former members of this battalion led to the conviction of two former officers in Traunstein in 1982, but this was for executing Jews in Volhynia in July and August 1941 and in Dnepropetrovsk in October 1941 and not for killing Jews in Khar'kov. Oskar Christ, a former senior officer of this battalion, had faced trial in Wiesbaden in 1968, but for killing his mistress in March 1942 and not for taking part in killing Jews. The court ordered his case closed.[25]

SOURCES The following publications in the Russian language contain details about the fate of the Jewish population of Khar'kov under the German occupation: I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza: Kniga Drobitskogo iara. Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty o natsistskom genotside evreiskogo naseleniia Khar'kova v period nemetskoi okkupatsii 1941–1942*, no. 1 (Khar'kov: Osnova, 1991); V.P. Lebedeva and P.P. Sokol'skii, *Skazhi, Drobitskii Iar . . . Ocherki, vospominaniia, dokumenty, stikhi* (Khar'kov: Prapor, 1991); Iu.M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie Katastrofu: Spasshiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty. Martirolog. Svidetel'stva. Fakty. Dokumenty* (Khar'kov and Jerusalem, 1996); A. Kruglov, "Tragediia evreev Khar'kovshchiny 1941–1942 gg.," *Istoki: Vestnik Narodnogo Universiteta Evreiskoi Kul'tury v Vostochnoi Ukraine* (1999), no. 4; A.I. Kruglov, "Istreblenie evreiskogo naseleniia na Levoberezhnoi Ukraine (zona voennoi administratsii) v 1941–1942 gg," in S.Ia. Ielisavets'kyi, ed., *Katastrofa i opir ukraïns'koho ievreistva (1941–1944): Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraïni* (Kiev: Natsional'na Akademiia nauk Ukraïny, Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsional'nykh doslidzhen', 1999), pp. 172–201. Two published survivor testimonies concerning the Khar'kov ghetto can be found in Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izd. "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998), pp. 60–91, 168–184.

Documents on the extermination of Jews in Khar'kov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAKhkvO; GARF; HHStA-(W); USHMM (RG-50.226*0010 and *0011); VHF, and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 24-17/262, AOK 6/Ia/Oqu, 17.10.1941—betr.: Charkow.

2. Ibid., RH 26-57/57, 57 ID/Ic, Tätigkeitsbericht 1.9.-31.10.1941.

3. Besprechung bei der Feldkommandantur Charkow am 4.11.1941: KTB 57 ID/Ib, quoted in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996), p. 96.

4. Aus den privaten Aufzeichnungen des Intendantur-Offiziers beim LV. Armee-Korps, Charkow, 28.11.1941, in ibid.

5. DAKhkvO, 2982/4/1/6.

6. Ibid., 3074/2/7/9.

7. Ibid., 2982/2/1/3.

8. Ibid., 2982/2/16/54.

9. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 164, February 4, 1942.

10. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza*, pp. 80–81 (testimony of Olga Pankova). The date of December 16, 1941, is confirmed in the oral testimony of Lidia Gluzmanova; see USHMM, RG-50.226*0010.

11. Diary of Dr. L.P. Nikolayev on the German occupation of Khar'kov; see BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR, Bd. 422, deutsche Übersetzung, pp. 376–407.

12. A poor-quality photograph of several of the barrack buildings taken in 1943 can be found in Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezuza*, p. 64.

13. DAKhkvO, 2982/1/226/3–4.

14. *Dokumenty obviniaiut: Sbornik dokumentov o chudovishchnykh prestupleniiakh nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na sovetskoi territorii*, no. 2 (Moscow: Ogiz-Gospolitizdat, 1945), pp. 307–309.

15. BA-BL, R 2104/25 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), Pol. Btl. 314 report on 83 dollars and 850 Swedish Crowns handed in, dated January 24, 1942, signed Christ, Obltn. d. Schupo. u. Kp. Führer.

16. DAKhkvO, 2/14/127/5.

17. According to a document issued by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on September 5, 1943, more than 15,000 Jews were executed. They were buried in two trenches. One contained 8,000 to 10,000 corpses; the other, about 350 meters (1,148 feet) away from the first, contained 5,000 to 6,000. However, the second trench was hardly investigated. The number of corpses in it was estimated by eye. It is entirely possible that it contained the remains either of prisoners of war (military ammunition was found in the trench) or of non-Jewish civilians. In addition, the figure of 15,000 exceeds (by 5,000) the number of registered Jews. It is unlikely that so many Jews could have evaded registration. It should also be kept in mind that some of the registered Jews were killed before January 1942 and that for various reasons still other Jews were not resettled into the factory barracks. *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, pp. 307–312. A German translation of the ChGK report of September 5, 1943, can be found in BA-L, 4 AR-Z 269/60, Dokumentenband, pp. 164–169.

18. *Darmstädter Echo*, November 1, 1967.

19. About 400 Jews were assembled at the synagogue. (See the ChGK report dated September 5, 1943, cited above.)

20. BA-MA, RH 24-55/11, Bericht des Korpsintendant des LV Armeekorps über die Ernährungslage im Winter 1941–42 vom 11.11.1941.

21. USHMM, RG 31.010M (DAKhkvO), reel 7, 2982/4/390a, Report by City administration of Khar'kov on the death rate of the population dated September 1942.
22. DAKhkvO, 2982/2/2/108.
23. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 187, March 30, 1942.
24. LG-Darm Ks 1/67(Gsta).
25. LG-Wies 2 Ks 1/67.

KOROP

Pre-1941: Korop, village and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: initially controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Korop is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Konotop. According to the 1926 census, there were 787 Jews living in Korop itself and 826 in the entire Korop raion. In the 1939 census, 350 Jews were recorded as living in Korop (5.66 percent of the total population).[1] The decrease in the Jewish population by more than half during this period can be accounted for by the resettlement of Jews to other districts and also by the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

German forces occupied Korop on August 28, 1941, that is, some two months after the German invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, about two thirds of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of military age were conscripted or volunteered for the Red Army. Only about one third of the Jewish population remained behind under German occupation.

During the entire period of the occupation (from August 28, 1941, to September 4, 1943) the village was administered by a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur). The German authorities created a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. A man named Shilo was appointed as commander of the Ukrainian police.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the local authorities organized the registration of the Jews in accordance with instructions issued by the German military commandant. The Jews were also marked (compelled to wear a distinguishing armband) and made to perform various kinds of hard labor. Probably in November 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were resettled into a specially created "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) consisting of one street. At the beginning of December 1941 the Ukrainian police from Korop under the command of Shilo murdered a number of Jews, probably about 20, in the nearby village of Ponornitsa.[2] Then on February 9, 1942, the Korop "ghetto" was liquidated when German forces shot the Jews (111 people). The life of 1 Jewish woman (a dentist) was temporarily spared, although she was later shot on November 4, 1942.[3]

After the shooting of the Jews of Korop in the second week of February 1942, the Ukrainian auxiliary police shot the Jews in the villages of Rayon Korop, especially in the villages of Budenovka, Gorodishche, Obolon'e, and Karylskoe; in these villages 10 Jews were killed.[4] During the occupation a total of 198 local citizens were killed.[5] Thus, the Jews represented 56.7 percent of all the victims in Rayon Korop.

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Investigation of War Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders, including information regarding the persecution and extermination of Korop's Jewish community, can be found in the following archives: DACgO; GARF (7021-78-13); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Michael Rosenbush

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. NARA, T-501, reel 32, fr. 290–291.
3. GARF, 7021-78-13, pp. 56–65.
4. Ibid., pp. 33, 38, 44–45, 50.
5. P.T. Tronko et al., eds., *Korop: Istoriia mist i sil URSR: U 26 m.* (Kiev, 1972).

KRAMATORSK

Pre-1941: Kramatorsk, city, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Donets'k oblast', Ukraine

Kramatorsk is located 170 kilometers (106 miles) southeast of Khar'kov. According to the 1926 population census, 136 Jews lived in the city of Kramatorsk, and 141 Jews in the remainder of the Kramatorsk raion.[1] According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,849 Jews living in the city (1.96 percent of the total population).[2] The rapid increase in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 can be explained by the arrival of a number of Jews in the city as it developed into an important manufacturing center during the industrialization of the Soviet Union in the 1930s, becoming the site of two large power plants and several armaments factories.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city in late October 1941, more than four months after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. As Kramatorsk was a major industrial center, the Soviet authorities evacuated a good part of the working population into the Soviet interior, including a majority of the Jews. Men of an eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 10 percent of the pre-war Jewish population came under German occupation in Kramatorsk.

During the course of the occupation from October 1941 to September 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the city. The German military commandant established a city administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants. The man appointed as mayor was an ethnic German named Schopen. Sonderkommando (Sk) 4b (a mobile detachment of the Security Police [Sipo] subordinated to

Einsatzgruppe C) was stationed in the city under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Braune from November 1941 to March 1942.[3]

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the German military commandant ordered the registration and identification of the Jews, who were forced to perform various kinds of heavy physical labor. According to one source, the Germans established a ghetto in the Melovaia gora area, on the western outskirts of the city. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, and many Jews died from starvation and the horrific sanitary conditions. From there, the Germans took groups of Jews to the nearby quarry and shot them.[4] Other sources, however, indicate that non-Jewish civilians (suspected Communists) and Soviet prisoners of war may have been interned in the same camp and suffered the same fate as the Jews, either at the same time or subsequently.[5]

On January 25–26, 1942, Sk 4b, assisted by the local Ukrainian police, carried out a mass killing Aktion. All the remaining Jews were shot, along with a number of Communist activists, in a ravine in the Melovaia gora area.[6] According to an Einsatzgruppen report, Sk 4b shot 139 Jews at that time, probably reflecting the number of Jews murdered in Kramatorsk. More than 700 non-Jews also were murdered by Sk 4b around this time.[7]

German soldier Kurt Rogel, who was based in Kramatorsk in early 1942, observed a camp consisting of six or seven wooden barracks, which was surrounded by a wire fence and contained about 400 civilian prisoners (men, women, and children). The camp was guarded by Gendarmes (probably Feldgendarmerie). One day the SD arrived, took out all the prisoners in groups of 20, and shot them in a nearby gravel pit. Rogel was surprised that the prisoners spoke "German" among themselves but could not say if all the victims were Jews.[8] A few remaining Jews were still being tracked down and shot by the Feldgendarmerie in the vicinity of Kramatorsk in the spring of 1942.[9]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews in Kramatorsk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/3793); DADnO; GARF (7021-72-21); NARA; and StA-N.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *1926 All-Union Census*, (Moscow, 1929), 13:412.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 24.
3. On January 12, 1973, Fritz Braune was sentenced by a court in Düsseldorf, Germany, to nine years in prison.
4. See the report of January 12, 1944, regarding the crimes of the German Fascist invaders in the city of Kramatorsk, extracts reproduced in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), pp. 85–86.
5. *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 147. This source indicates that the Germans shot some 3,500 persons in the Kreidianii gora area near Kramatorsk during the occupation.
6. See the report of January 12, 1944, regarding the crimes of the German Fascist invaders in the city of Kramatorsk, in *Nimets'ko-fashysts'kyi okupatsiinyi rezhym na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1963), pp. 263–270. See also the report of January 26, 1942, by the section of the 1st Staff of the 17th Army Section, which details the mass-cleansing operation of the SD in Kramatorsk, in StA-N, Bestand KV-Anklage, N-Doc. 3350.
7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 173, February 25, 1942, states that SK 4b "shot 861 persons from January 14 to February 12, 1942, according to the regulations of military law. Among those killed were 649 political functionaries, 52 saboteurs and partisans, and 139 Jews." Since SK 4b was at that time located in Kramatorsk, one may surmise that the 139 Jews were shot there. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 600 Jewish families, or 2,000 persons, were shot. See the document of January 26, 1944, in GARF, 7021-72-21, pp. 72, 74, 78, 81, 84. This figure, however, seems too high. A second source makes mention of 72 Jewish families; see I. Erenburg, "Narodoubiitsy," *Znamia* (1944), Kn. 1–2, p. 190.
8. BA-L, B 162/3793, pp. 2–6, statement of Kurt Rogel (Feldwebel in Krankentransport-Abt. 562), February 11, 1965. Rogel dates this incident to February or March 1942, but it was probably linked to the Aktion on January 25–26, 1942.
9. NARA, N-Doc., NOKW-767, military report for the period March to May 1942.

PRILUKI

Pre-1941: Priluki, city and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), from summer 1942, center of Gebiet Priluki, Generalkommissariat Tschernigow, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Priluki is located 128 kilometers (80 miles) east-northeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, 6,140 Jews resided in Priluki (16.5 percent of the total population).[1] After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, especially in August and September 1941, a majority of the Jews in the city evacuated to the east, and many men were inducted into the Red Army. Probably no more than about one fifth of the Jewish population remained in the city at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city on September 18, 1941. Ortskommandantur I/317 soon assumed responsibility for administering the city and its surrounding area. It established a municipal government and a Ukrainian local police, which became the executive bodies of the Ortskommandantur.

In the fall of 1941, a section of the Secret Field Police (GFP-Gruppe 730) was stationed in Priluki, which relocated to Iagotin in late December 1941, leaving behind a squad in Priluki. In early February 1942, this unit was recalled and replaced by a unit from GFP-Gruppe 721. Due to the absence of any SD or other German police forces in Priluki at

that time, the GFP basically oversaw all police duties in the city.

Soon after the city was occupied, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews to register and wear a white armband with a yellow Star of David. Jews were forbidden to go to the market in the city center or to the cinema. They were deprived of their means of making a living and forbidden even to talk with their non-Jewish neighbors. Jewish men were compelled to perform forced labor: repairing highways, clearing up factory ruins, digging trenches for communication cables, and recovering unexploded bombs from the river.

On January 1, 1942, Ukrainian police began to drive the entire Jewish population into a ghetto on orders of the Ortskommandantur. The ghetto was created near the market, in two buildings that had housed Jewish and Ukrainian schools before the war; the buildings were surrounded by barbed wire. A Jewish Council (composed of "headmen") was formed, and its members were responsible for maintaining order in the ghetto. The Germans posted the ghetto regulations on billboards in the schoolyards. In order to acquire food, the Jews secretly dug tunnels under the barrier and would slip unnoticed into the city. When the ghetto guard was strengthened, the ghetto residents began to send out their children, especially teenagers, who were able to traverse the barbed wire, get into the city, and bring food back into the ghetto, thereby saving the ghetto residents from starvation. When possible, some non-Jews also provided supplies to friends residing in the ghetto.[2]

According to the report of Feldkommandantur 197 in Nezhin on February 15, 1942, to which the Priluki Ortskommandantur was subordinate, there were 1,178 Jews in the city; the same account stated that the GFP had shot several Jews in Priluki.[3] The report of the same Feldkommandantur on April 20, 1942, stated that there were 1,210 Jews in the jurisdiction of the Feldkommandantur, and most were in Priluki.[4]

On May 20, 1942, German forces organized the liquidation of the Priluki ghetto. The Jews were marched out of the city to the east in a large column four persons abreast, escorted by policemen and other armed guards. They were then shot in a ravine behind the prison.[5] Altogether some 1,290 Jews were shot on this day.[6] This number includes both the Jews that had resided in the ghetto and Jews from the surrounding towns and villages, driven to Priluki on that day. Thus, together with the Jews from Priluki, 15 Jews (one man, seven women, and seven children) from Ladan were shot.[7] The shootings were carried out by the SD-Sonderkommando Plath (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Julius Plath) with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and the German Feldgendarmerie.

SOURCES Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Priluki can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/204); DACgO (3103-1-101); GARF (7021-78-37); NARA (T-501, reel 33); and TsDAVO (3676-4-317). There is also a short article in English in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 329–331.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. V. Chepur, "Daleke Vidlunnia," *Evreiskie Vesti: Prylozhenie k Gazete Verkhovnogo Soveta Ukrainy "Golos Ukrainy"—Gazeta Obshchestva evreiskoi kul'tury Ukrainy* (1995), no. 5. The article "Distant Echo" has also been published in English in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 329–331.
3. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 98.
4. Ibid., fr. 117.
5. *Chernigovshchina v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voyny 1941–1945: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev, 1978), p. 79; Chepur, "Daleke Vidlunnia." See also BA-MA, RH 22/204, Lagebericht FK 197/VII, June 19, 1942.
6. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), on that day some 3,000 Jews were murdered; see *Chernigovshchina v period Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyn'i 1941–1945*, p. 79.
7. GARF, 7021-78-37, pp. 122–123.

SEMENOVKA

Pre-1941: Semenovka, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Semenowka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Semenivka, Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Semonovka is located 240 kilometers (149 miles) north–northeast of Kiev. According to the December 16, 1926, census, 852 Jews lived in the town of Semenovka, and a total of 1,049 Jews lived in what was then the Semenovka raion. According to the 1939 census, 402 Jews (5.39 percent of the total population) lived in Semenovka.[1] The decrease in the Jewish population was mainly the result of Jews moving to other districts, as well as the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

German forces of Army Group South occupied Semenovka on August 25, 1941, two months after Germany's attack on the USSR on June 22. During this period, a considerable number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and all men eligible for the draft were either drafted or had voluntarily joined the Soviet Armed Forces. Only about 14 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the entire German occupation (from August 25, 1941, to September 22, 1943), the town was ruled by the German military commandant located in Novgorod-Severskii. The German military authorities established a local Rayon administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from the local population.

Soon after the German occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration and public identification of the Jews (they were required to wear an armband on their sleeves), as well as their employment in a variety of onerous forced labor tasks. At the beginning of

November 1941, all Jews who remained in town were moved into a specially created "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) that occupied one designated street. On November 30, 1941, this open ghetto was liquidated. In the course of the liquidation Aktion, the Jews were first gathered in the school basement. The next day, German forces shot them in the birch woods nearby. A total of 55 people were shot.[2] The shooting was carried out by a section of the 10th Motorized Infantry Battalion of the 1st Waffen-SS Motorized Infantry Brigade. During the entire period of the occupation, the total number of civilians killed in Semenovka was 66.[3] Therefore, the Jewish victims comprised over 83 percent of the town's total losses.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and extermination of the town's Jewish population can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-37).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. GARF, 7021-78-37, p. 144; and Association for the Jewish Organization and Communities in Ukraine (*Vaad Ukrainy*) "Memory of the Holocaust" Program: Chernigovskai oblast'.
3. "Semenivka," in P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Istoriya mist i sil URSR: U 26 t (Chernihivs'ka oblast')* (Kiev, 1972).

SHCHORS

Pre-1941: Shchors (Snovsk prior to 1935), town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Schtschors, initially controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then from summer 1942 center of Gebiet Schtschors, Generalkommissariat Tschernigow, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Shchors, Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Shchors is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) west-northwest of Konotop. According to the census conducted on December 16, 1926, 2,416 Jews lived in Shchors. Altogether 2,447 Jews resided in the former raion surrounding the town.[1] However, at the time of the 1939 census, only 1,402 Jews still lived in Shchors, comprising 16.3 percent of the town's total population.[2] The decrease in the number of Jews by more than 1,000 people between 1926 and 1939 occurred for several reasons: part of the Jewish population moved away to settle in other areas, and others were hit by the Holodomor famine that affected the country in the years 1932–1933.

German troops had occupied the town of Shchors by September 3, 1941, about two and a half months after their surprise attack on the Soviet Union. By the time the German army reached the town, more than half of the local Jewish population had managed to escape to the east. All the available men suitable for military service were drafted into the Red Army or joined it voluntarily. When German occupation forces entered Shchors, only about 40–45 percent of the prewar Jewish population still resided there.

From the start of the German occupation in early September 1941, a German military commandant was in charge of the town. The military commandant established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit, which was recruited from the local inhabitants. From the summer of 1942, Shchors became part of the German civil administration for the Generalkommissariat Tschernigow as the center of its own district (Gebiet). Referent Buchmeier was nominated as the Gebietskommissar in Shchors.[3] Before the German retreat in September 1943, authority was transferred back to the military authorities as the front line approached.

A short time after the arrival of German troops, the military commandant instructed the local administration to register the Jewish population. The military administration also ordered the Jews to wear a visible patch on their clothes. In addition, the Jews were compelled to perform hard physical labor. All the Jews still residing in the town were settled into a special "Jewish residential district," or open ghetto. Proreznaia Street was one of the main streets of the ghetto area.[4]

On November 9, 1941, German security forces conducted an Aktion against the Jews in Shchors. On the pretext of transporting the victims to another place of work, about 50 Jewish men were gathered, escorted into the forest close to town, and shot there.[5] In January 1942, a second, larger Aktion was carried out in Shchors. This was the final liquidation of the ghetto. At the beginning of this Aktion, the victims were transferred to a large building that was the former dormitory of the technical school. After three days, the German forces shot approximately 80 elderly and young people in the forest just outside Shchors. Then, at night, the remaining women and children from the ghetto (probably 500 people altogether) were escorted in carts to Chernigov, where they were shot immediately upon arrival.[6] On September 20, 1942, a few dozen Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Shchors and shot there.[7]

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Shchors raion can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-32 and 39).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. *1926 Soviet Population Census*, vol. 11 (Moscow, 1929).
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
3. USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-1-19, p. 35.
4. Evidence from witness P.V. Kondratenko, October 14, 1943, GARF, 7021-78-39, p. 36.
5. GARF, 7021-78-32, pp. 3, 14; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1169, date this Aktion on November 20, 1941.

6. Evidence from witness P.V. Kondratenko, October 14, 1943, GARF, 7021-78-39, p. 36; according to Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1169, "[I]n January 1942, a few dozen children were shot and a few days later about 80 more men were executed. The women and remaining children were murdered at a later date."

7. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1169.

STALINO (DONETSK)

Pre-1941: Stalino (Iuzovka before 1924), city and capital, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Donets'k oblast' center, Ukraine

Stalino is located 594 kilometers (369 miles) southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, the population of Stalino was 462,395 people, of which 24,991 (5.4 percent) were Jews.

Troops of German Army Group South occupied Stalino on October 20, 1941.[1] The city remained under German military administration until September 1943. At the beginning of December 1941, Feldkommandantur 240 reported: "So far the Jewish problem does not play a major role in Iuzovka. The number of remaining Jews is estimated at around 3,000. As in other places, the wealthy Jews have fled. Measures for the evacuation of the Jews by the SD have so far not been carried out because of the weather conditions."[2]

In eastern Ukraine more than 80 percent of the Jewish population was able to escape before the occupation. At the same time, it can be assumed that nearly all the Jewish families that came under German occupation in Stalino were murdered. After the liberation of the Donbass, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) found, in the Stalino oblast' alone, mass graves containing—according to its estimates—more than 323,000 corpses (about 174,000 civilians and 149,000 Soviet prisoners of war) who had been shot, hanged, or asphyxiated with gas by the Germans or had just died in camps from hunger, freezing, and disease.[3] Although the accounts of the ChGK concerning the larger mass graves were often estimates based on volume calculations, and therefore sometimes probably too high, they clearly show the dimensions of the terror exercised by German rule in the region.

Einsatzkommando 6, headed by Robert Mohr from October 1941 until September 1942, and responsible for the murder of Jews, Communists, Gypsies, and other "enemies" in Stalino, was based in the city prior to the establishment of a fixed office of the Kommandeur of the Security Police and SD (KdS) there at the end of June 1942.[4]

At the end of February 1942, Einsatzkommando 6 ordered the city mayor of Stalino, Petushkov, and his deputy Eichmann to establish a Jewish ghetto. The intended location for the ghetto was a settlement named "Belyi Kar'er" (White Pit) at a former quarry on the outskirts of the city. During his interrogations before a Soviet military tribunal in 1946, Eichmann recalled: "At the end of February 1942 . . . Heidelberger [head of the executive department and deputy chief of Einsatzkommando 6] arrived from Berlin at the SD. Together with Graf [head of the intelligence section of Einsatzkommando 6], he came to the city administration to Petushkov and I. During a joint meeting with the police chiefs and the mayors of the city districts it was decided to create a Jewish ghetto at a special place, where the entire Jewish population, including children and old people, would be sent." The existing inhabitants of Belyi Kar'er were evicted from their cottages within two days. The quarry was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, and police guards were posted. In March 1942, the police chiefs and the mayors of the city districts were ordered to transfer the Jews into the ghetto. Families had to take their valuables, their best clothes, and food for five or six days. Apartment keys were handed over to the policemen who carried out the resettlement. During the resettlement action, children and the infirm were supported or carried on the arms of others. The policemen drove the Jews before them with whips and rifle butts, accompanied by groaning, screaming, and the weeping of children. Due to the limited number of cottages, part of the population remained under the open sky. All valuables and property were collected and handed over to the SD.[5]

The chiefs of the different police districts and their policemen played a major role in identifying and arresting the Jewish families. The chief of the first police district, Babenko, testified at his postwar trial: "In accordance with an order issued by the SD deputy chief Graf, I had to compose name lists for all of the Jews who lived in my police district. The other police districts received the same order. . . . Then, two days later Graf came to me and demanded the list. He took one copy and left two with me. He ordered that on the same day, after the curfew hour, all Jews had to be evicted from their apartments, informing them that they would be evacuated to the Zaporozh'e region, because of the approaching front line."[6] After these evictions, Graf and Eichmann usually inspected the apartments of the Jewish families and took away any remaining property.

Indirectly the establishment of the ghetto was reflected in the local press, which mentioned on March 15, 1942, the approaching resettlement of Stalino's Jews.[7] There is very little information concerning living conditions in the ghetto in the few testimonies by survivors. According to these accounts, more than 300 families lived in the ghetto. Policemen guarded the ghetto, and the inmates were not allowed to leave.[8] During daytime the ghetto inmates had to work hard. The survivor B.A. Geker recalled: "When I was in 'Belyi Kar'er' every morning policemen came to us, took 10, 20, or 100 people, men and women, with them and drove them to work somewhere. Some of them came back, others disappeared without a trace. When I was in 'Belyi Kar'er,' the entire Jewish population lived in destroyed houses without windows and doors or directly on the street. But it was winter and cold. Food was not distributed at all. I was starving, as were the other Soviet citizens. Children and old people died of hunger and nobody took any notice of that."[9]

The separation and murder of the Jews was largely visible to the local population. The chiefs of the different police

districts and their policemen played a major role, and a point was made of ensuring that local policemen were present when Jews were shot. It was the Germans' intention "to break the fascination which Jews had as bearers of political power in the eyes of many Ukrainians." By contrast, mass killings of Ukrainians and Russians were generally carried out by Einsatzkommando 6 in a much more secretive manner.[10]

The ghetto in Stalino existed for less than two months. As different witness testimonies confirm, it was liquidated during the night of April 30 to May 1, 1942. The city deputy mayor Eichmann recalled: "At that time the whole Jewish population—more than 3,000 people—were shot or taken away in special gas vans. The dead bodies were thrown into a coal shaft at the Kalinovka mine. Then the cottages were destroyed by the police."[11]

The Jewish survivor B.A. Geker testified at Eichmann's postwar trial: "On April 30, 1942, around 2:00 A.M., policemen and Germans came to the quarry. They announced that we should all assemble and take with us bread for three days, valuables, and good clothes. They would take us to another place to work. One of the Soviet citizens said that they were going to shoot us now. I told my son that he should run away and tried to hide myself in the gorge. I was lying there for several hours. Then I fled to the Poltava region, pretending to be Polish. Regarding my 28 family members, who were also in the quarry—none of them ever came back. Their fate is unknown."[12]

It appears that Einsatzkommando 6 began the mass killings of Jewish families in Stalino at the beginning of April 1942. Friedrich Zapp, a member of Einsatzkommando 6, testified during his court inquiry in Germany in June 1962:

> I witnessed the first executions in Stalino on Easter Monday [April 6]. . . . It was an Aktion using a gas van. Several hundred people were gassed. Men, women, and children were loaded into the van. On that Easter Monday by no means all of them were gassed. I think, that starting from around 7:00 A.M. until 10:30 A.M., when the Aktion was ended for that day, I had to load and unload four vans. . . . They were Jews, without doubt. In such a composition and number they could only be Jews. There were no plunderers and saboteurs in such numbers. And above all the presence of children confirms this conclusion. The Jews had to get into the van with all their clothes on. No selection took place. Men, women, and children had to get on board. I would estimate that each time around 60 people had to climb into the van. . . . It did not look like the Jews knew they would be gassed. After the door was closed, we drove either in front of or behind the gas van to a closed coal shaft. The gas van could not drive close to the shaft. So we had to haul the dead bodies out of the van, drag them to the coal shaft, which was about eight meters away, and throw them into it.[13]

At this closed coal shaft of the "4-4-bis Kalinovka" mine on the outskirts of Stalino, the German Einsatzkommandos frequently carried out mass shootings.[14] After the city's liberation, the ChGK found in this coal shaft one of the largest mass graves of the entire region, holding—according to the ChGK's estimates—up to 75,000 corpses.[15]

In December 1967, a trial against Robert Mohr, the commander of Einsatzkommando 6, and other members took place in Wuppertal. Mohr was sentenced to eight years in prison.[16] Other German trials against members of Sonderkommando 4b and members of the office of the KdS in Stalino took place in Düsseldorf and Dortmund in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[17]

In Stalino, a Soviet military tribunal convicted the former deputy and later city mayor Eichmann, together with 17 other members of the city administration and local police, in 1946. Eichmann and the head of the police, Babenko, were sentenced to death. The other defendants were sentenced to either 15 or 20 years of forced labor.[18]

SOURCES Information on the Jewish population of Stalino and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the wartime collaborationist newspaper *Donetskii vestnik* and in Iurii Iukhimovich Korytnyi's *Sorok let spustja* (Donets'k: Iugo-Vostok, 1998).

Documentation on the murder of the Jewish population of Stalino can be found in the following archives: ASBUDO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; GARF; HStA-Dü; NARA; RGVA; StA-Mü; and TsDAHOU.

Tanja Penter

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1458-40-221, p. 280.
2. BA-MA, RH 22/10, p. 146.
3. See the report of the ChGK for the Stalino region dated May 30, 1945, in GARF, 7021-72-811, pp. 12–13.
4. See the German war crimes trial against members of Einsatzkommando 6 in HStADü, Gerichte Rep. 240, Nr. 119 and 120 (verdict); and also the German postwar trial against commander Erich Körting and others in StA-Mü (Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund 45 Js 31/61).
5. See the Eichmann trial in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33. Regarding the ghetto in Stalino, see also BA-BL, ZStL, AR-Z 370/59, vol. 10, pp. 531–536, 573–605, 641–646, 713–716.
6. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 4, p. 104.
7. See *Donetskii vestnik*, March 15, 1942.
8. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 7, p. 126.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 271–274.
10. BA-BL, R 58/217, pp. 46–48, 53, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 81, September 12, 1941.
11. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.
12. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 271–274; Korytnyi, *Sorok let spustia*, pp. 61–87.
13. StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 73, Nr. 198, p. 849.

14. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 5, pp. 156–177; and StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 61, Nr. 1763, pp. 24–25.
15. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 5, pp. 156–177.
16. HStA-Dü, Gerichte Rep. 240, Nr. 120 (Urteil).
17. Ibid., Gerichte Rep. 388, Nr. 0372; and StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 61.
18. See ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vols. 1–8.

VOIKOVSHTADT

Pre-1941: Voikovshtadt, village, Lenino raion, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Wojkowstadt, Rear Area, 11th Army; 1944: Crimean ASSR; post-1991: Kirove, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Voikovshtadt is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of Kerch' on the Kerch' peninsula. The village was founded 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of the regional center of Semu-Kolodezy at the beginning of the 1930s with financial support from the Agro-Joint (a subdivision of the AJDC). According to the 1939 census, about 349 Jews resided in the Lenino raion, most of them in Voikovshtadt itself.

The village was occupied by units of the German 11th Army (46th Division of the XLII Army Corps) on November 2, 1941, just over four months after the start of the German invasion. Most of the Jews from this region were able to flee or were evacuated with the retreating Soviet forces. There was an organized evacuation for about 180 people,[1] while a few fled independently or were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. Fewer than 100 Jews remained in Voikovshtadt at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately upon occupying the village, the German authorities registered the population. People had to wear a large, visible Star of David on their clothes, and all their livestock was taken. At the end of November 1941, the Jews were forcibly brought to a building, which was surrounded by barbed wire. It was located on the outskirts of the village and served as a small enclosed ghetto. Every night a roll call was held to ensure that no one was missing. Romanian soldiers guarded the ghetto.[2]

On December 26, 1941, Soviet forces landed on the Kerch' peninsula, and on December 29, the Red Army liberated the city of Feodosiia. This forced the German Armies to flee Kerch' and the neighboring raions of Lenino and Maiak-Salyn'.

In their hurry to evacuate the Kerch' peninsula, the German forces had no time to destroy the ghetto. The ghetto in Voikovshtadt is one of the very few ghettos in the territories of the former Soviet Union in which the majority of inmates survived the German occupation.

When on May 8, 1942, German troops reoccupied the Kerch' peninsula in their counteroffensive, the Jewish villagers were hurriedly evacuated across the Kerch' straits to the Tamanski peninsula in the North Caucasus. The Red Army liberated Voikovshtadt again in April 1944.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. GAARK, R-137/9(D)-7, p. 32.
2. M. Goldenberg, "Kerchensko-Feodosiiskaia desantnaia operatsiia v sud'be evreev i krymchakov Vostochnogo Kryma," *Tkuma. Vestnik nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk, 2004), nos. 4–5 (47–48), p. 2.

YALTA

Pre-1941: Yalta, city and raion center, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Jalta, administered initially by the Rear Area, Eleventh Army; post–1991: Yalta, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Yalta is located 444 kilometers (276 miles) south of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the census of December 1926, of the 28,811 inhabitants of Yalta, 2,392 were Jews, including 39 Crimean Jews (Krymchaky). In the Yalta district, including the towns of Alupka, Gurzuf, and Simeiz, there lived another 213 Jews, 14 of them Crimean Jews. In January 1939, of the 36,653 residents of Yalta, 2,109 were Jews. In addition, 911 more Jews were living in the surrounding Yalta raion.[1]

Between the attack of Nazi Germany on the USSR on June 22, 1941, and the German occupation of the area at the beginning of November 1941, 1,120 Jews were evacuated from the city of Yalta in an organized fashion, 140 Jews from the Yalta area countryside, and 430 from the Yalta area towns (Alupka, Simeiz, Koreiz, Miskhor, Gaspra, Livadiia, Massandra, and Gurzuf), accounting for 1,690 Jews in total.[2] In addition, a number of Jews escaped from the city in late October and early November 1941 in the course of a spontaneous evacuation after German troops broke through the Soviet line of defense across the Perekop isthmus. Furthermore, at least 100 Jews were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. At the same time, a number of Jewish refugees from Odessa and also other regions of the Crimea arrived in Yalta.

Yalta was occupied by the troops of the German 11th Army on November 8, 1941. The city and nearby districts were administered by Ortskommandantur II/662, with Hauptmann Kump in charge. Nineteen people, including four officers and several bureaucrats, worked in the Kommandantur.[3] The Kommandantur reported to the commander of the Rear Area of the 11th Army. The Kommandantur established a local administration in the city (Stadtverwaltung) and a police force recruited from local residents; the city administration dealt mostly with running city services under the supervision of the Kommandantur.

On approximately November 9–10, 1941, part of Sonderkommando 11a, under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Eberhard Heinze, arrived in Yalta. The Sonderkommando, under

overall command of SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was part of Einsatzgruppe D of the German Security Police, at that time commanded by SS-Oberführer Otto Ohlendorf. One of the Sonderkommando's tasks, together with the identification and extermination of Soviet partisans, Communists, members of the underground, and saboteurs, was the extermination of the Jewish population.

Sometime in the middle of November 1941, Sonderkommando 11a created a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the city that consisted of five or six members, and several days later, the German authorities issued an order for all Jews to wear a six-pointed star 10 centimeters (almost 4 inches) in diameter on the left side of their chests and on their backs and to turn in all their money and valuables to the Jewish Council.[4]

On November 21, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was conducted in the city: the Feldgendarmerie surrounded house no. 14 on Sredne-Slobodskaia Street, arrested all the Jewish tenants (17 people), presumably for alleged contacts with the partisans, and shot all of them that same day. On November 22, 2 Jews who were only wounded during the shooting returned from the grave site.[5]

A week later, on November 28, 1941, on the order of the Security Police and SD, the Jewish Council conducted a registration of the Jews. The next day, November 29, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinze ordered the remaining Jews to move into the ghetto by December 5, 1941. The ghetto consisted of the former buildings for adult education courses of the Agricultural College on the outskirts of the city, near the suburb of Massandra, which were surrounded by high stone walls. The Jews were only allowed to enter the city between 8:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M.; those who had a job were required to work. The Jewish Council was ordered to organize the move of the Jews into the ghetto. The German authorities issued instructions that due to the cramped space (2.5 square meters [27 square feet] per person) Jews were only permitted to take a few of their most valuable possessions with them. The Jewish Council was also required to organize a cooperative, workshops, a hospital, and a police force within the ghetto. The latter consisted of young people who wore white armbands with a blue six-pointed star on the left arm and who controlled the return of the Jews into the ghetto at the gate.[6]

On December 16, 1941, the ghetto was closed, and even the working Jews were not allowed into the city. On December 17, men were taken out of the ghetto to a ravine near the towns of Massandra and Magarach and made to dig two ditches; after completing the job, the German forces shot them. On December 18, the rest of the Jews were driven to the ditches and shot by members of Sonderkommando 11a. Altogether up to 1,500 people were killed during those two days.[7] On the order of the Security Police and SD, members of the Jewish Council had to help organize the convoying of all the Jews to the killing site. With the aid of a detailed registration list, they put family after family onto the trucks that departed and then returned for more families; the members of the Council checked off on the list those who had been taken away. The last truck took away the members of the Jewish Council.[8]

In the first half of 1942, several more small groups of Jews who had escaped previously from the ghetto and had been hiding were discovered and also shot.

According to the first postwar census in 1959, 1,200 Jews lived in Yalta. On February 26, 1970, the regional court (Landgericht) in Munich sentenced former SS-Obersturmbannführer Paul Zapp, who commanded Sonderkommando 11a in 1941–1942, to life imprisonment. Together with him, former SS-Scharführer and interpreter for Sonderkommando 11a Baron Leo Karl Eugen von der Recke, who took an active part in the shooting of the Yalta Jews, was sentenced to 13 years in prison. The man immediately responsible for organizing the anti-Jewish Aktions of December 17–18, 1941, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinze, was killed in Poznań on January 22, 1945.

SOURCES The main publications on the extermination of the Yalta Jews in 1941–1942 are indicated in the notes below. Some documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Yalta has been published by the author in *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002).

Documentation on the extermination of the Yalta Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 213 AR 1898/66); DARMARK (R1289-1-4 and R156-1-31); GARF (7021-9-59); and NARA (NOKW-1591).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. *Krym mnogonatsionalnyi. Voprosy-otvety*, no. 1 (Simferopol': Tavria, 1988), pp. 70–72.
2. DARMARK, R137-9(d)-7, pp. 32–34.
3. NARA, T-501, reel 63, fr. 609.
4. GARF, 7021-9-59, p. 25, report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the crimes of the Nazi-German occupiers in the city of Yalta, July 17, 1944.
5. Ibid., p. 66; see also Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 333–334.
6. See the diary of Yalta inhabitant O.I. Shargorodskaya, entries from November 28 and 29, 1941, published in M.I. Tiaglyi, ed., *Holokost v Krymu: Dokumental'nye svidetelstva o genitside evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii 1941–1944* (Simferopol: BETS "Hesed Shimon," 2002), pp. 89–90; and also M. Tiaglyi, "Evreiskie komitety v okkupirovannom natsistami Krymu: postanovka problemy," *Holokost i suchastnist. Naukovo-pedahohichnyi buleten' Ukrainskoho tsentru vyvchennia istorii Holokostu*, no. 11 (2003). See also Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 349, citing BA-MA, Film WF-03/7503, pp. 497 ff., OK II/662 activity report, December 10, 1941; and BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR 1898/66, vol. 18, statement of Paul Zapp, January 10, 1968.
7. Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga. O zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannyh raionah Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lageriah Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945* (Kiev: MIP "Oberig," 1991), pp. 285–286. Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 350, notes that several members of Sonderkommando 11a dated the shooting of the Jews as

having taken place between Christmas and New Year's Day in their postwar interrogations. LG-Mü I, verdict of February 26, 1970, in case IV 9/69 against Paul Zapp, states only that at least 250 Jews were killed in an Aktion at the end of December 1941; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 20:450, Lfd. Nr. 724a.

8. Tiaglyi, "Evreiskiie komitety."

YENAKIEVO

1938–1941: Yenakievo, town, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Jenakjewo, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Yenakievo, Donets'k oblast', Ukraine

Yenakievo is located 240 kilometers (149 miles) east of Dnepropetrovsk. By 1939, there were 3,293 Jews living in the town (3.72 percent of the total population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on November 1, 1941, more than four months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Most Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

From November 1, 1941, until the end of the occupation in September 1943, a military commandant's office administered Yenakievo. From the end of November 1941 to August 1942, the occupying authority was Ortskommandantur I/270, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 240 in Stalino.[1] The commandant established a local administration and a Ukrainian police force in the town. The Ukrainian policemen actively participated in the persecution and elimination of the Jews.

Shortly after the occupation of Yenakievo, the Ortskommandantur ordered the local administration to register and mark the Jews. The Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor.

In February 1942, the remaining 509 Jews (175 families) in Yenakievo were resettled into a ghetto by an official administrative order. The ghetto consisted of four large barracks in the Krasnyi Gorodok settlement area. The Jews remained confined within the ghetto for around three months. At the end of May or the beginning of June 1942, the Jews were driven out to Gorlovka and shot together in a mine, where their corpses were then covered over. There were 25 Communists who were also taken out to Gorlovka and shot along with the Jews.[2]

One Jewish woman, Maria Markovna Konovalova (née Ginzburg), escaped from the ghetto on the eve of its liquidation, after being tipped off by non-Jewish friends of the Kvasha family. The ghetto was closely guarded, but dressed only in her underwear she fled at night by swimming across a river. She was met on the other side by Andriy and Petro Kvasha, who gave her clothes, put a cross around her neck, and subsequently helped her to move from village to village to avoid recognition and betrayal.[3]

The extermination of Jews in Yenakievo was organized by Sonderkommando 4b with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The headquarters staff of Sonderkommando 4b was located in Gorlovka from March 1942. At that time, it was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Walter Haensch.[4]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, some 30 Jews (10 families) composed of artisan specialists remained in the town. In September 1942, they were also taken out and shot in the mine area near Gorlovka.[5]

SOURCES Documentation concerning the German occupation of Yenakievo and the murder of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: GARF; NARA; and YVA. A brief mention of the ghetto can also be found in a book by Yakov Suslensky, *They Were True Heroes: Citizens of Ukraine, Righteous among the Nations* (Kiev: Society "Ukraine," 1995), pp. 141–143.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See report by Feldkommandantur 240 dated December 4, 1941. NARA, T-501, reel 6, fr. 818.
2. GARF, 7021-72-18, pp. 23, 26–27. According to another account in this file, the ghetto was liquidated on May 17 or May 18, 1942 (see p. 40 and reverse) or perhaps in April 1942 (see pp. 15, 19, and reverse).
3. Suslensky, *They Were True Heroes*, pp. 141–143.
4. In 1948 in Nürnberg, Haensch was sentenced to death. In 1951, the sentence was commuted to 15 years in prison. In 1955, he was released from prison before completing his sentence.
5. GARF, 7021-72-18, pp. 15, 27.

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OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY



German propaganda placard in Smolensk, 1941–1943. The slogans at top and bottom read, "The Yids — Your Eternal Enemies!" and "Stalin and the Yids Together — One Gang of Criminals!"

COURTESY OF FRANK WÜNSCHE, BERLIN, PHOTO NUMBER 0001.000480

OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

Pre-1941: RSFSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: partly under German occupation, initially Rear Area, Army Groups Center and North (rückwärtige Heeresgebiete Mitte und Nord), then 1942–1943, also Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B) on the southern front and in the northern Caucasus; post-1991: Russian Federation

Between July 1941 and December 1942, the Germans established around 50 ghettos in the occupied territory of the Russian Federation, which probably held some 22,000 Jews. In total, there were somewhere between 70,000 and 120,000 Jewish victims of the Holocaust in the territory of the present-day Russian Federation; therefore, probably around one quarter of the victims were confined within a ghetto prior to being killed.[1]

Most of the ghettos established by the Germans in occupied Russian territory were located on the eastern fringe of the former Pale of Settlement (in the former Vitebsk and Chernigov gubernias), to which nearly all Jews in Tsarist Russia were confined up to 1917. The area to the east of the Belorussian cities of Mogilev and Vitebsk, comprising the western part of the Smolensk oblast', was soon occupied by the German Army in July 1941. In this region, the Germans established 20 ghettos, most of them within weeks of their arrival. Einsatzgruppe B, initially under the command of Arthur Nebe,[2] which was responsible for security operations in the area behind Army Group Center, reported on September 23, 1941, that in all towns visited by the Sonderkommandos and Einsatzkommandos Jewish ghettos had been established, and in larger places, Jewish Councils as well.[3] For example, the ghetto in Tartarsk was established in September 1941 by a detachment of Vorkommando Moskau, which coordinated the necessary arrangements with the local mayor and the head of the Russian local police (Ordnungsdienst, OD).

Just to the south of the Smolensk oblast', in the western part of the present-day Briansk oblast' (in 1939, part of the Orel' oblast'), which the Germans occupied during the course of August 1941, they established another 12 ghettos (including larger ghettos of around 1,000 people or more in Klintsy, Starodub, Pochep, and Novozybkov), most in the fall of 1941. Sonderkommando 7b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch, based in Klintsy from the end of September 1941, was the main unit responsible for establishing ghettos in this region.

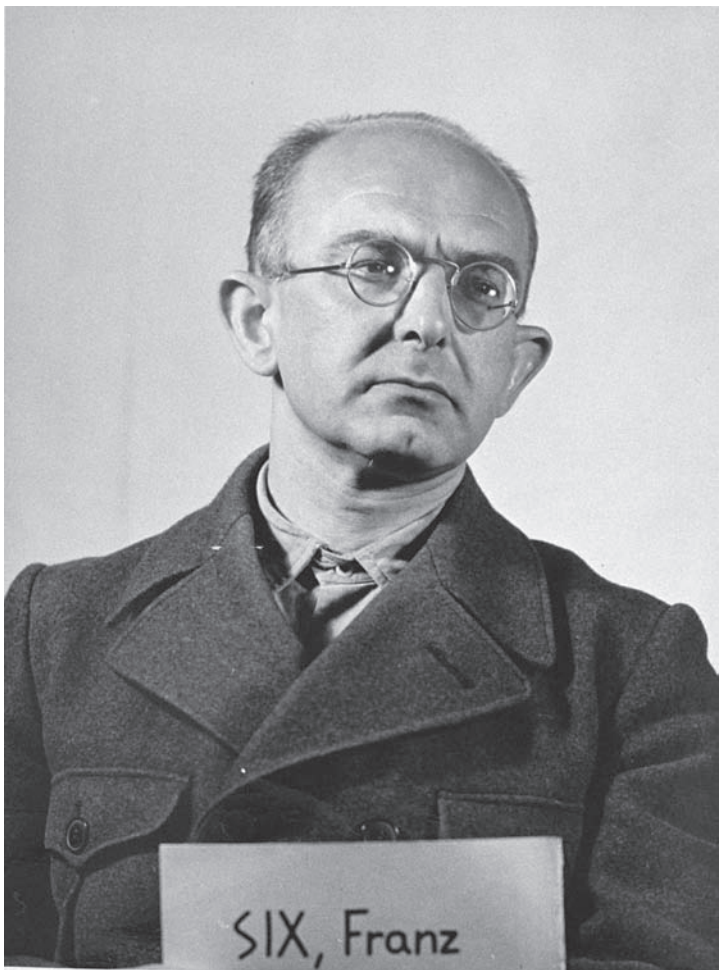
German forces also established a number of smaller ghettos from the summer of 1941 in the region between Smolensk and Leningrad, behind Army Groups Center and North, on a more ad hoc basis: 4 in the former Leningrad oblast' and 10 in the former Kalinin oblast'. The Commander of Rear Area, Army Group North issued an order on September 3, 1941, noting that the Army High Command (OKH) had ordered that ghettos could be established in places with a large Jewish population, insofar as time and personnel were available, but that this was not to be seen as a priority.[4] Nevertheless, some ghettos were established in the area for relatively small populations of Jews (between 30 and 150). The two largest ghettos in the region were in Nevel', holding 640 Jews (established by Einsatzgruppe B), and in Pskov with 232 Jews, under the direction of Sonderkommando 1a (Einsatzgruppe A).

As German forces advanced east again after the start of Operation Typhoon (the planned encirclement of Moscow) on September 30, they established two more ghettos immediately behind the advancing troops in Kaluga (in 1939, in the Tula oblast') and Dmitriev-L'govskii (Kursk oblast') in November 1941. It is interesting to note that only the Sonderkommandos of Einsatzgruppe B followed closely behind the advancing front, while the Einsatzkommandos remained in place, consolidating control over the territory already conquered, with a major focus on the destruction of the Jews.[5]

In some larger Russian cities, however, such as Briansk, Orel, and Rostov on Don, as well as in many towns, no ghettos were established. Here the remaining Jews were killed in mass shooting Aktions; or in many places, such as Gzhatsk, Mozhaisk, and Iukhnov, the German Einsatzkommandos reported that almost all the Jews had been evacuated or had fled.[6]

In some locations the Jews were confined in an improvised manner for only a few days prior to being murdered. In the town of Mtsensk, Orel oblast', the Germans confined the Jews in an unheated school building for a week without food, before escorting them out of the town to shoot them in January 1942.[7] In Pushkin, a town about 15 kilometers (9 miles) south of Leningrad, more than 100 Jews, composed mostly of women, children, and the elderly, were confined for about one week in the cellars of the Catherine Palace, before a detachment of Sonderkommando 1b shot them in groups on the palace grounds.[8]

Precise figures on the number of Jews able to evacuate from specific locations in the Germans' path are not available. From Rudnia and Liubavichi in the Smolensk oblast', where ghettos were subsequently established, it seems that roughly half of the Jews managed to flee. From Smolensk, it is estimated that over 13,000 of the city's 14,800 Jews managed to leave in time, probably assisted by the protracted fighting for the city. From some isolated towns and villages, without good communications, such as Zakharino, the proportion that fled was much lower (only 10 or 20 percent); and some places saw an influx of refugees prior to the Germans' arrival, as Jews fleeing from the west were trapped by the rapid German advance.



Mug shot of Franz Six, commanding officer of Vorkommando Moskau, during the Einsatzgruppen Trial at Nuremberg, 1947.
USHMM WS #09923, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

The ghettos served several functions, including isolating and controlling the Jews. They facilitated the seizure of remaining Jewish property or other resources, including labor. Ghettoization was also useful preparation for the massacres to come, as it demoralized and weakened the Jewish population, who received little or no food. However, the sequence of ghetto establishment, preceded or followed in some places by smaller Aktions against male Jews, allegedly for acts of resistance or infractions against German regulations, before the ghetto liquidation Aktions, indicates that German genocidal plans were pursued in stages. A number of ghettos existed into the spring or summer of 1942. In particular, the large ghetto in Smolensk, where about 1,500 Jews were exploited systematically for forced labor, was not liquidated until mid-July 1942.

In general, ghettos were not established behind the German advance on Stalingrad in the summer and fall of 1942, mainly because large numbers of Jews were not encountered. Exceptions were isolated towns on the German route of advance, mostly in the northern Caucasus, which had populations of Mountain Jews, local Ashkenazim, and refugees from the western regions of the USSR. Four places have been identified in this region where Jews were concentrated under ghetto-like conditions in the second half of 1942: in Kagal'nitskaia (for about a month), in Elista (for only 10 days), and in Nal'chik and Essentuki (each for about 6 weeks). It appears that the Mountain Jews were "ghettoized" in Nal'chik but excluded from the killings on the recommendation of the head of Einsatzgruppe D, SS-Oberführer Bierkamp, as they were viewed rather as a local mountain tribe.[9]

The Wehrmacht was responsible for imposing a series of anti-Jewish measures following its arrival in the territory of the Russian Federation. These can be documented effectively from surviving German placards (*Bekanntmachungen*). In Demidov, on August 6, 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered all Jews over the age of 10 to wear yellow markers 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. Jews of both sexes were required to perform forced labor. The ritual slaughtering of animals for kosher meat was also forbidden.[10] Similar orders were issued in Kaluga on November 8, 1941, together with the appointment of a Jewish elder; Jews were prohibited from leaving the city or having relations with non-Jews, and the establishment of a ghetto was decreed.[11]

One of the first ghettos established by the Germans on Russian territory was in the "Sadki" district of Smolensk, on August 5, 1941. It was under the control of the local Russian administration, which ordered the evacuation of the

non-Jewish population from the ghetto area. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by the OD.[12] From the beginning, Jews caught leaving the ghetto or not wearing the Star of David were to be arrested and shot.[13]

Other than for Smolensk, the process of ghettoization is documented for only a few locations, including Rudnia. Here the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews into a ghetto in August 1941, threatening to shoot those who did not comply. The OD used physical force to intimidate the Jews and confiscated Jewish property during the transfer, including all livestock. The ghetto, located on one street, consisted of 20 half-destroyed houses fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by German soldiers and the OD. Around 1,200 Jews, including some refugees, were assembled on the market square and herded into the ghetto. Initially, the Jews could still come and go freely, and some received food from non-Jewish neighbors.[14]

A variety of different structures were used as ghetto sites. The typical small wooden houses, or cottages, common in the region, were used in a number of towns, including Smolensk, Rudnia, and Starodub. In Karachev and Krasnyi, the ghetto consisted only of an open-air holding camp with no shelter, similar to many camps for Soviet POWs. In other ghettos, such as Nevel' and Starodub, due to insufficient housing, some Jews had to sleep in dugouts or barns. In Opochka and Pochep, former barracks were used; in Zlynka, a Machine Tractor Station (MTS) was used; and in Mglin, a prison was converted into a ghetto. Several smaller ghettos, including Dmitriev-L'govskii and Loknia, were established by forcing all the Jews into a single house. Jews were sometimes brought into the ghettos from surrounding villages; this is documented for Klimovo and Monastyrshchina. The population of most ghettos was composed primarily of women, children, and the elderly, with only a few males of working age.

Living conditions in the ghettos were horrific. The inmates of the Rudnia ghetto suffered from overcrowding and poor sanitation, receiving rations of only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. All Jews had to surrender any valuables at gunpoint, and the more prosperous members of the community were taken hostage and held for ransom.[15] In the Velizh ghetto, about 500 people lived in pigsties, furnished with bunk beds, as the 27 houses were all full. In the Kaluga ghetto, established in a former nunnery, although ration cards were issued, no food was distributed to the Jews. Even children in the Kaluga ghetto were forced to work, removing bodies from the streets. Children also sneaked out of the ghetto to scavenge for food.[16] In most ghettos that existed for more than a few weeks, there were deaths from starvation and disease. Reports from several ghettos, including those in Smolensk, Krasnyi, Petrovichi, and Khislavichi, mention the rape of Jewish women by members of the OD and also Germans.

The Soviet evacuation of most heavy industry during their retreat and the severe food shortages in the towns meant that there was no large-scale use of Jews as a professional labor force. Indeed, in Smolensk, Jewish craftsmen were ordered to surrender their tools for use by the non-Jewish population. Nevertheless, the Jews in most ghettos of the region were exploited for forced labor on immediate tasks such as road repairs, clearing rubble, loading railway cars, and also digging defensive trenches. Some assigned labor tasks, such as cleaning toilets, served more to humiliate those workers. In several ghettos, including those in Klintsy and Rzhev, selected skilled craftsmen were saved for a time after most of the Jews had been shot. In Staraia Russa, Jews living outside the ghetto in mixed marriages were arrested and shot one month after the ghetto's liquidation.

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in German-occupied Russian territory. Most comprised just a few members, and in some ghettos there was only a single Jewish elder. As elsewhere, their tasks included the implementation of German orders, especially the organization of forced labor, meeting German demands for "contributions," and providing social services, including rudimentary medical care. This latter reason may explain the strong representation of physicians, including some women, on the councils. Ilya Al'tman has identified the professions of 19 Jewish Council members from more than 10 ghettos; of these, 11 were doctors or dentists. Other professions represented included a bookkeeper as the Jewish community's representative in Kaluga and a teacher in Velizh.[17]

Examples of resistance are known for several ghettos. Some acts of resistance are cited by the Einsatzgruppen as the alleged pretext for extermination Aktions. Such references must be treated with caution, but the descriptions may in part be based on actual events. Einsatzgruppen report no. 124, on October 25, 1941, noted:

> The staff unit (Gruppenstab) [of Einsatzgruppe B] and Vorkommando Moskau carried out an operation against the Jews in Tatarsk. The Jews had begun to leave the ghetto of their own volition, and return to their former residences. Russians had occupied their apartments in the meantime, and the Jews tried to drive them out. Therefore, the place was systematically searched and the Jews gathered in the market square. Some of them had fled, and had to be hunted out of the nearby forest. In punishment for not following the orders of the German Security Police, all the Jewish men in Tatarsk and three women were shot.[18]

In Rudnia, the Germans raided the home of a young Jew who had been studying to be a radio technician. They arrested and shot him for not surrendering his radio, together with another 15 to 20 young Jews. The Germans also discovered a pistol in the Rudnia ghetto and shot 100 Jews, ostensibly for concealing weapons.[19] Shortly after this, Ida Brion fled the ghetto after hearing from escapees of the Vitebsk ghetto that all the Jews would be shot unless they escaped.[20] Jews escaped from several Russian ghettos just before or during their liquidation, with the aim of going into hiding or joining the Soviet partisans. Outside the ghetto, they had to contend with patrols of the Wehrmacht and the OD, hunting for escapees.

The advance of the Red Army in the winter of 1941–1942 successfully liberated three ghettos in the region from the Germans, saving most of their inmates from certain death. These were the ghettos of Il'ino, Kaluga, and Usviaty.[21] Unfortunately, the liberation of these three ghettos was quite exceptional. In Velizh, the Germans and Russian police burned down the ghetto on January 30, 1942, just as Soviet forces were attacking the town, and only a few dozen of the ghetto's Jews managed to survive.

The Soviet counteroffensive may, however, have delayed the liquidation of some ghettos by a few weeks. Sonderkommando 7a, for example, was forced to retreat hastily by the Soviet advances in late December, its men suffering from cold and exhaustion as many vehicles broke down. It was then transferred to Klintsy further to the rear to rest and recover, only arriving there in late February. Thus the Red Army's advance rendered it largely inactive for almost two months.[22] In the ensuing weeks from March 1942, this unit murdered nearly all the remaining Jews in the area around Klintsy in a series of Aktions coordinated by the unit's energetic new commander, Albert Rapp. These Aktions included the destruction of ghettos in Pochep, Unecha, Starodub, and Mglin.[23]

The ghettos in Russian territory existed for only a few weeks or months. They were established just as the Einsatzgruppen, Order Police, and SS forces were escalating the genocide from the shooting of groups of male Jews and alleged Communists to the destruction of entire Jewish communities. Most ghetto liquidation Aktions were organized by the respective Einsatzkommandos, but they also required support from the OD and local Wehrmacht forces. The murder of the Jews of Gusino, for example, just west of Smolensk, can be reconstructed from the testimony of German soldiers given in postwar war crime investigations. The Jews were driven out of the ghetto to a pit through a narrow cordon formed by soldiers of a Landesschützen Company. The pit was only about 150 meters (492 feet) from the ghetto, close to the company's quarters in the local school. The Jews were then shot in the back of the neck in groups of 2 or 3 by two SS men on the edge of the pit. The German forces murdered more than 200 Jews in the Aktion, which lasted several hours. The Jews remained orderly. However, some soldiers recall a Jewish girl calling out: "Please don't shoot me, I will do any work!" The clothing of the Jewish victims was subsequently distributed among the local Russian population.[24]

Little evidence has remained concerning the ghettos on occupied Russian soil. Just occasionally, however, these ghettos are mentioned in sources that reflect the perspective of so-called bystanders. Local resident Nikolai Karpov in Roslavl', who was subsequently deported to Germany for forced labor, recalls in his published memoir learning about the clearance of the ghetto. Neighbors reported with horror that all the inhabitants, including women, children, and the elderly, had been shot near the old Jewish cemetery. The graves had been hastily covered with earth, and Russian policemen had plundered the houses. Karpov observed one policeman attempting to drag away a cow that had belonged to a Jewish tailor, but the cow resisted, not wanting to go with someone it did not know.[25] In the two months following the Aktion, about 20 more Jews were brought into Roslavl' by Wehrmacht patrols in the surrounding countryside and placed in the SD prison. These Jews had been denounced by local inhabitants and handed over to the Wehrmacht. They were subsequently shot by the German Security Police.[26]

Only a few hundred Jews managed to survive from the ghettos in German-occupied Russian territory, either hiding among the local population or serving with the Soviet partisans.[27] The experience of Solomon Bazhalkin, a 14-year-old boy who escaped from the Unecha ghetto, reflects the difficulties Jews faced in trying to survive. He knocked on people's doors in the surrounding villages, saying he was an orphan. Some local inhabitants offered him food and occasionally shelter for a short while; but usually he had to move on again, as people suspected that he was a Jew. On one occasion, he was denounced to the police, but he successfully convinced them he was an orphan and was released. Subsequently he linked up with the Soviet partisans, as did many of the surviving escapees from ghettos in Russia.

The last occupying German forces were driven from Russian territory in July 1944 with the capture by the Red Army of the town of Pskov.[28]

SOURCES Relevant secondary publications concerning the Holocaust in the territories of the Russian Federation include the following: Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), also available in German as Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008); Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoy territorii rossiiskoy federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik. Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; Aleksandr I. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003).

Published sources include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* [English edition translated and edited by David Patterson; with a foreword by Irving Louis Horowitz and an introduction by Helen Segall] (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); I. Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 1–39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–); and several articles published in the Yiddish-language journal *Eynikayt*.

Relevant archival collections include the following: AFSB-SmO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; GAPO; GARF; GASmO; GATO; NARA; RGVA; RTKIDNI; Sta. Kiel; TsGAMORF; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. The high figure of 120,000 is given by Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 348. He relies, however, mainly on the figures of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports, which are sometimes exaggerated.

2. Nebe was succeeded by Erich Naumann on about November 1, 1941.

3. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196, reel 233, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941, p. 42. See also Sta. Kiel, investigation against Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 1, pp. 205–207, testimony of Noack, June 11–12, 1959, in which he notes that he was entrusted by Nebe with the task of setting up ghettos in the villages around Smolensk.

4. BA-MA, RH 26-285/45, Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Nord, Betr. Einrichtung von Gettos, September 3, 1941.

5. Christian Gerlach, "Die Einsatzgruppe B 1941–42," in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 52–70, here p. 59.

6. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196, reel 234, EM UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941, no. 144, December 10, 1941, and no. 146, December 15, 1941.

7. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 324.

8. On October 2–12, 1941, detachments of Einsatzgruppe A shot 260 people in various towns and villages in the Leningrad area (EM UdSSR no. 116, October 17, 1941). This number probably includes the Jews shot in Pushkin. According to the testimony of Mitrofan Kress, 250 Jews were shot in the Catherine Park between September 17, 1941, and January 1, 1942 (GARF, 7021-30-1275, p. 4).

9. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 16, frame 1272, Report on Mountain Jews (Bergjuden) by Dr. Otto Bräutigam, plenipotentiary of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories with Army Group A, December 26, 1942.

10. OK I/593 Demidow, August 6, 1941, Kommandantur Order no. 6, as cited by Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 326–327.

11. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18.

12. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818; testimony of Vladimir Khizvera, YVA, O-3/4671, p. 227; and testimony of Evgeniia Gromyko, in "Smolenskoe getto: Eshche odin svidetel'," *Smolenskie novosti* (Smolensk), October 25, 1995.

13. GARF, 7021-114-6, pp. 20–21.

14. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 285, 293; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 79; and USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.

15. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 285 reverse, and 315 reverse; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 80; Sh. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah yehudit be-Brit ha-Moasot," *Yalkut Moreshet* no. 21 (1976): 94.

16. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995.

17. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, pp. 117–119; Doubson, "Ghetto," p. 167. German aversion to Communists and the absence of religious or political Jewish leadership meant that apolitical professionals by default became the obvious source of local leadership.

18. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

19. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 285 reverse; GASmO, 2434-3-37, p. 168.

20. USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.

21. Doubson, "Ghetto," p. 159.

22. It is possible, however, that Sonderkommando 7a was also involved in the liquidation of the Sychevka ghetto on around January 1, 1942, during the course of its hasty retreat.

23. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 726–786.

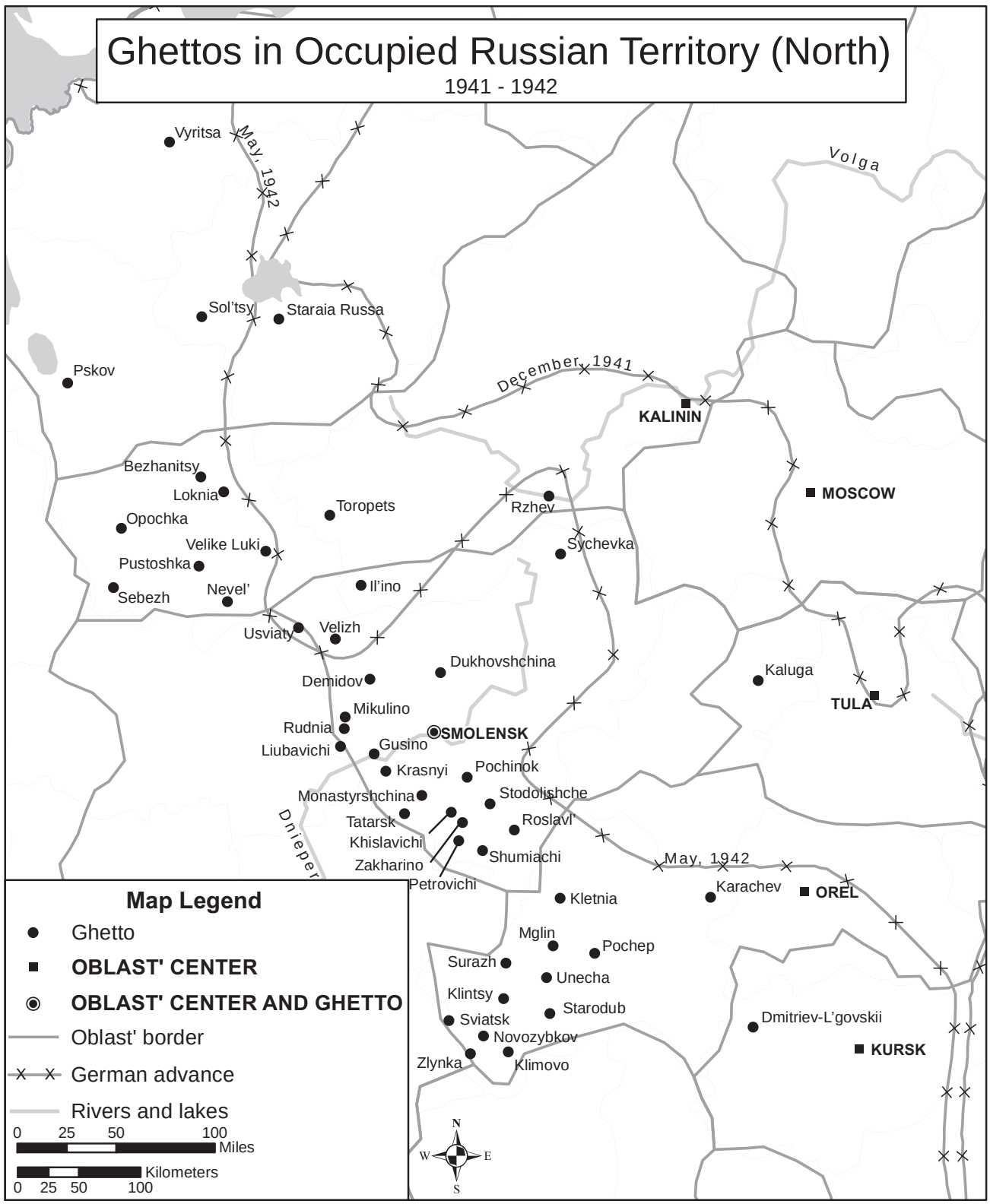
24. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61, vol. 1, pp. 13–109, vol. 2, pp. 333–351; and TsGAMORF, 2082526/264, p. 36.

25. Nikolai Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter: Erzählung* (Münster: Ardey-Verlag, 2003), p. 7.

26. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.

27. To locate survivors, see VHF and also the Survivors' Registry of the USHMM, which both indicate if Jews managed to flee or survived in German-occupied territory.

28. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.



Oblast' borders as of May 1941


Ghettos in Occupied Russian Territory (South)
1942 - 1943
VORONEZH
Don
December, 1942
STALINGRAD
Volga
December, 1941
May, 1942
VOROSHILOVGRAD
Don
Elista
ROSTOV ON DON
Kagal'nitskaia
Sea of Azov
December, 1942
STAVROPOL
KRASNODAR
Yessentuki
Nal'chik
Map Legend
Ghetto
OBLAST' CENTER
Oblast' border
German advance
Rivers and lakes
0 25 50 100 Miles
0 25 50 100 Kilometers
N
W
E
S
Oblast' borders as of May 1941

BEZHANITSY

Pre-1941: Bezhanitsy, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Beshanizy, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Bezhanitsy, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Bezhanitsy is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north-northwest of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, there were only 24 Jews living in Bezhanitsy.

German forces captured Bezhanitsy on July 18, 1941, almost one month after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and the eligible males were required to report for military service. Only some of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the occupation, which lasted until July 1944, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German Kommandantur formed a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Kommandantur ordered the town administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various kinds of forced labor. In October 1941, all the remaining Jews in Bezhanitsy were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, consisting of an unheated house whose windows had been smashed, which was surrounded by a fence. The prisoners did not receive anything to eat for many days. The ghetto existed for several weeks, and then it was liquidated by shooting all the Jews. First 10 people were selected to dig two large graves. Then they were shot into the graves, which were filled in by the next group of 10. This was repeated until all the Jews had been shot. According to one source, 120 Jews were shot in total. This figure is considerably overstated. However, some Jewish refugees from other places likely were among the victims.[1]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bezhanitsy can be found in the following archives: GAPO and GARF (7021-39-319 and 8114-1-963, pp. 111–112).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), p. 404.

DEMIDOV

Pre-1941: Demidov (until 1918 known as Porech'e), town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Demidow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Demidov, Russian Federation

Demidov is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) northwest of Smolensk on the Kasplia River. In 1939, the Jewish population was 206 (2.6 percent of the town's total population).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 13, 1941, about four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, much of the Jewish population fled or was evacuated to the east, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. It is not known how many Jews remained in the town, but it was most probably less than 50 percent of the preinvasion population.

At the end of July 1941, the German military administration in Demidov, Ortskommandantur (OK) I/593, appointed a local mayor.[1] A police force (Ordnungsdienst) was also recruited from local inhabitants. On August 6, 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered that all Jews living in the town over the age of 10 had to wear a yellow marker at least 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter on the right sleeve of their clothes and overcoats, which they were to make themselves. Jews of both sexes were not to be evacuated but were to remain in the town and to perform forced labor. The same order also forbade the ritual slaughtering of animals to prepare kosher meat.[2]

On August 29, 1941, two suspected Soviet partisans (non-Jews) were publicly hanged in Demidov, as a warning to the rest of the population. On September 4, OK I/593 issued an order denying the Jews freedom of movement and prohibiting them from trading with non-Jews.[3] The detailed effects of this order are not known, but it may have resulted in the establishment of an open ghetto for those Jews that still remained in Demidov.

Shortly after this, during the second week of September 1941, units of the German 161st and 183rd Infantry Divisions, together with part of Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a and the Ortskommandant in Demidov, conducted an antipartisan sweep in the area south of the town, which resulted in the arrest of some 2,000 people "capable of bearing arms," of whom about 200 were shot or hanged.[4] On September 28, OK I/593 in Demidov reported the execution of 398 individuals under the heading of "Partisans, Political Commissars, and Party Functionaries," as well as 3 commissars.[5]

One Jewish woman, who was seized and brought to Demidov together with her brother and another Jewish girl at some time in the fall of 1941, stated that the Germans raped the other Jewish girl. When she learned that she would be next, she managed to escape in time.[6]

From mid-August 1941, a Sonderkommando 7a detachment headed by SS-Untersturmführer Claus Hüser was located in Demidov for several weeks. According to German postwar investigative sources, the Russian Ordnungsdienst frequently handed over individuals they had arrested to the detachment while it was based in Demidov. Those prisoners that were Jews were shot without being interrogated. Allegedly up to 50 Jews

were murdered by SK 7a in this manner while it was based in Demidov or shortly thereafter.[7]

More reliable information about the murder of the Jews of Demidov has not been uncovered. According to one partisan report, the remaining Jews in the town were allegedly shot at the start of 1942, by which time advancing Red Army forces had almost cut off the town. However, as this source considerably overestimates the number of victims, it may refer to the German antipartisan sweeps of September 1941 or other subsequent similar Aktions that were directed mainly against non-Jews.[8]

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Demidov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA (RH 23/223); GARF (7021-44-622); GASmO; and NARA (NOKW-1320 and 1326).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 23/223, Activity Reports of Korüeck 582 for the period August to December 1941; OK I/593 Demidow, Kommandantur Order no. 2, July 31, 1941.
2. OK I/593 Demidow, August 6, 1941, Kommandantur Order no. 6, as cited by Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 326–327.
3. BA-MA, RH 23/223, OK I/593 Demidow, Kommandantur Order no. 17, September 4, 1941.
4. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 217; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643, pp. 299–311.
5. Schulte, *The German Army*, p. 223.
6. USHMM, RG-50.378, # 006, oral testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
7. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 2/65, verdict of December 22, 1966, against Meyer and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643, pp. 311–315.
8. RGASPI, 17-88-1067, p. 86.

DMITRIEV-L'GOVSKII

Pre-1939: Dmitriev-L'govskii, town and raion center, Kursk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Dmitriew, Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte); post-1991: Dmitriev-L'govskii, Russian Federation

Dmitriev-L'govskii is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Kursk on the railway line from Briansk to L'gov. The census of 1939 revealed that the Jewish population stood at 111.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on October 8, 1941, three and a half months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this intervening period, the overwhelming majority of the Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were inducted into the Red Army. According to Soviet sources, only 16 Jews remained in the town at the start of German occupation. These included several key professionals, such as the dentists Kaplan and his wife, the head of the pharmacy, a tailor, a cobbler, and a barber.[1]

During the entire occupation period, from October 8, 1941, to March 2, 1943, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a town council, and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from among local residents.

Soon after the occupation, the town council organized the registration of the Jews, as well as their use in various kinds of heavy labor. The German occupiers spread antisemitic propaganda and imposed a special tax of 5,000 rubles per month on each Jew. They also proceeded to seize and rob remaining Jewish property.[2]

In November 1941, the Germans set up a "ghetto" in Dmitriev-L'govskii, forcing all the Jews to move into a single house, which bore the following inscription on the door: "Entry forbidden to non-Jews." (Another source indicates that some Jews were shot in the town shortly after the arrival of the Germans, and the remainder were placed in the ghetto.) Jews were also required to wear a Jewish star on their clothes, on the chest and back, and were forbidden from having any contact with non-Jews.[3] The Jews in the ghetto were forbidden from carrying out their former professions and were taken under guard to perform heavy, dangerous labor, including digging up bombs that had failed to explode. As they worked, they were whipped and beaten mercilessly with sticks.[4]

The fate of a 16-year-old Jewish boy named Boris is known from two witnesses. He was the barber's apprentice and was forced to work for the Germans, carrying water and cleaning toilets. By accident he splashed water on a German dog, and the Germans started to beat him. When they discovered from other boys that he was Jewish, they beat him further for concealing that he was a Jew. The Germans threw him into the cold cellar of the Pedagogical School for three days, and on the fourth day a German came and shot him with a pistol. His body was left there among the trash until spring 1942, when it was thrown into the pit behind the cemetery.[5]

Following a Soviet counteroffensive, the Jews feared that they might be killed, and a few managed to run away. Shortly after this escape effort, probably in March 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto by shooting the remaining Jews.[6]

SOURCES Some information on this ghetto is available in Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 123–127.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dmitriev-L'govskii can be found in the following archives: GAKO; GARF (7021-29-14 and 979); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 9, 7021-29-979, pp. 19–20.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; and GARF, 7021-29-14, pp. 2, 19–20.
4. GARF, 7021-29-14, pp. 19–20.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 9, 7021-29-979, pp. 19–20.
6. GARF, 7021-29-14 and 7021-29-979; and Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 123–124, 127.

DUKHOVSHCHINA

Pre-1941: Dukhovshchina, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Duchowschtschina, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dukhovshchina, Russian Federation

Dukhovshchina is located 57 kilometers (35 miles) northeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census, 102 Jews were living in Dukhovshchina (2.64 percent of the total population).

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 15, 1941, 24 days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in late July or early August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor (Bürgermeister) of Dukhovshchina and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. The town's remaining Jews were moved into a ghetto, to concentrate them in one location and isolate them from the rest of the population. The ghetto was liquidated in the summer of 1942 at which time the Jews of the town were shot. The number of Jewish victims is reported to be 300, but this figure may be exaggerated. The chief of the raion police force, Shershukov, took an active part in the shooting Aktion; there were several dozen victims. At least two Jewish families (the Gurevich and Bliumin families) were saved with the help and support of local residents.[1]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dukhovshchina can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-635); GASmO (R-1630-2-28); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. R. Zharikova, "Ia videla, kak ubivali evreev," *Raionnaia gazeta* (Dukhovshchina raion), no. 76, July 2, 1992, p. 4; and GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 135.

ELISTA (AKA STEPNOI)

Pre-1942: Elista, capital, Kalmyk ASSR, RSFSR; August–December 1942: Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Kalmyk Republic (Kalmykia), Russian Federation

Elista is located about 250 kilometers (155 miles) south of Stalingrad. Between June 1941 and August 1942, a number of Jewish refugees arrived in Elista from Gomel', Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, and other places occupied by the Germans. The lack of any rail communications made it difficult for Jews to flee from Elista in the face of the rapid German advance across the Kalmykian steppe in the summer of 1942.

Units of the German LII Corps occupied Elista on August 13, 1942. During the period of occupation, which lasted until December 31, 1942, German Ortskommandantur I/649 administered the town's affairs. The German military administration created a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents. For part of the occupation, units of the German 16th Motorized Infantry Division were stationed in the town.

Among the German punitive organs based in the town from the end of August to the end of December 1942 was the Security Police Sonderkommando Astrakhan, part of Einsatzgruppe D. The Sonderkommando, consisting of about 10 to 20 men, was headed by Hauptsturmführer Rolf Maurer, who died in February 1943.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German authorities ordered the registration and marking of all Jews, the confiscation of Jewish property, and the use of Jews for forced labor. All Jews had to wear distinguishing badges in the form of a white six-pointed star. After their registration and marking, the Jews were forced into a ghetto, for which one of the buildings on Rosa Luxemburg Street was designated. The Jews were not allowed to leave the ghetto, and they were deprived of food and water. They remained in the ghetto for 10 days.

On September 9, 1942 (or shortly thereafter), Sonderkommando Astrakhan under Maurer's command carried out the liquidation of the ghetto. According to testimony by members of the unit, about 80 to 100 Jews were taken out into the steppe outside the town to a place where a large ditch had already been prepared. Maurer and his men then shot all the Jews in small family groups (composed of men, women, children, and the elderly).[1] Soviet sources place the number of victims considerably higher, at 93 families, or more than 300 people altogether. The site of the mass shooting is reported to have been near the town's waste dump.[2]

Shortly after the mass shooting, the Germans began to encounter partisan resistance in the region and acts of sabotage in Elista, organized in part by the German-appointed mayor of the town and other local officials, who apparently were working for the NKVD. Sonderkommando Astrakhan responded by executing a number of non-Jews before its retreat at the end of December.

SOURCES Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission and other sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Elista can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 24-40/116); GARF (7021-8-27, pp. 87–89); the National Archive of the Kalmyk Republic (68-1-5, pp. 21–22); Sta. Mü I (22 Js 204, vols. 3–5); and TsGAMORF (8523-33-15).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 204, vol. 3, p. 687, statement of Georg Weiss, February 16, 1961, vol. 4, pp. 813–814, statement of G. Weiss, November 30, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 860–861, statement of Emil Mikisch, February 5, 1962, and vol. 5, pp. 1155–1156, statement of Leo Luft, July 12, 1962. See also Joachim Hoffmann, *Deutsche und Kalmyken, 1942 bis 1945* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1986), pp. 103–104.
2. BA-MA, RH 24-40/116, unpaginated, copy of Soviet propaganda material, probably dated early 1943; see also GARF, 7021-8-27, pp. 87–89.



The Gusino memorial, photographed in 1998 by Miron Ioffe. Ioffe's immediate family was murdered in Gusino during the Holocaust.
USHMM 2004.421, COURTESY OF MIRON IOFFE

GUSINO

Pre-1941: Gusino, village, Krasnyi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Gusino is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-southwest of Smolensk on the Dnieper River and on the main highway from Minsk to Moscow. According to the 1926 census, 427 Jews resided in the town (with a total population of 706).

Units of the German 18th Panzer Division captured Gusino in mid-July 1941. Soon after their arrival, German forces established a ghetto for the Jewish population of approximately 250 people on July 28, 1941.[1] Members of the 1st Company, Landesschützen (LS) Battalion 507 (later renamed Security Bn. 545), which was stationed in Gusino during the winter of 1941–1942, note that on their arrival a ghetto had already been established in the town. The Jewish population was also forced to wear Jewish stars on their clothing and was made to perform forced labor, such as the clearing of snow and the unloading of railroad cars; a few of them also worked for the German soldiers based in the town. According to some accounts, a chicken-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, with barbed wire on top. The Jews lived in all the houses on one long street. In the town there was also a local Russian mayor and a local Russian police force designated only by armbands but armed with rifles. The Russian police was subordinated to the local German commandant.

The mass shooting of the Jews from the ghetto took place on February 6, 1942. On the evening before, a small unit of the SS and SD, comprising about 10 people, arrived in Gusino and informed Captain Schmitt, in charge of 1st Company, LS-Bn. 507, that all the Jews in the ghetto would be shot. It is not precisely clear which unit the SS men belonged to, but it was probably a Security Police (Sipo) and SD squad subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8 (commanded by Heinz Richter from January 1942), probably based in Orsha or Krugloe.

A mass grave had already been prepared in advance, close to the ghetto. Because of the hard ground, the Germans used explosives to prepare a pit some 10 meters long and 3 meters deep (33 feet by almost 10 feet). The Sipo/SD unit requested that members of the LS Company cordon off the ghetto during the Aktion to prevent any escapes. Some men of the company were deployed around the ghetto during the night. However, it appears that a few Jews got wind of the operation following the explosions and managed to flee, as other company members also searched the woods vainly in the morning just prior to the Aktion, trying to find escaped Jews.

The Aktion began at 9:00 A.M., when the Jews were driven out of the ghetto and forced through a narrow cordon, formed by members of the LS Company, to the pit. The pit was only about 100 or 200 meters (328 feet to 656 feet) from the ghetto, close to the company's quarters in the local school. Before arriving at the pit, the Jewish victims had to remove their upper clothing and their shoes. These items were subsequently distributed among the local Russian population. The Jews were then shot in the back of the neck in groups of 2 or 3 by two SS men on the edge of the pit. The German forces murdered more than 200 Jews, including men, women, and children of all ages in the Aktion, which lasted several hours. (A report by a Soviet military commission of investigation records that more than 250 people were shot altogether.)[2] The Jews remained calm during the shooting. However, some soldiers in the cordon recall a Jewish girl calling out: "Please don't shoot

me, I will do any work!"[3] During the Aktion at least one Russian boy tried to escape. However, he was fired on and wounded by men from the cordon, then brought back to the killing site.

The attitude of the Wehrmacht troops is hard to assess from the investigative sources, as they knew they might be prosecuted if they admitted that their participation was motivated by racial hatred. Nevertheless, the company consisted almost exclusively of middle-aged men who had no particular Nazi sympathies. Several men mentioned that one company member tried to save two young Jewish sisters who had worked for the company and received bread from their rations in return. When the SS men found out about these two Jewish girls a few days later, they also took them away to be shot. One soldier claimed that the events preoccupied him so much that he wrote to his wife about it, mentioning especially the shooting of the two sisters. Others said that they were so affected they could not eat.

About one week after the main shooting, the local Russian police carried out their own Aktion. They shot those Jews who had escaped from the first Aktion. Accounts by Wehrmacht soldiers stationed in the town mention Jews returning, but they were probably hunted down and brought in by the local police.[4]

SOURCES This entry is based mainly on the statements of former members of 1st Company, Landesschützen Battalion 507, taken by the German authorities in the 1960s. This documentation can be found in BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61). Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: TsGAMORF (2082526/264, p. 36); VHF (# 13160, 16575, and 39900); and YVA (O-33/3275, Miron Ioffe).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Vadim Doubson, "Ghetto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184, here p. 159.
2. TsGAMORF, 2082526/264, p. 36.
3. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61, vol. 1, p. 21.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 13–109, vol. 2, pp. 333–351.

IL'INO

Pre-1941: Il'ino, village and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Iljino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Il'ino, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Il'ino is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) east-southeast of Velike Luki. By 1939, the number of Jews stood at 221. Il'ino was remote from larger towns and 48 kilometers (30 miles) from the nearest railway station. It was not the site of any industry, and consequently the local authorities did not organize an evacuation as the German forces drew near. The inhabitants of Il'ino appealed to the raion authorities for help but received only a terse response: "Don't stir up panic; if it's necessary, we'll evacuate." After loading their belongings into carts, many Jewish families tried to leave Il'ino on foot, seeking to get to the railway station at Staraia Toropa, but German troops stopped them, and they turned back.[1]

German forces took Il'ino on July 22, 1941. Shortly afterwards, the occupiers ordered the Jews in the village to sew a yellow six-pointed star on the chest and back of their outer garments and to mark their homes with the stars.[2] A Jewish elder was named. One witness recalls that he was "an ordinary person, by no means a betrayer." He was "caught between the devil and the deep blue sea."[3] The occupiers did not undertake the registration of the Jews since local non-Jewish citizens had given the Germans complete lists of the Jewish population in the village.[4]

The occupiers began to assign Jews to work servicing the German garrison. Germans treated the Jews scornfully and subjected them to taunts and beatings. On one occasion, eight German Air Force pilots gathered a number of Jewish men and took them to a neighboring village, made them dig pits, and staged a mock hanging. Subsequently, one of those Jews became deranged.[5] According to one account, Finnish Army soldiers were especially brutal in dealing with the Jews. In one case, a woman's sister who was a witness indignantly told how a Finnish soldier took all the sugar from their house. Then, on horseback, he chased the woman for 3 kilometers (1.9 miles).[6]

Wehrmacht soldiers and those in Finnish, Estonian, and Hungarian units quartered in neighboring communities robbed the Jewish inhabitants. They took mostly foodstuffs. The chief of the Russian police obliged the Jewish elder, under threat of being shot, to procure various things for him. On one occasion, he asked for a black suit to be furnished by the Jews; on another, he demanded a supply of blank paper.[7]

In September 1941, the occupiers issued an order concerning the establishment of a ghetto. It designated a short street on the outskirts of the village from which all residents—mostly Russians and Latvians—were told to move out. Low, marshy ground flanked the street on one side, and a small stream intersected it. The Jewish cemetery lay at the end of the street. Several Jewish families moved into each house. The occupiers allowed them to bring with them only a few possessions and scarcely any provisions. Barbed wire partly surrounded the area of the ghetto, and German soldiers and Russian policemen guarded it. The occupying authorities did not allow the Jews to leave the ghetto and forbade local inhabitants to visit them.

The ghetto held as many as 200 people—residents of Il'ino and surrounding villages and refugees from Belorussia.[8] The inmates were mostly women, children of various ages, and elderly men. Local authorities carried out a registration of the Jewish inmates once the ghetto had been established.[9]

The Jews in the ghetto suffered severely from hunger, even eating flaxseed meal. They avoided starving to death only because they had dug up potatoes from their kitchen gardens and brought them along when resettled to the ghetto. Every potato counted.[10] Teenagers in the ghetto managed to obtain some bread and potatoes from former neighbors and acquaintances. A woman who had been confined in the ghetto recalled that

parents feared the Germans might shoot the children.[11] Occasionally, Russian boys would steal into the ghetto at night to bring food to their friends.[12]

Ghetto inmates suffered from an insufficient water supply. During the winter, they had to melt snow for drinking water. There was no place where they could wash up; they were covered with scabs and tormented by lice.[13] Not enough firewood was available for heating. Improvised medical aid was provided for sick Jews in the ghetto by a doctor who was a refugee from Vitebsk and who managed the local drugstore. Taking advantage of her "Aryan appearance," on several occasions a female inmate left the ghetto to buy medication from him.[14]

Russian police arrived on the scene shortly after the ghetto was established; their aim was to seize the Jews' belongings. They helped themselves to one thing after another—from linens to floor runners. The Komissarov family begged them, "Leave the strips of carpet!" The police chief replied, "What do you need your carpet for? You'll soon have the ground under your feet."[15] That was a thinly veiled reference to the planned extermination of the Jews. German soldiers and the Russian police repeatedly carried out searches in the ghetto. They were looking for valuables, and they also seized warm clothing, even shabby garments, "for the German Army."[16]

The lack of clothes to keep them warm heightened the suffering of the Jews in the ghetto during the severe winter of 1941–1942. Russian inhabitants of Il'ino recall that when the Germans ordered the Jews taken out of the ghetto in January 1942 (with the intention of shooting them), many of them were almost naked. Despite the ban on communicating with the inmates, one Russian woman brought warm clothing for a family in the ghetto with whom she had been friendly.[17]

According to orders passed through the Jewish elder, the guards escorted Jews outside the ghetto for compulsory labor. They assigned women and teenage children to do heavy and dirty work: to saw firewood; clean stables and toilets; wash motorcycles and cars; haul water for the field kitchen; and repair roads and, in winter, shovel them clear of snow.[18]

Former ghetto inmates recollect that many of them did not believe they could safely flee the ghetto, and they could not count on help from the local population. One ex-inmate said, "[N]obody could go anywhere. There was nowhere to go." A former female inmate who was then still a child told how she often said to her mother, "Let me go out!" Her mother would reply, "Wherever you go, they'll turn you in."[19] Nevertheless, some young people did leave the ghetto, a number of them to join the partisans.[20]

A detachment of Russian police entered the ghetto on January 24, 1942. They brought all the Jews out of the ghetto under guard and assembled them near the German commandant's office. The police kept the poorly clad Jews there for several hours in the freezing cold. Local inhabitants who witnessed the event and the Jews themselves later recalled that they were certain that this activity was in preparation for a mass shooting. A local midwife managed to snatch a little girl from the column of Jews and subsequently hid the child in her house.

Through an interpreter, the German commandant criticized the assembled Jews for alleged offenses: spreading rumors that disparaged the German Army, hailing Soviet aircraft, and so on. Then the Germans ordered the Jews to return to the ghetto and not to venture out of their houses. They nailed the doors shut and posted a guard of Russian policemen.[21]

Apparently the Germans did not have time to carry out the massacre, for their military command was by then busy warding off an attack by Soviet forces. On January 24, elements of the Soviet 4th Shock Army attacked Il'ino, but without immediate success. During the night, additional Soviet forces came up to the outskirts of the village, and at dawn the attack was launched again. Having overcome stubborn German resistance, by midday on January 25, elements of the Red Army liberated Il'ino.

This unexpected salvation was a shock to the ghetto inmates, who had thought they were going to die. They could not sleep all night. One woman, the mother of four children, lost all her hair. On the morning of January 25, when neighbors knocked on a woman's door and reported that they had seen men wearing white coveralls and with red stars on their caps, the woman fainted from shock at this news.[22]

Almost all the ghetto inmates who had survived to that point were saved. (Several elderly Jews had frozen to death on the eve of liberation.) But the very narrow escape of the inmates of the Il'ino ghetto was sadly quite exceptional in the history of the Holocaust in the territory of the Soviet Union.

SOURCES Information concerning the Il'ino ghetto may be found in the article by the author, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; and in A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1965).

Archival sources include GARF (7021-44-1073); GATO (R-1583-1-3563); and YVA. The municipal archives of the town of Zapadnaia Dvina also contain a collection of documents concerning the Il'ino ghetto (Fond 30, 22 files from 1994 and 1995).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Testimonies of Fruma Komissarova and Zinaida Bel'chikova, "Kholokost v Rossii," *AMI* (St. Petersburg), April 20, 1995.
2. YVA, M-62/67, testimony of Aleksandr Portiankin, p. 9; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.
3. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod, author's personal archive.
4. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.; and testimony of Khana Zhuk, in *Krovotochashchaia pamiat' Kholokosta* (Kaliningrad, 2001), p. 52.

8. GARF, 7021-44-1073, p. 8; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 25, 46, 63; testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova; and testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod.
9. GATO, R-1583-1-3563, p. 46.
10. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.
11. Testimony of Khana Zhuk; and testimony of Aleksandr Portiankin.
12. GATO, R-1583-1-3563, pp. 63–64; R. Dzkuia, "Sel'skoe getto," *Obshchaia gazeta*, January 24–30, 2002.
13. Testimony of Khana Zhuk.
14. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova.
15. Ibid.
16. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.
17. GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 25, 63–65.
18. GARF, 7021-44-1073, p. 8; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, p. 63; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.
19. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Fruma Komissarova.
20. Ibid.; and YVA, M-62/67, p. 7.
21. GARF, 7021-44-1073, pp. 74–75; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 46, 64–65; testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.
22. GATO, R-1583-1-3653, p. 65.

KAGAL'NITSKAIA

Pre-1942: Kagal'nitskaia, village and raion center, Rostov oblast', RSFSR; 1942–1943: Kagalnizkaja, Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B); post-1991: Kagal'nitskaia, Russian Federation

Kagal'nitskaia is a Cossack village (*stanitsa*) located 58 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Rostov on Don. In 1939, there were only seven Jews living in the village.[1]

German armed forces occupied the village in late July 1942. Throughout the entire six months of the occupation, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. It established a local administration and an auxiliary police force, made up of local residents.

In August 1942, all the Jews in the village—38 families, primarily Jewish refugees—were assembled in a large barn, which became a temporary ghetto. Those Jews who were fit for work were required to perform forced labor. The Jews remained in this barn ghetto for one month. In September 1942, the German forces liquidated the ghetto by shooting all of the Jews, about 200 people in total.

SOURCE Documentation Center for the Modern History of the Rostov Oblast', 1886-1-6, p. 114.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:13.

KALUGA

Pre-1941: Kaluga, city and raion center, Tula oblast', RSFSR; October–December 1941: VIII Army Corps, Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte); post-1991: oblast' center, Russian Federation

Kaluga is located 188 kilometers (117 miles) southwest of Moscow on the Oka River and on the railway line from Moscow to Kiev. In 1939, the Jewish population was 833.

Warned of the German advance, the majority of the Jewish population managed to flee, leaving slightly in excess of 150 Jews behind. Part of the XIII Corps, of German Army Group Center, occupied Kaluga on October 12–13, 1941, only two weeks into Operation Typhoon (the German offensive towards Moscow). According to a child survivor (Yuri German), many people in the city initially greeted the German army with flowers. Some of his relatives had successfully evacuated from the city, but he remained behind with his mother.[1]

Shortly after their arrival the German authorities forbade Jews from appearing in the market square or other public places and prohibited non-Jews from associating with them. Jews were denied access to the public baths, electricity, first aid, restaurants, and health services. The newly appointed local Russian mayor, Shcherbachev, also signed orders issued by the German commandant authorizing the seizure of Jewish property. Both before the establishment of the ghetto and thereafter, Jews were subjected to frequent raids by German and local police in search of property. Some Jews were murdered during these property raids. As Anna Veller recalls, a police officer entered her apartment just prior to the establishment of the ghetto and demanded all her valuables and money, threatening to kill her, as he had another Jewish woman. He took with him various objects, including silver spoons and 130 rubles in cash.[2]

On November 1, 1941, the mayor issued orders for all Jews to be registered and for them to wear a yellow star on the chest and shoulders of their outer garments, stigmatizing the Jews to the local population. On November 7, 1941, the German forces arrested 23 Jews and detained them for three weeks, starving them for several days. Of these, 8 of the younger people were shot, and the remainder were subsequently resettled in a "ghetto."[3]

Kaluga was the easternmost ghetto established in the area occupied during Operation Typhoon. On November 8, 1941, the city administration issued an order for the Jews to be confined together in one area on the outskirts of town. In addition, the Jews were ordered to establish a Jewish Council, which in turn would choose an elder, who would be the sole means of communication with the city administration. The same decree forbade the ritual slaughter of animals according to Jewish religious practice.[4]

In mid-November 1941, the German authorities ordered all 150 Jews to leave their houses and enter the ghetto within two hours. Many people moved into the ghetto, based in the former "Black Mountain" nunnery. They were only permitted

to take with them what they could carry in their hands, forcing them to leave behind many precious belongings and foodstuffs, which were then snapped up by looters who soon followed in their wake.

The Germans issued orders for all Jews between the ages of 14 and 60 to perform hard physical labor, often accompanied by beatings. Forced labor began at the start of the German occupation, but once the ghetto was established, the main task for the next two weeks was constructing a fence around the ghetto. There were no construction materials, so the fence from around another building had to be dismantled. Three German Feldgendarmes and local Russian policemen oversaw the work.

On November 27, 1941, the German commandant threatened that if on the following day 100 workers did not appear for work, then every tenth person would be shot. At that time the Kaluga "Gestapo" had registered 154 Jews, of which only 17 were able-bodied men, 43 were men aged over 60 or disabled, 8 were mothers with babies or young children, 21 were women over 60 or disabled, and 47 were children aged under 14, the remaining 18 being women aged 14 to 60. Therefore, only 35 to 40 ghetto inmates were fit to work, but all the children and elderly also reported to avoid the collective punishment. Although a number of local craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and others) were represented within the ghetto, they were no longer permitted to perform these trades.[5] The assigned work included cleaning the streets and burying the corpses of German soldiers. The overseers often beat Jews as they performed forced labor. Even the children in the ghetto were forced to work, some being made to move bodies in the streets outside the ghetto.

Once it was enclosed, two Feldgendarmes and the local Russian police guarded the ghetto. Jews could only exit the ghetto during certain limited hours. If they were even a few minutes late, the guards would beat them. Although ration cards were issued for pickled cucumbers, pickled tomatoes, and salt, very little food was actually distributed to the Jews. Some children therefore sneaked out of the ghetto to scavenge for food. Inside the ghetto there were also deaths from starvation, among them a boy named Gurevich, who was only seven years old.[6]

In December 1941, the Red Army counterattacked, and the Germans began searching for valuables in the ghetto. According to Anna Veller, on December 18–19, 1941, ghetto inmates began to hear cannon fire and took refuge in the cellars. Then at 11:00 A.M. on December 22, German soldiers burst into the ghetto and began firing from automatic weapons. They doused part of the ghetto in gasoline and then set fire to it. Veller reported that apart from the 8 Jews shot in prison, 10 were shot in the ghetto settlement and 3 afterwards, while another 10 were lost (presumably in the burning ghetto)—the elderly Gershovich was burned alive in his bed. Other Jews were reportedly injured as they made their escape.[7]

Yuri German managed to escape under the cover of smoke and hide with a neighbor for a few days until the Red Army arrived. According to his account, prior to the German retreat, only Jewish invalids from the sanatorium had been systematically shot.[8] According to the OKW daily report for December 30, 1941, Kaluga was evacuated "according to plan."[9] It appears that the burning of the ghetto had been an attempt to destroy the Jewish population as the Germans retreated. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the ghetto inmates in Kaluga survived, indicating that the Red Army intervened before the German forces could organize the systematic liquidation of the ghetto.

SOURCES The main archival sources for the Kaluga ghetto are the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports, which are located in GARF (7021-47-1, 22, and 353) and some testimonies by surviving Jews (e.g., USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995; and VHF, # 28740, 29422, 39439, and others). There is also some relevant German documentation in BA-BL and BA-MA.

The article by Vadim Doubson on ghettos in the Russian Federation has several detailed references to the Kaluga ghetto; see his "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184. Also see the article "Evreiskoe getto v Kaluge," in the regional historical publication *Vestniku Dobroi Voli* (Kaluga, 1998).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995.
2. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 21–23, testimony of Anna Abramovna Veller, June 9, 1943.
3. See GARF, 7021-47-1 (also USHMM, RG 22.002M, reel 11), pp. 56–60, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the town of Kaluga.
4. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18.
5. Ibid.
6. See GARF, 7021-47-1, pp. 56–60; 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18, 21–23.
7. GARF, 7021-47-1, pp. 56–60; and 7021-47-4.
8. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history with Y.I. German.
9. Percy E. Schramm, ed., *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2002), 2:871.

KARACHEV

Pre-1941: Karachev, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Karatschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Karachev, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Karachev is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southeast of Briansk. Jews probably first arrived in Karachev in the late nineteenth century. In 1897, there were 326 Jews residing in the town, and by 1926 the number had increased to 522.[1] According to the results of the 1939 census, the number of Jewish residents had decreased to 443 people (or 2.48 percent of the

total population).[2] Karachev was occupied by units of the German 2nd Panzer Army, Army Group Center, on October 5, 1941, almost three and a half months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time, a large number of the local Jews had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men fit for military service were drafted into the Red Army. When German troops occupied Karachev, only about one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population was still in town, roughly 100 people.

During the entire period of the German occupation (from October 1941 until August 1943), a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) exercised authority in the town. The military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. The chief district administrator (Rayonleiter) in Karachev was an ethnic German physician, Dr. Schepel.

A short time after the start of the occupation, the local Russian administration organized the registration of the Jews. They were forced to wear a distinctive symbol on their clothes marking them as Jews. Men and women were forced to conduct physically exhausting labor. Probably at the end of October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Karachev. It was more like a temporary holding camp, as it was in the open air and there were no buildings within the confines of the camp.[3] On December 12, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. All the Jews were shot. The number of victims is estimated to have been about 100 people.[4] It is most probable that the liquidation of the ghetto was carried out by a subunit of Einsatzkommando 8, which was based in Briansk at this time.[5]

SOURCES The files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission into the crimes of the German occupying forces and their collaborators, including the statements of witnesses, can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-3).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 595.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 31.
3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) 2000: 157–184, here pp. 158–159.
4. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 98.
5. See USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 146, December 15, 1941.

KHISLAVICHI

Pre-1941: Khislavichi, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Chislawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khislavichi, Russian Federation

Khislavichi is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south of Smolensk on the Sozh River. In 1939, 1,427 Jews were living in Khislavichi.

Units of German Army Group Center entered Khislavichi on July 16, 1941. As early as the first few days of the German occupation, the Jewish population was subjected to robbery, assault, and other forms of human degradation.[1]

At the end of August and in early September 1941, the headquarters unit of Vorkommando Moskau (a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B) ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews of Khislavichi. On the orders of the Vorkommando, the German military administration resettled the Jews in a ghetto and required them to perform forced labor. A few weeks later, members of the Vorkommando were responsible for shooting the members of the Judenrat and 20 other Jews.[2]

The Germans established the ghetto on the outskirts of town in older houses next to the Jewish cemetery and the synagogue. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto. Nobody could enter or leave the ghetto without permission. The ghetto inmates had to wear distinguishing markings: a yellow ring with a dark sign in the middle. Around 800 people were moved into the ghetto, where they lived in only 40 or 50 houses, with roughly 25 to 30 people in each.[3] Among the prisoners of the ghetto were many children of various ages.

All property remained in the Jews' vacated homes when they were forcibly resettled into the ghetto. The property passed into the hands of the German military administration and local Russian policemen, who then occupied the best of the confiscated Jewish homes.

Sometime in the second half of September or early October 1941, the Germans rounded up Jewish men, telling them they were needed for work. Then they transported the men to a Machine Tractor Station (MTS) and shot them in a large ditch. According to Soviet sources, around 125 to 150 people were shot.[4]

The report of Einsatzgruppe B dated October 9, 1941, describes this event as follows: "In Khislavichi, according to reports from the Russian population, the Jews living in the ghetto have during the last few days tried to incite a mood of panic by spreading false rumors about an alleged offensive by the Bolsheviks. They also threatened to exact revenge once the Bolsheviks returned. Consequently, the Vorkommando sent out a detachment [Kommando], which liquidated 114 Jews."[5]

The German occupying authorities tried to cover up the shooting of the Jewish men by claiming that they had been sent to work in Belorusssia. Jewish craftsmen were not shot at this time, as the Germans spared leather tanners, boot makers, and tailors from the ghetto. For making a suit, a tailor

would receive half a packet of Russian tobacco. An irreplaceable Jewish mechanic named Dvorkin was ordered by the Germans to work at a mill. They gave his family an apartment and supplied them with basic foodstuffs. In the course of the final German evacuation of the town, however, the family was murdered.

The remaining ghetto inmates had to perform grueling physical labor. In January and February 1942, nearly all able-bodied Jews had to participate in laying concrete for various permanent defensive fortification sites for the German army.

German soldiers and Russian policemen often entered the ghetto to rob the Jews. They stole valuable items, clothing, and other property. In early January 1941, some German pilots who had just arrived in Khislavichi threatened the Jews and took all their warm clothing at gunpoint, including their winter coats with the yellow badges.

The ghetto inmates were constantly subjected to assault and other forms of humiliation. The Germans and Russian policemen raped Jewish girls and young women. For example, two 15-year-old twin sisters named Dimentman were raped in front of their parents. In January 1942, a group of young Jewish boys and girls were taken away from the ghetto and never seen again.[6]

In the view of the Einsatzgruppe, in the second half of September 1941 the Jews of Khislavichi could be characterized by their "passive resistance."[7] Young Jews looked for any opportunity to escape the ghetto. Sometimes they escaped when they were assigned to labor tasks outside the ghetto. In the words of one former ghetto inmate, "[T]hose who had all their closest relatives in the ghetto tried not only to escape, but also to organize armed resistance." When the ghetto was first set up, one young Jewish man tried to mobilize his compatriots by crying out, "Don't be afraid! Resist their power!" He was killed for speaking out. Another young girl who escaped from the ghetto came back a few times by sneaking past the guards. Among the ghetto inmates she spread Soviet leaflets dropped by planes.

Part of the population came to disbelieve the claims of German propaganda that "all misfortunes come from the Jews; and that this parasitic group is living off the people." One witness observed that when the Germans talked with the local population, they "were not able to refute the fact that the Jews were the same kind of hardworking people as the rest of the population, for this was indisputable."[8]

Evgenii Rzhetskii, a former teacher of German and director of the school branch of the raion administration in Khislavichi, became a translator for the Germans. He was able to save a number of Jews. One of the ghetto inmates, a schoolteacher, produced a certificate attesting to her falsified Russian nationality. Rzhetskii was apparently able to help some of the Jews by finding them work. Local residents of Khislavichi helped save the life of the tailor Iakov Bass, whose family perished in the ghetto.

At dawn on March 20, 1942, the Russian police broke into the Khislavichi ghetto. According to witness testimonies, a detachment of local Russian police, under the command of the German Security Police and SD, carried out the Aktion.[9] Some of the policemen surrounded the ghetto while the others drove the Jews from their homes, not even allowing them to put on their clothes. Those who were too old or sick to move were shot in the ghetto. Local policemen on foot and on horseback escorted the Jews to the killing site. Some younger Jews and children tried to escape, but they were killed. On the way there, and during the shooting itself, the policemen seized the Jews' remaining clothing and shoes.

The killing was carried out in a gully only about 150 meters (492 feet) northwest of the town. The Jews were shot with rifles and automatic pistols. Young children were forced to kneel with their heads to the ground. The policemen threw some of the children into the ditch alive. A 12-year-old girl who escaped was apprehended by the Rayon head, Shevandin. A 12-year-old boy with frozen hands and feet made it as far as the edge of town, but he too was caught and shot by the police. For about two weeks the grave site remained only partially covered, and dogs dragged away some of the bodies.

In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), two different figures are given for the number of victims of the mass shooting on March 20, 1942. Some documents report 800 victims, and others only 600.[10] About 200 Jews had perished before the shootings, so the latter figure is probably more accurate. The commander of the partisan detachment operating in the Khislavichi raion reported to the western headquarters of the partisan movement that 550 Jews had been killed in Khislavichi in one day.[11]

The police searched for those Jews who had escaped and caught many in the nearby villages. With each Jew who was found and shot, the police seized any valuables and other possessions, including tobacco. Sometimes the Jews were handed over by local inhabitants. Of all the inmates of the ghetto, only a few managed to save themselves. A 6-year-old boy sneaked away at night after emerging from the mass grave, and he succeeded in escaping from Khislavichi. A Russian father was able to hide a 12-year-old girl, although her Jewish mother and infant brother were both shot.

Jewish property—featherbeds, pillows, clothing, and ornaments—was divided as spoils among the Germans and Russian police. Some of it was resold in a local store in Khislavichi.

The ChGK investigation concluded that the mass killing of the "Soviet citizens" of Khislavichi was organized and carried out by the German commandant Dolerman, his deputy Mais, and their collaborators, including the Rayon head Shevandin and the chief of police, Bobkov.[12]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Khislavichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Khislavichi include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 156–65, 473–475; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–1942)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993), pp. 390–402; and F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 66–68.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Khislavichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-634); GASmO (R-1630-1-360 and 369; R-1630-2-28; and R-2434-3-38); TsDNISO (8-8-115, p. 76); TsGAMORF (49-9733-120, p. 39); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0196); VHF; and YVA (O-3/3709 and M-62/58).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117.
2. Activity and situation report no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen, September 15–30, 1941, YVA, TR-2, 11/560/E, p. 107 (NO-2655).
3. GASmO, R-1630-1-369, p. 200, and R-1630-2-28, p. 117; "Spasenie evreiskoi sem'i iz mestechka Khislavichi Smolenskoi oblasti," in Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 396; "Zhizn' i gibel' Khislavichskikh evreev," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 158.
4. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117, and R-2434-3-38, p. 69.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0196, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.
6. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117.
7. YVA, TR-2, 11/560/E, p. 107 (NO-2655), Activity and situation report no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen, September 15–30, 1941.
8. GASmO, R-1630-1-369, p. 204.
9. Ibid.; "Zhizn' i gibel' Khislavichskikh evreev," p. 158.
10. GASmO, R-1630-1-360, p. 38 (797 persons); R-1630-1-369, p. 204 (600 persons); R-1630-2-28, p. 117 (800 persons); and R-2434-3-38, p. 73 (600 persons).
11. TsDNISO, 8-8-115, p. 76. An erroneous date of February 1942 is given in the report.
12. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, pp. 117 and reverse side.

KLETNIA

Pre-1941: Kletnia, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Kletnja, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kletnia, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Kletnia is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) west-northwest of Briansk. According to the 1939 census, there were 286 Jews residing in Kletnia (4.43 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on August 10, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time, most of the Jews of Kletnia had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men liable for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. When the German occupiers reached the town, probably less than half of the pre-war Jewish population was still there.

During the entire period of the German occupation (from August 10, 1941, until September 1943), a military headquarters (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. It also established a local Russian administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from the local population. In the fall of 1941, between 10 and 12 members of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) Unit 729 operated in the area. They were mainly engaged in combating Soviet partisan activity, but their special tasks also included punitive Aktions against suspected partisans or those believed to be supporting them. There was also a German "Landesschützen" unit based in the town, which guarded the local sawmill factory that was supplying wood to the German forces at the front.[1]

A short time after the arrival of German troops, the military administration instituted several measures against the Jewish population, such as personal registration, marking them as Jews with special signs on their clothes, and using them for forced labor under very harsh physical conditions. It appears that by the end of 1941, the Germans had established a small ghetto in Kletnia. It consisted of a few buildings that were set apart in the town. The ghetto guards were Russian policemen. During the existence of the ghetto a number of the inmates died of hunger or disease.

In late March 1942, Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Albert Rapp based in Klintsy, organized the liquidation of the ghetto. He traveled to Kletnia accompanied by more than 20 men of the Sonderkommando (both Waffen-SS and Security Police/SD) and was joined in Mglin by about 20 or 30 local Russian policemen.

In Kletnia, men of the Waffen-SS surrounded the ghetto, and local Russian policemen drove the Jews out of their houses. Under close escort, at least 100 men, women, and children were then gathered in a barn on the edge of town. Those unable to walk were carried on stretchers. A few days later, under the personal supervision of Rapp, all the Jews were made to undress and then were shot by members of the Sonderkommando into a ditch in the woods about 100 meters (328 feet) from the barn. Due to the fear of partisans in the region, some of the force was used to guard the killing site externally as well as to prevent any escape.[2] In total, about 120 people were murdered.[3]

Rapp was tried after the war by the Landesgericht in Essen and sentenced on March 29, 1965, to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community in Kletnia during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 635; A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission can be found in the following archives: GABrO; GARF (7021-19-3); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52.

2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52. This account of events in Kletnia is based mainly on the evidence of German witness Ri., who was a member of Sonderkommando 7a.

3. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 98. Witnesses before the court in Essen give estimates ranging from 30 to 250 victims; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 51–52.

KLIMOVO

1938–1941: Klimovo, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Klimowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klimovo, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Klimovo is located 170 kilometers (106 miles) southwest of Briansk. The 1939 census recorded that the Jewish population was 224, or 4 percent of the total.

German units of Army Group Center occupied Klimovo on August 25, 1941, two months after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that time, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Around 50 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the occupation period (from August 1941 to September 1943), the town was governed by a German military commandant's office. The German military administration created a local town council and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the town council organized the registration and marking of the Jews and arranged for their use in various forms of forced labor. On August 29, 1941,[1] the Germans conducted the first Aktion in the town, during which a detachment of Sonderkommando 7b shot 27 "Jewish Bolshevist agents and terrorists."[2] A ghetto probably was created in the town in October 1941, and Jews from the neighboring villages—Churovichi, Novii Ropsk, and others—also were forced to move into it.[3] The ghetto was liquidated in early March 1942, when German-led security forces shot all the Jews, 280 people in total.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Klimovo can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-5).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-19-5, p. 147.
2. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 171–173.
4. Ibid., p. 148.

KLINTSY

Pre-1941: Klintsy, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Klinzy, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klintsy, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Klintsy is located approximately 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Briansk on the railroad from Moscow to Kiev. In 1939, the Jewish population was 6,505 (16.07 percent of the population).

German units of the 10th Motorized Division, belonging to Panzer Group Guderian's XXIV Panzer Corps (Army Group Center), occupied Klintsy on August 20, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. It was one of the few towns that fell to the Germans intact, and it became an important administrative base. Prior to the Germans' arrival, some Jews had managed to evacuate to the east, while men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town under German occupation.

Throughout the occupation, the town was ruled by a German military administration. In October 1941, a military field commandant was established in the town (Feldkommandantur 528), which also supervised the activities of the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). At the beginning of March 1942, a new local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/888) arrived in Klintsy from France, assuming control of the town and also the surrounding area. In the fall of 1941, Unit 729 of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) arrived in Klintsy; it was mainly engaged in fighting against Soviet partisans. In the last days of September or the beginning of October 1941, a subunit of the Security Police's Einsatzgruppe B, Sonderkommando 7b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch), arrived in Klintsy, where it was stationed until the end of February, being replaced up to the end of April 1942 by Sonderkommando 7a (commanded by SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp). Sonderkommando 7b established a local town administration in Klintsy, headed by the ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) Gretskii, and also a Russian local police unit (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local citizens, which played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.[1]

Immediately after the occupation of the town, the military administration ordered the registration of all local Jews and their recruitment for hard labor. An order published in the German-controlled Klintsy newspaper (issue no. 1, September 26, 1941) announced that by the end of September all Jews, male and female, aged over 10 years were obligated to wear a yellow Star of David 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter.[2]

At the end of September 1941, Sonderkommando 7b organized the first anti-Jewish Aktion in Klintsy. According to an Einsatzgruppen report, during this Aktion "83 Jewish terrorists and 3 Communist Party leaders were killed (liquidated)," and during subsequent Aktions "3 Communist officials, 1

politician, and 82 Jewish terrorists" were murdered, making a total of at least 165 Jews and 7 Communist victims.[3]

At the beginning of October 1941, Sonderkommando 7b ordered that the Jews in town were to be relocated into a ghetto on the edge of town, which was guarded by the Russian local police.[4] In the ghetto, the Germans established workshops for shoemakers. Jewish doctors, barbers, and typists were conscripted to serve the German and local authorities.[5] One Jewish female baby was rescued from the ghetto and eventually adopted by her family's non-Jewish housekeeper.[6]

The ghetto in Klintsy existed for more than two months. On December 6–7, 1941, Einsatzkommando 8, which was located in Gomel' (commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Schulz), assisted by men of the Russian Ordnungsdienst, murdered the inhabitants of the ghetto.[7] In the course of these two days they shot about 2,500 people. Afterwards a number of Jewish specialist workers remained in the town with their families. These Jews were arrested successively and held in prison before being murdered in March 1942. The order for this mass shooting of at least 100 Jews was given by Rapp of Sonderkommando 7a. In addition to the Jews, the Security Police shot 30 Gypsies (Roma), who had also been collected in the prison.[8]

SOURCES There is an article in Russian by the author (Alexander Kruglov) on the destruction of the Jews in the Smolensk and Briansk oblasts, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," published in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220. Some additional information can be found in Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002). A published German contemporary account of Klintsy during the occupation was written by Walter Engelhardt: *Klinzy: Bildnis einer Stadt nach der Befreiung vom Bolschewismus* (Berlin, 1943). Some details of the German occupation can also be found in the local history volume compiled by A.S. Balaev et al., *Klintsam 250 let* (Briansk, 1959).

Documentation and witness testimonies on the extermination of the Jews of Klintsy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II AR-Z 399/63); GABrO; GARF (7021-19-5); and VHF (# 26511). See also the German trials of Albert Rapp and Kurt Matschke conducted by the regional court (Landgericht) in Essen in 1965 and 1966.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588.
2. Balaev et al., *Klintsam 250 let*, p. 38.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 106, October 9, 1941.
4. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20; the ghetto is mentioned also in VHF, # 26511, testimony of Dina Kozina.
5. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 172.
6. VHF, # 26511, testimony of Dina Kozina.
7. GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 9, 10, 21.
8. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20. See also LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65, verdict of February 10, 1966, in the case against Kurt Matschke and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 620.

KRASNYI

Pre-1941: Krasnyi, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Krasnij, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krasnyi, Russian Federation

Krasnyi is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Smolensk. In 1939, there were about 100 Jews living in Krasnyi.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied Krasnyi on July 13, 1941. The office of a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The commandant appointed a Russian mayor and a local Russian police force (Ordnungsdienst), which was designated by armbands and armed with rifles.

On July 26, 1941, the commandant called the residents of the town to a meeting and announced that anyone who wanted to could move into a house belonging to a Jew and that all Jews had to obey the orders issued by the German Army. Soon after this German forces entered Jewish apartments, beating the inhabitants and taking their boots.

On August 8, 1941, soldiers of a German Death's Head Unit (Totenkopfverband) arrested Boris Semenovich Glushkin and humiliated him. The next day they announced that he would be publicly executed. First they stripped him naked, then dragged him behind a horse until he was half-dead, before killing him. The Germans also raped his wife.[1]

On August 27, 1941, a German special unit arrived in the town and collected the Jews together. They issued instructions for the Jews to surrender their possessions and move into the ghetto. The Germans fenced off a piece of ground with barbed wire and put up a sign that read: "Ghetto. No entrance." All Jews, including children, had to wear six-pointed stars on their clothing cut from bright yellow material. Anyone was permitted to insult or beat a Jew with impunity.

According to the account of Sophia Glushkin, subsequent "checks" were carried out regularly in the ghetto at night. "People were herded into the cemetery, girls were raped, and people were beaten unconscious."[2]

Some younger Jews escaped from the ghetto to the forest and joined the Soviet partisans. However, it was not possible for the older people or women with children to escape in this way. On April 8, 1942, Glushkin learned that a German punitive unit had arrived in the town, and with some others she decided to flee.

The German forces and their local police collaborators surrounded the town and hunted down the Jews. They gathered the Jews in a yard and made them remove their clothes before shooting them so that they would fall into a pit. After the mass shooting, the Germans returned to the ghetto to look for any items of value and also discovered and murdered a baby who had been left behind in a crib.[3]

In liquidating the ghetto on April 8, 1942, the German forces (probably a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B) shot about 30 Jews. In total at least 63 Jews lost their lives in the Krasnyi ghetto.[4]

Sophia Glushkin with her eight-year-old son managed to make it to the nearby prisoner-of-war camp, where she had some contacts. From there she escaped to the partisans, where she served for two years as a courier and endured many hardships until the Red Army liberated the area.[5]

SOURCES The account of Sophia Glushkin can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 254–256.

Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-626); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 254–256, testimony of Sophia Glushkin on November 9, 1943, regarding Krasnyi.
2. Ibid., p. 255.
3. Ibid., p. 256.
4. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:195; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 685; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 256.

LIUBAVICHI

Pre-1941: Liubavichi (Yiddish: Liubavich), village, Rudnia raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Ljubawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liubavichi, Russian Federation

Liubavichi is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) west of Smolensk. By 1926, the number of Jews there stood at 967, or 50 percent of the population.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Liubavichi on July 21–22, 1941. Approximately one month later, the German military commandant issued an order requiring Jews, under penalty of death, to wear badges in the form of circular patches of yellow fabric on their chests and backs and, subsequently, an armband. They were forbidden to have any contacts with German soldiers and the local population. Soon after this, a number of Jewish men were sent to Rudnia to work, but they never returned.[1]

The Jewish population was subjected to various humiliations. People were lined up in formation and made to run. The Nazis knew that Liubavichi was a Jewish religious center and called it a "holy city of Jehovah, rabbis, and ritual murders." Therefore, the treatment of observant elderly men was particularly cruel. Public floggings were held daily. The men's beards were pulled out with pliers, and they were forced to dance on the parchment of the Torah scrolls. Then they were shot.[2]

On September 27, 1941, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Einsatzkommando 8 arrived in Liubavichi from Rudnia (one witness stated that the detachment was based in Mogilev), accompanied by members of the Rudnia local police force. Assisted by the local police of Liubavichi, they started moving the Jewish population into a ghetto. The Jews were allowed to take with them only what they could carry. The property left behind was confiscated, in part by local policemen and some items were sent to Rudnia. The oppressors assembled all the Jews in the central square of the village, where they took away their warm clothing, kitchen utensils, and other items. Under the pretext of assigning them to work, they selected and escorted away 17 Jewish men, who apparently were shot.[3]

Allocated to the ghetto were 19 small houses on one of the village streets in which 500 to 600 people were forced to reside: alongside the residents of Liubavichi were also refugees from Orsha, Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Rudnia. The majority of the Jews in the ghetto were craftsmen before the occupation, working in the village's *artels*. Going outside the ghetto's boundaries was forbidden. On the road leading into the ghetto, a police post was set up, and unauthorized persons were denied access to the ghetto.

Inside the ghetto, the Jews lived in extremely congested conditions, with 20 to 30 individuals crowded into a single room. The prisoners in the ghetto were not supplied with food. They built and repaired roads and bridges and did other types of heavy labor. Because of poor sanitation and physical exhaustion, various diseases spread among the Jews. Apparently, several dozen people died in the ghetto before its liquidation. The mortality rate among children was especially high. As one of the witnesses, a Liubavichi resident, noted, the Jewish population was placed in circumstances that doomed it to extinction.[4]

In early November 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 and the Rudnia local police arrived in Liubavichi again. Several times they tried to gather the Jews together within the confines of the ghetto, in a pasture where livestock were usually put to graze, but the Jews kept running off in different directions. As one woman, a Liubavichi resident, recalls,

the Jews were treated worse than cattle. Those who tried to escape were shot on the spot.[5]

On the night of November 4, 1941, Russian policemen from Rudnia and Liubavichi, under the leadership of Security Police and SD officials, encircled the ghetto. The next morning, under the pretext of sending the Jews to perform agricultural work, they led them out of the ghetto into the center of the village. The aged and the ill, along with the bodies of those shot at the previous assembly site, were taken in carts. In the main square of the village, the ghetto inmates were divided into two groups of about 250 people each. One group was herded into the basement of the Church of the Dormition (Tserkov' Usperiia Bogoroditsy), the other into a large barn. Around noon, beating the first group of Jews with whips, the German and Russian policemen drove them towards the southern edge of the village and herded them into a slaughterhouse building. From there they led the Jews in groups of 20 to 30 to a small ditch. They made the victims lie facedown on the ground, then shot them with submachine guns. The shooting was carried out by officials of the Security Police and SD. The Germans made parents lie down on the corpses with their small children. After the shooting of the first group of Jews, the second group was murdered in the same way. The shooting lasted about one and a half to two hours. Then the Russian policemen made a group of male village residents cover the grave. The Russian policemen also finished off those Jews who were trying to find their way out from under the mountain of corpses, and they buried some who were still alive. The corpses were lightly covered with earth.[6]

In 1943, after the Red Army liberated Liubavichi, the grave was opened, and 483 corpses were found there. In the file of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the opening of the grave of the murdered Jews, it was stated that "the corpses of the children in most cases were found in the embrace of adult corpses." It was also noted that "the presence of corpses with no signs of damage leads one to assume that these victims of the German fascist invaders were buried alive, which should apply in particular to individuals who were young children."[7]

A few small children succeeded in escaping from the execution site. They all returned to Liubavichi, to their own homes, where members of the local police seized them. They gathered the children together in a single house, then shot them. Their bodies were tossed into the grave of the murdered Jews.[8]

The report of Einsatzgruppe B for December 19, 1941, contains information about the shooting in Liubavichi of 492 Jews of both genders. It was reported that they had been shot "for hostile attitudes towards the Germans and for sympathizing with the partisans."[9] According to ChGK data, more than 500 Jews were shot in Liubavichi.[10]

Along with the Security Police and SD, the German army and, in particular, the local Ortskommandantur (OK (II) 930) also bear responsibility for the extermination of the Jewish population of Liubavichi. The German military authorities represented the murders of the Jews as a measure taken in response to partisan attacks. A man named Korotchenkov headed the detachment of the Rudnia local police that participated in setting up the ghetto in Liubavichi in September 1941. Subsequently the Germans shot him for concealing property stolen from the Jews.[11] Divakov, the deputy chairman of the Rudnia raion authority, headed the detachment of Russian police that came from Rudnia and participated in the extermination of the inmates of the Liubavichi ghetto on November 4.[12] The local police, under the command of a man named Astrakhanskii, took part in all the cleansing Aktions against the Jews in Liubavichi. He and two other former policemen from Liubavichi were tried by the Soviet authorities in Rudnia. The court sentenced them to be hanged for participation in the shooting of the families of Communists and partisans and in the murder of the Jewish population.[13]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Liubavichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Iosif Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk: Rus', 2001); Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993); Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Liubavichi and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-630; and 8114-1-961); GASmO (R-2434-3-37); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209, 213 reverse, 214.
2. Ibid., p. 213 reverse; and "V mestechke Liubavich," in Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, pp. 270–271.
3. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209 reverse, 213 reverse. On these events, see also BA-MA, RH 23/223, Ortskommandantur II/930, Ljubawitschi, September 28, 1941.
4. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 207, 209 reverse, 213 reverse, 214, 322; and testimony of Tat'iana Buravskaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 96.
5. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 293 reverse; and testimony of Marfa Davydenkova, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 97.
6. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209 reverse, 210, 213 reverse, 214 reverse, 215 reverse, 322; Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 96.
7. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 219–221.
8. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 97.
9. Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 264.
10. GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
11. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 213 reverse; and Arad et al., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 263; also testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 75.
12. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 214.
13. Ibid., p. 213 reverse; and testimony of Maria Trofimenko, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, pp. 92–93, 95.

LOKNIA

Pre-1941: Loknia, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Loknija, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Loknia, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Loknia is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northwest of Velike Luki on the railway line running from Vitebsk to Leningrad. According to the 1939 census, there were 193 Jews living in Loknia, accounting for 8.8 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941, four weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a large portion of the Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. At the start of the occupation, 52 Jews remained in the village.[1]

Throughout the entire occupation period—from July 1941 to February 1944—a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration created a raion authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office ordered the raion authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their deployment for various types of forced labor. In September 1941, all the Jews remaining in Loknia were forced to move into a ghetto, for which the house at 11 Sotsialisticheskaia Street was allocated; a Jewish family, the Filonovskiis, had lived in the house previously.[2] The ghetto was in existence for more than four months. It was liquidated on February 1, 1942, by shooting all the Jews, 38 in total.[3] The shooting took place outside the village, near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS); the Jews were taken there in a truck and a bus. At first they were crowded into the MTS building, but then they were led out 2 at a time to a pit near the building, made to kneel beside the pit, and killed with a shot to the back of the head.[4] The shooting was carried out by an SD detachment (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Hubig) that was part of Einsatzgruppe A, with the participation of Russian policemen. (Actually, 37 Jews were shot. A bullet struck Aleksandr Filonovskii's hat; he fell into the pit, and after the shooting was finished, he climbed out and hid in various villages until the liberation of Loknia in February 1944.)

In the spring of 1942, two more Jewish families were shot: one in the Loknia sel'sovet and one in the Olokhov sel'sovet; in late 1942, the four members of the Sandalovskii family were shot.[5]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Loknia can be found in the following archives: GAPO and GARF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Recollections of Aleksandr Filonovskii, in S. Nemeslov, *Kholokost na Pskovshchine: My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste.* Issue # 2: Collection. Comp. A.E. Gerber and D.V. Prokudin, ed. I.A. Al'tman (Moscow: Fond "Kholokost," 2005).
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 165, February 6, 1942; and Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 181, March 16, 1942.
4. Recollections of Aleksandr Filonovskii.
5. Nemeslov, *Kholokost na Pskovshchine.*

MGLIN

Pre-1941: Mglin, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Mglin is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) west-southwest of Briansk. In 1939, 726 Jews (10 percent of the local population) were living in Mglin.

German forces occupied Mglin on August 18, 1941. By this time, a number of local Jews had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, just over two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population was still in the town. From October 1941, Mglin was subordinated to the military field headquarters (Feldkommandantur) FK (V) 528 based in Klintsy. In Mglin the German military authorities established a local administration and a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the town administration organized the registration and marking of the Jews with distinctive symbols. Furthermore, the Jews were forced to perform physically demanding labor of all kinds. On January 21, 1942, all the Jews of Mglin were resettled into a ghetto. The building of the local prison was chosen to serve as the ghetto. The Russian guards who supervised the Jewish prisoners took away their coats and boots. There were no windows in the cells of the prison. The heating system did not function, which meant that during the very cold winter many inmates developed frostbite.[1] About 60 people died of starvation and disease inside the ghetto.[2]

On March 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On this day a subunit of Sonderkommando 7a, which had arrived from Klintsy under the leadership of SS-Obersturmführer Franz Tormann, shot about 500 Jews with the assistance of the Russian auxiliary police. The majority of the victims were women and children. The Russian police took the outer clothes and any valuables from the half-starved victims and escorted them to the grave site at the edge of a forest about 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the prison ghetto. Some 10 to 20 SS men conducted the shooting. In the course of the Aktion, one member of the SS unit, SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Glockmann,

was killed accidentally when a bullet ricocheted off the frozen ground and struck him directly in the heart.[3] During the Aktion, some Jews succeeded in hiding, but on the following day, 7 of these individuals were captured and shot.[4]

In June 1942, Feldkommandantur 528 sent to the Reich War Booty Office (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) in Berlin some gold coins that had been confiscated from the deputy head of the local Russian police in Mglin. He was shot, apparently for the illegal possession of property.[5]

Tormann was sentenced on February 10, 1966, to three years' imprisonment.[6]

SOURCES Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Mglin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/28); GA-BrO; GARF (7021-19-2 and 94); TsGAMORF (239/2187/94); and USHMM. Additional material can be found in the West German trials conducted against Albert Rapp (LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64) and Kurt Matschke et al. (LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159, 164–165; GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 225.
2. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 239.
3. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict in the case of Albert Rapp, March 29, 1965, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 30–36. The German court concludes that at least 200 Jews were shot in Mglin. See also the Russian-language article by Alexander Kruglov on the destruction of the Jews in the Smolensk and Briansk oblasts, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," published in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; and GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 239.
4. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 241.
5. BA-BL, R 2104/28, report of Feldkommandantur 528, June 7, 1942.
6. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65.

MIKULINO

1938–1941: Mikulino, village, Rudnia raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Mikulino is located on the shores of a small lake close to the border with Belarus, 69 kilometers (43 miles) west-northwest of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census in the former raion of Rudnia (not counting Rudnia), there were 556 Jews.

Mechanized units of Army Group Center occupied the village in July 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. In these four weeks, a portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men volunteered for or were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the village administration to organize the registration of the Jews. The Jews were also required to wear distinctive yellow patches and had to perform heavy labor of various kinds, including work on the nearby kolkhoz. German soldiers made their quarters in the local school.[1]

In August 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in the village. The transfer into the ghetto took place late in the evening, when local Russian police summoned all the Jews to leave their houses and forcibly moved them to Barkovskaia Street.[2] The local authorities designated five houses that had been vacated by their Russian residents as the ghetto. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence but was guarded by the Russian police, and the Jews were not allowed to leave that street. Including refugees from Smolensk and Rudnia, around 250 Jews resided in the ghetto, with about 50 people sharing each house; many people had to sleep on boards or on the floor.[3] There was a terrible shortage of food, and some of the young people occasionally left the ghetto to beg for food from the peasants. As there was little opportunity to wash, disease soon spread, and many children and elderly ghetto inhabitants died. Survivors do not recall any Jewish leadership within the ghetto. Harassment was common, including beatings, thefts, and some rape attempts by the Russian police. In the winter of 1941–1942, most of the Jews did not try to escape, as they had received news of the Soviet counteroffensive and expected to be liberated by the Red Army soon.[4]

On February 22, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They took the remaining 200 or so Jews to Rudnia and shot them there two days later.[5] German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 9 and local Russian police carried out the mass shooting. The synagogues and Jewish books in Mikulino were destroyed during the German occupation.[6]

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mikulino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-22-430); GASmO; VHF (# 23069); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; Il'ya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 99, 258; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184, here pp. 159, 164; I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 81, 435; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 823.
4. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

5. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 319 and reverse side.
6. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

MONASTYRSHCHINA

Pre-1941: Monastyrshchina, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Monastyrschtschina, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Monastyrshchina, Russian Federation

Monastyrshchina is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) south-southwest of Smolensk, on the Vikhra River. There were 856 Jews living there in 1939.

On July 18, 1941, units of German Army Group Center entered Monastyrshchina. In July and August, the occupying authorities hanged a number of Soviet activists and Jews in the town square. Among those executed were the head of the Jewish kolkhoz and a Jewish doctor, who was accused of trying to poison the Germans.

German soldiers and members of the local Russian auxiliary police (Ordnungsdienst) also robbed the Jewish population. They took any valuable items, cattle, and other property.

Sometime in September 1941, a detachment of the "Vorkommando Moskau" section of Einsatzgruppe B arrived in Monastyrshchina and ordered the marking and registration of the Jewish population. This visit was reportedly in response to the "daring and defiant" behavior of the Jews. The Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing. All Jews were resettled into a ghetto and were allowed to bring in only their most essential items.[1]

The Germans established the ghetto on one of the streets on the outskirts of town. Approximately 30 houses near the Zhelezniak River were designated for this purpose. Around 800 Jews were moved into the ghetto. In addition, the OD was ordered by the occupying authorities to round up all Jews in the villages of the Rayon Monastyrschtschina and move them into the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by a fence, and the inmates were guarded by Russian policemen.[2]

The majority of the prisoners in the ghetto had large families with many children. The average age of the men was 45 years old. Those brought into the ghetto included traders, kolkhoz workers, and many who were in service professions. The women were mostly homemakers.[3]

All able-bodied persons were sent out of the ghetto to perform various kinds of forced labor. The prisoners of the ghetto did not receive sufficient rations and suffered from hunger. During the harsh winter of 1941–1942, furniture was burned for heating purposes, along with anything else the inmates could find. People in the ghetto suffered from infectious diseases, including typhus. Ivan Blinov, the head of the OD in Rayon Monastyrschtschina, became known for "treating the Jews with cruelty and callous disregard for their lives."[4]

Before the ghetto was liquidated, a site for mass shootings had already been selected to deal with those Jews caught outside the ghetto or trying to escape its confines. In December 1941, V. Grachev, the head of the second department of the OD, shot a Jewish woman and her two children, who were 3 and 6 years old. At the start of January 1942, six women and a 12-year-old girl were shot. In the same month, another six Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery. The killings were carried out by three Germans and a number of Russian policemen.

In February 1942, 10 SS officers from Einsatzkommando 8 (members of the Security Police and SD) arrived in Monastyrshchina.[5] Also taking part in the mass shootings were Russian policemen (OD) under the command of the mayor of Monastyrshchina, Trofim Savel'ev, and a detachment of "Ukrainian Cossacks," composed of Ukrainians and former Soviet prisoners of war.

The prisoners were driven out of the ghetto with blows from rifle butts and lashes and were placed in four houses guarded by the Ukrainians. Next, 100 of them were transported to a cheese-processing factory and herded into the basement. From there, the Jews were taken out in smaller groups to the large ravine called "Chertov Iar," located on the outskirts of Monastyrshchina.[6]

Near the ravine, all were ordered to strip naked, despite the brutal cold. Anyone who refused was beaten cruelly. The Jews were then ordered to lie down at the bottom of the ditch, where they were shot with automatic rifles. The Aktion continued in this manner, as subsequent groups of Jews had to lie down on top of the corpses before they were shot in turn. Bodies of new rows of victims piled up on top of some who were only wounded.[7] The perpetrators also buried young children who were still alive. When a policeman named Dudin was apprehended subsequently by the Soviet authorities and asked if he threw young children into the ditch alive, he responded, "I did not throw them, I was putting them down."[8]

As the ghetto prisoners were taken to the killing site, a three-year-old boy attempted to escape and hid among the residents of Monastyrshchina who were some distance away. However, Russian policemen captured the boy and killed him by smashing his head on the ground. Moreover, the OD found and shot a number of Jews who were hiding in Monastyrshchina. A month after the liquidation of the ghetto, on the orders of the German military commandant, Captain Rechke, and the mayor of the town, Trofim Savel'ev, 49 Jews who were incarcerated and had remained alive after the first Aktion were also shot.[9]

In February and March 1942, more than 800 Jews in total were shot in Monastyrshchina.[10] During the same period, Jews from the ghetto in Tatarsk were also shot. According to the findings of the Smolensk provincial committee for the investigation of the crimes committed by the Nazis in the years 1941–1942, 1,700 Jews were executed in the Monastyrshchina raion of the Smolensk oblast'.[11]

As a rule, the Nazis also murdered the children of mixed (Jewish/non-Jewish) marriages. In Monastyrshchina, two Russian residents had to bring their wives and children to the

killing site and watch as they were shot. The Germans spared one 11-year-old child whose Russian father was at the front and whose Jewish mother and brother were murdered.[12]

Isaak Rozenberg, a resident of Monastyrshchina was hidden by his Russian wife for more than two years, concealed in an underground bunker behind the stove. She only went down to visit him at night. His two young children did not even know that their mother was hiding their father underground. In September 1943, in the course of a battle between the Red Army and retreating German soldiers in Monastyrshchina, Rozenberg's home was burned down, and he died of smoke inhalation.[13]

Prime responsibility for organizing the murder of the Jews of the ghetto lies with Paul Rechke, who was in command of Ortskommandantur (OK) (I)/292[14] in Monastyrshchina at that time, and members of the detachment of Einsatzkommando 8. After the liberation of the town, Soviet authorities arrested several members of the collaborating local police (OD).[15] In October 1942, the former head of the Monastyrshchina police, V. Borozdin, and the former head of the second detachment of the Monastyrshchina police, V. Grachev, were sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Monastyrshchina ghetto and the murder of the Jews in Monastyrshchina include the following: G. Riabkov, ed., *V basseine reki Vikhry: Ocherki istorii sel i dereven' Monastyrshchenskogo raiona* (Smolensk, 1993); I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001); and *Chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Izd-vo "Tarbut," 1980), pp. 229–230.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Monastyrshchina can be found in the following archives: GARF (R-7021-44-628); GASmO (R-1630-1-334; and 2434-3-37); and TsDNISO (8-2-150).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Report of Einsatzgruppe B, September 26, 1941, published in Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 149.
2. GARF, R-7021-44-628, p. 65; Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikhry*, p. 282; A. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh v poselke Monastyrshchina v 1941–1942," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 228.
3. See the list of 220 Jews who were shot in Monastyrshchina, GASmO, R-1630-1-334, pp. 36–38.
4. GARF, R-7021-44-628, p. 65.
5. Ibid., p. 421; H. Krausnick and H.-H. Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskriegs* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1981), p. 182; GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
6. Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikhry*, p. 282.
7. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh," p. 228; GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
8. *Chernaia kniga*, p. 229.
9. GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
10. Ibid. See also GASmO, R-1630-1-334, p. 39; and the Center for Documents of the Contemporary History of the Smolensk Province (TsDNISO), 8-2-150, p. 40.
11. GASmO, 2434-3-37, p. 81.
12. GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse; *Chernaia kniga*, p. 229; I. Tsynman, "Gibel' monastyrshchinskikh evreev," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 226.
13. *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 229–230.
14. Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikhry*, pp. 281–282.
15. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh," p. 229.

NAL'CHIK

Pre-1942: Nal'chik, capital, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, RSFSR; October 1942–January 1943: Naltschik, Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Nal'chik, Kabardino-Balkar Republic (Kabardino-Balkaria), Russian Federation

Nal'chik is located about 600 kilometers (373 miles) southeast of Rostov on Don. According to the 1939 population census, 3,007 Jews were living in Nal'chik (6.27 percent of the total population). After the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, a number of Jewish men were recruited into the Red Army, and some others managed to flee or were evacuated before the German advance into the region in the fall of 1942. There were likely about 1,000 to 1,200 Mountain Jews who remained in and around Nal'chik at the start of the German occupation, as well as a few score of Ashkenazi Jews, including some refugees from towns and cities further to the west.

German forces of Heeresgruppe A captured the city at the end of October 1942. During the occupation, which lasted until early January 1943, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/794) administered the city. Ortskommandantur I/794 was subordinated to the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 248) in Piatigorsk. The German military administration established a local city council and recruited an auxiliary police force from among local residents. Sonderkommando 10b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Alois Persterer and belonging to Einsatzgruppe D, was stationed in the city in November and December 1942.

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the occupying authorities issued orders calling for the registration of the Jews, the confiscation of their possessions, and the introduction of forced labor for Jews. The Jews also were ordered to wear distinctive markers in the image of a six-pointed star. Consequently, they tried not to venture out into the streets.

According to Soviet sources, German security forces (probably of Sonderkommando 10b) murdered most of the Ashkenazic Jews at some time during the first weeks of the occupation. About 10 Mountain Jews were also shot at this time, probably as alleged Soviet activists.[1]

In November 1942, a camp or form of "open ghetto" was established in the city. It was an isolated district into which the Mountain Jews were resettled from different areas of the city.[2] Some sources describe it rather as a camp, noting that the Mountain Jews did not receive any provisions, although most of them probably survived here until the Red Army returned.[3]

The regulation for the marking of the Jews was changed after December 6, 1942, on the orders of Feldmarschall Ewald von Kleist, the commanding officer of the 1st Panzer Army, after negotiations by the city's Jewish community with the occupying authorities. Some witnesses recalled that the Jews were required to wear yellow armbands before setting out for labor. Around the same time, a Judenrat consisting of five individuals was formed in Nal'chik.[4] In December 1942, the head of Einsatzgruppe D, SS-Oberführer Bierkamp, visited the Mountain Jews in the "environs of Nal'chik," where he "received a welcome reception and declared that other than their common religion, they [the Mountain Jews (Bergjuden)] had nothing to do with the Jews." Along with this, Bierkamp issued an order to the occupying organs not to harm the Mountain Jews and in general did not speak of them as Jews but as "Taten" (as the local Jews called themselves).[5] It is likely that for this reason most of the city's Mountain Jews remained alive.

On January 1, 1943, a few dozen Jewish men, women, and children (probably refugees from the western regions of the Soviet Union) were shot in Nal'chik. SS-Sturmbannführer Eduard Jedamzik organized the mass shooting on the day after he took over command of Sonderkommando 10b on New Year's Eve. The Jews were shot in an antitank ditch just outside the city and buried on top of the victims of a previous mass shooting. The fur coats of the victims were distributed among the men of the Sonderkommando, who then drank schnaps before evacuating the city to the north.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Nal'chik under the German occupation can be found in the following publications: *Kabarno-Balkariia v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg.: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Nal'chik, 1975); *Gorskie evrei: Istoriia, etnografiia, kul'tura* (Moscow and Jerusalem: Daat/Znanie, 1999); and S.A. Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev: Razrushenie garmonii mirov* (Nal'chik, 2000).

Documentation on the Jews of Nal'chik during World War II can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 6/65); GAK-BR; GARF (7021-7-109); NARA; Sta. Mü I; and YVA (e.g., O-3/5157 and JM/5640).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-7-109, p. 202.
2. *Gorskie evrei*, pp. 91–92; Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev*, pp. 64–65.
3. Kiril Feferman, "Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2007), p. 106.
4. *Gorskie evrei*, pp. 91–92; and Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev*, pp. 64–65.
5. NARA, RG-242, T-454, roll 16, frame 1272, Report on Mountain Jews (Bergjuden) by Dr. Otto Bräutigam, plenipotentiary of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories with Army Group A, December 26, 1942.

NEVEL'

Pre-1941: Nevel', town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Newel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Nevel' Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Nevel' is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Velike Luki. According to the Soviet census, in 1939 there were 3,178 Jews living in Nevel', comprising 20.4 percent of the total population.

After bombarding the town, German forces of Army Group Center captured Nevel' on July 16, 1941. Because of the town's good rail communications, many Jews were able to evacuate to the east in the four weeks following the start of the German invasion, while men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Some Jews, however, soon returned to their homes due to misleading information in the Soviet media. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Nevel' at the start of the occupation.

During the period of occupation, from July 1941 until October 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military established a local administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Judenrat was responsible for registering the entire Jewish population. It also had to ensure that the Jews wore distinguishing marks in the form of a yellow star. Able-bodied Jews were formed into work details for various kinds of manual labor, especially cleaning up the town following the bombardment. Jews were also looted and robbed from the first days of the occupation. In the first half of August 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Meyer, shot 74 Jews, allegedly in retribution for an arson attack by Jews in the town.[1] A Jewish survivor recalls that after the fire all the Jews were gathered together, at which point 25 of the strongest young men were shot in front of everyone.[2]

On August 7, 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto, which was located approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town, in the "Golubaia Dacha" (Blue Dacha) Park.[3] The ghetto consisted of an area fenced off by barbed wire, which included several very overcrowded houses and wooden shacks, as well as dugouts prepared in the ground that were also used by the Jews for shelter. The precise number of ghetto inmates is unknown, but it was probably around 700. Some Jews may have been brought into the Nevel' ghetto from the surrounding area.[4]

The ghetto existed for only about one month. In September 1941, Dr. Alfred Filbert, in charge of Einsatzkommando 9 based in Vitebsk, sent a detachment headed by SS-Untersturmführer Heinrich Tunnat to Nevel' in response to reports of Soviet partisans being active in the area. Tunnat soon reported on the ghetto in Nevel' to Dr. Filbert, who ordered Tunnat to shoot the Jews as soon as possible. According to the report of Ein-

satzgruppe B, a German doctor had detected an outbreak of disease in the ghetto, which was then liquidated to prevent the contagion from spreading.

At some time in the first week of September 1941, a squad of Waffen-SS commanded by SS-Untersturmbannführer Waldemar Clauss drove the Jews out of the ghetto and escorted them to a site nearby, where Soviet prisoners of war had recently prepared a large pit. At the killing site, the Jews were ordered to remove their outer clothing, which was neatly piled up by the head of the Judenrat. The Jews were then shot into the pit by a squad of five or six men armed with machine pistols. Members of the Russian police also participated in the shooting. According to the Einsatzgruppen report, the forces of Einsatzkommando 9 shot 640 Jews during the Aktion. Afterwards the remaining buildings of the ghetto were burned to the ground.[5] Only a handful of Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and avoid the roundups, living in hiding, on the "Aryan" side, or serving with the Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the area in October 1943.[6]

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Nevel' during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978), Lfd. Nr. 540, pp. 621–622; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 887.

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Nevel' and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216-17); BA-L (B 162/21177); GAPO; GARF; NARA (N-Doc., NO-4415); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9); VHF (# 2301, 15070, and 15072); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73, September 4, 1941.

2. VHF, # 15070, interview with Musia Bogat, May 16, 1996.

3. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 249.

4. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia, Kul'tura, Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159, gives the figure of 800 to 1,000 ghetto inmates. German sources mostly give lower figures of from 100 to 640. Wila Orbach, "The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2:6 (1976): 44, gives a range from 710 to 1,800.

5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941; LG-Be, verdict of June 22, 1962 (3 PKs 1/62) against Filbert and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18, Lfd. No. 540, pp. 621–622. In his own statement, see BA-L, B 162/21177, pp. 34ff., Tunnat estimates the number of victims at only 100–120. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 303–304, cites a captured German document now in the FSB archives that indicates that about 600 women and children were shot in Nevel' shortly before September 8, 1941. See also VHF, # 2301, interview with Tatiana Nemizanskaia, April 20, 1995.

6. VHF, # 2301, testimony of Tatiana Nemizanskaia, and # 15072, testimony of Roza Shafran.

NOVOZYBKOV

Pre-1941: Novozybkov, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Nowosybkow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Novozybkov, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Novozybkov is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Gomel' on the railway line from Gomel' to Briansk. In 1939, there were 3,129 Jews (12.78 percent of the total); an additional 213 Jews lived in the villages of the Novozybkov raion.

Following an aerial bombardment, which killed a number of civilians, German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 16, 1941. In the two months following the start of the German invasion in June, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and the Soviet authorities inducted many men into the Red Army. The rapid progress of the German advance forced back to Novozybkov some of those who sought to flee following the bombing.[1] Around one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

Until the Germans' retreat on September 25, 1943, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which was subordinated to the Feldkommandantur in Gomel'. The German military authorities established a town administration and organized a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among the residents of Novozybkov. Shortly after the occupation began, the town administration organized the registration of the Jews and subjected them to various forms of forced labor; for example, some Jewish women had to clean the toilets in the prison. Jewish homes were marked with yellow stars, and the Jews had to wear yellow stars on their chests. German soldiers were quartered in some Jewish homes, confining the Jewish families to just one room. The Germans shot an unknown number of Jews and suspected Communists, mostly adult men, during the first weeks of the occupation.[2]

In October or November of 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Novozybkov. The ghetto comprised approximately five streets. Reports differ on whether or not the ghetto was enclosed with barbed wire.[3] However, Russian police were present during the day to prevent Jews from leaving the area without permission. The sole Jewish survivor interviewed in the 1990s does not recall there being a "Jewish Soviet" [Jewish Council] in the ghetto nor encountering there any Jewish refugees from outside Novozybkov.[4]

By early 1942, news had arrived in Novozybkov of the fate of the Jews in Klintsy, where German forces from Gomel' had liquidated the ghetto in early December 1941.[5] After this, the Jews had few illusions about their own chances of survival,

especially as some non-Jewish acquaintances now advised them to run away or hide. Bella Nepomniashchaia was able to escape with her mother on the eve of the liquidation, and she convinced a Russian policeman that she was not Jewish, assisted by her appearance. She received aid in the form of food from some local non-Jews but also had to sleep outside in freezing weather before she was able to link up with the Soviet partisans.[6]

The available sources give somewhat contradictory information on the liquidation of the Novozybkov ghetto. German Security Police forces from Einsatzgruppe B, either part of Sonderkommando 7a based in Klintsy, or from Trupp Schulz subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8 in Gomel', arrived in Novozybkov in early 1942 (snow was still on the ground) to organize the murder of the "Jews and Communists" in the town with the assistance of the local Russian police.[7] It appears that several pits were prepared in advance, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in the Karkhovsk Forest near the railroad station.[8] On the day before the Aktion, the Jews (more than 800 souls) were all confined within the meeting room of the match factory.[9] According to one version in the ChGK materials, the Germans and their collaborators shot the remaining 950 Jews (men, women, and children); sources date the Aktion as occurring on either January 18 or February 18, 1942.[10] A German witness, who was a member of a Landesschützen Batallion stationed in Novozybkov at the time, mentions that 1,000 to 1,200 people were killed, although some sources indicate that non-Jews may have been among the victims on that day.[11] After the Aktion, the local police plundered the empty houses in the ghetto as they searched for Jews in hiding.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Novozybkov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9; and RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002); and VHF (# 39394 and 41050).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, April 12, 1998.

2. Ibid., interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998. The Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen (for the period from September 15–30, 1941) reports only the capture and liquidation of one secret agent of the NKVD in Novozybkov; see Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 204.

3. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998, states that there was no fence around the ghetto. "A briv fun a yidishen partizaner," *Eynikayt*, no. 10 (September 5, 1942), states, however, "In the city of Novozybkov, I saw the Jewish ghetto, the barbed wire. We will take revenge."

4. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998.

5. Ibid.; on the events in Klintsy, see GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 9, 10, 21.

6. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998.

7. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788.

8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 907.

9. USHMM, RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002 (Jewish Antifascist Committee Records from GARF), article titled "Korbones in eyn tog in shtetl Novozybkov" submitted to be published in *Eynikayt*.

10. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 142, gives January 18. "Korbones in eyn tog in shtetl Novozybkov" dates the Aktion on February 18.

11. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–787. This German court verdict, LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, March 29, 1965, however, estimated that only "700 Jews and other so-called potential enemies" were victims of the mass shooting in Novozybkov. See also USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 9 (GARF 7021-19). The ChGK estimated that 2,860 corpses were located in the seven pits in Karkhovsk Forest that it examined on the liberation of the town. The same document, however, also reported that 1,562 "peaceful citizens" were tortured and shot in Novozybkov and the Novozybkov raion.

OPOCHKA

Pre-1941: Opochka, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Opotschka, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Opochka, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Opochka is located about 125 kilometers (78 miles) west-northwest of Velike Luki on the Velikaia River. According to the 1939 population census in Opochka, which at that time was part of the Kalinin oblast', 289 Jews lived in the city (2.59 percent of the total population). The town was occupied on July 9, 1941, a little over two weeks after the initial German invasion of the USSR on June 22. At that time a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 200 Jews remained in the town under German occupation.

During the period of the occupation from July 1941 until July 1944, a German military commandant's office ran the affairs of the town. The German military commandant established a local administration and recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) for security purposes from among the local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, German security forces murdered a number of Jews at the Jewish cemetery. The German military commandant issued an order calling for the registration and marking of the Jews. They were also forced to perform heavy labor. In August 1941, all the remaining 100 to

200 Jews were resettled into a ghetto located in a half-burned barracks building.[1] The ghetto existed for more than six months. From November 1941 onward, groups of Jews were taken out and murdered near the villages of Maslovo and Pukhili. On March 9, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated, and German forces shot the last remaining 100 or so Jews.[2]

In the fall of 1943 the Germans dug up the bodies of their victims and burned them in an attempt to cover up the evidence.

SOURCES Documentation and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Opochka can be found in the following archives: GAPO; GARF (7021-20-18); and YVA. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 938.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-20-18, pp. 2–3; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia, Kul'tura, Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
2. N.I. Vasil'ev, A.V. Stepanov, and T.F. Fedorov, *Opochka: Putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 90.

PETROVICHI

Pre-1941: Petrovichi, village, Shumiachi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Petrowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Petrovichi, Russian Federation

Petrovichi is located 90 kilometers (56 miles) south-southeast of Smolensk. On the eve of war in 1939, the several hundred Jews living in Petrovichi accounted for about half of the village's population. Some famous Jews were natives of Petrovichi: Isaac Asimov, who became a central figure in American science fiction, and Semen Lavochkin, who later became a designer of Soviet fighter aircraft.

German troops captured Petrovichi on August 2, 1941. Before the occupation, many Jewish families attempted to leave the village in horse-drawn carts. Almost all of them, however, were forced to turn back. Some Jews did not believe the Soviet propaganda and were in no hurry to evacuate. Only a few succeeded in escaping. One who did manage to leave with his family was Leib Ryskin, chairman of the Imeni Tret'ego Internatsionala (Third International) kolkhoz. His actions were influenced by a German leaflet that he happened to pick up along the road: "Pick up a stick, and drive the Yids back to Palestine!"[1]

The German troops established a ghetto soon after their arrival. It held approximately 400 Jews, including some people who had fled from other places or who had come to visit relatives during the summer vacation.[2] About 40 percent were women over the age of 16, and approximately one third of the ghetto's prisoners were children under 16, based on the lists of Jews who were shot.[3]

The ghetto consisted of a single street, and as many as five or six families lodged in each house. Overcrowding was intense—everyone slept on the floor in a single row. German soldiers, followed by the local police, looted most of the possessions the Jews had been forced to leave behind in their former homes. All Jews were required to wear a badge with the word "Jude" sewn on their outer garments. A small plaque with the same inscription was affixed to every house in the ghetto. A Jewish elder (starosta) was chosen and required to report to the Kommandantur for the assignment of work details to the Jews.

German soldiers and Russian police constantly made the rounds of the Jews' houses in the ghetto and robbed them of their meager belongings. Any attempt at resistance resulted in cruel beatings of the ghetto dwellers.

The oppressors subjected the Jews in the ghetto to refined taunts and seized any opportunity to kill them. Soon after the ghetto's establishment, some of the men were taken forcibly and transported to an unknown destination; they never returned. Observant elderly men were subjected to savage treatment. Some of them were shot, and others were tied to wagons by their beards and dragged through the village.[4]

If no other work could be found for them, the Jews were made to carry manure from one place to another. The women had to hold the stable dung in their skirts, while the men were forced to use their hands. An eyewitness of the events described the German atrocities in detail:

> Our stables all were about half a kilometer apart. And the Jews were ordered to pick up the manure with their hands and run, carrying it from one stable to another. Old men and young ones had to run and run without stopping. There was rain and slush. The children were crying. Even the mothers, grandmothers, and grandfathers were running, urged on by lashes, with manure in their hands. The people couldn't keep it up, of course. I remember how Khana-Rokhl Berman, a neighbor, came running up to a stable and pushed her children inside, and later she went in behind them.

The Germans forced the Jews to lie on boxes used to hold potatoes, then lashed them and beat them with sticks. The others had to stand there and watch. The beatings continued until the person's skin was stripped off, and pieces of scarlet flesh showed through. Sometimes they forced the Jews' own comrades to flay them.[5]

Semen Azimov, a former teacher of mathematics and physics, was subjected to malicious insults. He left the ghetto and wandered through the woods and villages, begging for a piece

of bread. With the help of the local residents, the Russian policemen caught him, put him in a cage, and humiliated him, beating him mercilessly. He showed the Germans his letters from relatives in America, counting on favorable treatment, but his efforts only brought him additional blows.

At night the Russian policemen used to drag young girls out of Jewish houses and rape them—frequently, they also killed them. Instances of Germans raping Jewish girls also took place. For example, the two Novikov sisters, who had fled to Petrovichi from Smolensk, were brutally raped. Afterwards the ghetto residents found one of the sisters hanged and the other murdered.

Part of the non-Jewish population of Petrovichi and the neighboring villages treated the Jews sympathetically. Some brought bread, milk, and other foodstuffs to their Jewish friends and acquaintances in the ghetto. Occasionally, local residents helped Jews who had escaped from the ghetto and hid them or their children. In most cases, however, the local collaborationist Russian police (Ordnungsdienst, or OD) hunted down the escaped Jews and killed them.[6]

According to German data, on May 31, 1942, 107 Jews were transferred from Petrovichi to Roslavl'. One of them was killed during an attempt to escape.[7] The documents of the Smolensk Oblast' Commission contain a list of the names of 84 Jews sent from Petrovichi to the Roslavl' Gestapo.[8] In Roslavl', the Jews from Petrovichi were most probably shot by forces subordinated to Sonderkommando 7c within a short time.

In early June 1942, the approximately 230 Jews remaining in the Petrovichi ghetto were shot.[9] One week before the Aktion, they were rounded up and placed in five or six houses near the Jewish cemetery. Each house held about 40 people.

Thirty members of the local police (OD) who had come from Khislavichi, under the command of three Germans and the chief of the local police in Petrovichi, carried out the Aktion. Several dozen local inhabitants dug the pit. After the shooting, the same locals buried the victims' corpses. The shooting went on for three hours. The residents of Petrovichi were ordered to cover their windows and were forbidden to watch the Jews being led to their deaths. Later, those Jewish specialist workers who were kept alive at the time of the ghetto liquidation were also shot; they included several tailors, cobblers, and a saddler.

As the column of Jews moved towards the killing site, the student Sara Iasman, who had blue eyes and light, wavy hair, was repeatedly urged to leave, but she refused. Before she was shot, she cried out, "Fascists, you'll get what you deserve!"

Many Jews tried to run away once the mass shooting started, but they were mown down by submachine-gun fire. Sometime later, the Russian police found and shot young children who had escaped and were hidden before the ghetto prisoners were taken away to be shot. Those who had fled to other villages were caught and shot on the spot. Only one girl, who chanced upon a partisan detachment, and a 12-year-old boy managed to escape.

The inhabitants of the village of Stakhovshchina hid a woman doctor, Konikova, with her three sons. The chief of police in Shumiachi, Gavrilok (the Germans shot him along with his family), had given her a document certifying that her husband was a Russian. One year later, however, she was shot, and one month before the arrival of the Soviet forces, her children, whom the villagers had hidden, also were killed.

The day before the destruction of the ghetto, some 30 Jewish teens had left it. In the forest, they encountered a group of armed Soviet soldiers that happened to be in the area, and they formed a partisan detachment. Khaim Gurevich, an 18-year-old, became a platoon leader in the detachment, and his 15-year-old brother Lev was a scout. The detachment sabotaged railroads and highways, and it also engaged in heavy fighting against German units and detachments of the OD, which was receiving support from a portion of the local population. A betrayal resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the partisan detachment. Seriously wounded, Lev Gurevich was hidden by the family of Prokofii Ivanov, a teacher from the village of Kosachevki, and he spent eight months living in a hole dug beneath the cellar. Ivanov's wife was hanged.[10]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Petrovichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Petrovichi include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies and lists of Jews killed in Petrovichi; I. Agracheva, "Eto bylo ne so mnoi" (testimony of Lev Gurevich), *Vesti* (Israel), June 6, 1995; I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002); V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Petrovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-635); GASmO (R-1630-1-337, R-1630-1-360, and R-2434-3-38); VHF (# 33553); and YVA (O-33).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. V. Maksimchuk, "Tragediia v Petrovichakh," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, pp. 183–184.
2. GARF, 7021-44-635, p. 22; Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii," p. 157.
3. GASmO, R-1630-1-337, pp. 126–127, 130.
4. Testimony of Lev Gurevich.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.; and Maksimchuk, "Tragediia v Petrovichakh," pp. 183–185.
7. "Korück 559" report on antipartisan actions, May 25–31, 1942 (YVA, M-29, FR/38, p. 7).
8. GASmO, R-1630-1-337, p. 130.
9. GARF, 7021-44-635, p. 22.
10. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 369; and testimony of Lev Gurevich.

POCHEP

Pre-1941: Pochep, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Potschep, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pochep, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Pochep is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the southwest of Briansk on the Sudost' River and on the railway line from Moscow to Kiev. By 1939, the number of Jewish residents in the city stood at 2,314 people (14.87 percent of the total population). An additional 266 Jews were counted in the villages of the Pochep raion.

Units of the German XLVIIth Panzer Corps occupied Pochep on August 21, 1941, two months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union. During these two months, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army. Up to 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

During the period of occupation, which lasted until September 21, 1943, the Germans set up a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and a local administration in the city. They also recruited a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst, or OD) from among the local residents.

In March 1942, at the time of the mass killing, a 10-man detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) Unit 729 and a small detachment (2 or 3 men) of Sonderkommando 7a (part of Einsatzgruppe B) were based in the town.

Shortly after the start of the German occupation, the town administration organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform various forms of heavy labor.

Sometime at the start of 1942, the commandant's office in Pochep ordered the establishment of a ghetto. The ghetto consisted of a series of barracks on the grounds of a cabbage-pickling factory on the edge of the town, guarded by the OD.[1] It is possible that some Jews were also resettled into the ghetto from the outlying villages in the Pochep raion with the aid of the OD.

In March 1942, Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp based in Klintsy, organized the liquidation of the ghetto, shooting all the Jewish inmates. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, the number of victims was 1,854, including men, women, and children.[2] The shooting, which lasted several hours, was carried out by six men of Sonderkommando 7a, with the help of the OD who escorted the victims and members of the GFP 729 and Feldgendarmerie that cordoned off the area. The killing site was a large ditch, possibly prepared by the Russians as an antitank ditch, located less than 100 meters (328 feet) from the site of the ghetto.[3]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of the city can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-4).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588. Extracts from the verdict have been published in Russian in A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220.
2. See GARF, 7021-19-4, p. 278, for the period January–March 1942.
3. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588.

POCHINOK

Pre-1941: Pochinok, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Potschinok, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pochinok, Russian Federation

Pochinok is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Smolensk on the rail line from Orel to Riga. According to the 1939 census, 283 Jews were living in Pochinok (8.89 percent of the total population).

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 17, 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During these four weeks, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed Dr. Nikolai Nikitin mayor (Bürgermeister) of Pochinok[1] and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor.

Sometime in August 1941, the German administration established a ghetto on the site of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). German security forces, probably belonging to Einsatzkommando 9 or Trupp Smolensk, liquidated the ghetto on April 21, 1942,[2] when they shot up to 200 people.[3]

Basya Pikman, a Jewish woman who was fleeing from the Germans, was arrested by the Germans in Pochinok after the liquidation of most of the ghettos in the region. She was whipped and had her teeth knocked out as she was interrogated about her possible Jewish roots, but she remained silent. In Pochinok, she witnessed the Germans hang Russians. Fortunately she was released and managed to make her way further to the east and survive the occupation.

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pochinok can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-629); GASmO; and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-238, T-77, reel 1155, fr. 476, WiKdo zbV Hirschberg Gruppe La, Tätigkeitsbericht in der Zeit v. August 12–26, 1941, im Abschnitt Smolensk, August 27, 1941.

2. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.

3. P. Kurbatova, *O zlodeianiiakh nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na Smolenshchine* (Smolensk, 1944), p. 24.

PSKOV

Pre-1941: Pskov, city and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Pleskau, initially Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord), then Gebiet Petschur, Generalkommissariat Estland; post-1991: Pskov, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Pskov is located 256 kilometers (159 miles) southwest of Leningrad on the Velikaia River. According to the 1939 census, 1,068 Jews lived in Pskov (1.77 percent of the total population).

On July 9, 1941, two and a half weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, units of the 4th Panzer Division occupied the city. A significant portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were mustered into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 25 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the city at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. A local administration was set up, and an auxiliary police unit (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from among the local population.

At the start of 1942, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Pskov became part of Gebiet Petschur. SA-Standartenführer Bombe became the Gebietskommissar. Major Warnholz of the Schutzpolizei became the SS- und Polizei-Standortführer (senior police leader) in the town. Leutnant Hermann Hidde of the Schutzpolizei became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. In turn, Gebiet Petschur was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Estland. Initially the residence of the Gebietskommissar was located in Petschur but it was moved to Pskov in 1942 and remained there until 1944.[1]

From July 10, 1941, the German Security Police detachment Sonderkommando 1a was located in Pskov. It was later reorganized into an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Hauptaussenstelle), which was subordinated to SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Sandberger, the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Tallinn. The head of the Sipo-Hauptaussenstelle in 1941–1942 was SS-Obersturmführer Otto Bleymehl.

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the German military commandant's office ordered the registration of the Jews and the institution of forced manual labor. Jews were also required to wear a distinctive yellow patch on their clothing.

In August 1941, a ghetto was created in the city.[2] During the forced resettlement into the ghetto, 13 Jews were murdered.[3] The ghetto existed until some time between December and February 1942, when German forces liquidated the ghetto by shooting all the Jews in the nearby village of Vasilevo.[4] In June 1942, a number of Jewish doctors were murdered. They had been working in a hospital for those wounded in the war.[5] Under these various circumstances, according to German sources, the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) shot 232 Jews in total.[6]

In November 1941, the commander of Sonderkommando 1a, SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Sandberger, forcibly resettled more than 100 Jews from Estonia together with other prisoners into a labor camp near Pskov. From February to April 1942, Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Nord under the command of SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln was stationed in Pskov. Jeckeln's command ordered that these Jews from Estonia should be eliminated quickly.[7] The shootings were carried out by members of the Sipo-Hauptaussenstelle in Pskov with the assistance of the local police.

In September 1943, the Germans started to burn the bodies of the victims at the grave sites near Pskov in an effort to remove all traces of their crimes. The Red Army liberated the city in August 1944.

After the war, Otto Bleymehl was under investigation for some time, but the investigation was eventually discontinued.[8]

SOURCES Documents and witness statements regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Pskov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAPO (R-903-3-1 and 12); GARF (7021-97-881); and RGASPI (17-1-313).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, den 13. März 1942.

2. I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99.

3. P. Vagin and M. Nikitin, *Pod igom gitlerovskikh palachei* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1943), p. 4.

4. *Pskov: Ocherki istorii* (Leningrad, 1971), p. 291; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1037. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 821, mentions that the Schutzpolizei unit in Pskov carried out a mass shooting of at least 150 Jewish men, women, and children on December 27–28, 1941, but does not mention the precise location of this Aktion (although it was probably in Pskov); see also Sta. Hamburg, 141 Js 220/61, indictment of December 12, 1961, against P. and others, p. 3.

5. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 251.

6. Annual report of the Security Police and SD commander in Generalkommissariat Estland from July 1, 1942,

on affairs from July 1941 to June 30, 1942, appendix no. 12, GARF, 7021-97-881. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 1,000 Jews were shot in February 1942. However, this figure seems too high. See *Pskov: Ocherki istorii*, p. 291.

7. Testimony under oath by Martin Sandberger, November 19, 1945 (N-Doc., NO-3844); testimony under oath by Martin Sandberger, April 23, 1947 (N-Doc., NO-2891). The prison was probably established at the end of 1941 in the village of Mogilno, near Pskov. Prisoners of war and civilians were held captive there. The civilians included Jews and Gypsies (Roma). The total number of victims was around 700 people. Among them were 112 Jews: 14 men, 57 women, and 41 children; see RGASPI, 17-1-313, p. 114.

8. BA-L, ZStL/207 AR-Z 246/59 (Sonderkommando 1a—Bleymehl).

PUSTOSHKA

Pre-1941: Pustoshka, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Pustoschka, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Pustoshka, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Pustoshka is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) south-southeast of Pskov. According to the 1939 census for Pustoshka, the Jewish population stood at 308, comprising 11.9 percent of the total.

German units of Army Group North captured the town on July 15, 1941. During the intervening three weeks since the start of Germany's invasion of the USSR, many of the Jews had managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible males were ordered to report for military service in the Red Army. Around 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, from July 1941 to February 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military administration created a local authority and police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with badges. The Jewish population also was forced to perform various types of heavy labor. In early February 1942, all the remaining Jews in the town were moved into a ghetto, consisting of a single building, which was either fenced in or guarded.[1] The ghetto existed for several weeks, until late February 1942, by which time all the Jews had been shot. According to one source, the total number of Jewish victims was 58.[2]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pustoshka under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GAPO (R-481-2-65) and GARF (7021-39-334).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GAPO, R-481-2-65, p. 23; and Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 97, 99, 101.

2. N. Masolov, *Ballada o krasnom desante* (Moscow, 1967), p. 97.

ROSLAVL'

Pre-1941: Roslavl', town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Roslawl, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Roslavl', Russian Federation

Roslavl' is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) southeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 population census, 2,935 Jews lived in Roslavl'.

Following heavy aerial bombardments of the town in June and July 1941, German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 3. Due to its location on a main east-west railroad, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east before the Germans' arrival. It is estimated that between 300 and 600 Jews remained in Roslavl' at the start of the German occupation. The German military administration established a local Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst), which not only maintained order but also carried out repressive measures against the local population.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Germans hanged 4 people in the center of Roslavl' who had been denounced as Communists.[1] According to Soviet sources, on August 5–6, 1941, German security forces murdered a group of Jews, possibly as suspected Communist activists.[2] German sources indicate that probably in the first half of September 1941, the 2nd Platoon of the 2nd Company, Reserve Police Battalion 9, which was attached to Einsatzgruppe B, came to Roslavl', where it arrested and then shot about 50 men (mostly Jews). The same unit subsequently conducted a second Aktion in Roslavl' in which about 25 Jews (including some women) were arrested by members of the SD and shot by members of the battalion on a command from their platoon leader.

In October (or possibly the first part of November) 1941, the German military administration established a ghetto or "Jewish residential area" (*Judenviertel*) on Red Fleet Streets # 1 and # 2. All the Jews were moved into several empty houses and were prohibited from having any contact with the other residents of the town. The area was enclosed and guarded day and night to ensure that nobody escaped.[3]

In the fall of 1941, Roslavl' came under the control of Feldkommandantur (V) 199, which was subordinated to Security Division 286. Other units based in the town included a unit of Feldgendarmerie commanded by Leutnant Vogt, an OT unit, a bakery company, and a Luftwaffe repair unit. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 commanded by Kriminalkommissar Wilhelm Döring arrived in Roslavl' in mid-November 1941. It remained there until the end of December

1941, when it was replaced by a detachment of Sonderkommando 7c. German investigative records indicate that shortly after his arrival Döring received an unwritten order from Einsatzkommando 8 to shoot the Jews who had already been concentrated (ghettoized) in Roslavl'.[4]

According to Soviet sources, the German Security Police liquidated the ghetto in mid- or late November 1941.[5] Einsatzgruppen report no. 148, dated December 19, 1941, stated that a total of 510 Jews of both sexes were shot in Shumiachi and Roslavl', on grounds of "public security and order." Testimonies by members of the Feldgendarmerie unit subordinated to Feldkommandantur (V) 199, based in Roslavl', give the figure of at least 200 Jews being shot there in the winter of 1941–1942.[6]

These testimonies and information from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) permit a fairly detailed reconstruction of the ghetto liquidation Aktion in Roslavl'. A few days prior to the Aktion, a group of able-bodied Jews was selected from the ghetto and ordered to prepare a large pit under the supervision of the Russian Ordnungsdienst on the grounds of the Jewish cemetery. On the assigned day, men of the Feldgendarmerie were ordered to get up early in order to conduct a roundup in the Jewish quarter. These men claim that they thought initially the Jews were being assembled for transfer to a forced labor assignment. They searched the Judenviertel and collected together at one point about 200 Jews, including a number of women and children, who were then handed over to the men of the SD. The Jews were then escorted to a ditch about 6 meters by 5 meters and 2 meters deep (19.7 by 16.4 by 6.6 feet), which had been prepared at the cemetery, apparently located close to the POW camp on the southwestern edge of town. Here the Jews had to remove their outer clothing and were searched by the SD for any valuables. About seven or eight SD men then shot the Jews with machine pistols in groups of 2 to 5 people at the ditch. Children were thrown into the ditch and buried alive. The Feldgendarmes served as an external cordon to guard the site against escape attempts and prevent onlookers from approaching. The Jews remained calm throughout the Aktion, more or less resigned to their fate. Among the victims was Dr. Magidson of the children's hospital. Afterwards, Döring reported the date and the number of people shot back to the headquarters of Einsatzkommando 8.[7]

Local resident Nikolai Karpov recalled that after a few days it became known that the houses of the ghetto were empty again, and people who lived nearby reported with horror that all the inhabitants, including women, children, and the elderly, had been shot near the old Jewish cemetery and that the graves had been hastily covered with earth. Russian policemen then plundered the houses of the ghetto. He observed how one policeman attempted to remove the cow that had formerly belonged to the large family of a Jewish tailor, but the cow did not want to go with someone it did not know.[8]

In the two months following the Aktion, about 20 more Jews were brought into Roslavl' by Wehrmacht patrols in the surrounding countryside and placed in the SD prison. These Jews of all ages and both sexes had been denounced by local inhabitants and handed over to the Wehrmacht. They were subsequently shot together with other prisoners by the SD in the course of mass shootings conducted at irregular intervals to "make room" in the prison cells.[9]

The Red Army drove the Germans from Roslavl' on September 23, 1943. Only a handful of Jews from Roslavl' managed to survive on German-occupied territory, either hiding among the local population or serving with the Soviet partisans.[10]

SOURCES The memoir of forced laborer Nikolai Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter: Erzählung* (Münster: Ardey-Verlag, 2003), has a few pages on the start of the German occupation of Roslavl', including mention of the ghetto.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Roslavl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); BA-L (ZStL/27282); GARF (7021-44-630 and 631); GASmO (1630-1-337); NARB (861-1-25); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10; and RG-53.002M); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 6.
2. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 125–127; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 310, 313.
3. NARB, 861-1-25, p. 77 V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159; Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 7.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 564, p. 712.
5. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–1942 gg.," p. 159; NARB, 861-1-25, p. 82. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 129, indicates that the Jews were shot on November 14, 1941, only three days after the establishment of the ghetto.
6. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 10; BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
7. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, p. 712; NARB, 861-1-25, p. 80.
8. Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 7. (It may also have been a Jewish family named Schneider [tailor]).
9. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
10. The Survivors' Registry of the USHMM has registered 40 survivors from Roslavl', but the overwhelming majority of them were evacuated from the town in time and spent the war on the Soviet side of the front.

RUDNIA

Pre-1941: Rudnia, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rudnja, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rudnia, Russian Federation

Rudnia is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Smolensk on the railroad from Smolensk to Vitebsk. By 1939 there were 1,640 Jews living there.

Because of the rapid advance of the German army, only a small number of Jews were able to evacuate or escape from Rudnia in an organized fashion. Some Jewish families tried to leave the town to the east on foot or in carts, but they were ordered to turn back. German airplanes dispersed leaflets with the message: "Take up the stick, and drive the Jew to Palestine." Local collaborators took the Jews' livestock, vehicles, and other belongings. Those Jews who refused to comply were killed.

German forces captured Rudnia on July 14, 1941. Shortly after the occupation began, the occupying authorities registered Jews. Jews were ordered to sew yellow rings onto the backs of their clothing. In the first days of the occupation, German propaganda organs actively promoted antisemitic agitation among the local population. Many residents of Rudnia took advantage of this lawlessness to rob the Jews.

In August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur issued an order for all the Jews in Rudnia to be resettled into a ghetto. Those who refused to comply were to be shot on the spot. Jews who owned farm animals, such as cattle or poultry, were not permitted to bring their animals with them. The local police (Ordnungsdienst) used physical force to intimidate the Jews and confiscate their clothing, watches, domestic items, gold, silver, and other jewelry. One woman who survived the ghetto observed that "nothing was off limits to any of them."[1]

The ghetto was established on one street in the town, and it consisted of 20 or so half-destroyed homes. It was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by German soldiers and local police. Around 1,200 Jews, residents of Rudnia as well as Jewish refugees from the Baltic states and Belorussia, were assembled on the small market square and then crammed in the ghetto.[2] Initially, people could come and go freely, and some Jews received food brought by neighbors from outside the ghetto.[3] Judging from the list of those Jews who were subsequently shot, many families with multiple children resided in the ghetto. About half of the children were under the age of 16. There were also some elderly men living in the ghetto and many artisans of various professions, including 32 carpenters.[4]

In August, the Germans raided a home where the 17-year-old student Abram Dol'nik lived. At school, Dol'nik had been studying to be a radio technician, and he refused to hand over his equipment to the Germans. For this, they shot him and another 15 to 20 young Jews. In September, the Germans discovered in the courtyard of one of the homes in the ghetto a pistol obtained during the retreat of the Red Army. As a result, 100 Jews were shot, ostensibly for concealing military weapons.[5]

The inmates of the ghetto lived under conditions of great overcrowding and poor sanitation. They were subjected regularly to assault and degradation. Only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread were allotted each day to the prisoners. All Jews had to hand over any valuable items or face being shot. Those who were considered prosperous were taken hostage and held for ransom. The Jews were also taken out for forced labor. Young Jews had to do the heaviest physical work, including road and gas pipeline repairs. One of the few medically trained people in the ghetto, Ida Brion, fled eastward in the fall of 1941 after hearing from escapees of the Vitebsk ghetto that all the Jews would be shot unless they escaped.

On October 21, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 arrived in Rudnia from Vitebsk. With the help of the local police, the detachment shot a large number of ghetto inmates. The Jews were told that they were being transported to Vitebsk and that they should take enough food and belongings for two days. Drunken local policemen randomly assaulted the Jews. Before sending the Jews to the place of execution, the Germans shot young children, the infirm, and others hiding in the ghetto who had refused to leave. The column of ghetto prisoners included women, children, elderly persons, and young infants. The mass shooting took place in an antitank ditch on the outskirts of the town. Those persons wearing good clothing were ordered to strip down to their underwear. The Germans forced several people into the ditch and then shot them. The corpses were flung into the water. They threw children alive into the ditch and tossed infants up in the air and shot them. The killing went on for several hours. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 1,000 Jews were shot.[6] After the shooting, there were heartrending moans from down in the ditch. The Germans and their collaborators then threw down heavy stones and covered the grave with three layers of dirt.

The report of Einsatzgruppe B indicates that it had conducted a "large-scale Aktion" against the Jews in Rudnia because the Jews had "provided significant help to the partisans, spread subversive propaganda, occasionally refused to work, and would not wear distinguishing markings for Jews." The report states that 835 Jews were shot in total.[7]

Subsequently the Germans shot the chief of the local police in Rudnia, a man named Korotchenkov, on the same spot where the Jews were killed. The Germans tortured him in front of his underlings as a punishment for having concealed goods stolen from the Jews. The policemen threw his body on top of the corpses of the Jews who had been shot previously. The Germans then confiscated Korotchenkov's belongings from his apartment.[8]

A group of young Jews from the ghetto was taken out to work and they were not shot on October 21, the day of the mass shooting.[9] Instead, they were grouped together with a number of specialists: doctors, shoemakers, carpenters, painters, bakers, and others. These Jews remained in the Rudnia ghetto.

In the fall of 1941, the residents of the Jewish kolkhoz "The Path to Socialism" (Put' k sotsializmu) were also shot. Having captured Rudnia, the Germans took over the kolkhoz and forced the Jews to work there for them. One day in the fall, the Jews were taken out into the field to gather in the harvest, and after they were finished, they were shot. Only two children managed to survive.[10]

On February 24, 1942, the last prisoners of the ghetto in Rudnia were shot at the request of the local Ortskommandantur, Feldkommandantur 815, and also General Max von

Schenckendorff, the commanding officer of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The victims included refugees from various raions of the Smolensk oblast' and from Belorussia. The remaining Jews in Rudnia were killed along with 200 Jews from the nearby ghetto of Mikulino and also Jews who had been brought in from other towns and villages of the Rudnia raion. When the Jews from Mikulino arrived, the Jews in the Rudnia ghetto understood that they were about to be shot, and many tried to escape. About 20 persons were killed inside the ghetto.[11] Those remaining were gathered into a column, taken out to the antitank ditch, and then shot.[12] According to the activity report of Einsatzgruppe B for the second half of February 1942, first 311 Jews were shot in Rudnia, then another 55 Jews and Communists.[13]

In 1941–1942, the Germans and their collaborators shot between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews in total in Rudnia.

Some members of the local population disapproved of the actions of the German occupying authorities. One witness recalled "an exchange with German soldiers from the Ortskommandantur on the question, 'Why in the world are they shooting innocent Jewish families?'" The Germans answered that "the Jews had betrayed Germany in the past, and that because they had kept the Germans down whenever they could, they were no longer allowed to live. They would only take vengeance on the German nation."[14] However, many of the residents of Rudnia supported the destruction of the Jews. After the liberation of Rudnia, one young housewife bluntly said to a soldier who stayed overnight in her home, "It was tough to live with the Germans. But they did something good by shooting the Jews. The Jews deceived us by supporting the Soviet powers."[15] She did not know, apparently, that the soldier was Jewish.

Not many Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto. On the night before the large-scale Aktion, two girls got away. One of them, Chaia Sheftlina, saw the mass shooting of October 21, 1941. She later gave her testimony to the ChGK. During the occupation, she hid in the home of a Russian friend in Rudnia.[16] A few Jewish children were also able to climb out from under the pile of corpses after the mass shooting and escape. One nine-year-old boy hid for a time with residents of Rudnia, then managed to escape from the town.[17]

Of the Jews who survived the ghetto, the majority ended up in partisan detachments. I.L. Finkel'shtein escaped from the ghetto together with his wife after the October shooting. Apparently, he was among the group of artisans who were spared on October 21. Because he was not called up for the war, he elected to join one of the partisan detachments that were active in the Smolensk oblast'. After he left the ghetto, the Germans hanged his wife and children. In the winter of 1941–1942, Finkel'shtein's detachment blew up several bridges and killed up to 100 German soldiers. One Jewish girl was a partisan agent in Rudnia. For two months she was inside the ghetto, but she escaped and again joined the partisans. Many young Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto at the time of the mass shooting on February 24, 1942, and were accepted into various partisan detachments.[18]

The ChGK documents indicate that a German punitive detachment of the Security Police and SD arrived from Vitebsk for the mass shooting of the Jews on October 21, 1941. It was headed by the chief of the Gestapo in Rudnia, a man named Walter Bruk (or Buk).[19] Tit Nikonov, the deputy head of the local police under Korotchenkov, was arrested and executed by the Soviet authorities in Smolensk after the liberation of Rudnia by the Red Army on October 29, 1943.[20]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Rudnia ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Rudnia include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; S. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah yehudit be-Brit ha-Moasot," *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 21 (1976): 89–100.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Rudnia can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-630); GASmO (R-1630-1-337 and R-2434-3-37); TsDNISO (8-1-426); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10; and RG-50.378*0006); VHF (# 27533, 34506, and 42985); and YVA (O-33).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 293.
2. Ibid., pp. 285 and reverse; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 79.
3. USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
4. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 287 and reverse; GASmO, R-1630-1-337, pp. 35–38 and reverse.
5. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 285 reverse; GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
6. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 286 and reverse; testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 74; Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah," p. 95.
7. Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 263.
8. Ibid.; testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75; USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
9. Testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75.
10. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 287; "Krov' zamuchennykh zovet k mesti," *Rabochii put'* (Organ of the Smolensk General Committee VKP (b)), April 7, 1942.
11. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 316; testimony of Guti Turk, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 85; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in idem, p. 81.
12. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 287, 293 reverse; GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
13. RGVA, 500-1-770, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B für die Zeit vom 16.-28.2.1942.
14. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 316.
15. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah," p. 94.

16. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 293 and reverse; "Zverstva nemtsev v gorode Rudnia," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 73.

17. Testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 80.

18. Ibid., pp. 77–78, 80; TsDNISO, 8-1-426, pp. 4–5.

19. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 286, 316.

20. Testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75.

RZHEV

Pre-1941: Rzhev, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast'; 1941–1943: Rschew, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Rzhev, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Rzhev is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Kalinin on the Volga River. In 1939, the census recorded 457 Jews in the town, a scant 0.85 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Rzhev on October 14, 1941, more than three and a half months after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that time, a significant number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and the Soviets began to draft eligible men for military service. The Jewish population in Rzhev at the start of the German occupation was about one tenth of the pre-war figure.

A German military administration (Ortskommandantur I/532) governed the town during the entire period of occupation (October 1941 to March 1943). The Germans created a town council and an auxiliary police unit (Ordnungsdienst), both staffed by local inhabitants. Among German punitive organs in Rzhev from October to December 1941, and again from the end of April 1942, was a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B. By the end of October 1941, the German military commandant had ordered the registration of the Jews in Rzhev, and Sonderkommando 7a established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).[1] On November 13, 1941, the German military commandant required Jews to wear a distinguishing armband.

In the spring of 1942, the occupiers ordered all the Jews to resettle into a ghetto, which was located in a building that had formerly housed a nursery school. Some Jewish families were moved into the ghetto. In July 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. In a gully near the airfield, they shot all the Jews (38 persons) except a watchmaker, a tailor, and their families. Members of Sonderkommando 7a carried out the shooting, with the participation of the Russian police. The Germans subsequently shot the watchmaker and his wife, in February 1943.[2]

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews of Rzhev may be found in the book by E.S. Fedorov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve. Dokumenty i fakty* (Rzhev, 1995).

Documentation concerning the German occupation of Rzhev and the fate of the Jewish population can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); GATO (R-1925-1-5); and USHMM (RG-06.025*04, 693).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. See BA-BL, R 58/219, p. 83, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.

2. Fedorov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve;* and GATO, R-1925-1-5.

SEBEZH

Pre-1941: Sebezh, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Sebesch, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Sebezh, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Sebezh is located 130 kilometers (81 miles) west-southwest of Velike Luki on the main railroad from Moscow to Riga. According to the 1939 population census, there were 845 Jews (14 percent of the total population) living in Sebezh.

On July 7, 1941, the town was captured by units of the SS-Motorized Division "Totenkopf," just over two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this period, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Only about 15 to 18 percent of the pre-war Jewish population, composed now mainly of women, children, and the elderly, remained in the town at the onset of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation, from July 1941 to July 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. Initially, the commandant was an Austrian, and the Jews bribed him in an effort to ameliorate conditions. The German military administration created a raion council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among local residents. Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the council to organize the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also made to perform heavy physical labor, such as digging trenches and repairing railroad tracks.[1]

As early as the summer of 1941, the first 2 Jews were shot in the town as agitators.[2] In September 1941, a ghetto was created in Sebezh, and 100 to 150 Jews were forcibly relocated into it.[3] The ghetto existed until early March 1942, when the Germans ordered its liquidation.[4] During the liquidation Aktion more than 100 Jews were shot into pits.[5] The shooting of the Jews was carried out by Russian policemen, headed by the chief of police, a man named Buss. Afterwards local Russians filled in the pits and reported that many of those shot had not been killed outright and had moaned for some time, as the earth thrown over the corpses continued to move. One 12-year-old boy managed to escape from the mass shooting by hiding in a chimney and then made it to the village of Presni. However, despite his pleading, the head of the village handed him over to the Germans to be killed.[6]

SOURCES Relevant documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Sebezh can be found in the following archives: GAPO; GARF (7021-39); and YVA (M-33/4654, 4655).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/4655, testimony of V. Burnosovaia, published in Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoi okkupatsii (1941–1945): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 214.
2. YVA, M-33/4654.
3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia*, *Kul'tura*, *Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
4. Ibid.
5. Iu.V. Kukanov, *Sebezh: Putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 108.
6. YVA, M-33/4654.

SHUMIACHI

Pre-1941: Shumiachi, village and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Schumjatschj, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shumiachi, Russian Federation

Shumiachi is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) south-southeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 population census, 744 Jews lived in Shumiachi, comprising 21.5 percent of the population.

At the end of July or the beginning of August 1941, about five weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village. Shumiachi was bombed several times after the start of the invasion, and a number of buildings were also damaged in the fighting as the Germans entered the town. In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 350 Jews remained in Shumiachi at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from Poland who had become trapped there.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military ordered the registration and marking of all Jews. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor, including clearing rubble and collecting trash. In October 1941, the German military administration established a ghetto, or "separate Jewish residential area," in the village.[1] Jewish families suffered from hunger in the ghetto.[2]

German forces of Einsatzkommando 8 liquidated the ghetto on November 18, 1941.[3] On that day, after arriving from Roslavl', they drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and loaded them onto several trucks. From here they were taken to a prepared pit on the edge of the village, where the men of Einsatzkommando 8 shot 320 Jews.[4]

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B, dated December 19, 1941, 510 Jews of both sexes were shot in Shumiachi and Roslavl' altogether, on grounds of "public security and order." The same report noted that in Shumiachi 16 mentally ill Jewish and Russian children were also shot around this time. The children were from the children's home, which had been abandoned by the Soviet authorities. They were found living in filthy conditions with severe eczema on their bodies. The senior German doctor, Dr. Raefler, at the medical field hospital in Shumiachi (Feldlazarett 6/562), approved of the shooting, as the children's home and its inhabitants were viewed to be a dangerous source of disease.[5] The children, who were all under 10 years of age, were shot in the clay pit of a brick factory on the edge of Shumiachi by men of Einsatztrupp 5 (part of Einsatzkommando 8), which was based in Roslavl' under the command of Kriminalkommissar Wilhelm Döring.[6]

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Shumiachi can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-44-635), GASmO; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10); VHF (e.g., # 35186); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159; I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 564 (LG Bonn, verdict of February 19, 1964 [8 Ks 2/62] against Wilhelm Döring), pp. 718–720.
2. VHF, # 35186, testimony of Fruma Sapozhnikova.
3. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," p. 159.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, pp. 718–720.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 10; BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80, testimonies of members of FK (V) 199, based in Roslavl'. All give the figure of around 200 Jews shot there in winter 1941–1942; therefore, the number of victims in Shumiachi must have been around 300.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, pp. 712–713. Einsatztrupp 5 was most probably also responsible for the shooting of the 320 Jews in Shumiachi.

SMOLENSK

1938–1941: Smolensk, capital city, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Smolensk is located 419 kilometers (260 miles) west-southwest of Moscow on the Dnieper River and on the main railroad from Moscow to Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 14,812



Wehrmacht and SS defendants sit in the dock during their trial in Smolensk for perpetrating war crimes against the Soviet people, 1945.
USHMM WS #79149, COURTESY OF RGAKFD

Jews were residing in the city (out of a total population of 156,900). The Smolensk ghetto was the largest in all the occupied territories of the Russian Federation and also the one that lasted for the longest time, one year. This reflected the need of the German army for labor in the city, as Smolensk was a strategically important railway junction directly on the main line of advance towards Moscow.

On July 16, 1941, the Germans occupied the greater part of the city, which lay on the left bank of the Dnieper River. The battle for the right bank of the river lasted until July 29. The majority of the Jewish population (about 12,000 people) was evacuated or managed to escape.

The German authorities issued the order to resettle the Smolensk Jews into a ghetto at the end of July, three days after the establishment of the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur, or FK, (V) 813).[1]

In August, the "advance squad Moscow" (Vorauskommando Moskau) of Einsatzgruppe B searched certain quarters of Smolensk for "officials, agents, criminals, members of the Jewish intelligentsia, and others." During this operation the Security Police arrested and shot 74 people.[2] Shortly afterwards, Einsatzgruppe B reported the shooting of "38 Jewish intellectuals, who had tried to create unrest and discontent in the newly established Smolensk ghetto."[3]

The ghetto was established in the northwestern area of the city known as the "Sadki" district, located on the right bank of the Dnieper River, not far from the Jewish cemetery and the railway. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire, and a local Russian police unit (Ordnungsdienst), under the overall command of a Russian named Umnov, guarded the perimeter.[4]

The ghetto was under control of the local Russian administration, which had been established by the German military administration. The notes of the mayor of Smolensk, B. Menshagin, regarding the establishment of the ghetto have survived:

[1-3 not included here.]

4. Excluding the Jewish district, the entire city shall be free of Jews by 4:00 P.M. on August 5, 1941.
5. All Jews who remain in the city after that designated hour shall be arrested and shot.
6. In the settlement area, Jews do not have the right to exit without special permission. This permission can be granted only by the official commandant of the city, or by the police.
7. The area for Jewish settlement shall be surrounded by barbed wire and by a certain date it has to be enclosed by walls.
8. Residences liberated from the Jewish population shall be administered by the head of the city in the interests of the local population.

[9 and 10 not included here.]

11. All Jews in Smolensk shall be prohibited from having any direct contact with the city's administrator and his headquarters, or with any Russian citizens. Contacts must be mediated through the Jewish Council [Judenrat].
12. All Jews over the age of 10 are obliged to wear a yellow Star of David, measuring 10 centimeters [4 inches] in diameter. The symbol shall be worn on the front and back of their clothing. Jews caught not wearing the yellow star after 4:00 P.M. on August 5, 1941, shall be arrested, locked up [in the building of the former NKVD], and shot.[5]

According to the city administration of Smolensk, there were some 1,200 people collected in the ghetto as of November 1, 1941.[6] That number subsequently increased a little. The Jews in the ghetto included those from Smolensk and the surrounding areas, as well as some refugees from Belorussia.

On the basis of a list containing the names of 1,364 Jews who were shot from the Smolensk ghetto, which Soviet authorities compiled after the liberation of the city, the breakdown of the ghetto inhabitants was roughly as follows: 350 men, 614 women, and 350 children less than 15 years old. Of the men, some 50 percent were over age 50. About 40 percent of the women were aged 19 to 39.

The commandant appointed Dr. Painson, a well-known dentist, as the elder in charge of the ghetto's affairs. In the words of one witness, he "complained many times about this onerous duty, which he had to carry out in the interests of the Jewish population but without any prospect of a good outcome."[7] He organized the Jews for forced labor in accordance with the commandant's orders and enforced security inside the ghetto. According to one German source, the Judenrat in Smolensk consisted of four or five people who spoke good German, including one woman, and was responsible for ensuring that the restrictions imposed on the Jews were strictly observed.[8]

About 70 small houses were located in the ghetto.[9] Each house contained several families. There was neither electricity nor sufficient space for people to sleep at night. Many people slept in a sitting position, still wearing their clothes.

The Jews were able to leave the ghetto at times in order to barter possessions for food, although the Russian-speaking population was not supposed to associate with them. Approximately two months before the destruction of the ghetto, a much stricter regime was enforced, in which anyone entering and exiting the ghetto was closely monitored. That put an end to the vital trade between Jews and non-Jews.

During the first months after the ghetto was established, Jewish craftsmen received their work instructions from the labor office (Arbeitsamt). The commandant's office issued a few work permits for tailors and shoemakers to continue their trades. In October 1941, the mayor B. Menshagin received a directive ("Regarding the Jews") from the Feldkommandantur. It included the following instructions:

> Based on order no. 50023/41 issued by the Economic Inspectorate on October 22, 1941, it is determined that Jews shall be excluded from the list of workers available for employment. . . . Jews must be dismissed immediately by the Wehrmacht. After the exclusion of the Jews from the list, their equipment must be confiscated and handed into protective custody at the mayor's administrative headquarters. The mayor is obliged to consult with the labor registration office and distribute the confiscated equipment to Aryan craftsmen. . . . Any usable items found in the possession of Jews should be confiscated and stored. All Jews shall be confined in a ghetto.

The directive further emphasized that Jews should be gathered in groups for forced labor and assigned to the most demanding physical work.[10]

All able-bodied Jews went out daily to perform forced labor. Initially they cleared debris from the streets and repaired damaged buildings. Then, on the order of the Feldkommandantur, they began to work on the railway. They were escorted to work in columns of 50, 100, or more people, guarded by the Ordnungsdienst and Germans with dogs. At the railway station, Jews cleaned, unloaded, and loaded railway wagons. They hauled railway ties and cleaned toilets, even though they never received adequate tools for these tasks. In the winter they cleared snow from the tracks, the roads, and the air base. Weak and infirm Jewish workers were shot, and their coworkers were forced to bury them on the spot.

Jews in the ghetto did not receive any food rations. When Dr. Painson asked the commandant, "How are we to feed our families?" he answered that such trifles were not his problem.[11] According to the newspaper of the Smolensk City Committee, called *Rabochii put'* (The Worker's Way), people in the ghetto ate nettles to ward off starvation.[12] The prisoners exchanged personal items such as clothes, footwear, and valuables with local peasants for food or got it from friends and acquaintances. Workers received a ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread that consisted of bran dust mixed with turnips and beetroots. For those who could not leave the ghetto, the only hope was the children who sneaked out of the ghetto and foraged or begged. In the ghetto there was no running water, although it was bounded by the Dnieper River. Russian policemen and Germans frequently took water away from Jews or poured it on the ground, so the exhausted prisoners had to go and get more. Because of the lack of water and food, many diseases broke out and spread quickly. These included dysentery, typhus, and tuberculosis. In the winter of 1941–1942, because of famine, cold, and disease, more than 200 people perished, particularly young children and old men. It was forbidden to bury the dead in the cemetery, even though it was located nearby. Graves were dug randomly in the ghetto. The dead were buried naked, since those still surviving needed their clothes.

German Feldgendarmes repeatedly robbed the Jews in the ghetto. They stole watches, gold and silver items, and utensils. Starting in September 1941, they started to demand any warm clothing from the Jews. They took fur coats and fur caps and even peeled the fleece cuffs from some articles of clothing. Night searches were accompanied by beatings and shooting. On several occasions, the ghetto prisoners were ordered to pay taxes. They were required to hand over specific amounts of gold items, furs, clothing, and so forth.

Shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto, a very large fine was imposed on the Jews for not delivering a "contribution" to the German city administration. On July 5, 1942, Mayor Menshagin reported to SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Matschke of the Trupp Smolensk unit of Einsatzgruppe B: "On the order of the commandant's office, 60 complete sets of bedding and 3 sewing machines were requested from the ghetto. The Jewish Council was fined 5,000 rubles for the failure to deliver the requested bedding material on time."[13] One witness recalled that in June 1942 the mayor of the city ordered the Jews to bring 7,000 rubles in gold to the city administration.

Jewish girls and young women were subject to mockery and sexual violence from the Germans and Russian policemen. On one cold night the Germans rounded up Jewish girls, forced them to undress, lined them up, and then started to beat them. Several witnesses recalled that "the Germans regularly came into the ghetto and raped women at will."[14] Sometimes at night, old men and women stood guard to warn people of intruders. But Russian policemen conducted random inspections in the ghetto during the evenings and took away beautiful girls who did not always return.

Killings of Jews in Smolensk continued throughout the entire period of the ghetto's existence. The German Police Regiment "Mitte" shot 1 Jew in the first half of January 1942 during an attempted escape. In the first half of February 1942, 1 Jew was shot as a Communist and for not wearing the Star of David. In the second half of February 1942, 5 Jews were murdered for disseminating provocative rumors and for refusal to work. Around the same time, 3 Jews were killed for not wearing the Star of David and for being outside the ghetto without permission. In March 1942, "Trupp Smolensk" of Einsatzgruppe B shot 18 Jews.[15] Hostages were repeatedly taken from the ghetto on the pretext of having broken the regulations with the aim of extorting money or valuables. Most did not return.[16] A Soviet partisan source reported that "drunken German officers with

the sanction of the commandant of Smolensk were able to shoot Jews without any fear of being brought to account."[17]

In the reports of witnesses, including those of ghetto survivors, there is only fragmentary information about Jewish resistance. One interesting source comes from a reconnaissance report by Soviet partisans. The following is noted:

> In the suburbs of Smolensk there are three or four prison camps for the Jews. No food is given to them. Many have no trousers or outer clothing, and are covered only with blankets. They have bartered their clothes for food. Owing to these conditions among the Jews, there were revolts during which they killed the guards and tried to escape. But they were caught and shot.[18]

Two Jewish women did manage to escape from the ghetto and hide in the city with Russian friends. Eventually they received new identity documents. Several children from mixed Russian-Jewish families were also rescued with the help of their Russian relatives and friends. There are also several other cases of Jews in Smolensk who were rescued with the help of the local population.

On the night of July 14–15, 1942, members of the Security Police and SD, German Feldgendarmerie, and Russian police arrived in the ghetto. The Russian policemen acted on the orders of G. Gandziuk, the first deputy to the mayor of Smolensk, and possibly also a man named Alferchik, who was the head of the 2nd (Political) Section of the Russian police.[19] They drove the Jews out of their homes and loaded them onto covered trucks. Throughout the day until the evening of July 15, 1942, the Jews were transported in groups to a prepared ditch in a wood near the village of Magalenshchina. According to the statements of local residents taken by officials of the military counterintelligence section (SMERSh), after the liberation of the city on September 25, 1943, some of the Jews were poisoned in three gas vans that transported them on four successive trips, and some were shot at the ditch.[20] The shooting was carried out by members of Trupp Smolensk.[21] An estimated 1,200 to 2,000 people were shot.[22] A few skilled worker-specialists were selected out and allowed to remain alive for a while longer. A small number of Jews managed to escape on the night of July 14, 1942, just as the loading of the trucks commenced.

Russian witnesses testify that the remaining property of the Jews in the ghetto was plundered by the Russian police. One German source indicates that the clothes and other items from the ghetto were distributed as follows: 25 percent for hospitals and the Russian police and 50 percent for the civilian employees of the Wehrmacht. Jewish woman Asia Shneiderman, who was living in Smolensk in 1942, testified that "items from the ghetto were brought to the Gestapo and used to dress the prostitutes in Smolensk."[23]

According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the following persons were identified and accused of the murder of the Jews: Erich Naumann, the head of Einsatzgruppe B from November 1941 until early in 1943; Franz-Josef Tormann, the head of the Security Police and SD unit Trupp Smolensk; Oberleutnant Schit, the chief of police; and von Schwetz, the military commandant of Smolensk.[24]



Portrait of Raisa Pisareva, who was honored in 1998 by Yad Vashem for saving Jewish lives in Smolensk during the Holocaust. Photo taken September 18, 1949 at the Pedagogical Institute in Smolensk.
USHMM WS #57692, COURTESY OF JFR

SOURCES There is an article on the Smolensk ghetto by L. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," *Krai Smolenskii*, no. 2 (1990): 40–48; in addition, the book published by I. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), contains several witness testimonies concerning the ghetto. The author's own article on ghettos in the occupied territory of the Russian Federation also includes a number of detailed references to events in the Smolensk ghetto; see V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

The Acts of the ChGK for the Smolensk province, including witness testimonies, are located in GARF (7021-44-15, 41, and 1092). The Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, are located in GASmO (1630-2-19). Witness testimonies by inhabitants of Smolensk, collected by members of the counterintelligence group "SMERSh," of

the Western Front and other relevant survivor testimonies can be found in YVA (O-53/28 and record groups O-3 and O-33).

The Materials of the Commission for the Study of the Great Patriotic War pertaining to the occupation of Smolensk can be found in NAIRI. The witness testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii dated September 28, 1943, "Obshchaia kartina zhizni v Smolenske vo vremia nemetskoi okkupatsii," is located in AFSBSmO (case 9856-S, pp. 20–29). Additional materials from West German criminal investigations can be found in Sta. Kiel (2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65) and BA-L.

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel and Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-286/3 FK (V) 813, Abt. VI[I], situation report of August 1, 1941.
2. Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 67, August 29, 1941, cited in Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York, 1989), p. 116.
3. Ibid., p. 123, EM no. 73, September 4, 1941.
4. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818; testimony of Evgeniia Gromyko, in "Smolenskoe getto: Eshche odin svidetel'," *Smolenskie novosti* (Smolensk), October 25, 1995.
5. GARF, 7021-114-6, pp. 20–21.
6. I. Repukhov, "O sostave naseleniia Smolenska," *Smolenskii vestnik*, November 19, 1941.
7. Testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii, September 28, 1943, p. 28.
8. Testimony of Vladimir Khizver, GARF, 7021-44-15, pp. 228–29; Sta. Kiel, investigation of Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 1, p. 205, statement of Egon Noack, June 11, 1969.
9. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818.
10. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 44.
11. B. Kovalev, *Natsistskaia okkupatsiia i kollaboratsionizm v Rossii, 1941–1944* (Moscow: Izd-vo AST: Tranzitkniga, 2004), p. 247.
12. "Chto proiskhodit v okkupirovannom Smolenske," *Rabochii put'*, October 11, 1942.
13. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 45.
14. GARF, 7021-44-15, p. 27.
15. Arad, Krakowski, and Spector, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 334, EM no. 194, April 21, 1942.
16. Testimony of Tat'iana Tret'iakova, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 44.
17. Intelligence report of Sublieutenant Sadchikov, commander of a group of partisan detachments from June 20–August 20, 1942, TsDNISO, 8-2-151, p. 52.
18. Ibid.
19. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 45; testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii from September 28, 1943, p. 29; *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra, 1993), pp. 83–84.
20. YVA, O-53/28, pp. 770–771, 818–819, 823–826, 828, 831–832, 834, 836, 844, 850. See also Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, GASmO, 1630-2-19, pp. 5 and reverse side; and the transcript of a conversation with L. Ya. Madziuk, in NAIRI, 2-2-15, pp. 3 and reverse side; see also Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65.
21. The report of Einsatzgruppe B for September 1942 indicated that 2,439 persons were liquidated by the Smolensk detachment. Probably the majority of the victims were Jews from the Smolensk ghetto. See YVA, M-53/243, p. 6; the testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, p. 819; and the testimony of Sergei Gorbachev, YVA, O-53/28, pp. 831–832. The overall Aktion was apparently organized by the head of Section IV of the Einsatzgruppe's Headquarters unit, Eduard Holste; see Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65.
22. Testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii from September 28, 1943, p. 29. Bazilevskii puts the estimate at 1,200 persons. In the transcript of a conversation with Secretary Mozynyi of the Smolensk City Committee (VKP(b)), in NAIRI, 2-2-24, pp. 6 and reverse side, he estimated 1,500 persons. In the report of Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, GASmO, 1630-2-19, p. 20, the estimate is 1,500 persons. L. Korobov in "Na Smolenskoi zemle," *Pravda*, October 21, 1942, has estimated 1,860 persons. In the documents found in GARF, 7021-44-1092, pp. 4–5, the estimate is 2,000 persons.
23. From a report by Asia Shneiderman, "Okkupirovannyi Smolensk," in the TsK (Central Committee) VLKSM from September 14, 1942, RGASPI, 69-1-935, pp. 43 and reverse side.
24. GARF, 7021-44-41, p. 14.

SOL'TSY

Pre-1941: Sol'tsy, town and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Solzy, Rear Area, Sixteenth Army, Army Group North (Heeresgruppe Nord); post-1991: Sol'tsy, Novgorod oblast', Russian Federation

Sol'tsy is located 78 kilometers (48.5 miles) southwest of Novgorod on the Shelon' River. According to the 1939 census, there were 156 Jews living in Sol'tsy, accounting for 1.74 percent of the total population.

German armed forces of the LVI Motorized Corps occupied the town on July 13, 1941. On July 16, 1941, the Germans withdrew from Sol'tsy as a result of a Soviet counteroffensive, but they retook it on July 22, 1941. By the time the town was occupied, some of the Jews had succeeded in evacuating to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men liable for military service had been conscripted into the Red Army. No more than 100 Jews remained in the town.

Throughout the occupation period (from July 1941 to January 1944), a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration set up a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German commandant's office ordered the town authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. They were obliged to wear a white armband with a yellow six-pointed star. The

Jews also were used for various types of forced labor, and all their valuables were confiscated. In the fall of 1941, all the Jews who remained in the town were concentrated and isolated in one place, to which Jews from surrounding towns and villages also were resettled. In 1941, all the Jews were shot in a nearby forest.[1]

In 2007, a monument was erected at the site where the Jews were shot. Funds for the memorial were collected by the Jewish community of Novgorod.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Sol'tsy can be found in the following archives: AFSBNO; GANO; and GARF (7021-34-360).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-34-360), several dozen Jews were shot. According to data from the Novgorod Jewish Culture Society (http://novgorod.allnw.ru/soletsky/news/43769), about 150 Jews were shot in December 1941 and 104 on January 17, 1942; about 500 Jews are said to have been living in Sol'tsy before the war. In the author's opinion, these figures are too high.

STARAIA RUSSA

Pre-1941: Staraia Russa, town and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Staraja Russa, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Staraia Russa, Novgorod oblast', Russian Federation

Staraia Russa is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) south of Novgorod on the Polist' River, to the south of Lake Il'men'. According to the 1939 census, there were 828 Jews living in Staraia Russa, accounting for 2.2 percent of the population.

Units of the German 16th Army occupied the town on August 9, 1941, seven weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In that time, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Approximately 15 to 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

Throughout the occupation (August 1941 to February 1944), a German military commandant was in charge of the town. For much of the occupation, Feldkommandantur 820, under Oberstleutnant Colonel Mossbach, was based in Staraia Russa. The German military administration established a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents. An ethnic Estonian was named as chief of police: Alexander Kiutt (in 1948 a Soviet tribunal sentenced him to 25 years in prison). The police force was made up of men of various nationalities, including Pavel Goldt (employed in the investigative division), who had one Jewish parent and posed as an ethnic German. Especially active in persecuting Jews was the town's deputy mayor, Vasilii Bykov (arrested and sentenced in 1944), whose responsibilities included oversight of "Jewish affairs."[1]

Among the German security units operating in the town were the Feldgendarmerie, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 820, and a detachment of Einsatzkommando 1b of Einsatzgruppe A. This detachment was sent to the town immediately after its occupation[2] and was active there until November or December 1941; it probably organized most of the shootings of Jews.

In the first few days of September, the German military commandant's office in Staraia Russa ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews, requiring them to wear a white armband with a yellow six-pointed star. Jews were also used for various kinds of forced labor, and all their property was confiscated. A few days after the registration, the Germans arrested all the Jews and placed some in the prison and the rest into a monastery, which served as a temporary ghetto for them.[3] The liquidation of the ghetto, accomplished by shooting all the Jews gathered in the monastery, apparently was carried out on October 15, 1941; around 80 people were shot.[4] One month later, Jews who were married to non-Jews were arrested. These Jews, some 30 in total, were shot between December 6 and 10, 1941.[5] A former employee of the town police, Tamara Finagina, questioned after the war in connection with these events, stated:

> I also know that under Kiutt's leadership, the police arrested up to 30 Jews in December 1941; initially, after the Germans came, these people had been left alone because they had Russian husbands or wives. In August and September 1941, the Germans exterminated Jewish families in which there were no Russians. All these Jews were herded by the police and Gendarmes into the monastery and shot inside the ruined walls by the police and Gendarmes. That was told to me by policemen, whose names I don't recall.[6]

Besides the above-mentioned shootings, it is likely there were other shootings of Jews in the town. In total, about 150 to 200 Jews were shot in Staraia Russa in the period from August to December 1941.

A number of townspeople, at great danger to themselves, hid Jews in their homes. Some of them paid for it with their lives. On September 21, 1941, the sisters Anna and Taisia Degtarev were sentenced to death for hiding Jews. Two days later, several others were publicly executed for concealing Jews: Ivan Nikolaevich Burmagin, 69, a carpenter; Ol'ga Sergeevna Burmagin, 68, a housewife; Nina Ivanovna Burmagin, 40, a teacher; Anna Egorovna Voskoboinikov (age not specified), a member of the church choir; and Sidor Timofeevich Voskoboinikov, 64, a church elder.[7]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Staraia Russa can be found in the following archives: AFSBNO (file 1/6995); GANO; GARF (7021-34-361 and 765); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. G. Nasurdinova, "Pamiat' i bol' kholokosta," *Novgorodskie vedomosti*, no. 45, September 27, 2003; and G. Nasurdinova, "Zakat na ulitse Betkhovena," *Novaia Novgorodskaia Gazeta*, no. 9, 2007.
2. See BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 71, September 2, 1941.
3. Nasurdinova, "Pamiat'"; Nasurdinova, "Zakat"; and GARF, 7021-34-361.
4. See official diary of Police Chief Alexander Kiutt (AFSBNO, investigative file in the case against Alexander Kiutt).
5. Ibid.
6. Cited in B.N. Kovalev, "Svidetel'skie pokazaniia v ugolovnykh delakh kollaboratsionistov v Rossii," *Vestnik Novgorodskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, no. 33 (2005): 111. Another source states that the Germans shot the Jews in the courtyard of the prison in groups of 25 to 30 while the other victims looked on, awaiting their fate; see GARF, 7021-34-765.
7. Nasurdinova, "Zakat."

STARODUB

Pre-1941: Starodub, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Starodub is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Briansk. In 1939, there were 1,629 Jews in Starodub (12.96 percent of the total population).

The German army occupied the town on August 18, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. In this period men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, and some Jews decided to evacuate to the east, but others hesitated. The Soviet authorities tried to calm civilians with radio broadcasts calling on them not to panic, claiming that the Red Army's counterattack would start very soon. This information served to confuse the inhabitants of Starodub, as the growing flood of refugees fleeing from the western borderlands brought quite different rumors—of the rapid German advance. The last group of evacuees left town on August 17, consisting mainly of members of the Jewish collective farm "Red Star." By this time, however, it was too late. Germans forces blocked their path, and the Jews were captured and brought back to Starodub. About two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population came under German occupation.[1]

During the occupation, a German military commandant (Ortskommandant) administered the town. The military commandant also established a local town administration and a Russian police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Shortly after the occupation of Starodub, the local authorities organized the registration of the town's Jews and assigned them to perform hard labor. The German military authorities issued numerous orders and decrees that circumscribed Jewish daily life, such as the wearing of distinguishing marks on clothes and by creating an atmosphere of hopelessness and humiliation. The Jews' last remaining valuables were invariably looted by either the Germans or their collaborators.

At the end of September 1941, the Jews of the town were forced to relocate to a ghetto within 24 hours. The ghetto consisted only of a few cottages and sheds designed for farm animals and surrounded by barbed wire in the suburb of Belovshchina, on the edge of town, from which the Germans had expelled the farmers.[2] The ghetto was probably established on the orders of Sonderkommando 7b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch). According to a German report, at the time of the resettlement, Sonderkommando 7b shot 272 people on September 25, 1941, allegedly on the grounds of resistance to ghettoization by Jews. Accounts by local witnesses indicate that the Germans lined up all the Jewish males over 14 years of age, some 400 people in all, gave them shovels, and then marched them under close armed guard in the direction of the villages of Brezgunovka and Sokolovka to "work." The men were ordered to dig "antitank ditches" in the Galye swamps that were actually mass graves. Then they were stripped naked and shot with submachine guns.[3]

The Jews left after this Aktion, consisting of a few men and many women and children of all ages, were confined inside the ghetto for more than five months. Overcrowding in the ghetto was appalling, as the Jews were packed together with 65 or 70 people to each small cottage, while those who could not be accommodated in the cottages had to live in stables and pigsties. Russian policemen of the Ordnungsdienst guarded the ghetto.

The daily ration for the ghetto inmates was only about 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread. As leaving the ghetto to go to the marketplace was forbidden, the inmates were starving. Some occasionally ventured out, at the risk of their lives, to the surrounding fields for some vegetables. Several mothers were killed as they sneaked out to the vegetable plots next to the Babinetz River, looking for something edible to bring back to their children. Some sympathetic local policemen looked the other way, enabling the Jews to smuggle a little food into the ghetto. Due to starvation, exposure, and beatings, the mortality rate from hunger and disease was very high; 153 people died in the ghetto prior to its liquidation.

On February 22, 1942, the inhabitants of the ghetto were awakened by the sound of explosions nearby. The policemen tried to calm the panic among the inmates, assuring them it was only part of German fortification efforts. In reality the Germans were preparing huge mass graves only 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the ghetto, using explosives to break the frozen ground.[4]

A subunit of Sonderkommando 7a under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Matschke shot the remaining several hundred Jews on March 1, 1942.[5] The local Russian police under the command of Nikolai I. Molodzhevsky played an active role in guarding the Jews during the mass shooting.[6]

Several Jews managed to escape the massacre, but most were captured by policemen the next day on the edge of the forest. The Germans ordered the captives to dig a grave, then to undress, after which they shot them. Two survivors from

this group of escapees were the Israeliev sisters who reached the village of Shniaki where they convinced a local policeman to help them. They hid in the cellar of an elderly couple of Baptists. The family's son was a brutal member of the local police living in the same house, who remained ignorant of their presence. Once the policeman had left for work, the Jewish girls were able to come out of the cellar for warmth each day. They managed to survive until the Red Army liberated Starodub on September 22, 1943.[7]

SOURCES There are accounts of the Starodub ghetto and the destruction of its inhabitants in the following publications: Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzhenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim posviashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 338–344; and Rima Dulkiniene and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 201–202.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Starodub can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-3); LG-Ess (trials of Albert Rapp [29 Ks 1/64] and Kurt Matschke et al. [29 Ks 1/65]); and USHMM (RG-31.018.M, reel 5, fr. 8889-8960, trial of Ivan Mikhailovich Tereshchenko).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Stefan Stoev and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344. This account is based on the testimony of Grigory Sigalov from Starodub.
2. GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188; Dulkiniene and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 201–202.
3. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. In the report, Starodub is misspelled as Sadrudub; see also Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 6 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR (Berichtszeit v. 1.10.-31.10.1941), published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188), allegedly some 400 Jewish men aged over 14 years were shot; GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 192. See also Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
4. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
5. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588. On the basis of Matschke's own testimony, it is assumed that at least 200 Jews, including men, women, and children of all ages, were shot. For a summary in the Russian language, see also A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Bryanshchiny v 1941–1943 gg," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220. On February 10, 1966, Matschke was sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the court in Essen; GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188; see also Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
6. USHMM, RG-31.018.M, reel 5, fr. 8889-8960, trial of Ivan Mikhailovich Tereshchenko.
7. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.

STODOLISHCHE

Pre-1941: Stodolishche, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Stodolischtsche, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Stodolishche, Russian Federation

Stodolishche is located 76 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Smolensk on the railroad from Smolensk to Briansk. According to the 1939 census, there were 232 Jews in Stodolishche, accounting for 10.37 percent of the total population.

German units of Army Group Center occupied the village on July 19, 1941, 28 days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, in late July and early August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a community leader (starosta) of Stodolishche and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. According to one source, German security forces shot a few Jews in Stodolishche during the second half of July 1941. The remaining Jews were forced to move into a ghetto to concentrate them in one place and isolate them from the rest of the population. In April 1942, the Ortskommandantur in Stodolishche was OK (I) 364. The ghetto was liquidated in May 1942, when German security forces shot all the remaining Jews.[1]

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. I. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), p. 435; and "Stodolishche," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1246.

SURAZH

Pre-1941: Surazh, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Surash, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Surazh, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Surazh is located about 42 kilometers (26 miles) north-northeast of Klintsy on the railway line from Unecha to Orsha. The 1939 census showed 2,052 Jews in the town, comprising 22.8 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Surazh on August 17, 1941, almost two months after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union (on June 22, 1941). During this intervening period, a number of the town's Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and all men obligated to serve in the military were called up to the Red Army. When the Germans occupied the town, only around 30 percent of the Jewish population was still there.

The town remained under the jurisdiction of the Wehrmacht throughout the occupation and was run by a German military commandant, who set up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. Soon after the occupation of Surazh, the town administration organized the registration, marking, and exploitation of Jews for various kinds of hard labor.

In the late autumn of 1941, a ghetto was established. Several dozen Jews died there from hunger, cold, and sickness. On March 27, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, 560 people were shot in the village of Kislovka.[1] The shooting was carried out by Sonderkommando 7a, which was headed at the time by SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp.[2]

After the war the bodies were dug up and reburied in a common grave at the Jewish cemetery.

SOURCES The ghetto is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1265.

Documents about the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Surazh can be found in the following archives: GABrO; GARF (7021-19-6; 7021-19-1); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-19-6, p. 342; see also USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 9 (GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 18).

2. Rapp was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court (Landgericht) in Essen on March 29, 1965. See LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979). Rapp denied any knowledge of the shooting in Surazh, but an Aktion (probably in Surazh) in March or April 1942 is mentioned by other witnesses; see idem, 20:775–778.

SVIATSK

Pre-1941: Sviatsk, village, Novozybkov raion, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Swjatsk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sviatsk, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Sviatsk is located 202 kilometers (126 miles) southwest of Briansk directly on the border with the Republic of Belarus'. According to the 1926 census, there were 588 Jews living in Sviatsk.[1] The results of the 1939 census reveal that the Jewish population had been roughly halved from the 1926 figure. This decline was due primarily to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied the village on August 16, 1941, about two months after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that time, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men who were eligible for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Only about 150 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the period of occupation (from August 1941 until September 1943), a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration appointed a village elder (starosta) and policemen who were local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the local authorities organized the registration and marking of the Jews and arranged for their use in various kinds of forced labor. German security forces conducted a first Aktion about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the village of Sviatsk on October 12, 1941, when they shot 27 people (23 Jews, 2 Communists, and 2 prisoners of war). The remaining Jews were moved into a ghetto, which remained in existence until January 25, 1942. On that day, the Jews were gathered in the courtyard of the village administration building where they were forced to wait stark naked in the freezing cold for several hours before being taken out to be shot on the grounds of an old brick factory.[2] German security forces (probably a detachment subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B), assisted by the Russian local police, shot 116 people on this day, and 9 more Jews on the following day.[3]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sviatsk can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-1 and 2).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda. Tom 2* (Moscow, 1926), p. 40.

2. GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 6. See also Benjamin Pinkus, *Jews and the Jewish People, 1948–1954: Collected Materials from the Soviet Press* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Centre for Documentation of East European Jewry, 1973), p. 147; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1269.

3. GARF, 7021-19-2, pp. 141, 146; see also *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6: 460; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 321.

SYCHEVKA

Pre-1941: Sychevka, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Sytschewka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sychevka, Russian Federation

Sychevka is located 70 kilometers (43 miles) north of Viaz'ma on the Vazuza River. According to the 1939 census, Sychevka had a Jewish population of 138, or 1.64 percent of the total.[1]

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on October 10, 1941, approximately 16 weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During

that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in October 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor (Bürgermeister) of Sychevka and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. To concentrate the town's remaining Jews in a single place and isolate them from the rest of the population, the Germans ordered them to be moved into a ghetto.[2] The Jews may have been separated out from among 4,500 civilians, which the Secret Field Police Group 580 (GFP-Gruppe 580) had temporarily placed in a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Sychevka by the end of October 1941.[3]

The ghetto was liquidated on January 1, 1942, when the town commandant, Oberleutnant Kiesler, ordered all the Jews—probably around 100 mainly women, children, and the elderly—to be shot in the village of Piskovo, outside of Sychevka.[4] It is most likely that a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, which had been based in the town in October and November 1941 and again from late April 1942, carried out the Aktion. Sonderkommando 7a, which at that time was under the command of Kurt Matschke, retreated hastily from Kalinin via Staritsa, Rzhev, Sychevka, and Gzhatsk to Viaz'ma between mid-December 1941 and January 7, 1942, in response to the Soviet winter offensive. This would have placed the unit in Sychevka on around January 1, 1942, corroborating the date given in the Soviet military investigation report.[5] Russian policemen also took an active part in the shooting.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sychevka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-43, 637); GASmO (R-1630-1-324); NARA (N-Doc., USSR-279); TsGAMORF (208/2526/264); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 32.
2. GASmO, R-1630-1-324, pp. 101–102.
3. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 188.
4. TsGAMORF, 208/2526/264, Akt gorod Sychevka (military investigation), March 8, 1943, this source gives the date of January 1, 1942, and states there were up to 250 victims. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov. Dokumenty. Vypusk 10* (OGIZ, 1943), p. 5. Another source (Sychevka Raion Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, October 23, 1943) indicates that 27 Jewish families were shot in Sychevka as early as November 1941. NARA, N-Doc. USSR-279, mentions that there were 100 Jewish victims in the town.
5. On the details of the retreat of Sonderkommando 7a, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 558, p. 727, and vol. 23 (1998), Lfd. Nr. 620, pp. 147–150. Kurt Matschke, on interrogation, denied that any executions were carried out during the retreat; but the temporal coincidence is striking.

TATARSK

Pre-1941: Tatarsk, village, Monastyrshchina raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Tatarsk is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) south-southwest of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census, there were 819 Jews living in what then comprised the raion of Monastyrshchina (excluding the village of Monastyrshchina itself). The majority of these Jews (around 600 people) were inhabitants of the village of Tatarsk.[1]

German forces occupied Tartarsk in July 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During these four weeks, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. Approximately 400 Jews remained in Tatarsk at the start of the German occupation.

Just after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and also the exploitation of Jews for various kinds of forced labor. The commandant's office also established a local auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) and appointed a local Russian mayor.

In September 1941, a detachment of the Vorkommando Moskau (a small squad subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B), commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Woldemar Klingelhöfer and assisted by SS-Hauptsturmführer Egon Noack, arrived in Tatarsk from Smolensk. On arrival, they met with the local mayor and the head of the Ordnungsdienst, to set up a ghetto in Tatarsk. The local authorities defined two streets containing about 10 houses, to which all the Jews had to move. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by the Ordnungsdienst, but initially Jews were able to leave fairly easily, as the Russian guards were not strict. During this first visit (probably in mid-September 1941), Noack and Klingelhöfer collected all fur items of clothing from the Jews and organized the shooting of about 50 male Jews in a ditch. It was probably at this time that a Judenrat consisting of not more than 3 people was established.[2]

Living conditions in the ghetto were deplorable. The Jews received only the bare minimum necessities for subsistence. Between 7 and 10 families, or between 35 and 50 people, had to share living quarters in each house.[3] The conditions were so bad that soon the Jews tried to leave the ghetto and return to their old homes. The German Security Police viewed this as an act of subversion against the established order, and in early October 1941, on orders from the head of Einsatzgruppe

B, SS-Gruppenführer Arthur Nebe, Klingelhöfer and Noack returned to carry out a second anti-Jewish Aktion.[4]

In Security Police Report (Ereignismeldung UdSSR) no. 124, issued on October 25, 1941, these events are described as follows:

> The staff unit (Gruppenstab) [of Einsatzgruppe B] and Vorkommando Moskau carried out an operation against the Jews in Tatarsk. The Jews had begun to leave the ghetto of their own volition, and return to their former residences. Russians had occupied their apartments in the meantime, and the Jews tried to drive them out. Therefore, the place was systematically searched and the Jews gathered in the market square. Some of them had fled, and had to be hunted out of the nearby forest. In punishment for not following the orders of the German Security Police, all the Jewish men in Tatarsk and three women were shot.[5]

According to postwar accounts given by Klingelhöfer, some 200 Jews were rounded up on this second occasion, and the remaining 30 or so male Jews were among those shot.[6] According to one source, the Germans and their collaborators continued to hunt down those Jews in hiding and shot another 10 or 15 Jews uncovered over the following weeks. In total, at least 300 Jews are estimated to have been murdered in Tatarsk.[7]

A non-Jewish local inhabitant, Petro Rashkeev, witnessed the murder of Jewish children. It was a cold, rainy day, and the children were grabbed out of their houses naked and driven to the grave site with whips. Here, the Germans hit some babies on the head with iron rods and threw them into a pit without checking to see whether or not they were still alive. The children died, buried in the damp, blood-saturated earth.[8]

Local witnesses recall efforts by several individuals to rescue Jews in Tatarsk, but only a few Jews succeeded in evading capture. Lev Sorin hid in the pharmacy during the second Aktion and received help from a Communist. He noted that the Russian police played an active part in the killing. Subsequently, he obtained papers that helped him to pass as a Russian.[9] A man named Klimov hid a Jewish woman but was denounced to the Germans. The Germans tortured him to death, but he refused to reveal where the Jewish woman was hiding. A 70-year-old man tried unsuccessfully to protect four Jewish boys by saying they were his grandsons. The Germans suspected they were Jewish and killed them and then almost beat the man to death.[10]

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Tatarsk can be found in B. Vest, ed., *Be-hevlei kelaya: Yehudei Russia ha-sovietit be-shoa ha-nazit, 1941–1943* (Tel Aviv, 1963), p. 265. The short article "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske," submitted to *Eynikayt* by Meyor M. Rabinovich, can be found in USHMM (RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002, Jewish Antifascist Committee Records from GARF, 8114-1-418, transl. Sonia Isard) and YVA.

Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of the village can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); GARF (7021-44-628); GASmO (R-2434-3-37); NARA (NO-4235); SHLA (Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1); VHF (# 17264); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin; and Rabinovich, "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske"; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 64.
2. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235, testimony of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, July 2, 1947, published in Henry Monneray, ed., *La persecution des juifs dans le pays de l'Est, présentée à Nuremboug: Recueil de documents* (Paris: Editions du Centre, 1949), pp. 275–276; Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 119; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1 (Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63, investigation of Egon Noack), vol. 1, pp. 49–50, and vol. 4, pp. 152 ff., statement of Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin.
3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 164.
4. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1, vol. 1, pp. 49–50.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.
6. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1, vol. 1, pp. 49–50. Rabinovich, "Krovavaya reznya v Tatarske," gives the figure of around 200 Jews shot during the second Aktion in the courtyard of the "Trudovik" Jewish kolkhoz. According to the Einsatzgruppen reports, between September 29 and around October 12, 1941, the staff unit and Vorkommando Moskau (VKM) shot 428 persons; it is likely that these numbers included the Jews killed in Tatarsk.
7. Rabinovich, "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske," states the figure of up to 600 victims, but this reflects the pre-war population.
8. Ibid.
9. VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin.
10. Rabinovich, "Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske."

TOROPETS

Pre-1941: Toropets, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1942: Toropez, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Toropets, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Toropets is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, there were 500 Jews living in the town, at that time a raion center in the Kalinin oblast'. The Jewish population then accounted for 3.87 percent of the town's total population.

German forces of Rear Area, Army Group Center occupied Toropets on August 29, 1941, two months after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that interval, a large number of Jews from Toropets had succeeded in evacuating to the east. Meanwhile, the Soviets began drafting eligible men into the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, probably less than 100 Jews remained in the town.

A German military administration governed Toropets throughout the occupation (from August 29, 1941, until January 21, 1942). The German commandant appointed local citizens to a newly created Rayon authority and established a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from non-Jewish local residents.

On September 20, 1941, the chief of the local police, invoking the authority of the German military commandant, ordered that lists be prepared for him of all the Jews in the town, specifying their ages; that they all be resettled into a designated section of the town (a ghetto); and that they be checked to verify whether they were all wearing identifying armbands.[1] To house the Jews, the authorities selected a building belonging to a local flax mill on the edge of town. They chose a dentist as the ghetto elder. The ghetto elder was responsible for organizing forced labor details for the German authorities.[2]

A weekly report by the responsible commandant's office Ortskommandantur (OK) I/532 in Toropets, probably from the end of September 1941, noted that a "Jewish quarter" (*Judenviertel*) had been established and that the Jews had been marked and registered (21 male and 25 female Jews, out of a total population of 5,724).[3]

On October 23, 1941, OK I/851, under the command of Major Hirschberg, took over the administration of Toropets from OK I/532.[4] Shortly afterwards, on October 28, 1941, servicemen of the SS-2nd Cavalry Regiment raided the ghetto, "confiscating" items of women's clothing and money.[5] Also stationed in the town at this time were elements of Police Reserve Battalion 131.

The ghetto, which contained about 75 people, remained in existence for about three months.[6] Postwar testimony by German servicemen reveals a number of additional details about the ghetto and its liquidation, some of which is corroborated by several of the witnesses. According to Hauptmann Pohl, the intelligence officer (Ic) with OK I/851, the Jews consisted mainly of women and children, including a number of young women, and the flax mill was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews all wore white armbands bearing numbers.[7]

In early November 1941, a detachment of Geheime Feldpolizei (GFP)-Gruppe 710 consisting of 15 to 20 men arrived in Toropets under the command of Feldpolizeisekretär Blohm. In early or mid-December, Blohm received a written order to shoot all the Jews in the ghetto, including the women and children. Several German witnesses maintain that in order to avoid having to shoot the roughly 20 Jewish children in the ghetto, the local commanders planned for a German doctor to kill them using poison or a lethal injection, according to one account, in the context of a "Christmas celebration." The doctor, however, refused to comply, reporting himself sick.[8]

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in the second half of December 1941.[9] The Jews were escorted on foot from the flax mill to a gravel pit only a few hundred meters away, where there was a trench about 10 meters long and 3 meters wide (33 by 10 feet). Here the Jews were ordered to undress and place their clothes in a pile. They also had to surrender any valuables, and some Jews were found to have been hiding money in their shoes. The Jews then had to kneel in the ditch in groups and were shot in the back of the neck. The mass shooting was carried out by men of GFP-Gruppe 710. Some of the clothing was distributed to local Russian women who worked for the Germans.[10]

A mixed family with a Jewish wife who lived outside the ghetto was initially spared from the massacre. The Germans shot the entire family a short time later, stealing their property.[11] Within a few weeks of the ghetto's liquidation, the Soviet winter counteroffensive had driven German forces out of Toropets by January 21, 1942, seizing this important supply base in the rear of the German 9th Army.

SOURCES Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews of Toropets can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/27220); GARF (7021-20-24); GATO (1925-1-5); and NARA (N-Docs. NO-4415 and NOKW-1319 and 2385).

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NOTES

1. GATO, 2757-1-2, p. 10.
2. GARF, 7021-20-24, p. 1; GATO, 1925-1-5, p. 2. On Jewish forced labor, see Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 95, citing NOKW-2385.
3. NARA, RG-238, T-1119, reel 18, fr. 0270-71, NOKW-1319, OK I 532, Toropez, Wochenbericht der Abteilung I, n.d.
4. BA-L, B 162/27220, p. 62.
5. Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), p. 202.
6. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 326, states that differing sources report either 75 or 59 inmates of the ghetto; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
7. BA-L, B 162/27220, pp. 63–66, summary of testimony by Hauptmann Pohl.
8. Ibid., pp. 60–66. Different versions of the plan for the doctor to kill the children are given by witnesses Orth, Arnold, Dr. Christ (Adjutant of OK I/851), and Pohl.
9. Ibid., pp. 60–73; *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty* (OGIZ-Voenizdat, 1942), 3:79–80, dates the Aktion, however, on November 13, 1941.
10. BA-L, B 162/27220, pp. 60–73; witnesses Orth, Arnold, Hirschberg, Dr. Christ, Pohl, Kirsten, Vogt, Witt, and

Witte all mention the mass shooting. The German investigation cautiously estimated that at least 25 people were shot.

11. Ibid., p. 66, testimony of Pohl.

UNECHA

Pre-1941: Unecha, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Unetscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Unecha, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Unecha is located on the Unecha River approximately 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Briansk. According to the 1939 census, 1,708 Jews lived in Unecha (comprising 12.24 percent of the total population).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 17, 1941, almost two months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The advent of war led to panic in the marketplace, making it difficult to buy provisions. Based on information from Polish refugees, as well as heavy German bombing, some Jews decided to evacuate. Since Unecha was an important railway junction, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to escape to the east. However, the local government only organized the evacuation of specific groups of workers, and Soviet regulations made it difficult for others to flee.[1] Men of eligible age were called up to enlist in the Red Army. It is estimated that around 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Unecha under German occupation.

Shortly after the arrival of German forces, the Germans established a military commandant's headquarters (Ortskommandantur), which was responsible for the administration of the town. They also recruited a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. In the summer of 1941, the authorities compelled the Jews to wear six-pointed stars made out of white cloth, and they were forbidden to leave the town limits.[2] Police tasks in the area were also carried out by German forces of the Field Gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie) and by a detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP); beginning in the fall of 1941, GFP-Gruppe 729 was based in Unecha.

In October 1941, all Jews remaining in the town were resettled into a ghetto close to the railway line. The ghetto area was based around an old poultry factory and surrounded by a wooden fence.[3] Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot. The ghetto was unsanitary, particularly because dead bodies were not removed from the area. All Jews over the age of 15 had to perform difficult and dirty forced labor from morning until night. The ghetto inmates were composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly. Some additional women and children were brought into the ghetto after the male members of their families had been arrested and shot. The local Russian police frequently robbed the Jews. It was difficult to obtain water in the ghetto, and there was hardly any food, only a few old potatoes, so some Jews risked leaving the ghetto to barter things with local peasants in exchange for food.[4]

In mid-March 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto.[5] Just prior to the ghetto's liquidation, about 70 Jews from the village of Zhudilovo (in the direction of Pochep) were brought into the ghetto, as were a number of Gypsies (Roma) transported on sleds.[6] On the afternoon of March 15, the German-led forces assembled the Jews into a column and escorted them to the edge of town where a 10-meter-long (33-foot-long) ditch had been prepared. Men of the Feldgendarmerie and from GFP-Gruppe 729 cordoned off the killing site. Four or five SD men, probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a that was based in Klintsy (in March 1942 under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp) then shot the Jews in the back of the neck with pistols.[7] All the Jews (including some who had converted to Christianity) and Roma were shot. In total, probably around 342 persons were murdered on that day not far from the Unecha railroad station.[8]

Solomon Bazhalkin, then 14 years old, escaped from the ghetto just prior to its liquidation. He knocked on people's doors in the surrounding villages, saying he was an orphan. Some local inhabitants offered him food and occasionally shelter for a short while; but usually he had to move on again soon, as people suspected that he was a Jew. On one occasion he was denounced to the police, but he successfully convinced them he was an orphan and was released. Subsequently he linked up with the Soviet partisans. The Red Army liberated the region during its offensive in September 1943.[9]

SOURCES The ghetto in Unecha is mentioned in the following publications: Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannyoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 158–159; Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 98, 262–264; and Emmy E. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), pp. 32–33.

Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-4); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9); and VHF (# 29265). Additional information can be found in the trial verdict against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin, May 6, 1997.
2. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*, pp. 32–33.
3. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin, May 6, 1997; Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*, pp. 32–33, citing Yuri Kirshin, a non-Jewish child in Unecha who corroborates the accounts of Jewish survivors; Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii," p. 174.
4. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

5. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannyoi territorii," p. 159. According to another source, the shooting took place on March 18, 1942; see *Partizany Brianshchiny* (Tula, 1970), p. 96.

6. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

7. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 794–795. The description of the killing Aktion is based on testimony by members of GFP-Gruppe 729.

8. GARF, 7021-19-4, pp. 237–238; see also GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1361, give the figure of 342. According to partisan sources cited by Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, pp. 262–264, the number of victims was considerably higher, but the figures given in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports are likely more accurate, as *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 794–795, estimates the number of ghetto inmates at around 300.

9. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

USVIATY

Pre-1941: Usviaty, village and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Uswjati, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Usviaty, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Usviaty is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south-southeast of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, 136 Jews were living in Usviaty (5.46 percent of the total population). In the villages of the Usviaty raion, there were another 10 Jews.[1]

German armed forces occupied the settlement in July 1941, approximately three weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In those three weeks, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up for service in the Red Army.

During the course of the occupation, from July 1941 until January 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village head and recruited a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from local residents.

Shortly after the occupation began, the local administration organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also exploited for various kinds of heavy labor.

At the end of September 1941, a ghetto was created in the village. A few homes that had been emptied of their Russian residents were designated for this purpose, and the "Jewish quarter" was surrounded with barbed wire. Jews in the ghetto did not receive provisions. Food rations were issued only to Jews who performed labor, and they received only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day.[2] Most sources estimate that around 160 Jews were living in the ghetto, but the actual number was probably less than this.[3] The ghetto existed for about four months. The German security forces did not have time to liquidate the ghetto. On January 28, 1942, the Red Army liberated the remaining Jews in the ghetto in the course of their winter counteroffensive. Unfortunately about 30 Jews perished in the ghetto from cold and starvation just before the arrival of the Red Army.[4]

SOURCES Documentation regarding the ghetto in Usviaty can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-20-25); GASmO (R-1630-1-369); and YVA (M-62/55 and O-33/3275).

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trans. Steven Seegel

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1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 64.

2. GARF, 7021-20-25, p. 113.

3. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159. The number of Jews in the ghetto given by these sources is probably too high. There were only 136 Jewish residents before the war, and some of these people were able to evacuate the area. Therefore, one can surmise that there were probably around 100 people in the ghetto.

4. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 99.

VELIKE LUKI

Pre-1941: Velike Luki, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1942: Welikije-Luki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Velike Luki, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Velike Luki is located on the Lovat' River, about 220 kilometers (137 miles) south-southeast of Pskov. According to the 1939 census, 1,519 Jews were living in Velike Luki, at that time a raion center in the Kalinin oblast'. The Jewish population then accounted for 4.34 percent of the town's total population.

German forces of Army Group Center first captured the town on July 19, 1941, but they were then temporarily driven out by a Soviet counterattack. The Germans recaptured the town on August 24, 1941, but this temporary reprieve in the meantime had enabled a large number of Velike Luki's Jews to evacuate to the east.[1]

A German military administration (Ortskommandantur) asserted authority in the town, assisted by a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants. From September 4 to around September 17, 1941, Ortskommandantur (OK) 1/302 and Feldkommandantur (V)/181 were based in the town, subordinated to Korück 582 of the German 9th Army. From the start of September until mid-October 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a, comprising 20 or 30 men, and a subordinated group of Waffen-SS men were based in Velike Luki. Also present in the area to guard the railway lines was part of Police Reserve Battalion 131, which

assisted Sonderkommando 7a in the arrest and shooting of suspected Communists and Jews.[2]

Soon after occupying the town, the German military administration established a ghetto in Velike Luki, which was located on a single street.[3] Information on the ghetto and its inhabitants is sparse. According to documents in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission files, the German commandant (Ortskommandant) soon appointed a Jewish headman, the 65-year-old dentist Labas, who was made responsible for the Jews. He had to report in writing every day that all the Jews were present and correct. If any Jews were missing, Labas would be beaten. German records indicate that in September 1941, there were 59 Jews registered in Velike Luki.[4]

From the accounts of German servicemen based in the town in September 1941, it appears that the Jews of the ghetto (at least 50 men, women, and children) were shot in one or more small Aktions conducted during the month of September, as were a number of Jews uncovered in neighboring villages at this time. The members of the Sonderkommando were assisted in these Aktions by members of 2nd Company Police Reserve Battalion 131, the Ordnungsdienst, the Feldgendarmerie, and possibly also a detachment of Latvian auxiliaries. The total number of Jews shot in the region by members of Sk 7a may have been 175 to 200 people.[5] Il'ja Al'tmann indicates that the Germans had completely liquidated the ghetto by October 1941.[6]

Velike Luki was also the location of a German camp for Soviet prisoners of war, as around 30,000 men had been captured in the region at the time of the German offensive in late August 1941.[7] According to a report to Korück 582, on October 4, 1941, German Wachbataillon 720, which was in charge of a Soviet POW camp in Velike Luki, handed over to the Security Police "three Soviet prisoners of Jewish nationality," who they then shot following an interrogation. According to German sources, there was reportedly a strong Soviet partisan resistance in the area at this time, which led Sonderkommando 7a to shoot a number of people as suspected partisans or partisan helpers at around the same time as the shooting Aktions against the Jews.[8]

SOURCES The contents of some of the German court–related testimonies on the ghetto and the murder of the Jews in Velike Luki are briefly summarized in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311.

Documentation regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews in Velike Luki can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; GARF (7021-26-4); NARA (e.g., N-Doc., NOKW-1303); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

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1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1381.

2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311.

3. Ibid., pp. 301–306; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 129.

4. GARF, 7021-26-4, p. 1 reverse, as cited by Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 150–151 (see also pp. 127–130); Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1381.

5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–306. The official records of Einsatzgruppe B, however, record a smaller number of Jewish victims who may have been murdered in Velike Luki; for this period see BA-BL, R 58/216-18, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 73, 92, and 108. On the role of Reserve-Polizeibatallion 131, see also Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 607–608, 819.

6. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 127–130.

7. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 209.

8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311; see also NARA, RG-238, N-Doc., NOKW-1303, report dated October 5, 1941.

VELIZH

Pre-1941: Velizh, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Welish, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Velizh, Russian Federation

Velizh lies on the banks of the Western Dvina River, 125 kilometers (78 miles) north-northwest of Smolensk and 80 kilometers (50 miles) northeast of Vitebsk. The Jewish population stood at 1,788 in 1939.

On July 13, 1941, units of German Army Group Center captured Velizh. At the end of July and the start of August 1941, the occupying authorities established a Judenrat and ordered the Jews to register and to wear a yellow patch for identification.[1]

Jews were not permitted to socialize with Russians or to appear at the market. Some of the Russian population began to treat the Jews with unconcealed hostility. One witness reported that the Russians viewed the Jews mainly as an opportunity to extract booty.[2]

Each day, Jewish men ages 15 to 60 had to appear before the Kommandantur, where they were given shovels for different forced labor projects. Generally they worked repairing the Velizh-Demidov-Smolensk highway. At work, they were beaten and humiliated. Occasionally, the guards ordered their victims to squat down and get up 100 times while holding an axe or shovel.

Jewish women also had to perform heavy labor, hauling bricks, logs, or beams, or cleaning toilets. Others had to do pointless tasks, such as gathering stones and putting them into a pile, then the next day dispersing them again. Sometimes they had to do more grueling work, such as collecting water from the river, carrying it up a hill, pouring it on the earth, and then

climbing down the hill to get more. The guards often whipped the women.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7a (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B) shot a Jewish woman and eight former Komsomol members from Velizh for sabotage at the Voroshilov kolkhoz 17 kilometers (11 miles) from Velizh. They were accused of having "attempted to intimidate the population by spreading false rumors."[3] From September 4 to the start of October 1941, Sonderkommando 7a was based in Velizh, where it apparently played a key role in the persecution of the Jews. In September 1941, on the pretext of a work assignment, the Germans gathered approximately 150 Jewish men ages 18 to 35, took them out of the city, and shot them. Shortly afterwards, 50 young women were brutally beaten with rifle butts for trying to run away through the streets.

At the end of September 1941, the Kommandantur issued an order for the Jewish population to be resettled into a ghetto. They were allowed to bring with them only essential items, namely, basic foodstuffs and warm clothing. The Jews' remaining property was to be turned over to the Russian policemen and redistributed. The ghetto was set up on the edge of the city, next to a large pig farm. A fence surrounded the ghetto, reinforced with barbed wire. Men of the Russian police (Ordnungsdienst) guarded the perimeter.[4]

There were 1,400 to 1,500 Jews in the ghetto. About 1,000 people lived in just 27 houses. The living conditions were atrocious, and many people were unable to wash themselves. About 500 people lived in the pigsty, in which rows of bunk beds, two or three tiers high, stood around one oven, with hardly any room to sleep. Food had to be prepared over bonfires.

Jews were forbidden from leaving the ghetto on pain of death. Non-Jews were also not allowed to enter it. Russian policemen, upon spotting someone trying to escape, would run after them, shouting: "Catch the Jew [*zhid*]!" Those whom they caught were brutally beaten. They chased the ghetto inmates out of their dwellings and made them watch the executions. The one exit from the ghetto was usually locked; only trucks carrying corpses to the Jewish cemetery were permitted to pass through.[5]

Sources are scarce on the Judenrat's activities in the Velizh ghetto. The foreman (starosta) in charge was the teacher Mendel' Itkin. One witness recalled that "the leaders of the Judenrat did not have any detailed or reliable information. . . . [T]hey were unfortunate people themselves."[6] The main task of the Judenrat was to pass on German orders to the ghetto population. The foreman assigned people to labor tasks according to the demands of the occupying authorities.

Initially, the Jews lived on whatever they had brought from their homes into the ghetto. But most of the goods spoiled, and famine set in. Many of the inmates were refugees from Belorussia and other places, and without any supplies, these people suffered badly. People grew swollen from hunger, and many young Jews died in the streets. The more fortunate with regard to rations were those in mixed families, as they generally received help from their Russian kin. Neighbors and friends gave some assistance to the ghetto, providing the inmates with potatoes and bread. Sometimes ghetto inhabitants, having removed their yellow markers, managed to get out of the ghetto and obtain foodstuffs from people they knew. They bartered gold and silver items for food.

Winter came, and in the pigsty it was unbearably cold. The Jews were unable to obtain firewood for heating; instead, they broke up the bunk beds. Living conditions deteriorated further. The prisoners used kerosene lamps until the fuel ran out. Several people died each day of hunger, cold, and typhus. Some elderly people fell out of their high bunk beds and died. There was no medicine. The Russian doctor Vasilii Zhukov lived in the ghetto with his Jewish wife and their three children. He was responsible for treating everyone.

Many ghetto inmates owned gold and silver items. Some of the Russian policemen who guarded the ghetto accepted such things in exchange for a little food. But the Germans found out about the barter and shot those policemen. Then the guards started to rob the Jews more systematically.

Witness testimonies provide little information about forced labor by ghetto inmates. They indicate that the Jews were taken out in convoys to work from morning to evening. As a rule, they performed heavy physical and menial jobs. Some Jewish tailors had to mend clothing for the Germans.

On several occasions in December 1941 and January 1942, the Russian police took young Jewish girls and teenagers for work in the city and shot them after they had finished. In a Smolensk court in March 1960, Piotr Sychev, who worked with the German Secret Field Police (GFP), recounted how he had participated in these shootings on three separate occasions.[7]

The Jews did not see any prospect of being rescued from their hopeless situation. A former ghetto inmate recalled that in the ghetto "they gathered in groups and sat silently in the darkness. They didn't want to speak with each other."[8] Jews who came back to the ghetto observed the silence and tried to support the inmates who remained behind each day.[9]

There were some incidents of resistance during the course of an Aktion carried out against the young men. According to testimonies gathered by the Soviet 4th Shock Army, "an unidentified Jew tried to organize a resistance movement armed with axes, but the Germans shot him and his associates before they could realize their plans."[10] A group of young Jewish girls also escaped from the ghetto and joined Soviet partisan detachments.

With the advance of the Red Army close to the city in late January 1942, some Jews escaped from the ghetto. They hid with acquaintances in the town or went across the front line. Two days before the destruction of the ghetto, the Russian doctor Vasilii Zhukov managed to get his family out and save them.

On the morning of January 30, 1942, the 4th Shock Army attacked Velizh from three sides. Fighting was heavy until February 2, 1942, when Soviet forces successfully liberated the northwestern part of the city up to the Western Dvina River. Then their advance was halted.[11]

On January 30, the Germans and Russian police sealed all the exits from the pigsty, poured gas on it, and set it on fire.

Then they burned down the houses in the ghetto where other Jews were still living. The police opened fire on any Jews who tried to escape from the flames.[12] Maria Savinskaia, one of the ghetto inmates, recalled at a trial in Smolensk in March 1960: "I saw my mother's black hair catch fire. We got her out through a small window. Then shots were fired. I was wounded, but my friends did not make it. We could only save ourselves. For a long time . . . there was the stench of charred corpses and burnt hair. I've never been able to forget that smell."[13]

Approximately 100 people managed to escape from the pigsty, and of that number, most were wounded or later killed. Dozens of Jews who escaped from the ghetto and hid in the basements of town buildings were discovered and shot by members of the Ordnungsdienst. About 600 people were killed during the liquidation of the ghetto.[14] Some of those who initially escaped from the burning ghetto were killed subsequently during the fighting in the town. Only a few dozen Jews survived, including the teenagers and young women who fled and joined the Soviet partisans.[15] The report of the Velizh District Commission in August 1944 indicates that not 1 Jew remained in the town.[16]

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) assigned responsibility for the crimes against Soviet citizens to the local German military administration in Velizh (Ortskommandantur 849); the Wehrmacht officers Kohlman, Agement, Lugash, and Rosenfeld; Bidiukov, the mayor of Velizh; and Murashkin, the chief of the Russian police.[17] The Soviet authorities tried a number of Russian policemen who took part in the murder of the Jews. In March 1960, a Smolensk court sentenced two former policemen to death, and a third received 15 years in prison.[18]

SOURCES Publications regarding the Velizh ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Velizh include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1965); F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 65–66; and Leonid Koval, *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2: 42–44.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Velizh can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-20-25; 7021-44-619); GASmO (R-1630-1-314 and R-2434-3-36); TsGAMORF (32/11302/32, p. 81); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/4389 and O-33/3275).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GASmO, R-1630-1-314, p. 8; Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York, 1989), p. 117; *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, (Moscow, 1942) 5:61; V. Abramov, "Gitlerovskie liudoedy," *Rabochii put'* (organ of the Smolensk district Communist Party Committee—VKP), August 21, 1942, p. 2; testimony of Vera Fainshtein, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 117; and Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiut*, p. 65.

2. Testimony of Vera Fainshtein, p. 117.

3. Arad, Krakowski, and Spector, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 117.

4. A. Bordiukov, "Tragediia Velizhskogo getto," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 123; testimony of Vera Fainshtein, pp. 117–118; and GASmO, R-1630-1-314, p. 16.

5. Testimony of M. L'vin, YVA, O-33/3275, p. 3; testimony of Issak Bruk, YVA, O-33/3275, p. 7; and testimony of Emma Kudrianovich, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, pp. 114–115.

6. Testimony of Issak Bruk, p. 8.

7. Testimony of A. Bordiukov, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 124.

8. Testimony of Emma Kudrianovich, p. 115.

9. Testimony of Issak Bruk, pp. 6–7.

10. YVA, M-40, MAP/103, p. 28.

11. Yeremenko, *V nachale voiny*, pp. 445–455.

12. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, 5:62.

13. Testimony of A. Bordiukov, pp. 124–125.

14. Abramov, "Gitlerovskie liudoedy," p. 2.

15. Testimony of Vera Fainshtein, p. 118; testimony of M. L'vin, p. 3; and testimony of Issak Bruk, pp. 10–11.

16. GASmO, R-2434-3-36, p. 55.

17. Ibid., p. 57

18. A. Bordiukov, "Litso velizhskikh banditov," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 126.

VYRITSA

Pre-1941: Vyritsa, town, Gatchina raion, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Wyritsa, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Vyritsa, Russian Federation

Vyritsa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south-southeast of Leningrad. In 1926, there were 49 Jews living in Vyritsa, and in 1939, the census recorded 138 Jews, representing 1.2 percent of the total population of the town.[1]

German forces of Army Group North captured the settlement on August 31, 1941, more than two months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the East, and the eligible males were required to report for military service in the Red Army. About one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Vyritsa at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a local council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Kommandantur ordered the council to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various types of heavy labor. In October or November 1941, all the remaining Jews in the settlement were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, for which a barn was allocated. This ghetto contained around 50 people. German security forces soon liquidated the

ghetto, probably in November 1941, when all the Jews were shot in the forest outside the town.[2]

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Vyritsa can be found in the following archives: GALO and GARF (7021-30-242).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1418; and Mondechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 30.
2. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101.

YESSENTUKI

Pre-1942: Yessentuki, town, Ordzhonikidze krai, RSFSR; August 1942–January 1943: Jessentuki, Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Yessentuki, Stavropol' Krai, Russian Federation

Yessentuki is located about 150 kilometers (93 miles) southeast of Stavropol'. According to the 1939 population census, there were 581 Jews living in the town.[1] After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jewish population initially decreased, as men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. However, about 1,500 Jews—out of several thousand Jews who were evacuated at the start of the war from the western regions of the USSR to the northern Caucasus—arrived in the town, and most were unable to flee in the summer of 1942 due to the rapidity of the German advance.

On August 11, 1942, German armed forces occupied Yessentuki. Throughout the town's occupation, which lasted until January 11, 1943, a German military administration ran the town. In August 1942, the Ortskommandant in Yessentuki was Oberstleutnant von Beck. The German military created a town administration and an auxiliary police force, recruited from among local residents.

The murder of the Jews of the town was organized by the Security Police of Einsatzkommando 12 (Einsatzgruppe D). This detachment was stationed in Piatigorsk, and it was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Wiens, who went missing from the military at the end of the war.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, Ortskommandant von Beck ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council, or Judenrat, which consisted of five members. The Judenrat was responsible for carrying out the registration of all the Jews in the town. The results indicated 507 able-bodied Jews and around 1,500 deemed unfit to work, including children and elderly people.[2] Other regulations excluded Jews from receiving bread rations, and able-bodied Jews were exploited for various kinds of heavy physical labor, including the cleaning of military hospitals. On September 7, 1942, all Jews except those in mixed marriages were ordered to appear on September 9 at a school on the outskirts of the town, on the pretext of being resettled to sparsely populated areas. Most of those who obeyed the instruction were taken out in the early morning of September 10, 1942, and murdered in an antitank ditch near the glass factory at Mineral'nye Vody.[3]

It appears from the sparse information available that the several hundred able-bodied Jews in Yessentuki were temporarily spared and returned to the school building, which may have served as a form of remnent ghetto or labor camp for six more weeks. According to one source, this camp was liquidated on October 29, 1942, when 483 Jews were shot in a nearby forest. About 15 Jews from mixed marriages were excluded from the antisemitic measures and survived in Yessentuki, although these people also went into hiding during the last days of German occupation, fearing that the Germans might kill them too before they retreated.[4]

SOURCES Published accounts on the fate of the Jews in Yessentuki during the brief German occupation include Vasilii Grossman and Il'ya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga o zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lagerakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 279–280—available in English as *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine] (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); and I. Al'tman and Sh. Krakovskii, *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem, Moscow, 1993), pp. 389–390—published in English translation by Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 271–272.

Relevant documentary sources can be found in the following archives: GARF; Sta. Mü I (119c Js 12/69); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. "Yessentuki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:434.
2. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 279–280; A. Tol'stoi, "Korichnevyi Durman," *Pravda*, August 5, 1943. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 618, names the head of the Jewish Council as the physician Grigory Konievich; but other sources state it was a Jewish lawyer.
3. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 279–280. According to A. Tol'stoi, the extermination of the Jews took place on the night of September 6–7, 1942.
4. Testimony of the artist L.H. Tarabukin and his daughter D. Gol'dshtein, published in Al'tman and Krakovskii,

Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga, pp. 389–390; I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 94, 100, 101, 273, 281. In nearby Kislovodsk, the Germans also temporarily kept alive a few cobblers and tailors; see Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 269.

ZAKHARINO

Pre-1941: Zakharino, village in the Khislavichi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Zacharino, Chislawitschi Rayon, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Novoe Zhakarino, Russian Federation

Zakharino is located a few kilometers to the southeast of Khislavichi. In 1925, there were 550 Jews living in Zakharino, representing 92 percent of the village's population. In the 1930s, Zakharino was Jewish national sel'sovet within the Khislavichi raion.[1] By 1941, the number of Jews had dropped to only about 275,[2] primarily as a result of the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German forces captured the village on August 1, 1941, more than one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a few Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were required to report for military service in the Red Army. More than 90 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, a German military administration was responsible for the Chislawitschi Rayon, including the village of Zakharino. The German administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various forced labor tasks such as clearing snow in winter. During the first weeks of occupation, Germans stole poultry and would humiliate Jews by forcing them to fetch water from the well, then pouring it away. Later Germans came from Khislavichi and shot into Jewish homes, killing several Jews. In another incident, two fat Germans forced a Jew to pull them on a cart through the village, as if he were a horse, before they hanged him on an old broom tree.[3]

The Germans established a Judenrat in Zakharino, which was responsible for passing on German orders and regulations to the Jewish population. In October 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, for which several streets were designated.[4]

A number of Jews arrived in Zakharino who had fled from towns in Belorussia, including Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mstislavl'. According to one fugitive, the Jewish children in Mstislavl' had been buried alive. After hearing such stories, the Jews of Zakharino lived in fear. German Gendarmes and local collaborators periodically entered the Jews' houses to conduct searches. During these searches, they robbed items, raped girls, beat people, and dragged away Jewish men for purposes unknown. In February 1942, a large punitive squad arrived and ordered the Jews to pile up their clothing, cooking utensils, and bed linen in several designated huts. The Germans then transported away these vitally needed possessions in the depth of winter.[5]

The ghetto existed until May 9, 1942, when German security forces liquidated it by shooting all the Jews. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, there were more than 260 victims, of which the names are known for about 215 people.[6] After the Aktion, local policemen continued to search for Jews hiding in nearby villages and in the forests, as they received the victims' clothes and several packets of tobacco as a reward from the commandant for every Jew they brought in. These Jews would be escorted to the ravine and shot. Very few Jews from the village survived. The Germans took away the remaining horses and cows and set fire to the village just before their retreat. The Red Army liberated Zakharino on September 27, 1943.[7]

SOURCES A personal account describing the fate of the Jews in Zakharino, prepared by a Russian woman who was married to a Jew, can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 386–397.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Zakharino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-634 and 8114-1-960); GASmO; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Zakharino," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2000), 4:475.
2. According to the 1939 census, there were 292 Jews living at that time in the Khislavichi raion (excluding Khislavichi); most of them lived in Zakharino.
3. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 387–388.
4. I. Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:475.
5. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 388–389.
6. I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 475–477. See also "The Jews of Zakharino, Chislavichi District of Smolensk Region, Russia, Shot by the Nazis on May 9, 1942," compiled by Shlomo Gurevich, available at www.jewishgen.org/belarus/jews_of_zakharino.htm, which includes an English translation of the list of names with gender and ages from a copy of the ChGK report held at YVA; and "Zakharino," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1483. Ibid., Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 393, however, estimates the number of victims at around 500.
7. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 393–397.

ZLYNKA

Pre-1941: Zlynka, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Slynka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zlynka, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Zlynka is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Gomel' on the highway to Briansk, which lies 200 kilometers (124 miles) to the east-northeast. The town lies close to the point where the borders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus now meet. The 1939 census indicated a decline in the town's Jewish population to 432 (5 percent of the total). This reduction was primarily due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German troops of Army Group Center occupied Zlynka on August 25, 1941, two months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. The morning that the war started, a loudspeaker announced the news, leading to a general panic. Frightened residents quickly bought as many groceries as they could afford, causing long lines to form. People also exchanged items of clothing to obtain food. At the same time, young people volunteered or were mobilized for the front. During the intervening period before the Germans arrived, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Slightly more than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, approximately 230 in total.[1]

During the entire period of the occupation until September 26, 1943, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a town council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. Soon after the occupation, the town council organized the registration and marking of the Jews with stars on their chests, as well as the recruitment of Jews for various forms of heavy labor.

In early September 1941, in the first Aktion against the Jews of Zlynka, Sonderkommando 7b arrested 27 Jewish men as alleged "terrorists." The men were taken about 10 or 15 kilometers (6 or 9 miles) outside the town and shot.[2] Shortly after this, by October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto about 3 kilometers (almost 2 miles) outside the town on the premises of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS).[3] The Zlynka ghetto existed for around four months. A few Jews who had fled from other towns, including Novozybkov and Gomel', were also settled within the Zlynka ghetto.[4] The ghetto was composed of two barracks, a few nearby houses, and a bathhouse. The rabbi lived in one of the houses. There was a Jewish elder in charge of the ghetto who organized the collection of valuables and other items demanded by the Germans. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, but the Jews were forbidden to leave. Due to severe hunger in the ghetto, sometimes Jews would remove their stars and sneak into nearby villages where local inhabitants gave them food. Some young people in the ghetto celebrated the New Year in 1942 with a tree, music, and singing.[5]

On February 15, 1942,[6] German-led security forces liquidated the ghetto. When the German and Russian police first arrived and surrounded the ghetto, many Jews gathered in an apartment to pray.[7] All the remaining Jews were shot and buried in a pit; the total number of victims was 190. The alleged pretext for the ghetto's destruction was that the Jews had established contact with the partisans, after 12 Jews from Zlynka had joined Soviet partisans operating in the region.[8] However, the German Einsatzgruppen had instructions to murder all Jews in the region. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (Trupp Schulz) probably organized the liquidation of the ghetto, but local witnesses mention that local Russian police also participated in the shooting. During the Aktion, one boy vehemently maintained that his parents were Russian, but nobody paid attention to his pleading, and he was shot together with the others.[9]

SOURCES Published sources mentioning the destruction of the Jews of Zlynka include *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788; and Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 263.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-4); RGVA (500-1-770); USHMM; and VHF (# 37382 and 38878).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 37382, interview with Mikhail Liubkin, May 30, 1997; Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 96.
2. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941; VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
3. GARF, 7021-19-4, pp. 11–12; and VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
4. VHF, # 37382, interview with Mikhail Liubkin, May 30, 1997.
5. Ibid., # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
6. GARF, 7021-19-4, p. 3.
7. VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
8. See RGVA, 500-1-770, report of Einsatzgruppe B, March 1, 1942, on its activities from February 16 to 28, 1942.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788. This source cites only 60–70 Jews and Communists as victims and is uncertain as to the date of the Aktion. Also see Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti*, p. 263.

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SECTION VIII

GERMAN-OCCUPIED GREECE

Following Germany's invasion of Greece from the north in April 1941, in support of its ailing Italian Axis partner, German forces secured control of the Greek mainland by early May 1941. Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria then partitioned Greece into three occupation zones. The Italians became responsible for the bulk of mainland Greece until the surrender of Italian forces in September 1943. The Bulgarians were awarded a strip of territory in the northeast, comprising part of Macedonia and much of Thrace. To the east of this Bulgarian sector there was a small strip along the border with Turkey, which remained under German control. The main block of German-occupied land lay in the center of northern Greece, around the city of Thessalonikē. The Germans were also responsible for Athens and a small area around it, for several islands in the Aegean Sea, and also for most of Crete.

Until September 1943, the German administration in occupied Greece consisted initially of the theater command Military Commander Southeast (Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber Südosten), which was exercised by Army High Command 12 (Armeeoberkommando 12). At the start of 1943, Army Group E (Heeresgruppe E) took over this responsibility. Directly in charge of the area around Thessalonikē was the commander for the Thessalonikē-Aegean region (Befehlshaber Saloniki-Ägäis). Under his authority, the German officer primarily responsible for occupation policy in Thessalonikē was Kriegsverwaltungsrat Colonel Dr. Max Merten.

German SD officers subordinated to Adolf Eichmann ordered the establishment of a ghetto consisting of three sections in Thessalonikē in March 1943. No other ghettos were created in German-occupied Greece. Following ghettoization, almost all the Jews of this ancient city were deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp within six months. Northern Greece was liberated by Allied forces at the end of 1944, although on some of the islands, German forces held out until May 1945.

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THESSALONIKĒ



The adult Jewish male population of Thessalonikē is assembled at Eleftheria (Freedom) Square by German troops, July 11, 1942.
USHMM WS #33097, COURTESY OF DAVID SION

THESSALONIKĒ (AKA SELÂNIK OR SALONIKI)

Pre-1940: Thessalonikē, city, Macedonia periferias, Greece; 1941–1944: Salonika, capital, Besatzungszone Saloniki-Ägäis; post-1945: Thessaloniki, capital, Thessaloniki prefecture and Central Macedonia periferias, Greece

Thessalonikē is located about 300 kilometers (186 miles) north-northwest of Athens. The Jewish population of the city in 1940 was about 50,000.

The German army entered Thessalonikē on April 9, 1941. In the first 10 days the German authorities closed down Jewish community offices, shut down the Jewish press, and imprisoned the Jewish communal council and other community leaders. Immediately thereafter, they confiscated their communal archives, which contained community and member financial data. In a separate operation, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg scoured Thessalonikē's Jewish libraries and archives, seizing property and sending it back to the Reich. Thessalonikē's chief rabbi, Tzevi Koretz, was arrested in Athens and transported to the Gestapo prison, Hotel Metropole, in Vienna. He returned to Thessalonikē in February 1942.[1]

Until July 1942, the German authorities did not implement racist legislation against Thessalonikē's Jews. However, in April 1941, some Thessalonians initiated the placement of signs forbidding entry to Jews, stating that their presence was unwelcome in all restaurants and coffee shops in the city. From the outset, the Germans permitted only antisemitic newspapers. The new newspaper *Nea Europi* (*New Europe*) joined the already established, pro-German *Apoyevmatini* in publishing scurrilous, defamatory, and historically inaccurate articles against Thessalonikē's Jews. Local rumors spread of a secret referendum, according to which the Thessalonians importuned the German authorities to apply racial legislation. The German officer who became responsible for the city of Thessalonikē in August of 1942, Kriegsverwaltungsrat (KVR) for the Saloniki-Aegean Theater, Colonel Dr. Max Merten, referred to this rumor to blackmail the Jews.

In July 1942, General Kurt von Krenzski ordered all Jewish males, aged 18 to 45, except for Italian or Spanish passport holders, to appear at Freedom Square (Plateia Eleftherias) at 8:00 A.M. on Saturday, July 11, threatening dire penalties for nonconformity. The Jews soon found out they were to be used in forced labor for military work and road construction. Dozens of Greek municipal employees under German supervision registered some 6,000 to 9,000 Jews.[2] During this assembly the German authorities mistreated and humiliated the Jews, with beatings, penal exercises, and assaults by guard dogs. In the days that followed, the men received cursory medical examinations by Greek physicians. By September 1942, some 2,000 to 3,000 Jewish laborers were engaged in building military roads, under the supervision of the German Müller construction firm. From the outset, living conditions were so bad that medical assistance was needed immediately. The forced laborers worked for more than 10 hours a day, primarily in quarries. Physical abuse was routine. Summer heat, malaria, and the lack of basic hygiene contributed to the spread of epidemics. The first dead engendered uproar in Thessalonikē's Jewish community and prompted immediate intervention.

From August 20, 1942, the task of relieving the hard-pressed forced laborers fell, with the agreement of Merten and Müller, on the Jewish community's Central Coordinating Committee for Welfare Works. Exempted from forced labor were men who fell into the categories of sole breadwinners and high school or university students, while exemptions could be purchased for a minimum of 1 million drachmas. It is estimated that in its first 20 days of operation the liaison office drafted 3,000 new laborers, established buyout fees for 500 draftees, and exempted 6,000 students plus 1,000 others. The buyouts raised approximately 7.5 billion drachmas, held in trust by the Jewish community.

Meanwhile, Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi construction organization, dispatched Jewish laborers to various sites in Chalkidiki. The OT work supervisors' savagery resulted in escapes, arrests, and on-the-spot executions. Due to the high number of deaths, the Central Coordinating Committee sent Yomtov Yakoel to visit the works in Gida, Methoni, Aghios Dimitrios, and elsewhere with Müller and Greek General Lavranos. So shaken was Yakoel that he wrote a report, contrasting the peasants' compassion with the OT's cruelty. After witnessing the forced laborers' miserable condition, Müller proposed the replacement of Jewish workers by non-Jewish road builders. He estimated that if an amount of 2 billion drachmas could be collected from the Jewish workers' buyout fees, it would suffice to pay the non-Jewish workers' wages. Merten endorsed the idea of replacing the Jewish workers but raised the ransom to 3.5 billion drachmas. Meanwhile, Koretz, recently released from a second stint in German custody, and the committee members replied that they could not collect this huge sum in such a limited time. Merten thereupon recommended that the Jewish community pay 2 billion drachmas in cash; the balance was to be taken in the form of the



A German corporal leads three Jewish men in forced calesthenics at Eleftheria (Freedom) Square in Thessalonikē, July 11, 1942.
USHMM WS #33097, COURTESY OF DAVID SION

Jewish community relinquishing its claims to the Jewish cemetery, which was to be used for military purposes. In responding to Merten's blackmail the committee members wrote that an amount of 2 billion drachmas could be collected and that it was up to Merten to decide whether military considerations necessitated the Jewish cemetery's destruction.

Acting on a request by Macedonian General Governor Vassilis Simonidis, the Thessalonikē-Aegean military command sent a letter to the Jewish community to collaborate with the municipality in the Jewish cemetery's transfer, which like the Greek Orthodox cemetery was located in the city's center. But the 10 days allotted to relocate the remains were insufficient to perform such a huge operation, as the old cemetery measured 350,000 square meters (86.5 acres) and contained nearly 300,000 graves. On December 6, 1942, the municipality dispatched thousands of workers who destroyed the cemetery, in the process ignoring German instructions to set aside certain tombs of high archaeological and historical value. The municipality used the tombstones to repair sidewalks and the Church of St. Demetrius and to build a swimming pool for German officers. The cemetery's demolition was a political, not a military, act, since Merten thought it would bring the non-Jewish population over to his side. Destroying the Jewish cemetery, subsequently the site of the Aristotelian University of Thessalonikē, completed the city's Hellenization.

In December 1942, Chief Rabbi Dr. Tzevi Koretz replaced Sabi Saltiel as head of the Jewish community. In the early months of 1943, Koretz served as de facto Jewish elder over the communal council and from February had to meet twice weekly with representatives from the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo). Appointed chief rabbi of Thessalonikē in 1932, his behavior as Jewish community president during the Holocaust prompted accusations of collaboration, but subsequent historical accounts have begun to reassess his role. Indeed, Koretz's name headed a list of Jewish collaborators drawn up after the war and submitted to the Special Court of Thessalonikē.[3] In a memoir secretly written during the deportations, Yakoel blamed Koretz for moral blindness: "At the head of this multifarious and multifaceted organization [the communal council] stood the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Koretz, occupying himself personally, from morning till late at night, with the smallest and least important details, neglecting the examination of the greater problem: the fate that awaited the Jewry of Salonika."[4] A Polish Jew, Koretz held a doctorate from the University of Vienna and spoke German, Greek, and Spanish. As historian Minna Rozen has recently argued, he was a useful scapegoat for the Sephardic community: not only was he viewed as an Ashkenazi outsider, but his uncovering of financial irregularities that implicated the community's leaders in the mid-1930s created lasting enemies. As historian Steven Bowman has argued, it is difficult to imagine how another community leader could have done any more than Koretz, given the impossible situation the Germans created.



A British army lieutenant colonel views tombstones from the desecrated Jewish cemetery in Thessalonikē, November 11, 1944. The official caption reads, "Indian Units arrived by sea at Salonika on 11th Nov., 1944. A German strongpoint, with slit trenches lined with tombstones from Jewish graves. In the background can be seen the concrete emplacement adjoining the slit trenches."
USHMM WS #49979, COURTESY OF JOSEPH EATON

In January 1943, SS-Sturmbannführer Rolf Günther of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) IV B 4 (Jewish Affairs) arrived to prepare for the destruction of Thessalonikē's Jews. At Adolf Eichmann's behest, he demanded the compilation of a historical, demographic, and economic report on the Jewish community and its members.[5] Following Günther's mission, on February 6, 1943, Eichmann's specialists, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny and SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner, came to Thessalonikē. Requisitioning a Jewish house at 42 Velissariou Street, near the Jewish community offices, they established the headquarters for the Special Detachment for Jewish Matters of the Security Police Saloniki-Aegean (Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten der Sicherheitspolizei, Saloniki-Ägäis). Early accounts of the Holocaust in Thessalonikē erroneously referred to their mission as the "Rosenberg Kommando." At the International Military Tribunal, Wisliceny self-servingly testified that Brunner handled the "technical" (i.e., railway) aspects of the "Final Solution" and therefore did not answer to him.[6]

The destruction process in Thessalonikē took only five weeks from the badging order to ghetto formation and the first deportation. In carrying out the Final Solution, as historian Hans Safrian points out, Eichmann's team got vital assistance from the Wehrmacht, in particular Merten, whose signature appeared on many orders. On February 6, Wisliceny and Brunner ordered that Jews not carrying a foreign passport had to wear the yellow star from age five and for all Jewish property to be marked with Greek and German labels. Additionally, the order required the Jews to move to certain

defined areas (ghettos) by March 6, 1943, while all other areas were barred to them.[7] These laws restricted the Jews' movement and simultaneously forbade their entry into cafés and travel by tram or motor vehicle and mandated their return to the ghetto before sundown. Failure to obey these orders resulted in on-the-spot shooting.

The short notice given to implement the measures prompted community leaders to ask Merten for more time, but to no avail. The Jews had to register all belongings and to submit household goods to the occupation authorities. The communal council worked indefatigably to move 7,500 families, who formerly lived throughout the city's neighborhoods, to the confines of three ghettos.

Three predominantly Jewish areas served as ghettos in Thessalonikē. From north to south, the first "ghetto," known as Baron Hirsch, comprised the Aghia Paraskevi quarter, the Regie Vardar and surrounding streets, and the Baron Hirsch quarter. Some accounts do not classify Baron Hirsch as a ghetto at all but as a concentration or transit camp. In 1939, the Baron Hirsch quarter comprised an area of 30,000 square meters (7.4 acres) and 593 rooms. In 1940, new housing facilities were built in the Aghia Paraskevi quarter for homeless Jews. Although the three areas were in close proximity, they were not adjacent but are still considered a single ghetto. A label in German, Greek, and Judeo-Spanish identified the Baron Hirsch ghetto's three exits, two leading to two different streets and one to the adjacent freight railway station from where the deportation trains left. E.D. Gebin, a young Nazi, headed the transit camp, and Vitali Hasson served as his interpreter.

Further south, the second ghetto, Syngrou, was in the center and northwest side of the city and was named after the Monasteriote Synagogue on Syngrou Street. It formed a parallelogram with Egnatia Avenue in the west, the Chalkeon Square in the south, the Kyverneion Street in the east, up to the "Viozah" factory and the Langada Street in the north. The third ghetto was situated in the center and southeast of the city in the Campagnas district (Greek: Exoches) and extended in the west from Vassilissis Sofias Avenue to Vassileos Georgiou Avenue, Evzonon Street in the north, and 25 Martiou Street to the south, including the Kalamaria working-class district in the east to Papaphi Street.

Non-Jews continued to reside in the Syngrou and Campagnas ghettos, while Jewish domiciles were marked with black Stars of David. Jewish houses situated along the ghettos' peripheries were likewise marked with black Stars of David. Many Jews who did not find rooms to rent had to move in with family members who lived in the areas prior to their ghettoization. Non-Jewish policemen and Jewish volunteers wearing yellow armbands inscribed "Jüdischer Ordnerdienst" (Jewish Order Police; Greek: *politofylakes*) guarded ghetto entrances.[8] The Jewish militia chief was Salis, a former Greek army officer from Chalkis. Vitali Hasson's right-hand man, Iossef (Jacques) Albala, like Hasson notorious for brutalizing fellow Jews, was assigned the post of Jewish Police chief by Eichmann's Sonderkommando. He organized the 250 members of the Jewish Police and reported daily to the Gestapo. The German authorities' numerous restrictions, effectively turning the Jews into prisoners, drove some to disguise themselves, leave the ghettos, and flee to the Italian occupation zone and Athens by train. Most Jews, however, followed Koretz's instructions for strict obedience to German orders.

As of March 1, 1943, the Jews were required to register their personal property for statistical purposes. From March 6 they were strictly forbidden to leave the ghetto, and all exits were guarded by German police (Schutzpolizei, Schupo) and Greek police. During the first weekend after enclosure, they went hungry until the communal council was able to distribute some food. Relief came from soup kitchens organized at the beginning of the occupation by certain community leaders and from members of Matanoth Laevionim (Gifts to the Needy, an association founded in 1901 by a group of Jewish leaders and doctors that established several soup kitchens). These organizations were subsequently able to distribute up to 5,000 portions daily, thanks to help from the International and Hellenic Red Cross.

The Baron Hirsch ghetto's proximity to the railway station meant that its 2,315 inhabitants were among the first deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp. The first transport also included 85 Jews from the village of Langadas and from the Campagnas ghetto. Among the Campagnas ghetto families were the Kounios, who, as fluent German speakers, became interpreters. On March 17, the Aghia Paraskevi's inhabitants were deported, after which came Regie Vardar's turn. After March 19, when the Aghia Paraskevi–Regie Vardar–Baron Hirsch areas were emptied, the Baron Hirsch quarter became a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for the remaining Jews in Thessalonikē. The camp was fenced in by high wooden boards reinforced by barbed wire and guarded by machine guns.

Every couple of days the Germans marched approximately 3,000 Jews to the Baron Hirsch camp from either of the two remaining ghettos, from which they were quickly deported. Most convoys consisted of 40 goods wagons designed to hold no more than 40 men each. Yet the Germans managed to cram up to 70 to 80 people in each, with at least 2,800 per convoy. Deaths occurring in the Baron Hirsch camp and during the deportation went unrecorded. Of the 19 convoys that left from Thessalonikē between March 15 and August 10, 1943, 5 left from March 15 to 27, 9 from April 3 to 28, and 2 in May. According to statistics provided by Hellenic Railways, 42,830 people were deported by May 9.

Koretz unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Greek authorities, including the collaborationist prime minister Ioannis Rallis, to intervene. This attempt led to his third imprisonment, this time in the Baron Hirsch camp.[9] Some 150 Thessalonikē jurists protested against the deportations and submitted a petition to request that the convoys would be diverted to other parts of Greek territory. The intelligentsia of Athens, including Archbishop Damaskinos, also tried to intercede in favor of the Jews.

In the last two major convoys of May 1943, 2,034 Jews from the smaller communities of Florina, Veria, Didymoticho, Soufli, and Nea Orestiada were included since these towns were

part of the Thessalonikē-Aegean occupation zone. Another 820 "privileged" Jews—communal council members and collaborators—departed on June 1 not for Terezín (Theresienstadt), as was rumored, but for Auschwitz II-Birkenau.

Some 74 Greek Jewish communal leaders, including Koretz and his family, and another 367 Jews of Spanish citizenship were deported to the Bergen-Belsen camp on August 2.[10] (Koretz died of typhus in June 1945.) Finally, on August 10 the last convoy with 1,800 Jewish slave laborers, dispatched in March 1943 to repair the railway's north-south Boetia line, was also deported to Auschwitz.

With the exception of some escapees who joined the Greek resistance or hid in cities of the Italian Zone with the help of non-Jewish friends, a few Turkish Jewish citizens, and others who escaped to Palestine, the only ones to escape the German "Final Solution" were several hundred Spanish and Italian Jews who had the right of repatriation. But the Spanish Jews had to hand over their valuables before being deported to Bergen-Belsen, while the Italian Jews were sent to Athens.[11]

Nineteen convoys consisting of 45,891 people left the city within five months. Of those, 37,387 were gassed on arrival in Auschwitz II-Birkenau; most of the others died in forced labor at Auschwitz. At the end of August 1943, Thessalonikē, the Jerusalem of the Balkans, with more than 2,000 years of active Jewish life, had become *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). Only 4 percent of the Jews living in Thessalonikē in 1940 returned after the war.

Documentation from various diplomatic consulates and from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) underscored the German authorities' difficulty in keeping word of the Thessalonikē Jews' fate from the outside world. Not only did the U.S. State Department gather testimony about the deportations from Turkish Jewish returnees in Istanbul, but consuls representing Axis and neutral governments, including Lucillo Merci of Italy, were able to gather detailed information on the Eichmann Sonderkommando's decrees within days of their issuance.[12] Especially well informed was Fridolin Jenny, the former Swiss consul in Thessalonikē, who repeatedly dispatched reports to Geneva, pleading for relief for Thessalonikē's Jews.[13]

To date, Alois Brunner has escaped justice for his role in the Holocaust, but the Czechoslovakian government executed Dieter Wisliceny in 1948. In 1957, chief Greek prosecutor Andreas Toussis had Max Merten arrested during the latter's visit to Athens. Charged with 15 counts of extortion and murder, Merten was found guilty of most charges and condemned to 25 years' imprisonment, but he only served a minimum of his sentence in Greece: the government of Konstantine Karamanlis released him as soon as it was politically convenient to do so, in the name of preserving good trade relations with West Germany. In 1945, the Thessalonikē Special Court, formed to try collaborators, convened two trials against the journalists of *Apoyevmatini* and *Nea Europi*, which led to many convictions. The most important Jewish collaborator to be tried in Thessalonikē was Vitali Hasson, who was executed in 1946.

SOURCES To date there is not a monograph-length study of the Thessalonikē ghettos. The following secondary sources address aspects of these ghettos and the destruction of Thessalonikē's Jewish community: Andrew Apostolou, "'The Exception of Salonika': Bystanders and Collaborators in Northern Greece," *HGS* 14:2 (Fall 2000): 165–196; Joseph Ben, "Jewish Leadership in Greece during the Holocaust: Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe," *Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979): 335–352; Rika Benveniste, ed., *I Evraioi tis Ellados stin katochi* (Thessalonikē: Vanias, 1998); Steven B. Bowman, *The Agony of Greek Jews, 1940–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Steven B. Bowman, "Greek Jews and Christians during World War II," in Yehuda Bauer et al., eds., *Remembering the Future: Working Papers and Addenda, Jews and Christians during and after the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 215–223; Gila Hadar, "Space and Time in Thessalonikē on the Eve of World War II and the Expulsion and Extermination of Thessalonikē Jewry (1939–1943)" [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moreshet* 82 (October 2006): 9–37; Eleni Haidia, "The Punishment of Collaborators in Northern Greece, 1945–1946," in Mark Mazower, ed., *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 42–61; Michael Matsas, *The Illusion of Safety: The Story of the Greek Jews during the Second World War* (New York: Pella, 1997); Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Michael Molho, "El cemeterio Judio de Thessaloniki, verdadero museo epigráfico, historico y arqueológico," *Sefarad*, no. 9 (1949): 1–24; Michael Molho and Joseph Nehama, *In Memoriam: Hommage aux victimes juives des Nazis en Grèce*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonikē: Communauté Israélite de Thessalonique, 1988); Bernard Pierron, *Juifs et Chrétiens de la Grèce moderne: Histoire des relations intercommunautaires de 1821 à 1945*, preface by Vidal Séphiha (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Minna Rozen, "Jews and Greeks Remember Their Past: The Political Career of Tzevi Koretz (1933–43)," *Jewish Social Studies History, Culture, and Society* 12:1 (Fall 2005): 111–166; Minna Rozen, ed., *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans, 1808–1945*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002); Hans Safrian, *Eichmann und seine Gehilfen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995), also available in English as *Eichmann's Men*, trans. Ute Stargardt (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2010); and Susanne-Sophia Spiliotis, "'An Affair of Politics, Not Justice': The Merten Trial (1957–1959) and Greek-German Relations," in Mazower, *After the War Was Over*, pp. 293–302.

Published primary sources on Thessalonikē begin with the collection of German documents, with French translations, found in Molho and Nehama, *In Memoriam*. Wisliceny's self-serving testimony on Thessalonikē at Nuremberg may be found in International Military Tribunal, ed., *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nuremberg, 1967), vol. 4, pp. 363–367. Additional sources may be found in Irith Dublon-Knebel, ed., *German Foreign Office Documents on the Holocaust in Greece (1937–1944)* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, 2007); and Alexandros Kitroeff, "The Jews in Greece,

1941–1944: Eyewitness Accounts," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 12:3 (1985): 5–32. The latter consists of U.S. diplomatic and intelligence documents, some of which pertain to Thessalonikē. A useful published diary is Joseph Rochlitz, ed., "Excerpts from the Salonika Diary of Lucillo Merci (February–August 1943)," introduction by Menachem Shelach, *Yad Vashem Studies* 18 (1987): 293–323. An important collection of published testimonies by Yomtov Yakoel, Isaac Aaron Matarasso, and Salomon Mair Uziel is Steven Bowman, ed., *The Holocaust in Salonika: Eyewitness Accounts*, trans. Isaac Benmayor (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 2002). Another significant testimony is Jacques Stroumsa, *Violinist in Auschwitz: From Salonica to Jerusalem, 1913–1967*, trans. James Stuart Brice, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartnung-Gorre, 1996). Also see Renee Levine Melammed, "The Memoirs of a Partisan from Salonika," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* 7 (Spring 2004): 151–173. A compelling open letter by an anonymous witness to the unfolding deportations in Thessalonikē, unfortunately of unknown provenance, may be found in Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Shoah*, trans. Marice Tszorf, foreword by Yehuda Bauer (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2006), pp. 106–108.

Major archival holdings on Thessalonikē may be found in A-ICRC, CAHJP, JCTh, and YVA. At USHMM, major collections on Thessalonikē include RG-11.001M.21 (ERR, microfilmed from RGVA); RG-11.001M.51 (Records of the Jewish Community of Saloniki, Greece, microfilmed from RGVA); RG-19.045M (ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews=Israélites, 1939–1961); RG-45.001 (Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jewish Collection, 1885–1957); and the digitized ITS holdings, especially 01 (CNI) and 1.1.47.1 (Various Concentration Camps [VCC]). The USHMMPA has an extensive collection of photographs relating to the public humiliation of Jews at Freedom Square.

Rena Molho and Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. On Koretz's imprisonment in Vienna, see the CNI card for his cell mate, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb, USHMM, ITS Collection 0.1, document No. 23040595; and Hinko Gottlieb, *The Key to the Great Gate: A Novel*, trans. Fred Bolman and Ruth Morris, illustrated by Sam Fischer (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), p. 4, which integrates portions of his experience in captivity, including his time as cell mate with Dr. Tzevi Koretz in the Vienna city jail.

2. See the panoramic photograph of the assembly, USHMMPA, WS #33097 (Courtesy of David Sion), July 11, 1942.

3. "Salonika Jews Sponsor Trial of Collaborators (1945)," available at www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org.

4. Quoted in *The Memoir of Yomtov Yacoel*, reprinted in Bowman, *The Holocaust in Salonika*, p. 120.

5. The reports for Günther were probably based on JCTh (unclassified documents in a private collection), Daoud Levy, "Notas Historicas sovre la Communidad Judia de Thessaloniki, 1870–1940" (unpub. MSS, 1942); Daoud Levy, "Peri proelefsseos merous tis akinitou perioussias tis Israilitikis Kinotitos tis Thessalonikis" (Of the origin of part of the real estate property of the Jewish community of Thessalonikē), trans. D. Benveniste (unpub. MSS, 1942).

6. IMT, *TMWC*, vol. 4, p. 363 (quotation).

7. Befehlshaber Saloniki-Ägäis Abteilung Militärverwaltung (Merten) an die Jüdische Kultusgemeinden Saloniki, February 6, 1943, reproduced in Molho and Nehama, *In Memoriam*, p. 151.

8. For Jüdische Ordnerpolizei, see the stamps on Passierschein zwecks Entlassung eines Häftlings aus dem Judenlager "Baron Hirsch," May 25, 1943, USHMM, ITS Collection, 1.1.47.1 (VCC).

9. Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten der Sicherheitspolizei, Saloniki-Ägäis, April 15, 1943, Wisliceny, to Commander Saloniki-Ägäis KVR Merten re: Chief Rabbi Tzevi Koretz; Deutsche Generalkonsulat, signed Dr. Schönburg (no. 2933391 and 2933392), April 6, 1943, to Wisliceny, for Plenipotentiary Günther Altenburg for the Reich in Athens, both in YVA, Microfilm Doc. no. 2933300, Stamped 8002527.

10. CNI for Dr. Heinrich [*sic*] Koretz ("Chief Rabbi of Greece" [*sic*]), USHMM, ITS Collection 0.1, Document ID 28176883; Verschiedene Gefangenenlisten, die von Hilfs-Komitees 1944/1945 aufgestellt wurden, ferner eine Nachkriegsaufstellung betreffend Patienten im kath. Krankenhaus Celle und eine 1954 mit Begleitschreiben WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS übersandte Liste (Nachkriegsaufstellungen), ITS Collection 1.1.3.1, Document ID 3393870.

11. Sonderkommando der Sicherheitspolizei für Judenangelegenheiten Saloniki-Aegaeis, Wisliceny, to Generalkonsul of Saloniki, Dr. Schönburg, June 1, 1943, attached to Dr. Schönburg's letter forwarding the above on June 2, 1943, to Deutsche Gesandtschaft Athens, concerning a list of Jews with citizenship of enemy powers, both in YVA.

12. On Turkish Jews as witnesses to the deportations, see, for example, U.S. Consulate-General, Istanbul, to State Department, Report no. 1083 (R-992), August 7, 1943, reproduced in Kitroeff, "Documents: The Jews in Greece", 18; and Joseph Rochlitz, ed., "Excerpts," in *YVS* 18 (1987): 300 (entry for February 19, 1943).

13. See, for example, Fridolin Jenny to M. Schwarzenberg, March 18, 1943, USHMM, RG-19.045M, ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews=Israélites, 1939–1961, reel 12, G59/8/53–341, "Déportés de Salonique, 11.02.1943-20.01.1950," frames 0702–0703.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Documents), Warsaw
Abt.	Abteilung (section)
ÄdJ	Ältestenrat der Juden (Jewish Council of Elders)
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (German General Electric Co.)
AEL	Arbeitserziehungslager (work education or discipline camp)
AFSBNO	Arkhiv FSB Novgorodskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service for the Novgorod Oblast')
AFSBSmO	Arkhiv FSB Smolenskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service for the Smolensk Oblast')
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public company)
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Central Archive of Historical Records), Warsaw
AgB	Akta gminy Białobrzegi (Files of the community of Białobrzegi)
AGK	Archiwum Głównej Komisji (Main Commission Archives; also IPN)
A-HIS	Archiv des Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung (Archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research), Hamburg, Germany
A-ICRC	Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross
AIZP	Archiwum Instytutu Zachodniego w Poznaniu (Archive of the Institute of Western Studies in Poznań)
AJA	Jacob Rader Marcus Center of American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, OH
AJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "the Joint," or AJJDC)
AK	Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
aka	also known as
AMS	Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (Archives of the Stutthof Museum), Sztutowo, Poland
AMv	Archiv Ministerstva vnitra (Archives of the Czech Ministry of the Interior), Prague
AMVDGO	Arkhiv MVD Gomel'skoi oblasti (Archives of the Ministry of Interior for the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
ANA	Australian National Archives, Canberra
AOKBZH	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (Files of the Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes)
AOKBZHŁ	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi (Files of the Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Łódź)
AOKBZHW	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich we Wrocławiu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław)
APB	Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku (Białystok State Archives)
APC	Archiwum Państwowe w Częstochowie (Częstochowa State Archives)
APGd	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdańsk State Archives)
APK	Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (Kielce State Archives)
APKat	Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (Katowice State Archives)
APKra	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (Kraków State Archives)
APL	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (Lublin State Archives)
APL-Chełm	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Chełmie (Lublin State Archives, Chełm branch)

APL-Kraśnik	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Kraśniku (Lublin State Archives, Kraśnik branch)
APL-Radzyń	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Radzyniu Podlaskim (Lublin State Archives, Radzyń Podlaski branch)
APŁ	Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (Łódź State Archives)
APŁmż	Archiwum Państwowe w Łomży (Łomża State Archives)
APMM	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archives of the State Museum at Majdanek)
APMO	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu (Archives of the State Museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau)
APO	Archiwum Państwowe w Otwocku (Otwock State Archives)
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (Poznań State Archives)
APPł	Archiwum Państwowe w Płocku (Płock State Archives)
APPrz	Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (Przemyśl State Archives)
APR	Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu (Radom State Archives)
APSi	Archiwum Państwowe w Siedlcach (Siedlce State Archives)
APSuOE	Archiwum Państwowe w Suwałkach—Oddział w Ełku (Suwałki State Archives—Branch in Ełk)
APSz	Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Szczecin State Archives)
APT	Archiv Památník Terezín (Archive of the Terezin Memorial)
APW	Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy (State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw)
APZ	Archiwum Państwowe w Zamościu (Zamość State Archives)
ARC	Aktion Reinhard Camps (Web site)
ASBUDO	Arkhiv SBU Donetskoi oblasti (Archive of the Ukrainian State Security Service for the Donetsk Oblast')
ASG	Ankieta Sądów Grodzkich (Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos)
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AUKGBRBBO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Brestskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Brest Oblast')
AUKGBRBGO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Gomel'skoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Gomel' Oblast')
AUKGBRBGrO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Grodnenskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Grodno Oblast')
AUKGBRBMO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Minskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Minsk Oblast')
AŻIH	Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
BA	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives in Berlin)
BA-BL	Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde)
BA-DH	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (German Federal Archives External Branch Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten)
BA-K	Bundesarchiv Koblenz (German Federal Archives in Koblenz)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives External Branch Ludwisgburg)
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv—Militärarchiv (German Federal Military Archives), Freiburg

BCh	Bataliony Chłopskie (Chłopskie Battalion)
Bd.	Band (Volume)
BDC	Berlin Document Center (now BA-B and at NARA)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Commander of the Security Police and SD)
BelGRES	Belorusskaia gosudarstvennaia raionnaia elektrostantsiia (Belorussian State Regional Electric Power Station)
BG	Bezirksgericht (District Court, GDR)
BGH	Bundesgerichtshof (Federal (formerly West) German Supreme Court of Appeals)
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archive of the Ghetto Fighters' House, also GFH), Israel
BLHA-(P)	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (State Main Archive of Brandenburg), Potsdam
BNA	British National Archives (see also NA)
BSSR	Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
BStU	Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR)
BuF	Abteilung für Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (Population and Welfare Department)
BWSL	Baden-Württembergisches Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (State Archives of Baden-Württemberg in Ludwigsburg)
BŻIH	*Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Bulletin of the Jewish Historical Institute)
CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CAHS	Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC
CAKCPZPR	Centralne Archiwum Komitetu Centralnego Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (Central Archive of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party)
CD	Compact Disc
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CENTOS	Centralne Towarzystwo Opieki nad Sierotami i Dziećmi Opuszczonymi (Central Organization for Orphan Care)
ChGK	Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission)
CHC	Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone, Munich
CHS, MJH	Center for Holocaust Studies, Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, New York
CKŻP	Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Central Committee of Jews in Poland, see also ŻIH)
CNI	Central Name Index (ITS abbreviation)
CSSD	Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Chief of the Security Police and SD)
CZA	Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem
CŻRSWGS	Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych na Wschodnim Górnym Śląsku (Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia)
DACgO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernighivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Chernighiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAChO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Cherkass'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Cherkassy Oblast'), Ukraine
DADO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Dnipropetrovs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast'), Ukraine

DADnO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Donets'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Donets'k Oblast'), Ukraine
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)
DAI-FO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKherO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khersons'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kherson Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKhkvO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khar'kivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Khar'kiv Oblast), Ukraine
DAKhO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khmel'nyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Khmel'nyts'ky Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKiO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kyiv (Kiev) Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kirovohrads'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kirovohrad Oblast'), Ukraine
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the L'viv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAMO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Mikolaivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Mykolaiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Poltavs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Poltava Oblast'), Ukraine
DARMARK	Derzhavnyi arkhiv pry Radi Ministriv Avtonomnoi Respubliky Krym (State Archives of the Ministerial Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea), Ukraine
DARO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivnens'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Rivne Oblast'), Ukraine
DASBU	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service), Kyiv, Ukraine
DASBU-Lu	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy, Lutsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Lutsk, Ukraine)
DASBU-Kh	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy, Khar'kiv (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Khar'kiv, Ukraine)
DASO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sums'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Sumy Oblast'), Ukraine
DATO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopils'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Ternopil' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volyns'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Volyn' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAZO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zhytomyr Oblast'), Ukraine
DAZPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zaporiz'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zaporizhzhia Oblast'), Ukraine
DCRO	Durham County Record Office, United Kingdom
DDR-JuNS-V	*DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*
DG	Durchgangsstrasse (Highway)
doc.	Document
Dok. Bd.	Dokumenten Band (Documents Volume)
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Archives of the Austrian Resistance), Vienna
DP	Displaced Person(s)
DR	Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj (Government Delegation for Poland)
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)

Dulag	Durchgangslager (Transit Camp)
EEJA	*East European Jewish Affairs*
EG	Einsatzgruppe (deployment group (of the Security Police) (murder squad))
Ek	Einsatzkommando (deployment squad (of the Security Police) subdivision of EG)
EKO	Evreiskoe kolonizatsionnoe obshchestvo (Jewish Colonization Association)
EM	Ereignismeldung (Events Report)
ERA	Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archives), Tallinn
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (Registered Association)
EWG	Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftstelle Getto (Ghetto Economic and Food Office)
Fa.	Firma (Company)
FGM	*Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord*
FK	Feldkommandantur (Field Commandant's office)
FPO	Fareynikte Partizaner Organizatsye (United Partisan Organization)
fr.	frame of microfilm
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FSB	Federal'naia sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation)
FVA	Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
GAARK	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv avtonomnoi respubliki Krym (State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea), Ukraine
GABO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Brestskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Brest Oblast'), Belarus
GABrO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Brianskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Briansk Oblast'), RSFSR
GAGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Grodnenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Grodno Oblast'), Belarus
GAGOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAK-BR	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kabardino-Balkarskoi respubliki (State Archives of the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic), RSFSR
GAKO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kurskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Kursk Oblast'), RSFSR
GALO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Leningradskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Leningrad Oblast'), RSFSR
GAMINO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Minskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Minsk Oblast'), Belarus
GAMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Mogilevskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GANO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Novgorodskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Novgorod Oblast'), RSFSR
GAOOGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob"edinenii Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of Public Associations of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAOOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob"edinenii Mogilevskoi oblasti (State Archives of Public Associations of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GAPO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Pskovskoi oblasti v Pskove (State Archives of the Pskov Oblast' in Pskov), Russia
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archives of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GASBU	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service), Kiev

GASBU-Dn	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Dnepropetrovsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Dnepropetrovsk)
GASBU-Do	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Donetsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Donets'k)
GASBU-L	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, L'viv (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, L'vov)
GASBU-Lu	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Lutsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Lutsk)
GASmO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Smolenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Smolensk Oblast'), RSFSR
GATO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Tverskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Tver Oblast'), RSFSR
GAVO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Vitebskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Vitebsk Oblast'), Belarus
GDL	Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (Governor of the Lublin District)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (also DDR)
Gend.	Gendarmerie (rural branch of the German Order Police)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police of the Wehrmacht)
Gk	Generalkommissariat (General Commissariat)
GkWP	Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien (Volhynia and Podolia Region)
GKBZHwP	Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland; now IPN)
GKŚZpNP	Główna Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (a division of IPN))
GL	Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, Polish communist armed underground organization)
GLA-K	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (General Regional Archive in Karlsruhe)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (Limited Liability Company)
GPK	Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office (of the Security Police))
GPU	Gosudarstvennoye Politicheskoe Upravlenie (State Political Directorate, part of the NKVD)
G Sta. Berlin	Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Berlin (State Prosecutor's Office at the Regional Court in Berlin)
GUS	Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office), Poland
GV	Gettoverwaltung (German Ghetto Administration, Łódź)
GZ	Gestapo Zichenau (Archives of the Ciechanów-Płock Gestapo (held at IPN))
HADSBU	Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (Divisional State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine)
HASAG	Hugo Schneider AG (Hugo Schneider Corp.)
HGS	*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*
HHStA-W	Hessiches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archive), Wiesbaden
HI/MID	Hoover Institution (Register of the Poland Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Records, 1939-1945)
HJ	Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth)
HKP	Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (Army Vehicle Repair Park)
HOBAG	Holzbau Aktiengesellschaft (Wood Construction Public Company)
HSSPF	Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader)
HStADü	Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf (Main State Archive Düsseldorf)

HTO	Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East)
HVT	Holocaust Video Testimony
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IMT	International Military Tribunal
IPN	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance), Warsaw (formerly GKBZHwP)
IPN-Bi	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Białymstoku (Institute of National Remembrance, Białystok branch)
IPN-Kat	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Katowicach (Institute of National Remembrance, Katowice branch)
IPN-Kos	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Koszalinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Koszalin branch)
IPN-Lu	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Lublinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Lublin branch)
IPN-Ł	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Łodzi (Institute of National Remembrance, Łódź branch)
IPN-R	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Radomiu (Institute of National Remembrance, Radom branch)
IPN-Rz	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Rzeszowie (Institute of National Remembrance, Rzeszów branch)
IPN-Szcz	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Szczecinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Szczecin branch)
ITS	International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany
JCTh	Jewish Community of Thessalonikiė
JFO	Jewish Fighting Organization
JFR	Jewish Foundation for the Righteous
Julag	Judenlager (Camp for Jews)
JuNS-V	*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*
JUS	Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle (successor organization to JSS)
JSS (or ŻSS)	Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe (Jewish Social Self-Help)
JSS–CC	Jewish Social Self-Help–Coordinating Commission
Kav. Rgt.	Kavallerie-Regiment (Cavalry Regiment)
KAW	Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza (National Publishing Agency)
KdG	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (Commanding Officer of the Gendarmerie)
KdGL	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie Lublin (Commanding Officer of the Gendarmerie Lublin)
KdO	Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Order Police)
Kdo.-Stab	Kommando-Stab (Headquarters)
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD)
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security in the USSR; successor to NKVD)
KL or KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
Korück	Kommandant des rückwärtigen Armeegebietes (Commandant of the Army Rear Area)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party)
KPP	Komunistyczna Partia Polski (Communist Party of Poland)

Kripo	Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police)
KŚZpNP	Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People)
KrZ	*Krakauer Zeitung*
KTB	Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
KWK	Kabelwerk Krakau (Cable Works Kraków)
LA-BW	Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (State Archive in Baden-Württemberg)
LAF	Lithuanian Activist Front
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute (partä of the Center for Jewish History), New York
LCVA	Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (Lithuanian Central State Archives), Vilnius
LG	Landgericht (State Court)
LG-Arns	Landgericht Arnsberg (State Court in Arnsberg)
LG-Aur	Landgericht Aurich (State Court in Aurich)
LG-Be	Landgericht Berlin (State Court in Berlin)
LG-Biel	Landgericht Bielefeld (State Court in Bielefeld)
LG-Bo	Landgericht Bochum (State Court in Bochum)
LG-Bonn	Landgericht Bonn (State Court in Bonn)
LG-Brem	Landgericht Bremen (State Court in Bremen)
LG-Darm	Landgericht Darmstadt (State Court in Darmstadt)
LG-Dort	Landgericht Dortmund (State Court in Dortmund)
LG-Duis	Landgericht Duisberg (State Court in Duisberg)
LG-Düss	Landgericht Düsseldorf (State Court in Düsseldorf)
LG-Ess	Landgericht Essen (State Court in Essen)
LG-Frei	Landgericht Freiburg im Breisgau (State Court in Freiburg im Breisgau)
LG-Gie	Landgericht Giessen (State Court in Giessen)
LG-Hag	Landgericht Hagen (State Court in Hagen)
LG-Hamb	Landgericht Hamburg (State Court in Hamburg)
LG-Hann	Landgericht Hannover (State Court in Hannover)
LG-Kais	Landgericht Kaiserslautern (State Court in Kaiserslautern)
LG-Kass	Landgericht Kassel (State Court in Kassel)
LG-Kiel	Landgericht Kiel (State Court in Kiel)
LG-Kö	Landgericht Köln (State Court in Cologne)
LG-Mai	Landgericht Mainz (State Court in Mainz)
LG-Man	Landgericht Mannheim (State Court in Mannheim)
LG-Mem	Landgericht Memmingen (State Court in Memmingen)
LG-Mü I	Landgericht München I (State Court in Munich I)
LG-Münst	Landgericht Münster (State Court in Münster)
LG-Old	Landgericht Oldenbourg (State Court in Oldenbourg)
LG-Reg	Landgericht Regensburg (State Court in Regensburg)
LG-Sa	Landgericht Saarbrücken (State Court in Saarbrücken)
LG-Stad	Landgericht Stade (State Court in Stade)
LG-Stutt	Landgericht Stuttgart (State Court in Stuttgart)
LG-Trau	Landgericht Traunstein (State Court in Traunstein)
LG-Tüb	Landgericht Tübingen (State Court in Tübingen)
LG-Ulm	Landgericht Ulm (State Court in Ulm)

LG-Verd	Landgericht Verden (State Court in Verden)
LG-Wien	Landgericht Wien (State Court in Vienna)
LG-Wies	Landgericht Wiesbaden (State Court in Wiesbaden)
LG-Würz	Landgericht Würzburg (State Court in Würzburg)
LMAB	Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka (Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library)
LS	Landesschützen (German Home Guard)
LVA	Latvijas Valts arhivs (Latvian State Archives), Riga
LVOA	Lietuvos visuomeninių organizacijų archyvas (Archives of Lithuanian Public Organizations, now part of LYA)
LVVA	Latvijas Valts Vestures arhivs (Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archives), Vilnius
MA	Moreshet Archives, Israel
MIGS	Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies
MKW	Muzeum Kujawskie we Włocławku (Kujawskie Museum in Włocławek)
MMŻ	Muzeum Martyrologiczne w Żabikowie (Martyrs' Museum in Żabikowo)
MOR	Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie (Regional Museum in Rzeszów)
MSS	manuscript
M Sosn	Akta Miasta Sosnowca (Files concerning the city of Sosnowiec)
MTS	Machine Tractor Station
MVD	Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del (Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NA	National Archives, Kew, Great Britain (formerly PRO)
NAIRI	Nauchnyi arkhiv Instituta Rossiiskoi Istorii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (Scientific Archives of the Institute of Russian History in the Russian Academy of Sciences)
NA(P)	Narodni Archiv (Praha) (Czech National Archives, Prague)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (formerly NARS, National Archives and Records Service, and NARUS, National Archives of the United States)
NARB	Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (National Archives of the Republic of Belarus), Minsk
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
n.d.	No date
N-Doc.	Nuremberg Document
NG-	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NI-	Nuremberg Industrialist (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NID-	Nuremberg Industrialist-Dresdner Bank (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NIK-	Nuremberg Industrialist-Krupp (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet police predecessor of the KGB)
NMO	Niemieckie Materiały Okupacyjne (German materials concerning the occupation)
NO-	Nuremberg Organization (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NOKW-	Nuremberg OKW (Nuremberg Armed Forces High Command Document prefix)
n.p.	unpaginated
NS	Nationalsozialismus/Nationalsozialistische (National Socialism or National Socialist)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazi Party)

NSHStAH	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Hannover (Main State Archive of Lower Saxony in Hanover)
NSKK	Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps (National Socialist Motor Corps)
NSV	Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist People's Welfare)
NSY	New Scotland Yard, see WCU
NSZ	Narodowe Siły Zbrojne ((Polish) National Armed Forces, a right-wing antisemitic underground organization)
NTN	Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (Supreme National Tribunal)
NYCMA	New York City Municipal Archives
OK	Ortskommandantur (office of the local military commandant)
OKBZH-Bi	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Białymstoku (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Białystok)
OKBZH-Kr	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Krakowie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Kraków)
OKBZH-Ł	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Łódź)
OKBZH-R	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Radomiu (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Radom)
OKBZH-Rz	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Rzeszowie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Rzeszów)
OKBZH-S	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Sanoku (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Sanok)
OKBZH-Si	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Siedlcach (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Siedlce)
OKBZpNPL	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Lublinie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People in Lublin)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
OKŚZpNPBi	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Białymstoku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Białystok)
OKŚZpNPGd	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Gdańsku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Gdańsk)
OKŚZpNPŁdz	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Łódź)
OKŚZpNPPoz	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Poznaniu (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People in Poznań)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
Orpo	Ordnungspolizei (Order Police)
OSI	Office of Special Investigations, United States Department of Justice, Washington, DC
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archive, Vienna)
OT	Organisation Todt (Todt Organization)
OUN	Orhanizatsiia Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office), Berlin

PAAKag	Personal Archive of Albert Kaganovich
PAAKru	Personal Archive of Alexander Kruglov
PAAR	Personal Archive of A.E. Raychonok
PAAS	Personal Archive of Anne Speckhard
PADC	Personal Archive of David Chapin
PADV	Personal Archive of Diana Voskoboynik
PAEK	Personal Archive of Eduard Kopówka
PAGV	Personal Archive of Gennadii Vinnitsa
PAIH	Personal Archive of Imke Hansen
PAIMSh	Personal Archive of Ilya M. Shenderovich
PALC	Personal Archive of Laura Crago
PALS	Personal Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky
PAPP	Powiatowe Archiwum Państwowe w Piasecznie z siedzibą w Górze Kalwarii (Powiat State Archive in Piaseczno in Góra Kalwaria)
PAP-Tarn	Powiatowe Archiwum Państwowe w Tarnowie (Powiat State Archive in Tarnów)
PARI	Personal Archive of Rachel Iskof
PARK	Personal Archive of Robert Kuwałek
PAVD	Personal Archive of Vadim Doubson
PAWL	Personal Archive of Wendy Lower
PGT	poselok gorodskogo tipa (town-like settlement)
PISM	Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum
Pol. Ordn.	Polen Ordner (file containing material concerning Poland)
POW	Prisoner of War
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
PRO	Public Records Office in Kew, Great Britain (now British National Archives; in United States Army: Public Relations officer)
PS-	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg Document prefix)
PUST	Polish Underground Study Trust, London
PWN	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (State Academic Publishing House)
Pz. Div.	Panzer Division (German Armored Division)
RAB	Reichsautobahn (German National Freeway)
RAW	Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works)
Rb	Regierungsbezirk (German administrative unit, literally Government District)
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS (Heinrich Himmler))
RFSSChdP	Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Polizei (Reich Leader of the SS and Head of the Police (Heinrich Himmler))
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive of Economics)
RGAKFD	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotodokumentov (Central State Archives for Documentary Film and Photography)
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (former Special [osobyi] Archive, see RGVA), Moscow
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archives, (former Special [osobyi] Archive)), Moscow
Ring	Ringelblum Archives (original located at AŻIH)
RK	Reichskommissariat (Reich Commissariat)

RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat Ostland)
RM	Reichsmark (unit of German currency)
RMO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebieten (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
RNNA	Russkaia Natsional'naia Narodnaia Armiia (Russian National People's Army, a force of pro-Nazi Russian collaborators)
RSD	Reichssicherheitsdienst (Reich Security Service—Hitler's personal bodyguards)
RSFSR	Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)
RSGŻDG	Rada Starszych Gminy Żydowskiej w Dąbrowie Górniczej (Jewish Council of Elders in Dąbrowa Górnicza)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
RTKIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History (Former Communist Party Archives)), Moscow
SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Detachment, Storm Troopers)
ŠAA	Šiaulių apskrities archyvas (Šiauliai Regional Archives)
SAB	Sąd Apelacyjny w Białymstoku (Court of Appeal in Białystok)
SAGd	Sąd Apelacyjny w Gdańsku (Court of Appeal in Gdańsk)
SAK	Sąd Apelacyjny w Kielcach (Court of Appeal in Kielce)
SAk	Schutzpolizei Abschnittskommando (Section command of the Municipal Police (Schupo))
SAL	Sąd Apelacyjny w Lublinie (Court of Appeal in Lublin)
SAOl	Sąd Apelacyjny w Olsztynie (Court of Appeal in Olsztyn)
SAP	Sąd Apelacyjny w Poznaniu (Court of Appeal in Poznań)
SAPMO-DDR	Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (Foundation Archives of Parties and Mass Organizations of the GDR)
SAWr	Sąd Apelacyjny we Wrocławiu (Court of Appeal in Wrocław)
SAZG	Sąd Apelacyjny w Zielonej Górze (Court of Appeal in Zielona Góra)
SBU	Sluzhba Bespeky Ukrainy (State Security Service of Ukraine)
Schupo	Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police, section of the Orpo)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
SDA-L	Statni oblastni archiv v Litoměřicich (State Regional Archive Litoměřice, Czech Republic)
SGO	Samodzielna Grupa Operacyjna (Independent Operational Group)
SHLA	Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv (State Archive of Schleswig Holstein)
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SIU	Australian Special Investigations Unit (War Crimes)
Sk	Sonderkommando (special detachment (of the Security Police), subdivision of EG)
SMERSH	Smert' Shpionam (Death to Spies—Red Army Counter-Intelligence Section)
SN	Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party, Poland)
SNW	Sąd Najwyższy w Warszawie (Supreme Court in Warsaw)
SOB	Sąd Okręgowy w Białymstoku (Białystok District Court)
SOCz	Sąd Okręgowy w Częstochowie (Częstochowa District Court)
SOE	Sąd Okręgowy w Ełku (Ełk District Court)
SOGd	Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (Gdańsk District Court)

SOJG	Sąd Okręgowy w Jeleniej Górze (Jelenia Góra District Court)
SOKr	Sąd Okręgowy w Krakowie (Kraków District Court)
SOL	Sąd Okręgowy w Lublinie (Lublin District Court)
SOŁ	Sąd Okręgowy w Łomży (Łomża District Court)
SOŁdz	Sąd Okręgowy w Łodzi (Łódź District Court)
SOMł	Sąd Okręgowy w Mławie (Mława District Court)
SOOl	Sąd Okręgowy w Olsztynie (Olsztyn District Court)
SOP	Sąd Okręgowy w Poznaniu (Poznań District Court)
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands im Exil (German Social Democratic Party in Exile)
SOPi	Sąd Okręgowy w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim (Piotrków Trybunalski District Court)
SOPł	Sąd Okręgowy w Płocku (Płock District Court)
SORd	Sąd Okręgowy w Radomiu (Radom District Court)
SOSn	Sąd Okręgowy w Sosnowcu (Sosnowiec District Court)
SOSz	Sąd Okręgowy w Szczecinie (Szczecin District Court)
SOT	Sąd Okręgowy w Tarnowie (Tarnów District Court)
SOTW	Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu, Wydział we Włocławku (Toruń District Court, Włocławek Branch)
SOW	Sąd Okręgowy w Warszawie (Warsaw District Court)
SOWr	Sąd Okręgowy we Wrocławiu (Wrocław District Court)
SOZ	Sąd Okręgowy w Zamościu (Zamość District Court)
SP	Sąd Powiatowy (Local Court)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPK	Sąd Powiatowy w Kole (Koło Local Court)
SPT	Sąd Powiatowy w Tarnowie (Tarnów Local Court)
SPW	Starostwo Powiatowe Warszawskie (Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Corps)
SSHO	SS Hängerordner (BDC collection, miscellaneous files)
SSKGd	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Special Criminal Court)
SSKL	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Lublinie (Lublin Special Criminal Court)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSPF	SS- und Polizeiführer (SS and Police Leader)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
SS-WVHA	SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (SS Business Administration Main Office)
StA	Staatsarchiv
Sta.	Staatsanwaltschaft (State Prosecutor's Office)
StA-Det	Staatsarchiv Detmold (State Archive in Detmold)
Stalag	Stammlager (Main POW Camp)
StA-Lud	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (State Archive Ludwigsburg)
StA-Münc	Staatsarchiv München (State Archive Munich)
Sta. Mü	Staatsanwaltschaft München (State Prosecutor's Office, Munich) (with Roman numeral designating court)
StA-Mü(st)	Staatsarchiv Münster (State Archive Münster)
StA-N	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (State Archive Nuremberg)
Stapo	Staatspolizei (State Police)

StA-Wfb	Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel (State Archive Wolfenbüttel)
SWA	Simon Wiesenthal Archive, Vienna
SWB	Sąd Wojewódzki w Białymstoku (Białystok Regional Court)
SWCA	Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives, Los Angeles
SWGd	Sąd Wojewódzki w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Regional Court)
SWKsz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Koszalinie (Koszalin Regional Court)
SWOl	Sąd Wojewódzki w Olsztynie (Olsztyn Regional Court)
SWP	Sąd Wojewódzki w Poznaniu (Poznań Regional Court)
SWSz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Szczecinie (Szczecin Regional Court)
SWW	Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie (Warsaw Regional Court)
SWWr	Sąd Wojewódzki we Wrocławiu (Wrocław Regional Court)
sygn.	sygnatura (archival record group (Polish))
TAZ	Towarzystwo Akcyjne Zawiercie (Name of a large textile factory in Zawiercie, producing Luftwaffe uniforms)
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949)
TOZ	Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce (Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland)
TsAFSB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv FSB (Central Archives of the FSB)
TsAKGBRB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv KGB Respubliki Belarus' (Central Archives of the KGB, Republic of Belarus'), Minsk
TSD	*Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*
TsDAHOU	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archives of Ukrainian Social Associations), Kiev
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta Upravlinnia Ukrainy (Central State Archives of Higher Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kiev
TsDIAL	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine), L'viv
TsDNISO	Tsentr dokumentatsii noveishei istorii Smolenskoi oblasti (Documentation Center for Modern History of the Smolensk Oblast')
TsGAMORF	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ministerstsva oborony rossiiskoi federatsii (Central State Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation), Podol'sk
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollektsii (Center for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections, see also RGVA), Moscow
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR)
UK	United Kingdom
UM-DOHA	University of Michigan-Dearborn, Oral History Archive
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
US	United States
USCK	Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Koninie (Department of Civil Documents in Konin)
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photographic Archives, Washington, DC
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (aka Soviet Union or UdSSR)

UWZ	Umwandererzentralstelle (Central Transfer Office)
VHAP	Vojensky historicky archiv Praha (Military Historical Archives, Prague)
VHF	Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation
VKM	Vitebskii kraevedcheskii muzei (Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore)
VoMi	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Office for Ethnic German Affairs)
WAPKOB	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Oddział w Bochni (State Archives for the Kraków Province, Bochnia Branch)
WASt	Wehrmachtauskunftstelle (Military Information Office, now Deutsche Dienststelle (German Agency)), Berlin
WCU	Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit, New Scotland Yard (these records are now held in the National Archives in Kew (NA))
WeWiKdo	Wehrwirtschaftskommando (military economic detachment)
WFDIF	Wytwórnia Filmów Dokumentalnych i Fabularnych (Documentary and Feature Film Company, Warsaw, Poland)
WiN	Wolność i Niezawisłość (Freedom and Independence, a Polish underground anti-communist organization)
WL	Wiener Library
WS	Worksheet (USHMMPA internal reference)
WSRB	Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy w Białymstoku (Military Regional Court in Białystok)
WSRW	Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy w Warszawie (Military Regional Court in Warsaw)
WVHA	See SS-WVHA
YAKPA	Committee for Jewish Assistance
YIU	Yahad-In Unum, Paris
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York)
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Israel
ZAL	Zwangsarbeitslager (Forced Labor Camp)
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (Forced Labor Camp for Jews)
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (for special purposes)
ZdL also ZStL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
ZEORK	Zakłady Energetyczne Okręgu Radomsko-Kieleckiego (Radom Kielce Regional Electric Company)
ZGABO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Baranovichakh (Zonal State Archives of the City of Baranovichi), Belarus
ZGAGO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Orshe (Zonal State Archives of the city of Orsha), Belarus
ZGAMO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Mozyre (Zonal State Archives of the city of Mozyr'), Belarus
ZHO	Zentralhandelsgesellschaft Ost (Central Trading Company East)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
ŻKOP	Żydowski Komitet Opiekuńczy Powiatowy (Jewish Relief Committee for the powiat)
ŽmP	Židovské muzeum v Praze (Jewish Museum of Prague)
ZNiO	Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (National Ossoliński Institute)
ŻOB	Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization)
ŻOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Welfare Association)

ZSSta-D	Zentralstelle, Dortmund (Central Office for the Investigation of National-Socialist Crimes in Dortmund) (= ZSD)
ŻSS	Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jewish Social Self-Help, aka JSS)
ZStL also ZdL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen, Ludwigsburg (Central Office of the Federal Judicial Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
ŻTOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Social Welfare Association)
ZUV	Zentraler Untersuchungsvorgang (Central Investigation)
ŻZW	Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (Jewish Military Union)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Adler, Eliyana: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Starye Dorogi
Anders, Edward: *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)* —Liepāja
Bartov, Omer: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Buczacz
Bender, Sara: (*Białystok Region)*—Białystok; *(Radom Region)*—Chmielnik, Kielce
Blodig, Vojtěch: *(Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)*—Terezín
Boneh, Nahum: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Pińsk
Borejsza-Wysocka, Ania: *(Warsaw Region)*—Warka
Brandon, Ray: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Włodzimierz Wołyński
Brewing, Daniel: *(Warsaw Region)*—Piaseczno
Brooks, Crispin: *(Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions)*—Fraidorf; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Berezów; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Dashev
Browning, Christopher R.: Introduction
Bubnys, Arūnas: *(Lithuania Region)*—Šiauliai, Žagarė
Cassedy, Ellen: *(Lithuania Region)*—Jurbarkas
Chapin, David: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Derazhnia, Letichev, Medzhibozh, Zen'kov
Crago, Laura: *(Białystok Region)*—Białystok Region, Augustów, Bielsk Podlaski, Boćki, Czyżewo, Dąbrowa Białostocka, Drohiczyn, Druskieniki, Goniądz, Grajewo, Grodno, Grodzisk, Indura, Janów Sokólski, Jedwabne, Jeziory, Kamieniec Litewski, Kamionka, Kleszczele, Knyszyn, Krynki, Krzemienica Kościelna, Kuźnica Białostocka, Łapy, Łomża, Łunna, Marcinkańce, Michałowo, Milejczyce, Narew, Nurzec, Orla, Ostryna, Piaski, Piątnica, Porozów, Porzecze, Prużana, Radziłów, Rajgród, Różana, Siemiatycze, Skidel, Śniadowo, Sokółka, Sokoły, Sopoćkinie, Stawiski, Suchowola, Świsłocz, Szczuczyn, Trzcianne, Wołkowysk, Wołpa, Wysokie Litewskie, Zabłudów, Zambrów, Zelwa; *(Lublin Region)*—Lublin Region, Baranów nad Wieprzem, Bełżyce, Bilgoraj, Bychawa, Chełm, Chodel, Cieszanów, Irena, Janów Podlaski, Kazimierz Dolny, Kock, Komarów, Komarówka Podlaska, Końskowola, Konstantynów, Kraśnik, Krasnystaw, Kurów, Łęczna, Łomazy, Łuków, Markuszów, Międzyrzec Podlaski, Opole, Ostrów, Parczew, Puławy, Rossosz, Ryki, Sławatycze, Szczebrzeszyn, Tarnogród, Tomaszów Lubelski, Tyszowce, Urzędów, Wąwolnica, Wisznice, Zamość, Zwierzyniec; *(Warsaw Region)*—Kosów Lacki, Łochów, Mordy, Siedlce, Sobienie Jeziory, Sokołów Podlaski, Sterdyń, Węgrów; *(Warthegau Region)*—Łódź
Crisci, Caterina: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Lubaczów; *(Kraków Region)*—Biecz, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Dukla, Limanowa, Radomyśl Wielki, Ropczyce, Rymanów, Sędziszów Małopolski, Tarnobrzeg; *(Lublin Region)*—Zaklików; *(Radom Region)*—Opatów, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski; *(Warthegau Region)*—Żychlin
Dean, Martin: *(Białystok Region)*—Brańsk, Ciechanowiec, Czyżewo, Drohiczyn, Gródek Białostocki, Jasionówka, Kleszczele, Krynki, Marcinkańce, Milejczyce, Orla, Ostryna, Prużana, Siemiatycze, Wysokie Mazowieckie; *(Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Eastern Belorussia Region, Batsevichi, Belynichi, Borisov, Bykhov, Chausy, Gorodets, Grodzianka, Kholopenichi, Klichev, Krasnoluki, Krugloe, Lapichi, Liuban', Mar'ina Gorka, Mstislavl', Naprasnovka, Obchuga, Ozarichi, Parichi, Pukhovichi, Riasno, Rossasno, Shepelevichi, Tal'ka; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Eastern Galicia Region, Bolechów, Borysław, Bursztyn, Busk, Chodorów, Dolina, Drohobycz, Gwoździec, Horodenka, Janów Lwowski, Jezierzany, Komarno, Kopyczyńce, Kosów, Kozowa, Mikołajów, Mikulińce, Mościska, Mosty Wielkie, Narajów, Podhajce, Radziechów, Rawa Ruska, Rudki, Sokal, Stryj, Tarnopol, Tłumacz, Tłuste, Trembowla, Tyśmienica, Zborów, Złoczów, Żurawno; *(Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region, Beopol'e, Bogodukhov, Khar'kov, Cherkassy; *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Eastern Upper Silesia Region, Bielsko-Biała, Kłobuck, Olkusz, Sławków, Strzemieszyce, Trzebinia, Wadowice; *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Estonia and Latvia Regions, Bauska, Jelgava, Riga, Tartu, Varakļāni; *(German-Occupied Greece)*—German-Occupied Greece; *(Kiev Region)*—Piatigory, Tal'noe; *(Kraków Region)*—Kraków Region, Bochnia, Działoszyce, Gorlice, Grybów, Jasło, Kolbuszowa, Kraków, Nowy Sącz, Pilzno, Rzeszów, Słomniki; *(Lithuania Region)*—Lithuania Region, Akmenė, Alsėdžiai, Anykščiai, Ariogala, Babtai, Batakiai, Biržai,

Butrimonys, Bystrzyca, Daugieliszki, Dukszty, Eržvilkas, Gargždai, Garliava, Gudogaj, Hoduciszki, Holszany, Ignalino, Jonava, Joniškis, Jurbarkas, Kaltinėnai, Kamajai, Kėdainiai, Kelmė, Kiemieliszki, Kražiai, Krekenava, Krewo, Kuršenai, Lazdijai, Linkuva, Lygumai, Łyntupy, Marijampolė, Mejszagoła, Merkinė, Michaliszki, Naumiestis, Nowe Święciany, Obeliai, Onuškis, Ostrowiec, Oszmiana, Pajūris, Pakruojis, Palanga, Panevėžys, Pasvalys, Pašvitinys, Podbrodzie, Rietavas, Rokiškis, Rudamina, Rumšiškės, Šeduva, Semeliškės, Šiluva, Soly, Subačius, Švėkšna, Święciany, Świr, Telšiai, Troki, Utena, Užventis, Vabalninkas, Vainutas, Vendžiogala, Viduklė, Viekšniai, Vievis, Virbalis, Vyžuonos, Widze, Wilno, Worniany, Zapyškis, Žiežmariai, Żuprany; *(Lublin Region)*—Biała Podlaska, Bychawa, Dubienka, Grabowiec, Hrubieszów, Izbica (nad Wieprzem), Lublin, Rejowiec, Uchanie, Zaklików; *(Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions)*—Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions, Aleksandrovka, Bobrinets, Fraidorf, Ingulets, Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, Novomoskovsk; *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Occupied Russian Territory, Demidov, Dmitriev-L'govskii, Gusino, Kaluga, Krasnyi, Nevel', Roslavl', Toropets, Velike Luki; *(Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)*—Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia; *(Radom Region)*—Biała Rawska, Białobrzegi, Denków, Garbatka-Letnisko, Gniewoszów, Janowiec nad Wisłą, Klimontów, Koprzywnica, Małogoszcz, Piotrków Trybunalski, Sandomierz, Tomaszów Mazowiecki; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Volhynia and Podolia Region, Bar, Bereżce, Berezne, Berezów, Boremel, Brześć, Chomsk, Czetwiertnia, Derazhnia, Domaczów, Drohiczyn, Dunaevtsy, Dywin, Gorodok, Horodno, Hoszcza, Ialtushkov, Iarmolintsy, Iziaslav, Janów Poleski, Kamień Koszyrski, Katrynburg, Kiwerce, Klewań, Kobryń, Kołki, Kostopol, Kożangródek, Krasilov, Kul'chiny, Kupel', Łanowce, Łokacze, Lubieszów, Łuck, Maciejów, Małoryta, Mielnica, Mikaszewice, Mikhalpol', Min'kovtsy, Młynów, Mokrowo, Moroczna, Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Novaia Ushitsa, Orinin, Ostropol', Ostrożec, Poczajów, Polonnoe, Poryck, Powórsk, Radziwiłłów, Ratno, Rożyszcze, Serniki, Sienkiewiczówka, Smotrich, Snitkov, Staraia Ushitsa, Starokonstantinov, Stolin, Szumsk, Tomaszówka, Torczyn, Tuczyn, Turzysk, Vin'kovtsy, Volochisk, Warkowicze, Werba, Wiśniowiec, Wysock, Zdołbunów, Zofjówka; *(Warsaw Region)*—Warsaw Region, Błędów, Błonie, Góra Kalwaria, Grójec, Jadów, Jeziorna, Jeżów, Karczew, Kiernozia, Łomianki, Łowicz, Łyszkowice, Miłosna, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Okuniew, Pruszków, Radzymin, Sarnaki, Skierniewice, Sochaczew, Stoczek Węgrowski, Tarczyn, Tłuszcz, Warka, Warsaw, Wawer, Włochy, Wołomin, Żyrardów; *(Warthegau Region)*—Warthegau Region, Bełchatów, Bugaj, Grabów, Izbica Kujawska, Kalisz, Koźminek, Łask, Pabianice, Piotrków Kujawski, Przedecz, Radziejów, Sieradz, Służewo, Wieluń, Wieruszów, Zagórów, Zelów, Zgierz; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Weissruthenien Region, Baranowicze, Begoml', Brasław, Budsław, Chocieńczyce, Dereczyn, Dokszyce, Dolhinów, Dukora, Dworzec, Dzerzhinsk, Dzisna, Głębokie, Gródek Wileński, Grozovo, Hermanowicze, Horodyszcze, Horodziej, Ilja, Iwieniec, Jeremicze, Kleck, Kobylnik, Kopyl, Kosów Poleski, Koziany, Krasne, Lachowicze, Lebiedziew, Lenin, Lenino, Leśna, Lida, Lubcz, Miadzioł Nowy, Miory, Mir, Mołczadź, Nowa Mysz, Nowy Świerzeń, Opsa, Plissa, Pogost, Połonka, Radoszkowice, Raduń, Raków, Rudensk, Siniawka, Słonim, Slutsk, Snów, Starobin, Stołowicze, Stołpce, Szarkowszczyzna, Timkovichi, Urech'e, Uzliany, Wasiliszki, Wiazyń, Wilejka, Wiszniew, Wołożyn, Zaśkiewicze; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Zhytomyr Region, Andrushevka, Brailov, Dzhulinka, Gaisin, Iarun', Il'intsy, Ianov, Kalinovka, Kazatin, Khmel'nik, Korosten', Lipovets, Monastyrishche, Pavlovichi, Pikov, Pliskov, Pogrebishche, Ruzhin, Samgorodok, Teplik, Ternovka, Ulanov, Vcheraishe, Voronovitsa, Zhornishche; *(Zichenau Region)*—Zichenau Region, Maków Mazowiecki, Mława, Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, Płock, Sierpc

Dieckmann, Christoph: (*Lithuania Region)*—Semeliškės, Utena

Doubson, Vadim: *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Il'ino, Khislavichi, Liubavichi, Monastyrshchina, Petrovichi, Rudnia, Smolensk, Velizh

Dunagan, Curt: *(Kraków Region)*—Przemyśl

Farfel, Zvi: *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Nieśwież

Fishman, Samuel: (*Białystok Region)*—Ciechanowiec, Czyżewo, Siemiatycze, Suchowola; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Kałusz, Tłumacz, Zbaraż; *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Andrychów, Sucha, Wadowice; *(Kraków Region)*—Działoszyce, Gorlice, Miechów, Rzeszów, Wolbrom; *(Lithuania Region)*—Dusetos, Ostrowiec, Telšiai; *(Radom Region)*—Biała Rawska, Częstochowa, Koprzywnica, Łagów, Wiślica, Żarki; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Dąbrowica, Łokacze, Rafałówka, Rokitno, Sarny, Włodzimierzec, Zofjówka; *(Warsaw Region)*—

Karczew, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Pruszków, Radzymin, Sochaczew, Wołomin; *(Warthegau Region)*—Brześć Kujawski, Ciechocinek, Łęczyca, Sompolno, Uniejów, Wieluń, Wieruszów, Włocławek; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Dzisna, Krzywicze, Mołczadź, Wiszniew; *(Zichenau Region)*—Sierpc

Freilich, Miri: *(Warsaw Region)*—Warsaw

Giladi, Ben: *(Radom Region)* —Piotrków Trybunalski

Grabowski, Jan: *(Zichenau Region)*—Strzegowo

Hansen, Imke: *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)* —Trzebinia

Hurwitz, Edward: (*Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Bogodukhov

Isard, Sonia: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Elizovo, Kostiukovichi; *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Klintsy, Mikulino, Novozybkov, Unecha, Zlynka

Iskov, Rachel: *(Warthegau Region)*—Brzeziny

Kaganovich, Albert: (*Kiev Region*)—Tal'noe; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Gritsev; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Brailov, Kalinovka, Litin, Ruzhin

Kołacz, Grzegorz: *(Warsaw Region)*—Kołbiel, Mogielnica, Siennica

Kopciowski, Adam: *(Lublin Region)*—Grabowiec, Zamość

Kopówka, Edward: *(Warsaw Region)*—Kosów Lacki, Siedlce, Sobienie Jeziory, Sokołów Podlaski

Koss, Andrew: *(Lithuania Region)*—Smorgonie; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Antopol, Dawidgródek, Horodec, Korzec, Łuniniec, Ołyka, Ostróg, Stepań, Uściług, Wiśniowiec; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Byteń, Korelicze, Żołudek

Kraemer, Jolanta: *(Kraków Region)*—Bircza, Błażowa, Bobowa, Brzostek, Brzozów, Czudec, Dobromil, Głogów Małopolski, Gorlice, Jasienica Rosielna, Jawornik Polski, Jedlicze, Jodłowa, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Kańczuga, Kołaczyce, Korczyna, Łańcut, Lesko, Niebylec, Ołpiny, Pilica, Proszowice, Pruchnik, Przeworsk, Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, Sieniawa, Skawina, Sokołów Małopolski, Tyczyn, Ustrzyki Dolne, Wieliczka, Wielopole Skrzyńskie; *(Radom Region)*—Radom Region, Bodzentyn, Bogoria, Busko-Zdrój, Chęciny, Ciepielów, Drzewica, Firlej, Głowaczów, Inowłódz, Iwaniska, Jedlińsk, Jedlnia Kościelna, Jędrzejów, Kamieńsk, Klwów, Koluszki, Koniecpol, Końskie, Kunów, Mariampol, Mniszew, Mstów, Odrzywół, Opoczno, Osiek, Ożarów, Pacanów, Paradyż, Pińczów, Pionki, Połaniec, Przedbórz, Przygłów and Włodzimierzów, Przysucha, Radomsko, Radoszyce, Raków, Rawa Mazowiecka, Ryczywół, Sędziszów, Sieciechów, Sienno, Skórkowice, Skrzynno, Słupia Nowa, Sobków, Solec nad Wisłą, Starachowice-Wierzbnik, Staszów, Stopnica, Stromiec, Suchedniów, Sulejów, Szczekociny, Szydłów, Tarłów, Ujazd, Wierzbica, Włoszczowa, Wodzisław, Wolbórz, Żarnów, Zawichost, Zwoleń; *(Warsaw Region)*—Głowno, Kałuszyn, Łaskarzew, Latowicz, Legionowo, Mrozy, Parysów, Pustelnik, Rembertów, Stanisławów, Żelechów; *(Warthegau Region)*—Chocz, Dobra, Grodziec, Konin, Lutomiersk, Poddębice, Rzgów, Szadek, Strzyżów; *(Zichenau Region)*—Ciechanów, Czerwińsk nad Wisłą, Drobin, Nowe Miasto, Płońsk, Wyszogród

Krimer, Ksenia: *(Białystok Region)*—Wasilków; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Rohatyn; *(Lublin Region)*—Grabowiec; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Kamenets-Podolskii

Krug, Nancy: *(Weissruthenien Region)* —Rubieżewicze

Kruglov, Alexander: (*Białystok Region)*—Bielsk Podlaski, Druskieniki, Gródek Białostocki, Jasionówka, Jeziory, Kamieniec Litewski, Piaski, Porozów, Porzecze, Różana, Skidel, Świsłocz, Wysokie Litewskie, Wysokie Mazowieckie; (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Baran', Belynichi, Berezino, Bogushevichi, Bykhov, Chausy, Cherikov, Daraganovo, Dribin, Elizovo, Grodzianka, Khotimsk, Kostiukovichi, Krasnopol'e, Krichev, Krucha, Lapichi, Lipen', Obol', Osipovichi, Ozarichi, Propoisk, Riasno, Sloboda, Ukhvala; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Bóbrka, Bolechów, Borszczów, Borysław, Brody, Bukaczowce, Bursztyn, Busk, Chodorów, Czortków, Dolina, Drohobycz, Gródek Jagielloński, Gwoździec, Horodenka, Janów Lwowski, Jaryczów Nowy, Jaworów, Kałusz, Kamionka Strumiłowa, Komarno, Kopyczyńce, Kosów, Kozowa, Lubaczów, Mikołajów, Mikulińce, Mościska, Mosty Wielkie, Narajów, Podhajce, Przemyślany, Radziechów, Rawa Ruska, Rohatyn, Rudki, Sambor, Skałat, Śniatyń, Sokal, Stryj, Tarnopol, Tłumacz, Tłuste, Trembowla, Tyśmienica, Zbaraż, Zborów, Złoczów, Żołkiew, Żurawno; (*Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Akhtyrka, Alushta, Artemovsk, Borzna, Dmitrovka, Dzhankoi, Gorodnia, Khar'kov, Korop, Kramatorsk, Priluki, Semenovka, Shchors, Voikovshtadt, Yalta, Yenakievo; *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Aglona, Aizpute, Balvi, Bauska, Gostini, Gulbene, Jaunjelgava, Jēkabpils, Jelgava, Krustpils, Kuldiga, Madona, Preiļi, Saldus, Silene, Tartu, Valdemarpils, Varakļāni , Ventspils, Viļaka, Viļāni, Višķi, Zilupe; (*Kiev Region)*—Boguslav, Buki, Chernobyl, Fastov, Gorodishche, Korsun' Shevchenkovskii,

Lokhvitsa, Man'kovka, Piriatin, Shpola, Skvira, Smela, Sokolovka, Tarashcha, Uman', Zen'kov, Zhashkov, Zvenigorodka; *(Kraków Region)*—Dobromil, Jasło, Pilzno, Sędziszów Małopolski; *(Lithuania Region)*—Akmenė, Alsėdžiai, Alytus, Ariogala, Babtai, Batakiai, Biržai, Butrimonys, Bystrzyca, Darbėnai, Darsūniškis, Dusetos, Eržvilkas, Gargždai, Garliava, Hoduciszki, Holszany, Ignalino, Jonava, Joniškėlis, Joniškis, Kaišiadorys, Kėdainiai, Kelmė, Kiemieliszki, Krakės, Kražiai, Krekenava, Kretinga, Krewo, Kudirkos Naumiestis, Kupiškis, Kvėdarna, Kybartai, Lazdijai, Linkuva, Lygumai, Łyntupy, Mažeikiai, Merkinė, Naumiestis, Oszmiana, Pakruojis, Palanga, Panevėžys, Pasvalys, Pašvitinys, Plungė, Podbrodzie, Prienai, Pumpėnai, Radviliškis, Raseiniai, Rietavas, Rokiškis, Rumšiškės, Šakiai, Salakas, Seda, Šeduva, Seirijai, Seredžius, Šiluva, Širvintos, Soly, Švėkšna, Tauragė, Troki, Ukmergė, Užpaliai, Vabalninkas, Vendžiogala, Viduklė, Viekšniai, Vievis, Vilkaviškis, Vilkija, Virbalis, Vyžuonos, Worniany, Ylakiai, Žiežmariai, Żuprany; *(Lublin Region)*—Hrubieszów; *(Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk Regions)*—Aleksandrovka, Bobrinets, Dobrovelichkovka, Ingulets, Kamenka, Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, Kherson, Malaia Viska, Nikolaev, Novaia Odessa, Novaia Praga, Novomoskovsk, Novovitebskoe, Novozlatopol', Pavlograd, Pervomaisk, Zlatopol'; *(Occupied Russian Territory)*—Bezhanitsy, Demidov, Dmitriev-L'govskii, Dukhovshchina, Elitsa, Kagal'nitskaia, Karachev, Kletnia, Klimovo, Klintsy, Loknia, Mglin, Mikulino, Nal'chik, Nevel', Novozybkov, Opochka, Pochep, Pochinok, Pskov, Pustoshka, Rzhev, Sebezh, Shumiachi, Sol'tsy, Staraia Russa, Starodub, Stodolishche, Surazh, Sviatsk, Sychevka, Tatarsk, Toropets, Unecha, Usviaty, Vyritsa, Yessentuki, Zakharino, Zlynka; *(Radom Region)*—Denków, Klimontów, Wiślica; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Aleksandria, Annopol', Balin, Bar, Bazaliia, Beresteczko, Bereza-Kartuska, Berezne, Bereźnica, Brześć, Chernyi Ostrov, Dąbrowica, Demidówka, Deraźne, Dunaevtsy, Dywin, Horodno, Hoszcza, Ialtushkov, Iarmolintsy, Iaryshev, Iziaslav, Jezierzany, Kalius, Kamenets-Podolskii, Kamień Koszyrski, Katrynburg, Kisielin, Kiwerce, Klesów, Klewań, Kobryń, Kołki, Korzec, Kostopol, Kowel, Kozin, Krasilov, Krymno, Kul'chiny, Kupel', Łanowce, Liakhovtsi, Lubieszów, Luboml, Ludwipol, Maciejów, Międzyrzecz, Mielnica, Mikaszewice, Mikhalpol', Min'kovtsy, Młynów, Moroczna, Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Novaia Ushitsa, Ołyka, Opalin, Orinin, Ostróg, Ostropol', Ostrożec, Poczajów, Poryck, Radziwiłłów, Rafałówka, Ratno, Rokitno, Równe, Rożyszcze, Sarny, Shepetovka, Sienkiewiczówka, Slavuta, Snitkov, Staraia Siniava, Starokonstantinov, Stepań, Stolin, Szumsk, Teofipol', Torczyn, Tuczyn, Turzysk, Uściług, Volochisk, Warkowicze, Werba, Włodzimierzec, Żabinka, Zdołbunów; *(Warsaw Region)*—Tarczyn; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Begoml', Budsław, Chocieńczyce, Dukora, Dworzec, Dzerzhinsk, Dziewieniszki, Grozovo, Horodyszcze, Iwieniec, Kobylnik, Kopyl, Krasne, Miadzioł Nowy, Mołodeczno, Ostroshitskii Gorodok, Pogost, Rubieżewicze, Rudensk, Shatsk, Siniawka, Smolevichi, Starobin, Timkovichi, Urech'e, Uzliany, Wiazyń, Wilejka, Wołożyn, Woronów, Zaostrowicze, Zaśkiewicze, Zaslavl'; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Andrushevka, Baranovka, Barashi, Berdichev, Cherniakhov, Chervonoarmeisk, Chudnov, Dashev, Dzerzhinsk, Dzhulinka, Gaisin, Ianushpol', Iarun', Il'intsy, Ianov, Kazatin, Khmel'nik, Khodorkov, Korosten', Korostyshev, Lipovets, Liubar, Miropol', Monastyrishche, Mozyr', Nemirov, Novaia Priluka, Novograd-Volynskii, Olevsk, Oratov, Piatka, Pliskov, Radomyshl, Rechitsa, Rogachov, Sobolevka, Strizhavka, Teplik, Ternovka, Tsibulev, Ulanov, Vcheraishe, Vinnitsa, Voronovitsa, Zhitomir, Zhornishche

Kulke, Christine: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Lwów

Kuwałek, Robert: *(Lublin Region)*—Izbica (nad Wieprzem), Lubartów

Lehnstaedt, Stephan: *(Lublin Region)*—Włodawa; *(Radom Region)*—Iłża, Lipsko, Magnuszew, Małogoszcz, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Nowy Korczyn; *(Warsaw Region)*—Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Stoczek Łukowski

Levin, Sala: (*Białystok Region)*—Augustów

Löw, Andrea: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Stanisławów; *(Lublin Region)*—Puławy, Radzyń Podlaski

Lower, Wendy: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Przemyślany; *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Narodichi

Matthäus, Jürgen: *(Lithuania Region)*—Kaunas

McBride, Jared: *(Zhytomyr Region)*—Olevsk

McConnell, Michael: (*Białystok Region)*—Bielsk Podlaski; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Borysław, Stryj, Żołkiew; *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Krustpils; *(Lithuania Region)*—Gargždai, Kudirkos Naumiestis; *(Lublin Region)*—Ryki; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Chernyi Ostrov

Mędykowski, Witold: *(Warsaw Region)*—Błonie, Grójec, Jadów

Megargee, Geoffrey P.: *(Lithuania Region)*—Plungė, Prienai, Radviliškis

Merin, Yehudah: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Maniewicze
Molho, Rena: *(German-Occupied Greece)* —Thessalonikē
Mróz, Margerethe: *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Trzebinia
Namysło, Aleksandra: *(Eastern Upper Silesia Region)*—Eastern Upper Silesia Region, Będzin, Bielsko-Biała, Chrzanów, Czeladź, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Modrzejów, Olkusz, Sławków, Sosnowiec, Strzemieszyce, Szczakowa, Zawiercie
Pallavicini, Stephen: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Janów Poleski, Łachwa, Serniki, Wysock
Patt, Avinoam: (*Białystok Region)*—Grodno; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Sambor; *(Lithuania Region)*—Šiauliai; *(Lublin Region)*—Bilgoraj; *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Łachwa
Penter, Tanja: (*Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region)*—Stalino
Phillips, Shannon: *(Kraków Region)*—Bochnia, Kolbuszowa, Kraków; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Dziewieniszki; *(Zichenau Region)*—Mława, Płock
Piątkowski, Sebastian: *(Radom Region)*—Białobrzegi, Garbatka-Letnisko, Gniewoszów, Janowiec nad Wisłą, Opoczno, Radom, Skaryszew, Wolanów, Wyśmierzyce
Pivovarchik, Siarhej: *(Białystok Region)*—Ostryna; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Szczuczyn, Wasiliszki, Żołudek
Pollin, Teresa: *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Kołomyja, Nadwórna; *(Warsaw Region)*—Sarnaki
Porter, Jack Nusan: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Maniewicze
Prusin, Alexander: (*Kiev Region)*—Kiev Region, Belaia Tserkov', Cherkassy, Kremenchug, Lokhvitsa, Ol'shana, Zolotonosha, Zvenigorodka
Redlich, Shimon: *(Eastern Galicia Region)* —Brzeżany
Reichelt, Katrin: *(Estonia and Latvia Regions)*—Daugavpils, Dobele, Kārsava, Lūdza, Rēzekne, Riga; *(Kraków Region)*—Dębica, Nowy Sącz; *(Lithuania Region)*—Kaišiadorys, Krakės, Kretinga, Troki, Ukmergė, Vilkaviškis; *(Lublin Region)*—Biała Podlaska; *(Radom Region)*—Tomaszów Mazowiecki; *(Zichenau Region)*—Maków Mazowiecki
Ricks, Stephen: *(Lublin Region)*—Bychawa
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Scala, Stephen: *(Warsaw Region)*—Dobre, Łosice, Sobolew
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Snyder, Timothy: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)* —Łuck
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Speckhard, Anne: *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Minsk
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Vaisman, Ester-Basya: (*Białystok Region)*—Brańsk; *(Eastern Galicia Region)*—Bóbrka; *(Volhynia and*

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Vershitskaya, Tamara: *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Baranowicze, Iwje, Korelicze, Lida, Lubcz, Nowogródek, Zdzięcioł

Vinnitsa, Gennadii: (*Eastern Belorussia Region)*—Bobruisk, Mogilev, Shklov; *(Weissruthenien Region)*—Hermanowicze, Łużki, Szarkowszczyzna

von Kellenbach, Katharina: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Pińsk

Voskoboynik, Diana: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Proskurov

Waysdorf, Susan: *(Radom Region)*—Łagów

Weinstock, Ben: *(Volhynia and Podolia Region)*—Derazhnia, Letichev, Medzhibozh, Zen'kov

White, Joseph Robert: *(German-Occupied Greece)*—Thessalonikē; *(Lublin Region)*—Bełżyce, Opole, Piaski Luterskie; *(Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia)*—Terezín; *(Warthegau Region)*—Warthegau Region

Zegenhagen, Evelyn: *(Radom Region)*—Będków, Białaczów, Bliżyn, Cmielów, Gielniów, Skarżysko-Kamienna, Skrzynno, Szydłowiec, Żarki; *(Warthegau Region)*—Brześć Kujawski, Bugaj, Ciechocinek, Dąbie nad Nerem, Grabów, Izbica Kujawska, Kowale Pańskie, Lututów, Osjaków, Ozorków, Pajęczno, Piątek, Praszka, Sieradz, Stryków, Tuliszków, Turek, Uniejów, Warta, Widawa, Władysławów, Włocławek, Zagórów, Zduńska Wola, Zgierz, Złoczew

Ziółkowska, Anna: *(Warthegau Region)*—Gąbin, Gostynin, Koło, Krośniewice, Kutno, Sanniki

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Martin Dean, Applied Research Scholar with the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, received his B.A. and Ph.D. in history from Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1984 and 1989, respectively. From 1992 to 1997, he was the Senior Historian for the Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit in London. He has worked on the preparation of Nazi-related war crimes cases for trials in Australia, Great Britain, and Germany. In 1997–1998, he received the Pearl Resnick Fellowship at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. He is the author of *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44* (2000) and *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (2008), which won a National Jewish Book Award for Writing Based on Archival Material in 2009. He has authored numerous articles and book chapters on collaboration, war crimes, ghettos, and the confiscation of Jewish property during the Holocaust.

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PLACES INDEX

This index lists place names; organizations are included in the Organizations and Enterprises Index. The page numbers corresponding to each ghetto essay are in bold type, for example: Balin, 1316, **1325–1326**, 1470–1471. Those locations (villages, towns, cities, and/or ghettos) that are also referred to as camp sites in the text are designated as camps in parenthesis (following the Place name). Also note that page numbers for districts are only included as separate entries when the referenced page numbers are unique. Lastly, no entries have been included for the countries Germany and Poland because of their appearance throughout the text.

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